

## RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION IN SYDNEY AND THE NSW COAST OVER THE PERIOD 1991 TO 1996.

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*Sydney is flourishing relative to the rest of New South Wales (NSW). But there are winners and losers within Sydney, and the divide between them is being expressed in residential concentrations of rich and poor. In Sydney's south-western suburbs, two factors, low income and non-English-speaking-background birthplace, increasingly overlap. Meanwhile many of the Australia-born who are not succeeding in Sydney are retreating to the rest of NSW, particularly to its coastal communities.*

During the 1990s the share of New South Wales' population located in Sydney increased from 62.3 per cent in 1991 to 62.9 per cent in 1998, in the process reversing a previous trend in the opposite direction (see Table 1). A similar pattern of metropolitan increases occurred in Victoria and Queensland.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 1: Sydney's share of NSW and Australia's population, 1986-1998**

	Sydney population			NSW million people
	million people	% of NSW	% of Australia	
1986	3.472	62.8	21.7	5.532
1991	3.673	62.3	21.3	5.899
1996	3.881	62.6	21.2	6.205
1997	3.934	62.7	21.2	6.273
1998	3.987	62.9	21.3	6.342

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Estimated Resident Population, unpublished

Reflecting this resurgence, Sydney is currently growing at just over 50,000 people per year, well above the 31.5

thousand per annum figure projected for the period 1996-2001 by the NSW Government Department of Urban Affairs and Planning in its latest (1994) population projections.<sup>2</sup>

The statistical basis for these movements has been outlined in a recent paper by the NSW Government demographer, Shane Nugent.<sup>3</sup> Sydney's greater share of NSW's growth in the 1990s has been driven by unexpectedly high international migration, plus a slower rate of net outflow from Sydney (relative to the 1980s) to the NSW coast and to elsewhere in NSW.

There is not much doubt that the main factor behind these events is the strength of the Sydney economy relative to the rest of the state (and to some extent the rest of Australia) and the consequent changing balance of job opportunities in NSW. The rural crisis has also contributed to this changing balance. In

addition, it is likely that the limited employment opportunities in the sunbelt coastal regions of NSW and Queensland during the 1990s have dimmed their attractions to job seekers.

These broad economic trends imply that in residential terms NSW is bifurcating into two zones, with the winners congregating in Sydney and the losers elsewhere. This is the core issue explored here, with particular reference to Sydney and the major NSW coastal communities. There is evidence that the latter are becoming refuges for the losers. But as the following introduction indicates, residential movements are complicated by a variety of social factors.

### **ECONOMIC CHANGE AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN SYDNEY**

Though many of Sydney's residents have flourished during the 1990s there have nevertheless been winners and losers within the city. Structural change in the Sydney economy has favoured those with technical, managerial and professional skills and penalised those without such skills, especially if they have limited English.

In general terms we might expect persons who have the relevant skills to gravitate to Sydney, and those who do not to look elsewhere, especially given the high costs of housing in Sydney.

It is obviously not as simple as this since attachments to place and community inhibit movement out and may also serve as attractions to migrants. In particular, since the 1970s Sydney has become the main community base for many people from Australia's newer migration source countries. Because of this it has become a focal settlement point for recent migrants from these countries.

Over thirty-seven per cent (37.4) of all migrants arriving in Australia between 1991 and 1996 who were still in the country in 1996 had located in Sydney (compared to Sydney's 21.2 per cent of Australia's population in 1996).<sup>4</sup> Many, including those from South Africa, Hong Kong and India, are skilled and have shared in Sydney's progress. But those entering Australia in the family-reunion and humanitarian streams have generally not been equipped to compete successfully in Sydney's skilled labour markets.

Previous work has shown that these latter migrants are tending to aggregate in Sydney's middle and outer south-western suburbs, to the point where they can be described as forming an ethnic underclass. In several of these suburbs, including Auburn, Canterbury and Fairfield, by 1996, some 70 per cent of adult residents were overseas born, in the great majority of cases in non-English-speaking-background (NESB) countries.<sup>5</sup>

These concentrations appear to reflect cost-of-living pressures, since the suburbs in question are among the lowest-cost housing areas in the city. But other factors may be at work, including the attractions of substantial ethnic communities and the specialist services they offer co-ethnics. The build up of ethnic community concentrations may also be prompting an out-movement of former Australia-born and English-speaking-background-born (ESB) residents who would prefer to live in predominantly Anglo communities. This possibility is suggested by the decline in the absolute number of Australian-born residents living in a number of Sydney's south-western suburbs between the 1991 and 1996, including Fairfield, Auburn, Canterbury, Strathfield, Bankstown and Parramatta.<sup>6</sup>

The term *suggested* is used advisedly because it is difficult to identify the scale

of such movements when one is relying on cross-sectional data, in this case drawn from the 1991 and 1996 Censuses. The birthplace make-up of Local Government Areas (LGAs) at a point in time is a product of a various factors, including births and deaths, and movements to overseas locations, which are not easily related to Census population figures. (See map on page 43 for LGA boundaries.)

Data on the Australian-born residents of Sydney indicate that they have done much better than their overseas-born counterparts. In 1996, only 14 per cent of Australian-born men aged 25-44 received incomes of less than \$300 per week, compared to around 30 per cent of men of this age group from Indochina and most other recently arrived migrant communities.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, we might expect that these poorer Australian-born men would also gravitate to Sydney's south-west because of the relatively cheap housing available.

However, the fall in the numbers of Australian-born residents in some of these south-western suburbs indicates that this is not happening. This may be because of high rates of outward movement or low rates of inward movement, or both. If many are leaving, where are they going? Perhaps some are leaving Sydney altogether. If so, are they finding refuge in sunbelt locations?

#### **DATA BASE AND METHODOLOGY**

A customised internal migration data set designed to explore these issues was purchased from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). The data set covers all Australian residents as of 1996 who indicated where they were living in 1991. LGA locations were included for Sydney's south-western suburbs plus aggregates of suburbs elsewhere in Sydney. In addition three NSW coastal areas were

identified: the North Coast (which includes the area from Tweed to Richmond River); the Mid-North Coast (which includes all coastal areas from Richmond River to the north of Newcastle) and the South Coast (from Shellharbour to all points south within NSW). All other Australian residents were aggregated into those who lived in the rest of NSW, Queensland and the rest of Australia.

