Contents

CENSUS OF 1891.

STATISTICIAN'S REPORT.

GENERAL REPORT

ON

THE ELEVENTH CENSUS

OF

NEW SOUTH WALES;

BY

T. A. COGHLAN,
GOVERNMENT STATISTICIAN.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND DIAGRAMS.

Preface

The renowned New South Wales Statistician T.A. Coghlan presented the first Statistician's Report for the Census of New South Wales in 1891. It included details of all the previous censuses back to the earliest musters of convicts in Sydney Cove and set a precedent for high quality analysis of the population census.

George Handley Knibbs published the first Commonwealth Statistician's Report with the results of the 1911 Commonwealth Census. Following the comprehensive nature of previous reports, it was nearly 1000 pages long. The First World War impinged on its release and it took six years from the date of the census before its release in 1917. It was the first time that a clear picture of the people of our young nation was available.

The Commonwealth Statistician's Report was released for every subsequent census for 50 years—from 1911 until 1961. While the tradition of releasing a Commonwealth Statistician's Report dwindled with the introduction of computing and the availability of census data on a mass scale, the need for analytical publications remained. During the 1980s a number of smaller publications were released in its place. For the censuses from 1986 to 2001, Australia in Profile along with other thematic publications offered analysis of the census.

The fifteenth Census of Population and Housing was held on 8 August 2006. It incorporated a number of changes designed to keep the census as efficient and contemporary as possible. For the first time, people could complete their census form online. In addition, new questions on need for assistance (a measure of disability), and voluntary and unpaid work were included. The first data from the 2006 Census were released in June 2007 and incorporated a completely redesigned web based system that uses a wide range of searching and mapping facilities.

Ultimately, the purpose of each census is to put vital information into the hands of users across Australia. It helps Australians understand how the nation is changing. The census covers a wide variety of topics, with detailed data available down to the regional and small area levels and about small population groups in our society. As a result, the census provides statistical information which can assist decision making in all sections of society: governments, businesses, academics, researchers, students, community organisations and individuals.

For previous censuses the Statistician's Reports played a strong role in fulfilling this purpose. Now I would like to reintroduce a Statistician's Report for the 21st century. Today, a huge breadth of information is available from the census, and it would be impossible for one report to summarise it all. The 2006 Australian Statistician's Report showcases the depth and range of information that the 2006 Census and previous censuses provides about Australia's diverse peoples. It covers topics as varied as changes to families and living arrangements, commuting to work, skills shortages, and second generation Australians. This edition has a particular focus on changes across the generations and differences across Australia.

I would like to thank the Australian people for participating in the census and the tens of thousands of people who worked on the 2006 Census. Thanks also to the ABS staff who prepared this report, **A Picture of the Nation: The Statistician's Report on the 2006 Census**.

Brian Pink
Australian Statistician
January 2009

Introduction

A Picture of the Nation: The Statistician's Report on the 2006 Census analyses information collected in the 2006 Census of Population and Housing. It also incorporates information from previous censuses—in some instances going back as far as 1911. It presents stories about contemporary society and trends that affect the lives of Australian people. Drawing on the rich variety of topics covered by the census and looking across different geographic areas and population groups, this report showcases the many strengths of census data.

The report consists of eight chapters, each focusing on different areas of social interest and concern: population, cultural diversity, community, living arrangements, education, work, economic resources and housing. Each chapter contains an overview and two or three feature articles. The overviews report on relevant census findings at a broad level. The feature articles focus on specific social issues or population subgroups. While the overviews and feature articles are self-contained and readable in their own right, they complement the other articles in their chapters. For example, along with unpaid childcare and unpaid care for people with disabilities, the 'Community overview' examines volunteering in Australia at the broad level. Complementing this, one of the chapter's feature articles, 'Volunteering across Australia', further explores the geographic dimension of volunteering by focusing on smaller geographic areas across Australia.

To help readers get the most from the stories presented here, tables, graphs, maps and boxes are used in conjunction with the easy-to-read analysis. For those wanting to understand more, a Glossary provides definitions of the complex concepts used throughout the report, and definition boxes explain terms and concepts that are specific to the overviews or articles where they are used. While the articles primarily draw on census data, information or data obtained from other sources, such as other publications or Australian Bureau of Statistics data collections, are referenced in endnotes for each overview and article.

The fact that high quality national censuses have been held in Australia for almost a century, allows the characteristics of Australia's diverse population to be analysed in many different ways. Two approaches for examining sub-groups of the population have been used in this report: Life cycle and Generational group analysis. By grouping together people at similar stages of life, Life-cycle groups help to reveal the common stories and trends experienced by members of these groups. For instance, young adults have the greatest diversity in living arrangements, reflecting the many transitions they are facing (see the 'Living arrangements overview', p. 60–72). Similarly, by splitting the population into five age-based Generation groups, such as the Lucky and Baby Boomer Generations, and Generation X and Y, interesting differences emerge. For instance, more than three quarters of the Lucky Generation were affiliated with a Christian denomination, compared with just over one half of Generation X and Y (see 'Religion across the generations', p. 54–58).

Reflecting the important role that the census has in providing information about small geographic areas, many parts of this report illustrate the different ways that Australia can be divided geographically from the census. These range from states and territories, cities and regions, down to small communities and urban centres, as well as broad categories of remoteness that cross state and territory borders.

More information about the basis of the different population counts used in this report, as well as the techniques and standard methods used in analysing and presenting data, can be found in the 'Technical notes', p. x–xii.

About the census

The five yearly Census of Population and Housing is the largest statistical collection undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) and one of the largest regular peace time operations conducted in Australia.

The 2006 Census was conducted on Tuesday, 8 August. The census included all people in Australia on Census Night, with the exception of foreign diplomats and their families. Visitors to Australia are counted regardless of how long they have been in the country or how long they plan to stay. Australian residents out of the country on Census Night are not counted in the Census. More detail on the conduct of the 2006 Census is available in *How Australia Takes a Census* (cat. no. 2903.0).

The legislative basis of the Census of Population and Housing is the *Census and Statistics Act 1905*. This Act also requires the ABS and its officers to protect the confidentiality of the information collected.

Two broad objectives underpin the Census. The first is to measure accurately the number and key characteristics of Australian residents and the dwellings in which they live. The second is to provide timely, high quality and relevant data on these topics for small geographic areas and small population groups.

Census data provide a reliable basis for the estimation of the population of each of the states, territories and local government areas, primarily for electoral purposes and the distribution of government funds. The census also provides statistical information that can assist decision making in all sections of society: governments, businesses, academics, researchers, students, community organisations and individuals.

Census data complement other sources of information collected by the ABS and other organisations. For instance, many of the household surveys conducted by the ABS use more detailed questions than the census can support and therefore are much richer sources of information on their particular topics. However, these surveys typically cannot provide these data for small population groups or small areas.

To achieve accurate, high quality data from the census, extensive effort is put into census form design, collection procedures, and processing. There are four principle sources of error in Census data: respondent error, processing error, partial and non-response, and undercount. Quality management aims to reduce these errors as much as possible. The Census page on the ABS website (www.abs.gov.au/census) provides links to more information on census data quality, including information about the quality of specific data items from the census.

Technical notes

Different types of population counts

The estimated resident population (ERP) is Australia's official population measure. It is based on census counts of usual residents (discussed below), which are adjusted for undercount in the census and the number of Australian residents estimated to have been temporarily overseas at the time of the census. Further adjustments are made for births, deaths and net migration in the period from the date of the estimate (30 June) to Census Night (that is, 8 August 2006).

As they are the most accurate count of the population, ERP figures have been used wherever possible in the Population chapter of this report. However, only a limited number of characteristics of the population are available through ERP: age, sex, marital status (registered), country of birth and geographic location. To allow analysis of the broad range of characteristics available from the census, three different population counts from the census have been used in this report—place of enumeration, place of usual residence and persons temporarily absent on Census Night.

In Australia the census counts people where they are located on Census Night—their 'place of enumeration'. The place of enumeration census count is only used in this report where comparisons are made with censuses prior to 1976, as this was the only census count available from earlier censuses.

The usual resident population count is derived from information people provide on their census form about where they lived, or intend to live, for 6 months or more in 2006—their 'place of usual residence'. Information about people who are not at home on Census Night is linked back to the area in which they usually live (that is, their Collection District). However, it is impractical to link the information about these people back to their actual families, households or dwellings. In some instances, the absence of this information could have an impact on the analysis of the characteristics of families, households and dwellings.

The census count of persons temporarily absent from households is used in a limited number of places in this report. Answers to questions on the census form, provided by residents present on Census Night, indicate whether there were people temporarily absent from their household. The number and characteristics of these temporarily absent people have been used in some instances to provide more information on the total usual residents of households, as well as providing detail of family structures and living arrangements, making the analysis undertaken more accurate.

As census usual resident population counts are the most common population count used in this report, their use in tables, graphs and text is not noted. Where any of the other population counts discussed above are used, this is noted in footnotes and in the text.

Time series comparisons

In a number of overviews and articles in this report, comparisons have been made between the 2006 Census and earlier censuses. Two significant events affecting the census have occurred that should be considered when making comparisons of census data over time.

Firstly, under the constitution at Federation, 'Aboriginal natives' were not to be counted in the census and so were excluded from the final results. This restriction was removed following a referendum in 1967. The ABS has endeavoured to conduct as full a count of Indigenous peoples as possible from the 1971 Census onwards, and has included these peoples in census results since then.

Secondly, the 1976 Census results are based on a sample of half of the forms received from private dwellings, which have been weighted to represent a full count of the population. This was done because of budgetary constraints introduced by the government at the time of processing the forms. Exceptions were in the Northern Territory, where all of the forms from private dwellings were processed, as well as all forms from non-private dwellings across Australia.

In most cases, the classifications used to make comparisons over time are the same in each census year and the comparisons have been made with a high degree of certainty. In other cases, the classifications and/or processing methods have changed over time and the comparisons are less certain. Comparisons have only been made where the data have been assessed as fit for the purpose for which they are used: in some instances, changes over time have not been discussed because of the degree of uncertainty and change involved.

Of particular note, the 2006 Census introduced new classifications for occupation and industry of employment: the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) and Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification 2006 (ANZSIC). For the 2006 Census, occupation and industry of employment data were dual coded to give users the option to use either the current classification or the previous classification (ASCO Second Edition or ANZSIC 1993, respectively). In this report, comparisons over time for these topics use the earlier classifications for the 2006 Census data.

Totals—rounding and data perturbation

Figures have been rounded in this report. Therefore, discrepancies may occur between the sums of the component items and totals.

A range of methods has been used to protect the confidentiality of respondents when data are released from the census. This produces minor variations in the data that may result in totals not being equal in all tables and quoted numbers.

Treatment of particular data items

To be as consistent as possible with ERP figures (see previous page) and to minimise the effect of variations in the numbers of overseas visitors on time series data, all overseas visitors have been excluded from data used in the report, unless otherwise specified.

Where classifications used included a 'not stated' category, data in this category have been excluded prior to the calculation of percentages—in effect, this has 'distributed' those results across the remaining categories. The only exception to this is for the Religious Affiliation classification, where 'not stated' is an accepted response. Total numbers for all classifications, including those shown alongside percentages, include the number of 'not stated' responses. Where the number of responses in a 'not stated' category may have had an impact on the information presented, this is noted in footnotes and in the text. In some instances, data have not been analysed because of large numbers of 'not stated' responses.

Where classifications used included an 'inadequately described' or similar category, data in these categories were generally treated as a standard category—that is, they have not been distributed as for the 'not stated' categories described above. In the instances where it was necessary to do this, this is indicated in footnotes and in the text.

Symbols and usages

The following symbols and usages mean:

%	per cent
. .	not applicable
n.a.	not available
no.	number
$	dollar
'000	thousand
km^2	square kilometre

Abbreviations

This report uses the following abbreviations.

Australia, states and territories of Australia

Aust.	Australia
NSW	New South Wales
Vic.	Victoria
Qld	Queensland
SA	South Australia
WA	Western Australia
Tas.	Tasmania
NT	Northern Territory
ACT	Australian Capital Territory

Other abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ABSCQ	Australian Bureau of Statistics Classification of Qualifications
AIFS	Australian Institute of Family Studies
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
ASCO	Australian Standard Classification of Occupations
ANZSCO	Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations
ANZSIC	Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification
ASCED	Australian Standard Classification of Education
AST	Australian Social Trends
DEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
ERP	Estimated Resident Population
GPO	General Post Office
GSS	General Social Survey
HECS	Higher Education Contribution Scheme
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LGA	Local Government Areas
MCEETYA	Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs
MPHS	Multi-Purpose Household Survey
SARS	Special Administrative Regions
SD	Statistical District
SDAC	Survey of Disability, Ageing and Carers
SIH	Survey of Income and Housing
SLA	Statistical Local Area
SOLD	Survey of Labour Demand
SSD	Statistical Subdivision
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
UK	United Kingdom

Chapter one

Population

Population overview

In August 2006, the Census of Population and Housing counted 19.9 million people in Australia on Census Night. This figure provided a base count from which the estimated resident population (ERP) was derived (see box below). After adjusting for undercount and a number of other factors, Australia's ERP at 30 June 2006 was 20.7 million people.

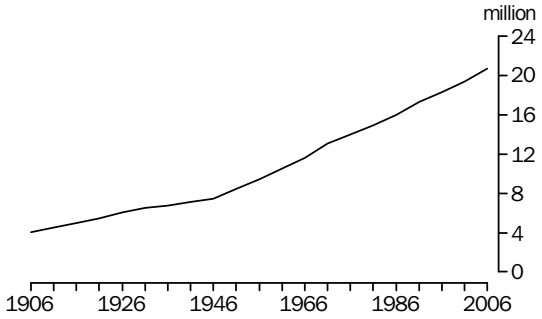
Population growth

Between 2001 and 2006, Australia's resident population increased by nearly 1.3 million people. Natural increase (excess of births over deaths) and net overseas migration each contributed about half of this growth (see Glossary for more information about these terms).

Over the past 100 years Australia's population has increased steadily from 4.1 million in 1906 to 20.7 million in 2006. The only exception to this steady growth occurred in 1916 and 1917 during World War I, when the population declined slightly. This was because defence force personnel leaving Australia were regarded as emigrants and excluded from population counts.[1]

Some of the highest annual population growth rates were recorded in the period 1947–65, known as the Baby Boom. Annual growth rates over this period fluctuated between 1.6% and 3.3% with natural increase the main component. High levels of immigration following World War II also contributed to strong population growth in this period. Annual population growth rates then declined to a low of 1.0% in 1975 and have remained at between 1% and 2% since then. Between 2001 and 2006, the annual growth rate fluctuated around 1.3%.

Population(a)(b)(c) 1906 to 2006



(a) Includes estimates of the Indigenous population from 1961 onwards.

(b) Prior to 1971, estimates of the population were based on the number of people actually present in Australia. From 1971 onwards the concept of estimated resident population (ERP) was introduced.

(c) Includes Other Territories from 1994.

Source: *Australian Historical Population Statistics*, cat. no. 3105.0.65.001.

Estimating Australia's population

The estimated resident population (ERP) is Australia's official population figure. It is based on census counts of usual residents, adjusted for undercount and the number of Australian residents estimated to have been temporarily overseas at the time of the census. Further adjustments are made for births, deaths and net migration in the period from 1 July to Census Night (i.e. 8 August 2006) to estimate the population at 30 June 2006. This chapter presents June 2006 ERP where available, and unadjusted census counts from August 2006 where more detailed information on population characteristics is needed. Later chapters only use unadjusted census counts. For more information on ERP see *Australian Demographic Statistics, Dec 2007*, ABS cat. no. 3101.0.

How the population grows

The growth of Australia's population has two components: natural increase and net overseas migration. Natural increase refers to the excess of births over deaths. Net overseas migration is the net gain or loss of population through immigration to Australia and emigration from Australia.

Population growth in the states and territories has a third component: net interstate migration. It refers to the difference between the number of persons who have changed their place of usual residence by moving into a given state or territory and the number who have changed their place of usual residence by moving out of that state or territory during a specified time period. Note that Urban Centres (see Glossary) with smaller populations may record high growth rates because the rates are calculated from a small base.

States and territories

In 2006, New South Wales continued to be the most populous state (6.8 million residents) followed by Victoria (5.1 million). Together they were home to over half (58%) of Australia's total population. Average annual population growth in both states in the 25 years to 2006 was 1.1%, below the national rate of 1.3%.

In the 5 years before the 2006 Census, the average annual growth was lower for New South Wales (0.7%) but higher for Victoria (1.3%) than in preceding years. Net overseas migration and natural increase were the main components of growth rather than interstate migration.

Between 1981 and 2006, average annual population growth was above the national rate in Queensland (2.3%), Western Australia (1.9%), the Northern Territory (2.2%) and the Australian Capital Territory (1.5%), although the causes of growth differed. While natural increase was an important component of growth in each of these states and territories, Queensland was the only state to draw substantial numbers from interstate migration. In Western Australia, high levels of net overseas migration boosted population growth, allowing it to overtake South Australia in size in the early 1980s.

Both South Australia and Tasmania experienced low rates of growth in the 25 years to 2006. Losses due to interstate migration, primarily of young people, have resulted in older populations with lower proportions of people of child-bearing age and subsequent low levels of natural increase.

Population growth and distribution(a)

	2006	*2006*	*Change 1981–2006(b)*	*Change 2001–2006(b)*
	'000	%	%	%
New South Wales	6 816.1	32.9	1.1	0.7
Victoria	5 126.5	24.8	1.1	1.3
Queensland	4 090.9	19.8	2.3	2.4
South Australia	1 567.9	7.6	0.7	0.7
Western Australia	2 059.4	9.9	1.9	1.6
Tasmania	490.0	2.4	0.5	0.8
Northern Territory	210.6	1.0	2.2	1.3
Australian Capital Territory	334.1	1.6	1.5	0.9
Australia	**20 697.9**	**100.0**	**1.3**	**1.3**

(a) Estimated Resident Population as at 30 June.

(b) Average annual growth, see Glossary.

Source: *Australian Demographic Statistics, Dec 2007*, cat. no. 3101.0.

20 largest Urban Centres(a)

	2006	Change 1996–2006(b)		2006	Change 1996–2006(b)
	'000	%		'000	%
Sydney	3 794.8	1.1	Sunshine Coast(c)	197.6	4.3
Melbourne	3 517.6	1.6	Geelong	143.1	0.9
Brisbane	1 733.5	2.8	Townsville	137.5	2.2
Perth	1 322.7	1.5	Hobart	132.1	0.2
Adelaide	1 078.9	0.7	Cairns	105.4	2.6
Gold Coast-Tweed Heads	487.5	5.4	Toowoomba	101.6	1.6
Canberra-Queanbeyan	368.8	1.0	Ballarat	81.2	1.9
Newcastle	303.2	0.8	Bendigo	79.0	2.4
Central Coast (NSW)	289.2	2.0	Launceston	74.1	0.7
Wollongong	247.4	0.8	Darwin	71.9	0.7
Australia	20 697.9	1.2			

(a) Estimated Resident Population as at 30 June.

(b) Annual average growth, see Glossary.

(c) Sunshine Coast only existed in its own right as a UCL area from the 2001 Census. For the 1996 Census, the Urban Centres in 2001 from the equivalent area have been used to represent the population at that time.

Source: *Regional Population Growth, Australia, 2005–06*, cat. no. 3218.0.

Urban Centres

Most of Australia's population live in urban areas. In 2006, just over two thirds (69%) of the population lived in the 20 largest Urban Centres and half the population lived in the 4 largest Urban Centres (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth). In the 10 years to 2006, population growth in Sydney (average annual growth of 1.1%), did not keep pace with the national average (1.2%). However, due to its large size, this city accommodated an additional 400,000 people, or around one sixth of Australia's population growth in this period.

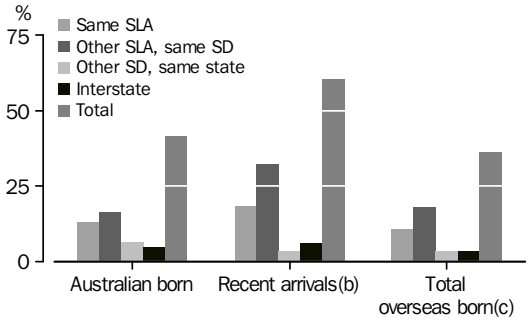
High rates of growth in Queensland's largest Urban Centres contributed to a high rate of growth in the state as a whole. Between 1996 and 2006, population growth in Brisbane, Gold Coast-Tweed Heads, Townsville and Cairns was well above the national rate, with Gold Coast-Tweed Heads experiencing the highest average annual growth rate of 5.4%. Over this period the Sunshine Coast evolved from a number of smaller settlements to become the country's eleventh largest Urban Centre with a population of 198,000 in 2006. Other large Urban Centres with high rates of growth include Melbourne (1.6%), Perth (1.5%), the Central Coast of NSW (2.0%), Ballarat (1.9%) and Bendigo (2.4%). Of the 20 largest Urban Centres, Hobart experienced the lowest average annual growth rate (0.2%).

Mobility

In the five years prior to the 2006 Census, 6.6 million people, or 43% of the population aged 5 years and over, changed their place of residence in Australia. Of all the people who moved within Australia during this period, the majority (86%) moved within the same state or territory while the remainder moved interstate. People aged 25–29 years were the most mobile age group, with 62% having moved within Australia in the previous 5 years, while those aged 75–79 years were least likely to have moved (19%). There was little difference recorded between the mobility rates of men and women.

The mobility rate of immigrants is very high after arrival and for the first decade of their residence in Australia, reflecting that immigrants tend to move until they find a suitable place to work and settle into their new

Mobility rates by birthplace, 2001–06(a)



(a) Excludes children under 5 years of age in 2006 and people who were overseas in 2001.

(b) Who arrived in Australia between 1996 and 2000.

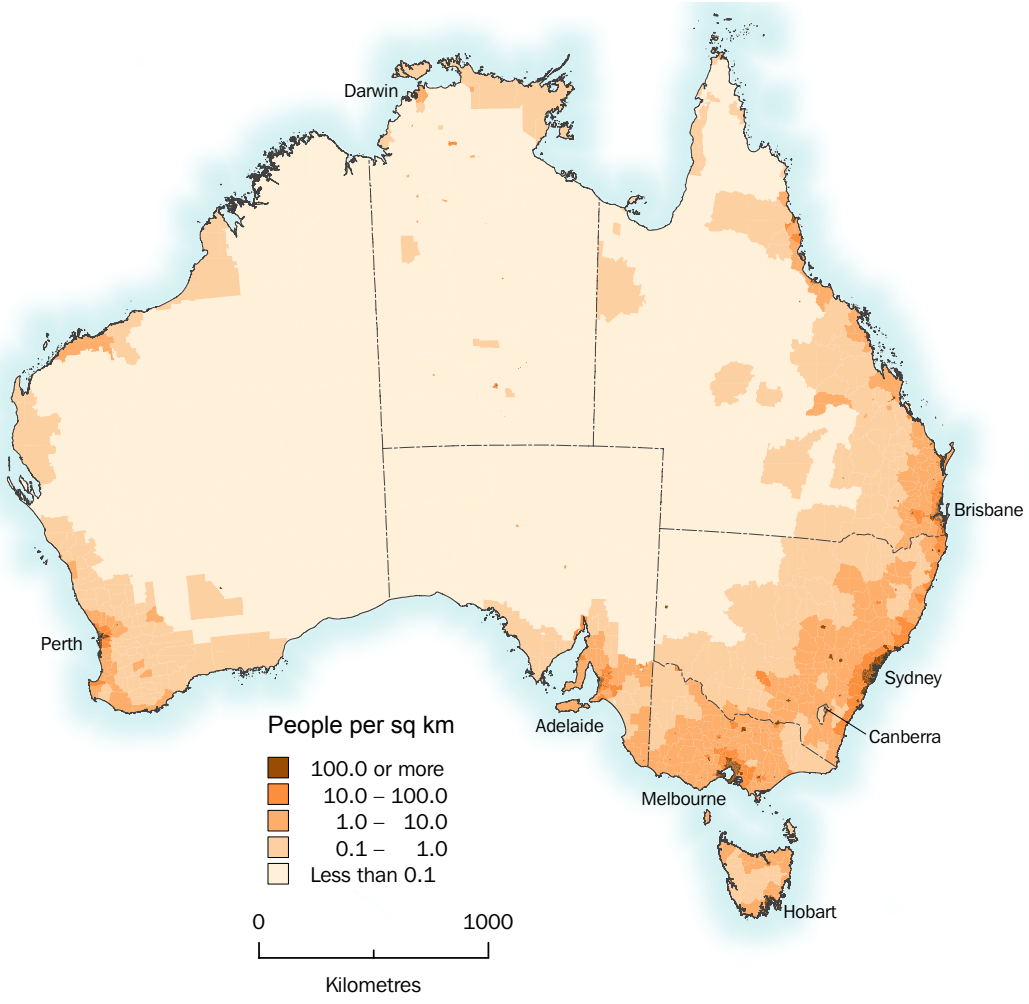
(c) Who arrived in Australia prior to 2001.

environment. Between 2001 and 2006, 60% of newly arrived migrants (who arrived in Australia in the 5 years to 2000) had moved residence compared to 42% of the Australian-born population, and their mobility rates were higher in almost every age group. However, over the longer term, the mobility rates of immigrants are lower on average than the Australian-born population.

Population distribution

Australia's population is mostly concentrated in two widely separated coastal regions. The larger of these by far (both in area and population) lies in the east and south-east of Australia, stretching in a crescent from Queensland through New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania to South Australia. The smaller region is in the south-west of the continent and is concentrated around the Perth metropolitan area.

Population density, Statistical Local Areas(a)



(a) Estimated Resident Population as at 30 June 2006.

Source: *Regional Population Growth, Australia, 2005–06*, cat. no. 3218.0

In 2006, the vast majority of Australia's population (85%) lived within 50 kilometres of the coastline, reflecting the arid, inhospitable conditions of much of the Australian interior, as well as employment and lifestyle opportunities found in coastal areas and historical settlement patterns. The population was also highly urbanised. In Australia, an Urban Centre is defined as a population cluster of 1,000 or more people. At 30 June 2006, 18.3 million people, or 88% of the total Australian population were living in 730 Urban Centres.

Age and sex structure

In June 2006 the median age of the Australian population was 37 years. One in five Australians (20%) were children aged under 15 years, and 13% were aged 65 years and over. For most of the states and territories, the proportion of the population in each of these age groups varied only slightly. The Northern Territory had the highest proportion of children aged under 15 years (25%) while South Australia and Tasmania had the highest proportions of older people aged 65 years and over (both 15%).

The age structure of Australia's population has changed considerably over the last century. During this time the proportion of children aged under 15 years declined from 35% in 1901 to 20% in 2006, while the proportion of older people aged 65 years and over increased from 4% to 13%. These changes reflect: increased life expectancy of infants in the earlier part of the century, resulting in the survival of more people into old age; declining fertility from the 1970s; and improvements in life expectancy at older ages in recent decades.

The sex ratio is the number of males per one hundred females. A sex ratio less than 100 indicates that there are fewer males than females. In 2006, Australia had an overall sex ratio of 99 males for every 100 females in the population. The sex ratio for children aged 0–4 was 105, as male births consistently outnumber female births, and declined with age reflecting lower female death rates at all ages and the resultant higher life expectancy of women. Among those aged 75 years and over there were 523,200 males and 757,200 females, equating to a sex ratio of 69 males per 100 females.

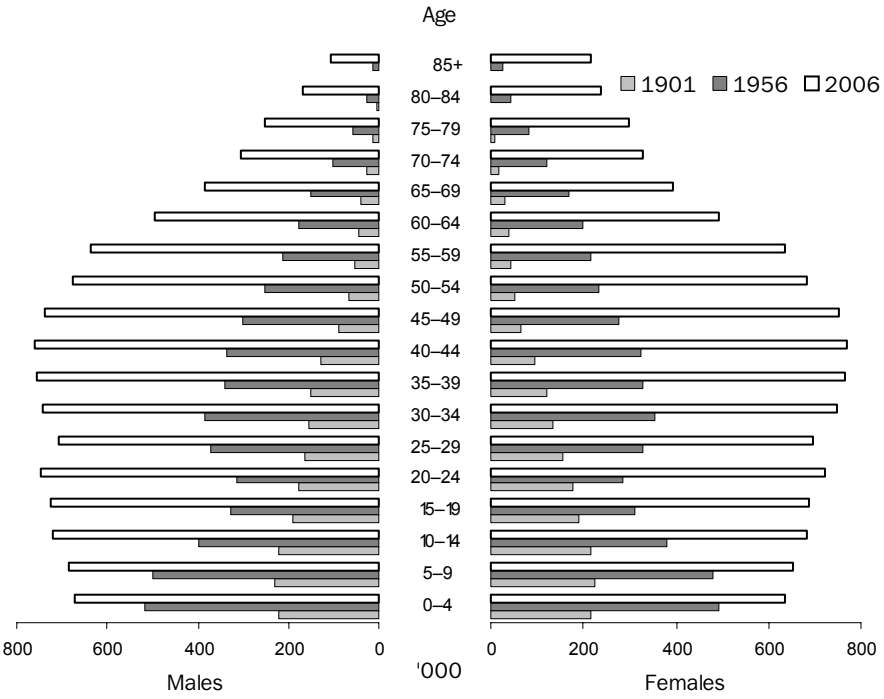
Age distribution(a)

	Total population	*People aged 0–14*	*People aged 15–64*	*People aged 65 and over*	*Median age*
	'000	%	%	%	years
New South Wales	6 816.1	19.6	66.9	13.5	36.8
Victoria	5 126.5	19.0	67.6	13.4	36.7
Queensland	4 090.9	20.4	67.5	12.1	36.0
South Australia	1 567.9	18.3	66.6	15.1	38.8
Western Australia	2 059.4	19.9	68.3	11.8	36.2
Tasmania	490.0	19.7	65.7	14.6	38.8
Northern Territory	210.6	24.5	70.9	4.6	30.9
Australian Capital Territory	334.1	18.8	71.7	9.5	34.4
Australia	**20 697.9**	**19.6**	**67.4**	**13.0**	**36.6**

(a) Estimated resident population as at 30 June, 2006.

Source: *Population by Age and Sex, Australian States and Territories, Jun 2006*, cat. no. 3201.0.

Population profile, selected years(a)(b)



(a) Data for 1901 are census counts; data for 1956 are population estimates; data for 2006 are estimated resident population.

(b) In 2006, Christmas Island and Cocos (Keeling) Islands are included as part of Australia.

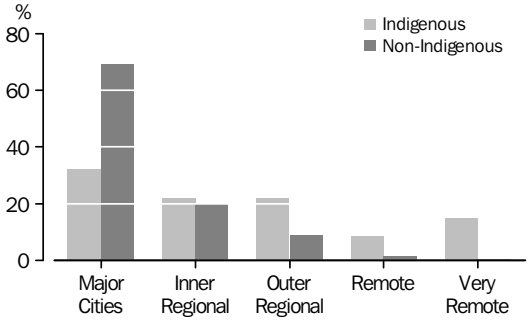
Source: *Australian Historical Population Statistics*, cat. no. 3105.0.65.001.

Indigenous population

At 30 June 2006, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population was estimated at 517,200, or 2.5% of the total Australian population. Two states, New South Wales (29%) and Queensland (28%), contained over half the Indigenous population. While a smaller proportion of all Indigenous peoples lived in the Northern Territory (13%), it was the state or territory with the highest proportion of Indigenous peoples in its total population (32%).

Indigenous Australians were more likely to live in remote areas of the country than non-Indigenous Australians. Based on census counts, around one in four Indigenous Australians (24%) lived in Remote or Very Remote areas in 2006 compared with only one in fifty non-Indigenous Australians (2%). Conversely, 32% of the Indigenous population lived in the Major Cities (see Glossary) compared to 69% of the non-Indigenous population.

Population by Remoteness Areas(a)



(a) 2006 Census counts.

Birthplace

In 2006, a quarter (25%) of Australia's population was born overseas. This represents a slight increase in the proportion born overseas since 1996 (23%). People born in North-West Europe (including the United Kingdom) were the largest group of overseas-born residents in 2006, accounting for 7% of all residents nationally, and almost a third of all overseas-born residents. Those born in Southern and Eastern Europe were the second

largest group of overseas-born, comprising 4% of all residents nationally, followed by South-East Asia, accounting for 3% of the total population.

Based on census counts, the overseas-born population was more likely to live in Urban Centres than those born in Australia. In 2006, 85% of the overseas-born were living in Major Cities, compared with 63% of Australian-born residents. Those migrants who arrived in the past two decades were more likely than other overseas-born people to live in large population centres, reflecting the settlement patterns of migrants to Australia. In 2006, 9 out of 10 migrants who had arrived in the preceding 20 years lived in Major Cities (90%) falling to around 8 in 10 of those who arrived in 1986 or before (81%). For more information on the overseas-born population, see the 'Cultural diversity overview', p. 34–44.

Regions of birth of Australia's population(a)

	%	'000
Australian-born	75.4	15 608.1
Total overseas-born	24.6	5 093.4
Oceania and Antarctica(b)	2.7	567.7
North-West Europe	7.3	1 513.2
Southern and Eastern Europe	4.1	852.9
North Africa and the Middle East	1.4	295.4
South-East Asia	3.1	641.9
North-East Asia	2.3	470.1
Southern and Central Asia	1.6	322.0
Americas	1.0	210.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	1.1	220.2
Total	**100.0**	**20 701.5**

(a) 2006 Census counts.

(b) Excluding Australia.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics 2003, *Population growth and distribution, 2001*, cat. no. 2035.0, p. 20–22, ABS, Canberra.

From generation to generation

Taking a generational view of the population provides a useful framework for analysing census data. Dividing the population into generations and looking at the different social and economic experiences they have had can help us to understand the changes that have occurred and continue to occur in Australian society.

In this report 5 cohorts are identified: the Oldest Generation; the Lucky Generation; the Baby Boomers; Generation X and Y; and the internet or iGeneration (see table below). This article defines each generation, and briefly describes their social and economic history and current characteristics. These groups are used in several articles throughout this report which provide more in-depth analysis of various aspects of the life experience of these generations. While each generation shares certain characteristics, it should be acknowledged that within each generation a great deal of individual variety occurs. Therefore, where useful, generations have been further divided into smaller age groups to highlight this diversity.

Oldest Generation the most likely to live alone

Born before 1927, the surviving members of this generation were aged 80 years and over in 2006 and comprised 4% of the total population. As young adults, the older members of this birth cohort may have experienced interrupted employment and family formation during the Great Depression. Many of the men would have served in the armed forces during World War II. Members of the Oldest Generation had limited formal educational opportunities: in 2006, 39% reported they left school at Year 8 or below or never attended school compared to 2% of Generation X and Y.

Defining the generations

In defining the generations, a number of factors have been taken into account including birth rates, significant world events and shared life experiences. Each generation covers a similar sized age group (generally 20 years) to allow more meaningful comparisons across generations. For example, Generation X and Y, while separately identified by some social commentators, have many characteristics in common and have been combined to form a 20 year birth cohort. It should be noted that there is no widespread agreement about the names and definitions of these generations. Furthermore, the names adopted in this report have been used by other commentators to refer to slightly different groups.

Summary of the generations

	Birth cohort	*Age in 2006*	*Size of group in 2006*	*Proportion of the population in 2006*
		years	'000	%
Oldest Generation	1891–1926	80 and over	727.3	3.7
Lucky Generation	1926–1946	60–79	2 875.1	14.5
Baby Boomers	1946–1966	40–59	5 468.8	27.5
Generation X and Y	1966–1986	20–39	5 489.9	27.6
iGeneration	1986–2006	0–19	5 294.1	26.7

Living arrangements and relationship in household

	Oldest Generation	*Lucky Generation*	*Baby Boomers*	*Generation X and Y*	*iGeneration*
	80 and over	*60–79*	*40–59*	*20–39*	*0–19*
	%	%	%	%	%
In private dwellings					
Husband, wife or partner	30.3	61.0	68.0	48.9	0.5
Lone parent	5.3	3.4	7.4	5.0	0.1
Lone person	32.9	19.2	9.9	7.1	0.3
Group household member	1.1	1.8	2.0	7.3	0.7
Child	0.0	0.4	2.1	16.0	89.6
Other(a)	8.2	7.5	4.4	8.0	3.5
Total in private dwellings(b)	*80.4*	*96.6*	*97.6*	*97.1*	*98.5*
In non-private dwellings(c)	19.6	3.4	2.4	2.9	1.5
Total(d)	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

(a) Includes other related individuals, non-family members and visitors from within Australia.

(b) Includes persons in non-classifiable households.

(c) Includes persons living in hospitals, nursing homes, cared accommodation for the retired and aged, other welfare institutions and other non-private dwellings such as hotels and motels.

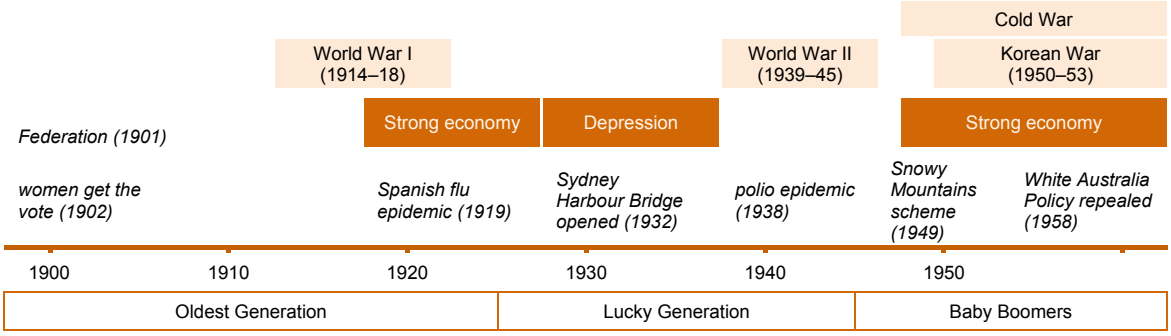
(d) Excludes people counted in migratory, off-shore and shipping Collection Districts.

In 2006, 33% of the Oldest Generation were living alone, the highest proportion of all generations. A further 30% were living with their husband, wife or partner while 17% were living in nursing homes or cared accommodation for the retired or aged. Of those living alone, more than 4 in 5 were widowed. This generation reported the highest rate of religious affiliation (82%) of all the generations, with Anglican (30%) and Catholic (23%) the most commonly reported faiths.

Lucky Generation retire gradually

Born between 1926 and 1946, just prior to and during the Great Depression and World War II, they are referred to as the Lucky Generation because they generally perceive that they had an easier time than their parents. They didn't live through World War I or have to make ends meet during the Depression, and as young adults they experienced full employment and prosperity during the post-World War II economic boom. This generation has also been referred to as the Austerity Generation; affected by the privations resulting from the Great Depression in their formative years, they are often regarded as a hardworking and stoic generation who seek stability and security. The Lucky Generation has been a relatively small group compared to successive generations, partly due to low birth rates during the Depression and World War II and recent deaths.

Time line[4]



Labour Force Status by generation

	Oldest Generation	*Lucky Generation*	*Baby Boomers*	*Generation X and Y*	*iGeneration(a)*
	80 and over	*60–79*	*40–59*	*20–39*	*15–19*
	%	%	%	%	%
Males					
Employed full-time	1.7	18.2	68.0	66.5	17.7
Employed part-time	1.5	9.1	10.0	12.4	22.7
Unemployed	0.1	1.2	3.2	5.0	7.0
Not in the labour force	95.9	69.2	14.0	10.8	48.7
Total males(b)	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Females					
Employed full-time	0.4	5.9	35.3	37.9	9.9
Employed part-time	0.5	8.7	30.5	27.1	33.7
Unemployed	0.1	0.4	2.8	4.2	6.8
Not in the labour force	98.6	83.5	27.3	26.0	45.5
Total females(b)	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*

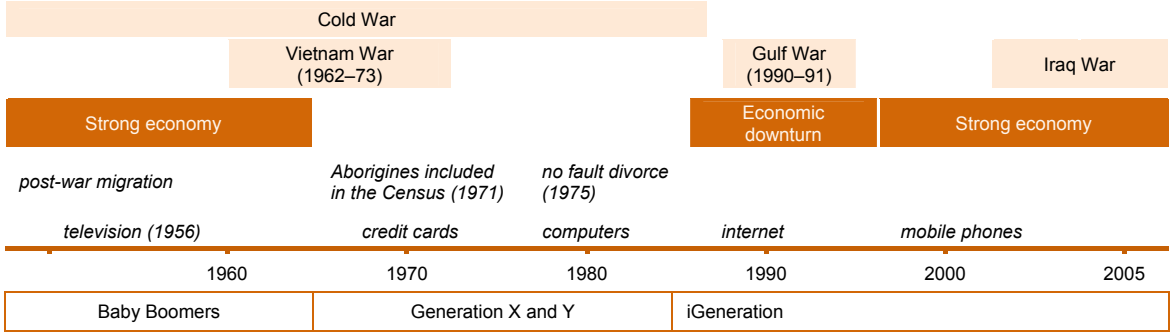
(a) Excludes those aged under 15 years.

(b) Includes those employed but away from work during the reference period.

This cohort also experienced higher rates of infectious diseases (such as polio, diphtheria and rubella), cancer and heart disease during their lifetime than subsequent generations.[1] In 2006 the Lucky Generation were aged 60–79 years and accounted for 14% of the total Australian population. By 2006 the majority had retired from employment. Nearly twice as many men (30%) as women (16%) were employed, reflecting the traditional breadwinner and homemaker roles adopted by the majority of the Lucky Generation. Two thirds of those men employed were working full-time, while the majority of the employed women were working part-time. See 'Generations of employment', p. 159–166, for a detailed analysis of the labour force experiences of each generation over time.

In 2006, the Lucky Generation had the highest proportion of members born overseas (36% compared to 31%–32% for both the Oldest Generation and the Baby Boomers and 24% for Generation X and Y). Contributing to the high proportion of overseas-born in this generation was the post World War II influx of European migrants in the 1950s and 1960s: 12% of this generation were born in the UK or Ireland and a further 11% in Southern and Eastern Europe (including 4% who were Italian-born).

Time line[4]



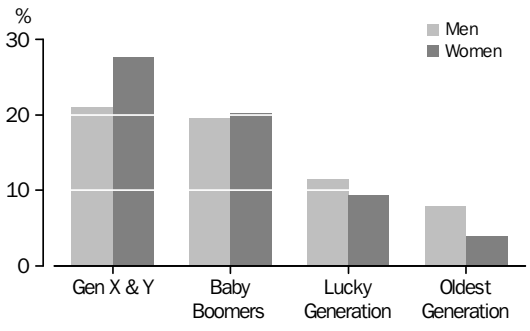
Baby Boomers share breadwinning role

In 2006 the Baby Boomers were aged 40–59 years. Born between 1946 and 1966 during the post-war economic boom, the Baby Boomers were the second largest generation in 2006, numbering 5.5 million or 28% of the total population. The size of this cohort can be attributed to the high rates of marriage and fertility, resulting from the catch up of marriage and child-bearing delayed by World War II, and the buoyant economy during their parents' child-bearing years. The influx of migrants to Australia following World War II also contributed to the size of this generation both directly (through the migration of children with their families) and indirectly (through the migration of young adults who would later have Baby Boomer children). Of all the generations, the Baby Boomers had the largest overseas-born population (1.6 million people) in 2006. However, the overseas-born comprise a smaller proportion (32%) of this generation than in the Lucky Generation (36%) because they joined a large cohort of Australian-born Boomers.

The older Baby Boomers entered the labour force when economic conditions were buoyant and experienced high rates of employment. The younger members of this generation have not had the same employment opportunities throughout their working lives as older Baby Boomers, with many affected by the economic downturn in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

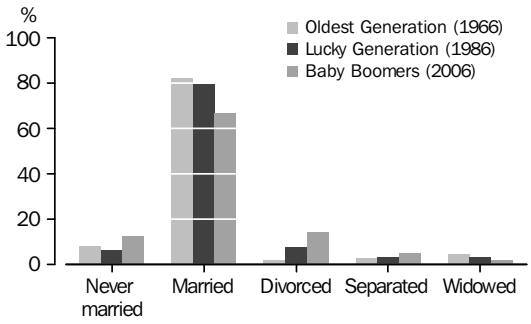
The Baby Boomer Generation has lived through enormous social change, experiencing rising rates of female participation in both tertiary education and the labour force, and the creation of the two income household as the norm. Just over two thirds of female Baby Boomers were employed in 2006, while 20% stated they had a Bachelor degree or higher qualification.

Higher education qualifications by generation(a)



(a) Includes Bachelor degree, Graduate diploma, Graduate certificate, Master degree and Doctoral degree.

Registered marital status at 40–59 years



This generation experienced increasing rates of marital separation resulting from the introduction of 'no fault' divorce in 1975.[2] In 2006, 19% of Baby Boomers were separated or divorced, nearly double the rate recorded for the previous generation: when the Lucky Generation were the same age (40–59 years) in 1986, 11% were separated or divorced.

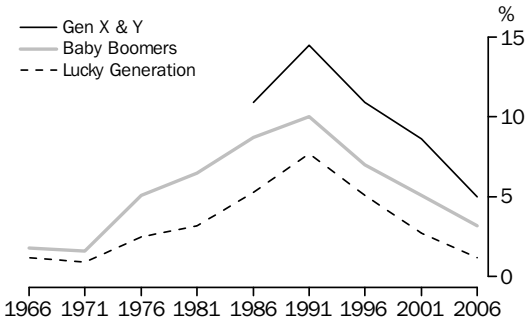
Generation X and Y the most highly qualified

Born between 1966 and 1986, this generation were aged 20–39 years in 2006. The older members of this birth cohort have been dubbed Generation X for the perceived namelessness felt by the generation overshadowed by the Baby Boomers who preceded them. Generation Y simply refers to the generation following X. With a combined size similar to the Baby Boomers, Generation X and Y comprised 28% (5.5 million) of the total population in 2006.

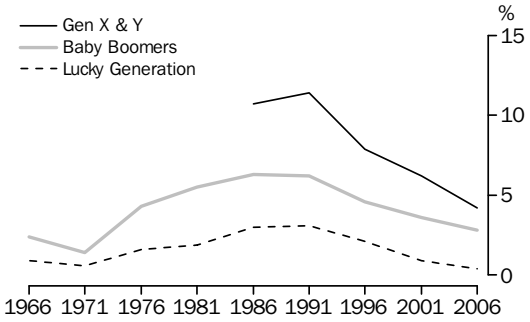
Generation X and Y were the first generation to experience increased rates of parental separation and divorce. They are also regarded as having fewer opportunities than their Baby Boomer predecessors, being the first to experience user-pays higher education and job insecurity.[3] When Generation X and Y were entering the workforce, unemployment levels were high. For example in 1991, 15% of Generation X and Y men who were of working age (15–24 years) were unemployed. In contrast, Baby Boomers started entering the workforce in the late 1960s when unemployment levels were very low. By 1971, only 2% of working age Baby Boomer men (then aged 15–24 years) were unemployed.

Unemployment experiences of the generations(a)

Men



Women



(a) Proportion of all men or women in each generation aged 15 years and over at the time of each census who were unemployed.

The unemployment pattern was similar for women. Lower levels of unemployment experienced by Lucky Generation women partly reflect lower levels of labour force participation by women of that generation with fewer women seeking employment than in later generations.

Despite the introduction of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), Generation X and Y are the most highly educated generation on record, with one in four having a Bachelor degree or above in 2006. In each successive generation, the proportion of women who obtained higher education qualifications has increased relative to that of their male counterparts. In 2006, 28% of Generation X and Y women had a Bachelor degree or above compared with 21% of Generation X and Y men.

Spanning people in their early 20s to late 30s, Generation X and Y were represented more broadly across the different living arrangements than other generations in 2006. While 16% were living with parents, almost half (49%) were living with a spouse or partner. A further 7% were living in group households while 7% were living alone.

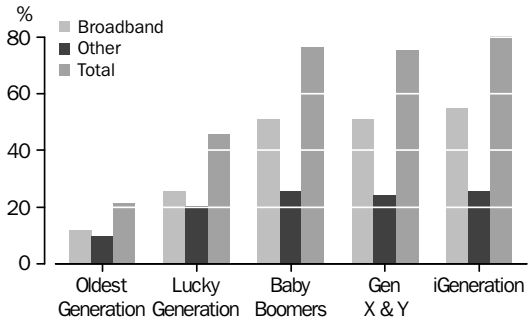
iGeneration live up to their name

Born between 1986 and 2006, the iGeneration (Internet Generation) spent their formative years in a period which saw the birth and rise of the internet. Aged 0–19 years in 2006, they take computers and the internet and a host of electronic consumables, such as DVDs, mobile phones and MP3 players for granted. Uptake of technology by the iGeneration is reflected in their rates of internet access. In 2006, 80% of the youngest generation had access to the internet at home with just over two thirds of this group having access to a broadband connection. Access was also high among Baby Boomers (76%) and Generation X and Y (75%), many of whom have their iGeneration children living with them at home.

Despite the gradual increase in one parent families, the majority of iGens in private households were living with their couple parents in 2006 (77%). Twenty years earlier in 1986, 85% of 0–19 year olds (Generation X and Y) were living with couple parents. For iGens living in couple families, around 9 out of 10 were the natural or adopted child of both parents.

The iGeneration, along with Generation X and Y, are the most secular generations, with almost one in four reporting no religion in 2006. Of the other generations, those reporting no religion ranged from 6% of the Oldest Generation to 17% of Baby Boomers. See 'Religion across the generations', p. 54–58, for more information.

Internet access by generation(a)



(a) Usual residents living in private dwellings only.

iGeneration aged 15–19: employment and education participation

	Studying(a)				
	Full-time	Part-time	Total	Not studying	Total(b)
	%	%	%	%	%
Employed					
Full-time	0.5	3.1	3.7	9.9	13.9
Part-time	21.2	1.2	22.5	5.4	28.1
Total employed(c)	*24.1*	*4.6*	*28.9*	*16.6*	*46.0*
Not employed	44.9	1.2	46.4	7.1	54.0
Total(d)	**69.3**	**5.9**	**74.8**	**25.2**	**100.0**

(a) At secondary school, TAFE college, university or other educational institution. Total includes students who did not state full-time or part-time study status.

(b) Includes people who did not state attendance at an educational institution.

(c) Includes people who were employed and away from work.

(d) Includes people who did not state labour force status.

In 2006 the oldest members of the iGeneration were in their mid to late teens (aged 15–19 years). The majority (75%) were students, with nearly three quarters of these attending secondary school and the remainder attending a TAFE college, university or other tertiary institution. Nearly half (46%) of all 15–19 year old members of the iGeneration were employed in 2006 compared to 42% of 15–19 year old members of Generation X and Y in 1986 and 62% of 15–19 year old Baby Boomers in 1966. In 2006, many 15–19 year old iGens were combining work and study (29%), and of these, the overwhelming majority were studying full-time while working in a part-time job.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2006, *Measures of Australia's Progress*, cat. no. 1370.0, p. 33, ABS, Canberra.

2 ABS 1994, 'Changes in living arrangements', in *Australian Social Trends 1994,* cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 Baum, N. and Jackson, N. 2004, *Planning the local government response to ageing and place*, Local Government Association of NSW and Shires Association of NSW, Sydney.

4 Australian Government 2007, *Guide to the Teaching of Australian History in Years 9 and 10.*

Where do Australians live?

A person's wellbeing is closely linked to where they live. Location largely determines the range of opportunities, and goods and services available to satisfy an individual's needs and lifestyle. Because people's needs vary they will settle in different places, seeking out a location which they can afford and that provides the best mix of opportunities, and goods and services for them and their family.

For people with children, one area might be attractive because it provides access to the support and care provided by other family and friends. Some locations might be important to a person's identity, allowing for the expression or development of particular cultural facets of a person's life; for example, traditional lands for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Other places might offer particular educational opportunities, or provide enhanced employment and promotional prospects in a chosen field. Other areas might be attractive for their environment—located close to the ocean, or away from crowding and pollution. In others, access to specialist medical services may be important for people with a serious illness.

Areas that have a range of the most popular opportunities, and goods and services often have expensive housing because many other people seek to live there. For many people, compromises must be made between affordability and the distance travelled to access these opportunities, and goods and services. The result of the decisions and compromises made by all Australians is a settlement pattern, but one which has been dynamic over time—changing with shifts in individual and family needs and preferences, the ability of particular locations to meet those needs and preferences, and the relative income and wealth of individuals and families.

In 2006, three quarters of the population were in coastal towns and cities.

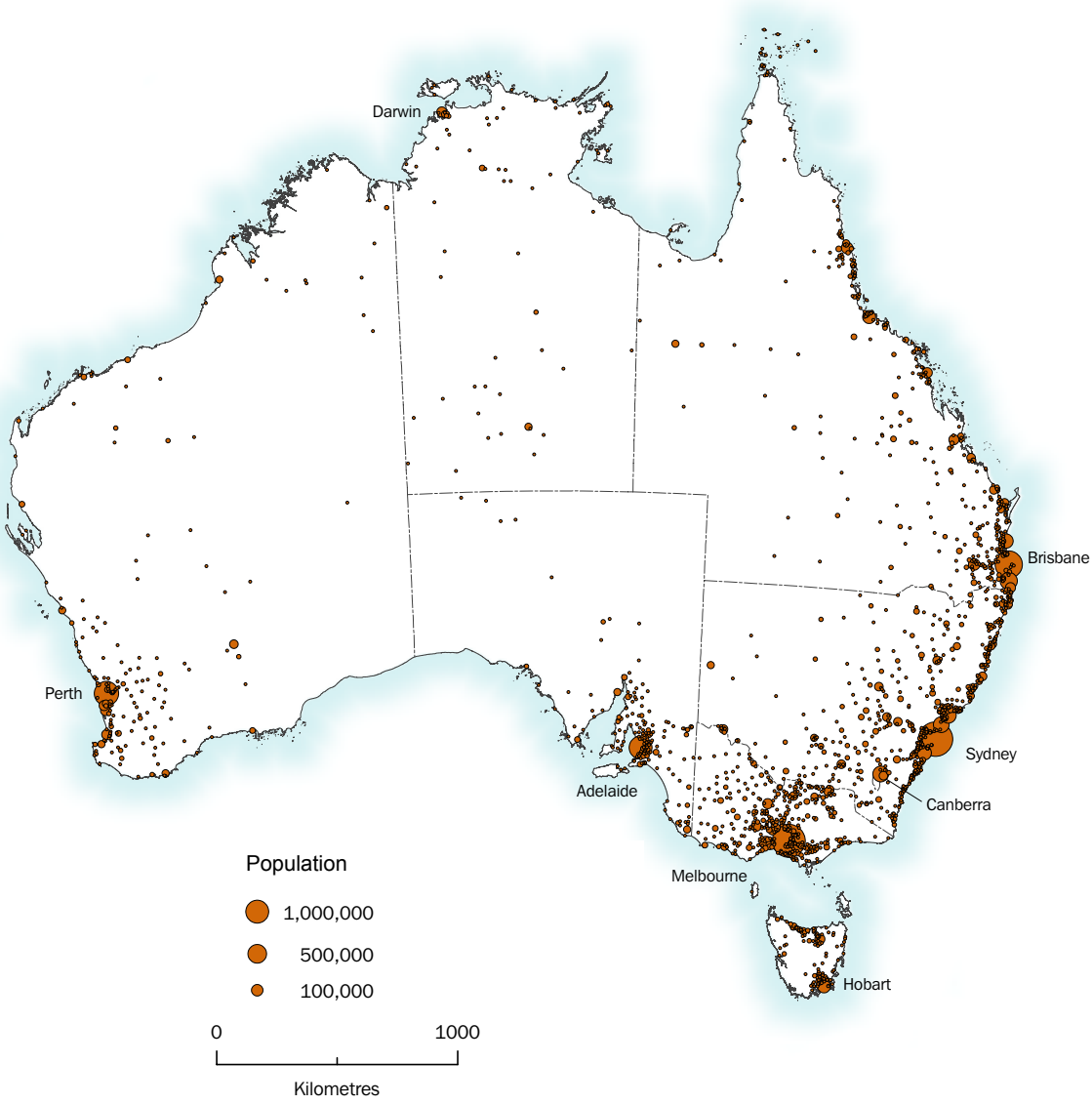
From the bush to the coast

Over time, changes have occurred in the opportunities, such as employment, and goods and services, such as health facilities, that many areas traditionally provided. Further, people's idea of what is desirable has changed, including an expectation of having a broader range of options available. This has brought about a shift in Australia's settlement pattern from one that was strongly rural at Federation (in 1901) to one currently dominated by urban coastal settlement.

At the 1911 Census, the main focus of the Australian economy was primary production and 42% of the population were living in Rural Areas. This strong rural settlement pattern came about because of the settlement of inland areas primarily for agricultural use and the large amount of employment created by the labour intensive farming practices of the day. Other factors encouraging rural settlement were the population dispersal caused by the gold rushes, the development of other mining industries, and the establishment of road and rail infrastructure in these areas.

By 2006, only 12% of Australians were located in Rural Areas, while just over three quarters (77%) were in towns and cities of over 1,000 people within 50 km of the coast. This pattern reflects the attraction of coastal environments

Population(a) of Urban Centres and Rural Localities, Australia(b), 2006



(a) Population is census count on a place of enumeration basis.
(b) Excludes Cocos (Keeling) and Christmas Islands.

to contemporary Australians, but perhaps more importantly it highlights the fact that the large coastal towns and cities are now the centres of employment and provide many other desirable opportunities, and goods and services.

While the desire to live in these towns and cities are driven by contemporary preferences, the concentration of these towns and cities along the coast to a large degree reflects Australia's colonial history. Sites of the colonial capitals and penal settlements required access to coastal anchorages, adequate supplies of fresh water and land with good agricultural potential, fixing the location of many current Australian towns and cities on or near the coast.

Increasing urbanisation

Over the past century, while remaining sparsely settled, Australia has emerged as a highly urbanised nation. Over this period, there has been a consistent, general trend for a greater proportion of the population to live in Australia's cities and towns. Over the 30 years prior to the 2006 Census, the relative importance of the Metropolitan Urban areas (that is, the state capitals, and Canberra from 1954) has generally declined, while the coastal population centres, especially those near these cities, have increased their share of the population.

Classification of urban and rural areas

An area is classified as urban or rural according to the level of population density and the type of land use. Across censuses the size of urban areas generally increases as the number of people in these areas grows. This occurs as land that was previously classified as rural is developed to house the population or to be used for purposes that are urban in nature (for example, roads, shopping centres and airports). This reduces, by a relatively small amount, the area of land that is classed as rural.

For the first part of this article, Australia is divided into urban and rural areas according to the Urban Divisions classification used in Statistician's Reports between 1921 and 1966, along with corresponding areas back to the 1901 Census. From the 1976 Census onwards, a close approximation to this classification has been made using the Urban Centre and Locality, and Section of State classifications, allowing comparison with statistics from the earlier censuses. It should be noted that the areas of most cities and towns have expanded as population has increased, and some cities and towns included separately in earlier censuses have been joined into the urban area of larger cities in later censuses (for example, Ipswich into Brisbane).

Where data from the 1976–2006 censuses are presented separately, the Urban Centre and Locality and Section of State classifications are used as described in the text. For further information on these classifications please see *Statistical Geography: Volume 1—Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC), 2006*, ABS cat. no. 1216.0.

Urban Divisions classification

Metropolitan Urban include the capital cities, and surrounding suburbs, of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Hobart, with Canberra included from 1954. The Urban Centres corresponding to these capitals, from the Urban Centre and Locality classification, make up this category from 1971 onwards.

Other Urban include the remaining incorporated towns and cities (including Darwin) and, from 1954, other towns that contained 1,000 or more people (750 for Tasmania until 1966) at the time of each census. The change to the towns and cities included in Other Urban between the 1947 and 1954 Censuses prevent comparison of the Other Urban and Rural Areas categories across these two censuses. From 1971 onwards, Urban Centres of 1,000 persons or more are used for this category.

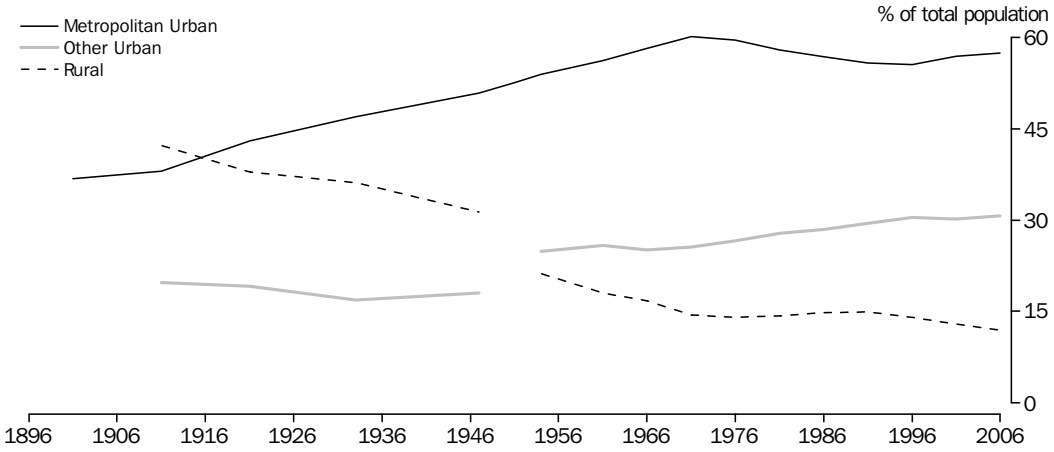
Rural Areas are the balance of the Australian population, including towns (or localities) not included in Other Urban above, and the migratory population.

Where these categories of Urban Division are used in the text of this article they are capitalised. Where the words are not capitalised their use has a more general meaning.

Population counts in urban and rural areas

In this article populations in urban and rural areas are examined back as far as the 1901 Census. Data from these early censuses are only available on a place of enumeration basis, and so data on this basis are used for all censuses years examined. As Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Christmas Island were only included from the 1996 Census, the Other Territories category has been excluded from the analysis and the figures used in this article, including total Australia populations. This ensures figures are as comparable as possible.

Population distribution(a) by Urban Divisions(b), 1901–2006



(a) Population is the census count on a place of enumeration basis.

(b) Some comparability issues are present across censuses in the geographic classifications used to present these data and therefore it should only be used for identification of general trends. The Urban Division classification and the break in series shown are explained on the previous page in the box titled Classification of urban and rural areas.

Metropolitan Urban

Metropolitan Urban areas have accommodated much of Australia's population growth over the past century, growing to contain slightly over 11 million people in 2006. As a result, 57% of Australians were in Metropolitan Urban areas in 2006, compared with 37% in 1901. The first time the census recorded that Metropolitan Urban areas accommodated over half of the population was in 1947. The population share of Metropolitan Urban areas continued to grow steadily until 1971, when it reached a peak of 60%; accommodating 7.6 million people at that time. This period of growth in population share occurred in line with strong expansion in employment in manufacturing and, to a lesser extent, service based industries in the capitals.[1] For more information on changes to employment by industry see 'Generations of employment', p. 159–166.

Between 1971 and 1996, Metropolitan Urban areas continued to grow in size, with an additional 2.2 million people in these cities. Despite this, the proportion of the total population located in Metropolitan Urban areas declined slightly to 56%. In part, the decline in the share of the population is associated with strong growth in urban areas close to Metropolitan Urban areas; for instance, Gold Coast–Qld, Rockingham–WA, Melton–Vic. and Central Coast–NSW (see table, Population growth and decline, p. 22). The growth in these nearby cities indicates that there was little real decline in the importance of Metropolitan Urban areas over this period.

Between 1996 and 2006, there was a return to growth in population share for the Metropolitan Urban areas (reaching 57% or 11.4 million people).

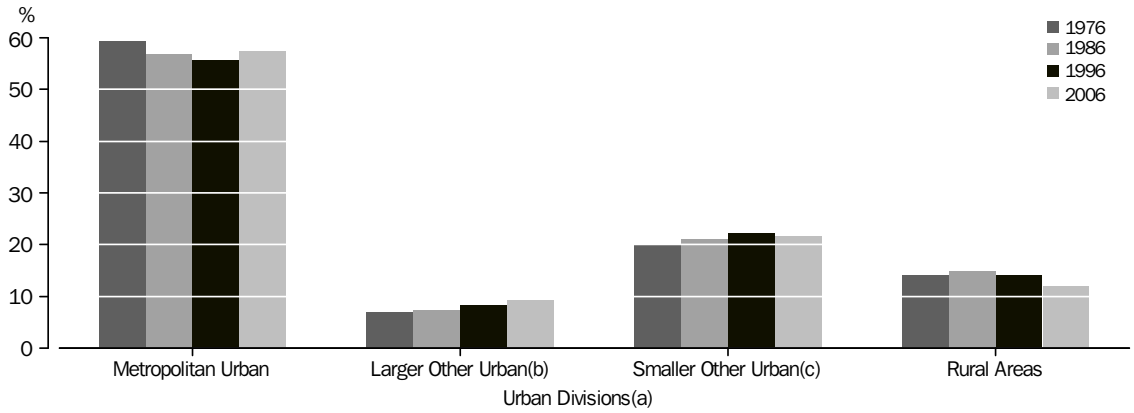
Other Urban areas

Other Urban areas, that is those towns and cities outside of the Metropolitan Urban areas, initially lost some of their share of the population in response to early Metropolitan Urban growth, declining from 20% in 1911 to 17% in 1933. Despite this, the number of people in these areas increased over this period (from 0.9 to 1.1 million). Earlier Statistician's Reports[1] suggested that this slow growth and declining population share was, at least in part, due to the loss of employment in these areas during the 1930–33 Depression.

From 1933 onwards, the Other Urban areas tended to increase their share of population. This was particularly apparent between 1966 and 1996, when Other Urban areas made relatively strong gains in population share, increasing from 25% to 30% of the population; reaching 5.4 million people. Between 1996 and 2006, with slower growth in population in these areas (to 6.1 million in 2006), population share has remained steady.

This recent stronger growth of Other Urban areas at the expense of the Metropolitan Urban areas can be examined using more detailed information available from censuses after 1966.

Population distribution, 1976–2006



(a) See box titled Classification of urban and rural areas on p. 18. Excludes Other Territories.
(b) Urban Centres with populations from 100,000 to 999,999 people in 2006, excluding those in Metropolitan Urban.
(c) Urban Centres with populations from 1,000 to 99,999 people.

Larger Other Urban cities (with populations from 100,000 to 999,999) showed very small but consistent gains in population share between 1976 and 2006. These cities increased their share by 2.4 percentage points in the 30 year period to reach 9%; and accommodated 1.8 million people in 2006. Smaller Other Urban cities and towns (1,000 to 99,999 people) showed stronger growth in population share between 1976 and 1996; growing 2.4 percentage points in the shorter 20 year period. Despite a small decline of 0.7 percentage points in population share in the 10 years to 2006 (down to 21%), these smaller cities and towns continued to grow in population reaching 4.3 million.

Rural Areas

The growth in towns and cities since Federation has resulted in a declining share of the population living in rural parts of Australia. While comparability issues cloud the picture over the long term, a steady downward trend is evident. The 1933 Statistician's Report attributed this decline to slow growth in the agriculture sector, along with the increased mechanisation of farming activities, causing reduced demand for labour in Rural Areas.[1]

In contrast to urban areas, the population in Rural Areas has only increased by a relatively small amount since Federation—by about half a million people between 1911 and 2006.

Moreover, unlike other areas, the total number of people in Rural Areas has declined at various times. In the 10 years to 2006, the share of population in Rural Areas declined by 2.1 percentage points, caused by a decline of 119,300 people in Rural Areas throughout Australia. This left 2.4 million people in Rural Areas in 2006. The recent population decline in Rural Areas occurred after a period of stability for these areas, with population share steady at between 14–15% between 1971 and 1996. Recent declines are likely to have been accentuated by the presence of drought conditions at various times over the preceding decade across many parts of Australia. These conditions have curtailed farming activities, which in turn have impacted associated businesses and communities.

One of the most significant issues surrounding the loss of population from Rural Areas is that young people make up a large proportion of those leaving. In 2006, young people aged 15–24 made up 26% of those leaving country inland areas, well above the average of 19% of young people who moved regions across Australia.[2]

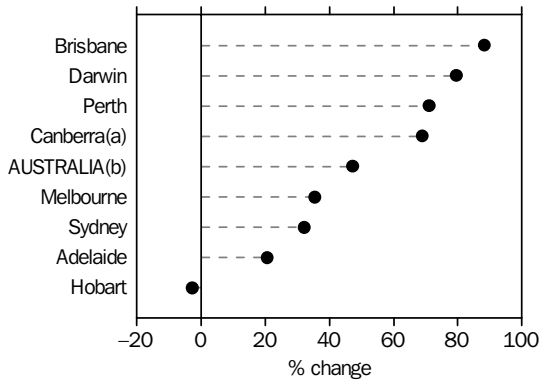
This loss of young people makes it increasingly difficult for population levels in rural areas, and the communities in these areas, to be sustained. Much of this movement of young people is to large cities and two factors linked to this movement are the employment and educational opportunities available in these cities.[3] The movement of people within Australia is further discussed in 'On the move', p. 24–32.

Cities—growing, declining and stable

The concentration of the population into urban areas at the expense of rural areas has not been consistent across Australia. Some towns and cities have grown strongly—some by a very large degree, while a few have experienced population decline, and others have a relatively stable population—not declining in size but failing to keep pace with population growth nationally. Those towns and cities that have a desirable mix of opportunities, and goods and services that suit many people's needs and lifestyles have increased their share of the population, in some cases attracting population away from other centres.

In the 30 years to 2006, growth in the census population count in the state and territory capital city Urban Centres (42%) did not keep pace with national population growth (47%). Even so, due to their size, they have accommodated an additional 3.4 million people, or a little over half of Australia's population growth in this period. When examined separately, the Urban Centres for several capitals did exceed the national average—Brisbane (88%), Darwin (79%), Perth (71%) and Canberra (69%). Melbourne (36%), Sydney (32%) and Adelaide (21%) did not grow as strongly, while the population of Hobart dropped by 3%.

Capital city urban areas, population growth rate, 1976–2006



(a) Includes Queanbeyan–NSW.
(b) Excludes Other Territories.

...the impact of employment

Employment opportunities are considered to be one of the strongest factors attracting people to move locations and big cities are generally regarded as good places to find employment.

Between 1976 and 2006, population growth in the capitals aligned with employment growth in the relevant state and territory economies very closely. The four capitals that gained population share over this period were in those states and territories that had rates of employment growth above the national average, while Tasmania had the lowest rate of employment growth. While the faster population growth in these cities will have generated higher levels of employment, even when this effect is taken into account, employment growth remains stronger in these cities. This indicates that expanding employment markets have encouraged people to relocate to these cities.

The attraction of employment opportunities in state and territory economies, especially in the capital cities, has had an impact on city growth more broadly. Many of the Urban Centres that grew the most between 1976 and 2006 were in Queensland and Western Australia (see table, next page). Further, 7 of the top 10 were within commuting distance of a capital city, including centres such as Mandurah–WA, the Sunshine and Gold Coasts–Qld, and the Central Coast–NSW. This may represent a willingness on the part of those settling in these commuter areas to trade off longer travel time to the adjacent capital city, where they may work or access the wide variety of opportunities and services, against the local lifestyle factors and perhaps cheaper housing costs. For example, retirees might see such areas as offering an attractive mix of coastal amenity and housing affordability; while also ensuring that they have access to comprehensive medical and other services in the nearby capital city; and, for some, that they are still able to be close to family (especially their grandchildren).

Some of the other growth cities act as regional centres (for example, Bunbury–WA and Port Macquarie–NSW), which may be attracting population from surrounding rural areas and smaller towns. One consistent characteristic of the top 10 growth cites is that they are all within 50kms of the coast, indicating that proximity to a coastal environment is a desirable element for many of those who move. For areas like

Population growth and decline: Urban Centres above 20,000 people in 2006

		Percentage change (per annum)				Percentage change (per annum)	
	2006	1976–2006	1996–2006		2006	1976–2006	1996–2006
Highest 10(a)	no.	%	%	Lowest 10	no.	%	%
Mandurah–WA	65 100	27.5	8.2	Whyalla–SA	21 200	–1.2	–0.9
Sunshine Coast–Qld(b)	195 800	18.0	4.3	Goulburn–NSW	21 000	–0.1	–0.1
Hervey Bay–Qld	43 600	12.6	3.8	Hobart–Tas.	127 600	–0.1	0.2
Gold Coast/Tweed Heads–Qld/NSW	478 100	11.9	5.9	Armidale–NSW	20 100	0.1	–0.5
Rockingham–WA	65 600	9.1	3.2	Maryborough–Qld	21 600	0.2	0.2
Sunbury–Vic.	29 000	8.4	3.1	Geelong–Vic.	135 400	0.4	0.8
Port Macquarie–NSW	40 100	6.7	2.0	Devonport–Tas.	21 700	0.4	–0.3
Melton–Vic.	35 100	6.4	1.6	Launceston–Tas.	71 100	0.4	0.5
Bunbury–WA	53 300	5.8	11.4	Newcastle–NSW	285 100	0.5	0.6
Central Coast–NSW	277 800	5.8	2.2	Wollongong–NSW	231 900	0.6	0.6
Australia	**19 852 700**	**1.6**	**1.2**	**Australia**	**19 852 700**	**1.6**	**1.2**

(a) There was no equivalent Urban Centre for Palmerston–NT in 1976 and so it could not be included in this list. In 2006, it had a census population of 23,600 and had grown by 9.4% per annum since 1996.

(b) Sunshine Coast only existed in its own right as a single Urban Centre from the 2001 Census. For censuses prior to 2001, the Urban Centres from the equivalent area to that in 2001 have been used to represent the population at that time.

Hervey Bay–Qld, their coastal environments have attracted large numbers of retirees, along with others seeking the employment generated by the construction, and health and aged care industries that have grown in these areas.

Many of the towns that had negative growth (declining population levels) or growth below the national average between 1976 and 2006, had experienced the loss or winding down of a major employer. In this 30 year period, the number of people in Whyalla–SA declined by more than one third. This decline has been directly associated with the closure of Whyalla's shipyards and substantial loss of employment through the restructuring of its steel works, which triggered a decline in other employment and services in the community.[4] Similar declines in manufacturing employment are likely to have contributed to population decline or stagnation in a number of the cities listed in the table above—Geelong–Vic., and Newcastle and Wollongong–NSW.

