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Chapter Six

Demography

Contents	Page
THE POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA	115
Size and growth	115
Population distribution	115
Age/sex profile	118
Marital status	120
Birthplace	122
Citizenship	124
Religion	124
Households	125
VITAL STATISTICS	126
Births	126
Deaths	130
Marriages	134
Divorces	136
Remarriages	140
MIGRATION	140
Migration to Australia	140
Refugees	143
Permanent departures	144
Internal migration	145
BIBLIOGRAPHY	147

The principal source of demographic data is the Census of Population and Housing, which in recent times (since 1961) has been conducted at five-yearly intervals. The most recent was in 1991 and some preliminary results from it are included in this issue of the Year Book. Compulsory registration of births, deaths and marriages also provides valuable information between censuses, as do the details supplied by incoming and outgoing overseas travellers. In addition, various surveys are conducted from time to time on specific topics. Divorce data are compiled from court records; administrative records provide data on other aspects such as refugees and interstate migration.

Two important pieces of government legislation in the recent past which have had a bearing on demographic matters were the repeal in 1967 of the provision in section 127 of the Constitution requiring the exclusion of Aborigines in reckoning the numbers of people in the population, and the passing of the *Family Law Act 1975* which provided for a single ground for divorce — irretrievable breakdown of marriage — and for nullity of marriage on the ground that the marriage is void.

THE POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA

Size and growth

For an historic perspective of Australia's demographic characteristics see *Year Book Australia 1988*.

As shown in table 6.1 the estimated resident population at 30 June 1992 was 17.5 million, an increase of 1.4 per cent over the previous year. The total increase of 236,900 comprised 135,000 from natural increase and 102,000 from overseas migration. The natural increase component was below the peak level of the previous year and overseas migration was also lower.

Generally speaking, population growth has now eased back to levels in line with those of the mid-1980s. The declining rate of natural increase which characterised the 1980s has now flattened out. (Figures for 1990 indicated a slight increase in birth rates but this has not been sustained in subsequent years.)

Net overseas migration gain, moderate for most of the 1970s, increased sharply at the

end of that decade following changes in migration intake targets and Australia's acceptance of a large number of Indo-Chinese refugees as settlers. Very high intakes were recorded in 1980-81 and 1981-82, after which they fell back to previous levels. In the latter half of the 1980s there was a strong resurgence, and the overseas migration gains of 1987-88 and 1988-89 were amongst the highest recorded this century. Since 1989 they have fallen back significantly.

From year to year overseas migration gains are continuing to be more volatile than natural increase and, because of their size, are setting the pattern for trends in total population growth. From a peak of 1.8 per cent in 1981-82 the total growth rate slumped to 1.2 per cent in the middle of the 1980s as the migration intake declined. In the latter part of the decade the sharp rise in net migration resulted in a recovery in total growth to 1.7 per cent in 1989. In the 1990s the total growth rate has fallen back again as the migration intake eases. In the year ended 30 June 1992 it was 1.4 per cent.

Population distribution

Most of the Australian population is concentrated in two widely separated coastal regions. By far the largest of these, in terms of area and population, lies in the south-east, stretching in an unbroken crescent from South Australia through Victoria, Tasmania and New South Wales to Queensland. The smaller of the two regions is in the south-west of Western Australia. Neither region ever extends inland by more than two or three hundred kilometres. They are separated by two to three thousand kilometres of sparsely populated country which makes up about three-quarters of the total land area. It comprises the whole of the Northern Territory and parts of all five mainland States.

In both coastal regions the population is further concentrated into urban centres. In June 1990, 71.2 per cent of the Australian population lived in the combined State capitals (including the national capital and Darwin) and six other major cities of 100,000 persons or more (capital city statistical divisions and statistical districts). The very low population density figures for Australia as a whole (two persons per square kilometre) mask this pattern of population distribution.

6.1 ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION AND COMPONENTS OF GROWTH

Year ended 30 June	Population ('000)	Annual rate of growth (%)		
		Natural increase	Net migration	Total(a)
1981	14,923.3	0.83	0.81	1.55
1982	15,184.2	0.84	0.86	1.75
1983	15,393.5	0.85	0.48	1.38
1984	15,579.4	0.84	0.32	1.21
1985	15,788.3	0.82	0.47	1.34
1986	16,018.4	0.78	0.64	1.46
1987	16,253.5	0.79	0.74	1.47
1988	16,518.4	0.77	0.92	1.63
1989	16,803.1	0.80	0.99	1.72
1990	17,044.7	0.79	0.71	1.44
1991	17,292.0	0.83	0.64	1.45
1992	17,529.0	0.78	0.59	1.37

(a) The difference between the total and the sum of the component rates is due to distribution of the intercensal discrepancy.

Source: Australian Demographic Statistics (3101.0).

With the continuing urban development of the 20th century, capital cities have been the consistent choice for settlement of the majority of overseas immigrants, as well as receiving centres in the general internal movement of population from rural to urban areas which persisted until recent times. This trend towards increasing urbanisation continued until the mid-1970s, after which a slight decline has been recorded.

Table 6.2 shows that at the 1986 Census, 85.4 per cent of the population lived in urban areas. Between the 1976 and 1986 Censuses, the proportion of the population living in rural areas actually increased from 13.9 per cent to 14.5 per cent, while the proportion of State populations living in the capital cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane declined slightly. Parallel with this has been an emerging trend since the 1970s towards selective rapid growth of smaller coastal towns in Queensland and New South Wales which have favoured the development of retirement, recreation and tourist amenities.

Australia's two dominant population centres — Sydney (3.7 million) and Melbourne

(3.1 million) — both in the south-east, accounted for 39.4 per cent of the total population in June 1990 (table 6.3). The next largest city is Brisbane (1.3 million). Sydney and Melbourne have traditionally been the favoured ports of entry for overseas arrivals and are the capitals of the two most populous States — New South Wales and Victoria respectively. In these and every other State and Territory the capital city is the largest population centre. Most capitals are many times the size of the next largest town. All capitals, with the exception of the national capital (Canberra) are located on the coast. The capital city of the Northern Territory, Darwin, is the only capital outside the south-eastern and south-western coastal regions.

After New South Wales and Victoria, which had populations of 6.0 million and 4.5 million respectively at 30 June 1992, the State and Territory populations were, in order of size, Queensland (3.0 million), Western Australia (1.7 million), South Australia (1.5 million), Tasmania (0.5 million), the Australian Capital Territory (0.3 million) and the Northern Territory (0.2 million) (table 6.4).

6.2 URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS(a) (per cent(b))

Census	NSW	Vic.	Qld	SA	WA	Tas.	NT	ACT	Aust.
URBAN									
1921	67.8	62.3	52.1	60.0	59.3	50.5	36.2	—	62.1
1947	71.9	71.0	59.7	69.4	64.6	58.9	23.4	89.7	68.7
1954	82.6	81.3	73.0	74.5	71.0	65.9	65.9	93.3	78.7
1961	85.1	84.8	75.9	78.8	73.2	70.4	39.6	96.0	81.7
1966	86.4	85.5	76.4	82.4	75.7	70.3	53.4	96.1	82.9
1971	88.6	87.7	79.4	84.6	81.5	74.2	64.1	97.8	85.6
1976	88.7	87.9	80.2	84.9	83.5	74.9	66.4	98.4	86.0
1981	88.2	87.8	79.1	84.9	84.6	75.1	74.2	99.0	85.7
1986	87.9	87.4	78.9	84.6	84.7	74.5	71.7	99.1	85.4
RURAL									
1921	31.6	37.3	47.5	39.4	39.1	49.2	62.1	99.7	37.4
1947	27.9	28.9	40.1	30.3	34.9	40.9	75.4	10.4	31.1
1954	17.2	18.4	26.8	25.2	28.7	33.9	32.7	6.7	21.0
1961	14.6	15.0	24.0	20.8	26.4	29.4	59.9	4.0	18.1
1966	13.4	14.4	23.5	17.5	23.9	29.6	46.1	3.9	16.9
1971	11.3	12.2	20.4	15.3	18.2	25.7	35.4	2.2	14.3
1976	11.1	12.1	19.7	15.0	16.3	24.9	33.0	1.6	13.9
1981	11.8	12.1	20.8	15.1	15.3	24.8	25.3	1.0	14.2
1986	12.0	12.5	21.0	15.3	15.0	25.4	27.7	0.9	14.5

(a) Census counts by place of enumeration. Excludes full-blood Aboriginals prior to 1961. (b) Urban and rural proportions do not add up to 100 per cent as the proportion of migratory population is not included.

Source: Census 86 — Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, New South Wales (2479.0); Victoria (2480.0); Queensland (2481.0); Western Australia (2482.0); South Australia (2483.0); Tasmania (2484.0); Northern Territory (2485.0); Australian Capital Territory (2486.0); Australia (2487.0).

6.3 ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION OF CAPITAL CITIES

	1971	1976	1981	1986	1989	1990
POPULATION (PERSONS)						
Sydney	2,935,937	3,143,750	3,279,500	3,472,700	3,633,600	3,656,500
Melbourne	2,503,022	2,723,700	2,806,300	2,931,900	3,043,500	3,080,900
Brisbane	869,579	1,000,850	1,096,200	1,196,000	1,273,500	1,301,700
Adelaide	842,693	924,060	954,300	1,003,800	1,037,700	1,049,800
Perth	703,199	832,760	922,040	1,050,400	1,161,200	1,193,100
Hobart	153,216	164,400	171,110	179,000	181,200	183,500
Darwin	38,885	44,232	56,478	74,800	72,900	73,300
Canberra(a)	159,003	226,450	246,500	281,000	303,200	310,100
(b)	142,925	206,550	226,450	257,850	277,700	284,000
Total	8,205,534	9,060,202	9,532,428	10,189,600	10,706,700	10,848,900
PROPORTION OF STATE POPULATION (PER CENT)						
Sydney	63.8	63.4	62.7	62.8	63.0	62.8
Melbourne	71.5	71.5	71.1	70.1	70.4	70.3
Brisbane	47.6	47.8	46.7	45.6	44.9	44.8
Adelaide	71.8	72.5	72.3	72.6	72.8	73.0
Perth	68.2	70.7	70.9	72.0	72.8	73.0
Hobart	39.2	39.9	40.1	40.1	40.2	40.2
Darwin	45.0	45.0	46.1	48.4	46.6	46.6
Canberra(b)	99.2	99.4	99.5	99.6	99.6	99.6
Total	64.3	64.6	63.9	63.6	63.5	63.3

(a) Canberra Statistical District. (b) Excluding Queanbeyan.

Source: Estimated Resident Population of Statistical Local Areas, New South Wales, Preliminary (3210.1); Estimated Residential Population in Statistical Local Areas, Victoria, Preliminary (3203.2); Estimated Resident Population and Area, Queensland (3202.3); Estimated Resident Population in Statistical Local Areas, South Australia, Preliminary (3201.4); Estimated Resident Population in Statistical Local Areas, Western Australia, Preliminary (3204.5); Population Statistics, Tasmania (3204.6); Estimated Resident Population of Selected Areas, Northern Territory, Preliminary (3201.7); Estimated Resident Population in Statistical Local Areas, Australian Capital Territory (3205.8).

6.4 ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA

30 June	NSW	Vic.	Qld	SA	WA	Tas.	NT	ACT	Aust.
1981	5,234,889	3,946,917	2,345,208	1,318,769	1,300,056	427,224	122,616	227,581	14,923,260
1986	5,531,526	4,160,856	2,624,595	1,382,550	1,459,019	446,473	154,421	258,910	16,018,350
1987	5,613,072	4,206,582	2,674,473	1,392,006	1,494,467	449,321	158,354	265,184	16,253,459
1988	5,702,705	4,257,249	2,739,557	1,403,951	1,532,638	451,273	159,222	271,774	16,518,369
1989	5,772,742	4,314,396	2,828,337	1,418,203	1,576,417	455,466	161,375	276,129	16,803,065
1990	5,827,026	4,369,510	2,899,642	1,430,741	1,609,541	462,549	163,953	281,689	17,044,651
1991	5,902,411	4,416,320	2,966,090	1,447,172	1,636,783	466,908	166,657	289,703	17,292,044
1992	5,974,146	4,458,895	3,037,405	1,459,622	1,662,777	471,118	168,643	296,376	17,528,982

Source: Australian Demographic Statistics (3101.0); Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age: States and Territories of Australia (3201.0).

Demographic factors currently acting on the relative size of the States are above average rates of natural increase in Queensland, Western Australia and the two Territories, above average per capita overseas migration gains in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia and high per capita interstate migration gains in Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory. State population growth rates in the year ended June 1992 were, in order of size, Queensland (2.4%), Australian Capital Territory (2.3%), Western Australia (1.6%), New South Wales (1.2%), Northern Territory (1.2%), Victoria (1.0%), Tasmania (0.9%) and South Australia (0.9%). The growth rate for Australia as a whole was 1.4 per cent.

Age/sex profile

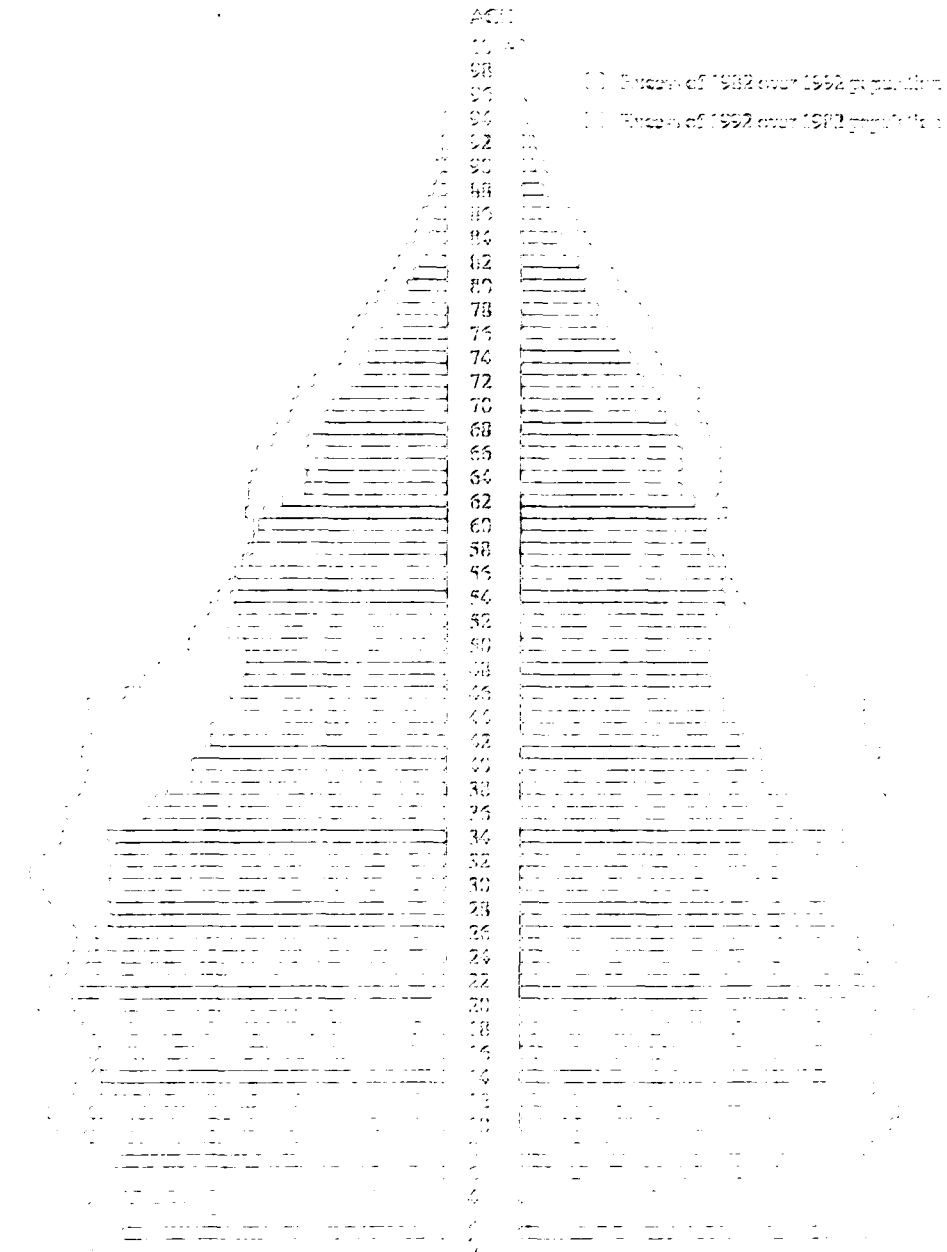
The sex ratio of the population is expressed as the number of males per 100 females. This ratio declines with age: it is about 105 at birth, but, leaving aside inward or outward migration, higher male mortality gradually erodes the difference so that the numbers of males and females would tend to be about the same soon after age 60. From then on, due to continuing mortality differentials in favour of females, the female population begins to exceed males and this excess increases towards older ages. The overall sex ratio of the population has been declining since the 1950s as the overseas migration intake has become less male dominated (see Migration section of this chapter). In 1992 the Australian population had 99.3 males for every 100 females.

The age distribution of the population is shown in graph 6.5 in the form of an age-sex pyramid, comparing the years 1982 and 1992. The low birth rates of the depression years of the 1930s, the deaths of defence personnel during World War II, the prolonged 'baby boom' from the end of World War II to the early 1960s, the declining birth rate of the 1970s and 1980s are all reflected in the profile.

The median age of the population at 30 June 1992 was 32.6 years. It has been rising consistently since the beginning of the 1970s as a result of lower birthrates as well as lower mortality rates at most ages. (The proportion of the population aged 65 years and over has risen from 9.9% in 1982 to 11.4% in 1992.) In descending order, the median ages of the State populations were South Australia (33.8), New South Wales (33.1), Victoria (32.7), Tasmania (32.6), Queensland (32.1), Western Australia (31.8), Australian Capital Territory (29.7) and the Northern Territory (27.3). All States have been steadily rising.

As a consequence of changes in the age distribution, the aged-dependency ratio (population aged 65 and over per 100 population of working ages 15 to 64) has increased from 15.1 in 1982 to 17.0 in 1992, while the child-dependency ratio (population aged 0 to 14 per 100 population of working ages) has declined sharply from 37.7 to 32.7 during the same period. The combined effect is that the total dependency ratio has declined from 52.8 in 1982 to 49.7 in 1992.

6.5 ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA 30 JUNE 1982 AND 1992



Source: Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age: States and Territories of Australia (3201.0).