The data set enables the identification of people who remained within their LGA or region between 1991 and 1996, as well as those who moved into and out of the areas specified. As shown below, the extent of movement of people—sometimes referred to as residential 'churning'—is remarkable. High rates of movement may nevertheless yield modest net changes in population numbers if the flows in and out are balanced. But such flows may hide a changing community pattern if, for example, rich persons are moving out and the poor are moving in. In order to trace movements by social characteristics the data set incorporated information on individual income, birthplace (aggregated into Australia, ESB and NESB countries), age and sex.

The results are displayed in the Appendix and Tables 2 to 4. The data in the Appendix show the movement of people, by income and birthplace, to and from selected Sydney LGAs over the period 1991 to 1996. Table 2 provides details for Fairfield, Table 3 explores the aggregate movements in and out of Sydney, this time including age-based data. Finally, movements to and from the NSW Coastal areas are shown in Table 4 by income, birthplace and age.

There are some caveats which must be kept in mind when interpreting the results. First, though the movements shown cover the 1991 to 1996 period, the income and other characteristics of the

people in question are those as reported in 1996. Thus when it is noted that the poor or the rich are moving in or out of a particular area the reference is to incomes as of 1996. The assumption behind such statements is that people who were rich or poor in 1996 were probably in the same circumstances in 1991. Second, the changes shown in the social characteristics of residents in the different areas over the 1991 to 1996 period cover movements within Australia and movements to Australia. They do not include the movements of people who left Australia between 1991 and 1996. Data on these individuals are simply not available. Therefore, the picture of residential change shown in the panels is incomplete. If, for example, an area like Fairfield lost a significant proportion of its 1991 NESB residents to overseas over the 1991 to 1996 period, then the results would overstate the extent of residential change towards NESB-born people. This is not likely to have been the case, however, because with the exception of former Hong Kong residents, there is a low overall rate of return overseas amongst NESB settlers, especially those from Asian source countries.

Third, the data reported exclude persons who did not indicate their address in 1991 and persons born between 1991 and 1996. Since almost all of the latter are children who were born in Australia, the panels overstate the total overseas-born population share for the respective LGAs in 1996. Also, because of these exclusions, the total figures for the population of each LGA shown in the panels for 1991 and 1996 are lower than the published Census figures.

Subject to these qualifications, the data give a good picture of residential mobility over the 1991-1996 period since they describe the outcomes of moves of

everyone still in Australia who, in 1996, filled out the Census question about their residential location in 1991. We are following individual persons. If rich and poor Australia-born or NESB-born residents are tending to move at different rates from particular areas then such movements will be revealed in the tables.

#### **RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION IN SOUTH WESTERN SYDNEY**

Due to limitations of space the detail provided below on Sydney is limited to the city's south-western suburbs plus some of the outlying fringe LGAs on the periphery of these suburbs. The overall pattern of residential change is shown in the second-last right hand column in the Appendix headed 'Total net change'. This column shows the combined effects of net internal migration and overseas arrivals for the three birthplace categories as a proportion of the base population, that is the population who indicated in 1996 that they had lived in the LGA in 1991.

Each of the following south-western suburbs—Canterbury, Bankstown, Auburn, Fairfield, Strathfield and Parramatta—shows a pronounced trend towards greater NESB concentrations, one component of which was a net loss of Australian and ESB-born residents. For example, in Canterbury the Australia-born population fell by 10.2 per cent between 1991 and 1996 at the same time as the NESB-born population increased by 14.5 per cent. In Auburn, the Australia-born loss between 1991 and 1996 was 12.7 per cent and the NESB-born gain was 20.5 per cent.

These aggregate changes are the combined result of internal migration and overseas arrivals. The net loss of the Australian and ESB-born populations is due first to internal migration. As

*suggested* above, more Australian-born residents left these six LGAs than moved to them between 1991 and 1996. As we will see, NESB-born people who were resident in Australia in 1991 were also reluctant to move into some of these suburbs, though not to the degree of the Australia-born. Second, unlike the NESB population, there was virtually no overseas migrant replenishment of the ESB-born resident base in the six LGAs (or of the Australia-born from persons returning from overseas).

The Australia-born and ESB-born net loss from the south-western LGAs due to internal migration is in turn composed of two parts. The first is a high rate of movement out of these suburbs. In the case of Fairfield, it can be calculated from the Appendix that 17,969 or 24.3 per cent of the 73,926 Australia-born residents living in this LGA in 1991 had moved out by 1996. The second part is the much smaller compensating inward movement of Australia-born residents. For Fairfield just 7,704 Australia-born persons, or 10.4 per cent of the base 1991 Australia-born population, moved into the LGA between 1991 and 1996. The net loss of the Australian-born was therefore 10,265 or 13.9 per cent of the 1991 base. The pattern for ESB-born residents was similar. There was also a net loss of NESB-born residents in Fairfield over the 1991-1996 period from internal migration, and from all the other suburbs listed above, with the notable exception of Bankstown. But this net loss was generally at a much lower rate than for the other two birthplace groups. In the case of Fairfield, the Appendix shows that the NESB-born loss from internal migration was five per cent.

Thus one part of the story of residential concentration in Sydney's south-west can be attributed to the relatively high loss of those Australian and ESB persons who

were resident in the area as of 1991. But high outward movements are not surprising in a highly mobile city like Sydney. They occur throughout most LGAs. What is distinctive about the six south-western suburbs is the relatively low inward movement of Australia-born and ESB-born residents and, to a lesser extent, of NESB-born residents (other than recently arrived overseas migrants). This low inward movement from other parts of Australia is the key to understanding the residential dynamics of Sydney's south-west. The area is an unpopular destination for all birthplace groups, but particularly for Australia-born and ESB-born residents. There is a break in this pattern, however, on the fringes of the south-western suburbs under discussion. The Appendix shows that Liverpool, which borders Fairfield, experienced a net influx of Australian, ESB and NESB-born residents from internal migration between 1991 and 1996.