Other cities in the lowest 10 for population growth either lost population to, or were overlooked by those moving to other larger centres or elsewhere. One example of this is Maryborough–Qld, which has experienced limited population growth (0.2% per year between 1976 and 2006), while the adjacent coastal city of Hervey Bay (approximately 30kms away) was the third fastest growing urban area in Australia. It therefore seems likely that Hervey Bay is taking potential population growth away from Maryborough, perhaps because of its location on the coast. Hobart's population decline and the slow growth in a number of Tasmanian cities, is directly linked to the slow growth in the overall state population. This has largely resulted from loss of population to the rest of Australia, particular among younger age groups[5], with many pursuing employment and education opportunities elsewhere.

Endnotes

1 Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30 June,1933, Statistician's Report*, p. 48–49, Commonwealth Government Printer, Canberra.

2 Their place of usual residence in 2006 was located in a different Statistical Subdivision than 5 years previous. For more information on the methods used to examine these population movements and for a definition of country inland areas see 'On the move', p. 24.

3 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2003, 'Youth migration within Australia' in *Australian Social Trends 2003,* cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 Salt, B. 2001, *The Big Shift: Welcome to the Third Australian Culture: The Bernard Salt Report,* Hardie Grant Books, Victoria.

5 Jackson, N. and Kippen, R. 2001, 'Whither Tasmania? A note on Tasmania's population 'problem'.' in *People and Place*, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 27–37.

On the move

People relocate for many reasons. They may move for work and study, to be closer to family or move in with a partner, to find more suitable housing or a preferred environment. Family breakdown, changes in financial circumstances or lack of affordable housing can also lead to a move. Between 2001 and 2006, 43% of people aged 5 and over had changed their location. Of these, 4.5 million moved locally and 2.8 million were new residents, comprising 2 million new residents who moved from a different geographic area in Australia (see box below), and 0.8 million new residents who were overseas in 2001.

As well as creating great change in the lives of individuals and households, movements change the population size and composition in both the area people leave and the area they move to. People at different stages of the life cycle have different reasons for moving and different patterns of migration. For example younger people tend to move to urban areas[1], while many older people move away from these areas. This article looks at migration patterns across 5 broad geographic areas in Australia, comparing people who moved to a new area from 2001 to 2006 (new residents) with those who lived in the same area in 2001 and 2006 (longer-term residents).

Migration flows

This article examines migration flows between and within 5 broad geographic areas from 2001 to 2006. The census collects information about prior places of residence at two points in time—5 years and 1 year prior to the 2006 Census (for more information, see *internal migration* in Glossary). Moves made between these dates are not captured in the census. Data in this article are based on place of usual residence census counts, rather than the estimated resident population (see Glossary).

Capital cities are capital city Statistical Divisions (SDs) from each of the Australian states and territories.

Coastal centres and **inland centres** are Statistical Districts.[2] These areas are mainly urban and contain population centres of 25,000 persons or more (for example, Warrnambool and Toowoomba).

Country coastal areas and **country inland areas** are the remaining Statistical Local Areas (SLAs), on the coast or inland respectively.

Coastal centres and country coastal areas border the coastline or have their centre point (centroid) within 50 kms of the coast. Very large SLAs (25,000 square kms or more) are excluded from coastal areas, as large parts of these SLAs are outside the 50 km coastal zone.

New residents are people who moved between 2001 and 2006, into a different capital city SD, or for non-metropolitan areas, into a different Statistical Subdivision (SSD). New residents may have moved into a different broad geographic area (as described above), or they may have moved within a geographic area. This category excludes people who did not fully state their place of usual residence 5 years ago, and children under 5 years of age.

Longer-term residents are people who lived in the same area, either a capital city SD or a non-metropolitan SSD, in both 2001 and 2006. This category excludes people who did not fully state their place of usual residence 5 years ago, and children under 5 years of age.

Geographic areas: migration flows

Across Australia, new and longer-term residents differ

New residents generally have different characteristics to longer-term residents. In 2006, new residents were younger on average than longer-term residents with a median age of 31 years compared with 41 years, as young people are more likely to move than older people (see the 'Population overview', p. 2–8). Associated with their young age profile, 21% of new residents were studying, compared with 12% of longer-term residents. A higher proportion of new residents lived in rented housing than longer-term residents (49% compared with 20%). In contrast, longer-term residents were more likely to live in housing that was owned outright or with a mortgage (78% compared with 49%). Renting could be more affordable for new residents, or provide flexibility while they try living in an area before deciding to settle more permanently and perhaps buy a home. Further, renting may be preferable for people who make temporary moves, for education or contract work.

New residents were less likely overall to be in the labour force (see Glossary) than longer-term residents. However in the 15–34 year age group, new residents who moved from within Australia had slightly higher labour force participation (78%) than longer-term residents (75%), suggesting that employment opportunities are a factor for younger people who move. Conversely, for those in the older working ages (45–64 years), labour force participation of all new residents was lower than longer-term residents (65% compared with 73%), related to retirement decisions. The unemployment rate of new residents was 7.8%, almost twice the rate of longer-term residents (4.6%). Some unemployed new residents may not have had time to find work, or to have established social networks that are useful in job searching.[3]

Even so, new residents in each age group were more highly qualified: 47% had a degree or higher qualification compared with 37% of longer-term residents. Consequently, they were less likely to work in a low skilled

New and longer-term residents

		Capital cities	Coastal centres	Inland centres	Country coastal areas	Country inland areas
New residents	'000	1 351.5	563.5	150.4	351.5	355.3
Longer-term residents	'000	9 561.5	1 781.8	550.1	1 134.6	1 286.4
New residents	%	12.3	23.7	21.2	23.4	21.3
Total population(a)	**'000**	**11 850.5**	**2 555.3**	**756.0**	**1 609.4**	**1 783.2**
Total population(a)	**%**	**63.7**	**13.7**	**4.1**	**8.7**	**9.6**

(a) Includes people who did not have a usual address, did not fully state their address, or were in migratory, shipping or offshore areas 5 years ago.

occupation than longer-term residents (42% compared with 45%), and more likely to live in a *higher income household*[4] (23% compared with 21%). For more information about the relationship between employment, qualifications and income see the 'Work overview', p. 138–150.

Capital cities

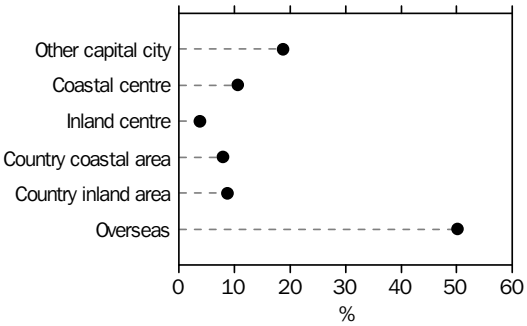
According to the 2006 Census, the flow of new residents into Australia's capital cities was larger than the flows into other areas (1.4 million new residents compared with between 150,000 and 564,000 in the other areas). However, new residents had a smaller impact on the composition of capital cities: they represented 12% of the usual resident population of the capital cities in 2006, compared with 21% or more in the other geographic areas.

Capital cities are the main entry points for migrants to Australia, and reflecting this, new residents who were overseas in 2001 made up half of all new residents in capital cities. Almost three quarters of new residents from overseas were recent arrivals (see Glossary) and one quarter were Australian residents who were overseas in 2001 and had since returned to Australia.

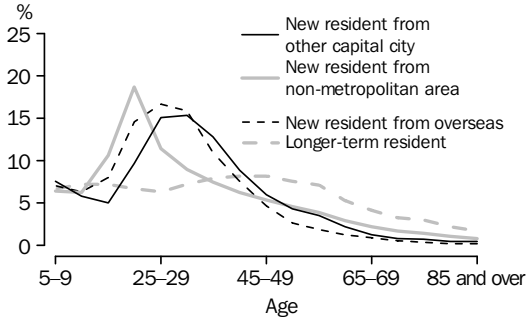
New residents in capital cities were younger on average than people who moved to the other geographic areas, except inland centres. New residents in capital cities and inland centres had a median age of 29 years, while new residents in the other geographic regions had median ages of 33 years or more. There was also a large difference between the median ages of new residents (29 years) and people who had left a capital city and moved to a non-metropolitan area or different capital city (34 years).

Reflecting the range of educational opportunities available in capital cities, new residents aged 15 years and over had higher participation in education than longer-term residents (27% compared with 14%). Education thus emerges as one factor associated with migration to capital cities. Supporting this, a higher proportion of new residents in capital cities were students (27%) than in the other geographic areas (10% to 22%). The high proportion of students among new residents from overseas (34%) contributed to this pattern, although new residents from non-metropolitan areas were also more likely to be studying than new residents in the other geographic areas.

New residents to capital cities: location in 2001



Age profile of residents of capital cities



The high participation of new residents in education in capital cities meant that their labour force participation was slightly lower than longer-term residents (73% compared with 77% in the 15–64 year age group). Lower labour force participation among new residents from overseas (67%) influenced the lower overall participation of new residents.

However, new residents from other capital cities had higher labour force participation than longer-term residents (81% compared with 77%). They were a slightly older group than new residents from non-metropolitan areas, with a lower proportion of students (17%). They appeared to be doing well in the labour market: half of employed new residents from other capital cities were Managers or Professionals. Associated with this, a high proportion of new residents from other capital cities lived in *higher income households* (40%). In contrast, high proportions of new residents from non-metropolitan areas (45%), overseas (40%) and longer-term residents (43%) worked in low skilled occupations and they were less likely to live in *higher income households*.

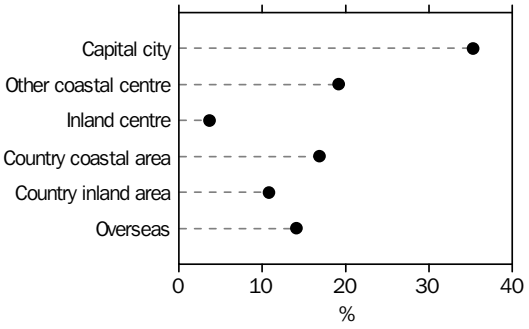
New residents in capital cities were more likely to live in rental accommodation than new residents in the other geographic regions (59% compared with 49% or less). This is likely to reflect both the high proportion of students among new residents and their younger age profile, and the higher cost of buying a house in capital cities than in other areas. In addition, people who make temporary moves to cities for education or work may prefer rental accommodation. For more information see 'Housing across Brisbane and Melbourne city rings', p. 224-232.

Characteristics of new and longer-term residents: capital cities and coastal centres

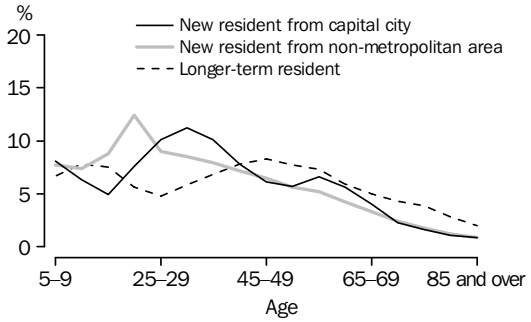
		New residents			
		From capital cities	*From non-metropolitan areas*	*Total(a)*	*Longer-term residents*
Capital city					
Population	'000	254.0	419.9	1 351.5	9 561.5
Proportion of people who...					
are students(b)	%	17.2	23.0	27.5	13.6
are in the labour force(c)	%	81.4	77.8	72.9	76.8
are in low skilled occupations(d)	%	31.6	44.6	39.7	43.2
live in lower income households(e)	%	10.7	17.4	14.5	17.9
live in higher income households(e)	%	40.1	23.8	28.0	24.2
Coastal centre					
Population	'000	198.9	284.9	563.5	1 781.8
Proportion of people who...					
are students(b)	%	12.4	15.9	15.9	11.3
are in the labour force(c)	%	74.0	75.7	74.3	74.6
are in low skilled occupations(d)	%	40.6	47.8	44.3	48.3
live in lower income households(e)	%	20.1	21.8	20.2	24.7
live in higher income households(e)	%	20.8	16.8	18.7	15.2

(a) Includes new residents who were overseas in 2001.
(b) People aged 15 years and over.
(c) People aged 15 to 64 years.
(d) Employed people. See Glossary for definition of low skilled occupation.
(e) People in private households. See Glossary for definition of lower income and higher income households.

New residents to coastal centres: location in 2001



Age profile of residents of coastal centres



Coastal centres

Migration flows to coastal areas, particularly to the population centres, such as the Gold Coast (Qld) or Bunbury (WA), are an important feature of migration within Australia. According to the 2006 Census, 564,000 people moved to a coastal centre from 2001 to 2006. Of new residents in coastal centres, 35% lived in a capital city in 2001, 19% in other coastal centres and 17% in country coastal areas.

While capital cities attracted mostly young new residents, coastal centres attracted both young and older migrants. New residents had a median age of 33 years, similar to the median age of people who had left a coastal centre and moved to a different coastal centre or geographic area (32 years). The age structure of new residents was notably different to longer-term residents. This, in combination with the high proportion of the population who were new residents (24%), meant that new residents had an impact on the population composition of coastal centres.

Older people represented a larger share of all new residents in coastal centres than in capital cities—24% were 50 years and over compared with 12% of new residents in capital cities. A relatively large proportion of new residents in coastal centres who moved from capital cities were in the early retirement age group (55–64 years) compared with the age profile of new residents in capital cities. This reflects the many people who relocate to coastal centres on retirement.

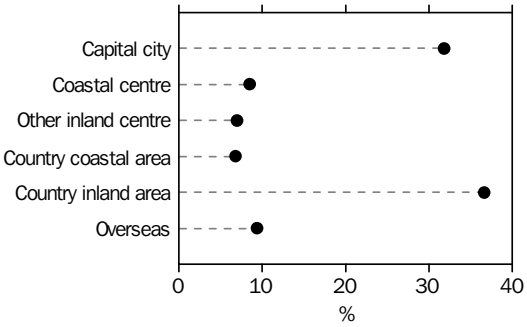
Around 21% of new residents who moved from non-metropolitan areas were aged 15–24 years, drawn to coastal centres for both work and study. A high proportion of this group worked in the Retail trade, Accommodation and food services or Construction industries (49%). Almost as many were students (45%). New residents from capital cities tended to be older, with 21% in the 25–34 year age group. Health care and social assistance and Public administration and safety were the main industries of employment of this group (12% and 11% respectively). Many coastal centres, particularly those in Queensland and Western Australia, have experienced relatively fast population growth.[5] Associated expansion in employment opportunities in key industries has attracted more people to these areas.

Inland centres

Between 2001 and 2006, the flow of people into inland centres, such as Bendigo or Tamworth, was smaller (150,000) than flows to other regions. This was consistent with the small total population of inland centres (756,000) compared with other areas described in this article.

New residents represented 21% of the population of inland centres. Reflecting a general trend in the movement of population from surrounding areas to urban areas, 37% of new residents in inland centres (55,000 people) lived in country inland areas in 2001. This was a comparatively large share of the new residents, considering the small proportion of Australians who lived in these areas (10% in 2006).

New residents to inland centres: location in 2001

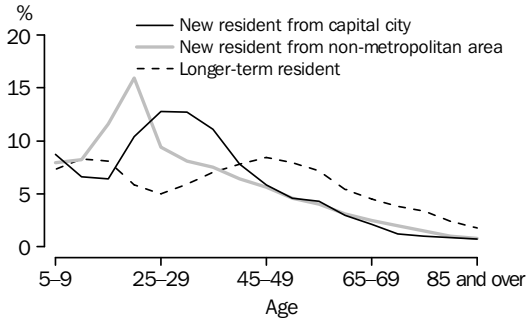


New residents in inland centres had a young age profile (median age of 29 years), similar to the age profile of new residents in capital cities. This can be attributed to both the large flow of young people from non-metropolitan areas, and the relatively small flow of older people moving to inland centres, compared with the flow of older people moving to coastal areas. New residents had a similar age profile to the people who had left an inland centre and moved elsewhere: both groups had a median age of 29 years.

All of the inland centres have university campuses or vocational education facilities, and as in capital cities, these attracted a relatively large flow of students, especially from non-metropolitan areas. One fifth of new residents (15 and over) were students, and half of these students were young people (15–24) who had moved from a non-metropolitan area.

New and longer-term residents in inland centres had similar labour force participation (75% and 76% respectively). Employed new residents most commonly worked in Health care and social assistance or Public administration and safety (both 12%), while a large group of employed longer-term residents worked in Retail trade (14%). An exception was Kalgoorlie, where 25% of new residents and 20% of longer-term residents worked in the Mining industry.

Age profile of inland centres



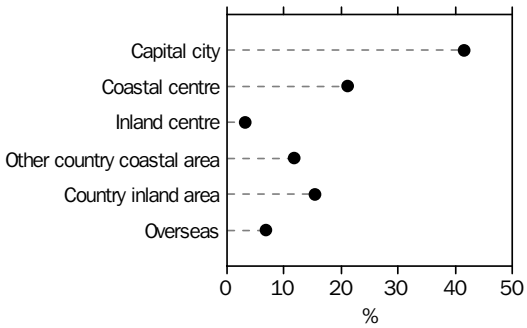
Country coastal areas

The characteristics of new residents who moved to country coastal areas were similar to those who moved to country inland areas, though they were quite different to new residents in capital cities and inland and coastal centres. Around 351,000 people were new residents in country coastal areas in 2006. New residents came mainly from capital cities (42%), and coastal centres (21%). Just over 23% of all people in country coastal areas were new residents.

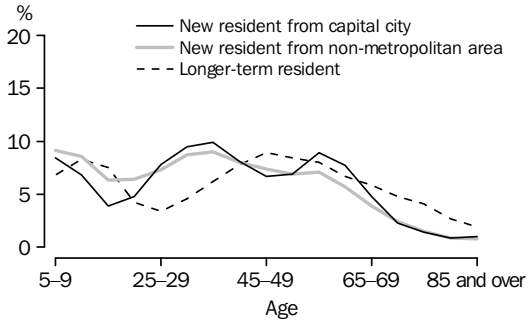
Around 41% of new residents in country coastal areas lived in families with children under 15, similar to those in country inland areas (43%) but higher than those in capital cities (37%), making this a distinctive aspect of migration to country areas.

Movement of older people is another distinctive aspect of migration to country coastal areas. A higher proportion of new residents in country coastal areas than those in other areas were older 'sea changers', that is people of early retirement age (55–64 years) who previously lived in a capital city. As a result, the median age of new residents in country coastal areas was 37 years, the highest of new residents in any of the geographic areas. People who had left a country coastal area and moved to a different country coastal

New residents to country coastal areas: location in 2001



Age profile of country coastal areas



Characteristics of new and longer-term residents: inland centres and country areas

		New residents			
		From capital cities	From non-metropolitan areas	Total(a)	Longer-term residents
Inland centre					
Population	'000	47.8	88.4	150.4	550.1
Proportion of people who...					
are students(b)	%	19.0	22.7	22.3	12.2
are in the labour force(c)	%	77.2	74.4	74.7	76.3
are in low skilled occupations(d)	%	36.4	47.0	42.7	48.5
live in lower income households(e)	%	17.2	22.0	19.8	23.3
live in higher income households(e)	%	24.8	15.4	19.2	14.6
Country coastal area					
Population	'000	146.3	181.5	351.5	1 134.6
Proportion of people who...					
are students(b)	%	9.0	10.6	10.2	10.1
are in the labour force(c)	%	68.7	69.9	69.6	72.3
are in low skilled occupations(d)	%	39.7	46.0	42.7	47.7
live in lower income households(e)	%	26.0	26.9	25.8	30.1
live in higher income households(e)	%	15.4	13.8	15.1	10.8
Country inland area					
Population	'000	130.1	202.4	355.3	1 286.4
Proportion of people who...					
are students(b)	%	10.4	11.8	11.6	9.7
are in the labour force(c)	%	72.3	72.9	72.8	74.8
are in low skilled occupations(d)	%	39.9	45.1	42.8	45.7
live in lower income households(e)	%	23.7	24.4	23.5	28.1
live in higher income households(e)	%	17.7	15.9	17.2	11.9

(a) Includes new residents who were overseas in 2001.
(b) People aged 15 years and over.
(c) People aged 15 to 64 years.
(d) Employed people. See Glossary for definition of low skilled occupation.
(e) People in private households. See Glossary for definition of lower income and higher income households.

or geographic area were younger on average than new residents (median age of 32 years compared with 37 years). In contrast with other geographic areas, new residents from non-metropolitan areas and those from capital cities had a similar age profile.

Consistent with the presence of retired people, new residents in country coastal areas were more likely to live in a *lower income household* than new residents in other geographic areas (26% compared with 15% to 24%). Even so, they were more likely than new residents in the other areas to live in a house that was owned outright or with a mortgage (62% compared with 41% to 57%). This was influenced by the very high proportion of new residents aged 55–64 living in a home owned outright or with a mortgage, particularly those from capital cities (86%)—a larger proportion of new residents in country coastal areas than in other areas. Many new residents may have retired, sold their homes in other areas and bought property on the coast. Their assets may have allowed them to buy a home while having *lower household income*.

A large group of new residents aged 55–64 were retirees, with 57% not in the labour force compared with 45% of longer-term residents. This contributed to the overall lower labour force participation among new residents than longer-term residents.

Health care and social assistance and Retail trade were the most common industries of employment for new residents to country coastal areas (both 11% of employed new residents). In contrast, Agriculture, forestry and fishing and Retail trade were the most common industries of employment for longer-term residents (both 12%). Longer-term residents were twice as likely as new residents to work in Agriculture, forestry and fishing.

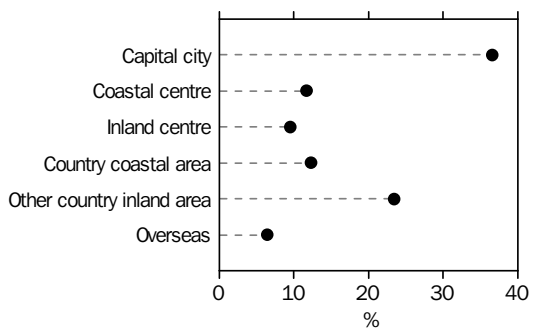
Country inland areas

A large group of people moved to country inland areas between 2001 and 2006 (355,000). Even so, many country inland areas experienced population decline in this period.[6] Although the largest group of new residents in country inland areas lived in a capital city in 2001 (37%), almost one quarter moved from other country inland areas (23%). This was comparatively high, considering how few Australians lived in these areas (10% in 2006), and suggests substantial population churn within country inland areas. Such churn may be related to a number of factors. Long-term restructuring of the agricultural industry has led to movement of people with specialised skills needed for work available in country inland areas. Further, drought has had an impact on employment in certain areas. In addition, there has been substantial growth in employment opportunities in mining in some country inland areas.

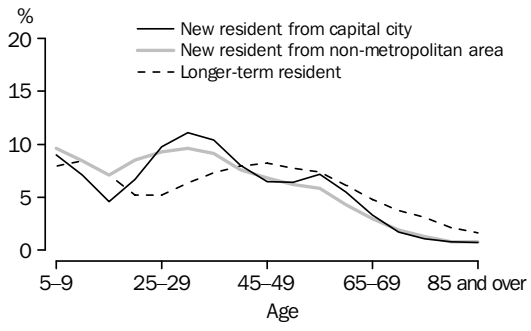
Families with children are an important part of the picture of migration into country inland areas. Almost 43% of new residents in these areas lived in a family with children under 15, the highest of any geographic area.

New residents to country inland areas had a median age of 34 years, while people who had left and moved to a different country inland or geographic area had a median age of 30 years. New residents from capital cities were slightly older on average than new residents from non-metropolitan areas (median ages of 35 years and 33 years respectively). This can be partly attributed to the higher proportion of new residents from capital cities in the early retirement age group (55–64 years), perhaps representing rural 'tree changers', similar to coastal 'sea changers'. Compared with new residents, longer-term residents in country inland areas had a much older age profile, with a median age of 44 years.

New residents to country inland areas: location in 2001



Age profile: country inland areas



In country inland areas a similar proportion of new residents and longer-term residents were labour force participants (73% compared with 75%). However, a higher proportion of new residents aged 45–64 were not in the labour force (35% compared with 26% of longer-term residents). Of those who were employed, Agriculture, forestry and fishing was the most common industry of employment for both longer-term residents and new residents from non-metropolitan areas, although longer-term residents were more likely to work in this field (20% compared with 14%). The most common industry of employment for new residents from capital cities was Health care and social assistance (10%). In Western Australia, Mining was a major industry of employment for all new residents (15% compared with 6% of longer-term residents).

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2003, 'Youth migration in Australia' in *Australian Social Trends 2003*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 Of the Canberra/Queanbeyan statistical district, only the Queanbeyan Statistical Subdivision is included as an inland centre.

3 ABS 2002, 'Searching for work' in *Australian Social Trends 2002*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 Household income is equivalised gross household income. For details of the household income groups used see the Glossary.

5 ABS 2008, *Regional Population Growth, Australia, 2006–07*, cat. no. 3218.0, ABS, Canberra.

6 ABS 2007, *Regional Population Growth, Australia, 1996 to 2006*, cat. no. 3218.0, ABS, Canberra.

Chapter two

Cultural diversity

Cultural diversity overview

In 2006, 44% of Australians were either born overseas or had at least one overseas-born parent.

Almost a quarter of Australia's population was born overseas. With people from over 200 countries[1], Australia has a diverse mix of cultures. The population's diversity provides a rich variety of Indigenous and non-Indigenous languages, religions, beliefs, traditions, and activities.

As with the population itself, this diversity tends to be concentrated in capital cities. Migrants are drawn to Australia's urbanised areas: the 2006 Census showed four fifths of Australia's overseas-born population lived in capital cities, compared with three fifths of people born in Australia. Australia's Indigenous population was distributed differently, with less than one third living in capital cities.

Other cultural indicators further highlight the contrast between Australia's urban and rural residents. In 2006, 90% of people affiliated with a non-Christian religion lived in a capital city. Similarly, 88% of people who spoke a language other than English at home also lived in a capital city. Of the capital cities, Sydney and Perth had the highest proportions of overseas-born residents—over one third each. Hobart had the lowest proportion of overseas-born Australians (13%).

This chapter describes the ethnic and cultural dimensions of the Australian population and the social characteristics of particular migrant and ancestry groups. Australia's Indigenous population, which contributes significantly to the country's cultural diversity, is not closely analysed in this chapter.

Country of birth, capital city and non-capital city balance

First Australians

In 2006, 2.4% of the population (or 455,000 people) were Indigenous Australians. Of these, 89.6% were Aboriginal, 6.5% were Torres Strait Islander and 3.9% were both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. Further analysis of census data relating to Indigenous peoples in Australia can be found in: *Population Characteristics, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006*, ABS cat. no. 4713.0.

Asians younger, but more Europeans

Australia has many migratory links with the rest of the world. At the time of the 2006 Census, Australia was home to 4.4 million overseas-born people, making up one quarter of all Australian residents. A further one fifth of the population had at least one parent born overseas.

Almost three quarters of the overseas-born population were born either in Europe (accounting for 47%, or 2.1 million) or Asia[2] (27%, or 1.2 million). Half of those people born in Europe were from the United Kingdom, making it the most common birthplace (accounting for 24% of the total overseas-born population). New Zealand, the next most common country of birth,

accounted for 9% of the overseas-born population, followed by China and Italy (around 5% each).

Significant differences in the age profiles of birthplace groups are linked to historical migration policies and migratory patterns. There is a clear link between time spent in Australia and the median age of the groups. While the median age of those born in European countries was 56 years, for those born in Asian countries it was 37 years.

Among the top 10 countries of birth, people born in Italy were the oldest, with half of this group (or 98,000 people) aged 66 or over, and people born in India were the youngest (half aged 35 or younger). Differences in the age profiles of birthplace groups help to explain variations in their socioeconomic status, in terms of labour force participation rates, unemployment rates and educational attainment. Such characteristics are themselves associated with age.

Within some birthplace groups there are large differences in the number of men and women living in Australia. The groups with the fewest men relative to women[3] included Japan, (with a sex ratio of 51—that is, 51 Japanese-born men for every 100 Japanese-born women in Australia), Thailand (52), and the Philippines (55). Birthplace groups with the highest sex ratios in Australia were Bangladesh (154), Pakistan (134), and India (123).

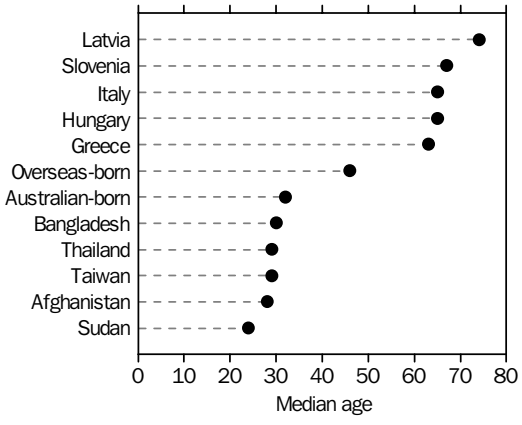
The overseas-born population in Australia is increasing in number as well as diversity. Between 1996 and 2006, it grew by 13% (from 3.9 million to 4.4 million people) and featured a major increase in Asian immigration. In 2006, over half (52%) of all longer-standing migrants were born in Europe, compared to only 22% of the recently arrived population. Conversely, Asian-born people represented only 24% of longer-standing migrants, but accounted for 44% of all recent arrivals.

In 2006, 25% of the Asian-born population had arrived after 2001, compared with only 7% of the European-born population.

Country of birth groups which increased the most between 1996 and 2006 were New Zealand (by around 98,000 people), China (96,000) and India (70,000). In contrast, European country of birth groups declined sharply over the same period—Italy by 39,000 people, United Kingdom by 35,000, and Greece by 17,000. In fact, since 1996, the 10 countries of birth which reduced the most in number were all European countries. These population decreases can be attributed to deaths, and low current migration levels replenishing the group.

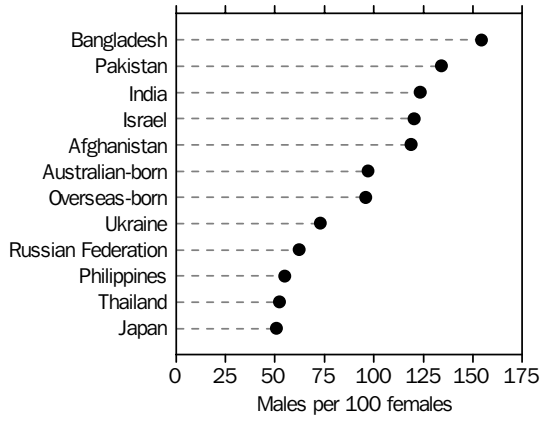
Over time, the changing focus of Australia's migration program has caused fluctuations in the number of arrivals born in particular countries. However, the contrast between recent and longer-standing migrants extends beyond birthplace. There are clear differences in ancestry, religious affiliation, and proficiency in spoken English, as well as age distribution, employment status and income.

Countries of birth with oldest and youngest populations(a)



(a) Populations with more than 5,000 people.

Countries of birth with highest and lowest sex ratios(a)



(a) Populations with more than 5,000 people.

How the census measures cultural background

The 2006 Census asked several questions which helped to provide a picture of Australia's cultural profile. A key question asked was the individual's country of birth. For those born overseas, their year of arrival in Australia was also collected, and their country of birth provides a useful indication of a person's likely ethnic or cultural background.

However, for some overseas-born people their country of birth may be different from their ethnicity, such as people of Chinese ethnicity born in Malaysia, or people of Indian ethnicity born in England. Furthermore, for Australian-born residents, additional information is needed to uncover their diverse ethnic or cultural backgrounds, arising from their parents' or grandparents' migration to Australia. The census therefore asked people to identify their two main 'ancestries', that is; the ethnic or country groups from which their parents or grandparents came. It also asked people to specify whether or not they were Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander.

The census also asked which language people spoke at home, and the religion they were affiliated with. Taken together, the data on country of birth, ancestry, language and religion provide a useful picture of Australia's cultural diversity.

Top 10 countries of birth, selected characteristics

Country of birth	*Persons* '000	*Proportion of overseas-born* %	*Median age* years	*Sex ratio(a)*
United Kingdom	1 038.2	23.5	53.7	100.6
New Zealand	389.5	8.8	39.5	101.8
China(b)	206.6	4.7	39.2	82.3
Italy	199.1	4.5	65.7	107.2
Viet Nam	159.9	3.6	41.0	89.0
India	147.1	3.3	35.8	123.2
Philippines	120.5	2.7	40.4	54.8
Greece	110.0	2.5	63.3	98.3
Germany	106.5	2.4	59.2	91.8
South Africa	104.1	2.4	38.4	96.1
Born elsewhere overseas	1 834.6	41.5	44.0	95.1
Total overseas-born	**4 416.0**	**100.0**	**46.8**	**96.0**

(a) Number of males per 100 females.

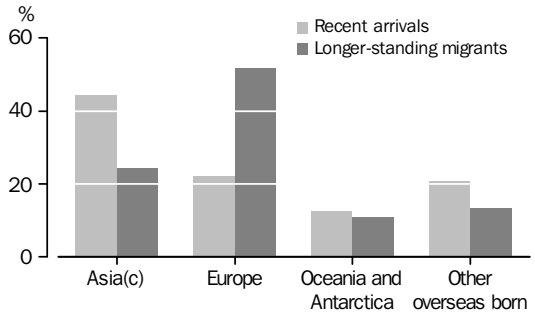
(b) Excludes Special Administrative Regions and Taiwan Province.

European arrivals down despite United Kingdom dominance

Of people who arrived in Australia between 2002 and 2006, 6 of the 10 most common birthplaces were Asian countries. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom was the main source of recent arrivals, supplying 14% of all recent arrivals (or 92,000 people), followed by New Zealand (10% or 68,000 people).

The large size of these groups in Australia reflects the constant inflow of United Kingdom and New Zealand-born arrivals over time: recent arrivals accounted for only 9% of the total United Kingdom-born population in Australia, and 18% of the New Zealand-born population. In contrast, the migration pattern for the Asian-born population has shown a more recent surge in arrivals. The next two largest recent arrival groups, the Chinese and Indian-born, accounted for 32% and 38% of their respective population groups in Australia.

Region of birthplace, recent(a) and longer-standing(b) overseas-born arrivals



(a) Arrived between 2002 and 2006.

(b) Arrived before 2002.

(c) Comprises North-East Asia, South-East Asia and Southern and Central Asia.

Recent arrivals are people who migrated to Australia in the 5 years before the 2006 Census, ie. 2002 to 2006 inclusive.

Longer-standing migrants are people who migrated to Australia before 2002.

Australia's Humanitarian Program enables entry into the country for people who are subject to persecution or discrimination amounting to gross violation of human rights and needing resettlement. A number of Australia's recent arrivals were born in countries affected by war and political unrest. Over 73% (or around 13,000) of Australian residents born in Sudan arrived in 2002 or later. Similarly, a high proportion of those born in Zimbabwe (42% or 8,000), Afghanistan (36% or 6,000), and Iraq (29%, or 9,000) arrived in 2002 or later.

Many large birthplace groups in Australia consist almost entirely of longer-standing migrants. These groups came in response to Australia's migration program which, following the Second World War, sought to rapidly expand the country's population.

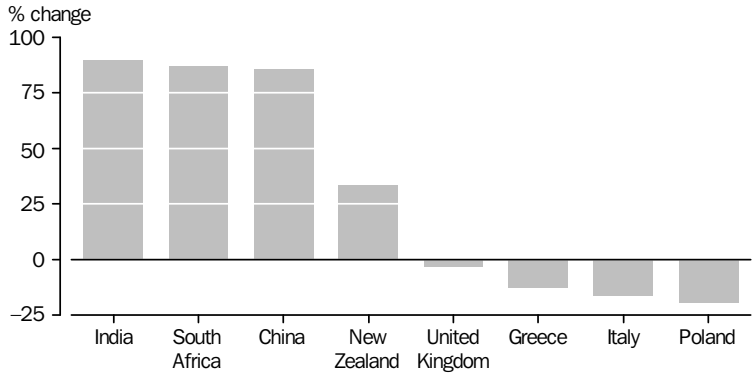
Most respondents to the 2006 Census who arrived in Australia between 1950 and 1970 were born in Europe (87%). In fact, this was the period when most (53%) of the European-born population arrived (excluding those born in the UK). The countries of birth with the highest proportions of longer-standing migrants were Italy, Greece and Malta, with around 99% of their populations having arrived in Australia before 2002. The people from these, and other European countries, brought different languages, customs and experiences which are now established in many communities across Australia.

More working age recent arrivals

Overall, recent arrivals are younger than both longer-standing migrants, and the Australian-born population (see Age and sex distribution graphs on p. 38). In 2006, people aged 20–39 accounted for over half of all recent arrivals (54%), but only 23% of longer-standing migrants, and 28% of the Australian-born population.

The age profiles of Australia's recent and longer-term arrival groups both differ by country of birth. For example, over a quarter of the recent arrivals born in the United Kingdom, South Africa and New Zealand were aged under 15, compared with only 6.6% of the recently arrived Chinese-born population. These differences reflect the variety of reasons associated with moving to Australia.

Population change for selected countries of birth, 1996–2006



Selected countries of birth of recent arrivals and longer-standing migrants

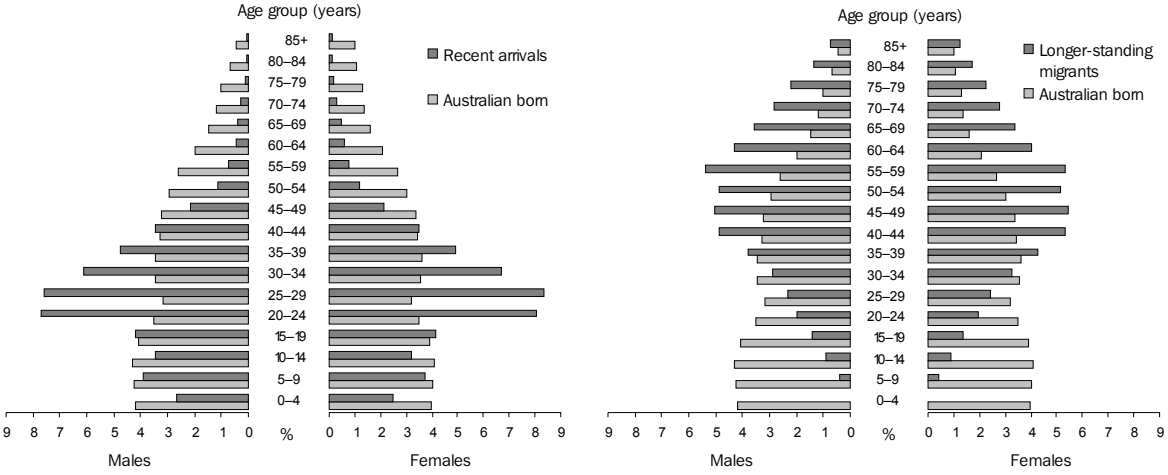
	Recent arrivals		*Longer-standing migrants*	
Country of birth	'000	%	'000	%
United Kingdom	92.4	14.2	896.6	25.2
New Zealand	67.7	10.4	298.7	8.4
China	62.0	9.5	134.3	3.8
India	54.1	8.3	87.6	2.5
South Africa	26.3	4.0	74.5	2.1
Malaysia	20.5	3.2	68.3	1.9
Philippines	20.1	3.1	95.5	2.7
Korea, Republic of (South)	18.3	2.8	29.5	0.8
United States of America	15.5	2.4	43.3	1.2
Indonesia	14.4	2.2	34.3	1.0
Born elsewhere overseas	258.1	39.7	1 791.4	50.4
Total	**649.4**	**100.0**	**3 554.4**	**100.0**

Chinese-born recent arrivals were largely students and many had not yet started a family. Two thirds were aged 20–39 years, and of these, 65% were students and 61% were unmarried. This contrasts with Australia's overall 20–39 year old population, of which 16% were students, and 45% were unmarried.

Over the past decade, the Government's focus on attracting skilled migrants has resulted in an influx of working age overseas arrivals. Since the late 1990s, the Skill Stream of Australia's Migration Program has been the largest and fastest growing stream (compared to the Family, and Special Eligibility streams, as well as the Humanitarian Program). During 1996–97, the Skill Stream accounted for approximately 23% of all migrants, and by 2006–07 this had increased to 43%.[4]

During the first few years of settlement, many migrants experience difficulty getting work. At the time of the 2006 Census, the unemployment rate[5] was 11.8% for recent arrivals and 5.3% for longer-standing migrants. The birthplace groups with the highest

Age and sex distribution: overseas-born groups and Australian-born



unemployment rates were Sudan (28.7%), Iraq (22.3%), and Afghanistan (17.8%). These countries, which have all been affected by war, feature high proportions of recently arrived people, many of whom arrived through the Humanitarian Program. People born in Ireland and Italy had the lowest unemployment rates (3.3% and 3.5% respectively).

Citizenship rises with age and time

At the time of the 2006 Census, 68% of Australia's overseas-born residents indicated they held Australian citizenship. The proportion of Australians with citizenship increases with the length of time spent in Australia, as well as with age. Of all people who had arrived before 1994, 82% were citizens, compared to 54% of people who had arrived during 1999–2000 and 37% of those who had arrived during 2001–02.

Similarly, 80% of the overseas-born population who were aged 50 and over were Australian citizens, compared with 47% of those aged 18–29 and 58% of those aged 30–39 years. These similarities are largely explained by the close connection between age and time spent in Australia (i.e. the older overseas-born population have been in Australia for longer periods of time).

In 2006, Australia's Greek and Croatian-born populations had the highest Australian citizenship rates at 97% and 96% respectively.[3] This reflects their relatively old ages and lengthy periods of time spent in Australia.

The birthplace with the lowest citizenship rate was Japan, with only 15% of Japanese-born residents holding Australian citizenship. Of those born in Japan, half were aged 33 or under, and half arrived in Australia after 1999.

Low citizenship rates may reflect source country rules regarding dual citizenship, and plans for returning after emigration.

Australia's close links to Europe

In total, more than 200 ancestries were separately identified in the 2006 Census, many of which were relatively uncommon. The most common ancestries were Australian (7.4 million people) and English (6.3 million people). Of people who responded to the ancestry question, 31% reported two ancestries (the census form asked for only two ancestries).

Responses to the ancestry question in the census give a richer picture of Australia's cultural background. For example, although 76% of the population were born in Australia, only 37% reported Australian ancestry. This lower figure may be partly explained by the high proportion of people with parents and grandparents born overseas. Around two thirds of the Australian ancestry group did not state a second ancestry.

From the beginning of the colonial period, people from the United Kingdom and Ireland have made up a large majority of arrivals to Australia. This long term presence is reflected by the high numbers of people who identified with the following ancestries: English (6.3 million), Irish (1.8 million), and Scottish (1.5 million).

In 2006, the leading ancestries other than Australian, British and Irish reflected the major waves of migration after the Second World War. These groups ranged in number from the 852,000 people who reported Italian ancestry to the 164,000 who reported Polish ancestry. They included ancestries associated with earlier waves of post-war immigration, such as German (812,000) and more recent immigration, such as Indian (235,000). First and second generation Australians made up a substantial majority of all these groups except German ancestry. As recorded in the previous census, those identifying with German ancestry were mostly third-plus generation Australians (62% in 2006).

First generation Australians are people living in Australia who were born overseas. In 2006, there were 4.4 million first generation Australians (24% of the population).

Second generation Australians are Australian-born people living in Australia, with at least one overseas-born parent. In 2006, there were 3.6 million second generation Australians (20% of the population).

Third-plus generation Australians are Australian-born people whose parents were both born in Australia. In 2006, there were 10.1 million third-plus generation Australians (56% of the population).

Top 10 ancestries by generation

Ancestry	Persons(a) '000	Proportion of total population %	Generations in Australia: First generation Australians %	Second generation Australians %	Third-plus generation Australians %	Also stated another ancestry %
Australian	7 371.8	37.1	1.8	17.3	80.9	34.9
English	6 283.6	31.6	19.3	21.2	59.5	51.6
Irish	1 803.7	9.1	12.5	14.0	73.5	80.1
Scottish	1 501.2	7.6	18.1	20.7	61.2	77.3
Italian	852.4	4.3	27.1	42.3	30.6	41.2
German	811.5	4.1	18.1	20.4	61.5	74.1
Chinese	669.9	3.4	74.2	21.0	4.8	16.9
Greek	365.2	1.8	34.4	45.6	20.0	23.4
Dutch	310.1	1.6	34.2	44.4	21.4	53.6
Indian	234.7	1.2	77.6	20.5	2.0	17.5

(a) Table presents collective responses to ancestry question. As some people stated two ancestries, the total persons for all ancestries exceed Australia's total population.

The 2006 Census showed most people of most ancestries were born either in the country associated with that ancestry or Australia. For example, of the people stating Italian ancestry, 73% were born in Australia, and 23% were born in Italy, and the remaining 4% born in other countries. However, of people of Chinese ancestry, 44% were born in countries other than Australia and China; and of people of Indian ancestry 28% were born in countries other than Australia and India.

People of Irish and Scottish ancestries were the most likely to state a second ancestry[6], with 80% of people of Irish ancestry also stating a second ancestry. Both groups had high proportions of third-plus generation Australians (accounting for 73% of all who stated Irish ancestry and 61% for the Scottish). This ancestral depth can be attributed to the length of time since the first Irish and Scottish migrants arrived, as well as the extent to which they married people from different backgrounds.

The next most likely ancestries to occur in combination with another ancestry were people of Norwegian (75%), German (74%) and Danish (74%) ancestry. These people were largely third-plus generation Australians (46%, 62% and 52% respectively).

People of non-European ancestries were less likely to state a second ancestry. The least likely were people of Korean ancestry (only 4.7% stated a second ancestry). Around 87% of people who stated Korean ancestry were born overseas, and of these, only 10% arrived before 1985.

Mostly Christian, but non-Christians on the rise

The 2006 Census revealed that Australian society is growing in religious diversity, and is no longer as strongly affiliated to traditional religions. Even so, in 2006, Christianity was the most common religion of those born in Australia and overseas (69% and 61% respectively). Australia's changing migration stream has influenced the country's religious profile. The ongoing growth in arrivals from Asia has resulted in large increases in the number of Buddhists, Muslims, and Hindus. In 2006, these three faiths collectively accounted for 907,000 affiliates compared to 468,000 a decade earlier in 1996.

Secularisation is another emerging trend. Since the 1971 Census first introduced 'No Religion' as an option, the group has grown from 6.7% of the population to 18.7% in 2006. This shift is largely the result of younger members of the population being more likely to state no religion than older people. In 2006, 7.9% of Australians aged 65 and over stated 'No Religion', compared to 23.5% of those aged 15–34.

The religion question

The question asking people to report their religion has been included in every national census. In 1911 and 1921 an instruction was included indicating that people could object to state their religion.

From 1933, the voluntary nature of the religion question has been emphasised on the form. In 2006, 11% did not respond. The question does not measure the respondent's level of commitment to their religion or their active involvement. Participation in religious groups is collected in another Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) survey, the General Social Survey, cat. no. 4159.0.

Catholicism stable among shrinking denominations

In every census most Australians have reported an affiliation with Christianity—in 2006, this majority was 12.7 million people. However, affiliation to Christianity has fallen from 96% in 1911 to 64% in 2006.

Over this period, the two most common denominations, Catholic and Anglican, experienced notably different change. Between 1911 and 2006, Catholics steadily grew from 22% to 26% of the population, but the proportion of Anglicans declined from 38% to 19%. These changes in Australia's Christian profile are due in part to the decline in the proportion of migrants coming from the United Kingdom, and the increase from countries with predominantly Catholic populations.

More recently, the sizes of Christian denominations have fluctuated to varying degrees. Between 1996 and 2006, Catholicism grew by 328,000 to 5.1 million. Over the same time, the next most common Christian denominations, Anglican, Uniting, and Presbyterian and Reformed, decreased by 463,000, leaving 5.4 million people affiliated with these denominations in 2006. It is unclear whether the decline is the result of an ageing group of affiliates, or changing alliances. However, some smaller Christian denominations experienced large growth over this period. For example, those identifying with Pentecostal grew by 26% to around 220,000 since 1996.

Intermarriage reflects migration

At the time of the 2006 Census, in 59% of all couple relationships[7] (both registered and social marriages), both the man and the woman were born in Australia. In the remaining 41% of relationships, one or both members of the couple were born overseas.

Overseas-born partners of Australian-born men and women were most likely born in the two most common overseas countries of birth—the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Of the overseas-born population who were in couple relationships with Australian-born people, 41% of the men, and 38% of the women, were born in the United Kingdom. Australian-born men and women were similarly represented in relationships with New Zealanders (accounting for 11% of each of the sexes' overseas-born choices).

Italy was the third most common birthplace of men partnered with Australian-born women (23,700 Italian men). However, Australian-born men, with only 8,100 Italian-born wives, were more likely to find a life partner from somewhere else. For example, 17,000 Australian men were in a couple relationship with a Philippines-born woman. In comparison, only 1,800 Australian-born women were in a couple relationship with a Philippines-born man.

In 2006, almost twice as many Australian-born women as men were with partners born in Southern and Eastern Europe (59,900 to 30,600). Meanwhile, three times as many Australian-born men than women had partners born in South-East and North-East Asia (51,200 to 15,100). It should be noted that birthplace is only one cultural background measure and partners born in different countries commonly share similar ancestries.

Change in religious affiliations, 1996–2006

Religion	Population in 2006 '000	Population in 2006 %	Change between 1996–2006 %	Proportion born overseas %
Christian	*12 685.8*	*63.9*	*0.8*	*21.7*
Catholic	5 126.9	25.8	6.8	23.4
Anglican	3 718.2	18.7	–4.7	16.7
Uniting Church	1 135.4	5.7	–14.9	10.2
Presbyterian and Reformed	596.7	3.0	–11.7	24.1
Eastern Orthodox	544.2	2.7	9.5	46.6
Baptist	316.7	1.6	7.3	24.3
Lutheran	251.1	1.3	0.4	26.0
Pentecostal	219.7	1.1	25.7	27.6
Other Christian	776.9	3.9	19.0	28.5
Non-Christian	*1 105.1*	*5.6*	*79.3*	*65.3*
Buddhism	418.8	2.1	109.6	70.8
Islam	340.4	1.7	69.4	60.7
Hinduism	148.1	0.7	120.2	83.6
Judaism	88.8	0.4	11.3	50.7
Other non-Christian	109.0	0.5	58.8	45.2
No Religion	*3 706.6*	*18.7*	*25.7*	*20.9*
Total(a)	**19 855.3**	**100.0**	**11.8**	**23.9**

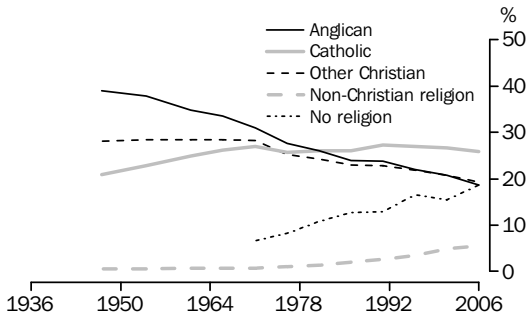
(a) Total includes inadequately described religions and people who did not state a religion.

Non-Christian religions growing fast

Recent migration, particularly from Asia and the Middle East, has led to high growth in the main non-Christian religions. Between 1996 and 2006, the number of people affiliated with non-Christian faiths increased from around 0.6 million to 1.1 million, and accounted for 5.6% of the total population in 2006 (up from 3.5% in 1996). In 2006, 91% of people affiliated with non-Christian religions were either born overseas (66%) or had at least one parent born overseas (25%). In comparison, 44% of the total population were either born overseas (24%) or had at least one parent born overseas (20%).

In 2006, Australia's three most common non-Christian religions were Buddhism (accounting for 2.1% of the population), Islam (1.7%) and Hinduism (0.7%). Of these groups, Hinduism experienced the fastest growth since 1996, more than doubling to 148,000, followed by Buddhism which doubled to 419,000. Australia's religious groups are further discussed in the article 'Religion across the generations', p. 54–58.

Broad trends in religion, 1946–2006



Christian arrivals from non-Christian countries

The growth of the main non-Christian religions in Australia has been driven largely by migration. However, in 2006, large proportions of Australian residents, born in predominantly non-Christian countries, identified themselves as Christians. These differences may reflect disproportionate Christian migration from these countries.

For example, Indonesia's religious profile, consisting of 88% Islam and 9% Christian affiliates in 2000, differed markedly from Australia's 2006 Indonesian-born population which consisted of 17% Islam and 59% Christian affiliates. In 2000, only 9% of Malaysia's population were Christian; but 43% of Malaysian-born people living in Australia were Christian. Similarly, India's predominantly Hindu population (81% in 2001) was not reproduced in Australia, with 34% of Indian-born Australian residents stating a Christian religion in the 2006 Census (compared with 2.3% of India's population).[8]

Christianity by selected birthplace groups and in home country

		Census data from selected countries	
	Birthplace group in Australia who are Christian(a)	*Christians in country*[8]	*Census year*
Country	%	%	
India	34.0	2.3	2001
Indonesia	59.0	8.9	2000
Malaysia	43.0	9.1	2000
Sri Lanka	44.2	6.9	2001

(a) 2006 Census data

English dominant amongst many spoken languages

English is the national language of Australia. In 2006, 83% of the population (aged 5 years and over) spoke only English at home while less than 1% could not speak English at all. The ability to speak English is a criterion that improves the opportunities for migrants to enter Australia; and in 2006, over half the overseas-born population spoke English at home.

At the time of the 2006 Census, over 200 languages were spoken in Australian homes, reflecting past and current migration patterns, and to a lesser extent, the variety of Indigenous languages spoken by Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders. Of the 3 million people who spoke a non-English language at home, 74% were born overseas (first generation Australians) and an additional 21% had at least one parent born overseas (second generation Australians). Speakers of Indigenous languages numbered 50,000 people and comprised 1.7% of all non-English speakers.

The most common non-English language was Italian, with it's 311,600 speakers accounting for 1.8% of the Australian population. This was followed by Greek (1.4%), Cantonese (1.3%), Arabic (1.3%) and Mandarin (1.2%). These four languages were each spoken at home by more than 200,000 people.

The ranking of languages partly reflects the number of migrants who arrived from certain countries, as well as the size of their families. However, not all migrants who speak languages other than English continue to use them at home, nor do their children always learn the language or continue to speak it. As a result, certain languages have been maintained in the home to a greater extent than others.

Top 10 languages spoken at home(a)

Language spoken at home	Persons '000	Proportion of total population %	Proportion who spoke English very well %	Proportion born in Australia %
English	14 577.7	83.0	. .	84.6
Italian	311.6	1.8	59.5	41.1
Greek	242.7	1.4	62.6	51.0
Cantonese	236.0	1.3	44.5	18.8
Arabic	224.7	1.3	61.4	38.8
Mandarin	211.7	1.2	37.8	9.6
Vietnamese	181.2	1.0	36.6	25.5
Spanish	93.9	0.5	59.8	21.6
German	73.4	0.4	76.8	17.9
Hindi	66.4	0.4	83.0	10.3

(a) Excludes persons aged under 5 years.

Consistent with migration trends, between 1996 and 2006, the largest increases in languages other than English were those originating from Asia. During this time, the languages[9] with the largest increases were Mandarin and Hindi, which both more than doubled in speakers to 212,000 and 66,000 people respectively.

Reflecting the older ages of their speakers, European languages have experienced the largest decreases. The German speaking population had the largest proportional decrease and, by 2006, had contracted to three quarters of its 1996 size. The Italian language had the largest numerical decrease in speakers (down 56,000).

Some languages are better retained by later generations than others. For example, third-plus generation Australians of Greek ancestry were more likely than their Italian counterparts to speak a non-English language (28.7% and 5.4% respectively). The extent of language retention may relate to the age people leave home, as well as their propensity to marry people of other ethnicities.

Endnotes

1 Includes independent states, inhabited dependent territories, and areas of special sovereignty.

2 Comprises North-East Asia, South-East Asia and Southern and Central Asia

3 These groups exclude countries of birth with less than 5000 people in Australia.

4 Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) 2007, *Settler arrivals 2006–07,* DIAC, Canberra.

5 Unemployment rate calculated as people aged 15–64 years who are in the labour force and unemployed.

6 Excludes ancestries with populations of less than 5000 people in Australia.

7 Does not include same-sex partnerships.

8 United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD), *Demographic Yearbook: Volume 2b – Ethnocultural characteristics, Table 6*, viewed 24 November 2008, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/dybcens.htm >

9 Of the leading 25 non-English languages spoken in 2006.

Second generation Australians

Second generation Australians were born in Australia, with one or both of their parents born overseas. While some may see themselves as Australian only, others may also maintain an affiliation with their parent's former country. The census is one of the few Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) collections that can identify second generation Australians, and portray some of the diversity within the group.

In 1996, a major study of the socioeconomic outcomes for second generation Australians showed that '… the second generation as a group are doing or have done better than their peers who are at least third generation, in terms of educational attainment and occupation status. However, there is also considerable diversity in outcomes by origin'.[1] This article further explores the diversity among second generation Australians and compares their characteristics and socioeconomic status with regard to their different ancestries. It also compares second generation Australians with other generations.

In 2006, there were 3.6 million second generation Australians identified in the census. This group comprises 25% of Australians. In comparison, 18% of people in 1976 and 20% of people in 1996 were second generation.

Second generation Australians are younger than other generations

The characteristics of second generation Australians reflect the timing and composition of their parents' migration to Australia. Migration to Australia increased significantly in the 1950s and 1960s, so most second generation Australians were born after this period. Waves of migration result in migrants with similar cultural backgrounds arriving in Australia at the same time. As a consequence their children also tend to be born around the same time periods.

The median age of all second generation Australians was 28 years. Overall they were younger than both their first and third-plus

First generation Australians are those who were born overseas and migrated to Australia. As a group they are not homogenous but vary enormously in their circumstances. Factors such as their age on arrival, where they came from, the circumstances of their departure from their birthplace, and their length of time in Australia, all contribute to a wide variety of experiences for first generation Australians. In 2006 there were 4.4 million first generation Australians.

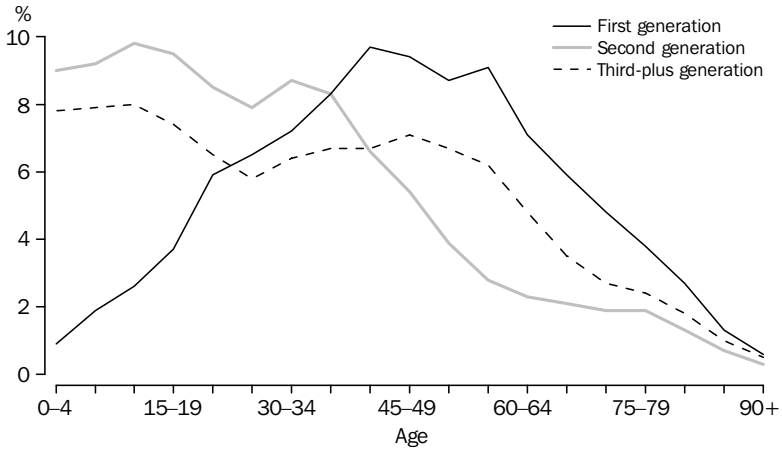
Second generation Australians are Australian-born with one or both parents born overseas. Their parents' experiences of migration and settlement in Australia are likely to impact on the perceptions and circumstances of second generation Australians. Likewise their own experiences of community and acceptance, affect their current situation. In 2006 there were 3.6 million second generation Australians.

Third-plus generation Australians are all other Australians—that is, those who were born in Australia of Australian-born parents. One or more of their grandparents may have been born overseas or they may have several generations of ancestors born in Australia. This group also includes the descendants of Indigenous Australians. In 2006 there were 10.1 million third-plus generation Australians.

In the 2006 Census 1.7 million Australians (9%) did not state either their birthplace or their parents' birthplace. Therefore their generation can not be identified from census data.

In this report, the term Australian refers to all people living in Australia for one year or more at the time of the 2006 Census.

Age distribution of first, second and third-plus generation Australians, 2006



generation counterparts (who had median ages of 46 and 35 years respectively). In 2006, 71% of the second generation were aged less than 40 years old (that is they were born after 1966).

Second generation Australians with only one parent born overseas were younger (median age 26) than their counterparts with both parents born overseas (median age 29).

The age distribution of second generation Australians echoes the waves of migration. For example in 2006, the proportion of second generation children peaked at age 10–14 years and matched a similar peak in the age of their migrant parents at 40–44 years.

As well, the age distribution of second generation Australians also reflects the peaks and troughs in the birth rates for all Australians. The peaks in age groups for second generation Australians are similar to the peaks in the third-plus generation (in particular for those aged 0–19 years and 20–39 years). However the second generation has no corresponding peak in the Baby Boomer age group (because there were not many migrants in the 1940s or earlier to parent a large second generation of Baby Boomers).

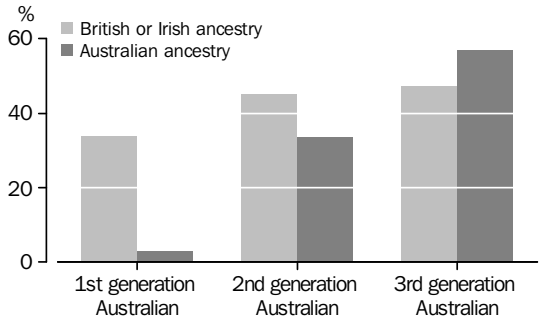
When the differing age profiles of the generations were taken into account, there was little difference in living arrangements between first, second or third-plus generation Australians. However, reflecting their younger age profile, a lower proportion of second generation Australians lived as couples than first or third-plus generation Australians.

Many second generation Australians had British/Irish heritage

The 2006 Census did not ask for the country of birth of an individual's parents, only whether they were born in Australia or overseas. However it did ask individuals to report their ancestry. They were asked to report up to two ancestries. Ancestry is reported by the individual and '...reflects their own assessment of their cultural and ethnic background'.[2]

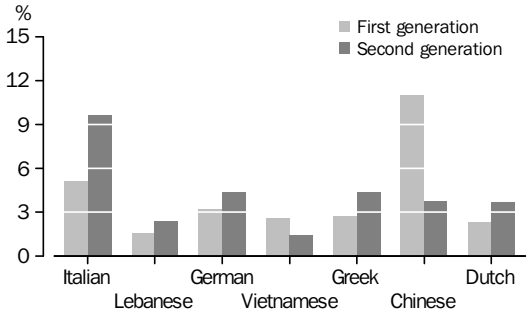
In 2006, 65% of second generation Australians reported either British/Irish ancestry or Australian ancestry or both. Specifically, 46% of second generation Australians reported their ancestry as British/Irish and 35% reported it as Australian. In comparison, 59% of the third-plus generation and 3% of the first generation reported having Australian ancestry.

Highest reported ancestries(a)



(a) The ancestry question in the census allows up to two responses, so an individual can be counted in more than one category.

Selected ancestries(a)(b) reported by first and second generation Australians



(a) The ancestry question in the census allows up to two responses, so an individual can be counted in more than one category.

(b) Ancestries which were most likely to be reported by second generation Australians (excluding British or Irish and Australian).

Of second generation Australians with both parents born overseas, 6% described their ancestry as Australian, compared with 57% of those with only one parent born overseas.

Of all the other ancestries reported by second generation Australians, Italian was the next most common (10%). Around 4% of second generation Australians reported each of German, Greek, Chinese and Dutch ancestries.

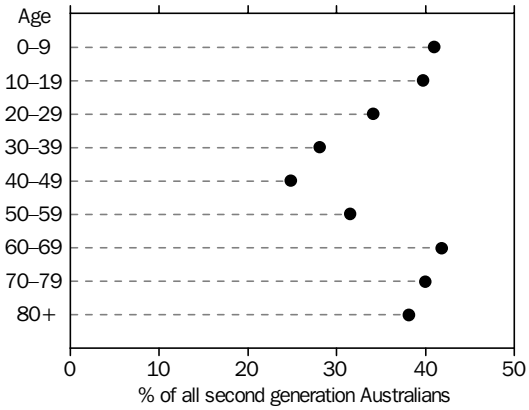
While for most ancestries, more people identify with that ancestry in the second generation than the first, the reverse is true when the main wave of immigration from a region occurred in the recent past. For example, more first generation Australians reported Chinese and Vietnamese ancestries than second generation Australians.

Ancestry responses vary by age

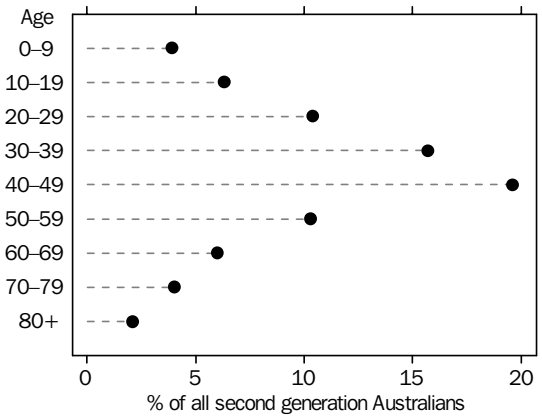
The ancestries of second generation Australians varied by age and reflected the patterns of migration of their first generation parents. While British/Irish and Australian were the most common ancestries for every age group, they were particularly prevalent in the older ages. The response of Australian ancestry was lowest for those aged 40–59 years, but there was resurgence in this response for 0–19 year olds in the second generation. The resurgence was not just among the younger members of that age group where it could reflect the aspirations of their migrant parents (who are likely to have filled in the census). Of second generation Australians aged 18–19, 39% reported Australian as one of their ancestries. The response of British/Irish ancestry followed a similar pattern except that there was no resurgence in the 0–19 age group.

Second generation Australians, selected ancestries

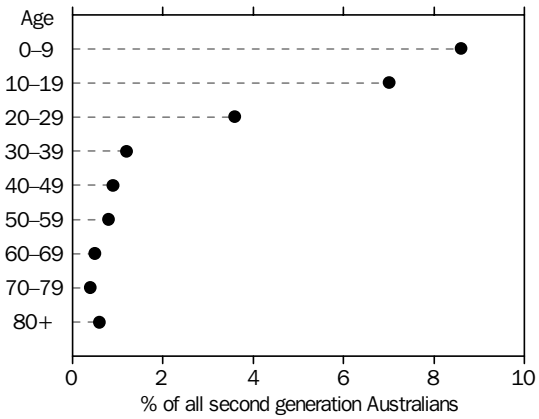
Australian ancestry



Italian ancestry



Chinese ancestry



Aside from British/Irish and Australian ancestry, the ancestries reported by second generation Australians comprised hundreds of diverse backgrounds. While they varied in significance by age, each individual ancestry generally only made up a very small proportion of all second generation Australians. Italian, Greek and German were more common ancestries for middle-age second generation Australians, peaking in the 40–49 years group for Italian (20%) and German (7%), and in 30–39 years group for Greek (9%). Many of the parents of these groups entered Australia in the late 1940s to 1960s, before their second generation children were born.

Chinese was a prominent ancestry for the younger age group, with 9% of 0–9 year old second generation Australians reported as having Chinese ancestry. Chinese migration to Australia peaked in the mid-1990s, and many second generation Australians reporting Chinese ancestry were born after this date.

Most second generation Australians speak English at home

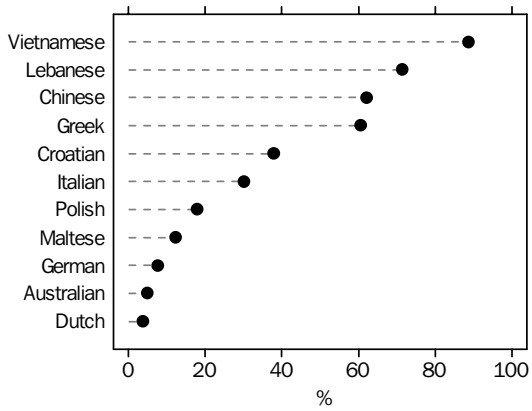
Language and religion can provide useful insights into the cultural connections of second generation Australians.

Of all second generation Australians, 20% spoke a language other than English at home, compared with 49% of first generation Australians and 2% of third-plus generation Australians. Second generation Australians were more likely to speak a language other than English at home if both parents were born overseas (38% compared with 5% if only one parent was born overseas).

The most common languages spoken at home by second generation Australians included Italian, Greek, Arabic, Vietnamese and Cantonese.

The propensity of second generation Australians to speak a language other than English in the home declined with age. While 28% of 0–19 year old second generation Australians spoke a non-English language at home, only 1% of those aged 80 years and over did. This is not surprising given that second generation children are more likely to live with their migrant parents, and converse with them in their native language.

Second Generation Australians who spoke a language other than English at home, selected ancestries(a)



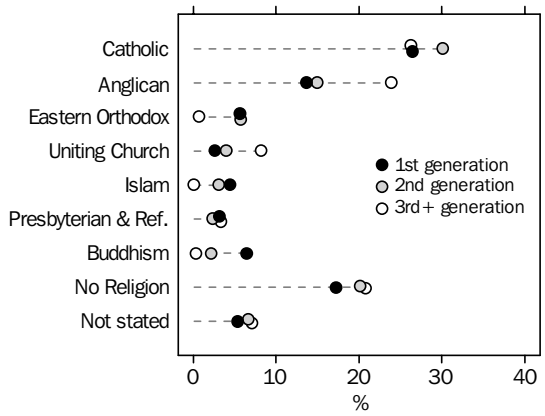
(a) Australian ancestry plus other top second generation ancestries (excluding those that mainly speak English).

The likelihood of speaking a language other than English at home varied significantly by ancestry group. Second generation Australians with Vietnamese (89%) and Lebanese (71%) ancestry were highly likely to speak a language other than English in the home, while people with Dutch (4%) and German (8%) ancestry were far less likely. This pattern can be partly explained by the varying ages of second generation Australians from different ancestries and the length of time that some ancestry groups have been in Australia. It may also reflect the higher importance attached to maintaining language within some ancestry groups.

Catholic affiliation strong among second generation Australians

Religious affiliation often reflects the ancestries of second generation Australians. It can be a tie between separate ancestry groups. For example, two ancestry groups which are both predominantly Catholic may have higher intermarriage rates. On the other hand, religion can separate communities within an ancestry group: an ancestry group where some are Christian and others Islamic could reflect two quite separate cultural groups.

Religious affiliations



Like the first and third-plus generations, second generation Australians were more likely to be Catholic (30%) than any other Christian denomination or religion. But some of the other common religious affiliations of second generation Australians varied from other Australians. For example, 6% of second generation Australians reported Eastern Orthodox as their religion compared with 1% of third-plus generation Australians.

The median age of second generation Australians varied considerably across religious affiliations. The median age of Catholics was 27 years compared with 30 years for Eastern Orthodox and 10 years for Islam. Second generation Australians with Anglican, Uniting Church, or Presbyterian and Reformed Church affiliations were all older (with median ages of 35, 39 and 46 years respectively). For more information on religion and age see 'Religion across the generations', p. 54–58.

Socioeconomic circumstances of second generation Australians

Because second generation Australians are so diverse, their socioeconomic circumstances vary greatly. The following analysis excludes people who reported British/Irish ancestry. The outcomes for this group are in most cases broadly equivalent to those reporting Australian ancestry which are, in turn, similar to third-plus generation Australians. Only Australians aged 20 years or more are included in the analysis.

Second generation Australians have higher education levels than third-plus generation Australians

Of second generation Australians aged 20 years or more in 2006, 21% held a Bachelor degree or higher, compared with 24% of first generation and 17% of third-plus generation Australians. Since levels of educational attainment can differ markedly depending on age, and the three generation groups have different age patterns, this could merely reflect the differences in their ages. However, in every age group, second generation Australians hold Bachelor degrees at a similar or lower level than first generation Australians but at a higher level than the third-plus generation.

Similar proportions of first and second generation Australians held no qualifications and did not complete Year 12—30% and 29% respectively, compared with 39% of third-plus generation Australians.

Second generation Australians' education levels by selected ancestry(a)

	Aged 20–39	*Aged 40 and over*
	Bachelor degree or higher	*Did not complete Year 12(b)*
Ancestry	%	%
Italian	23.0	38.7
Greek	27.5	28.2
German	22.6	37.6
Chinese	48.4	27.4
Dutch	23.9	31.8
Lebanese	18.6	37.0
Maltese	17.4	49.3
Polish	32.0	30.8
Vietnamese	27.8	(c)
Croatian	25.5	29.7
Australian	22.7	44.1

(a) Australian ancestry plus top 10 second generation ancestries excluding British/Irish.

(b) Or a non-school qualification.

(c) The numbers of older Vietnamese second generation Australians were very small.

Second generation Australians with different ancestries have markedly different educational outcomes. Because both the levels of educational achievement vary with age across the Australian population, and the pattern of ancestries also varies with age, it is necessary to analyse educational attainment within age groups.

In 2006, 48% of second generation people reporting Chinese ancestry aged 20–39 held a Bachelor degree or higher qualification, compared with 17% of Maltese and 19% of Lebanese of the same age. A high proportion of second generation people aged 20–39 with Polish ancestry also held a Bachelor degree or above (32%). In comparison, of those in this age group who reported Australian ancestry, 23% held a Bachelor degree or above.

Of second generation people aged 40 and over who reported Australian ancestry, 44% had not completed Year 12 or a non-school qualification. In comparison, most other ancestry groups had lower proportions who had no school or non-school qualification. Only Maltese ancestry was higher, with 49% of those aged 40 and over reporting no school or non-school qualification.

Unemployment among second generation was lower than first generation Australians

Low unemployment rates can be a key indicator of economic success.[3] In 2006, the unemployment rate (see Glossary) for second generation Australians aged 20 years and over was 4%, which was the same as that for third-plus generation Australians. In comparison, the unemployment rate for first generation Australians was 6%. It made little difference whether second generation Australians had one or both parents born overseas.

However, unemployment levels varied across ancestry groups. The unemployment rate for second generation Australians was low for Italian, Dutch and Maltese ancestry (all around 3% when age standardised) while it was high for Turkish, Vietnamese and Lebanese (11%, 11% and 7% respectively when age standardised). The latter three groups had very high proportions of second generation Australians who spoke a language other than English at home (78%, 89% and 71% respectively) compared with all second generation Australians (20%).

Second generation Australians more likely to be professionals

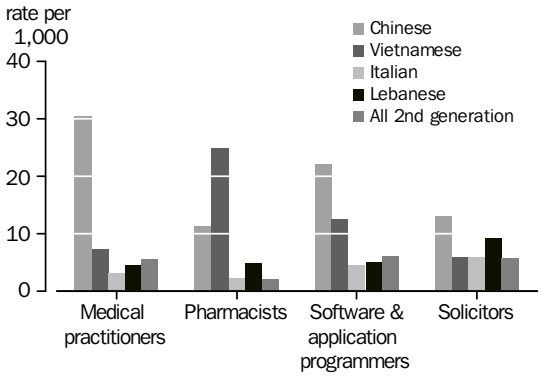
Second generation Australians aged 20 years and over had a similar occupational profile to first and third-plus generation Australians: in each group the most common occupation category was Professionals.