6.6 SEX RATIOS, PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION AND MEDIAN AGES OF THE POPULATION

<i>Sex ratios(a) at ages</i>					
<i>30 June</i>	<i>0-14</i>	<i>15-44</i>	<i>45-64</i>	<i>>64</i>	<i>Total</i>
1981	104.6	103.4	100.4	72.6	99.6
1986	105.1	103.1	102.6	72.9	99.8
1987	105.1	102.9	102.8	73.5	99.7
1988	105.1	102.8	103.0	73.9	99.7
1989	105.0	102.8	103.2	74.5	99.7
1990	105.0	102.0	103.2	75.1	99.5
1991	105.0	101.7	103.2	75.7	99.4
1992	105.0	101.5	103.2	76.2	99.3

<i>Per cent of population aged</i>					
<i>30 June</i>	<i>0-14</i>	<i>15-44</i>	<i>45-64</i>	<i>>64</i>	<i>Median ages(b)</i>
1981	25.0	46.1	19.2	9.8	29.6
1986	23.1	47.3	19.1	10.5	31.1
1987	22.7	47.6	19.0	10.7	31.3
1988	22.4	47.8	19.0	10.8	31.6
1989	22.2	47.9	19.0	10.9	31.8
1990	22.0	47.8	19.2	11.0	32.2
1991	21.9	47.6	19.3	11.2	32.3
1992	21.8	47.2	19.6	11.4	32.6

(a) Males per 100 females. (b) The median age is the age at which half of the population is older and half is younger.

Source: *Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age: States and Territories of Australia (3201.0)*.

6.7 DEPENDENCY RATIOS(a) FOR CHILDREN AND THE AGED, AT 30 JUNE

<i>Age group (years)</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1992</i>
0-14	45.53	42.11	38.24	34.78	32.71	32.85	32.68
>64	13.25	13.93	14.93	15.81	16.66	16.73	17.00
Total	58.78	56.04	53.17	50.59	49.37	49.58	49.68

(a) A dependency ratio is the ratio of the dependant population (aged 0 to 14 and 65 and over) per 100 population of working ages (15 to 64 years).

Source: *Estimated Resident Population by Sex and Age: States and Territories of Australia (3201.0)*.

Marital status

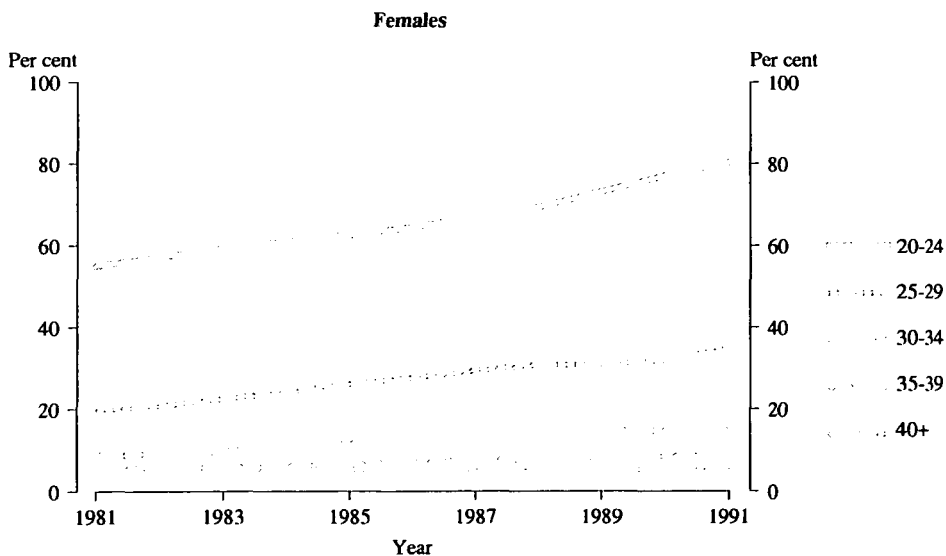
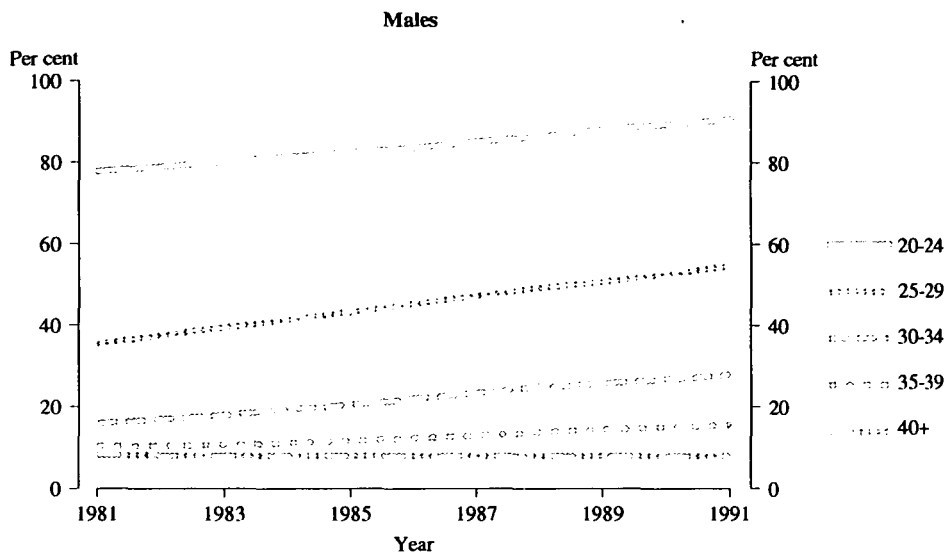
Between 1976 and 1991 the total population aged 15 and over increased by 32.4 per cent. Of these, the numbers of persons never married, married, widowed and divorced increased by 57.2, 17.7, 18.9 and 216.5 per cent respectively.

The disproportionate increase in the population of divorced persons is a reflection of the increase in divorce following introduction of the Family Law Act in 1975. However, since the beginning of the 1980s there has been a steady decline in the rate of growth of the divorced population.

Females exceed males in all categories except the never married. This arises principally from mortality differences in the higher age groups. The effect is particularly noticeable in the widowed category where females far outnumber males.

In the 'never married' category males exceed females because of higher sex ratios of the population at younger ages and also because of the customary difference in age between bride and groom at first marriage.

6.8 PROPORTION OF PERSONS NEVER MARRIED BY AGE GROUP, AT 30 JUNE



Source: Estimated Resident Population by Marital Status, Age and Sex, Australia (3220.0).

**6.9 ESTIMATED RESIDENT POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX
AT 30 JUNE
(^{'000})**

	<i>Never married</i>	<i>Married(a)</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Total</i>
1976					
Males	1,508.2	3,344.2	134.3	104.7	5,091.5
Females	1,094.8	3,354.9	576.1	128.8	5,154.5
Persons	2,602.9	6,699.3	710.4	233.4	10,246.0
1981					
Males	1,739.0	3,477.7	139.1	187.9	5,543.7
Females	1,310.8	3,487.6	622.2	233.5	5,654.0
Persons	3,049.8	6,965.3	761.3	421.3	11,197.7
1986					
Males	2,005.8	3,692.5	144.1	261.7	6,104.1
Females	1,534.2	3,704.3	654.3	322.0	6,214.7
Persons	3,540.0	7,396.7	798.4	583.7	12,318.8
1991p					
Males	2,297.9	3,936.9	154.5	330.0	6,719.3
Females	1,794.5	3,948.9	689.8	408.8	6,842.1
Persons	4,092.4	7,885.8	844.3	738.8	13,561.4

(a) Includes 'married but permanently separated'.

Source: *Estimated Resident Population by Marital Status, Age and Sex, Australia (3220.0)*.

Birthplace

At the 1947 Census the proportion of the population (excluding Aborigines) born in Australia had risen to its highest level (90.2%) since the beginning of European settlement and 97.9 per cent of the Australian population were either born in Australia or the United Kingdom, Ireland or New Zealand. In that Census the largest non-British overseas-born group, the Italians, comprised only 0.4 per cent of the population (33,600).

Since 1947, not only has the decline of the overseas-born population been reversed, but significant changes have taken place in the composition of that group. The progressive removal of immigration restrictions based on country of origin, race or colour between 1949 and 1973, together with the extension of assisted migration schemes to non-British groups and refugees, have ensured a greater diversity of ethnic origin among the Australian population (see also section on Overseas Migration). Overseas-born persons from the United Kingdom, Eire and New Zealand combined, increased only slightly as a proportion of the total population between 1947 and 1991, from 7.7 per cent to 8.7 per cent. However, overseas-born persons

from other countries increased from 2.1 per cent to 14.0 per cent during the same period. Overseas countries of birth contributing 0.1 per cent or more of the total population — apart from the United Kingdom, Eire and New Zealand — increased in number from 4 in 1947 to over 36 in 1991.

The largest overseas-born group at the present time remains those born in the United Kingdom and Ireland, comprising 1,222,000 or 7.0 per cent of the population in 1991. By comparison, the second largest overseas-born group, New Zealanders, comprised only 1.7 per cent of the Australian population in 1991 (287,500). Six of the first ten largest overseas-born groups are European, the exceptions being New Zealand, Vietnam, Malaysia and Lebanon. Although Europe remains the region of origin of the majority of the overseas-born population, the number of European-born persons has declined as a proportion of the total Australian population from 15.7 per cent in 1981 to 13.9 per cent in 1991, while persons born in other regions have increased their share. Between 1981 and 1991, the European-born population increased by only 64,100 compared with an increase of 440,000 in the Asian-born population.

6.10 MAJOR COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF THE POPULATION AT 30 JUNE ('000)

<i>Country of birth</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>p1991</i>
Australia	11,196.9	11,812.3	12,623.5	13,395.5
UK and Ireland	1,166.7	1,175.7	1,179.3	1,222.0
New Zealand	90.1	175.7	218.0	287.5
Italy	291.1	285.3	273.0	261.6
Yugoslavia	151.2	156.1	158.8	167.2
Greece	162.1	153.2	146.8	145.8
Vietnam	2.5	43.4	87.7	133.4
Germany	112.8	115.2	120.6	121.0
Netherlands	97.1	100.5	100.4	97.6
Malaysia	19.9	32.5	49.3	84.1
Lebanon	35.3	52.7	59.5	75.4
Other	707.4	820.7	1,001.5	1,344.8
<i>Total overseas</i>	<i>2,836.2</i>	<i>3,111.0</i>	<i>3,394.9</i>	<i>3,940.4</i>
Total	14,033.1	14,923.3	16,018.4	17,335.9

Source: Estimated Resident Population by Country of Birth, Age and Sex, Australia (3221.0).

Of the three categories of Asian countries (north-east, South-East and southern) it is the people born in South-East Asia who comprise the greatest numbers in the Australian population. In 1991 there were 404,600 South-East Asian people, an increase of 246,900 or 156 per cent since 1981. However the group with the highest percentage increase over the same period is north-east Asia which has risen by 244 per cent from 56,800 in 1981 to 195,600 in 1991. This increase has mainly comprised people from China and Hong Kong. The numbers of people from southern Asia (India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, etc.) have increased by 88 per cent from 61,600 to 115,900. Predominant countries of birth of Australia's Asian populations are Vietnam (133,400), Malaysia (84,100), Philippines (74,300), Hong Kong (73,200), China (68,500) and India (65,400).

In June 1991 the median age of the overseas-born population was 42.3 years,

10 years older than the median (32.6 years) for the population as a whole. The median age of the Australian-born population was 28.9 years. Overseas-born population groups from recent source countries, for example, Lebanon, South-East Asia, South America and South Africa are noticeably younger than those from European sources.

At the 1986 Census, 77.6 per cent of persons were born in Australia. Of these, 74.9 per cent reported Australia as the birthplace of both their parents. This implies that 58.1 per cent of the total population of Australia are at least second generation Australians. A further 13.7 per cent of the Australian-born population (10.6% of the total population) had one parent born in Australia. Conversely, 41.9 per cent of the total population were either born overseas or had at least one parent born overseas.

6.11 BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN PERSONS, 30 JUNE 1986(a)

<i>Birthplace of parents</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Both parents born in Australia	9,070,739	74.9
One parent born in Australia, one born overseas or not stated	1,657,548	13.7
Other	1,382,169	11.4
Total	12,110,456	100.0

(a) Census counts, place of enumeration.

Source: Census 86 — Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia (2487.0).

Citizenship

The granting of citizenship is controlled by the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*. Prior to 26 January 1949, persons who were naturalised became British subjects but with the introduction of the Act, all such persons automatically became Australian citizens.

Citizenship may be acquired by birth in Australia provided that at the time of birth one of the parents is an Australian citizen or legal resident of Australia, by birth abroad to an Australian parent, or by grant of citizenship to a person resident in Australia under conditions prescribed in the Act. All persons

are now eligible for Australian citizenship provided that they have resided in Australia for at least two years, are of good character, have an adequate knowledge of English and of the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, and intend to reside permanently in Australia.

At the 1981 Census, 88.7 per cent of the population were Australian citizens, with 11.9 per cent of these being born overseas. At the 1986 Census the proportion of the population with Australian citizenship was identical to the 1981 level, but the share of those born overseas increased to 12.3 per cent.

6.12 COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP(a)

Country	Persons		Per cent	
	1981	1986	1981	1986
Australia				
Born in Australia	11,393,861	11,917,624	78.2	76.4
Born overseas	1,537,212	1,919,474	10.5	12.3
Other	1,413,654	1,331,335	9.7	8.5
Not stated	231,603	433,723	1.6	2.8
Total	14,576,330	15,602,156	100.0	100.0

(a) Census counts, place of enumeration.

Source: Census 86 — *Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia* (2487.0).

Religion

Details on religious affiliation have been collected in all Australian censuses. However, since the 1933 Census, it has been clearly stated on the census form that answering the question on religion is not obligatory. By 1986, 25.0 per cent of persons were reported

as either having 'no religion' or did not answer the question.

Census data show that the Australian population is predominantly Christian with the majority associating themselves with the two major groups, Catholic and Anglican (26.1% and 23.9% respectively at the 1986 Census).

6.13 MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS(a) (per cent of population)

Year	Catholic	Anglican	Other Christian	Total Christian	Non-Christian	Not stated or no religion	Total
1971	27.0	31.0	28.2	86.2	0.8	13.1	100.0
1976	25.7	27.7	25.2	78.6	0.9	20.5	100.0
1981	26.0	26.1	24.3	76.4	1.4	22.3	100.0
1986	26.1	23.9	23.0	73.0	2.0	25.0	100.0

(a) Census counts, place of enumeration.

Source: *Census of Population and Housing, 30 June 1971 — Bulletin 1: Summary of Population, Australia* (2.83.9); *Census of Population and Housing, 30 June 1976 — Population and Dwellings Summary Tables, Australia* (2417.0); *Census 86 — Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia* (2487.0) (1981, 1986).

The remainder of the Christian population, amounting to 23 per cent of the total population at the 1986 Census, is dispersed between several other groups, with only three denominations comprising more than 2.0 per cent of the population: the Uniting Church (7.6%), Presbyterian (3.6%) and Orthodox (2.7%).

There has been a slight increase in the proportion of persons of non-Christian religions since 1981, from 1.4 per cent to 2.0 per cent in 1986. At the 1986 Census, Muslims comprised 35.0 per cent of the non-Christian response, Buddhists 25.0 per cent and Jews 20.0 per cent.

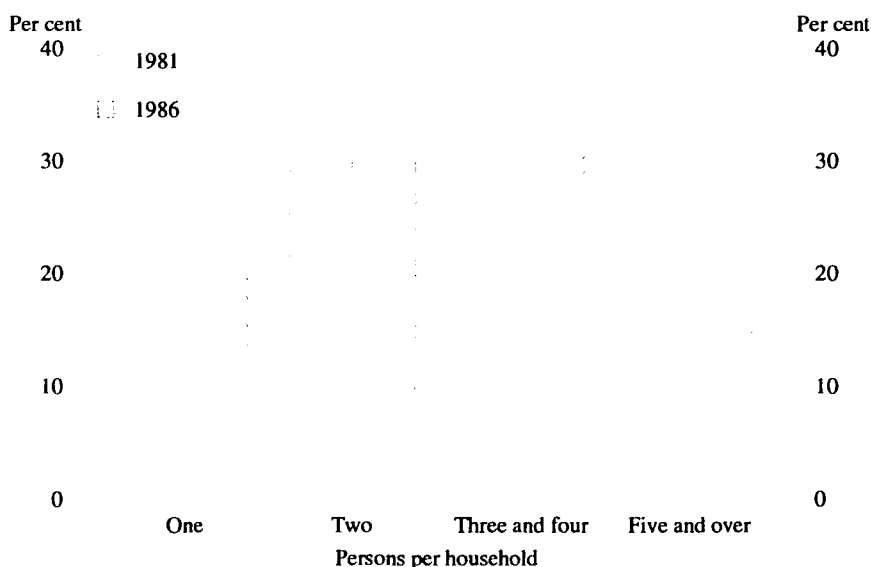
Households

The incidence of household formation in Australia has been exceeding population growth rates, with the average number of persons per household declining from 3.3 in 1971 to 2.9 in 1986. Much of the decline in the number of persons per household can be attributed to reductions in completed family size together with the tendency for children to

leave home earlier. In addition, with increasing longevity, more elderly people are maintaining separate households. At the same time there have been changing social attitudes to divorce, people living alone, de facto relationships and households formed by groups of unrelated young people. There has been continuing growth in one and two-person households, rising from 47.2 per cent of all households in 1981 to 49.5 per cent at the 1986 Census.

Only a small proportion of households include more than one family, some three per cent at the 1981 Census, which declined further to 2.4 per cent at the 1986 Census. The 1986 Census indicated that 47.6 per cent of total families had no dependent children and 52.4 per cent did have dependent children. Among families with dependent children, 35.9 per cent had one child and 64.1 per cent had two or more dependent children. Single parent families comprised 7.9 per cent of total families and were mostly composed of parent and dependent children (76.3%); the balance included an additional adult family member (23.7%).

6.14 PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE



Source: Census 86 - Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia (2487.0).

6.15 PERSONS(a) IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Persons in private households</i>	<i>Private households</i>	<i>Persons per private household</i>
1971	12,155,386	3,670,554	3.31
1976	12,942,708	4,140,521	3.12
1981	13,918,445	4,668,909	2.98
1986	14,920,230	5,187,422	2.88

(a) Census counts, place of enumeration.

Source: Census 86 — Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia (2487.0).

6.16 FAMILY TYPE AND COMPOSITION, AT 30 JUNE 1986(a)

<i>Family type</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Families without dependent children		
Couple	1,271,872	30.6
Couple and adult family member	449,208	10.8
Related adults	258,768	6.2
Families with dependent children		
Couple and 1 dependent child	403,298	9.7
Couple and 2 or more dependent children	1,072,968	25.8
Couple and 1 dependent child and adult family member	206,496	5.0
Couple and 2 or more dependent children and adult family member	171,230	4.1
Single parent and 1 dependent child	124,166	3.0
Single parent and 2 or more dependent children	123,016	3.0
Single parent and 1 dependent child and adult family member	48,054	1.2
Single parent and 2 or more dependent children and adult family member	28,935	0.7
Total families	4,158,011	100.0

(a) Census counts, place of enumeration.

