



WOMEN AND MIGRATION:
Internal and International Migration in Australia

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ABSTRACT

An overarching objective of the study was to redress the paucity of research on women in migration in Australia. Rapid changes taking place in the lives of Australian women in the 1980s and 1990s have impinged upon many economic and social processes including patterns and processes of migration. The more socio-demographic oriented analysis of migration adopted here, is not intended to replace analysis of the more conventional economic determinants of migration flows and changing patterns of distribution, but to complement such studies and show how socio-demographic changes can in themselves alter the nature, timing and extent of all forms of population movement. An aim of the study was to provide empirical evidence of the importance of 'putting females' into what is often considered to be 'gender-neutral' explanations of migration patterns.

This study based entirely on secondary data sources, draws heavily on Australian Census data and several national surveys, to more fully understand the linkages between mobility and demographic-social changes likely to influence the lives of women differently to men. There are considerable problems in moulding secondary data to suit specific questions about social, family and gender issues associated with migration, however the analysis provides an useful insight into gender-differentiated migration. The empirical analysis of women and men who move, demonstrates the importance of the inclusion of gender in analyses of internal migration, immigration and residential mobility in Australia. By linking the social and demographic characteristics of women and men who move to changes in family formation and dissolution; education and employment; and changing social norms and policy, there are clear differences between them, and also between specific groups of women. It was found that there has been an increase in the involvement of women in longer distance migratory movement, most notably between non-metropolitan

and metropolitan areas and in interstate migration within Australia, but they are also highly represented in international movement.

The migration experience of men and women settling in Australia in the 1990s as established from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), showed distinctive gender differences in levels of employment according to visa category, clearly linked to qualifications, language proficiency, age, and marital status. An analysis of gendered responses to reasons given for immigration indicated that females were more likely to give family reasons while males were more inclined to state employment or better opportunities for their families. Moreover, females in comparison to males appeared to be less well adapted to life in Australia over the early years of settlement as measured by labour market outcomes, demonstrating that employment indicators are inappropriate to assess female migration and notions of successful settlement given their male bias.

Finally a discussion of the implications for future research of gender-differentiated migration, highlights the importance of developing new approaches to migration analysis that include more qualitative and biographical studies. The diversity and complexity of female migration demands the consideration of particular sub-groups, as some women tend to be followers and as such largely associational migrants involved in family migration, while others act more independently and tend to conform with assumptions underlying more economically-based migration models.

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying.

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I dedicate this thesis to my father Jack, and grandfather Alfred, who were men well before their time and encouraged me to continue my education, although their preference was law. I am fortunate to have inherited their strength and determination to overcome adversity, and thank them.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| ABS | Australian Bureau of Statistics |
| ACT | Australian Capital Territory |
| AGPS | Australian Government Printing Service |
| BIR | Bureau of Immigration Research |
| BIRPR | Bureau of Immigration and Population Research |
| CD | Collection District |
| DIMA | Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs |
| DIMIA | Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs |
| ERP | Estimated Resident Population |
| FHC | Former Home Country |
| LGA | Local Government Area |
| LSIA | Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia |
| MDB | Movement Data Base |
| MER | Migration Effectiveness Ratio |
| MES | Main English Speaking Countries |
| MUS | Migrating Unit Spouse |
| NES | Non-English Speaking |
| NSW | New South Wales |
| NILF | Not in the Labour Force |
| NT | Northern Territory |
| QLD | Queensland |
| SA | South Australia |
| SD | Statistical Division |
| TAS | Tasmania |
| UN | United Nations |
| VIC | Victoria |
| WA | Western Australia |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The migration of Australian women is a neglected area of research despite the proliferation of studies on internal migration in Australia and the widespread recognition of the importance of gender in understanding contemporary societal change. This thesis demonstrates the importance of gender in the analysis of both internal and international migration in Australia. A gender focus can lead to some different research questions than are usually asked when considering the patterns and processes of migration from an economic or geographical perspective, as has been the common approach among Australian researchers in the past (Bell 1992; 1994; Bell and Hugo 2000; Hugo 1971, 1986; Jarvie 1984; Rowland 1979).

For the past two decades, the migration of women in developing countries has received considerable research interest as these countries industrialise and urbanise, and young women have been found to predominate in the movement to cities (Khoo, Smith, and Fawcett 1984; Chant 1992; Fairhurst, Booysen and Hattingh 1997; Sweetman 1998; Willis and Yeoh 2000). More recently, there has been an emerging interest in gender and migration in developed countries. Boyle and Halfacree (1999a) demonstrate the importance of the 'gendering' of human migration research and show that some progress is being made to redress the topic's neglect by geographers in the United Kingdom. They argue that the conceptualisation of work as economic activity outside the home has tended to marginalise female migrants as a point of study. However in this book entitled *Migration and Gender in Developed Countries* (Boyle and Halfacree 1999a), the employment consequences and labour force participation considerations still predominated

in the context of female migrants and their family situations in exploring their patterns of migration.

Monk and Hanson (1982) were among the first to recognise the lack of attention geographers had given to gender, criticising them for 'excluding half the human in human geography'. This was especially the case in migration studies that focussed primarily upon the economically active population and sought reasons for migration in response to regional differences in opportunities. Australian geographers in the 1980s, among them Fahey (1988), made a concerted effort to stimulate interest in gender issues, similar to the push in the United Kingdom at that time, so that gender would be recognised as an important dimension in geographical research. However, much of this work was criticised by others seeking a feminist approach. Johnson, (1990 p.17) claimed that the idea of putting gender into Geography 'could well just add *women's concerns* into an unchanged discourse', and therefore 'would deflect the feminist focus on women's oppression and patriarchal power'.

Demographers, most notably Nancy Riley and Harriet Presser have also paid attention to the importance of gender and more specifically women in demography in recent years. Riley (1998 p.521) argues that the lack of interest in gender is because of

'...demography's research and policy focus on the two questions central to the field in recent decades, fertility decline and the relationship between economic and demographic change.'

Presser (2002 p.165) proposes that it

'...seems logical that when we are studying human behaviour that relates to such demographic events as childbearing, death and migration, as well as family and labour force behaviour, we take into account what it means to be male and female in a particular setting. Yet, despite the pervasive rhetoric that emanated from the 1994 U. N. International Conference on Population and Development (the 'Cairo Conference') about the importance of gender in the population field, we have a long way to go to fully incorporate this view in demographic research and training'.

In the context of international migration it is interesting that women became a topic of concern in the 1980s and subject of a special issue of *International Migration Review* (1984) and more recently the subject of a book '*Gender and Immigration*' (Kelson and De Laet 1999) with a recognition of 'the invisibility of Women in Scholarship on International

Migration' (De Laet 1999 pp.1-17). Moreover, there has been little concern about the impact of migration on women (either those who move or stay) or on the countries of origin or destination. Houston *et al* (1984) found that the feminisation of immigration to the United States was a long-term trend as females had dominated immigration streams to that country since the 1930s, although few immigration researchers and policy-makers seemed aware of such a phenomenon. An overview by Morokvasic (1984) neatly outlines the problems inherent in Western ideology where 'a breadwinner is a man and a woman a dependent' and therefore migrant women were assigned the status of dependent, whether real or not, despite considerable labour force contributions made by them. Migration research has tended to portray a predominantly male image with women not recognised as being a matter of concern or worthy of research. Morokvasic (1984 p.898) argues that most commentators assume that 'the emigration of women would be more due to individual, private, family reasons while male migration would be a result of external, public, economic reasons'.

In Australia, a conference specifically on '*Women in Migration*' held in Melbourne by the now defunct Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR) in February 1992, is testimony to the increasing concern at that time to immigrant women living in Australia. Reports, commissioned by the BIR and other papers were presented on the changing characteristics and circumstances of immigrant women, social justice, health, labour force and legal issues, as well as the views of practitioners and policy-makers largely dealing with the settlement process. A second conference on '*Women in Migration*' was held in Sydney in 1996 by the renamed Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR), which not long after found itself abolished by the then recently elected Howard coalition government (Fincher 1999). Foster (BIMPR 1996) wrote of the differences and similarities between the two conferences highlighting the fact that both were well attended, with women making up some 98 per cent of participants. Both conferences attracted a

similar mix of representatives from a diverse range of government and non-government service and support agencies, private bodies, researchers, politicians and a wide range of ethnic groups. The themes however, were slightly different in that the 1996 Conference focussed on the changing family context, employment, human rights and violence, and attempted to put forward a research agenda for migrant women. Unfortunately the demise of the Bureau and the subsequent lack of funding for such research meant immigrant women and their specific needs were once again given low priority.

The Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR), generated considerable research funding and publications flowed quite freely over its short life of seven years (Fincher 1999). The numerous research reports remain an invaluable legacy and provide excellent background material to the present study (for example Woods 1989; Madden and Young 1993; Lennon 1994; ABS 1994a), but are now somewhat out-dated. Another concern in these studies is that Asia-born women are usually subsumed under the category of Non-English Speaking Background (NESB), which masks important differences among them that will be highlighted later.

Much of the current literature on internal migration in Australia tends to give a disproportionate amount of attention to migration flows and the types of movement that occur, which are invariably 'gender neutral' or treat gender simply as one of many variables to be included in the analysis (Bell 1992; 1995; Hugo 1986; Jarvie 1984; Rowland 1979). Generally the rates of migration for males and females were found to be similar and therefore it was assumed that gender did not have much influence on the overall patterns of movement.

There has been a tendency in the literature to view female movement as being primarily 'associational' or 'family oriented' whereby women accompany husbands or join other family members, and as Morokvasic (1984) argues, this conceptualisation misrepresents other types of migration in which both men and women are involved. This

is especially the case in longer distance movement where there has been an economic focus upon labour migration and the perceived need to seek employment opportunities elsewhere. This misrepresentation is largely a function of past general theories of migration espousing purely economically driven motivations for migration, most notably Lee (1966 p.51) in his seminal 'push' and 'pull' theory of migration. He also clearly identified the male as the main instigator of migration and claimed that:

'Indeed not all persons who migrate reach that decision themselves. Children are carried along by their parents, willy-nilly, and wives accompany their husbands though it tears them away from the environments that they love' (Lee 1966 p.51).

Over thirty years later there is still no coherent theory of international migration 'only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another', and subject to considerable debate among migration analysts who continually endeavour to construct a more appropriate and comprehensive theory of international migration (Massey 1990; Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellgrino, Taylor 1993; 1998).

Much of the preoccupation of geographers in Australia with describing patterns and processes of internal migration has arisen due to data limitations and the way censuses classify and define migration. It can also be argued that the distinction made between long-distance and short-distance movement (defined by administrative boundaries of varying scale) has tended to provide an artificial division in how we research migration. Hence, the rather rigid approach of seeking answers to migration by means of analysing flows according to their geographical context, tends to focus on economic rather than non-economic determinants and ignores the wider questions associated with population mobility. However, the availability of data such as the unit record sample tapes provided from the Australian Censuses and large-scale surveys, such as the ABS Family Survey (undertaken in 1992), do allow researchers to begin to address some of the issues raised here. Another invaluable source is the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) undertaken by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous

Affairs (DIMIA), which enables researchers to examine the characteristics of female principal applicant immigrants by type of visa entry, their reasons for migration, and their adaptation over the early years of settlement in Australia.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

One of the overriding objectives of this study is to provide a more meaningful framework in which to consider both internal and international migration in Australia. The key questions are: Does gender matter in understanding migration? Do men and women move in different ways, for different reasons with different effects? It is hoped that the analysis undertaken here will go a small way in filling gaps in our knowledge of the socio-demographic aspects of family and household mobility and the importance of gender considerations. Another overarching objective is to redress the paucity of research on women in migration in Australia. Some may ask for what reason? For others, the reason needs no justification as women and their families have attracted considerable international research attention, in both developed and developing countries over the last decade or so. This has been a consequence of the substantial changes taking place in the lives of women in the 1980s and 1990s, especially in the context of their roles in the family, in the labour force and in the wider community.

The more detailed aims of this study are to systematically examine the mobility of women and men in Australia:

- (a) to identify the characteristics of those who are more likely to move and to link mobility to social and demographic changes and the changing status of women.
- (b) to determine whether women have become more significant in longer distance migration within Australia, and to contrast their characteristics with men and also with non-migrants at origin and destination.

(c) to establish the characteristics and circumstances of males and females in international migration to Australia, their reasons for immigrating and to evaluate their adaptation in the early years of settlement, with a focus on visa entry and birthplace differentials.

(d) to assess the implications of gender-differentiated mobility for future research.

1.3 THE CHANGING STATUS AND ROLES OF WOMEN

One of the themes running through the study is the changing status and roles of women in the family and in society. In other words the growing independence of women and the increasing 'control' they are now exerting over their own lives. The traditional stereotype distinction between the woman's role of homemaker and the man's role of breadwinner is being constantly eroded. This is due partly to the increasing participation of women in the labour market, particularly married or partnered women, which is closely linked to structural changes in the labour market, changes in societal attitudes and changes in demographic and social behaviour. Many of these changes have been influenced by changes in government policies and legislature relating to women in the workforce and also in the family and home, effectively protecting their independence by providing single mother pensions, housing and easier access to divorce (Ware 1982).

Over the past two decades or so there have been significant social and demographic changes in developed countries that have altered the composition and functioning of families. The most notable changes include: young people are marrying later or not at all; many marriages are ending in divorce; fertility levels are relatively low; and female-headed households are increasing. There are also trends towards non-family living that indicate an increase in the number of men and women living alone, some through choice while others as a consequence of the high incidence of divorce, as well as widowhood at older ages

(Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Mason and Jensen 1995). Of particular interest here, there has been virtually no recognition in Australia that these changes will in any way influence the nature and extent of residential mobility or, indeed, see marked changes in internal migration patterns. Studies in the United Kingdom (notably of Grundy 1985; 1989; 1992; 1993; Hayes and Al-Hamad 1999) and in the USA (Long 1992; Speare and Goldscheider 1987), show that changing patterns of marriage and divorce are linked to the timing and rates of movement.

Age structure change is another dimension that has not been given due attention and yet is likely to have a significant impact on migration rates as populations undergo considerable ageing (Plane 1993; Plane and Rogerson 1991; Rogerson and Plane, 1998; Rowland 2003a). This suggests that there will be some change in levels of migration, as the aged currently experience the lowest rates of mobility while the highest rates are generally associated with the younger adult groups. The question of how these demographic changes impact on the nature and extent of male and female migration needs to be given more serious research attention, especially in the assessment of future trends.

Researchers in Australia focusing upon family change (most notably, Bracher and Santow 1990; Carmichael 1998; 2002; de Vaus and Wolcott 1997; McDonald 1995; 1998; 2003) have examined changing patterns of family formation and dissolution, and linked them to changes in the roles and status of women. Of concern here, there is little apparent interest in how these changes manifest themselves in altering the nature and extent of population mobility and the geographical outcomes of that mobility, particularly in relation to the differences between men and women. One exception has tended to be in the area of ageing, where there has been considerable attention paid to elderly migration in the context of demographic change, living arrangements, family resources and geographical concentrations (Rowland 1991; 1996a; Rudd 1987; 1989a; 1994; 1996a).

It is appropriate to stress that the more socio-demographic oriented analysis of migration proposed here, is not intended to replace analyses of the more conventional economic and non-economic determinants of migration flows. The aim is to complement such studies and show how socio-demographic changes can in themselves alter the nature, timing and extent of all forms of population movement. In addition, changes in immigration policy impact on the numbers, category type and characteristics of migrants entering Australia at any particular point in time, which in turn influences the internal migration flows as well as the sex composition of immigration streams. Moreover, alterations to government policy in respect to pensions and benefits, housing, education, health and welfare are also likely to influence the mobility of certain population sub-groups, particularly those most vulnerable and disadvantaged, in which women are highly represented.

A further argument pursued here is that a focus on the demography of the family leads to questions about the geography of the family. To what extent is the movement of men and women generating change in the types of families and households resident in particular locations and the relative advantages and disadvantages of those locations? Moreover, the greater personal autonomy of women can be expected to cause higher levels of mobility and an increased frequency of movement among the population. On the other hand, many current socio-demographic changes may lead to less mobility for particular sub-groups of the population. One consequence may be to lower the overall levels of mobility and generate convergence in male and female rates of migration. Unfortunately, the relationship between changing age structure and family composition is itself not well understood but has clear implications for understanding migration of particular sub-groups.

1.4 THE STUDY AREA

1.4.1 Population Growth and Distribution

This study focuses upon Australia with particular emphasis on the capital city populations resident in the States of South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia and Tasmania, and the two Territories – the Australian Capital Territory (ACT) and the Northern Territory (NT) shown in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Australia: Capital Cities and Boundaries of States and Territories



One of the main features of the distribution of population in Australia is the high concentration of population living in and around the capital cities and along the eastern

coast. Table 1.1 shows that 62.8 per cent of Australia's population were located in the capital cities in 1996, only marginally lower than in 1986. Of particular note, the relative share of population increased significantly in Brisbane and Perth at the expense of Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney between 1986 and 1996. Similarly, the distribution of populations outside the capital cities had shifted with Queensland recording the largest non-metropolitan gain, while Victoria and to a lesser extent New South Wales had a reduced proportion of non-metropolitan population in 1996.

Table 1.1: Population Distribution, Growth Rates and Sex Ratios by State and Territory, 1986, 1991 and 1996

| Capital City Statistical Divisions | Population | Per cent Distribution | | Growth Rates | | Sex Ratios | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | 1996 | 1986 | 1996 | 1986-91 | 1991-96 | 1986 | 1996 |
| Sydney | 3,741,290 | 21.6 | 20.9 | 1.01 | 1.12 | 97.5 | 96.7 |
| Melbourne | 3,138,147 | 18.4 | 17.5 | 1.06 | 0.75 | 97.4 | 96.1 |
| Brisbane | 1,488,883 | 7.6 | 8.3 | 2.49 | 2.25 | 97.1 | 96.3 |
| Adelaide | 1,045,854 | 6.3 | 5.8 | 0.92 | 0.43 | 95.5 | 94.5 |
| Perth | 1,244,320 | 6.4 | 7.0 | 2.83 | 1.71 | 96.9 | 96.0 |
| Hobart | 189,944 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.83 | 0.47 | 96.0 | 94.7 |
| Darwin | 85,743 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 1.61 | 1.81 | 108.3 | 107.0 |
| Canberra | 298,847 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.34 | 1.39 | 100.6 | 97.6 |
| Capital Cities | 11,233,028 | 63.4 | 62.8 | 1.42 | 1.16 | 97.3 | 96.3 |
| Remainder of State | | | | | | | |
| Rest NSW | 2,297,406 | 13.0 | 12.8 | 1.51 | 0.93 | 100.8 | 99.1 |
| Rest VIC | 1,235,373 | 7.4 | 6.9 | 1.23 | 0.22 | 100.0 | 98.2 |
| Rest QLD | 1,879,967 | 9.0 | 10.5 | 3.17 | 2.70 | 102.9 | 100.5 |
| Rest SA | 382,082 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 0.57 | 0.27 | 104.0 | 103.1 |
| Rest WA | 481,775 | 2.6 | 2.7 | 1.56 | 1.67 | 111.1 | 109.6 |
| Rest TAS | 269,715 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 0.68 | 0.18 | 99.8 | 98.5 |
| Rest NT | 109,358 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 3.32 | 2.32 | 112.2 | 108.6 |
| Rest ACT | 396 | 0.0 | 0.0 | - | -1.08 | - | - |
| Rest Australia | 6,656,072 | 36.6 | 37.2 | 1.81 | 1.28 | 102.2 | 100.4 |
| State/Territory | | | | | | | |
| New South Wales | 6,036,059 | 34.6 | 33.8 | 1.20 | 1.05 | 98.7 | 97.6 |
| Victoria | 4,372,713 | 25.8 | 24.5 | 1.11 | 0.60 | 98.1 | 96.7 |
| Queensland | 3,365,851 | 16.6 | 18.8 | 2.49 | 2.25 | 100.2 | 98.6 |
| South Australia | 1,427,338 | 8.6 | 8.0 | 0.83 | 0.39 | 97.7 | 96.7 |
| Western Australia | 1,723,071 | 9.0 | 9.6 | 2.46 | 1.68 | 100.9 | 99.6 |
| Tasmania | 459,027 | 2.8 | 2.6 | 0.74 | 0.30 | 98.2 | 96.9 |
| Northern Territory | 194,589 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 2.53 | 2.21 | 110.3 | 107.9 |
| ACT | 299,243 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.34 | 1.39 | 100.6 | 97.6 |
| Australia | 17,877,891 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 1.56 | 1.21 | 99.1 | 97.8 |

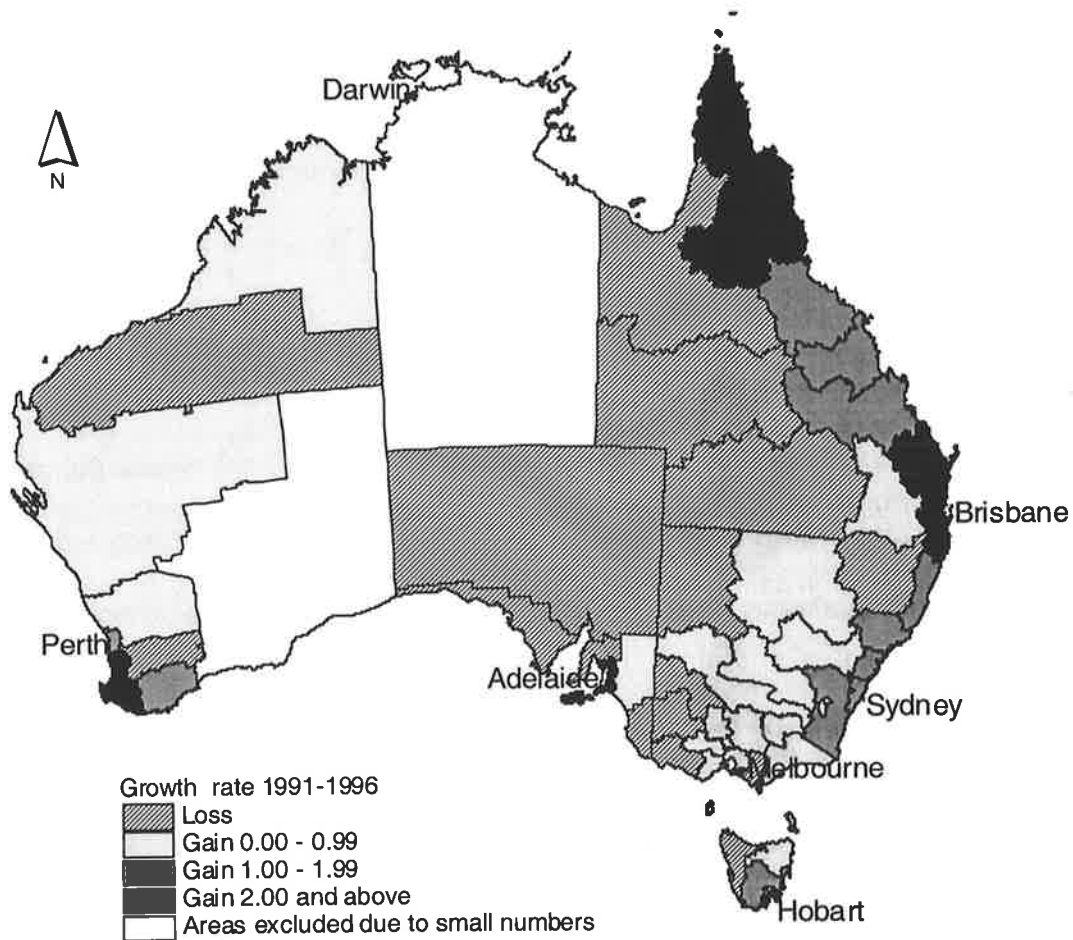
Source: ABS, CDATA 1996, Time Series

The high population growth rates recorded in Queensland over the last decade or so are due to quite exceptional levels of internal migration to this State (Bell 1994; 1995; Bell and Hugo 2000; Hugo 2003a). Moreover, the consistently lower rates of population growth outside the capital cities in 1991-1996 compared to that in 1986-91, illustrate the significant regional variations that occur within States, in particular Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania and New South Wales. The table also shows that the capital city populations, with the exception of Darwin, had sex ratios below 100 indicating a predominance of females, while the populations in the remainder of each State show a consistently higher ratio with males outnumbering females. Of particular note, without exception the sex ratios declined between the 1986 and 1996 censuses demonstrating the increasing predominance of females in the total population, especially in the capital cities. By 1996, Adelaide and Hobart had the lowest sex ratios (94 males per 100 females) largely due to relatively low rates of growth but also associated with the fact that they had the oldest populations.

The distinct spatial separation of regions experiencing population growth and decline are shown for Statistical Divisions (SDs) in Figure 1.2. The large variations in population growth and substantial differences in the size of spatial units are a function of the high concentration of population in the capital cities, especially along the southeast coast. Given that natural increase is a relatively stable component of growth, it is clear that regions with significant growth and decline had experienced exceptional migration. One of the most notable features is the distinctive spatial pattern of population growth occurring immediately outside each mainland capital city, which has been occurring throughout the 1980s and 1990s as a result of *counterurbanisation* (Hugo 1996a; 2003a). These are mainly found in popular recreation and tourist destinations along the coastal areas of New South Wales and Queensland, within commuting distance of Adelaide, and south of Perth as a continuous band of coastal residential development.

The areas of population decline or only marginal growth were predominantly the wheat-sheep farming areas of rural Australia, most prominent in western New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, with a relatively uniform pattern of loss in South Australia. Other areas of growth in northern and central Australia were very spatially concentrated and commonly associated with mining operations located in very sparsely populated areas that are not shown here, as the large spatial units tend to distort the overall pattern of decline outside the capital cities.

Figure 1.2: Australia: Population Growth by Statistical Division¹, 1991-96



1. A named boundary map is shown in Appendix A

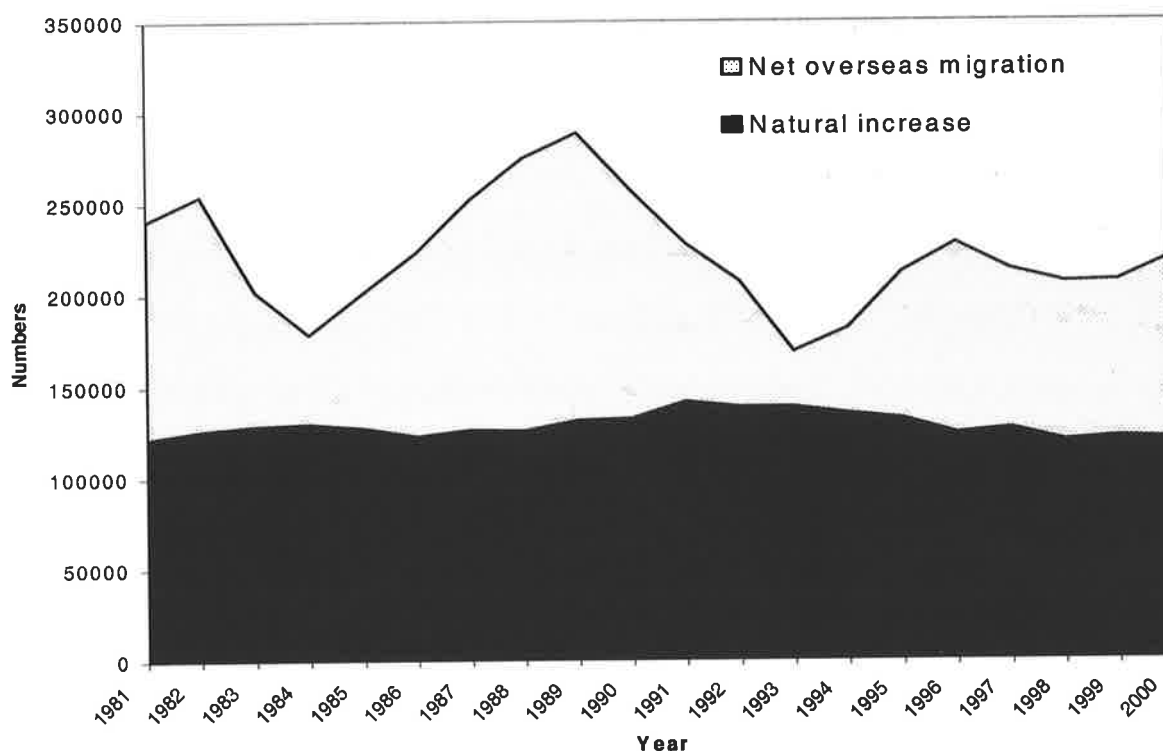
Source: ABS, CDATA96, Time Series, 1991 and 1996 Censuses

Overall there is a clear pattern of spatial difference at the national and sub-national level, with marginal growth in the States of Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania, while Western Australia, Queensland and New South Wales, especially along the coastal areas, consistently experienced higher growth. These patterns reflect the high rates of interstate migration to Western Australia and Queensland and the high levels of immigration to Melbourne and Sydney, in the case of Victoria and New South Wales (Bell 1992; Bell and Cooper 1995; Bell and Hugo 2000; Hugo 2003a). It should be noted here that the uneven contribution of internal and overseas migration to population growth of the States and Territories is important to not only an understanding of the trends but also the consequences of migration, especially in relation to women which will be highlighted later.

1.4.2 Components of Population Growth

The components of population growth shown in Figure 1.3, indicate the relatively consistent levels of natural increase and the very erratic pattern of net overseas migration over the last 20 years. For the years 1983-84 and 1993-94, there were significant downturns in migration with a significant peak occurring by the late 1980s and to a lesser extent in the late 1990s. This apparent cyclic trend should be noted as the census years (1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996) fall within periods of relatively high net overseas migration. The period between the 1986 and 1991 censuses contained the unusually high net overseas gains of the late 80s while both the 1986 and 1996 census years had similar trends in the five-year period preceding them. For this reason much of the analysis undertaken in this study contrasts the five-year migration experience of the 1981-86 and 1991-96 census periods.

Figure 1.3: Australia: Components of Population Growth, 1981-2000



Source: ABS, Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table: Population and components of change, States and Territories

The contribution of natural increase and net migration to the populations of the States and Territories for the census years 1986 and 1996 is shown in Table 1.2. Queensland and Western Australia are the only States to consistently experience both internal and overseas net migration gain, with interstate net migration gain in 1996 doubling in Queensland and reducing by half in Western Australia compared to 1986. Moreover, New South Wales in 1996 had by far the largest net overseas net migration gain representing 46 per cent of overseas net migration to Australia, increasing its share significantly from 40 per cent in 1986. Victoria also received a high proportionate share of overseas migration although slightly less than in 1986. These substantial gains were offset by interstate net migration loss in these States in both 1986 and 1996. By contrast, South Australia and Tasmania had small and reduced shares of overseas net migration in 1996 and considerably higher net interstate migration loss than in 1986.

Table 1.2: Australia: Natural Increase and Net Interstate and Overseas Migration by State and Territory, 1986 and 1996

| State/ Territory | Net Overseas Migration Numbers | | Net Interstate Migration Numbers | | Natural Increase Numbers | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--------|
| | 1986 | 1996 | 1986 | 1996 | 1986 | 1996 |
| New South Wales | 40,922 | 48,045 | -12,462 | -14,770 | 39,430 | 40,352 |
| Victoria | 26,420 | 25,692 | -13,201 | -12,800 | 29,094 | 28,497 |
| Queensland | 11,382 | 13,051 | 16,500 | 32,614 | 21,779 | 25,290 |
| South Australia | 5,084 | 3,653 | -1,417 | -6,192 | 9,230 | 7,500 |
| Western Australia | 13,036 | 12,339 | 9,428 | 4,066 | 14,292 | 13,953 |
| Tasmania | 890 | 398 | -138 | -2,590 | 3,318 | 2,521 |
| Northern Territory | 1,205 | 569 | -493 | 328 | 2,795 | 2,829 |
| ACT | 1,420 | 390 | 1,783 | -656 | 3,108 | 3,062 |

Source: ABS, Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table: Population and components of change, States and Territories

1.4.3 Birthplace Composition of Population

It is relevant to show the impact of immigration on the birthplace composition of Australia's population as indicated at the time of the 1986 and 1996 censuses. Table 1.3 shows that Australia in 1996 had 77 per cent of its population Australia-born, which was only slightly less than in 1986 and well below the 90.2 per cent in 1947. The most notable change over the last decade or so has been the greater diversity of origins and the reduced percentage of population born in the United Kingdom and the rest of Europe, with a notable increase in population born in Asia and the Middle East (Khoo 2003). These trends reflect the substantial shift in major source countries of immigrants (McNamara 1997) and the significant changes in long-term and short-term movement from overseas that have occurred in the 1990s (Hugo 1994; Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001; 2003).

At the time of the 1996 census, roughly equal proportions (6 per cent) of population were born in the UK & Ireland, other Europe and Asia (including the Middle East). There was also an increase in the representation of population born in New Zealand and other

countries in Oceania due to changes in visa requirements associated with the Trans-Tasman Agreement. The sex ratios indicate that females outnumbered males in the Asia-born population, with a ratio of 92.5 males per 100 females in 1996. This was also the case for other Oceania (excluding New Zealand) with low ratios evident in 1986 and 1996, however the New Zealand-born population was consistently male dominated. The Africa- and America-born populations had shifted to female dominance by 1996 from an excess of males in 1986. Similarly the UK and other European born populations had lower sex ratios in 1996 due to significant ageing but retained their male dominance.

Table 1.3: Australia: Distribution of Population by Birthplace Region, 1986 and 1996

| Birthplace Region | Per cent | Per cent | Sex Ratios | Sex Ratios |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Population | Population | 1986 | 1996 |
| Australia | 79.1 | 77.2 | 97.4 | 97.4 |
| New Zealand | 1.3 | 1.7 | 103.7 | 102.5 |
| Other Oceania | 0.3 | 0.5 | 93.5 | 89.0 |
| United Kingdom & Ireland | 7.3 | 6.6 | 102.5 | 100.9 |
| Other Europe | 7.1 | 6.4 | 113.1 | 106.5 |
| Asia & Middle East | 3.4 | 6.1 | 99.3 | 92.5 |
| America | 0.7 | 0.9 | 101.4 | 97.1 |
| Africa | 0.7 | 0.6 | 102.2 | 99.1 |

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses

The sex composition of populations for major birthplace countries (populations of at least 10,000 in 1996), are shown in Table 1.4. There was a significant decline by 1996 in the large number of persons born in Italy, Greece, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland and Malta, associated mainly with post-second world war immigration to Australia, and an increase in populations born in China, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Korea, Japan, Sri Lanka and Vietnam. Other countries rapidly expanding their numbers were the former Yugoslavia Republics, Fiji, Iran and South Africa. Many of these countries had experienced either adverse political events, war, uncertainties or

hostilities of one kind or another in the 1980s and 1990s, at a time when Australian government policies were attracting business and skilled migrants and were also in tune with humanitarian concerns and family reunification (Birrell 1995a; 2003).

Table 1.4: Australia: Change in Population and Sex Ratios by Birthplace Country, 1986-1996 (Census usual resident population)

| Birthplace Country | Population 10,000+ 1996 | Population 1986 | Per cent Change 1986-96 | Sex Ratios 1986 | Sex Ratios 1996 |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| United Kingdom & Ireland | 1,124,031 | 1,115,295 | 0.8 | 102.5 | 100.9 |
| New Zealand | 291,388 | 199,905 | 45.8 | 103.7 | 102.5 |
| Italy | 238,246 | 260,983 | -8.7 | 117.4 | 113.1 |
| Former Yugoslav Rep | 175,422 | 149,282 | 17.5 | 118.8 | 110.8 |
| Viet Nam | 151,053 | 82,705 | 82.6 | 123.7 | 99.3 |
| Greece | 126,520 | 136,887 | -7.6 | 105.7 | 103.7 |
| China | 111,009 | 36,595 | 203.3 | 95.8 | 92.8 |
| Germany | 110,331 | 113,466 | -2.8 | 98.6 | 95.2 |
| Philippines | 92,949 | 32,757 | 183.8 | 43.5 | 53.3 |
| Netherlands | 87,898 | 94,404 | -6.9 | 115.3 | 109.7 |
| India | 77,551 | 47,129 | 64.6 | 98.4 | 104.8 |
| Malaysia | 76,255 | 46,516 | 63.9 | 99.5 | 88.6 |
| Lebanon | 70,224 | 56,091 | 25.2 | 113.2 | 108.5 |
| Hong Kong & Macau | 68,430 | 27,793 | 146.2 | 101.4 | 95.4 |
| Poland | 65,113 | 66,922 | -2.7 | 113.3 | 95.9 |
| South Africa | 55,755 | 36,427 | 53.0 | 95.9 | 95.1 |
| Malta | 50,879 | 56,123 | -9.4 | 114.6 | 110.3 |
| Sri Lanka | 46,984 | 22,280 | 110.9 | 97.7 | 100.5 |
| Former USSR & Baltic | 49,744 | 45,592 | 9.1 | 97.4 | 85.4 |
| United States America | 49,528 | 37,419 | 32.4 | 110.9 | 106.8 |
| Indonesia | 44,175 | 16,989 | 99.9 | 107.6 | 98.5 |
| Fiji | 37,102 | 14,255 | 160.3 | 92.9 | 87.7 |
| Egypt | 34,159 | 30,495 | 12.0 | 105.1 | 104.3 |
| Korea | 30,091 | 8,946 | 236.4 | 90.6 | 91.9 |
| Singapore | 29,490 | 15,820 | 86.0 | 87.2 | 86.3 |
| Turkey | 28,869 | 24,424 | 18.2 | 109.8 | 107.9 |
| Chile | 23,820 | 18,572 | 28.3 | 97.9 | 93.5 |
| Hungary | 25,263 | 27,089 | -6.7 | 127.5 | 116.4 |
| Canada | 25,132 | 19,220 | 30.8 | 97.9 | 93.2 |
| Japan | 23,015 | 9,722 | 136.7 | 78.6 | 65.2 |
| Austria | 20,575 | 22,407 | -8.1 | 119.1 | 115.1 |
| Cambodia | 21,549 | 13,189 | 63.4 | 101.2 | 93.6 |
| Thailand | 18,936 | 6,739 | 181.0 | 65.7 | 62.1 |
| Former Czechoslovakia | 17,293 | 17,757 | -2.6 | 137.5 | 120.4 |
| Portugal | 17,123 | 14,816 | 15.6 | 111.2 | 108.8 |
| Mauritius | 17,083 | 12,990 | 31.5 | 95.1 | 93.6 |
| Iran | 16,271 | 7,396 | 119.9 | 113.7 | 116.3 |
| France | 16,067 | 14,404 | 11.5 | 103.6 | 102.8 |
| Spain | 13,589 | 16,140 | -15.8 | 118.2 | 114.4 |
| Romania | 12,329 | 8,041 | 53.3 | 130.7 | 107.4 |
| Argentina | 10,755 | 9,054 | 18.8 | 99.8 | 97.1 |

Source: ABS, Historical Trend Series, Table: Birthplace 1986 and 1996 Censuses

The sex ratios demonstrate the dominance of females among migrants from many Asian countries, most notably, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Japan which consistently had the lowest ratios in 1986 and 1996. Populations born in Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Indonesia had become female dominated by 1996 shifting from male dominance in 1986. It is interesting that outside Asia, other birthplace groups that had become more feminised were most notably Canada, Germany, Chile, Fiji, the former USSR and Baltic republics, Mauritius and South Africa. In effect the population composition was not only becoming more diverse in respect to different birthplace groups but many of these were showing a female dominance that had increased significantly between the 1986 and 1996 censuses.

Table 1.5 shows the uneven distribution of Asia-born population within Australia, with the majority concentrated in the capital cities, with Sydney the most popular location for both the Hong Kong-born and China-born (over 50 per cent), while Sri Lankans tend to be more concentrated in Melbourne (48.5 per cent). The Filipinos, while predominantly in Sydney (45.7 per cent) are more likely to live in other places as a high percentage are married to Australian men (Hugo and Maher 1995). This is also the case for Indonesians, Malaysians and Indians who are generally less spatially concentrated and more likely to be resident in Brisbane, Adelaide or Perth. By contrast, some three-quarters of the Vietnamese are located in either Sydney or Melbourne (almost an equal split) and are very highly spatially concentrated within these cities (Burnley 1989; 1998; Hugo and Maher 1995). Of particular note, the distribution of overseas population born outside Asia closely matches that of the Australia-born, whereby almost two-thirds were located outside Sydney and Melbourne, which tends to be the reverse of the Asia-born distribution.

Table 1.5: Australia: Distribution of Asia-Born Population Resident in Sydney and Melbourne by Major Birthplace Country, 1996

| Birthplace Country | Sydney Per cent | Melbourne Per cent | Rest of Australia Per cent | Total Per cent |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Indonesia | 36.9 | 26.3 | 36.8 | 100.0 |
| Malaysia | 23.5 | 28.5 | 48.0 | 100.0 |
| Vietnam | 39.3 | 36.5 | 24.2 | 100.0 |
| Philippines | 45.7 | 18.5 | 35.8 | 100.0 |
| Hong Kong | 54.2 | 21.7 | 24.1 | 100.0 |
| China | 56.3 | 24.8 | 18.9 | 100.0 |
| India | 32.7 | 30.2 | 37.1 | 100.0 |
| Sri Lanka | 27.9 | 48.5 | 23.6 | 100.0 |
| Australia | 18.3 | 15.9 | 65.8 | 100.0 |
| Other Overseas | 20.0 | 17.2 | 62.8 | 100.0 |
| Total Population | 19.5 | 16.6 | 63.9 | 100.0 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished data

These geographical patterns of difference between birthplace groups from Asia were found to be very similar for males and females. However, they clearly demonstrate the need to closely monitor distributional trends as they relate to recent patterns of growth of some birthplace groups, especially the China-born and Hong Kong-born. Moreover, changes in the patterns of growth of the Asia-born population effectively means that shifts in the distribution will also occur as much of it follows employment and business opportunities. This will also ensure follow-on growth associated with family reunion in which females dominate.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The first chapter has put forward a justification for concentrating on the migration of women to address the relative neglect that has been evident in past studies of internal and international migration in Australia. One of the themes running through the study is an emphasis on the changing status and roles of women in the family and in society with the view that patterns of mobility are likely to change given the nature of demographic, economic and social changes that have taken place over the past two decades. To place the

study area in context, this chapter provides an overview of population growth and distribution in Australia between the 1986 and 1996 censuses, the components of that growth, and changes in the birthplace and sex composition of population. The second chapter reviews literature relevant to the study of internal and international migration, and the changing status of women and associated family and household change, together with any relevant studies that provide linkages to migration, specifically that pertaining to women. It also provides some background to the secondary data sources used in this study and discusses their limitations as well as the problems that need to be addressed if the migration of women in Australia is to be more fully understood.

The characteristics of men and women who are most likely to move are the focus of the third chapter. It is useful to start with overall levels of mobility so that the impact of migration on particular locations as they relate to various sub-groups of the population can be more fully understood. Chapter Four is linked to Chapter Three, as it specifically examines the demographic and social changes underlying patterns of family formation and dissolution and how they relate to changes in levels of female movement in Australia.

Chapters Five and Six follow a more conventional approach and look at inter-regional and interstate migration to show the increasing significance of women in longer distance migration and the characteristics of women and men in different migration streams, specifically those between metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions and between the States. In Chapter Six, internal migrants are also compared to recent overseas arrivals in the five years prior to the census to gauge the impact of total in-migration flows on the populations of the States, especially the capital cities.

Chapters Seven and Eight focus upon females in international migration to Australia. The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) provides the basis of much of the analysis to identify the characteristics of male and female settler arrivals, their reasons for immigration, their pre-migration experience, their likes and dislikes about

Australia and also elements of life in their former country of residence. The adaptation of male and female immigrants in the early years of settlement in Australia is the focus of Chapter Eight, with a concern to establish differences according to type of visa entry and birthplace. In evaluating the settlement experience the analysis also establishes who stays and leaves soon after settlement.

Chapter Nine summarises the principal findings as they relate to gender-differentiated patterns of migration and tackles questions relating to future research. It also argues the need for more innovative approaches to take account of different types of migration in which men and women are involved.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND DATA ISSUES IN THE ANALYSIS OF FEMALE MIGRATION IN AUSTRALIA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This study is based entirely on secondary data sources and draws heavily on Australian Census data and several national surveys. Some methodological issues are discussed here to provide background to the analysis presented in the proceeding chapters. In many instances, the data sources dictate the types of analysis that can be undertaken. Moreover, they impose major limitations on the ways in which new approaches can be developed to more fully understand the linkages between mobility and family change. There are also methodological issues associated with moving between census and survey data. It is highly useful to use large surveys, funded and collected on a national scale, however they pose considerable problems in moulding data to suit specific questions about social, family and gender issues associated with migration.

The problems associated with the definition and measurement of migration, particularly as they relate to Australian census data, are well documented (Bell 1992; 1994; Bell and Hugo 2000; Bell and Stratton 1998; Maher 1984; Rowland 1979). Similarly, the complexities and difficulties in defining and gathering information about families and households that extend beyond the narrow census definition have received due attention in recent years (ABS 1993a; Mc Donald 1995; 2003; de Vaus and Wolcott 1997). However, the 'marriage' between migration and family demography is in its infancy and needs more serious research attention and it is therefore appropriate here to highlight the main problems associated with analysis that explores the linkages between the two.

One of the major problems in linking migration to family and social change is that migration data derived from the census migration matrix tapes to establish flows of migrants and their characteristics, are basically for individuals with limited family or household identifiers. On the other hand, the census unit record files, based on a one per cent sample of individuals and households, do provide the requisite information on household/family structure and mobility but are limited in geographical detail. Similarly, the nationally based surveys used in this study feature more detailed information on individuals and families that can be linked to household mobility with limited scope to establish differences according to the location of respondent.

This Chapter is divided into two parts. The first provides a review of literature relevant to the study of women and migration, to place the study in the context of social and demographic change. The second provides details of data sources used in this study. The discussion focuses upon the utility of Australian census data, relevant questions used in the analysis, the units of analysis, the selection of variables and their comparability between census years. This section also provides details about the nationally based surveys used here and draws attention to the relevant questions and responses. The main difficulties and limitations of both census and survey data sets relevant to this study are also highlighted.

2.2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.2.1 Exploring the Literature

This section reviews literature deemed to be relevant to the study of women and migration and highlights the difficulties in attempting to 'marry' the more normative geographical and economic approaches to migration with those from the demographic and sociological literature. The latter approaches have tended to focus on the family life cycle,

life transitions in relation to leaving home, patterns of family formation and dissolution, population ageing, and the changing status and roles of women. In the main they are two discrete bodies of literature with relatively weak linkages between them, and a paucity of empirical studies that allow the development of an appropriate conceptual framework. Indeed, it is argued that we need several different conceptualisations to more fully understand the movement of women and men at different stages of their life transitions and the adjustments they make individually and as a family unit. Moreover, there is a need to extend these concepts to include linkages between work, marriage/partnerships, reproduction, social and family networks and the ways in which they influence migration.

The study also canvasses literature pertaining to both internal and international migration. In many ways these are also two separate bodies of literature, which to varying degrees focus on different aspects of migration. The appropriate literature is discussed within the relevant chapters, however it is necessary here to briefly outline some research studies and the approaches used to study migration, both internal and international, specifically focussed on women.

The migration of women has been relatively neglected despite the fact that over 100 years ago E.G. Ravenstein undertook one of the first systematic analyses of migration and stated his '*laws of migration*' published in the *Statistical Journal* of 1885, which were restated by him in a second article in the same journal in 1889. One of his 'laws' is of particular interest here as it recognises the importance of gender in migration analysis and states that '*Females are more migratory than males within the kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond*' (Ravenstein 1889 p.287). Grigg (1994 p.148) points out that in Ravenstein's analysis of the 1871 and 1881 census tables of Great Britain, the first notable gender differences in migration were established with men travelling longer distances than women. In other words, based on a quantitative analysis of

data, the patterns of migration of men and women were found to differ and as Rowland (2003b p.390) acknowledges, Ravenstein was 'one of the earliest writers of the aggregate approach'.

The importance of migration differentials in relation to age, sex, marital status, family/household status, occupation, employment status and ethnicity, have been recognised for a long time and have been commonly used to indirectly explain the type of migration occurring in different regions (Bell 1992; 1994; Hugo 1971; 1986; Maher and Goodman 1984; Rowland 1979; Rudd 1987; 1989b; 1996a; Thomas 1938). However, little systematic analysis has been undertaken of how any significant shifts in the relative size of distinctive sub-groups, such as the aged, youth, women, immigrants, families with children, single parent families, and non-family households, have on aggregate migration patterns and the sex selectivity of migration. Moreover, it is argued that the sex selectivity of migration is considered to be as important as the rate at which it occurs among sub-groups of the population. Plane and Rogerson, (1994 p.45) point out that migration has a considerable influence on regional and national sex ratios, because many migration streams are sex-selective. They illustrate their point by claiming that

'It is interesting to observe that sex ratios in the United States have uniformly been higher in rural than urban regions; females have historically had higher rural-to-urban migration rates than males, reflective perhaps of the dearth of jobs predominantly oriented towards females in rural areas' (Plane and Rogerson 1994 p.46).

Most studies of migration, whether in Australia or elsewhere, clearly identify the very common and consistent pattern of high mobility rates at young ages with a steady decline as age increases (Long 1992; Plane 1993; Rowland 1991; Rudd 1996a; Stillwell *et al* 2001). These age-related differentials in migration are not usually differentiated between the sexes but have been linked to the concept of the 'family life cycle' first introduced in the work of an American sociologist Paul Glick (1947). This concept forms an integral part of the models of intra-urban residential mobility put forward by Rossi (1955) in his

seminal work *Why Families Move?*, which received some revision in later work (Rossi 1980; Stapleton 1980). However, more generally it has been argued (Grundy 1992; Hohn 1987; Warnes 1992a) that the very simple life cycle conceptualisation needs considerable revision and extension to take into account the fact that an increasing number of men's and women's lives are characterised by non-marriage, non-marital childbearing and childlessness, divorce and remarriage, and as such do not fit the model based on a sequence of life cycle stages. These stages begin with marriage and then the expansion of the family through the addition of children and then contraction due to them leaving home, and ending when one and then the other partner dies (Glick 1947). Moreover, Hohn (1987) points out that the model tended to define a normative course of events, which in reality is often not the norm.

Life course perspectives proposed by Hohn (1987), and Warnes (1992a) who also relates them to migration, are seen to be more accommodating of important and significant contemporary changes in family formation and dissolution. This approach provides a way of recognising non-family oriented households and those with no children, which are the most rapidly growing household types in most industrialised countries (Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Mc Donald 1998; 2003; Rudd 1996b; 2000). By focussing on life courses, migration can be linked to significant household transitions identified here as likely to have the most significant impact on aggregate patterns of migration. These transitions are: leaving the parental home; family formation in respect to first marriage and cohabitation; divorce and the creation of one-parent families headed by females and single male lone-person households; and widowhood among the aged. It is proposed that consideration of each of these transitions and their relationship with migration will improve our understanding of the processes underlying the temporal and spatial patterns of migration as

well as the changing patterns of growth and composition of populations in particular locations.

In recent years there has been considerable attention paid to the questioning of the well-established theories and concepts of migration (Molho 1986; Cadwallader 1989; Halfacree and Boyle 1993; Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998). There has also been a keen interest in family and household migration, primarily to improve projection models that are increasingly acknowledging the importance of the household as the main unit of analysis in modelling the life course and future patterns of demand for services and housing (most notably Mulder and Wagner 1993; Van Imhoff *et al* 1995). Related to this interest there has been an increasing emphasis on family demography as a viable alternative to the well worn theories and perspectives of population studies which have tended to explain change in population growth and structure by focussing upon the individual rather than the context within which change takes place (Bongaarts 1985; Bongaarts, Burch and Watcher 1987). It can be argued that most people live in a family context, either in the same household or as a separate unit, and therefore most decisions, whether they relate to family formation, fertility, health, education, work and migration, are not taken in isolation from the family unit.

2.2.2 Demographic and Social Change

Socio-demographic changes have been transforming industrialised countries and causing significant changes in the lives of women and men who live in an increasingly diverse range of families and households. There are many and varied arguments as to why most of the developed world has experienced considerable change in family and household structure in the 1980s and 1990s. A substantial literature has emerged in the United States and Great Britain, which is concerned with identifying and explaining these changes,

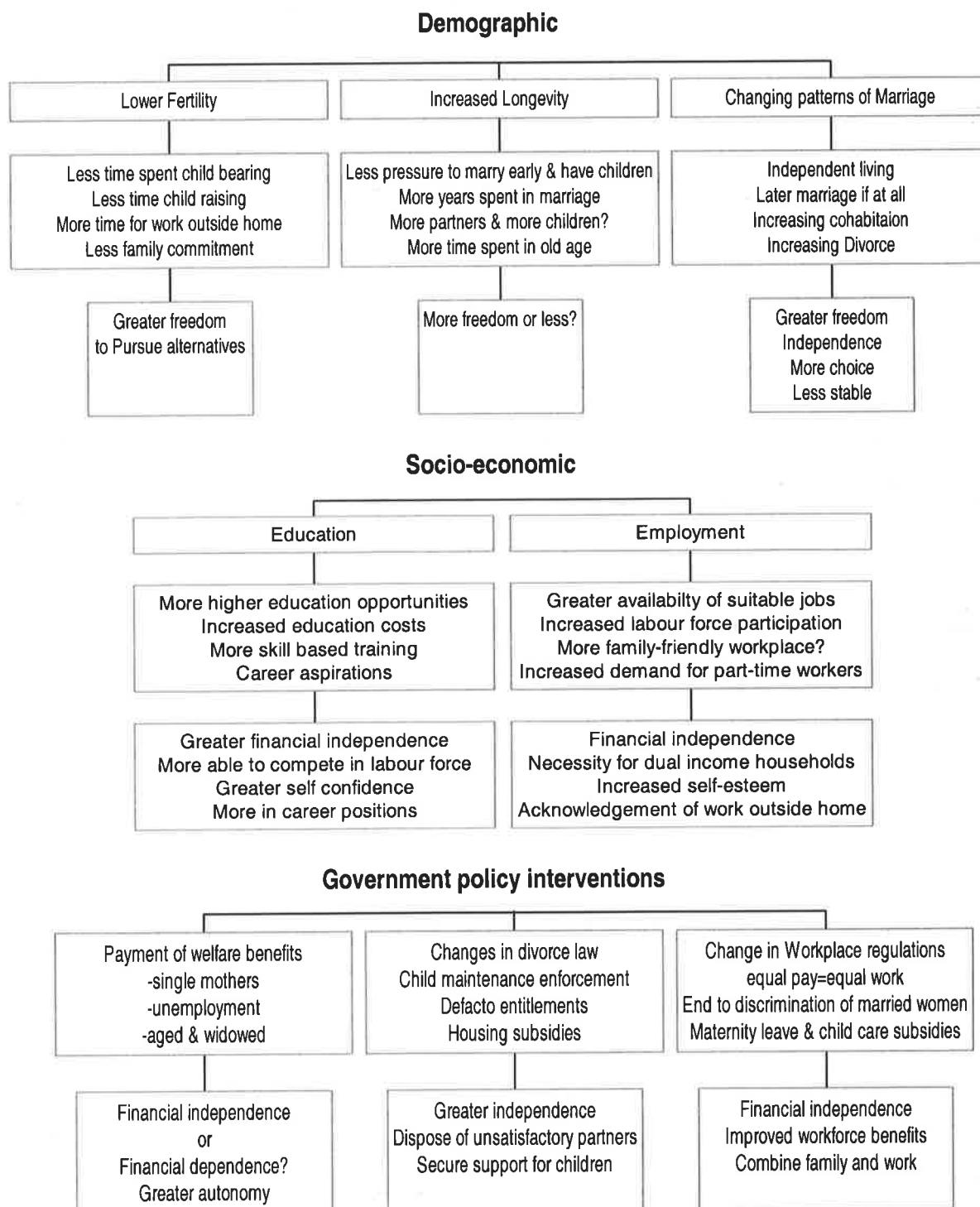
especially in relation to concerns about the demise of the nuclear family. Books by Goldscheider and Waite (1991) *'New Families, No Families'* and Mason and Jensen (1995) *'Gender and Family Change in Industrialised Countries'*, encapsulate many of the trends affecting contemporary family relationships and family living and clearly show how the lives of men and women can be affected differently.

Researchers (Fielding 1992; Laws 1994) show that contemporary demographic and social changes in industrialised countries have important implications for the study of migration and for the planning of services. These changes include: the ageing of the population; reduced levels of fertility; an increase in the number of births outside marriage; changing patterns of household formation and dissolution; the changing roles and status of women, closely related to their increasing labour force participation, and the advent of the dual-income family. Moreover, a review of feminist approaches reveals the paucity of empirically based approaches to women and migration emanating from this body of literature (Bondi 1990; 1992; Mc Dowell 1993; Monk 1994).

Figure 2.1 is an attempt to link some of the major demographic and socio-economic changes considered to be important in improving the status of Australian women over the past three decades or so, and identifies some of the government policy interventions that underlie their increasing independence. There is a basic supposition that demographic and social change has improved the status and equality of women compared to men and in so doing they have greater control over their lives than in the past. The demographic changes outlined below, and alluded to by Weeks (1994 p.304) in his conceptualisation of the changing status of women in developed countries, are relatively straightforward and affect most women as they relate to lower fertility, increased longevity and changes to patterns of marriage and divorce. At a time when women's life expectancies have increased and they can expect to live well beyond their childbearing years, they are having fewer children or

none at all, they marry at older ages or avoid it altogether, which means more time for work outside the home, more social activities and less family commitment.

Figure 2.1: Demographic, Socio-economic and Political Factors Linked to Increasing Female Independence and Mobility in Australia



These demographic changes have impacted on patterns of marriage and divorce with significant consequences for families in Australia (Carmichael 2002; de Vaus and Wolcott 1997; McDonald 1995; 1998; 2003), which in turn have influenced levels of fertility and living arrangements that translate into greater freedom and more choice to pursue alternative lifestyles as individuals and collectively as a family unit. However, it is questionable if more time spent in a marriage partnership, in old age and being exposed to greater risk of divorce and widowhood, as well as less stable relationships associated with non-marriage and independent living, actually mean more or less freedom for whom? Nevertheless, one interesting omission among the demographic changes is migration, and the role that it may have on the lives of women and their families. This has been found to be an important outcome of rural to urban migration in developing countries where females benefit from moving out of traditional village communities (Chant and Radcliffe 1992; Hugo 1993; 2000a).

There are a number of inter-linked factors responsible for changes in the status of women and their increasing independence, with socio-economic factors clearly playing a part in influencing demographic trends, as shown in the middle section of the figure. Most notably, education and employment opportunities are seen as being important for females to achieve greater financial independence and career positions as individuals, as well as in families where dual-income earners have become a necessity.

Female labour force participation, particularly of married females, has increased as a result of increasing demand for part-time workers, legislation to ameliorate discrimination in the workforce and a function of more family friendly workplace policies than were previously the case (Daly 1990; Evans 1996; Probit 1999; Ware 1982). Therefore in looking at both demographic and socio-economic changes it is vital that we acknowledge the role of government policy interventions that have tended to benefit women to a greater

extent than men. These will be discussed in greater detail in the respective chapters, it is relevant here to say that the widespread acceptance of welfare payments for single mothers, changes in divorce law and policies that force fathers to pay child maintenance, the expansion of *de facto* entitlements, housing subsidies, workplace regulations to ensure equal pay and to lessen discrimination, childcare subsidies and paid maternity leave, have all played a part in ensuring that women have choices and more control over their lives. Successive governments have also improved access for women to higher education, with specific policies put in place by the Whitlam Labour Government, which led to fees being abolished in the early 1970s. These gains are now being eroded with the reintroduction of user-pay policies in the late 1990s, most notably the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), deterring many from further education.

It is argued that these changes have given women of all ages, in and out of the workforce and in and out of marriage, greater autonomy and financial independence, although some would argue that for some, reliance on government benefits and subsidies is more akin to financial dependence than independence and may restrict certain freedoms. Nevertheless this increasing autonomy of women (at least theoretically), along with changing social attitudes and norms, needs to be considered so that the determinants of female mobility in Australia can be more fully understood. One of the main problems is linking the more abstract concepts of women's status and independence to migration analysis, which is empirically based and lacking a core theoretical model that takes account of gender differences, although some components can be tested and will be shown to be relevant in the proceeding chapters.

This crude attempt at providing a framework to show changes in the lives of women and their increasing independence has important, at least potentially, linkages to their patterns of movement and of their families, and undermines male-biased institutionalised

models of migration. Mc Donald (1988) in an earlier paper neatly conceptualises some of the demographic and social changes that have given rise to greater personal autonomy, and are likely to be important determinants of family change in the future. Moreover, de Vaus (1997 p.5) exploring changes in contemporary family values of Australians argues that:

‘...over the last quarter century the women’s movement has successfully challenged many aspects of traditional gender roles. There have been significant changes in the aspirations, expectations and behaviour of many women’.

However he also questions whether:

‘...men have been changing at the same rate or even in the same direction. Have men kept up with the changes or have the changes that are so evident in the lives of women produced a wide gap between the values of men and women in relation to families, family formation, children and the like? Have men retained more traditional family values while women have developed a new set of views about family life?’ (de Vaus 1997 p.5)

It is important that as the decisions about family life are increasingly influenced by individual values, the differences in the expectations and aspirations of both men and women are understood, especially as they relate to migration. Therefore, it is argued here that these changes influence patterns and processes of migration and need to be taken into account to understand the migration of women and men, in both a personal and family context, and the impact of their movement individually and collectively on areas of origin and destination.

2.2.3 Migration, Women and Gender

Migration research in developed countries has generally been preoccupied with an economic focus on labour migration in explaining why and where people do or do not move. However, in recent years it has been recognised that there has been ‘...masculinism apparent within migration research’ which needs to be addressed by the gendering of migration studies (Boyle and Halfacree 1999b p.2). The recognition that the interface between migration and gender was a neglected area of research emerged well after it had received considerable research attention in developing countries. Much of the initial

interest in the migration of women in developing countries coincided with their industrialisation and urbanisation, with young women predominating in the movement to cities (Khoo, Smith and Fawcett 1984). This was also the topic of an *United Nations Expert Meeting on the Feminisation of Internal Migration* held in Mexico in 1991, signalling that more needed to be known about female migration (Hugo 1993). Moreover, the concern with feminisation of migration streams tended to generate numerous research studies focussed specifically on women in a range of countries with the intent to redress the paucity of migration research on them. This heightened interest in women generated a proliferation of case studies that showed the diverse and complex nature of female migration, making it difficult to generalise the causes and consequences in a broader context. Research publications in the 1990s shifted in emphasis slightly with gender replacing 'women' although the majority of these studies had a bias towards female migration, most notably (Chant 1992; Fairhurst, Booysen and Hattingh 1997; Sweetman 1998; Willis and Yeoh 2000).

The first conceptual framework on female migration in developing countries was put forward by Thadani and Todaro (1984) which proposed that while the migration of women was driven by economic considerations similar to men, marriage migration and socio-cultural factors were much more important in understanding their patterns of migration. They also made an important distinction between 'the associational migration of wives accompanying migrant spouses and the autonomous migration of unattached women' (Thadani and Todaro 1984 p.37). Women were previously considered in conjunction with the migration of men in which they were largely followers unless engaged in marriage migration.

Chant and Radcliffe (1992 pp.19-24) in an attempt to include female migration in general migration theories, primarily those associated with labour migration in developing

countries, summarised the main conceptual approaches as: equilibrium/neo-classical, behavioural, structuralist and household strategies. The neo-classical approach with an emphasis on the spatial distribution of labour markets was seen to be useful in the explanation of female migration from rural to urban areas, with the underlying premise that men and women move to areas, which offer potentially higher wages. However, to help explain female migration some gender specific factors were included, in particular the availability of marriage partners etc. The behavioural approach was seen to be more sensitive to social and cultural aspects likely to influence women's status and roles in particular contexts, although it was difficult to generalise about the migration of men and women. The structuralist approach while more conducive to more general and global perspectives which differentiate between male and female labour markets, it too tended to be country and region specific with a need to be considered alongside other approaches. The household strategies approach was seen to grow out of an increasing recognition that tasks associated with household maintenance (reproduction) were just as important as wage labour activities in explaining gender differentiated migration from rural households.

Clearly the diverse nature of female migration makes it difficult to adopt the more general theoretical models equating migration with uneven economic and labour market opportunities. These models need major modifications to accommodate the different types of migration in which women are involved, which must also acknowledge sex-specific labour markets. This is also most certainly the case in the context of developed countries where empirical studies focussed on women are less common.

In looking at female migration in developed countries a seminal paper by Mincer (1978), looking specifically at family or household decisions in long-distance migration, recognised gender differences and unequal returns from migration, which has tended to influence the way many studies have viewed women and migration. Research interested in

the migration of family couples has shown that longer distance movement is lower among two-income than one-income couples with the explanation that a wife is a 'tied mover' because she moves for the sake of her husband's career, while in two-income families the husband may become a 'tied stayer' if the availability of jobs for females are not taken into account (Mincer 1978; Bird and Bird 1985; Mulder 1994; Smits, Mulder and Hooimeijer 2003). The focus of studies in Britain has been on family migration and the importance of career prospects in migration outcomes for women (Bailey and Cooke 1998; Beilby and Beilby 1992; Bonney and Love 1991; Bruegel 1996; Cooke and Bailey 1996; 1999; Green, Hardhill and Munn 1999). The important point is that female migration has been conceptualised in terms of economic opportunities for women and men which are seen to be determined by the uneven geography of employment opportunities for the family, with little attention paid to the independent movement of single women for economic advantage. However, other recent studies in Britain (Hall, Ogden and Hill 1999; Hayes and Al-Hamad 1999; Warnes 1999) have acknowledged gender variations in singles migration, with the recognition that there are distinctive sub-groups among persons living alone, notably young singles, divorcees and the aged, which tend to be concentrated in particular locations through migration.

The predominance of females in out-migration from rural to urban areas, most notably young adults and the aged, particularly the very old, has tended to remain secondary to migration studies concerned predominantly with the working ages. Another area of female dominance in migration has been associated with international migration, which has also received increasing research attention (as discussed in Chapter One).

Many of these studies involving sub-groups in which females dominate, tend to be region or country specific with findings not readily transferable to other contexts. Another important consideration is that research cannot simply concentrate on patterns of

movement of particular sub-groups without due reference to the age and sex distribution of the entire population and other socio-economic and locational factors, as they are all likely to impact on migration outcomes. In undertaking a systematic empirical study of women across all ages this study hopes to provide a more holistic view of women and migration in Australia, which is based entirely on secondary data sources discussed in the next section.

2.3 DATA SOURCES

2.3.1 Data Sources Linking Migration, Women and Family

The study draws heavily on Australian quinquennial Censuses of Population and Housing and several national surveys: the Internal Migration Survey undertaken by the ABS in 1987, the Family Survey undertaken by the ABS in 1992 and the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA Cohort 1) conducted by DIMIA between March 1994 and April 1999. All three of the latter involve a large random sample that allows generalisations to be made to the Australian population as a whole. Moreover, they all include questions on household mobility that can be linked to the characteristics of male and female respondents and the families and households in which they reside. Issues relating specifically to the use of some of these data sources are discussed in the context of the analysis undertaken in the relevant chapters, however it is necessary here to outline some details and to acknowledge some of their major limitations. It is also relevant to provide definitions of migration and of key variables in the census and survey data.

The specific data sources provided by the ABS and used in this study for the analysis of migration are summarised in Table 2.1. A major advantage of census data is that migration variables are consistent in that they measure whether or not persons have changed their usual residence in the last five years and also in the last year (although not

used in this study). Moreover, the Internal Migration Survey conducted annually between 1982 and 1987, only collected data on movers over the 12 months prior to the survey but also asked how long they had lived at their current address.

Table 2.1: ABS Data Sources Used in the Analysis of Migration

| ABS Data Sources Used in Study | Geographical Level Variables | Migration Variables |
|---|--|---|
| Census Migration Matrix Tapes | Detailed Geographical- LGAs, SDs and States | Same Usual Residence as 5 years ago |
| Census One Per cent Tapes | Limited in Geographical Detail | Same as Usual Residence 5 years ago |
| 1981 | Type of Move | Same as Usual Residence 5 years ago |
| 1986 | Limited in Geographical Detail | Same as Usual Residence 5 years ago |
| 1991 | Statistical Regions for mainland States 1991 and 1996* | Same as Usual Residence 5 years ago Household 5 year Mobility Indicator |
| 1996 | | |
| ABS Family Survey Tape 1992 | Limited to Urban and Rural Location | Last Usual Residence for 5 yrs. How many times moved in last 5 years Reasons for Moving |
| ABS Internal Migration Survey (1987 Final) | Broad regions- Interstate, Intra-state and Local Metropolitan – non-metropolitan | Same as Usual Residence 1 year ago by Type of move Reasons for Moving |

* Region of Usual Residence on Census night and Region of Usual Residence 5 years ago

It is important to note that the scale of geographical detail varies between the sources and reduces the utility of census one per cent sample data, and also survey data, for the analysis of regional and small area trends. Nevertheless, the surveys include questions on the reasons for moving which are not asked in the census and are vital to our understanding of the migration process. Another important omission from the census is a question on the frequency of movement which is asked in the Family Survey and provides useful information on how many times people do move over a five-year period (between 1987 and 1992 in the context of the survey).

2.3.2 Census Variables

The variables representing the characteristics of individuals, families/households and dwellings vary considerably between data sources although they tend to share similar ABS categories and definitions, which are themselves subject to change from one census to the next and referenced in the relevant chapters. One notable problem is associated with the classification of family and household types that has been continually revised to appropriately reflect the rapid social and family changes that have been occurring. However, the reclassification of dependent and non-dependent children (outlined in Appendix B) makes it difficult to evaluate changes in the movement of families with older children over time. The more detailed classifications and definitions that applied to 1996 data are provided in the glossary and referenced in the Census Dictionary (ABS 1996a). The censuses also differ in content with some questions not being asked at each census (e.g. children ever born and ancestry), while some have been omitted and new ones included. Moreover coding has also been subject to changes, which makes it difficult to undertake comparative analyses over time.

The census characteristics of population and housing commonly cited in the literature as relevant for understanding migration can be divided into three types:

1. Socio-demographic variables, including age, sex, birthplace, marital status, relationship to household reference person, the type of family/household within which they reside, ethnicity and religious affiliation.
2. Socio-economic variables, such as educational attainment, labour force participation, occupation, industry, the number of hours worked, car ownership and income.

3. Housing variables, such as dwelling structure, home ownership, renters by type of landlord, weekly rent and housing loan repayments (commonly also used as socio-economic indicators).

One of the main problems or limitations with the use of variables based on the census is that they relate to characteristics at the time of the census which are always different to the time of moving. Characteristics such as age, sex, birthplace, ethnicity and religion are not subject to change on moving but marital status, living arrangements, labour force and occupation status, income, housing etc., may well differ between destination and origin. Nevertheless in dealing with aggregate data the characteristics of movers and non-movers by type of move can be generalised to the respective statuses of marriage, employment etc. as determined at the specific census dates, which provide cross-sectional perspectives.

2.3.3 Geographical Units of Analysis

It is important when examining units of analysis to first distinguish between movers and migrants. Movers are defined simply as those usual residents who were at a different address at the time of the census to the one where they lived either five or one year previously, and are therefore not considered to be migrants until defined as moving across some defined boundary, be it State, statistical region or administrative unit. As Weeks (1994 p.194) points out '*All migrants are movers but not all movers are migrants*'. Moreover, to further confuse the issue, residential movement or population turnover tends to be primarily local movement, classified primarily as intra-urban movement within the major capital city Statistical Divisions (metropolitan) or intra-regional, between areas within the rest of State (non-metropolitan).