Some specific occupations that stood out as particularly popular with second generation Australians included Graphic and web designers and illustrators, Cabinetmakers, Solicitors, Hairdressers and most computing professions. Those least reported included Taxi drivers and Cleaning and laundry workers.

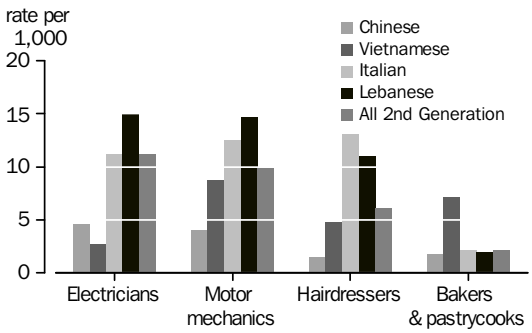
Certain ancestry groups stood out among second generation Australians for their differing occupation choices. Sometimes these differences may be related to the average age of those from particular ancestries.

Occupation and ancestry(a) of second generation Australians

Professional occupations



Trade occupations



(a) The ancestry question in the census allows up to two responses. Thus an individual can be counted in more than one category.

Second generation Australians with Chinese ancestry were more likely to hold a professional position (39%) than people from any other ancestry group. In particular second generation Australians with Chinese ancestry were more likely than most other Australians to be doctors, dentists and most other health professionals with the exception of nursing.

Second generation Australians with Vietnamese ancestry were more likely to be Sales workers (18%) than any other ancestry groups and also had a high proportion of Professionals (27%). Like those with Chinese ancestry, second generation Australians with Vietnamese ancestry were commonly found in health-related professions, particularly as Pharmacists. They also worked as Bakers and pastry cooks at a higher rate than any other ancestry.

Second generation Australians with Italian ancestry (who tended to be older than their Chinese and Vietnamese counterparts) tended to work in skilled trade occupations such as Motor mechanics and Hairdressers.

Despite having a younger age profile, second generation Australians reporting Lebanese ancestry had some similar occupational patterns to those with Italian ancestry. In particular they were commonly found in skilled trades such as Electricians, Motor mechanics and Hairdressers.

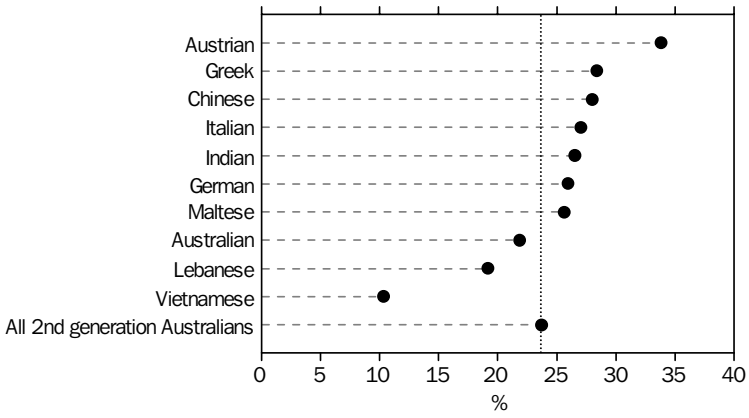
Second generation Australians have higher incomes than other Australians

Slightly more second generation Australians (aged 20 years and over) than those in the first or third-plus generations had *higher incomes* (i.e. gross personal incomes of $1000 per week or more)—24%, compared with 20% and 22% respectively. This was true even when the different age structures of the three populations were taken into account.

Further, a higher proportion of second generation Australians with both parents born overseas had *higher incomes* (25%) than those with only one parent born overseas (22%).

Of the top 30 ancestries for second generation Australians, those with Austrian ancestry were the most likely have *higher incomes* (34%).While the older age profiles of some ancestry groups (such as Austrian, Greek and Italian) were likely to have resulted in those groups having higher *personal incomes* among second generation Australians, others such as Chinese, had a younger age profile but still reported a relatively high proportion with *higher incomes*. In contrast, only 22% of those with Australian ancestry and 10% of those with Vietnamese ancestry had *higher incomes*.

Second generation Australians aged 20 years and over, with higher incomes(a), selected ancestries(b)



(a) Weekly gross personal income of $1000 or more.

(b) The ancestry question in the census allows up to two responses. Thus an individual can be counted in more than one category.

Endnotes

1 Khoo, S., McDonald P., Giorgas, D., and Birrell, B. 2002, *Second Generation Australians*, a joint publication of the Australian Centre for Population Research and the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Canberra.

2 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2003, 'Ancestry of Australia's population' in *Australian Social Trends 2003*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) 2007, *Migrant Labour Market Outcomes*, Fact sheet 14, DIAC, Canberra.

Religion across the generations

Since the 1970s, two contrasting trends have shaped Australia's changing religious profile. On one hand, increased multiculturalism has driven the introduction and growth of many new religions. On the other, Australia's growing secularisation has reduced affiliations among most Christian denominations.

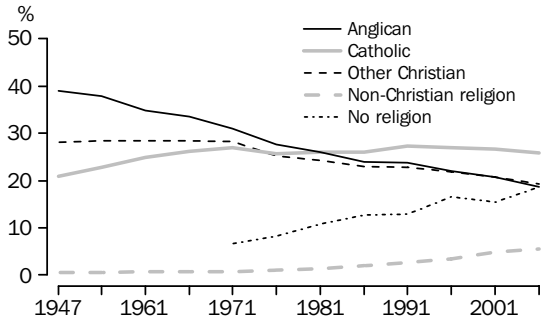
As well as affecting Australia's ethnic composition, migration trends have led to growth in certain religious groups, and a greater diversity of religious affiliations than in previous times. In 2006, 91% of people affiliated with a non-Christian religion were either born overseas (66%) or had at least one overseas-born parent (25%). Of those born overseas, 4 out of 5 were born in Asia[2], North Africa or the Middle East.

In 2006, over 1.1 million Australians were affiliated with a non-Christian religion. The three main religions were Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism (accounting for 419,000, 340,000 and 148,000 people respectively). Each of these religions has experienced remarkable growth in Australia. Since 1986, the number of Islam affiliates increased 3 times; Buddhists, 5 times; and Hindus, 7 times. Even so, in 2006, non-Christian religions accounted for only 5.6% of the population because of the small base.

Even more striking than the growth of non-Christian religions has been the secularisation of Australian society. Indicative of this trend is that between 1971 and 2006, the proportion of people who stated 'No Religion' increased from 6.7% of the population to 19%. The younger generation is less likely to adopt religious beliefs than their parents or grandparents, and comprise a high proportion of those who stated no religion. Consequently, the main Protestant denominations (that is, Anglican, Presbyterian, and the Uniting Church) have all decreased since 1996, and have older age profiles than the overall population.

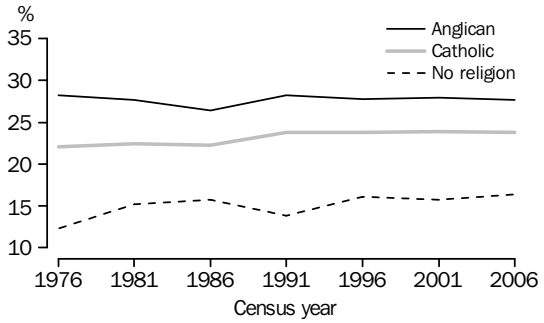
Each generation in Australia has a unique religious profile. This article examines these profiles and discusses the differences between, as well as within, the 5 generation groups presented in this report.

Broad trends in religion over time, 1947–2006



This article's point-in-time analysis assumes that most people do not change their religious affiliation throughout their adult life. This assumption is supported by following the religious affiliation reported by the same group of Baby Boomers at different censuses through their life. The graph below shows the stability of the group's religious affiliation. Changes over the same time amongst other adult generations were even smaller.[3]

Baby Boomers' religious affiliation, 1976–2006(a)



(a) Australian-born Baby Boomers (aged 50–59 in 2006).

Why the religion question is asked

The census results are drawn on by religious organisations seeking information about religious affiliation in Australia. They and others use the information to assess the need for religious-based hospitals, community services, and schools.

The question does not measure the degree of participation or commitment to religion. Additionally, a response of 'No Religion' does not imply no spirituality but rather that the respondent is not affiliated with any of the formally recognised religious groups.[1] The question has been optional in all Australian censuses. In 2006, 11.2% of the population chose not to respond—the iGeneration had the highest proportion of non-respondents (11.9%), and the Lucky Generation, the lowest (9.7%).

Oldest Generation (aged 80 and over)

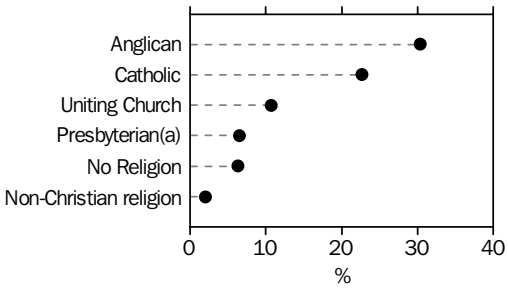
In 2006, 4 out of 5 Oldest Generation members were affiliated with a Christian denomination—the most of all the generations. Of the generation's 727,000 surviving members in 2006, over 220,000 (or 30%) were Anglicans and 165,000 were Catholics (23%). These denominations were followed by the Uniting Church (which accounted for 10.7% of the generation), and the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches (6.5%).

Oldest Generation members were 3 times less likely than the rest of the population to state 'No Religion' (6.4% compared with 19%). Further, they were more likely than the younger cohorts to be represented in certain Christian denominations: 7.9% of all Presbyterian and Reformed affiliates, and 6.9% of all Uniting Church affiliates were members of the Oldest Generation, compared with 3.7% of the total population.

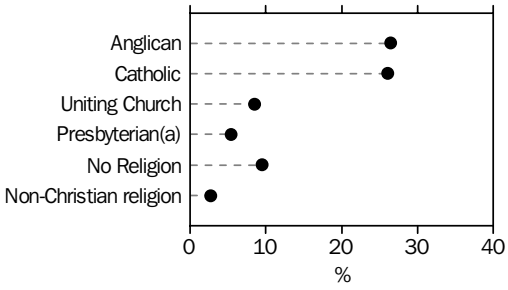
Only 2.1% of the Oldest Generation were affiliated with a non-Christian religion. This was half as many affiliates as the Baby Boomers (5.3% of the cohort), and a third as many as Generation X and Y (7.4%). This reflects the regions in which the generation's migrants were born. Only 10% of the Oldest Generation's overseas-born population were born in Asia, compared with 25% of Baby Boomers, and 42% of Generation X and Y members.

Main responses, 2006

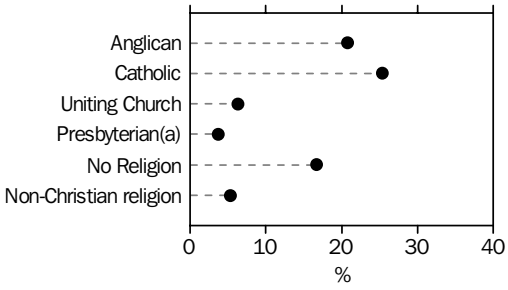
Oldest: Anglicans most common



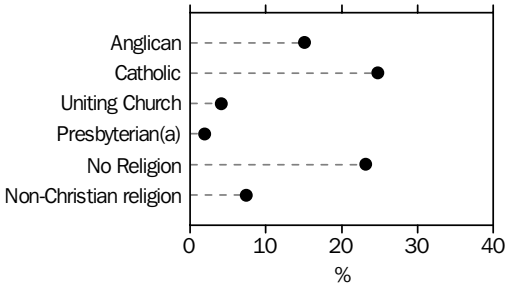
Lucky: Catholics and Anglicans equal



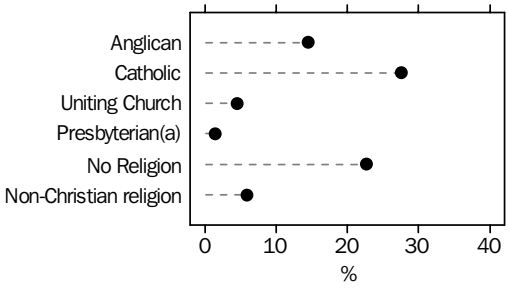
Boomers: Catholics more common



Gen X and Y: 'No Religion' gaining

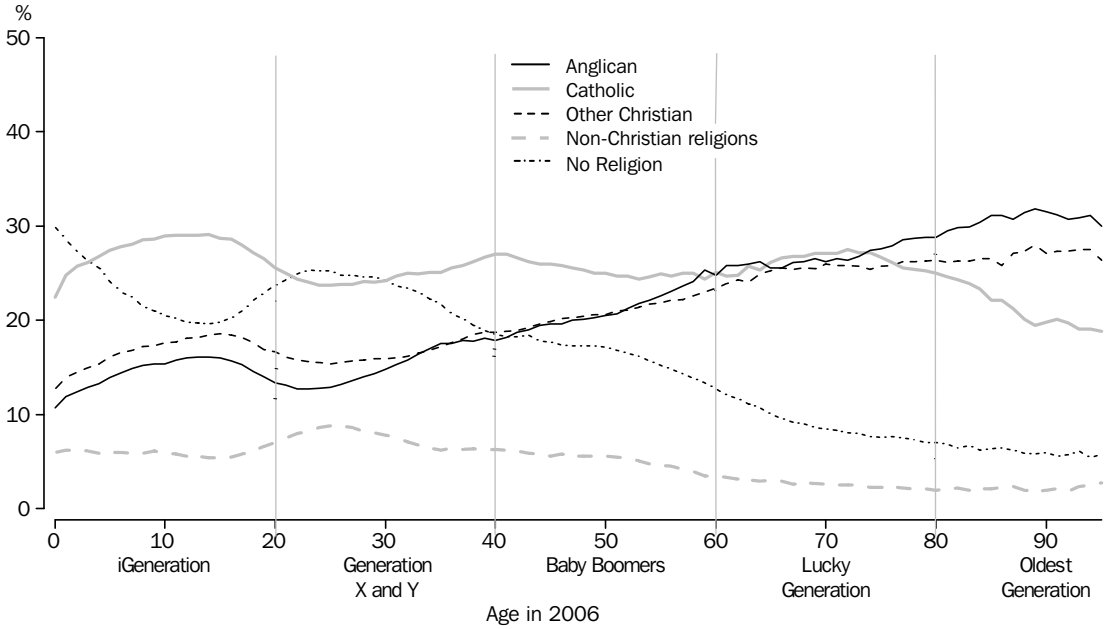


iGeneration: pattern similar to X and Y



(a) Includes affiliates of Christian Reformed Churches.

Religion of the generation groups, by age



Lucky Generation (aged 60–79)

The Lucky Generation are a fairly homogenous cohort in terms of religious affiliation, with only slight variation between the older and younger members. The younger members, born just before or during World War II (1936–1945), were more likely to state 'No Religion' than the older members. In 2006, 11.0% of those born during the war (aged 60 to 67) stated 'No Religion', compared with 8.0% of the older members of the group (aged 68 to 79).

In 2006, the Lucky Generation had 2.2 million Christian affiliates. This represented a similar proportion of Christians to the Oldest Generation (78% and 79% respectively). However, within these two generations, the distribution of Christian denominations differed. The predominance of Anglicans over Catholics in the Oldest Generation (30% to 23% of the cohort) was not repeated in the Lucky Generation, where there were equal shares (of 26%). The Lucky Generation's 317,000 overseas-born Catholics (compared with the 175,000 overseas-born Anglicans), contributed to this change.

Almost all the other main Christian denominations had slightly smaller cohort shares than in the Oldest Generation. The only exceptions were the Eastern Orthodox and Pentecostal churches, both with nearly double the share of the Oldest Generation. However, these groups remained proportionately small (accounting for 3.6% and 0.7% of the Lucky Generation respectively).

People affiliated with non-Christian religions accounted for 2.8% of the Lucky Generation (compared with 5.6% of the overall population). This reflects the migration patterns associated with this generation. Of the generation's top 25 countries of birth in 2006[4], Viet Nam was the only birthplace group with more non-Christian members than Christians. In contrast, 9 of the 25 most common countries of birth for Generation X and Y members (aged 20–39) had more non-Christian than Christian affiliates in 2006.

Baby Boomers (aged 40–59)

As the first group to be raised with televisions in their homes[5], Baby Boomers were exposed to world events including the Cold War, the Viet Nam War, the sexual revolution, peace movements and the birth of rock and roll. They are considered more liberal-minded than Australia's older generations.

In 2006, two thirds of the 5.5 million Baby Boomers were affiliated with a Christian religion (67%). One quarter of the generation was Catholic, one fifth was Anglican and just under one fifth stated 'No Religion'. However, unlike earlier generations, religious affiliation varied notably by age across the Baby Boomer Generation. The profile of older Baby Boomers (55–59 years) more closely resembled that of

older generations with Catholics (25%) only slightly more numerous than the Anglicans (24%) and all other Christian denominations (22%). In contrast, among the younger Baby Boomers (aged 40–45), Catholics (26%) clearly outnumbered Anglicans and all other Christians (around 19% each).

Affiliation to each of Australia's top 5 Christian denominations was lower for Baby Boomers than Lucky Generation members. The lower proportion of Christians in the Baby Boomer generation was accounted for by the higher proportion who stated 'No Religion' (17%, compared with 9.5% of the Lucky Generation), or who were affiliates of non-Christian religions (5.3%, compared with 2.8%). The only main Christian denomination with a higher generational share was Pentecostals, who accounted for 1.1% of Baby Boomers (compared with less than 1% of Lucky and Oldest Generation members).

Baby Boomers represented the mid-point in Australia's religious profile in that older Australians were more likely than Baby Boomers to be Christian and less likely to have no religion. Conversely, younger Australians were less likely than Baby Boomers to be Christian and more likely to have no religion.

Generation X and Y (aged 20–39)

In 2006, members of Generation X and Y belonged to age groups facing many life changes. Younger members were confronting important decisions about post-school study, entering the workforce, and leaving home. Many of the older members, having recently also faced these issues, may have been starting and raising families.

This is also the life stage when many people make a decision about religion, in some cases turning away from family practices. Changing religious affiliation during this transition phase can be illustrated by Australian-born Generation X and Y members aged 25–34. In 2006, 26% identified with no religion—an increase from 20% when they were aged 15–24 in 1996, and 12% when 5–14 in 1986. Over this time period, Christianity among the cohort decreased from 75% in 1986 to 63% in 2006. This was despite the proportion of unrecorded responses to the religion question falling from 12% to 7.1%. This movement away from religion occurred over the ages when most would have left the family home and begun to respond to the question themselves.

Of all generations, Generation X and Y was the least Christian. Just over half the 5.5 million members were Christian (56%) and 7.4% belonged to a non-Christian religion. It was also the first generation (compared to previous, older generations) in which the Anglican denomination was not among the two most common responses. Instead, Anglicans, who accounted for 15% of the generation, were outnumbered by Catholics (25%) and people with no religion (23%). Of other Christian denominations, the Uniting Church (4.2%) and the Eastern Orthodox Church (2.8%) had the most affiliates.

Within the generation, Catholic representation rose slightly across the ages, but Anglicans featured more prominently amongst older members: 17% of 30–39 year olds were Anglican, compared with 13% of 20–29 year olds. Conversely, younger members of the generation were more likely to state 'No Religion' than older members (25% and 22% respectively). Non-Christian religions were also more common at the younger ages (8.1% compared with 6.7%).

Generation X and Y had the largest proportion of people affiliated with non-Christian religions (7.4%). Indeed, it was the only generation in which all three main non-Christian religions featured in the 10 most common religions. Buddhists accounted for 2.7% of the Generation X and Y population (or 149,300 people), followed by Muslims (2.3% or 123,800 people) and Hindus (1.2% or 67,300 people). Although 28% of Australians belonged to Generation X and Y in 2006, 36% of Buddhists and Muslims, and 45% of Hindus belonged to this generation.

Migration patterns help to explain the higher levels of affiliation to non-Christian religions in Generation X and Y. In 2006, 20 birthplace groups in Australia had more than half their members affiliated with non-Christian religions. These countries of birth were located in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Polynesia. Of all the generations, Generation X and Y had the most members born in these countries: 21.7% (of the generation's overseas-born members), compared with 13.0% (Baby Boomers), 6.4% (Lucky Generation), and 4.9% (Oldest Generation).

iGeneration (aged 0–19)

The iGeneration cannot be analysed in the same way as older generations. In many cases, parents and guardians would have reported their child's religion. While some parents may consider religious affiliation to be established upon baptism or at birth, others choose to wait until their children can make the decision themselves. In 2006, 58% of children aged less than 5 had a religion stated for them.

Over half the iGeneration's 5.3 million members were reported as Christian (59%), 23% had no religion, and 5.9% were affiliated with non-Christian religions. Within the generation, the youngest children (aged less than 5) were the most likely to be identified as having no religion (28%). From this youngest age group, affiliation to Christian denominations followed a similar pattern, rising steadily at each year of age and peaking during the early teenage years. As a result, the 11–16 year olds were most likely among this generation to be identified as Christian (63%), and least likely to have no religion (20%).

Endnotes

1 The 2006 Census categorised religions according to the *Australian Standard Classification of Religious Groups* (ASCRG) Second Edition, 2005, cat. no. 1266.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 Comprises North-East Asia, South-East Asia and Southern and Central Asia.

3 Compared with other generations which had adult members in 1976.

4 Excluding Australia.

5 The Australian Online Television Museum, viewed 17 November 2008, <http://www.austvhistory.com/>.

Chapter three

Living arrangements

Living arrangements overview

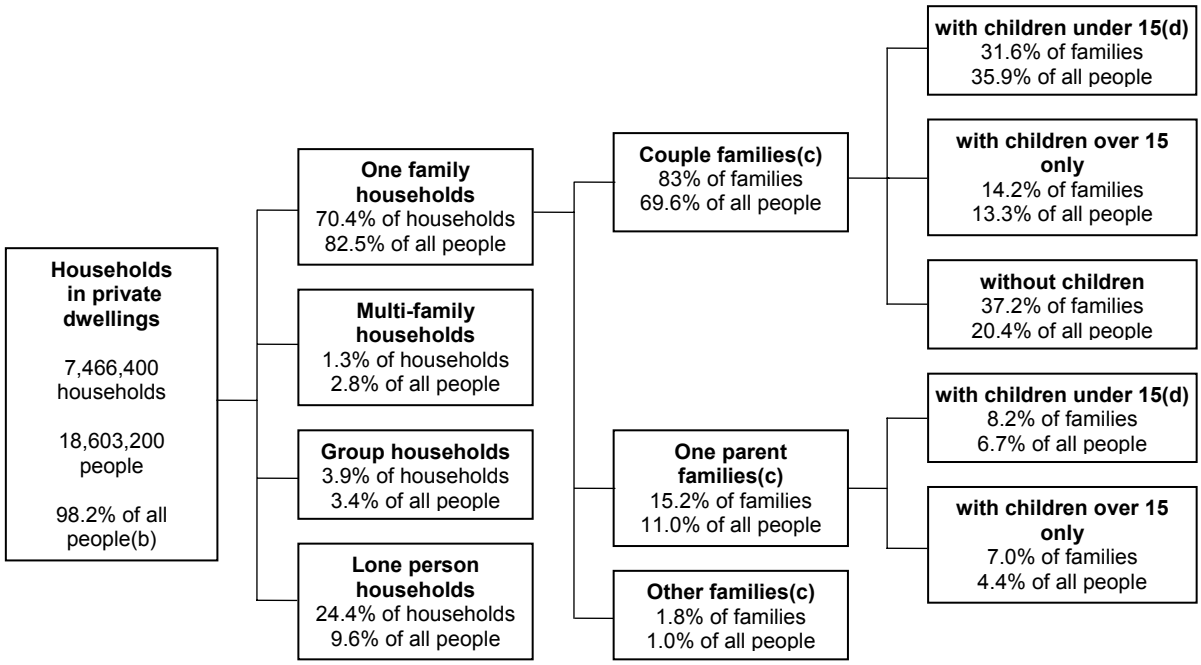
Over the last 20 years, households and families have become more diverse. There has been a decline in the proportion of families with children, a trend towards smaller families and an increase in the proportion of people living in couple only and lone person households. These trends reflect broad social and economic changes, including young people remaining in education for longer periods, higher participation of women in the labour force, lower fertility, higher numbers of divorced people and an ageing population.

Living arrangements can influence people's health, wellbeing and access to social and material resources. Equally, these factors can also influence people's living arrangements.

Family diversity is increasing, but half the population live in a two parent family with children.

The wider community faces the challenge of continuing to provide appropriate services such as aged care, income support, housing, health and family services, within a context of increasing diversity in living arrangements.

People(a), families and households



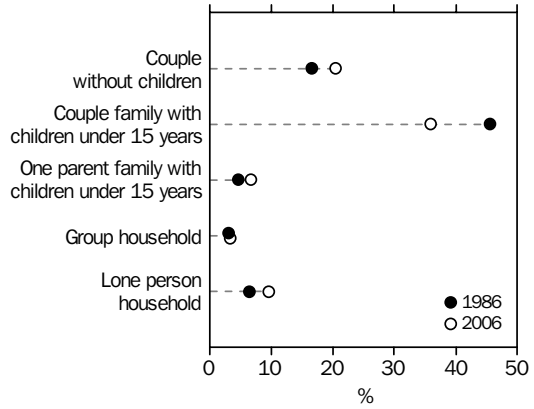
(a) Includes people enumerated at home on Census Night only. Family households may also include unrelated individuals; therefore the number of people living in family households will not equal the number of persons living in families.

(b) The remaining 1.8% of the population who were enumerated at home on Census Night did not live in households where the usual residence was a private dwelling.

(c) Excluding families in multi-family households.

(d) These families may also contain children aged 15 years and over.

Selected living arrangements, 1986 and 2006(a)



(a) Excludes people not counted in their usual place of residence.

Households and families in the 2006 Census

The diagram on the previous page illustrates how households counted in the 2006 Census are grouped into different household and family types. Living arrangements can be examined on different levels: by looking at the characteristics of families and households, or by looking at individuals living within these households. The results can be very different: for example, in 2006 lone person households made up almost one quarter (24%) of all households in Australia, yet only 10% of people were living in a lone person household. In this overview, the main emphasis is on individuals in families and households.

Families are identified in the census by the presence of related people who are usually resident in the same household. While this concept captures within a household the support traditionally shared between spouses, partners, parents, children and siblings who live together, many families extend beyond the bounds of a single household. For example, children of separated parents often share their time between two households. In 2006–07, there were just over one million children aged under 18 years (22% of all children in this age group) who had a natural parent living elsewhere.[1] In other families, financial or emotional support is provided to adult children living away from home, to separated spouses, or to elderly relatives. People in lone person or group households may have strong family connections outside the household. That said, unrelated household members, such as those in group households, may rely on others in the household for care and support.

Households of people born overseas are larger...

In households where at least one partner or parent (in couple or one parent family households), or adult (in other households) was born overseas, the average household size was 2.8 people. This is higher than households where all of these adults were born in Australia (2.5 people).

By birthplace region, the households of people born in North-West Europe were the smallest, averaging 2.5 people, while households of people born in North Africa and the Middle East were the largest, each with an average size of 3.5 people. The older age profile of Australians born in North-West Europe means that their households are generally less likely to contain children and more likely to be lone person households; the opposite is true for those born in North Africa and the Middle East. The median age of adult members within households containing people born in North West Europe was 51 years, while for those born in North Africa and the Middle East it was 41 years. This compares with 45 years for the total adult population.

...but have fewer children

While households of people born overseas were larger, those with young children were smaller than comparable households with only Australian-born parents. The average number of children under 15 in households with one or more parent born overseas (and with children under 15) was 1.76; in similar households where all parents were born in Australia, the average was 1.84.

This also varied by region, with the households of people born in North Africa and the Middle East having the highest average number of children aged under 15 (2.06), and the households of people born in North-East Asia (for example, China) having the lowest (1.53).

Changes in household characteristics, 1986 and 2006

	Households		Average number of children under 15(a)		Average household size(b)	
	1986	2006	1986	2006	1986	2006
	%	%	no.	no.	no.	no.
Single family households	75.4	70.4	0.88	0.72	3.28	3.07
Families with children under 15	35.3	28.0	1.89	1.81	4.17	3.99
with couple	30.8	22.3	1.93	1.86	4.32	4.21
with one parent	4.5	5.8	1.64	1.65	3.17	3.14
Multi-family households	1.8	1.3	1.33	1.34	4.95	5.57
Non-family households	22.7	28.3	. .	. .	1.21	1.19
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**0.69**	**0.53**	**2.84**	**2.58**

(a) Includes all usually resident children aged under 15 years present on Census Night, plus any children aged under 15 years temporarily absent. In 1986 dependent students aged 15–20 years who were temporarily absent on Census Night were also included; based on later census data they are estimated to be a very small percentage of the total group.

(b) Household size is based on the number of people present on Census Night and usually resident in the household, plus any household members temporarily absent. In 1986 information on persons temporarily absent was only collected for spouses and dependent children, therefore any other temporarily absent family or household members have not been included.

In 2006, almost half the population lived in a couple family with children (49%); a further 20% lived in a couple family with no children; and 11% lived in a one parent family. A small proportion of people (3%) lived in a household with more than one family. These families tended to have different characteristics from single family households and are treated as a separate household type.

Changes in society have seen people more likely to postpone partnering and child-bearing, more likely to be divorced or separated, and more likely to live longer than in previous generations. Changes in living arrangements reflect these developments in Australian society. The biggest change over the last 20 years has been the decrease in the proportion of people living in a couple family with children under 15 years, down from 46% in 1986 to 36% in 2006.[2] On the other hand, more people—both young and old—were living in a couple family without children, the proportion rising from 17% in 1986 to 20% in 2006.

The number of people living alone has also risen, from around 1 in 15 (6.5%) in 1986 to almost 1 in 10 (9.6%) in 2006. In addition, considerably more people are living in one parent families with children under 15 years, up from 4.7% in 1986 to 6.7% in 2006. However, the proportion of people living in group households (two or more unrelated adults) has remained steady at around 3% throughout this period.

Households becoming smaller, one parent families more common

Increases in the proportion of people living in couple families without children, in lone person households, and in one parent families have each contributed to households becoming smaller. The average household size in 1986 was 2.8 people, falling to 2.6 people in 2006. The impact of these changes on housing is explored further in 'Housing overview', p. 204–214.

Living arrangements through the life cycle

The majority of people's living arrangements change during the course of their life. While these changes follow a general pattern, they are less predictable than 20 years ago. The living arrangements of young adults, families with children, and older adults are affected in different ways by changes in patterns of education and work participation, housing, fertility, separation, divorce and longevity. Their effect on different life-cycle groups is examined in the following sections.

The life-cycle groups

The life-cycle groups, used throughout this report, classify households into easily recognisable and common living arrangements. Together, the groups account for over three quarters of the Australian population.

Life-cycle groups	*...are households containing:*
Young group household	Two or more people, all unrelated, all aged 15–34 years
Young lone person	Only one person aged 15–34 years
Young couple family without children	A couple without children, both members of the couple aged 15–34 years
Families with children	
Couple family with young children	A couple with children, youngest child aged 0–4 years
Couple family with school-aged children	A couple with children, youngest child aged 5–14 years
Couple family with young adult children	A couple with children, youngest child aged 15–29 years
One parent family with young children	A one parent family, youngest child aged 0–4 years
One parent family with school-aged children	A one parent family, youngest child aged 5–14 years
One parent family with young adult children	A one parent family, youngest child aged 15–29 years
Middle-aged and older adults	
Middle-aged couple family without children	A couple without children, the younger partner aged 45–64 years[3]
Older couple family without children	A couple without children, both partners aged 65 years or more
Older lone person	Only one person aged 65 years or more

Because households can only be counted in one life-cycle group, households with more than one family are not included in the life-cycle groups. In addition, unrelated individuals living with families and visitors on Census Night are outside the scope of analysis for this overview. Households containing related adults (such as a sibling of one of the partners) are included in the analysis, unless explicitly excluded.

Living arrangements of young adults

From the late teens to early 30s, most young adults undergo a number of life transitions which affect their living arrangements: completing study; taking up paid employment; moving away from home; forming relationships; marrying; and having children.

Reflecting these transitions, a relatively high proportion of young adults were living in Major Cities, drawn by education and work opportunities. In 2006, 73% of 15–34 year olds were living in Major Cities, compared with 68% of the total population. For more information on the movement of people in Australia see 'On the move', p. 24–32.

As a further reflection of these transitions, young adults displayed the most diversity in terms of living arrangements. As more young people delay getting married and having children, the nature of this diversity has changed over the last two decades. For example, 39% of 15–34 year olds in 2006 were living with one or more parents, up from 35% in 1986 (see box 'Twentysomethings' living at home, on the following page). In 2006, another 23% were themselves parents or partners in a family with children, down from 33% in 1986.

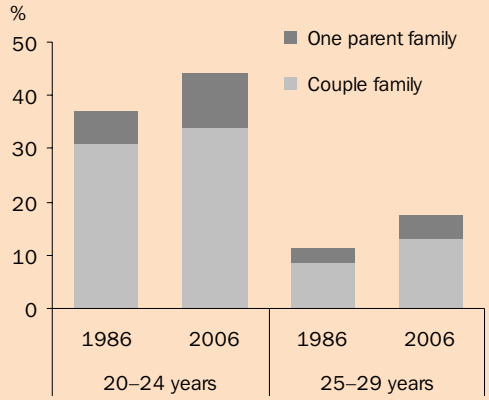
'Twentysomethings' living at home

Over the last 20 years there has been an increase in the number of young adults living with their parents, from 24% of people aged 20–29 years in 1986 to 31% in 2006. This trend is associated with young people's increasing participation in education, and the delay of partnering and parenthood.

While a larger proportion of people in their early 20s lived with parents than people in their late 20s, this latter group increased at a faster rate. In 1986, 37% of 20–24 year olds were living with at least one parent, compared with 44% in 2006. Among 25–29 year olds, 11% lived with their parents in 1986 but this increased rapidly to 17% in 2006.

According to the 2006–07 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Family Characteristics and Transitions survey, many young people who lived with their parents had left home and subsequently returned. This was the case for 26% of those aged 20–24, and 53% of those aged 25–29.[4] The main reason these young people returned home was financial. Other common reasons included family support, and the ending of their own relationship.

20–29 year olds living with parents



In 2006, one quarter (24%) of 20–29 year olds living at home lived in one parent families—higher than in 1986 (19%). The other 76% lived with both parents, compared with 81% in 1986.

In 2006, 23% of people aged 20–24 years living with parents lived with a lone parent. This was higher for 25–29 year olds, at 26%. Lower proportions of these age groups lived with a lone parent in 1986: 17% of people in their early 20s and 25% of people in their late 20s. Due to the formation of new one parent families arising from parents' separation, divorce or widowhood, the likelihood of living with one parent increases with age. However, there could be other factors: both children and parents in one parent families may have fewer resources than those in couple families, and so be more likely to live in the same household to provide support for each other.

...most were studying or working

One third (32%) of 20–29 year olds who lived with one or both parents were studying at an educational institution. Of these, 70% were also employed full-time or part-time.

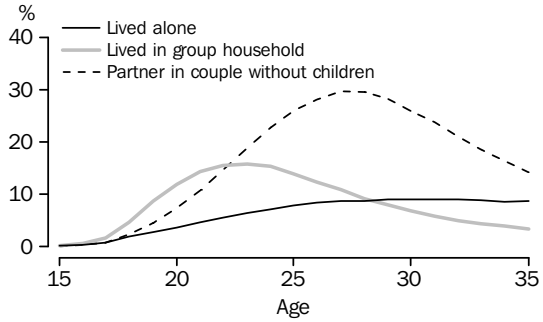
Of the remaining 68% who were not studying full-time, just over two thirds of these (67%) were working full-time, and another 17% were working part-time.

Overall, 11% of 20–29 year olds who lived with parents were neither studying nor in paid employment. More than a third of these people were living with a lone parent (35%), higher than the proportion of all 20–29 year olds living with parents (24%).

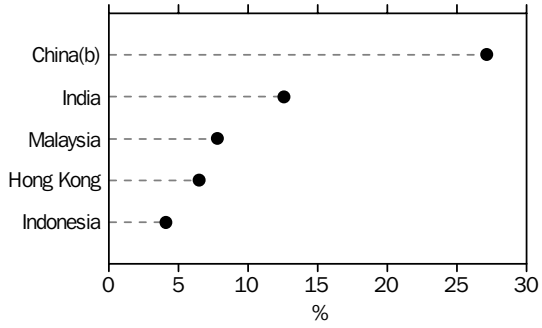
In 2006, many young adults aged 15–34 lived in households without parents or children, or other relatives. These group households were popular among people in their early 20s, but by their late 20s, living in a couple household without children was the most common living arrangement. Living alone was not common among the younger members of this age group but became increasingly common among the older members.

The proportion of young adults in *young group households* (where all members were aged 15–34 years) did not change between 1986 and 2006 (7%). Group households are largely a phenomenon among people in these ages: two thirds (66%) of people in all group households were aged 15–34 years.

Selected living arrangements of young adults



Top 5 countries of birth, overseas-born students in young group households(a)



(a) Proportion of overseas-born full-time students living in these households.

(b) Excludes Special Administrative Regions and Taiwan Province.

Another 14% of young adults in 2006 lived as part of a *young couple family without children* (that is, both members aged 15–34); unchanged since 1986. A relatively small proportion of 15–34 year olds lived alone (6%), although this group has increased slightly since 1986 (5%).

Higher levels of working and studying among young people in group households

Group households provide a way for many young people to share living and housing costs while studying or in the early stages of their working life. Members of *young group households* were more likely than their peers (i.e. all 15–34 year olds not living in *young group households*) to work full-time (54% compared with 45%) or to study full-time (30% compared with 27%).

More than half of all full-time students in young group households were born overseas

People born overseas made up 54% of all full-time students living in *young group households*. Of these 27% were born in China, another 13% were born in India and 8% were born in Malaysia.

Two thirds of all people living in group households were aged between 15 and 34 years in 2006.

Fewer young couples without children are married...

Although the proportion of 15–34 year olds living in *young couple families without children* has remained the same (around 14%), over the last 20 years there has been a large decrease in the proportion of these people who were living in a registered marriage, from 75% in 1986 to 44% in 2006. This is consistent with the trends for young people to live together before entering a registered marriage, to marry at older ages, or not to marry at all. In 2006 the likelihood of being in a registered marriage increased with age across this group, ranging from 7% of 15–19 year olds to 59% of 30–34 year olds.

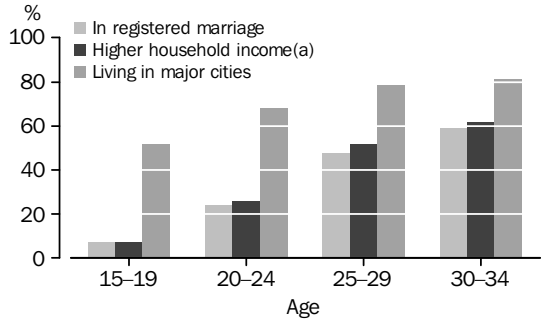
...many have higher incomes, most live in cities

Young couple families without children were more than twice as likely as other Australians to have a *higher household income*[5], with 47% falling into this income group (which comprises 20% of the total population). This increased with age, from 7% of 15–19 year olds to 62% of 30–34 year olds.

High employment amongst these couples would have contributed significantly to their *higher household incomes*. In 2006, 92% of partners in *young couple families without children* were employed compared with 61% of the total adult population.

Like all young people, people in *young couple families without children* were more likely to live in Major Cities than the total population (76%, compared with 68%). This was more common in the older age groups, with 81% of 30–34 year olds living in Major Cities.

Characteristics of members of young couple families without children



(a) For details of the income groups used see Glossary.

Living arrangements of families with children

Families with children remained the most common living arrangement in 2006, although this has declined considerably over the last 20 years. In 2006, slightly more than half the population (57%) lived as parents, partners, children or other relatives in a couple or one parent family with children aged under 30, compared with nearly two thirds of people (65%) in 1986. People in *couple* and *one parent families with young children* (youngest under 5 years of age) accounted for 18% of the population; in families with school-aged children (youngest child aged 5–14 years), 24%; and in families with young adult children (15–29 years), 14%.

Between 1986 and 2006, the number of one parent families with children aged under 30 rose from 383,000 to 764,000—increasing as a proportion of all families from 10% to 15%. As a result, of all people living in families with children, the proportion of those living in one parent families increased from 1 in every 9 people (11%) to 1 in every 6 people (17%).

While this section chiefly examines the living arrangements of all people in families with children, more information on the children in these families can be found in the article 'Children's living arrangements', p. 74–80.

Young families are larger outside Major Cities

The distribution of people in families with young children and families with school-aged children around Australia was similar to the general population. However, the average number of children living in these families varied by location, with families in Regional and Remote Areas tending to be larger than those in cities

People living in families with children

	1986	*2006*
Life-cycle group(a)	%	%
Couple family		
with young children	20.7	16.2
with school-aged children	24.8	19.7
with young adult children	12.1	11.2
Total	*57.6*	*47.1*
One parent family		
with young children	1.5	2.1
with school-aged children	3.2	4.6
with young adult children	2.2	2.9
Total	6.9	9.6
Other living arrangement	35.5	43.3
Total(b)	**100.0**	**100.0**
	'000	'000
Total(b)	**14 880**	**18 930**

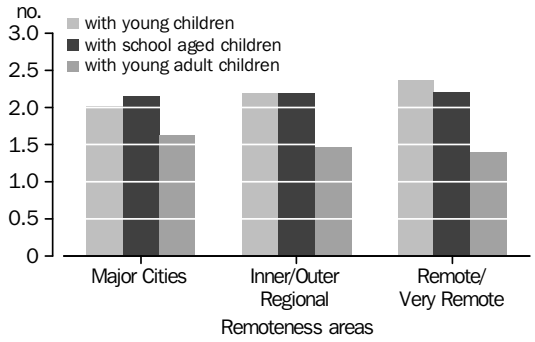
(a) Groups are determined by the age of the youngest child in the family. See box on p. 63 for detailed description of life-cycle groups.

(b) Excludes people not counted in place of usual residence.

Families with young children (aged 0–4 years) living in Major Cities had an average of 2.0 children of any age—smaller than families with young children in Inner and Outer Regional areas (average of 2.2 children) and in Remote and Very Remote areas (average of 2.4 children).

Families with young children in the remote Northern Territory regions of Daly, Alligator and Finniss had the highest average number of children, at 3.3, 3.1 and 3.0 respectively.[6] These regions had high proportions of Indigenous peoples, who have higher fertility rates than non-Indigenous people.[7] Families with young children in the areas of Inner Melbourne, Inner Sydney and Inner Brisbane had the lowest average number of children; each about 1.7. Higher concentrations of medium and high density housing in these inner city areas may make them less attractive for larger families. For more information on young families in metropolitan areas, see 'Families with young children: A Sydney case study', p. 81–88.

Average number of children in family(a)



(a) Groups are determined by the age of the youngest child in the family. See box on p. 63 for detailed description of life-cycle groups.

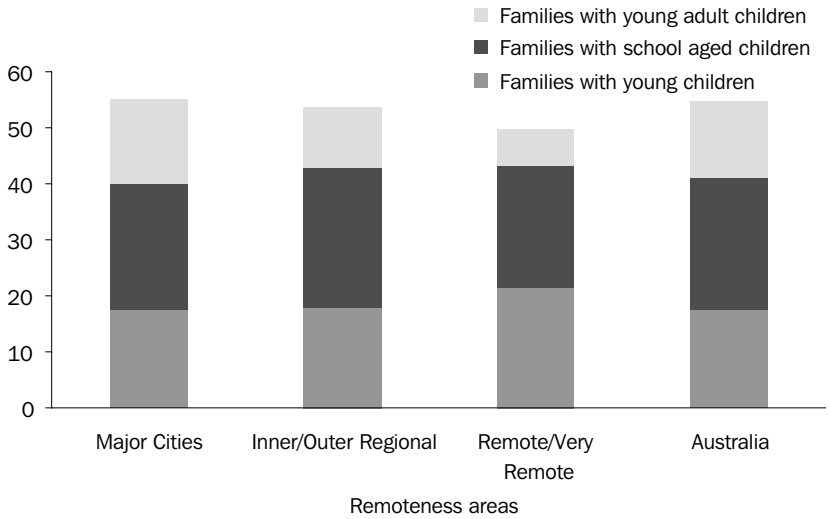
In families with school-aged children, the average number of children per family in Major Cities (2.1) was only slightly lower than in Regional areas (2.2) and in Remote areas (2.2). Families with school-aged children in the remote area of Bathurst-Melville in the Northern Territory had the highest average number of children (2.7); this area had a very high proportion of Indigenous people. The lowest average was Inner Melbourne (1.8).

Children leave home earlier in Regional and Remote areas

Unlike families with young children and families with school-aged children, families with young adult children were smaller outside Major Cities. In these families, the average number of children per family was 1.6 in Major Cities, 1.5 in Regional areas and 1.4 children in Remote or Very Remote areas (see graph, Average number of children in family). This is closely related to the availability of opportunities for young people. Many young people who grow up in Regional and Remote areas move to larger towns and cities to pursue higher education or employment, and make up a large proportion of people moving out of these areas (see 'Where do Australians live?', p. 16–23, and 'On the move', p. 24–32).

A further reflection of this trend is the relatively low proportion of people living in families with young adult children outside Major Cities: while 15% of people in Major Cities were in families with young adult children (compared with 14% overall), only 11% of people in Regional areas and 6% of people in Remote and Very Remote areas were in this family type.

People living in families with children (a), by Remoteness area(b)



(a) Groups are determined by the age of the youngest child in the family. See box on p. 63 for detailed description of life-cycle groups.

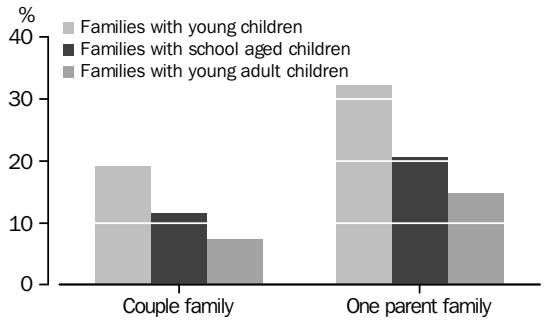
(b) Proportion of population in each Remoteness Area who live in families with children.

Families with young children most likely to move house

People in families with young children were more likely than those with school-aged children and those with young adult children to have moved house in the year before the 2006 Census. At the time of the census, just over one fifth (21%) of all people in families with young children (not including babies aged under one year) were living at an address that was different from one year earlier. For people in families with school-aged children, 13% had moved, and for those in families with young adult children, just 9% had moved. Families with young children may need to move to a larger house or a more family oriented location. As children grow older families may be less likely to move to avoid disrupting their children's education.

People in one parent families were more likely than those in couple families to be living at a different address from one year earlier (19% compared with 13% respectively). Consistent with the pattern for couple families, people in *one parent families with young children* were the most likely to have moved (32%).

People who moved address in year before 2006 Census, by selected family life-cycle group(a)



(a) Groups are determined by the age of the youngest child in the family. See box on p. 63 for detailed description of life-cycle groups.

Recent arrivals in one parent families

The family types of recent arrivals to Australia (those who arrived from 2002 to 2006) can be influenced by their migration circumstances as well as by conditions in the country of origin. For example, there may be a relatively high proportion of one parent families in the country of origin; or it may be more feasible for one parent families from some countries to migrate to Australia than it is for others. Further, one parent families may be a temporary arrangement, with the other partner planning to arrive in Australia later; or the family members in Australia may be planning to return home.

Recent arrivals from Sudan were more likely than those from other countries to be in one parent families, with 33% of those in families with children in one parent families. Almost all of Sudanese-born recent arrivals came to Australia via refugee and humanitarian programs.[8] Like other refugee populations, many Sudanese-born residents could have experienced family separation or loss prior to arriving in Australia.

Recent arrivals in families with children, top 5 and bottom 5 by family type(a)

	One parent families(b)	*Couple families with children(b)*
County of birth	%	%
Sudan	33.1	66.9
Taiwan	30.6	69.4
South Korea	27.2	72.8
Hong Kong	21.3	78.7
Viet Nam	19.3	80.7
South Africa	4.7	95.3
Pakistan	4.6	95.4
United Kingdom	4.1	95.9
India	3.4	96.6
Bangladesh	3.2	96.8

(a) Of countries of origin with recent arrival populations in Australia of 5,000 or more.

(b) People in families with youngest child aged 0–29 years.

Mothers in paid employment, by age of youngest child(a)

(a) Proportion of female parents in couple or one parent family life-cycle groups.

Mothers' employment increases with age of youngest child

In both couple and one parent families, the proportion of mothers who were employed increased with the age of the youngest child, from 41% of mothers whose youngest child was aged under a year old to a peak of 80% of mothers whose youngest child was aged 16. Consistent with child caring responsibilities, most working mothers with young children were employed part-time rather than full-time.

In contrast, the proportion of fathers in paid employment remained fairly steady, from 91% in families with the youngest child aged 0–4, to 90% in families with the youngest child aged 5–14.

Regardless of the age of their children, lone mothers were less likely to be employed than mothers in couple families with children, possibly due in part to the difficulties of undertaking paid employment while caring for children. However, the proportion employed did increase with the age of the youngest child, from 33% of lone mothers with young children to 70% of lone mothers with young adult children (compared with 53% and 75% respectively of mothers in couple families).

Lone parents' income low but increases with age of child

Lone parents tended to be over-represented in *lower household income* brackets, as a consequence of lower rates of employment, along with access to a single income only. Three quarters (74%) of lone parents lived in a household with a *household income* below the national median[9] of $639 per week. In comparison, 42% of parents in couple families with children had a *household income* below the median.

Characteristics of lone parents(a)

	Age of youngest child		
	0–4 years	*5–14 years*	*15–29 years*
	%	%	%
Age of parent			
15–34 years	67.4	21.5	0.5
35–44 years	28.1	50.5	18.7
45 years or more	4.6	27.9	80.7
Household income(b)			
Lower 50%	90.3	81.8	54.9
Upper 50%	9.7	18.2	45.1
Marital status			
Never married	58.8	30.2	10.7
Divorced or separated	36.0	61.4	71.1
Married or widowed	5.2	8.4	18.2
Total	**100.0**	**100**	**100.0**
	'000	'000	'000
Total families	**119.6**	**291.8**	**218.8**

(a) Parents in one parent families with youngest child aged 0–29 years.

(b) Distribution of person by equivalised gross household income. See Glossary for definition.

However, financial circumstances appeared to improve for parents of older children. In *one parent families with young children* (aged 0–4), 90% of parents in these families had a *household income* below the median. In contrast, 55% of parents in *one parent families with young adult children* (aged 15–29) were below the median. In the case of the latter, the *household income* reflects the earnings of both the parent as well as any earning from the young adult.

Similarly, the marital status of lone parents varied with the age of the child. In *one parent families with young children*, most parents had never been married (59%). In comparison, most parents in *one parent families with school-aged children* and in *one parent families with young adult children* were divorced or separated (61% and 71%).

Younger and middle-aged couple families without children

Couple families without children have become more common in Australian society. On the one hand, young people are forming couples but delaying or choosing not to have children. On the other hand, the middle-aged Baby Boomer Generation are becoming empty nesters, and increasing life expectancy means that more couples are surviving into older age groups. Despite similar living arrangements, these two groups have very different characteristics.

In most *young couple families without children* in 2006, both partners were employed (83%). In only 48% of *middle-aged couple families without children*[3], both partners were employed, but in another 27% only one partner was working. This helps to explain differences in *household income*. Almost half (47%) the members of *young couple families without children* had a *higher household income*, compared with 29% of people in *middle-aged couple families without children*.

However, partners in *young couple families without children* were unlikely to own their home outright, with half living in a rented dwelling (50%), and most of the remainder living in a dwelling that was owned with a mortgage (46%). In contrast, most members of *middle-aged couple families without children* had paid off their home (58%).

Compared with people in *young couple families without children*, people in *middle-aged couple families without children* were less likely to live in higher density housing and less likely to live in major cities.

Income and housing characteristics of people in couples without children

	Young couple (15–34) family without children	*Middle-aged couple (45–64) family without children*
	%	%
Household income(a)		
Higher income	47.3	28.8
Middle income	12.6	17.0
Lower income	4.7	22.5
Dwelling tenure		
Owned outright	3.5	58.1
Owned with a mortgage	46.4	30.6
Rented	49.8	10.9
Dwelling structure		
Separate house	60.8	88.3
Higher density(b)	38.6	10.5
Location		
Major Cities	76.2	57.5
Rest of state	23.8	42.5
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**
	'000	'000
Total	**661.8**	**1 411.8**

(a) For details of the income groups used see Glossary.

(b) Includes semi-detached, row or terrace house, townhouse, flat, unit or apartment.

Living arrangements of middle-aged and older adults

As the Baby Boomers generation reaches retirement age and the population gets older, the living arrangements of older adults are becoming a greater focus to those needing to plan for services such as housing and aged care.

Transitions in living arrangements are common among people aged 45 years or more, although less common compared to young adults: parents become empty nesters as children leave home; the death of a partner leads to many older people living alone; and increased frailty can lead to a move into aged care or to live with other relatives.

For 45–54 year olds the most common living arrangement was as a parent in a family with children of any age (61%), but for 55–64 year olds living in a couple family without children was the most common living arrangement (50%).

Among people aged 65 years or more, couple families without children were still the most common living arrangement (48%). Beyond middle age, people were increasingly likely to live alone, with around one quarter (27%) of people aged 65 years or more living on their own. However, the proportion of people living alone declined in the very old age groups from a peak of 39% at the age of 85. This is associated with increased frailty making independent living difficult. For more information on older people needing assistance, see the 'Community overview' p. 90–101.

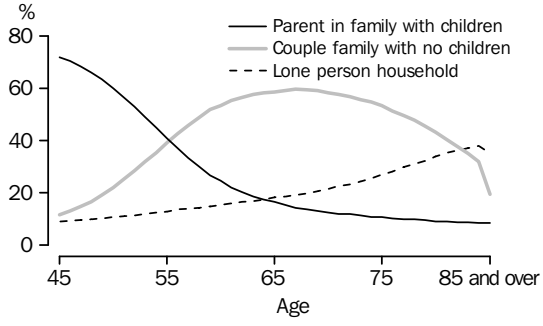
Due to differences in life expectancy, women tend to outlive their male partners. As a result, women aged 65 years or more were more likely to live alone than men of the same age—34% of women aged 65 and over and 40% of women aged 85 and over lived alone, compared with 18% and 25% of men, respectively.

Conversely, men aged 65 years and over were more likely to live in couple families without children—61% of men aged 65 and over lived in a couple family without children, compared with 38% of women aged 65 and over. In addition to life expectancy, this difference is also compounded by men tending to be older than their female partners.

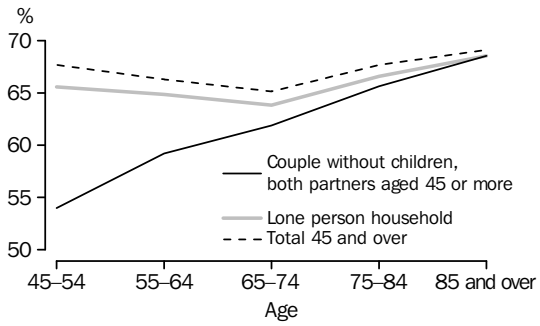
Living in Major Cities less popular for middle-aged couples, more popular for older couples

People in *middle-aged couple families without children* were less likely to be living in Major Cities compared with all 45–64 year olds, with 58% living in Major Cities and 40% in Regional areas. In contrast, 67% of all 45–64 year olds lived in Major Cities and 31% lived in Regional areas. At least two factors contribute to a higher proportion of *middle-aged couple families without children* in Regional areas. On the one hand, couples may move out of Major Cities after their children leave home; either to change career, or to use retirement as an opportunity for a 'sea' or 'tree change'. On the other hand, children leave home earlier from Regional areas, leaving behind couples with no children. For more information on internal migration, see 'On the move', p. 24–32.

Living arrangements of middle-aged and older adults



Middle-aged and older adults living in Major Cities



People in *older couple families without children* were more likely to live in Major Cities than *middle-aged couple families without children* (64% compared with 58%), similar to the total population aged 65 and over (67%).

Unlike couple families without children, the location of lone persons varied little with age. Of *older lone persons* (aged 65 and over), 66% were living in Major Cities and 33% were living in Regional areas. This was similar to lone persons aged 45–64 years (65% in Major Cities, 32% in Regional areas).

Middle-aged couples: moving into retirement

Approximately 64% of people living in *middle-aged couple families without children*[3] were employed, and 43% were working full-time. They had lower rates of employment compared with other people their age: 69% of all 45–64 year olds were in paid employment including 49% who were employed full-time.

However, people in *middle-aged couple families without children* in 2006 were more likely to be working than in 1986, when only 46% were in paid employment. This was consistent with generally lower participation rates in 1986. For example, 56% of all 45–64 year olds were working. For more information on changes to employment patterns see 'Generations of employment', p. 159–166.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2008, *Family Characteristics and Transitions, Australia, 2006–07*, cat. no. 4442.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 1986 has been chosen as the census year for comparison with 2006. In 1986 changes were made to census family coding, making a meaningful comparison with earlier years more difficult.

3 To facilitate comparisons, where one of the partners in *middle-aged couple families without children* are aged 65 years or more they have been excluded from this analysis.

4. ABS data available on request, *Family Characteristics and Transitions Survey, Australia, 2006–07*, cat. no. 4442.0.

5 Household income is equivalised gross household income. For details of the household income groups used see Glossary.

6 Unless otherwise indicated, geographical areas referred to in this overview are Statistical Subdivisions, see Glossary.

7 ABS 2003, *Year Book Australia 2003*, cat. no. 1301.0, p. 114, ABS, Canberra.

8 Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) 2008, *Top 20 Countries by Migration Stream*, DIAC Settlement Database, data extracted on 11 April 2008, <www.settlement.immi.gov.au>.

9 Equivalised gross household income, see Glossary for a definition. This median is based on the distribution of household incomes for persons.

Children's living arrangements

For children, emotional, financial and material support is mainly provided by those they live with, making the family central to their wellbeing.[1] Most Australian children live in families with both of their natural or adoptive parents to care for them. However, the living arrangements of some families are complex and can change for many reasons. Sometimes these changes, or transitions, can have a detrimental effect on family functioning[2] and disadvantage children in areas such as household income, housing, health and education.[3, 4, 5]

In 2006, just under four million Australian children aged 0–14 were counted on Census Night (20% of all Australians counted). Most children were living with one or both of their natural or adoptive parents (87.1%), while a small proportion of children (6.5%) were living with step parents, or other adults such as foster parents or grandparents. Another 6.4% of children were counted in non-private dwellings such as boarding schools, or were counted as visitors in other dwellings.

Children in different living arrangements

	Children	
	%	'000
Natural/adopted children	87.1	3 428.0
Step children	5.0	197.9
Grandchildren	0.6	24.0
Otherwise related children	0.5	19.7
Foster children	0.2	9.1
Unrelated children	0.2	6.6
Children visiting other private households	2.0	77.8
Children in non-private dwellings	0.8	30.1
Total(a)	**100.0**	**3 937.2**

(a) Includes children counted in non-classifiable dwellings and migratory or offshore Collection Districts.

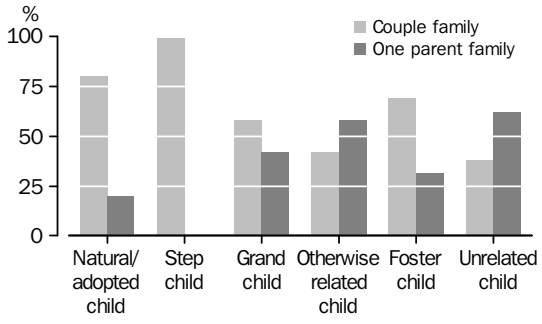
Children living with a lone parent

In 2006, the majority of Australian children counted in private dwellings on Census Night were living in families with both their natural or adoptive parents (75%). The second most common living arrangement was children living with just one of their natural or adoptive parents in a one parent family (18%).

Although the census did not collect information about shared care arrangements between parents living in separate locations, some children living with a lone parent also spend a significant proportion of their time living with their other natural parent. According to the 2006 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Family Characteristics and Transitions survey, 4% of all children aged 0–17, with a natural parent living elsewhere (38,000 children), spent half or more of their time per year living with their other natural parent.[6]

A high proportion of children who were not living with their natural or adoptive parents were living in one parent families. Unrelated children were more likely to live in a one parent family (62%) than a couple family, as were otherwise related children (58%). Just under half of grandchildren (42%) and one third of foster children (31%) lived in one parent families.[6]

Proportion of children in couple and one parent families in each living arrangement



Characteristics of families and households with children

The characteristics of children's families and households provide insights into what it may be like for children living in different family arrangements.

Number of children in the family

In 2006, the average number of children in the family differed depending on children's living arrangements. The averages include all children in the family who were aged under 25. For example, in couple families where there was at least one natural or adopted child under the age of 15, and there were only natural or adopted children present in the family, the average number of children under the age of 25 was 2.1. In a family where there was at least one step child aged under 15 present, the average number of all children in the family was higher (2.4). This is likely to reflect that two adults forming a new relationship may bring children from a previous relationship and go on to have one or more children together, to form a blended family.

Average number of children and family members(a)

	Average number in family	
	Children(b)	*People*
Couple family with natural/adopted children only	2.11	4.15
One parent family with natural/adopted children	1.91	3.02
Family with step children	2.36	4.41
Family with grandchildren	1.88	4.04
Family with otherwise related children	2.43	4.54
Family with foster children	3.01	4.84
Family with unrelated children	2.22	3.84

(a) Families with children aged under 15 years. Family categories are not mutually exclusive, for example a family with foster children may include both foster and natural/adopted children.

(b) Average includes all children under the age of 25. Children under the age of 15, and/or dependent students under the age of 25, who were temporarily absent on Census Night are also included.

Types of living arrangements

Unless otherwise noted, all children discussed are aged 0–14.

Natural or adopted child: a child who lives with and is related by birth or adoption to a lone parent or both parents in a couple.

Step child: a child who lives with and is related by birth or adoption to one parent in a couple relationship but is not related by birth or adoption to the other. As a consequence of relationship breakdown or the death of a spouse, some one parent families may include children reported as step children.

Foster child: a child being raised by an unrelated family in the absence of any natural, adoptive, or step parent(s), and 'foster' was the response to the question about relationship to people in the household.

Grandchild: a child living in a family where there is at least one grandparent present and a direct parent/child relationship cannot be established with anyone else in the family. In 2006, 46% of these families had only grandchildren under the age of 15 and grandparents present. In the other 54% of families there was a combination of other adults and/or children present. In some of these families, the adult or even another child may have been the parent of the grandchild, but the census could not establish this link.

Otherwise related child: a child living in a family with at least one other relative but where a direct parent–child relationship cannot be established with anyone in the family. The child can be related by blood or marriage, for example brother/sister, nephew/niece.

Unrelated child: a child being raised by an unrelated family in the absence of any natural, adoptive, or step parent(s). This group excludes children identified as 'foster' on the census form.

Families with at least one foster child under the age of 15 had the largest average number of children (3.0). This could be because many foster families care for more than one foster child. Just under half (46%) of all foster families cared for more than one foster child and just over one third (36%) cared for at least one foster child as well as at least one other child.

Families with at least one grandchild under the age of 15 had the lowest average number of children under the age of 25 (1.9). However, an average of 4.0 people lived in these families, even though almost half of grandchildren lived with a lone grandparent (42%). Explaining this, 26% of grandchildren lived with their grandparent(s) as well as one or more older grandchildren, aunts, uncles, or other relatives aged 25 and over. Families with otherwise related children also had a high average number of people (4.5) even though more than half were one parent families (57%).

Household income

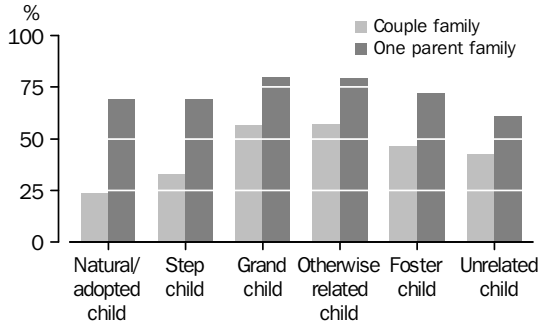
As children are dependent on their parents and families for food, clothing, shelter and social opportunities, children's current and future standards of living depend, to a large extent, on their household's income. An indication of the relative standard of living of different households can be obtained by comparing *household incomes*, that is, gross weekly household income, equivalised to account for differences in household size and composition (see Glossary for more detail).

In 2006, children who were not living with a natural or adoptive parent (that is, grandchildren, foster, otherwise related and unrelated children) were almost twice as likely to be living in households with *lower, or very low household incomes*[7, 8], as step children and natural or adopted children. However, across the board, children living with a lone parent or lone adult carer were more likely to be in a household with *lower or very low household income* than those in a couple family.

Of all children at home on Census Night in 2006, those in one parent families were 2.8 times more likely to be living in a household with *lower or very low household income* than children living in couple families.

The highest proportion of children living in households with *lower or very low household incomes* were those living with a lone, otherwise related adult (79%) and those living with a lone grandparent (80%).

Children living in households(a) with lower or very low household income(b)



(a) A number of these groups had a high proportion of households where household income could not be calculated. Therefore graphed data are indicative only. See Endnote 7 for further information.

(b) For details of the income groups used see Endnote 8.

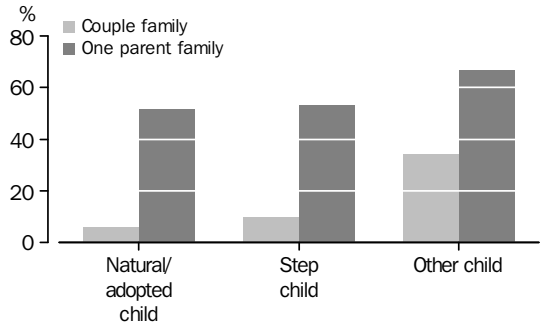
Children with no employed parent

Children living with no employed parent have a greater risk of experiencing financial hardship and may also experience adverse impacts on their psychological wellbeing and long-term personal development.[9]

In 2006, 6% of natural or adopted children (152,800 children) were living in a couple family where neither parent was employed. In comparison, just over half of natural or adopted children in one parent families were living with a parent who was not employed (52% or 344,800 children). However, some of these children would have a non-resident parent who was employed and providing financial assistance, as well as being a role model.

These patterns were similar for children in other living arrangements although at higher levels. The circumstances of grandchildren living with their grandparents are somewhat different, since many grandparents are retired.

Children in families with no employed parent



Children living with same-sex couples

In 2006, approximately 3,200 children were living with same-sex couples. Most of these children were living with same-sex female couples (89%).

Over half the children living with same-sex couples were reported to be step children (57%), while 38% were reported to be the natural or adopted children of both parents.

Examination of same-sex data from the census may have some limitations. These include the reluctance of some people to report being in a same-sex de facto partnership and the lack of knowledge that same-sex relationships would be counted as such in the census.

Housing tenure

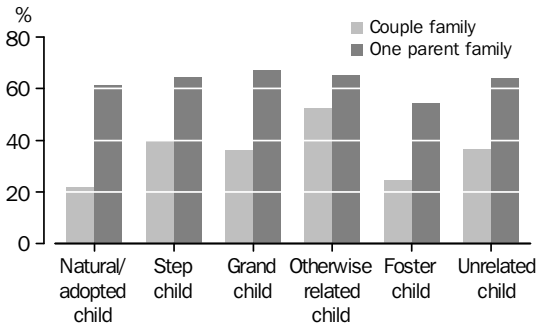
Paying off a mortgage, or paying rent, can have a significant impact on the amount of income a family has available to meet their overall living costs. However, once a mortgage has been repaid, households may enjoy reduced housing costs, effectively improving their economic position. This reduction in housing costs over the long term is one reason why many Australian families aspire to own their own home. Home ownership, with or without a mortgage, also generally provides a sense of stability, privacy and autonomy[10] and is associated with higher levels of attachment and identification with a local area[11].

In 2006, children living with both their natural or adoptive parents were more likely to be living in a home that was owned, with or without a mortgage (78%), than natural or adopted children living in a household with a lone parent (38%). Those living with a lone parent were more likely to be living in rental accommodation (61%).

As the proportion of people living in homes owned outright increases with age, it is not surprising that the highest proportion of children living in dwellings that were owned outright were those living with their grandparents (27% or 6,100 children). However, 67% of children living with a lone grandparent (6,500 children), were living in a rented dwelling. This was the highest proportion of children living in rented dwellings of all family arrangements. Over 47% of the grandchildren living in rented dwellings with a lone grandparent were in a home rented from a state or territory housing authority.

A high proportion of step children living in a couple family were in rented dwellings (40%). This was despite the fact that a relatively low proportion of step children lived in households with *lower or very low household incomes*, compared with children in other family arrangements.

Children living in rented dwellings



Children in non-private dwellings

The 2006 Census counted 30,100 children aged 0–14 in non-private dwellings on Census Night. Non-private dwellings include accommodation such as hotels, hospitals, institutions and boarding schools. Of the children in non-private dwellings, 30% were in hotels or motels, 24% were in boarding schools and 17% were in hospitals or hostels for the disabled. Of those who were at boarding school, 90% stated they were attending a non-government school.

On Census Night, 750 children were counted in institutions, including childcare, corrective and other welfare institutions. This was higher than in 2001 (500 children), but was still low when compared with the 1986 Census, when 1,700 children were reported to be in institutions. This reduction has mainly been due to child protection services shifting away from institution-based services.[12]

Living arrangements of Indigenous children

In the 2006 Census, 4.6% or 171,000 Australian children under the age of 15 were identified as being of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander origin. Even though this was a small proportion of all Australian children, it represented over one third (38%) of the Indigenous population. Consequently, the living arrangements of Indigenous children are of interest, particularly since a much higher proportion of Indigenous children were living in family arrangements that could lead to disadvantage than non-Indigenous children in 2006.

Using census data to analyse Indigenous living arrangements

The census is one of the main sources of data about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. It provides the basis for Indigenous population estimates and is the key source of socioeconomic characteristics of Indigenous Australians for small geographic areas.

However, there are a number of issues which affect the use of census data for the Indigenous population. These include: underenumeration of the Indigenous population, census records where Indigenous status is unknown, and the changing proportion of people identifying as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander between censuses. Consequently, care should be taken when interpreting information about Indigenous children's living arrangements and family composition, since census questions about family relationships cannot fully capture the complexity of many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families.

For more information about Indigenous census data see *Population Characteristics, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006*, ABS cat. no. 4713.0. Also see the research monograph *Agency, Contingency and Census Process: Observations of the 2006 Indigenous Enumeration Strategy in Remote Aboriginal Australia, no. 28*, by Frances Morphy from the Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research.

Of all the Indigenous children living in family households (161,100), 43% were living with both their natural or adoptive parents while 40% were living with a lone natural or adoptive parent. This was very different to non-Indigenous children's living arrangements, where 76% of children were living with both their natural or adoptive parents and 17% were living with a lone natural or adoptive parent.

A further 6.7% (10,800) of Indigenous children were living with step parents, 4.6% (7,300) were living with grandparents and 3.7% (6,000) were living with otherwise related adults.

The 7,300 Indigenous children living with their grandparents represented almost one third (32%) of all children living with their grandparents. Indigenous children also represented almost one third (32%) of all otherwise related children. Although some Indigenous children living with their grandparents or otherwise related adults may be disadvantaged in terms of *household income* and housing, they may benefit culturally. For example, a relatively high proportion of these children were reported to be speaking an Indigenous language at home. In 2006, 31% of otherwise related Indigenous children (1,600 children) and 22% of Indigenous grandchildren (1,600 children) reported speaking an Indigenous language at home. This compares with only 9% of Indigenous natural or adopted children.

Indigenous children's living arrangements

	Children	
	%	'000
Natural/adopted children living in couple family	43.0	69.3
Natural/adopted children living in one parent family	39.8	64.2
Step children	6.7	10.8
Grandchildren	4.6	7.3
Otherwise related children	3.7	6.0
Foster children	1.4	2.3
Unrelated children	0.7	1.2
Total in private dwellings(a)	**100.0**	**161.1**

(a) Total excludes children counted in non-private and non-classifiable dwellings, migratory, or off-shore collection districts and children visiting other households on Census Night.

Indigenous children were also over-represented among foster children. In 2006, just over one quarter of foster children were Indigenous (26% or 2,300 children). Of all families with at least one Indigenous foster child, 42% also had at least one foster parent who was Indigenous. This reflects the Aboriginal Child Placement Principle which expresses a preference for the placement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children with other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people when they are placed outside their family.[13]

The complexity of Indigenous children's living arrangements can be seen in the proportion of Indigenous children living in multiple family households (see Glossary). In 2006, 12% of Indigenous children living in family households lived in households with more than one family compared with 3% of non-Indigenous children.

Grandchildren living with their grandparents—a case study

Many of the different household and family characteristics discussed in this article can be brought together to focus on one small population group. For the first time, 2006 Census data can be used to focus on families where there are grandchildren living with their grandparents and there are no parents present in the family (although these families may have other family members present, such as aunts, uncles or older siblings). These families are of great interest, as many children who can no longer live with their natural parents are cared for by their grandparents. In 2006, 24,000 children lived in these families.

Often the circumstances leading to children living with their grandparents are traumatic, and include family breakdown, substance abuse, mental health problems, or the death of a parent.[14] In many cases grandparents take on the care of more than one child, as evidenced by the average number of children being cared for by grandparents (1.9 children). This can place a strain on the grandparents as they may not be prepared psychologically, financially or physically for this role.[15] However, many take on this role to give their grandchildren the best chance of leading happy and healthy lives.[16]

Most grandparents are older than parents looking after children under the age of 15 (median ages of 57 years and 38 years respectively) and have fewer resources available to cover the added expenses of caring for children.[15, 16] The 2006 Census indicates that grandchildren living with their grandparents

In 2006, 24,000 children lived with their grandparents, with no parent in the family.

were approximately twice as likely to be living in a household with *lower, or very low income*[7] than natural or adopted children. Only 42% of grandchildren (9,300 children) were living in a family with at least one employed grandparent.

Having to support grandchildren, while also paying for housing, can be financial burden for many grandparents. Going against the general pattern of higher levels of home ownership among older people[10], only 34% of grandchildren living with both their grandparents, and 16% of children living with a lone grandparent, were living in a home owned outright. In fact, grandchildren living with a lone grandparent were the most likely of all children to be living in a rented dwelling (67%). Of all grandchildren living with a lone grandparent in rented dwellings, 47% lived in a house rented from a state or territory housing authority.