Source: Census 86 — Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings, Australia (2487.0).

VITAL STATISTICS

Registration of vital events, that is, births, deaths and marriages, has been compulsory throughout Australia since 1856. The total number of these registrations is available for each year since the 1860s and more detailed information since the 1910s. The number of divorces has been published since 1891, but detailed data on aspects of divorces and divorcing couples have been published on a consistent basis only since the 1950s.

Births

Recent fertility levels in Australia have been lower than at any time since records began. In 1991 the crude birth rate was 14.9 per 1,000 population and the total fertility rate was 1.85 per woman. Australia's current fertility rates, however, remain higher than in several other similar 'more developed' countries in Europe, North America and Japan (table 6.17).

Despite an overall fertility decline, the number of births has shown an increasing trend during the 1980s because of increasing numbers of women of reproductive age. The number of births in 1991 (257.2 thousand), although a decline on 1990 (262.6 thousand), has sustained the trend. The record number of births registered in Australia occurred in 1971 (276.4 thousand).

Women now tend to commence child-bearing later and complete their families in a shorter period than previous generations. The proportion of first nuptial confinements occurring in the first two years of marriage is continuing to decline although now more slowly than in the 1970s. For women married in 1981 the proportion was 35.5 per cent, but for women married in 1989 it had fallen to 33.4 per cent. This postponement of child-bearing in marriage is having a cumulative effect in the context of the rising median age at marriage (23.3 years in 1981 and 26.0 years in 1991).

In the 1970s, fertility declines became obvious across all age-groups, falling rapidly between 1971 and 1980, and marginally since then. This decline has been attributed to demographic, social, economic and attitudinal changes of the 1970s, which individually or collectively influenced fertility behaviour during this period. Between 1971 and 1991, the total fertility rate declined by 37 per cent and fell five per cent between 1981 and 1991. Declines in the age specific fertility rates, between 1981 and 1991, occurred to women aged under 30 years, particularly to those in the

20 to 24 years age group. Age specific fertility rates for women aged 30 to 44 years increased with the 35 to 39 years age group recording the greatest percentage increase at 47 per cent (table 6.18).

In 1981, 74 per cent of all births were to mothers aged under 30 years. By 1991 the corresponding percentage was 62 per cent. The 25 to 29 years age group remains the peak fertility group.

Table 6.20 shows the trend towards a first child being born later in marriage.

6.17 CRUDE BIRTH RATES AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, SELECTED LOW FERTILITY COUNTRIES

Country	Crude birth rate			Total fertility rate(a)		
	1970	Latest year		1970	Latest year	
Australia	20.6	14.9	(1991)	2.86	1.85	(1991)
Canada	17.4	15.0	(1989)	2.26	1.66	(1987)
France	16.7	13.5	(1990)	2.47	1.80	(1990)
Germany(b)	13.3	11.5	(1990)	2.01	1.48	(1990)
Germany(c)	13.9	10.5	(1990)	n.a.	1.41	(1990)
Italy	16.8	9.8	(1990)	2.37	1.27	(1990)
Japan	18.8	10.0	(1990)	2.13	1.57	(1989)
New Zealand	22.1	17.5	(1989)	3.17	2.10	(1989)
Spain	19.6	10.2	(1990)	2.87	1.33	(1990)
United Kingdom	16.2	13.9	(1990)	2.38	1.85	(1990)
United States of America	18.2	16.7	(1990)	2.46	2.09	(1990)

(a) The total fertility rate is the sum of the age-specific birth rates. It represents the number of children that would be born to a female who experienced, throughout her child-bearing life, the age specific rates for the years shown. (b) Formerly West Germany.

(c) Formerly East Germany.

Source: Population No. 4, 1991, Review of L'Institut National D'Etudes Demographiques, Paris.

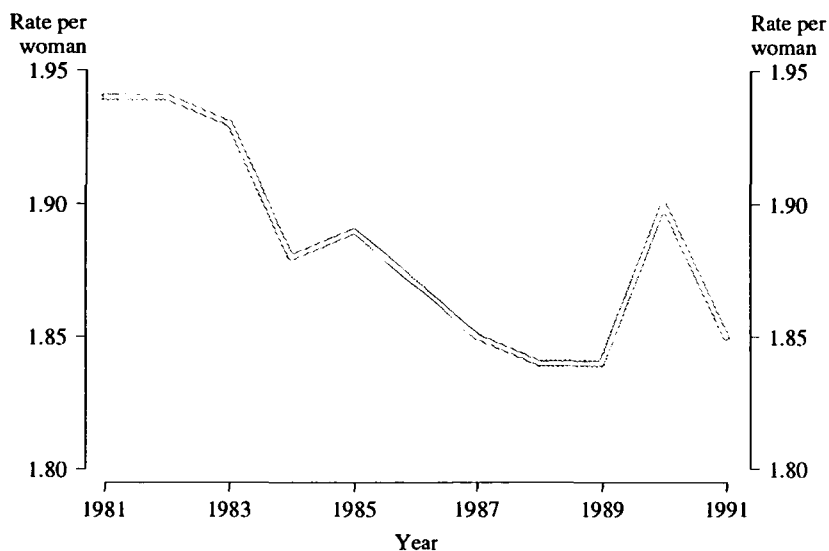
6.18 AGE-SPECIFIC BIRTH RATES AND TOTAL FERTILITY

Period	Age group (years)						Total fertility (per woman)
	15-19(a)	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44 45-49(b)	
	per '000 women						
Census years							
1981	28.2	107.5	145.2	77.6	24.5	4.5	1,938
1986	21.8	90.0	141.9	88.7	27.2	4.3	1,870
1991	22.1	74.3	131.6	99.8	36.0	5.5	1,847
Annual							
1986	21.8	90.0	141.9	88.7	27.2	4.3	1,870
1987	20.6	85.0	139.6	90.6	28.9	4.8	1,849
1988	20.2	81.4	136.9	93.3	30.6	4.6	1,836
1989	20.6	78.2	135.4	96.0	32.7	5.1	1,840
1990	22.0	79.0	137.9	101.6	34.7	5.5	1,904
1991	22.1	74.3	131.6	99.8	36.0	5.5	1,847

(a) Includes births to mothers aged less than 15. (b) Includes births to mothers aged 50 and over.

Source: Births, Australia (3301.0).

6.19 TOTAL FERTILITY RATE



Source: *Births, Australia* (3301.0).

6.20 MARRIED FEMALES UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE AT TIME OF MARRIAGE, YEAR MARRIED AND TIMING OF FIRST NUPITAL CONFINEMENT

Year of marriage	Premaritally pregnant(b)	Having the first nuptial confinement before the end of given year of marriage duration(a) — cumulative per cent						Number of brides aged under 45 years
		1	2	3	4	5	10	
1971	19.8	28.1	46.4	60.5	70.5	77.0	87.0	112,817
1972	18.0	25.5	43.7	57.9	68.0	74.9	86.3	109,007
1973	15.6	22.8	41.0	54.7	64.8	72.0	84.5	107,563
1974	13.4	20.6	38.0	51.5	61.7	69.0	82.4	105,759
1975	12.2	19.2	36.7	50.3	60.6	68.3	82.6	98,951
1976	10.9	17.2	33.5	46.0	55.7	63.0	76.2	103,108
1977	11.1	17.6	34.1	46.9	57.0	64.5	77.4	98,551
1978	11.3	17.7	34.6	47.7	57.8	65.1	77.7	96,859
1979	11.3	17.7	35.4	48.8	58.7	65.7	78.2	98,286
1980	11.5	17.9	35.6	48.9	58.6	65.5	77.6	103,019
1981	11.3	17.9	35.5	48.3	57.8	64.6	74.1	107,855
1982	10.4	16.8	33.7	46.0	55.3	61.8	—	111,295
1983	9.9	16.0	33.0	45.8	55.0	61.6	—	108,931
1984	10.1	16.6	34.8	48.1	57.8	64.9	—	102,785
1985	9.2	15.4	32.3	44.5	53.5	60.2	—	109,377
1986	8.9	15.0	31.6	43.8	53.0	60.7	—	108,442
1987	9.0	15.4	32.1	44.7	53.3	—	—	107,668
1988	9.2	15.8	32.8	45.2	—	—	—	110,163
1989	9.3	16.3	33.4	—	—	—	—	110,245
1990	9.1	16.1	—	—	—	—	—	109,737

(a) Includes premarital pregnancies. (b) Premaritally pregnant comprises wives who delivered their first child within marriage duration of 0 to 7 completed months.

Source: *Births, Australia* (3301.0).

6.21 TOTAL CONFINEMENTS BY NUPTIALITY AND PREVIOUS ISSUE TO THE CURRENT MARRIAGE OF MOTHER (NUPTIAL BIRTHS)

Period	Ex-nuptial confinements	Married mothers with number of previous issue to the current marriage of							Total
		0	1	2	3	4	>4	Not stated	
Census years									
1981	30,956	82,476	67,627	35,445	11,750	3,282	1,993	6	233,535
1986	40,580	80,563	70,017	33,937	10,955	2,904	1,723	20	240,699
1991	58,603	81,179	67,055	32,231	10,300	2,811	1,680	—	253,859
Annual									
1986	40,580	80,563	70,017	33,937	10,955	2,904	1,723	20	240,699
1987	43,418	80,241	68,730	33,472	10,793	2,873	1,742	—	241,269
1988	46,293	79,841	68,432	33,419	10,650	2,856	1,699	3	243,193
1989	50,321	81,356	67,459	33,066	10,856	2,874	1,688	3	247,622
1990	56,850	84,228	68,301	34,026	11,179	3,089	1,761	—	259,435
1991	58,603	81,179	67,055	32,231	10,300	2,811	1,680	—	253,859

(a) These figures have been affected by late registration in New South Wales.

Source: Births, Australia (3301.0).

Concurrent with the downward movement that has occurred in the levels of fertility, the family formation patterns have changed. An increasing proportion of total births has been occurring outside marriage, and for those occurring within marriage the number of births per mother is declining.

The median age of mothers at the birth of their child has continued to rise. The median age of mothers has increased from 26.7 years in 1981 to 28.5 years in 1991. Similarly, the median age of fathers of nuptial confinements

has increased from 29.8 years in 1981 to 31.6 years in 1991 (table 6.22).

The proportion of females having three or more children in their marriage is continuing to decline. However, the substantial rate of decline observed between 1971 and 1981 in the proportion of nuptial confinements to women with larger families has since slowed considerably. Of the nuptial confinements registered in 1991, 76 per cent resulted in first or second born children.

6.22 CONFINEMENTS: MEDIAN AGE OF PARENTS

Period	Median age of mother					Median age of father	
	First nuptial	All nuptial	Ex-nuptial	Paternity acknowledged	Total	All nuptial	Paternity acknowledged
Census years							
1981	25.3	27.1	22.1	22.9	26.7	29.8	26.0
1986	26.5	28.1	23.3	23.8	27.5	30.6	26.6
1991	27.8	29.3	24.1	24.5	28.5	31.6	27.3
Annual							
1986	26.5	28.1	23.3	23.8	27.5	30.6	26.6
1987	26.8	28.3	23.6	24.1	27.7	30.8	26.8
1988	27.1	28.6	23.8	24.3	28.0	31.0	27.0
1989	27.3	28.8	24.0	24.5	28.2	31.2	27.2
1990	27.6	29.0	24.0	24.5	28.3	31.4	27.3
1991	27.8	29.3	24.1	24.5	28.5	31.6	27.3

Source: Births, Australia (3301.0).

The long established upward trend in the proportion of births that are ex-nuptial is continuing. In 1991, 23 per cent of all births registered were ex-nuptial. This compares with

13 per cent in 1981. While the percentage of births that are ex-nuptial is increasing the percentage of these births where paternity has been acknowledged has also increased

significantly from 61 per cent in 1981 to 79 per cent in 1991 (table 6.23).

6.23 EX-NUPTIAL BIRTHS

<i>Period</i>	<i>Ex-nuptial</i>	<i>Paternity acknowledged</i>
Census years		
1981	31,200	18,885
1986	40,950	28,893
1991	59,223	47,064
Annual		
1986	40,950	28,893
1987	43,806	31,972
1988	46,768	34,773
1989	50,788	38,572
1990	57,407	44,257
1991	59,223	47,064

Source: *Births, Australia* (3301.0).

Deaths

In comparison with other countries, Australia ranks amongst those with the lowest mortality levels and the highest expectations of life.

The number of deaths in 1991 was 119,146, a decline of 0.8 per cent from the previous year which, in terms of the crude death rate, resulted in a slight decrease from 7.0 to 6.9 per thousand population. Generally, the current trend is towards a levelling of the crude death rate following two decades of consistent falls.

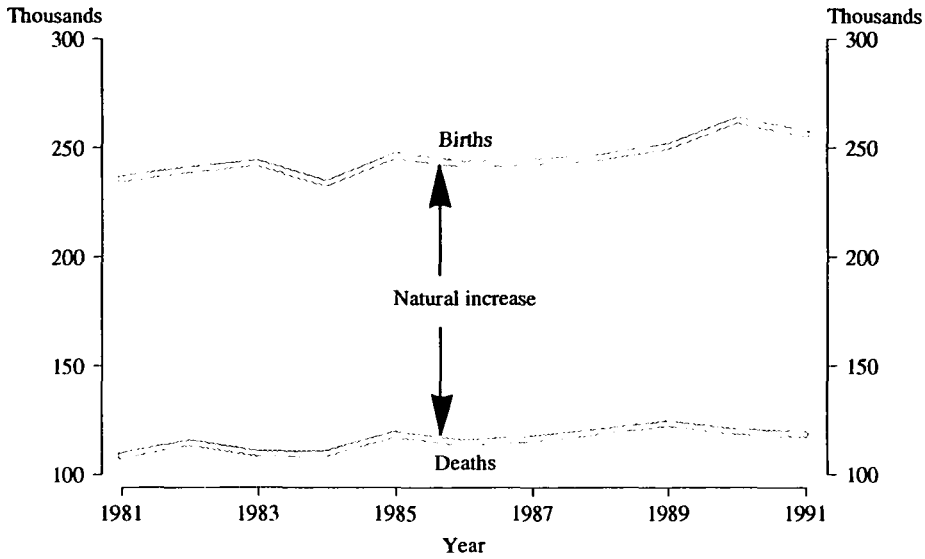
6.24 INFANT MORTALITY RATES AND EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH IN SELECTED LOW MORTALITY COUNTRIES, RECENT YEARS

<i>Country</i>	<i>Infant mortality</i>		<i>Life expectancy at birth</i>		
	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Year</i>
Australia	7.1	1991	74.4	80.3	1991
Canada	7.2	1988	73.3	80.2	1987
France	7.2	1990	72.4	80.6	1989
Germany(a)	7.5	1989	72.6	79.0	1989
Germany(b)	7.6	1989	70.1	76.4	1989
Italy	8.6	1990	73.2	79.7	1988
Japan	4.6	1989	75.9	81.8	1989
New Zealand	10.2	1989	71.6	77.6	1988
Spain	7.6	1990	73.2	79.8	1987
United Kingdom	7.9	1990	72.2	77.9	1988
United States	9.1	1990	71.4	78.3	1988

(a) Formerly West Germany. (b) Formerly East Germany.

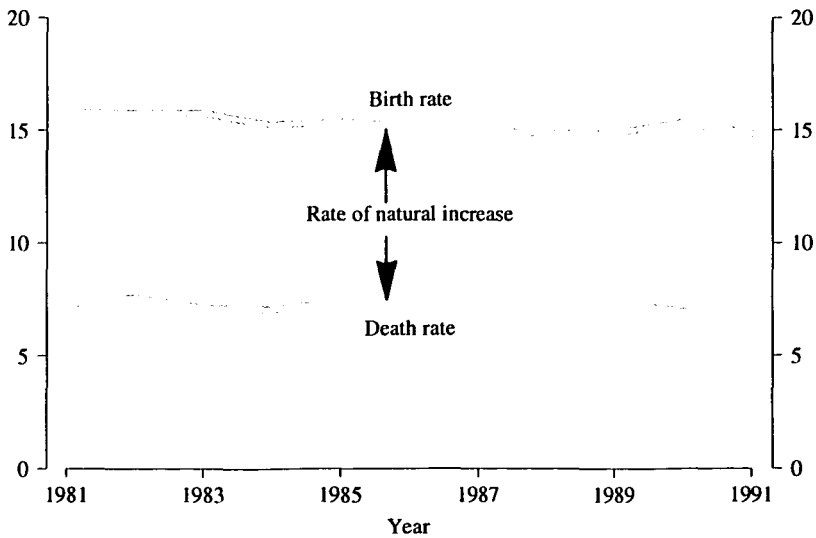
Source: *Population No.4 1991, Review of L'Institut National D'Etudes Demographiques, Paris.*

6.25 NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS



Source: Births, Australia (3301.0) and Deaths, Australia (3302.0).

6.26 RATES OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS (per thousand mean population)



Source: Births, Australia (3301.0) and Deaths, Australia (3302.0).

Mortality trends, as measured by the crude death rate, are distorted by changes in the age structure of the population over time. Australian crude death rates standardised for age show a considerably greater and continuing decline in mortality levels since the early 1970s. Using the age structure of the estimated resident population of persons as at 30 June 1986 as the standard, the adjusted death rate fell from 12.9 per thousand in 1971 to 10.5 per thousand in 1981 and 8.5 per thousand in 1991 for males and from 8.0 in 1971 to 5.9 in 1981 and 5.1 in 1991 per thousand for females during the same period.

The decline in death rates is a result of continuing improvements to community health care, public awareness of health issues and advances in medical science and technology.

In Australia, as in most other countries, females have lower death rates than males. Age-specific rates show this discrepancy occurring across all age groups. In 1991, for example, the female death rate in many age groups was about half

that of males. The relative difference between death rates for males and females was greatest in the age range 20 to 24 years where in 1991 the female rate was less than one-third that of males. The overall effect of these differences in death rates has been to increase the proportion of females in the older age groups of the population.

Concurrent with the decline in death rates over the last two decades there has been a rise in life expectancy at birth, increasing for males from 71.4 years to 74.4 years between the periods 1981 and 1991, and correspondingly for females from 78.4 years to 80.3 years. Female life expectancy at birth has exceeded that of males throughout the period, with the difference varying from six to seven years. Contributing to the increase in life expectancy at birth is the reduction in the age-specific death rate for those under one year, falling from 11.4 per thousand and 8.9 per thousand for males and females respectively in 1981 to 7.9 and 6.2 respectively in 1991.