Overseas migration during the 1991-1996 period also contributed significantly to NESB-born concentrations in Sydney's south western suburbs. The panels in the Appendix detailing the numbers of 1996 residents who had been living overseas in 1991 show that this group adds between four per cent of the total 1991 base population in the case of Bankstown and 13.6 per cent for Auburn, and considerably more to the base NESB-born population. The 1950s and 1960s pattern of NESB initial settlement in inner city areas of Sydney is over. Recently-arrived NESB migrants are predominantly joining their family and other co-ethnic community members (who have themselves often been squeezed out of inner areas) in the cheaper middle to outer south-western suburbs of Sydney.

### **Is income the key to explaining**

**residential mobility in south-west Sydney?**

The data available only allow a limited analysis of the factors shaping the patterns just described. However, it is possible to explore the role of income distribution in the dynamics of internal migration movements from the information presented in the Appendix. For this purpose the focus is on the movement of males aged 25-64 for each of the LGAs listed. The reason for restricting the analysis to men in this age group was to allow some control for the effects of sex and age on income distribution. The income data are for individuals rather than families.

One plausible hypothesis for the loss of 1991 residents throughout much of the south-west is a desire to move to newer housing. Since the suburbs in question were mostly constructed between the 1950s to the 1970s the housing stock is now rather old. A search for better housing provides a motive for out-movement. If this were the reason, the higher income residents would be most likely to be able to act on this desire. The income data in the Appendix give partial support for this idea. Canterbury, Bankstown, Auburn, Fairfield and Parramatta all exhibit a higher rate of outflow amongst men in the \$600-\$999 and \$1,000+ per week income brackets than they do for men in the lower income categories. Some of these movements are very striking. For example, it can be calculated from the Appendix that 35.7 per cent of

men aged 25-64 who were living in Canterbury in 1991 and who earned \$600-\$999 in 1996 had moved out of the municipality by 1996. Similarly, 35.8 per cent of those in the same income bracket moved out of Auburn. Out-movement from those in the lowest income bracket (under \$300 per week) was somewhat lower. In the case of these two LGAs, 28.9 per cent of men earning less than \$300 per week who lived in Canterbury in 1991 and 30.6 per cent of those who lived in Auburn in 1991 had left by 1996.

Though the figures are suggestive, the differences in out-movement rates by income are small. They indicate that the upward mobility thesis is far from a full explanation of residential dynamics in Sydney's south west. It does not appear to explain the significant outward movement of men in the lower income cate-

**Table 2: Fairfield internal migration, 1991-96: males aged 25-64 yrs by weekly income by birthplace, 1991 to 1996**

Weekly income and birthplace of males aged 25-64 yrs	1996 Aust. residents who lived in Fairfield in 1991	Movement to/from elsewhere in Australia				
		Inflow	Outflow	Net	Net as % of 1991	
< \$300	Australia	3,196	374	1,078	-704	-22.0
	ESB	416	46	140	-94	-22.6
	NESB	9,774	1,139	1,419	-280	-2.9
	Total *	13,499	1,574	2,661	-1,087	-8.1
\$300-\$599	Australia	5,466	754	1,586	-832	-15.2
	ESB	725	80	241	-161	-22.2
	NESB	11,586	1,301	1,857	-556	-4.8
	Total *	17,879	2,160	3,702	-1,542	-8.6
\$600-\$999	Australia	4,465	568	1,392	-824	-18.5
	ESB	612	93	166	-73	-11.9
	NESB	5,376	518	1,018	-500	-9.3
	Total *	10,496	1,182	2,582	-1,400	-13.3
\$1,000+	Australia	1,283	150	424	-274	-21.4
	ESB	165	24	45	-21	-12.7
	NESB	1,089	109	247	-138	-12.7
	Total *	2,546	283	722	-439	-17.2
Total *	Australia	14,844	1,894	4,587	-2,693	-18.1
	ESB	1,969	246	613	-367	-18.6
	NESB	28,671	3,167	4,651	-1,484	-5.2
	Total *	45,789	5,356	9,917	-4,561	-10.0

\* Totals for birthplace and income include not stated

gories. To explore this issue further, rates of movement for each income group by birthplace aggregates were calculated. These are shown in Table 2 for Fairfield. The table shows that the rate of out-movement on the part of low income Australia-born residents over the 1991-1996 period was similar to that of Australia-born men on incomes of \$1,000+. Also the net losses for Australia-born men were much the same (around 20 per cent) for each of the income categories. A similar pattern applies to ESB-born residents.

Though high income NESB residents were not as keen to leave as their Australia-born counterparts, they did leave at a higher rate than low income NESB residents. Perhaps the upward mobility thesis may apply to some of these NESB-born residents. The main difference between birthplace groups is that the rate of out-migration for low income Australia- and ESB-born residents is much higher than it is for poor NESB-born residents. The Fairfield pattern was also evident in the other south-western LGAs.

These findings support the thesis that the changing ethnic make up of some south-western suburbs is contributing to the exodus of Australia- and ESB-born residents. That is, the changing social make-up may prompt these people to leave regardless of their income level or the quality of their housing. To confirm such ideas requires additional qualitative work, well beyond the scope of this report.<sup>8</sup> However, the 1996 locations to which Australia-born and ESB-born movers from the Fairfield, Bankstown and the other south-western suburbs had moved were mostly well away from the south west. There is not space to list these destinations. But the pattern is clear. The movers are not just moving

across the respective suburban borders, such as from Fairfield to Bankstown. Liverpool and other fringe south-western suburbs are important destinations, as is northern Sydney and Gosford-Wyong. (The movement to Gosford-Wyong of Australian-born residents over the 1991-1996 period is evident in the Appendix.) Many are also moving out of Sydney altogether.

A cautious conclusion from this evidence is that these movement patterns are consistent with a desire on the part of Australia-born and ESB-born residents of the south-west to move to more socially compatible areas. But the data do not prove that this is the main motive.