This study adopts the ABS definition of internal migration as the movement of persons from one defined area to another within Australia and involves a change in usual residence, classified here as interstate and inter-regional migration (refer glossary). The boundaries of the States and Territories of Australia are used to identify interstate migrants. Moreover, the patterns of inter-regional migration within Australia are based on a broad disaggregation of populations into the major capital city Statistical Divisions and rest of State. The four major streams of migration as they relate to the analysis of internal migration in this study are:

- Metropolitan to Metropolitan movement
- Metropolitan to Non-metropolitan movement
- Non-metropolitan to Metropolitan movement
- Non-metropolitan to Non-metropolitan movement.

However, Local Government Areas (LGAs) are used as smaller units of analysis to establish patterns of female and male migration within non-metropolitan New South Wales and South Australia according to the size of population centres (Chapter Five).

Identifying international migrants to Australia is more straightforward in that they cross the national border. However, they are more difficult to classify according to their residency status, type of movement and length of stay, which are basically determined by whether they are visaed or non-visaed migrants (New Zealanders). The categories of international population movement as recognised by Australia for statistical purposes, and relevant to this study, are predominantly permanent and long-term movement outlined in the Glossary and used in the analysis of trends in international migration (Chapter Seven).

2.3.4 The Australian Census as a Source of Migration Data

Comprehensive migration data established from the Australian census did not start until 1971, when a question was asked of individuals about their usual place of residence five years prior to the census in 1966. An additional question was asked in 1976 about residence one year ago, and the one-year and five-year questions on previous address have been retained in each of the subsequent censuses taken every five years. This has enabled researchers to build up a series of studies indicating change in the patterns and processes of internal migration.

Rowland (1979) provides the first thorough study of internal migration in Australia, using 1966-71 data to describe the impact of internal migration on the distribution of population with reference to its historical context. The characteristics of movers and stayers were also evaluated with a concern to identify age and sex differentials by type of move, with males found to dominate in most streams especially in those to rural areas (Rowland 1979 pp. 96-99). Geographers, most notably Hugo (1983; 1986), Mc Kay (1984) and Maher and Goodman (1984) provide coverage of interstate and inter-regional migration patterns identified in the 1976 and 1981 censuses with a concern to identify any patterns of redistribution, especially in terms of the decentralisation of population. The nature and extent of changes in the patterns and processes of migration as indicated by the 1986 and 1991 censuses are dealt with in a series of monographs (Bell 1992; 1995; Bell and Cooper 1995; Maher and Whitelaw 1995), and given due attention from a range of perspectives in a workshop held in Melbourne in November 1994, and later published as a book entitled *Population Shift: Mobility and Change in Australia* (Newton and Bell eds. 1996). Moreover the internal migration trends based on the 1996 census are also published as a monograph representing an overview of previous patterns of migration and changes in distributional

outcomes with an emphasis on the characteristics of migrants and the overseas-born (Bell and Hugo 2000).

There are two main sources of census data utilised in this study:

1. migration matrix tapes for the 1986 and 1996 censuses in the form of cross classified customised tables available on magnetic tape (refer Appendix E).
2. unit record sample tapes (one per cent sample) for the 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 censuses (refer Appendix D).

One of the main limitations of these migration data is that the census does not ask the actual date of the move to the current place of usual residence and how many times persons had moved over the intercensal period. The definition of a mover has a finite cut-off as determined where one lived either one or five years ago, and yet many so-called non-movers would no doubt consider themselves as migrants to cities or regions well after the arbitrarily defined migration period. Other migrants may have returned to their previous address and are not considered to have moved at all. Another problem is that by using defined statistical regions and administrative government boundaries to represent interstate and inter-regional migration, there is a good chance that some of this movement is relatively short-distance movement rather than long-distance. Similarly problematic are persons excluded from the analysis of internal migration who stated that they were overseas five years prior to the census and those who moved without stating a location either five-years ago or at the time of the census. Net migration calculations must have specified origins and destinations of migrants within Australia for each determined period of migration and effectively exclude all those who do not.

Census Migration Matrix Tapes

Much of the analysis looking specifically at patterns of distribution and settlement is based on census migration matrix tapes prepared by the ABS to the requirements of

the end user with consideration taken of cell size when tables of detailed characteristics are requested at a small geographical level. These matrices enable researchers to examine origin and destination flows (place of usual residence one or five years ago matched with place of usual residence at the time of the census) by a range of selected individual characteristics. The migration matrix tapes are very expensive and the selection of variables has to be made carefully because the analysis is thereafter restricted to the categories of age, employment, birthplace etc. for which data are obtained (although recoding and aggregation is possible if there is sufficient detail provided on the tape), otherwise further funds have to be made available to purchase new tapes. In the context of this study quite extensive use was made of a number of customised migration matrix tapes the details of which are provided in Appendix E.

The 1986 census tape used in the analysis undertaken in this study was for all Statistical Divisions (SDs) in Australia by usual place of residence five years ago (in 1981), by age, sex and marital status. The usual residence indicator was also included to measure levels of movement within SDs or within regions if the SDs were aggregated to constitute regions and State and Territory migration profiles. The main drawback with this matrix tape is that age categories were aggregated to meet cell criteria with the population aged 35 to 54 years grouped together to enable a finer breakdown of the older population to 75 years and above, and of young adults aged 15-19 and 24-24 years, with the remaining ages grouped into ten year intervals. This constrained some of the comparative analysis undertaken in Chapters Four, Five and Six, focussing on the 1981-86 and 1991-96 census periods to establish changes in age and sex specific migration patterns. The migration matrix tapes from the 1996 census offered a wider choice of geographical levels and combinations of different characteristics, although not always on the same tape, that enabled more flexibility in the analysis of the characteristics of

male and female migrants at origin and destination within Australia, which are also outlined in Appendix E.

Census Unit Record Sample Data

Unit record sample files of individuals, households and dwellings have been produced for the 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 censuses (and most recently the 2001 census), which provide flexibility in undertaking analyses that suit specific research requirements. These tapes are highly useful to establish the characteristics of movers and non-movers, however the content does vary. While all tapes include the migration question on place of residence five years ago, the tapes for the 1981 and 1991 censuses do not indicate the type of move and therefore long and short distance mobility cannot be differentiated. The 1986 census tape does allow the characteristics of movers to be contrasted by type of move and provides a benchmark for the analyses of movers in 1981 and 1991. It was not until 1996 that the census sample tape provided more spatial detail as geographical areas were coded from Statistical Regions (SRs) as described in the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC) and detailed for users in the technical documentation (ABS 1996b pp.14-15, and in Appendix D). This provides the basis for analysis of migrants and non-migrants by metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions (as discussed in Chapter Five), however the analysis is restricted to the mainland States because data for Tasmania and the two Territories are presented as one combined region. This is also the case for analysis of the detailed characteristics of interstate migrants presented in Chapter Six. Another important addition in 1996 was the *household five-year mobility indicator* that identified whether some members of the household had changed residence in the last five years, all had moved or no one had done so. Unfortunately this is a household level variable and the characteristics of the members or individuals within the household who had moved cannot be identified.

In respect to family household composition the categories of family and household and the definition of dependent children have changed for each census prior to 1996 (refer Appendix B). This makes it difficult to provide a comparable pattern of migration and associated family change for any time series comparisons. It is also a problem when marital status is used as a surrogate for family or life cycle stage, as the 1986 census sample tape does not distinguish between divorced/separated and widowed persons who are grouped as 'other married', which limits comparisons with 1996 data (refer Appendix C). Moreover, the identification of *de facto* and cohabitating partners was available for the first time in 1991 enabling researchers to distinguish between registered and social marriage but there was no comparative data for earlier censuses.

It must also be borne in mind that despite serious deficiencies inherent in the census data relating to the timing of family formation and dissolution and the problems with family and household comparability over time, the unit record sample tapes do provide useful cross-sectional data on the mobility of families and households and the characteristics of persons who moved. This is a highly useful data source to establish the characteristics of movers and non-movers (Chapter Three), and to link changes in marital status with differentials in the mobility of males and females over time (Chapter Four).

2.3.5 ABS Internal Migration Survey 1987

The Internal Migration Survey 1987 was the last of a series undertaken annually by the ABS between 1982 and 1987 in conjunction with the monthly Population Survey. Persons were classified as having moved if their place of usual residence was different from that of one year ago. The survey of usual residents provided data on the characteristics of movers and non-movers, the duration of stay at usual residence and reasons for moving. This was a useful source of information on migration as it

complemented the census data and provided information on why people had moved that is not available in the census. Unfortunately the survey was discontinued but data was made available on tape for 1987, and although somewhat out-dated, they provide the basis for analysis of reasons for inter-regional and interstate movement in the appropriate chapters. Moreover the survey only has limited questions and does not include the marital status of respondents, however there was a family type indicator that could be related to type of movement. Moreover, the age variable was only available in four broad categories which also constrained more detailed analysis.

The weighted sample of 73,720 persons was made up of 36,174 males and 37,546 females of which 15 per cent of males and females had moved in the 12 months prior to the survey which only relates to those who were in Australia at the beginning and end of the survey year. The Population Survey (to which the Internal Migration Survey was attached) was based on a multi-stage method area sample of private and non-private dwellings covering about two-thirds of one per cent of the population and was administered by trained interviewers (ABS 1988 p.1).

2.3.6 ABS Family Survey 1992

The Family Survey undertaken by the ABS in 1992 was designed to look at the composition and functioning of families and was carried out by trained interviewers to collect more detailed information than that available from the census. This is a large survey conducted at the national level rather than a small 'one-off' survey that may be quite unrepresentative of family structures and networks as they exist in Australia. The survey covered a wide range of topics and focussed upon the ways in which family members who live in different households give and receive support from other family members (ABS 1994b; 1994c). In other words, it goes beyond the strict census

definition of family in respect to those living in one household to one where the extended family network dominates. The survey of sampled households was undertaken during March to May 1992 and covered a sample of 21,300 households in urban and rural areas across all States and Territories in Australia, which included residents of both private and selected special dwellings (ABS 1993b). Data from the survey was made available as a unit record sample file on magnetic tape, comprising a subset of variables at the person, family and household levels, although some categories were aggregated to ensure confidentiality. In addition, to protect individuals some items of information collected in the survey were deleted and the level of detail in some instances suppressed or reduced. In total, the file consisted of 33,981 person records - which when weighted gave a population estimate of 17,283,318 persons (ABS 1993b).

Access to the unit record file effectively enables researchers to produce their own tabulations to answer specific questions as indicated in the analysis linking migration and marital status differentials and frequency of movement (presented in Chapter Four). The mobility questions asked in the survey are of particular interest to this study as they included questions on when respondents started living at their current address. If they had moved after January 1 1987 (five years prior to survey), additional questions were asked about the main reason for moving and how many times they had moved house in the five-year period.

There was limited use made of the more detailed marital history provided in the survey, which related to the timing of marriage, separation, divorce and widowhood and whether respondents were married more than once. Unfortunately a composite family variable was not available on the tape, however use was made of current marital status and living arrangements of individuals to show how the frequency and reasons for movement differed between males and females.

2.3.7 The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA)

The arrival and departure data collected and maintained by DIMIA is especially useful in respect to monitoring recent changes in source country and shifts in the visa categories of immigrant settler arrivals, but is rather limited in respect to the characteristics of settlers, and was only used to establish trends in male and female permanent and long-term movement as background to the analysis of LSIA data.

The development of the methodology of the LSIA, its implementation and lessons learnt from it are well documented (Hugo 1991; 2000b; 2004; Gartner 1996 and Osborne and Smith 2002). The questionnaire was designed to obtain information on immigrants who are principal applicants representing persons upon whom the approval to migrate to Australia was based, with a separate interview schedule for spouses who came as part of the migrating unit. Principal applicants selected for interview arrived in Australia between September 1993 and August 1995 and represent the first of two cohorts that have been interviewed in the ongoing survey. There were 5,192 principal applicants aged 15 or more years surveyed within six months of arrival, representing seven per cent of some 75,000 in-scope applicants in the two-year period (VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999 p.21). These selected principal applicants were first interviewed between March 1994 and January 1996, with the second interview conducted between March 1995 and February 1997, and the third between March 1997 and April 1999. Moreover, by the last wave of the survey the number of sampled immigrants available for interview had dropped to 3,752 representing a loss of 28.3 per cent of respondents since first interview (over a period of approximately three and a half years).

The analysis of LSIA data presented in this study focuses on Waves 1 and 3 of the first cohort of the survey and only relates to principal applicants and not to other family members who may have migrated as part of the migrating unit. There were only limited

questions asked of the migrating unit spouse (MUS) and these did not include reasons for immigrating and, most importantly, the MUS shared the same visa entry as the principal applicant. As an objective of the study is to contrast male and female responses and investigate the relationship between visa eligibility category and settlement outcomes, it was necessary to restrict the analysis to principal applicants.

Table 2.2 shows the sample distribution (unweighted) of males and females by birthplace region, with 41.7 per cent of females and 36.2 per cent of males indicating their birthplace region to be Asia. Over one-fifth of female principal applicants were from Southeast Asia representing the only female dominated group surveyed, as indicated by the sex ratio of 90.7. By contrast, principal applicants from Northeast Asia and South Asia were predominantly male. However, the UK and Ireland had by far the highest ratio of males to females sampled (241.2) while the rest of Europe made up 24.3 per cent of sampled females with a higher representation of males than females (115.3).

Table 2.2: Male and Female Principal Applicants by Birthplace Region, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Birthplace Region | Principal Applicants | | | | Sex Ratio |
|-------------------------|----------------------|----------|---------|----------|-----------|
| | Males | | Females | | |
| | Number | Per cent | Number | Per cent | |
| UK-Ireland | 328 | 11.1 | 136 | 6.1 | 241.2 |
| Other Europe | 625 | 21.1 | 542 | 24.3 | 115.3 |
| Middle East | 403 | 13.6 | 242 | 10.8 | 166.5 |
| Southeast Asia | 429 | 14.5 | 473 | 21.2 | 90.7 |
| Northeast Asia | 366 | 12.4 | 296 | 13.2 | 123.6 |
| South Asia | 276 | 9.3 | 163 | 7.3 | 169.3 |
| North America | 78 | 2.6 | 50 | 2.2 | 156.0 |
| South America | 165 | 5.6 | 138 | 6.2 | 119.6 |
| Africa | 228 | 7.7 | 141 | 6.3 | 161.7 |
| Oceania | 60 | 2.0 | 53 | 2.4 | 113.0 |
| Total unweighted Sample | 2,958 | 100.0 | 2,234 | 100.0 | 132.4 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 1

It is relevant to also show the geographical spread of the sample, drawn primarily from the major capital cities due to the concentration of recent arrivals. Table 2.3 shows the location of respondents at first and third interview. Some two-thirds of respondents were concentrated in Sydney and Melbourne as these were the prime destination areas of immigrants, which influences the validity of responses when considering the role location plays in determining differences in responses by State or between capital cities. This is especially problematic when responses are disaggregated by sex for specific sub-groups, such as those defined by visa category entry, age, birthplace, labour force etc. It is important to note that by Wave 3 there appeared to be little change in the geographical distribution of respondents associated with sample attrition. The concentration of the sample in Sydney and Melbourne remained very much the same, with a notable drop in respondents in Adelaide and a slight increase in areas outside the capital cities, grouped broadly as the rest of Australia but confined to a few Statistical divisions outside Brisbane and Sydney. The only notable sex differences appeared to be in Perth with a male bias and in the rest of Australia where an increase in the relative proportion of females was evident.

Table 2.3: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Location of Respondents at First Interview and Wave 3, LSIA

| Location of Respondent in Australia | WAVE 1 | | WAVE 3 | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Sydney | 40.7 | 41.3 | 40.9 | 40.5 |
| Melbourne | 24.2 | 27.5 | 24.4 | 27.0 |
| Brisbane | 7.8 | 7.0 | 8.1 | 7.2 |
| Adelaide | 5.5 | 5.2 | 4.7 | 4.5 |
| Perth | 11.2 | 9.1 | 11.2 | 8.9 |
| Hobart | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.0 |
| Darwin | 0.9 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 1.4 |
| Canberra | 2.7 | 2.9 | 2.3 | 2.4 |
| Rest of Australia | 5.6 | 4.7 | 6.5 | 7.2 |
| Total (unweighted sample) | 2,958 | 2,234 | 2,160 | 1,592 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1 – Waves 1 and 3

LSIA data on females in international migration to Australia forms the basis of analysis in Chapter Seven which explores the characteristics and circumstances of settler arrivals, specifically off-shore visaed principal applicants, their reasons for immigrating, their migration decisions, attitudes to life in Australia and in their country of origin according to type of visa entry. Chapter Eight is based entirely on LSIA data to examine the adaptation of males and females over the early years of settlement that is only possible using longitudinal data.

Some of the main limitations with the use of LSIA data relate to the fact that it focuses on the outcome in respect to the destination experience of migrants rather than the decisions taken by individuals to migrate at the place of origin, and is very much driven by eligibility criteria. Another relates to the representation of the initial sample at a point in time, given the substantial fluctuations in both numbers of immigrants and source regions, and the rapid shifts that can occur in eligibility criteria due to changes in migration policy over relatively short periods of time. It should also be borne in mind that there is a problem with small cell size and the validity of findings when responses to questions are related to detailed characteristics of male and female respondents by type of visa entry or specific source countries.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The census of population and housing and other data collections undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, are highly useful and valued sources of data that are often not used to their full potential. Census data provide a reliable and comprehensive coverage of the characteristics of Australia's population, its changing age and family composition, and patterns of mobility over time. It is important to acknowledge some of the limitations imposed by data on the ways migration is researched in Australia, however it is also

necessary to move forward and make better use of the census unit record sample tapes to establish differences in the characteristics and family circumstances of movers and non-movers. By undertaking a detailed analysis of census and survey data the study endeavours to more fully understand the connections between demographic, social and family changes, and how they relate to different types of mobility in which men and women are involved in Australia.

Literature specifically on women and migration in the Australian context is limited, however there has been wider recognition of the importance of 'gendering migration research' in the United Kingdom (Boyle and Halfacree 1999a; Ni Laoire 1999; 2000; Stockdale 2002b; 2004), and in Europe (Dahlstrom 1996; Hamilton and Otterstad 1998; Kofman 1999; 2000; Smits, Mulder and Hooimijer 2003). Unfortunately the migration literature is fragmented and offers several conceptual frameworks but no comprehensive theoretical perspective, which is not surprising given the diversity of human mobility. An aim of the study is to redress the lack of attention paid specifically to female migration and to provide empirical evidence of the importance of 'putting females' into what is often considered to be 'gender-neutral' explanations of migration patterns. However, it must be stressed that men are by no means ignored in the analysis undertaken here, nor are they simply used for comparison, but feature prominently as an integral part of the gender dimension.

CHAPTER THREE

WHO MOVES AND WHO STAYS?

3.1 INTRODUCTION

A first step in looking at women in migration is to establish the characteristics and circumstances of those most likely to move and those less likely to do so. Another important question is whether men who move show similar characteristics to women. This analysis focuses upon geographical mobility without preconceived notions of the driving forces behind the various types of movement that can occur, particularly that deemed to be economically motivated or defined by distance. This approach is considered more appropriate to establish a 'picture' of who moves and who stays and to identify differences between males and females. However, in later chapters in order to provide a framework within which to consider the more conventional notions of the migration of women the analysis distinguishes 'migrants' from 'movers', and specifically focuses upon internal migration within Australia (interstate and inter-regional) and also patterns of immigration to Australia. There is an attempt here to avoid strict boundaries between movers classified according to how far they move and whether they resided in Australia or overseas in the five-year period prior to the census.

In the 1991-1996 intercensal period there were 3,246,462 males and 3,321,362 females who had moved at least once within Australia. A further 293,138 males and 313,615 females resident in 1996 were recorded as being at an overseas location in 1991, representing largely recent immigrants to the country, with females outnumbering males. In total the sex ratio for movers was 97.4 males per 100 females in 1996, dropping only marginally from 98 in both 1986 and 1991. Hence, there is a case to single out the mobility

of females purely on the basis of their dominant and increasing numbers and ask what do we actually know about them?

This Chapter relies heavily on the one per cent unit record sample tapes produced for the 1986 and 1996 censuses. These tapes provide flexibility in tabulating differences in the characteristics of specific sub-groups in the population over time. However the sample numbers are relatively small which effectively limits very detailed cross tabulations and there is little geographical detail provided. There are also problems with the comparability of variables between censuses as discussed in Chapter Two.

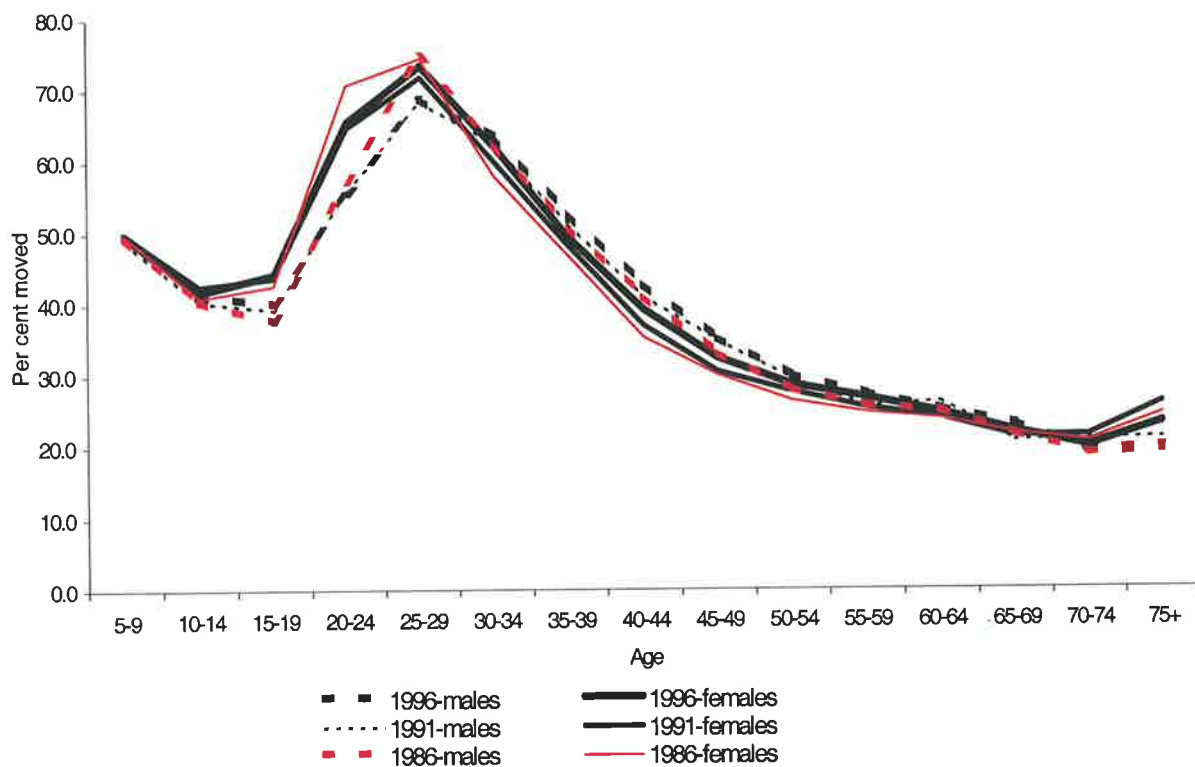
3.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FEMALE MOBILITY

On the basis of the definition adopted here relating to usual residents who had a different address five years prior to the census, Australians have one of the highest rates of population mobility in the world (Bell and Hugo 2000). The 1996 Australian Census indicated that 43 per cent of the usual resident population changed address at least once between the 1991 and 1996 censuses with little difference between males and females. It could be argued that the remarkably similar rates for males and females over time have tended to encourage researchers to dismiss the need to pay too much attention to gender-specific migration patterns. However, a very different picture emerges when male and female rates are considered by age.

Figure 3.1 demonstrates the common and consistent pattern of high mobility rates at young ages with a steady decline as age increases which tends to characterise migration profiles in Australia and elsewhere (Bell 1992; 1995; Hugo 1986; Long 1992; Rowland 1979; 1991; Rudd 1994; 1996a). The Australian profile shows differences between males and females at various ages that translate into different life stage transitions. The familiar

pattern of the highest mobility at young adult ages is evident, with the rates for females exceeding those for males at ages 20-24 and 25-29 years and then dropping slightly under the male rate by age 30 years and remaining so until age 60. For the next twenty-year age span there appears to be almost identical rates of mobility for males and females that then move upwards for females over the age of 75 years, while the rates for males remain relatively constant. These higher rates for females at advanced ages relate to later life stages, which frequently give rise to them making several housing and accommodation adjustments, which have received considerable research attention in Australia (Rowland 1991; 1996a) and in Britain (Grundy 1993; Grundy and Glaser 1999; Warnes 1996; 1999).

Figure 3.1: Australia: Mobility of Population by Age and Sex, 1986, 1991 and 1996



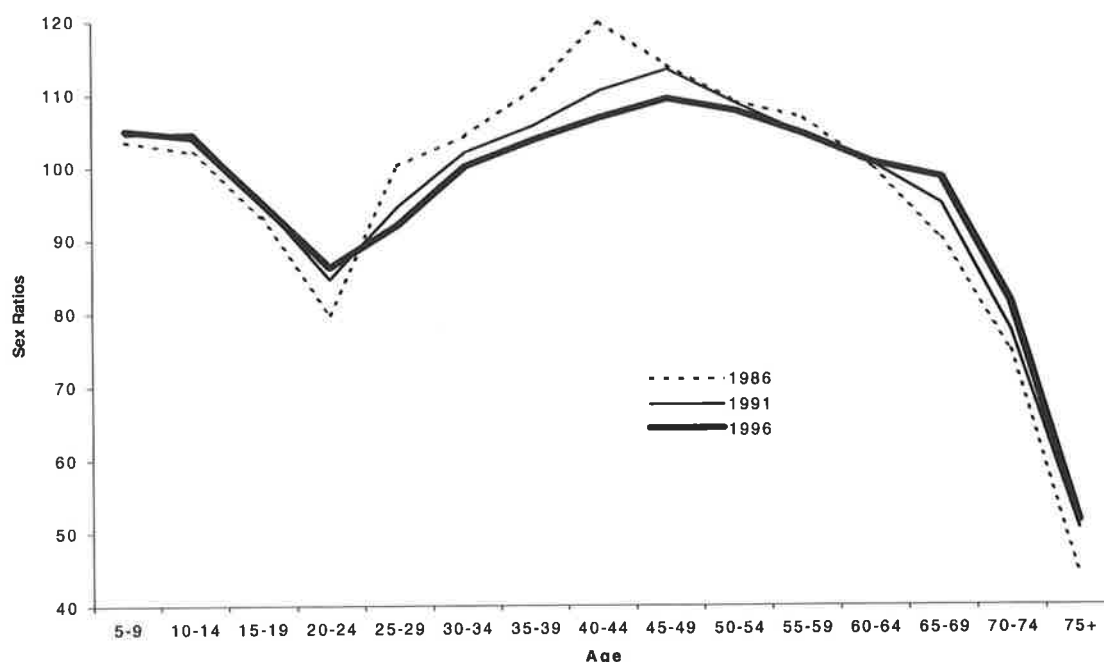
Source: ABS, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, one per cent unit sample record tapes

Long (1992 p.148) has labelled this pattern the 'double gender crossover'. Using a cross cultural perspective, he found that rates of mobility for women tend to consistently exceed those for men at ages 15 to 24 years and also at advanced ages. This was seen to be due primarily to women's younger age at marriage and the fact that most women outlive their husbands at advanced ages. Of particular concern, Long (1992) found that the changing patterns of family formation and dissolution had an effect on the number and timing of residential moves as well as the types of move at particular points in time, especially in countries undergoing major economic and social change.

The changes in the rates of mobility for young males and females indicated in the Australian profiles (Figure 3.1) show that between the 1986 and 1996 censuses, rates for females aged 25-29 years had risen to a high 75 per cent, pushing the female mobility profile upward and shifting it towards older ages. This was largely due to social changes occurring at that time resulting in significant changes in patterns of family formation and dissolution in Australia as discussed in the next Chapter.

It is important at this point to examine the sex ratios of movers by age to show the numerical significance of females when considering mobility rates. Figure 3.2 shows that there have been some significant changes in the ratios of male to female movers for specific ages between the 1986, 1991 and 1996 censuses. Most notably, the profile shows a slight increase in the low ratios that consistently depict the numerical dominance of female movers at young and old ages, and a significant drop in the high ratios indicating male dominance for ages 25 to 54 years. This effectively means that more females aged in their 30s and 40s had moved in 1996 and yet the ratios generally indicated the numeric dominance of males.

Figure 3.2: Australia: Sex Ratios of Movers, 1986, 1991 and 1996



Source: ABS, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, one per cent unit record sample tapes

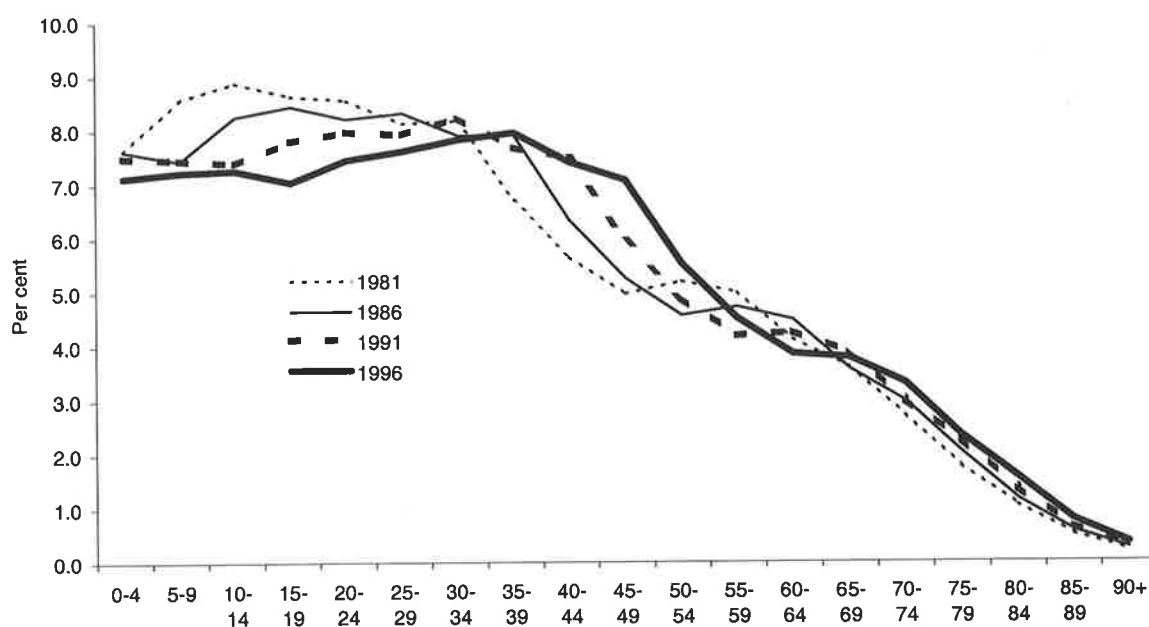
The less dramatic but still significant rise in the ratios of older movers is a function of increasing male life expectancy at older ages and a greater probability of older couples surviving and remaining in their own homes. For younger ages the higher incidence of female movement can be related to increasing age at marriage, higher participation of females in the labour force and in higher education. Overall, the patterns of marriage and the timing of household formation are now far less predictable and generally less stable, as discussed in Chapter Four. Another important change is the changing age structure of population that influences overall levels of mobility and yet is often not well understood. Plane (1993) argues the need for a cohort perspective on migration especially in the context of population ageing and modelling applications, and stresses that

‘Age (or, perhaps more properly, stage in the life course) has been found to be one of the strongest empirical predictors of geographical mobility behaviour’ (Plane 1993 p. 376).

3.3 CHANGING POPULATION AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION

Australia's population like the rest of the developed world has been ageing and there has been an increase in the number and proportion of aged persons at the expense of the younger population. The shift in the age structure of Australia's population over a 15-year period (1981 to 1996) is shown in Figure 3.3, with the age profile significantly lowered for ages up to 35 years, dramatically rising between ages 35 and 54 years but falling for ages 55 to 64 years, and showing a consistent upward trend for persons aged 65 years or more. However, it should be borne in mind that the proportional increase in aged is quite marginal compared to the downward shift in the profile for younger ages. This will change significantly as the large baby boom cohort of the 1950s and 60s grows older and boosts the number of aged over the next decade or so (Rowland 1996a; 2003a).

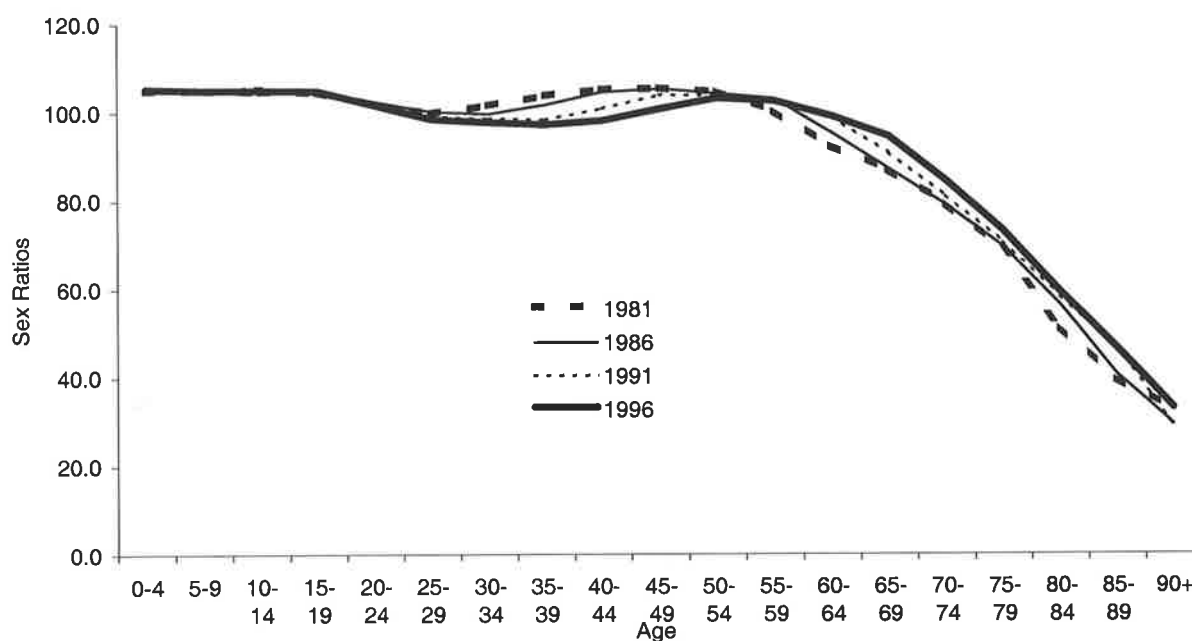
Figure 3.3: Australia: Change in Age Distribution of Population, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996



Source: ABS, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished data

The changes in the age specific sex ratios for the census years between 1981 and 1996 are shown in Figure 3.4, indicating a significant lowering of the profile for ages 30-54 years. This translates into more females of working and childbearing age and an actual rise in the ratios for ages 55 years and above, representing an increase in the number of older men although females still significantly outnumbered them. The more even balance in the number of males and females in their 50s and 60s highlights the importance of cohort progression and changes in later age mortality that need to be considered in relation to aged migration, especially at later life stages.

Figure 3.4: Australia: Change in Sex Ratios by Age, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996



Source: ABS, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished data

Improvements in life expectancy among the older population are shown in Table 3.1 indicating that there has been a significant extension in life expectancy between 1985-87 and 1995-96 in Australia. The additional years expected to live at age 60 years compared to 10 years earlier was 2 for males and 1.4 for females, while at age 75 years

males were expected to live one more year and females .9 of a year. It should be noted that the improvements in the number of years expected to live were greater for males than females, which helps explain the increase in sex ratios at older ages and must be borne in mind when examining changes in family and household composition and their impact on patterns of migration. Booth (2003 p. 118) points out that the 'absolute sex differential in death rates narrowed from 5.1 in 1971 to 3.1 in 1995' and much of the convergence in life expectancies was linked to trends in heart disease with greater improvements for men than women.

Table 3.1: Australia: Years Expected to Live at Exact Ages for Males and Females, 1985-87 and 1995-96

| Age | Males- Years Expected to Live at Exact Ages | | Females- Years Expected to Live at Exact Ages | |
|-----|---|---------|---|---------|
| | 1985-87 | 1995-96 | 1985-87 | 1995-96 |
| 0 | 72.7 | 75.7 | 79.2 | 81.4 |
| 10 | 63.7 | 66.3 | 70.0 | 71.9 |
| 20 | 54.1 | 56.6 | 60.2 | 62.1 |
| 30 | 44.8 | 47.3 | 50.5 | 52.3 |
| 40 | 35.4 | 37.9 | 40.8 | 42.6 |
| 50 | 26.3 | 28.6 | 31.4 | 33.1 |
| 60 | 18.1 | 20.1 | 22.7 | 24.1 |
| 65 | 14.6 | 16.2 | 18.6 | 19.9 |
| 70 | 11.5 | 12.8 | 14.8 | 15.9 |
| 75 | 8.8 | 9.8 | 11.4 | 12.3 |
| 80 | 6.6 | 7.3 | 8.4 | 9.1 |
| 85 | 4.9 | 5.4 | 6.1 | 6.5 |
| 90 | 3.8 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 4.7 |
| 95 | 3.1 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 3.5 |

Source: ABS, Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table: Expectation of life at single ages for males and females Australia 1880 onwards

The age and sex composition of Australia's population is clearly in a stage of transition moving from what Rowland (2003a p.239) describes as 'demographic youth to demographic old age', with considerable implications for the aged in the future. Given that migration is highly age and sex selective for particular groups, it is relevant to look more

closely at the characteristics of movers and non-movers as it can be anticipated that these will change as cohorts progress through the age structure.

3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVERS AND NON-MOVERS

It is useful to establish both the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of movers and non-movers, as the characteristics of males and females who do not move are just as important as those that do in understanding the processes underlying migration. The choice of indicators is based on migration literature that commonly shows the age, employment, education and income selectivity of migrants. However, in focussing upon female migration there is a need to include variables to establish the marital status and living arrangements of movers and non-movers and the households in which they are more likely to reside. Mulder (1994 p.96) in examining age specific motives for migration linked to life cycle moves, was particularly interested in changes in opportunities, constraints and preferences and their influence on different types of motives. She put forward a case for the selection of variables based on the assumption that motives could be divided into three categories: housing career, household formation and dissolution, and workforce and education, which were found to vary according to type of migration (Mulder 1994 p.96).

3.4.1 Age and Marital Differentials

One of the most distinguishing demographic features of movers and non-movers is the younger age distribution of movers and not surprisingly the higher probability that they are not married. Table 3.2 shows that one-quarter of movers in 1996 were aged between 25-34 years compared to only 9 per cent of non-movers. There is not only a dominance of

young adults but also a higher proportional representation of female movers aged less than 35 years when compared to males. However, it was interesting that males and females aged 35-44 years had a similar representation among movers and non-movers. This relatively similar pattern changed to a large discrepancy by ages 45-54 years, making up only 9.6 per cent of movers compared to 17.1 per cent of non-movers with similar differences evident for males and females. Non-movers were heavily concentrated at older ages with almost one-fifth of female non-movers aged 65 years or more compared to only 7.4 per cent of movers, which was similar for older males although they made up a lower percentage of both movers and non-movers.

Table 3.2: Age Distribution of Movers and Non-Movers by Sex, 1996

| | Males (per cent) | | | Females (per cent) | | |
|-------|------------------|-------|----------------------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Per cent Difference* | Non-Mover | Mover | Per cent Difference* |
| 5-14 | 16.0 | 16.8 | -0.8 | 14.3 | 15.7 | -1.4 |
| 15-24 | 14.5 | 17.7 | -3.2 | 11.9 | 19.5 | -7.6 |
| 25-34 | 9.1 | 25.4 | -16.3 | 8.8 | 26.0 | -17.2 |
| 35-44 | 15.0 | 18.5 | -3.5 | 16.3 | 16.5 | -0.2 |
| 45-54 | 17.1 | 10.5 | 6.6 | 17.1 | 9.6 | 7.5 |
| 55-64 | 12.0 | 5.6 | 6.4 | 11.9 | 5.2 | 6.7 |
| 65+ | 16.4 | 5.5 | 10.9 | 19.8 | 7.3 | 12.5 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

*Percentage point difference between non-movers and movers

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

Given that the bulk of movers in the five year period prior to the 1996 census are aged 15-44 years, it is not surprising that 51 per cent of males and 48 per cent of females were never married or had been divorced or separated (Table 3.3). However, it should be acknowledged that a high percentage of movers were actually married, 47.8 per cent of males and 46.1 per cent of females, although a lower representation than for those who did not move. Only a small proportion of male and female movers were widowed which is also clearly linked to the young age composition of movers and a distinct under-

representation of the aged among movers. The table also shows social marriage as distinct from registered marriage, and it is clear that there is a higher representation of those in *de facto* marriages and others not married among the movers. It can be assumed that many separated/divorced and never married persons are actually in *de facto* unions. However, the important point is that these represent only a very small percentage of all partnerships but a high rate of movement. Indeed, census data showed that some 76.2 per cent of males and 78.4 per cent of females in *de facto* unions had moved in the five-years prior to the census compared to only 38 per cent of males and females in registered marriages in 1996, although they represented almost one-half of all movers.

Table 3.3: Australia: Marital Status of Male and Female Movers and Non-Movers aged 15 years and above, 1996

| Marital Status | Per cent of males and females | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | Males | | Females | |
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Never married | 29.4 | 39.4 | 21.2 | 34.1 |
| Married | 61.1 | 47.8 | 57.9 | 46.1 |
| Divorced-separated | 6.4 | 11.5 | 8.4 | 13.5 |
| Widowed | 3.1 | 1.3 | 12.5 | 6.3 |

| Type of Marriage | Per cent of males and females | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| | Males | | Females | |
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Registered marriage | 61.3 | 48.7 | 58.1 | 47.1 |
| Defacto marriage | 2.5 | 10.6 | 2.2 | 10.4 |
| Not married | 36.2 | 40.7 | 39.7 | 42.5 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

3.4.2 Household and Family Differentials

Table 3.4 shows that most males and females, whether movers or non-movers, live in family households. However, movers are more highly represented in lone person and group households, as well as among persons residing in non-private dwellings (the institutional population). Non-movers tend to be over-represented in family households (89.2 per cent of males and 85.9 per cent of females), with the difference between males

and females primarily due to female non-movers being more likely than males to reside in lone person households. The higher representation of female movers in family households is a consequence of the dominance of women in one-parent families and the higher levels of mobility associated with these families compared to couple families with children.

Table 3.4: Australia: Household/Family Structure and Family Type of Male and Female Movers and Non-Movers, 1996

| Household Type | Males (per cent) | | Females (per cent) | |
|----------------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Family | 89.2 | 78.3 | 85.9 | 81.0 |
| Lone person | 7.4 | 10.0 | 11.2 | 9.0 |
| Group | 1.3 | 7.8 | 1.0 | 6.4 |
| Non-private dwelling | 2.2 | 3.9 | 1.9 | 3.6 |

| Family Type | Males (per cent) | | Females (per cent) | |
|---------------------------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Families with child<15 yrs | 31.9 | 48.8 | 32.9 | 51.1 |
| Families with children all ages | 11.3 | 5.9 | 11.7 | 6.2 |
| Families-dependent students | 12.7 | 9.9 | 12.7 | 9.7 |
| Families-non-dependent child | 19.2 | 8.0 | 17.9 | 7.4 |
| Families-no children | 23.9 | 25.4 | 23.8 | 24.0 |
| Other families | 1.0 | 2.0 | 1.0 | 1.6 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

In considering movement by type of family also shown in the table, there is an over-representation of movers in families with only young children (under 15 years of age). Families without children were proportionately the next largest group, almost one-quarter of both non-movers and movers, with very little difference evident between males and females. There was an under-representation among movers of families with dependent students (children aged 18-25 years who were full-time students) and non-dependent children (those still living at home with their parents). The over-representation of young families among movers, reflects lifecycle stages whereby young families, especially those comprised of parents aged 25-34 years, are at early stages of family formation and childbearing and are more likely to move. On the other hand, the more mature families in

the later stages of child raising, with some older children still in education and others starting out in the labour force, are more likely to be 'anchored' in a family home and not as likely to move.

In relation to living arrangements, the relationship of persons to the household reference person is shown in Table 3.5. It is interesting that 50.3 per cent of females and 52 per cent of males who had not moved were either a husband or wife (spouse) compared with 45.9 per cent of male and female movers. One of the main differences between males and females is the higher representation of female single parents, constituting some 6 per cent of non-movers and 8.2 per cent of movers. Another important difference is evident for non-family members (those living in lone person and group households) who were significantly over-represented among the movers, for males 19.2 per cent compared to only 8.7 per cent of non-movers and for females 15.9 per cent compared to 12.1 per cent respectively. By contrast, dependent students and non-dependent children were not well represented among the movers. This was clearly the case indicated above when related to family type, as families with more mature children were less likely to move.

Table 3.5: Australia: Relationship Household/Family Structure and Family Type of Male and Female Movers and Non-Movers, 1996

| Relationship to Household Reference Person | Males (per cent) | | Females (per cent) | |
|--|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Husband/wife | 52.0 | 46.4 | 50.3 | 45.9 |
| Lone parent | 1.3 | 1.3 | 6.0 | 8.2 |
| Child >15 years | 16.2 | 16.9 | 14.5 | 15.7 |
| Dependent student | 6.4 | 3.7 | 6.3 | 3.7 |
| Non-dependent children | 11.5 | 5.0 | 6.7 | 3.3 |
| Other related individual | 1.4 | 2.8 | 2.0 | 2.8 |
| Non-family member | 8.7 | 19.2 | 12.1 | 15.9 |
| Visitor | 2.5 | 4.7 | 2.1 | 4.5 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

For the first time in 1996 the census unit record sample tape provided a variable for dwellings indicating whether all members of a family had moved, just some members had moved or none had moved (refer Appendix D). For dwellings indicating a move, only 12.4 per cent of these households reported that some family members had moved. Table 3.6 shows that in families with non-dependent children almost one-third had some members who moved. This is related to life cycle stage with more mature families experiencing the loss of young adult children from the family home, as 13.2 per cent of families with dependent students aged 15-24 years also had some family members who had moved. This was the case with the 'other family' group (22 per cent). Of particular note, families with young children and those without children were the most likely to move as a family unit.

Table 3.6: Families who had Moved in which only some Members had Moved by Type of Family, 1996

| Type of Family | Per cent of Family Category |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Families Child < 15 years | 6.1 |
| Families with Dependent students (15-24 years) | 13.2 |
| Families with Dependent and Non-dependent Children | 8.6 |
| Families with Non-dependent Children | 31.6 |
| Families with No Children | 7.8 |
| Other Families | 22.2 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

Unfortunately the age-sex composition of persons who had moved within families cannot be identified, as the movement variable is based on the dwelling or household not on the individual. However, by selecting the family reference person it is possible to get some indication of the life cycle stage of families in which a split in the family is mostly likely to occur. The analysis showed that as age of the household reference person increased there was a significant increase in the incidence of some people within the household moving which extended through to older ages.

3.4.3 Birthplace Differentials

Birthplace differentials between male and female movers and non-movers are shown in Table 3.7, with the Asia-born and those from 'other countries' over-represented among the movers indicating that these are largely recent arrivals to Australia. The broad group 'Europe' is under-represented among the movers as the bulk of these are well-established migrants and are more likely to be in the non-mover category. The bottom portion of the table shows the percentage of males and females in each birthplace group that had moved in the 1991-1996 period, with the highest mobility rates indicated for the New Zealand-born (over two-thirds) and the lowest for those born in Southern Europe (almost one-quarter).

Table 3.7: Australia: Male and Female Movers and Non-Movers and Rates of Mobility by Birthplace Region and Year of Arrival, 1996

| Birthplace | Males (per cent) | | Females (per cent) | |
|--|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Australia | 76.6 | 73.8 | 77.0 | 74.7 |
| Europe | 16.2 | 12.6 | 15.2 | 11.7 |
| Asia | 3.5 | 6.6 | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| Other | 3.6 | 6.9 | 3.8 | 6.6 |
| (Per cent moved of each birthplace group) | | | | |
| Birthplace | Males | | Females | |
| Australia | 44.0 | | 44.3 | |
| UK-Ireland | 47.1 | | 46.6 | |
| New Zealand | 67.4 | | 67.8 | |
| Southern Europe | 25.2 | | 24.3 | |
| Other Europe | 38.9 | | 38.3 | |
| Southeast Asia | 56.3 | | 55.6 | |
| Northeast Asia | 66.2 | | 64.9 | |
| Southern Asia | 62.9 | | 57.4 | |
| Africa | 60.3 | | 60.0 | |
| Middle East | 49.5 | | 47.6 | |
| Other | 62.8 | | 59.3 | |
| (Per cent moved by year of arrival of overseas born) | | | | |
| Year of Arrival | Males | | Females | |
| Before 1981 | 34.2 | | 33.2 | |
| 1981-1990 | 56.9 | | 53.9 | |
| 1991-1994 | 91.3 | | 91.5 | |
| 1995 | 97.0 | | 96.5 | |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The Australia-born due to their numerical dominance, represent the average rate of mobility, while those born in the UK and Ireland, the bulk of them resident for some time, had rates only slightly above average. On the other hand, the Asia-born, particularly those from Northeast Asia, showed high levels of mobility primarily due to persons arriving from Hong Kong because of the impending Chinese takeover in 1997 (Skeldon 1995b). The 'other' category comprised relatively small numbers from other parts of the world, such as South America and North America, with mobility rates well above average. Of particular note, the mobility rates for females tend to closely follow those for males across all birthplace groups, with only slight differences evident for some of the more recent migrants.

In examining the rates of mobility among the overseas-born by year of arrival, shown in the bottom portion of the table, roughly one-third of those who had arrived in Australia before 1981 had moved, which was lower than for arrivals between 1981 and 1990, and much less than for those arriving in the 1991-96 intercensal period. It is not surprising to find the extremely high mobility of those residing in Australia for five years or less as those who were overseas in 1991 are included in this analysis, and therefore, are predominantly classified as movers.

3.4.4 Employment and Education Differentials

In respect to labour force participation, occupational and educational differences and also individual income levels, Table 3.8 shows some distinctive characteristics of male and female movers compared with non-movers. Most notably, 69.0 per cent of males and 53.5 per cent of females who had moved were employed, with a further 9.3 per cent of males and 6.5 per cent of females unemployed, which was considerably higher than for non-movers. The higher labour force participation of movers is associated to a large degree with

their younger age structure and the fact that most are in the early stages of family formation or living as singles in non-family situations. Another important difference among the employed population is the higher participation of movers in full-time employment as indicated by the number of hours worked per week. Females who had moved were more likely to work 40 hours or more and less likely to be working less than 25 hours per week compared to non-movers. This is linked to the fact that there was a higher representation of never married and divorced/separated females among the movers who are more likely to be engaged in full-time work as a means to support their independence.

Table 3.8: Australia: Distribution of Male and Female Movers and Non-Movers by Labour Force Status and Hours worked¹, 1996

| Labour Force Status | Males (per cent) | | Females (per cent) | |
|---------------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Employed | 61.1 | 69.0 | 45.4 | 53.5 |
| Unemployed | 5.2 | 9.3 | 2.8 | 6.5 |
| NILF | 33.7 | 21.7 | 51.7 | 40.0 |

| Hours Worked per Week | Males (per cent) | | Females (per cent) | |
|-----------------------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Less than 25 hours | 13.9 | 12.0 | 36.4 | 31.2 |
| 25-39 hours | 25.8 | 24.6 | 34.1 | 33.5 |
| 40 hours | 19.3 | 19.0 | 13.0 | 15.4 |
| More than 40 hours | 40.9 | 44.3 | 16.5 | 19.9 |

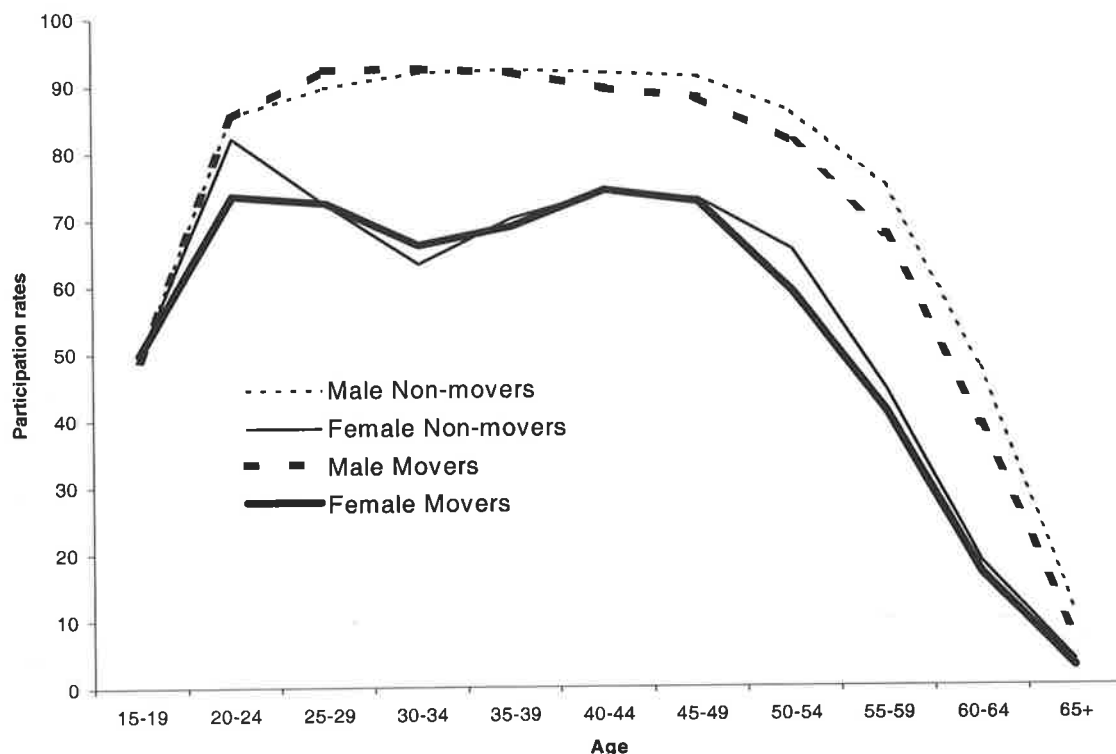
¹ Excludes not stated

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The age-specific labour force participation profiles for movers and non-movers shown in Figure 3.5 reflect distinctive differences between the engagement of males and females in the workforce rather than any significant variations between movers and non-movers. Moreover, there are much higher participation rates for females aged 20-24 years who had not moved than for movers. By contrast, female movers aged 30-34 years were slightly more likely than non-movers to be in the labour force and therefore the notable dip in the profile, so commonly associated with child bearing, was not as pronounced.

However, rates for both males and females at more mature ages were generally slightly lower for movers than non-movers, which may be associated with pre-retirement migration as there was a greater divergence in male rates for movers and non-movers than was evident for females.

Figure 3.5: Australia: Age-Sex Specific Labour Force Participation Rates for Non-movers and Movers, 1996



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The occupational distribution shown in Table 3.9 also demonstrates the distinctive job segregation of males and females, rather than any substantial differences between movers and non-movers. However, it is clear that movers are over-represented as professionals, and also as technical and associate professionals, and under-represented as managers and administrators. It must be borne in mind that females were predominantly employed in advanced/intermediate clerical jobs (34.6 per cent of movers and 33.4 per cent of non-movers), while males were predominantly in manual jobs (43 per cent of both

movers and non-movers). The type of industry in which movers and non-movers were employed tends to once again reflect the substantive differences in male and female labour market segments, although both male and female movers were less likely to be employed in agriculture and manufacturing industries than non-movers. Moreover, female movers are more likely to be over-represented in education and in health and community services compared to their male counterparts.

Table 3.9: Australia: Distribution of Male and Female Movers and Non-Movers by Occupation, Industry, Educational Attainment and Income, 1996

| Occupational Status | Males (per cent) | | Females (per cent) | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Managers-administrators | 14.0 | 10.5 | 6.7 | 4.9 |
| Professionals | 13.6 | 16.0 | 19.2 | 21.3 |
| Technical, assoc professionals | 11.0 | 12.8 | 9.3 | 11.3 |
| Advanced-intermediate clerical | 9.3 | 10.1 | 33.4 | 34.6 |
| Elementary clerical and sales | 5.7 | 5.3 | 13.9 | 12.8 |
| Manual | 43.3 | 43.0 | 14.7 | 13.1 |
| Industry Category | | | | |
| Agriculture-Manufacturing | 26.0 | 22.5 | 13.2 | 10.3 |
| Construction –Transport | 25.6 | 25.1 | 10.1 | 11.4 |
| Sales | 19.4 | 19.5 | 21.1 | 20.4 |
| Finance-business | 12.2 | 13.9 | 14.5 | 17.1 |
| Education | 4.8 | 4.2 | 12.3 | 9.2 |
| Health-community services | 4.0 | 4.3 | 18.3 | 17.1 |
| Personal services | 8.0 | 10.6 | 10.7 | 14.4 |
| Educational Attainment | | | | |
| Degree or higher | 20.4 | 28.5 | 26.3 | 34.5 |
| Diploma | 11.5 | 11.5 | 19.5 | 20.7 |
| Skilled vocational | 43.2 | 39.6 | 7.5 | 8.4 |
| Basic vocational | 4.5 | 4.3 | 10.0 | 12.0 |
| Not stated | 20.3 | 16.0 | 36.7 | 24.4 |
| Individual Income per Week | | | | |
| <\$160 | 24.6 | 20.6 | 37.0 | 32.0 |
| \$160 – 299 | 18.3 | 14.9 | 28.4 | 24.6 |
| \$300 – 499 | 19.6 | 20.5 | 18.4 | 21.4 |
| \$500 – 699 | 16.1 | 18.9 | 9.1 | 13.2 |
| \$700+ | 21.4 | 25.0 | 7.1 | 8.8 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The educational attainment of males and females also shown in the table, indicates that movers are more likely to have a bachelor degree or higher tertiary qualification, than non-movers. Males were also more likely to hold skilled vocational qualifications while

females were over-represented with diplomas, reflecting their dominance in areas such as teaching and nursing. Individual income levels are clearly differentiated between males and females, with movers generally more likely to have higher incomes. These differentials are no doubt a function of not only the younger age structure of movers but their higher labour force participation rates, occupational status, tendency to work full-time and higher educational attainment. However, the low representation of females in the upper income brackets, among both movers and non-movers, is of particular concern as it emphasises the vulnerability of women and their generally poor economic situation compared to males despite major breakthroughs in education and employment. Even among the movers, 43.9 per cent of males compared to only 22 per cent of females stated individual income in excess of \$500 per week in 1996.

3.4.5 Housing Differentials

In examining the housing and tenure circumstances of movers and non-movers shown in Table 3.10, it is apparent that males and females share similar patterns, with 45 per cent of movers renting accommodation compared to only 11 to 12 per cent of non-movers in 1996. Moreover, only one-fifth of movers were living in homes they fully owned compared to 60 per cent of non-movers. Movers who were renting tended to deal with a real estate agent (49 per cent) with a further 30 per cent renting through a private landlord. By contrast, a high percentage of non-movers were renting government housing, 43 per cent of females compared to 35 per cent of males. Wulff and Newton (1996) in linking mobility to issues of social justice, indicated that it was difficult for government tenants to relocate given the constraints on public housing in relation to availability and location.

Table 3.10: Australia: Distribution of Male and Female Movers and Non-Movers by Housing Tenure and Type, 1996

| Tenure | Male (per cent) | | Female (per cent) | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Fully owned | 59.9 | 20.0 | 60.8 | 20.7 |
| Being purchased | 28.6 | 34.7 | 27.2 | 33.9 |
| Rented | 11.5 | 45.3 | 12.0 | 45.4 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

| Landlord of Renters | Male (per cent) | | Female (per cent) | |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Private landlord | 25.9 | 30.2 | 23.6 | 29.5 |
| Real estate agent | 19.6 | 49.8 | 15.9 | 49.1 |
| Government | 35.4 | 10.8 | 43.0 | 12.3 |
| Other | 19.1 | 9.2 | 17.5 | 9.1 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

| Type of Housing | Male (per cent) | | Female (per cent) | |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| | Non-Mover | Mover | Non-Mover | Mover |
| Separate house | 87.9 | 71.8 | 86.5 | 71.4 |
| Semi-detached | 3.2 | 8.2 | 4.2 | 9.5 |
| Flat-unit | 4.2 | 13.1 | 5.2 | 13.1 |
| Other | 2.5 | 3.1 | 2.2 | 2.7 |
| Non-private dwelling | 2.2 | 3.8 | 1.9 | 3.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The structure of housing is included at the bottom of the table indicating that movers are more likely to be living in semi-detached housing or flats and units, which is not surprising given their much higher propensity to rent. However, a very high percentage of both movers and non-movers reside in separate houses, 71 per cent of movers and over 86 per cent of non-movers, demonstrating the distinctive nature of Australia's housing market.

3.5 GEOGRAPHIC DIMENSIONS

3.5.1 Variations in Levels of Movement by State

It is relevant here to briefly look at the variations in levels of movement by capital city and the remainder of State, expressed simply as the percentage of males and females in

each spatial unit who had moved in the 1991-1996 period. Table 3.11 shows below average percentages of movers in Melbourne, Adelaide and their respective remainders of State in 1996, while Brisbane and Perth and their remainders of State had the highest representation of movers.

Table 3.11: Australia: Distribution of Male and Female Movers by Capital City and Sector of State, 1996

| Geographical Location | Per cent Moved by Region | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| | Male | Female |
| Sydney | 42.8 | 41.8 |
| Rest of New South Wales | 42.6 | 43.3 |
| Melbourne | 40.2 | 40.2 |
| Rest of Victoria | 39.9 | 41.0 |
| Brisbane | 51.1 | 51.4 |
| Rest of Queensland | 53.1 | 53.8 |
| Adelaide | 40.7 | 41.4 |
| Rest of South Australia | 41.3 | 43.2 |
| Perth | 50.9 | 50.6 |
| Rest of Western Australia | 55.1 | 56.6 |
| Tasmania | 43.8 | 43.4 |
| Northern Territory and ACT | 53.7 | 54.1 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

It is interesting that by simply looking at the percentage of the resident population who had moved in the five years prior to the census only high net migration gains are taken into account, most notably in Brisbane, the rest of Queensland, Perth and its remainder of State with at least 50 per cent of their populations classified as movers. Regions with high out-migration balanced with low in-migration, net migration loss, had low mobility with only about 40 per cent of their populations identified as movers, most notably Melbourne, Adelaide and their remainders of State. The limitations of this measure are most apparent when dealing with small rural areas characterised by high rates of out-migration, limited in-migration and little local movement, with only about 30 per cent of their resident populations moving between the 1991 and 1996 censuses.

3.5.2 Type of Move

In examining the various types of moves defined by distance for statistical purposes, Table 3.12 shows that 38 per cent of all moves occurred within the same Local Government Area (LGA), and a further 32 per cent across an LGA boundary but within the same Statistical Division (SD). In total, 71 per cent of moves were within the same SD (which includes the large capital city SDs), 9.6 per cent were between SDs in the same State, almost 11 per cent were across a State or Territory border, and a further 8.6 per cent of movers were usual residents in 1996 but were residing at an overseas location in 1991. The sex ratios of movers for each type of move indicate that females are more dominant among movers within State boundaries while males outnumber females in respect to longer distance interstate movement (albeit marginally). However, those movers identified as being overseas in 1991 were predominantly female with a ratio of 93 males per 100 females.

Table 3.12: Australia: Distribution of Movers¹ by Type of Move and Sex, 1996

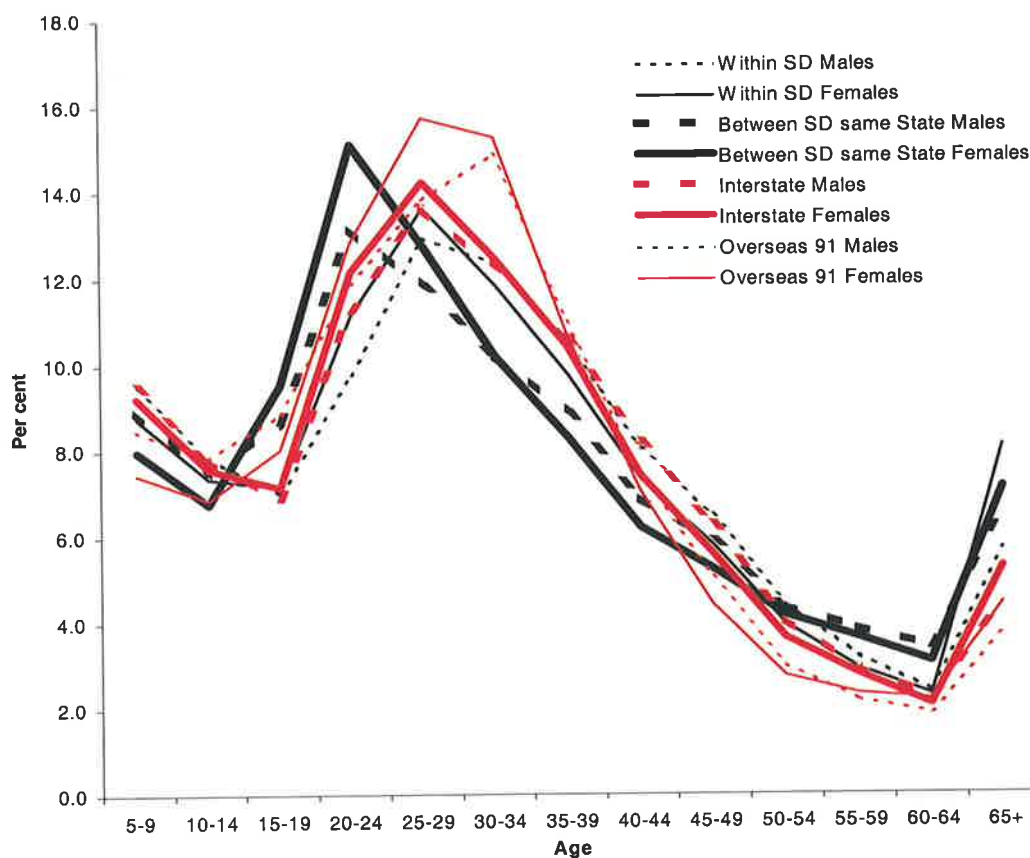
| Type of Move | Number of Male Movers | Number of Female Movers | Per cent of Male Movers | Per cent of Female Movers | Sex Ratios of movers |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Same LGA | 1,323,026 | 1,370,143 | 38.4 | 38.5 | 96.6 |
| Different LGA same SD | 1,121,529 | 1,154,731 | 32.5 | 32.5 | 97.1 |
| Between SDs same State | 329,063 | 345,424 | 9.6 | 9.7 | 95.3 |
| Interstate | 383,154 | 377,147 | 11.1 | 10.6 | 101.6 |
| Overseas in 1991 | 288,886 | 310,055 | 8.4 | 8.7 | 93.2 |
| Total movers | 3,445,658 | 3,557,500 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 96.9 |

¹ Excludes not stated in either 1991 or 1996 and not usual residents

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

Figure 3.6 shows the age and sex profiles of movers and if the age profile representing movement within the same SD (some 71 per cent of all movers) is adopted as a standard, there is a clear peak at ages 25 to 29 years, with the profile for interstate migrants very similar but slightly higher for females than for males at these ages.

Figure 3.6: Australia: Age Profiles of Movers by Type of Move by Sex, 1996



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

The profile for persons overseas in 1991 showed a much more accentuated peak for females at ages 25-29 and also 30-34 years with a significant under-representation at ages above 40 years, especially at older ages. Interstate female migrants showed a greater representation in the younger groups up to age 35 years and at 65 years or older, while males had a higher representation among age groups 35-59 years. The profile that showed the least conformity with the standard was for inter-regional migration occurring between Statistical Divisions within the same State. The peak is most notably at ages 20-24 years and substantially higher for females, which then remains considerably lower for ages up to 50 years where it again shifts to being well above the other profiles, particularly at advanced ages.

3.5.3 Movers with an Overseas Location in 1991

The representation of in-migrants to major capital city Statistical Divisions in 1996 who were overseas in 1991 is shown in Table 3.13, with a high 71 per cent in Sydney, while Melbourne had 64.8 per cent and Perth 56.8 per cent. It is interesting that Brisbane has a relatively low proportion of in-migrants (36 per cent) who were overseas in 1991, despite having one of the highest percentages of population identified as movers (Table 3.11). This was due to the substantial number of internal migrants, indeed the largest of all the capital cities discussed in Chapter Five. By contrast, Adelaide had a much lower percentage of persons who had moved but recorded a higher percentage of in-migrants who were residing overseas in 1991 than was the case for Brisbane. The lowest representations of in-migrants overseas in 1991 were found in Hobart, Canberra and Darwin. These patterns are a function of the different balance in the components of in-migration to the capital cities as discussed in Chapter Six. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the bulk of rural Australia only had a very small percentage of in-migrants who were overseas in 1991 (well under 20 per cent). There were a few exceptions in the mining and outback areas of Western Australia and South Australia, where the percentages were between 20-29 per cent but remained well below the level recorded in the major capital cities.

Table 3.13: Capital City Statistical Divisions: Percentage of In-migrants in 1996 with an Overseas Location in 1991

| Capital City Statistical Divisions | Number of Internal Migrants | Number of Persons Overseas in 1991 | Total In-migrants to Capital Cities | Per cent of In- migrants in 1996 Overseas in 1991 |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| Sydney | 85,638 | 210,897 | 296,535 | 71.1 |
| Melbourne | 70,637 | 130,160 | 200,797 | 64.8 |
| Perth | 48,471 | 63,840 | 112,311 | 56.8 |
| Adelaide | 37,654 | 25,497 | 63,151 | 40.4 |
| Brisbane | 100,807 | 56,801 | 157,608 | 36.0 |
| Greater Hobart | 9,961 | 2,992 | 12,953 | 23.1 |
| Canberra | 44,769 | 12,505 | 57,274 | 21.8 |
| Darwin | 16,891 | 2,912 | 19,803 | 14.7 |

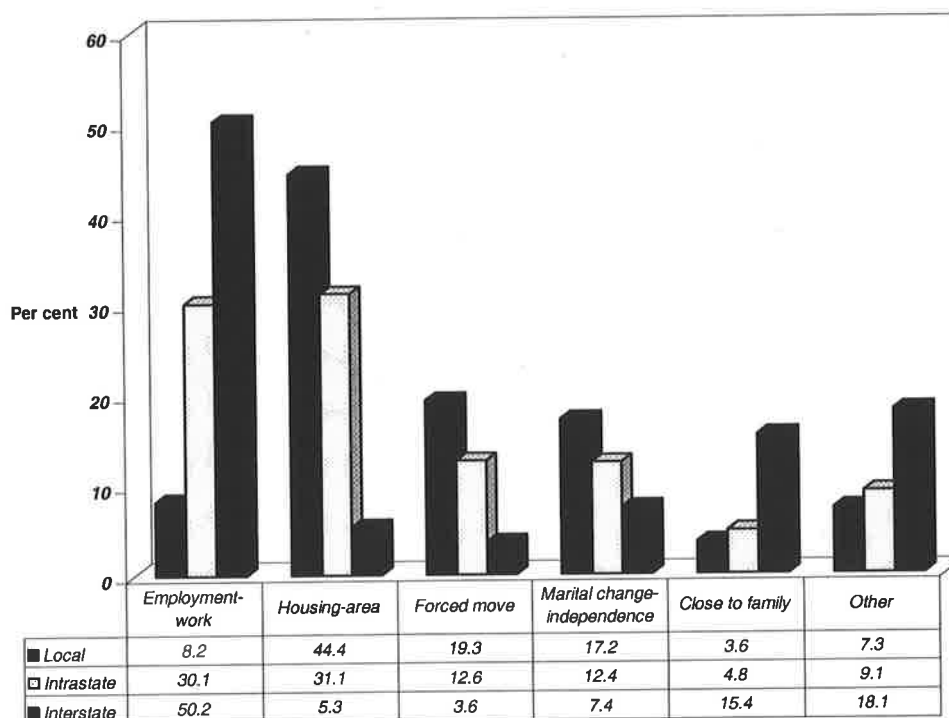
Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

By ignoring the representation of persons who did not have a corresponding address in Australia in 1991 and 1996, specifically those indicating an overseas location, it is impossible to assess the overall impact of migration, especially on the major capital cities. This problem is dealt with in some detail later (refer Chapter Six) but should be noted here that the preoccupation of migration analyses with patterns of population redistribution in Australia has led many analysts to exclude what amounts to well over half the in-migrants to some cities and regions (Bell 1992; 1995; Bell and Hugo, 2000). Researchers, most notably Hugo (2003b) are only now becoming more interested in the overseas component given the increasing importance of temporary migration and the impact it is having upon populations of the major cities.