6.27 AGE-SPECIFIC DEATH RATES(a)

Age group (years)																			
Period	0	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84	>84
MALES																			
Census years																			
1981	11.4	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.7	2.6	4.5	7.9	12.9	19.8	32.3	52.0	80.2	121.1	208.1
1986	10.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.4	2.3	3.5	6.3	10.7	17.9	28.3	45.4	72.1	110.6	187.2
1991	7.9	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.6	2.0	3.1	5.2	8.9	15.4	24.9	39.3	65.8	106.3	181.4
Annual																			
1986	10.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.4	2.3	3.5	6.3	10.7	17.9	28.3	45.4	72.1	110.6	187.2
1987	10.0	0.5	0.2	0.3	1.0	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.5	2.1	3.5	6.1	10.8	17.2	27.9	45.3	71.5	111.6	193.6
1988	9.8	0.5	0.2	0.3	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.5	2.3	3.4	6.0	10.0	17.2	27.2	44.9	72.7	111.4	192.1
1989	8.9	0.4	0.2	0.3	1.0	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.9	3.3	5.7	9.9	16.6	27.3	45.1	73.1	114.8	205.0
1990	9.3	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	2.1	3.1	5.4	9.5	16.0	26.3	41.1	68.0	105.9	190.8
1991	7.9	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.6	2.0	3.1	5.2	8.9	15.4	24.9	39.3	65.8	106.3	181.4
FEMALES																			
Census years																			
1981	8.9	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.4	2.7	3.8	6.2	9.7	15.7	25.5	44.3	76.0	160.4
1986	7.7	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.3	2.2	3.5	5.7	8.8	15.1	24.8	41.1	71.1	148.3
1991	6.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.1	1.9	3.1	4.8	8.0	13.1	21.9	38.3	65.7	153.4
Annual																			
1986	7.7	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.3	2.2	3.5	5.7	8.8	15.1	24.8	41.1	71.1	148.3
1987	7.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.3	2.1	3.5	5.5	8.6	13.9	24.0	41.1	72.3	154.6
1988	7.6	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.2	2.1	3.4	5.5	8.7	13.9	23.5	41.3	71.9	154.2
1989	7.1	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.3	2.1	3.3	5.3	8.7	13.8	24.2	41.2	73.4	167.5
1990	7.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.1	1.9	3.3	5.0	8.1	13.5	22.8	39.6	67.9	159.2
1991	6.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.1	1.9	3.1	4.8	8.0	13.1	21.9	38.3	65.7	153.4

(a) Deaths per 1,000 mid-year population.

Source: Deaths, Australia (3302.0).

6.28 LIFE EXPECTANCY AT VARIOUS AGES
(years)

Period	At age									
	0		1		25		45		65	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Census years										
1981	71.4	78.4	71.2	78.1	48.3	54.7	29.6	35.4	13.9	18.1
1986	72.9	79.2	72.6	78.8	49.5	55.3	30.8	36.0	14.6	18.5
1991	74.4	80.3	73.9	79.8	50.8	56.2	32.0	36.9	15.4	19.1
Annual										
1986	72.9	79.2	72.6	78.8	49.5	55.3	30.8	36.0	14.6	18.5
1987	73.0	79.4	72.7	79.0	49.7	55.5	30.9	36.2	14.7	18.6
1988	73.1	79.4	72.8	79.0	49.8	55.5	31.1	36.2	14.7	18.7
1989	73.3	79.5	72.9	79.1	49.9	55.6	31.2	36.2	14.7	18.6
1990	73.8	79.9	73.5	79.5	50.4	56.0	31.7	36.6	15.2	18.9
1991	74.4	80.3	73.9	79.8	50.8	56.2	32.0	36.9	15.4	19.1

Source: Deaths, Australia (3302.0).

Changes in levels of mortality and age-specific death rates reflect trends in the incidence of specific causes of death. The three most prevalent causes of death at the present time are cancer, ischaemic heart disease and cerebrovascular disease or stroke which in 1991 collectively accounted for 61.7 per cent of deaths registered. The incidence of deaths from both cerebrovascular disease and ischaemic heart disease are currently declining, while the incidence of deaths due to cancer are increasing for both males and females.

Cause of death is age and sex related, with different causes assuming greater or lesser significance for males and females of different age groups (table 6.29). The most common causes of death during the first year of life are the culmination of conditions originating in the perinatal period. These include prematurity, birth injury, respiratory conditions and congenital anomalies present from birth.

In 1991, external causes (accidents, violence and suicide) were the leading causes of death for each age group in the range 1 to 39 years, and particularly at ages 15 to 24 years where they accounted for 73.8 per cent of all deaths. Of the deaths due to external causes in the 15 to 24 years age group 45.4 per cent were due to motor vehicle accidents.

The main cause of death for people in the 40 to 69 year age range was malignant neoplasms, accounting for 40.4 per cent of deaths. Deaths

due to malignant neoplasms as a proportion of all deaths have risen slightly over the period 1981 to 1991. However, there has been little change in the distribution of cancer deaths by the primary site of growth. Malignant neoplasms of the digestive organs and peritoneum accounted for approximately 28 per cent of both male and female cancer deaths. The pattern of cancer deaths across other sites varied between the sexes. Whereas for 28.2 per cent of male deaths due to malignant neoplasms the primary site of growth was located in the respiratory and intrathoracic organs, this site accounted for only 13.3 per cent of female cancer deaths. However, malignant neoplasms of the breast accounted for 2,513 female deaths in 1991, representing 18.3 per cent of all female cancer deaths.

For people aged 70 and over the main cause of death was heart disease, accounting for 36.1 per cent of all deaths in this age group in 1991, while over all age groups 30.9 per cent of all deaths registered in Australia were attributed to heart disease. While this proportion was similar for males and females overall, the distribution of deaths by age group differed between the sexes. Heart disease was a more significant cause of death at younger ages for males than for females.

More detailed information on causes of death is contained in the chapter on Health.

6.29

<i>Cause of death</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
MALES						
Neoplasms	198	205	215	214	214	211
Endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases	20	17	16	17	21	22
Cardiovascular diseases	458	419	349	292	254	241
Cerebrovascular diseases	143	123	98	73	63	61
Other circulatory diseases	62	53	40	31	29	27
Respiratory diseases	106	109	83	73	71	67
Diseases of the digestive system	29	32	32	28	26	26
Diseases of infancy	25	20	14	12	11	10
External causes(b) — accidents	80	70	58	48	43	39
— violence, suicide	21	19	20	21	23	23
Other	58	53	49	52	56	53
Total	1,200	1,121	974	861	811	781
FEMALES						
Neoplasms	125	125	122	130	129	131
Endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases	19	16	13	13	12	13
Cardiovascular diseases	246	212	175	159	144	137
Cerebrovascular diseases	136	113	86	66	58	54
Other circulatory diseases	46	37	27	20	18	16
Respiratory diseases	37	40	28	27	30	30
Diseases of the digestive system	17	18	17	17	17	16
Diseases of infancy	21	17	11	10	9	9
External causes(b) — accidents	32	28	22	20	18	16
— violence, suicide	11	7	7	7	6	7
Other	45	37	35	38	41	39
Total	734	650	543	506	484	469

(a) Per 100,000 persons, standardised to age distribution for persons, 1981. (b) Includes accidental poisoning.

Source: Unpublished ABS data.

Marriages

The number of marriages occurring in Australia reached a peak of 117,600 in 1971 which, despite a growing population, has not yet been surpassed. The 1971 peak was followed by a rapid decline in numbers which coincided with increasing incidence of de facto relationships. Although this decline levelled off in the latter half of the 1970s and numbers have recovered since then (there were 113,869 marriages in 1991) the crude marriage rate has continued to drop. In 1991 it was 6.6 per thousand mean population.

The passing of the Family Law Act in 1976 (which provided easy and faster access to divorce) had a significant effect on the composition of marriages. Prior to the Act approximately 80–85 per cent of marriages were first marriages for both partners, but after 1976 this proportion fell to 65–70 per cent. In 1991 the figure was 67.5 per cent (table 6.30).

Since 1971 there has been a reversal in the post-war trend towards younger marriages. The median age at first marriage for both males and females is now rising, having increased from 23.4 years in 1971 to 26.7 years in 1991 for males and from 21.1 to 24.5 years for females. The median age for second and subsequent marriages is also rising (table 6.31).

The increasing median age at first marriage is reflected in first marriage ratios which show declines for both brides and grooms in most age groups. The difference between ages at first marriage of brides and grooms is also reflected in the lower ratios for grooms under the age of 25. The index of total first marriages, which is the cumulative total of first marriage ratios at each age, has been declining throughout the last two decades. It shows that the falling crude marriage rate cannot be attributed to changes in the age structure of the population, that is, that there has been a real reduction in the propensity to marry in the Australian community (table 6.32).

The decline in first marriage ratios under the age of 25 and the increase in the median age at first marriage over the last decade reflects the increasing incidence of couples living together before getting married. It seems reasonable to postulate that amongst de facto couples a certain proportion will eventually marry, even though at a later age, whereas others will prefer to remain unmarried. Analysis of current trends in marriage is

qualified by the absence of any time series data on the formation of de facto relationships. However there is evidence (from the Family Formation Surveys in 1982 and 1986, the 1986 Census and, indirectly, Censuses in 1971, 1976 and 1981) that the number of de facto relationships is growing. At 30 June 1986 there were 204,900 de facto 'couple families' compared with 3,370,100 married couple families.

6.30 MARRIAGES REGISTERED: RELATIVE PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS AND CRUDE MARRIAGE RATE

Period	Both partners never married		One or both partners previously married		All marriages	Crude marriage rate
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
Census years						
1981	77,640	68.2	36,265	31.8	113,905	7.6
1986	76,647	66.7	38,266	33.3	114,913	7.2
1991	76,811	67.5	37,058	32.5	113,869	6.6
Annual						
1986	76,647	66.7	38,266	33.3	114,913	7.2
1987	76,706	67.2	37,407	32.8	114,113	7.0
1988	78,400	67.1	38,416	32.9	116,816	7.1
1989	78,850	67.3	38,326	32.7	117,176	7.0
1990	78,782	67.4	38,177	32.6	116,959	6.8
1991	76,811	67.5	37,058	32.5	113,869	6.6

Source: *Marriages, Australia* (3306.0).

6.31 MEDIAN AGES OF BRIDEGROOMS AND BRIDES, PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS

Period	Median age of bridegrooms				Median age of brides			
	Bachelors	Widowers	Divorced	Total	Spinsters	Widows	Divorced	Total
Census years								
1981	24.4	59.1	36.0	25.9	22.1	52.1	32.9	23.3
1986	25.6	60.5	38.3	27.3	23.5	52.6	34.8	24.9
1991	26.7	61.9	39.7	28.4	24.5	53.6	36.1	26.0
Annual								
1986	25.6	60.5	38.3	27.3	23.5	52.6	34.8	24.9
1987	25.9	60.6	38.6	27.6	23.8	52.4	35.1	25.2
1988	26.1	60.9	38.9	27.8	24.0	52.4	35.3	25.4
1989	26.3	61.0	39.3	28.0	24.2	52.5	35.6	25.7
1990	26.4	61.3	39.5	28.1	24.3	52.3	36.0	25.8
1991	26.7	61.9	39.7	28.4	24.5	53.6	36.1	26.0

Source: *Marriages, Australia* (3306.0).

6.32 FIRST MARRIAGE RATIOS(a)

	Cumulative ratios of age-groups(b)						Index of total first marriages (c)
Period	To 19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	>39	
BRIDEGROOMS							
Census years							
1981	26.7	346.7	209.4	62.7	22.7	27.5	695.7
1986(d)	9.8	263.0	237.1	85.0	26.6	23.6	645.0
1991	6.7	203.2	248.6	101.8	34.2	24.7	619.1
Annual							
1986(d)	9.8	263.0	237.1	85.0	26.6	23.6	645.0
1987	9.0	247.2	241.5	90.4	27.4	24.3	639.8
1988	9.7	239.9	248.3	96.3	30.8	23.1	648.1
1989	8.4	233.3	248.8	100.0	32.0	24.9	647.4
1990	7.6	219.3	253.7	100.5	33.3	24.2	638.5
1991	6.7	203.2	248.6	101.8	34.2	24.7	619.1
BRIDES							
Census years							
1981	142.9	384.6	116.1	30.7	11.2	12.7	698.2
1986(d)	76.3	360.7	165.8	46.5	14.0	11.2	674.6
1991	42.1	306.1	197.7	62.0	18.6	12.0	638.7
Annual							
1986(d)	76.3	360.7	165.8	46.5	14.0	11.2	674.6
1987	67.3	350.0	173.5	50.8	15.8	11.5	668.9
1988	63.1	346.9	184.5	55.2	16.3	11.2	677.2
1989	56.5	336.8	190.6	59.9	18.3	12.1	674.2
1990	49.2	325.7	196.1	62.0	18.1	11.7	662.6
1991	42.1	306.1	197.7	62.0	18.6	12.0	638.7

(a) Per 1,000 mid-year population of males and females of each age. (b) Ratios for each age-group are calculated by summing the ratios for single years. (c) The sum of all single year ratios. (d) These ratios have been affected by late registrations of marriages in New South Wales.

Source: *Marriages, Australia* (3306.0).

Divorces

Divorce in Australia comes under the jurisdiction of the Family Law Act 1975. This Act, which came into operation on 5 January 1976, provides for a single ground for divorce, namely irretrievable breakdown of marriage, which is established by a minimum one-year separation of the husband and wife. Passing of the Act provided easier and faster access to divorce for either party by its removal of the need to prove fault, together with a reduction of the separation period from five years to one year. In 1976 the number of divorces granted peaked at 63,230. Since then the numbers granted have varied, declining to a low of 30,417 in 1986 but since then have slowly increased. In 1991 the number of divorces granted was 45,630. The median duration of marriage of divorcing couples decreased from 11.0 years in 1976 to 10.3 years in 1991.

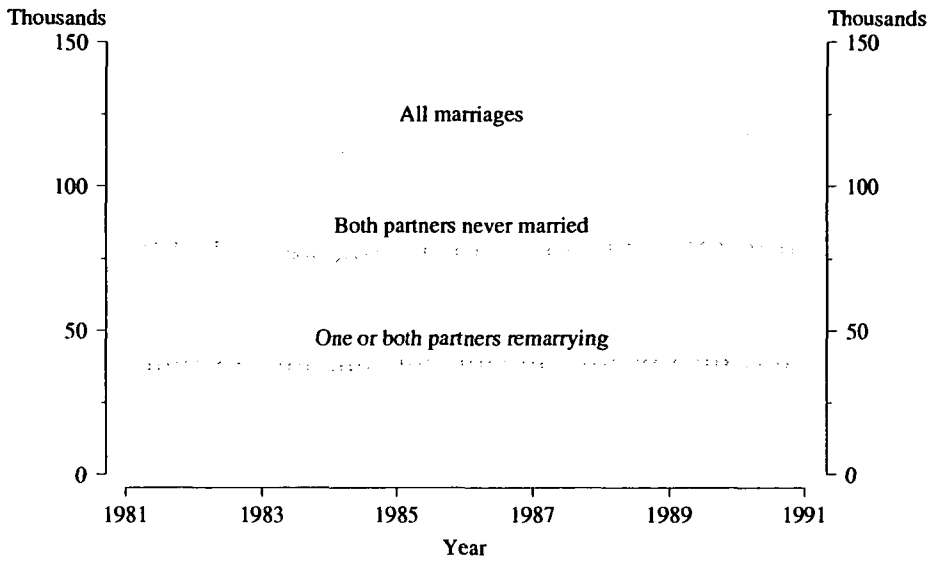
6.33 DIVORCES

Period	Number
Census years	
1981	41,412
1986	39,417
1991	45,630
Annual	
1986	39,417
1987	39,725
1988	41,007
1989	41,383
1990	42,635
1991	45,630

Source: *Divorces, Australia* (3307.0).

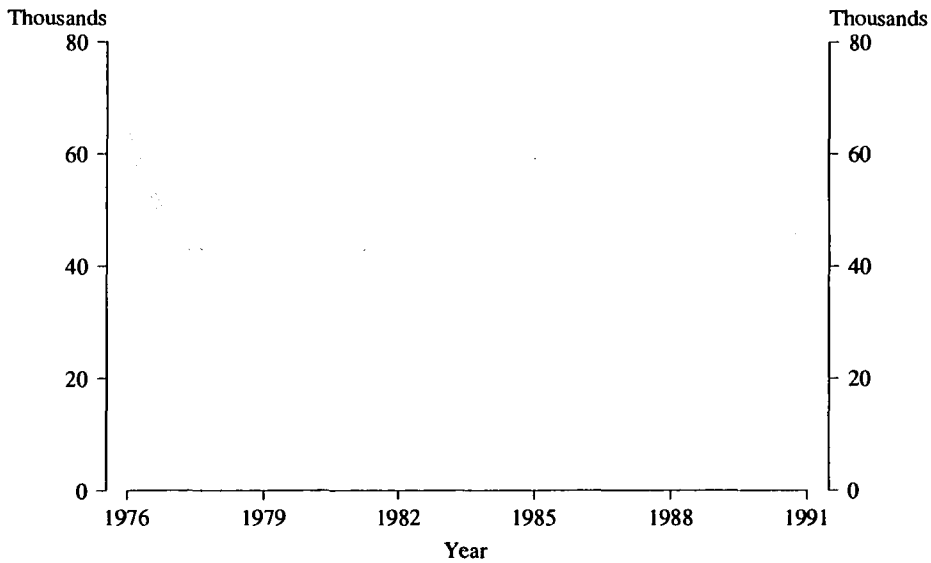
There is currently a tendency for divorce to occur in the early years of marriage and at an early age. The proportion of divorces taking place within the first five years of marriage was 21.3 per cent in 1991 and within the first 10 years it was 48.7 per cent (table 6.36).

6.34 MARRIAGES



Source: *Marriages, Australia (3306.0)*.

6.35 DIVORCES(a)



(a) The Family Law Act 1975 was introduced in 1976. During that year a record number of decrees were granted.

Source: *Divorces, Australia (3307.0)*.

The highest divorce rates for males occurred in the 25 to 29 (21.1 per thousand married men) year age group, while for females they occurred in the under 25 year age group (22.9 per thousand married women). The incidence of divorce was the same for both men and women in 1991, being 11.6 per thousand

married men and women. After a period between 1982 and 1987 in which a significant decline occurred (from 12.5 to 10.6 per thousand married population) the rate seems to be achieving some stability (table 6.37).