#### **MOVERS IN AND OUT OF SYDNEY**

Table 3 shows the overall pattern of people movement as it has affected Sydney. For this purpose the movements in and out of Sydney between 1991 and 1996 have been aggregated according to the three NSW coastal locations described earlier, the rest of NSW, Queensland and the rest of Australia.

Sydney lost people through internal migration between 1991 and 1996, though, as noted, at a lower rate than in the preceding 1986-1991 period. Overall there was a net loss of 64,000 (that is of persons whose addresses were known in 1991 and 1996). It should be remembered that as well as excluding the people who did not state their 1991 address, the data in Table 3 also exclude children aged 0-4 in 1996. When these are taken into account, Sydney gains population over the 1991-1996 period even without including overseas arrivals. The 64,000 loss refers to those alive in 1991 and recorded as living in Sydney. Table 3 shows that just over half of this 64,000 loss was to Queensland, with most of the rest to the three NSW coastal locations.

**Table 3: Internal migration to and from Sydney Statistical Division, by birthplace and age of persons aged 5+ yrs, and by weekly income of males aged 25-64 yrs, 1991 to 1996**

	Australia-born and NESB-born persons who lived in Sydney in 1991	ESB-born residents	North Coast residents	Mid Nth Coast residents	South Coast	Rest of NSW	Queensland	Rest of Aust.	Total movers	Total movers as % of 1991 residents (Rate**)
<b>Residence in 1996 of people who moved out of Sydney</b>										
<i>Birthplace</i>										
Australia	2,178,564	6,190	28,200	11,812	50,645	47,988	40,956	185,791		8.5
ESB	271,781	782	3,062	1,493	5,245	7,783	6,821	25,186		9.3
NESB	658,351	384	1,631	1,019	4,457	6,126	7,243	20,860		3.2
Total *	3,150,062	7,462	33,452	14,558	61,297	62,777	55,637	235,183		7.5
<i>Age</i>										
5-14	468,375	1,123	5,420	2,261	9,303	10,499	8,796	37,402		8.0
15-24	469,794	673	3,076	1,145	10,786	8,124	8,280	32,084		6.8
25-44	1,049,245	2,784	11,506	4,910	26,346	27,064	28,891	101,501		9.7
45-64	745,132	1,747	8,761	4,179	10,543	12,243	7,202	44,675		6.0
65+	417,516	1,135	4,689	2,063	4,319	4,847	2,468	19,521		4.7
Total	3,150,062	7,462	33,452	14,558	61,297	62,777	55,637	235,183		7.5
<i>Individual weekly income of males aged 25-64 yrs</i>										
< \$300	185,861	1,110	4,821	2,181	6,558	6,710	4,283	25,663		13.8
\$300-\$599	270,837	606	2,471	1,087	5,060	5,934	3,875	19,033		7.0
\$600-\$999	259,517	309	1,722	789	4,813	4,597	5,731	17,961		6.9
\$1,000+	152,919	115	630	242	2,015	2,283	4,546	9,831		6.4
Total *	891,045	2,188	9,822	4,366	18,839	19,954	18,759	73,928		8.3
<b>1991 residence of people who moved into Sydney</b>										
<i>Birthplace</i>										
Australia		2,158	14,612	5,811	46,859	21,006	44,294	134,740		6.2
ESB		177	1,072	516	3,165	2,888	6,503	14,321		5.3
NESB		67	807	407	4,434	2,846	8,854	17,415		2.6
Total *		2,447	16,719	6,865	55,145	27,099	60,264	168,539		5.4
<i>Age</i>										
5-14		295	2,129	920	7,204	3,514	8,189	22,251		4.8
15-24		800	5,533	2,156	18,269	6,177	11,932	44,867		9.6
25-44		834	5,357	2,263	20,858	12,682	31,511	73,505		7.0
45-64		303	2,158	826	6,248	3,397	7,017	19,949		2.7
65+		215	1,542	700	2,566	1,329	1,615	7,967		1.9
Total		2,447	16,719	6,865	55,145	27,099	60,264	168,539		5.4
<i>Individual weekly income of males aged 25-64 yrs</i>										
< \$300		149	840	328	3,108	1,620	3,009	9,054		4.9
\$300-\$599		213	1,097	484	4,016	2,063	3,913	11,786		4.4
\$600-\$999		138	1,199	520	4,619	2,597	6,281	15,354		5.9
\$1,000+		71	519	205	1,942	1,813	6,616	11,166		7.3
Total *		580	3,728	1,563	14,028	8,249	20,152	48,300		5.4
<b>Net flow (negative is from Sydney, positive is to Sydney)</b>										
<i>Birthplace</i>										
Australia		-4,032	-13,588	-6,001	-3,786	-26,982	3,338	-51,051		-2.3
ESB		-605	-1,990	-977	-2,080	-4,895	-318	-10,865		-4.0
NESB		-317	-824	-612	-23	-3,280	1,611	-3,445		-0.5
Total *		-5,015	-16,733	-7,693	-6,152	-35,678	4,627	-66,644		-2.1
<i>Age</i>										
5-14		-828	-3,291	-1,341	-2,099	-6,985	-607	-15,151		-3.2
15-24		127	2,457	1,011	7,483	-1,947	3,652	12,783		2.7
25-44		-1,950	-6,149	-2,647	-5,488	-14,382	2,620	-27,996		-2.7
45-64		-1,444	-6,603	-3,353	-4,295	-8,846	-185	-24,726		-3.3
65+		-920	-3,147	-1,363	-1,753	-3,518	-853	-11,554		-2.8
Total		-5,015	-16,733	-7,693	-6,152	-35,678	4,627	-66,644		-2.1
<i>Individual weekly income of males aged 25-64 yrs</i>										
< \$300		-961	-3,981	-1,853	-3,450	-5,090	-1,274	-16,609		-8.9
\$300-\$599		-393	-1,374	-603	-1,044	-3,871	38	-7,247		-2.7
\$600-\$999		-171	-523	-269	-194	-2,000	550	-2,607		-1.0
\$1,000+		-44	-111	-37	-73	-470	2,070	1,335		0.9
Total *		-1,608	-6,094	-2,803	-4,811	-11,705	1,393	-25,628		-2.9

\* Totals includes not stated birthplace and income. However, the data exclude people who did not state their place of residence on the 1996 Census form and they exclude children born between

net figures hide very large movements in and out of Sydney. Rates of movement in, out and net for each of the birthplace, age and income groups are shown in the right-hand column of the Table 3. In the case of the Australia-born residents (who made up 77 per cent of the net loss), a remarkable 8.5 per cent of the people resident in Sydney in 1991 had left the city by 1996. A number equivalent to 6.2 per cent of the 1991 Australia-born population of Sydney moved in, such that the net loss of Australia-born residents through internal migration was just 2.3 per cent. But because those who left Sydney differed in some respects from those who moved in, the social consequences of internal migration were greater than these net loss figures suggest.