There was a high proportion of grandchildren living in Outer Regional, Remote or Very Remote areas of Australia (29% or 6,900 grandchildren) and two thirds of these children were Indigenous.

Family coding and other data sources

There are limitations when using census data to study complex families and their relationships. For information on these limitations, see *family coding* in the Glossary.

The ABS survey *Family Characteristics and Transitions, Australia, 2006–07,* cat no. 4442.0 was also conducted in 2006 and specifically focuses on family composition. This survey is another rich source of information on families and can provide further insight into family transitions over time, parental contact arrangements and family structure.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2003, 'Changing families' in *Australian Social Trends 2003*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 ABS 2001, *Measuring Wellbeing: Frameworks for Australian Social Statistics*, cat. no. 4160.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 ABS 2007, 'One parent families' in *Australian Social Trends 2007*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 Sawyer, M. et al. 2000, *The Mental Health of Young People in Australia*, Department of Heath and Aged Care, Canberra.

5 Cashmore, J. 2001, *Submission to the Inquiry into the Provision of Public Education in New South Wales*, Social Policy Research Centre, UNSW.

6 ABS 2008, *Family Characteristics and Transitions, Australia 2006–07*, cat. no. 4442.0, ABS, Canberra.

7 A high proportion of grandchildren (23%), otherwise related (25%), foster (16%) and unrelated children (25%) were living in households where a *household income* could not be calculated, usually because a household member did not state their *personal income*. Therefore, any discussion about these groups' *household incomes* is only an indication of the proportion of these children living in households with *lower or very low household incomes*.

8 People with *very low household incomes* had gross equivalised household incomes which were in the lowest 10% of the distribution of *household income* for all persons. People with *lower household incomes* had incomes that were greater than 10% and up to 30% in this distribution. People with a *very low household income* have generally been omitted in discussions of *household income* in other parts of this report. This is because many of the people living in these households have had access to resources, such as savings, that allow them to have expenditure levels consistent with people on moderate incomes (see Glossary for more detail). However, a large proportion of grandchildren, otherwise related, foster and unrelated children were living in households with *very low household incomes* and including these children provides a more informative picture of their *household incomes* than if they were excluded.

9 ABS 2004, *Measures of Australia's Progress*, cat. no. 1370.0, ABS, Canberra.

10 ABS 2003, 'Home ownership across Australia' in *Australian Social Trends 2003*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

11 Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) 2007, *How do housing and housing assistance relate to social cohesion?*, AHURI Research and Policy Bulletin, Issue 92, November 2007, AHURI, Melbourne.

12 ABS 2003, 'People in institutional settings' in *Australian Social Trends 2003*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

13 Lock, J.A. 1997, *The Aboriginal Child Placement Principle: Research Project no. 7*, New South Wales Law Reform Commission, Sydney.

14 ABS 2005, 'Grandparents Raising Their Grandchildren' in *Australian Social Trends 2003*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

15 Statistics Canada 2003, 'Across the generations: Grandparents and grandchildren' in *Canadian Social Trends*, Winter 2003, cat. no. 11–008.

16 Fitzpatrick, M. and Reeve, P. 2003, 'Grandparents' raising grandchildren—a new class of disadvantaged Australians' in *Family Matters*, No. 66, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

Families with young children: a Sydney case study

As families change over time, the areas where they live also change. Identifying areas where large proportions of families with young children live, and understanding how these areas change over time, can assist in the planning of new suburbs and the provision of services for these families. In this article, a family with young children refers to any family that includes at least one child aged under 5.

Over the past 35 years the proportion of young children (those under the age of 5) in Australia has decreased from 9.6% of the total population in 1971, to 6.4% in 2006. This change can be attributed to two main factors: people living longer, which has increased the proportion of older Australians in the population, and a decline of the total fertility rate—the average number of babies born to each woman (see Glossary). The total fertility rate has decreased from 2.95 babies per woman in 1971 to 1.81 in 2006.[1] For more information on the ageing population see the 'Population overview', p. 2–8.

With fewer babies being born, the proportion of families with young children has decreased since 1986, from 22% of all couple and one parent families, with or without children, to 17% in 2006.

Where families with young children live

In 2006, the majority of people in families with young children lived in Major Cities (68%), while 19% lived in Inner Regional areas and 10% lived in Outer Regional areas. Almost 3% of people in families with young children lived in Remote or Very Remote areas of Australia.

Even though there were relatively few people in families with young children living in Remote and Very Remote areas overall, these areas had the highest proportion of their population living in families with young children. One quarter of the total population in Remote and Very Remote areas was living in families with young children, compared with 18% in Major Cities, 18% in Inner Regional areas and 19% in Outer Regional areas.

The higher proportion of families with young children in Remote and Very Remote areas of Australia is associated with the higher proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples living in these areas (15% in Remote areas and 48% in Very Remote areas).

People living in families with young children(a): Remoteness areas

	Young children(b)	*Families with young children*	*People in families with young children*	
Remoteness area	'000	'000	'000	% of population
Major Cities	836.4	615.3	2 374.8	18.2
Inner Regional	233.6	169.7	669.9	18.1
Outer Regional	117.0	83.5	332.9	19.0
Remote/Very Remote	34.6	23.9	102.6	25.0
Total	**1 221.6**	**892.5**	**3 480.2**	**18.4**

(a) A family with young children refers to any family that includes at least one child under the age of 5.

(b) Excludes all children who were not at home on Census Night.

Generally, there are higher levels of fertility among Indigenous women, (2.12 babies per Indigenous woman compared with 1.81 for all Australian women[1]), and families with at least one Indigenous person have a higher average number of children per family (2.49) than families without an Indigenous person (2.02).

As the majority of families with young children live in Major Cities, this article explores trends and patterns occurring in these areas. For more information about the classification of Major Cities, see 'Remoteness Areas' in Glossary.

Housing—an important factor for families with young children

Most Australians live in a home that is owned, with or without a mortgage (72%). The transition to purchasing a home often occurs when people form a couple and want to start a family.[2] In 2006, almost two thirds (65%) of people in families with young children were living in a home they owned, either with or without a mortgage, while almost one third (33%) lived in rented accommodation. For more information about housing across different life-cycle groups see the 'Housing overview', p. 204–214.

In 2006, the majority of families with young children were living in separate houses (86%), while only 7.2% were living in semi-detached, row, or terrace houses and 6.8% were living in flats, units or apartments. Within Australia's Major Cities, the outer suburbs tend to contain higher proportions of families with young children[3], as these areas generally have higher proportions of separate houses. Some of these families are attracted by the relatively low cost of the established housing in these areas. For others, new housing developments in the outer suburbs are chosen because they offer larger numbers of new separate houses, which are suitable for families with children. For more information on differences in housing across cities see, 'Housing across Brisbane and Melbourne city rings', p. 224–232.

Areas with high proportions of people living in families with young children(a): top two Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) in capital cities—1986, 1996 and 2006

	1986		1996		2006	
	SLA	%	SLA	%	SLA	%
Sydney	Campbelltown	36.5	Campbelltown	28.6	Blacktown - South-West	26.3
	Penrith	33.6	Blacktown	27.9	Liverpool - West	26.2
Melbourne	Melton	37.3	Knox - South	36.1	Wyndham - South	33.4
	Bulla	36.0	Casey - Cranbourne	34.8	Melton - East	31.1
Brisbane	Eagleby	45.9	Marsden	34.8	Wakerley	34.8
	Marsden	45.0	Greenbank - Part B	32.4	Upper Kedron	32.3
Adelaide	Munno Para	33.7	Munno Para	27.7	Salisbury Bal	23.7
	Happy Valley	33.2	Elizabeth	24.8	Playford - West Central	23.6
Perth	Wanneroo	31.1	Wanneroo - North-West	36.2	Wanneroo - North-West	25.1
	Armadale	28.9	Swan	28.4	Wanneroo - South	23.0
Hobart	Brighton - Pt A	45.9	Brighton	33.2	Brighton	24.8
	Kingborough - Pt A	29.9	Sorell - Pt A	26.7	Kingborough - Pt A	19.9
Darwin	Moulden	51.8	Woodroffe	42.5	City remainder	36.5
	Driver	46.9	Moulden	40.1	Durack	35.2
Canberra	Richardson	51.5	Banks	44.2	Amaroo	35.8
	Monash	47.9	Conder	43.3	Dunlop	31.6

(a) A family with young children refers to any family that includes at least one child under the age of 5.

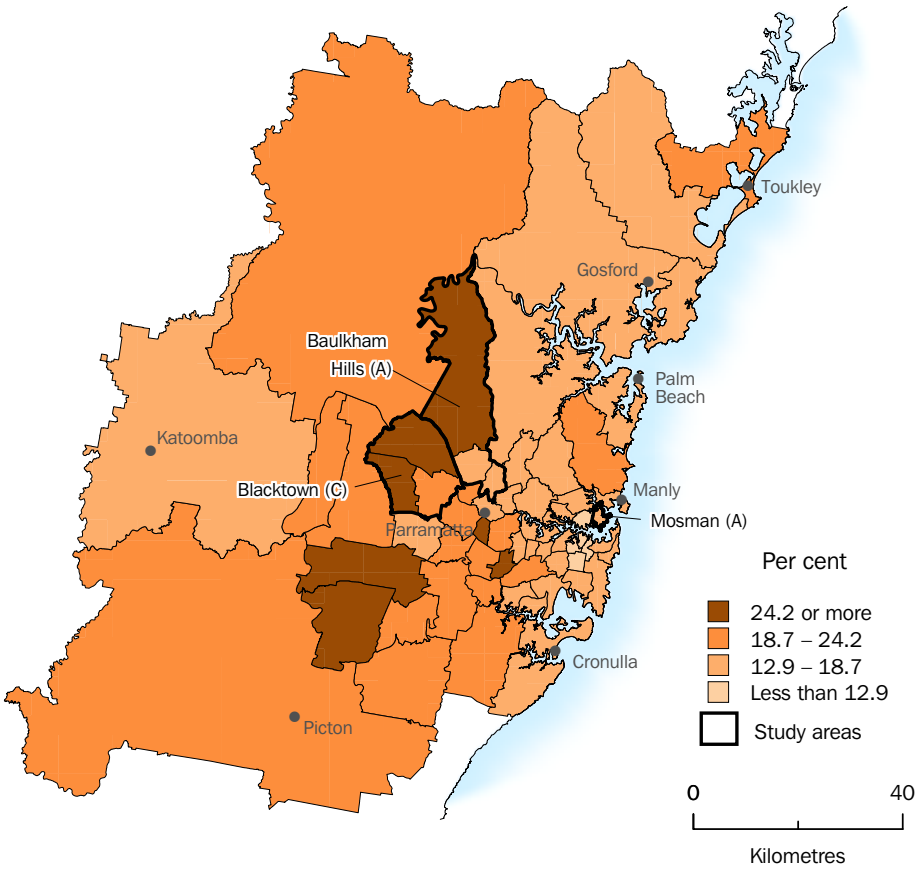
Comparing geographical areas and families over time

Geographical areas: Comparing populations within particular areas over time can be difficult as the boundaries defining the areas may change. Comparing where families with young children live over time is particularly difficult as many of these families live in the newer, outer suburban areas. Some of these areas were undeveloped land at the time of past censuses, while others have had their borders changed over time as their populations have increased. The Sydney case studies in this article are based on Local Government Areas (LGAs) whose boundaries have remained relatively consistent over time. The other examples provided in this article are either LGAs or smaller Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) that fit within an LGA. These areas may have undergone more substantial boundary changes over time but are generally comparable. For more information on LGAs and SLAs, see Glossary.

Sydney comparison: Comparisons are made between case study LGAs—Baulkham Hills, Blacktown and Mosman—and the entire Statistical Division (SD) of Sydney. This SD encompasses all areas of Sydney shown in the map below.

Data in this article are based on place of enumeration to allow comparisons over time.

People in families with young children(a): Proportion of the total population in Statistical Local Areas, Sydney Statistical Division, 2006



(a) A family with young children refers to any family that includes at least one child under the age of 5.

Families over time

In censuses before 1986, a family with at least one child under the age of 5 cannot be identified. For years before 1986, this article uses the proportion of children aged 0–4 in an area as a proxy; after 1986 the proportion of families with young children is used.

New suburbs—growth and ageing

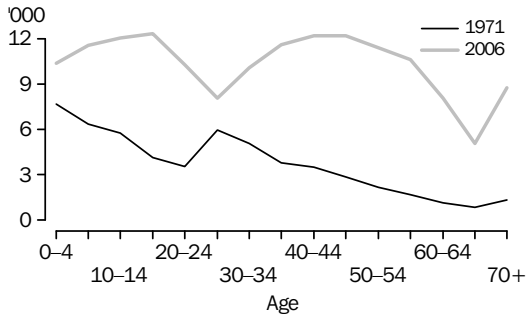
The movement of families with children to more recently developed, outer suburban areas of a city can result in a relatively young age profile in the population when these areas are first established.[2] However, if many of these families stay in the same area over time and fewer new families with young children move into the area, the profile of the population begins to age. Census data show signs of this ageing process in SLAs such as Browns Plains in Brisbane, Kambah and Kaleen in Canberra, and the southern area of Knox in Melbourne.

Baulkham Hills changes over time

The LGA of Baulkham Hills, in Sydney, is an example of an area where the population has grown and aged. Baulkham Hills is located on the outskirts of Sydney. In the 1960s urban development started to accelerate in the area.[4] By 1971 Baulkham Hills had the highest proportion of young children (aged 0–4) in Sydney (14%). However, after 1971, the population of the area started to age and the proportion of young children decreased, while the proportion of primary school aged children and then high school aged children increased. By 1996, the proportion of young children had decreased to 5.8%.

However, since 1996, new land development has occurred in the northern part of Baulkham Hills. This and other development has increased the number of houses and has allowed the population of the whole area to grow. People in families with young children moving to the area have contributed to this growth. Almost half (47%) of all people in young families living in Baulkham Hills in 2006 had moved to the area in the past 5 years. This has caused a slight increase in the proportion of young children across the area (6.4% in 2001 to 6.7% in 2006).

Baulkham Hills: age profile, 1971 and 2006



Even though the proportion of young children has increased slightly in the area, the families that have lived in Baulkham Hills for a long time now have older children. This has resulted in a more even distribution of age groups and makes it less likely that the area will return to having a very high proportion of young children in the next 5 to 10 years.

Other factors may also help to keep the proportion of families with young children lower for the whole LGA in the near future. Firstly, in 2006, the proportion of women of child-bearing age (20–39 years) in Baulkham Hills, was lower than in 1971 (27% compared with 34%). Secondly, in 2006, the total fertility rate of women living in the area was 1.72 babies. This was below the national rate of 1.81 babies per woman and well below the rates in some other areas in Sydney that also had high proportions of families with young children, such as Blacktown (2.08) and Camden (2.06).[1]

In 2006, families with young children in Baulkham Hills had higher housing costs (rent and mortgage payments) than other areas of Sydney. The median monthly home loan repayment for families with young children in Baulkham Hills in 2006, was $2,250, $250 more than the Sydney median for families with young children ($2,000). The median weekly rent for families with young children was $340 per week, compared with $250 for families with young children across Sydney.

Along with the higher cost of housing in the area, the *household incomes* of families with young children in Baulkham Hills were also high compared with families with young children across Sydney. In 2006, 36% of young families living in Baulkham Hills were living in households with *higher household incomes*[5] compared with 24% for Sydney. Higher housing costs may be a factor in families with young children on lower incomes not living in this area.

Families with young children in Baulkham Hills

	Baulkham Hills	*Sydney*
	%	%
Living in separate houses	88.8	72.4
Main tenure types		
Renting	19.2	34.0
Home owners with mortgage	69.0	54.7
Home owners without mortgage	10.8	10.1
One parent families	6.6	13.6
Living in households with higher household income(a)	36.1	24.3
	$	$
Median weekly rental payment	340	250
Median monthly mortgage loan repayment	2 250	2 000
	no.	no.
Average no. of children per family(b)	2.04	2.00
	years	years
Mean age of mothers	34.2	33.3

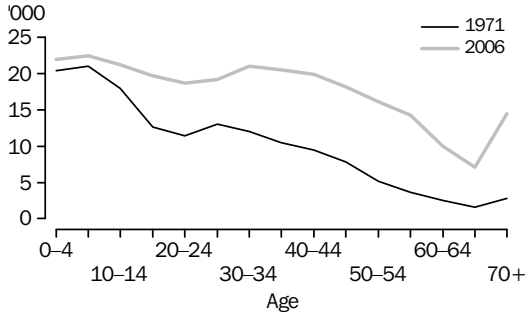
(a) For details of the income groups used see Glossary.

(b) This average includes all children under the age of 25 present on Census Night. It also accounts for children under the age of 15, and/or dependent students under the age of 25, who were temporarily absent on Census Night.

Some suburbs stay young

While in some areas the proportions of young children and their families decline with time, in others a relatively high proportion of families with young children can be maintained for many years. Although LGAs such as Melton in Melbourne, Wollondilly in Sydney, Wanneroo in Perth and Brighton in Hobart, have all experienced a decrease in the proportion of people living in families with young children since 1986, they have maintained a high proportion of people in families with young children when compared with other areas in their respective capital cities.

Blacktown(a): Age profile, 1971 and 2006



(a) There was a small boundary change in Blacktown between 1971 and 1981.

Blacktown—many families with young children

The LGA of Blacktown, in Sydney, is an example of an area that has had a high proportion of families with young children for many years. In 2006, Blacktown had the second highest proportion of families with young children in Sydney (24.1%) and in 1986 it had the fifth highest proportion (29.8%). While such families cannot be separately identified in 1971 Census data, the data do show that in 1971 the area had the second highest proportion of children aged 0–4 in Sydney (13.4% of the population): in 2006 this proportion was 8.3%.

Many factors could contribute to the high proportion of families with young children living in Blacktown over a long period of time. One factor may be the consistent addition of separate houses to the area since 1976. Between 1976 and 2006 the number of separate houses in Blacktown increased by 94%. As many families prefer to live in separate houses, this steady increase is likely to have attracted families (or people planning to start a family) to move to Blacktown or to stay within the area.

In addition to the increase in the total number of separate houses in Blacktown over the last 30 years, the housing costs are lower than in some other parts of Sydney. This may have helped to attract families with young children who wanted to buy or rent a separate home. In 2006, the median housing loan repayment for families with young children in Blacktown was $1,840 per month, $160 lower than the median for all families with young children in Sydney ($2,000). The median weekly rent was also lower than for Sydney as a whole ($220 and $250 per week respectively).

Families with young children in Blacktown

	Blacktown	Sydney
	%	%
Living in separate houses	85.2	72.4
Main tenure types		
Renting	37.8	34.0
Home owners with mortgage	55.0	54.7
Home owners without mortgage	6.3	10.1
One parent families	20.3	13.6
Living in households with higher household income(a)	11.3	24.3
	$	$
Median weekly rental payment	220	250
Median monthly mortgage loan repayment	1 840	2 000
	no.	no.
Average no. of children per family(b)	2.13	2.00
	years	years
Mean age of mothers	31.8	33.3

(a) For details of the income groups used see Glossary.

(b) This average includes all children under the age of 25 present on Census Night. It also accounts for children under the age of 15, and/or dependent students under the age of 25, who were temporarily absent on Census Night.

Along with the lower housing costs, the incomes of families with young children in Blacktown were lower than other areas. In 2006, 11% of these families were living in households with a *higher household income*[5], compared with 24% of all families with young children in Sydney.

Of all people in families with young children living in Blacktown in 2006, 32% had moved to the area in the 5 years prior to the 2006 Census. This was a much lower proportion than in Baulkham Hills (47%). It was also lower than the proportion of all people in families with young children, living in Sydney, who had moved between LGAs in the previous 5 years (38%). This indicates that a higher proportion of people already living in Blacktown may be having their first child. Further, many of the families who had children in 2001 have had more children since.

In 2006, the women in Blacktown were having more children than those in other areas of Sydney. This was shown by the high fertility rate in the area—2.08 babies per woman.[1] This was the third highest fertility rate in Sydney after Bankstown (2.15) and Auburn (2.12).[1] On average the mothers in Blacktown were younger (32 years) than mothers in Sydney as a whole (33 years).

Established, high socioeconomic suburbs

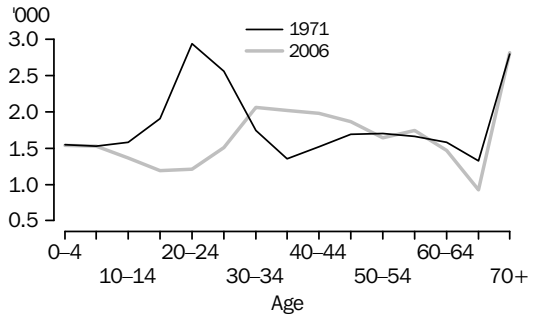
Even though areas such as Blacktown have maintained a high proportion of children compared with other areas in major cities, they have still experienced a decrease in the proportion of families with young children over time. However, this trend has not been repeated in many well-established, 'more advantaged'[6], metropolitan areas where the proportion of families with young children is usually low. In these well-established areas, the proportion of families with young children has remained relatively stable or has risen slightly. Examples of such areas are the LGAs of Cottesloe in Perth, Burnside in Adelaide, Woollahra and Mosman in Sydney and the smaller SLA of Bayside-Brighton in Melbourne.

The slight increase in the proportion of families with young children in these areas may reflect the recent increase in the fertility rate that has occurred in many of the more advantaged areas of Australia. Women in more advantaged areas have traditionally had lower fertility rates than in other areas. However, between 2001 and 2005 the fertility rate for women living in more advantaged areas accounted for 59% of the overall increase in Australia's total fertility rate.[7] This might be attributed to 'catch up' fertility as older women, who may have delayed having children while they completed study and/or established careers, start a family.

Mosman women start families

The LGA of Mosman is a typical example of a high socioeconomic, advantaged area where the proportion of people in families with young children has remained low and fairly stable, with only a slight increase from 15.6% in 1986 to 16.6% in 2006. In line with this, over the same period, the proportion of young children aged 0–4 also increased slightly, from 5.2% in 1986 to 6.2% in 2006.

Mosman: Age profile, 1971 and 2006



These changes reflect an increase in the total fertility rate in the area, although it still remains low. The total fertility rate of women in Mosman increased from 1.36 babies per woman in 2001 to 1.47 in 2006.[1]

Mosman is much closer to the central business district of Sydney than Blacktown and Baulkham Hills and has a higher proportion of higher density housing than the outer suburban areas. In 2006, only 37% of dwellings in Mosman were detached houses while 52% were flats, units or apartments and 11% were semi-detached houses. There has also been little development of new housing in the area with only a 9% increase in dwellings between 1986 and 2006.

The low proportion of families with young children in the area may be associated with the small proportion of separate houses compared with many outer suburban areas of Sydney, as well as the small amount of new housing development in Mosman. The high price of real estate in Mosman may also be a factor. In 2006, families with young children in Mosman, who had a mortgage on their home, were paying a median monthly home loan repayment of $3,790, which was $1,790 more than the median monthly home loan repayment for all families with young children in Sydney. The median rent for families with young children in Mosman was also higher ($580 per week) than for families with young children in Sydney overall ($250 per week). These high housing costs are likely to be putting living in Mosman out of reach for many families with young children. Associated with these higher housing costs, 68% of families with young children that were living in the area in 2006, were living in households with a *higher household income*[5].

Despite the factors that might discourage families with young children from living in Mosman, 54% of people in families with young children living in the area in 2006 had moved there in the past 5 years. Of those in families with young children who had moved, over half (53%) were renting. This was very different to Baulkham Hills where a similarly high proportion of people in young families had moved into the area in the past 5 years (47%), but a much lower proportion of these were renting (27%).

Although renting is often associated with lower household income[8], this was not the case in Mosman. Of those people in young families who had moved into Mosman in the past 5 years and were renting, a high proportion (65%) were living in households with *higher household incomes*[5]. This may indicate that these families choose to rent in Mosman rather than be owners with a mortgage further away from the centre of the city.

Families with young children in Mosman

	Mosman	*Sydney*
	%	%
Living in separate houses	55.3	72.4
Main tenure types		
Renting	42.3	34.0
Home owners with mortgage	41.9	54.7
Home owners without mortgage	15.1	10.1
One parent families	5.8	13.6
Living in households with higher household income(a)	67.7	24.3
	$	$
Median weekly rental payment	580	250
Median monthly mortgage loan repayment	3 790	2 000
	no.	no.
Average no. of children per family(b)	1.89	2.00
	years	years
Mean age of mothers	36.8	33.3

(a) For details of the income groups used see Glossary.

(b) This average includes all children under the age of 25 present on Census Night. It also accounts for children under the age of 15, and/or dependent students under the age of 25, who were temporarily absent on Census Night.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2007, *Births, Australia, 2006*, cat. no. 3301.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 Baum S. and Wulff, M. 2003, *Housing aspirations of Australian households*, Final Report No. 30, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Melbourne.

3 ABS 2002, 'Regional population ageing' in *Australian Social Trends 2002,* cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 Baulkham Hills Shire Council 2007–2008, *History of the Shire—Timeline*, viewed 17 June 2008, <http://www.baulkhamhills.nsw.gov.au/History-of-the-Shire-Timeline.html>.

5 Household income is equivalised gross household income. For details of the household income groups used see Glossary.

6 More advantaged areas are those areas in the top 40% of all Australian SLAs indexed by the Index of Relative Socio-Economic Advantage/ Disadvantage (SEIFA). For more information, see *Information Paper: An Introduction to Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), 2006*, cat. no. 2039.0, ABS, Canberra.

7 ABS 2007, 'Recent increases in Australia's fertility' in *Australian Social Trends 2007*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

8 ABS 2008, 'Renter households' in *Australian Social Trends 2007,* cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

Chapter four

Community

Community overview

Communities are groups of people who have something in common, such as family relationship, friendship, location or interest. Communities span many different aspects of a person's life, such as cultural or religious activities, employment, education, sport and leisure. Community involvement can contribute to a person's wellbeing by providing a sense of identity and belonging, or opportunities to build positive relationships. Further, communities contribute to social cohesion by building people's capacity to work together and for each other, to address social problems and support those in need.

The census provides a wealth of information about communities in local areas. Articles in this chapter provide a national and local picture of some aspects of community involvement. Unpaid work, included in the 2006 Census for the first time, is an important aspect of community involvement. Apart from domestic work in the home, it encompasses voluntary work, child care and unpaid care for people with a disability. This overview also focuses on people who need assistance with core activities. Many people requiring assistance face barriers to community involvement and need support from others to participate. Much of the care received by this group is unpaid, provided by family members and others in the community.

Voluntary work

Volunteers help to meet needs in society and in turn volunteering can give people a sense of satisfaction and opportunities to interact with others. Over the last decade, a growing number of Australians have participated in voluntary work. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Voluntary Work Survey (2006) showed that 35% of people aged 18 years and over had volunteered in the previous year, a higher proportion than in 2000 (32%) and in 1995 (24%).[1]

In 2006, half of Australian adults helped to build community by caring for children, or a person with a disability, or doing voluntary work.

Women lead the way in the growing ranks of volunteers

The 2006 Census provides a good picture of the characteristics of volunteers. More women had volunteered than men, regardless of age, living arrangements, labour force participation, hours in paid work per week, religious affiliation or country of birth. Part-time workers, especially those who worked under 20 hours a week, volunteered at higher rates than those working full-time or those who were not employed.

People living in rural areas of Australia were more likely to volunteer than those living in urban areas: around 28% of residents of Rural areas volunteered, compared with 18% of residents of Major Urban areas and 23% of residents of Other Urban areas (see Glossary for definition of geographic areas). For more information, see 'Volunteering across Australia', p. 103–106.

Overall, people born in Australia were more likely to volunteer than those born overseas (22% compared with 15%). However people who were born overseas and who spoke only English at home were almost as likely to volunteer (20%) as Australian-born people, and there were considerable differences between birthplace groups. For example, a high proportion of people born in North America (31%) and Melanesia and Micronesia (23%) had volunteered.

While there was also considerable variation within the major religious groups, Christians were generally more likely than people of the same age with no religious affiliation to have volunteered. Although people who were affiliated with a non-Christian religion were less likely to volunteer than Christians or people with no religion, people of a non-Christian religion who spoke only English at home were more likely to volunteer (26%) than Christians (23%) and people with no religion (18%) who also spoke only English at home.

Volunteering across the life cycle

...Young people

Volunteering is related broadly to age and more specifically to the stage people are at in the life cycle. The proportion of young people who volunteered was relatively low compared with other age groups. However, the pattern of volunteering in the younger age groups reflects a link with participation in education. Over half of young people were studying (56% of 15–24 year olds), and students in this age group had higher participation in voluntary work than others (20% of students volunteered compared with 12% of people who were not studying). Consistent with this, dependent students were more likely to volunteer than people of similar ages but at different stages of the life cycle (see table page 92).

Along with dependent students, members of *young group households* and *young lone persons* had higher levels of participation in voluntary work (19% and 18% respectively) than *young non-dependent children* still living with parents and those in *young couple families without children* (12% and 14% respectively). Young people in lone and group households may have fewer family responsibilities and more free time than other young people.

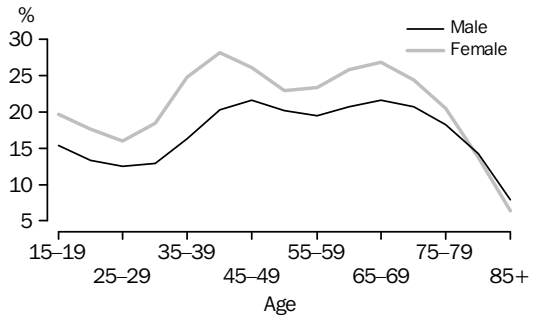
Characteristics of people aged 15 years and over who volunteered

	Male	*Female*	*Persons*	*Volunteers*	*Total population(a)*
	%	%	%	'000	'000
Country of birth					
Australia	19.1	24.0	21.6	2 183.0	10 583.6
Overseas	13.6	17.3	15.5	612.9	4 178.3
Religion					
No religion	15.3	20.4	17.6	478.5	2 793.2
Religious affiliation	18.3	22.6	20.5	2 219.0	11 380.4
Christian religion	18.7	23.0	21.0	2 070.4	10 393.6
Non-Christian religion	14.7	17.2	15.9	148.7	986.8
Place of usual residence					
Major Urban	15.4	19.6	17.6	7 959.5	10 675.4
Other Urban	19.9	25.2	22.7	2 354.5	3 370.3
Rural area	24.6	30.8	27.6	1 208.0	1 834.2
Labour force status					
Worked part-time (under 20 hours)	21.9	29.3	27.0	326.1	1 224.3
Worked part-time (20 to 34 hours)	18.5	24.5	22.6	326.1	1 460.9
Worked full-time (35 hours or more)	17.4	19.3	18.1	1 040.1	5 827.4
Total employed(b)	17.7	22.7	20.0	1 786.9	9 104.2
Not employed	16.9	21.3	19.5	1 049.3	5 774.9
Total	**17.4**	**22.0**	**19.8**	**2 851.0**	**15 918.1**

(a) Total population includes people who did not state voluntary work.

(b) Includes people who were employed but away from work.

Age profile of volunteers



...Families with children

Many adults with young children contributed to society through voluntary work, seen in the peak levels of volunteering among people in their 30s and 40s. Adults in *couple families with school-aged children* were the most likely to volunteer: 30% of people in such families had volunteered. In comparison, people in *couple families with young children* had a lower level of participation (18%). Opportunities for parents to assist with school, sport and other organised activities tend to diminish as children move into their late teens. Participation in voluntary work among adults in *couple families with young adult children* (21%) was lower than people in *couple families with school-aged children* (30%). Lone parents were less likely than their counterparts in couple families to volunteer, possibly reflecting time and resource constraints of sole parenting.

...Retirement years

Participation in voluntary work was slightly lower among people aged 45–59, but reached a second peak in the 60s age group. In this age group people generally move from work to retirement, and by their late 60s most people are no longer in the labour force. Many people in this group have time and skills to offer to voluntary organisations, and volunteering in turn offers them an alternative vocation and the opportunity to contribute to society

People aged 15 and over in selected life-cycle groups who volunteered

	Male	*Female*	*Persons*	*Volunteers*	*Total(a)*
	%	%	%	'000	'000
Dependent student(b)	17.8	22.6	20.3	160.7	888.5
Young non-dependent child(b)(c)	10.2	14.5	11.9	107.9	960.9
Young group household	15.6	22.0	18.5	62.7	349.1
Young lone person	15.3	20.8	17.7	50.0	291.2
Young couple family without children	12.6	15.5	14.0	94.0	677.6
Couple family with young children	15.3	19.8	17.6	250.5	1 457.8
One parent family with young children	10.4	13.0	12.7	16.3	135.1
Couple family with school-aged children	25.3	33.9	29.7	491.6	1 705.1
One parent family with school-aged children	18.8	25.6	24.4	73.6	315.8
Couple family with young adult children	19.2	22.1	20.7	230.5	1 144.2
One parent family with young adult children	15.4	19.8	18.7	41.9	232.7
Middle-aged couple family	21.0	24.0	22.5	351.1	1 605.9
Older couple family without children	21.4	24.2	22.8	192.6	955.4
Older lone person	15.8	22.8	20.7	113.0	649.1
Total(d)	**17.4**	**22.0**	**19.8**	**2 851.0**	**15 918.1**

(a) Total population includes people who did not state voluntary work.

(b) Other life-cycle tables throughout this report do not separately identify dependent students and young non-dependent children, rather they are included in the family categories to which they belong.

(c) Includes non-dependent grandchildren.

(d) Includes people not included in selected life-cycle groups. See Glossary for more information on life-cycle groups.

outside of paid employment. Participation in voluntary work declined among those aged 70 and older. In older age, people may experience a number of significant events that can lead to social isolation, including retirement, death of a partner, living alone and failing health. Fewer older men living as *older lone persons* had volunteered (16%) than men living in an *older couple family without children* (21%), as men living alone are concentrated in the oldest ages, and are more likely to be limited by health problems.

Unpaid child care

The future of Australia will be significantly shaped by today's children. Quality care and support for children provided by parents, families and the broader community is an investment in the continuation and future prosperity of society. The 2006 Census counted just under 4 million children aged under 15 years. Around 4.4 million adults had cared for a child in the previous two weeks: 3.2 million parents cared for their own children, including 0.2 million who cared for their own and another child, and 1.1 million people supported families by caring for children who were not their own.

Over the past few decades, care arrangements for Australian children have changed. More women are in paid employment than in the past and parents are increasingly using formal child care arrangements to allow them to undertake paid work while raising a family. As well, many children are cared for by grandparents, siblings, relatives, friends and neighbours (known as informal child care). According to the 2005 ABS Child Care Survey, over half of all children under 13 years of age were only cared for by their parents, one third received informal child care (some in combination with formal child care) and one fifth received formal care (some in combination with informal child care).[3]

Measures of unpaid work in the 2006 Census

Voluntary work

A volunteer is a person aged 15 years and over who did voluntary work through an organisation or group in the 12 months prior to Census Night 2006. Information on volunteers was also collected in the 2006 Voluntary Work Survey (VWS), conducted as part of the General Social Survey. The number of volunteers measured in the census (2.9 million) is considerably lower than in the VWS (5.2 million).[1] Different collections methods explain these different results. The census is self reported, and in some cases one household member reports for others in the household, while the VWS is conducted by personal interviewers who provide prompts. Even so, census data are valuable as they provide insights into volunteering patterns in different local communities and the characteristics of volunteers. When interpreting results from the census, it must be recognised that people of different backgrounds may have different understandings of what constitutes voluntary work, and the activities that might be considered as voluntary work.

Unpaid child care

The 2006 Census identified people aged 15 years and over who spent time in the previous fortnight caring for their own child, and people who cared for grandchildren, or children of relatives, friends or neighbours without being paid. Only care for children under 15 was included. Interpretation of what caring for a child means can vary between individuals. The census did not collect information about the time a person spent caring for a child, or how time with children is spent.

Unpaid care for a person with a disability

In the 2006 Census, 1.6 million people aged 15 years and over indicated that they had provided unpaid care in the 2 weeks before the census. Unpaid care was defined as help or assistance with daily activities to a person because of a disability, a long term illness or problems related to old age. This count of people who provided care was lower than the total population of Carers identified by the Survey of Disability, Ageing and Carers (SDAC) in 2003 (2.6 million).[2] The lower count in the census can be explained by differences between the census and SDAC, in both definitions and collection methods. In the census it is not possible to link people who provided unpaid care with the people who they were assisting.

Most parents care for children, though mothers more likely to live with and care for children

Caring for children is most common for people in their late 30s, and many people aged 25–54 cared for their own children. There are clear age and gender differences in parental child care. Of people aged 15–44, women were more likely than men to care for their own child (see graph next page). The main factor explaining this is that women are much more likely than men to live with their natural children. In 2003 only 18% of all non-resident parents were women.[4] In addition, women tend to partner and have children at an earlier age than men.[5, 6, 7] The 2006 Census shows that the majority of parents who lived with children under 15 had provided child care. Although a higher proportion of women than men in such families provided child care (87% compared with 76%), men working full-time were almost as likely as women working full-time to care for their own child.

In the 2006 Census there were around 201,000 people who cared for their own child but did not live with their natural child. Just under 72% of this group were non-resident fathers. Over 44% of non-resident fathers who had cared for their own child lived in a non-family household, mainly alone. One third of these non-resident fathers lived in a family without their natural child, such as a step family or couple without children. The census does not identify all non-resident parents, namely non-resident parents who did not have contact with their child in the previous two weeks, or those who lived with their natural child and had another natural child living elsewhere.

The Family Characteristics and Transitions Survey (2006–07) estimated that there were around 470,000 non-resident parents in Australia, the great majority of whom were non-resident fathers (82%).[4]

Living arrangements of parents who cared for their own children

	Male		*Female*	
	'000	%	'000	%
Lived with their natural child				
Partner in couple family	1 169.8	95.9	1 393.2	81.1
Lone parent	50.6	4.1	323.9	18.9
Total	*1 220.5*	*100.0*	*1 717.1*	*100.0*
Did not live with their natural child				
Partner in couple family or lone parent(a)	47.8	33.0	28.0	49.7
Other person in family household(b)	30.4	20.9	15.2	26.9
Non-family household	64.1	44.2	11.5	20.4
Other living arrangement	2.7	1.9	1.7	3.0
Total	*144.9*	*100.0*	*56.4*	*100.0*
All parents who cared for their children				
Total lived with their natural child	1 220.5	85.7	1 717.1	94.3
Total did not live with their natural child	144.9	10.2	56.4	3.1
Total(c)	**1 423.7**	**100.0**	**1 820.3**	**100.0**

(a) Includes step parents, and partners in a couple family without children or with unrelated children. Includes lone parents with step children or unrelated children only.

(b) Includes children aged 15 years and over, other relatives and unrelated individuals in a family household.

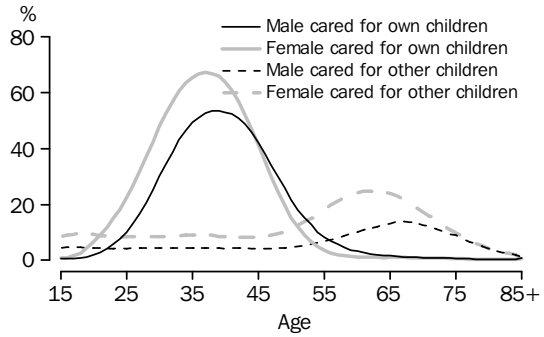
(c) Total includes visitors, and step parents where one or more children in the family were temporarily absent.

Many older women play role in raising others' children

In 2006, 1.3 million people provided unpaid care for another child, who was not their own. Two thirds of the people who provided informal child care were women. Women of all ages were more likely than men to care for another child. Although fewer women than men of working age were in full-time employment, women were more likely to care for another child regardless of their working arrangements.

More than half the people who cared for another child were aged 50 and over, and it is likely that many of these people cared for grandchildren. The ABS Child Care Survey (2005) shows that 60% of children receiving informal child care were being looked after by grandparents.[3] Gender differences were most pronounced in the 50–74 age group, with women being twice as likely as men to have cared for another child (19% compared with 9%). People of this age living in a one parent family with children under 15 were more likely than people with other living arrangements to care for another child. Around 45% of this group were grandmothers living with their child and grandchild, and 38% were lone mothers.

Unpaid child care(a)



(a) People who cared for their own and other children are included in both 'cared for own children' and 'cared for other children'.

People aged 15–49 living in a one parent or couple family with children under 15 were more likely to provide informal child care than people with other living arrangements. Around 76% of this group were parents who typically might have cared for children of relatives or friends, and 24% were older children (aged 15 and over) or other relatives who may have cared for young children in their family. People aged 15–49 living in a couple family without children were almost as likely to have cared for another child as people living in a couple family with children under 15.

People who cared for other people's children

	15–49 years	*50–74 years*	*Total(a)*
	%	%	%
Men	4.4	9.2	5.9
Women	8.8	19.0	11.6
Couple family with no children	7.1	18.5	13.2
Couple family with children under 15	7.3	13.2	7.7
Couple family with children 15 and over	4.4	10.2	6.6
One parent family with children under 15	10.2	27.2	11.6
One parent family with children 15 and over	4.9	9.7	6.2
Other family	5.2	7.3	5.4
Lone or group household	5.8	9.6	6.7
Total	**6.6**	**14.2**	**8.8**
Total ('000)	**596.1**	**635.5**	**1 276.1**

(a) Total includes people aged 75 years and over.

Providing informal child care was equally common in most states and territories (6–7% of men and 11–13% of women). An exception was the Northern Territory: 9% of men and 16% of women who lived in the Northern Territory had cared for another child. In Rural areas of the Northern Territory 13% of men and 23% of women had provided informal child care. This possibly reflects the unavailability of commercial child care services, or for child care to be undertaken by extended family members in Indigenous communities in these areas.

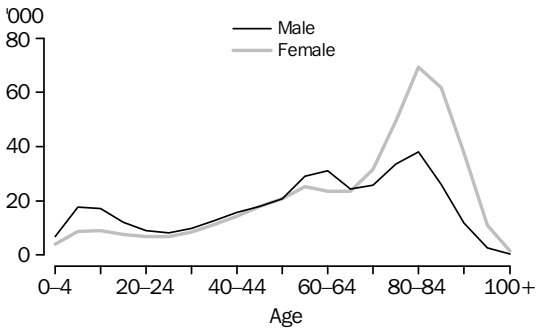
People with a need for assistance

Participation in community and cultural life is recognised as a basic human need, and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a fundamental human right.[8] The census can inform us about the living conditions, employment and education of people with a need for assistance. This information can be used to highlight some of the areas in which people with a need for assistance face barriers to participating in society. They may be limited by their impairment, or by external factors such as reliance on a carer, the attitudes of others, the physical environment or the inclusiveness of social institutions.

The Survey of Disability, Ageing and Carers (SDAC) showed that in 2003 there were 4.0 million people with a disability (see Glossary), and 1.2 million of those people had a severe or profound limitation.[2] The rate of profound or severe core activity limitation was stable between 1998 and 2003, although the number of people with a severe or profound core activity limitation increased in this period. Numbers are projected to increase in the future, due to population growth and ageing, which will lead to increasing numbers and proportions of older people in the population; and increasing longevity, including longevity for people with a disability.[9]

At the time of the 2006 Census, 4.4% of Australians needed daily assistance with core activities such as self-care, moving around or communicating, because of a long term health condition, a disability or old age (refer to box below for more information). There were around 566,000 private households that included a person who required such assistance. The likelihood of having a need for assistance increases with age: less than 1 in 10 people aged under 65 needed assistance; 2 in 10 people aged 65 and over; and 5 in 10 people aged 85 and over had such a need.

Number of people with a core activity need for assistance



Need for assistance

The census definition of a person with a 'core activity need for assistance' is a person needing help or assistance in one or more of the three core activities of self-care, mobility and communication because of a disability or a long term health condition (lasting six months or more), or old age.

The census measure of 'core activity need for assistance' counted only a portion of all Australians with a disability. The Survey of Disability, Ageing and Carers (SDAC)[2] collected by the ABS is considered to comprehensively measure disability populations. The census concept of 'core activity need for assistance' relates to the 'severe or profound core activity limitation' concept used in SDAC.

The number of people with a core activity need for assistance identified in the 2006 Census (821,600) is smaller than the number of people with a severe or profound disability counted in the 2003 SDAC (1,244,500), owing to the briefer set of questions used on the census form, the different collection methodology and the 6.4% non-response to the census questions on need for assistance.

Graphs and tables in this chapter present data from the 2006 Census measure of 'core activity need for assistance'.

Need for assistance across the life cycle

...Children

The 2006 Census shows that under 2% (64,000) of all children under 15 had a need for assistance. Two in every three children with a need for assistance were boys. Supporting this, SDAC (2003) showed that boys were more likely than girls to report any type of disability and were more likely to have a severe or profound limitation, due mainly to boys having greater likelihood of genetic disorder.[10] Almost all children reporting a need for assistance in the 2006 Census lived in a family in a private home (99%). Of all children living in a family, children requiring assistance were less likely to live in a couple family than other children (70% compared with 81%) and more likely to live in a one parent family (30% compared with 19%).

A slightly higher proportion of school-aged children (5–14 years) had a need for assistance than young children (0–4 years). This is chiefly explained by the diagnosis of intellectual disability. Some health conditions are not diagnosed in the first few years of life but are increasingly being diagnosed in school aged children through early intervention programs at schools and health clinics.

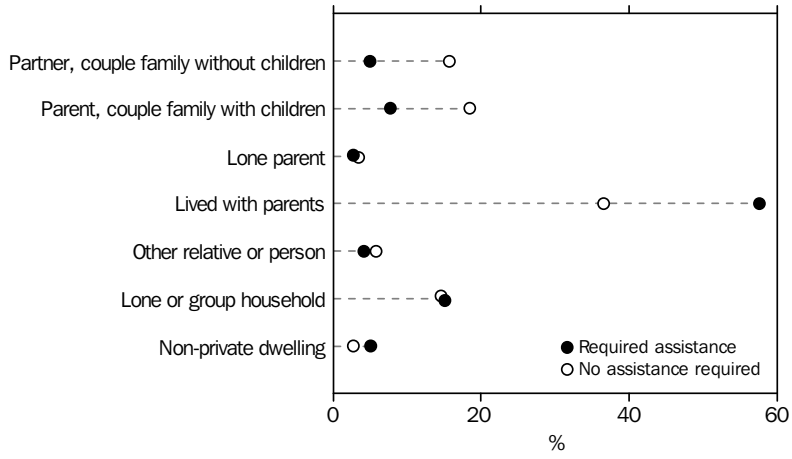
The proportion of young people aged 15–24 with a need for assistance was lower than the proportion of school-aged children. Many factors contribute to this, including successful interventions in childhood that improve the person's level of functioning; and the effect of data collection—young people may respond themselves, while parents report on behalf of children aged under 15.[10]

...Young adults and middle-aged people

Just over 300,000 people aged 15–64 had a need for assistance, accounting for 38% of all people who required assistance according to the 2006 Census. Up to the age of 65 years men were more likely to report a need for assistance than women. Consequently there were around 44,000 more men than women who required assistance aged under 65. One contributing factor is the higher rates of injury among young men compared with women.[11]

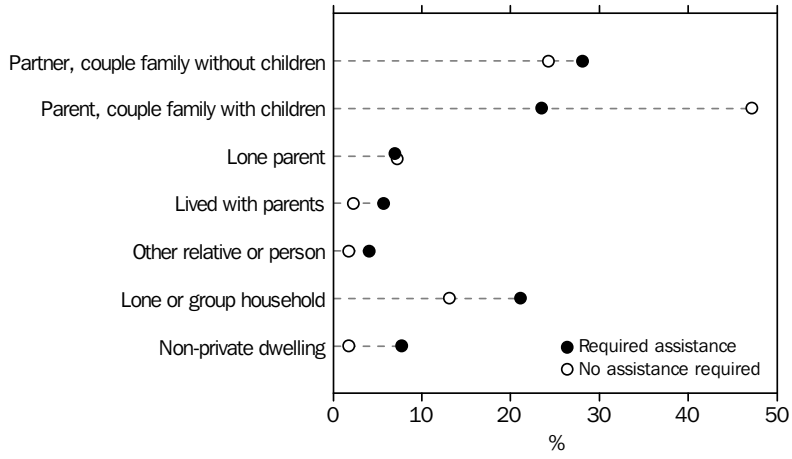
Most adults (15–64) who required assistance (93%) lived in a private home. However, adults who required assistance were more likely to live in group or lone households than adults who did not require assistance, particularly those aged 35–64 years. Young adults (15–34 years) who required assistance were half as likely as others in the same age group to live in a couple family, while they were much more likely to live with their parents. People aged 35–64 who required assistance were slightly more likely than those who did not require assistance to live in a couple family without children, though half as likely to live in a couple family with children. Some people with a need for assistance in this age group may have developed a disability later in life, after partnering or raising a family.

Living arrangements of young adults with and without a need for assistance(a)



(a) Proportion of people aged 15–34 years in these living arrangements.

Living arrangements of middle-aged people with and without a need for assistance(a)



(a) Proportion of people aged 35–64 years in these living arrangements.

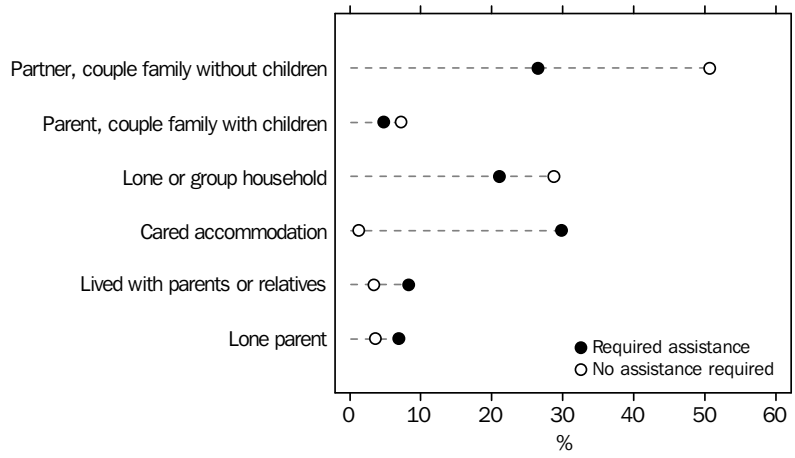
A small proportion of adults who required assistance were accommodated in non-private dwellings (5% of 15–34 year olds and 8% of 35–64 year olds), including nursing homes and hostels for people with a disability.

...Older people

In the 2006 Census, a sizeable group of people who needed assistance were aged 65 and over (450,000), accounting for 55% of all those requiring assistance. A large proportion of these were women: for every man aged 65 and over with a need for assistance there were almost two women of the same age with such a need. A contributing factor is that older women are more likely than men to survive to ages and experience health problems related to old age.

Just over two thirds of older people with a need for assistance lived in a private home, and a third lived in a non-private dwelling—mainly in cared accommodation (see Glossary). A quarter of older people with a need for assistance lived with their partner in a family without children, although they were half as likely as other people of this age group to live in this type of family. One fifth lived alone, a group with a special need for support services. Another fifth lived in a family with children or relatives, and possibly received support from them. This group included older people living with their adult children in a couple or one parent family, and those who lived with parents or relatives (see graph below).

Living arrangements of older people with and without a need for assistance(a)



(a) Proportion of people aged 65 years and over in these living arrangements.

Employment and education

Employment and education are linked to a person's wellbeing, through income earned and involvement in society. The overwhelming majority of people with a need for assistance were not in the labour force, probably reflecting the severe or profound nature of their disability. Around 81% of people who required assistance and were of working age (15–64 years) were not in the labour force, while 16% were employed and 3% were unemployed.

People who required assistance tended to have lower educational attainment than others. Of those 20–64 years, 26% of people who required assistance had completed secondary school and 29% had obtained a non-school qualification. In comparison just over half of people with no need for assistance had completed secondary school, and a similar proportion had a non-school qualification.

The gap in formal educational attainment between people with a need for assistance and others was smaller in the older working age group (55–64 years) than younger age groups. This is partly explained by the lower educational attainment of this age group as a whole, who experienced different opportunities to undertake education in their lives compared with younger age groups. It also suggests that some people in this age group may have developed a disability later in life, after attaining an education. In contrast, a person with an early-onset disability may have restricted educational opportunities: while similar proportions of young people of secondary school age (15–19 years) with and without a need for assistance were attending an educational institution, there was a larger gap in the 20–24 age group.

Fewer people needing assistance accessed internet at home

Among other things, internet access at home allows people to learn about and access many government and business services, news and current affairs, and communicate with others.

Having access to the internet may be particularly important for people with a disability, many of whom leave home less often than they prefer.[2] However, people with a need for assistance who lived in private households were considerably less likely than others to have an internet connection at home regardless of their age: 55% lived in a household with an internet connection and 34% lived in a household with broadband connection, compared with 76% and 51% of people with no need for assistance.

Socioeconomic characteristics of people with and without a need for assistance(a)

	Required assistance		*Did not require assistance*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
	%	%	%	%
Labour force status(a)				
Employed	16.9	15.7	79.3	66.4
Unemployed	2.9	2.1	4.4	3.7
Not in the labour force	80.3	82.1	16.3	29.9
Enrolled in education				
15–19 years	72.7	74.8	73.9	77.6
20–24 years	20.6	27.3	33.3	36.5
Completed Year 12(b)	24.3	27.9	52.2	54.6
Has a non-school qualification(b)	31.8	26.5	58.4	50.3
Internet access(c)				
Internet access at home	55.1	55.8	75.5	75.7
Broadband connection at home	34.3	34.1	51.9	50.0

(a) People aged 15–64 years.

(b) People aged 20–64 years.

(c) People in occupied private dwellings only.

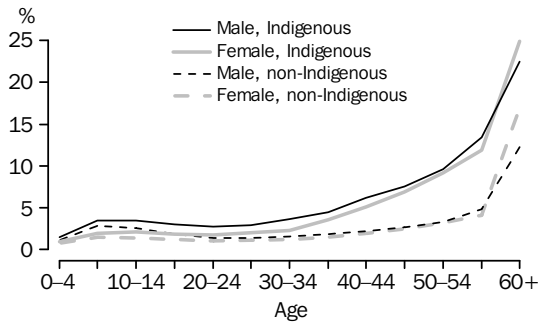
Need for assistance higher in Indigenous population

Indigenous Australians suffer more ill-health than other Australians. Many reports have shown that the Indigenous population is disadvantaged across many socioeconomic indicators that are associated with health, and are more likely to be exposed to a range of health risk factors, both environmental and behavioural. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have a lower life expectancy than other Australians, and higher rates of chronic diseases, such as kidney disease, diabetes and heart disease.

The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (2002) showed that after adjusting for differences in the age structure of the two populations, the rate of profound/severe core activity limitation among Indigenous peoples aged 18 years and over in non-remote areas was 2.1 times the corresponding rate for non-Indigenous people.[12]

In the 2006 Census, 4.6% of the Indigenous population stated a need for assistance, slightly higher than the non-Indigenous population (4.4%). However, the Indigenous population is considerably younger than the non-Indigenous population. When this is taken into account the proportion of Indigenous peoples requiring assistance was twice as high as for non-Indigenous people, in line with earlier survey results. The age and gender pattern of need for assistance in the Indigenous population was similar to the pattern for the non-Indigenous population. For example, young Indigenous men are more likely than young Indigenous women to have a need for assistance, but this pattern reverses in the population aged 60 and over.

Indigenous status of men and women with a need for assistance



Southern and Eastern Europeans more likely to require assistance

There was considerable variation in the proportion of people who required assistance between birthplace groups. A higher proportion of people born in Southern and Eastern Europe (including Italy, Greece, Croatia and Poland) had a need for assistance compared with the Australian-born population. The age structure of this birthplace group was much older (median age of 59 years) than the Australian-born population (median age of 32 years), although the level of need for assistance in this group was higher even after removing the effect of age.

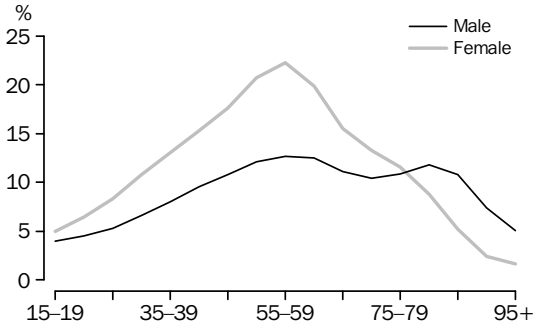
Unpaid care to a person with a disability

Carers play an essential role in the community. The people who provide assistance to family or friends with a disability ensure that these people receive needed physical care, emotional support and companionship. Carers can also help people with a need for assistance to maintain their connection to their community. According to the 2003 SDAC, 2.6 million Australians provided help to someone because of disability, long term health problems or old age.[2] Family members and friends are the most important source of support for Australians with a disability. Around 85% of people with a disability who needed assistance living in households received help from family members or friends and 57% received formal care.[2]

Two thirds of all carers were women, though older carers were mainly men

The 2006 Census shows that 11% of the Australian population had provided unpaid care to family members or others with a disability in the fortnight prior to the census. Women who had provided care outnumbered men—62% of all carers were women. Women of any birthplace, living arrangement or labour force status were more likely than similar men to provide unpaid care. Taking on a caring role can have a negative impact on a person. Carers may have more limited opportunities to do paid work, study or other activities, sometimes resulting in financial hardship and poor health.[2, 13] For more information see 'Caring across the life cycle', p. 107–112.

People who provided unpaid care to a person with a disability



The proportion of people who provided unpaid care for a person with a disability increased steadily over the life course until peaking in the 50s age group: 21% of women and 12% of men aged 50–59 had provided unpaid care. Among women, the proportion providing care steadily decreased after 60 years of age. In contrast, the proportion of men who provided care gradually decreased after 65 years. Consequently, in the older age groups a higher proportion of men provided care than women. This can be explained by partner care—older men were substantially more likely than women to live with a partner (69% of men aged 75 and over compared with 33% of women), while many women outlive their partners and live alone.

There was little difference between people born in Australia and people born overseas. Around 11% of the Australian-born and 10% of the overseas-born population had provided care to a person with a disability. The proportion was higher for certain birthplace groups. For example, 16% of women and 10% of men born in North Africa and the Middle East, and 15% of women and 11% of men born in Southern and Eastern Europe had provided care. These differences may be explained by different cultural norms of care in birthplace groups, and in the case of the Southern and Eastern European-born community, an older age profile and so higher level of need for assistance.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2007, *Voluntary Work, Australia, 2006*, cat. no. 4441.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 ABS 2003, *Disability, Ageing and Carers, Australia, 2003*, cat. no. 4430.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 ABS 2006, *Child Care, Australia, 2005*, cat. no. 4402.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 ABS 2008, *Family Characteristics and Transitions, Australia, 2006–07*, cat. no. 4442.0, ABS, Canberra.

5 ABS 2007, *Marriages, Australia*, 2006, cat. no. 3306.0.55.001, ABS, Canberra.

6 De Vaus, D., Qu, L. and Weston, R. 2003, 'Changing Patterns of Partnering' in *Family Matters*, No.64, Australian Institute of Family Studies (AIFS), Melbourne.

7 ABS 2007, *Births, Australia, 2006*, cat. no. 3301.0, ABS, Canberra.

8 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, viewed 7 March 2008 <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html>.

9 Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2007, *Australia's welfare 2007*, AIHW cat. no. AUS 93, AIHW, Canberra.

10 AIHW 2004, *Children with disabilities in Australia.* AIHW cat. no. DIS 38, AIHW, Canberra.

11 AIHW 2008, *Injury among young Australians*, AIHW Bulletin 60, AIHW, Canberra.

12 ABS and AIHW 2005, *The health and welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples*, ABS cat. no. 4704.0, ABS, Canberra. AIHW cat. no. IHW 14, AIHW, Canberra.

13 Edwards, B., Higgins, D.J., Gray, M., Zmijewski, N. and Kingston, M. 2008, *The nature and impact of caring for family members with a disability in Australia*, Research Report No.16, AIFS, Melbourne.

Volunteering across Australia

Volunteering makes a valuable economic and social contribution to society. Volunteers provide services which would otherwise have to be paid for or left undone, allowing non-profit organisations to allocate their often limited financial resources elsewhere. The value of work contributed by volunteers to non-profit institutions in 1999–2000 was estimated at $8.9 billion.[1] Voluntary work also helps build networks, shared values and social cohesion while providing volunteers with opportunities for social engagement[2] and to exercise social responsibility by helping others or the community.

This article focuses on the 20% of the adult population who reported in the 2006 Census that they had volunteered. It examines the relationship between mobility and participation in voluntary work, differences in volunteering rates between Urban Centres and Rural Localities across Australia, and the characteristics of communities with high rates of volunteering.

Voluntary work

Volunteers are those people aged 15 years and over who reported in the 2006 Census that they had volunteered at least once in the previous 12 months. The volunteering rate for a given area is the proportion of that area's population aged 15 years and over who had volunteered in the previous 12 months.

Urban Centres and Rural Localities

A **Rural Locality** is generally defined as a population cluster of between 200 and 999 people, while an Urban Centre has 1,000 or more people. For the purposes of this article, Urban Centres have been further split into **Small Urban Centres** of between 1,000 and 9,999 people and **Large Urban Centres** of 10,000 or more people.

Mobility and voluntary work

People who moved community (Statistical Local Area, see Glossary) in the 12 months prior to the 2006 Census were less likely to have volunteered than longer-term residents. In 2006, 17% of recent movers participated in voluntary work compared with 21% of non-movers. However, this pattern varied with age, with differences most pronounced at the peak volunteering age groups of 40–49 years and 65–69 years, and among those aged 70–84 years. There was little difference in volunteering rates for those aged under 30. See the 'Community overview' for information about volunteering across the life cycle, p. 90–101.

The lower rate among movers appears to be temporary: those people who had moved between 1 and 5 years before the 2006 Census had only a slightly lower rate of voluntary work (19%) than non-movers (21%). This suggests that after an initial period of settling into a community, new arrivals gradually become integrated into the community through activities such as voluntary work. It also suggests that communities experiencing recent population change (for example, growth) are only likely to experience a temporary reduction in people participating in voluntary work. However, communities with high population turnover may also have a high turnover in volunteers, which could affect the continuity of programs and activities they are involved in.

Age profile of volunteers by whether moved SLA in last 12 months

Urban Centres and Rural Localities

Results of the 2006 Census show a relationship between population size and participation in voluntary work (see graph below). As population size increases, participation in voluntary work declines. In 2006, 27% of adults living in Rural Localities had volunteered, compared with 25% of those in Small Urban Centres and 18% of those in Large Urban Centres.

These differences can be partly explained by the different age and life cycle structures of these populations. The two peak age groups for participation in voluntary work were 40–49 and 65–69 years, and Rural Localities generally had older populations than Small Urban Centres and Large Urban Centres with median ages of 40, 39 and 36 years respectively. Rates of participation in voluntary work are also generally higher among parents of school-aged children (see the 'Community overview', p. 90–101) and Rural Localities had a slightly higher proportion of children aged under 15 years (22%) than Small Urban Centres (21%) and Large Urban Centres (19%). In addition, smaller communities in rural and regional areas may have more interconnected social networks which facilitate cooperation among residents[3], or they may have a greater need for volunteers to meet demands for services and entertainment that are provided by the government or businesses in the larger Urban Centres.

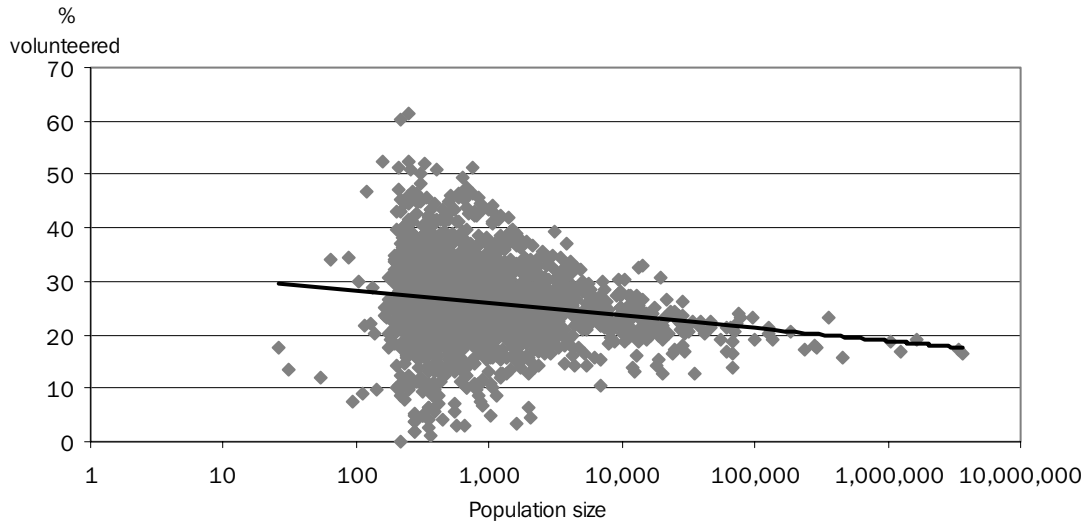
For some people, lack of proficiency in spoken English may be a barrier to participation in voluntary work. Overall in 2006, people who spoke English well or very well were more than twice as likely to have volunteered as those who did not speak English or did not speak it well (13% compared with 5%). Differences in English proficiency between urban and rural areas may partly explain different volunteering rates. In Large Urban Centres, 3.6% of the population spoke English not well or not at all compared to 0.7% in Small Urban Centres and 1.4% in Rural Localities. Differences may also reflect varying attitudes as to what constitutes volunteering across cultural groups.

Volunteering in Small Urban Centres

Among Small Urban Centres, rates of voluntary work ranged from 3% to 44% in 2006. A comparison of communities with high rates of participation in voluntary work shows considerable variation in the characteristics of their populations. For example, Barcaldine in Queensland's Central West and Jamestown to the north of Adelaide in South Australia both had high rates of voluntary work (see table next page) despite very different population profiles. Barcaldine had a median age of 36 years and a high proportion of children, with 23% of the population aged 0–14 years.

This is consistent with findings on the relationship between voluntary work and life cycle stage, with parents of primary school-aged children more likely to volunteer than others. Jamestown had a much older population with a median age of 46 years and only 17% of the population aged 0–14 years. This community typifies the second peak in volunteering that occurs for people aged in their 60s as they retire from paid work. It should also be noted that voluntary work encompasses a wide range of activities and volunteers at different life cycle stages may be involved in very different types of voluntary work.

Population size by proportion of population who volunteered



Small Urban Centres with the highest volunteering rates in each state/territory(a)

		Total population	Volunteers	Population aged 0–14	Median age	Religious affiliation	Median household income(b)
		no.	%	%	years	%	$
Balranald	NSW	1 200	38.6	19.5	40	81.8	479
Tathra	NSW	1 600	36.7	18.5	45	70.3	556
Ouyen	Vic.	1 100	44.3	17.7	45	74.2	458
Charlton	Vic.	1 100	42.9	18.0	48	78.2	420
Barcaldine	Qld	1 300	36.8	22.6	36	78.1	525
Maleny	Qld	1 300	36.0	20.1	42	57.8	435
Jamestown	SA	1 400	41.9	16.9	46	72.4	508
Crystal Brook	SA	1 200	41.6	18.3	45	70.2	460
Exmouth	WA	1 800	34.3	19.7	37	53.4	667
Kalbarri	WA	1 300	33.8	20.8	41	60.3	501
Evandale	Tas.	1 100	30.8	24.8	39	71.0	533
Deloraine	Tas.	2 200	28.4	20.0	42	68.4	425
Nhulunbuy	NT	4 100	31.6	26.4	33	58.0	1 134
Jabiru	NT	1 100	24.6	24.7	32	41.6	1 018
All Small Urban Centres	**Aust.**	**..**	**25.0**	**21.3**	**39**	**69.9**	**507**

(a) ACT has no Urban Centres with a population between 1,000 and 9,999.

(b) Median equivalised gross weekly household income.

While volunteering tends to be associated with socio-demographic characteristics such as life cycle stage, religious affiliation and employment status (outlined above and in the Community overview, p. 90–101), local factors also play a role in determining participation rates. For example, rates of religious affiliation varied in Barcaldine (78%) and Jamestown (72%) despite high rates of voluntary work in both communities.

Generally, participation in voluntary work is higher among those who work part-time than among those who work full-time or are not in the labour force (see 'Community overview', p. 90–101). However, communities with high levels of volunteering had a wide range of labour force participation patterns. For example, in the tourist resort town of Exmouth on the remote North West Cape of Western Australia, where one third of the population volunteered, 75% of adults were in the labour force and 20% of adults worked part-time. In contrast, Crystal Brook, the service centre at the southern end of the Flinders Ranges in South Australia, had a lower labour force participation rate (48%) and 14% of adults employed part-time, below the 17% overall rate for Small Urban Centres. In Crystal Brook 42% of the population volunteered.

Volunteering in Large Urban Centres

Like Small Urban Centres, voluntary work rates in Large Urban Centres ranged widely from 13% to 34% in 2006. Large Urban Centres with high rates of participation in voluntary work had a range of population profiles. Warragul, a commercial centre in the agricultural and dairy farming region of West Gippsland, had one of the highest rates of voluntary work in Victoria (27%). This Large Urban Centre had a median age of 37 years and a high proportion of children, with 22% of its population aged 0–14. Victor Harbor in South Australia had a similarly high voluntary work rate (30%) despite having a much older population. This coastal resort town on the Fleurieu Peninsula had a median age of 56 years, and only 13% of the population aged 0–14 years. Again, these figures reflect the peaks in volunteering that occur among parents of primary school-aged children and people aged in their 60s who have retired from paid work.

Large Urban Centres with the highest volunteering rates in each state/territory(a)

		Total population	Volunteers	Population aged 0–14	Median age	Religious affiliation	Household income(b)
		no.	%	%	years	%	$
Armidale	NSW	19 500	30.6	19.5	32	73.2	523
Bowral	NSW	11 500	27.0	19.5	46	76.2	674
Horsham	Vic.	14 100	33.0	20.0	39	74.6	523
Warragul	Vic.	11 500	27.5	22.0	37	66.1	559
Nambour	Qld	13 500	25.2	20.8	39	66.3	487
Warwick	Qld	12 600	25.1	22.8	36	78.7	469
Crafers-Bridgewater	SA	13 400	32.6	19.4	40	55.7	802
Victor Harbor	SA	10 400	30.2	12.7	56	63.7	420
Albany	WA	25 200	24.4	20.4	39	59.8	530
Busselton	WA	15 400	23.8	21.0	39	61.8	548
Kingston-Blackmans Bay	Tas.	17 300	25.2	20.8	37	69.1	657
Hobart	Tas.	128 600	21.4	17.2	39	66.4	593
Alice Springs	NT	21 600	26.5	23.5	32	59.3	792
Darwin	NT	66 300	21.4	20.1	33	60.8	823
Canberra-Queanbeyan	ACT/ NSW	356 100	23.4	19.4	34	67.3	901
All Large Urban Centres	**Aust.**	**. .**	**18.1**	**19.4**	**36**	**70.5**	**666**

(a) ACT has only one Urban Centre with a population of 10,000 or more.

(b) Median equivalised gross weekly household income.

The 2006 General Social Survey found a relationship between socioeconomic status and voluntary work with higher rates of volunteering recorded for those areas with greater socioeconomic advantage.[4] The census collects income data from individuals, from which median *household income*[5] can be derived. Results from the 2006 Census show a range of median *household incomes* across Large Urban Centres with high rates of voluntary work. For example, in South Australia, Crafers-Bridgewater in the Adelaide Hills had a median *household income* of $802 per week compared with $420 for Victor Harbor. Both communities had voluntary work rates around 30%. However, it should be noted that Victor Harbor had a higher home ownership rate, suggesting that it may have higher socioeconomic status than implied by *household income* alone. In Victor Harbor, 42% of the population lived in fully owned homes (that is, without a mortgage) compared with 34% in Crafers-Bridgewater.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002, *Australian National Accounts: Non-Profit Institutions Satellite Account, 1999–2000*, cat. no. 5256.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 ABS 2006, *Aspects of Social Capital, Australia, 2006*, cat. no. 4911.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 Allcott, H., Karlan, D., Mobius, M., Rosenblat, T. and Szeidl, A. 2007, 'Community size and network closure' in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 97, No. 2, p. 80–85.

4 ABS 2007, *Voluntary Work, Australia, 2006*, cat. no. 4441.0, ABS, Canberra.

5 Median equivalised gross household income, referred to here as median household income (see Glossary).

Caring across the life cycle

Across Australian society, people provide unpaid care to others. Many people raise children and support them during their early years of life, and some continue to support children into young adulthood and beyond. At some stage in their life, many people provide care for children, partners, family members or friends who have a disability, long term illness or problems related to old age. Some people provide care for more than one person at the same time in their life, and some provide care for many years. The 2006 Census showed that over 5 million adults (31% of men and 41% of women) provided care to their own child, another child, or a person with a disability.

The provision of adequate support for a person with a disability is a family, community and government concern. Of equal concern is the need to provide support for people who provide unpaid care to a person with a disability. Research shows that caring is costly for carers and their families, in terms of finances, relationships, opportunities for employment and social participation.[1, 2] Carers are also at risk of experiencing physical and mental health problems.[2] Other research reveals that the experiences of carers are diverse and can sometimes have positive outcomes, such as a closer relationship between carers and the recipient of their care.[1]

Young carers

There are particular concerns in the community about the circumstances of young people who provide unpaid care to a person with a disability, long term illness or problems related to old age. On one hand, caring for such people can provide young people with skills, close relationships and an identity. On the other hand, having caring responsibilities at a young age can affect many areas of life, such as participation in education and work, having a social life or forming relationships.[3]

According to the 2006 Census, 5% of young people aged 15–24 (119,400 young people) provided unpaid care to a person with a disability. Of these young carers, 30,300 (25%) were co-resident carers, that is they lived with a person who needed assistance with core

Unpaid child care is time spent looking after a child under 15 years of age by family members, friends or neighbours without payment. The census asked people if they provided unpaid child care in the previous fortnight.

Unpaid care is care, help or assistance with daily activities a person gives to a family member or other person because of a disability, long term illness or problems related to old age. Unpaid care encompasses a range of daily activities, including, but not limited to: bathing, dressing, toileting and feeding; helping to move around; understanding or being understood by others; or providing emotional support and helping maintain friendships and social activities. See Glossary for further information.

A carer is a person who provided unpaid care, help or assistance to family members or others because of a disability, a long term illness or problems related to old age in the fortnight before the 2006 Census.