6.36 DIVORCES: DURATION OF MARRIAGE
(per cent)

	Duration of marriage (years)					Total	Median duration of marriage (years)
Period	<5	5-9	10-14	15-19	>19		
AT DATE DECREE MADE ABSOLUTE							
Census years							
1981	20.8	28.5	19.6	11.9	19.2	100.0	10.2
1986	21.7	26.2	17.8	14.3	20.0	100.0	10.6
1991	21.3	27.4	17.6	13.1	20.6	100.0	10.3
Annual							
1986	21.7	26.2	17.8	14.3	20.0	100.0	10.6
1987	22.1	26.9	17.3	14.4	19.3	100.0	10.2
1988	21.4	28.1	17.3	14.2	19.1	100.0	10.1
1989	20.9	28.3	17.1	13.9	19.8	100.0	10.2
1990	20.9	28.5	17.3	13.1	20.2	100.0	10.1
1991	21.3	27.4	17.6	13.1	20.6	100.0	10.3
AT DATE OF FINAL SEPARATION							
Census years							
1981	36.4	24.9	15.9	10.2	12.6	100.0	7.5
1986	37.6	21.5	16.0	11.7	13.2	100.0	7.6
1991	37.7	22.5	14.4	12.0	13.4	100.0	7.4
Annual							
1986	37.6	21.5	16.0	11.7	13.2	100.0	7.6
1987	38.3	21.7	15.4	11.8	12.8	100.0	7.3
1988	38.5	22.1	15.1	11.8	12.6	100.0	7.3
1989	37.9	22.3	14.9	12.0	12.7	100.0	7.3
1990	38.2	22.4	14.4	11.7	13.0	100.0	7.3
1991	37.7	22.5	14.4	12.0	13.4	100.0	7.4

Source: Divorces, Australia (3307.0).

The current low median duration between marriage and final separation combined with the increasing average interval between marriage and first birth (see Births section above) is having the effect of reducing the proportion of divorcing couples with children.

The proportion of divorces in which children were involved declined from 61.1 per cent in 1981 to 54.2 per cent in 1991. The average number of children per divorce fell from 2.0 in 1981 to 1.9 in 1991 (table 6.38).

6.37 AGE-SPECIFIC DIVORCE RATES PER 1,000 MARRIED POPULATION

	Age group (years)									
Period	<25	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	>59	Total
HUSBAND										
Census years										
1981	13.8	22.4	18.9	16.2	13.5	10.9	8.3	5.4	2.3	11.9
1986	12.1	18.6	17.1	14.8	13.3	11.1	8.3	5.4	2.1	10.7
1991	16.6	21.1	19.4	16.8	14.4	12.3	8.9	5.8	2.2	11.6
Annual										
1986	12.1	18.6	17.1	14.8	13.3	11.1	8.3	5.4	2.1	10.7
1987	12.3	18.7	17.8	15.0	13.0	10.8	7.8	5.1	2.1	10.6
1988	12.2	19.3	18.3	15.6	13.3	11.0	8.0	5.2	2.0	10.8
1989	12.9	19.1	17.9	15.3	13.4	11.1	8.1	5.5	2.1	10.8
1990	12.9	19.7	18.2	15.7	13.6	11.5	8.5	5.6	2.0	10.9
1991	16.6	21.1	19.4	16.8	14.4	12.3	8.9	5.8	2.2	11.6
WIFE										
Census years										
1981	18.0	22.0	16.9	14.7	11.8	8.9	6.2	4.1	1.7	11.9
1986	15.9	18.5	15.8	13.7	12.0	9.5	6.0	3.7	1.5	10.6
1991	22.9	21.4	17.6	15.2	13.1	10.4	6.5	3.8	1.4	11.6
Annual										
1986	15.9	18.5	15.8	13.7	12.0	9.5	6.0	3.7	1.5	10.6
1987	16.6	18.9	16.0	13.8	11.8	9.2	5.7	3.5	1.5	10.6
1988	16.8	19.6	16.6	14.1	12.0	9.4	5.7	3.6	1.4	10.8
1989	16.9	19.5	16.3	14.1	12.3	9.2	6.1	3.6	1.4	10.8
1990	18.3	20.3	16.5	14.3	12.5	9.6	6.3	3.6	1.3	10.9
1991	22.9	21.4	17.6	15.2	13.1	10.4	6.5	3.8	1.4	11.6

Source: Divorces, Australia (3307.0).

6.38 DIVORCES: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF THE MARRIAGE

Period	Number of children						Total divorces	Total children	Average number of children(a)
	0	1	2	3	4	>4			
	— per cent —						no.	no.	no.
Census years									
1981	38.9	21.5	25.6	10.0	3.0	1.0	41,412	49,616	2.0
1986	40.3	21.2	25.8	9.5	2.5	0.7	39,417	45,231	1.9
1991	45.8	20.1	23.2	8.4	2.1	0.4	45,630	46,697	1.9
Annual									
1986	40.3	21.2	25.8	9.5	2.5	0.7	39,417	45,231	1.9
1987	41.4	21.7	25.1	9.0	2.2	0.6	39,725	44,050	1.9
1988	42.5	21.5	24.7	8.7	2.2	0.5	41,007	44,395	1.9
1989	44.7	20.4	23.7	8.7	2.1	0.5	41,383	43,317	1.9
1990	44.4	20.5	23.8	8.6	2.3	0.5	42,635	44,913	1.9
1991	45.8	20.1	23.2	8.4	2.1	0.4	45,630	46,697	1.9

(a) Divorces involving one or more children.

Source: Divorces, Australia (3307.0).

Remarriages

In the decade to 1991 the number of remarriages (that is, marriages involving one or more previously married parties) remained steady but on a higher plateau than in the 1970s. The 1991 total of 37,058 remarriages, which represented 32.5 per cent of all marriages, is similar to the number of remarriages in 1981 which was 36,265 or 31.8 per cent of all marriages. This has been a period in which numbers of remarriages remained remarkably steady (table 6.39).

The reason for the sudden rise in remarriages at the beginning of the 1980s was brought about by growth in the numbers of marriages in which one or both parties were divorced at the time

of marriage and was an after-effect of the *Family Law Act 1976* (see Divorces section above).

Set against rising population numbers, the current plateau in the number of remarriages is resulting in declining remarriage rates. The remarriage rate for males was 55.8 per thousand widowed and divorced male population in 1991, down from 84.2 in 1981. The female rate has fallen from 30.5 in 1981 to 23.6 in 1991. Again (see Marriages section above) the absence of data on de facto unions of people previously married qualifies analysis of current trends. The discrepancy between male and female remarriage rates is caused by longer female survival and therefore greater numbers of females being available for remarriage at older ages.

6.39 MARRIAGES IN WHICH ONE OR BOTH PARTNERS HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY MARRIED

Period	Both partners divorced		One partner divorced		Other(a)		Total number
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Census years							
1981	11,656	32.1	21,851	60.3	2,758	7.6	36,265
1986(b)	12,823	33.5	22,918	59.9	2,498	6.5	38,239
1991	12,298	33.2	22,649	61.1	2,111	5.7	37,058
Annual							
1986(b)	12,823	33.5	22,918	59.9	2,498	6.5	38,239
1987	12,401	33.2	22,583	60.4	2,423	6.5	37,407
1988	12,709	33.1	23,359	60.8	2,348	6.1	38,416
1989	12,471	32.5	23,496	61.3	2,359	6.2	38,326
1990	12,802	33.5	23,239	60.9	2,136	5.6	38,177
1991	12,298	33.2	22,649	61.1	2,111	5.7	37,058

(a) Includes 'not stated' previous marital status. (b) The statistics for 1986 were affected by late registrations in New South Wales.

Source: *Marriages, Australia* (3306.0).

MIGRATION

Statistics of overseas arrivals and departures are compiled from passenger cards which are collected from all incoming and outgoing travellers under the *Migration Act 1958*. Earlier statistics were obtained from Shipping and Plane manifests required under various Acts.

Migration to Australia

Migration to Australia is presently regulated by the *Migration Act 1958* which came into force on 1 June 1959. Any person entering Australia after the introduction of the Act without having been granted an entry permit or who is not within an exempted class is a prohibited

non-citizen. Exempted persons include New Zealand citizens, diplomatic and consular representatives of other countries, and seamen and air crew who enter Australian ports while on leave.

Until the 1960s, total net gains (that is, the excess of total arrivals over total departures) provided a satisfactory measure of the population gain from international migration. In recent years, however, because of the large increase in short-term movements (8.8 million in 1991), distortions arising from seasonality of these movements have become very large. For the purpose of estimating the population of Australia and the States and Territories, therefore, the migration component of population growth has been measured since 1 July 1971 by reference to permanent and long-term movements only.

Net overseas migration is estimated to have directly contributed 50.7 per cent of the total population increase between 1981 and 1991.

During the last decade, migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland have remained the most numerous group of settlers, although they have declined in absolute numbers and as a proportion of total settler arrivals. In 1981 they comprised 31.6 per cent of settler arrivals however by 1991 this contribution had fallen to 16.2 per cent. At the same time the number of settlers from other European sources, such as Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Germany and the

Netherlands, have also declined. Despite a fall in settlers from these more traditional sources, the overall number of settler arrivals in Australia has increased markedly during the 1980s and into the 1990s, due to an increase in settlers arriving from Asia. There have, however, been peaks and troughs during the past decade, coinciding with economic boom and recession years. These have occurred most notably in 1984 when the number of settlers arriving in Australia totalled only 73,110, contrasting with 1988 when 151,550 settlers arrived.

6.40 BIRTHPLACE OF SETTLER ARRIVALS(a)

Birthplace	'000				Per cent			
	1981-85	1989	1990	1991	1981-85	1989	1990	1991
United Kingdom and Ireland	116.9	26.5	23.5	18.9	25.4	20.2	19.3	16.2
New Zealand	48.6	17.3	9.0	6.7	10.6	13.2	7.4	5.7
Fiji	3.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	0.8	1.9	2.1	2.1
Italy	4.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.2	0.3	0.3
Yugoslavia	7.3	2.2	1.8	2.3	1.6	1.7	1.5	2.0
Greece	3.9	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.3	0.3
Vietnam	47.2	10.1	13.7	10.7	10.3	7.7	11.3	9.2
Germany	11.6	1.2	1.0	0.9	2.5	0.8	0.8	0.8
United States of America	8.4	2.0	2.0	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.5
Lebanon	7.0	2.3	2.6	2.4	1.5	1.8	2.1	2.0
India	8.3	3.0	3.8	5.8	1.8	2.3	3.1	5.0
South Africa	12.2	2.7	2.2	1.7	2.7	2.1	1.8	1.5
Poland	14.8	1.6	1.6	1.8	3.2	1.2	1.3	1.5
Philippines	15.4	6.9	6.2	6.5	3.4	5.3	5.1	5.5
Malaysia	10.4	6.9	6.2	4.4	2.3	5.3	5.1	3.8
Hong Kong	9.9	7.4	10.5	14.5	2.2	5.6	8.6	12.4
China	9.6	3.4	3.3	3.4	2.1	2.6	2.7	2.9
Taiwan	0.8	2.9	3.1	3.7	0.2	2.2	2.6	3.2
Other	119.3	31.4	27.9	28.1	25.9	24.0	23.0	24.1
Total	459.4	131.1	121.6	116.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) Permanent arrivals only.

Source: *Overseas Arrivals and Departures, Australia (3404.0)*.

During the 1980s through to the early 1990s, settlers from South-East, north-east and southern Asia have increased substantially. In 1981, European born settlers accounted for 50.1 per cent of arrivals in Australia, compared with only 2.7 per cent from north-east Asia. By 1991, north-east Asia alone accounted for 20.1 per cent of total settler arrivals compared with 25.9 per cent from Europe. Hong Kong sourced settlers have contributed most to the overall increase from the three Asian regions. In 1991, Hong Kong born settlers numbered 14,490 and accounted for 61.7 per cent of north-east Asian arrivals. The level of Vietnamese born settlers arriving in Australia has been consistently

compared to 10,670 in 1991, accounting for 42.3 per cent of South-East Asian arrivals. Indian born settlers have increased from 1,220 in 1981 to 5,790 in 1991 accounting for 54.7 per cent of arrivals from southern Asia. Other notable countries belonging to the three Asian regions from where settler arrivals have increased between 1981 and 1991 were the Philippines, Malaysia, China and Taiwan.

Since 1978-79, family immigration has increased in importance, with migration of family members now amounting to over 40 per cent of settler arrivals. Non-visaied migrants continue to be a major contributor to Australian settlement. These

under the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement under which Australian and New Zealand citizens may enter each country without the need to obtain visas or entry permits. Other non-visaed migrants include children born to Australian citizens overseas, persons who have acquired Australian citizenship overseas and residents of the external Australian Territories of Norfolk Island, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Christmas Island. Settlers from New Zealand accounted for 12.9 per cent of total permanent settlement in 1981, peaking at 24,870 in 1988 (16.4 per cent of total permanent settlement) and falling to 5.8 per cent in 1991.

The age composition of settlers has been younger than that of Australia's population for some time and reflects the predominance of young families arriving in Australia. Persons aged 65 years and over represented 4.1 per cent of migrants arriving in 1986, which contrasts with the proportion of this age group of Australia's total population in the same year, which was 10.5 per cent. In 1991, only 2.5 per cent of settlers were aged 65 years and over, whereas the proportion of the total population has risen to 11.3 per cent.

6.41 PERMANENT ARRIVALS, DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND SEX
(per cent)

	Age group (years)						Total number
Period	0-4	5-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	>64	
MALES							
Census years							
1981	12.2	19.5	21.2	37.4	6.8	2.9	61,870
1986	10.4	18.2	18.3	40.0	9.1	3.9	51,000
1991	11.0	16.9	13.2	48.4	8.3	2.2	57,640
Annual							
1986	10.4	18.2	18.3	40.0	9.1	3.9	51,000
1987	11.2	18.0	16.6	41.8	8.7	3.7	63,800
1988	11.0	18.3	15.6	43.0	8.9	3.1	75,720
1989	10.7	18.1	16.7	42.0	9.5	3.1	64,490
1990	10.7	17.7	15.5	44.9	8.6	2.6	60,570
1991	11.0	16.9	13.2	48.4	8.3	2.2	57,640
FEMALES							
Census years							
1981	12.4	18.7	20.5	36.7	8.0	3.8	56,870
1986	10.0	15.8	19.2	40.4	10.3	4.3	52,330
1991	10.2	15.5	16.8	46.2	8.6	2.7	59,010
Annual							
1986	10.0	15.8	19.2	40.4	10.3	4.3	52,330
1987	10.7	16.3	18.0	40.8	10.0	4.2	64,490
1988	10.6	17.1	17.4	41.8	9.5	3.5	75,830
1989	9.9	16.6	18.5	41.4	9.9	3.6	66,570
1990	10.0	16.3	18.1	43.3	9.2	3.1	61,000
1991	10.2	15.5	16.8	46.2	8.6	2.7	59,010
PERSONS							
Census years							
1981	12.3	19.1	20.9	37.0	7.4	3.3	118,740
1986	10.2	17.0	18.8	40.2	9.7	4.1	103,330
1991	10.6	16.2	15.0	47.3	8.4	2.5	116,650
Annual							
1986	10.2	17.0	18.8	40.2	9.7	4.1	103,330
1987	11.0	17.2	17.3	41.3	9.4	4.0	128,290
1988	10.8	17.7	16.5	42.4	9.2	3.3	151,550
1989	10.3	17.3	17.6	41.7	9.7	3.3	131,060
1990	10.4	17.0	16.8	44.1	8.9	2.9	121,560
1991	10.6	16.2	15.0	47.3	8.4	2.5	116,650

Source: Unpublished ABS data.

Despite the comparative youthfulness of the settlers, their median age has been rising. Since 1981, when the numbers of migrants under the 'family reunion' category began to increase the median age of settlers has risen from 23.2 years to 27.7 years in 1991. At the younger ages, declines have taken place in the proportion of settlers in the 15 to 24 year age group while there has been an increase in the proportion of settlers in the 25 to 44 year age group. This trend appears to have continued into the early 1990s. In 1991, settlers in the 15 to 24 year age group decreased by 14 per cent and those in the 25 to 44 year age group increased by 2.9 per cent compared to 1990.

The sex ratio (number of male settlers per 100 female settlers) tends to be high in years of large intake, and falls as intake declines. There was a rise in the sex ratio in the first half of the 1980s as settler arrivals increased, but in the last five years the sex ratio has remained below 100.0 and, since male settlers have traditionally predominated, has therefore been historically low. In 1991 the sex ratio was 99.7 males per 100 females. In 1991, males predominated in the 0 to 14 year age group and the 25 to 44 year age group.

6.42 PERMANENT ARRIVALS: SEX RATIOS(a) BY AGE

Period	Age group (years)					Total
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	>64	
Census years						
1981	110.9	112.4	111.1	92.7	83.2	108.8
1986	108.1	93.0	96.6	86.5	88.1	97.5
1991	106.0	76.8	102.2	95.0	79.7	97.7
Annual						
1986	108.1	93.0	96.6	86.5	88.1	97.5
1987	106.8	91.5	101.4	86.4	85.6	98.9
1988	105.3	89.9	102.6	93.8	89.1	99.9
1989	105.1	87.2	98.1	93.1	84.4	96.9
1990	107.4	85.0	102.9	92.5	83.4	99.3
1991	106.0	76.8	102.2	95.0	79.7	97.7

(a) The number of males per 100 females.

Source: Unpublished ABS data.

Refugees

Since 1945, Australia has accepted more than 460,000 refugees or displaced persons, including 170,000 from Europe who were displaced by World War II and its aftermath. Australia presently accepts refugees from about 40 countries. The high profile Indo-Chinese refugee program which has been a feature of recent years is continuing into the 1990s. Although the general level of refugee arrivals fell in 1991, worldwide, refugees from mainland South-East Asia accounted for 33 per cent of the total intake. The second largest regional intake was from Central America which accounted for 25 per cent of all refugee arrivals in 1991.

Australia is one of 97 countries which have become party to an international convention and protocol on the status of refugees and, in so doing, have taken on certain international

legal obligations to assist refugees. The final determination of a refugee's status and the decision to accept refugees for resettlement in Australia rests with the Australian Government. Australia is also a member of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Australia's response to refugee situations is twofold. Through aid programs directed principally through UNHCR, refugees are offered protection and assistance in countries of first refuge. Those refugees for whom other durable solutions are not feasible may be offered resettlement (in Australia) if they have relatives in Australia, other close ties with Australia or the potential for successful settlement in their own right. Such refugees must also be presented to Australia by the UNHCR as being registered or otherwise eligible for resettlement.