3.5.4 Reasons for Migration by Type

It is relevant to briefly consider how reasons given for migration vary by type of move and to indicate differences between males and females. The Internal Migration Survey conducted by the ABS for a limited period from 1982 to 1987 included questions on reasons for migration within Australia and the responses can be compared for local movement, intra-state and interstate migration in the year prior to the survey. Figure 3.7 clearly shows that employment was the dominant reason given for interstate migration and to a lesser extent for intra-state, while housing and area specific reasons featured more strongly in the context of local and intra-state moves. Personal reasons such as change in marital status and independence from home were more closely associated with local moves, as was the case with forced moves. However to be 'close to family' was given more importance by interstate migrants although the total response was relatively small.

Figure 3.7: Reasons given for Migration by Type of Move, 1987



Source: ABS, Internal Migration Survey, 1987

In contrasting the responses of males and females there was little variation evident between them in relation to local and intra-state migration with only minor differences in interstate migration. Most notably 56 per cent of males compared to 45 per cent of females indicated that they had moved interstate for employment reasons, with females more likely to indicate personal reasons such as change in marital status and to be close to family. However, the dominance of employment was clear for longer distance movers compared to those moving shorter distances which was predominantly residential adjustment relating to housing and location.

It was expected that there would be more divergent reasons given by males and females however when matched with age, the responses did show considerable differences which are discussed later in Chapter Six.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In answer to the question posed in this Chapter, *Who moves and who stays?* It is clear that young adults are highly mobile and as age increases levels of mobility decrease. With a particular focus on differentiating between males and females one can conclude that female mobility in most contexts outpaces that of males at young adult ages and at older ages. These age cohorts tend to coincide with greater female independence, initially when they leave home and are not as likely to be married and later in life when there is a high incidence of widowhood and likelihood of living alone. Moreover, the dominance of young males and females among movers results in a higher proportion not married, higher labour force participation, more in full-time employment, higher education levels together with more in professional employment and higher incomes. Of particular note, the poorer economic situation of females in relation to males, as indicated by income levels, was generally maintained for both movers and non-movers. The importance of sex segregation in the labour market cannot be ignored as males generally fare much better than females whether movers or non-movers.

Families most likely to move were those with young children and the least likely to do so were those with older dependent and non-dependent children still living in the household. Non-family households generally had higher mobility but differed in respect to age and also gender. This indicates that any shifts in age and family structure are likely to impact on rates of mobility and may also influence the types of move.

The geographic dimension in respect to movement marked out some significant gender differences, particularly in longer distance inter-regional and interstate movement, and overseas migration. In later Chapters the differences between males and females in longer distance movement (encompassing approximately 30 per cent of total movement)

are explored in greater detail. This is commonly viewed as 'migration' in the sense that persons have moved out of their activity space and established themselves in new jobs and formed new social and economic networks. However, before exploring the gender dimension in internal migration further, it is relevant to examine in greater depth the linkages between mobility and family change in Australia as discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

MOBILITY AND FAMILY CHANGE IN AUSTRALIA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter establishes linkages between mobility and changes that have been occurring in the structure and composition of families and the changing roles and status of women in Australia. There is ample evidence to show women in the past two decades have become more independent and more likely to be in the paid work force than past generations (Evans 1996). They also reside in a wider variety of family and household types, are less likely to marry and have children (at least in their young adult years) compared to their parent's generation, and generally entertain different lifestyle aspirations (Carmichael 1998; 2002; Mc Donald 1995; 1998; 2000). This chapter aims to link gender differences in mobility with changes in patterns of family formation and dissolution in Australia, and the changing status of women. It also establishes levels of mobility among different types of families and households and explores reasons for moving. Some basic questions are addressed regarding differences in the demographic and family/household characteristics of men and women who have moved residence at least once in the five-year period prior to the 1996 census and comparisons are made with the 1981, 1991 and 1986 censuses where appropriate.

At the outset there is a need to question what we know about the mobility of women at different stages of the life cycle living in different types of families and households. It can be suggested that the increasing shift to non-family living is impacting on the lives of men and women differently and yet there is little research specifically on the issue. One of the aims here is to show that women are more likely to live as 'singles' either alone or with children than men, and are increasingly making independent decisions

about their mobility (Rudd 1997; 2000). Hence, it is assumed that an increasing percentage of women do not conform to the stereotype which places them purely as 'hangers on' or associational migrants (Bielby and Bielby 1992; Bird and Bird 1985).

The analysis undertaken in this chapter draws heavily upon census data to establish trends over time in the mobility of men and women related to their marital and family/household status. It must be stressed at the outset that marital status is used as a surrogate for examining life stage transitions due to limitations of using census based migration matrix data which is only linked to family and household composition in a very limited way. However, the census unit record sample files do provide detailed information about the characteristics of movers in relation to the types of families and households to which they belong, although there are limitations due to the lack of consistency in the definition of family types between the censuses. Therefore, marital status is a useful starting point but it must be borne in mind that as people increasingly avoid marriage its utility is diminishing.

4.2 CHANGING PATTERNS OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

The relationship between residential mobility and marital status varies considerably with the proportion of the population that marries, divorces, remarries, partners or 'uncouples', or indeed never marries, at particular points in time. Moreover, these changes are strongly influenced by age structure changes which can greatly alter the population 'at risk' of major life events. The shift in the marital distribution of population aged above 15 years between 1976 and 1996 is clear in Table 4.1. The proportion of males and females who were married in 1996 was 10 percentage points lower than in 1976 (64 to 54 per cent for males and 62 to 52 per cent for females). The never married population increased

proportionately with the divorced/separated population doubling its share, from 4.2 per cent of males in 1976 to 8.9 per cent in 1996 and for females a rise from 5.2 to 10.6 per cent respectively.

Table 4.1: Australia: Marital Status of Males and Females aged 15+ Years, 1976-96

| | 1976 | 1986 | 1991 | 1996 |
|--------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Per cent | Per cent | Per cent | Per cent |
| Males | | | | |
| Never married | 29.1 | 32.4 | 33.1 | 34.2 |
| Married | 64.1 | 58.5 | 57.0 | 54.3 |
| Widowed | 2.6 | 2.4 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Separated/Divorced | 4.2 | 6.6 | 7.5 | 8.9 |
| Females | | | | |
| Never married | 21.0 | 24.4 | 25.7 | 26.9 |
| Married | 62.6 | 57.2 | 55.4 | 52.3 |
| Widowed | 11.1 | 10.5 | 10.1 | 10.2 |
| Separated/Divorced | 5.2 | 7.9 | 8.8 | 10.6 |

Source: ABS, 1976, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses

The large proportionate rise in divorce relates to substantial changes in divorce laws in Australia that came into force in January 1976. The *Family Law Act 1975* provided greater opportunities for persons to end marriages due to the introduction of 'no fault' divorce attainable due to irretrievable breakdown of marriage after 12 months separation (Mc Donald 1995). Moreover, Carmichael, Webster and Mc Donald (1996 p.15) argue:

'The *Family Law Act* did not extend the possibility of divorce to anyone previously denied it. It did, though, enhance its 'effective' availability, by enabling it to occur more quickly, preventing aggrieved spouses from resisting it, making the process more efficient, cheaper and less intimidating, and ridding it of the need to air publicly details of marital conflict and misdeeds'.

In effect, easier and less costly divorce enabled many women to free themselves of unsatisfactory marriages that they previously had to tolerate. Before these changes occurred the grounds for divorce and battles over assets were fought out in court which prevented many women, due to their poor economic circumstances and intimidation of the court system, from being the main instigators of divorce and the system tended to favour men. Another important factor in the 1970s relates to changes in government policy and

the payment of supporting mothers' benefits to single women with children (Ware 1982). There were also legislative changes at that time relating to women in the workforce, where the ongoing battle for equal pay and improved work conditions, to include maternity leave, commenced. Up until that time many women had to resign from their jobs and leave careers when they got married (Ware 1982, p.507). Therefore, it can be argued that the growing independence of women was being assisted by important changes in government policies and legislation. In turn these changes were being implemented because of significant changes in social attitudes and patterns of behaviour, hence the legislative changes enabled persons, more specifically women, to have greater control of their lives.

Table 4.2 shows changes over a relatively short-time period in the propensity of males and females at certain ages to marry and divorce in Australia. There was a notable shift away from marriage at young adult ages (15-24 years) with 90.1 per cent of females and 95.5 per cent of males not married in 1996. Moreover, at the prime marriageable ages of 25-34 years, only 45.5 per cent of males and 56 per cent of females were married in 1996 compared to 53 per cent and 63.7 per cent respectively 5 years earlier in 1991, and substantially less than in 1981. The other notable feature of the table is the increasing proportion of males and females over the age of 35 years who were separated or divorced, with females aged 45-54 years twice as likely to be divorced in 1996 (18.2 per cent) than in 1981 (9.2 per cent). This clearly indicates that future trends in mobility are going to be quite different to those of the past, which needs more serious research attention. There is also a decline in the proportion of population at older ages who are widowed, despite increasing numbers of aged. Some 46.8 per cent of females aged 65 years or more were widowed in 1996 compared to 51.1 per cent in 1981, and for males only 14 per cent in 1996 dropping marginally from 15.7 per cent in 1981. This was primarily due to cohort differences and improvements in mortality for men and women at older ages.

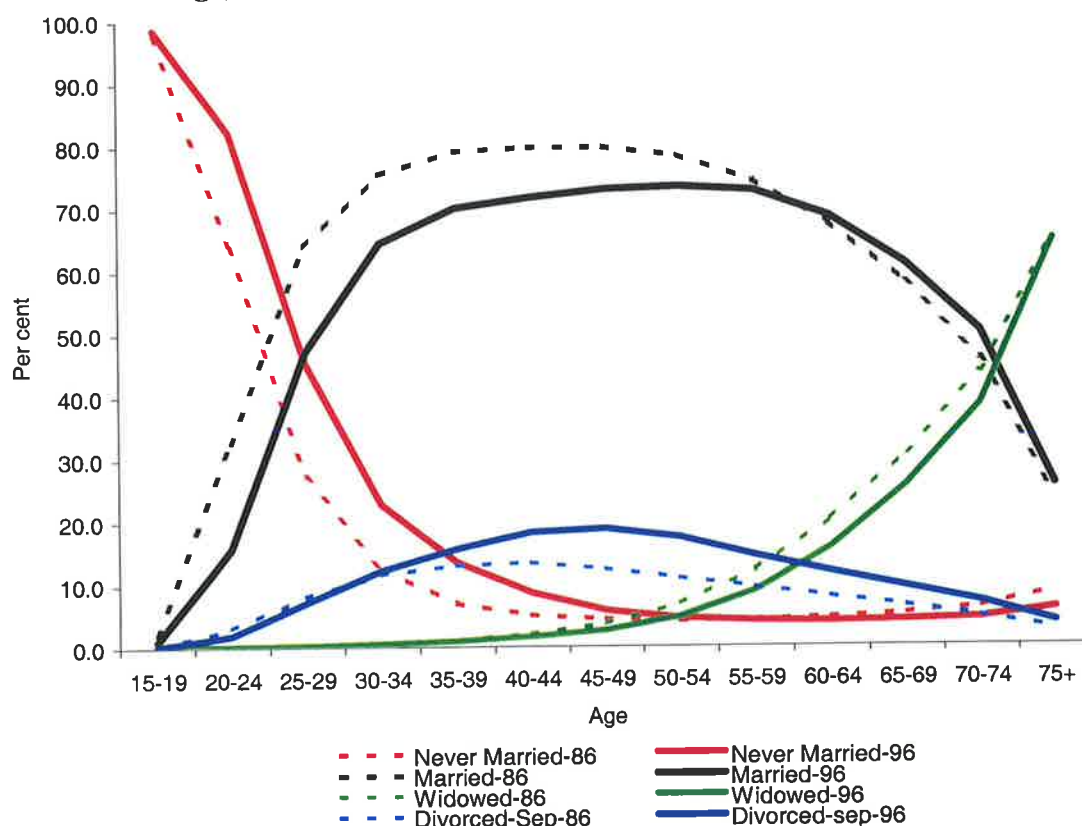
Table 4.2: Australia: Proportional Change in Marital Status of Males and Females by Age, 1981-96

| | 1981 | 1986 | 1991 | 1996 |
|---------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Males | Per cent | Per cent | Per cent | Per cent |
| Never Married | | | | |
| 15-24 | 88.5 | 91.6 | 92.1 | 95.5 |
| 25-34 | 25.1 | 33.3 | 39.9 | 48.0 |
| 35-44 | 9.2 | 10.6 | 13.0 | 17.2 |
| 45-54 | 8.2 | 7.7 | 7.8 | 8.3 |
| 55-64 | 7.6 | 7.8 | 7.6 | 6.7 |
| 65+ | 7.5 | 7.0 | 7.0 | 6.4 |
| Married | | | | |
| 15-24 | 10.5 | 7.8 | 6.9 | 4.0 |
| 25-34 | 67.7 | 59.6 | 53.0 | 45.5 |
| 35-44 | 82.1 | 78.5 | 74.7 | 69.2 |
| 45-54 | 82.4 | 81.0 | 78.9 | 75.3 |
| 55-64 | 81.4 | 80.2 | 79.7 | 78.0 |
| 65+ | 72.0 | 73.1 | 73.4 | 72.2 |
| Separated/Divorced | | | | |
| 15-24 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.5 |
| 25-34 | 7.1 | 6.9 | 6.7 | 6.3 |
| 35-44 | 8.4 | 10.5 | 11.8 | 13.3 |
| 45-54 | 8.0 | 10.1 | 12.1 | 15.5 |
| 55-64 | 7.0 | 8.3 | 9.5 | 12.5 |
| 65+ | 4.8 | 5.4 | 5.9 | 7.4 |
| Widowed | | | | |
| 45-54 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| 55-64 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 3.2 | 2.8 |
| 65+ | 15.7 | 14.5 | 13.6 | 14.1 |
| Females | | | | |
| Never Married | | | | |
| 15-24 | 75.0 | 80.8 | 84.5 | 90.1 |
| 25-34 | 13.8 | 19.9 | 25.9 | 25.9 |
| 35-44 | 5.0 | 6.0 | 8.1 | 11.1 |
| 45-54 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 4.8 | 5.2 |
| 55-64 | 4.9 | 4.4 | 4.4 | 3.9 |
| 65+ | 8.2 | 6.9 | 6.2 | 4.9 |
| Married | | | | |
| 15-24 | 22.9 | 17.5 | 13.4 | 8.7 |
| 25-34 | 76.1 | 69.8 | 63.7 | 56.0 |
| 35-44 | 82.7 | 79.4 | 75.8 | 70.8 |
| 45-54 | 80.4 | 79.1 | 77.0 | 73.2 |
| 55-64 | 70.1 | 70.9 | 71.5 | 70.8 |
| 65+ | 37.1 | 40.3 | 43.1 | 42.1 |
| Separated/Divorced | | | | |
| 15-24 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.1 |
| 25-34 | 9.6 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 9.7 |
| 35-44 | 10.5 | 13.1 | 14.6 | 16.9 |
| 45-54 | 9.2 | 11.7 | 13.9 | 18.2 |
| 55-64 | 7.2 | 8.6 | 9.9 | 13.2 |
| 65+ | 3.6 | 4.3 | 5.0 | 6.2 |
| Widowed | | | | |
| 45-54 | 6.3 | 5.1 | 4.3 | 3.5 |
| 55-64 | 17.9 | 16.1 | 14.2 | 12.1 |
| 65+ | 51.1 | 48.5 | 45.8 | 46.8 |

Source: ABS, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses

The changes in marital status of females between 1986 and 1996 are illustrated in Figure 4.1, indicating that the profile for married females is significantly lower up to age 55 years and then slightly higher thereafter. For never married females the profile shifted upwards until age 40 and then remained very similar to that in 1986. By contrast, the age profile for divorced females followed a significant upward trajectory between ages 35 and 64 years, while the profile for widowed females was generally lower indicating a drop in their proportional representation by 1996. The decline in the percentage of population widowed at older ages is not only linked to an increase in divorce among older persons but also a function of men living longer and older couples more likely to remain married for longer periods of time (de Vaus and Wolcott 1997 p.75). However, a far greater number of men still had partners at older ages than was the case for women.

Figure 4.1: Australia: Change in the Distribution of Females by Marital Status and Age, 1986 and 1996



Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses

The substantial changes in the marital status of both males and females over the past two decades are important for mobility as the timing of family formation has long been seen as an important determinant of residential mobility (Rossi, 1955; 1980; Stapleton, 1980). The young adult population is now far less predictable in respect to leaving home and marriage is no longer a precursor of the event (Young 1987; 1989; 1996). Moreover, 'shot-gun marriages' are no longer a prime reason for young marriage as was the case in the 1960s and 1970s (Carmichael 1998). Social and economic changes have enabled young couples a wider choice in relationships and lifestyle options, which has given rise to a more diverse range of life courses than was previously the case. However, in the future it will become more difficult to show change in either divorce or widowhood, as these statuses are dependent on a marriage having taken place. A similar problem also exists in trying to show relative changes in the never married population, as many persons are now in less formal living arrangements which has been facilitated by increasing social acknowledgement and legal recognition.

4.3 GENDER AND MARITAL LINKED DIFFERENTIALS IN MOBILITY

In Australia to date there has been little systematic analysis of marital and gender linked differences in patterns of residential mobility. Rudd (1996a) found that there was an association between changing levels of residential mobility and changing marital status similar to that identified in the United States by Long (1992) and by Grundy in the UK (1985). Grundy explored the relationship between changing patterns of first marriage and its impact on mobility, and also saw the substantial increases occurring in divorce and remarriage as precursors to increased residential mobility, because divorced women had higher rates of migration than other women of the same age (Grundy 1989 p.37).

This analysis identifies movers as usual residents who have changed residence in the five years prior to the censuses, with marital status differences used as a means of measuring or identifying stages in life cycle transition. In effect, this approach allows us to overcome some of the problems associated with treating women as a 'category', however by assigning them to being married or otherwise does not help improve their image in the mobility 'stakes'. In other words, it could be argued that such analyses reinforce the notion that the migration of women is 'associational' and primarily family, or more specifically husband oriented, rather than recognised in the same context as men. It has been common to view male migration as employment driven or dominated by other macro-economic considerations, especially in the context of longer distance moves (Bell 1992 p.201).

Table 4.3 shows mobility rates in Australia to be consistently higher for females who have never married, however the overall mobility of males and females tended to be similar for other marital status groups. The never married and separated/divorced populations had the highest rates of mobility, while the widowed population had the lowest. Moreover, between the 1986 and 1996 censuses there was a significant increase in the mobility of never married population, rising from 46.6 per cent in 1986 to 52.2 per cent in 1996 for males and for females from 49.7 per cent to 56.6 per cent respectively. This corresponded with slightly reduced mobility indicated for the married and divorced populations, while the rates of mobility for widowed males and females increased marginally. The sex ratios indicate that females dominate among widowed movers, and to a lesser extent those who were separated/divorced and, surprisingly, those who were married. By contrast, there were more male movers never married although the sex ratio had declined from 121.2 males per 100 females in 1986 to 111.7 in 1996. This is a direct result of the slightly higher mobility rates indicated for young females in the 1991-96 period discussed in Chapter Three.

Table 4.3: Australia: Mobility Rates and Sex Ratios by Marital Status, 1981-86 and 1991-96

| Marital Status | 1981-86 | | 1991-96 | | Sex Ratios | |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | 1981-86 | 1991-96 |
| Never married | 46.6 | 49.7 | 52.2 | 56.6 | 121.2 | 111.7 |
| Married | 40.2 | 40.6 | 38.7 | 39.1 | 98.6 | 98.5 |
| Separated/Divorced | 61.1 | 59.5 | 59.1 | 56.8 | 81.7 | 82.3 |
| Widowed | 27.7 | 27.2 | 28.3 | 28.4 | 22.2 | 22.8 |
| Population 15+ | 43.3 | 42.9 | 42.9 | 42.9 | 97.8 | 96.0 |

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses

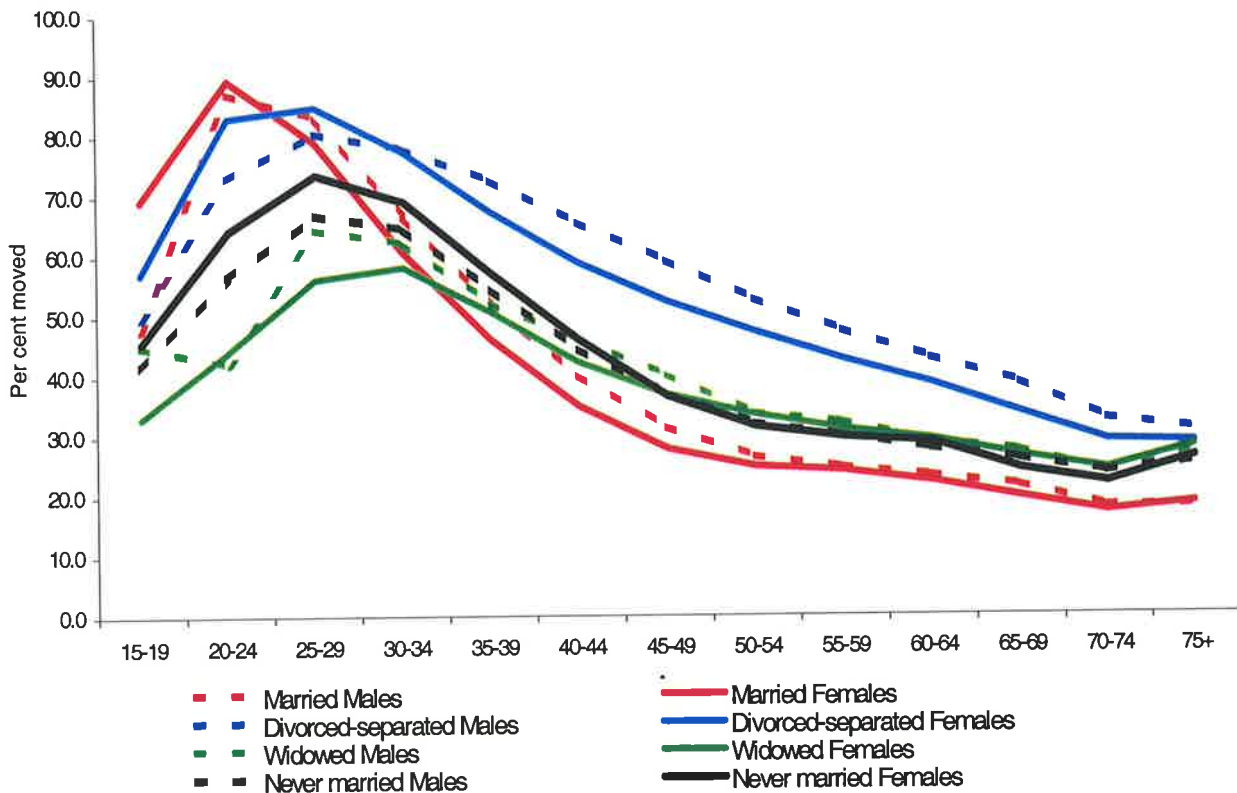
In demographic terms this change can be linked to changing patterns of family formation whereby young persons are marrying much later or not at all, with many cohabitating and as such are not recognised as couples under this definition of registered marital status. Hence the number of never married persons has risen substantially among the young and is reflected in higher rates of mobility. On the other hand, the sex ratio for widowed movers is remarkably stable given the relatively rapid ageing of the population. This is no doubt due to a shift in the age composition of the 'aged' whereby there is considerable growth in the 'younger aged' (65-74 years), rather than the aged at advanced ages as was the case a decade or so earlier (Rowland 1991). This is also linked partly to the increasing longevity of men, and as a consequence a higher proportion of the older population remaining married. Another plausible answer is related to the concerted efforts of government to keep older people in their own homes for as long as possible which has effectively reduced their mobility. This is reflected in several reports especially *In a Home or At Home* (Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1982) and has been actively pursued as policy throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Howe 1997). It can also be suggested that an increasing proportion of the current aged population are homeowners and as

pensioners they receive various concessions on council rates, electricity and sewerage, which enables them to remain in the family home longer than may be the case otherwise.

Each of the age-sex profiles of movers by marital status shown in Figure 4.2, reflect the pattern of high young adult mobility decreasing substantially by age 40, and lower later-life mobility with a slight rise in rates for males and females at advanced ages. There are high rates of mobility for males and females who were married at ages 20-24 and 25-29 years, with the rates for married males somewhat lagged behind those for females but exceeding them until age 50 years, and thereafter the rates for male and female rates were very similar. On the other hand, the high mobility of never married females at younger ages was well above that for males but well below the rates for those who married at young adult ages. Moreover, after age 35 years the mobility rates of the never married population are consistently higher than the married rates and similar to those for the widowed population.

The mobility rates associated with widowhood are generally the lowest, although quite high at young ages due to the fact that the numbers are extremely small. The rates for widowers exceed those of widows to age 50 years and thereafter are quite similar even at advanced ages. It is interesting that the mobility trend line of the widowed population continually drops to age 70 then rises again for males and females over the age of 75 years. This was similar for the older never married population but not evident for the married population that had consistently the lowest mobility rates after 40 years of age. Hence, it appears that those at oldest ages who are single (through death of a partner or having never married) are more likely to make residential adjustments, such as moves to retirement villages, smaller housing units or the like (Rowland 1991).

Figure 4.2: Australia: Age-Sex Profiles of Mobility by Marital Status, 1996



Source: ABS; 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The figure also shows that mobility rates associated with separated or divorced persons remain higher at all ages, with male rates consistently higher than for females after the age of 30 years while female rates are higher than for males at younger ages. It has been found that separation and divorce, and the incidence of remarriage or cohabitation, leads to the formation of different types of households, which invariably involves a change of residence for one or other of the partners (Long 1992; Grundy 1992). This mobility can alter demands for specific types of housing and services in both areas of destination and origin, especially in cases where children are involved. Little is known about how this type of mobility impacts on the lives of men and women in Australia. Moreover, there has been little research on the choices and constraints on the mobility of women and their children

who most commonly form one-parent families, nor their male counterparts who contribute significantly to the formation of younger lone person households.

Unfortunately, census data do not indicate whether movement occurred before or after marriage, widowhood, or indeed, at what point in time during the process of separation and divorce. Another impediment is the increasing incidence of cohabitation preceding marriage which effectively means that marriage does not necessarily indicate a move of one or other of the partners or indeed of a couple, as was common in the past (Grundy 1985; 1989). Nonetheless, we can identify some general patterns of age-sex specific mobility that appear to characterise persons of different marital statuses at given points in time or more specifically life stages. It can be argued that mobility data based upon usual place of residence one year ago gives a more accurate indication of the likely marital status at the time of movement. However, the numbers are small and any detailed migration analysis broken down by age and sex has to be viewed with extreme caution. This is especially the case when utilising the unit record sample tapes that do include the mobility of persons over a one-year period but the sample numbers are too small to draw any valid conclusions.

4.4 CHANGE IN LEVELS OF MIGRATION BY MARITAL STATUS

In examining the age mobility profiles, it is useful to consider changes for males and females by marital status between the 1981 and 1996 censuses. Table 4.4 shows a significant shift in the marital status of movers at young adult ages (15-24 and 25-34 years) between 1981 and 1996. In 1996 only 6.5 per cent of males aged 15-24 years who had moved were married compared with 20.9 per cent in 1981. For females the figure had dropped from 35.8 per cent in 1981 to 19.7 per cent in 1991, falling to a meagre 12.9 per

cent by 1996. This pattern of decline was also evident for the 25-34 age group, with only 47.7 per cent of male movers married in 1996 compared to 69.1 per cent in 1981, while for females the equivalent figures were 53.8 per cent compared to 73.1 per cent in 1981. This significant drop in the representation of married persons was balanced by an increase in the proportion not married, particularly in relation to females aged 15-24 years, a jump from 61.3 per cent to 85.6 per cent in 1996. These changes reflect the changing patterns of family formation associated with later age at first marriage and cohabitation as well as the highly unpredictable departure and return of children from the parental home. Most importantly, these changes signal that the mobility of young persons in the 1990s was very different from a decade or so earlier when marriage was a major driver in young adult age mobility or at least could be more easily recognised as such (Maher and Goodman 1984).

Table 4.4: Australia: Change in the Distribution of Male and Female Movers by Marital Status for Selected Age Groups, 1981, 1991 and 1996

| Marital Status | Per cent Movers | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | 1981 | | 1991 | | 1996 | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Age 15-24 Years | | | | | | |
| Never Married | 77.9 | 61.3 | 88.8 | 78.2 | 92.9 | 85.6 |
| Married | 20.9 | 35.8 | 10.2 | 19.7 | 6.5 | 12.9 |
| Separated/Divorced | 1.2 | 2.8 | 0.8 | 1.8 | 0.6 | 1.4 |
| Widowed | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | - | 0.1 |
| Age 25-34 Years | | | | | | |
| Never Married | 22.3 | 14.9 | 36.6 | 26.2 | 45.0 | 34.5 |
| Married | 69.1 | 73.1 | 55.7 | 62.1 | 47.7 | 53.8 |
| Separated/Divorced | 8.4 | 11.5 | 7.5 | 11.3 | 7.2 | 11.4 |
| Widowed | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| Age 45-54 Years | | | | | | |
| Never Married | 9.3 | 4.9 | 7.3 | 4.9 | 8.5 | 5.5 |
| Married | 72.8 | 71.0 | 71.5 | 68.0 | 64.4 | 60.9 |
| Separated/Divorced | 16.4 | 17.8 | 20.1 | 22.7 | 26.1 | 29.9 |
| Widowed | 1.5 | 6.3 | 1.1 | 4.4 | 1.0 | 3.7 |
| Age 65+ Years | | | | | | |
| Never Married | 8.0 | 8.2 | 7.5 | 6.2 | 7.1 | 5.0 |
| Married | 63.7 | 28.5 | 67.2 | 35.0 | 64.4 | 33.5 |
| Separated/Divorced | 6.7 | 4.4 | 9.3 | 6.7 | 12.1 | 8.3 |
| Widowed | 21.7 | 58.9 | 16.0 | 52.2 | 16.4 | 53.2 |

(1986 data were excluded because divorce and widowed are combined as 'other not married')

Source: ABS, 1981, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, one per cent unit record sample tapes

Another major change has been the increasing incidence of divorce with an accompanying rise in the mobility of persons aged 45-54 years. The percentage of divorced/separated males among movers at ages 45-54 years increased from 16.4 per cent in 1981 to 26.2 per cent in 1996, while females showed a comparable increase from 17.8 per cent to 29.7 per cent. Moreover the majority (53.2 per cent) of older females (65+ years) who moved in 1996 were widowed, which was below the 1981 figure of 58.9 per cent, while the percentage of older widowers dropped from 22.7 per cent to 16.4 per cent.. It is interesting that there was a higher representation among older movers of both divorced/separated and married males and females, while those never married made up a smaller proportion. It can be surmised that these changes are linked to the increasing life expectancies of males and females at older ages, but also reflect cohort differences in respect to patterns of marriage and the age composition of the aged population itself (Rowland 1991; 1996a; 2003a). Moreover, it is highly likely that these changes will give rise to different patterns of residential mobility among the aged which need to be addressed in the context of changes in the patterns and processes of elderly migration, more specifically, the movement of older men and women.

4.5 FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD MOBILITY

The main family types identified in the census, couple families (with and without children), one-parent families and other families of related individuals, are adopted here as a basis for analysis, together with lone-person households and group households which are considered to be non-family households (refer Glossary p293). It should be borne in mind that in adopting the ABS definition of family for statistical purposes, this is different to the way most of us relate to 'family', which is usually inclusive of all family members most of

whom live outside the household at particular stages of the lifecycle. Mc Donald (2003 p.78) argues that:

'The statistical definition is limited because it requires co-residence. It is also limited because it is static whereas 'family' is dynamic. The people we consider as members of our family change as our circumstances change. We are continually adding and subtracting people to our concept of family that we use for different purposes as we move through life. Family type in the statistical definition is a structural type. People live in one-parent families, two-parent families, couple families, or 'other' families. More precisely, these are forms of living arrangements rather than forms of family'.

4.5.1 Mobility Rates by Household Type

In looking at the residential mobility of households according to the structural definition imposed by the census data, Table 4.5 shows that males in family households and females in lone person households in the 1991-96 period, had the lowest propensities to move, 41.7 per cent and 39.6 per cent respectively. By contrast, the highest levels of movement for males and females are associated with group households and not surprisingly usual residents in non-private dwellings. Moreover, females dominated among movers in family households as indicated by the low sex ratio, while males dominate among movers in all other household types, although the ratios in 1991-96 are somewhat lower than in 1986-91.

Table 4.5: Australia: Mobility Rates of Males and Females by Household Type, 1986-91 and 1991-96

| Household Type | Per cent Moved | | | | Sex Ratios | |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | Males 1991 | Females 1991 | Males 1996 | Females 1996 | Movers 1986-91 | Movers 1991-96 |
| Family household | 39.6 | 41.5 | 41.7 | 43.6 | 94.2 | 92.8 |
| Lone person | 45.2 | 31.7 | 52.5 | 39.6 | 111.9 | 106.9 |
| Group household | 75.9 | 78.9 | 83.4 | 84.2 | 127.4 | 116.9 |
| Persons NPD* | 59.3 | 60.3 | 59.4 | 59.9 | 88.8 | 108.5 |

* NPD - non-private dwellings

Source: ABS, 1991 and 1996 censuses, one per cent unit record sample tapes

The female predominance among movers in family households is largely associated with the increasing number of one-parent (mainly female-headed) households. On the other hand, the dominance of males among movers in lone person households, especially at younger ages, is often due to separation or divorce. Moreover, movers identified in non-private dwellings (NPD) showed a reversal in trend, from female dominance in 1986-91 to male dominance in 1991-96, which can be linked to the increased probability of men surviving and outliving their wives or being exposed to a higher risk of being divorced than was previously the case.

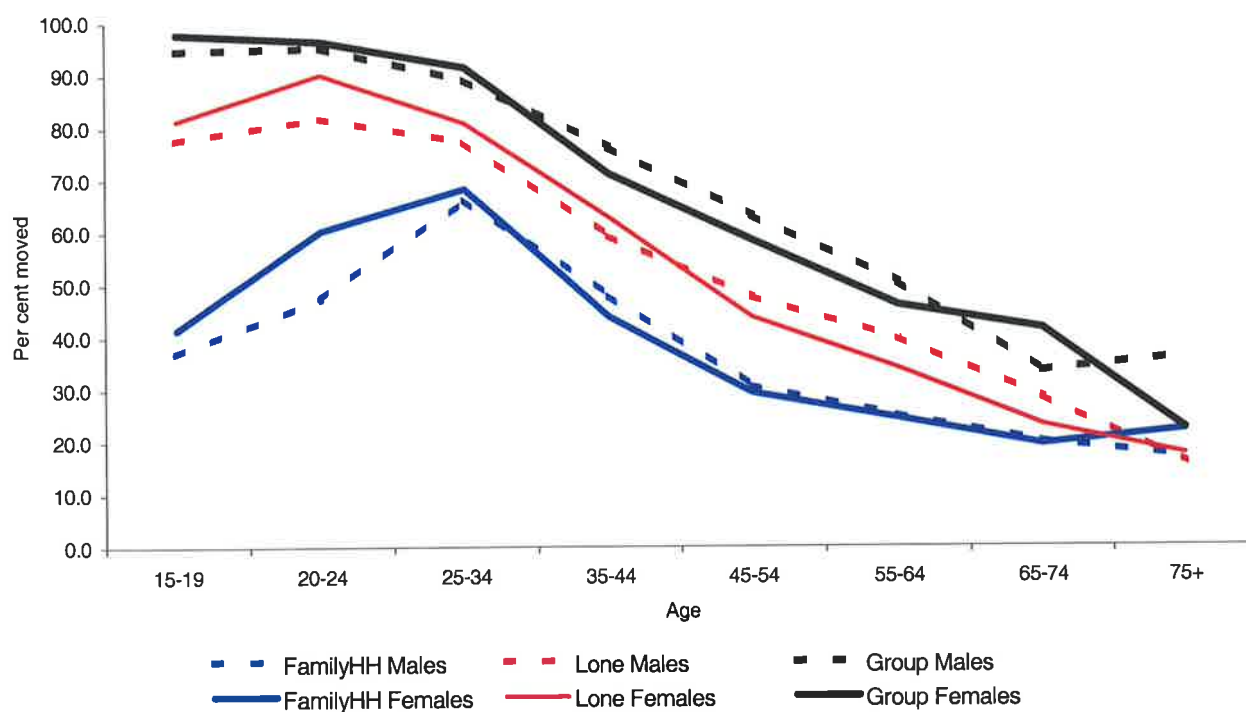
Unfortunately, the lack of comparability between family and household categories, or more specifically definitions (outlined in Chapter Two), prevents the analysis being undertaken over a longer period of time to establish relationships between changes in family formation and dissolution and any notable changes in residential mobility. However, given the significant social changes occurring the changes to census coding was necessary to more closely reflect the nature of contemporary families.

4.5.2 Age Sex Specific Mobility Rates by Household and Family Type

Age is important in considering patterns of household movement and Figure 4.3 shows the familiar pattern of the propensity to move declining as age increases across all household types. In particular, the age profiles of movers in lone and group households show a rapid decline from high rates for ages under 35 years to low rates for the aged, with female rates higher than for males at young ages, with a crossover to higher male rates in the late adult working years and a convergence between the two at older ages. Family households show lower mobility for young persons, with the highest rates for males and females aged 25-34 years. This is associated with later age at marriage that corresponds with high mobility among young persons in non-family households in which females

dominate at young adult ages. Gender variations associated with the greater propensity to live alone has recently become a major concern to population geographers in Britain who are beginning to monitor their patterns of movement and changing concentrations (Hall, Ogdem and Hill 1997; 1999).

Figure 4.3: Australia: Mobility Rates for Males and Females by Age and Household Type, 1991-96



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

In examining the rates of mobility for specific types of families, Table 4.6 shows the highest mobility was found in young families whose children are all aged less than 15 years, particularly in one-parent families in which 64 per cent had moved in the 1991-96 period compared to 50.6 per cent of couple families. Families made up of older children, classified as 'non-dependents' had much lower mobility, 30.6 per cent of one-parent families and 20.4 per cent of couple families in 1996, compared to families with dependent

children (of all ages), some 51.4 per cent of one-parent families had moved compared to 33.6 per cent of couple families. The higher mobility associated with one-parent families can be linked to their higher propensity to rent accommodation and, in some cases, clearly associated with adjustments in housing following separation and divorce, while others in less stable situations may seek alternative living arrangements.

Table 4.6: Australia: Population who Moved by Family Type, 1991-1996

| Type of Family | Per cent Moved 1991-96 | Sex Ratio Movers 1991-96 |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Couple Family | | |
| Children < 15 years | 50.6 | 99.5 |
| Dependents 15-24 years | 24.3 | 99.3 |
| Children <15 and dependents | 33.6 | 100.5 |
| Non-dependent children | 20.4 | 115.9 |
| Without children | 42.6 | 96.9 |
| One-Parent Families | | |
| Children < 15 years | 64.0 | 45.5 |
| Dependents 15-24 years | 43.8 | 59.1 |
| Children <15 and dependents | 51.4 | 63.8 |
| Non-dependent children | 30.6 | 74.0 |
| Other Family | 56.6 | 115.8 |
| Non-Family | 58.6 | 112.3 |

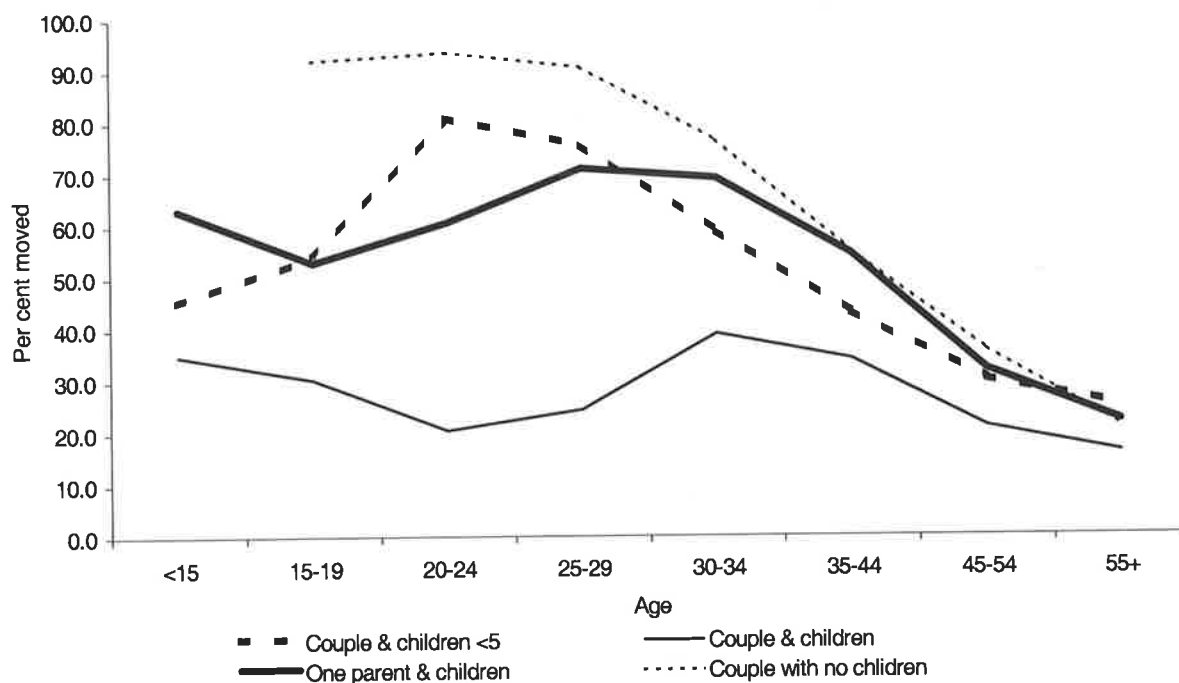
Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

Members of 'other family' (other related individuals) and also those identified as non-family, had the highest mobility rates at 56.6 and 58.6 per cent respectively. These families tend to be less stable and are consistently associated with high population turnover. Similarly, couple families without children show above average levels of movement, which is high at ages 15-24 and 25-34 years (above 80 per cent) but dropping gradually to less than 20 per cent for ages 65 years and above. This is closely associated with family formation, whereby couples (married and *de facto*) are yet to commence childbearing and are frequently involved in several moves associated with housing adjustment before the purchase of a first home or when they start a family. The sex ratios

demonstrate the female dominance in one-parent families. Of particular note, it appears that couple families with non-dependent children retain a higher ratio of male to female children at young adult ages. This is consistent with the higher mobility rates shown for younger females in non family households and indicated by the higher propensity of females to leave the parental home at younger ages (Young 1987; 1989).

Figure 4.4 shows the consistently higher mobility rates of females in one-parent families and couple only families, compared with those in two-parent families. However, the pattern tends to converge by age 55 years, with a rise in the movement of older females in two-parent families, which is no doubt associated with elderly females moving to live with their children or to be near them.

Figure 4.4: Australia: Females who had Moved by Age and Family Type, 1996



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

It is clear then that high mobility is associated with families at early stages of the life cycle, especially those with young children. One-parent families are characterised by higher rates of mobility, whether dependent or non-dependent children are present, and are overwhelmingly female-headed households. Changes in the concentration of particular types of families have clear implications for both local and regional migration trends.

4.6 MOBILITY AND LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

In examining the relationship of movers to the household reference person there are clear differences between males and females. Table 4.7 shows that ages experiencing the highest rates of mobility (20-24 and 25-34 years) are the least likely to be in a partnership and identified as either husband/wife or partner of the household reference person. Those moving at young ages (15-19 years) were found to be primarily children (both dependent and non-dependent) in family households. It is interesting to note, that a higher proportion of young adult males were identified as non-dependent children who had moved in the context of family households than was the case for females. Moreover, only 2.6 per cent of males and 8.4 per cent of females who moved at this age were identified as household reference persons, with a relatively low representation of non-family members (16.6 per cent of males and 20.5 per cent of females).

It was not surprising to find that as age increased there was a rise in husband/wife or partner as household reference person, with females dominating until age 30-34 years and males doing so thereafter. Males aged between 20-54 years were more likely than females to be non-family members, while at ages over 65 years a high 42.8 per cent of females and only 23.8 per cent of males were in that group. In addition, some 12.6 per cent of older females who had moved compared to 5.7 per cent of males were recorded as other

related individuals in the household. These are likely to be parents living with children and as such represent only a small percentage of older movers.

Table 4.7: Australia: Distribution of Male and Female Movers by Age and Relationship to Household Reference Person, 1996

| Relationship to Household Reference Person | Per cent Movers | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
| | 15-19 | | 20-24 | | 25-29 | | 30-34 | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Husband-wife/partner | 2.6 | 8.4 | 27.5 | 41.7 | 59.3 | 64.7 | 71.0 | 72.5 |
| Lone-parent | 0.2 | 2.4 | 0.3 | 7.5 | 0.4 | 8.8 | 1.2 | 12.1 |
| Dependent student | 49.8 | 46.7 | 4.0 | 3.2 | - | - | - | - |
| Non-dependent child | 22.9 | 15.4 | 17.1 | 10.3 | 6.6 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 2.0 |
| Other related individual | 7.8 | 6.6 | 7.8 | 5.2 | 3.5 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 1.4 |
| Non-family member | 16.6 | 20.5 | 43.3 | 32.0 | 30.2 | 20.5 | 21.8 | 12.0 |
| Relationship to Household Reference Person | 35-44 | | 45-54 | | 55-64 | | 65+ | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| | Husband-wife/partner | 75.1 | 71.4 | 73.9 | 67.7 | 72.4 | 63.2 | 68.9 |
| Lone-parent | 2.5 | 16.1 | 3.6 | 13.4 | 2.5 | 6.3 | 1.7 | 6.1 |
| Dependent student | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Non-dependent child | 2.1 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.8 | - | - |
| Other related individual | 1.6 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 5.5 | 5.7 | 12.6 |
| Non-family member | 18.7 | 10.2 | 19.6 | 16.1 | 22.2 | 24.2 | 23.6 | 42.8 |

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

Unfortunately, we know very little about the mobility decision making of families and households, in particular the role of women in the movement decisions of different types of families. On the other hand, it can also be argued that we know little about the role of men who are predominantly the household reference person and are assumed to be the initiator of residential movement in the majority of cases, especially in the context of longer distance mobility. Moreover, the substantial mobility indicated for young 'singles', particularly females living in non-family households, indicates considerable independence and autonomy of movement, which has received little research attention in Australia. Young (1987; 1989) has provided some excellent research papers specifically looking at the leaving home process, however she was primarily interested in its effect on family formation and fertility rather than its impact on migration. Similarly, in the United States

Goldscheider and Waite (1987a; 1987b) and Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1994) show significant changes in the ages at which young adults were leaving the parental home and returning, but fail to recognise their relevance for overall patterns of residential mobility.

It is important that more is known about young adult mobility which involves an increasing proportion of all persons who move and is the most likely to be associated with repeat and return migration (Bell, 1996a; Bell and Hugo, 2000). Unfortunately young movers are the group whose mobility over a five-year time period is grossly understated. They may have moved numerous times but are home at the time of census and are recorded as not moving, or are assumed to have moved once and yet may have made multiple moves to several destinations from where they lived five years ago (Bell 1996b).

4.7 REASONS AND FREQUENCY OF MOVEMENT

The Family Survey conducted by the ABS in 1992 provides an insight into the characteristics and circumstances of males and females who had moved in the five-year period prior to the survey (outlined in Chapter Two). An advantage of this data source compared to the census is that the frequency of movement is recorded as well as reasons for moving. Therefore, it is possible to contrast specific age groups by marital status and to estimate the overall propensity of males and females to move.

4.7.1 Frequency of Movement of Respondents

The analysis of survey data showed that 52 per cent of respondents indicated that they had not moved, some 22 per cent had moved once and 26 per cent had moved more than once in the five-year period prior to the survey. Most notably, there was only a very slight difference between surveyed males and females in propensities to move which was

found to be not statistically significant. Table 4.8 shows the variations in the frequency of movement according to age of respondent with the majority of young adults moving more than once, and for respondents aged 20-24 years, a higher percentage of females had moved more frequently (50.9 per cent) compared to males (41.5 per cent). However, the highest rates of movement were among respondents aged 25-29 years with over 50 per cent of males and females making multiple moves and one-fifth not moving at all. In line with the analysis of census data discussed above, it was interesting that females aged 15-19 years moved more frequently than males, although the overall rate of movement among this group was low compared to those in their 20s. By contrast, relatively high rates of movement were evident for respondents aged 30-34 years with males averaging marginally higher movement than females, which continued through to oldest ages.

Table 4.8: Frequency of Movement of Male and Female Respondents by Age, 1992

| Age | Not Moved | | Moved Once | | Moved More than Once | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 15-19 | 55.1 | 51.2 | 23.5 | 21.6 | 21.4 | 27.2 |
| 20-24 | 38.5 | 28.7 | 20.0 | 20.5 | 41.5 | 50.9 |
| 25-29 | 20.2 | 19.0 | 23.4 | 26.9 | 56.5 | 54.1 |
| 30-34 | 29.6 | 32.2 | 27.6 | 29.3 | 42.8 | 38.5 |
| 35-44 | 47.6 | 51.4 | 25.5 | 25.0 | 26.9 | 23.6 |
| 45-54 | 62.8 | 65.6 | 21.1 | 20.4 | 16.1 | 14.1 |
| 55-64 | 70.9 | 72.6 | 20.7 | 20.3 | 8.4 | 7.1 |
| 65-74 | 76.7 | 79.2 | 17.2 | 16.2 | 6.1 | 4.6 |
| 75+ | 81.1 | 81.1 | 14.6 | 15.0 | 4.3 | 3.9 |
| Total | 63.3 | 63.1 | 17.0 | 17.3 | 19.6 | 19.6 |

Source: ABS, 1992 Family Survey, unit record tape

The survey indicated that as age increased there was a corresponding increase in respondents who had not moved and of those who had moved, they were far more likely to have only made one move. Moreover, there was little difference between males and females in the propensity to move at least once with the main discrepancies occurring in non-movement and in frequent moves (found to be statistically significant). Table 4.9

shows the higher rates of movement of never married and separated/divorced males and females, which tend to be accompanied by a greater propensity to move more than once. Never married females moved more frequently than males, 37.4 per cent compared to 33.5 per cent respectively. By contrast, separated/divorced males were more likely to move more than once (42.5 per cent) compared to their female counterparts (39.8 per cent) and they were also the least likely of the groups to not have moved. Married respondents tended to only make one move, with one-fifth making multiple moves. This was similar for the widowed population although they generally had a much lower propensity to move at all.

Table 4.9: Australia: Frequency of Movement of Male and Female Respondents by Marital Status, 1992

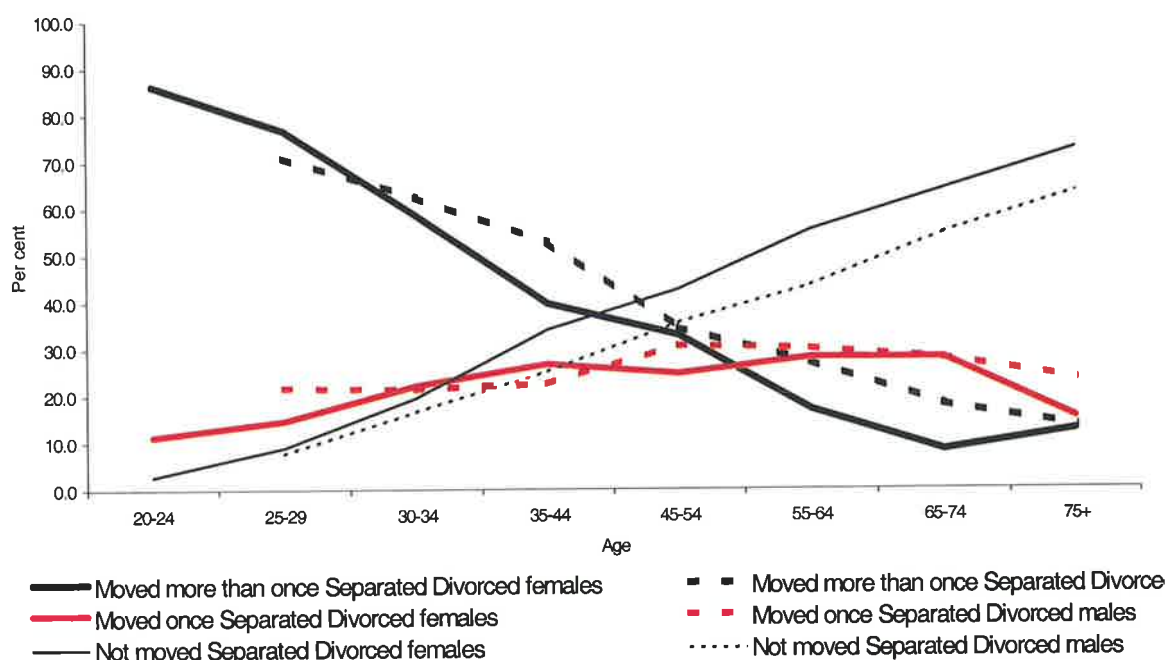
| Marital Status | Not Moved | | Moved Once | | Moved More than Once | |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | Males Per cent | Females Per cent | Males Per cent | Females Per cent | Males Per cent | Females Per cent |
| Never married | 45.7 | 42.3 | 20.9 | 20.3 | 33.5 | 37.4 |
| Married | 56.8 | 56.2 | 22.9 | 23.5 | 20.3 | 20.3 |
| Separated/divorced | 31.8 | 36.1 | 25.7 | 24.1 | 42.5 | 39.8 |
| Widowed | 70.5 | 74.8 | 20.9 | 18.7 | 8.6 | 6.6 |

Source: ABS, 1992 Family Survey, unit record tape

The two groups showing the highest propensity to move over the five-year period prior to the survey, those never married and separated/divorced, are the two that have increased both proportionately and numerically over the last decade or so, as identified in the analysis of census data. These two groups are also more likely to make multiple moves, indeed 17 per cent of separated/divorced males and females had moved more than three times, which was similar for the never married, with females slightly more likely to do so (18.6 per cent) compared to males (15.9 per cent).

The age specific rates of movement for the separated/divorced male and female respondents shown in Figure 4.5, indicate that those at young ages were the most likely to have moved more than once with the rates decreasing as age increased. It was also apparent that males were more likely to make frequent moves although the rates remained high up until age 50, while females tended to be more likely to make only one move. The pattern of non-movement, even among separated/divorced persons, increased substantially with age and was higher for females than males.

Figure 4.5: Frequency of Movement of Separated/Divorced Male and Female Respondents by Age, 1992

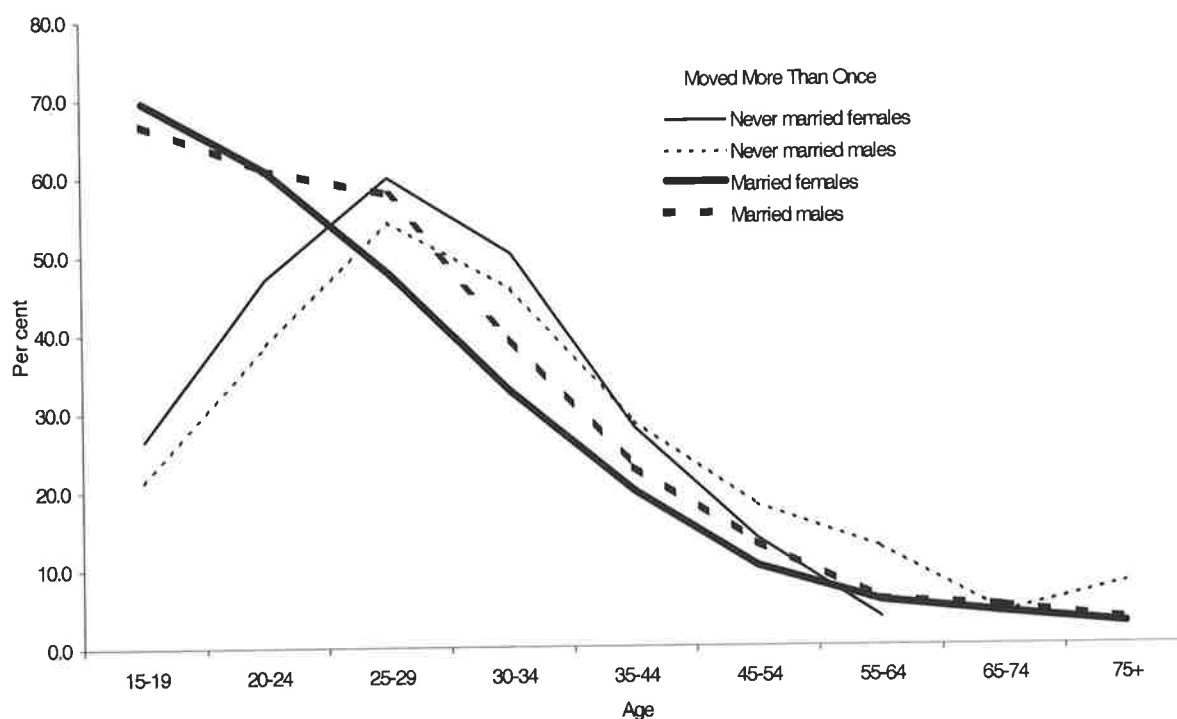


Source: ABS, 1992 Family Survey, unit record tape

Figure 4.6 shows that married males and females at young ages are more likely to have moved more than once compared to those who had never married. This is no doubt associated with housing adjustments as 'young marrieds' are more likely to be in rental accommodation that generally indicates a higher propensity to movement. Given the

significant decline in the number of persons marrying at young ages it can be suggested that this may cause a drop in the overall levels of mobility at young adult ages, or more specifically has helped generated significant differences between young adult males and females in the propensity to move. Alternatively, the greater likelihood of young adolescent males to remain in the family home is reflected in the lower migration propensities of never married males up until 35 years of age compared to females.

Figure 4.6: Percentage of Never Married and Married Male and Female Respondents who Moved More than Once by Age, 1992



Source: ABS, 1992 Family Survey, unit record tape

4.7.2 Reasons Given by Respondents for Moving

The Family Survey asks reasons for movement, which allows the testing of some of the underlying assumptions about family and housing motivated moves. Table 4.10 shows the main reasons given by respondents for moving ranked according to the overall level of response. The response 'to be with or near family' was the most popular (18 per cent),

particularly for females (21.7 per cent). Reasons associated with the condition or suitability of housing and the need to purchase a home, were the next popular responses, closely followed by 'moving to a better area'. Only 11 per cent of respondents indicated employment related reasons, which were more important to males (15.6 per cent) than females (7.5 per cent). There was not such a large discrepancy between the responses of males and females evident in respect to moving because of marriage, separation or divorce and also to gain their independence. Generally responses relating to changes associated with marriage or separation/divorce etc were low, with housing related reasons collectively constituting the majority response given by both males and females.

Table 4.10: Reasons Given by Male and Female Respondents for Moving¹, 1992

| Reasons for Moving | Males Per cent | Females Per cent | Persons Per cent |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| To be with or near Family | 14.4 | 21.7 | 18.1 |
| House Unsatisfactory | 16.7 | 17.0 | 16.9 |
| To Buy Own Home | 17.2 | 16.2 | 16.7 |
| Employment | 15.6 | 7.5 | 11.5 |
| Move to Better Area | 11.3 | 10.2 | 10.7 |
| Move due to Marriage/Partnership | 6.5 | 8.3 | 7.4 |
| Move to Lower Housing Costs | 7.2 | 7.6 | 7.4 |
| Separation/Divorce | 4.1 | 5.3 | 4.7 |
| Independence | 4.3 | 4.2 | 4.3 |
| Education | 2.6 | 2.0 | 2.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Respondents | (7,151) | (7,329) | (14,480) |

¹ Excludes 'other' reasons and not specified

Source: ABS, 1992 Family Survey, unit record tape

It is interesting that when marital status was matched with reasons for moving 29.6 per cent of females aged 15 years or more who had never married stated 'with or near family' as the main reason for moving which was similar for males. The most favoured response given by married males and females was 'to buy their own home'. Almost one-quarter of separated/divorced males and females gave 'divorce-family conflict' as their

prime reason for moving while unsatisfactory housing was cited next, some 18 per cent of males and 20 per cent of females. The most popular response for widowed females was to be 'with or near family' (41.5 per cent) and one-quarter said they moved because of unsatisfactory housing and 10 per cent to lower the cost of housing, which was similar for males. It can be assumed that as housing tended to be a popular response for moving most people discount the personal circumstances that may have triggered the need to move and report that their residential needs, such as a change of housing or accommodation, was why they moved. Unfortunately the survey did not establish the geographical extent or distance of the move but did distinguish between urban and rural location at destination. It was found that urban and rural females claimed the main reason for moving was to be 'with or near family' (21.3 per cent in urban and 23.3 per cent in rural). Males in rural areas were more likely than their urban counterparts to give employment as a reason for moving which was also the case for females but considerably lower.

4.8 CONCLUSION

From this analysis, it is apparent that women outnumber men among the movers, representing some 50.5 percent of usual residents who changed residence in the five-year period prior to the 1996 census. This is similar to the situation found in earlier censuses (Bell 1992; Hugo 1986; Bell and Hugo 2000) but different to Rowland's analysis of 1971 census data showing a higher proportion of male to female movers (Rowland 1979 p.96). Moreover, the differences in the mobility of males and females at younger ages according to marital status are largely associated with the earlier movement of females out of the parental home and their younger age of marriage compared to males, despite increasing age at marriage. At older ages, females continue to have longer life expectancies than males

despite improvements in male mortality, coupled with the common practice of marrying men older than themselves, while those who are divorced are generally less likely to marry again. On the other hand, it can be argued that men's higher rates of mobility from about 30 to 50 years of age, are largely due to the fact that they leave home later, marry much later, are more likely to remarry relatively quickly after divorce and widowhood, and generally die much earlier than females at older ages, and as such become a death rather than a migrant at older ages. In other words, the timing of demographic events affect the lives of men and women differently which in turn is likely to influence both the numbers, timing and nature of geographical mobility at particular points in time.

It must be borne in mind that assessing the lifetime mobility differences between ever married and single persons in Australia is difficult given that mobility data are cross-sectional. Moreover, there are deficiencies inherent in the census data relating to first marriage, divorce, widowhood, patterns of remarriage, number of marriages, length of time divorced, widowed or married. Nevertheless, census unit record file data sets do provide an insight into the mobility of families and households and the characteristics of males and females who moved and those who did not. This is a highly useful but rather neglected source of information on the characteristics and household circumstances of movers, which can be linked to demographic change over time.

There is ample evidence to suggest that leaving home in the eighties and nineties in Australia has changed with many young persons leaving at older ages and returning frequently, which is similar to findings of studies in the United States (Buck and Scott 1993; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1994). This contrasts markedly with their parents' generation who were only too keen to 'flee the nest', usually to marry and establish their own homes, at much younger ages (Carmichael 1998). The reasons are many and varied, however the changing roles and status of women are understated and not commonly

discussed in the context of migration studies in Australia. Of particular concern is to what extent these changes have influenced the mobility of young adult men and women, who universally have the highest rates of mobility compared with all other age groups. Moreover, it is argued that the more diverse and complex patterns of leaving home and the variety of paths or alternatives to marriage, as well as the higher incidence of divorce, make the well-worn life cycle model much less appropriate as an explanation for age specific patterns of migration.

There is no longer such a clean and tidy transition from parental home to a family of one's own or, indeed, this is no longer perceived to be the only transition likely to occur or the main lifestyle aspiration. Demographically this has important implications for those burdened with the task of producing population and household projections, particularly in respect to assumptions about migration, family formation and fertility. Most importantly, it is argued that economic determinants of migration must be considered together with demographic and social determinants to more fully understand gender differentials in migration. This is of increasing concern to planners, service providers and policy makers given the shift in demand for housing, jobs, services, facilities and programs that are likely to accompany social, economic and demographic changes.

The next chapter is focussed on inter-regional patterns of migration to place some of the socio-demographic changes in a geographical context and to demonstrate that the patterns of female movement can differ between sub-groups and impact on both origin and destination regions.

CHAPTER FIVE

FEMALE MIGRATION BETWEEN METROPOLITAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN REGIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this chapter is to identify the characteristics of women and men moving to major cities (metropolitan areas) and those moving away from them. The distributional effects of such movement are of only secondary interest as the focus is on social, economic and demographic differences between movers and non-movers that can and do impact on the areas of origin and destination. The approach adopted is similar to studies concerned with the migration of women to cities in developing countries (Chant 1992; Hugo 1993; Khoo, Smith and Fawcett 1984) where research has shown that female migrants have a major impact at both origin and destination. Hugo (1993 p.57) argues that it is important to determine how the characteristics of female migrants are different from at least three other groups:

1. non-migrant women at origin;
2. non-migrant women at destination; and
3. men in the same migration stream.

Whether the same applies for women undertaking migration in Australia needs to be addressed.

Rural Australia is still experiencing depopulation especially in the context of young adults, in particular females. Gender and youth issues associated with out-migration from rural areas has received considerable research interest in Ireland (Ni Laoire 1999; 2000; 2001), in Scotland (Stockdale 2002a; 2002b; 2004), in Wales and England (Stillwell *et al* 1992), in the Scandinavian North (Dahlstrom 1996) and in the Northern Atlantic regions, specifically Norway (Hamilton and Otterstad 1998). Catriona Ni Laoire (1999 p.224)

argues that females in Ireland are the major losers in rural areas compared to males due to their social and economic marginalisation, which forces them out of small agriculturally-based communities. An alternative argument is that they actually benefit in the longer term compared to males, because they usually gain skills and experience of city living through education and training not available to those left behind (Ni Laoire 2001). Moreover, Dahlstrom (1996) writing on young women in rural Norway proposes the idea of the 'male periphery' where male economic and leisure activities dominate in such contexts and women's activities are not valued as much as those of males. She argues that

'Young men tend to follow in the footsteps of their fathers while young rural women break with their mothers on their life paths' (Dahlstrom 1996 p.259).

This gives rise to larger numbers of young females leaving home and moving to cities with significant differences between the sexes in the reasons and consequences of migration.

There has been little interest specifically in *female* internal migrants in Australia and yet it is commonly accepted that they differ significantly by type of migration, age and lifecycle stage (Hugo 1986; Maher and Goodman 1984; Bell 1995; Rowland 1979). This chapter uses broad geographical regions to show differences in the migration patterns of males and females and their characteristics as they relate to inter-regional migration in Australia as follows:

- non-metropolitan to metropolitan movement
- metropolitan to metropolitan movement
- metropolitan to non-metropolitan movement
- non-metropolitan to non-metropolitan movement.

It is important to stress that migrants are specifically defined here as persons who reported at the time of the census that their usual residential address five years earlier was in a different section of State from that of their usual residential address in 1996. For example, they had moved from capital city to rest of State, between capital cities, from rest of State

to capital cities and between rest of State sectors. The units of analysis are the capital city statistical divisions to form the category 'metropolitan' and the rest of State/Territory is labelled 'non-metropolitan', despite the fact that some major urban areas exist within them. Persons excluded from this analysis are those who stated that they were overseas five years prior to the census, those with no location stated in the five-year period prior to the census or in the census year, as well as persons who were not usual residents. The analysis presented here is based on census matrix tapes and one per cent sample tapes from the 1986 and 1996 censuses.

The Chapter is divided into four parts. The first looks at the migration of males and females to and from metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas and the interchange between them. This section also examines changes that have occurred between the 1986 and 1996 censuses with the view that females have become more significant in patterns of movement. The second contrasts the demographic, socio-economic, and family characteristics of male and female migrants in each of the migration streams and considers reasons given for migration. The third compares the characteristics of female migrants moving between the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors with female non-migrants at origin and destination. The fourth examines differences in inter-regional migration between the States and Territories with a particular concern with the migration of young adults as well as the aged. This section also examines the relationship between population size, sex ratios and migration by contrasting areas within non-metropolitan New South Wales and South Australia to demonstrate that young females (aged 15-24 years) and older females (aged 65 years and above) are more likely than males to leave small agriculturally-based communities.

5.2 TYPES OF INTER-REGIONAL MIGRATION

5.2.1 Age and Sex Selectivity of Migration by Type

This section explores the four types of migration identified above and establishes the age and sex specific differences that characterise the streams. Using the census migration matrix data, Table 5.1 shows that the bulk of movement in the 1991-1996 period was between metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors, accounting for 36 per cent of all male and female movement, and the second largest flow (one-third) was from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas. Approximately 18 per cent of moves were between the capital cities (metropolitan to metropolitan) and about 12 per cent involved migration between non-metropolitan sectors. Of particular interest, the two latter streams were both male dominated, while the flows to and from the capital cities were female dominated.

Table 5.1: Australia: Distribution of Male and Female Migrants by Type of Move¹, 1991-96

| Type of Move | Males Number | Females Number | Males Per cent | Females Per cent |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Metropolitan to Non-metropolitan | 262,049 | 266,092 | 36.5 | 36.4 |
| Non-metropolitan to Metropolitan | 234,791 | 247,111 | 32.7 | 33.8 |
| Metropolitan to Metropolitan | 132,396 | 130,507 | 18.4 | 17.9 |
| Non-metropolitan to Non-metropolitan | 89,258 | 86,431 | 12.4 | 11.8 |
| Total | 718,494 | 730,141 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

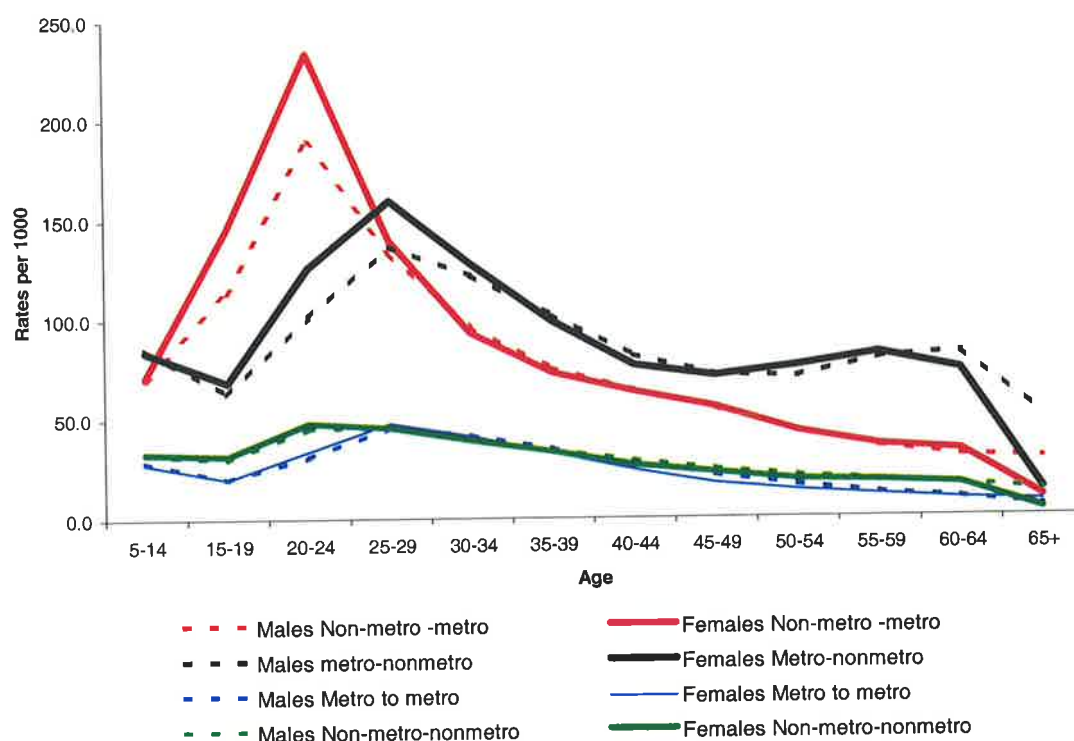
¹ Excludes persons who were overseas in 1991 but resident in Australia in 1996 and those who did not state place of residence in either 1991 or 1996

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

Figure 5.1 shows that females aged 15-24 years and those aged 60 years and above, had higher rates of migration from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas than males, especially the former. By contrast, older males aged 60 and above had higher rates of out-migration from capital cities while females were over-represented at ages 45 to 60 years, with migrants aged in their 30s and 40s and their children also highly visible in this stream.