A co-resident carer is a carer (see above) who lived in the same household as a person with a core activity need for assistance because of a disability, long term health condition (lasting 6 months or more) or problems related to old age (see Glossary: 'core activity need for assistance'). It is likely that co-resident carers provided care to a person needing assistance who they lived with. However this is not certain, because in the census it is not possible to link people who provided unpaid care with the people they were assisting. See Glossary for further explanation of co-resident carers.

activities because of a disability, long term health condition (lasting 6 months or more) or old age (see box on previous page). Almost all of these lived with a relative, commonly a parent, needing assistance. A smaller group of these young co-resident carers (9,400), lived in a household where there were no other adults aged 25 or over who provided unpaid care.

Young Indigenous Australians (aged 15–34) were 1.8 times more likely to be carers than non-Indigenous Australians, related to the earlier onset of long-term health conditions in the Indigenous population. For more information see *A Profile of Carers in Australia, 2008,* ABS cat. no. 4448.0.

In the 15–24 year age group, similar proportions of young carers and other young people who did not provide care were enrolled in education (51% and 55% respectively). There was no difference in the proportion of young carers and people who did not provide unpaid care aged 18–19 who had completed Year 12 (excluding those who were still at school). However, among 20–24 year olds, there was a small gap: 87% of all young carers and 86% of young co-resident carers who were not enrolled in secondary school had completed Year 12 compared with 91% of people who did not provide care.

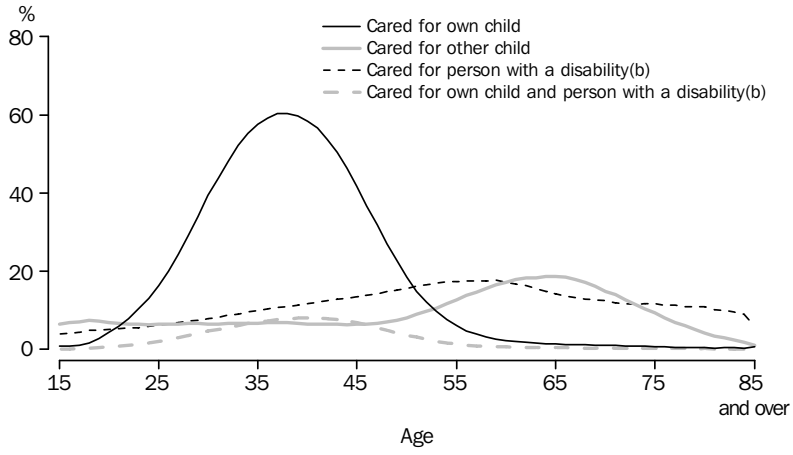
Young carers who were not full-time students in secondary school were less likely to be employed (65%) than similar people who did not provide unpaid care (79%), and young co-resident carers were even less likely to be employed (60%). While young carers made up just under 5% of their age group, they made up 9% of people in their age group who were neither studying nor employed.

Raising children

Through their adult years, many people are involved in raising children. According to the 2006 Census, a high proportion of people aged 25–54 were caring for their own children and this peaked at 35–39 years. Caring for a child in the early years of their life requires a high investment of time and energy. As children get older and gradually become independent they tend to require less care and supervision from parents, although many parents continue to provide some support to their children into adulthood, even after they leave home.

Parents with the dual responsibilities of raising children and caring for another person, often an elderly parent who needs assistance with core activities, are sometimes called the 'sandwich generation'. This group has become more common because of social trends such as women having children at older ages and increasing life expectancy of older people. Of all parents living in a family with children under 15, around 447,500 (13%) had also provided unpaid care to a person because of a disability, long term illness or problems related to old age. Two thirds of these parents were women. It is likely that many in this group provided care to older people, considering that the majority of people who need assistance are 65 years and over.

Providing care across the life cycle(a)



(a) Groups in this graph are not mutually exclusive. Therefore proportions do not sum to 100%.

(b) Includes people who provided unpaid care to a person because of a disability, long term illness, or problems related to old age.

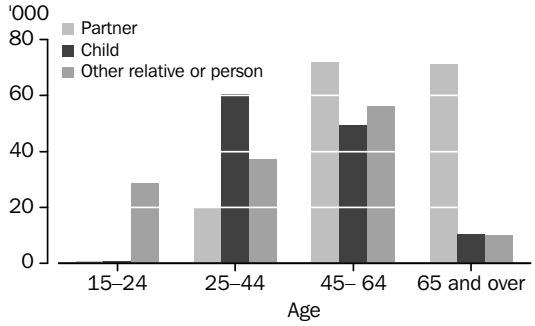
Both men and women with children under 15 who also provided unpaid care to a person with a disability were less likely to be employed (84% of men and 55% of women) than parents who did not provide unpaid care (91% of men and 62% of women). Those who were employed were more likely to be working part-time: 14% of fathers and 66% of mothers who cared for children and a person with a disability worked part-time compared with 10% of other fathers and 61% of other mothers.

Around 112,600 parents with children under 15 who provided unpaid care to a person with a disability (25%) were co-resident carers. Of these parents, 77,700 (69%) had a child with a need for assistance with core activities because of a disability or a long term health condition. This was the most common relationship of care for co-resident carers in the 25–44 year age group. A smaller group (34,900) of parents who provided unpaid care lived in a household with a partner, parent or other person who needed assistance because of a disability, long term health condition or problems related to old age.

Middle aged most likely to provide unpaid care

As people move into middle age they are more likely to have frail aged parents and relatives, or a partner who has developed health problems and needs assistance. While just under 10% of people aged 25–44 years had provided unpaid care to a person with a disability, long term health illness or problems related to old age, people aged 45–64 were the most likely age group to have provided such care (16%).

Carers: relationship of person needing assistance to carer(a)

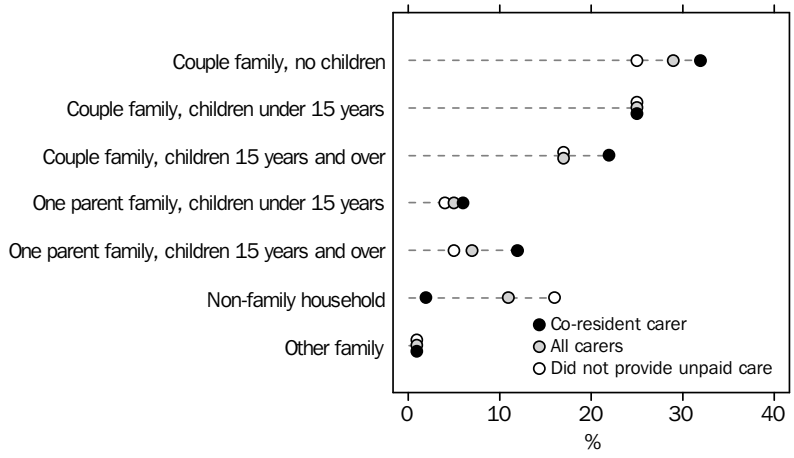


(a) Number of carers who lived with a child, partner or other relative or person with a core activity need for assistance.

As people move through stages of their life, different people may need their care. The 2003 Survey of Disability, Ageing and Carers (SDAC) showed the relationship between primary carers (people who provided the majority of informal help to a person with a disability) and main recipient of their care. Among primary carers aged 15–44, a parent or child was the main recipient of their care. In the 45–64 year age group, caring for a child or a partner was equally common among primary carers, while the majority of primary carers aged 65 and over cared for a partner.[1]

The 2006 Census showed that there were 115,400 co-resident carers aged 25–44, representing 23% of all carers in this age group. Over half (60,300) lived with a child who needed assistance because of a disability or long term health condition. Among those

Family composition(a)



(a) Proportion of carers, co-resident carers and people who did not provide care who lived in these household types.

aged 45–64, there were 174,300 co-resident carers (24% of all carers in this age group). Of this group 71,600 people lived with a partner needing assistance, while smaller groups lived with a parent or other person (56,200) or a child (49,300) with such a need.

Adult children may live with their parents if either parent or child requires assistance because of disability. This dependency relationship may explain the higher proportion of carers who lived in couple or one parent families with adult children than people who did not provide care (see graph on previous page).

Employment of carers

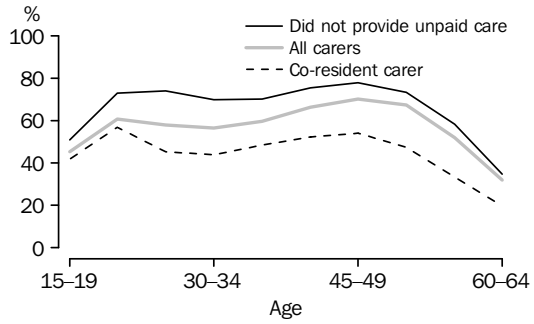
Although most people who provided unpaid care to a person with a disability, long term illness or problems related to old age were in the working age group (85% were aged 15–64), they were less likely to be employed than people who did not provide unpaid care (64% compared with 73%). Co-resident carers had the lowest rate of employment (50%). Providing unpaid care appears to have a larger effect on women's participation in paid work than men's. A much lower proportion of women co-resident carers were employed than women who did not provide care: the gap in employment participation was smaller among men. These patterns were consistent across the working age group.

Among employed people in the working age group, working part-time was more common for women than men, whether they had provided unpaid care to a person with a disability or had not provided care. This reflects the role of part-time work in helping people, particularly women, to balance work with care for children and other family members.

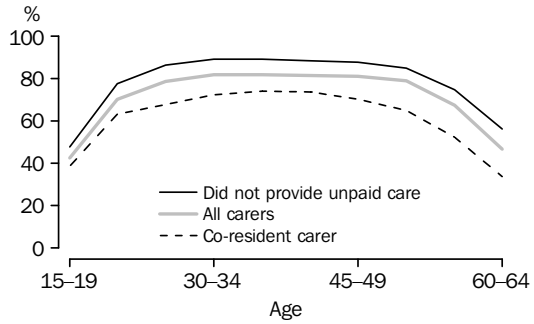
However, providing unpaid care to a person with a disability affected hours in paid work, mainly for women. Employed women who provided unpaid care were more likely to work part-time than employed women who did not provide unpaid care in the same age group (53% overall compared with 46%). Co-resident carers were even more likely to work part-time (58%). There was a small difference in part-time work for men who had provided unpaid care (19%) and had not provided unpaid care (17%).

Employment(a)

Women



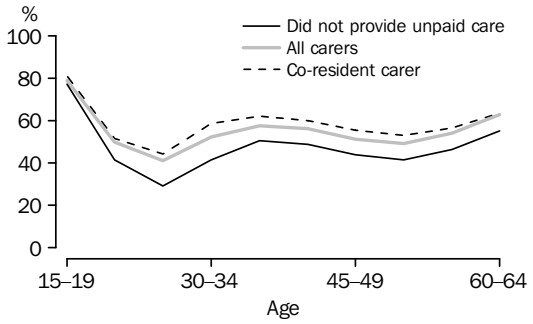
Men



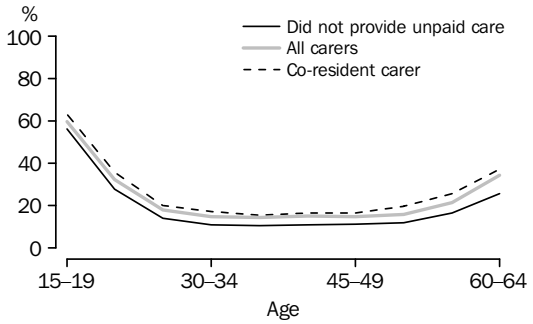
(a) Proportion of females or males aged 15–64 years who were employed.

Working part-time(a)

Women



Men



(a) Proportion of employed females or males aged 15–64 years who worked less than 35 hours per week.

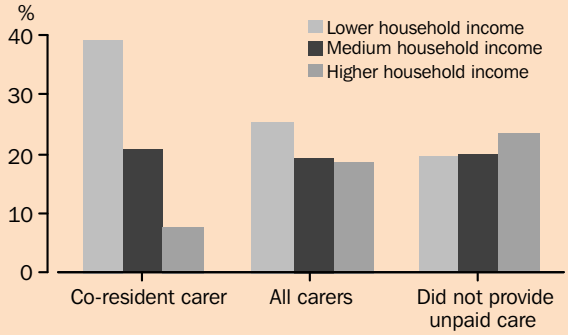
Economic resources of carers

Providing care for a person with a disability, long term health condition or problems related to old age can have an economic impact on individuals and families. There may be direct financial costs associated with caring for such people, like the cost of special equipment, health care and travel to health care appointments. People who spend time providing unpaid care may also experience opportunity costs, for example lost opportunities for education, paid work and social interaction. SDAC asked primary carers (that is people who are the main providers of care to a person with a disability) what the main effect of their caring role was on their financial situation: 21% of primary carers responded their income had decreased and 23% reported extra expenses.[1]

According to the 2006 Census, carers were over-represented in *lower income households*[4]. At each year of age in the 15–64 group, a higher proportion of people who provided unpaid care to a person with a disability lived in a *lower income household* than people who did not provide unpaid care. Around 33% of co-resident carers and 21% of all carers aged 15–64 lived in *lower income households*, compared with 14% of people who did not provide care. One contributing factor is that carers, particularly co-resident carers, may live with a person with a severe or profound disability who is unable to work and contribute to *household income*. Among those aged 65 and over, a high proportion of both carers and people who did not provide unpaid care lived in a *lower income household* (51% and 48% respectively).

Unpaid carers aged 20 years and over were more likely to have low levels of *personal income*: higher proportions had a weekly gross personal income of under $250 (26% of all carers and 36% of co-resident carers) than people who did not provide unpaid care (20%). This pattern was consistent across age groups. Disparity in *personal income* reflects the higher proportions of carers who were not employed or who worked part-time (see previous page).

Household income groups(a)



(a) Household income is equivalised gross household income. For details of the income groups used see Glossary.

Older people looking after children

Looking after children who were not their own was most common for people aged in their fifties, sixties and seventies. This is the stage of life when many people become grandparents, and have the opportunity to look after their grandchildren. Around 23% of women and 12% of men aged 60–69, the peak group, had looked after a child who was not their own. This was the most common form of care provided by people aged 60–74, followed by unpaid care for a person with a disability (see Family composition graph p 109).

Caring for partner in older age

Older people are more likely than younger people to take on primary responsibility for providing care to a person with a disability, long term illness or problems related to old age. SDAC (2003) showed that a higher proportion of people 65 years and over were primary carers, who most commonly cared for a partner.[1]

The 2006 Census showed that of people who provided unpaid care, people 65 years and over were more likely than younger people to

Carers

	'000	%
Co-resident carer(a)		
Child had need for assistance	120.9	7.5
Partner had need for assistance	163.6	10.2
Other relative or person had need for assistance	132.2	8.2
Total co-resident carer	*410.6*	*25.6*
Other carer	1 195.6	74.4
Total provided unpaid care	*1 606.2*	*100.0*
Provided unpaid care	1 606.2	11.2
Did not provide unpaid care	12 705.2	88.8
Total(b)	**15 918.1**	**100.0**

(a) Categories do not sum to total as people may have had both a child and a partner who required assistance.

(b) People aged 15 years and over.

live with a person who needed assistance because of a disability, long term health condition or problems related to old age (37% compared with 24%). Most of this group of 90,600 co-resident carers lived with a partner who needed assistance (71,100). Reflecting this, a comparatively high proportion of carers lived in couple families without children (see Family composition graph p 109). In 35,500 couple families both partners had a need for assistance. Two thirds of these partners were 65 years and over (66%), and a high proportion had provided unpaid care (43% of women and 35% of men).

While much care among older Australians occurs in couple relationships, a number of people provide care to their adult child with a disability. The 2006 Census shows that 4% of older carers aged 65 and over lived with an adult child with a need for assistance. Many older carers of adult children with a disability have provided care over an extended period, often throughout their child's life. Providing ongoing care to an adult child with a disability, along with the physical demands of such care, can be increasingly hard for older parents, although they may have acquired life and parenting skills that help them to cope.[5] They may feel increasing stress about what will happen to their child when they are no longer able to provide care for them.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2003, *Disability, Ageing and Carers, Australia, 2003*, cat. no. 4430.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 Edwards, B., Higgins, D.J., Gray, M., Zmijewski, N. and Kingston, M. 2008, *The nature and impact of caring for family members with a disability in Australia*, Research Report No.16, Australian Institute of Family Studies (AIFS), Melbourne.

3 Carers Australia 2002. *Young Carers Research Project—Final Report*. Carers Australia, Canberra.

4 Household income is equivalised gross household income. For details of the household income groups used see Glossary.

5 Cuskelly, M. 2006, 'Parents of adults with an intellectual disability' in *Family Matters*, No. 74, AIFS, Melbourne.

Chapter five

Education

Education overview

In 2006, one in four Australians were attending an educational institution.

Formal education in Australia is undertaken through schools, Technical and Further Education institutions (TAFE), universities and other tertiary institutions, with increasing diversity in the range of courses offered by these institutions. In the 2006 Census, 4.6 million people of all ages reported that they were attending an educational institution.

In Australia in 2006, school attendance was compulsory between the ages of 6 and 15 years (16 in Tasmania and Western Australia). Some states are moving towards increasing the leaving age to 17.[1] Along with this, there is a growing recognition of the role early childhood education plays in laying a strong foundation for schooling outcomes and successful transitions into further education and the labour market. In 2006, 72% of Australian students were children and young people at pre-school, primary and secondary school.

Vocational education provides specialised technical courses with direct relevance to industry, as well as a range of self-help or self-improvement classes, accessible to anyone in the community. Just over 400,000 people attended a TAFE institution in 2006—9% of all students. Participation by Indigenous Australians and people in rural and remote areas in this sector has been increasing.[2] There is also a trend for vocational courses to be offered as part of the curriculum in secondary schools.

The Australian higher education sector plays a vital role in Australia's intellectual, economic, cultural and social development. It educates a significant part of the future workforce, develops people's skills and provides research opportunities, as well as being a major employer in the Australian community. In the 2006 Census, 745,000 people (16% of all students) reported that they were attending university or another tertiary institution.

Students in Australia

	Students(a)	
Type of institution	'000	%(b)
Pre-school	307.8	6.7
Primary school	1,696.8	37.0
Secondary school	1,275.1	27.8
TAFE	428.0	9.3
University or other tertiary institution	745.4	16.3
Other	128.0	2.8
Total	**4 581.2**	**100.0**

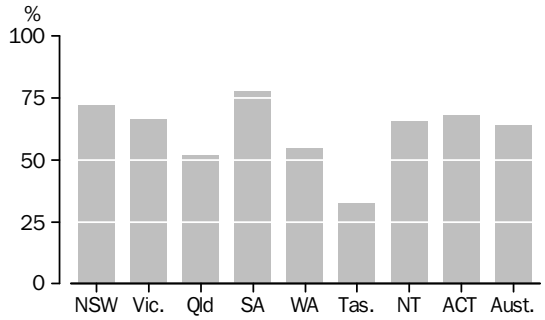
(a) Excludes overseas visitors in Australia for less than one year.

(b) Excludes people who did not state whether they attended an educational institution or the type of institution they attended.

Pre-school education

Pre-schools provide a range of educational and developmental programs (generally 2 to 3 days per week) to children in the year immediately before they commence full-time schooling and also, in some jurisdictions, to younger children.[1] There is growing recognition of the importance of early education for competence and coping skills that can affect learning, behaviour and health outcomes throughout life.[3] The Australian Government is focussing on ensuring that all children, no matter where they live, have access to a quality pre-school program in the year before starting school.[4]

Proportion of 4 year olds at pre-school



According to the 2006 Census, 308,000 children aged 3, 4 and 5 were attending pre-school. For Australia as a whole, the average age at which children attend pre-school was 4: in 2006, 64% of 4 year olds attended pre-school. A lower proportion of Indigenous 4 year olds attended pre-school (52%).

In 2006 there were marked differences in participation in pre-school between the states: this mainly relates to the history of pre-school and other early pre-compulsory education in each state or territory. For example, in Western Australia similar proportions of 4 and 5 year olds attend pre-school. In Queensland, a lower proportion of 4 year olds than 5 year olds attend pre-school. These patterns partially relate to the older age at which children traditionally start school in these states. In 2006, Queensland was in a transition period when the education year previously known as pre-school was becoming the first year of primary school known as Prep.

Another factor affecting reported participation in pre-school is differences in terminology across the states and territories. Specifically, 'kindergarten' is a common term for pre-school education in Tasmania, Western Australia and Victoria. In Queensland in 2006, kindergarten referred to the year *prior* to the pre-school year. In New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, kindergarten describes the first year of school. Because of the different meanings, the term 'kindergarten' could not be used in the 2006 Census question. This may have affected the response rate in those states which use kindergarten to describe the pre-school year.

School students

School education aims to provide students with the foundational skills, knowledge, understanding and values necessary for ongoing learning, employment and full participation in society.

Census data about Schools

The census measures attendance of school students rather than enrolment, which is reported by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) through the National Schools Statistics Collection. This, along with the fact that information in the census is self-reported, or reported by parents on children's behalf, means that the number of school students measured by the census is lower than that measured by the National Schools Statistics Collection. Even so, the census provides valuable information about the characteristics of students and their families, across all areas of Australia.

It is not possible to derive participation rates for school students aged 6 to 14 years from census data.

In the 2006 Census, there were 1.7 million students attending primary school and 1.3 million attending secondary school. This was an increase of less than 1% in the total number of students since 1996: a 5% increase in the number of secondary students and a 2% decline in the number of primary students. This decline can be attributed to low birth rates in the 10 years before the 2006 Census resulting in smaller cohorts of children entering school.

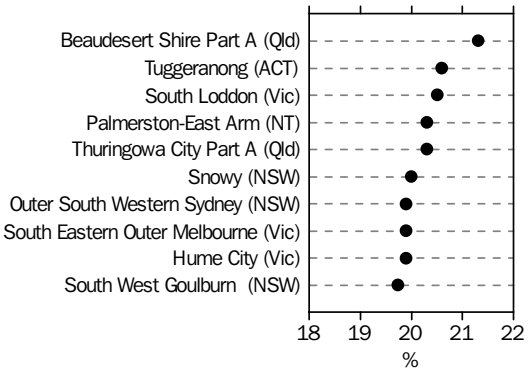
In 2006 there were 72,000 Indigenous students attending primary school—a 17% increase from 1996 when there were 61,000 students reported. Over the same 10 year period, the number of Indigenous secondary students increased by 46% from 27,000 to 40,000. Some of this increase may relate to a higher proportion of people reporting that they were Indigenous in the 2006 Census than in 1996.

A small proportion of school students (less than 1% overall) reported that they were studying part-time in 2006, but the numbers have been gradually increasing over time. The likelihood of studying part-time increased with age and was more common in the later years of secondary school.

The location of school students

Across the states and territories of Australia, the proportion of the population who were school students in 2006 ranged from 16% to 17%. Like the rest of Australians, most school students (88%) live in Major Cities or Inner Regional Areas of Australia (see Glossary).

Proportion of population who were school students: Top 10 Regions(a)



(a) Regions are Statistical Subdivisions.

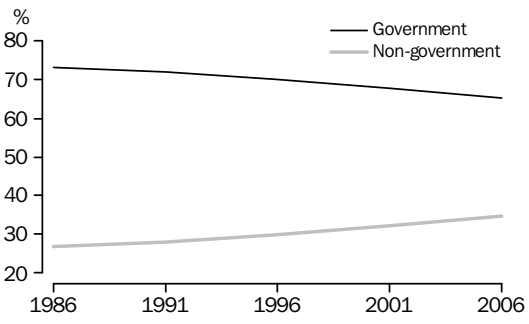
In 2006, the highest proportions of school students tended to be in the outer regions of the major cities such as places like Beaudesert Shire Part A (Qld) (21%) and Tuggeranong (ACT) (21%). Conversely the lowest proportions of school students tended to be in inner city areas such as Inner Brisbane and Inner Melbourne (both 6%).

Government and non-government schools

The Australian school system comprises government and non-government schools. Government schools are administered by state and territory governments. Non-government schools are administered by a range of religious, community or private groups. In the census they are grouped into Catholic and other non-government schools.

The introduction of needs-based funding by the Australian government in the 1970s[5] has led to a gradual increase in the number of non-government schools. Overall, 65% of students attended a government school in 2006. Of the rest, 21% were in Catholic schools and

Proportion of students in government and non-government schools 1986–2006



Government and non-government school attendance

	Government	*Catholic*	*Other non-government*
	%	%	%
NSW	65.2	22.2	12.6
Vic.	63.7	22.3	14.1
Qld	67.3	17.9	14.8
SA	64.2	18.9	17.0
WA	65.0	19.7	15.3
Tas.	70.5	17.6	11.9
NT	74.0	13.6	12.4
ACT	59.1	28.3	12.7
Aust.	**65.3**	**20.8**	**14.0**

14% were in other non-government schools. Indigenous students were more likely than their non-Indigenous counterparts to attend a government school (84% compared with 64%).

Within each state and territory, the distribution of students between government and Catholic schools varied. The Australian Capital Territory had the lowest proportion of students attending government schools, at 59%, while the Northern Territory had the highest, at 74%. Balancing this, the Northern Territory had the lowest proportion of students attending Catholic schools (14%), while the Australian Capital Territory had the highest (28%). In contrast, all the states and territories had reasonably similar proportions of students attending other non-government schools, ranging from 12% in Tasmania to 17% in South Australia.

The proportion of students attending government schools has been declining since the late 1970s, and fell by 8% between 1986 and 2006. The proportion of students in other non-government schools increased from 10% to 14% between 1996 and 2006. The reasons behind these trends are complex. Strong economic growth resulting in steady increases in employment, household incomes and wealth may mean that a greater proportion of the population is able to choose non-government education.[6] Other explanations that have been put forward are: the emergence of new independent schools, including parent-controlled Christian schools; the changing share of government resources received by government and non-government schools; and public concern about the ability of some government schools to deliver high quality education.[7, 8]

Participation in non-compulsory schooling

Remaining in education beyond the compulsory years of school can assist a young person's transition into the labour force and broaden their opportunities later in life. A key measure of the level of non-compulsory school participation is the proportion of 16 year olds who are attending school.

In 2006, 84% of 16 year olds were attending school. From as early as 1971, when less than half 16 year olds (48%) attended school, until the early 1990s, there was a gradual increase in participation beyond the compulsory years. This tapered off in the late 1990s and early 21st century. The same pattern is evident for 17 year olds, the age at which most young people complete secondary school.

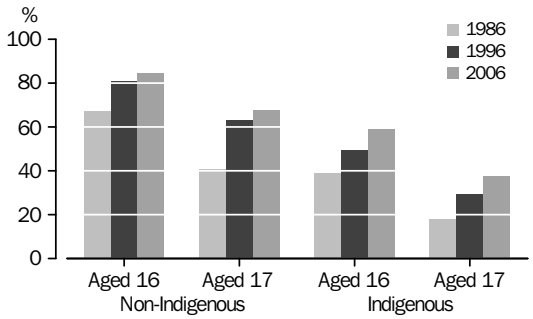
Increased participation in the last years of school is associated with the growing importance of educational qualifications for successful employment outcomes. Changes in the labour market have meant that fewer jobs are available for people who have not completed Year 12, while more jobs require TAFE or university qualifications.[9]

Indigenous students contributed to the trend of increasing participation in non-compulsory schooling. Although participation rates were lower among Indigenous 16 and 17 years olds than their non-Indigenous counterparts in each census year, they also increased between 1986 and 2006. For example, between 1996 and 2006, the proportion of Indigenous 16 year olds attending school increased from 50% to 59%, compared with 81% to 85% of non-Indigenous students.

Girls are more likely to continue on at school for longer than boys. In 2006, 81% of 16 year old boys and 86% of 16 year old girls attended school. Among 17 year olds, 63% of boys and 71% of girls were still attending school. However both girls and boys were more likely to stay at school than they were two decades ago. In 1986, 65% of boys and 68% of girls were still at school at age 16 and by age 17 this had dropped to 39% and 42% respectively.

The 2006 Census showed that 26,900 secondary school students aged 15–19 had arrived in Australia between 2002 and 2006. A higher proportion of these students attended a government school (63%) than Australian-born secondary school students (59%). They were also more likely to attend a non-government school (excluding Catholic schools) than Australian-born students. Conversely they were less likely to attend a Catholic school.

16 and 17 year olds attending school

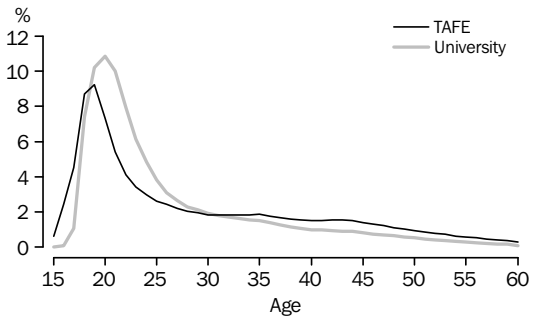


Continuing education after school

Many Australians continue to study beyond their school years at Technical and Further Education institutions (TAFE), university or other tertiary institutions. In 2006, there were 1.2 million students aged 15 and over attending educational institutions other than schools. These students comprised 8% of Australians aged 15 and over: 5% attending a university and 3% TAFE. Over half of these students were women (55%). Participation in non-school education was higher in 2006 than 1986 across all ages. For more information on participation in non-school education over time, see 'Adult education across the generations', p. 123–127.

Over half (55%) the students who were attending a non-school educational institution were young people aged 15–24. TAFE students had an older age profile than university students: 40% were aged 30 and over compared with 27% of university students.

Age profile of TAFE and university students



16 year olds who have left school

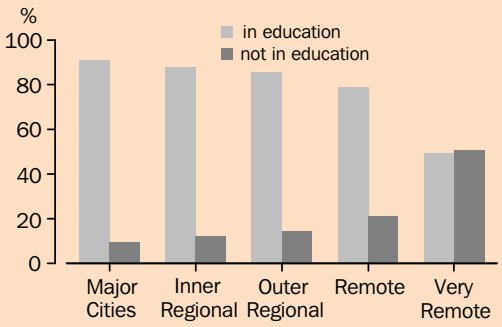
A range of personal, institutional, and socio-economic factors influence an individual's decision to leave school early.[10] The census can provide information on some of these factors, such as participation in other types of education, employment and location issues.

In 2006, 41,000 16 year olds (16%) reported that they were not attending school. Most of these had completed Year 10 (82%) but only 4% reported completing Year 12. Of those not attending school, one third (32%) were still participating in education, mainly at TAFE.

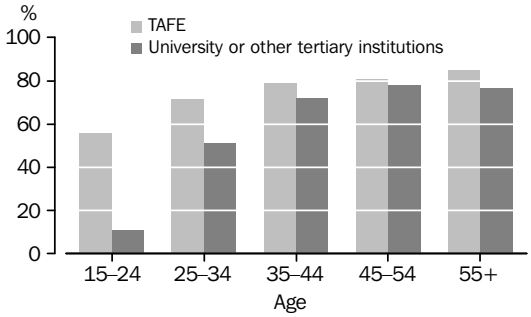
Of 16 year olds who were not attending an educational institution, 56% (14,800) were employed. Of these, 61% worked full-time. The most common occupations of employed 16 year olds were Technicians and Trades Workers (31%), Labourers (28%) and Sales Workers (23%). Almost one quarter of 16 year olds in the labour force were unemployed.

The vast majority of 16 year olds live in Major Cities and Inner and Outer Regional Areas (98%). Across these regions the proportion of 16 year olds not in education ranged from 9% to15%. In contrast, 21% of 16 year olds in Remote Areas, and 50% in Very Remote Areas were not in education. Lack of access to educational facilities in remote parts of Australia compels children to move to large towns and cities to complete their education.

Participation in education of 16 year olds by Remoteness Areas



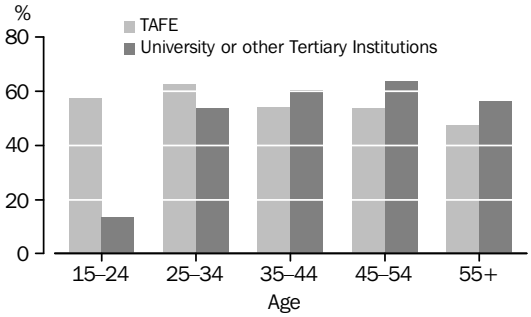
Proportion of students studying part-time



TAFE students of all ages were more likely to be studying part-time than university students (67% compared with 32%). Even among those recently out of school, over half of TAFE students were part-time (56% of 15–24 year olds). In contrast, most young university students were studying full-time (89%). However, the proportion of students studying part-time at both university and TAFE increased with age.

The difference in full-time and part-time study patterns of university and TAFE students can be partly explained by their employment status. Overall, the same proportion of students at both TAFE and university were employed (66%). However, a much higher proportion of employed TAFE students were working full-time (57%) than employed university students (33%). The difference in full-time and part-time employment was greatest among 15–24 year olds, where 57% of employed TAFE students worked full-time compared with 13% of employed university students. For more information about the changes in work patterns of students over time, and their occupations, see 'Adult education across the generations', p. 123–127.

Proportion of employed students working full-time



Overseas-born students

Australian universities and TAFEs attract many overseas students. According to the 2006 Census there were 137,100 tertiary students who were born overseas and had recently arrived in Australia. Of these, 72% were university students and 28% were TAFE students (compared with 62% and 38% of Australian students respectively). The largest group of these students were born in Chinese Asia (26%).[11] Recently arrived tertiary students had an older age profile than Australian-born students. Reflecting the high proportion of university students among recently arrived tertiary students, a much higher proportion were full-time students (85% compared with 51% of Australian students).

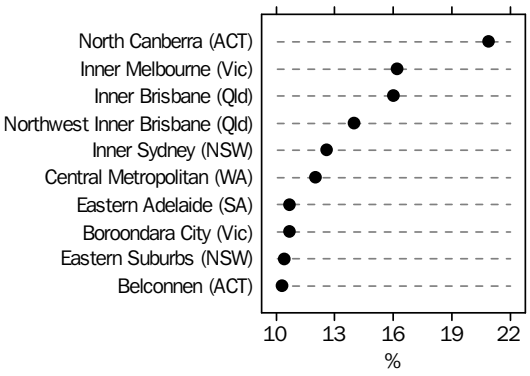
Location of university and TAFE students

Between 7% and 8% of people in every state were university or TAFE students. The Australian Capital Territory had a higher proportion of non-school students (13%), and the Northern Territory had a lower proportion (6%) than the states. The majority of students attending non-school educational institutions lived in Major Cities (79%). Reflecting this, the areas in Australia with the highest proportion of resident university or TAFE students were all located in capital cities. One in five people living in North Canberra were university or TAFE students, the highest proportion in Australia. Bathurst (NSW) had the highest proportion of resident students (10%) of all regions outside the capital cities.

While university students were strongly clustered in Major Cities (83%), this was less the case for TAFE students. A slightly lower proportion of TAFE students lived in Major Cities (71%) than university students; instead higher proportions of TAFE students lived in Inner Regional Areas (20% compared with 12%) and Outer Regional Areas (8% compared with 4%). These differences reflect the varying locations of non-school educational institutions. University campuses tend to be located in capital cities and regional centres, while TAFEs and other tertiary institutions are more widely spread across the country and so are more accessible to those living in regional Australia.

In 2006, a large proportion (46%) of 1.2 million students who were attending a non-school institution reported that they already had a non-school qualification. Of these students, 24% had completed a qualification in the field of Management and commerce, 18% in Society and culture and 10% in each of Health and Engineering and related technologies. This group undertaking further training may represent people continuing their education for career development or to extend current knowledge in their profession; or people making a career change.

Proportion of TAFE and University students: Top 10 regions(a)



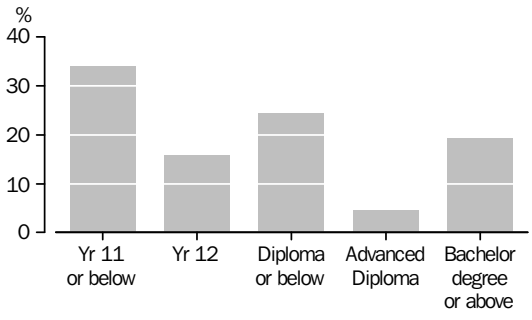
(a) Regions are Statistical Subdivisions.

Qualifications

Non-school qualifications rising

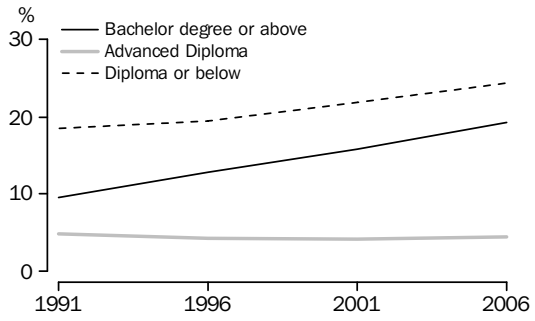
In 2006, 50% of the population aged 20 and over had a non-school qualification: 29% with an Advanced Diploma, Diploma or Certificate qualification and 19% with a Bachelor degree or above. The proportion of people with a non-school qualification rose considerably between 1991 and 2006. Over this period, the balance shifted from vocational education to university. The proportion of the population aged 20 years and over with a university degree almost doubled from 10% to 19%, while the proportion with an Advanced Diploma, Diploma or Certificate rose more slowly, from 23% to 29%.

Highest level of education(a)



(a) Population aged 20 years and over.

People with qualifications(a), 1991 to 2006



(a) Proportion of people with a non-school qualification aged 20 years and over.

No change in rate of higher degrees among graduates

In 2006, 5% of people aged 20 and over had a higher degree (for example a Postgraduate diploma, Master's degree, or Doctorate), more than double the proportion in 1991 (2.4%). Even so, the rate at which people with a Bachelor degree go on to attain higher degrees has not changed. In 2006, 26% of all those with a Bachelor degree or above had a higher degree. Similarly, in 1991, 25% had a higher degree.

Each generation better educated than the last

The level of educational attainment in the community has risen steadily with each successive generation. (A description of each generation can be found in the article, 'From generation to generation', p. 9–14.) Two thirds (66%) of the Oldest Generation reported their highest level of schooling completed as Year 11 or below, an indicator of the proportion of the population who did not complete school. For each generation, the proportion of the population who did not complete school has been lower, from 53% of the Lucky Generation, to 36% of the Baby Boomer Generation and 20% of Generation X and Y.

For the older three generation groups, there was little difference in the proportion of people whose highest level of schooling completed was Year 12: 11% of the Oldest Generation, 10% of the Lucky Generation and 12% of the Baby Boomer Generation. However, the proportion was substantially higher for Generation X and Y, at 23%.

The proportion of people reporting a non-school qualification was higher with each successive generation, from 23% of the Oldest Generation, to 37% of the Lucky Generation, 53% of Baby Boomers and 57% of Generation X and Y. The smaller increase between the Baby Boomer Generation and Generation X and Y reflects the fact that many of the younger members of this generation are still students at TAFE or university.

The higher level of educational attainment for each successive generation reached a point where more people in the Baby Boomer Generation and Generation X and Y held a non-school qualification than those who did not in 2006, in contrast to older generations. For further information, see 'Adult education across the generations', p 123–127.

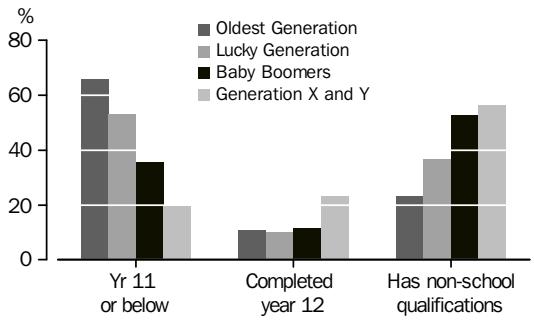
Comparing qualifications over time

In the 2001 and 2006 Censuses, level and field of highest qualification were categorised according to the Australian Standard Classification of Education (ASCED). The 1991 and 1996 Censuses categorised level and field of highest qualification according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics Classification of Qualifications (ABSCQ). Although ABSCQ qualification categories have been broadly aligned to ASCED categories, they do not match exactly.

For earlier census data on education, differences in the classification structure and coding process pose practical difficulties which preclude detailed comparison with more recent census data.

For further information refer to ABS, 2001, *Australian Standard Classification of Education,* cat. no. 1272.0.

Generation's highest level of education completed(a)



(a) A description of each generation can be found in the article, 'From generation to generation', p. 9–14.

More women gain qualifications

The changing role of women in Australian society is reflected in a narrowing of the gap in educational attainment between men and women. In 1991, 43% of men and 25% of women aged 20 and over reported holding a non-school qualification. In 2006, the gap was smaller: 56% of men and 45% of women held a non-school qualification. This can be attributed to the increasing participation in non-school education of women from the Baby Boomer Generation and Generation X and Y. See 'Adult education across the generations', p 123–127, for more information.

Where qualified people live

Overall, people aged 20 and over with non-school qualifications were more likely than those without non-school qualifications to live in the Major Cities of Australia (73% compared with 66%). However, this differed by qualification. Of people with a Bachelor degree or above, 81% lived in Major Cities, compared with 68% of those with an Advanced Diploma, Diploma or Certificate. This reflects the different types of jobs available in different areas and the educational requirements of these jobs. For more information about regional differences in educational attainment, refer to 'Education across Australia' in *Australian Social Trends* 2008.[12]

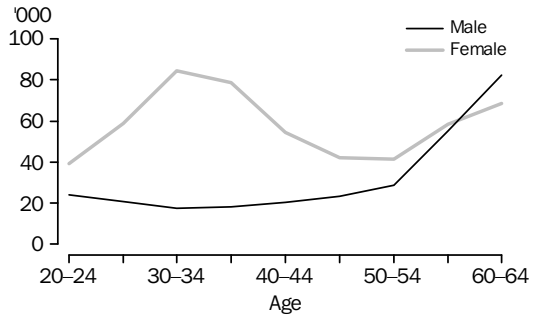
Qualifications and work

There is a strong relationship between qualifications, labour force status and income: those who are qualified are more likely to be employed and to have higher incomes. Of people aged 20–64 with a non-school qualification, 83% were employed, compared with 65% of those with no qualification. Another 2.9% of qualified people were unemployed, compared with 4.5% of those without a qualification. Only 14% (820,000) of qualified people aged 20–64 were not in the labour force compared with 30% of those without a qualification.

Qualified men and women who are not in the labour force

Men made up 36% of qualified people aged 20–64 who were not in the labour force. They were generally older than qualified men who were in the labour force: almost two thirds were aged 45–64 (65%), compared with 39% of qualified men in the labour force. Many of these men may have retired early from their job, while some may have sustained an injury or disability preventing them from working. For more information, see 'Skills shortages', p 151–157.

Age profile of qualified men and women not in the labour force



Women made up two thirds of qualified people aged 20–64 who were not in the labour force. In contrast to qualified men not in the labour force, the highest proportion of qualified women were aged 30–39 (31%), and their age profile was similar to those who were in the labour force. Over half the qualified women (51%) who were not in the labour force were parents in a family with dependent children and so are likely to have taken time off mid-career to have children.

Qualified people have higher incomes

Of the employed population aged 20–64, those with non-school qualifications were more likely to have *higher incomes*[13] than those without non-school qualifications. In 2006, 42% of the former group received *higher incomes* (that is, more than $1000 per week) compared with 19% of the latter group. For further information about the relationship between education and income, see the 'Economic resources overview', p. 175–187.

Fields of highest qualification

In 2006, the most common fields of study for people's highest non-school qualification were Engineering and related technologies and Management and commerce—with 21% and 20% of all people with non-school qualifications respectively (or 1.3 million people each). Within the former group, the most commonly held non-school qualifications were in Mechanical and industrial engineering and technology (23%, or 303,000 people) and Electrical and electronic engineering and technology (22%, or 291,000 people).

Between 1996 and 2006 the proportion of people reporting their highest qualification in the field of Management and commerce increased (from 17% to 20%) and the proportion of people reporting Engineering and related technologies decreased (from 25% to 21%).

Highest non-school qualification: top 5 fields of study(a)

	1996	2001	2006
	%	%	%
Engineering and related technologies	25.3	23.3	20.6
Management and commerce	17.3	19.1	20.4
Society and culture	9.1	10.3	11.3
Health	11.3	10.9	10.7
Education	9.7	9.4	9.5

(a) Proportion of persons aged 20 years and over with a non-school qualification who reported a field of study for their highest qualification.

Endnotes

1 Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision (SCRGSP) 2008, *Report on Government Services 2008*, Productivity Commission, Canberra.

2 National Centre for Vocational Education Research (NCVER) 2007, *Australian vocational education and training statistics. Students and courses 2006*, NCVER, Adelaide.

3 McCain, M. and Mustard, J.F. 1999, *Reversing the Real Brain Drain: Early Years Study, Final Report*, Ontario Children's Secretariat, Toronto.

4 Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations 2008, *Universal Access to Early Childhood Education Guidelines 2007–08*, <http://www.dest.gov.au/NR/rdonlyres/E6053E84-48A9-4F0C-A64A-DD48A09E8692/20838/Guidelines_UAECE_March2008.pdf>.

5 Wilkinson, I.R. et al. 2007. *A History of State Aid to Non-government Schools in Australia*, Commonwealth of Australia, 2007.

6 Toth, J. 2007, 'Australian childcare services and schools: participation and spending trends', *Consumer Trends*, February 2007, Economics@ANZ.

7 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2006, 'Government and non-government schooling' in *Australian Social Trends 2006*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

8 Buckingham, J. 2001, 'The case for school choice and how to fund it' in *Policy*, Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 18–24.

9 ABS 2001, 'Trend in completing school' in *Australian Social Trends 2001*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

10 Department of Education Training and Youth Affairs 2001, *National evaluation report: Full service schools program, 1999 and 2000*, <http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/school_education/publications_resources/profiles/evaluation_report_full_service_schools_programme.htm>.

11 Chinese Asia includes China (excluding SARs and Taiwan Province), Hong Kong (SAR of China), Macau (SAR of China), Mongolia and Taiwan.

12 ABS 2008, 'Education across Australia' in *Australian Social Trends 2008*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

13 Income is gross personal income. For details of the personal income groups used see Glossary.

Adult education across the generations

Over the last century, there has been a marked change in education, from a time when most people completed only compulsory schooling[1] to the present, when more than half of young people continue their education after leaving school. Whereas in the past skills were acquired on the job, many young people today feel that formal education will give them the skills to get established in the workforce.[2] As well, the proportion of students who are older is gradually increasing. This suggests that to gain an edge, or even to keep pace, in the labour market, older people see a need to upgrade their qualifications or skills. Fostering 'lifelong learning' has become increasingly important as Australia's population ages. Governments and workplaces alike have identified a need to boost labour force participation in order to increase economic growth, and this requires educated workers.[3]

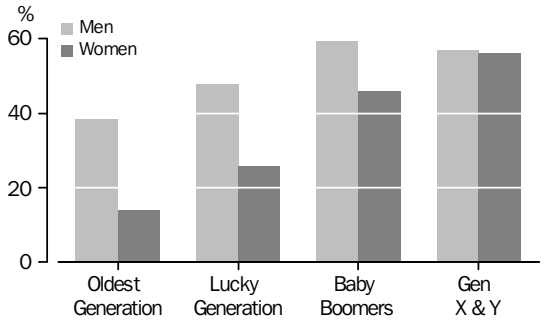
The census sheds light on the characteristics of people who participate in formal education beyond secondary school, people's educational attainment and their qualifications. This article examines each generation's experience of adult education in terms of age, sex, participation and qualifications. It also explores some recent trends in formal education: the increasing participation of women and combining study and work.

While the census can show trends in formal learning, education is broader than this and includes non-formal and informal learning as well (see box on next page). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2006–07 Multi-Purpose Household Survey estimated that 3.6 million or 44% of Australian workers had participated in formal or non-formal learning in the 12 months prior to being interviewed.[4]

Educational attainment across the generations

The 2006 Census shows that each successive generation of Australians is more educated than the previous one in terms of non-school qualifications (see Glossary). This reflects both the increasing demand for a more skilled labour force and people's desire to be better

Australians with a qualification, by generation(a)(b)



(a) Qualification refers to formal qualifications of Certificate I level or above, for people aged 20 years and over. See Glossary.

(b) A description of each generation can be found in the article, 'From generation to generation', p. 9–14.

educated.[5] In 2006, 23% of the Oldest Generation (people aged 80 and over) and 37% of the Lucky Generation (aged 60–79) had obtained a non-school qualification during their lifetime. In comparison, the majority of Baby Boomers (aged 40–59) and Generation X and Y (aged 20–39) had completed a non-school qualification (53% and 57% respectively). Lower educational attainment among the Oldest and Lucky Generations compared with the recent generations reflects the relatively low requirement for formal qualifications in jobs in primary manufacturing, which dominated the economy of the early and middle period of the 20th century.

Younger people gain higher level of skills

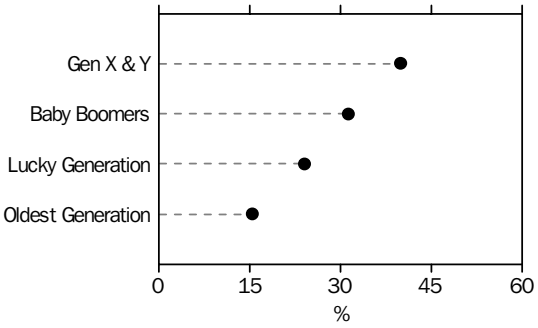
The proportion of young Australians in Generation X and Y who had completed a non-school qualification (57%) was slightly higher than the Baby Boomer Generation (53%), even though some younger members of Generation X and Y had not yet attained a first qualification in 2006. Further, people in Generation X and Y were more highly qualified: 24% had a bachelor degree or higher qualification compared with 20% of Baby Boomers, 10% of the Lucky Generation and 6% of the Oldest Generation.

In recent times there has been an increasing requirement for high level skills and qualifications in the workforce due to the changing nature of work, including technological change within industries and their changing structure.[6]

Changes in the level of qualifications required for employment is particularly noticeable in the occupations of teaching, nursing and farming. In 2003, those aspiring to be teachers were required to undertake at least a 4 year degree in education to enter the public education system in most states and territories.[7] Consequently, there has been a marked increase in the proportion of school teachers[8] from Generation X and Y who hold a Bachelor degree or above (92%), compared with 77% of school teachers from the Baby Boomer Generation. Similarly, 70% of nurses[8] in Generation X and Y had obtained a Bachelor degree or higher qualification, compared with 54% of nurses from the Baby Boomer Generation.

There has been a steady increase in educational attainment of farmers[8] in recent generations. At the time of the 2006 Census, 15% of farmers in the Oldest Generation had obtained a formal qualification, compared with 40% of farmers in Generation X and Y. Farmers increasingly need business, management and technical skills as well as agricultural skills, as family farm businesses have become on average larger and more complex. Young farmers in Generation X and Y were more likely to have a qualification in Agriculture, environmental and related studies than farmers in the older generations.

Farmers with a qualification(a)(b)



(a) Qualification refers to Certificate I and above.
(b) Includes all persons aged 20 years and older.

Types of adult learning

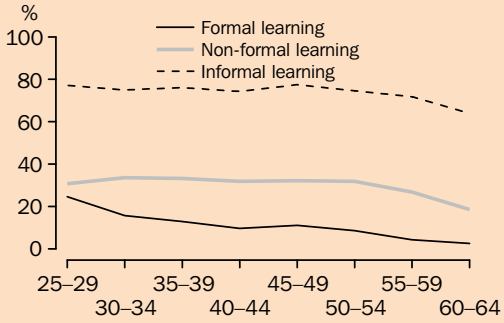
The Adult Learning topic in the Multi-Purpose Household Survey (MPHS) 2006–07 sheds light on the broader learning experiences of Australians. The survey collected details on participation in formal, non-formal and informal learning. Both formal and non-formal learning are structured, but only formal learning leads to a qualification. Informal learning refers to unstructured learning related to work, family, community or leisure.

The MPHS showed that 1 in 8 Australians (12%) aged 25 to 64 years participated in formal learning in the 12 months prior to interview. Participation in non-formal learning was higher (30%), while participation in informal learning was the highest, with almost three quarters of the population participating.

The survey showed that while participation in formal learning was most common among people under 30 and decreased in the older age groups, participation in other forms of learning was high across all ages. The most common types of non-formal learning were work-related courses (78% of those who participated), followed by Arts, crafts or recreational learning (12%). The most common types of informal learning were reading manuals, reference books, journals or other written materials (75%), and using computers or the internet (71%).

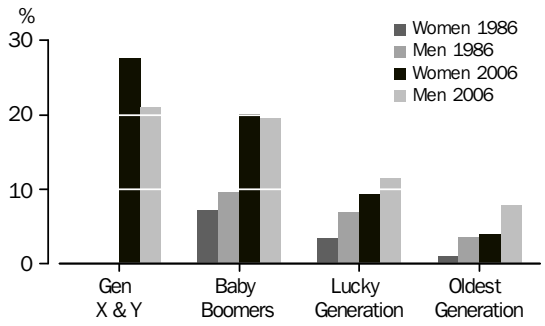
People with higher educational qualifications had higher participation rates in formal, non-formal and informal learning. Those employed full-time were more likely to have participated in some form of learning than those not in the labour force (84% compared with 62%).

Participation in learning 2006–07



Source: *Adult Learning, Australia*, 2006–07

Women and men with a Bachelor degree or above, 1986 and 2006(a)



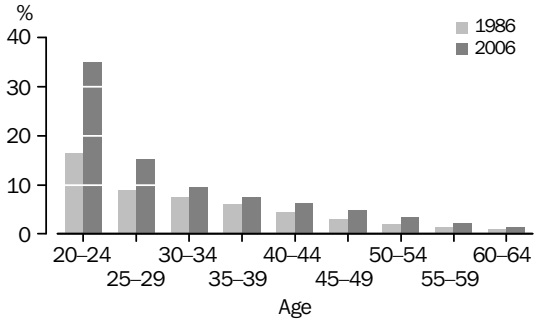
(a) Includes all persons aged 20 years and older.

Women closing the learning divide in educational attainment

A striking trend in education is the closing gap in educational attainment between men and women. A higher proportion of women in each successive generation has obtained a non-school qualification. Of people in the Oldest Generation in 2006, men were almost three times more likely than women to have obtained a non-school qualification during their lifetime (39% of men compared with 14% of women). In comparison, men and women in Generation X and Y were equally likely to have a qualification (57% of men and 56% of women). The trend towards equal opportunities for men and women has led to a rising proportion of women studying and gaining qualifications. This has gone hand in hand with an increased participation of women in the workforce.

Along with this trend, the gender gap in university qualifications has been closing. In 2006, more women than men in Generation X and Y held a Bachelor degree or above (28% compared with 21%). Women of earlier generations have also contributed to a narrowing gender gap. The proportion of Baby Boomer women with a Bachelor degree or above increased from 7% in 1986 (when they were aged 20 to 39) to 20% in 2006. In 1986, fewer Baby Boomer women than men had a Bachelor degree or above, but by 2006, this had reversed. In the Lucky Generation, there was a larger gap in the proportion of men and women with a Bachelor degree or above in 1986, when they were aged 40–59 years. By 2006 this gap had narrowed. This meant that women in the Baby Boomer and Lucky Generations had completed degrees as mature age students in the 20 years before the 2006 Census at a higher rate than men.

Proportion of people studying in 1986 and 2006



Occupations such as teaching and nursing attracted a high proportion of women across the generations (34% of all female graduates have their highest qualification in these fields). The shift to a requirement for teachers and nurses to hold a university level qualification has helped to close the gap between women and men with a Bachelor degree or above.

Recent trends among students

The census showed that in 2006, people of all ages were undertaking study beyond the formal school years. Undertaking study was more common for people aged under 30: 35% of 20–24 year olds and 15% of 25–29 year olds were studying. For those 30 years and over, participation was lower, ranging from 9.6% of 30–34 year olds to 1.4% of 60–64 year olds.

Across all ages, participation in formal education increased between 1986 and 2006. However the most noticeable change was the increase in the proportion of 20–29 year olds participating in either full or part-time formal education. This can be attributed to the trend for students to spend longer periods of time in education because they are combining study and work, or are studying for a double degree or post-graduate qualification.

More women than men in Generation X and Y held a Bachelor degree or above (28% compared with 21% in 2006).

Working students: maintaining the balance

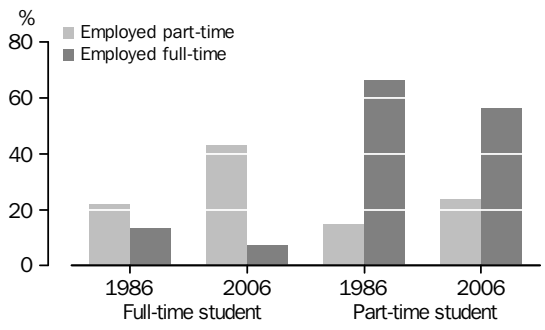
Between 1986 and 2006, the proportion of students aged 20–64 years combining work and study increased slightly from 64% to 66%. However, there were notable changes in the way students balanced study and work over this period. In particular, the wider availability of part-time work provided greater flexibility for students to fit work in with their study.

The greatest change was the substantial increase in the proportion of full-time students who were employed—from 36% in 1986, to 50% in 2006. All of this increase was in part-time employment. The proportion of full-time students working part-time doubled while the proportion working full-time declined. Increasing living costs, the introduction of HECS (Higher Education Contribution Scheme) in 1989 and higher levels of student debt may also have contributed to a higher proportion of full-time students taking up employment.[9]

Part-time students were less likely to take up full-time work in 2006 than in 1986, and more likely to take up part-time work. In this period, the proportion of part-time students who were employed full-time decreased from 66% to 56%. Matching this decrease was an increase in the proportion of part-time students who were employed part-time, up from 15% to 24%.

It is increasingly common for employers to offer flexible working arrangements which allow employees to achieve a balance between work and other life commitments, including study. Allowing workers to study is important considering the demand for employees to be highly educated specialists in their field. For information on students' income, see the 'Economic resources overview', p 175–187.

Work and study balance of students(a), 1986 and 2006



(a) Students aged 20 to 64 years

Occupations of employed students(a)(b)

(a) Employed students aged 20 to 64 years.

(b) Information on occupation for 1986 is not available on a comparable basis with 2006.

Student workers: sales and service

Of Australians aged from 20 to 64 years who were both working and studying, approximately 25% were employed as Professionals, 17% as Community and personal service workers (including hospitality workers), and 14% as Clerical and administrative workers. Almost half of working students who were studying full-time were Sales workers or Community and personal service workers. Many full-time students are young: two thirds of all working-age students (20–64 years) were aged 20–24. Work in retail or hospitality may be attractive to students because of the availability of part-time and casual work and the flexibility of hours. In contrast, employed part-time students most commonly worked as Professionals (31%), reflecting their older age profile compared with full-time students.

Increase in qualified Indigenous Australians

Between 1986 and 2006, the proportion of Indigenous Australians aged 20 years and over who were qualified at Certificate level or above more than doubled, from 12% to 28% (see Glossary). Over the same period, the proportion of non-Indigenous Australians aged 20 years and over who held a Certificate level qualification or above rose from 36% to 50%.

A relatively small proportion of Indigenous Australians have university qualifications. In 2006, 5% of Indigenous Australians aged 20 and over held a Bachelor degree or above compared with 20% of non-Indigenous Australians in this age group.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2001, *Year Book Australia 2001*, cat. no. 1301.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 ABS 2000, 'Beyond compulsory schooling' in *Australian Social Trends 2000*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 ABS 2008, 'Adult learning' in *Australian Social Trends 2008*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 ABS 2007, *Adult Learning, Australia, 2006–07*, cat. no. 4229.0, ABS, Canberra.

5 The Treasury 2007, *Intergenerational Report 2007*, Commonwealth of Australia, <http://www.treasury.gov.au/documents/1239/PDF/IGR_2007_final_report.pdf>.

6 De Laine, C., Laplagne, P., Stone, S. 2000 *The Increasing Demand for Skilled Workers in Australia: The Role of Technical Change,* Productivity Commission Staff Research Paper, AusInfo, Canberra, September.

7 Department of Education, Science and Training 2003, *Australia's teachers, Australia's future: advancing innovation, science, technology and mathematics*, <http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/school_education/publications_resources/profiles/australias_future_advancing_innovation.htm >.

8 School teachers are 'School Teachers', nurses are 'Midwifery and Nursing Professionals' and farmers are 'Farmers and Farm Managers' according to the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations, 2006.

9 Australian Centre for Educational Research (ACER) 2003, *Student workers in high school and beyond: The effects of part-time employment on participation in education, training and work*, Research Report No. 30, ACER, Melbourne.

School teachers

School teachers play a crucial role in developing the skills and capabilities of children, while also caring for their social and emotional needs. School teachers influence the overall development of individual children as well as their future employability, and ultimately affect the wellbeing of society as a whole.[1]

There are increasing demands on education providers to deliver the best outcomes for children's education. Universities and government departments face the challenge of supplying enough appropriately trained teachers to meet these expectations. An understanding of the characteristics of the current teacher workforce underpins effective planning to meet the future demand for teachers.

An ageing profession, mostly women

Compared with the Australian workforce, teachers are generally older, more likely to be women, Australian-born and living in couple families. These characteristics have been consistent over time, with only gradual changes in the last 10 years.

From 1996 to 2006 there was an increase in the median age of all teachers from 41 to 44 years. The median age of comparable occupation groups—all other Professionals and Specialist managers—was lower at 41 years in 2006, although it too had increased from 39 years in 1996. Ageing in the teaching profession is not just an issue in Australia: it is a global concern. In Australia in 2006, a little over 60% of teachers were aged 40 and over. Similarly, in many European Union countries over half the teaching force is 40 years and over.[2] As many of this large group of teachers begin to approach traditional retirement ages over the next 5 to 10 years, losses are expected to have a major impact on teaching workforces in Australia and overseas.[3]

In 2006 there were 2.6 female teachers to every male teacher—driven by the higher proportion of female primary teachers. Past census data reveal that the ratio of female to male teachers has gradually increased over time. In 1996 there were 2.2 females to every male and in 2001 the ratio had increased to 2.5 to 1. This trend is likely to continue. Applications by women for teaching degrees in 2003 for instance, were almost 3 times higher than for men.[4]

In this article, unless otherwise specified, **teachers** is a collective term that comprises people aged 20 years and over who reported being employed as Primary school teachers, Secondary school teachers, School principals or other teachers (comprising School teachers not further defined, Early childhood, including pre-school, Middle school, and Special education teachers). In this article, these four groups are referred to as primary teachers, secondary teachers, principals and other teachers.

When comparisons are made with people in other occupations, teachers (other than School principals) are compared with all of the remaining occupations in the 'Professionals' category. School principals are compared with the remaining occupations in the 'Specialist managers' category. These occupation groups are considered to have comparable levels of skills and qualifications. For more information on occupations see Glossary.

School teacher qualified refers to people whose highest completed non-school qualification was in the following 'Teacher Education' fields: Early childhood, Primary, Secondary, Teacher-Librarianship and Special education. For more information on qualifications see Glossary.

Selected personal characteristics of teachers, aged 20 years and over

	Median age	Aged 40 years and over	Born overseas	Females/ males	Total	
	years	%	%	ratio	'000	%
Primary school teachers	43	57.6	14.1	5.5	125.8	41.1
Secondary school teachers	44	61.5	19.7	1.4	118.4	38.7
School principals	50	84.8	12.7	1.0	18.0	5.9
Total(a)	**44**	**61.1**	**17.0**	**2.6**	**305.9**	**100.0**

(a) Total includes 43,580 'other teachers', see box on previous page.

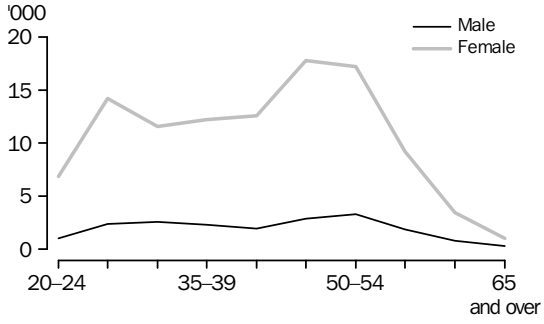
In 2006, 83% of teachers were Australian-born compared with 73% of the Australian workforce. Secondary teachers were more likely to have been born overseas (20%) than primary teachers (14%) and principals (13%). These were much lower levels than for occupations such as Social professionals (53%) and Generalist medical practitioners (51%). Teachers were also less likely to be recent arrivals (see Glossary) to Australia than the total workforce (1.4% and 3.2% respectively).

Most teachers live in couple families. Around 75% of the teaching workforce lived in couple families, slightly higher than the working population (71%). As a result, teachers were more likely than the total working population to live in families with school-aged children, aged 5–14 (22% compared with 19%). Teaching may be more suitable than other professions for parents of school-aged children because teachers' formal working hours and leave largely align with their children's school hours and holidays.

Primary teachers—younger and mostly women

Primary teachers had a lower median age and a substantially higher ratio of women to men, compared with principals or secondary teachers. The median age for primary teachers was 43 in 2006, an increase of three years from 40 in 1996. Female primary teachers outnumbered males, and this disparity widened between 1996 and 2006, from 4.6 to 1, to 5.5 to 1. Many reasons for the predominance of women in primary teaching have been put forward, including the perception that primary school teaching includes a nurturing role that is more suited to women; negative social perceptions about male teachers; and the isolation and loneliness experienced by male teachers.[5]

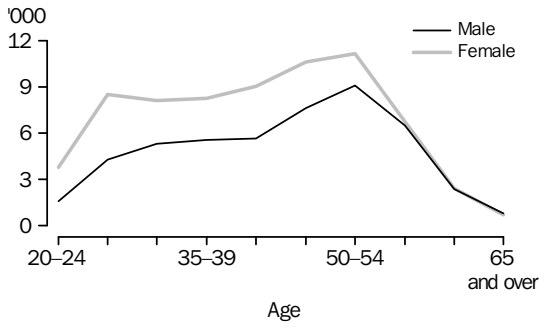
Age and sex of primary teachers



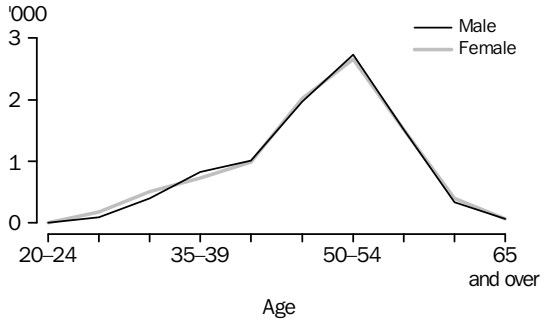
Secondary teachers—greater gender balance

Secondary teachers had a slightly higher median age but less gender imbalance than primary teachers. Secondary teachers had a median age of 44, an increase of three years from 1996 to 2006. In comparison, the median age for all other Professionals increased by one year, from 39 to 40 years. Similar to primary school teachers, the ratio of women to men has also increased, from 1.2 to 1 in 1996 to 1.4 to 1 in 2006.

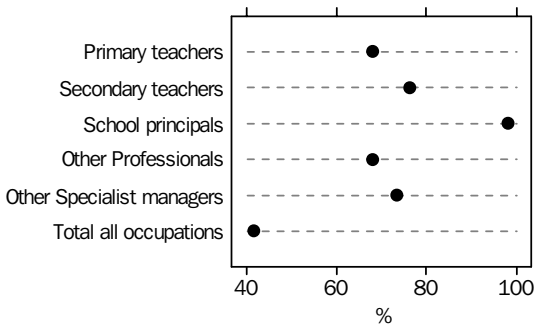
Age and sex of secondary teachers



Age and sex of principals



Teachers and selected occupation groups with higher incomes(a)(b)



(a) Full-time employed persons aged 20 and over.
(b) Gross personal income of $1,000 or more per week.

Principals—older men and women

Compared with other members of the teaching profession, principals were the oldest group. The higher median age is strongly associated with most principals being teachers with many years experience. That said, from 1996 to 2006, principals showed the greatest increase in median age, with a 4 year increase from 46 to 50. In comparison, the median age for all other Specialist managers increased from 41 to 43 across the same time period.

Principals were also the sector of the teaching profession with the most gender equity. In 1996, male principals outnumbered females (1.5 to 1). However, by 2006, female principals very slightly outnumbered males. This was in contrast to the gender imbalance of primary and secondary teachers.

Teachers' incomes and hours worked

The census provides information on teachers' working conditions, in terms of hours worked and gross weekly income. Hours worked was measured for the week before the 2006 Census, which was held during the school term. Although a relatively high proportion of teachers worked part-time compared with other Professionals and Specialist managers (30% compared with 22%), only people who worked full-time are considered in this section when making comparisons between occupations.

In 2006, 31% of full-time teachers worked long hours (50 hours or more per week), this was similar to other full-time Professionals and Specialist managers at 32% (see table next page). Teachers are able to make use of stand-down time in school holidays to compensate for working longer hours during the terms.

The *personal incomes* of full-time teachers were slightly higher than those of comparable full-time professionals. Almost three quarters (73%) of full-time teachers had *higher incomes* (that is, gross personal income of $1,000 or more per week) compared with 70% of all other Professionals and Specialist managers (see higher income graph on this page). In addition, full-time teachers were slightly less likely to have *middle incomes* ($400–$999 per week) than other Professionals and Specialist managers (26% compared with 28%).

However, there were differences in income for full-time workers with very high *personal incomes* ($2,000 or more per week). Teachers were less likely to have very high incomes than other Professionals and Specialist managers (2% compared with 19%).

Primary teachers—more part-time, reflecting high proportion of women

Primary teachers were more likely to work part-time (35% in 2006) than secondary teachers (24%) or other Professionals (26%). Female primary teachers were more likely than male primary teachers to work part-time (38% compared with 22%).

Just over one quarter of both male and female full-time primary teachers worked long hours (50 hours or more per week): 27% of men and 26% of women. However working long hours was less common for male primary teachers than for male Professionals (33%). On the other hand, female primary teachers were more likely to work long hours than other female Professionals (26% compared with 19%). A lower proportion of primary teachers worked long hours (26%) than secondary teachers (30%) or principals (67%).

The *personal incomes* of full-time primary teachers were comparable with other Professionals working full-time. However, full-time primary teachers were more likely to have *middle incomes* (31%) and less likely to have *higher incomes* (68%) than full-time secondary teachers (see table, p. 134).

Secondary teachers—higher incomes more common

Full-time female and male secondary teachers were more likely to work long hours (both 30%) than full-time primary teachers. Compared with other full-time Professionals, female secondary teachers were more likely to work long hours than other female Professionals. On the other hand, male secondary teachers were less likely than other male Professionals to work long hours.

A teacher's salary level increases according to years of experience and also increases for teachers with additional responsibilities, such as year or subject co-ordinators. Associated with their older age profile and greater opportunities for additional responsibilities, full-time secondary teachers were more likely to have *higher incomes* (76%) than full-time primary teachers. When compared with other Professionals working full-time, secondary teachers were more likely to have *higher incomes* and less likely to have *middle incomes*.

Principals—long hours and higher incomes the norm

Principals were less likely to work part-time than other Specialist managers (4% compared with 10%). For those working full-time, principals were more likely to work long hours than primary and secondary teachers or other Specialist managers. Over two thirds of full-time principals worked long hours (67%) compared with less than half other Specialist managers (43%).

Consistent with their experience and the responsibilities related to their position, 98% of full-time principals had *higher incomes*. In comparison, 74% of other Specialist managers who worked full-time had *higher incomes*. However, 17% of full-time principals had very high incomes ($2,000 or more per week), somewhat lower than other full-time Specialist managers (25%).

Teachers, Principals and other occupations, hours worked(a)(b)

	Part-time	*Full-time*	*Total*	*Long hours (50 hours or more)*
	%	%	%	% of FT workers
Primary school teachers	35.4	64.6	100.0	26.3
Secondary school teachers	23.7	76.3	100.0	30.1
School principals	3.7	96.3	100.0	66.9
Total teachers/principals(c)	**30.0**	**70.0**	**100.0**	**30.6**
Professionals(d)	25.7	74.3	100.0	27.4
Specialist managers(e)	10.2	89.8	100.0	42.5
Total Professionals and Specialist managers	**21.9**	**78.1**	**100.0**	**31.7**

(a) Employed persons aged 20 and over.

(b) Part-time: 1–34 hours, full-time: 35 hours or more.

(c) Includes 'other teachers', see definition p. 129.

(d) Excludes school teachers.

(e) Excludes school principals.

Teachers not teaching—what are they doing?

Having an adequate number of teachers to meet requirements of schools is affected by the substantial number of people who leave the profession. In addition to retirement, international studies have shown that a high proportion of teachers leave in the early stages of their careers, a trend commonly accepted to be present among Australian teachers.[6]

Reflecting this, many people whose highest qualification was teaching do not work as school teachers. In 2006, 513,800 people aged 20 and over were school teacher qualified (had school teaching qualifications). Of these, almost three quarters were employed (73%), and slightly over a quarter were not in the labour force (26%).

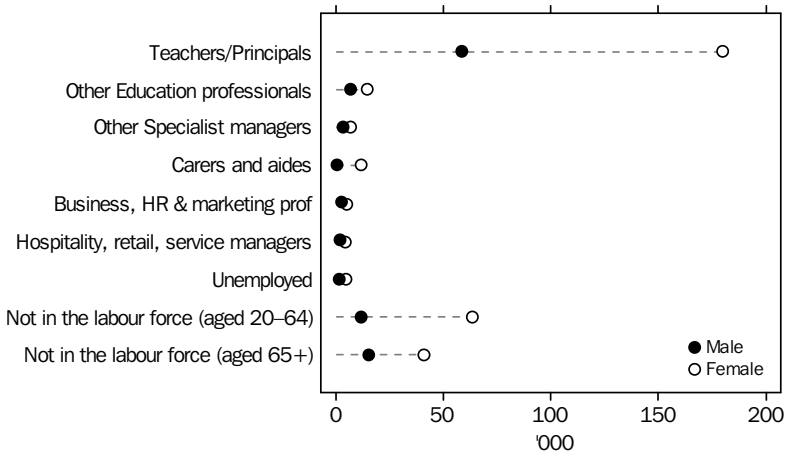
Of those not in the labour force, 43% were aged 65 years and over and were most likely retired. Of those aged 20–64 who were not in the labour force, a large group were women (63,500)—the largest single group of people who were school teacher qualified, but not teaching. These women were more likely to live in a family with children under 5 than all women not in the labour force (28% compared with 23%). In addition, there were 11,800 school teacher qualified men aged 20–64 who were not in the labour force (see occupation graph below). About one third of these men lived in older couple families with no children, compared with one fifth of all men not in the labour force.