6.43 BIRTHPLACE OF REFUGEE ARRIVALS(a)
(annual totals)

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>1987</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>
Romania	328	527	409	258	168	69
USSR	42	79	332	805	633	15
Hungary	323	537	521	142	9	—
Czechoslovakia	356	406	361	230	131	—
Poland	481	804	474	423	75	—
Iran	498	555	534	483	219	426
Iraq	15	24	21	35	47	129
Lebanon	697	435	196	240	826	807
Indonesia	143	95	34	26	7	21
Cambodia	618	1,196	1,025	831	67	13
Laos	588	564	507	291	275	285
Thailand	301	296	226	312	160	95
Vietnam	3,962	4,083	3,121	4,767	5,311	1,899
Hong Kong	43	49	59	117	258	105
Afghanistan	413	270	320	173	197	871
Chile	373	744	526	214	38	2
El Salvador	359	849	1,122	2,093	1,379	1,670
Nicaragua	89	126	58	57	59	52
Other	567	616	457	386	480	636
Total	10,196	12,255	10,303	11,883	10,339	7,095

(a) Includes arrivals under the Special Humanitarian Program instituted late in 1981.

Source: Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs.

Permanent departures

An important component constraining population growth is the level of population loss due to emigration. Between 1981 and 1991, total permanent departures numbered 253,810 persons

or an average of 23,074 per year, a level which is 20.9 per cent of the total permanent arrivals over this period. The ratio of departures to arrivals in 1991 is 25.6 per cent, the highest ratio since 1984.

6.44 PERMANENT DEPARTURES AND ARRIVALS

<i>Period</i>	<i>Permanent departures</i>			<i>Permanent arrivals</i>	<i>Ratio of departures to permanent arrivals</i>
	<i>Former settlers</i>	<i>Other residents</i>	<i>Total</i>		
Census years					
1981	11,280	8,580	19,860	118,740	0.167
1986	9,960	8,860	18,820	103,330	0.182
1991	15,870	14,030	29,900	116,650	0.256
Annual					
1986	9,960	8,860	18,820	103,330	0.182
1987	11,010	9,400	20,410	128,290	0.159
1988	10,480	9,840	20,320	151,550	0.134
1989	11,940	12,890	24,830	131,060	0.189
1990	14,220	16,150	30,370	121,560	0.250
1991	15,870	14,030	29,900	116,650	0.256

Source: Overseas Arrivals and Departures, Australia (3404.0).

Of the two categories of permanent departures, that is, 'former settlers' and 'other residents', it has been under the first category that there has been the greatest outflow of persons. Between 1981 and 1991, 'former settlers'

represented 58.4 per cent of all permanent departures. The departure of 'other residents' has fluctuated from a low of 8,860 in 1986 to a record high level of 16,150 persons in 1990 falling to 14,030 in 1991. The number

of former settlers departing has also been steadily rising over the last three years. Levels of permanent departures are now similar to those experienced in the mid-1970s.

Internal migration

Information on internal migration (migration from one part of Australia to another) has been available from the population censuses since 1971. The Census asks people to state their place of usual residence on Census night and also on the same date one year ago and five years ago. Comparison of these addresses has provided data on interstate migration and also (for the 1986 and 1991 Census only) intrastate movement. Movers are classified by age, sex, birthplace and other selected characteristics. The census also provides data on where people recently arrived from overseas are now living.

Between censuses, data on interstate migration are estimated, for quarterly intervals, from information on interstate changes of address advised to the Health Insurance Commission in the process of administering Medicare. (No comprehensive data are compiled on intrastate

migration between censuses.) Prior to 1986 postcensal interstate migration estimates were based on changes of address advised to the Department of Social Security by recipients of the Family Allowance.

Interstate migration has had an important influence on the distribution of Australia's population amongst the States and Territories. Historically it has been much more important than differential fertility or mortality and in many periods more important than overseas migration. Net interstate migration tends to be volatile in nature and large gains and losses have been recorded by all States. The table below presents estimates of net interstate migration for the financial years 1982-83 to 1991-92. There has been a trend over the past decade in most States for net interstate levels to follow a cyclical pattern. From a peak in 1981-82 they contracted towards the middle of the decade before rising to another peak in 1988-89. Levels for subsequent years have been below this peak for most States with the exception of Victoria whose current high net losses are being generated by a rise in interstate departures.

6.45 NET INTERSTATE MIGRATION (^{'000})

<i>Year ended 30 June</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>Vic.</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>SA</i>	<i>WA</i>	<i>Tas.</i>	<i>NT</i>	<i>ACT</i>
1983	-17.2	-5.1	20.8	-0.3	1.5	-1.2	0.5	1.0
1984	-10.3	-3.3	10.0	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.9
1985	-9.3	-5.8	12.9	-2.3	2.0	0.8	0.6	1.2
1986	-12.5	-13.2	16.5	-1.4	9.4	-0.1	-0.5	1.8
1987	-10.3	-13.4	18.1	-3.2	10.4	-2.8	-1.4	2.7
1988	-14.2	-14.8	26.2	-0.3	8.4	-3.4	-4.6	2.8
1989	-39.1	-12.9	45.3	0.8	9.5	-1.3	-3.0	0.7
1990	-37.0	-8.2	36.6	0.7	7.1	1.4	-2.6	2.1
1991	-18.8	-16.2	27.4	3.1	2.5	-0.2	-2.2	4.2
1992	-16.4	-18.0	33.0	-0.2	-0.5	0.7	-1.1	2.6

Source: Australian Demographic Statistics (3101.0).

New South Wales has experienced substantial net losses, particularly to Queensland, but also to Western Australia and the Australian Capital Territory. The loss of 39.1 thousand in the year ended June 1989 was the largest ever recorded by this or any other State or Territory over a 12 month period.

Victoria has experienced net losses throughout the period. The most popular destinations are Queensland and New South Wales.

Queensland has made major net gains, consistently ranking as the favourite destination for Australians moving interstate. Its net gain of 45.3 thousand in the year ended June 1989 was the highest ever recorded by it or any other State or Territory over a 12 month period.

South Australia has experienced small net gains and losses. It is frequently the State with the smallest net interstate movement per head of population.

Western Australia recorded considerable net gains in the second half of the 1980s when it ranked as the second most popular destination for Australians moving interstate. Since 1990 the number of interstate arrivals has fallen. The small net loss in 1991-92 was the State's first loss since the 1960s.

Tasmania has experienced small net gains and losses following the regular cyclical pattern mentioned above.

The Northern Territory made consistent net gains in the first half of the 1980s but has experienced small losses in more recent years. The Australian Capital Territory has made small net gains throughout the period. For both Territories the levels of net interstate movement per head of population are high.

During the fifteen years from 1971 to 1986, the flow of persons interstate increased. Census data indicate that for the three five-year periods, 1971-76, 1976-81 and 1981-86, the number of interstate movers was 569,500, 651,200 and 716,555 respectively. This increase was evident for both males and

females, with the sex ratio of interstate flows remaining virtually constant at 107.

Proportional to total population (mobility rate), the number of interstate movers numbered 46 per thousand in the 1971-76 intercensal period, rising to 49 per thousand during 1976-81 and 50 per thousand in the 1981-86 period.

Interstate mobility rates by age have revealed a clear and consistent life cycle pattern in the propensity of persons to move interstate. Data for 1971-76, 1976-81 and 1981-86 show that there was, initially, an above-average rate for the 5 to 9 year age group (because of the high mobility of their parents). This was followed by a period of below average mobility in the early teenage years. Mobility was highest at ages 20 to 39 years, after which it steadily declined with age. The highest mobility rates occurred at ages 25 to 29 years and the lowest at ages 65 and over. Females were generally less likely to move interstate than males, with differences being most pronounced during the child-rearing ages from 25 to 45 years.

6.46 INTERSTATE MOVERS BY AGE, MOBILITY RATES(a) AND SEX RATIOS(b)

Age group (years)	Number of interstate movers			Mobility rates		
	1971-76	1976-81	1981-86	1971-76	1976-81	1981-86
1-4						
5-9	69,810	75,603	69,830	56	61	60
10-14	49,979	59,096	62,803	40	46	49
15-19	49,899	53,025	59,331	41	42	45
20-24	83,239	89,139	92,223	75	72	72
25-29	99,102	100,337	110,169	88	85	85
30-34	64,271	85,729	89,571	68	72	73
35-39	42,174	55,606	73,719	52	57	60
40-44	27,380	34,104	44,539	38	42	45
45-49	22,328	21,948	27,629	29	30	34
50-54	17,993	19,155	19,134	24	25	27
55-59	12,933	16,929	18,700	21	23	26
60-64	11,008	14,769	18,214	20	25	26
>64	19,402	25,745	30,693	16	18	19
Total	569,518	651,185	716,555	46	49	50
Sex ratios						
Interstate movers	106	107	107			
Total population	100	100	100			

(a) Interstate movers per 1,000 population of Australian residents enumerated in the Census at the end of the period. (b) The number of males per 100 females.

Source: *Interstate Migration, Australia, Census of Population and Housing (3411.0)*.

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FOR MORE INFORMATION

The ABS has a far wider range of information on Australia than that contained in the *Year Book*. Information is available in the form of regular publications, electronic data services, special tables and from investigations of published and unpublished data.

For further information contact ABS Information Services at one of the addresses listed on the page facing the Introduction to the *Year Book*.

Household and Family Trends in Australia

(This article has been contributed by Peter McDonald, Australian Institute of Family Studies, in recognition of the designation of 1994 as the International Year of the Family.)

Introduction

As 1994 has been designated as the International Year of the Family, this special article provides a statistical profile of the characteristics of families in contemporary Australia, and discusses various trends and the factors influencing them.

The article draws on statistics from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (particularly from its Population Census, but also other population surveys) and from other sources. Inevitably, this means that there is some incompatibility between the date to which the latest available statistics on respective subjects relate (ranging between 1986 and 1992), and the basis on which they were collected or produced. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the statistics used provide a comprehensive picture of families and their trends in contemporary Australia. A list of the sources referred to in the text is contained in the References at the end of the article.

The concept of a household is complementary to discussion of families. Careful attention must be paid to the definitions of both that are being used. In particular, the family can be defined in many different ways and the definition that is used can have a large impact on the impression given about what is happening to families. In order to underline the distinction between households and families, this article begins with a discussion of household trends.

The definition of a household

The household is defined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) as comprising

persons (or a person) in a house, medium density housing, flat/unit, or caravan in a caravan park living and eating together as a domestic unit (ABS, 1986). The Bureau goes on to divide households into three types: family households, where the household contains members with a family relationship (with or without non-family members present); group households of two or more unrelated persons; and lone person households.

The number and size of households

At the time of the 1986 Census, there were 5,264,516 households in Australia. The average number of persons in each household has been declining gradually for at least 100 years (Hugo, 1986). For example, in Victoria in 1891, there were more than five persons per household on average (McDonald and Quiggin, 1985); by 1986, the figure had fallen to 2.9 persons per household.

At the 1991 Census, the number of households had risen to 5,852,518, an 11 per cent increase since 1986 in a period in which the population increased by only eight per cent. Thus, the average size of households is continuing to decline.

Table 1 shows the distribution of households in Australia in 1991 according to the number of persons. The two-person household was the most common type at 31 per cent and together with one-person households, these small households constituted 51 per cent of the total.

TABLE 1 HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF PERSONS, 1991

<i>Persons</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1	20
2	31
3	17
4	19
5	9
>6	4
Total	100

Source: ABS, 1991 Census of Population and Housing (1993), Table B50.

Household types

In 1991, 20.0 per cent of households were lone person households, 4.5 per cent were group households and, as would be expected, the large majority (75.4%) were family households. Some of the main characteristics of these three types of household are described below.

Lone person households

The proportion of lone person households has doubled in the past 30 years from 10 per cent in 1961 (Hugo, 1986). Before that, the proportion of lone person households had risen only slowly as evidenced by the fact that these households made up about eight per cent of all households in Victoria in 1901 (McDonald and Quiggin, 1985).

Several trends including lower marriage rates and increased divorce rates contribute to the increase in the proportion of one-person households. At the 1986 Census, 36 per cent of lone persons had never married and 22 per cent were divorced or separated (ABS, 1988). However, the most important determinant of the increase in one-person households is the ageing of the population. In June 1992, 56 per cent of all persons living alone were aged 55 years and over. Reflecting the earlier death of men compared to women, 70 per cent of these older people living alone were women (ABS, 1992a). Of relevance to policies related to housing, a majority (55%) of persons living alone at the 1991 Census lived in separate houses (ABS, 1993).

Group households

In contrast to lone person households, group households were dominated by young persons.

In June 1992, 76 per cent of all persons living in group households were aged less than 35 years. Furthermore, at the 1986 Census, 76 per cent of those in group households had never married (ABS, 1988).

Family households

Family households are households containing one or more families. The ABS definition of a family for its statistical collections is as follows:

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 or fostering, and who are usually resident in the same household. Separate families are identified for each married or de facto couple and for each one parent family in the household (ABS, 1992b).

The ABS applies this definition for the Census of Population and Housing and most other statistical collections of data on families for reasons of statistical methodology, and to assist the collection of accurate data on what can be a complicated subject. However, the following qualifications about this approach need to be understood as background to the descriptions which follow on the various types of families to be found in family households.

There is a great deal of evidence that Australians in general do not define their families in this way. In particular, studies suggest that individuals very often regard their families as extending across households. For example, a child whose parents have separated usually considers the non-resident parent as part of his or her family. Indeed, most people see their parents or their children as being members of their family irrespective of where they live. Evidence also suggests that the flows of support (financial, practical and emotional) between households within the same family are significant and very common (McDonald, 1992; Millward, 1992).

Furthermore, people define their families differently for different purposes. The family members who attend at weddings are different to the family which gets together at Christmas time and this is different again from the family which shares financial interdependency. The growing proportion of people who do not live in family households does not mean necessarily that these persons are not members

of families or that they are isolated from other family members. The elderly widow living on her own is often in close contact with her children and flows of support between her and her children are the usual circumstance.

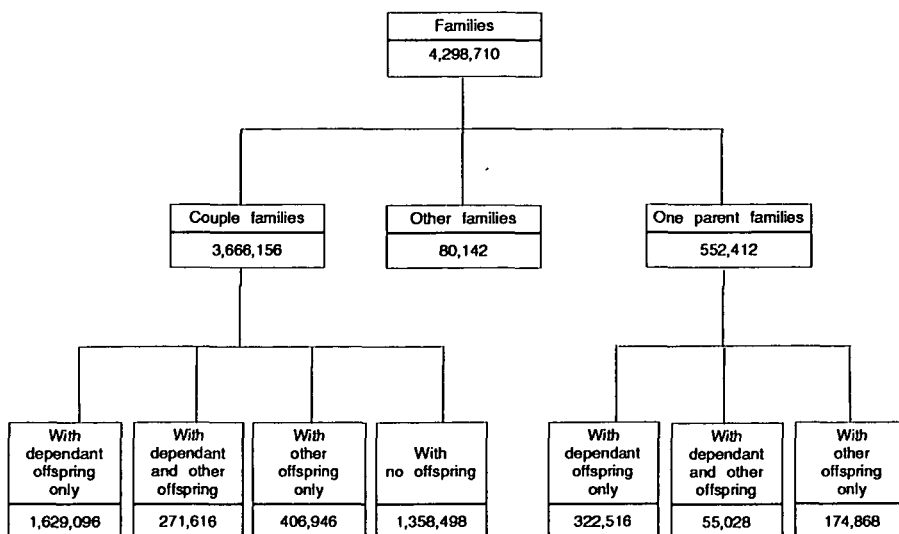
The restriction of the ABS definition of family to only persons who live in the same household means that these very important dimensions of family life and family structure are missed, which can lead to the false impression that the extended family is not important to Australians. However, because the main source of data on families is the ABS, the remainder of the paper deals with statistics according to this definition, despite the limitations of this approach.

Types of families

As mentioned above, 75.4 per cent of all households in Australia in 1991 were family households. In 1991, only 1.0 per cent of all family households contained more than one family. Thus, family households (comprising one or more families) and household families (single family households) are near to being the same thing.

The breakdown of household families into types is shown in Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 1 AUSTRALIAN FAMILIES, JUNE 1992



Source: ABS, 1991 Census of Population and Housing (1993), Table B34.

Diagram 1 shows a total of 4,298,710 families in Australia, 85.3 per cent of which were couple families, 12.8 per cent were one parent families and 1.9 per cent were other families. Eighty-eight per cent of sole parents were women (ABS, 1992b).

Couple families

The diagram shows that 52 per cent of couple families had dependent children. A further 37 per cent of couple families consisted of a couple with no offspring present. The remaining 11 per cent of couple

families had other, that is, non-dependent offspring only.

The ABS defines a dependent child as a family member under 15 years of age or aged 15 to 24 attending an educational institution full time (ABS, 1992a). In today's environment, other children aged 15 to 24 years and living with their parents, particularly those not in paid employment, may be equally if not more dependent on their parents than full-time students.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, 37 per cent of all couple families consisted of the couple alone with no offspring present. These couple only families made up 23 per cent of all Australian households in 1991 and are the principal reason behind the fact that the most common household size is two persons. In terms of age, many of these couples are older couples whose children have all left home, the so-called empty-nest phase of life. For example, in 1986, for 69 per cent of couple only families, the woman was aged 35 years and over and had had children (ABS, 1989). This is a growing group in the community because of increased life expectancy and the earlier ages at which parents of this generation had their children.

One parent families

Among families with dependent children, 16.6 per cent were one parent families in 1991. This compares with 9.2 per cent in 1974, 13.2 per cent in 1981 and 14.6 per cent in 1986. Thus, the proportion of one parent families has been gradually rising over the past 20 years primarily as a result of the increase in the rate of marriage breakdown and, to a lesser extent, to the increase in births to women who are not married. Sixty-one per cent of sole parents in 1986 were divorced or separated (ABS, 1991). It is worth keeping in mind, however, that one parent families were equally common 100 years ago; in Victoria, in 1891, 16.7 per cent of all families with dependent children were one parent families (McDonald and Quiggin, 1985). The proportion of one parent families headed by men was higher in 1891 (38%) reflecting high levels of maternal mortality at the time.

Further details on one parent families are contained in *Australia's One Parent Families*

(ABS, 1991). This publication indicates the generalised disadvantage of one parent families. For example, one parent families were much more likely than couple families with children to have low incomes; 63 per cent of one parent families were in the lowest 20 per cent of family incomes compared to only 12 per cent of couple families with children. One parent families were also much more likely to be in rented accommodation than couple families; 54 per cent of one parent families were renting compared to 20 per cent of couple families with children. Furthermore, 14 per cent of one parent families lived with another family compared to only 3 per cent of couple families with children. Sole parent mothers were less likely to be employed than mothers in couple families and sole parent families were less likely to have access to a car; 21 per cent of sole mothers families did not have a car compared to 2.6 per cent of couple families with children.