These social consequences include the following. First, those moving out were predominantly drawn from the less affluent. A strikingly high 34.7 per cent of all the men aged 25-64 who left Sydney earned less than \$300 per week at their destination in 1996. By contrast, only 18.7 per cent of those who moved into Sydney were earning such low amounts in 1996. Thus there was a substantial net loss of low income men from Sydney over the 1991-1996 period. On the other hand Table 3 shows that Sydney made a small net gain from internal migration of men aged 25-64 who earned \$1000+ during the same period.

The three NSW coastal locations proved to be popular destinations for the lower income movers out of Sydney. Just on a third of all men earning less than \$300 per week moved to three coastal locations. This group made up just on a half of all the men moving from Sydney to these locations over the 1991-1996 period. This pattern is consistent with the thesis advanced at the outset, that the sunbelt locations are becoming a reposi-

tory for those who have lost out in the restructuring process. The age data reported in Table 3 also show that not only are the numbers of persons aged 65+ who are moving out of Sydney low, but so too is the rate of out-movement. Sydney residents in the age groups 25-44 and 45-64 are more likely to move out than their older counterparts. The sunbelt movement is only marginally a phenomenon of retirement movement.

Second, contrary to the dole-bludging images associated with young people and sunbelt locations, there was actually a net exodus of people aged 15-24 from the NSW coastal locations (and from the rest of NSW) to Sydney, though not from Queensland. This is partly a consequence of the location of tertiary education facilities in Sydney, but probably also reflects the greater employment opportunities for young people in Sydney, relative to the coastal locations.

Sydney residents should not be too smug about these findings. It is true that Sydney is primarily losing its poorer resident through internal migration. The net outflow figures for men aged 25-64 from Sydney show that 64.8 per cent of the total loss (or 16,609 men out of 25,628) were earning less than \$300 per week in 1996. But complacency would be misplaced because during the 1991-1996 period Sydney received a major influx of low income overseas migrants. The data on the 62,848 men aged 25-64 who were overseas in 1991 and living in Sydney in 1996 (not shown in Table 3) indicate that, of these men, 30.9 per cent (or 19,140) were earning less than \$300 per week.

#### **THE IMPACT OF INTERNAL MIGRATION ON NSW COASTAL LOCATIONS**

The data for the three coastal locations in NSW provide further substantiation of the

points just discussed. The age patterns from internal migration show up clearly. For each location there is a higher net inflow of persons in the 25-64 age groups than there is for those aged 65 plus. Net losses of young people are also evident. Overseas migration has a negligible impact on these coastal communities.

The data shown in Table 4 demonstrate the relatively parlous state of the coastal communities. Not only are the people who move to these areas disproportionately poor (when they get there), but they are joining communities which are themselves already poor. In fact, these areas are getting poorer in relative terms as a consequence of the internal migration process. This point can be substantiated by comparing the income distribution of men aged 25-64 who were residents in 1991 with those who were residents in 1996. For the north coast, which is the most affected by internal migration, 35.8 per cent of the men who indicated that they lived in the area in 1991 were receiving less than \$300 per week in 1996. By 1996, as a result of the new mix of men living in the area, 9,697, or 39.3 per cent of all 24,698 male residents aged 25-64 indicated that they were earning less than \$300 per week.

If there is any doubt remaining about the degree of precariousness in the economic circumstances of these

**Table 4: Internal migration, coastal areas of NSW, 1991-1996, by birthplace and age of persons 5+yrs and by weekly income of males aged 25-64 yrs**

	1996 Aust. residents who lived in location in 1991	Movement to/from elsewhere in Australia			Net as % of 1991
		Inflow	Outflow	Net	
<b>North Coast</b>					
<i>Birthplace</i>					
Australia	72,035	24,662	14,694	9,968	13.8
ESB	6,347	2,943	1,274	1,669	26.3
NESB	2,763	1,129	538	591	21.4
Total *	82,597	29,224	16,790	12,434	15.1
<i>Age</i>					
5-14	12,726	4,922	2,431	2,491	19.6
15-24	11,336	3,659	4,049	-390	-3.4
25-44	22,266	10,581	5,686	4,895	22.0
45-64	19,329	6,282	2,824	3,458	17.9
65+	16,940	3,780	1,800	1,980	11.7
Total	82,597	29,224	16,790	12,434	15.1
<i>Income</i>					
< \$300	7,255	3,706	1,531	2,175	30.0
\$300-\$599	7,526	2,594	1,462	1,132	15.0
\$600-\$999	3,934	1,305	879	426	10.8
\$1,000+	1,082	409	272	137	12.7
Total *	20,242	8,194	4,231	3,963	19.6
<b>Mid North Coast (excluding Newcastle)</b>					
<i>Birthplace</i>					
Australia	364,796	73,354	56,531	16,823	4.6
ESB	23,781	6,381	3,918	2,463	10.4
NESB	14,288	3,411	2,308	1,103	7.7
Total *	409,615	84,533	63,741	20,792	5.1
<i>Age</i>					
5-14	67,474	15,121	9,956	5,165	7.7
15-24	60,448	10,386	16,918	-6,532	-10.8
25-44	114,522	31,592	22,448	9,144	8.0
45-64	97,675	18,284	9,309	8,975	9.2
65+	69,496	9,150	5,110	4,040	5.8
Total	409,615	84,533	63,741	20,792	5.1
<i>Income</i>					
< \$300	34,445	10,111	4,628	5,483	15.9
\$300-\$599	33,811	6,449	4,868	1,581	4.7
\$600-\$999	24,364	5,505	4,289	1,216	5.0
\$1,000+	9,288	1,931	1,854	77	0.8
Total *	104,261	24,447	15,965	8,482	8.1
<b>South Coast</b>					
<i>Birthplace</i>					
Australia	142,317	31,437	23,719	7,718	5.4
ESB	14,815	3,723	2,267	1,456	9.8
NESB	11,015	2,415	1,383	1,032	9.4
Total *	171,144	38,210	27,871	10,339	6.0
<i>Age</i>					
5-14	29,668	6,747	4,730	2,017	6.8
15-24	24,163	4,151	6,721	-2,570	-10.6
25-44	49,404	13,930	9,854	4,076	8.3
45-64	38,742	9,161	4,013	5,148	13.3
65+	29,137	4,221	2,553	1,668	5.7
Total	171,144	38,210	27,871	10,339	6.0
<i>Income</i>					
< \$300	13,757	4,670	2,097	2,573	18.7
\$300-\$599	14,216	2,998	2,194	804	5.7
\$600-\$999	10,853	2,462	1,908	554	5.1
\$1,000+	3,579	886	723	163	4.6
Total *	43,561	11,220	7,080	4,140	9.5