Census misses some with teaching qualifications

The number of people holding a teacher qualification and not working in the profession is likely to be higher than indicated by the census figures. Apart from issues related to census collection methods, the census measures only the highest qualification a person has attained, not all their qualifications. People could hold a teaching qualification and a graduate or postgraduate qualification which is not related to education. In this case, the teaching qualification would not be recorded in the census results.

In 2006, of those school teacher qualified people who were employed (373,200), 64% were employed as a teacher or principal. After teaching, those who were working were most likely to be employed as other Education professionals (6% or 21,600 people), such as Vocational education teachers or Private tutors and teachers. For men, the most common non-education related occupations for those with teacher qualifications were Business, human resources and marketing professionals (2,600) and Hospitality, retail and service managers (2,100). For school teacher qualified women these occupations were Carers and aides (11,900) and Business, human resources and marketing professionals (5,100).

Most common occupations of people qualified(a) as school teachers



(a) People whose highest qualification was teaching.

Pay better for full-time teachers

The *personal income* levels of school teacher qualified workers in other fields were generally lower than for those who remained in teaching. The incomes of full-time teachers in 2006 indicated that they fare as well, if not better, than people with school teacher qualifications who worked full-time in other comparable occupations.

In 2006, the proportion of full-time primary teachers with *middle* and *higher incomes* was similar to that of people who were school teacher qualified but who worked full-time in other Professional occupations. Full-time secondary teachers were more likely to earn *higher incomes* than other Professionals with school teacher qualifications who worked full-time—76% and 67% respectively had *higher incomes*.

Principals who worked full-time generally earned more than other full-time Specialist managers with teacher qualifications, with a much higher proportion with *higher incomes* (98% compared with 71%). Likewise, the proportion of full-time principals who had very high incomes was higher than that of other Specialist managers with teacher qualifications (17% and 14 % respectively).

While the incomes of those in the teaching profession were generally higher than for those with teacher qualifications who worked in other fields, there appeared to be little opportunity to earn very high incomes, unless as a principal. In 2006, less than 1% of primary and secondary teachers earned $2,000 or more per week, well below the proportion in other common occupations of school teacher qualified full-time workers. For example, the proportion of teacher-trained Business, human resources and marketing professionals with very high incomes was 14% for men and 7% for women.

Gross personal weekly incomes: full-time teachers and school teacher qualified persons(a)

	Lower income ($1–$399)	*Middle income ($400–$999)*	*Higher income ($1 000 or more)*	*Very high income ($2 000 or more)*	*Total*	
	%	%	%	%	%	'000
All employed teachers						
Primary school teachers	0.9	31.0	68.1	0.4	100.0	76.4
Secondary school teachers	0.5	23.1	76.3	0.9	100.0	85.6
School principals	0.1	1.7	98.1	16.8	100.0	16.4
Total teachers/principals(b)	**0.8**	**26.2**	**73.0**	**2.0**	**100.0**	**201.8**
Teacher qualified—non-teaching occupations						
Professionals(c)	3.7	29.5	66.7	5.3	100.0	21.4
Specialist managers(d)	2.0	27.4	70.7	14.3	100.0	8.3
Other occupations	8.8	58.6	32.6	4.6	100.0	40.4
Total non-teaching occupations	**6.4**	**45.9**	**47.6**	**6.0**	**100.0**	**70.0**

(a) People aged 20 years and over whose highest completed non-school qualification was in the following 'Teacher Education' fields: Early childhood, Primary, Secondary, Teacher-Librarianship and Special education.

(b) Includes 'other teachers', see definition p. 129.

(c) Excludes school teachers.

(d) Excludes school principals.

Demand for teachers

The number of teachers employed at any one time is dependent upon a variety of factors linked to both supply and demand. Population growth, student retention rates and changes in teacher/student ratios all affect the demand for teachers. From 1996 to 2006, the number of school-aged children (5–14 years) increased by over 127,200 (or 5%).[7] The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Schools collection shows that over the same period apparent retention rates increased from 72% in 1997 to 75% in 2006, further increasing the total number of children attending school. In addition, the ratio of students to teachers also changed. Between 1997 and 2006, the ratio for primary students decreased from 17.9 to 16.0 students (full-time equivalent) per teacher, and that for secondary students from12.8 to 12.2.[8] All of these changes increased the demand for teachers and resulted in a 22% increase in the number of employed teachers between 1996 and 2006 (55,100 additional teachers).

A regular supply of new and returning teachers is needed to satisfy demand. The pool of available teachers increases as graduates enter the profession, people return from leave and teachers migrate to Australia. Supply is reduced through declining graduate numbers and the loss of teaching staff, temporarily, for example, to take maternity leave, or permanently, through resignation or retirement. Retirement currently has the potential to have the greatest impact on teacher numbers, because the teaching workforce is rapidly ageing. Between 1996 and 2003, losses of teaching staff to retirement accounted for around 1% of the teaching workforce each year, with slightly higher proportions of teachers leaving the government sector.[3] With one third of teachers aged 50 and over in 2006, it is anticipated that in coming years the proportion of teachers retiring will be much higher.[3]

Over recent years, the teaching profession has experienced a decrease in teacher graduate numbers. Census data show that between 1996 and 2006, the number of young people (20–24 years) with a teaching degree decreased by just under 3%. This is despite a 30% increase in the number of young people with a Bachelor degree over the same period.

Further, many new teachers do not expect to remain in teaching for their whole working lives.[9] The loss of teaching staff has been somewhat offset by increases in teacher migration to Australia. The proportion of employed teachers who were recent arrivals increased from 0.9% to 1.4% between 1996 and 2006, increasing from 2,300 to 4,300. This was low compared with the increase in Professional and Specialist managers who were recent arrivals over the same period, with the proportion of people in these occupations who were recent arrivals increasing from 2.5% to 4.3%.

Endnotes

1 Skillbeck, M. and Connell, H. 2004, *Teachers for the future: The changing nature of society and related issues for the teaching workforce*, Report to the Teacher Quality and Educational Leadership Taskforce of the Ministerial Council on Education Employment Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA).

2 European Commission 2000, *Key data on education in Europe*, p. xviii, European Commission, Luxembourg.

3 MCEETYA 2003, *Demand and supply of primary and secondary school teachers in Australia (Main report) Part A*, MCEETYA, Melbourne.

4 Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) 2003, *Students 2003 Tables: Selected Higher Education Statistics*, 3.1 Commencing Students, Table 3, DEEWR, Canberra.

5 Mulholland, J. 2001, *Meeting the demand for male primary teachers?*, paper presented at the Australian Teacher Education Association Conference, September 2001, Melbourne.

6 MCEETYA 2003, *Demand and supply of primary and secondary school teachers in Australia: Part G, literature review*, MCEETYA, Melbourne.

7 Counts based on estimated resident population. ABS 2007, *Regional Population Growth, Australia, 1996 to 2006*, unpublished data, cat. no. 3218.0, ABS, Canberra.

8 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2008, *Schools, Australia, 2007*, cat. no. 4221.0, ABS, Canberra.

9 Australian Education Union (AEU) 2007, *Beginning teacher survey 2007: results and report*, AEU, Melbourne.

Chapter six

Work

Work overview

For many people, work is their most important source of income, as well as an avenue for engaging with the economy and society.[1] Lack of work can contribute to disadvantage and isolation for individuals and families.[2]

In the 20 years from 1986 to 2006, the numbers and proportions of people working and looking for work have changed, although these changes have varied in different parts of the country. By 2006, many more people were working and the unemployment rate was lower. Women had joined the work force in large numbers, and working arrangements included more part-time work.[3] In addition, the type of work has changed, with growth and decline in particular occupations and industries. In this overview, the impact of these changes on regional areas is examined by looking at Statistical Subdivisions (SSDs) in different parts of Australia (see map, p. 149).

Australia's employment grew faster than the population

According to the 2006 Census, the labour force participation rate for Australia was 65%, up from 61% in 1986. Growth in the participation rate and declining unemployment, along with population growth, resulted in employment growth of 40%, from 6.5 million employed people in June 1986 to 9.1 million in August 2006. This was faster growth than that of the population, which grew by 28% over the same period. Employment growth was particularly strong for women: the number of women employed increased by 64%, from 2.6 million to 4.2 million. Associated with this, part-time employment more than doubled (from 1.2 million to 2.7 million). At the same time, the proportion of people in the labour force looking for work declined—the unemployment rate was 5.2% in 2006, down from 9.2% in 1986, although it was 11.6% in 1991.

Changes in participation in the labour force can come about in a number of ways. The participation rate may increase due to changes in working conditions that make it easier to join the labour force; increases in the cost of living, prompting more people to enter the labour force; the increased availability of jobs; changes in the rules governing access to government benefits; or an increase in the number of people not in the labour force due to ageing.

From 1986 to 2006 participation in the labour force increased in Australia, particularly for women, and more people worked part-time.

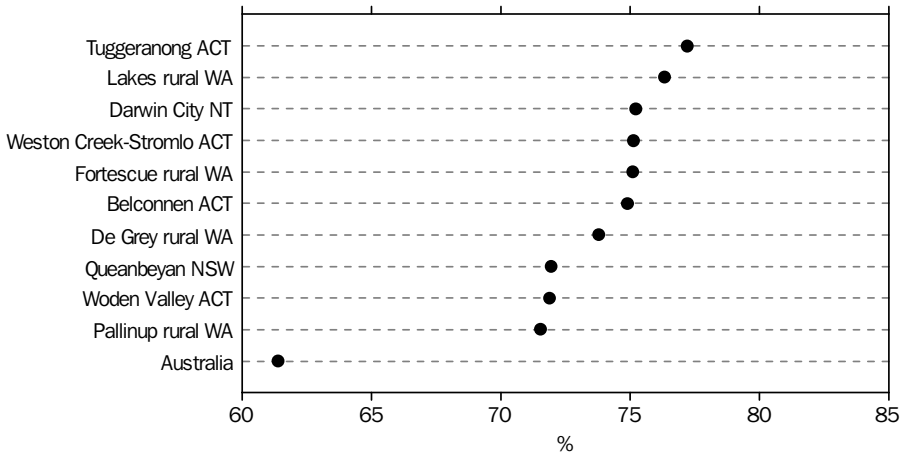
More people participating in the labour force

The labour force participation rate was higher in 2006 than in 1986 but this change varied across Australia. Some areas had increases in participation rates higher than Australia as a whole, associated with working people and people looking for work moving into these areas. In some areas, such as Southeast Inner Brisbane (from 60% in 1986 to 72% in 2006), large rises in the participation rate were from a low base. Bathurst-Melville increased from 47% to 59%, partly as a result of tourism and mining operations starting up in the area. Another example is Vasse, in coastal southern Western Australia, which increased from 57% to 68%, along with a large growth in population over the period. Vasse includes Margaret River and Busselton, both of which have received many new 'sea change' residents, and an increase in

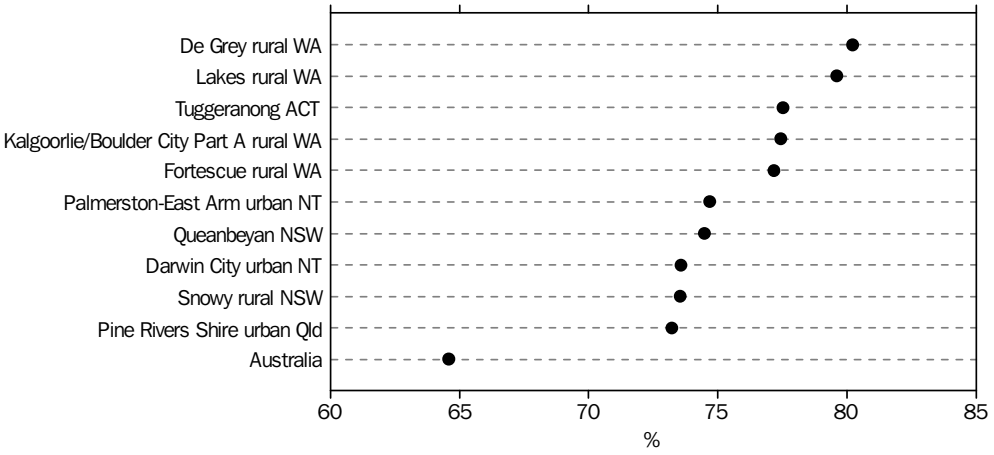
Labour force participation rate: the number of people who are either employed or unemployed, as a proportion of all people aged 15 years and over.

Labour Force participation rate

Top 10 Statistical Subdivisions, 1986



Top 10 Statistical Subdivisions, 2006



employment in tourism[4], construction[4], grape growing and winemaking[5]. New industries may increase labour force participation by employing people already living in an area, and by attracting employed people to move into an area.

In 2006, the areas with the highest participation rates differed from those in 1986. In 1986, half of the top 10 SSDs were in and near the Australian Capital Territory (including Queanbeyan), a region attracting many people to work in Public administration and defence, and with a young age structure. In 2006, four of the top 5 SSDS were located in rural Western Australia, reflecting growth in Mining and related industries.

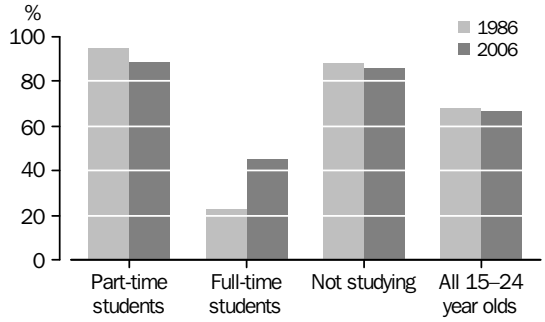
Younger people and older people participate less

Involvement in the labour force differs depending on people's age. In 2006, the labour force participation rate for those aged 15–64 years (the main working ages) was 75%.

Younger people aged 15–24 had a lower participation rate (67%), as many younger people are engaged in full-time study. For people aged 65 years and over, the participation rate was much lower (9%), as many people in this age group had retired, or in the case of women in this age group, many had never been in paid employment[6].

Although the participation rate was similar for 15–24 year olds in 1986 (68%) and 2006 (67%), it increased for full-time students in this age group, from 23% to 45%. This was offset by declines in the rates for part-time students and non-students. Several factors may be contributing to increased labour force participation among full-time students: these include the increasing availability of casual and part-time work, the increased cost of living for students and a desire for financial independence. For more information on student employment, see 'Adult education across the generations', p. 123–127.

Labour force participation rate and education status of people aged 15–24



Many of the areas in Australia with the highest labour force participation rates for young people were in central and western Queensland, including Central West (with a labour force participation rate for 15–24 year olds of 80%), South West, and Mackay City Part A (both 79%). Many young people working in these areas had moved from other parts of Queensland in the previous year, possibly to find seasonal work, and were working in Grain, sheep and beef cattle farming, Other crop growing (which includes Sugar cane growing and Cotton growing), and Services to agriculture (which includes Cotton ginning and Shearing services).

As the population ages and concerns are raised about the prospect of a contracting labour force, participation of older people in the labour force is of growing interest. In 2006, the participation rate for people aged 65 and over was 9.4%, up from 5.9% in 1996.

Some areas had much higher participation rates for people aged 65 and over in 2006; these were all located outside capital cities. They included Lakes in rural Western Australia and East Arnhem in the Northern Territory (37% and 27% respectively). In 2006, Lakes had a very high proportion of farming workers, an industry with a high representation in that age group (see Ageing industries box, p. 145). The Community Development Employment Project in East Arnhem involved a large proportion of employed Indigenous peoples aged 65 and over.[7] These areas also had very low levels of unemployment overall.

Women's participation increased, men's decreased

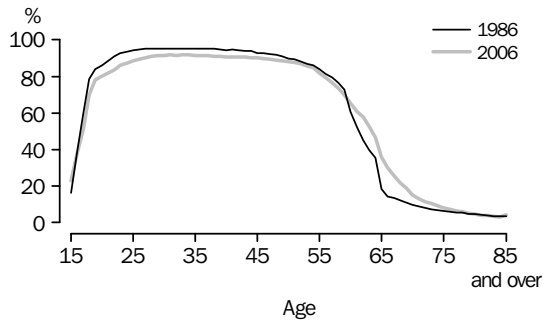
One of the most pronounced changes in the composition of the labour force between 1986 and 2006 was the increasing participation of women—from 48% to 58%—much of which comprised women working part-time or looking for part-time work. Over the same period the participation rate for men fell, from 75% to 72%. In particular, the proportion of the men in the labour force who were working full-time or looking for full-time work declined, from 91% in 1986 to 81% in 2006.

Most of the increase in women's participation was among 25–64 year olds, which rose from 54% to 69%. Rates increased at every age as more women entered or re-entered the labour force, and remained in it for longer. Reflecting these trends, the highest increases were among those aged 45 years and over. For younger women (particularly those aged 20–24 years), the participation rate changed little over the 20 years, partly because it was already relatively high (76%) in 1986.

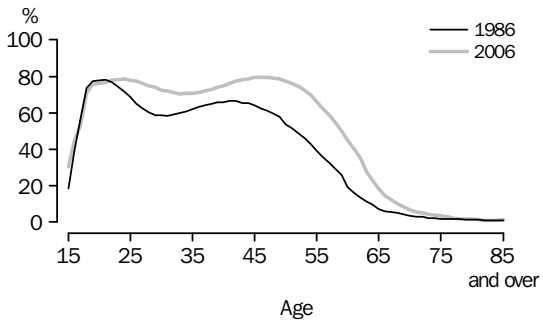
In 1986, labour force participation peaked for women in their late teens and early 20s before declining for women in their early 30s. This decline started at older ages in 2006, consistent with the older ages at which women started families. Further, the decline was less pronounced, as fewer women were having children, women were having fewer children on average and more women were working through their children's early years.

Labour force participation rates of men and women, 1986 to 2006

Men



Women



Labour force participation was very low for older women. However, among older women aged 65 and over, participation rose from 3% in 1986 to 6% in 2006. It also increased for men in that age group (from 9% to 14%). See 'Generations of employment', p. 159–165.

In some areas, women's participation was very high

In 2006, 58% of women aged 15 and over were participating in the labour force, although this varied across the country. Areas with the highest participation rates for women in Australia included Tuggeranong and Belconnen in the Australian Capital Territory, and Queanbeyan, adjacent to the Australian Capital Territory (73%, 69% and 69% respectively). These areas have high levels of employment in Government administration, which has a higher than average level of female employment, possibly due to relatively family-friendly workplace conditions.[8] Lakes, a farming area in rural Western Australia, also had a high female participation rate in 2006 (70%). Many women in Lakes worked on family properties with their partners.

While those areas with the highest female participation rates in 2006 were generally the same as in 1986, regional patterns of labour force participation for men changed over the period. Areas with the largest declines for men included rural areas such as Barkly in the central region of the Northern Territory (from 79% to 60%) and Lyell in south-western Tasmania (from 90% to 72%). Cattle farming has been the most common industry employing men in Barkly, and the number of people working in this industry across Australia halved from 1996 to 2006.[9] In Lyell, population ageing has resulted in a 22% decline in the number of men aged 15–64 from 1996 to 2006.

On the other hand, many inner-urban areas had increases in male participation between 1986 and 2006. These included Southeast Inner Brisbane (from 73% to 78%) and Central Metropolitan in Perth (from 69% to 73%). This was associated with an increase in the number of men employed in rapidly growing industries in inner metropolitan areas. These included Services to road transport (which includes Parking services), Services to finance and investment, and Building construction.

The Labour Force Survey and the census

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) conducts the monthly Labour Force Survey (LFS), which measures employment, unemployment and the participation rate in Australia. There are a number of definitional and methodological differences between information collected in the LFS on these topics and information collected on work in the census. Even so, census data were generally comparable with the Labour Force Survey. For a more detailed comparison, see the article 'Census and the Labour Force Survey' in *Australian Labour Market Statistics*, October 2007 (ABS cat. no. 6105.0).

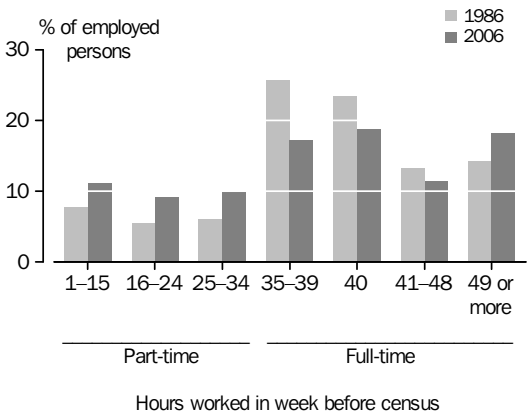
The LFS provides regular, up-to-date information, whereas the census is only conducted every five years and it takes longer to release results. The LFS provides official estimates of employment and unemployment, the unemployment rate and the labour force participation rate. On the other hand, the census provides information for small geographic areas across the whole of Australia, and can show characteristics of individuals and households that are not available in the LFS. (This overview presents census information.)

Labour Force Survey comparison with 2006 Census

	Participation rate	*Unemployment rate*	*Employed part-time*
	%	%	%
June 1986(a)			
LFS	62.0	7.8	19.0
Census	61.4	9.2	20.1
August 2006			
LFS	64.7	4.7	28.6
Census	64.6	5.2	31.5

(a) In 1986, the census was held on 30 June.

Hours worked, 1986 and 2006



Changes in part-time and full-time employment

In addition to changes in labour force participation, the prevalence of part-time employment is another aspect of working life that has changed in recent decades. Levels of part-time employment may vary due to the availability of jobs with reduced hours; a change in the availability of full-time jobs; increased demand for part-time jobs due to the desire to combine work with child-rearing, study or a transition to retirement; or increases in earnings from employment making part-time work more viable. On the other hand, people may work long hours because of shift work arrangements; the requirement of the job; increases in or availability of paid overtime; or changes in people's lifestyle and expectations.

In the 2006 Census, 2.7 million people reported that they worked part-time hours (between 1 and 34 hours per week in all jobs) in the week prior to the census, more than double the 1.2 million in 1986.

Over the same period, the number of people working full-time grew by only one fifth (from 4.9 million to 5.8 million). As a result, the proportion of part-time workers increased from 20% in 1986 to 32% of all employed people in 2006. However, changes in the proportion of part-time and full-time workers have been affected to a small extent by changes in shift work arrangements. For instance, many mining workers work to a shift or roster system, which may result in varying numbers of hours worked from one week to the next, whereas the census only measured the number of hours worked in the previous week. This means that some people who usually worked full-time would have been counted as part-time workers.

Part-time work has been taken up by parents (especially mothers) combining work and raising young children[10], students combining work and study, and people approaching retirement reducing their hours, either in their current job or in a new job[6].

Coastal areas located outside capital cities commonly had very high proportions of part-time workers. Areas with the highest proportions were in coastal New South Wales, including the Lower South Coast (42%), and in the north, Clarence (excluding Coffs Harbour) and Richmond-Tweed SD Balance (both 41%). These areas were characterised by high proportions of older part-time workers who had moved to these areas in the previous 5 years, possibly in transition to retirement.

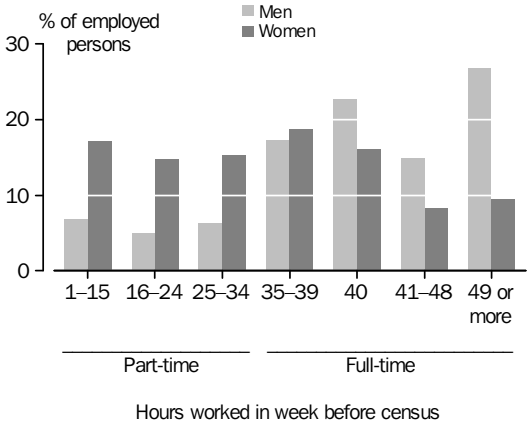
Women more likely to work part-time

Of the total employment growth from 1986 to 2006 where hours were stated (2,438,000 additional people), two fifths was due to additional female part-time employment (971,000). The rapid growth in part-time work has occurred alongside increases in the number of women in the labour force. Women were more likely than men to work part-time. In 2006, nearly half of all female workers were part-time, compared with one fifth of male workers.

At the national level, the number of women working part-time more than doubled between 1986 and 2006. In many areas, growth was even higher. In particular, the number of women working part-time in many coastal areas of Queensland increased by 5 times or more, including Gold Coast West, and Beaudesert Shire Part A in Brisbane. These areas experienced strong population growth over the period, particularly of younger families. For more on population growth across Australia, see 'Where do Australians live?', p. 16–23.

People who were away from work in the week prior to the census: There were 591,600 employed people away from work during the week prior to the 2006 Census so their full-time/part-time status was not recorded.

Hours worked by men and women



More people worked very long hours, especially men

The number of hours people work has become more diverse, and the traditional 40 hour week less common. In 1986, 24% of people in the week leading up to the census reported having worked 40 hours in the previous week: by 2006, this had fallen to 20%.

In 2006, more people worked very long hours than in 1986: 19% reported that they worked 49 hours or more per week, compared with 15% of all employed people in 1986. In 2006, over half the people working very long hours were aged 35–54 years (55%), slightly higher than in 1986 (51%). Most people working very long hours were men—in 2006, men comprised 77% of all people who worked 49 hours or more per week, although this had decreased from 81% in 1986. Managers, particularly General managers and administrators, Farmers and farm managers and Sales and marketing managers were most likely to work 49 hours or more per week (56%, 56% and 43% respectively in 2006).

In most areas in Australia, a similar proportion of people worked very long hours (19%). However, in some areas this proportion was much higher. Areas with 30% or more of their employed people working very long hours included regional areas of Western Australia, such as Lakes (45%) and Johnston (40%). These areas have large numbers of people employed in Mining and related industries and a high proportion of employed men.

Why do people work long hours?

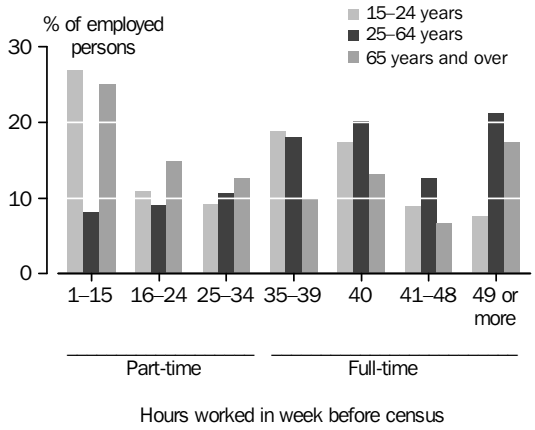
Working very long hours (that is, more than 49 hours per week) has become more prevalent in Australia over the last 20 years. This is partly due to a desire for higher pay: in the Survey of Employment Arrangements and Superannuation in 2000, 16% of employees working 41 to 50 hours per week and 10% of employees working 51 to 60 hours stated that they wanted to work more hours for more pay.[11] However, other reasons, such as the requirement of the job, are also important: in the 2006 Survey of Working Time Arrangements, 48% of people who worked 49 hours or more stated that they worked unpaid overtime on a regular basis.[10]

Many young people worked short hours

Working few hours per week is prevalent among women, young people and older workers. In 2006, 12% of all employed people worked between 1 and 15 hours per week. However, a quarter or more of young workers aged 15–24 and older workers aged 65 and over worked few hours (27% and 25% respectively). As well, 17% of all female workers worked few hours, compared with 7% of all male workers.

Across Australia, young workers working few hours comprised 4.5% of all employed people. This group includes many students who have

Hours worked by age



limited time for work or continue to be supported by their parents. In some areas, young workers working few hours comprised a large proportion of all employed people. These areas were typically in urban areas, either in capital cities or other major centres, near university campuses. Examples are North Canberra (7.4% of all employed people), which includes the Australian National University, and Ballarat City in Victoria (6.9%) with the University of Ballarat. Bathurst, west of Sydney, is a smaller centre, but had the highest proportion (8.1%). A campus of Charles Sturt University is located in Bathurst, and 8% of its population were tertiary students in 2006.

Retail trade still the largest employer

In understanding the way work has changed in Australia it is useful to consider the industries which have grown and declined. The census provides a unique level of detail about the industries in which workers are employed, as well as being a source of the characteristics of employed people in different industries.

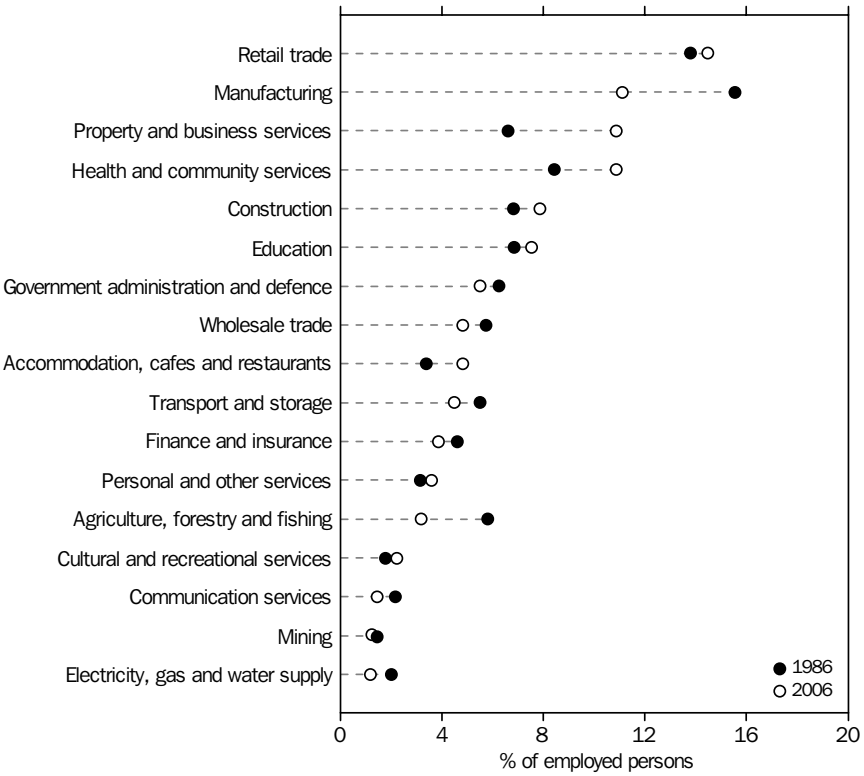
In 2006, Retail trade was the industry division which employed the largest proportion of people in Australia—14.7% of all employed people, followed by Manufacturing (11.3%), Property and business services, and Health and community services (both 11.0%). Mining employed only 1.2%, despite strong economic growth in this industry: in 2006–07, it contributed 7.0% to Gross Domestic Product.[12]

Between 1986 and 2006, the overall picture of employment in industries in Australia changed in several respects. Manufacturing, the largest employer in 1986 (15.6%) dropped to 11.3% in 2006. This made it second in size after Retail trade. Agriculture, forestry and fishing declined as well, from 5.8% to 3.2% of all employed people. On the other hand, Property and business services, and Health and community services both increased their share of employment (from 6.6% to 11.0% and from 8.4% to 11.0% respectively), to approach Manufacturing in their share of employed people. Retail trade also increased slightly, from 13.8% to 14.7%.

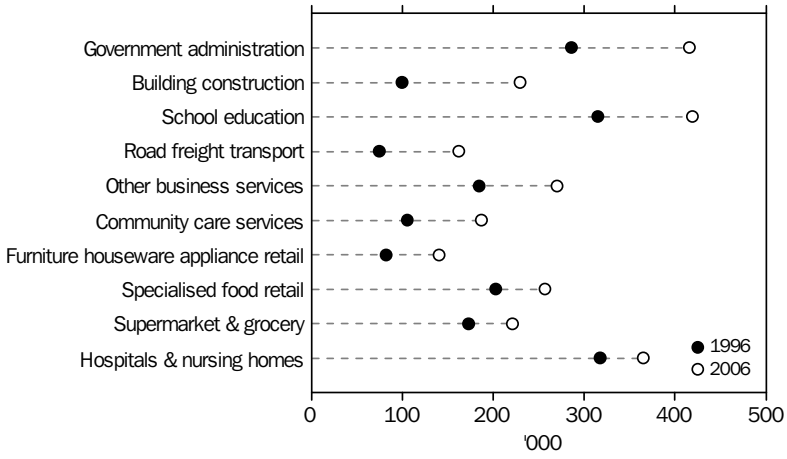
More workers in School education

At a more detailed level, School education[13], Government administration, and Hospitals and nursing homes were the three industries which employed the largest numbers of employed people in 2006 (413,600 or 4.6% of all employed people, 410,200 or 4.6% and 360,200 or 4.0% respectively). Since 1996, the number of people employed in these industries

Employment by industry division, 1986 and 2006



Industries with largest growth, employment in 1996(a) and 2006



(a) Comparable detailed information on employment by industry is not available for 1986.

increased by 104,900, 130,000, and 48,800 respectively. Building construction (increased by 128,500) and Road freight transport (increased by 87,000) were the other industries that recorded substantial increases in employed people.[8]

Despite Agriculture, forestry and fishing, and Manufacturing industry divisions both experiencing large declines, there was growth in some specific industries within these divisions. Grain, sheep and beef cattle farming grew by 44% (adding 40,300 employed people), and Aquaculture grew by 19% (600). In Manufacturing, the number of people employed in Non-ferrous basic metal product manufacturing (added 5,200) and Recorded media manufacturing and publishing (added 1,500) both doubled.

Areas with high overall employment growth figured among areas with the fastest employment growth in the main growth industries identified above. For instance, in Melton-Wyndham, in outer Melbourne, the number of people employed in School education more than doubled, from 1996 to 2006 (to 3,000), as well as a doubling in Hospitals and nursing homes employment (to 2,700). This is indicative of the general rapid development in that area.

On the other hand, some areas with large growth in specific industries were not areas of high overall employment growth. One example is King in Western Australia, which includes Albany. Employment in Hospitals and nursing homes grew in King by 150% from 1996 to 2006 despite overall employment growth of only 27%. This coincided with the building and extension of hospitals and nursing homes in Albany from 2001 to 2006.

Ageing industries

As Australia's population ages, so its workforce is also ageing and some industries are affected more than others by this trend.

In 2006, the median age of all employed people was 40 years. Farming industries had the oldest workforces: Grain, sheep, and beef cattle farming had a median age of 51 years, Other crop growing, 48 years and Horticulture and fruit growing, 46 years. Road passenger transport (51 years), Religious organisations and Knitting mills manufacturing (both 48 years) also had older workforces.

Many employed people in these industries were aged 65 and over: 18% of Grain, sheep and beef cattle farming workers and 13% of Other crop growing workers were in this age group compared with only 2% of Australia's employed people. Very few younger workers were engaged in these industries: while 21% of Australia's employed people were aged 25–34 in 2006, between 11% and 16% of employed people in the above industries were in this age group.

Major occupation groups, proportion of all employed, 1996 and 2006(a)

(a) Comparable information on employment by occupation is not available for 1986.

Professionals the largest occupation group[14]

Another aspect of the changing face of employment in Australia is the occupations of Australian workers. In 2006, Professionals were the largest occupation group (1.7 million or 20% of all employed people), followed by Intermediate clerical, sales and service workers (1.5 million or 17%) and Tradespersons and related workers, and Associate professionals (both 1.1 million or 12%). Professionals recorded the fastest growth in employment since 1996 for any occupation group (34% growth), followed by Associate professionals, Elementary clerical, sales and service workers (both 27%) and Intermediate clerical, sales and service workers (26%). In contrast, Advanced clerical and service workers declined (down 12%).

Changes in the distribution of occupation groups have been accompanied by the increasing prevalence of non-school qualifications in the community (see the 'Education overview', p. 114–122). As well, changes in the demand for new and existing products and services have resulted in changes to the skills needed to provide them.

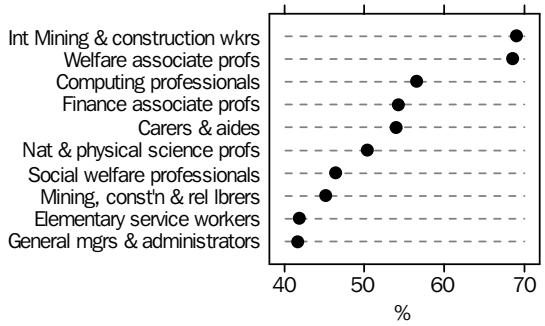
More sales assistants, carers and aides, and school teachers

At a more detailed level, Sales assistants was the most common occupation in 2006 (5.8% of all employed people), followed by School teachers, and Carers and aides (both 3.2%). These occupations also grew the most between 1996 and 2006: the number of Sales assistants increased by 132,700 to 517,500 in 2006, School teachers increased by 53,200 to 288,700 and Carers and aides increased by 99,600 to 284,000. Much of the growth in these

Growth occupations, 1996 to 2006

Largest numerical growth

Fastest growth



(a) Accountants, Auditors and Corporate Treasurers.

three occupations was in part-time employment, which contributed 87%, 46% and 70% respectively.

Reflecting growing shares of employment in the broad Professional and Associate professional groups, many of the specific occupations with the greatest increases were from these groups. They included Welfare associate professionals, which grew by 69% from 1996 to 2006—the second highest growth over the period—and Computing professionals (57%).

In contrast, within the slower-growing Intermediate production and transport workers group, trends varied. Intermediate mining and construction workers recorded the equal fastest growth of any occupation (69%) from 1996 to 2006, whereas Intermediate textile, clothing and related machine operators declined by 41%.

Some occupations grew faster in inner cities and outer suburbs

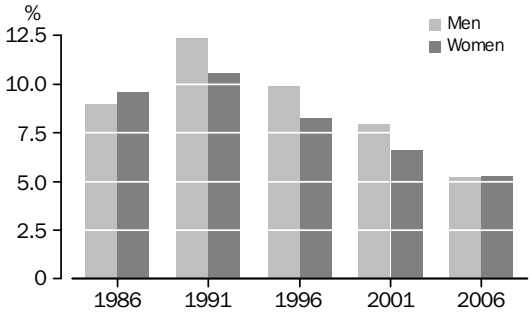
Occupations did not grow uniformly across the country. The number of Carers and aides and Elementary service workers increased in outer suburban areas and in centres adjacent to capital cities. The largest growth in the number of Carers and aides was in North Metropolitan Perth and South Eastern Outer Melbourne, with 2,900 and 2,600 respectively. Elementary service workers increased the most in Western Melbourne, and Newcastle in New South Wales—1,100 each. The number of Computing professionals increased most in inner urban areas such as Central Northern Sydney (adding 2,300) and Inner Melbourne (adding 2,200), close to places of work but with higher housing costs, reflecting *higher incomes* of people working in this occupation.

Unemployment declined

Despite declining rates of unemployment, this issue remains an ongoing concern for both Australian governments and the community. Unemployment is affected by a number of factors, including the strength of the economy and the extent to which skills match the labour market.

Unemployment rate: the number of people who are unemployed as a proportion of all those employed or unemployed.

Changes in level of unemployment

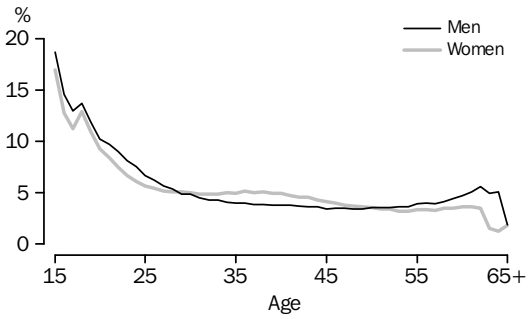


Unemployment rates may decline due to greater job availability; discouraged job seekers no longer looking for work; unemployed people leaving a region; an increase in the availability or attractiveness of other activities such as study or child-rearing; or changes in people's retirement patterns.

The unemployment rate at the 2006 Census (5.2%) was the lowest it had been since 1986 (9.2%). The high level of unemployment in 1991 (11.6%), followed by consistent decreases at each subsequent census, can be largely attributed to the economic downturn of the early 1990s followed by consistent economic improvement since then.[15]

At any point in time, the unemployment rate can vary for different groups and regions. For example, unemployment is typically higher for younger people and men reaching retirement ages than for those in other age groups. According to the Survey of Job Search Experience in 2007, young people may have difficulty finding work as they often lack the required skills or experience required for many jobs. Older people looking for work reported that they were considered too old by potential employers for the jobs they applied for, or had difficulty finding work due to illness or disability.[16]

Unemployment rate by age, 2006



...younger people

Of all people aged 15–24 years in the labour force (that is, either working or looking for work), 10.2% were unemployed in 2006. In contrast, the unemployment rate was below 5% for all ages of people aged 25 and over.

Young people's unemployment levels declined sharply for each year of age, with the exception of 18 year olds, where the rate was 13.3%, higher than that for 17 year olds (12.1%). This may be due partly to young people completing Year 12 at age 18, and partly to the fact that government benefits are more easily accessible to people aged 18 and over, resulting in extra incentive both to look for work and to report having been unsuccessful in finding work.[17]

...older men

For the most part, unemployment is lower for people the older they are. However, this pattern reversed for men aged 50 years and over. In 2006 the unemployment rate increased gradually up to 64 years, from 3.5% to 5.1%. From 65 years and over, the unemployment rate dropped to 1.9%: at older ages most men who are not working are retired rather than unemployed.[6]

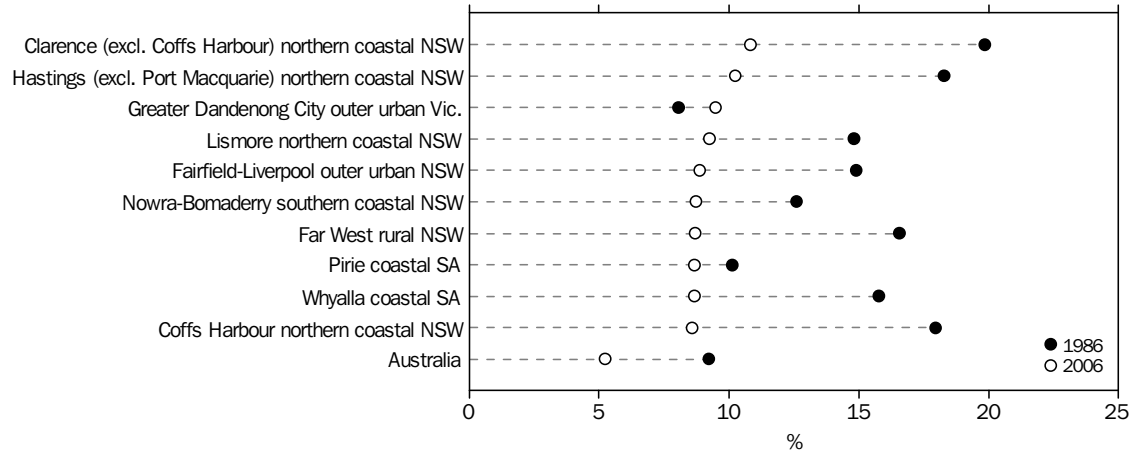
...geographic areas

Areas with the highest levels of unemployment overall were also areas with high youth unemployment and high unemployment for older men.

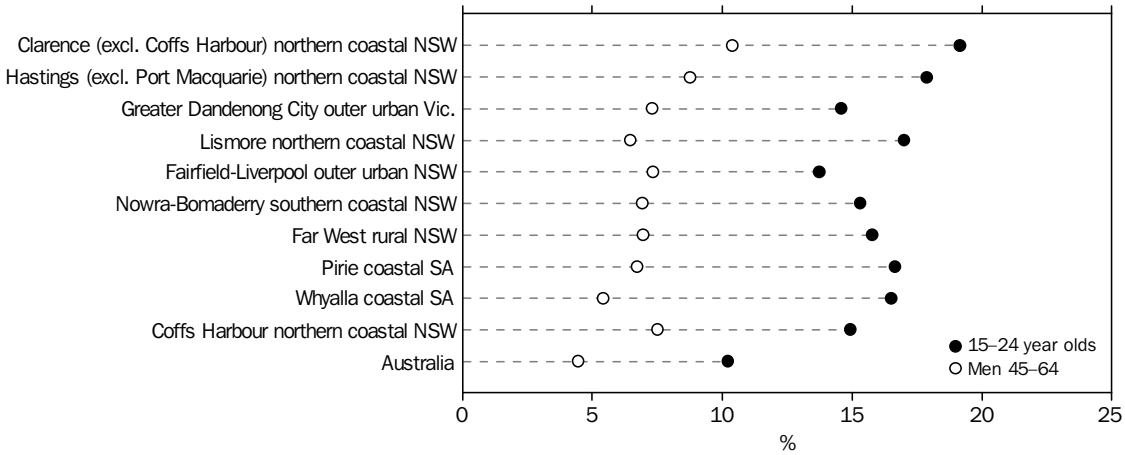
All areas with the highest youth unemployment were in regional areas. The 4 highest levels were all in northern New South Wales: Clarence (excluding Coffs Harbour), with an unemployment rate for 15–24 year olds of 19.2% in 2006, Hastings (excluding Port Macquarie) with 17.9%, Northern Tablelands (17.5%), and Lismore (17.0%). Pirie (16.6%) and Whyalla (16.5%) in South Australia also had high youth unemployment.

Selected Statistical Subdivisions with high unemployment

Unemployment rate, 1986 and 2006



Unemployment rate of high risk groups: all 15–24 year olds, men aged 45–64, 2006



Statistical Subdivisions in rural and regional Australia featured in this overview

Many major centres also had pockets of high youth unemployment, including Wollongong (14.9%), Newcastle (14.0%), Greater Dandenong City in outer Melbourne (14.6%), and Fairfield-Liverpool in Sydney (13.7%).

High unemployment among older men was found in the same areas. For example, Clarence (excluding Coffs Harbour) had the highest rate in 2006 (10.4% of men aged 45–64 in the labour force). Some outer suburban areas of capital cities also recorded high unemployment of older men, including Fairfield-Liverpool in Sydney and Greater Dandenong City in Melbourne (both 7.3%). These areas have experienced declines in manufacturing activity over the last 20 years.

Many of these areas with high unemployment for certain groups have had persistently high overall unemployment since 1986, although in most of these cases unemployment declined. Again, areas in rural New South Wales featured prominently. An example is Coffs Harbour, on the north coast of New South Wales. This area had unemployment at 18.0% in 1986, dropping to 8.6% in 2006. The rate for young people aged 15–24 was 14.9% in 2006, while the rate for men aged 45–64 was 7.5%.

Endnotes

1 International Labour Organization 2008, *ILO's Vision of Decent Work*, data extracted on 25 February 2008, <http://www.ilo.org/global/About_the_ILO/lang--en/index.htm>.

2 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2001, *Measuring Wellbeing: Frameworks for Australian social statistics, 2001*, cat. no. 4160.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 ABS 2007, *Forms of Employment, November 2006*, cat. no. 6359.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 ABS 2008, *Western Australian Statistical Indicators, December 2007*, cat. no. 1367.5, ABS, Canberra.

5 ABS 2008, *Western Australian Statistical Indicators, September 2003*, cat. no. 1367.5, ABS, Canberra.

6 ABS 2008, *Retirement and Retirement Intentions, Australia, July 2006 to June 2007*, cat. no. 6238.0, ABS, Canberra.

7 For more information on CDEP, see the entry in ABS 2006, *Census Dictionary, Australia, 2006 (reissue)*, cat. no. 2901.0, ABS, Canberra.

8 Department of Family and Community Services and Department of Employment and Workplace Relations 2002, *OECD Review of Family Friendly Policies: The Reconciliation of Work and Family Life. Australia's Background Report*.

9 Information on industry is not available at a detailed level for 1986.

10 ABS 2007, *Working Time Arrangements, Australia, November 2006*, cat. no. 6342.0, ABS, Canberra.

11 ABS 2001, *Employment Arrangements and Superannuation, Australia, April to June 2000*, cat. no. 6361.0, ABS, Canberra.

12 ABS 2007, *Australian System of National Accounts, Australia, 2006–07*, cat. no. 5204.0, ABS, Canberra.

13 For more on workers in school education, see the article 'School teachers', p. 129–135.

14 Information on occupation for 1986 is not available on a comparable basis with 2006.

15 ABS 2008, *Year Book, Australia, 2008*, cat. no. 1301.0, ABS, Canberra.

16 ABS 2007, *Job Search Experience, Australia, July 2007*, cat. no. 6222.0, ABS, Canberra.

17 Centrelink 2007, *How do I Qualify for a Youth Allowance?*, viewed on 27 March 2008, <http://www.centrelink.gov.au/internet/internet.nsf/payments/qual_how_yal.htm>.

Skill shortages

In recent years, concern has grown at the difficulty experienced by some Australian employers in finding enough appropriately skilled staff.

Skill shortages can occur when there is either a reduction in the availability of skilled labour, an increased demand for skilled labour, or both. Causes of an inadequate supply include low unemployment; a reduction in the number of potential workers entering or completing training; workers leaving due to relatively unattractive pay or other working conditions; and increases in the number of workers retiring as the population ages. Demand for skilled labour may arise due to new goods and services being produced, and new technology and techniques being introduced.[1] A major driver of skill shortages in Australia in recent years has been sustained economic growth[2], which has resulted in increased demand for skilled staff in high-growth industries.

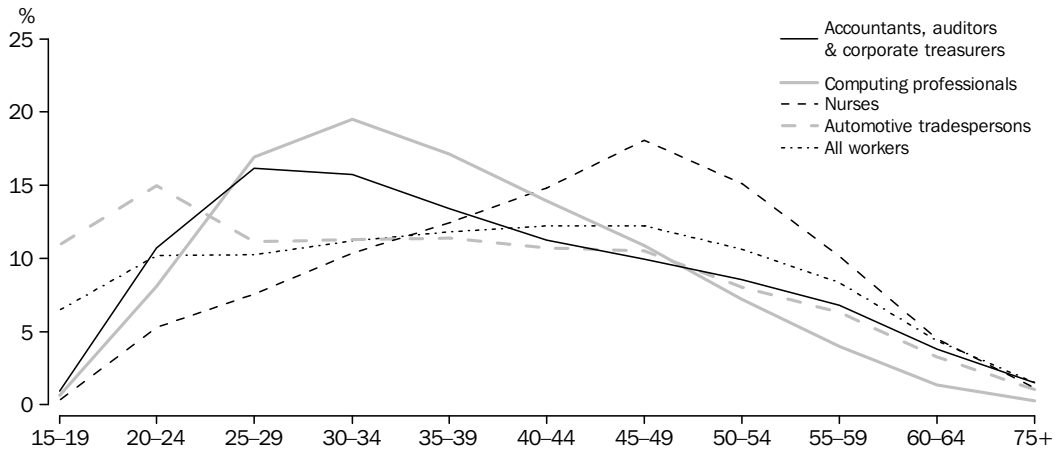
Even though skill shortages have become more pronounced in Australia, some people are unable to find employment, while others wish to work longer hours. However, these people do not necessarily have the skills required for particular jobs.

Skill shortages may increase as an increasing proportion of the population retire, unless measures introduced to address these shortages are successful.[3] The proportion of Australia's population who are of traditional working age (15–64 years) is projected to decline over the next fifty years, from 67% in June 2004 to between 57% and 59% in 2051.[4] While the participation rate for older people may increase over this time, this is unlikely by itself to raise overall labour force participation to a level which meets expected demands.

Skill shortages can be more severe in regional areas, as can be seen with recent difficulties in recruiting and retaining health professionals in these areas.[5] As demand rises, incomes offered to people with skills in demand may rise accordingly. This can adversely affect individual businesses, but it can also contribute to meeting demand for people with these skills.[6]

Skill shortages can have a significant impact on business productivity. For instance, in the Building and construction industry, there has been a shift in recent years toward greater ownership and management of public infrastructure by large construction

Age profiles of selected occupations



contractors. This has resulted in greatly increased demand for project managers: difficulties in recruitment and retention of staff with project management skills has affected the cost and timeliness of projects.[7]

A number of ways of addressing skill shortages have been proposed or are already being implemented. The Skilled Stream of Australia's Immigration program has been used to draw workers from overseas who are skilled in in-demand occupations.[8] Within Australia, changes in education and training have been made or are being considered, such as the introduction of the New Apprentice system and other aspects of the Vocational Education and Training System.[9] Other measures include taking steps to remove barriers to work for older Australians[10] and people with disabilities[11]; and offering incentives for people to relocate to areas where skill shortages are being experienced.[12]

How skill shortages are identified

There are a range of indicators of possible skill shortages including measures of unemployment, job vacancy advertisements, wage and salary growth, and employer surveys.

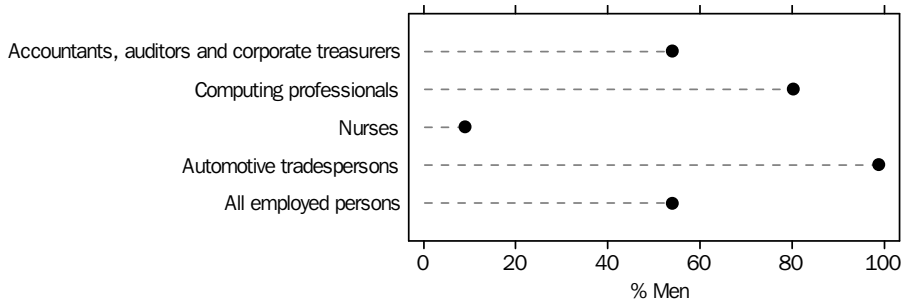
The Department of Employment, Education and Workplace Relations conducts the Survey of Labour Demand (SOLD) to gain an indication of hard-to-fill jobs.[13]

The SOLD measures the level of vacancies for a range of occupations. Four occupations which the SOLD Vacancy Reports identify as hard to fill are Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers; Automotive tradespersons; Computing professionals; and Nurses. This article uses Census data to look at the characteristics of people who in 2006 were working in these 4 occupations. The article also looks at the characteristics of people who are qualified to work in one of these occupations.

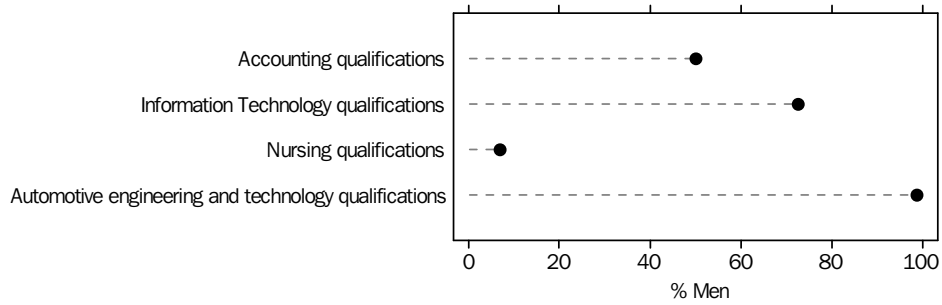
Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers

In the 2006 Census, 135,300 persons reported their occupation as Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers. This was an increase of 17% since 2001. The highest concentrations of people working in this occupation group lived in the inner and middle suburbs of major capital cities.

Proportion of men(a) working in selected occupations



Proportion of men(a) with selected highest non-school qualifications



(a) Aged 15 years and over.

Accounting qualifications

Most people working as Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers recorded Bachelor Degree as their highest level of qualification (60%). For a further 16%, their highest qualification was at Advanced Diploma, Diploma, or Certificate Level. Of workers in this profession with non-school qualifications, less than three quarters (70%) stated that Accounting was their field of highest qualification.

People with Accounting as their field of highest non-school qualification (at any level) were by no means restricted to this occupation group.

While 31% of people with this qualification worked as Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers, some worked as Resource managers (6%), Intermediate numerical clerks (5%) and Advanced numerical clerks (4%)—occupations similar to accounting but in different broad occupation groups.

A further 20% of people with Accounting as their highest qualification were not in the labour force, and 3% were unemployed. Of those not in the labour force, 41% were aged 65 and over, 16% had children aged 0–4 and 9% were studying full-time.

A younger group with a balance of men and women

While 47% of all people working as Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers were employed in the Business services industry in 2006, this occupation was represented across many other industries. These included Government administration (6%), Finance (5%), Services to finance and insurance (4%) and Personal and household good wholesaling (2%).

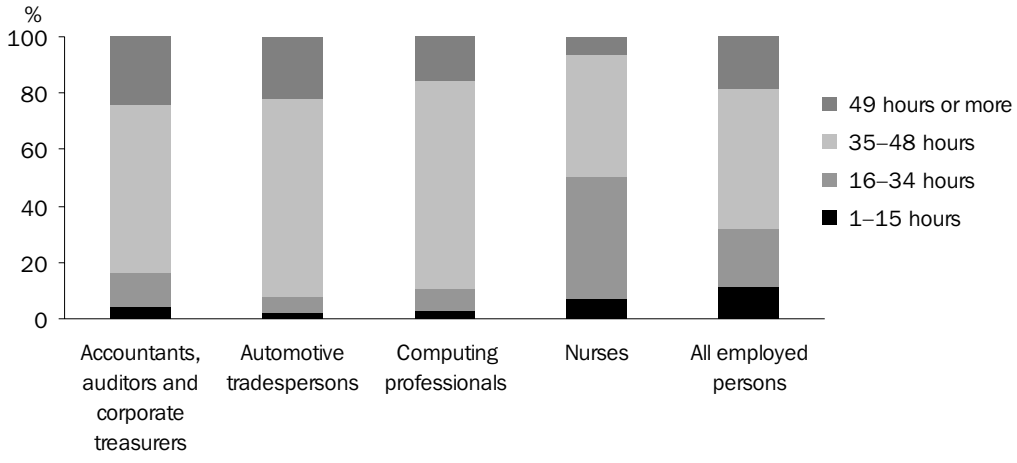
In 2006, this occupation group had a younger age profile than all employed people, with a median age of 37 years, compared with 40 years for all employed people. As well, the number of men and women were more evenly balanced than other in-demand occupations featured in this article (54% men).

According to the 2006 Census, a higher proportion of people working in this occupation group were born overseas (36%) than for all employed people (25%), and many of these overseas-born people had arrived in Australia between 2002 and 2006 (6% of all Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers, compared with 3% of all employed people). This reflects overseas recruitment that has been undertaken to help relieve skill shortages in this occupation.[8]

Full-time work is the norm for people in this occupation group. In the week prior to the Census, the proportion of people working part-time (16%) was half that of the employed population generally (32%). Likewise, few people in this occupation group worked very few hours (4% working 1–15 hours, compared with 12% of all employed people).

Most working women with pre-school aged children work part-time: 70% in 2006. However, of this group working as Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers, only 61% worked part-time.

Hours worked in week(a) prior to the Census



(a) Hours worked by employed people aged 15 years and over.

Automotive tradespersons

There were 116,400 people in the 2006 Census who identified their occupation as Automotive tradespersons, a 0.7% increase on 2001. Of these, 68% were Motor mechanics, with most of the rest working as Panel beaters (11%) and Vehicle painters (8%). A smaller proportion was born overseas (19%) than all employed people (25%).

Automotive engineering and technology qualifications

Many people employed as Automotive tradespersons had a Certificate, Diploma or Advanced Diploma in Automotive engineering and technology as their highest non-school qualification (45%), while 28% had a qualification at that level but in a different field, and a further 25% had no non-school qualification.

People with Automotive engineering and technology as their highest qualification were distributed across a wide range of occupations: only 29% were Automotive tradespersons; 6% were Road and rail transport drivers; 4% were Mechanical engineering tradespersons; and 3% were Intermediate sales and related workers. This suggests that a shortage of Automotive tradespersons could be partially addressed by drawing from other occupations.

As with Accounting, about one fifth of people with Automotive engineering and technology as their highest field of qualification were not in the labour force (19%). However, over half of these were aged 65 and over (53%).

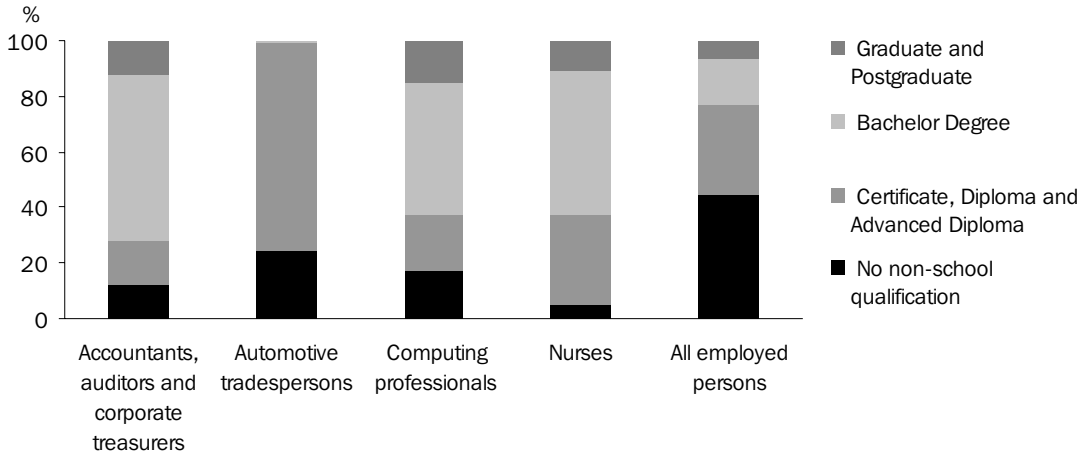
Health and safety issues may be adding to the skill shortages in this occupation. Of the 15,600 people aged 15–64 not in the labour force with Automotive engineering and technology as their field of highest qualification, 16% had a need for assistance due to disability, health or old age (see *core activity need for assistance* in Glossary). Of those aged 45–64, 18% had a need for assistance, compared with 12% of all people in that age group not in the labour force. Of those aged 15–44, 11% had a need for assistance, compared with 5% of all people in that age group not in the labour force. According to the Australian Safety and Compensation Council, this occupation experiences higher than average rates of workplace injuries and illnesses.[14]

Almost two thirds of Automotive tradespersons were working in the Motor vehicle retailing and services industry (65%) in 2006. However, some were in Machinery and equipment manufacturing (7%), Machinery and motor vehicle wholesaling (5%) and Road transport (4%).

Nearly all employed people in this occupation were men

In 2006, nearly all Automotive tradespersons were men (99%). However, the proportion of women in this trade has increased by 18% since 2001, albeit from a very low base. Of the 1,500 female Automotive tradespersons in 2006, 76% were working full-time compared with 53% of all employed women. Consistent with the high proportion of men in this occupation, only 8% of all Automotive tradespersons worked part-time.

Highest non-school qualification attained(a)



(a) By employed people aged 15 years and over.

This occupation had a young age profile compared with all workers in 2006: the largest number of Automotive tradespersons were aged 19 years (4,300), which reflects the entry into this occupation via apprenticeship. This was similar to 2001, when this was also the most common age for this occupation. In both censuses there were decreasing numbers at each age until the late 20s. This supports concerns expressed by government and other bodies about the need for measures such as improved career pathways to increase the proportion of apprentices who complete their apprenticeship and stay on in the trade.[9]

Computing professionals

In 2006, there were 127,400 people working as Computing professionals, a slight increase from 2001 (0.7%). People in this occupation were clustered in the ACT (4.5% of all employed people in the ACT), as well as in inner areas of the major capital cities (at around 3%). Overseas-born Australians comprised a large proportion of Computing professionals (43%, compared with 25% of all employed people). A higher than average proportion of these came to Australia in 2002 or thereafter (8% of all people working in this profession compared with 3% of all employed people), partly in response to a targeted migration program.[8]

Information Technology qualifications

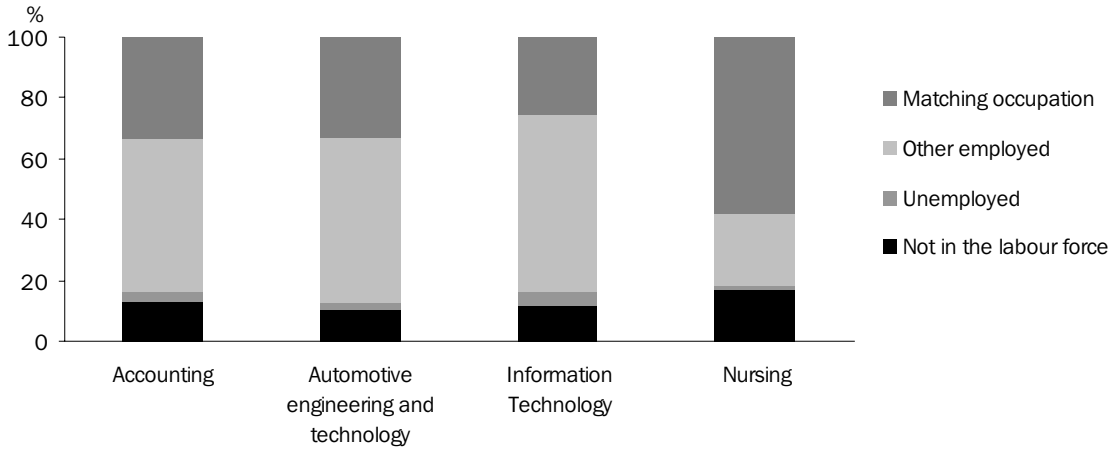
Just over a quarter (26%) of people with their highest non-school qualification in Information technology, were working as Computing professionals, with many in this profession working as Miscellaneous business and administration associate professionals (9%), Engineering, distribution and process managers (5%), Sales assistants, and Electrical and electronics tradespersons (both 3%).

Of the groups whose qualifications were in the fields associated with the 4 occupations featured in this article, people who had Information technology as their highest qualification, had the highest proportion of people in the labour force (88%). This may be associated with the relatively recent emergence of this field, resulting in fewer people of retirement age with these qualifications.

However, this group also had the highest level of unemployment (5.7% of the labour force with this field of highest qualification) of the 4 selected groups—the next highest was 3.4% for people with Accounting qualifications.

More than half of people qualified in Information technology who were unemployed had Certificate, Diploma or Advanced Diploma level qualifications (55%). It is possible that further training for these people could help to address the skill shortage in the Information technology profession.

Selected highest non-school qualifications(a), by occupation and labour force status



(a) People aged 15 to 64 years.

Computing professionals worked in many different industries

As with Accountants, auditors and corporate treasurers, Computing professionals were distributed across a wide range of industries in 2006. While 43% of these people were employed in the Business services industry (which includes Computer services), 8% worked in Government administration, 5% worked in Finance and a further 5% worked in Education.

Similar to Automotive tradespersons, Computing professionals was a young, male-dominated occupation (80% in 2006). The median age was 36 years, compared with 40 years for all employed people. Despite the small overall increase in the number of people in this group between 2001 and 2006, the number of women working as Computing professionals declined by 9%, from 27,800 to 25,200. Just 11% of people working in this occupation worked part-time.

Nurses

The number of people working as Nurses has grown rapidly since 2001, having increased by 15% to 219,800 in 2006. While Nurses are fairly evenly distributed across Australia, there was a higher proportion in parts of regional Victoria such as North Wimmera (4.5% of the census count of employed people), Ballarat City (4.1%), Warrnambool City and Greater Bendigo City Part A (each 4.0%), compared with 2.4% across Australia.

Nursing qualifications

Just over half the people with Nursing as their highest non-school qualification were employed as Nursing professionals (46% of all employed people with this non-school qualification), Carers and aides (5%) or Enrolled nurses (4%). The remainder worked in other occupations (16%), were not in the labour force (28%) or were unemployed (1.2%).

Compared with the people in the other three fields discussed in this article, people with Nursing as their highest non-school qualification were the least likely to be in the labour force (employed or unemployed). That said, those qualified in Nursing were more likely to be in the labour force than Australians overall (72%, compared with 65% of all Australians aged 15 and over). There were proportionally fewer men with Nursing qualifications who were not in the labour force (14% compared with 28% of all men).

Of Nursing-qualified people not in the labour force, 52% were aged 20–64 years, a lower proportion than all qualified people not in the labour force (59% aged 20–64 years). In this age group, 19% of Nursing-qualified people not in the labour force had children under 5 years, similar to all qualified people not in the labour force (23%).

Nurses were more likely to be recruited from overseas

In 2006, Nurses were most likely to be working in the Health and community services industries (94%), with small numbers employed in Government administration, and Business services (both 2%).

The vast majority of the nursing workforce is female—they comprised 91% of all Nurses in 2006, the same as in 2001. Of all people working as Nurses in 2006, 4.4% had arrived in Australia from overseas since 2002, compared with 3.2% of all employed people, reflecting overseas recruitment which has been undertaken to address these skill shortages.[8]

Part-time work is very common in the Nursing profession. Half of all people working in this profession worked part-time in 2006 (50%) compared with 32% of all employed people. Part-time work was more prevalent among women Nurses than all employed women (53% compared with 47%).

The Nursing profession in 2006 had an older age structure than in 2001. In 2006, nearly half of all Nurses were aged 45 and over (49%), compared with 40% in 2001. As well, only 13% of Nurses were aged under 30 in 2006, compared with 15% in 2001. The challenge to address skill shortages in this profession will increase as older nurses retire, if they are not replaced by others entering the profession, particularly as demand is likely to increase as the population ages.

Endnotes

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12 Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) 2006, *Addressing skill shortages: An Industry-Government partnership*, ACCI Issues Paper, April 2006.

13 Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) 2008, *Vacancy Report*, April 2008, DEEWR, Canberra.

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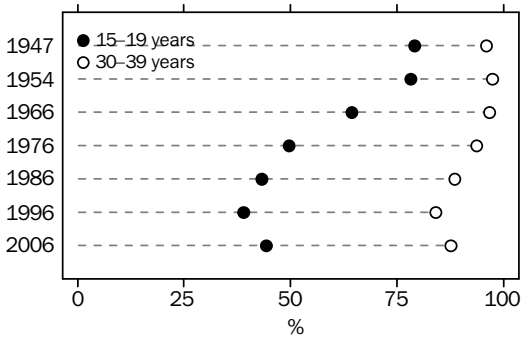
Generations of employment

Each generation of Australians has had different employment experiences, which have been shaped by the economic and social conditions of the day. At the economic level, over recent decades there has been growth and decline across the major industry sectors, as well as deregulation in a number of industries. Parallel to this have been changes in labour force regulation and industrial relations, including an increase in availability of part-time work. At a social level, substantial changes have occurred in women's participation in employment, brought about by broader changes in how society views women's roles and the choices available to them. In addition, jobs have become more technical and complex, requiring a more highly educated workforce. As a result, young people are increasingly likely to stay in education for longer and older people are more likely to return to education.

This article examines how these factors have changed the employment experience of different generations of Australians—highlighting the changing nature of employment in Australia between 1947 and 2006. For more information on the generations used in this article see the box on the next page.

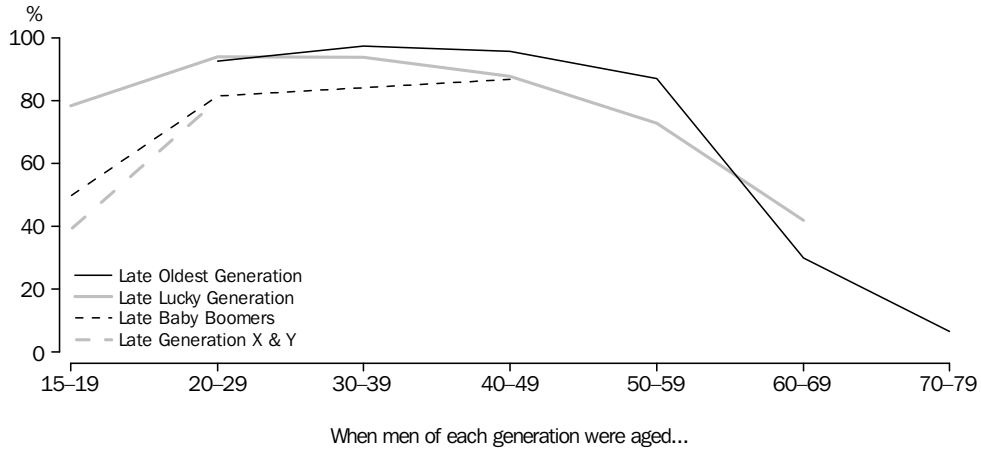
Men's employment participation



Men's employment participation declines

For men, the age pattern of participation in employment (that is, the proportion of people employed) has remained broadly similar for each generation (see graph below). In each generation, the proportion of men employed increased between the 15–19 and 20–29 year age groups, remained generally stable until ages 50–59, and declined thereafter.

Men's employment participation: selected generational groups



Tracking employment characteristics across generations

In order to track the employment characteristics for each generational group across time, this article uses Census of Population and Housing data from 1947 to 2006. Ten year age cohorts have been selected, with data obtained from every second census since 1966 (that is, 1976, 1986 and so on). For the 1947 and 1954 Censuses, which were not at 10 year intervals, the age groups used do not perfectly align with birth years for the generations. This affects the comparison of the three oldest generational groups. For example, at the time of the 1954 Census, people in the later half of the Oldest Generation were aged between 28 and 37 years, but data from this census are only available in 10 year age groups (for example, 20–29 years, 30–39 years). In this case, the 30–39 years age group is used to represent this generation. It is expected that the effects of these differences are relatively minor and do not affect the broad comparisons made in the article.

As 10 year age groups are used each generation—spanning 20 years of age each—has been split into two: an early and a later generational group (see table below). For more details about the generations used, see 'From generation to generation', p. 9–14.

Generational groups	*Age at 2006*	*Birth cohort*
Early Oldest Generation	90–99	1906–1916
Late Oldest Generation	80–89	1916–1926
Early Lucky Generation	70–79	1926–1936
Late Lucky Generation	60–69	1936–1946
Early Baby Boomers	50–59	1946–1956
Late Baby Boomers	40–49	1956–1966
Early Generation X and Y	30–39	1966–1976
Late Generation X and Y	20–29	1976–1986
Early iGeneration	10–19	1986–1996
Late iGeneration	0–9	1996–2006

...broadly comparable information

Across these censuses, changes to the questions asked on the census form and changes to the classifications used to produce census statistics mean that the characteristics examined may not be completely comparable. That said, the general level of comparability has been assessed to be suitable for the comparisons made in this article.

The treatment of overseas visitors is one example of these differences. In the published results of the 1947, 1954 and 1966 Censuses, overseas visitors were not separately identified. In censuses after this they were separately identified, but due to increasing numbers of these visitors, for the 1996 and 2006 Censuses the labour force status and industry of occupation of overseas visitors was not recorded. As a result, in this article, overseas visitors have been included in the calculation of statistics for all census years except 1996 and 2006.

The greatest change in employment participation for men has occurred among 15–19 year olds, where employment participation has generally declined with each successive generation—a pattern also evident in women's employment participation at this age. In 1947, just over 79% of 15–19 year old men from the early Lucky Generation were employed. By 1976, half of the late Baby Boomer men in this age group were employed. The lowest level of employment participation for men aged 15–19 was at the 1996 Census: 39% for those in late Generation X and Y. Following a period of strong economic conditions and labour demand, this proportion was higher for the early iGeneration: 44% in 2006.