Reflecting ethnic differences in divorce rates and rates of birth to unmarried women, the proportion of mothers with dependent children who were sole parents was much lower among mothers born in southern European countries than it was for those born in Australia; in 1986, 3.5 per cent of mothers born in Greece were sole parents compared to 5.5 per cent of those born in Italy, 12.8 per cent of those born in the United Kingdom and 14 per cent of mothers born in Australia.

Married and de facto couples

There has been greater acceptance of de facto relationships in recent times. The percentage of all couples who are in a de facto relationship remains relatively low but is increasing. Among all couple families at the time of the 1991 Census, 91.8 per cent were married and 8.2 per cent were de facto couples (ABS, 1993). At the 1986 Census, 5.7 per cent of couples were de facto. Among couple families with dependent children, the proportion living de facto was even lower (6.5%). De facto couples are more prominent at younger ages; 62 per cent of couples where the woman was aged 15 to 19 and 25 per cent where she was aged 20 to 24 were de facto couples at the time of the 1986 Census (ABS, 1989). However, most of these young de facto couples do not have children.

Natural parents and step-parents

For the first time, at the 1986 Census, the ABS introduced a question on household relationships which allowed step-parents and stepchildren to be identified. Among couple families with dependent children, 6.8 per cent contained stepchildren (ABS, 1989). Half of all de facto couples with dependent children had stepchildren. From the perspective of children about five per cent of children aged less than 15 years were living with a step-parent.

As expected, the chance of living with both natural parents declines as the child gets older. In Western Australia in 1986, 91 per cent of one-year old children lived with both their natural parents but as children became older, this percentage fell to 85 per cent at age 6, 80 per cent at age 12 and 77 per cent at age 15 (Government of Western Australia, 1988). Thus, while children may experience a variety of family types, about three-quarters still continue to live most of their childhood with both their natural parents.

Transitions in families

Families change mainly through the forming of couples through marriage or de facto relationships, births, deaths, relationship breakdown, children leaving home, and the taking-in of relatives for reasons of support. All of these processes have been subject to substantial changes in the past 20 years. In turn, these changes have led to the variations in household and family types already described. In addition, changes in the labour force and education activities of family members have had profound effects on family functioning and family structure over the past 30 years. The following sections review the main changes in these processes.

Leaving home

The best point to begin a discussion of family transitions is the point at which young people leave their parents' home. This is a convenient starting point because in the vast majority of cases, leaving the parental home precedes the formation of the person's first co-residential relationship. There is a definitional problem, however, because it is common today for young people to leave home and then to return again as their life circumstances change. Here, two measures are used, the time at which young people first leave home and the

proportion of young people who are living with their parents at a point in time.

In the 1950s and 1960s, leaving the parental home was associated closely with other observable changes in people's lives such as marriage, employment or education. For example, among women born around 1950, 49 per cent first left home for marriage while 18 per cent left for work or study. Only a small percentage left home simply to be independent (11%). The age at which they left home, therefore, tended to correspond with the timing of these other transitions, in particular, marriage. The shift to earlier marriages between 1940 and 1970, therefore, meant that young people left home at earlier ages during this period. For those born around 1950, the average age at first departure from the parental home was 21.5 years for men and 20.2 years for women (Young, 1987; Glezer, 1993).

In the 1970s, the reasons for leaving home changed but the age at first leaving home remained about the same. The percentage leaving home to marry dropped by about 10 percentage points for both men and women, but this drop was almost exactly matched by the increase in those who left home to live together in a de facto relationship. The 1970s saw a sharp rise, however, in the proportion who said that they had left home in order to be independent. Indeed, for men, independence became more significant than marriage as a reason for leaving home. Glezer (1993) has shown, for example, that 18 per cent of men born between 1947 and 1955 had left home to be independent compared to 29 per cent among men born from 1955 to 1963.

During the 1980s, the work and education environment changed dramatically for young people. Retention to Year 12 at secondary school rose from 34 per cent in 1980 to 64 per cent in 1990 (DEET, 1991). Involvement in tertiary education also increased rapidly. Along with these changes, age at marriage continued to increase.

The changes in the lives of young people in Australia in the past 30 years are reflected in statistics relating to their involvement in full-time education. The proportion of 15 to 19 year-olds who were at school or full-time students increased between 1961 and 1992 from 28 per cent to 62 per cent for males and from 24 per cent to 69 per cent for females (ABS, 1967 and ABS, 1992c). Over

the same period, involvement in full-time education increased for 20 to 24 year-olds from 4 per cent to 14 per cent for males and from 1 per cent to 16 per cent for females. Many of today's young people combine part-time work with full-time education. For example, in August 1992, 47 per cent of full-time tertiary students aged less than 25 years and 31 per cent of school students aged 15 to 19 years were in the labour force. As a consequence of the changes in the 1980s, young people aged less than 25 years are more likely to be at home than was the case in the past (Table 2).

TABLE 2 PERCENTAGE OF 15-19 AND 20-24 YEAR-OLDS LIVING WITH THEIR PARENTS 1979, 1986 AND 1992(a)

Year	15-19		20-24	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1979	88.7	80.2	45.5	24.8
1986	92.4	86.0	51.8	31.9
1992	91.3	86.5	54.9	39.7

(a) These percentages exclude a small number of persons aged 15-24 living with their parents who were husbands, wives, sole parents or 'other' family heads.

Source: ABS, *Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families, 1979, 1986 and 1992* (6224.0).

Beyond living with their parents, many young people aged 15 to 24 years who are not living with their parents may still be, to a greater or lesser degree, financially dependent on parents (Hartley, 1989). Thus, the increase in the dependency of these young people is understated by the percentages shown in Table 2. A recent study of 23 year-olds by Hartley (forthcoming) indicated that some of those who were still at home with their parents were somewhat apologetic about this, indicating that they were exceeding the social norm. The increased financial dependency of young people upon their parents together with their desire for at least as much independence as previous generations is one of the tensions facing families today.

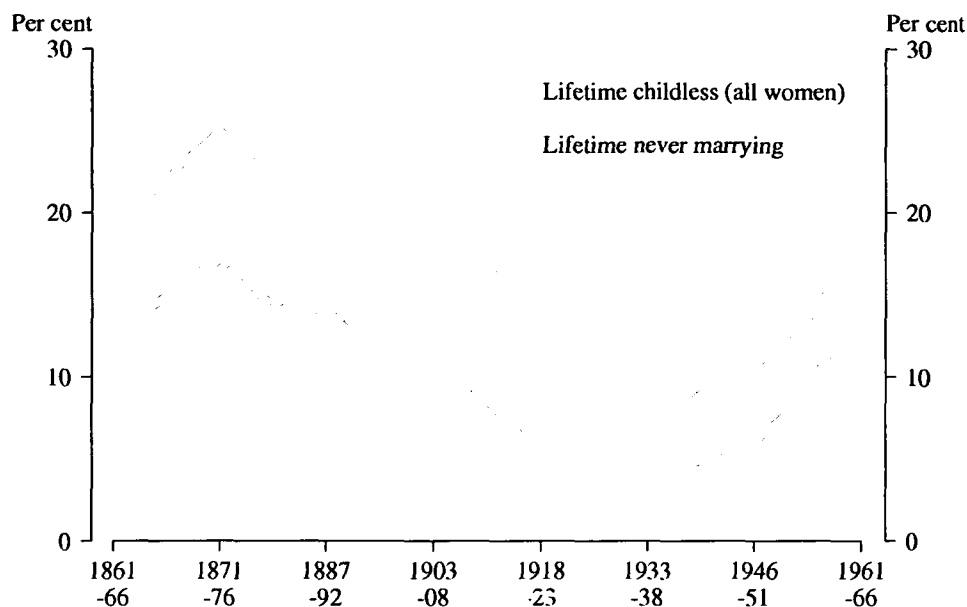
The forming of relationships

The next step in the sequence of family transitions is the formation of a new couple relationship. The three main forms of couple relationships now prominent in Australia are marriage, de facto or living together relationships (heterosexual) and same-sex relationships. There are no reliable statistics available on the incidence of same-sex couples because no Australian survey has addressed this question directly. However, surveys providing indirect estimates would suggest that this group represents less than one per cent of all couples (see, for example, Glezer, 1993).

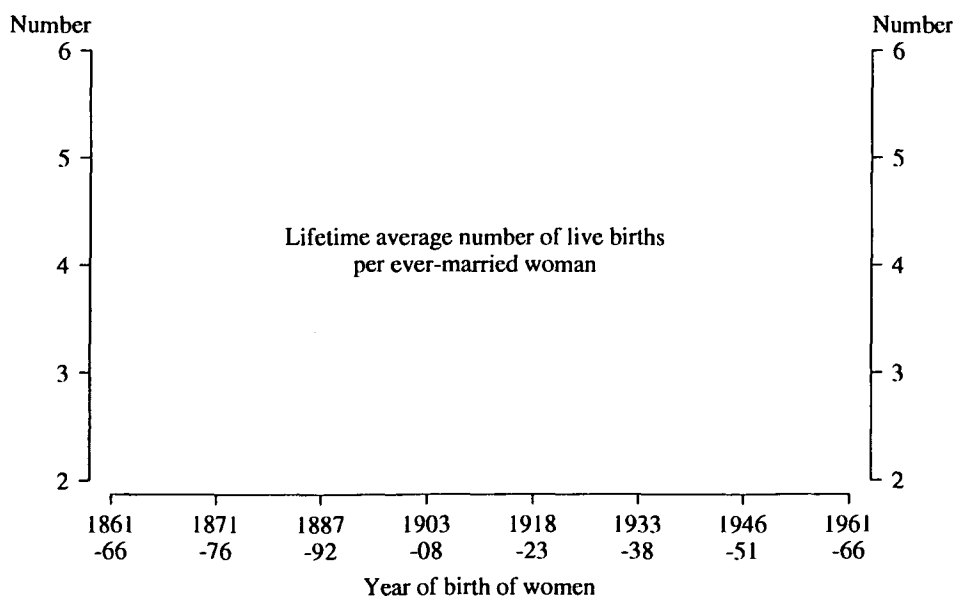
As mentioned above, de facto relationships account for about eight per cent of all couples. De facto relationships are much more prevalent among couples aged less than 25 years compared to older ages, but many of these young relationships are preliminary to marriage; in a sense, they are trial marriages. Glezer (1993) has shown that 44 per cent of persons aged 27 to 35 years in 1990 who had married had lived together before their marriage. Thus, while other forms of relationship are becoming more common and are more socially acceptable, couple relationships in Australia are still dominated by marriage.

Graph 1 shows that the percentage of Australian women who never marry during their lifetime has been on a long-term swing from being high (14-17%) for generations born in the latter half of the nineteenth century, dropping to low levels (4-6%) for those born between 1920 and 1950, but again returning to the formerly high levels of the past for those born since 1950. A recent prediction suggests that the proportion of Australian women not married by the time they reach age 35 will exceed 20 per cent by the year 2000, a level higher than at any other time in Australian history (McDonald, 1991). Proportions of men who never marry follow similar trends to those shown for women, although, in general, the proportion of men never marrying has been higher than that for women (Carmichael, 1988).

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN BORN FROM 1861 TO 1966 **GRAPH 1**



GRAPH 2



Note: Data for those born from 1951 to 1966 are projections based on experience up to 1991.

Source: McDonald 1983.

The ages at which Australians marry have been subject to the same long-term swing as the proportions who never marry. A useful indicator of age at marriage for women is the proportion aged 20 to 24 who have ever married. For men, age group 25 to 29 provides the best indication of the trend. These proportions are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3 PERCENTAGE EVER MARRIED WOMEN AGED 20-24 YEARS AND MEN AGED 25-29 YEARS, 1891-1991

Year	Women aged 20-24	Men aged 25-29
1891	34.9	39.7
1901	28.0	35.8
1911	28.5	41.0
1921	33.6	47.8
1933	31.2	43.9
1947	48.6	62.1
1954	59.0	63.5
1961	60.5	66.8
1971	64.3	74.3
1981	45.5	65.2
1991	19.6	45.2

Source: *Colonial and Australian Censuses, 1891-1981; ABS (1992d).*

Up to the 1930s, about 30 per cent of women aged 20 to 24 had married. Beginning with the Second World War and continuing through the post-war period to 1971, age at first marriage fell substantially in Australia, so that by 1971, the percentage of 20 to 24 year-old women who had married had risen to 64 per cent. A similar trend to a much earlier age at marriage is also evident for men in the same period; just over 40 per cent of men aged 25 to 29 had married before the war, but the percentage had reached 74 per cent by 1971. Since the early 1970s, the trend to early marriage has very rapidly gone into reverse, so that, by 1991, the percentage of women married at young ages was lower than it has ever been.

The remarkable turnaround in age at first marriage is further evidenced by the decline of teenage marriages. Fully 33 per cent of women turning 20 in 1972 had married in their teen years (McDonald, 1991); by 1991, this percentage had fallen to under five per cent (ABS, 1992d).

It is important to realise, however, that age at marriage in a large proportion of cases does not indicate the age at which the couple first began to live together. As mentioned above, almost half of couples marrying for the first time have lived together beforehand and, indeed to a considerable extent social attitudes now favour this approach. About half the respondents in the 1988-89 National Social Science Survey indicated that they would recommend young people live together with a steady partner and then marry. Very few recommended that couples live together without ever marrying (Evans, 1991). That is, at present, the approach of young Australians is to marry (80% of young people intend to marry), but to delay marriage to much older ages than the ages at which their parents married. In the meantime, many will live in de facto relationships. The vast majority of young people following this pattern do not have children until they have married (Glezer, 1993).

Families and the labour force

Changes in rates of participation in education of persons aged less than 25 years have already been described; it was evident that those changes were highly associated with new patterns of leaving home and forming new relationships. Another major trend affecting family behaviour, particularly after a relationship is formed, is the increasing participation of married women in the labour force (which comprises those in, or actively seeking, paid employment).

Table 4 shows a gradual and persistent increase in the participation of married women in the labour force, with the sharpest rise occurring between 1961 and 1971 when restrictions on the employment of married women in the public sector were lifted. By 1991, two-thirds of married women in the peak labour force ages of 25 to 54 years were in the labour force. Studies of working lifetimes indicate that most of the remaining one-third of married women are in paid employment at some time after their marriage. Thus, where marriage once spelt an end to the working careers of most women, married women today define their lives not only in terms of home and children but also in terms of paid employment.

TABLE 4 LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN, BY AGE GROUP 1933-91

Age group (years)	1933	1947	1961	1971	1981	1991
15-19	3.2	11.4	19.9	36.4	45.7	53.8
20-24	4.4	11.6	24.5	44.1	57.4	64.1
25-34	4.7	8.0	17.3	33.0	49.0	61.3
35-44	5.3	8.8	21.2	41.3	58.4	71.3
45-54	6.0	8.6	19.9	36.1	50.5	63.3
55-59	5.7	6.6	12.6	23.2	31.3	34.1
60-64	3.7	4.1	6.5	12.0	15.0	16.3

Source: ABS, *Australian Censuses, 1933-81*; ABS, *The Labour Force, June 1991* (6203.0).

Among all women in the peak labour force ages of 25 to 54 years, participation in the labour force increased from 37 per cent in 1966 to 67 per cent in 1992. However, over the same period, among those employed, the percentage working full time dropped from 70 per cent to 57 per cent. Thus, the growth of the female labour force has been associated with the trend towards part-time jobs. The overall proportion of persons working part time rose from 9 per cent in 1966 to 23 per cent in 1992. Nevertheless, as just pointed out, a majority (57%) of employed women aged 25 to 54 were working full time in 1992. For women with dependent children, however, the percentage working full time among those employed was lower (41.7% for women in couple families and 53.9% in one parent families) (ABS, 1992a).

For women with dependent children, the degree of participation in the labour force is related to the age of the youngest child (Table 5). In couple families, the participation rate of women with a child aged less than 5 years is still below 50 per cent. Once the child reaches school age, however, participation rates for these women jump to about 70 per cent. The percentage working full time also rises slowly as the youngest child ages. Participation rates for sole parents are lower than those for women in married couple families when the youngest child is aged less than 15 years. However, if a sole parent is employed, she is more likely to be working full time than women in couple families irrespective of the age of the youngest child. Sole parents whose youngest dependent child is aged 15 to 24 years have by far the greatest participation in the labour force of all mothers distinguished in the table. It can be speculated that the involvement of sole mothers in the labour force is influenced by the social security system. Loss of social

security benefits and costs of child care make it more difficult for sole parents to work part time, so they are more likely than women with children in couple families to work full time or not to work at all. However, once their youngest child turns 16 years, they are no longer eligible for the sole parent pension, so their labour force attachment is much greater.

TABLE 5 WOMEN WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES AND PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED FULL TIME, ACCORDING TO THE AGE OF YOUNGEST CHILD AND FAMILY TYPE, JUNE 1992 (per cent)

	Labour force participation rate	Employed full time
Couple families with youngest child aged		
0-4	48.4	32.6
5-9	68.2	40.1
10-14	71.9	48.0
15-24	71.3	52.4
One parent families with youngest child aged		
0-4	34.4	40.2
5-9	52.4	47.9
10-14	60.8	57.3
15-24	78.4	68.5

Source: ABS, *Labour Force Status and Other Characteristics of Families, June 1992* (6224.0).

In June 1992, there were almost 2 million couples with dependent children in Australia. The percentage where both parents were in the labour force was 59.1 per cent, but the percentage with both parents employed was 53.3 per cent. Thus, where both parents were in the labour force, either partner was

unemployed in 9.8 per cent of these families. Where both the partners were employed, they were both working full time in 39.3 per cent of cases. Just over 400,000 dependent children representing 10 per cent of all dependent children in couple families had neither parent employed. On the other hand, 52 per cent of children in couple families had both parents employed and 19 per cent had both parents employed full time (ABS, 1992a).

Also in June 1992, there were 412,100 one parent families. The parent was in the labour force in 54.7 per cent of these families and employed in 45.7 per cent. Thus, among sole parents in the labour force, the parent was unemployed in 16 per cent of cases. Where the sole parent was employed, 60 per cent were employed full time. About 379,000 dependent children representing 56 per cent of children living in one parent families did not have an employed parent (ABS, 1992a).

Overall, therefore, among 4.7 million dependent children aged less than 25 years in June 1992, 16.4 per cent had two parents employed full time, 60.3 per cent had one parent employed full time, 6.7 per cent had an employed parent but no parent employed full time and 16.7 per cent had no employed parent. These statistics indicate the diversity of family types and family employment circumstances now prevalent in Australia. Decisions about family formation are taken in the context of these circumstances (ABS, 1992a).