\* Totals for birthplace and income include not stated

coastal communities, a comparison between their income levels and those of the poorest LGAs in Sydney, including Fairfield and Auburn, should remove it. In the latter two LGAs, the Appendix shows that by 1996 just over 30 per cent of the male residents aged 25-64 reported incomes of less than \$300 per week. Life may be better in Tweed Head on such incomes than it is in Fairfield. But just as the Sydney authorities face a major challenge in coping with residential aggregations of poor people in their south-western suburbs, so too do the authorities who will have to manage the consequences of low income concentrations in the sunbelt.

**Sydney's Local Government Areas**  
map here in print version.

See map of Sydney Local Government Areas at end of appendix.

Appendix with four tables available.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> For Victoria, see J. O'Leary, 'The resurgence of Marvellous Melbourne—trends in population distribution in Victoria, 1991 to 1996', *People and Place*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1999. For Brisbane, see R. Barker et al. '1996 Census findings of interstate migration to Queensland focusing on South-east Queensland', *People and Place*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1998.
- <sup>2</sup> NSW Population Projections Group, *Population Projections for New South Wales, 1991-2021*, 1994 Revision, Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Sydney, 1994
- <sup>3</sup> S. Nugent, 'Why Sydney keeps growing—trends in population distribution in New South Wales, 1991 to 1996', *People and Place*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1998
- <sup>4</sup> B. Birrell and B. Seol, 'Sydney's ethnic underclass', *People and Place*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1998, p. 19
- <sup>5</sup> *ibid*, pp. 21
- <sup>6</sup> *ibid*, pp. 24-25
- <sup>7</sup> *ibid*, p. 20
- <sup>8</sup> Linda Morris provides such evidence in her report on Sydney's changing residential patterns. See 'The flight of the battlers', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 May 1999.

**Appendix: Movement into and out of selected Sydney Local Government Areas by birthplace of Australian residents aged 5+ and by weekly income of males aged 25-64 yrs, 1991 to 1996**

	1996 Aust. residents who lived in LGA in 1991	Movement to/ from elsewhere in Australia		Net as % of 1991	People who lived overseas in 1991			Total net change No. % of 1991	Total residing in location in 1996**			
		Inflow	Outflow		Net	Born ESB country (incl Aust.)	Born NESB country			Total (incl not stated)		
<b>Canterbury (C)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	58,008	9,947	16,388	-6,441	-11.1	523	-	523	0.9	-5,918	-10.2	52,090
ESB	4,793	973	1,737	-764	-15.9	711	-	711	14.8	-53	-1.1	4,740
NESB	49,388	9,735	12,764	-3,029	-6.1	10,172	10,172	10,172	20.6	7,143	14.5	56,531
Total *	113,512	20,879	31,285	-10,406	-9.2	1,234	10,172	11,467	10.1	1,061	0.9	114,573
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	9,272	1,986	2,679	-693	-7.5	57	1,357	1,414	15.3	721	7.8	9,993
\$300-\$599	12,316	3,020	3,625	-605	-4.9	112	1,031	1,152	9.4	547	4.4	12,863
\$600-\$999	7,558	1,809	2,702	-893	-11.8	64	346	410	5.4	-483	-6.4	7,075
\$1,000+	2,436	493	976	-483	-19.8	16	56	72	3.0	-411	-16.9	2,025
Total *	32,497	7,480	10,202	-2,722	-8.4	260	2,909	3,181	9.8	459	1.4	32,956
<b>Bankstown (C)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	95,554	13,478	21,445	-7,967	-8.3	412	-	412	0.4	-7,555	-7.9	87,999
ESB	6,650	1,193	1,720	-527	-7.9	546	-	546	8.2	19	0.3	6,669
NESB	36,248	9,214	6,497	2,717	7.5	-	4,675	4,675	12.9	7,392	20.4	43,640
Total *	140,488	24,205	30,069	-5,864	-4.2	958	4,675	5,669	4.0	-195	-0.1	140,293
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	9,344	1,883	2,483	-600	-6.4	50	627	677	7.2	77	0.8	9,421
\$300-\$599	12,984	2,789	3,081	-292	-2.2	72	423	495	3.8	203	1.6	13,187
\$600-\$999	10,715	2,151	2,861	-710	-6.6	66	158	224	2.1	-486	-4.5	10,229
\$1,000+	3,789	645	1,054	-409	-10.8	38	50	88	2.3	-321	-8.5	3,468
Total *	37,834	7,655	9,684	-2,029	-5.4	233	1,306	1,542	4.1	-487	-1.3	37,347
<b>Auburn (A)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	21,187	3,078	5,978	-2,900	-13.7	202	-	202	1.0	-2,698	-12.7	18,489
ESB	1,588	301	590	-289	-18.2	260	-	260	16.4	-29	-1.8	1,559
NESB	19,186	3,780	5,074	-1,294	-6.7	-	5,227	5,227	27.2	3,933	20.5	23,119
Total *	42,466	7,244	11,773	-4,529	-10.7	462	5,227	5,756	13.6	1,227	2.9	43,693
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	3,636	732	1,116	-384	-10.6	20	751	774	21.3	390	10.7	4,026
\$300-\$599	4,555	1,139	1,359	-220	-4.8	18	470	491	10.8	271	5.9	4,826
\$600-\$999	2,705	588	968	-380	-14.0	12	161	173	6.4	-207	-7.7	2,498
\$1,000+	734	134	284	-150	-20.4	6	24	33	4.5	-117	-15.9	617
Total *	12,000	2,657	3,810	-1,153	-9.6	62	1,469	1,546	12.9	393	3.3	12,393