This differs from migration between capital cities where high rates of migration at ages 25-39 years were matched with lower rates for young children. The more mature migrants aged in their 50s and also at older ages, were over-represented in the stream moving away from capital cities to non-metropolitan areas. Of particular note, there is a relatively uniform pattern across all the streams of a higher representation of females up to age 35 years with a crossover to male dominance to about age 55 years, whereby females regain their dominance at older ages, especially in migration to metropolitan areas.

Figure 5.1: Australia: Age-Sex Specific Rates of Migration by Type, 1991-96



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

The higher representation of females at older ages is largely due to them being younger than their partners when they move away from the cities and they are also more likely to survive their spouses. The fact that husbands tend to predecease their spouses means that they are not counted in the out-migration of the aged. Moreover, older

widowed females tend to move back to the cities from which they moved or to where their adult children resided (Rudd 1987 p.152). The proximity of children has been found to be a major drawcard for older rural females who on widowhood follow their adult children who migrated to cities or major towns when they were young adults (Rowland 1991 p.73).

Table 5.2 shows that there was a net migration *loss* of 5.1 males per 1000 and 3.6 for females in the metropolitan sector in the 1991-1996 period and for non-metropolitan an overall net migration *gain* of 8.9 males per 1000 and 4.6 for females. Most notably, there were substantial variations by age with youth more likely to exit non-metropolitan areas, reflected in high net gains in those ages to the capital cities. The non-metropolitan sector experienced a net loss of ages 15-19 years of 50.6 males per 1000 and 76.5 for females, and even higher rates for ages 20-24 years of 87.8 per 1000 males compared to 107 for females. By contrast the metropolitan population only experienced net migration gains at ages 15-19 years (29.6 per 1000 males and 41.7 females) and for ages 20-24 years (42.8 per 1000 males and 49.4 for females).

Table 5.2: Australia: Net Migration Rates for Non-metropolitan and Metropolitan Male and Female Populations¹, 1991-96

| | Metropolitan | | Non-Metropolitan | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 5-14 | -10.9 | -8.7 | 15.5 | 13.1 |
| 15-19 | 29.6 | 41.7 | -50.6 | -76.5 |
| 20-24 | 42.8 | 49.4 | -87.8 | -107.5 |
| 25-29 | -13.8 | -9.7 | 3.2 | 20.2 |
| 30-34 | -15.1 | -18.9 | 26.1 | 35.1 |
| 35-39 | -10.0 | -14.9 | 26.7 | 26.0 |
| 40-44 | -9.8 | -7.3 | 17.4 | 13.1 |
| 45-49 | -16.4 | -8.5 | 17.0 | 15.7 |
| 50-54 | -29.5 | -19.0 | 26.9 | 32.9 |
| 55-59 | -35.9 | -29.7 | 44.6 | 46.3 |
| 60-64 | -11.2 | -27.7 | 52.1 | 40.7 |
| 65+ | -5.1 | -8.0 | 21.6 | 3.8 |
| Total | -5.1 | -3.6 | 8.9 | 4.6 |

¹ Excludes persons who were overseas in 1991 but resident in Australia in 1996 and those who did not state place of residence in either 1991 or 1996

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

The table also shows that female net migration gain in the non-metropolitan sector is higher than for males in the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups. This represents a counter-flow of females back to country areas, which is consistent with earlier studies by Hugo (1971) and Rowland (1979). The high rates of out-migration of males and females aged 15-24 years to the cities have been found to consistently give rise to a reverse flow some five to ten years later, possibly to marry or seek jobs back in country areas, or both. Alternatively, this may simply be a lag effect as male migrants tend to be slightly older than females and are found to be more prominent in the net migration gain of population in their mid 30s to 40s. It is worth noting that this is also evident for the older population where the male rates of net migration gain are higher than for females in the non-metropolitan sector, especially for ages over 60 years, which is largely associated with the retirement migration of couples. It is interesting to see whether these trends are simply a continuation of the past or represent changes in age specific patterns of male and female migration that follow from socio-demographic changes, especially those associated with the roles and aspirations of females. Economic factors are also likely to play a major role in these changes as industrial changes and restructuring impact heavily on regional populations (O'Connor and Stimson 1996; Taylor 1991).

5.2.2 Trends by Type of Migration 1986 to 1996

In examining trends between 1986 and 1996, Table 5.3 shows a slight reduction in the proportional representation of migration from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas, increasing from 38 per cent in 1986 to 39 per cent in 1991 and declining to 36 per cent in 1996. Hugo (1989; 2003a) points out that there was a slowdown in *counterurbanisation* in the late 1980s and 1990s in Australia similar to that reported a little earlier in the US (Fuguitt and Beale 1996). However, migration between metropolitan centres increased

marginally although it still remained relatively small, while migration from non-metropolitan to the metropolitan sector retained a similar share in 1996 to that indicated for 1986 after falling in 1991. With the exception of the metropolitan to non-metropolitan stream, there were significant gains in the number of female migrants between the 1981-86 and 1991-96 periods. Most notably, an increase of 14.7 per cent for females and 5.2 per cent for males moving between non-metropolitan sectors, and gains of 10 per cent for females and 7.5 per cent for males moving between metropolitan sectors.

Table 5.3: Australia: Number of Male and Female Migrants by Type of Migration¹, 1981-86, 1986-91 and 1991-96

| | Non-metro to Metro | | Metro to Metro | | Metro to Non-metro | | Non-metro to Non-metro | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------|------------------------|-------------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 1981-86 | 230,418 | 233,847 | 123,150 | 118,539 | 269,940 | 266,052 | 84,841 | 75,382 |
| 1986-91 | 225,468 | 233,608 | 131,094 | 127,167 | 291,435 | 293,183 | 89,813 | 83,945 |
| 1991-96 | 234,791 | 247,111 | 132,396 | 130,507 | 262,049 | 266,092 | 89,258 | 86,431 |
| Percentage Change | | | | | | | | |
| 1986-96 | 4,373 | 13,264 | 9,246 | 11,968 | -7,891 | -40 | 4,417 | 11,049 |
| | 1.9 | 5.7 | 7.5 | 10.1 | -2.9 | 0.0 | 5.2 | 14.7 |
| Per cent | | | | | | | | |
| 1981-86 | 32.5 | 33.7 | 17.4 | 17.1 | 38.1 | 38.3 | 12.0 | 10.9 |
| 1986-91 | 30.6 | 31.7 | 17.8 | 17.2 | 39.5 | 39.7 | 12.2 | 11.4 |
| 1991-96 | 32.7 | 33.8 | 18.4 | 17.9 | 36.5 | 36.4 | 12.4 | 11.8 |
| | Sex Ratios | | Sex Ratios | | Sex Ratios | | Sex Ratios | |
| 1981-86 | 98.5 | | 103.9 | | 101.5 | | 112.6 | |
| 1986-91 | 96.5 | | 103.1 | | 99.4 | | 107.0 | |
| 1991-96 | 95.0 | | 101.5 | | 98.5 | | 103.3 | |

¹ Excludes persons who were overseas in 1991 but resident in Australia in 1996 and those who did not state place of residence in either 1991 or 1996

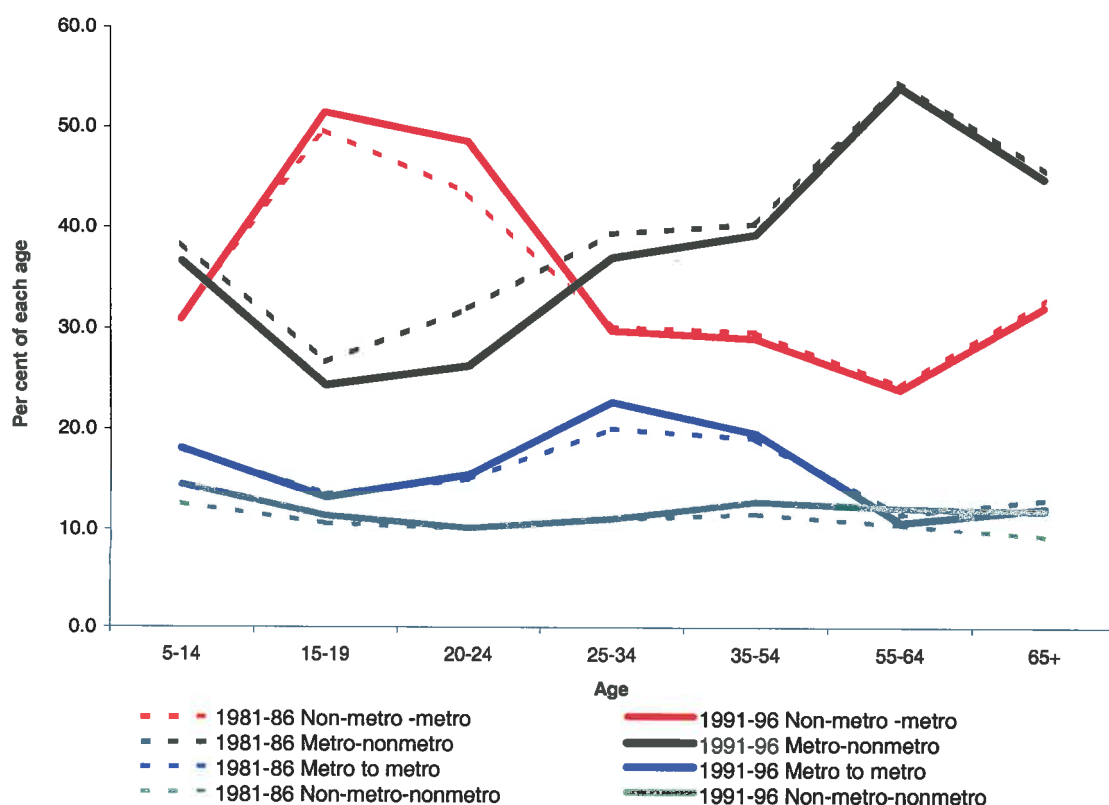
Source: ABS, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

The sex ratios show the consistent pattern of female dominance in movement away from non-metropolitan areas to capital cities, declining from 98.5 in 1986 to 95 by 1996. It should be noted that the reverse stream had also become more feminised, dropping to a ratio of 98.5 in 1996 from 101.5 in 1986. Males dominated in migration within metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors, although ratios had declined, especially for the non-metropolitan stream from 112.6 in 1986 to 103.3 by 1996. This was primarily due to

an increase in the number of female migrants indicated in all streams by 1996, and yet little attention has been focussed on the changing sex composition of these streams.

Figure 5.2 shows the shifts that have occurred in the representation of female migrants in the exchange streams between metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors between 1981-86 and 1991-96. Most notably, females aged 20-24 years were more highly represented in the stream from non-metropolitan to metropolitan (red lines), with a proportionate decline in the reverse stream (black lines). Similarly, for females aged 25-34 years there was an increase in movement between capital cities (blue lines), and a reduction in their exodus from cities to non-metropolitan areas (black lines). Female migrants aged 65 years and above were more likely to move between non-metropolitan sectors (green lines) by 1996 with less movement occurring between metropolitan sectors (blue lines).

Figure 5.2: Australia: Change in Age Profiles of Female Migrants by Type of Movement, 1981-86 and 1991-96



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

The main discernable increase over the ten-year period has been in the movement of adolescent and young females aged 15-19 and 20-24 years to the capital cities. However, the counter-flow of young females at slightly older ages was proportionately less than in 1986. This decline corresponded with a significant proportional increase in females aged 25-34 years moving between metropolitan sectors. This change tends to support research in the UK (Bailey and Cooke 1998; Bielby and Bielby 1992; Cooke and Bailey 1996; 1999) that has found that females are increasingly likely to seek skilled jobs in metropolitan cities independently, or as part of a family unit securing jobs for both partners, particularly career-oriented couples. Moreover, the representation of females aged over 55 years in each stream remained very much the same despite the growing number of aged, although migration between non-metropolitan sectors had become a little more popular. This can be related to retirement migration occurring to coastal areas as well as the out-migration of the rural aged to many of the larger provincial centres (Drysdale 1991; Hugo 1989; Rudd; 1987; 1989a; 1994).

The age specific sex ratios for each stream shown in Table 5.4 provide further evidence of the substantial female exodus from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas as most sex ratios declined between 1986 and 1996, especially for ages 15-24 years. The low ratios for ages 20-24 years in the reverse stream are related to high rates of out-migration, as many must seek jobs in country areas, join rural-based partners or both, although not necessarily returning to areas from which they migrated. Moreover, the sex ratios for the *older population had increased in all streams with the exception of the one between non-metropolitan areas in which the ratio declined from 104 to 92.8 between 1986 and 1996 to become more in line with the others.* It can be surmised that the increase in the ratios (although still indicating a significantly higher number of older females to males) is a function of improvements in the longevity of men and the increasing movement of couples,

which tends to characterise retirement migration (Murphy and Zehner 1988; Rowland 1991; Rudd 1987). However, it remains that the migration of older persons to metropolitan areas and between them is very much more feminised than those to non-metropolitan areas.

Table 5.4: Australia: Age Specific Sex Ratios by Migration Stream¹, 1981-86 and 1991-96

| Age | Non-metro to Metro Sex Ratios | | Metro to Metro Sex Ratios | | Metro to Non-metro Sex Ratios | | Non-metro to Non-metro Sex Ratios | |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 |
| 5-14 | 104.3 | 104.5 | 102.8 | 103.7 | 106.3 | 107.7 | 108.1 | 103.5 |
| 15-19 | 87.8 | 84.3 | 106.2 | 99.4 | 110.7 | 99.1 | 112.9 | 100.9 |
| 20-24 | 88.4 | 86.2 | 98.8 | 91.5 | 87.4 | 85.7 | 104.1 | 99.4 |
| 25-34 | 104.2 | 98.8 | 99.7 | 97.8 | 96.3 | 90.0 | 113.3 | 100.9 |
| 35-54 | 114.2 | 104.0 | 120.6 | 113.3 | 111.1 | 104.3 | 122.8 | 109.6 |
| 55-64 | 94.3 | 97.1 | 97.2 | 106.5 | 105.8 | 105.8 | 111.8 | 104.6 |
| 65+ | 70.0 | 75.9 | 66.3 | 68.5 | 89.2 | 94.5 | 104.0 | 92.8 |

¹ Excludes persons who were overseas in 1991 but resident in Australia in 1996 and those who did not state place of residence in either 1991 or 1996

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses; unpublished migration matrix tapes

In sum, the trends show that migration between the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors is highly age selective with significant differences between males and females. There is evidence of the greater participation of females in all migration streams and yet almost all research has not differentiated between males and females in Australian inter-regional migration, especially in the context of *counterurbanisation* (Bell 1995; Bell and Hugo 2000).

5.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS BY STREAM

5.3.1 Age, Marital and Family Differentials between Male and Female Migrants

Table 5.5 shows the differences in marital status and family structure in the streams, and the stream from non-metropolitan to metropolitan stands apart with the highest representation of young adults (15-24 years), the lowest percentage married and living in

family households, the least likely to have children with the highest representation in non-family households. Migration between metropolitan sectors, over-represented in respect to ages 25-34 years, had a high percentage of migrants who were married and living in families with children less than five years of age, and also non-family members. By contrast, migration from capital cities to non-metropolitan areas, over-represented in respect to older persons (about 17 per cent of males and females were aged 55 and over), was predominantly of family households, had the highest percentage married and also widowed, and a low percentage of non-family members. This stream also had a high representation of parents with young children (aged under five years) while at the same time showing a high percentage of couples with no children, indicating a rather bimodal distribution of young families and older retirees.

Table 5.5: Selected Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Male and Female Migrants by Type of Migration¹, 1996

| Age | Non-Metro to Metro | | Metro to Metro | | Metro to Non-Metro | | Non-Metro to Non-Metro | |
|---|--------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| 5-14 | 15.8 | 14.3 | 16.3 | 15.9 | 17.3 | 15.8 | 19.2 | 19.2 |
| 15-24 | 28.9 | 32.1 | 16.4 | 17.7 | 14.1 | 15.3 | 18.7 | 19.3 |
| 25-34 | 22.6 | 21.7 | 30.1 | 31.2 | 22.9 | 25.1 | 22.2 | 22.7 |
| 35-44 | 14.9 | 13.8 | 20.7 | 19.1 | 17.6 | 16.5 | 17.7 | 17.3 |
| 45-54 | 8.9 | 8.0 | 10.1 | 8.5 | 11.4 | 10.9 | 10.8 | 9.6 |
| 55+ | 9.0 | 10.1 | 6.3 | 7.6 | 16.8 | 16.4 | 11.4 | 12.0 |
| Marital Status | | | | | | | | |
| Married | 36.3 | 33.8 | 46.6 | 46.8 | 51.5 | 50.3 | 43.3 | 47.8 |
| Never Married | 51.8 | 48.6 | 42.7 | 37.6 | 34.8 | 29.1 | 40.8 | 35.3 |
| Separated/Divorced | 10.8 | 12.9 | 9.7 | 12.3 | 12.3 | 13.8 | 14.5 | 12.3 |
| Widowed | 1.1 | 4.7 | 1.0 | 3.3 | 1.4 | 6.8 | 1.5 | 4.5 |
| Household Type | | | | | | | | |
| Family | 69.7 | 71.5 | 75.3 | 78.5 | 77.5 | 80.4 | 72.6 | 83.2 |
| Lone-person | 9.7 | 9.4 | 11.0 | 9.3 | 10.9 | 9.7 | 11.7 | 7.5 |
| Group | 14.3 | 14.3 | 9.2 | 9.0 | 6.7 | 6.0 | 9.7 | 6.1 |
| Family Type | | | | | | | | |
| Parents-children<5 | 44.4 | 47.8 | 52.5 | 52.5 | 51.6 | 55.1 | 46.5 | 51.6 |
| Couple-no children | 28.7 | 26.3 | 24.2 | 24.6 | 29.6 | 28.7 | 28.1 | 25.5 |
| Relationship-of Persons in household | | | | | | | | |
| Husband/wife | 38.3 | 36.3 | 45.4 | 46.6 | 48.8 | 49.1 | 44.0 | 46.7 |
| Lone parent | 1.2 | 8.3 | 0.7 | 5.6 | 1.0 | 7.2 | 0.9 | 8.3 |
| Child<15 years | 15.1 | 13.6 | 17.8 | 15.3 | 17.8 | 15.8 | 16.8 | 17.0 |
| Non-family | 27.6 | 25.5 | 21.6 | 20.0 | 18.3 | 15.8 | 23.7 | 14.2 |

¹ Excludes persons who were overseas in 1991

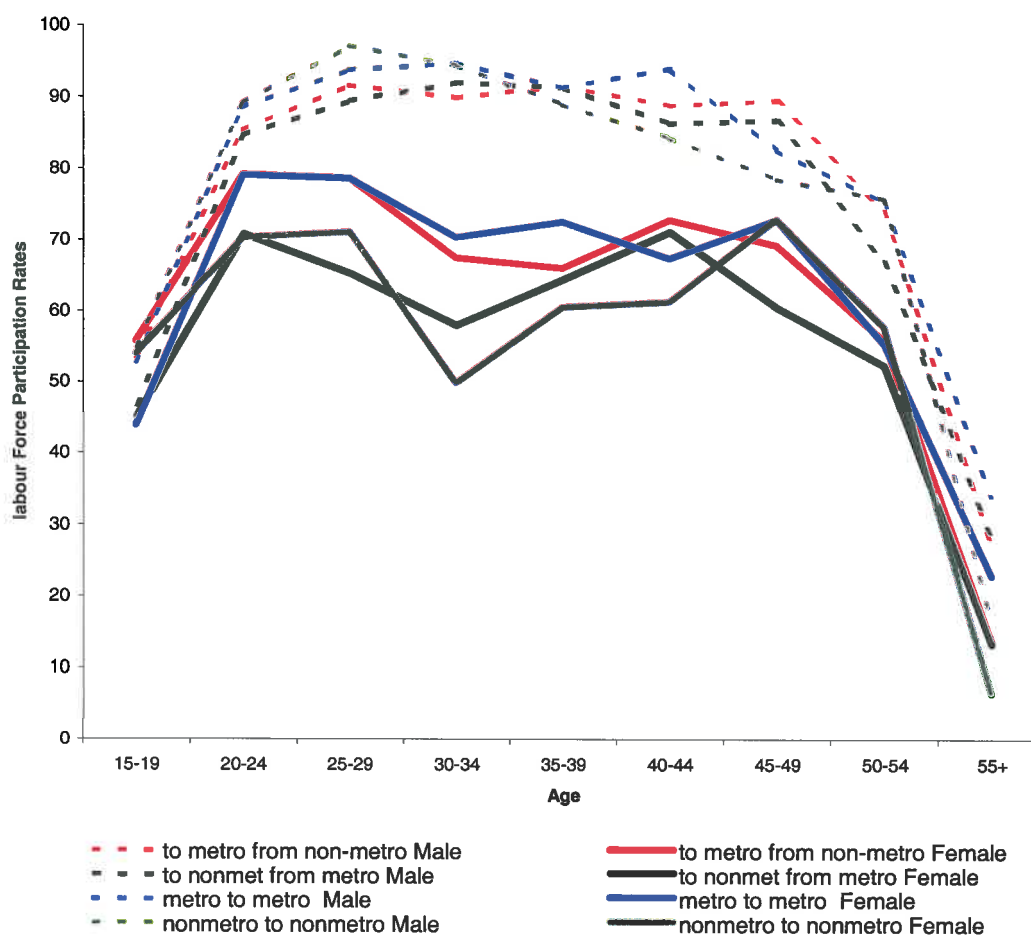
Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

It is interesting that older migrants were over-represented in the movement between non-metropolitan sectors, most living in family households, mainly as couples with no children, indicating considerable retirement relocation within this sector. However, it should be noted that males were much more likely to be non-family members, 23.7 per cent compared to 14.2 per cent of females, with a high percentage residing in both group and lone person households and an above average representation of divorcees. This is largely associated with farming and mining activities that are more likely to accommodate male workers or to provide employment opportunities for single males.

5.3.2 Employment and Educational Differences between Male and Female Migrants

The employment and educational characteristics of male and female migrants in the respective streams are examined here to identify possible determinants of migration and the impact that they are likely to have on places of origin and destination. Figure 5.3 shows the age-sex specific profiles of labour force participation for each stream, indicating a wider divergence for female migrants than for males. There is a very noticeable dip in the female profiles for ages 30-34 years, which is consistent with childbearing and the raising of young children. This is particularly the case for females migrating between non-metropolitan sectors where re-entry into the labour force does not seem as common until they reach their mid 40s, which is no doubt linked to limited non-agricultural jobs in this sector. By contrast, women migrating from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas are shown to have higher rates of labour force participation in their 30s and early 40s, however for those in their mid 40s and 50s the rates were lower than other streams indicating that many of the older women tended to be involved in family migration.

Figure 5.3: Age-Sex Specific Labour Force Participation Rates by Type of Migration, 1996



Source: ABS, 1996 census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The largest discrepancy between age specific labour force rates for females was in the streams from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas and between non-metropolitan areas. In effect movement to or between non-metropolitan sectors involved uniformly lower labour force participation for females. By contrast, females migrating between metropolitan sectors generally had higher rates of participation, although they were lower at ages 15-19 years. This is closely related to a greater involvement in post-school education and training, compared to females in streams involving non-metropolitan areas. Indeed, data showed that almost two-thirds of female migrants aged 15-19 years moving to metropolitan areas from the non-metropolitan sector were attending educational institutions, predominantly as full-time students at university.

For male migrants the figure shows that the stream between non-metropolitan sectors has the highest participation rates at ages 25-29 years but lower rates beyond 35 years of age. Overall the age specific rates for male migrants were higher for the metropolitan areas and slightly lower for non-metropolitan. However, it should be borne in mind that male migrants showed less variability and consistently higher labour force participation than females, reinforcing the notion that they are more likely to engage in economically driven migration than females, particularly in non-metropolitan areas.

Table 5.6 provides further evidence that the highest labour force participation rates of population aged 15 years or more were in the streams involving metropolitan destinations, particularly for females. Migration involving non-metropolitan destinations was characterised by low female labour force participation, a higher representation of males and females in manual jobs, lower incomes for all and a higher percentage of females in part-time jobs (working less than 25 hours per week). On the other hand, those migrants moving between capital cities were characterised by high employment, a very high representation of professionals, managers and associate-professionals, they tended to work beyond the 40-hour week and had much higher incomes than migrants in other streams. Moreover, male and female migrants in this stream with post-school qualifications were over-represented (44 per cent) with Bachelor degrees or higher tertiary qualifications. Migrants from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas also had significantly higher educational qualifications with 38.6 per cent of females with Bachelor degrees or higher qualifications compared to 33.2 per cent of males, with females also much more likely to hold diplomas. This was similar for females involved in movement to non-metropolitan from metropolitan areas, which is no doubt associated with the fact that many of them return to non-metropolitan areas on the completion of education or training in the cities.

Table 5.6: Economic Characteristics of Male and Female Migrants by Type of Migration¹, 1996

| | Non-Metro to Metro | | Metro to Metro | | Metro to Non-Metro | | Non-Metro to Non-Metro | |
|--|--------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Per cent | | | | | | | | |
| Employment Status | | | | | | | | |
| Employed | 66.7 | 55.8 | 75.2 | 58.9 | 60.3 | 44.4 | 60.2 | 42.2 |
| Unemployed | 10.1 | 7.6 | 8.5 | 7.5 | 11.8 | 7.6 | 12.2 | 10.1 |
| Not in labour force | 22.8 | 36.0 | 15.9 | 32.9 | 27.4 | 47.4 | 26.9 | 46.6 |
| Occupation | | | | | | | | |
| Managers/Administrators | 8.5 | 3.9 | 17.4 | 6.3 | 11.2 | 5.7 | 8.3 | 3.0 |
| Professionals | 16.8 | 22.6 | 25.5 | 27.8 | 17.7 | 23.3 | 12.5 | 20.6 |
| Para-professionals | 15.7 | 11.1 | 16.2 | 12.2 | 16.5 | 13.9 | 12.5 | 8.2 |
| Clerical | 18.6 | 49.8 | 12.1 | 45.6 | 14.5 | 43.4 | 12.4 | 45.5 |
| Trade-Production | 31.2 | 5.6 | 21.8 | 3.8 | 29.3 | 9.8 | 35.5 | 7.3 |
| Labourers | 7.2 | 5.6 | 5.5 | 2.2 | 9.4 | 6.4 | 16.4 | 13.3 |
| Education | | | | | | | | |
| Degree or higher | 33.2 | 38.6 | 44.3 | 44.2 | 24.0 | 32.8 | 16.7 | 21.7 |
| Diploma | 11.4 | 22.0 | 13.6 | 19.3 | 12.3 | 21.6 | 8.4 | 23.9 |
| Skill vocational | 35.1 | 6.8 | 26.9 | 5.6 | 45.5 | 9.3 | 50.2 | 9.4 |
| Basic vocational | 5.9 | 12.3 | 4.2 | 13.3 | 3.9 | 12.7 | 5.3 | 15.6 |
| Hours Worked | | | | | | | | |
| <25 hours | 12.7 | 29.3 | 10.2 | 25.6 | 14.1 | 36.7 | 11.5 | 39.8 |
| 25-29 | 24.7 | 33.2 | 18.4 | 32.4 | 21.9 | 28.2 | 19.4 | 33.8 |
| 30-39 | 18.2 | 15.9 | 15.7 | 14.3 | 16.9 | 13.1 | 19.2 | 10.0 |
| 40+ | 44.4 | 21.6 | 55.6 | 27.7 | 47.1 | 22.0 | 49.9 | 16.5 |
| Income (Individual) (Aus\$) | | | | | | | | |
| <160 | 23.4 | 29.7 | 15.3 | 29.8 | 25.6 | 38.2 | 24.7 | 36.2 |
| 160-299 | 15.4 | 24.1 | 12.2 | 17.0 | 17.7 | 27.0 | 18.2 | 27.0 |
| 300-499 | 19.5 | 21.0 | 13.0 | 18.0 | 19.1 | 16.6 | 21.6 | 21.9 |
| 500-699 | 17.6 | 14.2 | 17.2 | 16.6 | 15.4 | 8.8 | 13.9 | 7.8 |
| 700+ | 21.5 | 7.5 | 40.0 | 14.7 | 20.6 | 6.0 | 17.8 | 3.3 |
| Household Income Per Week (Aus\$) | | | | | | | | |
| <200 | 4.0 | 5.1 | 3.7 | 4.3 | 6.2 | 6.8 | 5.8 | 4.6 |
| 200-399 | 14.2 | 17.2 | 10.7 | 11.9 | 20.0 | 22.9 | 19.9 | 24.6 |
| 400-599 | 15.5 | 16.7 | 10.4 | 11.4 | 18.7 | 19.5 | 20.2 | 20.8 |
| 600-799 | 13.9 | 14.1 | 13.5 | 13.0 | 16.8 | 15.1 | 16.9 | 16.3 |
| 800-999 | 12.6 | 12.6 | 12.7 | 11.8 | 13.7 | 12.0 | 13.2 | 13.8 |
| 1000+ | 39.7 | 34.3 | 49.0 | 47.5 | 24.6 | 23.7 | 26.0 | 19.9 |

¹ Excludes persons who were overseas in 1991

Source: ABS, 1996 census, one percent unit record sample tape

The table also shows that male and female migrants moving from the non-metropolitan sector to capital cities had a low representation of managers and professionals, with females more likely to be employed in clerical positions. These migrants tended to be more like migrants moving between metropolitan areas than those moving to non-metropolitan areas or between them. However, household incomes for

migrants in non-metropolitan areas were generally lower than for migrants in metropolitan areas. Almost 50 per cent of metropolitan migrants had earnings in excess of \$1000 per week in 1996 compared to approximately one-quarter of migrants residing in non-metropolitan areas. Of particular note, there were major differences in the individual incomes of male and female migrants in all streams, with females resident in metropolitan areas in 1996 only slightly better off.

The detailed breakdown of industry categories shows that male and female migrants are employed in a wide range of industries with considerable differences evident between streams (Table 5.7). Migrants moving between capital cities are predominantly in finance and business (21.3 per cent of males and 25.2 per cent of females), with females much more likely to be employed in education, health and community services than males. An interesting difference between migration streams is that female migrants in non-metropolitan areas are more likely to be employed in accommodation and restaurants, no doubt linked to popular tourist and recreation destinations outside capital cities.

Table 5.7: Industry of Employed Male and Female Migrants by Type of Migration, 1996

| Industry | Non-Metro to Metro | | Metro to Metro | | Metro to Non-Metro | | Non-Metro to Non-Metro | |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------|----------------|-------------|--------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| | Per cent | | | | | | | |
| Agriculture | 3.8 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 7.3 | 4.3 | 17.6 | 4.4 |
| Manufacturing | 13.3 | 6.9 | 15.2 | 6.0 | 14.5 | 6.4 | 13.0 | 2.2 |
| Construction-supply | 9.9 | 0.8 | 7.0 | 0.8 | 10.2 | 1.7 | 11.3 | 1.3 |
| Wholesaling | 7.2 | 3.5 | 10.6 | 5.4 | 5.7 | 3.2 | 6.8 | 2.2 |
| Retailing | 12.5 | 18.0 | 8.5 | 12.5 | 10.5 | 15.9 | 11.3 | 17.5 |
| Transport | 8.6 | 4.3 | 6.3 | 6.9 | 6.9 | 3.7 | 5.1 | 4.8 |
| Finance-business | 15.7 | 13.6 | 21.3 | 25.2 | 11.3 | 11.9 | 7.4 | 11.0 |
| Govt. admin-defence | 6.7 | 5.3 | 9.5 | 6.3 | 7.7 | 4.8 | 9.6 | 4.8 |
| Education | 3.7 | 9.2 | 4.8 | 5.6 | 4.3 | 13.2 | 2.8 | 11.0 |
| Health | 3.5 | 14.0 | 4.4 | 16.0 | 4.5 | 12.7 | 2.3 | 13.2 |
| Community services | 1.3 | 5.0 | 0.2 | 2.9 | 0.4 | 3.9 | 1.4 | 5.3 |
| Personal services | 7.8 | 10.1 | 6.6 | 5.8 | 8.3 | 7.7 | 4.2 | 7.5 |
| Accommodation* | 5.9 | 8.0 | 4.3 | 5.2 | 7.8 | 10.7 | 7.1 | 14.9 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Accommodation- includes cafes-restaurants

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

5.3.3 Measuring Occupation, Industry and Income Segregation of Male and Female Migrants by Stream

It can thus be concluded that female migrants employed in non-metropolitan areas compared to females in metropolitan areas, were more likely to be working less than 25 hours per week, more likely to be in manual and clerical jobs, were concentrated in service industries and had the lowest income levels. They also experienced the most job segregation compared with males in all migration streams as indicated by the index of dissimilarity (I_D) shown in Table 5.8. Occupational segregation between male and female migrants in non-metropolitan sectors was represented by an I_D value of 41, which means that 41 per cent of females would have to change occupations to equal the male distribution. By contrast, for migrants moving between metropolitan sectors and also to metropolitan areas from non-metropolitan areas, only 36 per cent and 33 per cent of females respectively would have to change occupations.

Table 5.8: Index of Dissimilarity (I_D) for Occupational, Industry and (Individual) Income Segregation between Male and Female Migrants, 1996

| Type of Migration | Occupational Segregation | Industry Segregation | Income Segregation |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| | | | |
| Non-metropolitan to Metropolitan | 36.7 | 29.0 | 17.5 |
| Metropolitan to Metropolitan | 36.0 | 24.6 | 25.3 |
| Metropolitan to Non-metropolitan | 33.0 | 28.9 | 22.7 |
| Non-metropolitan to Non-metropolitan | 41.0 | 43.8 | 20.6 |

Source: ABS, 1996 census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The I_D s showing industry segregation, also shown in the table, indicate that male and female migrants moving between non-metropolitan sectors are the most segregated with an I_D value of 43.8. This is due to the much higher participation of males in agriculture and mining activities with females significantly over-represented in education, health and personal services. Moreover, I_D s indicating differences between males and

females in respect to income, showed that migrants moving between metropolitan sectors had the highest individual income separation with an I_D value of 25.3 while those migrating to metropolitan areas from non-metropolitan had the lowest ($I_D = 17.5$). On the other hand, migrants moving between non-metropolitan sectors, while indicating higher levels of job and industry segregation, showed lower income segregation indicating that generally incomes were lower for both males and females in non-metropolitan areas. This was also associated with lower educational attainment and an over-representation of manual workers/labourers and farm workers among these migrants.

5.3.4 Reasons for Migration by Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Sector

It is interesting at this point to explore differences in the reasons for migration between males and females in the respective streams. The Internal Migration Survey conducted by the ABS in 1987 provides some useful information on the reasons given by males and females for the four types of migration classified here. Table 5.9 clearly shows the dominance of employment reasons for inter-regional migration, as '*employment*' is given as the majority response across all streams. This is especially the case for migrants from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas with two-thirds of males and 52.6 per cent of females stating employment reasons. Migrants between metropolitan sectors also gave a high response to employment but were more likely to indicate that '*to be close to family*' was important, slightly more so for females than males. Females were also more likely to give responses relating to family changes, such as marriage, divorce, widowhood and independence from home, especially those migrating from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas, which tends to reflect the findings of Ni Laoire (1999) in her study of out-migration of young females from rural areas in Ireland.

Table 5.9: Reasons given by Males and Females for Migration by Stream, 1987

| Reasons for Migration | Non-Metro to Metro | | Metro to Metro | | Metro to Non-Metro | | Non-Metro to Non-Metro | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| | Per cent | | | | | | | |
| Employment/Work | 66.1 | 52.6 | 57.7 | 50.7 | 47.3 | 39.9 | 52.6 | 33.3 |
| Housing/Location | 7.4 | 8.0 | 5.3 | 5.3 | 13.6 | 12.2 | 8.1 | 8.5 |
| Family change | 4.8 | 13.8 | 5.3 | 8.8 | 6.0 | 7.8 | 1.5 | 10.9 |
| Retirement | 4.6 | 4.7 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 10.7 | 8.1 | 5.9 | 7.8 |
| Close to family | 6.2 | 8.2 | 13.8 | 18.1 | 9.7 | 14.7 | 14.1 | 18.6 |
| Forced move | 3.7 | 5.6 | 3.3 | 2.2 | 5.5 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 3.9 |
| Other | 7.1 | 7.0 | 13.0 | 13.7 | 7.3 | 11.2 | 11.9 | 17.1 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Respondents | (434) | (426) | (246) | (227) | (383) | (409) | (135) | (129) |

Source: ABS, Internal Migration Survey, unpublished data 1987

Overall the stream from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas had the most divergent reasons, with retirement being more significant, together with housing and location, while employment was less significant although still the largest response. It is interesting that females either moving to non-metropolitan areas or between them were the least likely to state '*employment*', with family reasons more dominant. This is consistent with their older age structure, lower rates of labour force participation, higher incidence of part-time employment and the fact that migrants were more likely to be married and have young families or alternatively were older retirees.

These differences are best illustrated when the responses are matched by age of respondent for each of the streams. Table 5.10 shows a significant change in the percentage of respondents stating employment and family reasons as age increases, despite the fact that age was only provided in broadly defined categories. The response '*close to family*' was the dominant reason given by older females, particularly in the stream between metropolitan sectors and also in the stream from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas. However, older males and females, especially those leaving the cities for non-metropolitan areas gave '*retirement*' as a reason, almost one-third of ages 45-64 years increasing significantly for persons aged over 65 years or more (48.1 per cent of males and 38.6 per

cent of females). This is consistent with the pattern of the more mature age groups leaving the cities to retire in pleasant coastal areas, or to areas adjacent to the cities to pursue 'hobby' farms, or to simply aspire to more relaxed lifestyles in rural communities within commuting distance to work (Hugo and Smailes 1985; Fisher 2003). There has been considerable research attention focussed upon elderly migration to amenity rich areas in the USA (Gober and Zonn 1983; Rogers *et al* 1990), in the UK (Warnes 1992b) and in Australia (Hugo 1986; Murphy and Zehner 1988; Rudd 1987; Stimson and Minnery 1998).

Table 5.10: Employment and Family Reasons by Type of Migration by Age and Sex, 1987

| | Age | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|------|--------|
| | 15-29 | | 30-44 | | 45-64 | | 65+ | |
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Non-metro to Metro | Per cent | | | | | | | |
| Employment | 71.8 | 57.3 | 71.5 | 57.3 | 37.5 | 28.6 | 20.0 | - |
| Close to family | 4.3 | 6.7 | 6.6 | 5.3 | 10.4 | 16.7 | 20.0 | 35.7 |
| Retirement | - | - | 2.0 | 4.1 | 22.9 | 16.7 | 33.3 | 35.7 |
| Metro to Metro | | | | | | | | |
| Employment | 58.5 | 47.1 | 64.2 | 67.5 | 46.2 | 12.5 | - | - |
| Close to family | 11.0 | 17.4 | 11.6 | 14.5 | 26.9 | 31.3 | 42.9 | 42.9 |
| Retirement | - | - | 1.1 | - | 7.7 | 6.3 | 14.3 | 14.3 |
| Metro to Non-metro | | | | | | | | |
| Employment | 59.3 | 44.6 | 51.8 | 49.2 | 29.7 | 19.7 | - | - |
| Close to family | 11.0 | 16.2 | 9.1 | 10.2 | 4.1 | 9.1 | 18.5 | 42.9 |
| Retirement | - | - | 3.0 | 3.4 | 32.4 | 31.8 | 48.1 | 38.6 |
| Non-metro to Non-metro | | | | | | | | |
| Employment | 63.1 | 38.0 | 51.0 | 28.9 | 41.7 | 35.7 | - | - |
| Close to family | 12.3 | 16.9 | 16.3 | 23.7 | 8.3 | 7.1 | 22.2 | 33.3 |
| Retirement | - | 5.6 | 6.1 | 7.9 | 8.3 | 7.1 | 22.2 | 33.3 |

Source: ABS, Internal Migration Survey, unpublished data, 1987

There is a strong pull of employment in metropolitan areas for young males and females with a high 71 per cent of males and 57 per cent of females (in the 15-29 and 30-44 age groups), in the non-metropolitan to metropolitan stream stating 'employment' as a reason for migrating. Similarly, over two-thirds of males and females aged 30-44 years moving between metropolitan areas gave 'employment' as the predominant reason.

The analysis of survey data confirms the prime differences noted earlier in the discussion of the characteristics of migrants, whereby younger migrants, many as singles, are going to capital cities seeking better job opportunities. This is especially evident for females who are likely to have fewer employment options outside metropolitan areas, particularly in low-density primarily farming communities (Smailes, Argent and Griffin 2002). By contrast, in the reverse stream migrants are older and more likely to migrate for family reasons, with only 39.9 per cent of females and 47.3 per cent of males stating employment reasons, with a high percentage indicating other reasons that related more to lifestyle. Those migrants moving between metropolitan sectors did so largely for employment, which clearly relates to the high labour force participation and bias towards professional employment of both males and females in this stream. By contrast, only one-third of female migrants moving between non-metropolitan sectors gave 'employment' as a reason compared to over 50 per cent of their male counterparts. This can be linked to the low labour force participation of females in this stream noted earlier.

5.4 FEMALE MIGRANTS TO AND FROM METROPOLITAN AREAS COMPARED WITH NON-MIGRANTS

5.4.1 A Case for Focussing on Female Migrants

The focus here is upon female migrants moving into metropolitan areas from non-metropolitan areas and those moving away from metropolitan areas to reside in the non-metropolitan sector. These two streams are compared with female non-migrants in the non-metropolitan and metropolitan sectors. Boyle and Halfacree (1999b 13) argue that one of the main weaknesses of feminist empiricism is its reliance on 'male' indicators to illustrate inequality. Therefore, it is useful at this point to move away from looking only at male indicators to illustrate difference in respect to female migration, specifically non-

metropolitan to metropolitan migration and vice-versa, as the contrasts between opportunities, characteristics and the circumstances of women in these two sectors in Australia are far more revealing. These differences help explain the variations in the types of movement, especially in the context of younger and older women.

5.4.2 Age and Marital Differentials between Female Migrants and Non-migrants by Stream

There are significant differences in the age and marital status of female migrants compared with non-migrants in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors shown in Table 5.11. Female in-migrants to the capital cities and also those moving away from them to non-metropolitan areas are considerably younger than non-migrants. Approximately one-fifth of female non-migrants are aged 65 years or more compared to only 6 per cent of in-migrants to capital cities and 8 per cent of out-migrants. The other notable difference is the very low representation of female non-migrants aged 20-24 years, particularly in the non-metropolitan sector. Moreover, one-quarter of females moving from the capital cities to non-metropolitan areas were aged 25-34 years compared to only 8.5 per cent of non-migrants at destination.

The significant age differences give rise to distinctive marital characteristics of migrants in the two streams compared with non-migrants at their respective destinations. It was not surprising that out-migrants from the non-metropolitan area were far more likely to be never married (48.6 per cent) compared to non-migrant females in the metropolitan area (23.3 per cent). In the reverse stream there was a much smaller difference of 11.9 percentage points, as a much higher percentage of both female migrants and non-migrants in the non-metropolitan sector were married. There was also a higher percentage of female migrants who were separated or divorced and a lower percentage widowed in both sectors compared to non-migrants at origin and destination.

Table 5.11: Age and Marital Differences between Female Migrants to and from Metropolitan Areas and Non-migrants at Destinations, 1996

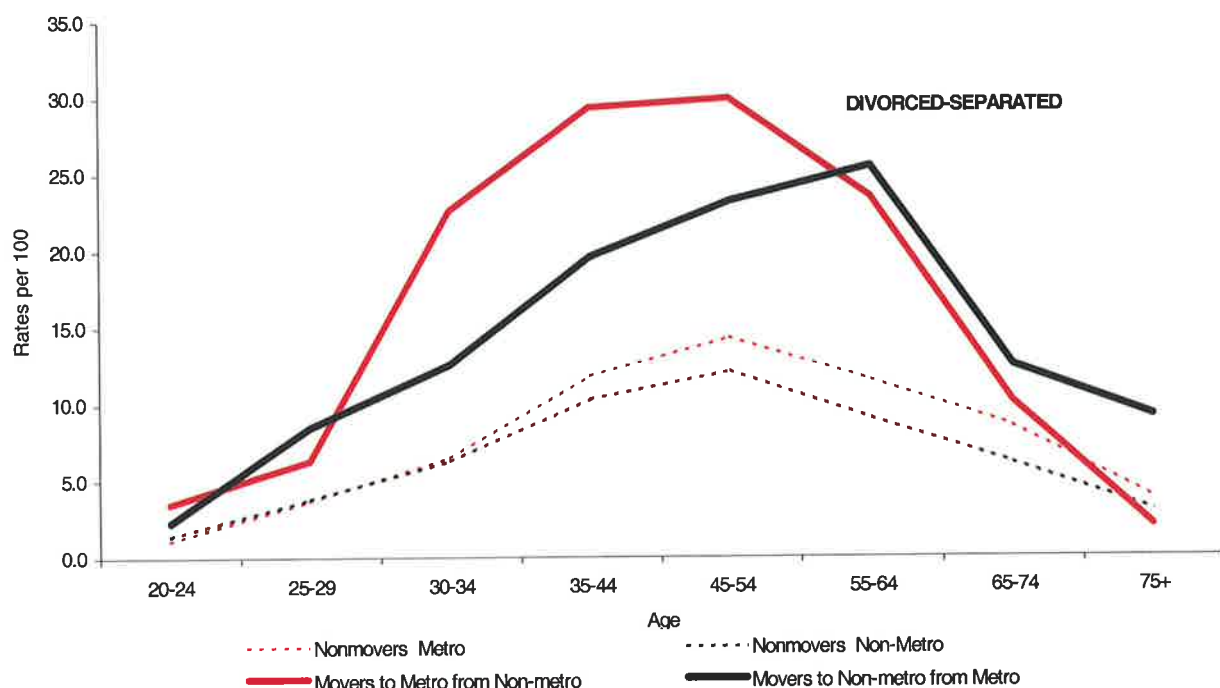
| Age | Migrants into Metro from Non-metropolitan | Non-migrants in Metropolitan | Per cent Difference* | Migrants into Non-metro from Metropolitan | Non-migrants in Non-metropolitan | Per cent Difference* |
|-----------------------|---|------------------------------|----------------------|---|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Per cent | Per cent | | Per cent | Per cent | |
| 5-14 | 14.3 | 13.9 | 0.4 | 15.8 | 15.8 | - |
| 15-24 | 32.1 | 12.9 | 19.2 | 15.3 | 9.7 | 5.6 |
| 25-34 | 21.7 | 9.1 | 12.6 | 25.1 | 8.5 | 16.6 |
| 35-44 | 13.8 | 16.3 | -2.5 | 16.5 | 16.7 | -0.2 |
| 45-54 | 8.0 | 17.1 | -9.1 | 10.9 | 16.1 | -5.2 |
| 55-64 | 4.1 | 11.6 | -7.5 | 8.6 | 12.5 | -3.9 |
| 65+ | 6.0 | 19.2 | -13.2 | 7.8 | 20.7 | -12.9 |
| Marital status | | | | | | |
| Never Married | 48.6 | 23.3 | 25.3 | 29.1 | 17.2 | 11.9 |
| Married | 33.9 | 55.6 | -21.7 | 50.3 | 62.3 | -12.0 |
| Sep-divorced | 12.9 | 8.7 | 4.2 | 13.8 | 7.5 | 6.3 |
| Widowed | 4.7 | 12.4 | -7.7 | 6.8 | 12.9 | -6.1 |

* Percentage point difference between female in-migrants and female non-migrants at destination

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

Unfortunately it is difficult to judge whether marital status at the time of the census was the same as when they migrated. Nevertheless, Figure 5.4 shows that separated/divorced females were more highly represented among migrants of all ages, being highest for out-migrants aged 35-54 years from non-metropolitan areas. The counter-stream from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas showed that separated/divorced female migrants had a lower representation at younger ages but a slightly higher one at older ages. For non-migrants the age profiles for separated/divorced females were found to be very similar at origin and destination, with the highest rates for women aged 45-54 years, although lower for those in the non-metropolitan sector.

Figure 5.4: Divorced/Separated Females: Age Profiles of Migrants to and from Metropolitan Areas compared with Destination Non-migrants, 1996



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

It should be noted that generally the metropolitan sector was over-represented in respect to separated and divorced women, especially young female migrants from non-metropolitan areas. These women are likely to seek better employment opportunities in the capital cities, as well as take advantage of the wider diversity of housing and services. It can be argued that they may find it difficult to find employment or to remarry living in rural communities and are more likely to move to larger regional centres or to the capital cities. An additional argument is that some of those moving from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas at younger ages to marry or who have followed husbands, return to family and familiar surroundings if they separate or divorce. Changes occurring in patterns of marriage and divorce and how they might impact on women living in urban and rural environments need to be addressed if patterns of migration are to be more fully understood.

5.4.3 Employment Differentials between Female Migrants and Non-migrants

Table 5.12 shows that female migrants from the non-metropolitan sector to capital cities were not only more likely to be employed but also had higher rates of unemployment compared to female non-migrants at destination. In respect to employed females there was a much smaller discrepancy (only 2.3 percentage points) between migrants and non-migrants in non-metropolitan areas, however similar differences were found in the percentage of unemployed migrants being higher than for non-migrants. Migrant females were more likely to work longer hours or to be in full-time employment than their non-migrant counterparts, and much more likely to be employed in personal service industries and less likely to be in agriculture and manufacturing industries, particularly in non-metropolitan areas.

It is interesting that the table shows that there were more significant occupational differences between female migrants and non-migrants in the non-metropolitan sector than in metropolitan areas. Most notably, a much higher percentage of female migrants to non-metropolitan areas were in professional employment, some 28.6 per cent compared to only 16.7 per cent of non-migrants, with a much lower representation in manual jobs, only 6.3 per cent compared to 17.7 per cent of non-migrants. The higher levels of professional employment found for female migrants to non-metropolitan areas corresponds with an over-representation of Bachelor degrees or higher qualifications among them, some 32.8 per cent of migrants compared to only 19.5 per cent of non-migrants. Similar figures for female migrants to metropolitan areas are higher but indicate a smaller discrepancy, 38.6 per cent of migrants had a Bachelor degree or higher compared to 28.9 per cent of non-migrants. In addition, a little more than one-fifth of female migrants in both sectors had diplomas being slightly higher than for non-migrants.

Table 5.12: Employment and Educational Characteristics of Female Migrants to and from Metropolitan Areas compared with Non-migrants, 1996

| | Migrants into Metro from Non-metropolitan Per cent | Non-migrants in Metropolitan Sector Per cent | Per cent Difference* | Migrants into Non-metro from Metropolitan Per cent | Non-migrants in Non-metropolitan Per cent | Per cent Difference* |
|-------------------------------|--|--|----------------------|--|---|----------------------|
| Labour force Status | | | | | | |
| Employed | 55.8 | 46.6 | 9.2 | 44.4 | 42.1 | 2.3 |
| Unemployed | 7.6 | 2.8 | 4.8 | 7.6 | 2.9 | 4.7 |
| NILFS | 36.0 | 49.9 | -13.9 | 47.4 | 54.1 | -6.7 |
| Industry | | | | | | |
| Agric-manufacturing | 8.3 | 11.1 | -2.8 | 10.7 | 18.5 | -7.8 |
| Construction-transport | 10.4 | 9.9 | 0.5 | 10.2 | 8.9 | 1.3 |
| Sales | 21.4 | 21.0 | 0.4 | 19.1 | 21.8 | -2.7 |
| Finance-business | 13.6 | 16.9 | -3.3 | 11.9 | 9.9 | 2.0 |
| Education | 9.2 | 12.2 | -3.0 | 13.2 | 12.2 | 1.0 |
| Health-community | 19.0 | 18.7 | 0.3 | 16.6 | 17.4 | -0.8 |
| Personal services | 18.0 | 10.2 | 7.8 | 18.4 | 11.2 | 7.2 |
| Occupation | | | | | | |
| Managers-administrators | 3.9 | 4.6 | -0.7 | 6.5 | 11.8 | -5.3 |
| Professionals | 22.9 | 20.8 | 2.1 | 28.6 | 16.7 | 11.9 |
| Tech-assoc professional | 11.3 | 9.3 | 2.0 | 12.7 | 9.8 | 2.9 |
| Advanced-inter clerical | 35.4 | 36.9 | -1.5 | 35.7 | 29.4 | 6.3 |
| Elementary clerical | 15.1 | 14.2 | 0.9 | 10.2 | 14.7 | -4.5 |
| Manual | 11.4 | 14.1 | -2.7 | 6.3 | 17.7 | -11.4 |
| Hours worked per week | | | | | | |
| <25 | 29.3 | 35.2 | -5.9 | 36.7 | 38.8 | -2.1 |
| 25-39 | 33.2 | 35.6 | -2.4 | 28.2 | 29.7 | -1.5 |
| 40 hours | 15.9 | 13.8 | 2.1 | 13.1 | 11.9 | 1.2 |
| More than 40 hours | 21.6 | 15.3 | 6.3 | 22.0 | 19.7 | 2.3 |
| Educational attainment | | | | | | |
| Degree or higher | 38.6 | 28.9 | 9.7 | 32.8 | 19.5 | 13.3 |
| Diploma | 22.0 | 19.4 | 2.6 | 21.6 | 19.9 | 1.7 |
| Skill vocational | 6.8 | 6.9 | -0.1 | 9.3 | 9.0 | 0.3 |
| Basic vocational | 12.3 | 9.6 | 2.7 | 12.7 | 10.8 | 1.9 |
| No attainment | 20.3 | 35.2 | -14.9 | 23.5 | 40.8 | -17.3 |

*Percentage point difference between female in-migrants and female non-migrants at destination

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

It can be assumed that many female migrants holding diplomas or Bachelor degrees were teachers, nurses or involved in other 'care' professions, and had moved outside the capital cities seeking work in areas with few trained professionals or, indeed, were transferred to positions in regional centres. Alternatively, it can be surmised that given the very substantial out-migration of young females (15-19 years) from non-metropolitan areas to the cities, many of whom obtain higher education and training, return to local communities or regional towns seeking employment. This raises important questions about marriage patterns, migration decisions and the employment of females and their impact on

both the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors, about which we know very little. In focussing specifically upon female migrants it is clear that there are considerable differences between them which impact on both origin and destination populations.

5.5 STATE DIFFERENTIALS IN INTER-REGIONAL MIGRATION

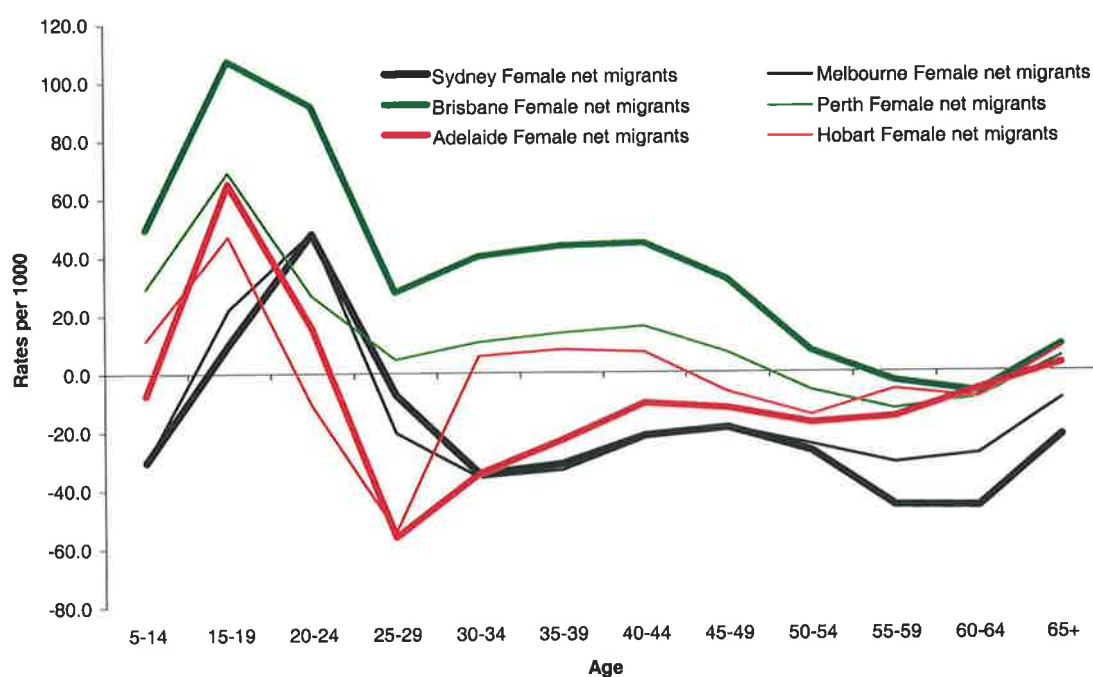
5.5.1 Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Migration Differences between States

It is relevant to briefly look at the age profiles of female net migrants for the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors separately for each State. The question posed is whether the loss of young females from non-metropolitan areas to the capital cities varies across States and do females consistently dominate in the outflows? Figure 5.5 demonstrates the consistency in high rates of net gains of young adolescent females to the capital cities. The rates of net migration for ages 15-19 years, indicate high net gains in Brisbane (107.2 per 1000 females and for males 87.5); Perth (69.1 per 1000 females and for males 48.6); Adelaide (65.2 per 1000 females and for males 42.2); and Hobart (46.8 per 1000 females and for males 39.5); with the lowest gains in Melbourne (22 females per 1000 and for males 11) and Sydney (10 females per 1000 and for males 3.3), the two areas most influenced by international migration.

It appears that the capital cities in States with few major regional towns and provincial centres, most notably South Australia and Western Australia, are likely to attract higher numbers of young migrants, many to complete their education, others seeking jobs. Sydney and Melbourne have higher net gains of 20-24 year olds, which may represent an additional phase in the migration of young people seeking career opportunities, and also indicate that those States with large regional cities are likely to provide better education and job opportunities for school leavers that help in stemming the out-migration of persons

aged 15-19 years. However, the capital city profiles, with the exception of Brisbane and Perth, show a rather dramatic turnaround from significant gains of teenagers and young adolescents to net migration loss for females in their late 20s and 30s. Thereafter, rates tend to fluctuate somewhat until mid to late 50s where loss is considerable with reduced loss evident at ages 65 years and above. Adelaide, Hobart, Perth and Brisbane show net gains in aged females, while Sydney and Melbourne had consistent migration loss for ages over 25 years, although the rates did improve for those aged over 65 years.

Figure 5.5: Female Net Migration Age Profiles for Capital Cities, 1991-96

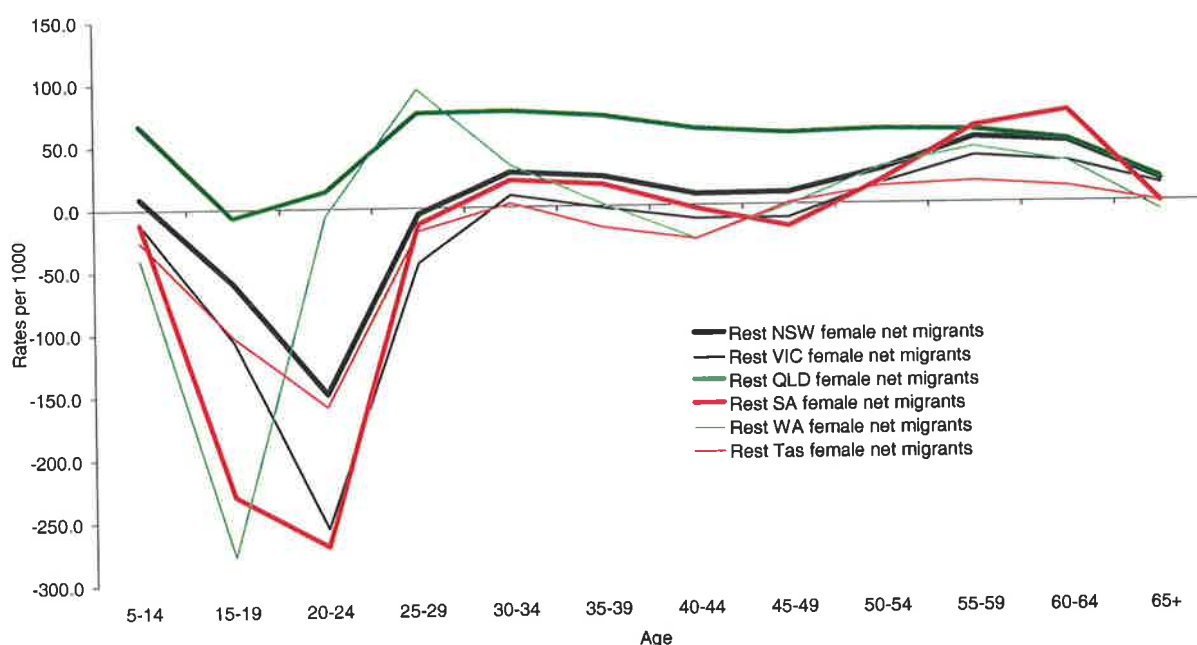


Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

Figure 5.6 shows the very dramatic net migration loss of young females from the remainder of each of the States, representing the non-metropolitan sector, with the exception of Queensland. Substantial net losses of females aged 15-19 years were most evident in the rest of Western Australia (277.8 per 1000 females and 169.2 for males) and

in the rest of South Australia (230 per 1000 females and for males 219). However, South Australia stands apart from the other states in relation to its extreme net loss of not only 15-19 year olds but also those aged 20-24 years (270.3 per 1000 females and for males 269). Although New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania had higher net losses at ages 20-24 years than 15-19 years, these were still below the rates for South Australia. By contrast there were net gains in Western Australia of males and females in their 20s and 30s, similar to that evident in Queensland, however areas outside Perth had a slight net loss of persons in their 40s while Queensland had net gains across all ages.

Figure 5.6: Female Net Migration Age Profiles for Rest of State (outside capital cities) by State, 1991-96



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

The profiles for non-metropolitan sectors of state tend to be consistent in showing a crossover from high net migration loss of females aged 15-24 years to gain for those aged over 30 years. There is a peak evident for female migrants in their 50s and early 60s,

representing retirees seeking different lifestyles, cheaper housing and living costs outside capital cities, most commonly accompanying partners. The age profiles for female migrants in the capital cities and the rest of State in 1996 are a mirror image of one another, demonstrating a high degree of consistency across the States despite considerable differences in population growth, industrial enterprises, economic well-being and interstate and international migration as discussed in the next chapter.

It is also worth noting that the States with capital cities showing the highest net gains in female migrants aged 15-19 years were also those experiencing the highest net losses from the rest of State, most notably South Australia and Western Australia. However, Queensland showed a different pattern whereby high net gains of female migrants aged 15-19 and 20-24 years to Brisbane were not matched with high net losses from the rest of State, although there were only marginal gains. This effectively means that some of the out-migration of young from country New South Wales is leaked to Queensland rather than to Sydney, which had relatively low net gains of 15-19 year olds. Alternatively, out-migration of young from rural centres within Queensland, especially in the far north, appeared more likely to go to major regional cities, such as Townsville and Cairns, for education and employment opportunities rather than Brisbane.

The specific flows to and from the States and within them are examined in greater detail elsewhere (Bell 1992; Bell and Hugo 2000; Hugo 1996a), it is relevant here to conclude that the age and sex selectivity of the broad patterns of metropolitan to non-metropolitan movement and vice versa are relatively consistent across the States. However, given the considerable variation in patterns of population growth within non-metropolitan areas (Budge 1996; Hugo 2003a), it is important to identify regions and local areas that appear to be experiencing significant migration losses of females and those least

likely to do so, and to establish whether there is a consistent pattern of difference between males and females.

5.5.2 Sex Ratios and Population Size

It is interesting to explore the question of whether there is a relationship between the population size of towns or provincial cities outside the capital cities (identified above as rest of state), and the migration of young persons aged 15-24 years and also of older persons aged 65 years and above. These two groups were consistently found to have an excess of female migrants compared to males. The important question of whether particular locations experience greater female net migration loss than others, is the focus of the discussion. It is assumed that those centres with few non-agricultural jobs, virtually no education and health facilities, and a limited range of services will suffer higher losses of young females and also of older ones, than the major regional centres. The analysis focuses upon New South Wales and South Australia because of their differences in urban hierarchy and rates of migration of young adults to their capital cities as noted in the analysis above.

Imbalances in the number of young adult males and females in non-metropolitan areas in Australia are mainly the outcome of:

- the disproportionate in-migration of young males seeking jobs in mining and agriculture in particular localities
- the disproportionate in-migration of young women to towns and cities in which a range of services, health and education facilities are located
- the disproportionate out-migration of young women through a lack of non-agricultural jobs in particular localities
- the greater retention of young males in areas with primarily agricultural employment.

Research studies in Australia over a number of decades have established that rural areas with small and dispersed populations, primarily engaged in agriculture, most notably wheat, sheep and cattle producing areas, are most likely to experience high net losses of young persons, especially females (Hugo 1971; 1986, 2003a; Hugo and Smailes 1985; Smailes 1997; Rowland 1979; Rudd 1987). A study by Hamilton and Otterstad (1998) in Norway of the relationship between extremely male biased sex ratios among young adults in rural areas and high female out-migration, demonstrated how population size was strongly related to economic activities and the viability of communities, and the ones undergoing long-term population decline had mainly primary-industry employment.

A similar relationship was found in Australia and as Table 5.13 shows there was a strong negative correlation coefficient between sex ratios for the 15-24 age group in 1996 and the size of populations in non-metropolitan Local Government Areas (LGAs), indicating that the highest sex ratios (an excess of males) were matched with the smallest populations, -.432 in South Australia and -.304 in New South Wales. In addition, the sex ratios showed a strong negative relationship with net migration rates for females aged 15-24 years (in South Australia -.566 and in New South Wales -.496) indicating that high rates of net migration loss corresponded with higher sex ratios. Moreover, relatively small representations of females aged 15-24 years correlated negatively with high sex ratios, in both States. In relation to population growth there was a strong negative correlation with sex ratios for ages 15-24 years in South Australia with more uniform rates of loss, but only a weak association in New South Wales. For population aged 65 years and above, the sex ratios in both States showed a weak but nevertheless positive correlation coefficient with population growth, demonstrating that the ratios reflected a more even balance between older males and females in most rural areas which was actually the consequence of higher out-migration of older females that tended to cause a greater imbalance in urban centres.

Table 5.13: Correlation Coefficients between Sex Ratios for ages 15-24 and 65+ Years and Population Size, Growth and Net Migration, 1996

| Population Size, Growth and Migration Variables | South Australia (n=89) | | New South Wales (n=132) | |
|---|---------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| | Sex ratio 15-24 | Sex ratio 65+ | Sex ratio 15-24 | Sex ratio 65+ |
| Population size | -.432** | -.275** | -.304** | -.246** |
| Population Growth 1991-96 | -.324** | .026 | -.130 | .110 |
| Female net migration 15-24 | -.566** | -.294** | -.496** | -.054 |
| Female net migration 65+ | -.146 | -.383** | -.505** | -.380** |
| Per cent of females 15-24 years | -.632** | -.373** | -.540** | -.540** |
| Per cent of females 65+ years | -.201 | -.408** | -.266** | -.514** |
| Sex ratio 15-24 years | | .223* | | .400** |

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Source: ABS, CDATA96 and 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

Sex ratios for ages 65+ years in both States (also shown in Table 5.13) indicate similar patterns of correlation with those for young adults in relation to population size and female net migration rates. It was interesting that sex ratios for ages 15-24 years correlated quite strongly and positively with those for ages 65+, a little more so in New South Wales (.400) than in South Australia (.223), indicating that low and high ratios for the two age groups corresponded quite closely. Moreover, it was found in New South Wales that sex ratios for the two age groups were highly negatively correlated with net migration rates for older females, while in South Australia the sex ratios for ages 15-24 years showed a much weaker association. It can be suggested that areas in which the number of males exceed females at young and older ages are those with high net migration loss of young and aged females, and are primarily those at the bottom end of the urban hierarchy in respect to population size, effectively translating into few amenities and facilities and increasingly a lack of viable social networks for those left behind. It is relevant to examine in more detail the relationship between population size and migration taking into account differences between males and females in the two selected States.

5.5.3 Population Size, Sex Ratios and Migration

To provide a summary of the impact of population size on rates of migration for males and females, LGAs were grouped into size categories that were deemed appropriate for the two States. Table 5.14 shows that in both New South Wales and South Australia sex ratios for ages 15-24 years are all above 100 indicating a disproportionate number of males, which increases as population size decreases. By contrast female dominance is uniform for population aged 65 years and above, across all size categories, with the ratios lower for larger population centres and higher in those with small populations, particularly in South Australia in areas with less than 1000 population where the number of older males and females are almost equal.

Table 5.14: Numbers of Young Adult and Aged Males and Females by Size of Population (LGAs) in New South Wales and South Australia, 1996

| NEW SOUTH WALES | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| Population Size Category | Number of LGAs | Population Aged 15-24 years | | Sex Ratios 15-24 years | Population Aged 65+ years | | Sex Ratios 65 + years |
| | | Males | Females | | Males | Females | |
| 50,000+ | 11 | 65,273 | 63,720 | 103.1 | 61,925 | 77,065 | 80.3 |
| 30,000-49,999 | 10 | 25,617 | 24,843 | 103.1 | 23,107 | 29,999 | 77.1 |
| 20,000-29,999 | 11 | 18,580 | 18,109 | 102.6 | 16,017 | 20,165 | 79.4 |
| 10,000-19,999 | 21 | 18,591 | 16,019 | 116.1 | 18,521 | 23,090 | 80.2 |
| 5,000-9,999 | 34 | 14,096 | 12,139 | 116.1 | 14,713 | 16,060 | 91.6 |
| 2,500-4,999 | 32 | 6,584 | 5,588 | 117.8 | 6,776 | 7,751 | 87.4 |
| Less than 2,500 | 13 | 1,506 | 1,173 | 128.4 | 1,419 | 1,688 | 84.2 |
| Total | 132 | 150,247 | 141,591 | 106.1 | 142,478 | 175,818 | 81.0 |
| SOUTH AUSTRALIA | | | | | | | |
| Population Size Category | Number of LGAs | Population Aged 15-24 years | | Sex Ratios 15-24 years | Population Aged 65+ years | | Sex Ratios 65 + years |
| | | Males | Females | | Males | Females | |
| 20,000+ | 3 | 4,539 | 4,513 | 100.6 | 3,076 | 3,998 | 77.0 |
| 10,000-19,999 | 4 | 3,695 | 3,603 | 102.6 | 3,230 | 4,180 | 77.3 |
| 5,000-9,999 | 18 | 6,931 | 6,167 | 112.4 | 7,973 | 9,375 | 85.0 |
| 2,500-4,999 | 22 | 4,323 | 3,696 | 117.8 | 5,109 | 5,734 | 89.1 |
| 1,000-2,499 | 32 | 2,786 | 2,178 | 127.9 | 3,743 | 4,099 | 91.1 |
| Less than 1,000 | 10 | 317 | 221 | 143.4 | 346 | 361 | 96.0 |
| Total | 89 | 22,591 | 20,378 | 110.3 | 23,477 | 27,747 | 84.6 |

Source: ABS, 1996 census, unpublished migration matrix tape

The table highlights the very distinctive differences in the size of population centres in the two States, which has been taken into account in grouping the areas. It should be noted that in non-metropolitan South Australia out of a total of 89 LGAs almost half had populations of less than 2500, ten of these had populations less than 1000. The smaller populations tended to accentuate the pattern of male dominance among teenagers and young adults (15-24 years), especially those with populations less than 1000, collectively showing a ratio of 143.4 males per 100 females. This was consistent with research undertaken in Northern Atlantic regions, specifically Norway by Hamilton and Otterstad (1998) that showed a significant relationship between male dominance and community size that resulted from high rates of female out-migration from rural areas.