In June 1992, the family status of employed men and women was almost exactly the same: 42 per cent had a dependent child, 25 per cent had a spouse but no dependent child and 33 per cent had neither a spouse nor a dependent child.

Having children

Graph 1 shows that there has also been a long-term downward swing in the proportion of Australian women who remain childless. For Australian women born between 1861 and 1913, 20 per cent or more did not have children. The peak level was around 25 per cent for women born in the 1870s. The mothers of the baby boom generation changed this so that for women born in the 1930s and 1940s, the rate of childlessness fell to 8–10 per cent, only marginally above the expected rate of childlessness due to

physiological reasons alone. The trend, however, has been rapidly reversing for women born from 1950 onwards, such that a return to percentages childless in excess of 20 per cent can be predicted for women born in the late 1960s (McDonald, 1984).

Graph 2 also shows the long-run trend in the average number of children born in a lifetime to women who marry. The most significant feature of this trend is the decline in the average number of births per woman from 5.1 for women born in 1861–66 to 2.6 for women born in 1903–08. This was the era in which control over fertility became widely established. Reflecting the onset of the baby boom, however, completed family size for women who had married increased again reaching a peak of 3.2 children per woman for those born from 1928–38. Since then family sizes have declined again and can be predicted to be only just above an average of two children per married woman for those born in the first part of the 1960s.

The recent decline in average family size is accompanied by a decline in the percentage of women who are having three or more children. About 60 per cent of the generation of married women who had peak fertility during the baby boom (those born in the late 1920s and the 1930s) had three or more children. For those born in the late 1940s, this percentage had fallen to 42 per cent (ABS, 1992e). On the basis of birth rates applying in 1988, 32 per cent of all women (not just married women) will have three or more children, 24 per cent will have two, 24 per cent will have one and 20 per cent will have none (McDonald, 1990).

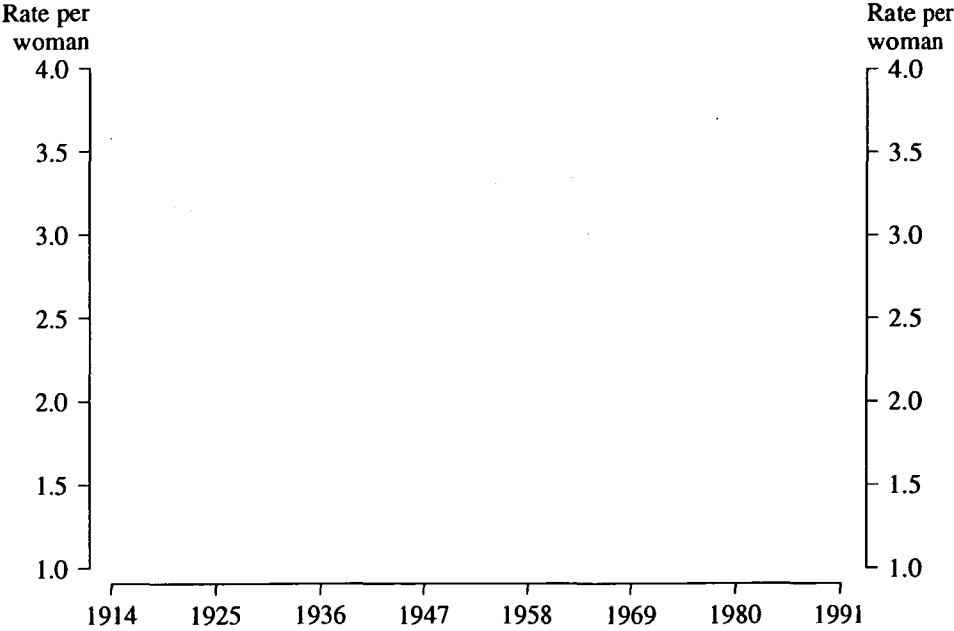
The discussion so far has related to the number of children born to women over their lifetime. This measure is limited by the fact that it can only be obtained when women have reached about 40 years of age. Another approach to the measurement of birth rates uses the total fertility rate (TFR).

The TFR indicates the average number of births that would be born over a lifetime to a hypothetical group of women if they were to experience the age specific birth rates (that is, births per thousand women in specific age groups) applying in a given year. The trend in the TFR from 1921 to 1991 is shown in Graph 3. The peak in the centre of the graph indicates the so-called baby boom, a period of

unusually high birth rates extending from 1946 to 1971 (TFR greater than 2.8 births per woman). At its peak in 1961, the TFR reached 3.6 births per woman. The boom collapsed in the early part of the 1970s with the TFR falling below 2.0 in 1978. Since 1979, it has fluctuated in a narrow band between 1.84 and 1.92 births per woman. At this level, the TFR is below a level consistent with long-term replacement of the population (just over two births per woman).

Nevertheless, the total fertility rate has been higher in Australia in the 1980s than in almost all other western industrialised countries. Very recently, however, the TFR has risen in several countries, such as the Scandinavian countries and the United States (Table 6). Most demographers interpret this recent rise in TFR in developed countries as a temporary rise due to the occurrence of births which were delayed in the mid-1980s.

GRAPH 3 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, 1921-1991



Source: Australian Demographic Statistics (3101.0) and Births, Australia (3301.0).

**TABLE 6 TOTAL FERTILITY RATES IN
SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1985 AND 1990**

Country	1985	1990
Australia	1.89	1.91
New Zealand	1.93	2.15
Canada	1.67	1.80
United States	1.84	2.09
United Kingdom	1.80	1.84
France	1.82	1.80
Germany (West)	1.28	1.48
Belgium	1.50	1.62
Sweden	1.73	2.13
Denmark	1.45	1.67
Italy	1.41	1.27
Spain	1.61	1.33
Greece	1.68	1.45
Former USSR	2.40	2.26
Hungary	1.83	1.87

Source: de Guibert-Lantoiné and Monnier (1992).

Birth rates for younger aged mothers have declined sharply in the past 20 years (Table 7). In 1971, births to mothers under the age of 25 years contributed 40.1 per cent of the total fertility rate compared with only 26.1 per cent in 1991. The mean age of mothers at the birth of their children thus rose from 27.0 to 28.5 years.

**TABLE 7 AGE SPECIFIC BIRTH RATES,
1961, 1971 AND 1991
(births per 1,000 women)**

Age group (years)	1961	1971	1991
15-19	47.2	54.5	22.1
20-24	227.1	179.3	74.3
25-29	223.8	191.0	131.6
30-34	132.1	101.5	99.8
35-39	64.1	44.4	36.0
40-44	19.2	11.2	5.5
45-49	1.4	0.8	0.2
Mean age	27.5	27.0	28.5

Source: ABS, *Births*, 1961, 1971 and 1991 (3301.0) and author's calculations.

Also between 1971 and 1991, the percentage of first nuptial births occurring to women aged 30 and over rose from 7.6 per cent to 31.1 per cent while the number of teenage confinements fell from 30,500 to 14,600. The drop in births to teenage women in the past 20 years has been due entirely to the drop in births to married teenagers from 20,500 in 1971 to 2,600 in 1991. This in turn has been due to the near disappearance of the

'shot-gun' wedding. In 1971, about 13,000 teenage brides were pregnant at marriage; in 1991, the figure had fallen to only 1,100. Now about one in ten Australian women have a baby before their 20th birthday compared to about one in four in 1971 (McDonald, 1988; and calculations from ABS, 1992f).

Besides the decline in fertility and the increasing age of mothers, the other significant change in fertility in the past 20 years has been the increase in ex-nuptial births, that is, births occurring to women who are not married. In 1971, ex-nuptial births represented 9.3 per cent of all births but this had risen to 23.0 per cent by 1991, that is, almost one in every four children born are now born to a woman who is not married (ABS, 1992f). The change is not due to an increase in the rate at which women who are not married give birth but to similar rates of birth occurring to the now much higher percentages of women who are not married compared to 1971 (McDonald, 1988).

In 1991, paternity was acknowledged on the birth certificates of almost 80 per cent of children whose mothers were not married (ABS, 1992f). Thus, being born to a woman who is not married does not imply that children are cut off from their fathers. In many of these cases of ex-nuptial birth, the child is born to parents who are living together but are not married. Reliable statistics are not available, but it seems that about 50 per cent of all ex-nuptial births occur to women who are in a de facto relationship (Khoo and McDonald, 1988).

The ending of relationships

Suppose we consider a group of couples who marry when the wife is 25. The husband is two and a half years older. This is not unlike the present average ages at first marriage. It is also not unlike the average ages at first marriage which applied 100 years ago. Using 1891 death rates, 30 years after the marriage, both partners would still be living in only 46 per cent of cases. Using 1991 death rates, both would still be living in 88 per cent of cases. Forty-five years after the marriage when the wife turns 70, both partners would still be living in just 15 per cent of cases with 1891 death rates but 56 per cent of cases with 1991 death rates (1891 survival rates from McDonald, Ruzicka and Pyne, 1987; 1991

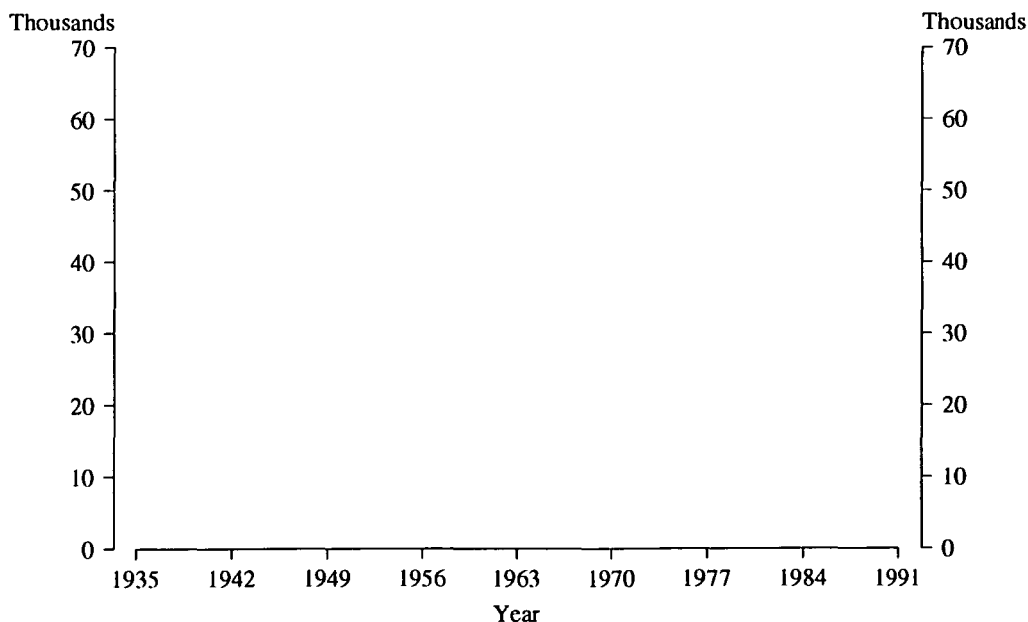
survival rates from ABS, 1992g). This example serves to indicate the dramatic changes in expectation of life together of today's couples compared to those 100 years ago. Some may argue, given this reality, that it is not surprising that divorce rates are higher today than they were 100 years ago.

A century ago, formal divorce rates were very low with perhaps only one per cent or so of marriages ending in divorce within 30 years of the marriage. In the next 70 years, divorce rates rose slowly to a level of about 10 per cent of marriages ending in divorce by the mid-1960s. While the evidence is persuasive rather than conclusive, it has been argued that this rise over 70 years merely reflected an increasing trend towards formalisation by divorce of marriage breakdowns, rather than any real change in the rate of marriage breakdown (James, 1984). Thus, in the hypothetical case set out in the previous paragraph, 100 years ago, we could have expected about 10 per cent of couples surviving

30 years after their marriage to have separated. The percentage still together after 30 years, taking into account both widowhood and separation, would therefore be about 41 per cent.

Today, most marriage breakdowns are formalised by divorce. About 37 per cent of marriages can be expected to end in divorce (Carmichael and McDonald, unpublished). Adding a small fraction for marriage breakdowns which are never formalised by divorce, we can estimate that about 40 per cent of marriages end in separation within 30 years of the marriage. Thus, again considering the hypothetical case described above, taking into account both widowhood and separation, the percentage of today's couples who can expect to be still together after 30 years is 53 per cent. Overall, then, today's married couples are more likely to be still living with their spouse after 30 years than couples 100 years ago.

GRAPH 4 NUMBER OF DIVORCES, 1938-91



Source: Vamplew, W. Ed. *Australians Historical Statistics and Divorces, Australia* (3307.0).

The example provides another useful basis for discussion because Young (1989) has shown that in Australia in recent times, the last child leaves home on average when the mother is 54 and the father is 57. Thus, we can estimate that over 50 per cent of couples can expect their first marriage to survive to the point where all their children have left home. Others will go into this 'empty nest' phase through repartnering after the ending of their marriage. Thus, a majority of Australians can expect to spend some time living together with their partner with adult children living elsewhere. One hundred years ago, this family phase hardly existed at all because of high mortality, late childbearing and the tendency of at least one unmarried child to remain at home (McDonald and Quiggin, 1985). The empty nest phase is also not short; the number of widowed women in Australia does not exceed the number of married women until age 73 while the number of widowed men never exceeds the number of married men at any age (ABS, 1992d).

The modern rise in divorce rates in Australia began in the late 1960s and accelerated during the 1970s. Having reached a level equivalent to between 35 and 40 per cent of marriages ending in divorce, the rate of divorce levelled off during the 1980s. The trend in the number of divorces between 1951 and 1991 is shown in Graph 4. The graph shows the upturn in the late 1960s leading to the very large number of divorces occurring in 1976, the first year of operation of the *Family Law Act 1975*. The 'no fault' provisions of the new Act were attractive to many people who had been separated for some time and also enabled many people to divorce sooner than they would have done under the previous law. These factors led to a heaping of divorces into one year, 1976. By the end of the 1970s, this temporary peak had passed. A secondary peak occurred around 1982-83, perhaps reflecting the economic recession of the early 1980s. To the extent that divorces are affected by recessions, we can expect the divorce rate to rise again in the early 1990s and there was some evidence of such a rise in 1991.

The other major effect that the new law has had is in bringing divorces forward within a marriage. Whereas under the previous law, a couple had to have a five-year separation before 'no fault' provisions applied, with the new law this waiting period was reduced to just one year. Almost immediately the new law was introduced, the proportion of marriages ending in divorce within five years of the marriage rose from about one per cent to eight per cent. Today, about eight per cent of marriages end within 5 years, 17 per cent within 10 years, 28 per cent within 20 years and 37 per cent within 30 years. This progression indicates that the rate of divorce is not greatly affected by the length of the marriage, with about one per cent being added to the percentage divorced for each additional year of marriage. That is, there is no special time in a marriage when divorces are more likely to occur than any other time, except perhaps in the first few years of the marriage. From the perspective of children, this means that about one per cent can expect to experience the divorce of their parents for each year of life. That is, by age 10 about 10 per cent of children have divorced parents; by age 20, the percentage has risen to 20 per cent (Carmichael and McDonald, unpublished).

From an international perspective, Australia's divorce rate is on the low end of those countries with high divorce rates. Its rate of divorce is much lower than that of the United States and the Scandinavian countries and is also lower than that of England and Wales and Canada. On the other hand, Australia's divorce rate is far higher than the rates applying in Italy and Greece (Table 8).

The divorce rate from second marriages is a little higher than that from first marriages: about 38 per cent compared to about 34 per cent in 1986 (McDonald, 1988). Little is known about the breakdown of de facto relationships, but the rate is likely to be quite high. In a sample of de facto couples who had a birth in 1984, 19 per cent were no longer together 18 months after the birth of the child (Khoo and McDonald, 1988).

**TABLE 8 PERCENTAGE OF MARRIAGES
ENDING IN DIVORCE WITHIN 30 YEARS OF
MARRIAGE(a), SELECTED COUNTRIES
(per cent)**

Country	
United States	*54.8
Denmark	49.0
Finland	45.9
Sweden	44.3
England and Wales	41.7
Canada	39.8
Norway	38.5
Germany	36.9
Australia	35.4
Belgium	31.0
France	31.0
Austria	30.6
Hungary	30.1
Netherlands	28.0
Poland	17.0
Greece	13.0
Italy	8.0

(a) Based on the duration-specific rates applying in 1989, except for the United States — 1985.

Source: de Guibert-Lantoine and Monnier, 1992 and author's estimate for Australia.

Repartnering

Prior to the major increase in divorce rates which occurred in the mid-1970s, remarriage rates for divorced persons were relatively high, with almost a quarter of all divorced persons aged between 25 and 40 years marrying in a given year (Table 9). The divorce boom since the 1970s has been accompanied by very much lower rates of remarriage, which continue to decline. In all years, remarriage rates were higher for men than for women.

**TABLE 9 ANNUAL REMARRIAGE RATES
FOR DIVORCED PERSONS AGED 25-39, 1971,
1986 AND 1991
(per 1,000 divorced persons)**

Sex	Aged 25-39		
	1971	1986	1991
Males	246	160	120
Females	215	124	101

Source: Author's calculations from ABS' *Marriages, Australia 1971, 1986 and 1991* (3306.0).

**TABLE 10 RELATIONSHIP TYPE IN 1987
OF PERSONS DIVORCING(a) IN 1981 AND 1983
(per cent)**

Relationship type	Males	Females
Married	58	38
Living de facto	14	14
Non-coresidential	9	17
No relationship	19	31

(a) Divorces from first marriages lasting 5-14 years and having two children.

Source: Weston and Khoo, 1993.

The decline in remarriage rates after divorce may reflect the increasing availability of other relationship options such as de facto relationships and relationships in which the partners do not live together. An AIFS study in 1987, found that four to six years after divorce from their first marriage, the relationship patterns shown in Table 10 prevailed among a sample of people who had been married between 5 and 14 years and had two children from the marriage. Most had formed new relationships, especially the men, but the new relationship did not necessarily take the form of marriage. The women, who usually had the children of the marriage with them, were twice as likely as men to have a relationship with a person with whom they did not live.

Concluding remark

The International Year of the Family comes at a time when Australians, like people in other industrialised countries, are re-establishing the meaning of family in their lives. While there has always been a variety of family types in Australia, the breadwinner model of family consisting of a father in paid employment, a mother in the home and two to four children has been the dominant cultural image of the family. In the more distant past, the variety of family forms was due more to necessity than choice, for example, sole parent family arising from the death of one of the parents. Over the past 30 years, however, many Australians have chosen to live in family forms which are different to the long-held cultural image of the breadwinner family and their decisions have met with increasing levels of acceptance by the community.

In the re-establishment of the meaning of family, it can be expected that less emphasis will be placed on the structure of families and

more upon the ways families work, that is, relationships both within and across
on the nature and quality of family households.

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