**Appendix continued**

	1996 Aust. residents who lived in LGA in 1991	Movement to/ from elsewhere in Australia			People who lived overseas in 1991				Total net change		Total residing in location in 1996**	
		Inflow	Outflow	Net	Net as % of 1991	Born ESB country (incl Aust.)	Born NESB country	Total (incl not stated)	% of Aust. residents 1991	No.		% of 1991
<b>Liverpool (C)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	61,002	19,086	17,932	1,154	1.9	352	-	352	0.6	1,506	2.5	62,508
ESB	5,587	1,886	1,710	176	3.2	535	-	535	9.6	711	12.7	6,298
NESB	22,810	9,577	4,320	5,257	23.0	-	5,887	5,887	25.8	11,144	48.9	33,954
Total *	90,886	30,955	24,372	6,583	7.2	887	5,887	6,794	7.5	13,377	14.7	104,263
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	6,687	1,734	1,917	-183	-2.7	38	735	773	11.6	590	8.8	7,277
\$300-\$599	9,315	3,400	2,575	825	8.9	64	595	662	7.1	1,487	16.0	10,802
\$600-\$999	7,715	3,403	2,611	792	10.3	76	311	387	5.0	1,179	15.3	8,894
\$1,000+	2,113	843	634	209	9.9	42	58	100	4.7	309	14.6	2,422
Total *	26,584	9,592	7,920	1,672	6.3	227	1,762	1,992	7.5	3,664	13.8	30,248
<b>Fairfield (C)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	73,926	7,704	17,969	-10,265	-13.9	297	-	297	0.4	-9,968	-13.5	63,958
ESB	5,732	672	1,570	-898	-15.7	473	-	473	8.3	-425	-7.4	5,307
NESB	78,598	8,021	11,962	-3,941	-5.0	-	12,504	12,504	15.9	8,563	10.9	87,161
Total *	160,074	16,622	31,838	-15,216	-9.5	770	12,504	13,329	8.3	-1,887	-1.2	158,187
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	13,499	1,574	2,661	-1,087	-8.1	38	1,802	1,847	13.7	760	5.6	14,259
\$300-\$599	17,879	2,160	3,702	-1,542	-8.6	51	1,060	1,114	6.2	-428	-2.4	17,451
\$600-\$999	10,496	1,182	2,582	-1,400	-13.3	40	192	232	2.2	-1,168	-11.1	9,328
\$1,000+	2,546	283	722	-439	-17.2	13	34	47	1.8	-392	-15.4	2,154
Total *	45,789	5,356	9,917	-4,561	-10.0	145	3,211	3,369	7.4	-1,192	-2.6	44,597
<b>Strathfield (A)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	13,226	2,986	4,247	-1,261	-9.5	108	-	108	0.8	-1,153	-8.7	12,073
ESB	1,115	302	440	-138	-12.4	157	-	157	14.1	19	1.7	1,134
NESB	7,751	2,269	2,419	-150	-1.9	-	2,091	2,091	27.0	1,941	25.0	9,692
Total *	22,320	5,632	7,163	-1,531	-6.9	265	2,091	2,365	10.6	834	3.7	23,154
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	1,337	350	528	-178	-13.3	13	218	231	17.3	53	4.0	1,390
\$300-\$599	1,803	573	744	-171	-9.5	29	155	184	10.2	13	0.7	1,816
\$600-\$999	1,687	457	687	-230	-13.6	20	74	94	5.6	-136	-8.1	1,551
\$1,000+	1,138	309	376	-67	-5.9	8	36	44	3.9	-23	-2.0	1,115
Total *	6,105	1,738	2,383	-645	-10.6	70	501	571	9.4	-74	-1.2	6,031