These changes were associated with increased participation in education for each generation. In the 50 years after 1947, increasing proportions of young people remained at high school through to Years 11 and 12. For example, high school retention rates peaked in 1992 at 77%, rising from 23% in 1966.[1]

Over this period, opportunities for participation in further education also increased. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a substantial increase in the number of

universities and enrolments in higher education.[2] In the 1970s, upfront university fees were abolished and student income support programs were introduced (for example, AUSTUDY).[3] This was then followed by substantial increases in funding in the 1980s, which occurred in line with the introduction of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS).[4] Since the early 1990s, there has also been a re-emergence and formalisation of vocational and trades education.[4]

Many of these increased opportunities in further education have been taken up by people in the 20–29 year age group, and to a lesser extent by those in older age groups. As with 15–19 year olds, this increased participation in education has reduced employment participation for successive generations of 20–29 year olds. Similarly, increased participation in education will have also contributed to the general decline in employment participation in subsequent age groups. For more information on changes in participation in education, see 'Adult education across the generations' p. 123–127.

Employment participation turns around in 2006

Changing economic conditions over the second half of the 20th century resulted in relatively high rates of unemployment from the mid-1970s through to the end of the century. This, combined with increasing participation by women in the workforce and an increased propensity to undertake further study, was associated with declines in male employment participation across the generational groups over this period. In contrast, declining unemployment from around the end of the 1990s, was associated with a recovery in employment participation for men across all age groups. The article 'From generation to generation', p. 9–14, provides an overview of the unemployment experience of the different generations.

Up until the 2006 Census, employment participation for men in the age groups between 20 and 59 years was generally slightly lower with each successive generational group. For example, at age 30–39, 97% of men in the late Oldest Generation were employed in 1954, 94% of the late Lucky Generation in 1976 and 84% of the late Baby Boomers in 1996.

At the 2006 Census, the trend of declining employment participation was reversed. Reflecting the stronger economic conditions over the previous decade, in 2006 the proportion employed in each age group exceeded that of the previous generational group at the same age. For example, in 2006, the early Generation X and Y group were aged 30–39 and 88% of this group were employed—4 percentage points higher than the late Baby Boomers when they were the same age in 1996.

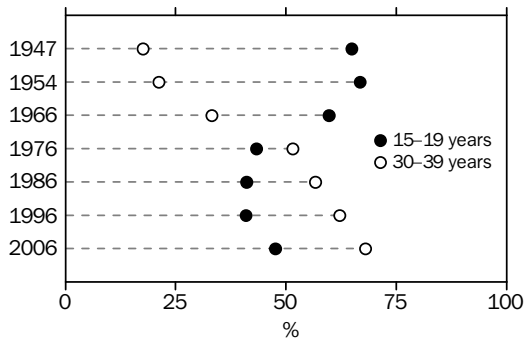
Another more recent change in employment participation occurred in the 60–69 year age group. In 2006, 42% of men from the late Lucky Generation were participating in employment at this age, substantially higher than the two groups from the Older Generation, whose employment participation was slightly below 30% when they were in this age group. The favourable job market in the previous decade would have contributed to the higher level of employment participation in this age group. However, the introduction of a range of government policies directed at the older workforce may have encouraged older people to return to or remain longer in the workforce.

Women's employment increasing

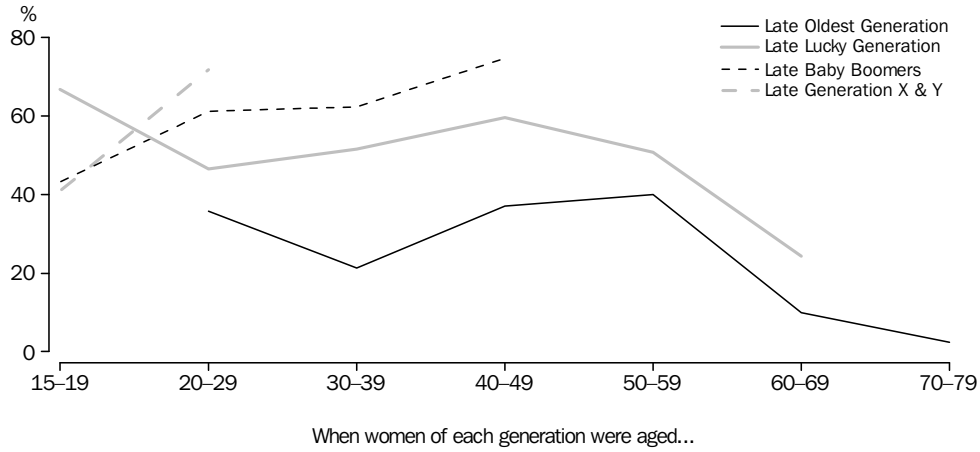
Women's generational experiences of employment participation have been diverse and quite different to men's, with large scale changes occurring over the last 60 years. The only trend that is similar to men's participation is the declining employment participation among the 15–19 year olds in each successive generation, associated with increased participation in education.

Aside from these changes for young people, women's employment participation since 1947 has generally increased in each age group, across successive generations. For example, in 1947, 18% of women from the early Oldest Generation, then aged 30–39, were employed.

Women's employment participation



Women's employment participation: selected generational groups

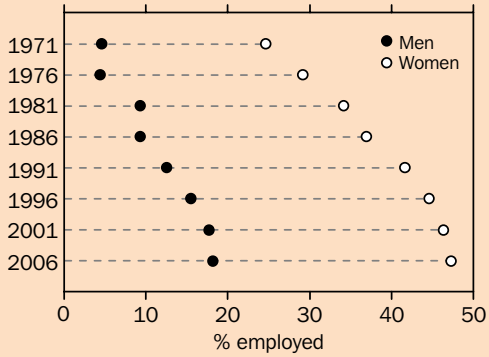


By 1976, a little over half (52%) of late Lucky Generation women at the same age were participating in employment. By 2006, 68% of women, from the early half of Generation X and Y, aged 30–39, were participating in employment.

This trend of increasing employment participation for women in each successive generation is largely associated with changing attitudes to the roles of women in society, and women, on average, having fewer children and having them later in life. Parallel to this, a range of legislative changes in the 1960s and 1970s gave women—particularly those who were married or had children—a greater opportunity to participate in employment[5]; most commonly through part-time employment (see box below).

The age profile of women's employment participation has also changed across generations. The employment participation experience of women in the late Lucky Generation is similar to the broad pattern experienced by those in previous generational groups, although the levels for these groups were lower (see graph, this page). Women of

Part-time employment



Significant changes have occurred to the composition of the workforce over the second half of the 20th century and early 21st century. Changes to labour force regulation and industrial relations, as well as increased demand by employers and employees, resulted in increased provision and take-up of part-time employment.

Much of the growth in women's employment over the 30 years to 2006 has occurred through the take-up of part-time work. Part-time employment is seen as an effective way for women, and to a lesser extent men, to participate in employment while also having time to care for children or to undertake study or other activities.[6] That said, some part-time workers report a desire to work more hours if the work was available.[7]

In 1971, 25% of employed women were working part-time. This had increased to 47% by 2006. The proportion of men employed part-time also increased over this period, but from lower initial levels. In 1971, only 5% of men were employed part-time compared with 18% in 2006—still lower than the level for women in 1971.

the late Lucky Generation had relatively high employment participation (67%) when aged 15–19. Once these women moved into the 20–39 year age group—the main child-bearing ages for that generation—employment participation dropped to around 50%. Participation then rose as women entered or re-entered the workforce as their children become older: peaking at 60% at age 40–49. After this age participation declined as these women entered retirement ages.

In contrast, younger generations of women have begun to follow a pattern of participation in employment very different to that of their mothers and grandmothers. Moreover, this pattern is aligning with that of their male peers in the same generation. This change began to emerge with the late Baby Boomer Generation and has continued with each subsequent generation.

As a result of these changes, the employment participation of women aged 15–19 years in late Generation X and Y (41% in 1996) and the iGeneration (48% in 2006) was actually higher than for men in these generations at the same age (39% and 44% respectively). That said, when the late Generation X and Y women reached 20–29 years of age in 2006, their participation was 72%, which was lower than the 80% for their male peers. Like the generations before them, many women continue to leave employment to bear and raise children, and this is reflected in lower levels of employment participation compared to men of the same generation.

Industry of employment

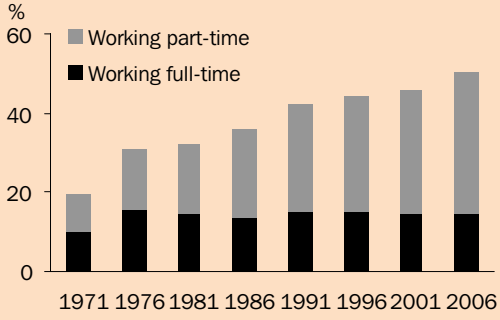
As Australia has continued to develop as a nation, the composition of its industries has changed. There has been a fundamental shift in the industries providing the greatest share of employment for each generational group, from a long term decline in primary production industries to the growing dominance of service provision industries. The following analysis looks at each generational group when its members were aged 30–39 to show the changes in the composition of employment by broad industry type. People aged 30–39 are assumed to be employed in their industry of choice.

Working mothers with young children

Over the second half of the 20th century and the early part of the 21st century, the opportunities for women in the labour force have increased. Census data on employment from 1971 to 2006 show that mothers in each successive generation have been more likely to combine caring for their children with participation in employment. The availability and uptake of part-time work has been central to this change.

In 1971, 20% of mothers with young children (at least one child aged under 5 years in single family households) were employed, with about equal proportions working part-time and full-time. Between 1971 and 1976, the proportions employed full-time and part-time both grew by approximately 5 percentage points to be just over 15% each. In contrast, between 1976 and 2006, almost all of the employment growth for this group has been in part-time employment. As a result, the proportion employed full-time remained at around 15% over this period, while the proportion employed part-time grew to 35% in 2006.

Mothers with young children(a)



(a) Mothers with at least one child aged under 5. Only includes single family households; this is due to limited relationship information in the censuses prior to 1986.

Industry Categories

In order to compare changes in employment in Australian industries over time, industry data from the census have been grouped into three broad categories, which include the following general categories of industries:

- **Primary production**: agriculture, fishing and mining
- **Secondary production**: manufacturing, construction, and electricity, gas and water supply
- **Service industries**: wholesale trade, retail trade, finance and insurance, property and business services, transport and storage, communication services, government administration and defence, education, health and community services, and cultural and recreational services

Changes to the classifications of industries of employment used in each census mean that these three groups are only broadly comparable, providing only a general indication of change in employment by industry.

In the 2006 Census, industry data were dual coded to the 1993 and 2006 versions of ANZSIC. To facilitate comparability to previous censuses, the 1993 version has been used in this article.

The move away from primary production and manufacturing industries to service provision industries has been a progressive transformation rather than a sudden shift. For each generational group at age 30–39, there has been a gradual decline in the share of employment in primary production and manufacturing industries and a corresponding increase in the share of service industry employment. This trend was apparent in almost all age groups.

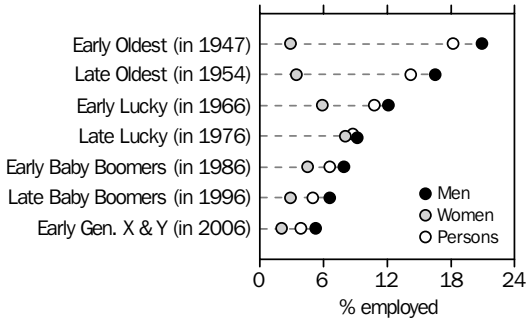
Primary production

Primary production industries include the agricultural, fishing and mining sectors. Since the middle of the last century, these industries have gradually declined as a source of employment.

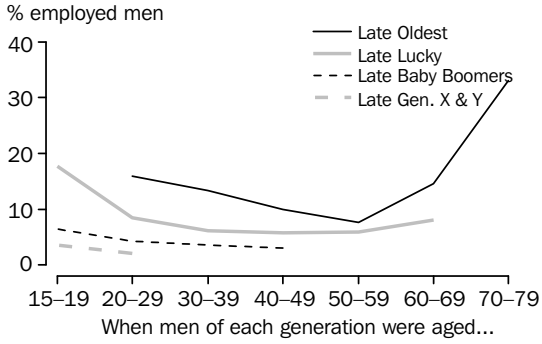
Men moving away from farming

For men, the declining share of employment in primary production industries with each successive generation has been much more pronounced than for women (see Primary production graph, this page). For men this is primarily associated with the overall decline in the share of employment in Agriculture that has occurred over the second half of the 20th century. For women, these declines have been less pronounced, as they have generally been less likely than men to be employed in Agriculture. In addition, it is likely that not all women of earlier generations who worked on family farms reported in the census that they worked in agriculture.

Primary production: employed persons aged 30–39 years



Men employed in Agriculture: selected generational groups(a)



(a) Separate 1966 data are not available for the Agricultural industry, therefore data for Oldest Generation aged 40–49 and Lucky Generation aged 20–29 are based on estimates.

In addition to men's share of employment in Agriculture declining with successive generations, it has also declined as the men in each generational group have moved through their working lives. For example, when the men from the early Oldest Generation were aged 20–29, in 1947, 16% of those employed were working in Agriculture. By the time they were 50–59, in 1976, this proportion had dropped to 8%.

In the age groups normally associated with retirement, 60 and over, the proportion of employed men working in Agriculture rose. It appears that men in the Agricultural industry are less likely to retire than men employed in other industries. For example, the number of men in the early Lucky Generation employed in Agriculture declined by 56% between the ages of 60–69 and 70–79 (from 1996 to 2006), compared with a decline of 85% in secondary production. This trend could be influenced by younger generations of Australians choosing different occupations instead of taking over the family farm or buying farming businesses.

Secondary production

Industries such as manufacturing and construction fall into the secondary production industries group. In the years following the Second World War, strong economic conditions and high immigration led to the post-war modernisation of the Australian economy, typified by the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme. These conditions led to higher demand for employment in the manufacturing sector, and underpinned the longer term transition in the economy from being based largely on primary production to secondary production.

At the time of the 1954 and 1966 Censuses, secondary production had reached its greatest share of employment, accounting for 42% of all employed persons aged 30–39—those in the later Oldest Generation in 1954 and the early Lucky Generation in 1966. By 1976, the rising dominance of service industries had begun to emerge, with the proportion of employed people aged 30–39 working in secondary production industries declining to 32%—members of the late Lucky Generation. Between 1976 and 1996, the proportion of people employed in secondary production continued to decline. It then remained steady through to 2006, with around 22% of 30–39 year old late Baby Boomers (in 1996) and early Generation X and Y (in 2006) working in these industries.

Secondary production: employed persons aged 30–39

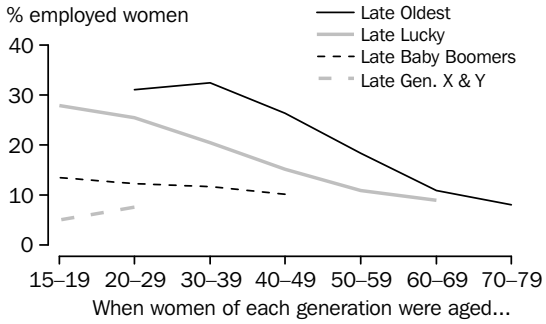
Over the 30 year period to 2006, the effects of globalisation and increased manufacturing competition from overseas had worked to reduce the proportions of those employed in secondary production industries. However, growth in industries that provide support to the mining industry, such as construction companies building mining infrastructure, may have prevented a further decline in the proportion of people employed in secondary industries between 1996 and 2006. This trend is particularly apparent among male workers (see Secondary production graph, this page).

Over the 50 years to 2006, the proportion of employed women working in secondary production declined by more than that of men. For women aged 30–39, the proportion employed in secondary production peaked in 1954 at 33%—for those in the late Oldest Generation. Since that time, this proportion has consistently declined, reaching 10% in 2006—for early Generation X and Y. For men aged 30–39 this proportion peaked later, at 46% in 1966—for the early Lucky Generation. It then declined to 30% in 1986 and remained close this level through to 2006—for Baby Boomers and early Generation X and Y.

Declining levels of women in secondary production industries

The earlier peak in the proportion of women employed in secondary production may be associated with the slightly higher overall employment participation for women during and immediately after the Second World War, a large portion of which was in secondary production industries. The subsequent falls reflected the strong growth in service industries employment since 1954 and the large share of this employment that has been taken up by women.

Women employed in secondary production: selected generational groups



Service industries: employed persons aged 30–39 years

For similar reasons, the proportion of women in each of the Older, Lucky and Baby Boomer Generations employed in secondary production industries has steadily declined through their working lives (see Women employed in secondary production graph, above). The exception to this is has been for Generation X and Y women. For example, for women from late Generation X and Y, this proportion increased from 5.1% in 1996 (aged 15–19) to 7.6% in 2006 (aged 25–29). In part, this may be explained by the large proportion of young students who work in services industries while studying, but move on to careers in other industries. For more information on student employment see 'Adult education across the generations', p. 123–127).

Service industries

Service industries have grown to dominate employment in Australia. In 1947 and 1954, about 44% of employed 30–39 year olds, from the early and later Oldest Generation, were working in service industries. By 2006, 75% of employed 30–39 year olds, from early Generation X and Y, were in service industry jobs. Much of the increase occurred between 1966, when 48% of employed 30–39 year olds in the late Lucky Generation were in service industry jobs, and 1986, when 70% of employed early Baby Boomers aged 30–39 worked in these industries.

Until recently, the proportion employed in service industries in each generational group has increased over their working lives. Generation X and Y have not followed this pattern. Between 1996 and 2006, the proportion of employed people in service industry jobs declined by 6 percentage points for late Generation X and Y between age 15–19 and age 20–29. Again, this decline may be associated with the popularity of employment in service industries among students, who move into other industries on completing their studies.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2001, 'Australian schools: participation and funding 1901 to 2000' in *Year Book Australia 2001*, cat. no. 1301.0, ABS, Canberra.

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5 Evans, M.D.R. and Kelley, J. 2004, *Trends in Women's Labour Force Participation in Australia: 1984–2002*, Working Paper 23/2004, Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research.

6 ABS 2006, 'Trends in women's employment' in *Australian Social Trends 2006*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

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Driving to work

In Australia, most people travel to work by motor vehicle. Some people combine car travel with other forms of transport, such as public transport and walking. Of the 7.9 million people at work on Census Day (8 August) 2006, 6.3 million (79%) travelled to work by motor vehicle, while 850,900 people (11%) took public transport and 960,500 people (12%) rode a bicycle, walked, worked from home or used some other form of transport.

A higher proportion of Australians travel to work by car than workers in the United Kingdom[1], although workers in the United States of America[2] and Canada[3] are more likely to travel to work by car. High car use for commuting in Australia is partly associated with aspects of Australian urban development since the Second World War. In the 1950s and 1960s, state and territory governments established or expanded road construction authorities, and highway and freeway building often took precedence over expansion of public transport services. At the same time, Australia's population was growing rapidly, particularly in cities, with accompanying development of new suburbs, and as a result, Australian cities typically have low population densities. Living further from work and amenities brought about increased car use.[4]

This strong preference for cars and other motor vehicles arises in part from the accessibility, flexibility, and convenience they provide.[5] In association with commuting, many people use their cars for other functions during the day. These may include: transporting children to and from school; travelling to more than one work location through the day; making unscheduled trips, such as visits to elderly relatives needing care or picking up sick children; and incorporating shopping before or after work. As well, motor vehicles are sometimes considered the only transport option, as some workplaces are not easily accessible by public transport.

However, high use of motor vehicles for commuting has both economic and social effects. Traffic congestion caused by the extensive use of motor vehicles at peak times places pressure on road infrastructure and reduces people's time at work.[6] Traffic congestion can also affect individuals and families through the reduction in time for other activities.[5]

In addition, high levels of motor vehicle use—including for commuting—are often associated with detrimental effects on the environment and health. These effects include air pollution, greenhouse gas emissions (motor vehicle use made up almost 14% of Australia's emissions in 2005[7]), and impacts on health due to accidents.[8]

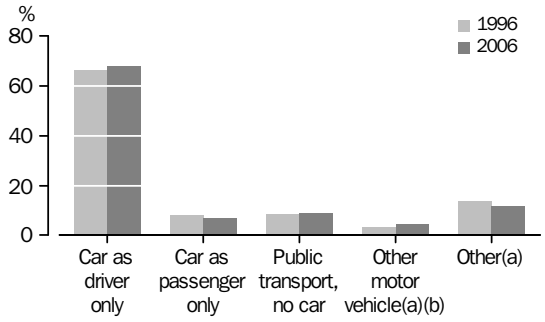
Travel to work: selected modes, 2006

Method of travel to work	%
One or more methods	
Travelled by motor vehicle, with or without other mode	79.2
Drove a car, with or without other mode	69.6
Rode as passenger in a car, with or without other mode	7.6
Public transport (any kind), with or without other mode	10.7
Sole method	
Travelled by motor vehicle only	77.0
Drove a car only	68.0
Rode as a passenger in a car only	6.7
Public transport only (any kind)	8.9

Motor vehicle: Travel by motor vehicle includes: Car as driver, Car as passenger, Truck and Motor cycle/motor scooter. It excludes travel by taxi.

Public Transport: Travel by public transport includes travel to work by bus, tram, ferry, train and taxi.

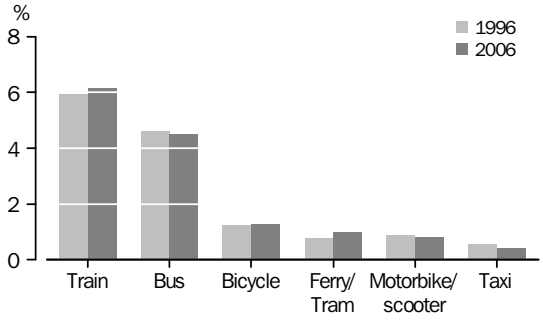
Modes of travel to work, 1996 and 2006



(a) For 1996 data, travel to work by truck is included in 'Other'; in 2006 it is included in 'Other motor vehicle'.

(b) 'Other motor vehicle' includes car travel with other modes such as public transport.

Non-car modes of travel to work, 1996 and 2006(a)



(a) On the day of the Census in 1996 and 2006.

Changes in motor vehicle commuting

There was little change in the proportion of motor vehicle commuters between Census Days in 1996 and 2006, increasing from 78% to 79% of all those who were at work on those days. That said, the number of car drivers increased by 999,700 people, and there were 8,100 fewer car passengers. The proportion of people who combined motor vehicle use with public transport was stable, at 1.7% of all those who were at work on Census Day in 1996 and 2006.

Of the 6.3 million people who travelled to work by motor vehicle, 86% drove a car to work without using any other form of transport; 8% travelled to work as passengers in cars without any other mode; 3% travelled by truck or motorcycle/scooter without travelling by car; and 2% combined car travel with public transport.

In addition to a larger number of people commuting by motor vehicle, the average length of these journeys to work increased. For the 12 months ended 31 October 2006, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Survey of Motor Vehicle Use reported that each passenger vehicle travelled an average of 8,100 kilometres to and from work.[9] This compares with an average of 6,600 kilometres for the 12 months ended 30 September 1995.[10] Average distances also increased for motorcycles and trucks.

...changes in public transport

Over the same time period, the proportion of people who travelled to work by train rose only marginally, from 5.9% in 1996 to 6.1% in 2006, but this represented an increase of 92,500 people. Bus travellers decreased slightly in proportion, from 4.6% to 4.5%, but increased by 54,200 people. The proportion of bicycle riders to work increased from 1.2% to 1.3% (up 18,300) and people who travelled to work on trams and ferries increased from 0.8% to 0.9% (27,300). As a proportion of commuters, travel by motorbike/scooter declined slightly, from 0.9% to 0.8%, despite a small increase in numbers (up 7,900). Taxi use also declined, from 0.5% to 0.4% (down 3,200 people).

Mixed modes of travel to work

Many people travel to work using more than one mode of transport. For instance, some people may get a lift to a railway station, from where they complete their journey by train.

In this article, unless specified, information on individual modes of transport includes those who used this mode and other modes as well. For instance, on Census Day 2006, 5.5 million people drove a car to work. This included 123,200 people, or 2.2%, who used another mode as well, such as public transport, passenger in a car, or bicycle.

Patterns of commuting

...across Australia

Modes of travel to work in different parts of Australia generally reflected differences in population density, provision of transport infrastructure, and distances travelled by commuters.

People living in inner city regions[11] were less likely than those in larger geographic regions or areas with lower population densities to drive to work by car, and were more likely to make use of public transport.

Inner Sydney and Inner Melbourne had the two lowest proportions of residents who commuted by motor vehicle: 45% and 48% of all people at work on Census Day 2006, compared with 79% for the whole of Australia. The highest proportion of all inner city regions was in Central Metropolitan Perth (69%), which was closer to the Australian average.

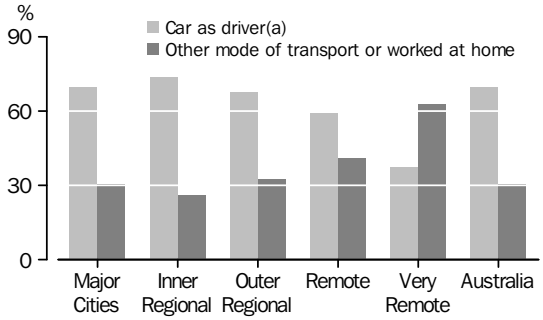
The highest proportions of public transport use were in Inner Sydney (33%) and Inner Melbourne (27%), while Central Metropolitan Perth at 14% was close to the 11% recorded for Australia overall. These variations in commuting methods across cities are likely to be influenced by the availability, quality, and variety of public transport in inner city areas of Australia, as well as the relative inconvenience and cost of driving in these areas, due to factors including congestion and limited parking.

On Census Day 2006, workers living in regions on the outskirts and outside of major capital cities were most likely to travel to work in motor vehicles. Such regions included South Eastern Melbourne, Ipswich City—west of Brisbane, and Hunter, which includes Newcastle—north of Sydney (each with around 88% of commuter trips by motor vehicle). These regions have high proportions of people working in areas not accessible by public transport.

People who lived in Remote and Very Remote areas had quite different patterns of travel to work from those of the country as a whole. Of those who were at work on Census Day 2006, only 59% of those living in Remote areas drove a car to work, and only 37% of those in Very Remote areas did so, compared with 70% of people across the country who were at work. Instead, 18% of workers in Remote or Very Remote areas walked to work with no other form of transport, compared with 5% of those at work across Australia. This is partly because many people working in Remote and Very Remote areas live within walking distance of their place of employment, including farming properties.

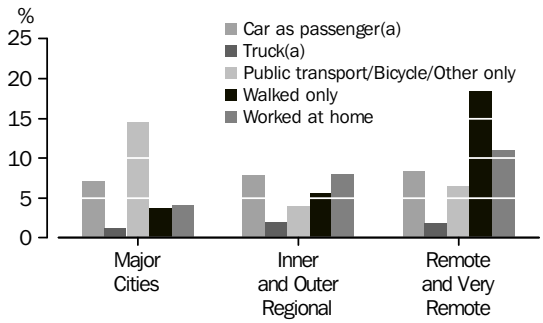
In certain regions of Australia, workers were more likely than those in other areas to travel as passengers in cars. For example, Mackay-Fitzroy-Central West, in regional Queensland, had the highest proportion of any region, with 10% of all those at work on Census Day 2006 travelling as passengers, compared with 8% across Australia. This area contains a small number of mining companies that employ many of the residents in the area. In contrast, workers living in Central Highlands-Wimmera, in regional western Victoria, had many more employers in a wider range of locations, including farmers on their own properties, and consequently a lower proportion travelling as passengers (7%). However, regions with the lowest proportions of car passengers travelling to work were inner urban areas with high levels of public transport use.

People who drove a car to work, Remoteness Areas



(a) Includes car as driver in combination with any other mode of transport.

People who travelled to work by other modes of transport, Remoteness Areas



(a) Includes these modes in combination with any other mode of transport except Car as driver, so travellers may be included in more than one category.

Although nationally, relatively few people travelled to work using a combination of motor vehicle and public transport—133,800 or 1.7% of all people at work on Census Day 2006—it was more common in outer Sydney regions. These regions included Central Northern Sydney (4.4%), Outer South Western Sydney (3.7%) and North Western Sydney (3.3%). These regions contain major road, rail and bus nodes with parking facilities, in centres such as Hornsby, Campbelltown, Blacktown and Penrith.

...by age and sex

Young workers' and older workers' use of motor vehicles for commuting differed from that of other workers. Those aged 15–19 years were most likely to be passengers in a car (33% of all 15–19 year old workers on Census Day 2006) and the least likely to drive a car to work (43%). Young male workers were more likely to drive a car to work than young women workers (46% of young men compared with 40% of young women workers aged 15–19).

Working people aged 55–64 were slightly more likely than all working people to drive a car to work (71% compared with 70%), but workers aged 65 or more were less likely to drive to work (54%). In contrast, people aged 35–54 were more likely to drive a car to work: 74% of all those in this age group at work on Census Day 2006. This was related to the *higher incomes* of people in this age group (see personal income section, this page) as well as the need for parents to combine work and family responsibilities.

The use of trucks and motorbikes/scooters was higher for men than women, with 2.8% of men driving a truck to work compared with 0.1% of women. The same was true of Motorbikes and motorscooters: 1.3% of men and 0.2% of women rode to work by motorbike or motor scooter.

...for life-cycle groups

For all life-cycle groups, driving a car was the predominant form of travel by people who worked on Census Day 2006 (see Glossary for descriptions of life-cycle groups). People in families with *young children* or *school aged children* were among the life-cycle groups most likely to drive a car with no other form of transport (between 72% and 74% of people travelling to work). This is consistent with parents dropping off their children at child care or school on their way to work.

People in *middle-aged couple families without children* were also quite likely to drive a car to work without any other means of transport (69% of workers in this group). This was in part related to their location, as they were more likely than others to live outside capital cities, where there are generally fewer public transport options.

...according to personal income

People in different *personal income* groups used different means of transport to work. Those on *lower incomes* (that is, gross personal incomes of $1–$399 per week) were less likely to commute by motor vehicle than other workers: 72% of those on *lower incomes* who worked on Census Day 2006 compared with 79% of all workers.

Those on *lower incomes* were almost as likely to use public transport (10%) as all workers (11%). However, they were more likely to walk to work as their sole mode of transport (8%) than all workers (5%) and to travel as passengers in cars (14% compared with 8% for all workers).

Workers with *higher incomes* ($1,000 or more per week) and *middle incomes* ($400–$999) were equally likely to drive a car to work as their sole mode of transport, 71% of both groups. Despite the perception of public transport as a cheaper form of travel[12, 13], people on *higher incomes* were more likely to use public transport (13%) than all workers (11%). This was particularly true for those with a bachelor degree or above as their highest level of qualification (18%) and Commonwealth Government employees (19%). Many people on higher incomes have the means to live in areas where public transport services are more convenient, or areas closer to their workplaces.

...in occupations

The kind of work people do can affect how they travel to work. Occupations with high proportions of people who only drove a car to work included School teachers (86% of workers in this occupation who were at work on Census Day 2006), Real estate agents, Education, health and welfare services managers, and Medical practitioners (85% each, compared with 68% of all workers). These are occupations where driving to customers or multiple work locations is necessary, or where workplaces are decentralised or shift work requires the flexibility and security a car offers.

People travelling as passengers in cars as their sole method of commuting were more likely to be in occupations which were low skilled, had a younger than average age profile, and paid lower-than-average incomes. Occupations with higher than the 7% average of travellers as passengers in cars included Checkout operators and office cashiers (24%), Food preparation assistants (21%), and Freight handlers and shelf fillers (17%).

Not surprisingly, Truck drivers had the highest proportion of people who travelled to work by truck (23%), followed by Delivery drivers (14%), and Construction and mining labourers (10%). Motorcycle/scooter travellers were most common among Defence force members, Fire fighters and police (3.2%), and Clerical and office support workers, which includes Couriers and postal deliverers (2.3%).

...according to hours worked

The length of time people spend at work can affect the way they travel to work. The proportion of people who drove a car to work on Census Day 2006 rose with increasing numbers of hours usually worked in the week prior to the Census, from 50% of those who worked 1–9 hours, to 74% of those who worked 50–59 hours.

For those who worked even longer hours, the proportion driving cars to work on Census Day declined, to 55% of those who worked 70 hours or more in that week (136,500 workers). This may be due to the unusual demands of a job that involves such long working hours. Many people who usually worked 70 hours or more were Managers, who walked to work or worked from home on Census Day. Some of these may have been away from home for work and walked from their temporary accommodation to their place of work. As well, many people working very long hours may have been shift workers and thus temporarily resident at or near their place of work.

People who worked part-time were less likely to drive a car to work (65%) but more likely to travel to work as a passenger in a car (10%). This pattern is similar to that of people on *lower incomes*.

Distribution of hours worked by employed people who drove a car to work

Endnotes

1 United Kingdom Office of National Statistics 2003, *KS15 Travel to Work: Census 2001, Key Statistics for local Authorities*, viewed 25 July 2008, <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/STATBASE/Expodata/Spreadsheets/D6572.xls>.

2 United States Census Bureau 2007, *2007 American Community Survey: S0802. Means of Transportation to Work - Universe: Workers 16 Years and Over*, viewed 25 July 2008, <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/STTable?-geo_id=01000US&-qr_name=ACS_2007_1YR_G00_S0802&-ds_name=ACS_2007_1YR_G00_>.

3 Statistics Canada 2007, *2006 Census: Data Products: Highlight Tables: Employed labour force by mode of transportation, both sexes, 2006 counts, for Canada, provinces and territories of residence – 20% sample data*, viewed 25 July 2008, <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/highlights/POW/Table603.cfm?Lang=E&T=603&GH=4&SC=1&SO=99&O=A>.

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5 NSW Ministry of Transport, 2007, *2005 Household Travel Survey Summary Report*, Transport Data Centre, NSW Ministry of Transport, Sydney.

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8 Australian Transport Safety Bureau (ATSB) 2006, *Road Deaths Australia, 2006 Statistical Summary*, ATSB, Canberra.

9 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2007, *Survey of Motor Vehicle Use, Australia, 12 months ended October 2006*, cat. no. 9208.0, ABS, Canberra.

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11 In this article the term regions and the areas referred to are Statistical Regions. For more information see *Statistical Geography: Volume 1—Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC), 2006*, cat. no. 1216.0, ABS, Canberra.

12 Litmann, T. 2007, *Evaluating Transportation Equity*, Victoria Transport Policy Institute, Victoria, Canada.

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Chapter seven

Economic resources

Economic resources overview

The living standards of individuals and families are largely determined by the economic resources available to their households. For many households, their income and wealth provide access to many of the goods and services consumed in daily life, which in turn contribute to their wellbeing. For others, such as the elderly, these goods and services are provided at subsidised rates or free of charge.

Generally Australians are among the wealthiest people in the world.[1] Furthermore, from the early 1990s through to 2006, both household income and wealth in Australia grew substantially.[2] All income groups, including those with lower incomes, experienced some rise in real income (that is, after adjusting for inflation).[3] Consistent with this, the 1996 and 2006 Censuses recorded that the median household income of individuals (measured by equivalised gross household income) increased in real terms[4] from $979 per week in 1996 to $1185 per week in 2006.

People's income and wealth vary across different groups in the population and in different parts of Australia. Census data show individuals and households with higher and lower gross incomes, and provide some information on the primary form of household wealth: the family home. When used in conjunction with other individual and household characteristics, this information assists in understanding some of the circumstances associated with different levels of income and wealth available to Australians, and in identifying those people experiencing higher and lower levels of economic resources.

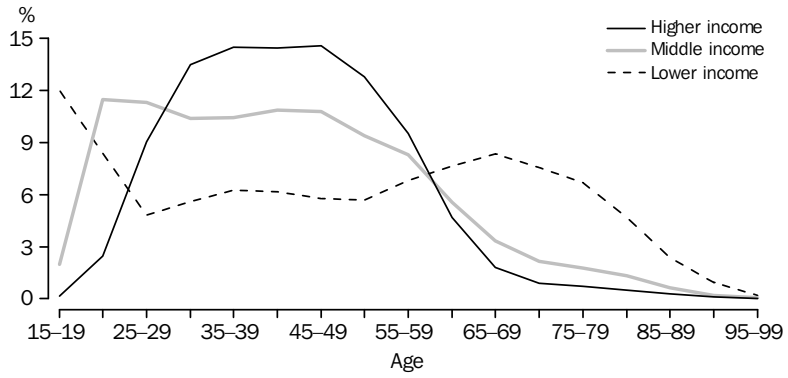
Personal Income

The combined *personal incomes* of household members determine *household income* (see income definitions in box on next page). Therefore, the characteristics of people with lower and higher levels of *personal income* can provide insights into some of the differences that occur in *household incomes* and, as a result, the overall living standards of much of the population.

Income by age—up then down

Personal incomes vary considerably across age groups (see Personal income groups graph below). In 2006, the number of people with *higher incomes* increased with age, with the highest levels during the prime working years (aged 30–54 years), and thereafter decreasing. The age profile of people with more moderate incomes (those in the *middle income* group) was generally similar to those with *higher incomes*. The main difference between the two groups was a much larger number of younger

Personal income groups(a): five-year age groups



(a) See box on p. 176 for definition of personal income groups.

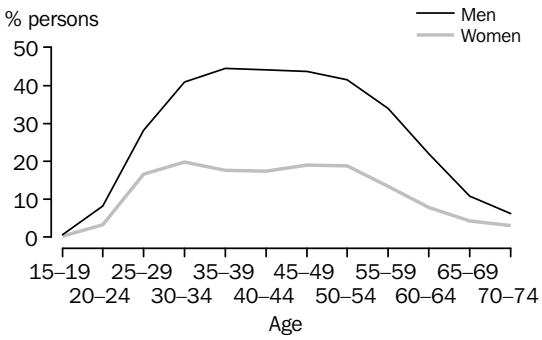
people (aged between 20–29) in the *middle income* group. In contrast, the ages of people with *lower incomes* had a very different pattern, with those in the youngest and the older age groups the most numerous.

When considered together, these three groups reflect a general pattern of *personal income* varying with age. When people are younger they generally have lower levels of skills and experience which limits the amount of income they can earn through employment. As people complete qualifications to various levels, enter the workforce, establish careers and gain experience, their capacity to earn income increases. Over their working lives, people also generally build up assets (such as their home, superannuation and other investments), and any earnings from these assets can add to *personal income*.

While women also follow this general pattern, they have generally lower levels of *personal income* at all ages compared with men. Lower levels of *personal income* for women are associated with lower levels of participation in the labour force, higher rates of part-time employment and interruptions to career development[5]; all of which are associated with the prominent role women in Australia continue to take in raising children (for more information see the 'Work overview', p. 138–150). While many of these women receive government payments to assist with the cost of raising children, such as family tax benefits, their *personal incomes* remain low relative to men. Moreover, these differences in patterns of employment and *personal incomes* are also associated with lower levels of *personal income* for women in retirement, particularly as a result of lower superannuation savings[6].

When people enter retirement, from around age 55 and onwards, their *personal incomes* mostly come from age pensions, superannuation and other investments, and are generally lower than the *personal incomes* of people in the prime working ages. To maintain their standard of living, some people draw on the financial assets built up during

Higher gross personal income(a): men and women



(a) Weekly gross personal income of $1000 or more.

Measures of income and income groups

In this overview, and throughout this report, the term ***personal income*** refers to gross personal income. This is an individual's income from all sources before tax and other deductions are removed. The measure used for ***household income*** is equivalised gross household income, where equivalising allows comparisons of the relative standard of living of households of different size and composition (see Glossary for detailed definitions of these terms).

Personal incomes have been examined using three groups: ***lower, middle and higher income***. These three income groups have been formed by grouping together all of the 2006 Census *personal income* ranges; except nil and negative incomes (see box on p. 178), which are examined separately. The range of weekly *personal incomes* for the *lower income* group were from $1–$399 (accounting for 37% of the population aged 15 or more), the *middle income* group had incomes from $400–$999 (35%), and the *higher income* group had incomes of $1,000 or more (20%).

When examining *household income* each person in the household is allocated the (equivalised) *household income* of their household. To assist in examining the characteristics of people with different levels of *household income* a cross section of people have been allocated to three groups: ***lower, middle and higher household income.*** Each group includes approximately 20% of the population for which *household income* data were available. People in the *lower household income* group are those with *household incomes* in the second and third deciles (10% of the population each) of the *household income* distribution. The *middle household income* group comprises those in the fifth and sixth deciles, and the *higher household income* group, those in the ninth and tenth deciles (see Glossary for more detail). These three groups cover approximately 60% of all Australians, from across the *household income* spectrum.

their working lives. Moreover, many people in this age group receive pensioner discounts and other subsidies when purchasing goods and services, which can supplement lower incomes.

Young people's incomes

Young people are generally more likely to have *lower incomes* because they have lower levels of qualifications, skills and experience. In 2006, 55% of those aged 15–29 had *lower incomes*, or nil or negative *personal incomes*. That said, 59% of 15–29 year olds in these two groups lived with their parents and were likely to have received financial support from their family.

Many young people study to gain qualifications: 47% of those aged 15–29 in 2006 were studying. For many young students, time spent studying limits the amount of time available for employment, which also limits their *personal incomes*. In 2006, 666,900 people aged from 15 to 29 were school students (21% of this age group). Most of these school students were dependants in families and the majority (98%) had *lower incomes* or no income at all.

Another 850,400 students (26% of those aged 15–29) were attending other educational institutions, such as universities or TAFEs, in 2006. Close to 58% of these students had *lower incomes*, compared with 36% for all employed people in this age group. Moreover, those studying full-time were more likely to have *lower incomes* than those who were part-time (67% and 38% respectively). While many of these students were also employed (64%), the main difference this made to the *personal income* profile of this group was to reduce the proportion who had nil or negative *personal incomes*: 1% of employed students compared with 16% of all students. For more information on balancing work and study see 'Adult education across the generations', p. 123–127.

Income sources

While gross personal income includes income from a variety of sources, data from the 2005–06 Survey of Income and Housing (SIH) show that 92% of the gross income of employed people came from wages and salaries, or from unincorporated businesses. Therefore, for employed people, personal income provides a strong general indication of income from employment.

Employment and income

Personal income is closely linked to a person's labour force status—that is, whether a person is employed, unemployed or not in the labour force. Reflecting the importance of employment to *personal income*, 59% of unemployed people and 64% of people not in the labour force had *lower incomes* in 2006. In contrast, 21% of employed people had *lower incomes*, mostly due to people working part-time. Further, people who were unemployed or not in the labour force were also more likely to report a nil or negative *personal income* (26% and 18% respectively), compared with employed people (1%).

Students (non-school) aged 15–29: gross personal income (weekly)

	Higher income ($1,000 or more)	*Middle income ($400–$999)*	*Lower income ($1–$399)*	*Nil or negative income*	*Total*	
	%	%	%	%	%	'000
Employed students	*6.6*	*30.2*	*62.1*	*1.1*	*100.0*	*(a)541.8*
Full-time student	1.0	14.8	82.8	1.4	100.0	307.8
Part-time student	14.0	51.0	34.4	0.6	100.0	229.7
Total students	*4.5*	*21.5*	*57.8*	*16.3*	*100.0*	*(a)850.4*
Full-time student	0.8	10.2	67.4	21.6	100.0	572.0
Part-time student	12.1	44.9	37.9	5.1	100.0	271.3

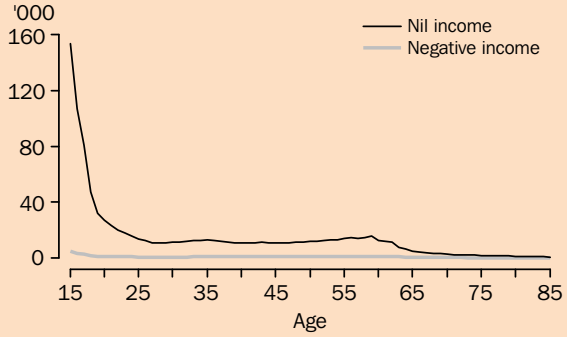
(a) Full/part-time status not stated included in total.

People with nil or negative incomes

Both individuals and households can have nil or negative gross incomes. For gross personal income, **nil income** occurs when the person receives no form of income from any source, or when a person's business activities and/or rental property investments run at a loss which completely offset all other sources of income. **Negative income** occurs when a person's business activity and/or rental property losses more than offset all other sources of income. The amount of negative income is not obtained in the census. For households, these incomes can occur when the *personal income* of each resident in the household is added together and a nil or negative value results.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) studies of more detailed survey data have shown that many people with equivalised household incomes that are very low or nil and negative have access to resources, such as savings, that allow them to have expenditure levels more consistent with people on moderate incomes.[3] As these incomes do not provide an adequate indication of people's living standards, they are often excluded from analysis or considered separately.

Nil and negative gross personal incomes



In the 2006 Census, 1.1 million people reported nil *personal incomes*, and 77,800 people reported negative *personal incomes*—7.3% and 0.5% respectively of the total adult population (that is, those aged 15 and over). A range of circumstances are commonly associated with these people. Young people (aged 15–29) represented a little over half of all people with nil incomes and close to one third of those with negative incomes in 2006. Most of these young people were students aged 15–18 years: 61% and 47% respectively of younger people had nil and negative *personal incomes*. Many of these students were attending school. The relatively high proportion of nil and negative income among young people may also result from some of these young people not allowing for government benefit payments in their incomes or mistakenly associating the accumulation of debt with having a negative income.

Compared with the total adult population, nil and negative *personal incomes* were also more common among unemployed people (24.8% and 1.3% of all unemployed people, respectively), as well as those not in the labour force (17.4% and 0.9% of those not in the labour force, respectively). Among those who were employed, nil and negative *personal incomes* are most prevalent among those people working as contributing family workers (15.2% and 5.8% of these workers, respectively). Negative *personal incomes* were also more common among business owners than employed people generally; particularly those employing a small number (1–19 people) or no employees (about 1% each).

Labour force status and employment characteristics: gross personal income (weekly)

	Higher income ($1,000 or more)	Middle income ($400–$999)	Lower income ($1–$399)	Nil & negative income	Total		Proportion of total
	%	%	%	%	%	'000	%
Employed	30.1	48.3	20.5	1.0	100.0	9 104.2	61.2
Unemployed	2.8	12.0	59.1	26.1	100.0	503.8	3.4
Not in the labour force	2.9	14.6	64.2	18.3	100.0	5 271.1	35.4
Total adult population (15 and over)	**19.8**	**35.5**	**36.9**	**7.8**	**100.0**	**(a)15 918.1**	**100.0**
Employed, worked full-time	40.2	52.6	6.4	0.8	100.0	5 827.4	68.5
Employed, worked part-time	9.0	40.0	49.8	1.2	100.0	2 685.2	31.5
Employment type							
Employee	31.1	48.8	19.5	0.6	100.0	7 988.9	88.6
Business owners(b)	25.4	48.1	24.7	1.8	100.0	(c)873.4	9.7
Own account worker	21.2	48.6	28.4	1.7	100.0	601.0	6.8
Employer (1–19 employees)	33.9	48.2	15.9	2.0	100.0	237.7	2.7
Employer (20 or more employees)	79.0	15.1	4.8	1.2	100.0	11.3	0.1
Contributing family worker	9.8	26.7	42.4	21.0	100.0	155.1	1.7
Total employed(d)	**30.1**	**48.3**	**20.5**	**1.0**	**100.0**	**9 104.2**	**100.0**

(a) Includes 1,038,973 adults where labour force status was not stated.

(b) Owner managers of unincorporated enterprises. Owner managers of incorporated enterprises are included as employees.

(c) Includes 23,430 people where number of employees was not stated.

(d) For full-time and part-time employed, total employed includes 591,554 employed but away from work. For employment type, total employed includes 86,717 employed people where employment type was not stated.

In 2006, *lower income* unemployed people were slightly more likely to be men (53%). In addition, a little over 40% of this group were young men aged 15–29. Reflecting the importance of qualifications in obtaining employment, *lower income* unemployed people generally had low levels of qualifications. In 2006, just under half (48%) all *lower income* unemployed people had Year 11 or lower as their highest qualification, or had no qualification at all, compared with a little over one quarter (27%) of all employed people. Young unemployed people in this group had similarly low levels of qualifications to the older members of this group.

People who had lower incomes and were not in the labour force had different characteristics to those who were unemployed. In 2006, close to two thirds were women, and nearly half, 48%, were older pensioners and self-funded retirees, aged 65 and over. Higher proportions of older people in this group contributes to the higher proportion of women, as there are larger proportions of women in older age groups (a result of their higher life expectancy). In addition, younger women who were not working while caring for and raising children also contributed to the higher proportion of women in this group.

Workers' incomes

Employed people had a very different *personal income* profile to people who were unemployed or not in the labour force, with incomes more evenly spread over the *higher, middle and lower income groups*. In 2006, almost half (48%) of employed people were in the *middle income group*, and a further 30% had *higher incomes*.

Whether a person was employed full-time (worked 35 hours or more in the week before the census) or part-time also had an effect on their *personal income*. At the 2006 Census, 40% of people who worked full-time had *higher incomes* compared with 9% of part-

time workers. Conversely, part-time workers were more likely than full-time workers to have *lower incomes* (50% and 6% respectively). This reflects the importance of wages and salaries in *personal income* and that, because they work fewer hours, part-time workers earn less.

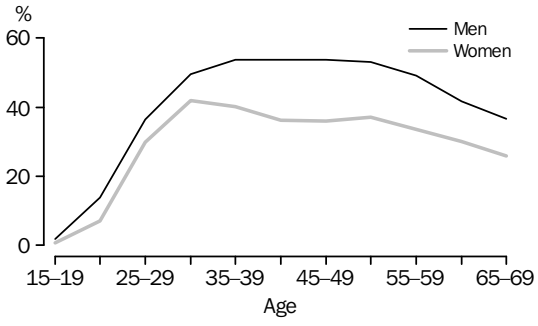
...men and women

Reflecting the greater likelihood for women to work part-time (47% of employed women and 18% of men), in 2006 employed women were twice as likely as men to have *lower incomes* (28% and 14% respectively) and less likely to have *higher incomes* (20% and 39%). That said, when only full-time employees were considered differences in *personal income* were still evident. In 2006, 45% of full-time employed men had *higher incomes* while for women this proportion was 32%.

As part-time employment has a significant effect on *personal income* levels, much of the remainder of the analysis in this overview only includes full-time employed people. This provides a clearer indication of how the characteristics of an individual and the nature of their employment can influence their *personal income*.

The graph below, showing the proportion of full-time employed people with *higher incomes* according to their age and sex, reflects the general pattern of *personal income* for employed people; as a person gets older their skills and experience generally increase, which results in an increase in their *personal income*. In 2006, the proportion of employed people with *higher incomes* increased with each age group between 15–19 years (about 1%) and 30–34 years (about 45%).

Full-time employed people with higher gross personal incomes(a)



(a) Weekly gross personal income of $1000 or more.

In 2006, 45% of full-time employed men had *higher incomes* while for women this proportion was 32%.

For men, this proportion stabilised at about 53% from the age group 35–39 years through to 50–54 years. In contrast, after 30–34 years, the proportion of women working full-time with *higher incomes* declined, reaching 36% in the 40–49 year age group, then increasing slightly to 37% for those aged 50–54 years. This is consistent with women leaving full-time employment to raise children. For both men and women, the proportion of full-time employed people in each age group after 50–54 years declined through to age 65–69 years: after this age most Australians are no longer working.

A decline in the proportion of older workers with *higher incomes* is somewhat contrary to the general pattern of employed people having *higher incomes* as age increases. However, this decline reflects the early retirement, or movement to part-time employment, of many people who would have had *higher incomes* during most of their working lives. This left a greater proportion of full-time workers in these age groups with *middle and lower incomes*.

...employees and business owners

In 2006, most employed people were employees (89%); as a result, their *personal income* profile (that is, the proportions with *higher, middle and lower incomes*) was approximately the same as that of all employed people (see table on previous page). This was in contrast to employed people who were business owners (that is, owner managers of unincorporated enterprises), representing 9.7% of all employed people in 2006. Generally, these business owners were less likely to have *higher incomes* and more likely to have *lower incomes* than employees (25% had *higher incomes* and 25% had *lower incomes*).

Own account workers (that is, business owners who were the sole worker) were the biggest group of business owners, comprising 6.8% of employed people in 2006. This group had a

personal income profile that was generally lower than for all employed people, with a lower proportion of those with *higher incomes* (21%) and a higher proportion with *lower incomes* (28%).

The *personal income* profile of small business owners (1–19 employees)—representing 2.7% of all employed people—was slightly higher than that of all employees. The very small proportion of employees who were medium to large business owners (with 20 or more employees)—0.1% of employed people—were considerably more likely to have *higher incomes* (79%).

Contributing family workers accounted for 1.7% of employed people in 2006. Of all employed people, they were the group most likely to have *lower incomes* (42%), or to report negative or nil *personal income* (21%).

Income and qualifications

Personal income is closely associated with an individual's highest level of educational attainment. For example, at the 2006 Census, full-time workers with lower level qualifications were less likely to have *higher incomes* and were more likely to have *middle* and *lower incomes* compared to those with higher qualifications.

In 2006, full-time workers whose highest qualification was at the Diploma level or above (which includes those with university degrees) were more likely than all full-time workers to have *higher incomes* (63% compared with 40%). While full-time workers with a Certificate III or IV level (37%) were slightly less likely to have *higher incomes* than all full-time workers, they were more likely to have *higher incomes* than those people with a secondary school education only (28% of those who completed Year 12).

Men were more likely than women to have *higher incomes* regardless of their qualification level. In 2006, one of the largest differences in the proportions of men and women with *higher incomes* was in full-time workers whose highest education attainment was Certificate III or IV level. In 2006, 41% of full-time men with this qualification had *higher incomes*, compared with 14% of women.

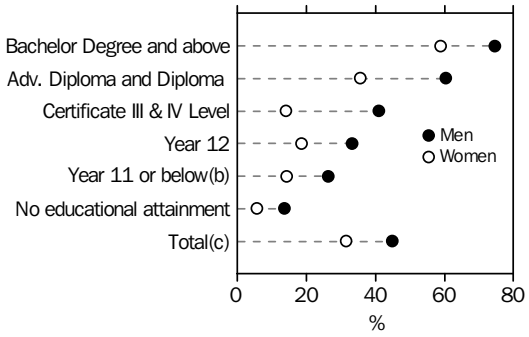
Differences in field of study for men and women accounted for some of these difference in *personal income.* The most common fields of study at Certificate III or IV level for women working full-time were Business management[7] (15%) and Hairdressing (14%); and, the proportions of women with *higher incomes* in these fields of study were 13% and 10% respectively. For men employed full-time, the most common fields were the general group of Engineering and related technologies (8%), and Carpentry and joinery (7%). The proportions of men with *higher incomes* in these fields of study were 41% and 44% respectively, with many of the other popular, traditional male trades having proportions similar to these levels or higher.

Income and occupation

Consistent with qualifications, there was also a link between the skill level of occupations[8] and a person's income. At the 2006 Census, two thirds (67%) of people who were employed full-time in higher skill level occupations (which included managers and professionals) had *higher incomes*. Of the full-time workers with medium skill level jobs (which included technicians and trade workers, and some higher skilled sales and service workers), just over one third (35%) had *higher incomes* in 2006, while one fifth (20%) of those with low skill level jobs (including most sales and service workers and labourers) were in this *higher income* group.

Even when occupations are grouped by skill level to make them broadly equivalent, *personal incomes* for full-time working women remained generally lower than for men in each group. For example, in 2006, 71% of men working full-time in higher skill occupations had *higher incomes* compared with 60% of full-time working women in the same group of occupations. Even when comparing men and women who worked similar hours, differences

Level of highest educational attainment: full-time employees with higher gross personal incomes(a)



(a) Weekly gross personal income of $1000 or more.

(b) Includes Certificate I and II Level.

(c) Includes highest education attainment inadequately described and not stated.

Occupation skill level(a) by weekly personal income: full-time employees

Skill level of occupation	*Higher income ($1,000 or more)*	*Middle income ($400–$999)*	*Lower income ($1–$399)*	*Total nil & negative income*	*Total*
	%	%	%	%	%
Men					
Higher skill	70.6	24.7	3.7	1.0	**100.0**
Medium skill	39.2	51.8	8.3	0.7	**100.0**
Low skill	26.3	67.3	5.7	0.7	**100.0**
Women					
Higher skill	59.8	36.2	3.3	0.7	**100.0**
Medium skill	24.7	65.5	8.7	1.1	**100.0**
Low skill	10.7	78.7	9.9	0.7	**100.0**
Persons					
Higher skill	66.5	29.0	3.5	0.9	**100.0**
Medium skill	35.2	55.6	8.4	0.8	**100.0**
Low skill	20.0	71.9	7.4	0.7	**100.0**

(a) See Glossary for definition of Occupation skill levels.

in the *personal income* profiles remain. In 2006, for those people working between 35–40 hours per week in higher skill occupations, 66% of men had *higher incomes* compared with 53% of women.

Income and industry of employment

Just as higher skill occupations were associated with *higher incomes*, the industries that employed people in these occupations generally had *higher personal incomes*. For example, in 2006, 60% of people employed full-time in Education and training, and Professional, scientific and technical services industries had *higher incomes*. These industries also had higher proportions of workers in higher skill occupations (77% and 67% respectively).

A notable exception was the Mining industry. At the 2006 Census, the Mining industry had the highest proportion of full-time workers with *higher incomes* (82%). However, nearly half (46%) of full-time workers in this industry were in low skill occupations. Of those workers in low skill occupations in the Mining industry (for example, Machinery and stationary plant operators), 76% had *higher incomes*, while close to 92% of those in higher skill occupations (for example, Design, engineering, science and transport professionals) had *higher incomes*.

Top 5 industries of employment: full-time employed people with higher gross personal incomes

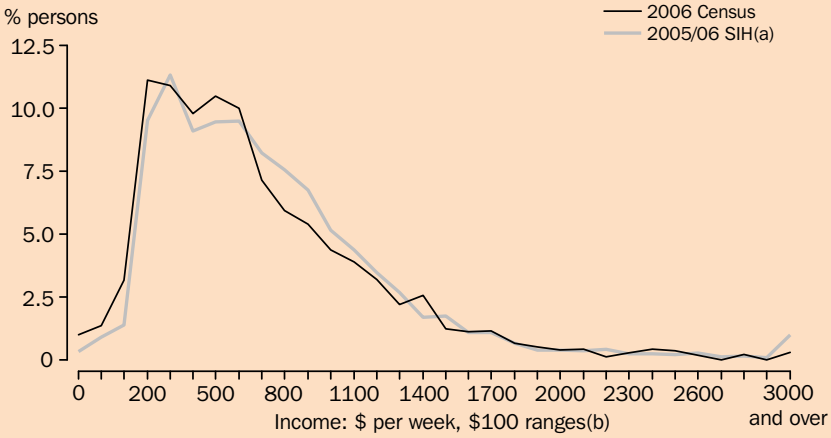
	Higher income ($1,000 or more)	*Higher skill occupations (a)*
	% in industry	% in industry
Mining	82.0	25.2
Electricity, gas, water and waste services	60.4	28.4
Education and training	60.2	77.0
Professional, scientific and technical services	59.5	67.3
Financial and insurance services	55.9	41.5

(a) See Glossary for definition of Occupation skill levels.

Census income statistics

Income statistics are collected in the census to provide an indication of the relative incomes of small population groups; those in small geographic areas and/or particular groups within the population (for example, one parent households with children aged 0–4, or young employed part-time students in regional areas). ABS survey based statistics provide more comprehensive income statistics for larger areas and groups of people, as they separately collect and detail the full range of income sources (see *Household Income and Income Distribution, Australia, 2005–06,* ABS cat. no. 6523.0). This more detailed data, along with expenditure data, permit studies that estimate the effect of taxation and government benefits on *household incomes* and living standards. These studies show that each of these factors change the distribution of income and resources to patterns somewhat different to that measured by gross household income (see *Government Benefits, Taxes and Household Income, Australia, 2003–04,* ABS cat. no. 6537.0).

Income distribution of persons: equivalised gross household income, 2006 Census and 2005–06 SIH



(a) 2005–06 SIH data adjusted for inflation to correspond to Census day using the CPI for the eight capital cities.
(b) Nil income includes negative income, and is not a $100 range. Figures shown indicate the bottom of the relevant income range.

Comparing the distribution of people according to their equivalised gross household incomes from the 2006 Census and the 2005–06 Survey of Income and Housing (SIH) shows a broadly consistent pattern across the income ranges. However, this comparison also indicates that there was a general tendency for people to have lower equivalised gross household incomes in the 2006 Census than was measured in the 2005–06 SIH, especially among those people with *middle incomes*.

People may have understated their incomes in the 2006 Census for a variety of reasons. It is expected that this most commonly occurred when household members did not include all sources of income in their *personal incomes*. For example, some of those who were employed may have only reported their wages or salaries and not included the government benefits they received, particularly payments such as family tax benefits.

Personal income groups by household income groups(a)

	Personal income			
	Higher income	Middle income	Lower income	Nil or negative income
	%	%	%	%
Higher household income	67.9	16.0	5.6	11.2
Middle household income	9.0	28.9	15.6	18.1
Lower household income	0.4	9.3	42.6	16.8
Total households(b)	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

(a) See box on p.176 for definitions of personal and household income groups.
(b) Includes households not in selected groups.

Household income closely associated with personal income

To obtain *household income*, the *personal incomes* of household members are combined and then equivalised, to allow for differences in the size and composition of households (see income definitions in box on p. 176). Therefore, there is a strong relationship between a person's *household income* and their *personal income*. For example, in 2006, 68% of people with *higher personal incomes* had *higher household incomes*. That said, some people with *middle and lower personal incomes* did have *higher household incomes* (16% and 6% respectively). These people may be living in a household where someone else had a *higher personal income* or where there were a number of people contributing to the *higher household income*. An individual may choose to work part-time or not at all so that they can care for children or study; while this often restricts their *personal income,* their standard of living can still be higher through the income and other economic resources that are shared within their household. As a result, *household income* provides a much better indication of a person's living standard.

Household incomes across Australia

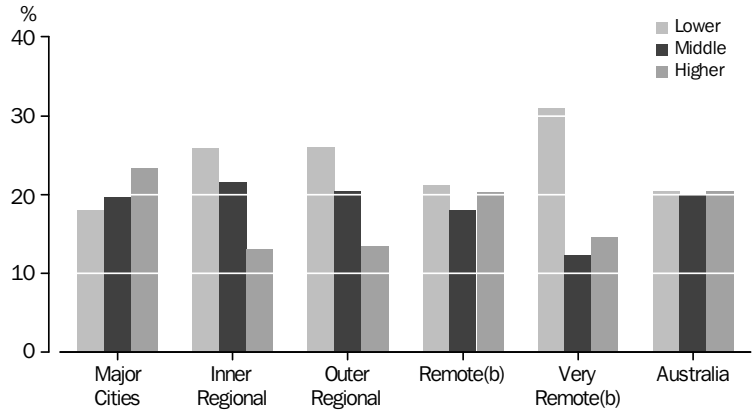
The 2006 Census shows that people living in different parts of Australia have a wide variety of *household income* profiles (the relative proportion of people with *higher, middle and lower household incomes*). Across the Remoteness Areas of Australia, these *household income* profiles varied according to the types of households in these areas; in particular, the stage in the life cycle of these households (see Glossary for definitions); and the characteristics of the people in these households.

Major Cities

In 2006, just over two thirds of the population lived in Major Cities. These areas incorporated most capital cities, except Hobart and Darwin, and nearby urban areas. Consistent with these cities being centres of commerce and industry, people living in these areas were slightly more likely to have *higher household incomes* (23%) compared with Australia as a whole (20%). People with *lower household incomes* were slightly under-represented in the Major Cities (18% compared with 20% nationally).

In Major Cities in 2006, all life-cycle groups had slightly greater proportions of people in the *higher household income* group compared with these life-cycle groups for all of Australia. The greatest difference was for *middle-aged couple families without children*, where 31% of people in this group in Major Cities had *higher household incomes* compared with 27% Australia wide. *Couple families with young children* (aged 0–4) and *young couple families without children* also had comparatively higher proportions of people with *higher household incomes* (21% and 50% respectively, compared with 17% and 47% nationally).

Persons in household income groups(a): Remoteness Areas



(a) See box p. 176 for definition of household income groups.

(b) Data for these areas may be affected by the higher proportion of households excluded due to non-response to the personal income question or because people were temporarily absent: Remote 14% and Very Remote 15%, compared with 11% for Australia.

Inner and Outer Regional

In 2006, people living in Inner and Outer Regional areas had very similar *household income* profiles. These areas had the lowest proportions of people with *higher household incomes* (13% each) and relatively higher proportions of people with *lower household incomes* (26% each), compared with other areas. This pattern was repeated for the majority of life-cycle groups in these two areas. For example, in Inner Regional areas, 33% of people in *young couple families without children* had *higher household incomes* compared with 47% Australia wide; while in Outer Regional areas, 23% of people in *couple families with young children* had *lower household incomes* compared with 17% nationally.

Remote and Very Remote

In 2006, relatively few people lived in the Remote and Very Remote parts of Australia, and the people living in these areas had quite different household and personal characteristics compared to those living in the rest of Australia. As a result, the *household income* profiles of the population in these two areas were quite different from other Remoteness areas. In both areas, people with *lower household income* were more common than those in the other income groups, followed by those with *higher household incomes*. In Remote areas, 21% of people had *lower household incomes*, which was only marginally higher than the 20% of people with *higher household incomes*. In contrast, Very Remote areas had the highest proportion of people with *lower household incomes* of all Remoteness Areas, 31%; while 15% had *higher household incomes*.

In both areas, the relatively higher proportion of people with *lower household incomes* was associated with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples representing a large section of the population. In 2006, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples on average had lower levels of *household income*, compared with non-Indigenous people.

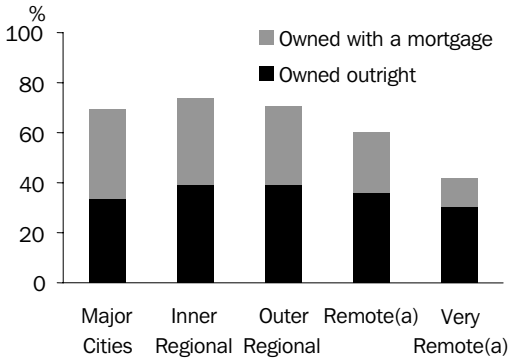
In Very Remote areas in 2006, close to half of the population were of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin, and higher proportions of this group had lower levels of *household income* compared with Indigenous peoples in other areas. In Remote areas, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were a smaller proportion of the population—16% in 2006. In keeping with this, the proportion of the total population with *lower household incomes* was lower in Remote areas than in Very Remote areas. For details on the incomes and other characteristics of Indigenous peoples across Australia, see *Population Characteristics, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006*, ABS cat. no. 4713.0.

In contrast, the relatively higher proportion of people with *higher household incomes* in Remote areas in 2006 was associated with the higher proportion of people in households where someone worked in the Mining or Construction industries (21% compared with around 13% in Outer and Inner Regional areas). People who worked in the Mining or Construction industries commonly had *higher personal incomes*, especially those in more remote areas (see 'Workers' incomes across Australia', p. 188–196). In 2006, 41% of people with *higher household incomes* in Remote areas were living in households containing a Mining or Construction industry worker,

compared with 15% nationally. In Very Remote areas, the impact of Mining and Construction employment on *household incomes* was similar. However, in Very Remote areas people in households where no one was employed in these industries were much more likely to have a *lower household income* than those in similar households in Remote areas (34% and 25% respectively).

There was little change in the *household income* profiles across all of the Remoteness Areas between 1996 and 2006, when the corresponding areas are compared. At this broad level, this indicates that the general increase in *household incomes* over the last decade was spread reasonably evenly over the Remoteness Areas. However, changes in the *household income* profiles of people in smaller areas are likely to have occurred over this period.

Housing ownership: all households, Remoteness Areas



(a) Data for these areas may be affected by the higher proportion of households who did not respond to the housing tenure question—Remote 12% and Very Remote 14%, compared with 8% for Australia.

The family home, the main household asset

The main asset for many Australian households is the dwelling that they live in: their home.[9] The 2005–06 Survey of Income and Housing showed that the value of the family home (less any outstanding mortgage) represented 44% of the total average value of household assets for all households. Therefore, those households who do own their own home, with or without a mortgage, have an important economic resource, while those households who do not may be at greater risk of financial hardship.[10]

The 2006 Census showed that 70% of households owned their own home with a mortgage or owned outright; this rate has remained around this level for the past 40 years. Information on home ownership combined with the location of households, and other household and personal characteristics, can help to identify if particular groups are more or less likely to benefit from home ownership. For more information about household tenure, see the 'Housing overview', p. 204–214.

In 2006, households in Inner and Outer Regional areas had the highest rates of home ownership (with a mortgage or owned outright) in Australia (73% and 70% respectively). Households in these two areas also had the highest rates of outright home ownership—39% in both areas. This reflects the relatively higher proportions of households in the middle-aged and older life-cycle groups in these areas. For example, approximately 14% of households in each of these two areas were *middle-aged couple families without children*, compared with 11% Australia wide. Generally, households in these middle-aged and older life-cycle groups are more likely to own their homes outright, compared with younger groups, as they have had a longer period of time to pay off any mortgages. Moreover, in these areas, *middle-aged couple families without children* had a greater likelihood of owning their own homes outright than this life-cycle group Australia wide—62% in both areas, compared with 60% for Australia. In contrast to the relatively higher rates of home ownership, these two areas had relatively higher proportions of people with *lower household incomes*, including those people in the older life-cycle groups.

Households in Major Cities had the next highest proportion of overall home ownership in 2006 (69% of all households), slighter lower than the national level. Major Cities were the only area where households were more likely to have a mortgage on their homes than they were to own their homes outright (36% had a mortgage, while 33% owned outright). As most households are located in the Major City areas, home ownership rates across the lifecycle groups in these areas align closely with national rates for these groups.

In Remote and Very Remote areas in 2006, households had relatively low rates of home ownership (60% and 42% of all households respectively). While the proportion of households who owned their homes outright

in these areas (Remote, 36%, and Very Remote, 30%) were generally comparable with the other Remoteness Areas, owning with a mortgage was less common (24% and 11% respectively, compared with 35% nationally).

Both Indigenous households (that is, households that included at least one Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person) and other households in these areas had relatively low rates of owning with a mortgage, compared to other Remoteness Areas. That said, these rates were lower for the Indigenous households compared with the non-Indigenous households. This in part reflects the types of tenure available on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander lands in these areas, but also reflects a consistent pattern of lower rates of owning with a mortgage for Indigenous households across all Remoteness Areas (for more detail see *Population Characteristics, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2006*, ABS cat. no. 4713.0).

In addition, relatively higher turnover of the population may also have had some influence on the lower rates of households owning with a mortgage in Remote areas. People in these areas may not be willing to enter into a mortgage if they are unlikely to settle there on a long-term basis.

Endnotes

1 United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD), National Accounts Main Aggregates Database, Estimates of Per Capita Gross National Income(GNI) in US Dollars, viewed 18 June 2008, <http://www.unstats.un.org/unsd/snaama/selectionbasicFast.asp>.

2 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2007, 'Purchasing Power' in *Australian Social Trends 2007*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 ABS 2007, *Household Income and Income Distribution, Australia, 2005–06*, cat. no. 6523.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 Income data are adjusted to 2006 dollars using the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for the eight capital cities.

5 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Striking the Balance: women, men, work and family*, Discussion Paper 2005, viewed 16 December 2008, <http://www.hreoc.gov.au/sex_discrimination/publication/strikingbalance/docs/Striking_the_balance.doc>.

6 ABS 2002, 'Employee superannuation' in *Australian Social Trends 2002*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

7 Includes Business management and, Business and management nfd. Secretarial Services are included in another category.

8 The five occupation skill levels, defined in the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO), First Edition, ABS cat. no. 1220.0, are used to class occupations into 3 groups:Higher skill occupations—Skill level 1; Medium skill occupations—Skill level 2 & 3; Low skill occupations—Skill level 4 & 5. See Glossary for more information.

9 ABS 2007, *Household Wealth and Wealth Distribution, Australia, 2005–06*, cat. no. 6554.0, ABS, Canberra.

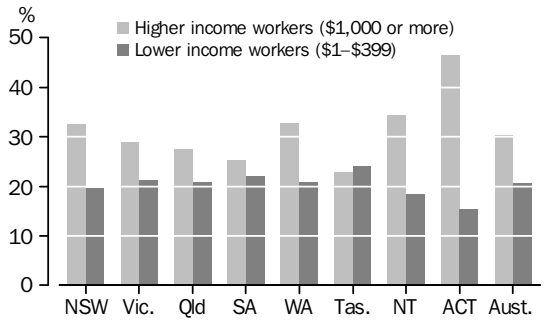
10 ABS 2004, 'Household Assets, Liabilities and Financial Stress' in *Australian Social Trends 2004*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

Workers' incomes across Australia

Across Australia, there is considerable variation in the proportion of people with higher and lower incomes, both in terms of their *personal incomes* and the incomes of the households they live in. A range of factors contribute to regional variations in incomes, including the proportion of people in the population who are retired, and the proportion of people unemployed or not looking for work. The other major influence is the variation in the *personal incomes* of employed people in different regions. The incomes of employed people are of particular interest as these incomes are more evenly spread between *higher*, *middle* and *lower personal income* groups[1] than those who are not employed.

Higher, middle and lower income workers (employed people) and also those with a negative or no *personal income* are found in every region in Australia. In some regions, higher income workers far outnumber lower income workers. In others, the reverse is true. Therefore, variations in the *personal incomes* of employed people in a region can have a substantial impact on the *household income* profile and therefore the living standards of people in different parts of Australia.

Employed people in higher and lower income groups(a)



(a) Gross personal income.

The census provides information on a range of characteristics of employed people that help to explain these variations in *personal income*. These include the main employment industries and occupations; the hours worked each week; and the skill and education levels of workers.

States and territories

In 2006, 30% of Australia's working population were higher income workers, 48% were middle income workers and 21% were lower income workers. The proportion of employed people in these income groups varied between states and territories. The Australian Capital Territory had the highest proportion of higher income workers (46% of its employed population) and the lowest proportion of lower income workers (15%), while Tasmania had the lowest proportion of higher income workers (23%) and the highest proportion of lower income workers (24%).

Higher income regions

In 2006, higher income regions (see box, p. 189) were more common in the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory than in the states.

In the Australian Capital Territory all of the 7 regions analysed were higher income regions while in the Northern Territory 4 of the 5 regions analysed were in this group. That said, in the Northern Territory 6 regions had less than 5 000 people employed and were excluded: 5 of these regions would have been lower income regions if they were included.