Table 5.15 provides the average net migration rates for each population size category and shows a pattern of consistent net loss of young males and females (15-24 years), which were greater for smaller population centres. Of particular note, the female net migration rates were exceptionally high and uniformly in excess of those for males, especially in areas with populations less than 2500. In New South Wales the mean rate of loss for youth aged 15-24 years was 497.3 per 1000 females compared to 227.9 for males. In South Australia equivalent rates for small population centres of less than 1000 population were 821.2 per 1000 females aged 15-24 years and 486.6 for males and for centres between 1000-2500 the rates were 538.4 for females and 365.4 for males. Areas with populations in excess of 50,000 in New South Wales had relatively small net losses of youth aged 15-24 years, 19 per 1000 for males and 30.7 for females, indicating a greater retention of young population while at the same time likely to be attracting youth from smaller rural towns and areas. The larger centres in South Australia with at least 20,000 population, there were only three, had substantially higher losses of young adults although they were much lower than for the small population areas, indicating that there was less

retention of youth due to the absence of large regional cities like Bathurst-Orange, Newcastle and Wollongong that effectively slowed the out-migration of youth from non-metropolitan New South Wales as they offered higher education and employment opportunities.

Table 5.15: Male and Female Net Migration Rates¹ by Age and Category Size of Population in New South Wales and South Australia, LGAs, 1996

| NEW SOUTH WALES | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|--------------|
| LGA Population Size Category | Net Migration Rates 5+ Population | | Net Migration Rates 15-24 Population | | Net Migration Rates 65+ Population | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 50,000+ | 42.9 | 45.3 | -19.0 | -30.7 | 49.0 | 40.7 |
| 30,000-49,999 | 14.2 | 15.0 | -95.0 | -118.3 | 33.2 | 26.4 |
| 20,000-29,999 | -4.1 | -3.3 | -79.0 | -102.3 | 9.3 | 17.6 |
| 10,000-19,999 | -30.9 | -42.3 | -227.5 | -283.2 | 8.9 | 4.0 |
| 5,000-9,999 | -29.0 | -41.2 | -262.4 | -323.2 | -4.6 | -13.2 |
| 2,500-4,999 | -60.6 | -67.9 | -324.5 | -445.2 | -23.1 | -26.2 |
| Less than 2,500 | -38.0 | -87.8 | -227.9 | -497.3 | -98.5 | -144.5 |
| Total | -26.5 | -37.8 | -220.2 | -305.3 | -7.7 | -16.5 |
| SOUTH AUSTRALIA | | | | | | |
| LGA Population Size Category | Net Migration Rates 5+ Population | | Net Migration Rates 15-24 Population | | Net Migration Rates 65+ Population | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 20,000+ | -9.8 | -11.1 | -100.3 | -75.8 | -23.6 | 9.5 |
| 10,000-19,999 | -50.7 | -46.2 | -168.3 | -162.7 | 3.9 | 6.5 |
| 5,000-9,999 | 25.6 | 11.0 | -180.9 | -261.8 | 0.1 | -22.3 |
| 2,500-4,999 | -15.1 | -32.9 | -287.2 | -384.9 | -41.8 | -19.1 |
| 1,000-2,499 | -23.6 | -40.3 | -365.4 | -538.4 | -27.7 | -33.9 |
| Less than 1,000 | -118.3 | -119.7 | -486.6 | -821.2 | -119.2 | -262.3 |
| Total | -22.9 | -36.3 | -304.6 | -443.8 | -34.3 | -50.3 |

¹ Mean rate of net migration for population size category (per 1000 population)

Source: ABS, 1996 census, unpublished migration matrix tape

The table also shows the average net migration rates for total population (5+ years) and the aged population. It is interesting that the only categories with net gains were in New South Wales and in centres with populations in excess of 30,000 with net losses most apparent in the smaller centres and rising substantially as population size decreased. In South Australia there is a relatively consistent net migration loss of population across all size categories, with the exception of areas with populations between 5000-9000, which

represent some of the more favourable retirement towns, most notably Victor Harbor. However in areas with less than 5000 population, rates of migration loss increased as the size of population decreased with rates for females slightly higher than for males.

In respect to the aged in New South Wales the large population centres (all above 10,000) show above average net migration gains while the smaller population centres show net losses increasing substantially to 144.5 per 1000 females and 98.5 for males in centres with populations less than 2500. In South Australia, there were also higher rates of net migration loss of the aged as population size declined, especially for females in areas with less than 2500 population, with only relatively minor net migration gains of females evident in the larger centres.

The relatively uniform pattern of net migration loss of females aged 15-24 years across all population categories is similar for New South Wales and South Australia despite considerable differences in the size of population centres, with the highest net losses clearly corresponding with the smallest population centres (LGAs). It is interesting that the net loss of aged females was also markedly higher for the smallest populations clearly leading to a more even balance between older males and females as noted in the sex ratios earlier.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The analysis of inter-regional migration shows a significant increase in the number of female migrants in all streams between 1986 and 1996, with females dominating in both non-metropolitan to metropolitan movement and in the reverse stream, while males were dominant in movement within the two sectors, although the streams had become more feminised. There has been little attention focussed on the changing sex composition of

these migration streams nor the distinctive socio-demographic, family and employment characteristics as they relate to male and female migrants.

There were notable differences in employment and educational attainment of female migrants in the non-metropolitan destination streams compared to the metropolitan, and also with non-migrants at origin and destination. One of the most striking differences is the marital status of female migrants compared to non-migrants that are clearly related to age differentials but also differ for the respective streams. Most notably, the metropolitan streams were over-represented with singles, those female migrants identified as never married, separated/divorced and widowed at the time of the census. Non-metropolitan destinations had high representations of married non-migrant and migrant females, which is little researched and yet may help explain important differences in the patterns and processes of inter-regional migration.

The main difference between male and female migrants is evident in the migration of young singles aged 15-24 years from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas, with a much higher representation of females. This is not a new phenomenon but a well-entrenched pattern that stems from both economic and social processes associated with rural life (Little 1987; Little and Austin 1996). What is perhaps new is that the pattern is more accentuated than in the past and more widespread as females increasingly avoid early marriage and seek employment and education in the capital cities. The other notable difference is that the non-metropolitan sector is characterised by net migration gain across all other age groups, while the metropolitan sector experienced considerable net migration loss with the exception of migrants aged 15-24 years. It is clear that employment and education offerings outside non-metropolitan areas represent important triggers in the movement of young adults, especially females, and was found to be relatively uniform across the States.

As Fuguitt and Heaton (1995 p.215) point out in the context of inter-regional migration in the US that in general:

‘...migration adds young people to metropolitan areas and older people to non-metropolitan areas’
‘Impacts will be greater in smaller than in larger population groups, and in areas that impinge on a particular age group’

Considerable research attention has been directed towards explanations for *counterurbanisation* in Australia (Bell and Hugo 2000; Hugo 1989; Hugo and Bell 1998; Hugo and Smailes 1985), which have tended to divert attention away from rural depopulation until recently when rural Australia appeared to re-emerge as a topic of political and media concern. The distinctive spatial concentration of the turnaround and the various hypotheses put forward as explanation, such as the ‘expanded-urban-field, welfare-led and life-style led arguments’ tended to be optimistic that there would be a convergence in the characteristics of metropolitan and non-metropolitan populations (Hugo 1989 pp.62-63). However, it is argued that contemporary patterns indicate a wider divergence between the sectors with the migration streams exhibiting distinctive characteristics with important gender differences impacting on particular locations.

The question of the changing status of women and their increasing independence as reflected in changes occurring in patterns of marriage and divorce, and how they might impact on sub-groups of women living in urban and rural environments needs to be addressed, together with the more common economic determinants of migration. Moreover, the social and demographic determinants of migration may help in explaining the changing sex composition of inter-regional migration streams that has received little research attention in Australia.

CHAPTER SIX

FEMALES IN INTERSTATE MIGRATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Interstate migration is a relatively small component of all internal migration in Australia but is often viewed as the most important as it involves the distribution of population between States and Territories. Interstate migration is thus of concern to government as it influences political and economic decisions at both the Federal and State level. This chapter shows the increasing participation of females in interstate migration and establishes their characteristics in respect to in-migration and out-migration flows in the respective States and Territories. Moreover, the characteristics of internal migrants are compared to those migrants who were overseas at the time of the previous census, to gain a better understanding of the overall impact of migration on the State populations over a five-year period.

In examining trends in interstate migration to establish net-migration gains and losses to the respective States and Territories, it is again common practice to exclude usual residents who did not have a residential address in Australia five years prior to the census (Bell 1992; 1995; Bell and Hugo 2000). This is because the migration of former residents to overseas destinations in the corresponding period cannot be measured. It is demonstrated that this approach understates the impact of recent overseas immigrants on the States, especially on the capital city populations, and misrepresents the characteristics of in-migrants and their full impact on demand for services, housing and employment.

Research (Bell 1992; 1994; 1995; Bell and Hugo 2000; Hugo 1986) has shown that population redistribution in Australia in the 1980s and 1990s was primarily confined to northward and westward shifts in population. Much of this research was very much a

systematic appraisal of who was going where and why, with an emphasis on the size and direction of the respective flows between the States and Territories, notably gender neutral, with a concern with the distributional outcomes. Moreover, usual residents engaging in interstate migration represent a relatively small proportion of all who move between censuses. In 1996 there were 386,156 males and 380,995 females who stated that they had moved to a different State or Territory from the one in which they were resident in 1991. This constituted some 11 per cent of males and 10.5 per cent of females who had moved residence in the 1991-1996 intercensal period. Attention should be drawn to the fact that a further 8.1 per cent of males and 8.7 per cent of females identified as movers were overseas in 1991. Therefore, approximately 18-19 per cent of all movers can be considered as coming from outside the respective States and Territories where they resided in 1996.

The analysis undertaken here is based on 1986 and 1996 census migration matrix tapes to establish changes in interstate migration over a ten-year period with a focus on females in longer distance movement. Use is also made of the census sample tapes to define the characteristics of males and females migrating between States within mainland Australia. This source is also used to compare the characteristics of internal migrants with those of migrants who were overseas five years prior to the census, with a particular concern to identify differences between males and females. An *internal migrant* is defined as having been resident in Australia at the time of the census and five years previously, and was at a different address having crossed a State or Territory boundary.

The first part of this chapter examines changes in patterns of internal migration in the 1981-86 and 1991-96 intercensal periods, focussing specifically upon the age and sex selectivity of in-migration and out-migration flows and how these vary by State and Territory. The second examines the socio-economic characteristics of male and female in-migrants and out-migrants moving between mainland States. The third assesses the

contribution of usual residents in 1996 who were at an overseas location in 1991 (those who arrived in Australia over the 1991-96 period) to migration flows for each State and Territory, and demonstrates their impact on destination populations.

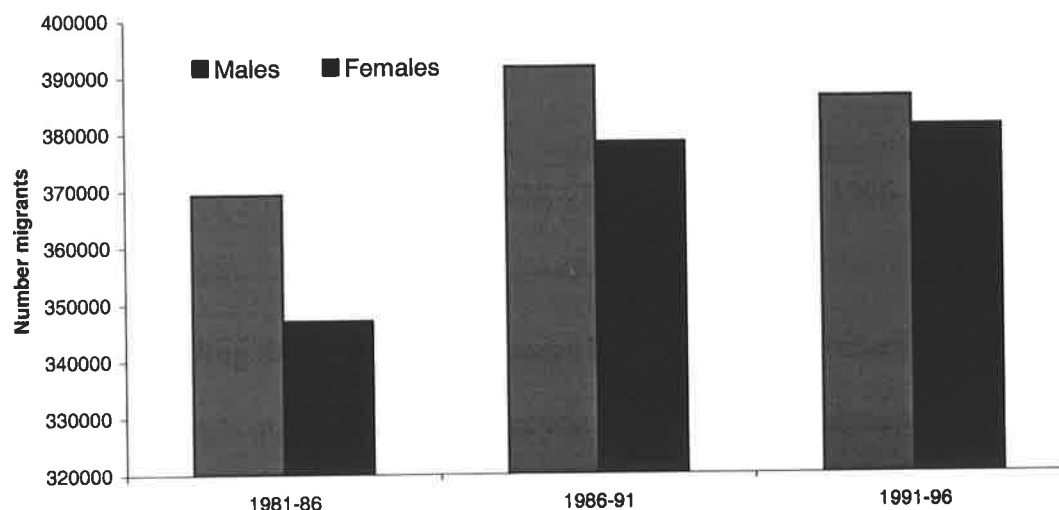
6.2 TRENDS IN INTERSTATE MIGRATION, 1986 TO 1996

6.2.1 The Increasing Significance of Females in Interstate Migration

Rowland (1979 pp.96-97) in his analysis of 1966-71 migration trends found that interstate migration streams were male dominated with a sex ratio of 107 and pointed out that sex differentials in longer distance migration had greatly diminished when compared to earlier periods. He argued that this was largely due to lower costs associated with migrating, and due to the emancipation of women which had enabled them to move more freely for jobs and education. In addition, he pointed out that 'the ascendancy of urban occupations has inevitably made cities the foci for both male and female members of the labour force', and that many of the structural changes had promoted family migration and reduced constraints on the movement of individuals (Rowland 1979 p.97).

In examining migration data over three census periods 1981-86, 1986-91 and 1991-96, Figure 6.1 shows that female interstate migrants had increased by 33,976 or 10 per cent while males increased by only 16,916 or 4.6 per cent over the ten-year period. The number of male migrants was much higher in 1991 but had declined by 1996. Moreover, sex ratios decreased from 106.4 in 1986 to 103.5 in 1991 dropping to 101.4 by 1996, indicating the increasing number of females moving longer distances than in earlier periods and, indeed, almost equalling the number of males.

Figure 6.1: Australia: Male and Female Interstate Migrants¹, 1981-86, 1986-91 and 1991-96



¹ Excludes persons overseas in the period prior to the census

Source: ABS, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

Table 6.1 shows the uneven pattern of in-migration and out-migration between States and Territories and the net effect of this movement in the 1981-86 and 1991-96 periods. Queensland stands apart with exceptionally high net migration gains, particularly in the 1991-96 period with a gain of some 71,573 males and 70,590 females. Similarly, Western Australia experienced considerable net migration gains although much smaller in absolute numbers, with males significantly outnumbering females. New South Wales and Victoria, the States with the largest populations, had the highest net migration losses, which were dominated by males in 1996. Moreover the slow growth economies of South Australia and Tasmania (Beer 1998) also had greater net migration losses in 1996, but the losses were higher for females than males. The two territories experienced significant net gains in the 1981-86 period, which had reduced considerably by 1996, with a net loss of females evident in the Northern Territory.

Table 6.1: Interstate Net Migration: Male and Female In- and Out-migrants by State and Territory¹, 1981-86 and 1991-96

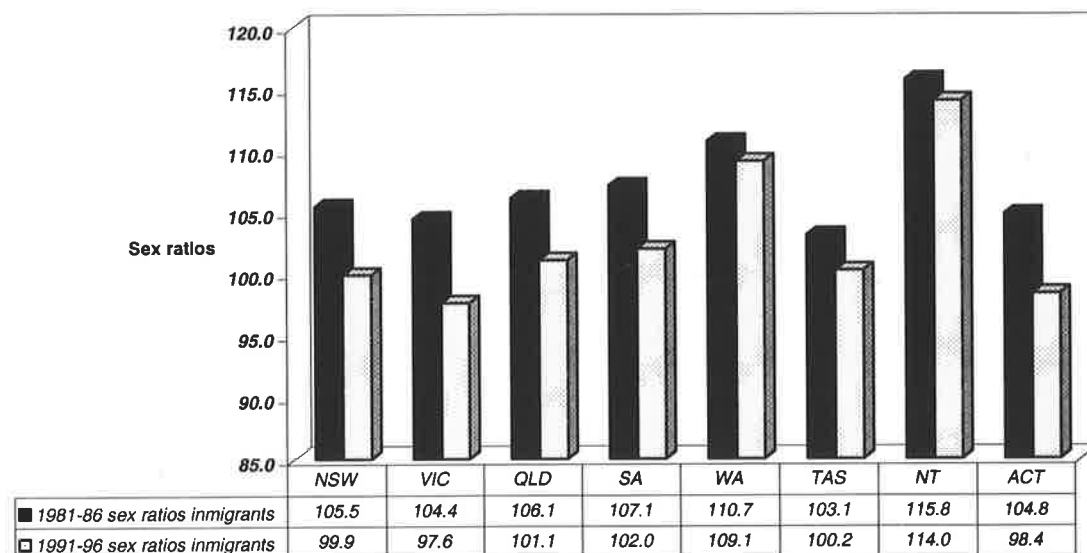
| | Male In-migrants | | Male Out-migrants | | Male Net migrants | |
|-----|--------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|
| | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 |
| NSW | 85,626 | 89,259 | 116,806 | 118,478 | -31,180 | -29,219 |
| VIC | 60,887 | 53,273 | 81,924 | 93,547 | -21,037 | -40,274 |
| QLD | 104,226 | 130,723 | 59,315 | 59,150 | 44,911 | 71,573 |
| SA | 29,783 | 26,135 | 33,955 | 35,096 | -4,172 | -8,961 |
| WA | 35,584 | 35,716 | 27,914 | 26,486 | 7,670 | 9,230 |
| TAS | 12,016 | 12,180 | 13,203 | 15,064 | -1,187 | -2,884 |
| NT | 16,958 | 16,636 | 14,901 | 16,345 | 2,057 | 291 |
| ACT | 24,160 | 22,234 | 22,122 | 21,990 | 2,938 | 244 |
| | Female In-migrants | | Female Out-migrants | | Female Net migrants | |
| | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 |
| NSW | 81,194 | 89,357 | 111,672 | 118,364 | -30,478 | -29,007 |
| VIC | 58,314 | 54,586 | 77,077 | 90,454 | -18,763 | -35,868 |
| QLD | 98,222 | 129,353 | 54,854 | 58,763 | 43,368 | 70,590 |
| SA | 27,801 | 25,624 | 32,337 | 34,684 | -4,536 | -9,060 |
| WA | 32,135 | 32,732 | 24,311 | 25,643 | 7,824 | 7,089 |
| TAS | 11,652 | 12,150 | 12,655 | 15,263 | -1,003 | -3,133 |
| NT | 14,650 | 14,591 | 12,987 | 15,529 | 1,663 | -938 |
| ACT | 23,051 | 22,602 | 21,126 | 22,295 | 1,925 | 307 |

¹ Excludes persons who were overseas in 1991, not usual residents and residence not stated

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

The increasing number of females moving between States and Territories is best illustrated by the sex ratios shown in Figure 6.2, indicating a consistent decline in ratios for in-migrants to New South Wales, Victoria and the ACT by 1996, and a relatively even balance of males and females in Queensland and Tasmania. Moreover, the significant male dominance in Western Australia and the Northern Territory had changed little over 10 years, with South Australia the only other State to maintain a slightly higher ratio above 100, although the ratio had decreased significantly. This is primarily due to the distinctive types of industries and mining operations occurring in these States, whereby males are more likely to take up employment opportunities in outback centres, frequently as singles.

Figure 6.2: Change in Sex Ratios of Internal In-migrants by State and Territory¹, 1981-86 and 1991-96

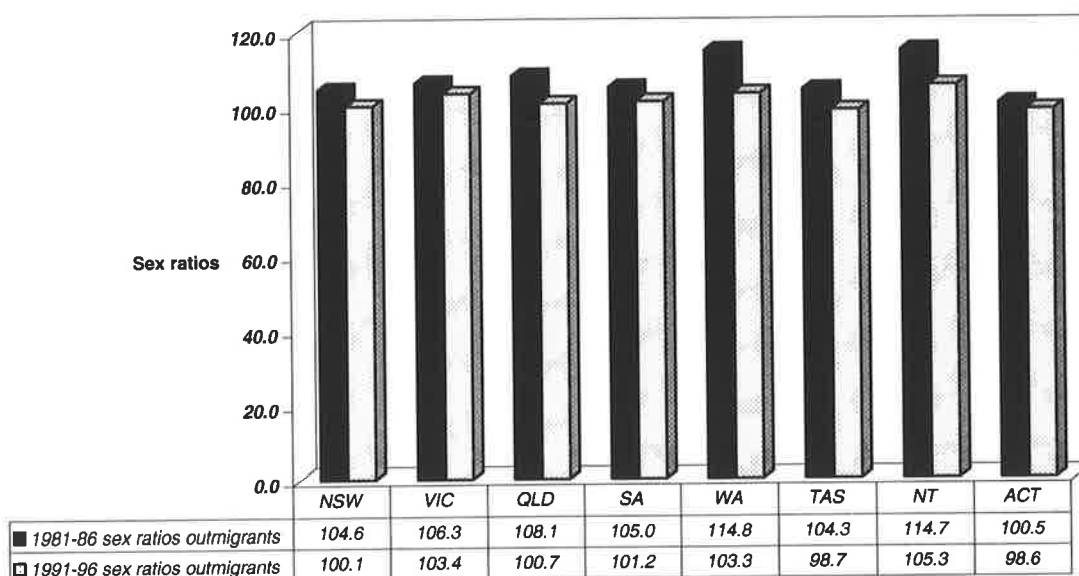


¹ Excludes persons overseas in the period prior to the census

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

Figure 6.3 shows a much smaller change in the sex ratios for out-migrants, with the ratios remaining significantly male dominated, although they had declined for most States by 1996. Western Australia and the Northern Territory show a significant drop in the high sex ratios recorded in 1986 but retained male dominated outflows, which is not surprising given the male dominance of their inflows. Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory are distinctive in that they show a shift to female dominance in out-migration flows by 1996. These changes are no doubt linked to the availability of employment opportunities and the rise in the number of females seeking opportunities in capital cities. The male dominance in interstate out-migration flows may be associated with the greater number of males moving between non-metropolitan sectors and also between capital cities, while females were found to dominate migration in the exchanges between metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors within the State borders as demonstrated in the analysis in the previous chapter.

Figure 6.3: Change in the Sex Ratios of Internal Out-migrants by State and Territory¹, 1981-86 and 1991-96



¹ Excludes persons overseas in the period prior to the census

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

Figure 6.4 shows the age specific sex ratios for in-migrants and out-migrants in the 1981-86 and 1991-96 census periods, and one of the most notable changes is the greater participation of young adult females evident across all States, indicated by the lowering of sex ratios for both in-migrants and out-migrants (heaviest black and red lines). The 1986 profiles (the less prominent broken red and black lines) are generally higher indicating a stronger male dominance while for the older population they were found to be lower. For the in-migration streams, there was a decline in the ratios at ages 20-24 years, in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland and the ACT. Most notably, the ratios dropped in New South Wales from 98 in 1986 to 88 in 1996 while in Queensland they fell from 107.2 to 93 respectively, indicating significantly more female in-migrants aged 20-24 years than 10 years earlier. By contrast, the ratio in Tasmania increased from 89 to 94, and in the Northern Territory, South Australia and Western Australia males continued to dominate.

Figure 6.4: Interstate Migration: Change in the Sex Ratios of In- and Out-migrants by Age for States and Territories, 1981-86 and 1991-96

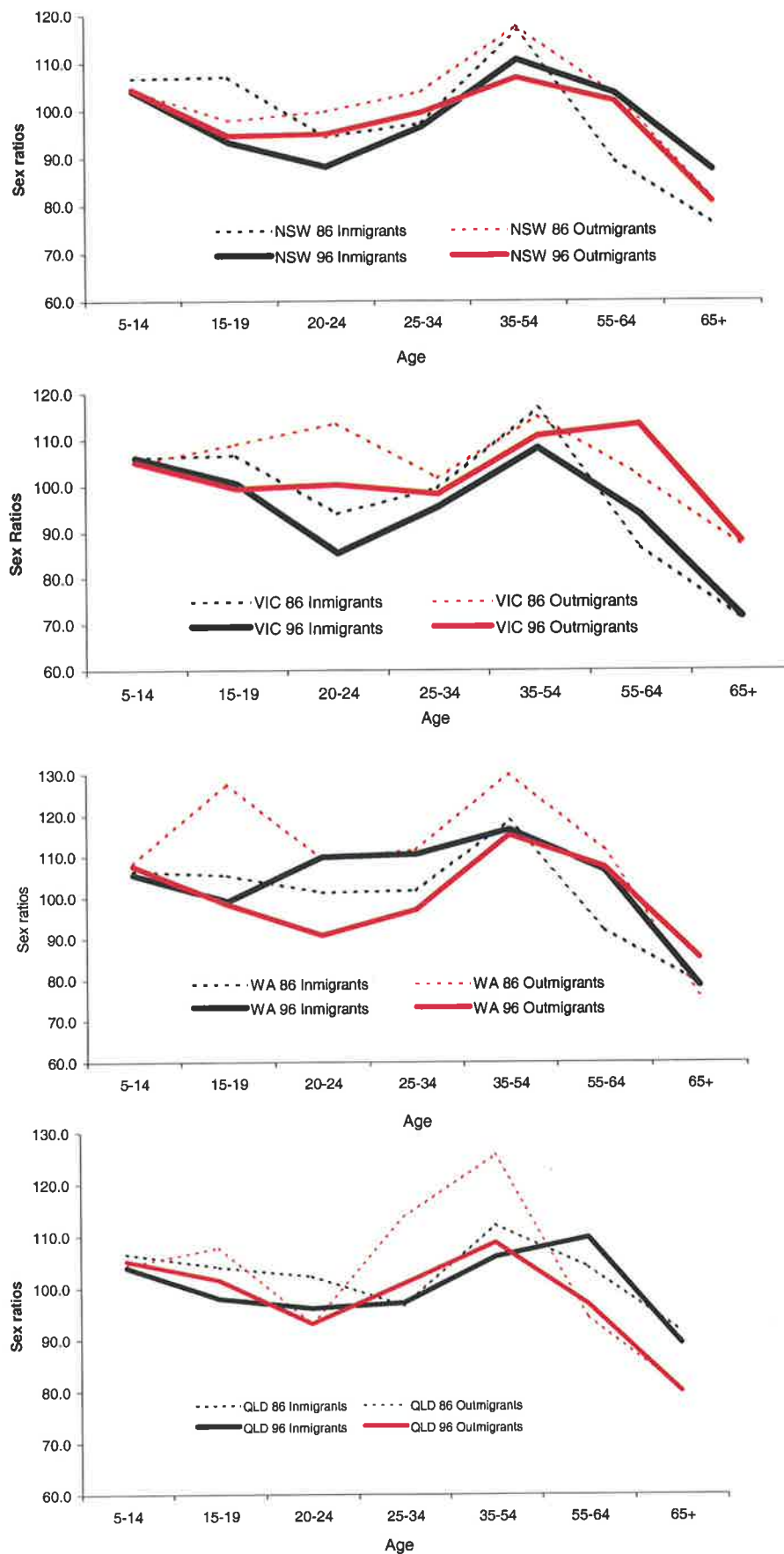
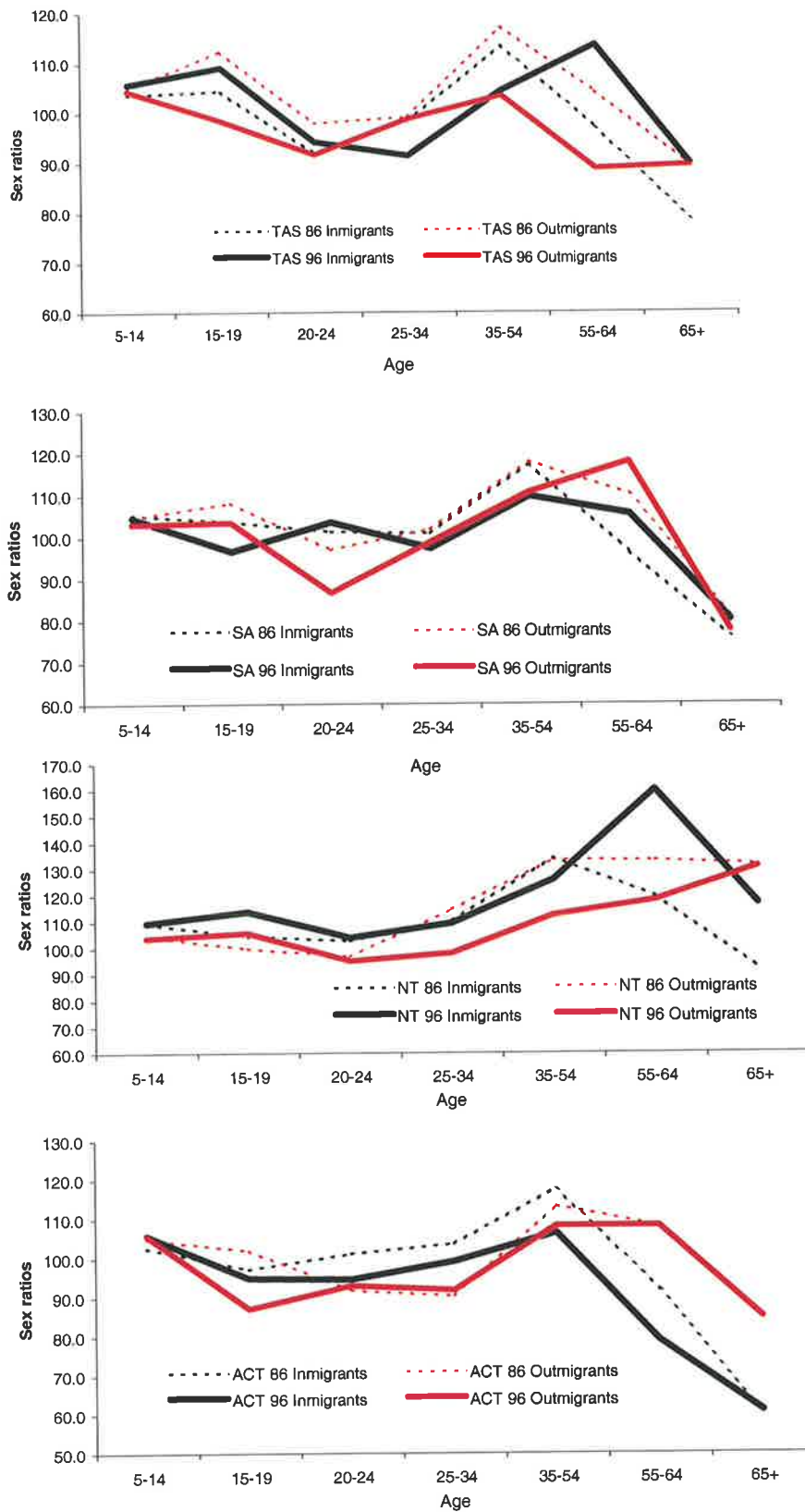


Figure 6.4: (Continued)



Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

It is interesting that Queensland experienced a reduction in the sex ratio for in-migrants aged 65 years or more (93.7 males per 100 females in 1986 to 79.9 in 1996), while most other States showed a slight increase. Most notably in Tasmania the ratio of aged men to women migrants increased from 79 in 1986 to 89.6 in 1996 and in the ACT from 56.5 to 60.8 respectively, and yet remained the most feminised of the aged streams. The Northern Territory had the only male dominated aged stream by 1996 (116.6), while equivalent ratios for the other States remained female dominated: New South Wales (87.5), Tasmania (89.6), South Australia (80), Western Australia (78) and Victoria (71.5).

The decline in the age specific sex ratios for out-migrants between 1986 and 1996, also shown in Figure 6.4, was most significant for ages 20-24 years. The States most affected were Western Australia where the ratio declined from 109.3 in 1986 to 90.8 in 1996, and similarly in South Australia from 96.9 to 86.5, Tasmania 97.8 to 91.5, and Victoria 113.4 to 100.4, respectively, indicating the greater exodus of young females from these States. There are good reasons why people left these States due to their poor economic performance in the early 1990s, with political circumstances resulting in public and corporate job shedding also blamed for high net losses from Victoria (O'Leary 1999 p.33). South Australia and Tasmania also suffered economic adversity with small numbers of overseas migrants to balance high interstate loss (Beer 1998; Jackson and Kippen 2001).

In sum, the sex ratios for in-migrants and out-migrants show a consistent trend of increasing female participation in interstate migration. The main changes are largely occurring for females at young adult ages, while sex ratios for older migrants, although consistently female dominated, had actually increased indicating a greater participation of older males. However, the numbers are too small to influence the overall shift towards greater female participation. It is relevant to examine age-sex specific migration trends to more fully understand these changes.

6.2.2 Age-sex Specific Net Interstate Migration Rates, 1986 to 1996

In examining rates of net migration in the 1981-86 and 1991-96 periods shown in Table 6.2, total rates actually declined, dropping marginally for females (47.8 per 1000 to 45.6), while male rates fell from 51.6 to 47.5 per 1000. In New South Wales the rates of net loss for both males and females declined, while in Victoria the net loss for males and females increased by about 7 persons per 1000 by 1996. Both South Australia and Tasmania experienced exacerbated rates of net loss sharing similar rates by 1996, while the two Territories experienced a considerable reduction in the high rates of net gain evident in 1986. In the ACT the rates declined to marginal gain, while in the Northern Territory there was a reversal of gain for females in 1986 to a net loss by 1996, and a significant reduction in net gain for males. Queensland stands apart with high consistent rates of net gain, increasing for females from 43.8 per 1000 in 1986 to 45.5 by 1996, with a marginal increase for males, which in part was a response to the poor performance of the Victorian economy with increased in-migration flows from that State (Barker, Ward and Moore 1998 p.15). In Western Australia, the only other State experiencing net gain, rates for males remained much the same but dropped for females from 14.7 in 1986 to 8.9 by 1996.

Table 6.2: Male and Female Rates of Interstate Net Migration by States and Territories¹, 1981-86 and 1991-96

| | Rates of Net Migration per 1000 Males and Females | | | |
|-------|---|---------|---------|---------|
| | Males | | Females | |
| | 1981-86 | 1991-96 | 1981-86 | 1991-96 |
| NSW | -15.2 | -10.7 | -14.4 | -10.3 |
| VIC | -13.8 | -20.3 | -11.9 | -17.4 |
| QLD | 46.0 | 46.9 | 43.8 | 45.5 |
| SA | -8.1 | -13.8 | -8.5 | -13.4 |
| WA | 14.4 | 11.6 | 14.7 | 8.9 |
| TAS | -7.3 | -13.8 | -6.0 | -14.4 |
| NT | 34.6 | 3.2 | 31.6 | -11.3 |
| ACT | 32.1 | 1.8 | 20.4 | 2.2 |
| Total | 51.6 | 47.5 | 47.8 | 45.6 |

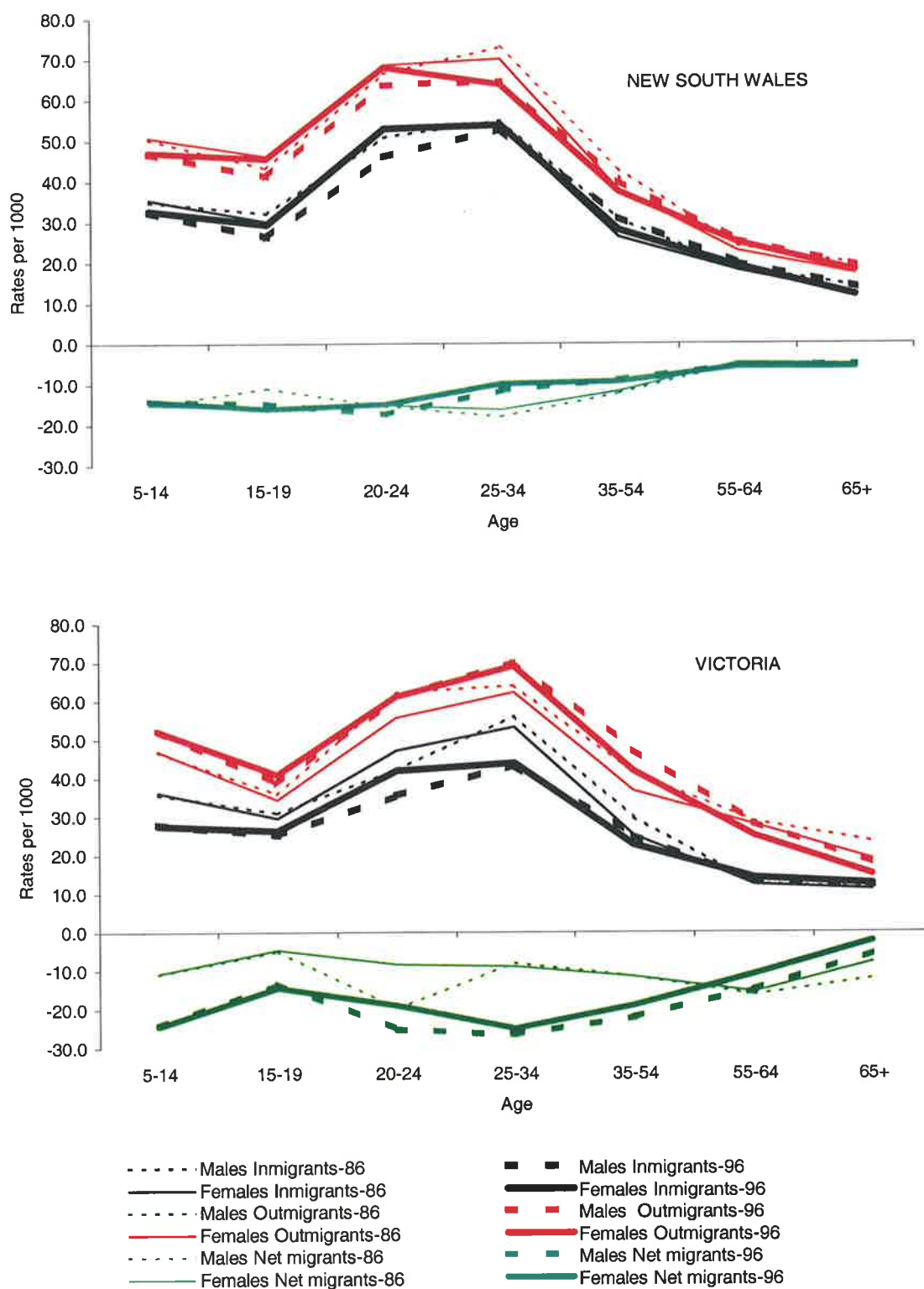
¹ Excludes persons overseas in the period prior to the census

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

The age and sex specific net migration profiles for New South Wales and Victoria are shown in Figure 6.5, indicating that the most populous States share a similar pattern of high rates of net migration loss of young persons for the 1981-86 and 1991-96 periods, which declined as age increased. In New South Wales there was a notable reduction in rates of net loss of females aged 25 through to 54 years, due to reduced levels of out-migration (red lines) rather than any increase in in-migration (black lines). The rates of net loss for males were exacerbated at young ages due to reduced in-migration, but showed a similar pattern of reduction to that of females for ages 25 years or more. The significant reduction in net migration loss of the 25-34 age group for both males and females, which is reflected in a similar reduction at ages less than 15 years, means that the loss of young families has slowed somewhat and is likely to influence levels of population growth in the future (Culpin, Nugent and Truscott 2000).

In Victoria, heavier net migration losses were evident for males and females aged 20 to 54 years by 1996 with net loss somewhat reduced for the older population, especially for females. The notable loss of young families from Victoria tends to reflect the rather drastic economic policies of the Kennett Government in the 1990s whereby both jobs and services suffered cutbacks (Bell and Hugo 2000). Moreover, the downward shift in the net migration profile in Victoria was a function of increased rates of out-migration and a fall in rates of in-migration. Victoria experienced the highest net loss for ages 25-34 years at a rate of about 25 per 1000 (slightly less for females) in 1991-96 compared to 8 per 1000 in 1981-86. In New South Wales the rates of net loss reduced for females (25-34 years) from 16 per 1000 in 1981-86 to 10 in 1991-96 and for males from 18 to 12 respectively.

Figure 6.5: Age-Sex Specific Migration Profiles for New South Wales and Victoria, 1981-86 and 1991-96

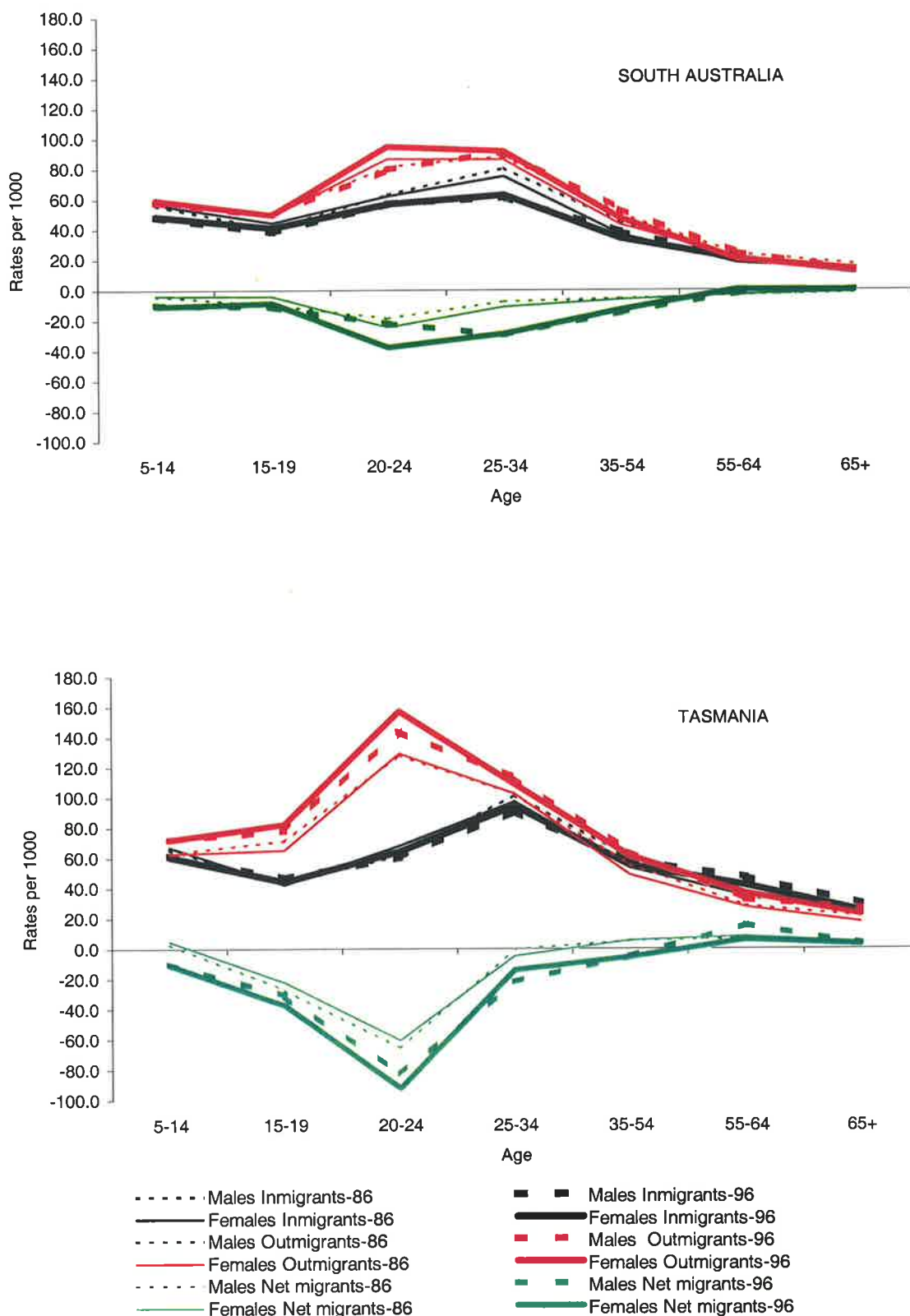


Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

The age specific net migration profiles for South Australia and Tasmania (Figure 6.6) show high rates of net migration loss, especially at ages 20-24 years that were substantially greater in 1991-96 than in 1981-86. This was primarily due to poor economic conditions and cutbacks in private and public sector jobs (Beer 1998). In Tasmania the net loss of females aged 20-24 years increased from 61 per 1000 in 1986 to 93 by 1996 and for males from 66 to 83 respectively. The corresponding figures for South Australia indicate increased net losses from 25 to 37.8 per 1000 females and marginally higher loss for males from 19 to 22. These sustained losses were due to significant increases in the rates of out-migration, especially for females.

Notwithstanding the much higher rates of loss evident for Tasmania, a major difference in the profiles was the sustained loss in South Australia of the 25-34 age group in 1991-96, with exaggerated loss at ages 5-14 years as accompanying children. This was primarily due to reduced rates of in-migration rather than any change in the rates of departure. Tasmania on the other hand tended to show remarkably similar rates of in-migration and out-migration between the two periods for males and females aged 25 through to 54 years and experienced an increase in the rates of in-migration of older persons. The diminished net losses of persons 25 years and over from Tasmania compared to South Australia, may be a function of the very substantial net loss at ages 20-24 years, in other words most persons wanting to leave had already departed at younger ages. Alternatively, it can be argued that the high out-migration stream of young gives rise to a more significant counter-flow of persons when they are older. In South Australia, the more continuous pattern of net migration loss of not only young adults but also those of child-bearing age (25-34 years) has quite a significant impact as it also involves the potential loss of their children and a reluctance to return if families settle interstate or elsewhere.

Figure 6.6: Age-Sex Specific Migration Profiles for South Australia and Tasmania, 1981-86 and 1991-96

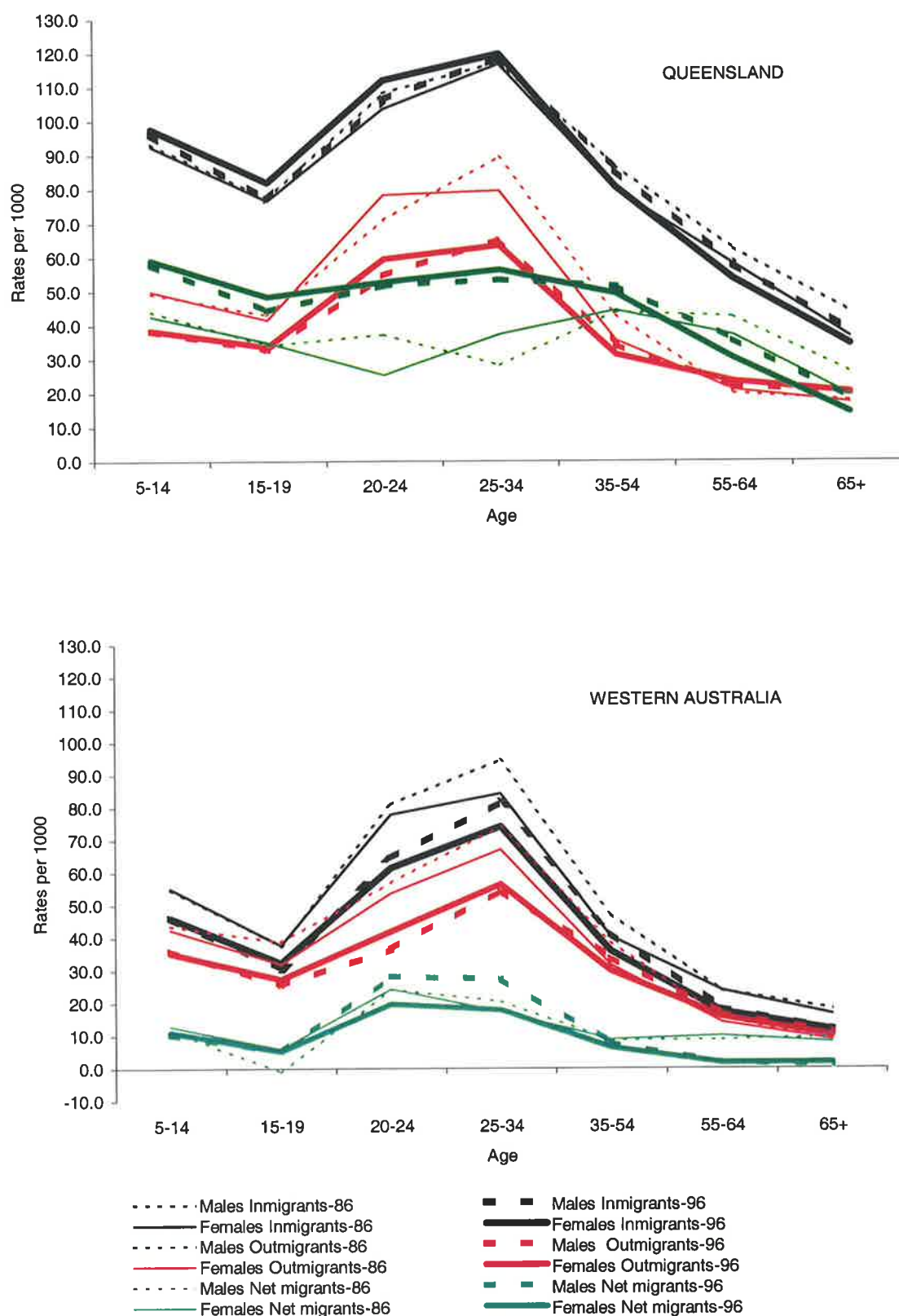


Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

Net migration profiles for the States experiencing significant growth are shown in Figure 6.7. In Queensland there were higher net gains across all ages in 1991-96 compared to 1981-86, which can be attributed to the rapidly expanding economy (Ward and Barker 1997). This change was primarily due to a substantial reduction in rates of out-migration over the period rather than a result of increases in rates of in-migration, especially for population aged less than 55 years. It is interesting that the net gain of persons over 55 years actually declined due mainly to a reduction in rates of in-migration. Most notably, the rates of net migration gain for ages 55 to 64 years reduced for males from 42 to 36 per 1000 and for females from 37 to 30 per 1000 between the 1981-86 and 1991-96 intercensal periods. However, it should be borne in mind that this effectively still represented significantly higher rates of aged migration than elsewhere. Overall, the reduced net gains at older ages were balanced by a higher net gain of young families. Most notably, net migration gain of persons aged 25-34 years increased from 40 to 55 per 1000 between 1986 and 1996, with a corresponding increase in young children aged 5-14 years, from just over 40 to 60 per 1000.

The profiles for Western Australia indicate that net migration gains were lower than in Queensland and there was a less consistent pattern of change. Most notably, the significantly reduced net gain of females aged 20-24 years in 1991-96 was matched with an increase for males. This was due to higher rates of out-migration for females, however the in-migration rates for both males and females also decreased significantly. By contrast, the rates of net gain for males aged 25-34 years showed a significant increase from 20 to 27 per 1000 due to greatly reduced rates of out-migration, while for females they stayed the same at 18 per 1000. Moreover, net gains for both males and females at older ages were reduced from over 10 to less than 2 per 1000 in 1996. This was primarily due to a greatly reduced inflow of older persons with little change shown in the rates of out-migration.

Figure 6.7: Age-Sex Specific Migration Profiles for Queensland and Western Australia, 1981-86 and 1991-96

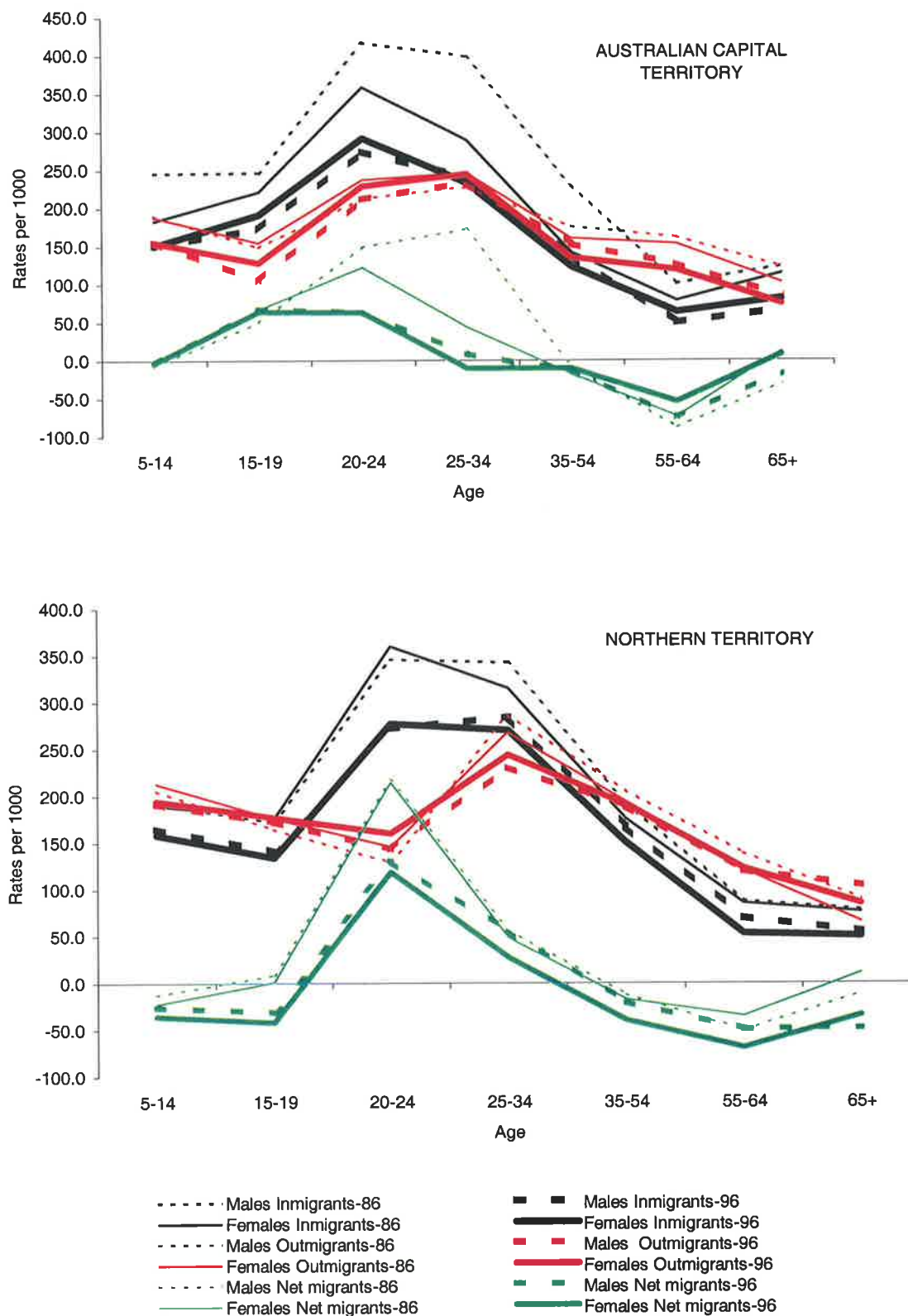


Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

The rates for the two territories are shown in Figure 6.8 and it should be pointed out that they are based on much smaller populations which tend to indicate higher rates. They both demonstrate a considerable reduction in the high net gains for ages 20-24 years in 1981-86 which in the ACT extends to age 34 years. In both instances the reduction in net migration was due to a substantial fall in the rates of in-migration with rates of out-migration remaining much the same. The other notable difference is the reduction in rates of net migration loss of persons aged over 55 years from the ACT and an increase in those from the Northern Territory. It appears that rates of out-migration from the ACT have significantly reduced while the in-migration of the 65+ population had also declined but not to the same extent. By contrast the rates of net loss increased in the Northern Territory due to a significant drop in the in-migration of persons in their 50s and 60s with little change in rates of out-migration.

In sum, the changes evident in the net migration profiles demonstrate changes in the migration of young adult males and females, with Queensland the only State to show a substantial increase in rates of net migration gain, while a reduction in net gain or exaggerated net loss, shaped the other profiles. A mixed pattern of change was evident for older migrants in both Western Australia and Queensland in 1991-96, with net gains somewhat lower than in 1981-86 due primarily to a drop in levels of in-migration. On the other hand, the ACT showed a greater retention of its older population with significantly reduced out-migration. Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania all experienced significantly higher rates of net loss up to age 54 years by 1996, and reduced rates of loss of persons aged 55 years or more. Tasmania experienced a consistent pattern of net gain of both the pre-retirement population (55-64 years) and also the aged, against a substantial net loss of young adults which has the effect of greatly exacerbating population ageing (Jackson and Kippen 2001).

Figure 6.8: Age-Sex Specific Migration Profiles for the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory, 1981-86 and 1991-96



Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes

It should be noted that the changes identified in the age profiles of in-migrants and out-migrants in the 1981-86 and 1991-96 intercensal periods, indicate that females were increasingly over-represented among migrants aged 20-24 years in the 1991-96 period, as was evident when examining the decline in the sex ratios earlier. However, it is not feasible to draw conclusions or seek explanation for these demographic changes without first exploring the characteristics of in-migration and out-migration flows.

6.2.3 Socio-Economic Characteristics of In-Migrants and Out-Migrants by State

At the outset it must be pointed out that the socio-economic characteristics of migrants as indicated at the time of the census are usually not the same as at the time of migration, especially as they relate to marital status, family/household composition and employment. However, in examining some selected socio-economic characteristics of in-migrants and out-migrants for each of the mainland States, there are some clear differences between males and females that can be related to economic and political conditions prevailing in 1996. The tables and figures presented below for each of the mainland States indicate a *positive* difference when there is a higher representation of male to female in-migrants and out-migrants in a specific category and a *negative* one when females are over-represented.

Table 6.3 shows that married males and females make up the highest proportion of in-migrant and out-migrant streams with the never married population the next largest component. Of particular interest, females were more highly represented among those migrants who were separated, divorced or widowed. Moreover, all streams (both in- and out-migrants) indicate an over-representation of never married males compared to females with the largest difference (14.4 percentage points) evident in the in-migration stream to Western Australia and the smallest for in-migrants to New South Wales.

Table 6.3: Marital Status Differences between Male and Female In- and Out-migrants for each Mainland State, 1996

| Marital Status | Male In-migrants | Female In-migrants | Per cent Difference* In-migrants | Male Out-migrants | Female Out-migrants | Per cent Difference** Out-migrants |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| NSW | | | | | | |
| Never married | 42.0 | 38.9 | 3.1 | 45.3 | 35.6 | 9.7 |
| Married | 43.3 | 44.6 | -1.3 | 42.5 | 46.3 | -3.8 |
| Separated-Divorced | 13.8 | 11.8 | 2.0 | 11.2 | 13.7 | -2.5 |
| Widowed | 0.9 | 4.6 | -3.7 | 1.1 | 4.4 | -3.3 |
| VIC | | | | | | |
| Never married | 42.9 | 35.7 | 7.2 | 42.2 | 36.1 | 6.1 |
| Married | 43.5 | 44.1 | -0.6 | 45.6 | 48.0 | -2.4 |
| Separated-Divorced | 12.5 | 15.5 | -3.0 | 11.3 | 11.5 | -0.2 |
| Widowed | 1.1 | 4.6 | -3.5 | 0.8 | 4.4 | -3.6 |
| QLD | | | | | | |
| Never married | 39.9 | 34.1 | 5.8 | 42.5 | 36.0 | 6.5 |
| Married | 49.0 | 48.7 | 0.3 | 41.8 | 43.6 | -1.8 |
| Separated-Divorced | 10.3 | 12.7 | -2.4 | 14.2 | 15.0 | -0.8 |
| Widowed | 0.8 | 4.5 | -3.7 | 1.5 | 5.4 | -3.9 |
| SA | | | | | | |
| Never married | 40.3 | 35.2 | 5.1 | 39.9 | 38.6 | 1.3 |
| Married | 47.3 | 48.2 | -0.9 | 46.9 | 47.0 | -0.1 |
| Separated-Divorced | 11.4 | 14.0 | -2.6 | 12.6 | 10.5 | 2.1 |
| Widowed | 1.0 | 2.6 | -1.6 | 0.6 | 3.9 | -3.3 |
| WA | | | | | | |
| Never married | 47.5 | 33.1 | 14.4 | 43.6 | 37.8 | 5.8 |
| Married | 44.0 | 49.1 | -5.1 | 43.6 | 43.1 | 0.5 |
| Separated-Divorced | 7.3 | 14.7 | -7.4 | 12.0 | 15.6 | -3.6 |
| Widowed | 1.3 | 3.1 | -1.8 | 0.9 | 3.6 | -2.7 |

* Percentage point difference between male and female in-migrants

** Percentage point difference between male and female out-migrants

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The discrepancy between male and female out-migrants in the representation of never married was relatively low in South Australia, indicating a more even balance with the largest difference among out-migrants from New South Wales. In relation to separated/divorced migrants there was a significant over-representation of females compared to males in the in-migration stream to Western Australia with a smaller difference evident in the out-migration stream. Moreover, out-migrants from Victoria and Queensland had similar representations of divorced/separated males and females.

The labour force status of in-migrants and out-migrants (Table 6.4) demonstrates significant variations between States in levels of male and female employment. Most notably employment among in-migrants to South Australia was the lowest among the

States, 39.9 per cent of females and 60.7 per cent of males, while for out-migrants employment was higher than elsewhere, with 59.6 per cent of females and 69 per cent of males employed, reflecting their young age structure and desire to seek jobs in other States.

Table 6.4: Labour Force Status Differences between Male and Female In-migrants and Out-migrants for each Mainland State, 1996

| Labour Force Status | Male In-migrants | Female In-migrants | Per cent Difference* In-migrants | Male Out-migrants | Female Out-migrants | Per cent Difference** Out-migrants |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| NSW | | | | | | |
| Employed | 67.9 | 54.5 | 13.4 | 63.9 | 49.2 | 14.7 |
| Unemployed | 10.3 | 8.5 | 1.8 | 13.3 | 10.7 | 2.6 |
| Not in labour force | 21.5 | 36.2 | -14.7 | 22.3 | 39.5 | -17.2 |
| VIC | | | | | | |
| Employed | 71.0 | 50.8 | 20.2 | 68.0 | 49.6 | 18.4 |
| Unemployed | 8.9 | 8.2 | 0.7 | 11.1 | 8.5 | 2.6 |
| Not in labour force | 19.2 | 40.1 | -20.9 | 20.6 | 41.0 | -20.4 |
| QLD | | | | | | |
| Employed | 64.2 | 47.8 | 16.4 | 66.1 | 49.2 | 16.9 |
| Unemployed | 12.5 | 10.6 | 1.9 | 10.0 | 7.2 | 2.8 |
| Not in labour force | 23.1 | 41.1 | -18.0 | 23.7 | 42.9 | -19.2 |
| SA | | | | | | |
| Employed | 60.7 | 39.9 | 20.8 | 69.0 | 59.6 | 9.4 |
| Unemployed | 10.9 | 6.7 | 4.2 | 10.7 | 6.0 | 4.7 |
| Not in labour force | 27.9 | 52.8 | -24.9 | 19.9 | 34.1 | -14.2 |
| WA | | | | | | |
| Employed | 75.3 | 54.9 | 20.4 | 68.4 | 56.0 | 12.4 |
| Unemployed | 10.1 | 7.2 | 2.9 | 12.0 | 8.9 | 3.1 |
| Not in labour force | 13.9 | 37.2 | -23.3 | 19.1 | 35.1 | -16.0 |

* Percentage point difference between male and female in-migrants

**Percentage point difference between male and female out-migrants

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

High levels of employment were found for male in-migrants to New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia, with the smallest differences between employed males and females indicated for both in- and out-migrants in New South Wales and Queensland. It is interesting that the representation of unemployed among the migrants was around 10-12 per cent for males and somewhat lower for females, with relatively small differences between States. The large under-representation of employed females compared with males is primarily a function of them not being in the labour force, which is particularly high

among in-migrants to South Australia. Occupational differences between males and females are shown in Table 6.5, with males over-represented as managers and administrators, particularly among in-migrants to New South Wales and Victoria, and as out-migrants from South Australia, and as manual workers in migration streams to Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia.

Table 6.5: Occupation of Employed Male and Female In-migrants and Out-migrants for each Mainland State, 1996

| Occupation ¹ | Male In-migrants | Female In-migrants | Per cent Difference* | Male Out-migrants | Female Out-migrants | Per cent Difference** |
|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | In-migrants | | | Out-migrants |
| NSW | | | | | | |
| Manager-administrator | 15.9 | 5.0 | 10.9 | 12.0 | 6.6 | 5.4 |
| Professional | 21.4 | 30.4 | -9.0 | 20.5 | 22.0 | -1.5 |
| Technical-assoc professional | 17.4 | 9.9 | 7.5 | 13.8 | 10.2 | 3.6 |
| Advance-intermediate clerical | 10.6 | 33.0 | -22.4 | 7.9 | 35.2 | -27.3 |
| Elementary clerical | 4.0 | 10.4 | -6.4 | 4.0 | 12.0 | -8.0 |
| Manual ² | 28.2 | 8.7 | 19.5 | 40.9 | 12.2 | 28.7 |
| VIC | | | | | | |
| Manager-administrator | 18.2 | 7.4 | 10.8 | 13.1 | 4.5 | 8.6 |
| Professional | 23.6 | 20.7 | 2.9 | 17.3 | 25.4 | -8.1 |
| Technical-assoc professional | 12.3 | 12.4 | -0.1 | 17.3 | 15.6 | 1.7 |
| Advance-intermediate clerical | 10.4 | 35.1 | -24.7 | 7.8 | 31.5 | -23.7 |
| Elementary clerical | 4.4 | 14.0 | -9.6 | 4.5 | 10.8 | -6.3 |
| Manual ² | 28.0 | 8.3 | 19.7 | 38.1 | 10.1 | 28.0 |
| QLD | | | | | | |
| Manager-administrator | 11.0 | 4.0 | 7.0 | 11.6 | 4.8 | 6.8 |
| Professional | 15.5 | 18.0 | -2.5 | 20.2 | 26.7 | -6.5 |
| Technical-assoc professional | 16.5 | 12.5 | 4.0 | 14.9 | 9.9 | 5.0 |
| Advance-intermediate clerical | 7.0 | 35.7 | -28.7 | 14.4 | 36.6 | -22.2 |
| Elementary clerical | 5.0 | 14.2 | -9.2 | 4.1 | 11.0 | -6.9 |
| Manual ² | 43.8 | 13.6 | 30.2 | 32.0 | 8.8 | 23.2 |
| SA | | | | | | |
| Manager-administrator | 13.1 | 5.2 | 7.9 | 16.0 | 4.5 | 11.5 |
| Professional | 17.2 | 28.6 | -11.4 | 14.2 | 21.1 | -6.9 |
| Technical-assoc professional | 11.5 | 10.4 | 1.1 | 17.3 | 13.6 | 3.7 |
| Advance-intermediate clerical | 13.9 | 31.2 | -17.3 | 11.6 | 30.7 | -19.1 |
| Elementary clerical | 2.5 | 7.8 | -5.3 | 4.9 | 14.6 | -9.7 |
| Manual ² | 41.8 | 13.0 | 28.8 | 33.3 | 13.1 | 20.2 |
| WA | | | | | | |
| Manager-administrator | 6.7 | 4.3 | 2.4 | 11.7 | 6.3 | 5.4 |
| Professional | 21.0 | 28.0 | -7.0 | 22.7 | 27.8 | -5.1 |
| Technical-assoc professional | 13.9 | 12.4 | 1.5 | 15.6 | 12.7 | 2.9 |
| Advance-intermediate clerical | 6.7 | 28.6 | -21.9 | 9.7 | 34.9 | -25.2 |
| Elementary clerical | 4.2 | 14.9 | -10.7 | 1.9 | 10.3 | -8.4 |
| Manual ² | 45.4 | 11.8 | 33.6 | 37.7 | 6.3 | 31.4 |

* Percentage point difference between male and female in-migrants

**Percentage point difference between male and female out-migrants

1.Excludes not stated

2. Manual includes Labourers and related workers, trades, construction

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

It was interesting that female migrants were over-represented in professional occupations especially as in-migrants to New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia. Victoria was the only State in which male in-migrants in professional occupations were proportionately higher than for females. Moreover, the largest over-representation of professional females compared to males was in South Australia, where it was found that female employment was significantly lower. Female professionals also made up a substantially higher percentage of out-migrants from Victoria, while the same stream from New South Wales showed only a small difference between males and females.

6.2.4 Distribution of Male and Female Interstate Migrants

The origins and destinations of interstate migration flows are well documented in the literature (Bell and Hugo, 2000; Hugo 2003a), which are invariably gender neutral. It is important to note that Queensland was the most popular destination for out-migrants from all eastern States, with almost 50 per cent of in- migration and out-migration flows linked to New South Wales, although Victoria also contributed significantly to in-migration flows without being an equally large recipient of out-migration flows. The distributional patterns for South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania show a wider range of origins and destinations, however the eastern seaboard was still by far the most favoured destination. Moreover, one-quarter of flows to and from South Australia involved nearest neighbour Victoria, although out-migration was disproportionately to Queensland with Western Australia and the Northern Territory also featuring strongly as destinations. Tasmania was a favoured destination for out-migrants from New South Wales and Victoria, while migrants leaving Tasmania primarily went to Queensland.

Table 6.6 shows migration effectiveness ratios (MER) to demonstrate the redistribution of males and females at particular ages between States and Territories. Not

surprisingly, the highest migration effectiveness was evident for Queensland in which there was a net gain of 37 males and females per 100 and to a lesser extent in Western Australia with a gain of 14.8 males being higher than for females (12.1 per 100), against a pattern of loss or marginal change elsewhere. Of particular interest, MERs for Queensland indicated gains across all ages, most notably 47 males and 46 females per 100 aged 45-54 years relocating there in the 1991-96 intercensal period. On the other hand, Western Australia had high gains indicated by the ratios for ages 15-24 and 25-34 years (higher for males than females), and relatively low ratios at middle to older ages.