Appendix continued

	1996 Aust. residents who lived in LGA in 1991	Movement to/ from elsewhere in Australia			People who lived overseas in 1991				Total net change		Total residing in location in 1996**	
		Inflow	Outflow	Net	Net as % of 1991	Born ESB (incl AustL)	Born NESB country	Total (incl not stated)	% of Aust. residents 1991	No.		% of 1991
<b>Penrith (C)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	104,747	20,832	20,904	-72	-0.1	375	-	375	0.4	303	0.3	105,050
ESB	14,705	2,253	2,779	-526	-3.6	1,085	-	1,085	7.4	559	3.8	15,264
NESB	18,026	3,128	2,974	154	0.9	-	2,266	2,266	12.6	2,420	13.4	20,446
Total *	139,643	26,574	27,086	-512	-0.4	1,460	2,266	3,741	2.7	3,229	2.3	142,872
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	7,044	1,421	2,002	-581	-8.2	85	211	299	4.2	-282	-4.0	6,762
\$300-\$599	12,618	2,634	2,449	185	1.5	139	205	344	2.7	529	4.2	13,147
\$600-\$999	13,560	2,976	2,437	539	4.0	131	132	266	2.0	805	5.9	14,365
\$1,000+	4,571	804	914	-110	-2.4	53	36	89	1.9	-21	-0.5	4,550
Total *	38,749	8,003	7,955	48	0.1	419	606	1,031	2.7	1,079	2.8	39,828
<b>Campbelltown (C)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	94,733	16,009	22,007	-5,998	-6.3	288	-	288	0.3	-5,710	-6.0	89,023
ESB	13,121	1,908	2,844	-936	-7.1	889	-	889	6.8	-47	-0.4	13,074
NESB	17,725	4,036	3,613	423	2.4	-	2,658	2,658	15.0	3,081	17.4	20,806
Total *	127,596	22,344	28,896	-6,552	-5.1	1,177	2,658	3,868	3.0	-2,684	-2.1	124,912
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	6,615	1,322	1,949	-627	-9.5	56	296	355	5.4	-272	-4.1	6,343
\$300-\$599	10,599	2,257	2,278	-21	-0.2	73	233	306	2.9	285	2.7	10,884
\$600-\$999	11,225	2,316	2,423	-107	-1.0	96	106	205	1.8	98	0.9	11,323
\$1,000+	3,873	505	949	-444	-11.5	26	24	50	1.3	-394	-10.2	3,479
Total *	33,141	6,556	7,777	-1,221	-3.7	263	689	961	2.9	-260	-0.8	32,881
<b>Parramatta (C)</b>												
<i>Birthplace</i>												
Australia	79,714	18,135	24,398	-6,263	-7.9	574	-	574	0.7	-5,689	-7.1	74,025
ESB	8,248	2,150	2,880	-730	-8.9	1,076	-	1,076	13.0	346	4.2	8,594
NESB	27,146	8,479	7,792	687	2.5	-	9,038	9,038	33.3	9,725	35.8	36,871
Total *	116,585	29,033	35,522	-6,489	-5.6	1,650	9,038	10,732	9.2	4,243	3.6	120,828
<i>Income</i>												
< \$300	7,723	1,912	2,379	-467	-6.0	79	1,114	1,197	15.5	730	9.5	8,453
\$300-\$599	10,185	3,029	3,393	-364	-3.6	134	793	927	9.1	563	5.5	10,748
\$600-\$999	9,816	3,182	3,821	-639	-6.5	157	485	645	6.6	6	0.1	9,822
\$1,000+	4,843	1,358	1,846	-488	-10.1	123	193	319	6.6	-169	-3.5	4,674
Total *	33,369	9,651	11,681	-2,030	-6.1	507	2,653	3,173	9.5	1,143	3.4	34,512

Appendix continued

	1996 Aust. residents who lived in LGA in 1991	Movement to/ from elsewhere in Australia			People who lived overseas in 1991			Total net change		Total residing in location in 1996**	
		Inflow	Outflow	Net	Net as % of 1991	Born ESB (incl AustL)	Born NESB country	Total (incl not stated)	% of Aust. residents 1991		No.
<b>Concord/Drummoyne/Leichardt</b>											
<i>Birthplace</i>											
Australia	65,648	20,545	21,007	-462	-0.7	1,386	-	1,386	2.1	924	1.4
ESB	9,111	3,080	3,498	-418	-4.6	2,201	-	2,201	24.2	1,783	19.6
NESB	19,778	3,545	4,715	-1,170	-5.9	2,337	2,337	2,337	11.8	1,167	5.9
Total *	95,793	27,428	29,553	-2,125	-2.2	3,587	2,337	5,940	6.2	3,815	4.0
<i>Income</i>											
< \$300	6,031	1,385	2,169	-784	-13.0	195	260	455	7.5	-329	-5.5
\$300-\$599	7,938	2,175	2,770	-595	-7.5	260	189	452	5.7	-143	-1.8
\$600-\$999	7,998	3,147	2,985	162	2.0	430	133	567	7.1	729	9.1
\$1,000+	6,603	2,830	2,548	282	4.3	476	89	568	8.6	850	12.9
Total *	29,190	9,688	10,651	-963	-3.3	1,382	702	2,097	7.2	1,134	3.9
<b>Camden/Wollondilly</b>											
<i>Birthplace</i>											
Australia	41,452	13,359	7,685	5,674	13.7	151	-	151	0.4	5,825	14.1
ESB	4,731	1,654	942	712	15.0	266	-	266	5.6	978	20.7
NESB	3,315	1,247	477	770	23.2	-	237	237	7.1	1,007	30.4
Total *	50,302	16,508	9,261	7,247	14.4	417	237	654	1.3	7,901	15.7
<i>Income</i>											
< \$300	2,675	729	657	72	2.7	25	29	54	2.0	126	4.7
\$300-\$599	4,203	1,478	782	696	16.6	29	18	47	1.1	743	17.7
\$600-\$999	4,437	1,950	729	1,221	27.5	43	12	55	1.2	1,276	28.8
\$1,000+	2,031	738	352	386	19.0	26	6	32	1.6	418	20.6
Total *	13,730	4,997	2,579	2,418	17.6	123	65	188	1.4	2,606	19.0
<b>Gosford/Wyong</b>											
<i>Birthplace</i>											
Australia	180,410	40,220	25,828	14,392	8.0	888	-	888	0.5	15,280	8.5
ESB	18,854	5,069	2,700	2,369	12.6	1,596	-	1,596	8.5	3,965	21.0
NESB	8,419	2,719	1,265	1,454	17.3	-	969	969	11.5	2,423	28.8
Total *	211,651	48,791	30,328	18,463	8.7	2,484	969	3,484	1.6	21,947	10.4
<i>Income</i>											
< \$300	13,532	4,348	2,575	1,773	13.1	162	67	232	1.7	2,005	14.8
\$300-\$599	17,305	3,917	2,300	1,617	9.3	211	71	282	1.6	1,899	11.0
\$600-\$999	15,083	4,001	2,052	1,949	12.9	225	45	270	1.8	2,219	14.7
\$1,000+	5,365	1,446	994	452	8.4	156	25	181	3.4	633	11.8
Total *	52,552	13,969	8,099	5,870	11.2	764	214	981	1.9	6,851	13.0

\* Totals for birthplace and income include not stated \*\* People residing in location 1996 who did not report their 1991 location are not included in the table. Non-movers can be calculated by subtracting the outflow from the people who reported living in the LGA in 1991.