Table 6.6: Migration Effectiveness Ratios¹ for Males and Females by Selected Ages by State and Territory, 1991-96

| | MIGRATION EFFECTIVENESS RATIOS ¹ | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| | MALES | | | | | | |
| | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ | Total 5+ |
| NSW | -18.3 | -9.9 | -12.3 | -13.3 | -12.4 | -16.0 | -14.1 |
| VIC | -24.2 | -23.6 | -29.3 | -33.7 | -36.7 | -19.0 | -27.4 |
| QLD | 35.4 | 29.0 | 40.6 | 47.0 | 44.6 | 31.2 | 37.7 |
| SA | -15.1 | -19.5 | -15.0 | -19.8 | -4.9 | .67 | -14.6 |
| WA | 21.3 | 20.0 | 10.5 | 8.9 | 4.4 | 3.4 | 14.8 |
| TAS | -34.5 | -11.0 | -3.1 | -7.2 | 18.5 | 5.6 | -10.6 |
| NT | 15.6 | 10.6 | -5.3 | -7.9 | -26.1 | -31.0 | 0.9 |
| ACT | 16.9 | 1.6 | -0.1 | -14.7 | -43.5 | -11.8 | 0.6 |
| Total | 23.8 | 18.2 | 21.0 | 25.8 | 27.1 | 19.2 | 21.1 |
| | FEMALES | | | | | | |
| | 15-24 | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55-64 | 65+ | Total 5+ |
| NSW | -15.8 | -8.5 | -14.0 | -15.2 | -13.3 | -20.0 | -14.0 |
| VIC | -19.7 | -22.2 | -28.8 | -31.7 | -28.1 | -8.7 | -24.7 |
| QLD | 35.0 | 30.7 | 43.0 | 46.0 | 39.2 | 26.1 | 37.5 |
| SA | -19.3 | -18.7 | -15.5 | -17.5 | -3.2 | -1.0 | -15.0 |
| WA | 15.2 | 13.6 | 10.0 | 8.0 | 4.8 | 7.5 | 12.1 |
| TAS | -37.4 | -7.1 | -7.4 | -2.4 | 7.0 | 5.4 | -11.4 |
| NT | 12.3 | 5.2 | -11.3 | -11.4 | -39.7 | -25.9 | -3.1 |
| ACT | 14.9 | -2.3 | -0.5 | -12.0 | -30.0 | 4.8 | 0.7 |
| Total | 21.9 | 17.0 | 22.6 | 25.3 | 23.2 | 16.5 | 20.5 |

¹ Migration Effectiveness Ratios – calculated for males and females separately is net migration divided by gross migration expressed as a percentage

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished migration matrix tape

High ratios indicating loss were most effective in Victoria, 27 males and 24 females, and highest for ages 55-64 years, particularly for males. New South Wales experienced an effective loss of only 14, although loss at younger ages 15-24 years was higher and for ages 25-34 years somewhat lower, with loss indicated to be only 9.9 males and 8.5 females. It was interesting that ratios for South Australia were higher than for Tasmania overall, however the latter had higher effective ratios indicating loss for ages 15-24 years, 34 males and 37 females, while at ages 55-64 there were significant gains of 18.5 males and 7 females, confirming the trends evident in the net migration figures discussed earlier. For South Australia, the highest loss was indicated for females at ages 15-24 and 25-34 years (19.3 and 18.7 respectively) with little change evident at older ages. The two territories showed the most variation in respect to differences between males and females generally indicating effective gains at younger ages and significant loss at older ages.

One can conclude that males and females share similar patterns of internal movement, however there is ample evidence to suggest that age specific patterns differ between them and must be taken into account when considering the impact of both in-migration and out-migration on the State populations. Another important consideration is the contribution of those migrants who had an overseas address at the time of the previous census and their impact on the in-migration to particular locations and how their characteristics differ to those of internal migrants.

6.3 INTERNAL MIGRANTS AND THOSE OVERSEAS IN 1991

6.3.1 Assessing the Inclusion of Migrants with an Overseas Location in 1991

This section seeks to tackle the question of what are the implications of excluding persons who were usual residents in 1996 but at an overseas location five years prior to the census. The reason for exclusion is that the equivalent outflow of persons who had left

Australia by the time of the 1996 census cannot be counted. This deficiency is problematic if the main focus of research is to establish the distributional effects of internal migration, as in-migration streams have to be matched with out-migration streams to calculate such measures as net migration and migration effectiveness ratios (see Bell 1992; 1995). This approach tends to conceal the real impact of migration on the populations of States and Territories because it does not take into account the rapid changes occurring between one census and the next, especially in the context of increasing temporary migration to Australia (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2001; Hugo, 2003d).

At the outset it must be noted that *total in-migrants* are usual residents in Australia in both 1991 and 1996 that specified their location for both years *plus* those in-migrants who were overseas in 1991. Table 6.7 shows that the proportion of total in-migrants varies considerably between States and Territories in the 1991-96 period, most notably, in New South Wales and Victoria where over 55 per cent of in-migrants had an overseas address in 1991. Western Australia was the only other State in which there was one usual resident in 1996 overseas in 1991, to every one from another State or Territory (referred to here as an internal migrant). These additional migrants add considerably to migration gains for Western Australia and transform the migration scenario for New South Wales and Victoria from significant loss to one of gain.

The significant differences in population growth between the 1991 and 1996 censuses also included in the table, demonstrate the importance of in-migrants who had overseas address in 1991, most notably in New South Wales and Victoria. By contrast, only a little more than one-quarter of in-migrants to Queensland had an overseas location in 1991, indicating that population growth at a high 2.5 per cent per annum was mainly due to internal movement within Australia. Moreover, South Australia had over one-third of its in-migrants in 1996 located overseas in 1991, while Tasmania had less than one-fifth.

Once again these differences not only ameliorate the high net migration loss as calculated from origin and destination figures within Australia, but they provide South Australia with a slightly higher population growth rate (.39 per cent per annum) compared to Tasmania (.30 per cent per annum). The lowest overseas component was in the Northern Territory (11.8 per cent of all male in-migrants and 14.4 per cent of females), and likewise the ACT had only one-fifth of in-migrants with an overseas location in 1991, hence the relatively high growth that occurred in the two Territories was primarily due to internal migration.

Table 6.7: Percentage of Male and Female In-migrants who were Overseas five years prior to the Census and Rates of Population Growth, 1981-86 and 1991-96, by State and Territory

| | 1981-86 | | 1991-1996 | | Population Growth Rate 1991-96 |
|--------------------|---|---------|---|---------|---|
| | Per cent of total in-migrants overseas in 1981 | | Per cent of total in-migrants overseas in 1991 | | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| New South Wales | 54.2 | 55.8 | 56.2 | 58.0 | 1.05 |
| Victoria | 52.2 | 53.9 | 56.3 | 57.2 | 0.60 |
| Queensland | 27.3 | 29.0 | 26.6 | 28.2 | 2.50 |
| South Australia | 37.3 | 39.1 | 34.3 | 36.2 | 0.39 |
| Western Australia | 51.1 | 53.6 | 49.6 | 52.7 | 1.69 |
| Tasmania | 19.8 | 21.2 | 18.9 | 19.6 | 0.30 |
| Northern Territory | 17.2 | 19.3 | 11.8 | 14.4 | 2.10 |
| ACT | 22.3 | 23.3 | 21.4 | 22.2 | 1.33 |
| Total | 42.9 | 44.6 | 42.8 | 44.9 | 1.16 |

Source: ABS, 1986 and 1996 Censuses, unpublished migration matrix tapes, CDATA96

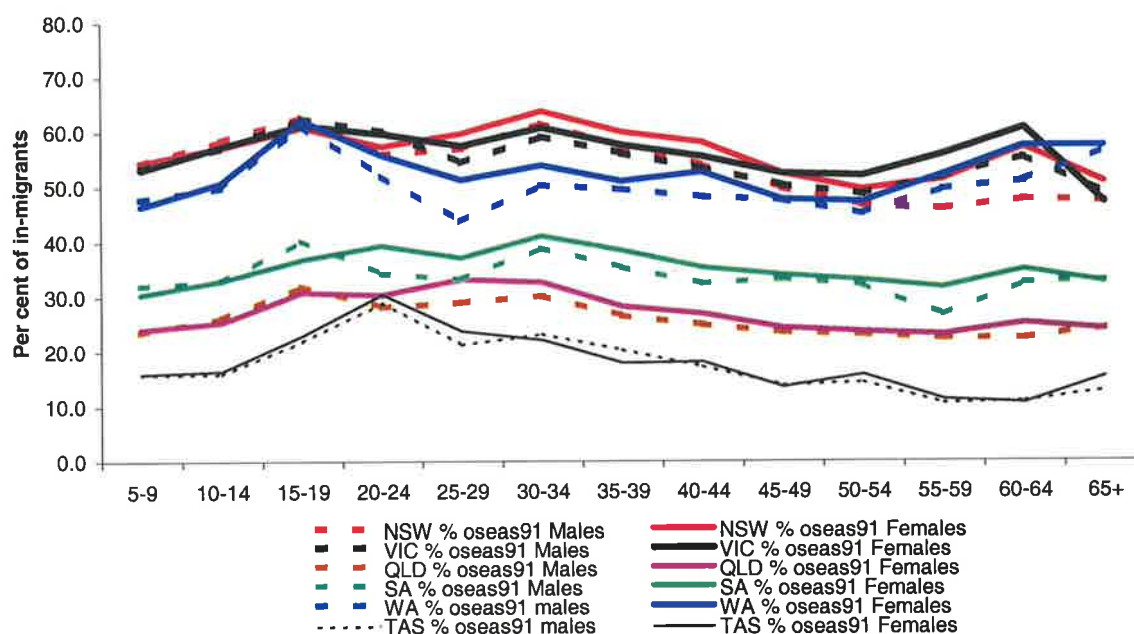
Sex ratios for migrants 'overseas in 1991' indicate an over-representation of females, 94.6 males per 100 females, which varied between States and Territories, with the lowest ratios in New South Wales (84.3) and Victoria (85.4), the States with the highest representation of total migrants not resident in Australia in 1991. Western Australia and Tasmania had slightly more balanced populations (96), while Queensland (93.2), South Australia (94.1) and the two Territories demonstrated a significant dominance of females. Moreover, this was similar to the situation 10 years earlier, with females predominating

among migrants at an overseas address five years prior to the 1986 census. In 1996 New South Wales and Victoria were the only States to have higher proportions of in-migrants (both males and females) with overseas addresses five years previously, while the other States all had lower representations than in 1986.

6.3.2 'Internal' and 'Overseas in 1991' Migrants: Age-Sex Differentials

There are significant differences between States in the age distribution of the 'overseas in 1991' component represented as a percentage of total in-migrants as shown in Figure 6.9. Moreover, the predominance of females is clearly shown with the bold lines representing females consistently above those for males (broken lines) especially at young adult ages (20-29 years) and also at older ages. There was a distinctive over-representation of female in-migrants aged 25-29 and 60-64 years in those States with at least 50 per cent of total in-migrants overseas in 1991, namely New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia. This distinctive female dominance at these ages is largely due to family reunion and marriage migration (Birrell 1990; 1995b; Khoo 1997) whereby females join spouses or fiancées, and aged parents join family members in Australia as discussed later (Chapter Seven). Another interesting pattern is the over-representation of males and females aged 15-19 years among those in-migrants who were overseas in 1991. It can be assumed that most of these young people arriving in Australia are fee-paying students who take up residence for a period of time (usually longer than 6 months), and are counted as usual residents at the time of the census. The significant growth in temporary movement into Australia, particularly that relating to students, has had a large impact on the capital cities, most notably Sydney, Melbourne and Perth (Shu and Hawthorne 1996, and Hugo 2003d), which is discussed in greater detail in the next Chapter.

Figure 6.9: Age Profile of Male and Female In-migrants who were Usual Residents in 1996 with an Overseas Location in 1991, by State



Source: ABS, 1996 Census, unpublished census migration matrix tape

6.3.3 'Internal' and 'Overseas in 1991' Migrants: Socio-Economic Differentials

Table 6.8 shows the different birthplace composition of internal migrants compared to those overseas in 1991, with only 14 per cent of those located overseas Australia-born, over one-third Asia-born and roughly one-quarter born in Europe. The largest discrepancies between male and female overseas migrants were found among migrants from Southeast Asia and also Northeast Asia with a dominance of females, while males dominated among those from the Middle East and South Asia. In addition, migrants with an overseas location in 1991 were less likely to be Christian and more likely to nominate a non-Christian religion. Their proficiency in English was also much poorer than that of internal migrants, which was most notable for females.

Table 6.8: Birthplace Characteristics of 'Internal' and 'Overseas in 1991' Migrants by Sex, 1996

| | Internal Migrants Males | Overseas in 1991 Males | Per cent Difference* Males | Internal Migrants Females | Overseas in 1991 Females | Per cent Difference* Females |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Birthplace | | | | | | |
| Australia | 80.5 | 14.3 | -66.2 | 81.6 | 14.7 | -66.9 |
| UK-Ireland | 7.9 | 13.7 | 5.8 | 7.5 | 12.4 | 4.9 |
| New Zealand | 2.4 | 8.1 | 5.7 | 2.4 | 7.9 | 5.5 |
| Other Europe | 3.6 | 13.7 | 10.1 | 2.8 | 12.8 | 10.0 |
| Southeast Asia | 1.8 | 13.1 | 11.3 | 1.8 | 15.4 | 13.6 |
| Northeast Asia | 0.6 | 13.5 | 12.9 | 0.6 | 15.7 | 15.1 |
| South Asia | 0.6 | 6.4 | 5.8 | 0.6 | 5.3 | 4.7 |
| Middle East | 0.6 | 5.6 | 5.0 | 0.6 | 4.3 | 3.7 |
| Other | 2.0 | 11.5 | 9.5 | 2.0 | 11.6 | 9.6 |
| Religion | | | | | | |
| Christian | 70.3 | 51.5 | -18.8 | 74.4 | 55 | -19.4 |
| Non-Christian | 3 | 19.8 | 16.8 | 2.8 | 18.7 | 15.9 |
| No religion | 26.7 | 28.7 | 2.0 | 22.8 | 26.3 | 3.5 |
| Proficiency in English | | | | | | |
| Very/well | 88.3 | 75.0 | -13.3 | 88.8 | 66.5 | -22.3 |
| Poor English | 11.0 | 20.4 | 9.4 | 9.3 | 25.5 | 16.2 |
| Not at all | 0.7 | 4.6 | 3.9 | 1.9 | 8.1 | 6.2 |

* Percentage point difference between Internal Migrants and Migrants overseas in 1991

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

Table 6.9 shows that more female migrants overseas in 1991 were married, with a higher representation of divorcees and significantly less widowed than internal migrants, corresponding with the distinctive age differences noted above. They were also more likely to reside in family households than internal migrants, however there was an under-representation of families with young children and a substantial over-representation of families with older dependent children, especially students 15-24 years of age. These differences are reflected in the relationship to the household reference person whereby there is a significant over-representation of dependent students and also other related individuals in families among those migrants with an overseas location in 1991.

Table 6.9: Marital and Family/Household Characteristics of 'Internal' and 'Overseas in 1991' Migrants, 1996

| | Internal Migrants Males | Overseas in 1991 Males | Per cent Difference* Males | Internal Migrants Females | Overseas in 1991 Females | Per cent Difference* Females |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Marital Status | | | | | | |
| Never married | 42.8 | 43.1 | 0.3 | 36.1 | 36.5 | 0.4 |
| Married | 45.3 | 49.2 | 3.9 | 46.6 | 50.5 | 3.9 |
| Separated-Divorced | 10.9 | 6.8 | -4.1 | 4.2 | 8.5 | 4.3 |
| Widowed | 1.0 | 0.7 | -0.3 | 13.1 | 4.6 | -8.5 |
| Household Type | | | | | | |
| Family Household | 78.8 | 81.8 | 3.0 | 83.5 | 85.3 | 1.8 |
| Lone person HH | 11.1 | 7.5 | -3.6 | 8.2 | 6.5 | -1.7 |
| Group HH | 10.1 | 10.7 | 0.6 | 8.4 | 8.2 | -0.2 |
| Family Type | | | | | | |
| Family Child <15 | 51.0 | 44.5 | -6.5 | 52.9 | 45.2 | -7.7 |
| Family Dependent students 15-24 | 5.0 | 8.3 | 3.3 | 5.5 | 8.9 | 3.4 |
| Family dependents | 9.7 | 12.7 | 3.0 | 9.8 | 11.0 | 1.2 |
| Family non-dependents | 6 | 5.7 | -0.3 | 5.6 | 5.4 | -0.2 |
| Family no children | 26.6 | 25.5 | -1.1 | 25.1 | 27.2 | 2.1 |
| Other family | 1.6 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 1.0 | 2.2 | 1.2 |
| Relationship to Reference Person | | | | | | |
| Husband/wife | 47.2 | 46.7 | -0.5 | 48.5 | 49.4 | 0.9 |
| Lone parent | 1.1 | 0.7 | -0.4 | 7.2 | 5.8 | -1.4 |
| Child under 15 years | 18.8 | 16.1 | -2.7 | 17.7 | 14.0 | -3.7 |
| Dependent student | 3.5 | 6.0 | 2.5 | 3.7 | 4.8 | 1.1 |
| Non-dependent student | 3.7 | 3.4 | -0.3 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 0.1 |
| Other related | 2.2 | 5.9 | 3.7 | 2.1 | 6.3 | 4.2 |
| Non-family member | 23.4 | 21.2 | -2.2 | 17.9 | 16.8 | -1.1 |

* Percentage point difference between Internal Migrants and Migrants overseas in 1991

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

The distinctive employment and educational characteristics of the two groups are shown in Table 6.10. Most notably, the 'overseas in 1991' in-migrants have significantly lower rates of labour force participation, with only 54.5 per cent of males and 40 per cent of females employed compared to 68 per cent of male internal migrants and 51.8 per cent of females in 1996. They were also more likely to work part-time as indicated by the shorter hours worked each week. A higher percentage of those migrants 'overseas in 1991' were in professional occupations compared to internal migrants, although they were less likely to hold managerial or administrative occupations and more likely to have manual jobs.

Table 6.10: Employment and Educational Characteristics of 'Internal' and 'Overseas in 1991' Migrants, 1996

| | Internal Migrants Males | Overseas in 1991 Males | Per cent Difference Males | Internal Migrants Females | Overseas in 1991 Females | Per cent Difference* Females |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Labour Force Status | | | | | | |
| Employed | 68.2 | 54.5 | -13.7 | 51.8 | 40.0 | -11.8 |
| Unemployed | 10.8 | 11.2 | 0.4 | 8.6 | 9.9 | 1.3 |
| NILF | 20.9 | 34.2 | 13.3 | 39.6 | 50.1 | 10.5 |
| Hours Worked (weekly) | | | | | | |
| <25 | 10.7 | 16.5 | 5.8 | 30.6 | 30.0 | -0.6 |
| 25-39 | 21.7 | 23.6 | 1.9 | 31.4 | 32.4 | 1.0 |
| 40 hours | 16.5 | 19.5 | 3.0 | 13.8 | 15.9 | 2.1 |
| More than 40 hours | 51.0 | 40.4 | -10.6 | 24.2 | 21.8 | -2.4 |
| Occupational Status | | | | | | |
| Managers & administrators | 13.5 | 9.1 | -4.4 | 5.4 | 4.3 | -1.1 |
| Professionals | 20.3 | 27.6 | 7.3 | 25.5 | 28.1 | 2.6 |
| Technical-Assoc Prof | 15.6 | 11.6 | -4.0 | 11.8 | 8.1 | -3.7 |
| Advanced-inter clerical | 9.6 | 9.0 | -0.6 | 34.3 | 32.6 | -1.7 |
| Elementary Clerical | 4.0 | 5.0 | 1.0 | 12.4 | 10.3 | -2.1 |
| Manual | 37.1 | 37.7 | 0.6 | 10.6 | 16.6 | 6.0 |
| Educational Attainment | | | | | | |
| Degree or Higher | 33.1 | 44.0 | 10.9 | 37.8 | 43.4 | 5.6 |
| Diploma | 11.8 | 13.5 | 1.7 | 20.3 | 19.6 | -0.7 |
| Skill-Vocational | 36.4 | 21.3 | -15.1 | 7.0 | 6.6 | -0.4 |
| Basic Vocational | 4.1 | 2.3 | -1.8 | 12.7 | 7.7 | -5.0 |
| Attainment not stated | 14.6 | 18.9 | 4.3 | 22.2 | 22.6 | 0.4 |
| Educational Institution Attended | | | | | | |
| School | 68.1 | 49.3 | -18.8 | 63.9 | 46.3 | -17.6 |
| TAFE | 10.6 | 12.2 | 1.6 | 9.2 | 16.3 | 7.1 |
| University | 19.4 | 29.6 | 10.2 | 22.6 | 26.6 | 4.0 |
| Other | 2.0 | 8.9 | 6.9 | 4.2 | 10.8 | 6.6 |

* Percentage point difference between Internal Migrants and Migrants overseas in 1991

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

Of those migrants who had attained educational qualifications (also shown in Table 6.10), male and female in-migrants who were overseas in 1991 were more likely than internal migrants to hold higher degrees and be participating in post-school institutions. This corresponds with the notable excess of dependents, especially those aged 15-24 years, among 'overseas in 1991' migrants. There was a much higher representation of males attending university, indeed 10 percentage points higher than internal migrants, while females were not only over-represented at university but also in the TAFE sector. Hence, it can be concluded that overseas students in 1996 made up a considerable proportion of in-migrants with overseas addresses in 1991, as discussed in Chapter Seven.

The housing and income situation of in-migrants who were overseas in 1991 compared to internal migrants is shown in Table 6.11, indicating that they were less likely to reside in separate houses, with the majority residing in flats and units. This is reflected in their greater propensity to rent dwellings with a much lower percentage purchasing dwellings, although a slightly higher percentage fully owned their homes. In respect to the average weekly income of individuals per week, migrants 'overseas in 1991' were more likely to indicate no income, which was most evident for females. This is a function of restricted access to welfare payments for recent immigrants and females were also more likely to be without personal incomes due to their lower levels of labour force participation. The incomes of male internal migrants were considerably higher than for those in-migrants 'overseas in 1991', reflecting not only their higher employment levels but also their greater participation in skilled and managerial/administrative jobs.

Table 6.11: Housing and Income Characteristics of 'Internal' and 'Overseas in 1991' Migrants, 1996

| | Internal Migrants Males | Overseas in 1991 Males | Per cent Difference* Males | Internal Migrants Females | Overseas in 1991 Females | Per cent Difference* Females |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Housing Type | | | | | | |
| Separate house | 74.8 | 56.1 | -18.7 | 75 | 55.6 | -19.4 |
| Semi-detached | 9.3 | 12 | 2.7 | 10.8 | 12.5 | 1.7 |
| Flat-unit | 13 | 31.2 | 18.2 | 12.4 | 31.5 | 19.1 |
| Caravan etc. | 2.8 | 0.6 | -2.2 | 1.8 | 0.5 | -1.3 |
| Housing Tenure | | | | | | |
| Fully owned | 16.9 | 17.5 | 0.6 | 17.8 | 18.5 | 0.7 |
| Being Purchased | 26.5 | 18.5 | -8.0 | 27.1 | 20.3 | -6.8 |
| Rented | 56 | 63.2 | 7.2 | 54.5 | 60.3 | 5.8 |
| Other | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.2 |
| Individual Income per Week | | | | | | |
| None | 4.5 | 15.3 | 10.8 | 8.3 | 23.3 | 15.0 |
| 1-\$79 | 2.3 | 4.9 | 2.6 | 8.6 | 8.3 | -0.3 |
| 80-159 | 14.1 | 13.3 | -0.8 | 17.2 | 16.5 | -0.7 |
| 160-299 | 15.1 | 13.7 | -1.4 | 22.7 | 17.6 | -5.1 |
| 300-499 | 18.3 | 16.5 | -1.8 | 20.2 | 16.2 | -4.0 |
| 500-699 | 17.4 | 14.2 | -3.2 | 13.1 | 10 | -3.1 |
| 700-999 | 14.3 | 9.3 | -5.0 | 7 | 5 | -2.0 |
| \$1,000 | 14.1 | 12.7 | -1.4 | 2.7 | 3.1 | 0.4 |

* Percentage point difference between Internal Migrants and Migrants overseas in 1991

Source: ABS, 1996 Census, one per cent unit record sample tape

There are some distinctive differences evident between migrants classified as 'internal' with an origin and destination in Australia in 1991 and 1996, and those migrants who were overseas in the 5-year period prior to the census. Therefore, any changes in the balance between internal and 'overseas in 1991' migrants in relation to numbers, characteristics and source country can significantly impact on particular locations or more specifically the capital cities. Most importantly, their different age, sex and family composition, labour force characteristics, income levels and housing situations can alter demand for housing and services in those cities and regions where they are most concentrated.

It can be argued that the impact of migration and, most importantly, the characteristics of in-migrants, cannot be assessed without acknowledging the substantial contribution of immigrants arriving from overseas in the five-year period prior to the census. Females dominate among these immigrants and show quite distinctive characteristics compared to internal migrants. Moreover, given the uneven distribution of immigrants between the States, their impact on the capital city populations is somewhat out-dated if one adopts the practice of not including them until the next census on the basis of residence in Australia at two points in time.

6.4 CONCLUSION

Given the considerable changes in the lives of young men and women it was expected that there should be some convergence in the rates of male and female long distance migration, and that some States would benefit while others would experience further loss, particularly of young persons. The higher participation of females in interstate migration evident in the 1981-86 and 1991-96 intercensal periods indicates that more

young adult females, most of them not married, are moving independently, however it was found that the majority, at least those still resident in Australia in 1996, were married with almost 50 per cent identified as spouses of the household reference person. This demonstrates that longer distance migration is largely of the family unit, particularly at ages 25-39 years with accompanying children making up more than a quarter of all internal migrants.

Studies have shown that males consistently predominate in interstate migration (Bell 1992; 1995; Hugo 1986; Jarvie 1984; Rowland 1979). However, in the 1991-96 intercensal period, females were found to be far more active participants in longer distance migration than in the past, especially singles at younger ages. The reasons for interstate movement established in a study undertaken by the ABS in 1987 (ABS Internal Migration Survey) and discussed earlier in the context of local and intra-state movement (refer section 3.8), found that employment was the most significant reason indicated by males and females for interstate migration. The significant net migration gains to Queensland and Western Australia were clearly associated with the perceived advantages of employment opportunities and a function of the significant growth momentum sustained in these States. The high and sustained internal migration losses from Victoria can be linked to economic downturn and political discontent, while in New South Wales high out-migration loss has been linked to high overseas migration gains underlying high land and housing costs (Burnley, 1996; Burnley, Murphy and Fagan, 1997). The slow growth economies of South Australia and Tasmania as described by Beer (1998), with low international migrant gains and small ageing populations, clearly generate an excess of out-migrants without being compensated by large numbers of overseas migrants, as is the case in the eastern seaboard States.

Interstate migration patterns stretching back to the 1970s, are now well documented with explanations linked to the economic and political well-being of the States and Territories at particular points in time (Bell 1992; 1995; Bell and Hugo 2000; Jarvie 1984; Hugo 1986; Maher and McKay 1986; Rowland, 1979). However, it is more difficult to explain the gender-differentiated flows, especially the net losses of young adults which were found to be more pronounced for females in South Australia and Tasmania, and higher for males in Victoria and New South Wales.

One of the most significant findings is that young females were more likely to engage in longer distance migration than a decade or so earlier. They were also more likely to leave the slow growth States with smaller populations than males, as was shown to be the case with females dominating among youth out-migration from small rural communities discussed in the previous chapter. Are similar processes occurring whereby young females are more likely to move from 'peripheral' regions seeking opportunities elsewhere? Are resources and jobs for females scarce in smaller or slow growth economies? Are young single females more apt than males to leave family behind them and seek different life chances provided elsewhere? Unfortunately these questions remain unanswered and demand more serious research attention before the reasons underlying gender-differentiated migration are more fully understood.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FEMALES IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Women became a topic of research in Australia in international migration with the increasing feminisation and asianisation of immigration streams in the 1980s and 1990s (Hugo 1990; 2003b; McNamara and Coughlan 1997 p.301), and two conferences specifically on *Women in Migration*, organised by the Bureau of Immigration Research in 1992 and in 1996. The aim of this Chapter is to understand differences in the migration experience of men and women settling in Australia in the 1990s. The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA) undertaken by DIMIA, and discussed in more detail in Chapter Two, forms the basis of much of the analysis as it allows us to identify the characteristics of immigrants, their pre-migration activities, attitudes to life in Australia according to the ways in which they gained visa entry and their stated reasons for immigrating. The chapter has a concern with female immigrants in comparison to males, specifically permanent visaed-settlers, to show the extent to which visa entry effectively stereotypes females as family oriented migrants, and yet in most instances they are active participants in the migration process with males not necessarily conforming to the typical 'economic' migrant as highlighted in papers by Morokvasic (1984) and Pedraza (1991).

This Chapter is divided into four parts. The first identifies the major trends in permanent and long-term international movement to Australia with a particular interest in contrasting the movement of males and females. An aim is to describe trends in settler arrivals as background to the analysis of LSIA data. The second details the characteristics of the surveyed principal applicants in LSIA and makes a distinction between men and women with different types of visa entry. The third examines gender differences in the

reasons given for immigrating to Australia with a particular concern to identify how the type of visa entry influences response. The fourth looks at the satisfaction of male and female respondents with work and life in their former home country, and their intentions to become Australian citizens, the reasons for doing so and some indication of why they may not. It also examines the attitudes of migrants about their country of origin and Australia as expressed at the time of first interview, to ascertain the likely 'push-pull' factors associated with the migration decision and how they differ between males and females.

There are two main sources of data used in this chapter. First, overseas arrival and departure data from the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA), specifically the movement database (MDB). This source is highly useful in establishing differences between males and females in permanent and long-term migration and invaluable in assessing changes in types of visa entry among settlers over time. The second is the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), a comprehensive and expensive study specifically designed to obtain information from recently arrived visaed immigrants.

7.2 TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

7.2.1 Long-term and Permanent Movement

The categories of international population movement as recognised by Australia for statistical purposes, and relevant to the analysis are outlined below:

- *Permanent movement* is the migration of persons intending to stay permanently in Australia and those residents indicating a permanent departure.
- *Long-term movement* represents visitors arriving with the intention to stay in Australia for at least twelve months or residents departing temporarily to live abroad for twelve months or more, and the departure of visitors residing in Australia for a period of at least twelve months and the return of Australian residents who had stayed abroad for twelve months or more.

- *Short-term movement* – persons whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than twelve months (Hugo 1994a).

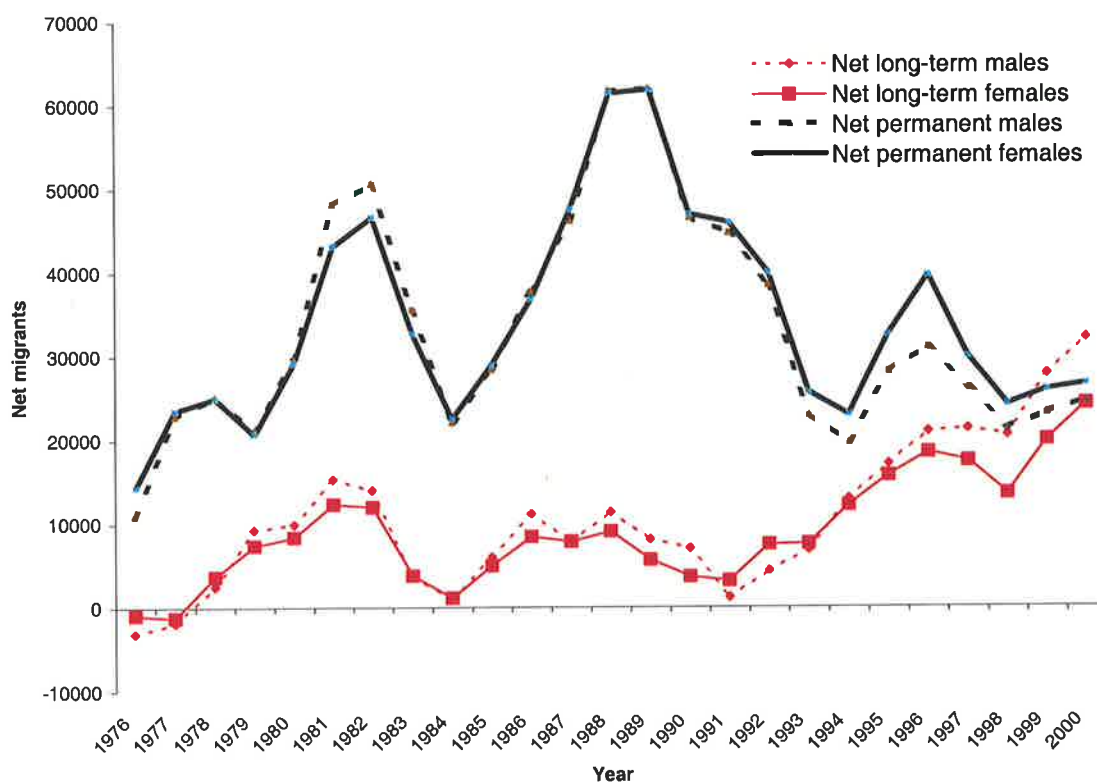
These definitions are subject to the intentions of movers which can and do change over time so that significant ‘category jumping’ occurs (Mc Donald and Khoo 2000). The implications of ‘category jumping’ for the following analysis of permanent migration relate to short-term and long-term movers who end up as permanent settlers, and those initially seeing themselves as permanent settlers but then not staying. Moreover, the arrival of New Zealanders under the Trans-Tasman Travel Agreement, classified as non-visaed migration to Australia, is not included formally under the Migration program and can cause an under-estimation of permanent settlers. It should be noted that these settlers are also not included among the sampled LSIA respondents.

Each person entering or leaving Australia is required to complete an arrival or departure card, which forms the basis of the movement database utilised here. Until 1997 information collected on the cards covered a range of characteristics of persons arriving and leaving the country (age, sex, marital status, birthplace, citizenship, occupation, intended place of residence, etc.). After 1997, sex, age and marital status characteristics were dropped from the card and are now captured electronically from the passports of arrivals and departures and make up the computerised database maintained by DIMIA.

Figure 7.1 shows that levels of movement based on the analysis of arrival and departure data have changed substantially since 1976 indicating rather erratic fluctuations over time that coincide with changes in migration policies of successive governments (Birrell 2003). In considering net movement (arrivals minus departures for the respective categories) the most notable change has been the rapid rise in net long-term movement, and the significant decline in net permanent migration, particularly following the substantial peak that occurred in the 1989-90 period. Of particular interest, the male trend line for net long-term movement had overtaken that for permanent movement by the end of the 1990s,

while for females permanent movement remained dominant, albeit marginally. Moreover, females had been more dominant than males in net permanent movement since 1993, and had a lower representation in long-term movement and yet their numbers had increased substantially in line with their male counterparts. Most notably, the convergence in net permanent and long-term movement tends to coincide with a greater divergence between males and females in each category.

Figure 7.1: Australia: Net Permanent and Long-Term Movement of Males and Females, 1976-2000

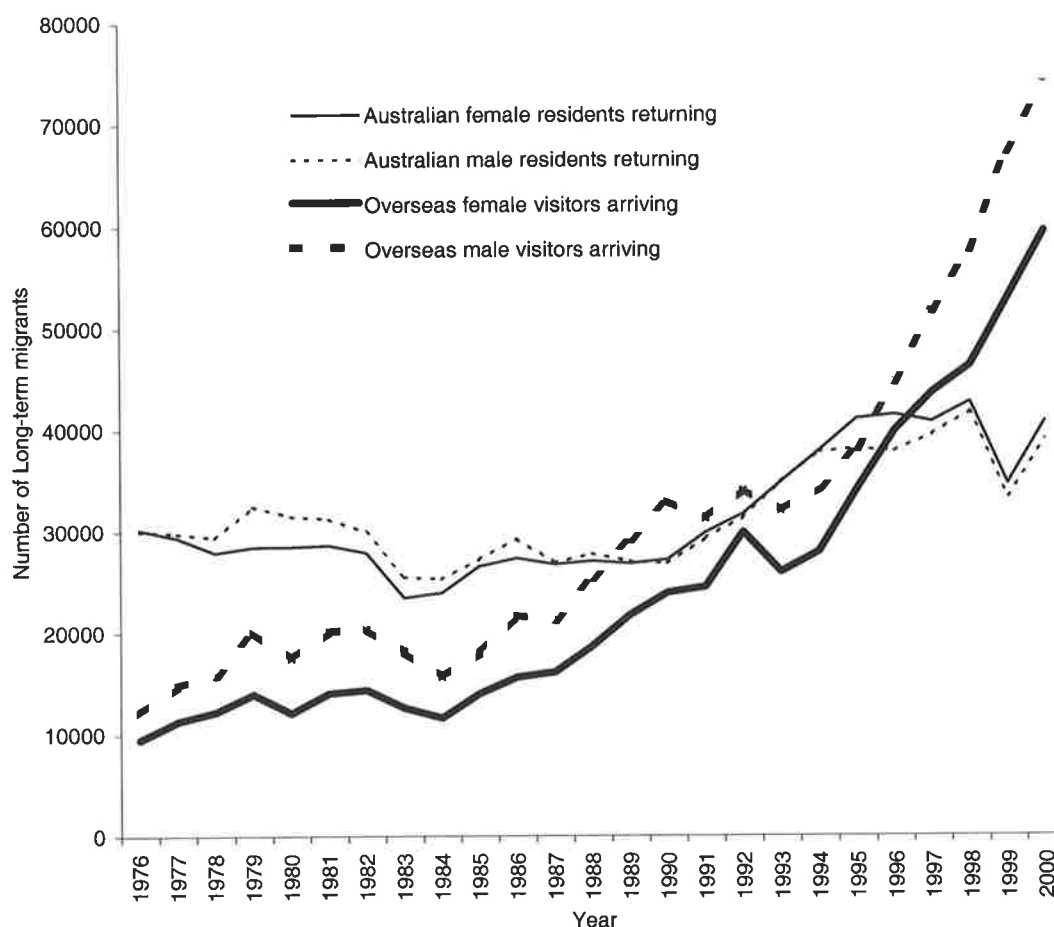


Source: ABS, Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table: Overseas Arrivals and Departures by Type of Movement 1976-2000

By disaggregating long-term arrivals on the basis of whether they were former Australian residents returning or overseas visitors arriving (indicating that they were going to stay for at least 12 months), Figure 7.2 shows that the number of long-term overseas

arrivals increased substantially with males significantly outnumbering females. Although the number of former Australian residents returning after a period of at least 12 months overseas had increased after 1996, the numbers had dropped below those for the visitors and generally showed a more even balance between males and females.

Figure 7.2: Long-Term Arrivals: Number of Overseas Visitors Arriving and Australian Residents Returning by Sex, 1976-2000



Source: ABS, Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table: Overseas Arrivals and Departures by Type of Movement 1976-2000

The substantial rise in long-term movement reflects increasing global population mobility that has led to significant changes in the types of visa on offer in Australia since 1995, especially those involving temporary migration for work (Hugo 2003b; Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001 p.34). Previously, Australian migration policy has focused primarily on

permanent settlement and had been opposed to temporary and contract workers. Most importantly, the rapid increase in long-term arrivals at the expense of permanent arrivals after 1993, is closely linked not only to tourism and business growth in Asia, but due to the expansion of Australia's 'export education' push of the 1990s (Hugo 1996b; Shu and Hawthorne 1996). A large number of young persons gained entry on student visas and these arrivals were predominantly from the prime source countries of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and China. This has had a major impact on immigration policy as a high number of students sought permanent residence, which had flow-on effects as family members were able to join them (Shu and Hawthorne 1996 p.73). Further changes to allow graduate students to apply onshore for permanent residence in Australia have expanded the potential of many overseas students staying permanently in Australia, as part of the greater emphasis on skilled migration increasingly evident in policy in the later part of the 1990s (Birrell 2003 pp.153-154).

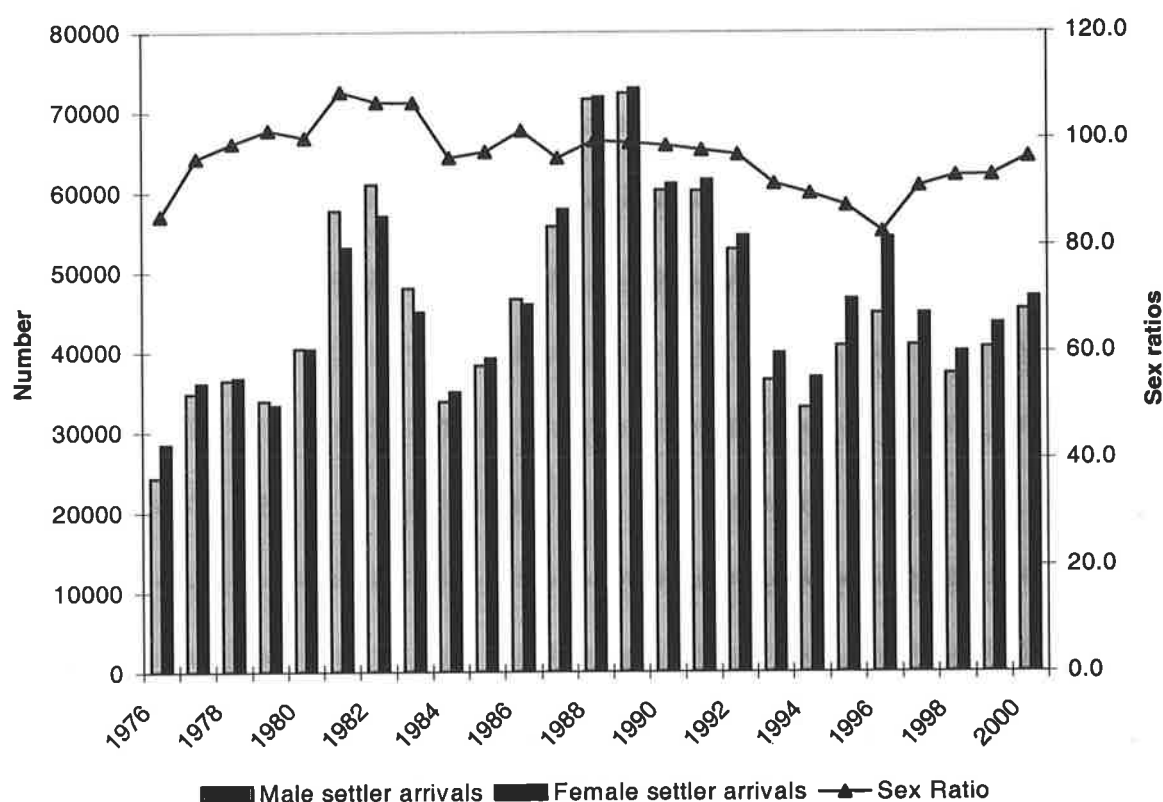
7.2.2 Trends in Settler Arrivals and Departures

Trends in settler arrivals in the 1990s indicate that Oceania, primarily New Zealand, had become the largest single contributor to the number of settler arrivals. Indeed for the first time since Federation, New Zealand surpassed Britain as the main provider of settlers in 1996 (DIMA 1997 pp.34-35). Another important change was that the numbers of Asia-born settlers actually declined, indicating the increasing significance of temporary migration, largely associated with business and student groups. Figure 7.3 shows trends in settler arrivals between 1976 and 2000, indicating an exceptionally high peak in the late 80s and early 90s that was followed by a significant drop in settlers in the 1993-95 period. In 1996, there was a notable increase in numbers, before levelling off in the late 90s at slightly higher levels than in 1993 and 1994. These uneven patterns of growth are closely

associated with the prevailing economic climate and changes occurring in immigration policies that coincided with changes in Government (Birrell 2003).

The figure shows that a significant decline in sex ratios corresponded with the declining numbers evident in the early 1990s and reached a low of 82.5 males per 100 females in 1996, before gradually increasing to 96.5 by 2000. The previous high excess of females was recorded in 1976 with a ratio of 85.6. Moreover, male settlers outnumbered females for only a brief period between 1979 and 1983, which corresponded with relatively high numbers of settler arrivals. The dominance of females among settler arrivals, especially in periods of economic downturn highlights the importance of family reunion in which females tend to predominate, as numbers remained high even when there was a greater emphasis placed on skilled migration in the later part of the 1990s (Birrell 2003).

Figure 7.3: Male and Female Settler Arrivals to Australia, 1976-2000

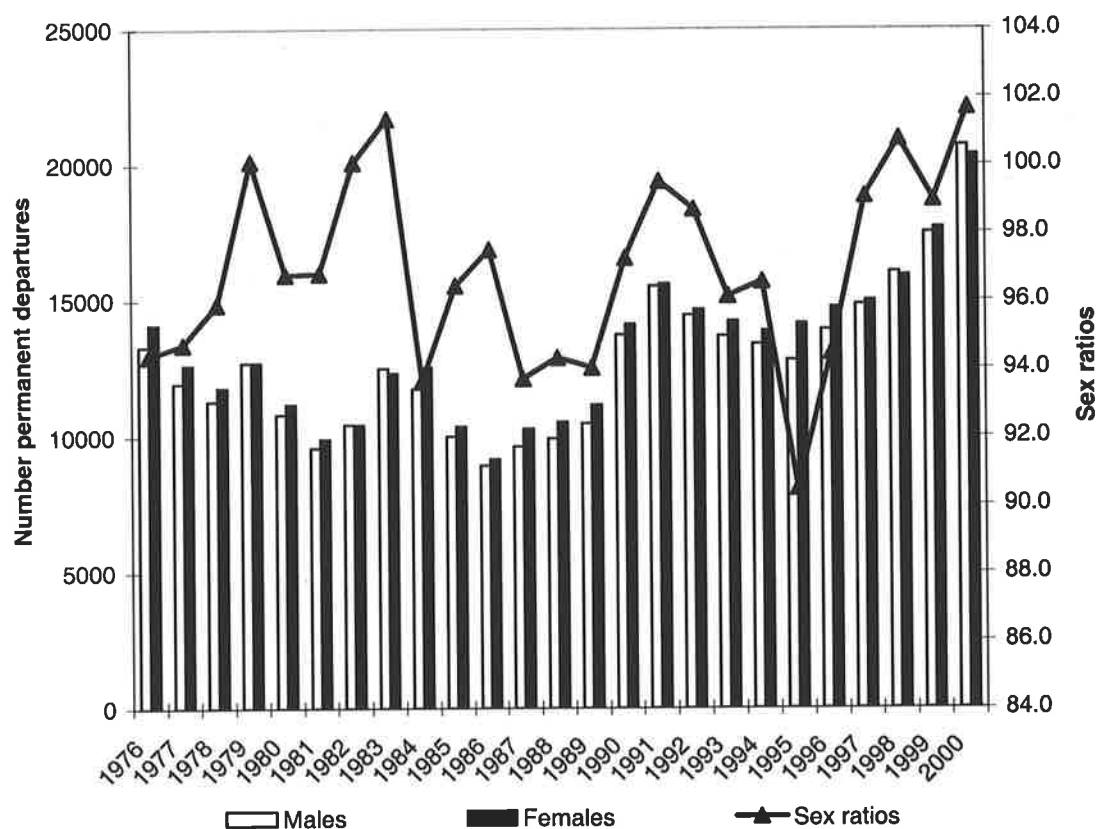


Source: ABS, Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table: Overseas Arrivals and Departures by Type of Movement 1976-2000

The female dominance among settler arrivals in the 1980s and early 1990s was largely associated with the increased emphasis on family reunion and humanitarian concerns in Australia's immigration policy, although since the Howard government came into office in December 1996 there has been a shift to more skill-based policies. At the same time changes in the global economy have given rise to increased demand for female workers, with many females seeking better employment and marriage opportunities outside their home countries (Zlotnik 1995). Moreover, the low sex ratios evident in 1996 are associated with high business and family migration from Hong Kong due to the uncertainty surrounding the Chinese takeover in July 1997 (Skeldon 1995b). Many wives and families immigrated to Australia to take up residence while husbands continued businesses in their countries of origin, commonly referred to as the 'astronaut syndrome' (McNamara and Coughlan 1997 p.301; Pe-Pua *et al* 1996).

In examining the sex balance of settler arrivals it is appropriate to briefly consider the permanent departures for the corresponding period. Figure 7.4 shows that the lowest ratios closely correspond with those indicated for the settler arrivals in the 1993-1997 period and also in the late 1980s. By contrast the highest ratios are only evident in 1982-1983 and again in 1998 and 2000, and then marginally so. Female dominance is consistent among departures, however it must be stressed that much of the significant increase in permanent departures stems from a steep rise in Australian residents departing permanently and not from any major increase in former settlers from overseas leaving permanently (Hugo, 1994a; Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001 p.43). Overall, the departure trend lines show similar fluctuations to the arrivals data, however they lag behind the peaks and coincide with periods of economic downturn in Australia, most notably in the early 1980s and also early 1990s.

Figure 7.4: Male and Female Permanent Departures from Australia, 1976-2000



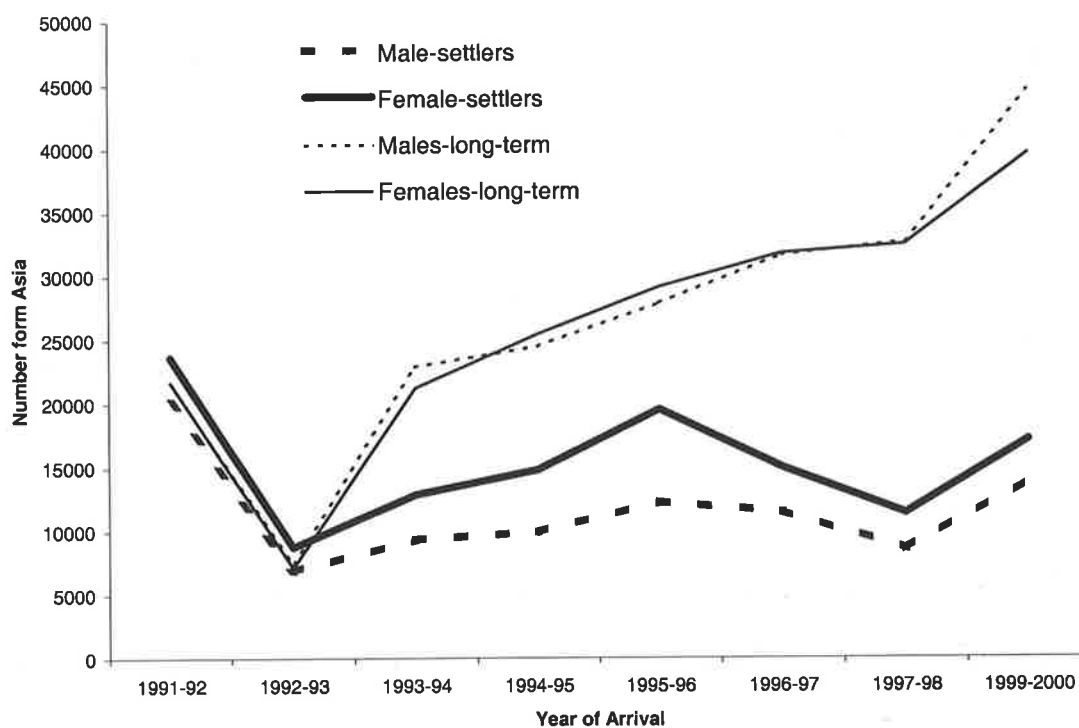
Source: ABS, Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table: Overseas Arrivals and Departures by Type of Movement 1976-2000

Overall trends in the 1990s show the predominance of females in permanent migration while males were dominant in long-term and short-term movement to and from Australia. In the past, immigration research and policy has been focused upon permanent movement and has largely ignored temporary migration. Given the increasing significance of long-term movement, due to large numbers of overseas students, the expansion of global business and more flexible work visas, a wider view of immigration must be taken in the future. However, permanent migration remains an integral part of Australia's migration and settlement program and most subject to changes in policy that influence levels of immigration and the characteristics of migrants. First it is important to identify the major trends in Asia-born migration to Australia and the relationship between family reunion and the feminisation of immigration streams.

7.2.3 Trends in Asia-born Migration to Australia

This section focuses upon Asia-born settler arrivals, as they have tended to exhibit high sex selectivity in the 1980s and 1990s (Hugo 1990; 2003b; McNamara and Coughlan 1997). Figure 7.5 shows the acceleration in the numbers of long-term arrivals of Asia-born to Australia in the 1990s compared to settler arrivals. Moreover, the trend lines crossover and diverge after 1992-93 with long-term arrivals following an unbroken upward trajectory far outpacing settler arrivals, with a relative even balance of males and females, although males outnumbered females by 1999-2000. Of particular note, females consistently outnumbered males among Asia-born settler arrivals, especially in 1995-96, corresponding with an increase in numbers and policies in place at that time (Birrell 1995a), and also a result of the considerable uncertainty about the future of Hong Kong with many families relocating in Australia (Skeldon 1995b).

Figure 7.5: Asian Male and Female Settler Arrivals and Long-term Arrivals to Australia, 1991-2000



Source: DIMIA, Movement Database, 1991-92 to 1999-2000, unpublished tapes

In the early 1990s the preferential family category was by far the most dominant visa entry for Southeast Asian immigrant females - with humanitarian/refugee entry still quite dominant (BIMPR 1996b p.13). Of particular note, the shift to greater numbers of immigrants from Northeast Asia at this time demonstrates the point about the entry of independent and business migrants that is often followed by a surge in family reunion migration, frequently shortly afterwards. In the 1992-93 period some 60 per cent of immigrants, predominantly males from Hong Kong and China, entered via skilled categories (22 per cent business and 33 per cent independent) and 37.8 per cent under family eligibility (BIPR 1993 p.11). By 1995-96, the family category had risen dramatically to 66.6 per cent, while the skilled category had shrunk to 30 per cent of all settler arrivals (BIMPR 1996b p.13). In other words, two-thirds of settler arrivals in that year had arrived under the family reunion provisions with very few entering in the business category, which effectively meant a predominance of women and their children. This not only demonstrates the rapid changes in the significance of particular eligibility criteria, but also the quite dramatic swings in the gender balance which translates into very different demands for jobs, health and educational services, housing and various types of settlement programs at particular points in time.

Family reunification is an integral part of the Migration Program, first introduced as part of Liberal Party Policy in 1975, which has contributed significantly to the growth in the numbers of Asians immigrating to Australia, primarily as a result of changes in eligibility criteria applying in the 1980s and 1990s (Birrell 1987; 1995a; Iredale 1997). The extension of eligibility in 1982 to include siblings and other non-dependent family, which was further amended in 1986 to include nieces and nephews into a broad-based independent and concessional category, greatly altered the potential of follow-on growth in the 1980s (Madden and Young 1993 p.5). This effectively guaranteed the perpetuation of

those Asian groups establishing themselves in Australia, either through refugee movement, education, business and independent migration, which attracted considerable research interest, together with some debate and criticism (Birrell 1990; Morrissey, Mitchell and Rutherford 1991).

Policy changes focused on the family unit ensured that Asian immigrants in the 1980s gained more ready access to residence in Australia than had previously been the case. Most importantly, it is argued that women were the main beneficiaries of such changes, as they favoured family and marital status criteria rather than those based on skill and economic resources (Fincher *et al* 1994 p.80). However, it should be borne in mind that much of this debate was centred on the very large waves of Asian immigrants in the late 1970s and 1980s, escaping war and political turmoil in Indochina, most notably Vietnam. The majority of them entered as refugees and many women followed later as family reunion members, as a consequence the normal selection procedures were not enforced (McNamara and Coughlan 1997). For all other prospective Asian immigrants immigration policies have been highly selective, based on English language proficiency, business and/or skill and educational requirements, as well as an ability to pay, or to be sponsored by family members or by Australian residents.

It is also important to acknowledge that the distinctive feminisation of the Asia-born settlers in Australia can in part be attributed to the female dominant streams from the Philippines, especially in the 1980s, which tended to attract public attention and criticism as well as considerable research interest (Jackson and Flores 1989; Iredale 1994). This was largely due to 'mail order' brides or Australian men going to the Philippines and procuring a wife, which led in both cases to most Filipino women arriving as sponsored migrants (Hugo 1992 p.120). Some of the more negative aspects of these relationships have drawn policy responses in both the home country and in Australia, that have made it more

difficult for this to occur and some of the abuse and incidents of sham marriages have now been reduced (Fincher *et al* 1994 pp.69-80).

The important point to be stressed is that the patterns of international migration were significantly different in the late 1990s compared to 5 to 10 years earlier. LSIA data relate to off-shore visaed immigrants arriving in Australia between September 1993 and August 1995, a period shown to coincide with relatively low numbers of settler arrivals dominated by females, which must be borne in mind when considering the survey results discussed in the next section. The sample was influenced by trends in the patterns of settlement and a reflection of policy that was in place at that time. Humanitarian and family reunion concerns were given higher priority and tended to foster greater numbers of female immigrants. Global events also had an impact on the motives for migration, the popularity of respective source countries and the characteristics of migrants, especially the impending takeover of Hong Kong by China in July 1997. Moreover, the economic and political crises in Europe, especially in the former countries of the USSR, gave rise to a resurgence in migration from that region largely for humanitarian reasons which then tended to foster family migration a little later.

7.3 SURVEYED FEMALE SETTLERS IN AUSTRALIA

7.3.1 Characteristics of Sampled Principal Applicants

Attention is focussed on permanent settlers, specifically principal applicants who came to Australia in the period 1993-1995 and were selected for interview in LSIA, representing the first of two cohorts that have been interviewed. In total, there were 5,192 surveyed principal applicants aged 15 or more years, of which males made up 57 per cent and females 43 per cent. This represented seven per cent of some 75,000 in-scope

applicants that arrived in Australia in the two-year period (VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999 p.21). This analysis does not include family members who migrated with the principal applicant as part of a migrating unit. There were only limited questions asked of these persons with only one-third of surveyed principal applicants identified as having a migrating unit spouse who completed a set of questions specifically for them, which did not include questions relating to the migration process and reasons for immigrating to Australia. Therefore, it was considered more appropriate to contrast the responses of male and female principal applicants to explore gender differences. Another important reason is that spouses as part of the migrating unit are only identified by the visa category of the principal applicant. It is necessary here to identify both males and females who gained entry under preferential family criteria, independent points assessment and business skill categories to see whether migration commonly associated with 'the economic man' as opposed to the 'socio-cultural female' stereotype is misleading and a new approach needs to be taken if international migration is to be more fully understood in respect to gender.

The migration program is made up of family, skill and special eligibility streams, while the humanitarian program consists of refugee and special assistance migrants. Briefly, the three broad major categories of eligibility for immigration that applied for most women in the 1980s and early 1990s in the migration program were:

- Preferential family, applied to spouse, dependent children, and parents of person who was nominating as a sponsor
- Concessional family, applied to non-dependent children, and specified close non-dependent relatives such as brothers, sisters, nieces and nephews of the sponsor (called skilled-Australian linked from 1997 and relocated to skill stream from family stream)
- Skilled/ business migration and independent points assessment applied to un-sponsored applicants whose education, English proficiency, skills and ready employability, as well as the ability to support themselves, enabled them to pass the points assessment test frequently subject to changes.

Employer nomination schemes (ENS), where prospective employers nominated skilled persons tended to be mainly the prerogative of men. This was also the case for business

migrants entering under economic criteria set to attract entrepreneurs and businesses to Australia. However, entrants under these schemes were entitled to bring accompanying spouses and children, with provisions in place to sponsor other close family to join them later as part of the family reunification program.

The difficulties associated with defining principal applicants, and whether males or females best suit the eligibility criteria and the biases that existed, are discussed elsewhere (Fincher *et al* 1994). Moreover, it should be borne in mind that at the time of the survey only one family member could be a principal applicant, which tended to institutionalise the male biased migration model. Women primarily entered Australia as family members or by means of their marital status (current and prospective) and men primarily did so under economic or skill categories and also as refugees. This has now changed with both family members able to nominate as principal applicants. However, Khoo (2001 p.111) raises some important issues about sponsored spouse migration that is not limited to citizens as is the case in the United States. In Australia, citizens as well as permanent residents aged 18 years or older, can sponsor spouses or prospective partners and there is no quota on the number of spouse visas issued annually which tends to foster the continuation of high levels of spouse migration even when skilled migration is central to government policy.

7.3.2 Visa Entry and Birthplace

Table 7.1 demonstrates the significant gender bias in visa entry operating in the early 1990s, with 62.3 per cent of sampled female principal applicants gaining entry on spouse or prospective marriage visas compared to 31.3 per cent of males. Women were also over-represented in the other preferential family category as it largely includes parents, older dependent children and other close relatives who had made separate application for entry under family reunion provisions.

Table 7.1: Male and Female Principal Applicants by Type of Visa Category, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Type of Visa Category | Per cent Males | Per cent Females | Sex Ratios |
|-------------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------|
| Spouse | 22.2 | 47.3 | 51.4 |
| Prospective Marriage | 9.1 | 15.0 | 66.5 |
| Other Preferential Family | 10.4 | 12.5 | 91.5 |
| Concessional Family | 10.8 | 4.6 | 254.1 |
| Independent Points Assessment | 24.3 | 9.2 | 290.0 |
| Skill-business | 5.6 | 1.0 | 611.6 |
| Humanitarian | 17.6 | 10.3 | 187.7 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 39,234 | 35,756 | 109.7 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

The female dominance of preferential family entry is demonstrated by the low sex ratios, while male dominance is evident for all other types of visa entry. Some 24.3 per cent of sampled males gained entry under the independent points assessment scheme while only 9.2 per cent of females did so. In total, when combined with entrants in the skill-business category, 30 per cent of males and only 10 per cent of females managed to meet the employability, business and English requirements in operation at that time. Moreover, 41.7 per cent of males were preferential family entrants, although not as high as for females (75 per cent), it represents a significant number who were not directly labour-market tested and is not consistent with a male 'economic' instigated migration model.

Although most females gained visa entry on the basis of family provisions, there were notable variations between birthplace regions (Table 7.2). Some 75 per cent of immigrant females from the Middle East and 73 per cent from Southeast Asia entered as spouses or for prospective marriage, with a lower representation of females from Northeast and South Asia (roughly 60 per cent), the UK and Ireland (40 per cent) and the rest of Europe (50 per cent). Females from the UK and Ireland were more likely to be economic entrants and other preferential family members than other birthplace groups. Humanitarian

visa entry was most prevalent for females from Europe to include the former USSR as this period coincided with political unrest and economic instability in Eastern Europe.

Table 7.2: Female Principal Applicants: Visa Category by Birthplace Region and Main Asian Source Countries, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Birthplace Region | Spouse/ Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* | Human- itarian |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Per cent of birthplace group | | | | | |
| UK & Ireland | 40.4 | 26.2 | 6.2 | 27.2 | - |
| Europe & USSR | 50.1 | 9.7 | 2.9 | 5.9 | 31.4 |
| Middle East | 67.7 | 12.1 | 5.2 | 9.3 | 5.7 |
| Southeast Asia | 73.4 | 10.2 | 4.5 | 3.3 | 8.7 |
| Northeast Asia | 59.3 | 13.6 | 6.2 | 20.9 | - |
| South Asia | 61.7 | 16.6 | 6.1 | 10.7 | 5.0 |
| Other** | 68.9 | 10.4 | 4.6 | 9.2 | 6.8 |
| Per cent of birthplace country | | | | | |
| Birthplace Country | | | | | |
| Indonesia | 77.2 | 8.0 | - | 9.0 | 5.9 |
| Malaysia | 63.5 | 10.9 | 9.2 | 16.3 | - |
| Vietnam | 74.8 | 10.9 | 1.4 | .2 | 12.7 |
| Philippines | 76.2 | 11.0 | 9.8 | 3.1 | - |
| Thailand | 85.6 | 11.1 | .9 | 2.4 | - |
| Cambodia | 65.7 | 9.4 | - | - | 24.9 |
| Hong Kong | 31.3 | 12.9 | 12.2 | 43.6 | - |
| China | 68.7 | 19.0 | 3.5 | 8.9 | - |
| India | 63.1 | 17.6 | 6.5 | 12.8 | - |
| Sri Lanka | 56.6 | 22.8 | 7.5 | 9.6 | 3.5 |

* Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

** Other- includes North, Central and South America, Africa and Oceania

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

In looking specifically at female migrants from the major emigration countries within Asia there are some significant variations, most notably visa entry on economic grounds was highest for Hong Kong-born females (43.6 per cent), with only one-third coming on spouse or marriage visas, in stark contrast to the other Asian countries. Female settlers from India and Sri Lanka, were most likely to gain entry as other preferential family members which is similar for females born in China. Spouse and prospective marriage visas were most prevalent for females from Thailand (a high 85.6 per cent) and at least three-quarters of those from Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines. Malaysia-born

females stand apart from the rest of Southeast Asian females with 63.5 per cent gaining entry on spouse/marriage visas, a higher representation on concessional family visas (9.2 per cent) as well as independent points assessment (16.3 per cent). Females gaining entry under the humanitarian program were predominantly from Cambodia, Vietnam and the 'other' countries of Southeast Asia, although they contributed very small numbers to the overall sampled Asia-born female principal applicants.

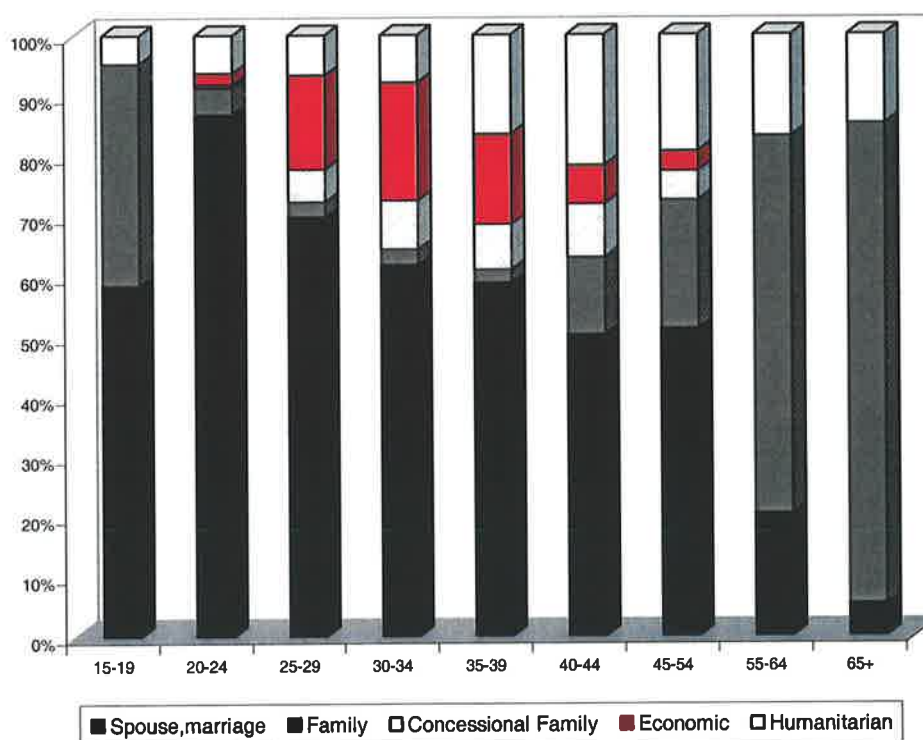
7.3.3 Age, Marital Status and Visa Entry

The surveyed principal applicants were predominantly young, with 68 per cent of females and 61 per cent of males aged 15-34 years, with only a small representation at older ages. Of particular note, some 18.6 per cent of females compared to only 9.8 per cent of males were aged 20-24 years, with one-quarter of males and females aged 25-29 years. Males were over-represented at ages 30-54 years, with a similar representation between the sexes evident at older ages. The over-representation of females at younger ages appears to be related to the younger age of females at marriage, as Figure 7.6 shows most young female migrants aged less than 25 years had applied for visa entry on the basis of spouse/marriage and other preferential family provisions.

The spouse/prospective marriage category provided entry for a high 87 per cent of females aged 20-24 years, while those females gaining entry under economic criteria were largely concentrated at ages 25 through to 39 years, as was the case with concessional family applicants. It was not surprising to find other preferential family heavily concentrated at older ages, particularly females aged 65 years and above, but also for those aged 15-19 years, who were largely sons and daughters following families as indicated by their sponsorship. By contrast, the older applicants were predominantly aged parents

joining family with a large percentage sponsored by sons and daughters already resident in Australia.

Figure 7.6: Female Principal Applicants by Visa Category and Age, Wave 1 - LSIA



Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1 – Wave 1

The predominance of widowed males and females among preferential family entrants and also those on humanitarian visas is apparent in Table 7.3. A high percentage of never married males and females gained entry under economic criteria, 39.8 per cent of males and 34 per cent of females, reflecting the relatively young age profile of economic migrants. Moreover, never married females were more likely than males to enter under preferential family provisions. Another important contrast is the high proportion (82 per cent) of married female principal applicants who entered on spouse or prospective marriage visas compared to 38.8 per cent of married males.

Table 7.3: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Visa Category by Marital Status, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Visa Category | Married | Never Married | Separated/ Divorced | Widowed | Total |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Males | | | | | |
| | | | Per cent | | |
| Spouse/Prospective Marriage | 38.8 | 12.1 | 22.4 | 5.8 | 31.2 |
| Other Preferential Family | 9.2 | 12.3 | 8.7 | 65.9 | 10.4 |
| Concessional Family | 10.6 | 11.2 | 14.1 | 3.1 | 10.8 |
| Economic* | 26.9 | 39.8 | 31.4 | - | 30.0 |
| Humanitarian | 15.0 | 24.6 | 23.5 | 25.2 | 17.6 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 28,414 | 9,697 | 784 | 339 | 39,234 |
| Females | | | | | |
| | | | Per cent | | |
| Spouse/Prospective Marriage | 82.0 | 19.8 | 29.3 | - | 62.3 |
| Other Preferential Family | 2.1 | 23.3 | 34.9 | 70.3 | 12.6 |
| Concessional Family | 3.5 | 9.9 | 5.7 | 1.7 | 4.6 |
| Economic* | 5.6 | 34.0 | 6.5 | - | 10.2 |
| Humanitarian | 6.7 | 13.0 | 23.5 | 28.0 | 10.3 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 24,971 | 6,257 | 1,888 | 2,633 | 35,749 |

*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1–Wave 1

Female principal applicants by the very nature of their entry conform to the stereotype of ‘associational migrants’ that has led researchers to believe that their economic potential is of little value, although disputed in the work of Morokvasic (1984) and Kofman (1999; 2000). It was found that almost two-thirds of female principal applicants and one-third of males had spouse or prospective marriage visas, which means they were not directly labour market tested and were largely sponsored migrants. Therefore, it is interesting to explore the employment potential and educational attainment of males and females who did join spouse/partners in Australia.

7.3.4 Employment and Educational Characteristics by Visa Category

Table 7.4 shows that a high percentage of males and females in the economic and the concessional family streams had degrees or other technical qualifications, in stark contrast to the humanitarian and other preferential family streams. Of particular interest, half the females and one-third of the males gaining entry on spouse or prospective marriage

visas had no post-school qualifications, although many did hold degrees or technical qualifications. By contrast, about one-fifth of males and females in the economic stream had higher degrees, compared to only 3.2 per cent of males and 2.5 per cent of females on spouse visas. Another difference was the higher proportion of females with postgraduate diplomas in the economic and concessional streams compared to spouse entrants, but particularly in relation to their male counterparts.

Table 7.4: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Educational Attainment at first Interview by Visa Category, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Educational Attainment | Spouse/ Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* | Human- itarian |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| MALES | | | | | |
| Per cent of male respondents | | | | | |
| Higher degree | 3.2 | 5.5 | 9.7 | 21.4 | 3.0 |
| Post-graduate diploma | 5.3 | 2.8 | 7.0 | 8.4 | 3.2 |
| Degree | 17.8 | 7.7 | 27.7 | 28.5 | 14.9 |
| Technical-qualifications | 27.8 | 16.6 | 28.2 | 20.2 | 15.0 |
| Trade | 9.4 | 9.8 | 18.4 | 15.6 | 8.6 |
| No post-school qualifications | 36.4 | 57.7 | 8.9 | 5.9 | 55.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 12,181 | 4,052 | 4,221 | 11,751 | 6,871 |
| FEMALES | | | | | |
| Per cent of female respondents | | | | | |
| Higher degree | 2.5 | 1.2 | 8.8 | 19.5 | 1.1 |
| Post-graduate diploma | 2.4 | 0.4 | 13.7 | 15.4 | 2.1 |
| Degree | 20.0 | 9.9 | 46.1 | 39.1 | 15.4 |
| Technical-qualifications | 22.8 | 11.3 | 24.6 | 21.8 | 18.2 |
| Trade | 2.1 | 0.8 | 2.7 | 1.7 | 1.7 |
| No post-school qualifications | 50.2 | 76.5 | 4.2 | 2.5 | 61.5 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 22,139 | 4,367 | 1,661 | 3,653 | 3,548 |

*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 1

It is interesting that there are slightly higher percentages of males with no post-school qualifications in both the economic and concessional streams compared to females. These entrants are likely to have business or entrepreneurial experience that can compensate in the points system for a lack of formal qualifications or skills. Moreover, the actual validity of these qualifications and acceptance in Australia is difficult to determine if

not used as entry criteria, and yet many are likely to encounter problems with appropriate recognition and rewards when they enter the skilled labour market (Iredale 1997, 2000).

Table 7.5 shows that most principal applicants in the economic and concessional categories spoke English 'well or very well'. Moreover, females in these two streams had slightly higher proficiency in English than males and were less likely to have poor English. By contrast, males and females in the other preferential family and humanitarian streams were the most likely not to be able to speak English, with a wider diversity in English proficiency evident between males and females with spouse/prospective marriage visas.

Table 7.5: English Proficiency of Male and Female Principal Applicants at First Interview by Visa Category, Wave 1 - LSIA

| English Proficiency | Spouse, Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* | Human- itarian |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| MALES | | | Per cent | | |
| Very well | 17.1 | 9.8 | 20.1 | 34.0 | 4.3 |
| Well | 31.8 | 30.8 | 40.0 | 48.9 | 20.3 |
| Not well | 41.5 | 34.8 | 34.2 | 15.4 | 56.9 |
| Not at all | 9.6 | 24.7 | 5.6 | 1.6 | 18.5 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 7,482 | 2,446 | 2,564 | 6,188 | 6,879 |
| FEMALES | | | Per cent | | |
| Very well | 14.0 | 4.1 | 28.1 | 35.7 | 3.2 |
| Well | 29.1 | 22.1 | 41.9 | 55.4 | 10.8 |
| Not well | 37.0 | 34.2 | 27.2 | 7.5 | 50.3 |
| Not at all | 19.8 | 39.7 | 2.9 | 1.4 | 35.8 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 17,595 | 2,713 | 1,005 | 1,864 | 3,650 |

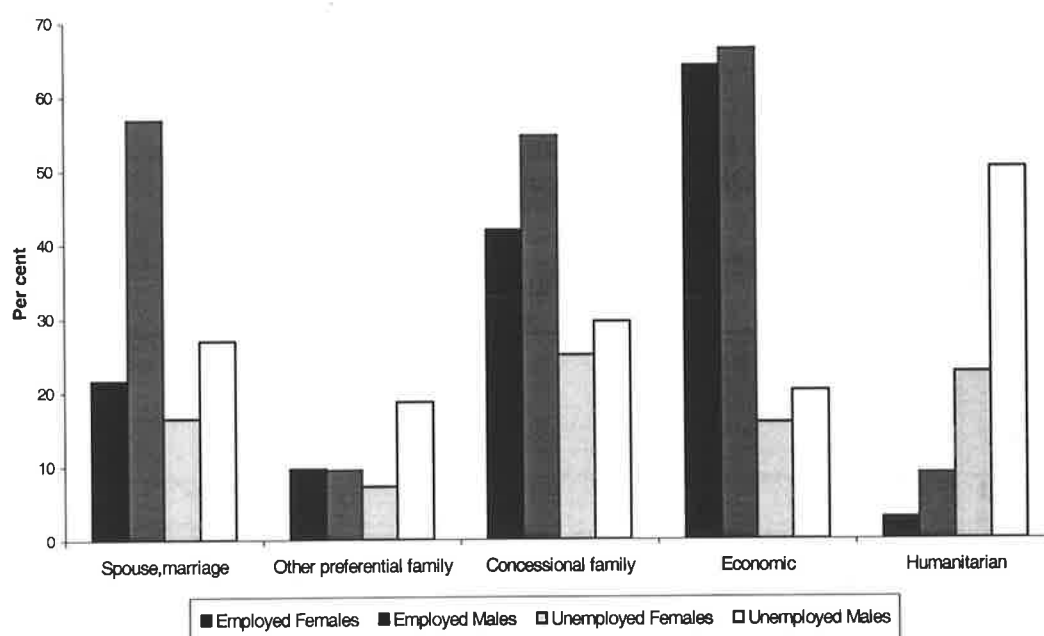
*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 1

VandenHeuvel and Wooden (1999 p.25) in their analysis of how settlers fared in the early years of settlement, found that the visa category under which migrants enter Australia closely matched labour market outcomes. However, the linkages between visa entry, qualifications and language proficiency and how they may influence women's labour force participation differently to men, were not considered. Figure 7.7 shows distinctive differences in levels of employment between males and females according to visa category,

with male labour force participation at first interview generally much higher (40 per cent) than for females (23 per cent). Economic entrants had the highest rates of employment at about 65 per cent for males and females, although 20 per cent of males and 16 per cent of females were seeking work. Males in the spouse/marriage category had much higher employment, 56.8 per cent compared to only 21.6 per cent of females.

Figure 7.7: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Employment Status at First Interview by Visa Category, Wave 1 - LSIA



Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 -Wave 1

The strong relationship between securing skilled employment and visa entry is shown in Table 7.6, with a high percentage of males and females in the economic stream employed in professional occupations at first interview. Females were also highly represented as para-professionals in this stream (22 per cent) compared to only 3 per cent of males. Moreover, in the concessional stream the proportion of females employed as professionals (29 per cent) is almost double that of males (15 per cent). Males generally were more likely to be employed as trade-plant operators and females in sales and personal

services. Those in labouring and related jobs were predominantly humanitarian entrants and other preferential family members, who had by far the lowest labour force participation, the poorest English skills and the highest representation of males and females with no post-school qualifications.

Table 7.6: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Occupation of Employed at First Interview by Visa Category, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Occupation of employed persons | Spouse/ Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* | Humanitarian |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------|
| MALES | | | | | |
| Per cent male respondents | | | | | |
| Manager/administrator | 8.6 | 2.7 | 9.5 | 13.3 | - |
| Professional | 15.9 | - | 15.6 | 40.9 | 0.9 |
| Para-professional | 1.5 | - | 6.9 | 3.0 | - |
| Trade-plant operator | 25.8 | 43.2 | 40.7 | 26.7 | 42.5 |
| Clerical | 5.8 | - | 4.0 | 2.7 | - |
| Sales-personal services | 13.3 | 1.8 | 7.5 | 5.6 | - |
| Labourer-related workers | 29.1 | 52.3 | 15.9 | 7.9 | 56.6 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 7,102 | 383 | 2,288 | 7,995 | 634 |
| FEMALES | | | | | |
| Per cent female respondents | | | | | |
| Manager/administrator | 2.6 | - | 7.6 | 8.5 | - |
| Professional | 12.5 | 15.3 | 29.0 | 44.1 | - |
| Para-professional | 3.9 | - | 11.5 | 22.2 | - |
| Trade-plant operator | 14.5 | 2.7 | 11.9 | 2.6 | - |
| Clerical | 24.1 | - | 15.5 | 10.8 | 6.8 |
| Sales-personal services | 22.1 | 37.9 | 11.3 | 9.9 | 13.8 |
| Labourer-related workers | 20.3 | 44.1 | 13.2 | 2.0 | 79.4 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total Weighted Sample | 5,160 | 549 | 720 | 2,462 | 106 |

*Economic --includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMIA, unpublished tapes LSIA, Cohort 1 -Wave 1

Principal applicants with degrees or post graduate awards who had gained entry on the basis of independent points assessment were much more likely to be employed as professionals (66 per cent of males and 55 per cent of females). It is interesting that over one-third of graduates who gained entry on a spouse or prospective marriage visa were also employed as professionals, some 40 per cent of males and 34 per cent of females. These applicants are not subject to the same labour market scrutiny as those seeking independent

or business entry and yet at the time of first interview a relatively high percentage of graduates on spouse visas had secured professional jobs.

7.4 GENDER DIFFERENTIALS IN IMMIGRATION

7.4.1 Reasons for Immigration

This section examines the reasons given for migration by male and female principal applicants who were asked to respond to a list of specified reasons, and were given the opportunity of responding to several reasons. The responses to each of the reasons are ranked by popularity of the total response with clear differences evident in the ranking of male and female responses. It should be pointed out that asking specifically about reasons for emigration after arrival at destination is limited, as the circumstances that actually triggered the decision to emigrate may well be forgotten or resolved in the time taken in the process of applying for visas. Hugo (1999a pp.2-3) argues that reasons for migration should be asked before departing the country of origin, and that ideally immigrants should be asked in several stages before departure and on arrival to understand the process of decision making and migration outcome.

Table 7.7 shows that *'to join family and relatives'* was the most favoured response overall, with 52.6 per cent of females and 39.3 per cent of males indicating that this was one of the reasons for immigrating to Australia. The most popular response given by males was *'better future for the family'*, some 50.4 per cent compared to 31.7 per cent of females. The responses to *'economic climate, political stability in Australia'* as well as *'better employment opportunities'* were favoured more by males than females. Those stating that they came *'to get married'* were predominantly female which corresponds with the high representation of female principal applicants who had entered under preferential family

provisions, and was also evident in the popularity of the response to 'join family in Australia'. It is interesting that the response to 'better employment opportunities' was ranked fourth, 28.8 per cent for males and 14.6 per cent for females (only 22 per cent in total). Employment based migration was not a prime stated reason for migration to Australia, although economic motives can be implied in a better future for family. Moreover, negative aspects of life in the country of origin in respect to social, political and economic conditions were not given high priority and few respondents indicated that they migrated for educational purposes.

Table 7.7: Reasons Given by Male and Female Principal Applicants for Immigrating to Australia, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Reasons Ranked by Popularity of Total Response | Males | Females | Persons |
|---|---|----------------|----------------|
| | (Per cent indicating "yes" to specified reasons) | | |
| Join Family-Relatives | 39.3 | 52.6 | 45.7 |
| Better Future for Family | 50.4 | 31.7 | 41.5 |
| Economic Climate, Political Stability | 45.0 | 26.1 | 36.0 |
| Better Employment Opportunities | 28.8 | 14.6 | 22.0 |
| To Get Married | 12.1 | 25.5 | 18.5 |
| To Escape War-Political Climate | 20.6 | 11.4 | 16.2 |
| Disliked War-Politics in FHC | 17.2 | 10.6 | 14.0 |
| Disliked Economy in FHC | 16.5 | 9.9 | 13.4 |
| To Undertake Studies | 9.1 | 7.5 | 8.3 |
| Lack Employment in FHC | 7.2 | 4.3 | 6.0 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Wave 1 - Cohort 1

In examining responses of those immigrants in the economic stream (Table 7.8), it was found that Australia's economic and political stability was important in influencing the decision of both males and females who could meet the more rigorous eligibility criteria to migrate. The reasons relating to a better future for the family and employment opportunities were also highly subscribed but a little more so by males than females. Another interesting difference compared to the overall response is that negative aspects of the former country of residence in respect to the economy and political situation are given

higher priority, while there is very little response to family reasons or prospective marriage. It was interesting that females were more likely than males to state '*economic and political stability*' as a reason for choosing to migrate to Australia. By contrast, males were more likely than females to respond '*better future for the family*', which is related to the higher percentage of males on economic based visas being married compared to females who were more likely to be never married. It should also be recognised that males were well represented as preferential family visa entrants and had family already in Australia.

Table 7.8: Male and Female Principal Applicants with Economic Visa Entry: Reasons Given for Immigrating to Australia, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Reasons Ranked by Popularity of Total Response- Economic* Visa Entry | Males | Females | Persons |
|---|---|----------------|----------------|
| | (Per cent indicating "yes" to specified reasons) | | |
| Economic Climate, Political Stability | 63.7 | 70.9 | 65.4 |
| Better Future for Family | 59.4 | 41.8 | 55.2 |
| Better Employment Opportunities | 42.4 | 28.7 | 39.1 |
| Disliked War-Politics in FHC | 23.1 | 20.9 | 22.6 |
| Disliked Economy in FHC | 23.5 | 17.4 | 22.1 |
| Escape war-political unrest | 11.5 | 10.0 | 11.1 |
| Undertake study | 10.0 | 12.7 | 10.6 |
| Join Family-Relatives | 8.3 | 14.7 | 9.8 |
| Lack employment in FHC | 7.5 | 3.7 | 6.6 |
| To Get Married | 2.2 | 3.8 | 2.5 |

*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

Female principal applicants entering under preferential family provisions, not surprisingly gave the highest response to family reasons, with a very low response to any economic or political motives (Table 7.9). Many indicated that they immigrated to get married and those on spouse visas were primarily joining partners. Other preferential family members were clear about why they came to Australia with a high percentage of females (92.5 per cent) stating they were joining family and a low response given to any other specified reasons. Although females on concessional family visas gave a high

response to joining family their responses to economic conditions, political stability, employment opportunities and a better future for family, were also given high priority as was the case with economic entrants. However, they also acknowledged some of the more negative aspects of life in their former country of residence than those females in the preferential family categories and surprisingly those shown above relating to the economic stream.

Table 7.9: Female Principal Applicants: Reasons Given for Emigrating to Australia by Family Category, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Reasons for Emigrating to Australia by-Family Visa Entry | Spouse/Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family |
|---|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (Per cent indicating "yes" to specified reasons) | | | |
| To Join Family-Relatives | 51.0 | 92.5 | 64.5 |
| To Get Married | 40.2 | - | .2 |
| Better Future for Family | 27.6 | 16.2 | 64.0 |
| Economic Climate-Political Stability | 18.7 | 17.9 | 49.7 |
| Better Employment Opportunities | 11.5 | 10.4 | 36.8 |
| To Undertake Studies | 5.6 | 12.2 | 11.5 |
| Lack Employment in FHC | 4.4 | 2.6 | 8.7 |
| Dislike Economy in FHC | 6.9 | 5.5 | 25.6 |
| Dislike War-Political | 6.3 | 7.7 | 18.8 |
| Escape War-Political | 3.4 | 8.2 | 14.0 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

The reasons given for immigration indicated that Australia was seen to provide a better future for families and many respondents had family and relatives who had already migrated to Australia. The so-called 'push' factors from former countries of residence were assigned less importance by both males and females. Moreover, the analysis highlights the importance of considering gendered responses, with females more likely to give family reasons while males were more inclined to state employment or better opportunities for their families.

It is relevant next to examine responses to questions designed to look in more detail at satisfaction with life in countries of origin. It is useful to also establish whose idea it was to emigrate, as female respondents may be actively involved in migration decisions and just as anxious as men to continue employment and find suitable jobs in their new country. This also applies to men who came on spouse/preferential family visas about which we know very little.

7.4.2 Migration Decisions and Satisfaction with Life in Country of Origin

There are several questions that need to be explored here to obtain a 'picture' of possible 'push' factors that resulted in immigration to Australia that were not necessarily spelt out as reasons when asked directly. These include: whose decision it was to emigrate and levels of satisfaction with life and work in country of origin. Moreover, their commitment to Australia is assessed through questions on their intentions to apply for citizenship, their reasons for doing so and also for not applying. One of the main objectives is to explore how the responses to these questions vary between males and females and to establish differences by type of visa entry.

When respondents were asked about whose idea it was to emigrate, Table 7.10 shows that male and female migrants obtaining entry via independent points assessment were the most likely to instigate migration on an individual basis, which was also evident for over half the females in the concessional category compared to 44 per cent of males. Of particular note, female entrants on spouse or prospective marriage visas were much more likely to say it was their husband's decision (39 per cent), although over one-third claimed that it was a joint decision. By contrast, 42.3 per cent of males on spouse/marriage visas said it was a joint decision and 30 per cent claimed it was their wife's idea. Other preferential family migrants showed the most variation with most having the decision made

for them by other relatives, 47.4 per cent of females and 32.8 per cent of males, however a further 41.7 per cent of females claimed it was their own idea, while males were more likely to say it was a joint decision.

Table 7.10: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Whose Idea to Emigrate to Australia by Visa Category, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Whose Idea to Emigrate | Spouse/ Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* | Human- itarian | Total |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------------|--------|
| MALES | | | | | | |
| | Per cent | | | | | |
| Self | 25.8 | 27.2 | 44.0 | 57.5 | 53.9 | 42.2 |
| Spouse | 30.1 | 5.3 | 7.9 | 7.0 | 4.7 | 13.8 |
| Self & Spouse | 42.3 | 34.7 | 36.6 | 27.8 | 20.0 | 32.6 |
| Other relatives | 2.2 | 32.8 | 11.4 | 7.6 | 21.3 | 11.4 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Weighted sample | 12,255 | 4,091 | 4,221 | 11,729 | 6,890 | 39,186 |
| FEMALES | | | | | | |
| | Per cent | | | | | |
| Self | 20.8 | 41.9 | 53.3 | 68.5 | 48.8 | 32.7 |
| Spouse | 39.2 | 1.9 | 7.5 | 6.2 | 5.1 | 26.1 |
| Self & Spouse | 36.6 | 8.8 | 21.8 | 20.5 | 15.6 | 28.6 |
| Other relatives | 3.4 | 47.4 | 17.4 | 4.8 | 30.5 | 12.5 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Weighted sample | 22,252 | 4,488 | 1,661 | 3,653 | 3,679 | 35,732 |

*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

Overall, males were more likely to have made the decision to migrate, however it is important to stress that 32.6 per cent of males and 28.6 per cent of females claimed it was a joint decision. For females with spouse/marriage visas it was more likely that husbands had made the decision to migrate, while females in both the economic and concessional categories were more likely to indicate that they made independent decisions.

The migrant opinions regarding their country of origin (Table 7.11) reflect the responses to the question on the specified reasons for immigration discussed above. Overall, only 23.7 per cent of males and 15.8 per cent of females were dissatisfied with life in their former country, with the majority satisfied and a small percentage neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. It is interesting that females were generally more likely to claim that they

were 'very satisfied' with their former life than males which might explain the fact that the migration decision was most often taken by males.

Table 7.11: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Satisfaction with Life and Employment in Country of Origin, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Questions relating to Work and Satisfaction with Life | Males Per cent | Females Per cent |
|--|-------------------|---------------------|
| Level of Satisfaction with Life in Origin Country | | |
| Very satisfied | 15.9 | 27.3 |
| Satisfied | 37.8 | 40.3 |
| Neither Satisfied or Dissatisfied | 22.5 | 16.7 |
| Dissatisfied | 23.7 | 15.8 |
| Feel about Job in Origin Country | | |
| Loved it, Best Job | 22.6 | 26.5 |
| Liked it, Good Job | 42.8 | 46.3 |
| Job OK | 27.0 | 22.6 |
| Disliked Job | 7.6 | 4.5 |
| Hard Work Rewarded in Origin Country | | |
| Well Rewarded | 26.4 | 23.6 |
| Moderately Rewarded | 36.2 | 36.5 |
| Poorly Rewarded | 37.3 | 39.9 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

Of those respondents in employment in the 12 months prior to migration only a small percentage actually disliked their jobs, with the majority indicating that it was '*a good job*'. It is interesting that female respondents were generally more positive about their jobs than males and employment rates were relatively high, with 80 per cent of males and 68 per cent of females indicating that they were engaged in the labour force in the 12 months prior to immigrating. However, over one-third of males and females thought that their former jobs were poorly rewarded and a quarter claimed that they were well rewarded, indicating considerable diversity in employment among respondents.

7.4.3 Satisfaction with Life and Work in Australia and Citizenship Intentions

When principal applicants were asked specific questions about life and work in Australia, Table 7.12 shows little difference between males and females. The majority

responded that they were satisfied, with over one-third indicating that they were 'very satisfied' and virtually no one expressing dissatisfaction, and about 12 per cent ambivalent in that they indicated 'neither'.

Table 7.12: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Satisfaction with Life in Australia and Intentions to Apply for Citizenship, Wave 1 - LSIA

| | Males Per cent | Females Per cent |
|---|-------------------|---------------------|
| Satisfaction with Life in Australia | | |
| Very satisfied | 36.0 | 34.4 |
| Satisfied | 51.1 | 51.8 |
| Neither | 11.6 | 11.9 |
| Dissatisfied | 1.3 | 1.9 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Like Job in Australia | | |
| Love it, Best Job | 11.2 | 9.4 |
| Like it, Good Job | 39.4 | 36.6 |
| Job OK | 39.2 | 39.4 |
| Dislike Job | 9.5 | 14.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Intend to Apply for Australian Citizenship | | |
| Yes | 81.9 | 77.9 |
| No | 5.2 | 6.3 |
| Don't Know | 12.9 | 15.9 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

In response to feelings about their current main job in Australia males were more positive than females. However, it should be borne in mind that only a relatively small percentage of females (23 per cent) were employed at the time of first interview. Nevertheless, when asked specifically about whether the decision to migrate was the right one, both males and females responded very positively (91 per cent said 'yes'). The intentions of respondents to apply for Australian citizenship provided further support to the overall levels of satisfaction expressed by migrants with life in Australia, with 82 per cent of males and 78 per cent of females intending to do so. A high percentage of male and female principal applicants wanted to stay in Australia permanently (47.3 per cent of males and 49.3 per cent of females), while one-third of males and one-quarter of females wanted

'to feel Australian'. Similarly males gave preference to 'have access to all the rights of Australian citizens', while females indicated 'an Australian spouse or other family here' was an important reason. Overall, more socio-cultural and political factors tended to influence the decisions of respondents rather than purely economically based ones.

For the relatively small percentage of migrants not intending to apply for Australian citizenship, the overwhelming response was that they wished to retain the citizenship of their former country of residence, 43 per cent of males and a high 55 per cent of females. Similarly, a desire to retain their current passport received a relatively high response, 18.3 per cent of males and 23.6 per cent of females. Others thought that citizenship was not really necessary and a small percentage had yet to make up their minds whether they would stay permanently in Australia. Overall, females appeared to be more retentive of the citizenship of their former country of residence and of their current passport. This tends to reflect the stronger ties indicated by female respondents to family and that they were more likely to be satisfied with life and jobs in their country of origin. As male principal applicants tended to be the main instigator of migration, it can be surmised that females were more ambivalent about citizenship decisions and many did not wish to commit to a new country as willingly as men. It should be pointed out that this question was asked of respondents well before legislation in 2003 that now permits dual citizenship.

7.4.4 Likes and Dislikes about Country of Origin and Australia

Migrants were asked about what they liked about their former country of residence as an open response to the question 'What things you like most about your former home country?' A question about what they disliked the most was also asked along with similar questions about their current likes and dislikes about Australia. Such questions, while much better at elucidating the feelings of immigrants, posed some difficulties in analysis,

as responses had to be aggregated into broad categories that were representative of the bulk of the comments made by males and females.

The thing most liked about country of origin was family, which was significantly higher for females (30.3 per cent) than for males (19.9 per cent). The other most favoured things shown in Table 7.13 tended to relate to 'home' and birthplace, as well as lifestyle and culture, friends and social life, although a little less so for females. Jobs and employment as well as living standards were given a low ranking by both males and females.

Table 7.13: Male and Female Principal Applicants: What they most Liked and Disliked about their Country of Origin, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Things most Liked | Per cent | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Persons |
| Family/relatives | 19.9 | 30.3 | 24.9 |
| Birthplace/home | 14.7 | 12.8 | 13.8 |
| Lifestyle-Culture | 14.0 | 10.4 | 12.3 |
| Friends- neighbours | 8.7 | 8.2 | 8.5 |
| Countryside-food | 8.9 | 7.7 | 8.3 |
| Friendly people | 8.1 | 6.9 | 7.5 |
| Job-employment | 6.4 | 5.8 | 6.1 |
| Facilities-services | 7.3 | 4.7 | 6.0 |
| Climate-weather | 4.9 | 6.5 | 5.6 |
| Costs-living standards | 3.3 | 1.7 | 2.5 |
| Convenience | 2.0 | 2.9 | 2.4 |
| Other/don't know | 1.8 | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Things most Disliked | Males | Females | Persons |
| Political system | 23.6 | 14.8 | 19.4 |
| Pollution/overcrowded | 14.9 | 18.3 | 16.5 |
| Climate- weather | 11.2 | 9.6 | 10.4 |
| Nothing | 6.2 | 14.4 | 10.1 |
| War-terrorism-religious intolerance | 8.7 | 9.3 | 8.9 |
| Economy-wages | 7.4 | 7.8 | 7.6 |
| Corruption -crime | 7.3 | 6.0 | 6.7 |
| Jobs- unemployment | 5.0 | 4.6 | 4.8 |
| Cost of living-lifestyle | 4.6 | 3.6 | 4.1 |
| People | 4.1 | 3.7 | 3.9 |
| Other | 2.7 | 3.1 | 2.9 |
| Services | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| Separation from family | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.7 |
| Don't know | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Note : Responses have been grouped into general categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 - Wave 1

The things most disliked about their former country were the political system (19.4 per cent), followed by pollution and overcrowding (16.5 per cent) and the weather (10.4 per cent). A further 10 per cent said there was nothing they disliked, with war and terrorism feared by others. The economy, jobs, services and poor standard of living were not given high priority, which corresponds with the relatively low response given to questions relating specifically to these issues. Responses were similar for males and females, although males were more likely to express concern with the political system and females more likely to say that there was nothing they disliked. However, the response varied significantly by region of origin with migrants from Asia more likely to indicate problems with the political system, crowding and pollution while those from within Europe were more likely to express dissatisfaction with war and religious intolerance as many had gained entry on humanitarian grounds.

In considering the likes and dislikes of migrants about Australia, Table 7.14 shows that climate/weather, lifestyle and friendly people feature strongly as the things most liked, with little difference evident between males and females and only small variations noted for locations within Australia. The economy, living conditions and political freedom were given relatively even ranking, with only a small response given for education, facilities and services. Turning to the dislikes, the predominant comment for males and females was 'none'. The second most popular dislike was climate, slightly more unfavourable for females than males as was the case with geographic isolation. This tends to correspond with their greater concerns with separation from family in the home countries. Employment difficulties and the economy were more important to males, as was politics and government, although responses were relatively small. It is interesting that employment and access to services and facilities and even language barriers were not high on the list of major dislikes about Australia as expressed openly by respondents. Such

things were also notably not high on the list of dislikes about the country of origin. Family, friends and a former social life were the most favoured things for migrants when asked about their former country, more strongly expressed by females than males. By contrast, the physical attributes, such as climate, environment and the natural beauty of Australia, together with lifestyle and quiet/peaceful environs were the most popular things liked about Australia.

Table 7.14: Male and Female Principal Applicants: What they most Liked and Disliked about Life in Australia, Wave 1 - LSIA

| Things most liked | Per cent | | |
|----------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Persons |
| Climate-weather | 16.7 | 15.6 | 16.1 |
| Lifestyle –culture | 16.0 | 15.4 | 15.8 |
| People-friendly | 13.1 | 12.5 | 12.8 |
| Economy –living conditions | 8.5 | 9.7 | 9.0 |
| Beautiful country-environment | 8.4 | 8.7 | 8.6 |
| Quiet-less crowded | 7.2 | 8.1 | 7.6 |
| Free country- no war | 7.1 | 6.6 | 6.9 |
| Better opportunities | 7.0 | 4.3 | 5.4 |
| Political system-government | 6.4 | 4.1 | 5.3 |
| Facilities-cities | 2.6 | 3.8 | 3.2 |
| Social security- health services | 2.5 | 3.6 | 2.9 |
| Close family | 1.8 | 3.4 | 2.8 |
| Education | 1.5 | 3.4 | 2.7 |
| Don't know | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| Other | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Things most disliked | Males | Females | Persons |
| Nothing | 34.5 | 37.4 | 36.1 |
| Weather-Climate | 10.4 | 11.2 | 9.8 |
| Job difficulties | 8.1 | 6.6 | 8.7 |
| People unfriendly, racist | 7.2 | 5.4 | 6.4 |
| Lifestyle | 5.8 | 4.3 | 5.1 |
| Geographic isolation | 3.6 | 6.4 | 5.0 |
| Transport-roads | 4.7 | 4.4 | 4.6 |
| Services and facilities | 4.2 | 4.5 | 4.4 |
| Economy, expensive | 5.1 | 3.2 | 4.2 |
| Other factors | 4.7 | 3.5 | 4.1 |
| Language barrier | 3.1 | 4.2 | 3.6 |
| Level of crime | 3.9 | 2.9 | 3.4 |
| Politics, government | 4.3 | 2.1 | 3.1 |
| Don't know | 0.7 | 2.4 | 1.5 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Note: Responses have been grouped into general categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1 – Wave 1

7.5 CONCLUSION

It is argued by Rowland (1997) that the 'fluidity and unpredictability' of immigration is in part a function of immigration policy in Australia that is primarily responsive rather than pro-active with well-planned long-term goals. On the other hand, given the high priority given to humanitarian and refugee settlement in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which is inevitably followed by significant demand for family reunion, it is not surprising that there has been increasing diversity in the waves of immigration to Australia in the 1990s. Moreover, the increasing complexity of migration due to globalisation and rapid changes emanating from political conflicts and uncertainties, natural disasters, widespread economic crises and an increasing number of illegal immigrants, have all contributed to the government becoming increasingly aware of the need for change in Immigration Policy. Since the Howard Coalition government took office in late 1996, there has been a shift in policy towards attracting skilled and economic advantageous migrants and the curtailment of some family reunion provisions that had evolved earlier. Most notable changes are more restrictive policies on the entry of aged parents, siblings and other relatives. However, it must be borne in mind that LSIA data analysed here are not influenced by these changes, as they relate to a period when family reunion formed a major part of the migration program which is clearly reflected in the survey results.

The fact that so many principal applicants responded that the main reason for immigrating to Australia was to join/follow family (45 per cent) implies that a large part of the decision to migrate was a consequence of family or prospective spouses already being resident in Australia. The government's ongoing concern and commitment to migration policies that emphasise and try to preserve the 'family unit' generate considerable follow-on or 'chain migration' in respect to specific birthplace groups. The second most favoured

response to immigrating was '*a better future for the family*', more highly subscribed by males than females, which once again highlights the importance of family in the decision to immigrate to Australia, with appreciation of the stable economic and political situation being the third most favoured response.

The negative aspects of life in the country of origin attracted very few responses and tended to be more closely associated with the political system, pollution, overcrowding and climate than with the economy or living standards. Therefore, it is important that we do not pre-judge what drives immigration, or for that matter what underlies emigration from countries of origin, as employment or economic led migration does not feature prominently here as a considered response from those principal applicants interviewed shortly after arrival. Of particular note, male and female principal applicants tended to share very similar responses, with the largest discrepancy associated with females being more likely to say family/relatives and friends as the thing they most liked about their home country, although this was also highly regarded by males.

This raises important questions about both the social and economic impact of immigration on individuals and their families, especially as family reunion was a key element in policy at the time of the survey. Moreover, the employment potential of females in the family stream was generally not acknowledged when making an application to settle in Australia. It is relevant to turn to answer some questions about the adaptation and labour market success of women and men, as LSIA data are highly useful in evaluating change over the early years of settlement.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SETTLEMENT ISSUES RELATING TO FEMALE IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In the substantial literature on adjustment and settlement issues (Wooden, Holton, Hugo and Sloan 1994), there has been little gender disaggregation in the social context and virtually none in relation to labour market outcomes. This Chapter focuses upon the settlement experience of female settler arrivals with a concern to monitor social and economic changes likely to impact on different sub-groups of women more than others. LSIA data form the basis of the analysis to establish how well respondents had adjusted to life in Australia since initial settlement. LSIA also provides information on migrants who have left soon after settlement and the intentions of others to emigrate from Australia, which may be associated with failure to adjust to a new country or part of emerging global labour market trends (Birrell and Healy 1997; Birrell 2003; Hugo 1994a; Hugo 2003d).

The focus is upon the settlement experience of female principal applicant migrants between their first and third interviews. Some 28.3 per cent of those interviewed in Wave 1 were not available for interview by Wave 3, therefore the sample was reduced to 3,752. The highest attrition was among younger migrants, representing about 30 per cent of those immigrants aged 15-34 years at first interview. Moreover, it was found that settlers entering under independent points assessment and preferential family provisions as spouses were most likely to drop out, while the lowest attrition was associated with concessional family and humanitarian visa entrants (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001 p.58).

One of the major benefits of longitudinal data is that the process of adaptation and successful settlement over a number of years can be evaluated more effectively than is the

case with cross-sectional data. The LSIA survey was designed specifically to capture the settlement experience of migrants and to extend knowledge on factors likely to lead to their successful settlement. By following their early lives in Australia it was hoped that some commonly encountered problems could be rectified in the future. The survey has provided researchers with some useful insights and generated numerous research publications (Cobb-Clark 1999; Richardson *et al* 2002; VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999), but few have recognised the significance of gender. Stereotypes that place women as passive or 'tied' migrants with men the main instigators of migration, have tended to give rise to the view that language proficiency, employment, skills and business potential are the most important indicators of successful settlement as reinforced in research findings (VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999).

Issues for women immigrating to a new country are rarely considered, especially in the context of their different ethnic, cultural, family and socio-economic backgrounds. Studies have found that there are significant issues relating to their suitability to enter the labour force, such as education gaps, career attainment and advancement, language and skill barriers (Birrell and Hawthorne 1996; Iredale 1997; 2000). What is often not recognised is that there are also important social and cultural factors that may impinge on the lives of women more than men. In particular, women with young children are more likely to rely heavily on social networks and family support if they engage in work outside home, or there may well be cultural or religious attitudes to what are considered to be appropriate jobs or, indeed, freedom to work at all. Hence, it is important to look at the characteristics of female immigrants who are in the labour force as well as those who are not.

Another concern is to show the significant differences in the settlement experience between female immigrants from birthplace regions within Asia compared to the dominant European group. The characteristics of Asia-born women immigrating in the 90s are

different to earlier streams in the high immigration period of the 1980s that were predominantly refugee-associated family streams from Vietnam (Hugo 1992; 2003b). Moreover, research (Khoo 1994 p.88) has shown that Asian migration at this time was largely associated with high welfare dependency that remained high regardless of duration of residence, generating considerable concern about high levels of Asian migration by the late 1980s. Therefore, the 'unpacking' or disaggregation of Asian female migrants to Australia is vital to our understanding of settlement issues according to their origins, which represent different cultural settings and socio-economic backgrounds.

This Chapter is divided into two parts. The first contrasts the adjustment of male and female migrants between Waves 1 and 3 of the survey by type of visa entry and also by birthplace, which is used as a surrogate for country of origin. Female migrants who were not in the labour force by Wave 3 are also considered here, to explore factors other than employment determinants of successful settlement. The second part looks at settlers who left Australia to go permanently overseas by Wave 3 to gain a better understanding of who is most likely to leave soon after settlement.

8.2 GENDER DIFFERENTIALS IN ADAPTATION AND SETTLEMENT

8.2.1 Settlement and Satisfaction with Life in Australia

In looking at the adjustment of male and female principal applicant migrants it is useful to start by questioning whether respondents claiming that they were 'very satisfied' with life in Australia at first interview gave a similar response in Wave 3. Table 8.1 shows that respondents gaining entry with spouse, other preferential family and humanitarian visas were consistently more likely to indicate that they were 'very satisfied', while those on economic and concessional family visas the least likely to do so. Prospective marriage

entrants stand apart showing a significant drop in levels of satisfaction for females and to a lesser extent for males between Waves 1 and 3. It is interesting that the high satisfaction expressed by males on spouse visas at Wave 1 had also declined by Wave 3 but remained above that shown for females, which did not change. By contrast, the other preferential family visa entrants showed a significant increase in being 'very satisfied' by Wave 3, rising to 49 per cent for males and 46 per cent for females, and therefore becoming the most positive visa group.

Table 8.1: Male and Female Principal Applicants 'Very Satisfied' with Life in Australia by Visa Category, Waves 1 and 3 - LSIA

| Change in Satisfaction Level | Spouse | Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* | Humanitarian |
|---|--------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Per cent males and females 'very satisfied' | | | | | | |
| Males | | | | | | |
| WAVE1 | 52.3 | 37.3 | 41.3 | 34.8 | 33.8 | 50.0 |
| WAVE3 | 45.4 | 34.2 | 49.2 | 29.7 | 35.8 | 40.1 |
| Females | | | | | | |
| WAVE1 | 41.4 | 41.6 | 45.0 | 28.4 | 29.4 | 45.9 |
| WAVE3 | 41.7 | 33.7 | 45.7 | 29.0 | 27.5 | 40.1 |

*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

It could be argued that visa entrants the least able, or not required for some reason or other, to meet the points assessment criteria associated with economic and concessional family entry, were the most likely to remain 'very satisfied' with life in Australia in the early years of settlement. The exception appears to be male and female migrants arriving on prospective spouse visas, who had shifted response from being 'very satisfied' to 'satisfied', and were more in line with economic entrants by Wave 3. Generally, the shift in degree of satisfaction was not expressed as dissatisfaction, which remained very low. However, the question of whether labour market experience and success is not as important to entrants arriving as spouses or other preferential family as it is to other visa entrants begs an answer.

8.2.2 Settlement and Employment

Researchers using LSIA data (VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999) have tended to simply contrast the labour force experience and satisfaction of *migrants* over the waves of the survey without reference to gender. Moreover, it has consistently been found that significant differences in success in relation to jobs and income correspond with visa entry (Cobb-Clark 1999; VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999). It is important to focus on male and female migrants, specifically those who entered on spouse and prospective marriage visas as most are sponsored and their qualifications, skill/work experience and entrepreneurial skills are not scrutinised. Males and females entering on prospective marriage visas may come to marry migrants already resident in the country or, alternatively, to marry Australian residents that they have met overseas or locally when in Australia on previous stays. Birrell (2003 p.138) refers to the latter as 'boy meets girl', which were particularly relevant to UK spouse sponsorships because a large number of young people travel between the UK and Australia under Working Holiday Maker schemes and the like. He also makes the important point about spouse sponsorship for some birthplace groups that are more likely to seek prospective spouses back in home countries, most notably Lebanon, China and Vietnam (Birrell 1995b; 2003 p.138). This is primarily due to less social integration of these groups and assumes that prospective spouses in Australia are able to sponsor fiancées or fiancés.

Overall, the employment of male and female migrants had increased and unemployment had fallen between Waves 1 and 3, a finding consistent with other research on the settlement experience of immigrants (VandenHeuvel and Wooden 1999; Wooden 1993; 1994). Of the migrants surveyed in Wave 3, 72.9 per cent of males and 43.4 per cent of females were in employment, which was considerably higher than at initial interview (48.4 and 24.3 per cent respectively). Table 8.2 shows variations by visa category highlighting the lower levels of employment and unemployment among female immigrants

across all categories. Employment among females on spouse/marriage visas had increased to about 40 per cent, however male employment had increased to 91.3 per cent, equalling males with economic entry and above that of concessional family entrants. Of particular note, female economic and concessional family entrants experienced a large increase in employment to almost equal that for males. Moreover, humanitarian entrants generally had lower employment and higher unemployment, with the situation improving somewhat by Wave 3, although females remained under-represented in the workforce as was the case for other preferential family entrants.

Table 8.2: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Employed and Unemployed by Visa Category, Waves 1 and 3 - LSIA

| | Spouse | Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* | Humanitarian |
|-------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Employed | Per cent of male and female respondents | | | | | |
| Males | | | | | | |
| WAVE 1 | 61.3 | 61.1 | 7.9 | 55.8 | 70.3 | 9.3 |
| WAVE 3 | 78.0 | 91.3 | 19.9 | 84.2 | 91.2 | 51.8 |
| Females | | | | | | |
| WAVE 1 | 22.5 | 25.8 | 11.4 | 40.7 | 64.5 | 2.7 |
| WAVE 3 | 39.8 | 41.7 | 25.1 | 75.9 | 85.5 | 31.4 |
| Unemployed | Per cent of male and female respondents | | | | | |
| Males | | | | | | |
| WAVE 1 | 23.8 | 21.9 | 18.5 | 29.9 | 19.8 | 44.7 |
| WAVE 3 | 14.1 | 6.5 | 12.5 | 8.4 | 3.7 | 25.7 |
| Females | | | | | | |
| WAVE 1 | 16.3 | 14.8 | 6.2 | 25.2 | 18.8 | 20.9 |
| WAVE 3 | 7.8 | 8.5 | 6.4 | 8.1 | 1.2 | 14.3 |

*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

The overall improvement in employment was largely due to a significant drop in unemployment shown for male and female economic and concessional family entrants and specifically males on spouse/prospective marriage visas. A similar take up of unemployed into employment was not apparent to the same degree for females in any of the preferential family categories and as a consequence a large percentage of them remained outside the

labour force, primarily engaged in home duties. Moreover, there is an assumption that these females would actually like to work but it may be the case that many with children are not in a position to do so. As immigrants in a new country they may find it difficult without family support or lack the confidence to seek employment due to language difficulties or poor job prospects. There may also be cultural differences that effectively prevent some females from working outside the home in certain types of employment.

Table 8.3 shows little change in the occupational status of female principal applicants by visa entry, with the majority in either clerical/sales and personal service or manual jobs. However, it should be noted that more female economic entrants, a high 85 per cent, had secured professional and skilled employment by Wave 3, with a shift away from clerical/sales and personal service jobs. By contrast, only 44 per cent of females in the concessional family stream had secured professional jobs, which represents a slight drop from first interview, while 31 per cent were employed in clerical/sales jobs with a further 25 per cent in manual jobs. Females entering under prospective marriage visas had the highest representation in clerical/sales and personal service jobs by Wave 3, although this had dropped slightly from Wave 1 as more were in professional employment, with about 30 per cent still in manual jobs. There were more manual workers among females on spouse visas in both Waves 1 and 3, although there was a slight shift from clerical/sales jobs to professional/managerial occupations to equal those females entering on prospective marriage visas. These female applicants are not labour market tested when applying for visas, and yet one-fifth of entrants on spouse/prospective marriage visas, were in professional/managerial occupations by Wave 3.

Table 8.3: Female Principal Applicants: Occupational Status by Visa Category, Waves 1 and 3 - LSIA

| Occupation of Employed Females | Spouse | Prospective Marriage | Other Preferential Family | Concessional Family | Economic* |
|--|--------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Per cent of employed females | | | | | |
| Professional/Managerial¹ | | | | | |
| WAVE 1 | 16.6 | 14.5 | 23.9 | 47.3 | 80.4 |
| WAVE 3 | 19.9 | 19.9 | 14.8 | 44.2 | 85.2 |
| Clerical- Sales/Personal Services² | | | | | |
| WAVE 1 | 44.0 | 56.5 | 32.2 | 25.4 | 14.0 |
| WAVE 3 | 40.8 | 50.3 | 43.5 | 30.7 | 9.8 |
| Manual Workers³ | | | | | |
| WAVE 1 | 39.3 | 29.1 | 43.9 | 27.2 | 5.7 |
| WAVE 3 | 40.2 | 29.9 | 41.6 | 25.2 | 5.1 |

*Economic –includes independent points assessment and skill/business categories

1. Professional/Managerial includes managers, administrators, professionals and para-professionals

2. Clerical/sales and personal services

3. Manual workers – includes trade, plant operators, labourers and related workers

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

This analysis shows significant differences between males and females in preferential family categories that can assist in explanation of gender issues relating to employment. Many economic commentators (VandenHeuvel and Wooden, 1999) tend to simply deal with preferential family visa entrants collectively to make comparisons with economic entrants. This can give rise to some misconceptions that preferential migrants are a homogeneous group, when it is clear that there are significant gender differences between the family categories that translate into very different labour market outcomes.

8.2.3 Settlement and Birthplace

Some of the most interesting and significant differences appear to be closely related to the birthplace of immigrants or more specifically their country of origin. Table 8.4 shows that male and female respondents born in the UK and Ireland had become far more positive about life in Australia. Indeed, they were more satisfied than any other major group by Wave 3, with males a little more so than females. Migrants born in Northeast Asia were the

least likely to state that they were 'very satisfied' at first interview and even less so by Wave 3, a small 12 per cent. By contrast, there were relatively high levels of satisfaction expressed by those born in Southeast Asia in both Waves 1 and 3, although the percentage had declined, with a much more significant drop shown for males than females. Moreover, some 31 per cent of males and females born in South Asia indicated that they were 'very satisfied' by Wave 3 which represented a small decline for females, while migrants from the remaining birthplace regions (to include North and South America and Africa) showed a significant drop from 50 per cent to 44 per cent by Wave 3, although still above average.

Table 8.4: Male and Female Principal Applicants 'Very Satisfied' with Life in Australia by Birthplace, Waves 1 and 3 - LSIA

| Birthplace region | Per cent 'very satisfied' with life in Australia | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--------|---------|--------|
| | Males | | Females | |
| | Wave 1 | Wave 3 | Wave 1 | Wave 3 |
| UK & Ireland | 51.7 | 61.8 | 41.4 | 55.8 |
| Europe & USSR | 33.9 | 32.9 | 36.8 | 38.0 |
| Southeast Asia | 49.3 | 36.1 | 43.3 | 40.7 |
| Northeast Asia | 25.2 | 11.7 | 25.6 | 12.6 |
| South Asia | 29.2 | 31.7 | 35.4 | 31.5 |
| Other* | 49.0 | 44.3 | 50.8 | 44.3 |
| Birthplace country | | | | |
| Indonesia | 39.9 | 29.9 | 38.4 | 30.8 |
| Malaysia | 47.7 | 31.0 | 37.0 | 36.3 |
| Vietnam | 40.6 | 28.3 | 34.6 | 42.3 |
| Philippines | 57.2 | 43.7 | 50.3 | 41.5 |
| Thailand | 54.7 | 58.4 | 44.8 | 36.5 |
| Cambodia | 70.3 | 47.8 | 74.5 | 55.1 |
| Hong Kong | 19.6 | 13.8 | 16.2 | 8.9 |
| China | 27.3 | 7.5 | 29.0 | 13.6 |
| India | 29.2 | 33.4 | 31.2 | 36.3 |
| Sri Lanka | 21.9 | 26.1 | 40.1 | 20.1 |

*Other includes North America, South America, Middle East and Africa

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

The Table also shows the main immigration source countries within Asia and the groups less positive about life in Australia by Wave 3, most notably respondents born in Indonesia, Hong Kong and China. Moreover, male migrants were generally less positive

than females by Wave 3. In the case of the Vietnam-born there was a significant drop in male satisfaction that was not shared by females who actually showed increased satisfaction to become the most positive group by Wave 3. Malaysia-born male respondents also experienced a significant drop in levels of satisfaction, while females retained similar levels in Waves 1 and 3 (36 per cent). It must be borne in mind that any shifts from being 'very satisfied' are to simply being 'satisfied', or at the least ambivalent (neither satisfied or dissatisfied), with only a slight rise in dissatisfaction.

It can be surmised that employment outcomes closely match changes in levels of satisfaction for different birthplace groups over the first years of settlement. Table 8.5 shows that migrants born in the UK and Ireland, the most satisfied of the birthplace groups, consistently had the highest levels of employment, indeed, well above other European and Asian migrants. Moreover, most regional groups showed a substantial improvement in levels of employment between first interview and Wave 3, with the rates more than doubling for females born in Southeast Asia and Europe. Migrants born in South Asia showed the greatest disparity between males and females, with employment rates for males rising to almost equal those of the UK-born, while female rates remained the lowest of all groups.

Overall, the Asian countries show a distinct male advantage in employment, particularly for settlers from Malaysia, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Thailand and India. By contrast females born in Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, China, India and Sri Lanka still had low levels of employment by Wave 3, with only about one-third or less employed and a small percentage looking for work. At first interview there was a very low percentage of female migrants born in Vietnam and Cambodia in a job, which is closely associated with their lower education, English proficiency and skill levels. By contrast, females born in Malaysia, the Philippines and Hong Kong had the highest rates of employment although well below their male counterparts. Khoo (1994 p.370) suggests that women from Asian

countries where English is widely spoken, in particular Malaysia, Singapore, India, Sri Lanka and Hong Kong, generally had much better socio-economic and employment characteristics that greatly helped in their settlement and adjustment compared with other Asian groups

Table 8.5: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Employed and Unemployed by Birthplace, Waves 1 and 3 - LSIA

| Birthplace Region | Per cent of each Birthplace Group Employed | | | |
|--|--|-------|---------|-------|
| | Males | | Females | |
| | Wave1 | Wave3 | Wave1 | Wave3 |
| UK & Ireland | 76.8 | 80.3 | 62.6 | 62.0 |
| Europe & USSR | 32.2 | 71.2 | 18.7 | 43.5 |
| Southeast Asia | 38.8 | 69.9 | 18.3 | 44.3 |
| Northeast Asia | 50.2 | 64.4 | 28.1 | 41.0 |
| South Asia | 52.0 | 77.8 | 9.2 | 30.7 |
| Other* | 41.6 | 71.3 | 20.3 | 37.6 |
| Birthplace Country | | | | |
| Indonesia | 50.7 | 68.5 | 14.0 | 34.4 |
| Malaysia | 71.3 | 92.6 | 44.7 | 59.6 |
| Vietnam | 10.6 | 49.5 | 8.5 | 29.5 |
| Philippines | 65.9 | 87.2 | 22.6 | 59.7 |
| Thailand | 67.9 | 90.2 | 38.5 | 49.3 |
| Cambodia | 15.9 | 66.3 | 12.0 | 24.4 |
| Hong Kong | 56.1 | 84.7 | 44.0 | 55.0 |
| China | 50.4 | 47.6 | 18.7 | 26.0 |
| India | 63.8 | 83.2 | 11.4 | 33.4 |
| Sri Lanka | 37.0 | 69.3 | 7.2 | 29.1 |
| Per cent of each Birthplace Group Unemployed | | | | |
| Birthplace Region | | | | |
| | Males | | Females | |
| | Wave1 | Wave3 | Wave1 | Wave3 |
| UK & Ireland | 7.3 | 3.3 | 2.6 | 3.2 |
| Europe & USSR | 27.8 | 13.1 | 20.2 | 7.4 |
| Southeast Asia | 34.2 | 17.0 | 8.4 | 10.7 |
| Northeast Asia | 19.5 | 8.2 | 29.4 | 3.6 |
| South Asia | 35.8 | 8.0 | 14.3 | 10.6 |
| Other* | 32.6 | 16.3 | 17.8 | 8.0 |
| Birthplace Country | | | | |
| Indonesia | 14.8 | 19.7 | 20.6 | 5.6 |
| Malaysia | 5.4 | - | 10.3 | 5.8 |
| Vietnam | 51.6 | 35.6 | 22.1 | 21.5 |
| Philippines | 28.0 | 5.9 | 20.0 | 1.7 |
| Thailand | 3.6 | - | 7.9 | 5.4 |
| Cambodia | 48.4 | 7.1 | 27.2 | 12.8 |
| Hong Kong | 20.8 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 1.4 |
| China | 21.5 | 13.5 | 9.5 | 5.1 |
| India | 26.7 | 5.2 | 29.4 | 15.5 |
| Sri Lanka | 48.3 | 14.3 | 33.2 | 5.1 |

*Other includes North America, South America, Middle East and Africa

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

Table 8.6 shows significant differences in professional/managerial employment between birthplace groups, with the UK/Ireland-born having the highest representation by Wave 3 and Southeast Asia-born the lowest. Although numbers of employed females from Asian birthplace countries are small, it is interesting that India- and Sri Lanka-born women had shifted to an above average percentage in professional/managerial occupations by Wave 3 from a low representation in Wave 1. Moreover, clerical/sales and personal service jobs tended to absorb the majority of employed females, with the exception of Vietnamese and Filipino women who were mainly in blue-collar occupations. Hong Kong and Malaysia-born females had the highest representation in professional jobs, 74.4 per cent and 48.1 per cent respectively. Although the India- and Sri Lanka-born females were well represented among the professional group, they dominated the clerical and personal service jobs. China-born females were the only ones to show greater occupational diversity with equal representations in professional/managerial, clerical/sales and manual jobs by Wave 3.

Table 8.6: Employed Male and Female Principal Applicants in Managerial and Professional Occupations by Birthplace, Waves 1 and 3 - LSIA

| Birthplace Region | Per cent of Group in Managerial/Professional/Para-professional Occupations | | | | |
|--------------------|--|--------|---------|--------|--|
| | Males | | Females | | |
| | Wave 1 | Wave 3 | Wave 1 | Wave 3 | |
| UK & Ireland | 40.6 | 51.6 | 41.8 | 52.4 | |
| Europe & USSR | 36.8 | 26.7 | 31.8 | 33.5 | |
| Southeast Asia | 29.6 | 19.9 | 18.0 | 14.1 | |
| Northeast Asia | 54.6 | 57.8 | 40.4 | 44.3 | |
| South Asia | 21.8 | 38.6 | 32.3 | 34.5 | |
| Other* | 39.5 | 39.0 | 39.5 | 35.5 | |
| Birthplace Country | Wave 1 | Wave 3 | Wave 1 | Wave 3 | |
| Indonesia | 16.7 | 42.3 | 8.8 | 14.2 | |
| Malaysia | 40.6 | 88.7 | 33.0 | 48.1 | |
| Vietnam | - | - | 1.8 | 1.2 | |
| Philippines | 26.2 | 10.7 | 19.7 | 10.8 | |
| Thailand | 0.9 | 22.1 | 20.3 | 16.8 | |
| Cambodia | - | - | - | 15.9 | |
| Hong Kong | 42.6 | 52.6 | 65.4 | 74.4 | |
| China | 43.5 | 65.4 | 41.7 | 29.9 | |
| India | 27.7 | 37.1 | 6.8 | 37.8 | |
| Sri Lanka | 1.6 | 31.1 | 2.4 | 32.0 | |

*Other includes North America, South America, Middle East and Africa

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

Overall employment had risen between Waves 1 and 3 with UK/Ireland-born males and females retaining their dominant position in employment, as their visa entry was more likely to be through independent points assessment than other groups. Unemployment had decreased significantly for females, however over one-third indicated that their main activity was home duties.

8.2.4 Females Not in the Labour Force by Wave 3

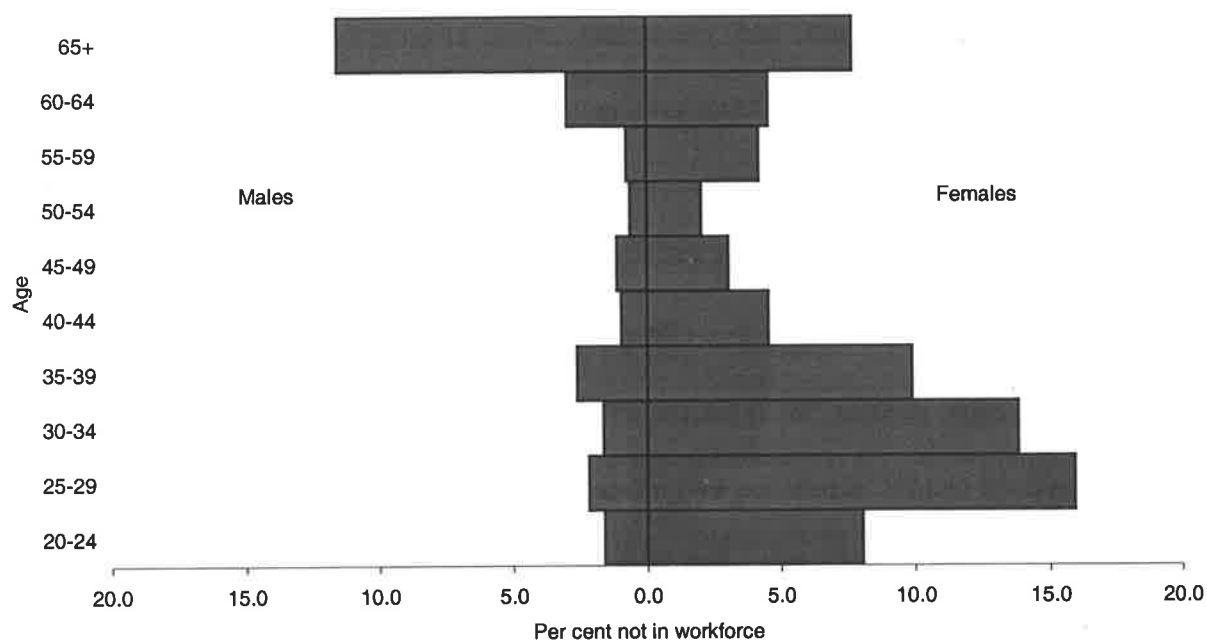
This section focuses upon the characteristics of settlers who were not in the workforce by Wave 3 of the survey, representing 49 per cent of female applicants compared to 15 per cent of males. Table 8.7 shows that 70.7 per cent of females not in the labour force were engaged in home duties, while 57.6 per cent of males were either retired or on a pension. Males were also more likely to be students (26.1 per cent) compared to only 10.4 per cent of females. The age and sex composition of these migrants is shown in Figure 8.1, highlighting the female bias and indirectly labour force differentials, as males not in the labour force were predominantly aged 65 years or more. By contrast, most females were aged between 25-39 years, representing the prime childbearing ages with responsibilities of young children, and a proportionately smaller representation of aged females compared to males.

Table 8.7: Male and Female Principal Applicants not in the Labour Force at Wave 3 by Type of Current Activity, LSIA

| Type of Activity | Per cent Males | Per cent Females | Per cent Persons |
|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Home duties | 4.5 | 70.7 | 53.4 |
| Student | 26.1 | 10.4 | 14.5 |
| Retired | 27.1 | 7.5 | 12.6 |
| Pensioner | 30.5 | 9.5 | 15.0 |
| Other | 11.7 | 1.9 | 4.5 |
| Total (weighted sample) | (4,426) | (12,461) | (16,887) |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 3

Figure 8.1: Age Composition of Principal Applicants not in the Labour Force at Wave 3 by Sex, LSIA



Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 3

Most of the female migrants not in the labour force were aged below 35 years (88 per cent) and were spouse/prospective marriage entrants. The majority (58.6 per cent) of females aged 50 years or more were other preferential family entrants with only one-fifth on spouse visas. Overall, two-thirds of females not in the workforce by Wave 3 had spouse or prospective marriage visas, with only a small representation of economic or concessional family entrants. It can be argued that female principal applicants joining husbands cannot simply be ignored as they play an important role in achieving successful settlement. Their main activities are not necessarily directly linked to labour market outcomes but are an integral part of the home economy and the efficient functioning of the family unit.

When considering the activities of females it is important to look at their prime caring roles associated with young children as well as the number of members living in the household. Table 8.8 shows a clear relationship between female employment (work status)

and whether they had school age children or younger ones living in the household. Most importantly, as the number of children increased there was a fall in the percentage of females employed which coincided with an increase in the percentage not in the labour force, rising from one-third for those with no young children to two-thirds with three or more children. There was also a slightly higher representation of students and unemployed reported among females with no young children. Moreover, the bottom portion of the table shows that females in single or two or three person households were more likely to be employed (52–56 per cent) than those in four or more person households (31.6 per cent). Females not in the labour force by Wave 3, tended to be disproportionately concentrated in large households and have a larger number of young children, which tended to indicate that their roles within the family involved the care of children and other family members with little time for outside employment in the formal context.

Table 8.8: Female Principal Applicants: Work Status by Number of School Age Children or Younger, Wave 3 - LSIA

| Female Work Status | School Age Children or Younger | | | Total Per cent |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | None Per cent | 1-2 Children Per cent | 3 + Children Per cent | |
| Employed | 51.9 | 36.0 | 27.2 | 43.4 |
| Unemployed | 8.6 | 7.3 | 5.2 | 7.9 |
| Student | 7.5 | 2.8 | 3.0 | 5.1 |
| Not in labour force | 32.0 | 53.9 | 64.5 | 43.7 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total weighted Sample | (12,419) | (12,110) | (1,051) | (25,580) |

| Female Work Status | Number of Persons Resident in Household | | | Total Per cent |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| | 1 person Per cent | 2-3 Persons Per cent | 4 + Persons Per cent | |
| Employed | 56.4 | 51.2 | 31.6 | 43.4 |
| Unemployed | 5.6 | 8.3 | 7.7 | 7.9 |
| Student | 8.0 | 6.5 | 2.9 | 5.1 |
| Not in labour force | 29.9 | 34.1 | 57.8 | 43.7 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total weighted Sample | (1,630) | (13,297) | (10,655) | (25,580) |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 3

Turning to look at the family characteristics of females not in the labour force by birthplace, Table 8.9 shows some major variations between groups with clear relationships between age, household size, whether they have young children (school age and younger), and if they were sponsored to come to Australia by a spouse or partner already here. Most notably, the Asia-born generally had a higher proportion of females younger than 35 years of age, larger household numbers, more with young children and were largely sponsored as spouses or partners. Those born in the UK/Ireland and the rest of Europe tended to be older, live in smaller households, fewer were sponsored as spouses and almost 60 per cent had no young children. However, the relative percentage not in the labour force was much less for the UK/Ireland-born (only 31.5 per cent) compared to all other groups.

Table 8.9: Female Principal Applicants not in the Labour Force: Age and Family Characteristics by Birthplace, Wave 3 - LSIA

| Birthplace Region | Per cent of Females NILF | Per cent NILF Aged <35 years | Per cent NILF in Households 4+ Persons | Per cent NILF with no Young Children | Per cent NILF Sponsored as Spouse/partner |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| UK & Ireland | 31.5 | 29.3 | 32.7 | 57.7 | 37.0 |
| Europe & USSR | 45.0 | 29.3 | 39.4 | 59.9 | 43.0 |
| Southeast Asia | 41.3 | 62.4 | 54.5 | 29.0 | 85.3 |
| Northeast Asia | 43.3 | 50.0 | 59.0 | 49.0 | 67.3 |
| South Asia | 55.1 | 60.5 | 52.8 | 35.2 | 68.8 |
| Other* | 49.0 | 62.7 | 53.6 | 30.3 | 69.5 |
| Total | 43.7 | 51.9 | 49.9 | 40.5 | 67.5 |
| Birthplace Countries | | | | | |
| Indonesia | 60.1 | 81.9 | 51.2 | 34.9 | 77.6 |
| Malaysia | 34.6 | 22.6 | 54.8 | 54.2 | 80.4 |
| Vietnam | 42.4 | 73.9 | 64.9 | 32.7 | 87.6 |
| Philippines | 37.9 | 50.2 | 45.8 | 12.2 | 93.5 |
| Thailand | 37.1 | 54.6 | 26.1 | 50.2 | 72.9 |
| Cambodia | 59.8 | 71.0 | 56.7 | 22.0 | 71.1 |
| Hong Kong | 36.4 | 45.6 | 69.5 | 45.1 | 66.8 |
| China | 51.9 | 46.1 | 61.0 | 51.5 | 59.4 |
| India | 51.1 | 52.0 | 50.5 | 43.1 | 70.2 |
| Sri Lanka | 60.1 | 64.8 | 52.6 | 31.1 | 63.9 |
| Total | 44.8 | 59.2 | 56.1 | 34.4 | 78.4 |

*Other includes North America, South America, Middle East and Africa

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 3

In considering females from some of the main source countries within Asia (included in the bottom portion of the table), the significant variations in the age of females not in the labour force corresponds with the presence of young children and also differences in the size of households. Females born in Indonesia, Vietnam and Cambodia were predominantly young (over 70 per cent aged less than 35 years), lived in relatively large households and were more likely to have young children. Females born in Hong Kong and China tended to be older, have fewer young children but live in households with an above average number of persons, which was similar for Malaysia-born females not in the labour force. Filipino women (NILF) stand apart with a high 93.5 per cent sponsored as spouses or partners, a very small percentage with no children (only 12 per cent), a relatively small number of persons in the household and a half were aged over 35 years. The two South Asia groups tend to vary, with Sri Lanka-born females being more similar to those born in Indonesian and Vietnam, while India-born females were older with fewer young children, although household size was similar and below average, compared to other Asian countries.

In looking at the relationship between work status and educational attainment of female principal applicants shown in Table 8.10, it is interesting that those unemployed and not in the labour force shared similar levels of schooling with roughly 38-39 per cent having less than 12 years of schooling and over one-third holding degrees or diplomas. Employed females were over-represented in respect to tertiary education with almost two-thirds holding degrees or diplomas and less than one-fifth with less than 12 years of schooling. Similarly a large percentage of students already had tertiary qualifications, although 17 per cent had less than 12 years schooling. Generally, female applicants had relatively high levels of educational attainment, including those who were not in the labour force by Wave 3. Moreover, English proficiency (indicated by how well respondents spoke English) clearly influences employment, as 50 per cent of unemployed females at Wave 3 did not speak

English very well compared to only 14 per cent of those employed. By contrast, one-third of females not in the labour force did not speak English well and 13 per cent claimed to speak none at all. It must be borne in mind that the question in the survey only applies to applicants from non-English speaking (NES) countries, therefore the not applicable category indicates the representation of migrants from mainly English speaking (MES) countries. There was an over-representation of MES female migrants among the employed (36 per cent) and those not in the labour force (22 per cent), with the unemployed and students showing a smaller representation being largely NES migrants. The proficiency in English varied significantly by Asian birthplace country, however the numbers were small and have to be viewed with some caution.

Table 8.10: Female Principal Applicants: Work Status by Highest Formal Qualification and Proficiency in English, Wave 3 - LSIA

| Highest Formal Qualification | Female Work Status Per cent | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|---------|----------|
| | Employed | Unemployed | Student | NILF |
| Degree or higher | 38.4 | 18.1 | 45.0 | 18.9 |
| Technical/Diploma | 26.7 | 17.8 | 28.4 | 19.6 |
| 12 or more years schooling | 16.6 | 24.4 | 9.7 | 23.2 |
| <12 years schooling | 18.1 | 39.7 | 17.0 | 38.4 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| How Well English Spoken | English Proficiency Per cent | | | |
| | Employed | Unemployed | Student | NILF |
| Very well | 17.1 | 5.8 | 14.3 | 5.7 |
| Well | 32.0 | 30.0 | 48.1 | 25.0 |
| Not well | 14.5 | 50.0 | 21.5 | 33.8 |
| Not at all | 0.3 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 13.0 |
| Not applicable | 36.2 | 12.6 | 14.3 | 22.6 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total weighted Sample | (11,094) | (2,014) | (1,294) | (11,181) |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tape, Cohort 1-Wave 3

It is difficult to obtain meaningful indicators that best represent the activities of females not in the labour force. By simply not being employed does not indicate that they have failed in some way to achieve successful settlement. One can conclude that most of

those females engaged in home duties, were young (52 per cent were aged less than 35 years) and had children of school age or younger (60 per cent). Over two-thirds were sponsored as spouses or partners with 50 per cent living in households of four or more persons. Moreover, there was a clear relationship between being employed and having few or no children, which was in turn related to educational attainment and English proficiency.

Do these differences mean that the lives of females are more complex than males? The family roles and circumstances of female migrants need far more careful consideration before any conclusions can be made about their adaptation and experience in the early years of settlement. It should be borne in mind that females of particular birthplace origins, most notably the poorer countries of Southeast Asia, were more likely not to be employed. They need to be singled out with their circumstances assessed separately, if the migration and settlement of both males and females in the context of family is to be more fully understood.

8.3 WHO RE-MIGRATES AND WHO STAYS?

8.3.1 Characteristics of Immigrants who Re-Migrated from Australia

It is possible using LSIA data to identify the characteristics of immigrants who stay relatively short periods of time and the intentions of respondents to emigrate. One of the aims here is to identify the characteristics of settlers who have left Australia to live permanently overseas by Wave 3 of the survey, as they are considered to be *emigrants* and their characteristics are contrasted with those settlers still in Australia, referred to as *stayers*. There are several questions that beg answers. One is whether skilled migrants in high demand in a rapidly developing global economy, re-migrate to opportunities elsewhere and stay relatively short periods of time? Another is whether the adjustment and settlement process was difficult, forcing them to leave? Another interesting question is whether

migrants had expressed intentions to emigrate elsewhere or return to their home country when first interviewed? Of particular relevance is whether these questions have a gender dimension that may provide a better understanding of the migration process and outcomes?

By Wave 3 some 28.3 per cent of the initial respondents were not interviewed, most of whom could not be contacted, 46 per cent of females and 40.7 per cent of males, while approximately 16 per cent refused to be interviewed, and only a small percentage were found to be deceased or declared 'out of scope' but still living in Australia (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001 p.59). Of particular relevance to this analysis, one-third of those applicants not interviewed were overseas, either temporarily or permanently. The focus here is upon settlers who had left permanently, some 13.2 per cent of males and 15.6 per cent of females who were not interviewed in Wave 3, representing about 4 per cent of originally sampled principal applicants.

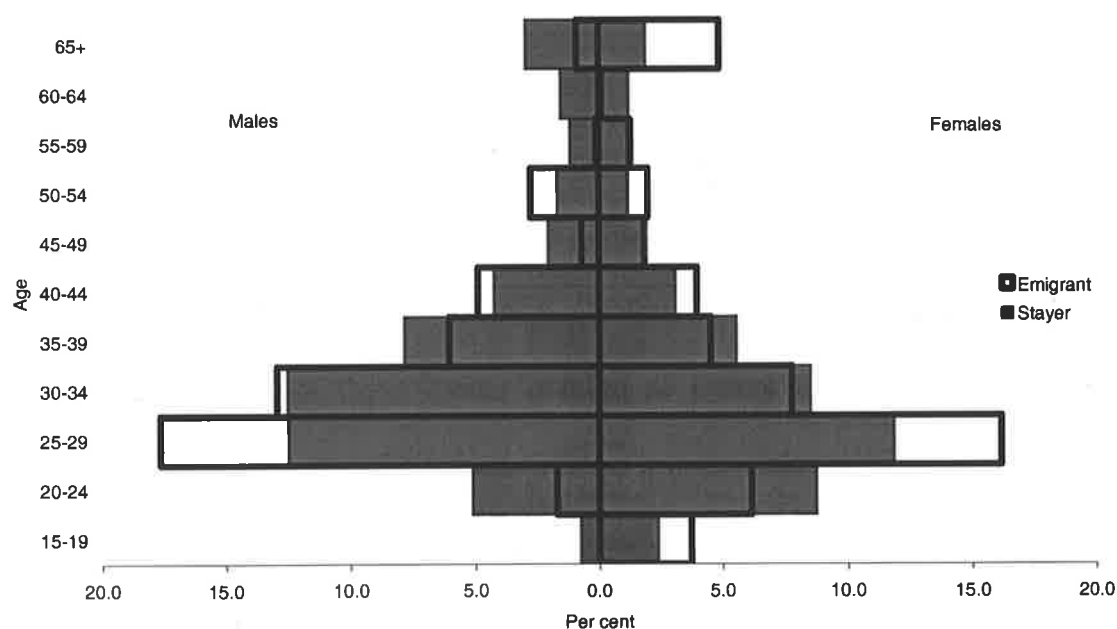
In looking at survey respondents who had re-migrated by the final wave of the survey, the question of whether their departure is related to dissatisfaction with life in Australia, better opportunities elsewhere or failure to adjust socially and economically in the settlement process is difficult to establish. Unfortunately, the reasons for leaving and the destination countries of these former immigrants cannot be obtained from the survey. Nevertheless, by examining their characteristics it is possible to indicate which immigrants are most likely to re-migrate. However, it must be borne in mind that their characteristics are as recorded at the time of the first interview.

In examining the categories under which departing immigrants entered Australia, it was found that there was disproportionate loss among economic entrants, 14.8 per cent of females and 7.9 per cent of males. Female emigrants in the other preferential family category were also over-represented, some 7.7 per cent of total applicants compared to 1.5 per cent of their male counterparts, indicating significant follow-on migration of females. It

is also interesting that 5.2 per cent of male spouse entrants compared to 4.2 per cent of females had re-migrated. Of particular note, female emigrants outnumbered their male counterparts, a ratio of some 109.4 females per 100 males.

Emigrants were found to be younger than stayers, with a large percentage of emigrants (37 per cent of males and 31 per cent of females) aged 25-29 years at first interview approximately three and a half years earlier. Figure 8.2 shows the disproportionate concentration of male and female emigrants aged 25-29 years compared to stayers. Another notable difference between male and female emigrants is the over-representation of females among the older emigrants (ages 65 years and above) which was not the case for the stayers.

Figure 8.2: Age-Sex Structure of Emigrants and Stayers at First Interview, LSIA



Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

An important difference between emigrants and stayers was that two-thirds of males who re-migrated were married compared to 49 per cent of females when they were first interviewed (Table 8.11). A high 40.3 per cent of female emigrants were never married,

with an over-representation of separated/divorced or widowed, while female stayers were far more likely to be married, some 70.8 per cent with only 16.4 per cent never married. There was not such a stark contrast evident for males and yet 72.6 per cent of stayers were married compared to 66.7 per cent of emigrants at first interview.

Table 8.11: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Marital Status of Emigrants and Stayers at First Interview, LSIA

| Marital Status at First Interview | Per cent Males | | Per cent Females | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------|------------------|----------|
| | Emigrants | Stayers | Emigrants | Stayers |
| Married | 66.7 | 72.6 | 49.0 | 70.8 |
| Never married | 28.9 | 24.6 | 40.3 | 16.4 |
| Separated-Divorced | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 5.4 |
| Widowed | 3.0 | 0.8 | 8.3 | 7.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (weighted sample) | (1,452) | (37,782) | (1,589) | (34,160) |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1-Waves 1 and 3

The marital status of male and female emigrants varied by visa category, with high loss evident for males and females on spouse visas as they no doubt were following those who had left as a family unit. On the other hand, a high percentage of females who had never married and entered Australia under independent points assessment were over-represented among the emigrants. It can be surmised that they subsequently managed to gain entry to another country, presumably on the basis of their employability and experience. Emigrants who entered as other preferential family members were predominantly widowed females, as indicated in the age structure of emigrant females. However, some caution must be taken in interpreting these links between marital status, gender and visa category as the sample numbers are small and yet they do indicate some clear trends.

In contrasting the employment and education of emigrants and stayers, it was found that males and females who had re-migrated were more likely to be employed at the time of first interview than those who stayed. They were also less likely to be looking for work and

yet there were relatively high levels of male unemployment for both groups. Males who stayed were more likely than emigrants to be studying, with students equally represented among female emigrants and stayers. Moreover, male emigrants were over-represented in professional occupations and in skilled trade jobs, and under-represented in labouring or related occupations when compared to those who stayed. Female emigrants were only slightly more likely than their male counterparts to be engaged in professional and para-professional occupations, and were predominant in clerical and sales occupations.

The distinctive employment characteristics of those who had re-migrated are clearly reflected in their educational qualifications, as a high percentage of male emigrants had higher degrees and only a few had no post-school qualifications. Similarly, female emigrants were significantly over-represented in respect to degrees and diplomas with a higher proportion of them having at least 12 years of schooling than was evident for stayers. The age selectivity of emigrants to some extent helps explain their significant educational and occupational differences, which was also related to their visa entry. Most were young, had degrees or other post-school qualifications, they were more likely to be employed in professional or skilled jobs, and therefore, most able to operate in an international labour market and leave Australia to pursue more lucrative offers elsewhere.

8.3.2 Social, Economic and Migration Indicators of Emigrants and Stayers

It is clear that those leaving Australia were more actively involved in the workforce from the time of settlement and not as likely to be unemployed. However, Table 8.12 shows that satisfaction with life in Australia at first interview was lower for emigrants than stayers, with only 20.7 per cent of emigrant females claiming to be 'very satisfied' compared to 40.6 per cent of those who stayed. When compared to how satisfied they were with life in their former country of origin, female emigrants were much more likely to indicate that they were

'very satisfied', some 44.5 per cent compared to 28 per cent of female stayers. By contrast, less than 20 per cent of male emigrants responded that they were 'very satisfied' with life in their home country and more likely than females to say that they were very satisfied with life in Australia.

Table 8.12: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Social and Economic Indicators for Emigrants and Stayers at First Interview, LSIA

| | Emigrants | | Stayers | |
|--|-----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Per cent very satisfied with life in Australia | 28.0 | 20.7 | 41.7 | 40.6 |
| Per cent very satisfied with life in FHC | 18.3 | 44.5 | 16.7 | 28.1 |
| Per cent wage/ salary earner in last 12 months FHC | 77.1 | 63.1 | 61.4 | 52.8 |
| Per cent employed at first interview | 68.3 | 53.8 | 48.4 | 24.3 |
| Per cent with post-school qualifications | 78.7 | 55.2 | 60.1 | 41.2 |
| Per cent households total income >\$482 per week | 48.7 | 19.6 | 29.4 | 9.1 |
| Per-capita household income >\$25,000 per year | 18.3 | 16.7 | 10.6 | 9.1 |
| Per cent of households of 5 or more persons | 19.4 | 17.9 | 29.7 | 25.2 |
| Per cent renting privately | 57.9 | 44.3 | 53.6 | 46.9 |
| Per cent living with family rent-free | 10.9 | 34.0 | 15.8 | 20.8 |
| Per cent not moved since coming to Australia | 37.5 | 63.4 | 43.4 | 63.9 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1 – Waves 1 and 3

When responding to the question on whether they were wage or salary earners in the 12 months prior to departure from their country of origin, male and female emigrants were more likely to have been employed than stayers. This was also the case in Australia at first interview with male and female emigrants much more likely to have a job, although the employment levels were lower for females. However, it should be noted that 53.8 per cent of emigrant females were employed at first interview compared to only 24.3 per cent of

females who stayed. They were also more likely than stayers to have post-secondary education. Moreover, total household income from all sources indicated that emigrant households fared better than stayers at first interview, particularly in relation to weekly income above \$482 per week and also per-capita household income greater than \$25,000 per year. This is clearly associated with their ability to gain employment shortly after settlement and the fact that they were more likely to be in skilled jobs given their overall higher levels of education.

It was interesting that the majority of males were privately renting accommodation at first interview, which was slightly higher among emigrants. Although a high percentage of females were also renting privately, they were more likely than males to be living with family rent-free, indeed one-third of female emigrants and one-fifth of stayers at first interview. Another interesting difference is that 63 per cent of female principal applicants, both emigrants and stayers, had not moved since immigrating which was much higher than for their male counterparts. This may indicate that females, who are more likely to be sponsored family applicants, settle in established homes on arrival and are not as likely to move to adjust housing requirements as may be the case for males.

Table 8.13 contrasts the responses of emigrants and stayers to several questions relating to migration decisions, the location of immediate relatives and also intentions to emigrate. In response to the question about whether it was their own idea to immigrate to Australia, female emigrants were found to be far more likely than stayers to say it was their idea, some 52.5 per cent compared to 31.9 per cent respectively. Male and female emigrants were also much less likely to have been sponsored than stayers. When asked whether the decision to migrate was the right one, emigrants were far less positive compared to stayers, with females less so than males. Similarly females were less positive when asked if they would encourage others to migrate to Australia, with a higher percentage of emigrants than

stayers indicating that they would not do so. In response to a question about whether they expected to return to their home country more emigrants than stayers claimed that they would, however the percentages are relatively small. Moreover, it was interesting that a higher percentage of emigrants still had at least three immediate relatives living overseas compared to stayers. Emigrants were also more likely to have no immediate relatives living in Australia, 66.8 per cent of female emigrants compared to 51.9 per cent of female stayers.

Table 8.13: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Migration Decisions and Intentions of Emigrants and Stayers at First Interview, LSIA

| Responses to Questions on Migration Decisions | (Per cent of response stating 'yes') | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | Emigrants | | Stayers | |
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Own idea to migrate to Australia | 43.9 | 52.6 | 41.6 | 31.9 |
| Sponsored to migrate to Australia | 46.7 | 58.3 | 61.3 | 84.3 |
| Decision to migrate to Australia the right one | 77.3 | 70.7 | 92.9 | 93.8 |
| Encourage others to migrate to Australia | 61.8 | 58.3 | 77.2 | 68.4 |
| Expect to return to live in former home country | 12.9 | 12.0 | 2.0 | 5.0 |
| Three or more immediate relatives still overseas | 93.0 | 89.0 | 84.2 | 79.7 |
| No immediate relatives in Australia | 64.0 | 66.8 | 57.0 | 51.9 |
| Migrated to other countries before Australia | 2.8 | 3.4 | 5.6 | 3.4 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA Unpublished tapes, Cohort 1 – Waves 1 and 3

When asked about intentions to emigrate elsewhere few respondents claimed they had any, although emigrants were much more likely to indicate that they may do so. It is interesting that many of those respondents wishing to emigrate actually demonstrated a relatively high retention rate. Migrants in the economic stream were the most likely to say that they intended emigrating to another country, with females more likely to do so than males. A question asked about intentions to return to live in their former home country showed emigrants anticipating return more than stayers. However, small sample numbers

made it difficult to draw any conclusions other than to acknowledge that more females expected to return, particularly those born in the UK/Ireland and Europe.

In exploring the question of who leaves soon after settlement and who stays, it is important to consider the location of respondents in Australia at first interview. Table 8.14 shows that emigrants were disproportionately drawn from outside the main concentrations of Sydney and Melbourne when compared to the stayers, in particular male emigrants were over-represented in Brisbane, Perth and the rest of Australia. The concentration of female emigrants and stayers remained the same in Sydney and Melbourne, however female emigrants were disproportionately from Adelaide and Perth, although the loss from the rest of Australia was significantly less than for males.

Table 8.14: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Location of Emigrants and Stayers at First Interview, LSIA

| Location of Respondent in Australia at First Interview | Emigrants | | Stayers | |
|---|-----------|---------|----------|----------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Sydney | 34.0 | 41.8 | 40.0 | 42.2 |
| Melbourne | 15.7 | 25.9 | 25.8 | 26.6 |
| Brisbane | 11.4 | 7.6 | 8.1 | 8.6 |
| Adelaide | 8.0 | 7.9 | 4.7 | 4.9 |
| Perth | 16.7 | 11.0 | 12.4 | 9.3 |
| Rest of Australia* | 14.2 | 5.7 | 9.0 | 8.3 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (weighted sample) | (1,453) | (1,589) | (28,191) | (25,580) |

* Rest of Australia- includes Hobart, Darwin and Canberra and other statistical divisions outside the mainland capital cities

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1 – Waves 1 and 3

It is interesting to contrast the reasons given by male and female emigrants and stayers for choosing the State in which they were resident at first interview. Table 8.15 shows that the location of spouse/partner and family sponsors in Australia, were the prime determinants of where respondents were living, although a little less so for males than females. The location of employer was given higher priority by male and female emigrants compared to stayers, which was also evident among respondents indicating job

opportunities. The largest difference was in the responses of females to the location of spouse/partner, 35.7 per cent of emigrants and 56.9 per cent of stayers, with relatively similar responses to living where family was located (30.7 and 28.5 per cent respectively). Of particular note, a higher percentage of males indicated that family was the main reason for choice of State, 27.1 per cent of emigrants and 38.1 per cent of stayers. Generally the attributes of particular States, such as the economy (jobs), lifestyle and climate, were not given high priority in the choice of location within Australia, with only slight variations indicated between them.

Table 8.15: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Reason for Choice of State at First Interview by Emigrants and Stayers, LSIA

| Reason for Choice of State at First Interview | Emigrants | | Stayers | |
|---|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|
| | Per cent Males | Per cent Females | Per cent Males | Per cent Females |
| Spouse/partner lived here | 20.9 | 35.7 | 24.2 | 56.9 |
| More family in this State | 27.1 | 30.7 | 38.1 | 28.5 |
| Friends living here | 14.7 | 14.7 | 10.5 | 3.0 |
| Employer is located here | 13.6 | 7.7 | 5.6 | 1.5 |
| Job opportunities | 14.6 | 6.2 | 10.2 | 4.0 |
| Preferred lifestyle/climate | 4.8 | 7.6 | 8.7 | 3.3 |
| Other | 4.3 | 2.6 | 3.5 | 2.7 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total weighted sample | (1,452) | (1,588) | (28,193) | (25,582) |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished tapes, Cohort 1 – Waves 1 and 3

The location of spouse, family and friends within Australia were the main determinants of the State of residence at first interview. This finding is consistent with an earlier LSIA pilot study (Tonkin 1993), which concluded that chain migration was crucial in determining patterns of settlement as argued persuasively in the earlier work of Birrell (1990). With recent changes in immigration policy and an increasing emphasis on skilled migration, it is expected that settler loss will rise because skilled migrants are generally more likely to re-migrate (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2001). Moreover, Hugo (1994a) argues that

one-fifth of all post-war settlers subsequently emigrate from Australia, most of them returning to their home country. It appears that some settlers never intended to settle permanently in Australia as well as those who are not able to adjust to life in Australia for a variety of reasons, and others constantly seeking employment opportunities in countries now competing for skilled migrants in a rapidly changing global economy. It was interesting that females identified as being relatively autonomous migrants on economic visas, were the most likely to re-migrate, although they represent a relatively small number of sampled migrants.

8.3.3 Reasons for Immigration- Emigrants and Stayers

This section explores the reasons for immigrating to Australia indicated by respondents at first interview and how they differed between males and females identified here as emigrants and stayers. Table 8.16 shows that the response '*better employment opportunities*' was not significantly different between emigrants and stayers, although considerably higher for males than females. Male and female emigrants gave 'political stability' higher priority as a reason for immigrating than was evident among the stayers, while '*better future for the family*' was less well subscribed. The most popular reason for female emigrants and stayers was to join family and relatives, with a slightly lower percentage evident for emigrants. Only one-quarter of male emigrants indicated family and relatives to be a reason for immigration, which was significantly less than for males who stayed (40.6 per cent), and well below the female response. Moreover, there was little disquiet expressed about the economic or political situation in their former country by either emigrants or stayers, although the male response tended to be uniformly higher than for females. One interesting difference between females is in the response 'to undertaking study', with 19 per cent of emigrants compared to only 6.4 per cent of stayers indicating it be

a reason for immigrating. This is also supported by the high percentage of emigrant females who were recorded as living rent free at first interview, as they were largely adolescent daughters that had been sponsored by family and may return to home countries or migrate elsewhere on the completion of their studies.

Table 8.16: Male and Female Principal Applicants: Reasons for Immigrating to Australia by Emigrants and Stayers, LSIA

| Reasons for Immigration to Australia | Emigrants | | Stayers | |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Per cent responding 'yes' to specified reasons | | | | |
| Better employment opportunities | 28.9 | 17.3 | 29.2 | 15.3 |
| To join family-relatives | 25.8 | 48.8 | 40.6 | 53.0 |
| To get married | 9.5 | 17.2 | 12.9 | 26.9 |
| To undertake studies | 7.7 | 19.0 | 8.3 | 6.4 |
| Better future for family | 38.3 | 29.2 | 52.7 | 34.7 |
| Economic & political stability | 60.1 | 39.6 | 44.6 | 24.7 |
| Lack employment in former country | 5.4 | .9 | 7.1 | 5.3 |
| Disliked economic conditions of FHC | 13.5 | 3.8 | 17.6 | 11.2 |
| Disliked war-political situation of FHC | 18.4 | 10.8 | 17.6 | 10.6 |
| Escape war-political situation in FHC | 16.8 | 10.3 | 20.4 | 11.8 |

Source: DIMIA, LSIA unpublished data, Cohort 1 - Waves 1 and 3

From this analysis it appears that the immigrants who did manage to leave Australia shortly after settlement, were initially motivated to migrate to Australia for its more stable political climate and better opportunities for families rather than for predominantly economic reasons. Further evidence of this is found in the fact that few of those who re-migrated specifically expressed employment or economic difficulties in the country of origin. Moreover, the United Kingdom/Ireland, Europe and Northeast Asia were over-represented as the birthplace regions of the former immigrants, while those most likely to stay were predominantly from Southeast and South Asia. A disproportionate representation of female emigrants were born in Hong Kong, China and the Philippines, which were shown earlier to be female dominated streams characterised by high family reunion and spouse migration. It is disappointing that we are unable to obtain information from the survey on

the destination countries of emigrants to assess return migration to countries of origin or the implications of emigrant flows to specific countries. It is important that future research establishes whether immigration to Australia is simply a stage in a much larger process of skilled migration in a rapidly expanding global labour market, in which both males and females appear to be actively participating.

8.4 CONCLUSION

Satisfaction with life in the Australia did not show a direct relationship with success in the labour market, particularly when considered separately for sub-groups of males and females. Migrants from the UK and Ireland had the highest employment matched with high satisfaction, while those who re-migrated appeared be less satisfied than most others at first interview. Employment was strongly related to visa entry, which in turn was related to education and language proficiency, with significant differences evident between males and females. The majority of female principal applicant migrants were not employed by Wave 3, which raises some important questions about the predominance of females among preferential family entrants who are not scrutinised for labour market or language proficiency. However, it can be argued that their lower labour force participation in comparison to men is simply yet another case whereby the main activities of females, if outside the paid workforce, have no apparent value and are ignored. In the context of the institutionalised male-biased economic models of migration, the majority of female principal applicant migrants do conform to the stereotype of associational migrants or 'followers', although this can also be argued for males to a lesser extent. In the reverse, it can be argued that some females, specifically those applying for independent points assessment visas, were

conforming to the more economically based models of migration, whereby employment and career opportunities were important determinants of immigration to Australia.

In contrasting the characteristics of principal applicant migrants who had re-migrated with those who stayed, it was interesting to find that female emigrants were over-represented as economic entrants, much more likely to be never married, had higher educational qualifications and were employed in professional and skilled occupations. Presumably this gave them more flexibility or independence in respect to decisions to re-migrate. There was not such a stark contrast evident for male emigrants, however compared to stayers there were proportionately fewer married with similarly high levels of education and skilled employment. Of particular note, male and female emigrants were much more likely to be employed at first interview, and also in their countries of origin, than immigrants who stayed. It can be assumed that problems in Australia associated with employment or remuneration may motivate them to seek better employment opportunities elsewhere in similar politically stable countries like the United States or Canada. Moreover, females predominated among the emigrants because they appeared to be equally split between those independently seeking employment opportunities elsewhere and those following as part of the family unit.

There are some important research questions that need to be specifically focussed upon male and female immigrants to overcome some of the difficulties they face as a consequence of marriage and family based migration, about which little is known. Moreover, the social impact and disruption to family life that tends to characterise much contemporary Asian immigration has attracted little research attention despite the importance placed on the 'family unit' in Immigration Policy. These issues could be more appropriately addressed if the activities and roles of women are given more attention than has been the case in the past.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the key questions posed in this thesis is does gender matter in understanding migration? This empirical analysis of movement of both males and females in Australia shows, not only the importance of gender in migration analysis, but also highlights some of the weaknesses in migration research. An overarching objective of the study was to redress the paucity of research on women and migration in Australia. Rapid changes taking place in the lives of Australian women in the 1980s and 1990s have impinged upon many economic and social processes including patterns and processes of migration. It is clear that the numerical significance of females in longer distance migration has increased, however what is most apparent is their increasing predominance at young adult and older ages in different migration streams. The causes and consequences of female or male dominated flows of migration have received little research attention and yet there are clear implications for areas of origin and destination.

Demographers have tended to focus on the selectivity of migration, especially its impact on population age-sex structure, as well as family and ethnic composition, while geographers have been preoccupied with the processes and patterns of population redistribution. In both cases gender neutrality has dominated. The gender sensitive analysis of age, marital and family/household differentials in migration undertaken here highlights the importance of combining analyses of socio-demographic changes with research on internal and international migration in Australia. This is not to argue that socio-demographic change alone can explain the different types of migration, as clearly

such change does not exist in a vacuum but is influenced by broader social and economic changes, which are increasingly part of wider global trends (Hugo 1999b; Hugo 2003d). In addition, government policies also impact on mobility associated with individuals, families and households due to their influence in such areas as housing, employment, education, financial support for welfare groups, such as single mothers, widows and divorcees, as well as young persons anxious to move out of the parental home and form their own households. In a broader context, the Australian government's immigration policies and the changing composition of the immigrant intake, can greatly alter both the demographic and spatial aspects of immigration, which in turn can influence levels of internal migration and residential concentrations, especially in the capital cities (Hugo 1994b; Hugo 2003b; 2003c).

Despite the increasing involvement of women in longer distance migration, the participation of women in migration in Australia has not been adequately addressed. Their neglect in internal migration within Australia is largely because they have tended to share the same overall rates as men. However, it is increasingly apparent that the migration of women and men differs for specific sub-groups engaged in different types of migration. The assumption that migrants move to maximise employment and/or career opportunities, with wage differentials integral to neo-classical models, ignores other reasons for migration and fails to recognise that employment and career outcomes are different for men and women.

Another important conclusion is that the catalysts for movement at various ages or life cycle stages can differ markedly for men and women. Most importantly, the options or choices available to men and women who move, especially relating to housing, location and employment opportunities, are likely to be different for some sub-groups according to age, marital status, ethnicity and socio-economic background. In turn this gives rise to

different patterns of movement that impact on particular locations causing concentrations of specific groups, for example, young singles, aged widows, single mothers with children, couples with children, divorcees, retirees, unemployed, professionals, and immigrants of various ethnicities. For this reason alone, it is important that we 'marry' what we already know about mobility with family demography, which seeks to understand changing patterns of family formation and dissolution, as well as the structure and functioning of families, related in part to changes in the status and roles of women in different socio-cultural contexts. In addition, there is now a considerable literature in this field that seeks to extend the family life cycle concept to include all family and household types and to incorporate core demographic events like divorce, remarriage, widowhood and migration, and favours sets of life course events rather than life cycle stages and looks at gender-differentiated flows (Grundy 1992; Grundy and Glaser 1999; Mulder and Wagner 1993; Warnes, 1992; 1999).

Demographers in Australia have made some significant contributions to our understanding of the demographic determinants of patterns of marriage and divorce, as well as low levels of fertility (Mc Donald 1998, 2000, 2003); the extent to which cohabitation is replacing marriage (Carmichael 1995; 1998), and implications of an ageing population (Rowland 1991; 1996a; 2003b). It is appropriate that geographers now make a concerted effort to adopt new approaches to the study of residential mobility by paying more attention to broader demographic changes and the ways in which they influence the lives of men and women. This will facilitate the development of better models to predict future patterns of mobility on the basis of changing age and family/household type which is urgently needed for the planning of future housing and services within regions and cities.

The next section provides a summary of the principal findings of the study as they relate to gender differences in residential movement and longer distance migration in

Australia, as well as immigration to Australia. This is followed by a discussion of implications for future research of a gender-differentiated economic, social and family oriented approach to migration.

9.2 PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

The principal findings of this study as they relate to gender differentials in residential movement and longer distance migration in Australia can be summarised as follows:

1. In most contexts female mobility outpaces that of males at young adult ages and at older ages. The differences in the mobility of males and females at younger ages are largely associated with the earlier movement of females out of the parental home and their younger age of marriage, despite increasing age at marriage. In later life they are more likely to experience widowhood and the likelihood of living alone, as females continue to have longer life expectancies than males, coupled with the common practice of marrying men older than themselves, and those who are divorced are generally less likely to marry again. Although the ratios generally indicated the numeric dominance of male migrants aged in their 30s and 40s, it was evident that female mobility at these ages was higher in the 1991-96 period. The increased mobility of females was related to the higher propensity of women at these prime family formation ages not to marry, increasing rates of divorce, and their different employment and educational aspirations from earlier cohorts.
2. Movers in comparison to non-movers were much younger, more likely not to be married, with higher labour force participation. These differences were particularly notable for females who also had higher occupational status and educational attainment, and were more likely to work full-time to support their independence

than those females who did not move. However, females had lower income levels than males, which was evident for both movers and non-movers. The importance of sex segregation in the labour market has to be taken into account when examining female mobility because males generally have higher income levels whether movers or non-movers. This is of particular concern as it emphasises the vulnerability of women and their generally poorer economic situation compared to males, despite major breakthroughs in education and employment.

3. Families most likely to move were those with young children and the least likely to do so were those with older dependent and non-dependent children still living in the parental home. One-parent families had higher mobility than couple families and were dominated by females, while males were predominant in non-family household movement although this differed in respect to age. These differentials in family/household mobility are closely linked to more diverse and complex patterns of leaving home and the variety of paths or alternatives to marriage, as well as the higher incidence of divorce and later age of marriage. This indicates that any major shifts in age and family structure are likely to impact on the mobility of males and females, with consequences for the timing and type of moves undertaken individually and collectively as a family unit.
4. More females were involved in inter-regional migration in the 1991-96 period than ten years earlier in the 1981-86 period. They dominated in non-metropolitan to metropolitan movement and in the reverse stream from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas, while males retained their dominance in movement within both metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors, although these streams had also become more feminised in the 1991-96 period. However, there were significant gender differences associated with specific age groups that varied by migration stream, most

notably young females aged 15-24 years and also 65 years or more, were over-represented among out-migrants from non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas. There was also a notable dominance of females aged 25-34 years in the reverse stream back to non-metropolitan areas. Generally, the metropolitan streams (to and between sectors) had a higher representation of single females (never married, separated/divorced and widowed), while non-metropolitan destinations were more likely to attract married couples (young families and older retirees) and single males living in non-family households. The changing age and family composition of these gender differentiated streams has received little research attention and yet may help explain important differences in the patterns and processes of inter-regional migration with implications for regional economies and the planning of services.

5. Females had become more involved in interstate migration in the 1991-96 period, with a notable increase in young adult females, most of them not married and aged 20-24 years, with many more moving independently for employment and career opportunities, than was the case ten years earlier. Sex ratios for older interstate migrants, although consistently female dominated, had actually increased indicating a greater participation of older males and increasing male survival in old age. Moreover, it was found that the majority of males and females who had migrated to another State were married with almost 50 per cent identified as spouses of the household reference person. This demonstrates that longer distance migration is largely of the family unit, particularly at ages 25-39 years with accompanying children making up more than a quarter of all internal migrants. There is a clear need to understand the determinants of family migration in Australia as distinct from that of individuals, and the roles of men and women in the decision making process.

6. Interstate migration flows to and from each of the States and Territories differed markedly in magnitude and in age and sex composition. Gender differences, especially as they relate to the net losses of young adults, were more pronounced for females in South Australia and Tasmania, and higher for males in Victoria and New South Wales. This is similar to inter-regional patterns alluded to earlier, whereby movement away from the non-metropolitan sector was greater for young single females, with the assumption that smaller peripheral regions, especially those with agriculturally-based economies with few services and resources, were the most likely to experience an exodus of youth, particularly of females. If South Australia and Tasmania are viewed as periphery regions with slow growth economies as posited by Harding (2000), it can be argued that there are insufficient jobs and career opportunities that appear to be more problematic for young females than males.
7. Females predominated among usual residents in 1996 who were identified as movers but had an overseas address five-years earlier in 1991, most notably in New South Wales and Victoria, with Western Australia the only other State in which there was at least one 'overseas' migrant to every one from another State or Territory. These States had a significant over-representation of female in-migrants aged 25-29 and 60-64 years, which can be attributed to the fact that they represented mainly recent immigrants involved in family reunion and marriage migration, whereby females join spouses or fiancées, and older females join family in Australia. There was also an over-representation at ages 15-19 years, due largely to overseas fee-paying students that tend to concentrate in those States with the largest immigrant populations.
8. There were distinctive differences in the socio-economic characteristics of migrants who were overseas in 1991 compared to internal migrants, especially between females. Most notably, they were more likely to be married or divorced and live in

family households, with few young children but over-represented with older dependent students aged 15-24 years. They had lower labour force participation rates than internal migrants, a higher representation in professional occupations and also in manual jobs, more with degrees and higher levels of participation in post-school education at the time of the census. They were also more likely to be renting accommodation and living in flats and units, and reported lower individual income levels, with many females indicating that they had none. Clearly, any changes in the numbers and age-sex composition of migrants who were at an overseas address five years ago and are not counted in the internal migration flows, can significantly impact on regions and alter demand for housing and services in the capital cities where they are most concentrated.

9. Trends in the 1990s show the predominance of females in permanent immigration while males were dominant in long-term and short-term movement to and from Australia. There was a significant gender bias in visa entry operating in the early 1990s, with most female principal applicants gaining entry on spouse/prospective marriage visas, and under other preferential family provisions, largely as parents, older dependent children and other close relatives. LSIA data provide an insight into the migration experience of men and women settling in Australia in the 1990s, and show distinctive gender differences in levels of employment according to visa category, which are clearly linked to qualifications, language proficiency, age, and marital status.
10. Gendered responses to reasons given for immigration indicated that Australia was seen to provide a better future for families and many respondents had family and relatives already settled in Australia. Females were more likely to give family reasons while males were more inclined to state employment or better opportunities

for their families. Responses varied by type of visa entry with male and female economic entrants indicating Australia's economic and political stability was a major reason for immigration, which was given higher priority by females than males. The so-called 'push' factors from former countries of residence were not seen to be very important by either sex, although slightly more so for economic entrants than those coming primarily to join family. Moreover, the decision to immigrate tended to be slightly biased towards males, although a high percentage of respondents (males and females) claimed it had been made jointly, with male and female economic visa entrants most likely to indicate that it was solely their decision. It must be acknowledged that a relatively high percentage of male principal applicants also had spouse/prospective marriage visas and indicated that they immigrated to join family, although somewhat less than was the case for females.

11. Females in comparison to males appeared to be less well adapted to life in Australia over the early years of settlement as measured by labour market outcomes. The likelihood of securing employment over the early years of settlement was strongly influenced by type of visa entry, although it differed markedly between males and females in the respective categories. In only considering work outside home most research fails to recognise the important roles of females in the family that relate to child-bearing and family commitments, demonstrating that employment indicators are highly inappropriate to assess female migration and notions of successful settlement as they are biased towards males. Females were predominantly spouse/prospective marriage visa entrants and as sponsored migrants were much less likely to be employed, although this varies by birthplace group, age and educational attainment. Males with spouse/prospective marriage visa entry were far more likely than females to be employed at first and third interviews.

12. Females dominated among those respondents who had re-migrated from Australia soon after settlement, a notable over-representation among economic migrants as they were more likely to be never married, had tertiary qualifications and employed at first interview, which was not the case for preferential family visa entrants. Presumably this gave them more flexibility and independence to make decisions about emigrating elsewhere, however it is not possible to establish whether they returned to home countries or obtained better employment opportunities in other countries. Of particular note, females were also over-represented among preferential family entrants who were obviously following partners or family elsewhere. This demonstrates the diversity and complexity of female migration, as particular groups tend to be largely followers while others act more independently and tend to conform with assumptions underlying more economically-based migration models.

9.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The question of the changing status of women and their increasing independence, as reflected in changes occurring in patterns of marriage and divorce, and increasing labour force participation, needs to be addressed together with the more common economic determinants of migration. Moreover, the social and demographic determinants of migration may help in explaining the distinctive gender differences in inter-regional migration streams that have received little research attention in Australia and yet have been evident for some time.

It must be borne in mind that the majority of residential moves are of households in which all members move and are largely the result of non-job-related reasons, as it does not usually involve a change in employment. By contrast longer distance moves of young

adults and families are more likely to involve a job change. This tends to be problematic in two-income families, especially among dual-career couples, often leading to different consequences for men and women which has attracted considerable research attention overseas (Bailey and Cooke 1998; Bruegel 1996; Cooke and Bailey 1996; 1999; Smits, Mulder and Hooimijer 2003), but little in Australia.

Green, Hardhill and Munn (1999) in undertaking in-depth interviews of dual-career households in the UK found that 'male career' was dominant in migration decisions, in accordance with 'traditional migration theory'. Females tended to be 'followers' for the well-being of the household although they also had a say in the decision, and in some instances, were able to 'veto' locations thought to be difficult for them to obtain employment. Of particular interest, some females in occupations such as teaching and nursing, were pleased that they had chosen occupational paths that could be more easily transferred in anticipation of becoming a 'tied/trailing spouse'. Moreover, the decision to migrate was further complicated in households with school-age children, especially those with several, influencing the location and timing of migration. Housing affordability and availability in destination areas was another key factor likely to influence the migration decisions of families, especially those with children. An important conclusion was that employment consequences of migration may be positive for both men and women, negative for one or the other, or both. It is to some of these issues that future research in Australia should be addressed to show whether restructuring in the labour market favours men or women in particular locations, and that the range and specialisation of available jobs are considered in explaining gender-differentiated migration streams between States and Territories, and between metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors.

In advocating a more family/household and gendered oriented approach to migration (internal and international) in Australia, it should be acknowledged that it is far more

difficult to analyse the types of mobility in which families rather than individuals are likely to participate, because not all family members move together and frequently choose different destinations for different reasons that can be quite gender specific. Therefore, information about family migration decisions has to be obtained through both quantitative and qualitative methods, most notably household surveys and biographical approaches, to elucidate the choices and constraints on migration. Given the relatively rapid demographic changes that are occurring, it is imperative that we develop ways of providing more systematic analyses of migration that are not simply focussed on the *migrant*, but take into account the complexities associated with looking at gender and the diversities associated with families and households.

A further argument pursued here is that the category 'women' is not enough, as it assumes homogeneity and ignores considerable differences that exist between women related to their various class, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. There is an urgent need to examine the mobility and the characteristics of various sub-groups of women according to socio-economic class divisions (young and old, married or not, in the labour force or not) in a changing demographic and social context, with specific reference to the types of families and households in which they live. It is also important to identify the capital cities and non-metropolitan regions, likely to gain or lose specific groups at the expense of others and whether migration is beneficial or not, and to whom.

A fundamental question is how do we incorporate more micro-level analyses focusing on socio-demographic factors most likely to influence female migration, into aggregate migration analysis frequently concerned with regional patterns and labour market aspects of migration. This is not to argue that micro-data analysis of processes is more important but rather should be seen to complement aggregate migration analyses of census data, which are likely to remain the main comprehensive source of migration data in

Australia. Moreover, gaining a better understanding of why some males or females move while others stay behind should not be viewed as an end in itself. It must be part of an ongoing process to improve knowledge about the relationships between geographic mobility and demographic events, such as leaving the parental home; marriage and cohabitation; childbirth; divorce; widowhood; and staying single, leading to greater diversity in families and households, and an increasing number of 'empty-nest' and lone person households.

Australia is currently undergoing a significant transformation in household and family composition that is, in part, linked to the ageing of its population, not simply to mean growth in the number of aged as is so often the case. This study shows that marital breakdown is a major force in the increasing propensity of persons in their 40s and 50s to live alone, which has given rise to higher levels of mobility among these ages. This is also a factor in the declining representation of widows as lone person households at older ages. Another important issue is the growing number of female-headed single parent households who are likely to add significantly to the number of lone person households as they age and their children leave home. The emerging trends suggest that future patterns of mobility are going to be different than in the past and more research is needed to anticipate the impact of future changes on gender-differentiated migration of specific household types.

Women predominate among aged migrants, particularly at advanced ages, due to their demographic dominance over aged men, although their rates of migration are also slightly higher. This is largely related to gender differences in household circumstances with women more likely than men to move to institutions or other accommodation as they age, or move to where children are located on the death of a spouse or changed health circumstances. On the other hand, aged men are still likely to be married when they die and are not as likely to proceed through stages of later life mobility. It can be argued that

in the future, aged 'singles' will be a much more complex and diverse group than is presently the case, with very different needs, demands and expectations. Those females with few assets, living in public housing, on pensions with no accumulated savings or superannuation (their own or of a husband) will no doubt be severely disadvantaged in later life. Alternatively, it can be suggested that the changing roles and status of women, their workforce experience, higher levels of education and their ability to lead independent lives may ensure that their transition to old age is very different to today's aged widows. The later life transitions of both aged men and women and their propensities to move are likely to undergo significant change which need to be considered in research agendas, particularly those assessing the allocation of resources and spatial concentrations of specific groups of aged men and women in the future.

The predominance of females in the out-migration of youth from rural areas to the cities has generated considerable research interest overseas in recent years with a concern for both the social and economic implications (Dahlstrom 1996; Hamilton and Otterstad 1998; Ni Laoire 1999; 2000; 2001; Stockdale 2002a; 2002b; 2004). There is ample evidence of similar gendered patterns occurring in Australia (refer Chapter Five), and yet the major implications for the economic and social viability of many rural communities, and the well-being of young men and women who move, or stay behind, have largely been ignored. To understand these patterns future research must adopt biographical approaches similar to those employed by Ni Laoire (1999; 2000; 2001) in rural Ireland, which can illuminate the choices and constraints on the lives of young men and women in different contexts and are central to any migration decision-making process.

Youth migration in Australia has been a subject of recent interest as indicated by the ABS publication on *Australia's Youth 2001* (ABS 2004), however there is no recognition given to the fact that rural out-migration is a highly gendered process, associated with the

male dominance of rural labour markets and also the result of social environments functioning in favour of young men. Considerable research attention has been directed towards explanations for counterurbanisation in Australia and its selectivity, which has tended to divert attention away from continuing trends of rural depopulation from particular regions. The causes and consequences of gender-differentiated flows from non-metropolitan to metropolitan and vice versa, need more research attention in the wider context of regional and State economies and employment opportunities, while at the same time recognising other non-economic and social determinants.

Another area in which significant change is likely to occur is in international migration to Australia, which has been experiencing a significant shift from permanent to more temporary forms of immigration over the past decade. It can be assumed that this may give rise to different patterns of migration and alter the sex composition of flows, which are not as likely to be influenced to the same extent by significant family and marriage migration. Moreover, by focussing upon patterns of redistribution and the net effects of migration, the 'picture' of internal migration as it relates to the States and Territories is somewhat distorted, especially in capital cities with high immigration gains through temporary and permanent movement. There is a need to develop new ways of incorporating those residents who were in Australia at the time of the census but were resident overseas five years earlier, given the considerable changes that have been occurring in overseas migration due to the increasing popularity of temporary movement and the changing world economy (Birrell and Healy 1997; DIMA 2001; Hugo 1996b; 2003d).

There is also a case for endeavouring to know more about emigrants who leave Australia, particularly young Australians who have been departing in ever increasing numbers to live overseas, permanently and on a temporary basis. It is interesting that a

gendered analysis of survey data on Australian graduates living overseas in 2003, showed that employment and career opportunities were the dominant reasons for emigration, being only slightly higher for males than females, while lifestyle, family and social factors were important determinants of intentions to return to Australia to live for both sexes (Hugo Rudd and Harris 2003). Another important determinant of the likelihood of return was associated with any change in marital status since emigrating overseas, especially among males and females who had married partners who were not Australia-born and held citizenship of another country (Rudd 2003). Moreover, despite the fact that the targeted sample was of Australian graduates living overseas, married females were more likely to indicate that they had gone overseas because of their husband's employment or professional development and not to necessarily attain career advancement for themselves. There is a need to extend this research to more fully understand the dynamics of international migration to and from Australia, with a concern to show that migration policies simply focussed on the economics of migration, without adequate acknowledgement of social determinants, will not address contemporary issues confronting male and female immigrants and also those who emigrate.

Any major changes to the way we research migration can only occur if appropriate data sources are available and we develop new approaches and methods of collecting migration data, especially on men and women living in a variety of family and household contexts, undertaking different types of migration influenced by a range of social, economic and political settings. It should be borne in mind that social circumstances and the changing roles and status of women, and of men, are much more difficult to conceptualise and to measure than is the case with economic determinants. Another problem is that social change tends to be incremental and occurs relatively slowly making

it quite difficult to show the nature and extent of change over relatively short periods of time, and then relate them to patterns of mobility as determined at the respective censuses.

This study highlights problems noted earlier that there are disparate sets of literature relating to socio-demographic change and mobility, with relatively weak linkages between them. Of particular note, there are also semi-autonomous research literatures for internal and international migration, although they tend to share some of the conceptual frameworks. The theoretical and research literature primarily focussed on international migration tends to be highly fragmented despite the endeavours of migration analysts to construct a more comprehensive theory of international migration (Massey 1990; Massey *et al* 1993; 1998). The basic arguments seen to be hindering the development of more interdisciplinary approaches are 'whether migration is best understood in individual or structural terms – whether migration is appropriately viewed as an aggregate outcome of individual decisions or whether it is the product of powerful structural changes in society that supercede individual actions' (Massey 1990 p.3). It is interesting that these arguments fail to mention that the causes and consequences of migration may differ between males and females. However, there is recognition of social networks and the importance of family in the migration process, whereby ties between migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas, ensure that the costs and risks of migration fall and the net returns increase, with the probability of more migration occurring to those destinations in which family are located (Massey *et al* 1990 p.448). This latter approach has particular relevance in the context of females and males involved in family oriented immigration to Australia.

9.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

One important conclusion is that women and migration is a complex and diverse topic. This diversity implies that research should focus on specific sub-groups associated with various types of migration that are readily identified, some of which apply equally to men and women, while others are distinctly a male or female response to life transitions and prevailing social and economic conditions. In other words, female migration does not lend itself to generalisation as has been noted in the context of developing countries (Chant 1992), additionally, it can be argued that there is no general theory that explains male migration, or indeed, migration in general.

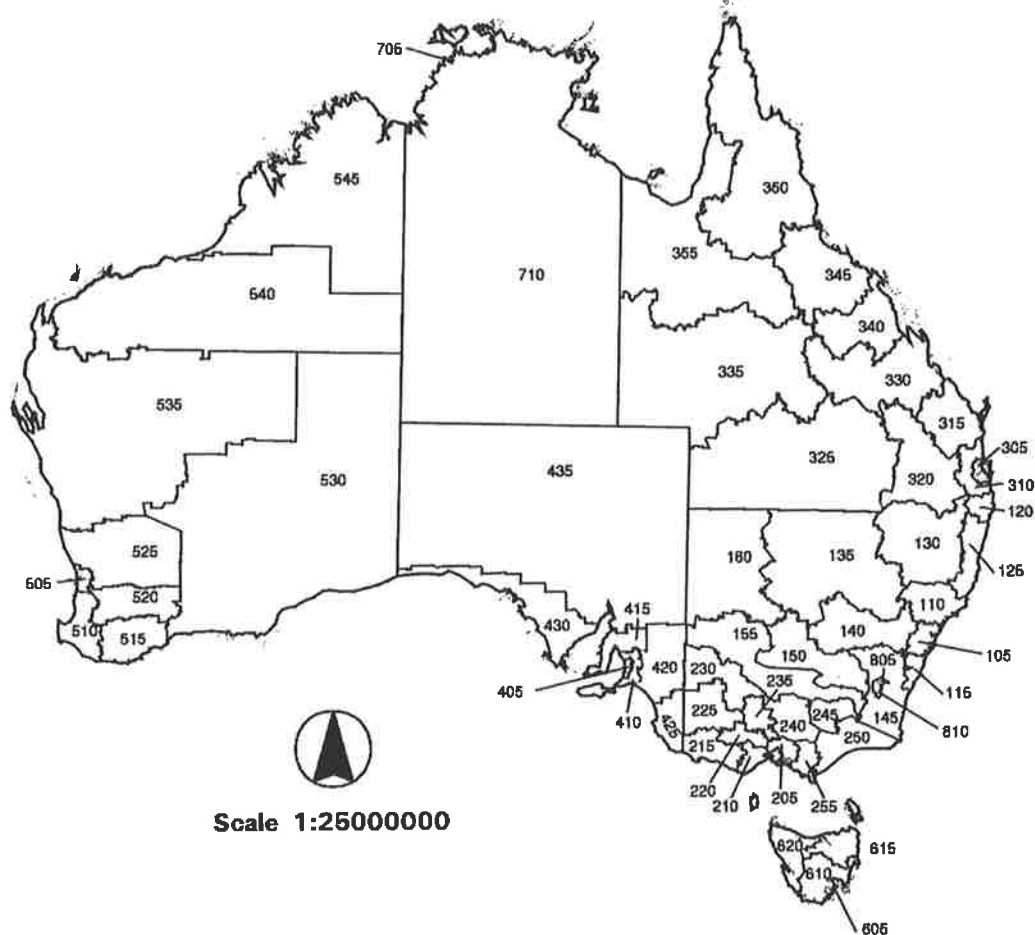
A common theme is the predominance of females in specific transitions that relate to their independence at young adult ages and at older ages. Recent trends indicate that additional transitions are occurring, especially at middle or more mature ages, whereby women and men are more likely to be faced with being single, some by choice and others through circumstances not of their liking. The outcome has been a significant increase in persons living alone through divorce and not marrying at all. This group has received very little research attention but is of growing significance with females outnumbering males. By contrast, aged migration has received a disproportionate amount of research attention and is also predominantly of females, and yet there has been little interest in gender differences.

The key issue is that social change has led to a more dramatic restructuring of the life course and related events for women than men in the last 40 years. Women who are now aged 65 years or more have had quite different lives from those who will be that age in 10-30 years time. Moreover, women's motivations or incentives to move, their ability to move, their role in decision-making within families, and the types and patterns of

movement that they engage in, are also likely to be different in the future with significant class, socio-economic and ethnic differences.

The questions addressed in this thesis attempt to overcome the lack of knowledge on women in migration in Australia, particularly that which is linked to demographic and social change. This has been commonly labelled non-economic determinants of migration highlighting the pre-occupation of most migration research with economic based explanations. There is a growing recognition that women are not only involved in associational migration with their families or spouses, but also increasingly engaged in autonomous migration. This is largely due to changing patterns of family formation and dissolution, as well as women's increasing participation in career-oriented employment, which is likely to lead to more concerted efforts to explain women's migration. It is interesting that in bringing women into focus there is an immediate concern about their marital status and living arrangements, which is usually not considered in economically determined explanations of migration that are biased towards males.

APPENDIX A: Statistical Divisions in Australia 1996



| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 New South Wales | 3 Queensland | 5 Western Australia |
| 105 Sydney | 305 Brisbane | 505 Perth |
| 110 Hunter | 310 Moreton | 510 South West |
| 115 Illawarra | 315 Wide Bay-Burnett | 515 Lower Great Southern |
| 120 Richmond-Tweed | 320 Darling Downs | 520 Upper Great Southern |
| 125 Mid-North Coast | 325 South West | 525 Midlands |
| 130 Northern | 330 Fitzroy | 530 South Eastern |
| 135 North Western | 335 Central West | 535 Central |
| 140 Central West | 340 Mackay | 540 Pilbara |
| 145 South Eastern | 345 Northern | 545 Kimberley |
| 150 Murrumbidgee | 350 Far North | 6 Tasmania |
| 155 Murray | 355 North West | 605 Greater Hobart |
| 160 Far West | 4 South Australia | 610 Southern |
| 2 Victoria | 405 Adelaide | 615 Northern |
| 205 Melbourne | 410 Outer Adelaide | 620 Mersey-Lyell |
| 210 Barwon | 415 Yorke and Lower North | 7 Northern Territory |
| 215 Western District | 420 Murray Lands | 705 Darwin |
| 220 Central Highlands | 425 South East | 710 Northern Territory - Bal |
| 225 Wimmera | 430 Eyre | 8 Australian Capital Territory |
| 230 Mallee | 435 Northern | 805 Canberra |
| 235 Loddon | | 810 Australian Capital Territory |
| 240 Goulburn | | - Balance |
| 245 Ovens-Murray | | |
| 250 East Gippsland | | |
| 255 Gippsland | | |

APPENDIX B: Changes in the Definition of Family Types 1981 to 1996

1981

In 1981 subject to family coding rules dependents are:

- issue children aged under 16 years
- issue children aged 16-20 attending an educational institution full-time
- other children aged 0-15 included in primary unit only
- other adults = all other members of the family related to the household head (this includes adult children not attending school over the age of 15 years).

1986

In 1986 a dependent family child was aged under 15 years or 15-20 years and a full-time student (in previous censuses an issue child or dependent was aged under 16 years and aged 16-20 years as a full-time student).

Dependent family child type:

- natural/adopted of primary family
- step child in primary family
- other child – i.e. foster

1991

Dependent offspring can comprise individuals from any one of three categories:

- family child up to 14 years of age
- full-time students 15-24 who have no partners or offspring (in 1986 21-24 year olds excluded from this category)
- foster children – in either of above

1996

Children aged under 15 years and aged 15-24 years as full-time students were dependents. Non-dependent children were aged 15-24 years not students still living in the family household.

**APPENDIX C: Census Unit Record Sample Tapes: comparability of
Marital Status and Questions relating to Marriage and Children,
1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996**

| | 1981 | 1986 | 1991 | 1996 |
|-------------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Marital Status | | | | |
| Married | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Never Married | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Separated | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ |
| Divorced | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ |
| Widowed | ✓ | X | ✓ | ✓ |
| Defacto Marriage | X | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Duration of Marriage | | | | |
| Less than 1 year | ✓ | X | X | X |
| Year coded to 59+ | ✓ | X | X | X |
| Married More than Once | | | | |
| 1 st Marriage | ✓ | ✓ | X | X |
| More than 1 Marriage | ✓ | ✓ | X | X |
| Year First Married | X | ✓ | X | X |
| Total Issue | ✓ | ✓ | X | ✓ |
| Total Living Issue | X | ✓ | X | X |
| Child Type | X | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

APPENDIX D: Migration Indicators and Geographical Detail
Available on ABS Household Sample Files,
Censuses 1986, 1991 and 1996

1986 Census

- IMI** Internal Migration Indicator
- (1) Same dwelling 1986 and 1981
 - (2) Different dwelling, same SLA
 - (3) Different SLA, same statistical region
 - (4) Different statistical region, same major statistical region
 - (5) Different major statistical region, same state
 - (6) Different state-territory
 - (7) Overseas in 1981
 - (8) Usual residence not stated, undefined

Geographical Detail – Place of Enumeration at Census

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------|---|
| STE02 | States of Australia | (1) New South Wales (2) Victoria (3) Queensland (4) South Australia (5) Western Australia (6) Tasmania (7) ACT and NT |
| RSC04 | Usual Residence, Census Night | (1) Australia |
| RSO04 | Usual Residence, 1985 | (2) Overseas |
| RSV04 | Usual Residence, 1981 | (3) Not stated for 1981 and 1985 |
| GDO030 | Region | (1) Major urban (2) Balance of state |

1991 Census

- URIP** Usual Residence and Internal Migration Indicator
- Usual Residence
- (1) Same dwelling 1986 and 1991
 - (2) Different dwelling in 1986
 - (3) Usual residence not stated in 1986
- Not Usual Residence
- (4) Usual residence in 1991 same as 1986
 - (5) Usual residence 1991 not the same as 1986
 - (6) Not stated usual residence 1986

Working Definition Selected for Usual Residents Only

- (1) Same dwelling 1986 and 1991 = non-mover
- (2) Different dwelling than in 1986 = mover
- (3) Not stated in 1986 – not stated
(non-usual residents excluded)

Geographical Detail – Statistical Divisions where Numbers Permit

GDHSF91 Place of Enumeration at Census Only

- (1) Inner Sydney
- (2) Sutherland/Liverpool
- (3) Outer South West NSW
- (4) Lower North NSW
- (5) Hunter/Illawarra
- (6) Richmond/Tweed
- (7) Murrumbidgee
- (8) Western/Outer Melbourne
- (9) Central Melbourne
- (10) East/Outer Melbourne
- (11) Mallee
- (12) Goulburn
- (13) Brisbane
- (14) Moreton
- (15) Far North QLD
- (16) Remainder QLD
- (17) Adelaide
- (18) Perth
- (19) Remainder SA, WA, NT
- (20) Tasmania and ACT

1996 Census

Mobility Indicator

UAI1P Persons Usual Address Indicator 1 Year Ago

- (1) Same as in 1996
- (2) Elsewhere in Australia
- (3) Overseas in 1995
- (4) Not stated

UAI5P Persons Usual Address Indicator 5 Years Ago

- (5) Same as in 1996
- (6) Elsewhere in Australia
- (7) Overseas in 1991
- (8) Not stated

Household Mobility Indicator

MV1D 1 Year Indicator 1995 – 1996

- (1) All persons moved in last year
- (2) Some persons moved in last year
- (3) No movers – same as 1995
- (4) Not stated

MV5D 5 Year Indicator 1991-96

- (5) All persons moved since 1991
- (6) Some persons moved since 1991
- (7) No movers – same as 1991
- (8) Not stated

Geographical Detail

Statistical Regions

REGUIP Region of Usual Residence 1 Year Ago

REGU5P Region of Usual Residence 5 Years Ago

- (1) Inner Sydney and Eastern Suburbs
- (2) St. George-Sutherland
- (3) Canterbury-Bankstown and Fairfield-Liverpool
- (4) Outer South Western Sydney and Outer Western Sydney
- (5) Inner Western Sydney and Central Western Sydney
- (6) Blacktown-Baulkham Hills
- (7) Lower Northern Sydney and Northern Beaches
- (8) Hornsby-Ku-ring-gai and Gosford-Wyong
- (9) Hunter
- (10) Illawarra and South Eastern
- (11) Richmond-Tweed and Mid-North Coast
- (12) Northern and Far West-North Western
- (13) Central West and Murray-Murrumbidgee
- (14) Outer Western Melbourne
- (15) North Western Melbourne and Inner Melbourne
- (16) North Eastern Melbourne
- (17) Inner Eastern Melbourne
- (18) Southern Melbourne
- (19) Outer Eastern Melbourne
- (20) South Eastern Melbourne and Mornington Peninsula
- (21) Barwon-Western District
- (22) Central Highlands-Wimmera and Loddon-Mallee
- (23) Goulburn-Ovens-Murray and Gippsland
- (24) Brisbane City Inner Ring
- (25) Brisbane City Outer Ring
- (26) South and East BSD Balance
- (27) North and West BSD Balance
- (28) Moreton
- (29) Wide Bay-Burnett and Darling Downs-South West
- (30) Mackay-Fitzroy-Central West
- (31) Northern-North West and Far North
- (32) Northern Adelaide
- (33) Western and Eastern Adelaide
- (34) Southern Adelaide
- (35) Balance SA
- (36) Central and East Metropolitan
- (37) North Metropolitan
- (38) South Metropolitan
- (39) Balance WA
- (40) Tasmania
- (41) Northern Territory and Australian Capital Territory
- (42) No usual address
- (43) Overseas visitor
- (44) Overseas one/five years ago but now resident
- (45) Not stated

APPENDIX E: Migration Matrix Tape Specifications 1986 and 1996

1986 Migration Matrix Tape Specifications

| Mnemonic | Stat Div 1986 by Capital Cities and Rest of State 1981 | Categories |
|-----------------|---|-------------------|
| RSDC01 | Usual residence in 1986 Stat Div | 60 |
| RDV01 | Usual residence in 1981 capital cities/rest of state | 14 |
| IMI14 | Usual residence indicator same as in 86, other, ns, na. | 3 |
| Age99 | Age 0-4,5-14,15-19,20-24,25-34, 35-54,55-64,65-74,75+ | 9 |
| MST99 | Marital Status –married, never married, separated/divorced Widowed, na | 5 |

1996 Migration Matrix Tape Specifications

| Mnemonic | LGA to LGA Flows 1991-96 | Categories |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------|
| LGA96 | LGA of usual residence | 702 |
| LGA91 | LGA of usual residence 5 years ago | 703 |
| UAI5P1 | Usual residence indicator same as in 96, other, ns, na | 3 |
| AGEP2 | Age 0-4, 5-14, 15-24, 25-34,35-54,55-64, 65+ | 7 |
| SEXP | Sex | 2 |
| Stat Div to Stat Div 1991-96 | | |
| SDURC | Usual residence 1996 by Stat Div | 59 |
| SDUR5 | Usual residence 1991 | 60 |
| UAI5P1 | Usual residence indicator same as in 96, other, ns, na | 4 |
| AGEP3 | Age 0-65 in 5 year groups, 65+ | 14 |
| SEXP | Sex | 2 |
| MSTP1 | Marital Status –married, never married, separated/divorced Widowed, na | 5 |

APPENDIX F: Measures

Age-sex Specific Rates:

Age Specific Rates calculated for males and females separately

$$\text{Age Specific Rate} = \frac{\text{number of migrants aged } x \text{ at the end of the period}}{\text{end-of-period population aged } x} \times 1000$$

Average Annual Growth Rate:

$$\text{Average Annual Growth Rate} = ((P_n/P_o)^{1/n} - 1) \times 100$$

Where:

P_o = population at the start

P_n = population at the end

\wedge indicates raise to the power

/ indicates division

n = number of intervals between P_o and P_n , e.g. years

Index of dissimilarity (I_D):

The index of dissimilarity is a simple yet versatile statistic that may be used to summarise and compare age structures as well as a wide range of other population characteristics. It measures the extent of non-overlap between two percentage distributions, for example, showing the percentage of one population that would need to be redistributed between age groups to match the age distribution of the standard for comparison. The index has a possible range from 100, representing total segregation, to 0, representing two identical distributions. Where $I_D = 0$, each group will contain the same proportions of each of the population x and y .

The formula for the index is:

$$I_D = 0.5 \sum |x_i - y_i|$$

Where:

the vertical rules denote absolute difference

x represents the percentages for the standard population

y represents the percentages for the population to be compared

i is a data category, such as an age group

n is the number of categories or groups

Σ is summation, as $i = 1$ to n

In-migration Rate:

$$\text{In-migration Rate} = \frac{\text{In-migrants}}{\text{Final year population}} \times 1000$$

Migration Effectiveness Ratio:

The ratio of net migration to gross migration where the lower the ratio the less the effectiveness of migration as a process of population redistribution.

$$\text{Migration Effectiveness Ratio} = \frac{\text{In-migrants minus Out-migrants (net)}}{\text{In-migrants plus Out-migrants (gross)}} \times 100$$

Net Migration Rate:

$$\text{Net Migration Rate} = \frac{\text{Net migrants}}{\text{Final year population}} \times 1000$$

Out-migration Rate:

$$\text{Out-migration Rate} = \frac{\text{Out-migrants}}{\text{Final year population}} \times 1000$$

Per cent difference:

Difference between two percentages i.e. percentage point difference between two relative percentages.

Percentage Change:

$$\text{Percentage Change} = \frac{(P_n - P_o)}{n} \times 100$$

Where:

P_o = population at start

P_n = population at the end

n = number of intervals e.g. years

Sex Ratio:

The number of males per one hundred females.

$$\text{Sex Ratio} = \frac{\text{Number of males}}{\text{Number of females}} \times 100$$

APPENDIX G: Glossary

Birthplace is the country of birth of an individual. The Australian Standard Classification of Countries for Social Statistics (ASCCSS) is used to classify birthplace responses to the 1996 Census. This classification uses the current names of countries. If birthplace of an individual is not stated on the census form, an attempt is made to derive it from other answers or from the responses from other family members.

Capital City Statistical Division predominantly urban in character and the boundaries are delineated to contain the anticipated urban development of the capital cities (and associated urban centres) for a period of at least twenty years.

Category jumping is the name given to the adjustment made to the components of net overseas migration, when these were applied, up until the year ending 30th June 1996. Category jumping was set to zero for the years ending 30th June 1997 to 2001. With the new method of adjusting these components, this adjustment is now known as *overseas migration adjustment*.

Category jumping is the term used to describe changes between intended and actual duration of stay of travellers to/from Australia, such that their classification as short-term or as long-term/permanent movers is different at arrival/departure from that after twelve months.

Category of movement Overseas arrivals and departures are classified according to length of stay (in Australia or overseas), recorded in months and days by travellers on passenger cards. There are three main categories of movement:

- *permanent* movements,
- *long-term* movements (one year or more),
- *short-term* movements (less than one year).

A significant number of travellers (i.e. overseas visitors to Australia on arrival and Australian residents going abroad) state exactly twelve months or one year as their intended period of stay. Many of them stay for less than that period and on their departure from, or return to, Australia are therefore classified as short-term.

Census The Australian Census of Population and Housing, is an official count of population and dwellings, which collects details of age, sex, and other characteristics of that population. The 1996 Census, the 13th national census for Australia, was held on the 6th of August.

Census count

- *place of enumeration* is a count of every person, who spent census night in Australia, based on where he/she was counted; including people on board vessels in or between Australian ports, or on long-distance trains, buses or aircraft. This count is also known as a *de facto* population count.
- *place of usual residence* is a count of all people within the scope of the Census on the basis of where they usually live, rather than where they were on census night. Each person is required to state his/her address of usual residence. This count is also known as the *de jure* population count.

Chain migration is the process whereby immigrants encourage and assist relatives and friends to join them.

Child dependency criterion is based on the barriers to full-time employment: age and student status.

- *Dependent child:* A dependent child is an individual who is either a child under 15 or a dependent student, who is any child in a family under 15 years of age or aged 15-24 years and who is a full-time student. To be regarded as a child the individual can have no partner or child of his/her own usually resident in the household.
- *Dependent student.* This refers to a natural, adopted, step, or foster child who is 15-24 years of age and who attends a secondary or tertiary educational institution as a full-time student and who has no partner or child of his/her own usually resident in the same household.
- *Non-dependent child:* This refers to a natural, step, adopted or foster child of a couple or lone parent usually resident in the household, aged over 15 years and who is not a full-time student aged 15-24 years, and who has no partner or child of his/her own usually resident in the household.

Cohort 1 refers specifically to the first cohort of Principal Applicants sampled for interview in LSIA who were interviewed at three periods in time and referred to as Wave 1, Wave 2 and Wave 3.

Collection District (CD) is the smallest geographic area defined in the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC).

Concessional Family category allows for the sponsorship of non-dependent children, parents of working age who did not meet the balance of family test, brothers, sisters, nieces and nephews.

Country of residence refers to the country in which travellers regard themselves as living or as last having lived.

Country names by Region

Southeast Asia - Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam.

Northeast Asia - China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea (Republic of), Macau, Mongolia, Taiwan.

South Asia - Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Middle East and North Africa - Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Egypt.

Counter flow is the back flow of migrants into an area experiencing high rates of out-migration.

Customised matrixes allow maximum flexibility in the selection of any number of census variables for any geographic area and can be ordered to meet client-specific requirements.

Emigrant is a person who is an international migrant, departing to another country by crossing an international boundary. In Chapter Eight an 'emigrant' is a former settler who has remigrated from Australia to live overseas.

Estimated Resident Population (ERP) is the official ABS estimate of the Australian population. The ERP is based on results of the Population Census and is compiled as at 30th June of each census year.

Family is defined by the ABS as: two or more persons, one of whom is at least 15 years of age, who are related by blood, marriage (registered or *de facto*), adoption, step or fostering, and who are usually resident in the same household.

The basis of a family is formed by identifying the presence of a couple relationship, lone parent-child relationship or other blood relationship.

Non-related persons living in the same household are not counted as family members (unless under 15 years of age) and other related individuals (individual brothers, sister, aunts, uncles) may be present in the household.

Gender involves those social, cultural and psychological aspects linked to males and females through particular contexts. What a given society defines as masculine or feminine is a component of gender while *sex* is considered in the light of biological aspects of a person. Given this distinction, sex is viewed as a subscribed status and gender as an achieved one.

Gross migration is the sum of in-migrants and out-migrants.

Group household is a household consisting of two or more unrelated people where all persons are aged 15 years or over. There are no reported couple relationships, parent-child relationships or other blood relationships in these households.

Household is defined as a group of two or more related or unrelated people who usually reside in the same dwelling, who regard themselves as a household, and who make common provision for food or other essentials for living; or a person living in a dwelling who makes provision for his/her own food and other essentials for living, without combining with any other person.

Household mobility Households can move over time. The Census asks for each person's place of residence one year ago and five years ago. Household mobility indicators are derived using this information. Note that visitors and households containing only visitors are excluded from this classification. The following two indicators are used for the 1996 Census data.

- **Household One Year Mobility Indicator** where: all residents (aged one year or more) have changed address during the last year; or some residents have changed address during the last year, but all residents stated their address one year ago; or no residents have changed address during the last year; or not

stated (including households in which one or more residents did not state his/her usual residence one year ago).

- **Household Five Year Mobility Indicator** where: all residents (aged 5 years and over) have changed address during the last five years; or some residents have changed address during the last five years, but all residents stated their address of five years ago; or no residents have changed address in the last five years; or not stated (including households in which one or more residents did not state his/her usual residence of five years ago).

Humanitarian Program has three components:

- The *Refugee Program* which provides resettlement to Australia for people outside their home country subject to persecution in their home country;
- *Special Humanitarian Programs (SHP)* which comprise the In-Country Special Humanitarian Program for people suffering persecution within their own country, and the Global Special Humanitarian Program for people who have left their country because of substantial discrimination amounting to a gross violation of human rights; and
- *Special Assistance Category (SAC)* which embraces groups determined by the Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs to be of special concern to Australia and in real need, but who do not fit within other humanitarian categories. This program also assists those internally and externally displaced people who have close family links in Australia.

Immigrant is a person who has migrated from another country into Australia.

Income, reported in Australian dollars (Aus\$), is obtained from the usual gross weekly *Individual* income level of people aged 15 years and over. *Family* income and *Household* income are calculated from the individual incomes.

Independent Points Assessment is for individuals who do not have a family sponsor or who have been nominated by a State or Territory Government. Independent migrants are selected on the basis of their education, skills, English language ability and work experience, and their potential to contribute quickly to the Australian economy.

In-migrant is a person who enters a migration-defining area by crossing its boundary from some point outside the area, but within the same country. He/she is to be distinguished from an 'immigrant' who is an international migrant entering the area from a place outside the country.

Intercensal period is the years between the taking of censuses.

Internal migration is the movement of people from one defined area to another. The Census asks a series of questions relating to each person's usual address. The indicative data from these questions are recorded as the Usual Address Indicator, Usual Address 1 Year Ago Indicator and Usual Address 5 Years Ago Indicator.

Internal migrant is a person who crosses a predefined administrative or statistical boundary within Australia and is distinguished from an immigrant who crosses a national boundary and comes from outside the country.

International migration is the migration between countries.

Inter-regional Migration refers to movement between predefined regions usually within the same state.

Labour force, for 1996 Census purposes, includes people aged 15 years and over who:

- work for payment or profit, or as an unpaid helper in a family business, during the week prior to census night;
- have a job from which they are on leave or otherwise temporarily absent;
- are on strike or stood down temporarily; or
- do not have a job but are actively looking for work and available to start work.

The following people are classified as being in the labour force:

- employed people (i.e. the first three groups above); and
- unemployed (i.e. the last group above).

People aged 15 years and over who are not employed or unemployed are classified as not in the labour force. This includes people who are retired, pensioners and people engaged solely in home duties.

Local Government Area (LGA) is a geographic area under the responsibility of an incorporated local government council. The LGAs in Australia collectively cover only a part of Australia. The major areas not covered by LGAs are the large northern parts of South Australia, almost all of the Northern Territory and all of the Australian Capital Territory.

Lone person household is where a person makes provision for his or her own food and other essentials for living, without combining any other person to form part of a multi-person household. He or she may live in a dwelling on their own or share a dwelling with another individual or family.

Long-term arrivals comprise:

- overseas visitors who intend to stay in Australia for twelve months or more (but not permanently),
- Australian residents returning after an absence of twelve months or more overseas.

Long-term departures comprise:

- overseas visitors who intend to stay abroad for twelve months or more (but not permanently),
- Australian residents departing who stayed twelve months or more in Australia.

Long term movement represents visitors arriving with the intention to stay in Australia for at least twelve months or residents departing temporarily to live abroad

for twelve months or more, and the departure of visitors residing in Australia for a period of at least twelve months and the return of Australian residents who had stayed abroad for twelve months or more.

Marital status There are two variables that may be used to identify a person's marital status in the 1996 Census - Registered Marital Status and Social Marital Status.

- *Married - de facto* 'Married in a *de facto* marriage' is a category of Social Marital Status. A *de facto* marriage exists when the relationship between two people of the opposite sex or same sex, who live together in the same household is reported as: *de facto*, partner, common law husband/wife/spouse, lover, boyfriend, girlfriend.
- *Married - registered* In the 1996 Census a registered marriage may be reported in both Registered Marital Status and Social Marital Status. Registered Marital Status - 'What is the person's present marital status?' Social Marital Status is derived from the relationship question.

Marriage migration is included in the Family Stream category where a fiancé overseas plans to marry their Australian sponsor in Australia.

Metropolitan defined by the capital city Statistical Division boundaries.

Migrant is a person who moved from one administrative area to another in a specified time period.

Migration Program is the planned (non-Humanitarian) permanent intake determined by the Government in the Budget context which governs the number of visas granted for permanent entry from offshore and for permanent resident status onshore. It does not include New Zealand citizens intending to settle permanently in Australia.

Migration Stream is a group of migrants having a common origin and destination in a given migration period. The movement in the opposite direction is called the *counterstream* or *counter-flow*.

Migrating Unit Spouse is the husband, wife or *de facto* partner of the principal applicant upon whom the approval to immigrate is based.

Mover is a person who moved from one address to another in a specified time period. All migrants are movers but not all movers are migrants, as they may not have moved across an administrative boundary as it is usually based on distance.

Natural increase is the excess of births over deaths.

Net interstate migration is the difference between the number of persons who have changed their place of usual residence by moving into a given state or territory and the number who have changed their place of usual residence by moving out of that state or territory during a specified time period. The difference can be either positive or negative.

Net migrant is the balance between in-migrants and out-migrants. If the net flow is out then it is represented by a minus (-) sign and defined as loss. If the net flow is positive it is indicated with a plus(+) sign and defined as gain.

Net overseas migration is net permanent and long-term overseas migration, adjusted for change in traveller duration intention and multiple movement error.

Non-family member is a person who does not fulfill any of the family criteria of couple relationship, parent-child relationship or other blood relationship with any of the usual residents of the household. They may live within a family household or they may form a non-family household either as a lone person or a group household.

A non-family member is a person who is one of the following:

- a lone person;
- a group household member; or
- an unrelated individual living in a family household.

Non-metropolitan is defined as all Statistical Divisions outside the capital city Statistical Divisions, which represents the remainder of each State also referred to as 'rest of State'.

Occupation refers to the usual occupation of each person aged between 15 years and 64 years as coded according to the *ASCO – Australian Standard Classification of Occupations, Second Edition* (cat. no. 1220.0).

One-parent family consists of a lone parent with at least one child (regardless of age) who is also usually resident in the family household. The family may also include any number of other related individuals.

Any children who are temporarily absent are used to differentiate between lone-person households and one-parent families. If a spouse were temporarily absent, the family would be coded to a couple family.

Out-migrant is a person who departs from a migration-defining area by crossing its boundary to a point outside it, but within the same country. He/she is to be distinguished from an 'emigrant' who is an international migrant, departing to another country by crossing an international boundary.

Overseas arrivals and departures (OAD) refer to the arrival or departure of persons, through Australian airports (or sea ports), which have been recorded. Statistics on OAD relate to the number of movements of travellers rather than the number of travellers (i.e. the multiple movements of individual persons during a given reference period are all counted).

Permanent arrivals (settlers) comprise:

- travellers who hold migrant visas (regardless of stated intended period of stay),
- New Zealand citizens who indicate an intention to settle,
- those who are otherwise eligible to settle (e.g. overseas-born children of Australian citizens).

This definition of settlers is used by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). Prior to 1985 the definition of settlers used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) was the stated intention of the traveller only. Numerically the effect of the change in definition is insignificant. The change was made to avoid the confusion caused by minor differences between data on settlers published separately by the ABS and the DIMIA.

Permanent departures are Australian residents (including former settlers) who on departure state that they are departing permanently.

Permanent movement are persons migrating to Australia and residents departing permanently.

Population turnover is the sum of interstate arrivals and departures during a year expressed as a proportion of the resident population of the state or territory at mid-point of the year.

Preferential family category allows for the sponsorship of close family members, including spouses, fiancés, de facto partners, interdependent partners, aged parents who meet the balance of family test and dependent or adopted children.

Principal Applicant is the main person in the family who has been approved to migrate.

Self-enumeration is the term used to describe the way the Australian Census Of Population and Housing data are collected. The census forms are generally completed by the householder or individuals (in non-private dwellings) rather than by census interviewers.

Settler arrivals are persons arriving in Australia holding permanent migration visas, New Zealand citizens who indicate an intention to settle, and those who are otherwise eligible to settle (e.g. overseas born children of Australian citizens).

Sex composition is the distribution of population or migrants according to sex.

Sex Ratio is the number of males per the number of females in a population multiplied by 100 to get rid of the decimal point.

Short-term arrivals comprise:

- overseas visitors who intend to stay in Australia for less than twelve months,
- Australian residents returning after a stay of less than twelve months overseas.

Short-term departures comprise:

- Australian residents who intend to stay abroad for less than twelve months,
- overseas visitors departing after a stay of less than twelve months in Australia.

Short-term movement are persons whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than twelve months.

Spouse migration For purposes of migration the term 'spouse' means the husband, wife or *de facto* partner of the Australian sponsor or nominator.

Stayer is used in Chapter Eight to refer to settler arrivals (Principal Applicant migrants) who were still in Australia and available for interview at first and third waves of interviews in LSIA.

Statistical Division (SDs) are areas defined in the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC) which consist of one or more Statistical Subdivisions and cover, in aggregate, the whole of Australia without gaps or overlap. They do not cross State or Territory boundaries and are the largest statistical area building blocks of States and Territories.

Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) are areas defined in the Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC), which consist of one or more Collection Districts. They can be based on Legal Local Government Areas, or parts thereof, or any unincorporated area. They cover, in aggregate, the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps.

Stock of migrants is the number of migrants present in Australia at a given point in time.

Re-migrate refers to the emigration of former settlers who had left Australia by the time of third interview in LSIA.

Residential Mobility is the process of changing residence usually over a short-distance rather than long-distance.

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