Tasmania and South Australia had the lowest representation of higher income regions. None of the 7 regions analysed in Tasmania, and only 1 of the 16 regions analysed in South Australia were higher income regions.

Workers' incomes

This article examines the **gross personal income** of workers (those are, people who were employed in the week leading up to the 2006 Census). Gross personal income is referred to in this article as *personal income*. The working population has been split into four groups in this article, where the *personal income* ranges for these groups are those applicable to the total population. (For definitions see the 'Economic resources overview', p. 175–187.)

Higher income workers are those who usually received $1000 or more per week. In 2006, 30% of Australia's employed population were higher income workers.

Middle income workers are those who usually received $400–$999 per week. In 2006, 48% of Australia's employed population were middle income workers.

Lower income workers are those who usually received $1–$399 per week. In 2006, 21% of Australia's employed population were lower income workers.

Nil and negative income workers usually received no *personal income*, or a negative *personal income*. In 2006, 1% of Australia's employed population were nil and negative income workers. For more information on people with these incomes, see the 'Economic resources overview', p. 175–187.

...regionally speaking

The 188 regions used in this article are *Statistical Subdivisions.* Most of these regions were either higher income regions or lower income regions.

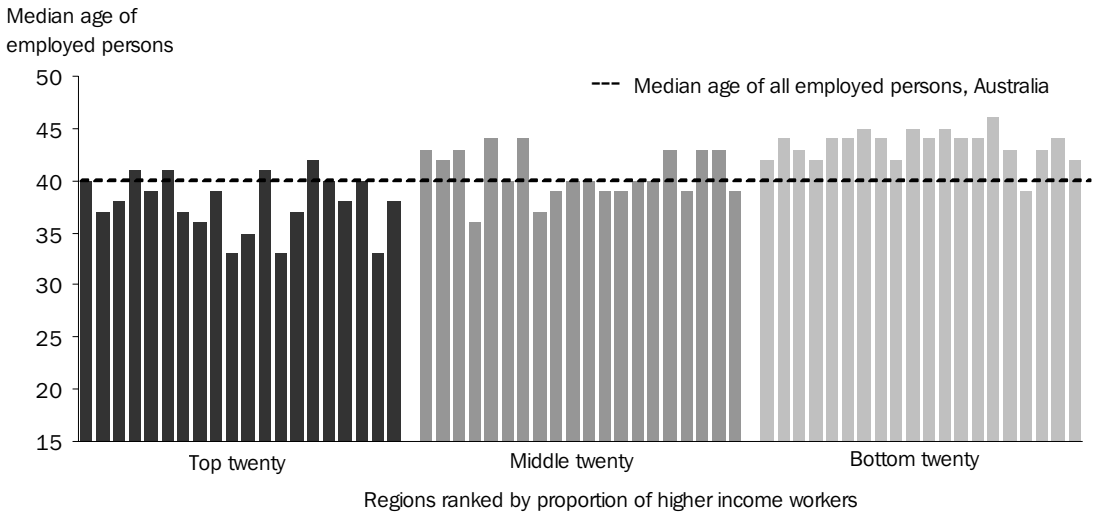
In **higher income regions,** more than 30% of the region's employed population had *higher personal incomes*; that is, a higher proportion than Australia overall. In 2006, of the 188 regions examined, 39 were higher income regions. More than 5.8 million people (or 29% of the total population) lived in these regions.

In **lower income regions,** more than 21% of the region's employed population had *lower personal incomes*; that is, a higher proportion than Australia overall. In 2006, of the 188 regions examined, 119 were lower income regions. Around 8.5 million people (or 43% of the total population) lived in these regions.

A small number of regions (9) were excluded from these 2 categories as they met the criteria for both higher and lower income regions. None of these regions were among the top 10 higher or top 10 lower income regions.

To avoid the analysis being affected by small population regions with unusual or very specific characteristics, each of the 188 regions examined in this article contained more than 5000 employed people. As a result, 20 regions were excluded from the analysis. Also, excluded were the Statistical Subdivisions which represented people who were Off-Shore, Migratory, or who had no usual place of residence.

Median age of employed people in selected regions(a)



(a) Regions (Statistical Subdivisions) with less than 5,000 employed people were excluded.

Higher income regions were more common in Australia's capital cities. In 2006, of the regions analysed that were in capital cities, almost half (45%) were higher income regions. Of the regions located outside capital cities, only 9% were higher income regions.

This is consistent with non-capital city regions having greater proportions of older employed people (illustrated by the graph above), where older workers were generally less likely to have *higher incomes* (for more information see the Worker's Income section in the 'Economic resources overview', p. 179–180). In 2006, the median age of employed people in the top 20 higher income regions was 38, compared with 43 years for the 20 regions with the fewest higher income workers. The median age for all employed Australians was 40 years.

When considering regions with the highest proportions of higher income workers, of those in the top 20 in 2006, 17 were located within capital cities and the remaining 3 were regions with substantial mining industry activity. South Canberra, in the ACT, had the highest proportion of higher income workers (60%)—twice the national average. The next two higher income regions were Fortescue (58%) and De Grey (56%), which together comprise Western Australia's Pilbara. Conversely, of the 20 regions containing the lowest proportions of higher income workers (represented by the far right bars in graph above), only one was located within a capital city—Greater Dandenong in Melbourne.

Across these regions, 11% of employed people worked in the Agriculture industry (compared with less than 1% in the top 20 higher income regions).

Higher personal incomes, higher household incomes

To obtain *household income, personal income* of household members are combined at the household level and equivalised, to allow for differences in the size and composition of households (see definitions in box on p. 176). Therefore, the profile of people's *household incomes* in a region is closely associated with the profile of *personal incomes*.

In 2006, people living in the top 10 higher income regions (see table on next page) were more than twice as likely to have higher *household incomes* than Australian people overall (on average, 47% compared with 20% nationally). Similarly, at the other end of the spectrum, people in the top 10 lower income regions were more likely to have lower *household incomes* than Australians overall (on average, 33% compared with 20% nationally). For a closer look at *household income* across Australia, see the 'Economic resources overview', p. 175–187).

Income from employment

Most of the *personal income* received by employed people is from wages and salaries or income from unincorporated businesses (92%).[2] Therefore, factors associated with a

Top 10 higher income regions(a): employed people

Region	Higher income workers %	Employed full-time %	University degree %	Top industry of employment	Employed in top industry %	Employed people '000
South Canberra (ACT)	59.8	75.3	57.4	Govt admin and defence	33.4	12.9
Fortescue (WA)	57.6	80.2	13.3	Mining	31.2	11.3
De Grey (WA)	55.5	79.9	13.7	Mining	27.9	8.2
Woden Valley (ACT)	52.1	71.2	48.5	Govt admin and defence	30.8	16.4
Lower Northern Sydney (NSW)	52.0	73.3	48.5	Property & business services	21.6	148.8
Weston Creek-Stromlo (ACT)	49.1	69.1	39.8	Govt admin and defence	29.4	11.9
Eastern Suburbs (NSW)	49.0	71.9	46.4	Property & business services	18.9	114.6
Gungahlin-Hall (ACT)	48.2	75.0	33.5	Govt admin and defence	30.0	17.5
Central Metropolitan (WA)	48.1	65.9	49.2	Property & business services	19.6	61.4
North Canberra (ACT)	47.6	70.0	53.5	Govt admin and defence	34.7	22.5
Total employed population	**30.1**	**68.5**	**22.9**	. .	. .	**9 104.2**

(a) The 10 regions (Statistical Subdivisions), with more than 5000 workers, which had the largest proportion of higher income workers (gross personal incomes of $1000 or more per week).

person's employment—such as, their level of education, the skill level and industry of their job, the hours worked—are all associated with their *personal income* (see the 'Economic resources overview', p. 175–187). Many of these factors vary among the employed populations living in different regions and therefore are associated with differences in the *personal income* profiles across these regions.

Income and industry

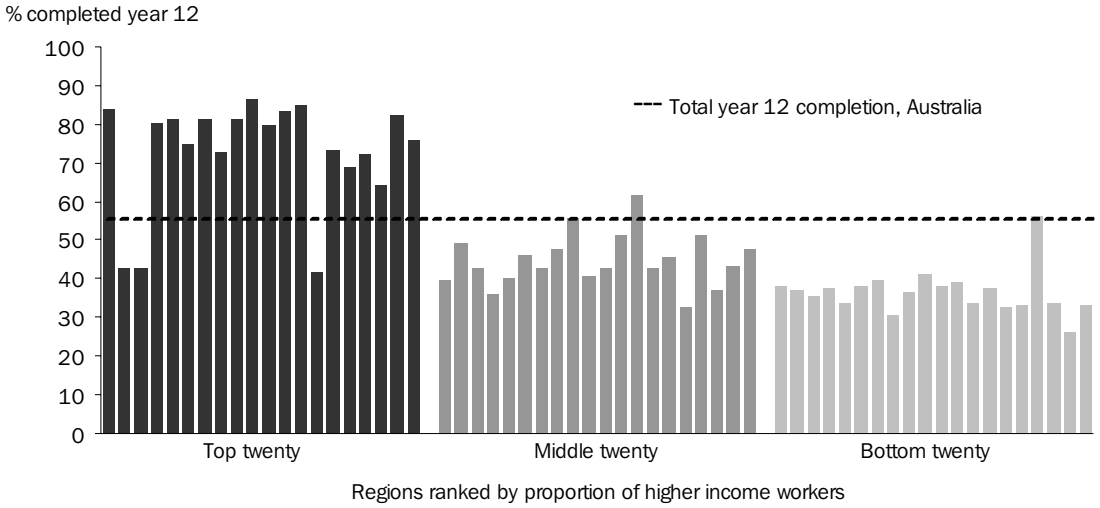
The main industries of employment within a region influence its overall *personal income* profile. For example, in 2006, the higher income regions of Fortescue and De Grey were the two regions most dominated by the Mining industry—the industry with the most higher income workers in Australia (80% of workers). The characteristics and incomes of employed people in Fortescue and De Grey are explored further in the Pilbara case study on p. 201.

A similar relationship existed in many regions where the main industry was Government administration and defence—the industry with the fourth largest proportion of higher income workers (47%). In 2006, the 4 regions with the highest proportions of government employees were also among the top 10 higher income regions: all were in Canberra.

Talking about work

This article analyses the *personal incomes* of Australia's employed population. In doing so it considers the different industries and occupations Australians worked in at the time of the 2006 Census. Occupations were categorised using the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (2006). Industries were categorised using the Australian and New Zealand Standard Industry Classification (1993). While a more recent version of the industrial classification exists, this one was used to facilitate comparison with previous censuses.

Year 12 completion rates for employed people in selected regions(a)



(a) Regions (Statistical Subdivisions) with less than 5,000 employed people were excluded.

Higher education, higher salary

Workers living in higher income regions were generally more highly educated than workers in other regions. In 2006, of the top 20 higher income regions, 17 had Year 12 completion rates substantially above the national average (56%); the remaining three were all mining regions (see graph above).

In 2006, of the middle 20 regions, when ranked by the proportion of people with higher incomes, only two had Year 12 completion rates above the national average—Canterbury-Bankstown and Western Adelaide. In both regions, two of the three leading industries of employment for Year 12 graduates were Retail and Manufacturing (accounting for 25% of both regions' employed Year 12 graduates). This compares with the top 20 higher income regions, which, on average, had far fewer Year 12 graduates working in Retail and Manufacturing (16%).

The most prominent anomaly revealed by the graph above occurs in the City of Greater Dandenong (fourth bar from the far right). In 2006, this region contained the fourth lowest proportion of higher income workers (15%) despite having a Year 12 completion rate above the national average (56%). This anomaly may be attributed to the region's leading proportions of both overseas-born workers (60% compared with 25% nationally), and Manufacturing industry workers (28% compared with 11% nationally). The characteristics of the residents of the City of Greater Dandenong as they relate to *personal incomes* are explored further in the case study on p. 198.

Within regions, the close link between education and *personal income* is further highlighted by the prevalence of employed people holding bachelor degrees or higher qualifications. In 2006, the 10 regions with the highest proportions of employed people with a bachelor degree or above were also among the top 20 higher income regions. South Canberra, the region with the most higher income workers, was also Australia's most highly educated region, with university graduates (people with a Bachelor degree or above) accounting for 57% of its employed population (compared with 23% nationally)

The job skills in higher income regions

Those living in Australia's higher income regions were more likely to be employed in high skill occupations[3] than people living elsewhere. The 2006 Census showed that 29% of Australia's employed population worked in high skill occupations. This proportion was exceeded in 26 of the 39 higher income regions. The relationship between *personal income* and skill level was strongest in those regions with the most higher income workers. In 2006, 6 of the 10 most high skill employment regions were also among the top 10 higher income regions. Again, South Canberra, the region with the most higher income workers, also had the highest proportion of workers in high skill occupations (57%).

Moving up

In the 5 years prior to the 2006 Census, around one fifth of Australia's total population moved to a different region.[4] Higher income regions were more likely to attract new residents than

other Australian regions. One quarter of residents living in the top 10 higher income regions had moved to their respective regions in the 5 years prior to the 2006 Census. The article, 'On the move', p. 24–32, explores the mobility of Australian residents in more depth.

Of the employed people who moved, many worked in their new region's most dominant employment industries in 2006. For instance, in 2006, 27% of Lower Northern Sydney's employed residents had moved there in the previous 5 years. Of these people, more than one third were employed in the area's two dominant industries: Property and business services (21.8% of movers), and Finance and insurance (12.3%). These were slightly higher proportions than the region's total employed population—21.6% worked in Property and business services, and 10.6% in Finance and insurance. The characteristics of the residents of Lower Northern Sydney as they relate to *personal incomes* are explored further in the case studies on p. 200.

Lower income regions

In 2006, the top 10 lower income regions (see box on p. 189 for definition) were all located outside of the capital cities, and none of these included a major regional city. Around 30% of the employed population had *lower incomes* in each of these regions (see table next page).

The region with the highest proportion of lower income workers was the Lower Top End of the Northern Territory (32%). At the time of the 2006 Census, one fifth of this region's employed population reported that they were employed under the Community Development Employment Projects scheme—an initiative enabling members of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander communities to exchange unemployment benefits for opportunities to undertake work and training with local community organisations. (Much of this work is classified as being employment in Government Administration and Defence, as it is work conducted for, or organised by, the local community council.) A similar pattern of employment occurred in Far North SD Balance (Qld). Government administration and defence was also the biggest employer in South Canberra, the top higher income region. However, the nature of this employment was very different, with the South Canberra employment based on high skilled occupations.

Working in lower income regions

The *personal income* profiles of workers in lower income regions are again related to the industries that are the main source of employment. For example, people employed in the Agriculture, forestry and fishing, and the Accommodation, café and restaurant industries generally had *lower personal incomes* in 2006. As a result, on average, these two industries accounted for 11.9% and 7.4% respectively of workers in the top 10 lower income regions in 2006, compared with 3.2% and 4.8% of Australia's total employed population.

Similarly, and perhaps of greater consequence, was the sparsity of Australia's highest paying industries within these regions. For instance, in 2006, within the top 10 lower income regions, the Mining; Finance and insurance; and Property and business services industries—three typically high paying industries[5]—on average, employed 0.9%, 1.4%, and 5.5% of their workers, respectively. This compares with 1.2%, 3.9% and 10.9% of the total employed population nationally.

Lower incomes, average skills

While a clear relationship exists between the top 10 higher income regions and the highest skill workforces, the reverse is not true for regions with the lowest incomes. Indeed, of the 20 regions with the highest proportions of workers in low skill occupations, none were among the top 10 lower income regions. In comparison, the 10 lowest income regions had a similar proportion of workers in low skill occupations[2] to the overall employed population.

Reflecting this, the proportion of people employed in generally low skill industries was also comparable between lower income regions and Australia overall. For example, the Transport and storage, and Retail industries—the two industries with the greatest proportion of workers in low skill occupations—accounted for 4.5% and 14.5% of Australia's employed population respectively in 2006. Within the top 10 lower income regions, these industries employed around the same proportions of the working population (3.9% and 14.7%).

Top 10 lower income regions(a): employed people

Region	Lower income workers %	Employed full-time %	Did not complete Year 12 %	Top industry of employment	Employed in top industry %	Employed people '000
Lower Top End (NT)	32.0	67.1	64.0	Govt admin and defence	29.7	6.2
North Eastern (TAS)	30.5	62.6	74.3	Agriculture, forestry & fishing	22.8	5.3
Lower South Coast (NSW)	30.3	57.5	60.2	Retail	18.8	24.7
Clarence(b) (NSW)	30.0	58.9	63.0	Retail	16.7	33.5
East Gippsland Shire (VIC)	29.7	60.8	61.9	Retail	16.7	15.9
Far North SD Bal (QLD)	29.6	66.0	59.2	Govt admin and defence	13.5	47.0
Yorke (SA)	29.6	62.3	66.0	Agriculture, forestry & fishing	20.5	9.1
North Wimmera (VIC)	29.5	67.5	67.1	Agriculture, forestry & fishing	30.2	5.6
East Ovens-Murray (VIC)	28.7	64.4	58.9	Agriculture, forestry & fishing	16.5	7.2
North Loddon (VIC)	28.6	64.2	61.0	Manufacturing	15.5	18.9
Total employed persons	**20.5**	**68.5**	**44.0**	. .	. .	**9 104.2**

(a) The 10 regions (Statistical Subdivisions), with more than 5000 workers, which had the largest proportion of lower income workers (gross personal incomes of $399 or less per week).

(b) Excludes Coffs Harbour.

The *personal incomes* of people working in the Agriculture, forestry and fishing industry did not follow the general trends associated with the skill levels in regional workforces. In 2006, this industry had the second largest proportion of workers in high skill occupations (62%) but was a much bigger employer in the lower income regions than in other regions. Most of this Industry's highly skilled workers were Farmers and farm managers (93% of workers in this industry nationally).

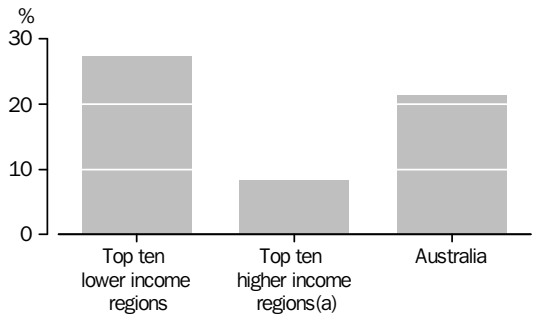
The effects of drought may have had some influence on *personal incomes* in regions dominated by Agriculture, forestry and fishing industry employment. In 2006, 2 of the 4 Agricultural regions among the top 10 lower income regions were in drought declared areas: North Wimmera and East Ovens Murray.

Out of school and in to work

Regions with high proportions of lower income workers generally had lower levels of formal education compared with Australia's working population. In 2006, Year 12 and university graduation rates for workers in the top 10 lower income regions were 38% and 13% respectively—much lower than for Australia overall (56% and 23%). All the top 10 lower income regions were located outside capital cities and these lower rates reflected the established pattern of lower levels of formal education in regional and remote areas[6].

These lower education levels at least partly reflect the education requirements of the occupations and industries in these regions. For instance, the Agriculture, forestry and fishing industry was the largest employer in 4 of the top 10 lower income regions. Of all industries, it had the highest proportion of workers who had not completed Year 12. In 2006, of Australians working full-time in this industry 66% had not completed Year 12 compared with 43% of all full-time workers.

Proportion of people who had not completed Year 12 and were not attending school (aged 15–19)



(a) Excludes mining regions Fortescue and De Grey.

In 2006, in Australia's top 10 lower income regions, of the 15–19 year olds who had not completed Year 12, 27% were not attending school or any other education institution. In comparison, the 15–19 year olds in Australia's top 10 higher income regions (excluding the two mining dominated regions) were far less likely to be early school leavers: 8.2% of those who had not completed Year 12 were not attending school or any other education institution.

Despite the greater likelihood that 15–19 year olds who lived in the top 10 lower income regions had left school early, the employment patterns of early school leavers in the top 10 lower income regions and the top 10 higher income regions were very similar. In 2006, in both higher and lower income regions respectively, 61% and 58% of 15–19 year olds who had left school early were employed, 14% and 16% were unemployed, and 26% and 27% were not in the labour force. These similar employment outcomes, combined with a greater proportion of the young people in the top 10 lower income regions leaving school early, indicates that the employment markets in these regions are able to provide relatively more employment to young people without Year 12 qualifications, compared with higher income regions. The ability of local employment markets to provide employment to these young people may also play a role in greater proportions of early school leavers, as the young people may choose to seek the available employment rather than stay at school.

Of 15–19 year olds who lived within the higher income mining regions (Fortescue and De Grey) and had not completed Year 12, a very high proportion (43%) did not attend school. This high proportion may be associated with these two mining regions being non-capital city areas; where this characteristic was more consistent with the top 10 lower income regions and all non-capital city areas. Of the Fortescue and De Grey youth not attending school, 62% were employed, 11% were unemployed, and 27% were not in the labour force.

Hours worked

A person's income level is associated with the number of hours they work. Within every occupation, part-time workers (those who worked less than 35 hours in the week prior to the census) were much more likely to receive lower incomes than full-time workers.

In 2006, the top 10 lower income regions had proportionately more part-time workers than Australia overall (averages of 38% and 32% of employed people, respectively). In contrast, only 28% of employed people living in the top 10 higher income regions were part-time workers. That said, certain lower paying industries in lower income regions employed many people who worked very long hours. For instance, 17% of those working in the Agriculture, forestry and fishing industry—the leading industry in 4 of the top 10 lower income regions—worked more than 60 hours in the week prior to the 2006 Census. This compares with 4.2% of all people in all industries. Farmers and farm managers accounted for 80% of those employed in the Agriculture, forestry and fishing industry who worked more than 60 hours.

Across the country, employed women were more likely to work part-time than employed men (47% compared with 18%). However, while part-time employment was generally higher among lower income regions, these regions did not necessarily have more female workers. Indeed, in the top 10 lower income regions, 46% of the employed population were women—compared with 48% in the top 10 higher income regions.

Endnotes

1 Personal income is gross personal income. For details of the personal income groups used see Glossary.

2 Data available on request, 2005–06 Survey of Income and Housing (SIH).

3 For a description of the different occupation skill levels, see Glossary.

4 Place of usual residence was located in a different Statistical Subdivision than 5 years prior.

5 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2006, *Average Weekly Earnings, Australia, August 2006*, cat. no. 6302.0, ABS, Canberra.

6 ABS 2003, 'Participation in education: Regional differences in education and outcomes' in *Australian Social Trends 2003*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

Workers' incomes in selected regions

The previous article examined a range of characteristics that are associated with the *personal income* profile of a region's workforce. The following case studies examine four different regions and some specific characteristics of their workforces. The regions examined are: North Wimmera, a farming area in western country Victoria; the City of Greater Dandenong, a manufacturing district in outer Melbourne; Lower Northern Sydney, a highly populous suburban, commercial centre; and the Pilbara, a large mining region in the north of Western Australia.

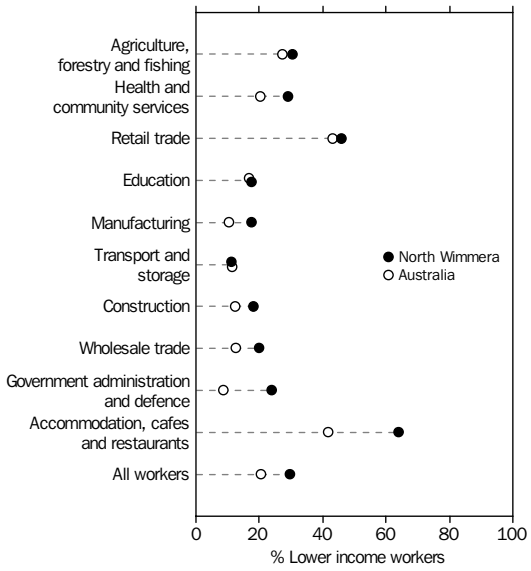
North Wimmera: traditional farming area, lower incomes

North Wimmera, situated in the central west of Victoria, had an employed population of 5,600 in 2006—down from 6,000 in 2001. Of the employed population, 29% were lower income workers—the seventh highest proportion across Australia's regions. The broader impact of the employed population's *lower personal incomes* was reflected in the *lower household incomes* of the people living in this region. In 2006, over one third (34%) of North Wimmera residents lived in households with *lower household incomes* (compared with 20% nationally).

Compared with the total working population, workers in this farming region were older and more likely to be male. The median age of North Wimmera workers was 46 years (compared with 40 years nationally) and there were 130 male workers for every 100 female workers (compared with 117 nationally).

The drought conditions in the years preceding the 2006 Census affected North Wimmera's dominant industry, Agriculture. In 2006, the region's Grain, sheep and beef cattle farming industry employed 27% of the working population. This had decreased from 30% in 2001, representing a decrease from 1,800 to 1,500 workers in this industry.

Lower income workers(a) by industry: North Wimmera(b) and Australia



(a) Employed population with gross personal incomes of less than $400 per week.

(b) Ranked by North Wimmera's ten largest employment industries.

Defining income

Where *personal income* is used in this article it is **gross personal income** (defined in 'Economic resources overview', p. 175–187).

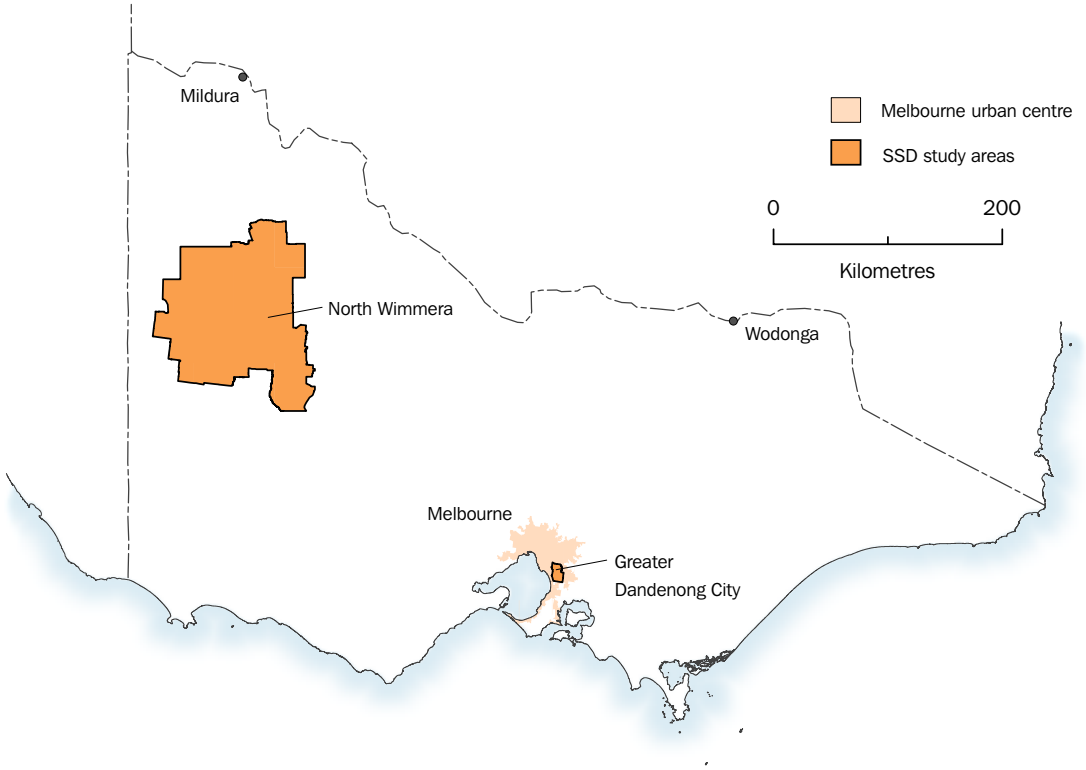
Higher income workers usually received $1000 or more per week.

Middle income workers usually received $400–$999 per week.

Lower income workers usually received $1–$399 per week.

Many of the terms used and the broad groups described in this article are defined in the previous article 'Workers' incomes across Australia', (p. 188–196) and in the Glossary.

North Wimmera and Greater Dandenong Statistical Subdivisions



Agriculture is central to North Wimmera's economy and the adverse conditions experienced by this industry are likely to have affected the region's other industries. For instance, in 2006, workers in North Wimmera's Accommodation, café and restaurant industry, and Health and community services industry were more likely to be lower income workers (64% and 29% respectively) than those in these industries for Australia overall (42% and 20%). Other similar agricultural regions that were not affected by drought were somewhat less likely to have lower income workers in these and most other industries.

Despite North Wimmera's overall decline in the number of people employed, the Health and community industry—a relatively low-paying industry—grew by almost 100 workers from 2001 to 2006. This growth possibly reflects some movement of people away from employment in farming during the drought. Perhaps also because of the drought conditions, not many of the region's residents had moved to the area recently. In 2006, only 12% of North Wimmera's employed population lived elsewhere at the time of the 2001 Census.

In comparison, 22% of Australia's total employed population lived in a different region in 2001. In the top 10 higher income regions, this figure was 31%.

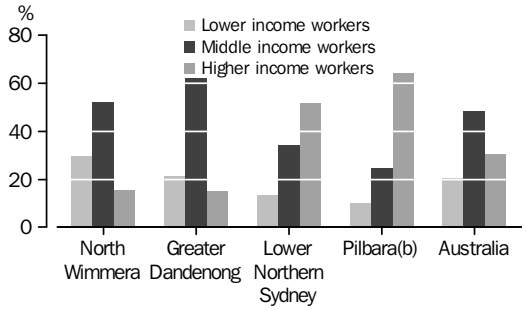
Greater Dandenong: migrants, manufacturing, and middle incomes

In 2006, the City of Greater Dandenong, situated in south east Melbourne, had an employed population of 48,000. The city had a greater proportion of middle income workers than any other Australian region (62% compared with 48% nationally). It also had the fourth lowest proportion of higher income workers (15% compared with 30% nationally). This was also the case in terms of *household income*: 7% of residents in the City of Greater Dandenong belonged to the *higher household income* group (compared with 20% of the total population).

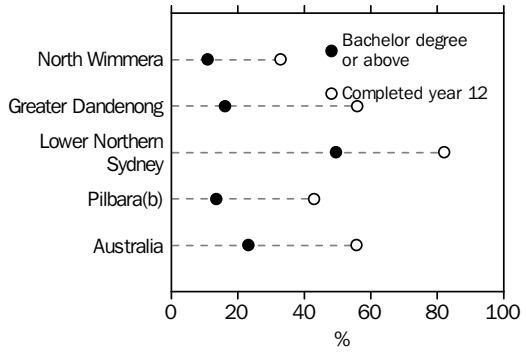
Associated with Greater Dandenong's *personal income* profile was the high proportion of people employed in low skill occupations (61%)—the highest of any region. These low skill occupations were dominant despite the Year 12 completion rate of 56% being similar to the level for Australia overall. In other

Case study area comparisons

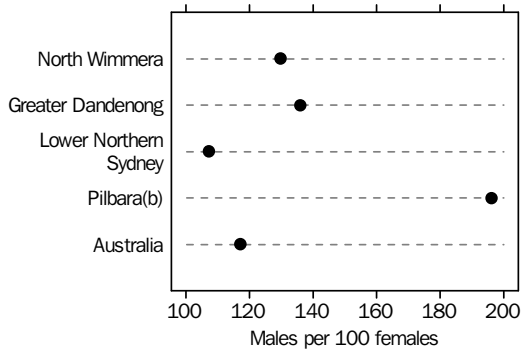
Income groups(a) of employed population



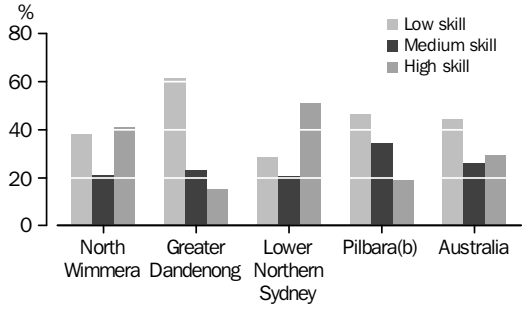
Qualifications of employed population



Sex ratio of employed population



Occupation skill levels(c) of employed population



(a) Income groups for workers defined in box on p. 197.

(b) Employed population based on place of work address, other regions based on address of usual residence.

(c) See Glossary for details of Occupation skill levels.

Australian regions with similar Year 12 completion rates, the employed populations generally received *higher personal incomes*, and were more likely to work in high skill occupations.

It appears that the language barrier may have hindered some of the region's residents from gaining employment in higher skill and higher paying occupations. The region had a large proportion of overseas-born workers: 60% in 2006, the highest of all Australian regions. Moreover, 17% of the region's employed population stated they could not speak English well or very well.

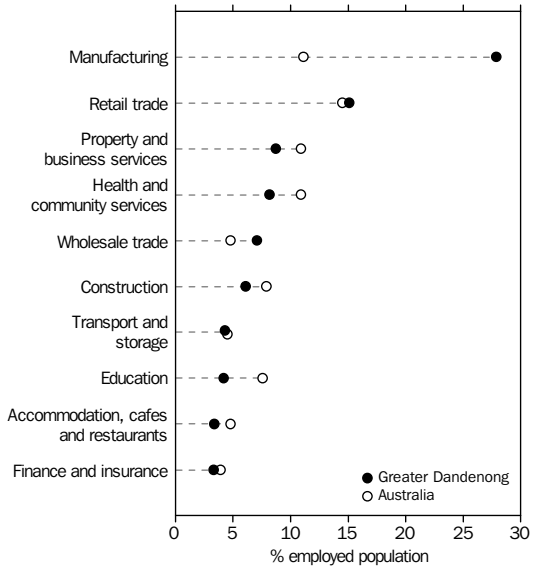
In 2006, workers in the Manufacturing and Retail industries accounted for almost half (48%) the region's low skill jobs. They were also Greater Dandenong's largest industries: in 2006, they employed 43% of the region's workers (Manufacturing, 28% and Retail, 15%). In 2006, no other region's employment was dominated by the Manufacturing industry to this degree.

The region was involved in manufacturing a range of products. In 2006, the Motor vehicle and part manufacturing industry employed 15.6% of the region's manufacturing workers. This was followed by the Metal product manufacturing industry (11.1%) and the Plastic product manufacturing industry (8.6%).

Income groups(a) of employed population, Greater Dandenong and Australia

(a) Income groups for workers defined in box on p. 197.

Employment in selected industries(a): Greater Dandenong and Australia



(a) The City of Greater Dandenong's 10 largest industries by number of employees.

Lower Northern Sydney workers: Designer suits, high income

The region of Lower Northern Sydney includes the suburbs of Hunter's Hill, Lane Cove, Mosman, North Sydney, Ryde and Willoughby. In 2006, it had an employed population of 149,000. It was one of only 5 regions in which more than half the workers had *higher personal incomes* ($1,000 or more per week). It also had the second largest proportion of people with *personal incomes* of $2000 or more per week (19%).

This *personal income* profile of Lower Northern Sydney residents, meant that *household incomes* in the area were generally high: 48% of residents lived in households with *higher household incomes* (compared with 20% of all Australian residents).

Associated with their generally higher *personal income* profile, workers in Lower Northern Sydney were highly educated. In 2006, of the region's employed population, 82% of people had completed Year 12, and 49% were university graduates—people who had a Bachelor degree or above (compared with 56% and 23% for all employed people).

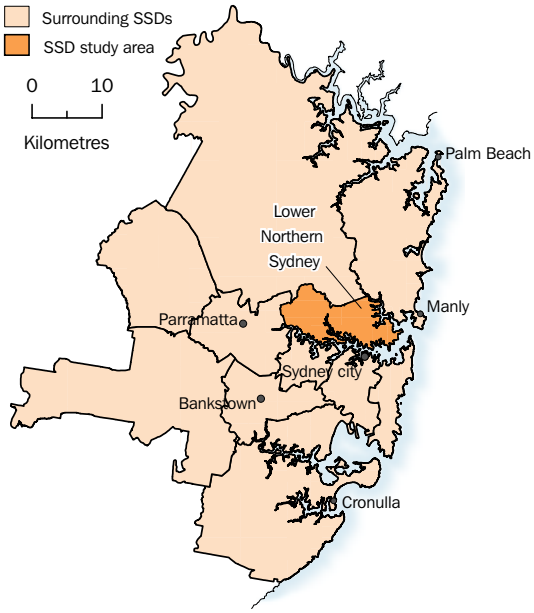
In 2006, the leading two industries in which residents of Lower Northern Sydney were employed were the Property and business services industry (32,000 people or 21.6% of the region's workers) and the Finance and insurance industry (16,000 people or 10.6%).

Since 2001, the proportions of the region's employed population working in these industries had declined from 24.3% and increased from 9.7% respectively. Very high proportions of the residents employed in these industries in 2006 were higher income workers (64% and 75% respectively).

Associated with the highly educated workforce, the region's occupation profile was concentrated in high skill occupations. It was one of only six regions with more than half the employed population working in high skill occupations (51%, compared with 29% nationally). The three most common occupations were Business, human resource and marketing professionals (12.8%), Specialist managers (10.4%), and Health professionals (4.8%). Each of these had high proportions of higher income workers (75%, 84% and 64% respectively).

One other distinctive characteristic of the employed population in Lower Northern Sydney—which was also associated with the higher *personal income* profile in this region—was the amount of hours they worked. Most employed people were full-time employees (73% compared with the national average of 68%). In addition, of these full-time workers, one third worked 50 or more hours per week, compared with 27% for all Australian full-time workers. Long hours of work were very common in some of the region's main

Lower Northern Sydney Statistical Subdivision



Higher income workers(a) in selected occupations(b): Lower Northern Sydney and Australia

(a) Employed population with weekly gross personal income of $1,000 or more.

(b) Lower Northern Sydney's 10 largest occupations by number of employees.

occupations: for example, working 50 or more hours per week were 38% of the region's Business, human resource and marketing professionals, 47% of Specialist managers, and 53% of Legal, social and welfare professionals.

Pilbara: miners flying high

The Pilbara is one of Australia's best known mining regions, providing more than 95% of Australia's iron ore exports in 2005–06.[1] It is located in the north west of Western Australia and is made up of two Statistical Subdivisions, Fortescue and De Grey. In 2006, Pilbara was the place of work for 64% of Australia's Iron-ore mining workers, and 8% of Australia's Mining workers.

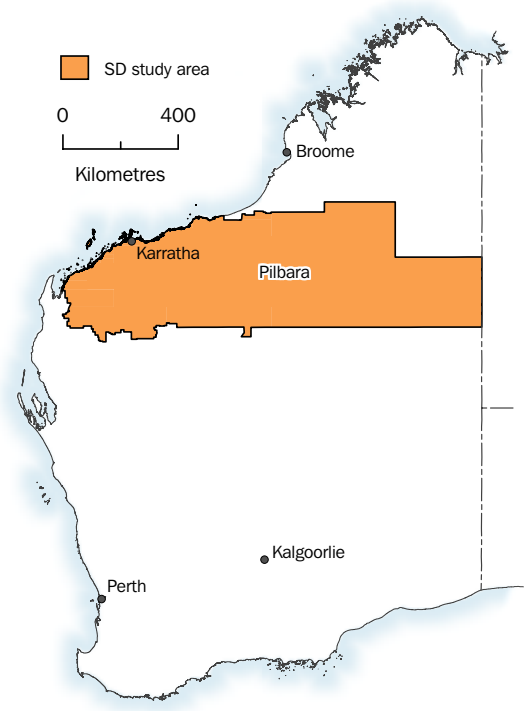
In the week prior to the 2006 Census, there were 23,600 people employed in the Pilbara region.[2] Compared with Australia's total working population, workers in the Pilbara region were slightly younger and were predominately male. The median age of Pilbara workers was 38 years (compared with 40 years nationally) and there were 196 male workers for every 100 female workers (compared with 117 males per 100 females nationally).

In 2006, 64% of those employed in the Pilbara[2] were higher income workers—more than twice the proportion of Australia's total employed population (30%). This is closely associated with the dominance of the Mining industry in this region, and the high salaries offered to attract people to this remote location.

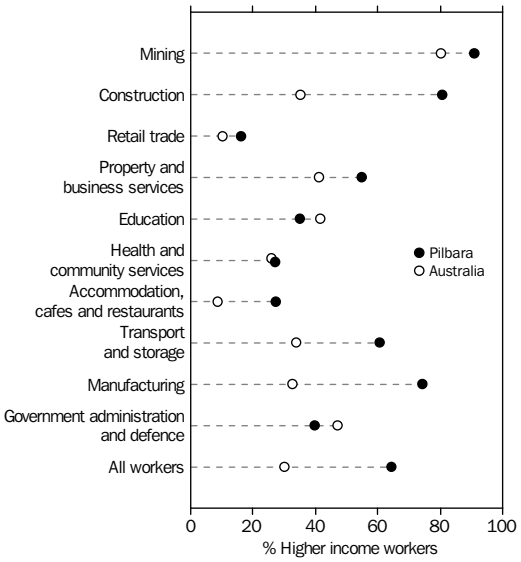
Of the Pilbara's employed population, 36% (or 8,500 people) worked in the Mining industry, followed by 12% in Construction—which is closely associated with mining operations in these areas. Of those working in the Pilbara's Mining and Construction industries, 91% and 81% respectively were higher income workers.

In 2006, *higher personal incomes* were not limited to the mining industry. The income of workers in the Pilbara's other industries which were associated with the mining operations were also high. For instance, of those working in Pilbara's Manufacturing and Transport and storage industries in 2006, 74% and 61% were higher income workers. This compared with 32% and 33% of all Australian workers in these

Pilbara Statistical Division, Western Australia



Higher income workers (a) by selected industries(b): Pilbara and Australia



(a) Employed population with weekly gross personal incomes of $1,000 or more.

(b) Pilbara's ten largest industries by number of employees.

respective industries. Workers in other industries, which were not so closely linked to mining, also had *higher incomes*. In 2006, 16% of those employed in the Pilbara's Retail industry, and 27% in its Accommodation, cafes and restaurants industry, were higher income workers, compared with 10.1% and 8.4%, respectively, Australia wide.

At the time of the 2006 Census, around 29% of people employed in the Pilbara region[2] reported that they did not usually live there. Because of the region's remoteness, many of those working in the Mining industry were fly-in, fly-out workers (that is, they lived elsewhere and flew in for their work periods). Approximately 42% of people who reported that they were employed in the Pilbara's Mining industry[2] were not usual residents of the region. People who reported that they worked in the Pilbara's other (non-Mining) industries[2] were half as likely to have lived outside the Pilbara. In 2006, 21% of non-Mining workers were not usual residents, and of these, over a third worked in Construction.

Despite the fly-in, fly-out status of many of the Pilbara's highly paid mining workers, the *household incomes* of the region's usual residents were also very high. In 2006, the region contained more than double the proportion of *higher household incomes* than Australia overall (49% of all *household incomes* compared with 20%).

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), International Merchandise Trade, Financial Year 2005–06, data available on request.

2 The place of work address for these people was located in the Pilbara.

Chapter eight

Housing

Housing overview

The basic function of housing is to provide people with shelter, security and privacy. The location of housing relative to employment and services, and its suitability to meet the needs of occupants, plays a fundamental role in the living standards of residents. A person's housing experience—the tenure, location, type and size of dwelling—is affected by a range of factors including lifestyle preferences, income, life-cycle stage and changes in family composition.

In 2006, there were 8.4 million private dwellings and 19,800 non-private dwellings in Australia. (Non-private dwellings included accommodation such as hotels, motels, nursing homes, hospitals and staff quarters.) The majority of private dwellings were occupied on Census Night (90%). The remaining 0.8 million dwellings were unoccupied on Census Night. At the time of the 2006 Census, most people in Australia were counted in private dwellings (19.2 million

Dwelling types, Australia 2006

	Dwellings '000	*People* '000
Private dwellings		
Separate house	6 262.7	15 665.3
Semi-detached, row/terrace, townhouse	783.0	1 447.4
Flat, unit or apartment	1 236.5	1 881.0
Flat, unit or apartment up to 3 storeys	907.5	1 371.9
Flat, unit or apartment, 4 or more storeys	317.0	490.3
Flat, unit or apartment attached to a house	12.1	18.9
Other dwelling	138.9	231.2
Caravan, cabin, houseboat	99.8	164.8
Improvised home, tent, sleepers out	16.5	23.6
House or flat attached to a shop, office, etc.	22.6	42.8
Total private dwellings(a)	*8 426.6*	*19 235.7*
Non-private dwellings (selected)		
Hotel, motel, bed and breakfast	7.9	163.4
Nursing home	1.8	100.1
Accommodation for the retired or aged (not self-contained)	1.4	63.7
Total non-private dwellings(b)	*19.8*	*612.7*
Migratory, off-shore and shipping	0.3	6.9
Total	**8 446.7**	**19 855.3**

(a) Includes dwelling structure not stated.
(b) Includes other non-private dwelling type not listed and non-private dwelling type not stated.

Private dwellings, 2006

	Private dwellings	*Change 1986–2006*	*Population in private dwellings*	*Change 1986–2006*
	'000	%	'000	%
NSW	2 728.7	35.9	6 338.8	21.7
Vic.	2 085.1	39.1	4 756.0	22.0
Qld	1 660.7	73.8	3 835.4	54.5
SA	679.7	29.6	1 455.5	11.8
WA	849.0	62.9	1 889.3	40.5
Tas.	216.7	28.3	455.3	7.9
NT	74.2	60.2	193.3	37.2
ACT	131.4	54.3	309.9	29.2
Australia(a)	**8 426.6**	**45.1**	**19 235.7**	**27.9**

(a) Includes other territories.

people), which included 23,600 people in improvised dwellings (for example, tents, humpies and sleeping out). The remaining 0.6 million people were located in non-private dwellings.

Between 1986 and 2006, the number of private dwellings in Australia increased by 45% (or 2.6 million dwellings), while the number of people living in private dwellings increased by substantially less (28%). This trend has been evident since the first Commonwealth Census in 1911. Some of the factors that have influenced this trend are discussed in the box: More houses, smaller households, p. 206.

States and territories

Over the past twenty years growth in the number of private dwellings has been strongest in Queensland (74%), Western Australia (63%), the Northern Territory (60%) and the Australian Capital Territory (54%). These increases have been driven by high rates of population growth (although the two territories have increased from relatively low numbers in 1986) and strong economic growth, particularly in Queensland and Western Australia. The growth in the number of dwellings within these states and territories has occurred largely in urban areas. For example between 1986 and 2006, the number of private dwellings in Major Urban areas in Queensland more than doubled (133%).

Separate houses dominate but higher density dwellings rising

In 2006, separate houses were the most common dwelling structure in Australia (74% of all private dwellings), although this proportion has decreased from 77% since 1991 (see Dwelling structure table, p. 207). This declining proportion is a result of increased construction of higher density housing (semi-detached dwellings and flats). This decline has been supported by changes in government policy and planning regulations intended to provide housing to suit a variety of housing needs and lifestyles (for example, smaller households), as well as to reduce costs associated with providing land and infrastructure.[4]

The growth in the construction of flats (flats, units and apartments) increased the proportion of this dwelling type from 12.3% in 1991 to 14.7% in 2006, and was strongly influenced by the increase in the construction of high-rise units (that is, flats in a four or more storey block) from 2.3% to 3.8% of all dwellings. High-rise living has become a feature of many city landscapes, and part of this growth in high-rise accommodation resulted from the increased prevalence of long-stay or permanent residence serviced apartments. Since the 2001 Census this type of accommodation has been explicitly included in the counts of private dwellings. From 1991 to 2006, the proportion of semi-detached dwellings (semi-detached, row or terrace houses, townhouses) also increased, from 8.0% to 9.3% of dwellings.

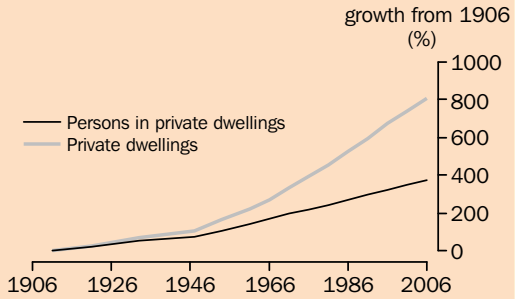
More houses, smaller households

While population growth from 1911 to 2006 was the main driver in the increase in the number of dwellings in Australia, dwelling growth far exceeded that of the population (see graph of dwellings and persons, this page). The number of private dwellings increased at more than twice the rate of population growth (excluding the small numbers of people living in non-private dwellings).

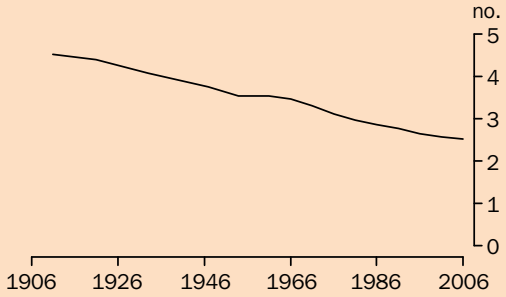
The higher rate of growth in housing stock can be linked to the steady decline in the average number of people per occupied private dwelling, from 4.5 persons in 1911 to 2.5[1] in 2006. A range of demographic, economic and social changes are associated with this decline. Families having on average fewer children, and a decreasing prevalence of multi-generational households, have been strong drivers of smaller average household sizes. More recently, smaller average household size has also been attributed to an increase in lone person and couple only households.[2] The growth in lone person and couple only households is explored further in 'Living arrangements overview', p. 60–72.

Another factor in the greater growth in dwelling numbers compared with the population has been the general increase from 1911 to 2006 in the proportion of private dwellings that were unoccupied on Census Night (from 4% to 10% of private dwellings). This growth does not necessarily mean a greater proportion of homes are not being lived in, but is more likely to have occurred due to changes in lifestyles and increasing affluence. Some houses may be unoccupied as they are second or holiday homes; alternatively, houses may be temporarily vacant due to the occupants being away on business or vacations, or at other people's homes on Census Night. In 2006 the proportion of unoccupied dwellings was higher in rural areas (22% of dwellings unoccupied in Bounded Localities and 16% in Rural Balance) than in the rest of Australia. Second homes were likely to have contributed to these higher levels, while another factor was the general decline in agricultural employment in rural areas over the last century, causing people to leave their homes and move to other areas to access alternative employment. For more information on changes in the distribution of Australia's population see 'Where do Australians live?', p. 16–23.

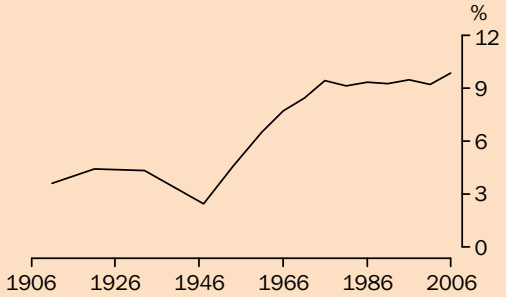
Private dwellings: dwellings and persons, 1911–2006(a)



Persons per occupied private dwelling, 1911–2006(a)



Proportion of private dwellings unoccupied on Census Night, 1911–2006(a)



(a) Dwellings occupied exclusively by Indigenous peoples were excluded until 1966. Up to and including 1971 private dwellings do not include campers out.

...and fewer non-private dwellings

A decline in the number of non-private dwellings has also contributed to smaller household size. Between 1911 and 2006, the number of non-private dwellings decreased from 29,900 in 1911 to 19,800 in 2006, a drop from 3.1% to 0.2% of all dwellings. The proportion of the population living in non-private dwellings also decreased from 8.1% in 1911 to 3.1% in 2006. Earlier in the century, non-private dwellings were predominantly boarding houses which accommodated single people and couples. Increasing home ownership and changes in the types of housing available facilitated movement of these households out of these non-private accommodation types. The general movement of single people and couples into private housing contributed to the lowering of the average household size.

Traditionally, boarding houses provided long term accommodation for working class people. They were especially abundant in inner city areas in the post-war economic boom. For example, in 1947 boarding houses were the most common type of non-private dwelling (62%), accommodating 215,000 people or 41% of the occupants of non-private dwellings. However, the transformation of inner city areas as a result of gentrification from the 1980s led to the progressive demolition and redevelopment of boarding houses[3] and by 2006, the proportion of boarding houses had decreased to 5% of non-private dwellings and housed 15,000 people or 2% of non-private dwelling occupants. In 2006, the most common type of non-private dwelling was hotels and motels (40%) which accommodated 27% of people living in non-private dwellings. This reflects the increase in private and work related travel among Australians over the last few decades.

Since 1991, the proportion of higher density housing generally has shown the greatest increase in metropolitan urban areas where space is limited and housing costs are high. The proportion of high-rise units in Major Urban areas increased from 3.6% in 1991 to 5.6% in 2006 and over the same period, the proportion of separate houses in major urban areas decreased from 73% to 68% of private dwellings. Higher density housing was especially prominent in inner city areas, which offer residents easy access to a wide range of desirable employment, services and facilities. For example, in 2006, over 99% of dwellings in the inner city suburbs of Docklands in Melbourne and Milsons Point in Sydney were high-rise units. (More detail on this trend is provided in 'Housing across Brisbane and Melbourne city rings', p. 224–232.)

Dwelling structure of private dwellings, 1991–2006

	1991	*1996*	*2001*	*2006*
	%	%	%	%
Separate house	77.3	76.5	75.4	74.4
Semi-detached, row /terrace, townhouse	8.0	8.2	9.1	9.3
Flat, unit or apartment	12.3	13.3	(b)13.6	(b)14.7
Flat, unit or apartment up to 3 storeys	9.9	10.8	10.6	10.9
Flat, unit or apartment, 4 or more storeys	2.3	2.4	3.0	3.8
Other dwelling(a)	2.5	2.1	1.9	1.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

(a) Includes caravan, cabin, houseboat, improvised home, tent, sleepers out and house or flat attached to a shop, office etc.

(b) For the 2001 and 2006 Censuses, there were some changes to the classification procedures for private apartments within non-private dwellings. This may result in changes to the counts for flat, unit or apartment.

Dwelling structure of private dwellings: life-cycle groups

	Separate house	Semi-detached, row/terrace, townhouse	Flat, unit or apartment	Other dwelling	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
Young group household	44.2	17.2	37.9	0.7	100.0
Young lone person	44.0	13.2	40.6	2.2	100.0
Young couple family without children	60.8	13.2	25.4	0.6	100.0
Couple family with young children	87.0	6.6	6.0	0.4	100.0
One parent family with young children	76.2	11.5	11.6	0.7	100.0
Couple family with school-aged children	92.6	4.1	3.0	0.4	100.0
One parent family with school-aged children	79.7	10.3	9.4	0.6	100.0
Couple family with young adult children	92.9	4.0	2.8	0.3	100.0
One parent family with young adult children	77.8	10.8	10.9	0.6	100.0
Middle-aged couple family without children	88.1	5.7	5.1	1.2	100.0
Older couple family without children	82.6	9.0	7.5	0.9	100.0
Older lone person	61.0	15.9	21.4	1.7	100.0
Total households(a)	**74.4**	**9.3**	**14.7**	**1.6**	**100.0**

(a) Includes households not included in selected life-cycle groups. See Glossary for more information on life-cycle groups.

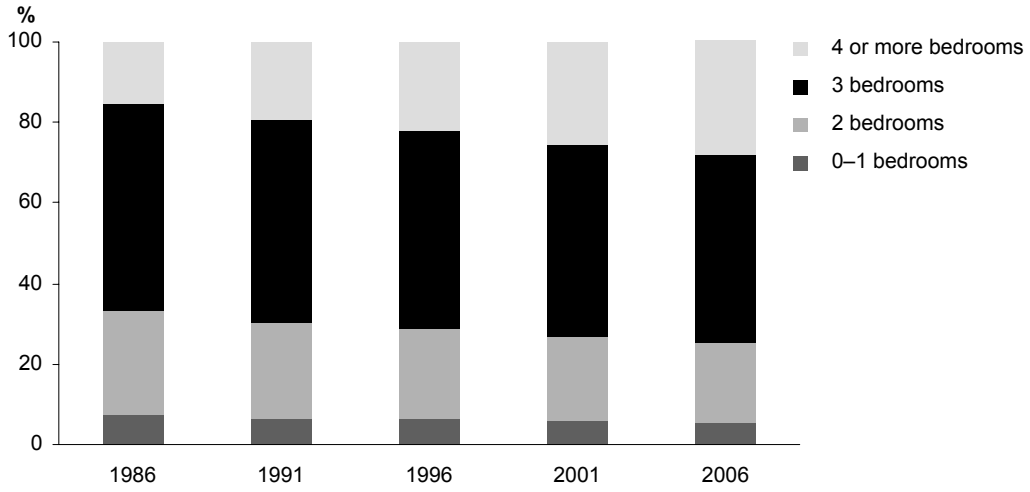
In 2006, separate houses were the most common dwelling structure for all life-cycle groups examined, but to varying extents (see Dwelling structure table above). Requiring more space and bedrooms, families with dependent children were more likely to live in separate houses than people living alone or in couples. For example, 87% of *couple families with young children* and 93% of *couple families with school-aged children* lived in separate houses. However, one parent families were less likely than couples with dependent children to live in separate houses (76% of *one parent families with young children*). In 2006, 12% of *one parent families with young children* lived in flats compared with 6% of *couple families with young children*. The breakdown of relationships may result in a move to a higher density dwelling as temporary or transitional accommodation; for example, if household income is reduced. Younger aged life-cycle groups were more likely than other groups to live in higher density dwellings: 41% of *young lone persons* and 38% of *young group households* lived in flats in 2006. As people age, there is a tendency to 'downsize' from separate houses to semi-detached dwellings or flats, as the extra space becomes unnecessary or difficult to maintain. This was particularly apparent for those who lived alone; in 2006, 21% of *older lone persons* lived in flats.

Bigger houses despite shrinking households

Despite the decrease in average household size in Australia discussed earlier, changing lifestyle preferences and greater wealth have resulted in an increase in the average size of houses over time. This is especially evident in the increase in the average floor area of new residential dwellings; which increased by 31% in the 20 years to 2006–07.[5] Further, many existing dwellings have been increased in size by extensions and renovations which expand living areas and add more rooms.

An indication from the census of the increase in the size of homes is the growing proportion of dwellings with four or more bedrooms. From 1986 to 2006, dwellings with 4 or more bedrooms increased from 15% to 28% of all private dwellings (see Bedrooms graph, next page). The majority of this growth is driven by the increase in the proportion of separate houses with 4 or more bedrooms, from 19% to 36% over the same period. That said, the size of higher density dwellings (semi-detached dwellings and flats) has also increased over time. For example from 1986 to 2006, the proportion of higher density dwellings with three bedrooms increased from 16% to 28%, and the proportion with 0 or 1 bedroom decreased from 22% to 17%.

Bedrooms in occupied private dwellings, 1986–2006(a)



From 1986 to 2006, the trend to larger homes (4 or more bedrooms) occurred across urban and rural areas. The table below shows that Rural areas had a higher proportion of dwellings with 4 or more bedrooms than in the urban areas. In part this was because most dwellings in Rural areas were separate houses; 94% of dwellings in Rural areas compared with 68% of those in Major Urban areas in 2006. However, a higher proportion of separate houses in Rural areas had 4 or more bedrooms than in urban areas. A contributing factor to this may be larger block sizes in rural areas, which allow for the construction of houses big enough to accommodate larger households, farm workers and visitors. Household sizes in rural areas were generally larger than in urban areas. In 2006, 13% of dwellings in Rural areas had 5 or more usual residents compared with 10% of dwellings in Major Urban areas. In contrast, urban areas had a higher proportion of dwellings with 2 bedrooms than other areas, which was strongly influenced by the greater number of higher density dwellings in these areas.

Bedrooms in occupied private dwellings: dwelling structure and Section of State

	No. of bedrooms				
	0–1(a)	*2*	*3*	*4 or more*	*Total*
	%	%	%	%	%
Dwelling structure					
Separate house	1.3	10.7	52.0	36.0	100.0
Semi-detached, row/terrace, townhouse	7.3	40.1	45.1	7.5	100.0
Flat, unit or apartment	23.5	59.6	15.5	1.4	100.0
Other dwelling	55.9	23.3	14.1	6.6	100.0
Section of State					
Major Urban	5.7	21.6	44.8	27.9	100.0
Other Urban	5.1	18.2	50.5	26.2	100.0
Bounded Locality	6.3	18.2	50.5	24.9	100.0
Rural Balance	5.8	12.8	42.9	38.5	100.0
Total	**5.6**	**20.0**	**46.0**	**28.4**	**100.0**

(a) 0–1 bedrooms includes bedsitters.

Census changes its focus on homes

Building materials, 1911–1981

Data on the building materials of the outer walls of dwellings were collected in censuses from 1911 to 1981. In 1911, the most common building material of occupied dwellings in Australia was wood (55%), followed by brick and stone (33%). By 1981, the proportions of dwellings constructed of wood (22%) had decreased, being surpassed by brick and stone (57%). Fibro-cement had also emerged as a common building material (13%).

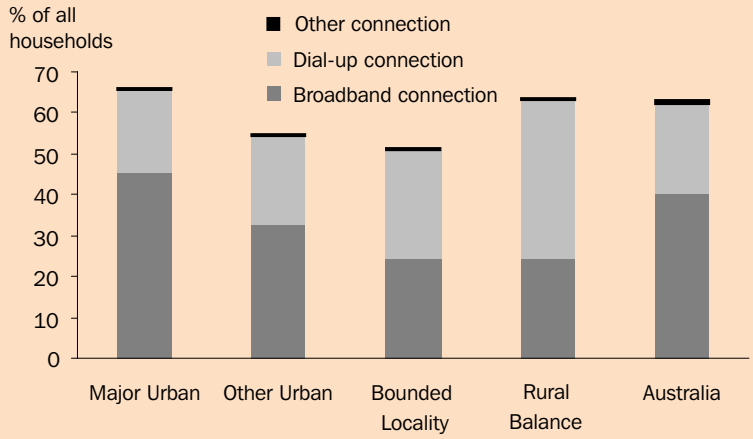
Facilities in Dwellings, 1947

At the 1947 Census, householders were asked for the first time to state whether their dwellings were supplied with electricity, gas and running water, and whether they had certain facilities, such as a bathroom, flush toilet, laundry and cooking facilities. Although the vast majority of dwellings in metropolitan and urban areas contained these facilities, dwellings in rural areas were not as well equipped. For example, 72% of private dwellings in metropolitan and urban areas had flush toilets but only 11% in rural areas. None of these questions were asked after the 1976 Census.

Internet connection, 2006

The 2006 Census asked for the first time about the presence and type of internet connection at the dwelling, while at the 2001 Census individuals were asked about the use of personal computers and the internet. In 2006, 63% of households in Australia were connected to the internet. The most common type of connection in Australia was broadband (40% of all households), followed by dial-up (22%). Internet connectivity was highest in Major Urban areas (66%) and lowest in Bounded Localities (51%). Broadband was the most common type of connection for households in Major Urban areas (46%) and Other Urban areas (33%) and dial-up was most common for the Rural Balance (38%).

Urban/rural internet connection, 2006



Home ownership stable but purchasing on the rise

While a variety of tenure types exist in Australia, most Australians continue to aspire to own their own home—evident in consistently high rates of home ownership compared with other countries. Home ownership rates calculated from census data have stayed around the 70% level measured in the 2006 Census over the past 40 years.[6] However, the proportion of homes owned with a mortgage varied over this time (see detailed discussion of this in Changing levels of home mortgaging box, p. 213).

Home ownership is considered to be a secure tenure option and a good investment, while renting is often sought for its short term affordability and flexibility. For many Australians, their home is their most valuable asset.[7]

As the proportion of private dwellings that are owned has remained relatively constant over the past four decades, the proportion

Tenure type of occupied private dwellings, Australia

	Owned(a)	Rented(b)	Other tenure	Total occupied private dwellings
	%	%	%	'000
1976(c)	68.4	25.9	5.8	**4 038.5**
1981(c)	70.1	25.7	4.2	**4 534.0**
1986(c)	70.4	26.2	3.4	**5 094.8**
1991	68.9	27.4	3.7	**5 694.2**
1996	69.0	29.9	1.1	**6 247.8**
2001	69.5	29.0	1.5	**6 737.4**
2006	69.8	29.3	0.9	**7 056.1**

(a) As of 1996 owned includes dwellings 'Being purchased under a rent/buy scheme'. These accounted for 0.5% of occupied private dwellings in 1996, 0.7% in 2001 and 0.2% in 2006. In previous years this tenure category was not separately catered for on census forms and it is not known how households with rent/buy tenure would have responded to the questions on tenure.

(b) As of the 1996 Census a specific category for other tenure was included on the census form. This is likely to have particularly affected the distribution of responses between Rented and Other tenure.

(c) Campers out were classified as non-private dwellings and therefore are not included in these counts.

occupied under all other tenures has also been constant. The proportion of dwellings that were rented has stayed at around the 2006 proportion (29% of all occupied private dwellings). Small changes in the proportions rented has generally been offset by fluctuations in dwellings identified as being occupied rent free, being occupied under a life tenure scheme, or occupied on an 'other tenure' basis.

Higher density housing more popular to own

Between 1991 and 2006, the proportion of higher density dwellings that were owned (with or without a mortgage) has increased from 31% to 39%. This was more than the relatively small increase for separate housing (from 77% to 79%) over the same period.

Over this time the share of owner-occupied higher density housing that was mortgaged also increased, with the most substantial rise occurring between 2001 and 2006; from 36% to 49%. This move towards purchasing higher density dwellings may have been a result of increasing housing costs. Buyers may have purchased a flat or townhouse as a cheaper option than a separate house[10], perhaps as a way to enter the housing market. Higher density dwellings may also be preferred as a result of lifestyle choices as they offer lower maintenance and higher security, and may be in a desirable location such as areas close to the city centre.

As they were the dominant dwelling structure type, the tenure of separate houses reflected the overall tenure trends discussed above. That said, in all censuses between 1991 and 2006, separate houses were somewhat more likely to be owned (with or without a mortgage) and less likely to be rented than all dwellings.

Traditional tenure cycle continues to be followed

Tenure type is strongly associated with stage in the life cycle and changes to tenure are often associated with major life events such as partnering (formation and ending) and the addition or loss of children to the family (see Dwelling tenure and cost table, next page). A consistent pattern of tenure linked to specific stages in the life cycle has been apparent in census results since at least 1986. In 2006, following this traditional tenure cycle, most *young lone person* or *young group households* were renting (61% and 83% respectively).

The change in tenure from renting to purchasing a home often occurs in conjunction with partnering and/or the arrival of children. As a reflection of this, in 2006 *couple families with young children* were the life-cycle group most likely to own their home with a mortgage (62%). The older the age of the children in the family, the more likely that homes were owned outright: for example 41% of *couple families with young adult children* fully owned their homes. This is a reflection of the time it takes to pay off home loans, many of which were entered into as younger families. As couples

Dwelling tenure and costs of private dwellings: life-cycle groups

	Dwelling tenure						
	Owned outright	Owned with a mortgage	Rented	Other tenure	Total	Median weekly rent	Median monthly housing loan repayments
	%	%	%	%	%	$	$
Young group household	2.6	14.2	82.9	0.4	100.0	260	1 408
Young lone person	8.6	29.4	61.2	0.7	100.0	180	1 300
Young couple family without children	3.5	46.3	49.8	0.3	100.0	230	1 733
Couple family with young children	9.7	62.0	27.9	0.4	100.0	220	1 500
One parent family with young children	5.4	20.5	73.7	0.4	100.0	180	1 083
Couple family with school-aged children	20.1	61.7	17.9	0.3	100.0	221	1 300
One parent family with school-aged children	11.1	32.4	56.1	0.5	100.0	185	1 012
Couple family with young adult children	40.6	48.5	10.6	0.3	100.0	225	1 200
One parent family with young adult children	25.5	35.6	38.5	0.5	100.0	190	997
Middle-aged couple family without children	60.0	28.7	10.9	0.4	100.0	180	1 083
Older couple family without children	85.1	3.9	8.7	2.3	100.0	129	520
Older lone person	70.5	2.9	22.8	3.8	100.0	80	400
Total	**35.1**	**34.7**	**29.3**	**0.9**	**100.0**	**191**	**1 300**

(a) Includes households not included in selected life-cycle groups. See Glossary for more information on life-cycle groups.

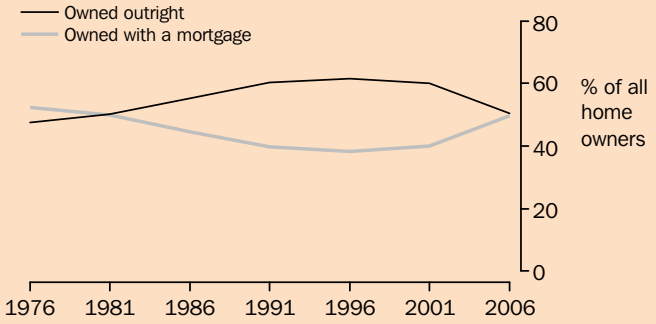
age, the proportion who own their homes outright continues to increase; in 2006, 85% of *older couple families without children* owned their home outright.

The loss of a partner through death or separation can affect housing arrangements, and one of the most significant outcomes is a reversion from home ownership to renting. As an indication of the impact of relationship breakdown on household finances, one parent families were more likely to rent than own their homes than couple families at the same life stage (74% of *one parent families with young children* and 56% of *one parent families with school-aged children* were renters compared to 28% and 18% respectively of couple families at the same stages). In older age, lone people were also more likely than couples of the same age to be living in rented dwellings. In 2006, 23% of *older lone persons* were renters compared with 9% of couples in the same age group. While the death of a partner is a significant factor in the high proportion of older lone renters (50% of older lone renters were widowed), becoming separated or divorced is almost as significant (36% of all older lone renters were separated or divorced). Moreover, 36% of all older lone divorced people were renters, making them more likely to be renters than older lone widowers (18% of all older lone widowers were renters).

Changing levels of home mortgaging

In 1976 (the first census in which homes owned with a mortgage can be distinguished from homes which are owned outright) just over half of all dwellings that were owner occupied had a mortgage (52%). A range of factors, including interest rates, economic growth, changes to mortgage lending practices and first home buyer schemes, have impacted on the changing share of mortgaged homes observed in subsequent censuses. While housing interest rates averaged just over 7% per annum in the decade leading up to the 1976 Census, in the next 10 years they averaged over 11% per annum, and at the 1986 Census mortgaged homes had decreased to 45% of all owned homes. As housing interest rates continued to rise until 1990,[8] mortgaged homes again decreased at the 1991 Census to 40%. Further, there was a fall in the total number of homes owned with a mortgage between 1986 and 1991. Despite interest rates falling from their peak in 1990, the proportion of mortgaged homes had decreased a little further (to 38%) at the 1996 Census. However, the total number rose by 6% from the 1991 level. Continuing economic growth, further falls in interest rates and the introduction of the first home owners grant in 2000 saw homes that were owned with a mortgage return to close to 50% at the 2006 Census. This recent increase in the proportion of mortgaged homes may also have been influenced by greater home loan flexibility that has enabled some households to reborrow (or redraw) existing home equity for renovations, as well as a wide variety of other (non-dwelling) purposes (for example, investment and travel).[9] Where households do this, the length of many of these loans will be extended resulting in more households with mortgages as a proportion of all home owners.

Home owners, ownership status, 1976–2006

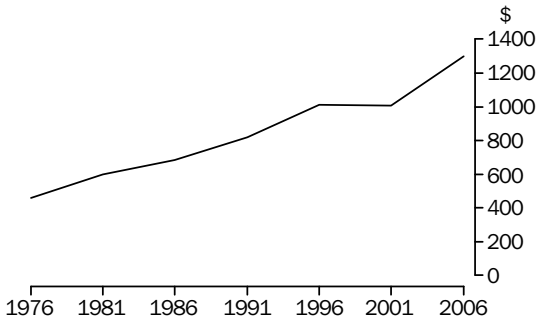


Housing loan repayments on the increase

In general, the relatively strong growth in median house prices over the past two decades has resulted in median housing loan repayments also increasing substantially. Between 1976 and 2006, median monthly housing loan repayments increased in real terms[11] from $459 to $1300 (in 2006 dollars). Over this period median loan repayments increased steadily from census to census, except where they remained stable from 1996 to 2001 (see Median monthly loan repayments graph on this page).

The increase in median loan repayments was consistent with a general increase in housing prices and associated loan sizes recorded over the same period.[12] Increased availability and flexibility of home loans, along with positive economic conditions, have increased the amount households are able to borrow to purchase a home, as well as opening up home loan borrowing to households with a wider range of sources of income, credit histories and family circumstances. All of these factors, combined with ongoing population growth, contributed to strong demand for housing and

Median monthly loan repayments(a)



(a) Adjusted to 2006 dollars using the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for the eight capital cities.

to price pressures in many housing markets in Australia. These changes in lending practices also worked to raise the median loan repayments by increasing the proportion of recent borrowers, who generally have bigger home loans, as a proportion of all people paying off mortgages. Recent borrowers include first home buyers and those who may be 'upgrading' their homes by purchasing dwellings that are bigger, better quality or in a more desirable location.

Rents on the rise

In 2006, the median weekly rent for public housing (that is, provided by a state or territory housing authority) was $90. Prior to this, the median weekly public rent fluctuated from census to census. In 1976 the median when adjusted to 2006 dollars[11] was about the same as in 2006 figure, but was at a low of $74 (in 2006 dollars) in 1996.

Public housing rents are generally lower than private rents as a direct government subsidy reduces the rent paid. A large number of low income private renters also receive government housing support through rent assistance but this is not deducted from the rent that households report in the census.

Privately rented dwellings, including rented dwellings where the landlord is a real estate agent or person not in the same household, made up the majority of rented dwellings (77%) in 2006. In 1996, when private landlords could first be determined, privately rented dwellings had a median weekly rent of $220, an increase from $188 (adjusted to 2006 dollars).

Endnotes

1 To enable the time series comparison, persons temporarily absent were excluded from the 2006 figure (when included, persons per dwelling in 2006 was 2.6). The 1911 Census did not count persons temporarily absent.

2 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2007, 'Larger dwellings, smaller households' in *Australian Social Trends 2007*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) 2004, *Boarding houses and Government supply side intervention*, AHURI Research and Policy Bulletin, Issue 48, December 2004, AHURI, Melbourne.

4 Yates, J. 2001, 'The Rhetoric and Reality of Housing Choice' in *Urban Policy and Research*, Vol. 19, No.4, pp. 491–527.

5 ABS 2008, 'Feature article: Average floor area of new residential dwellings' in *Building Approvals, Australia, February, 2008*, cat. no. 8731.0, ABS, Canberra.

6 ABS 2008, 'Home owners and renters' in *Year Book Australia* 2008, cat. no. 1301.0, ABS, Canberra.

7 ABS 2007, *Household Wealth and Wealth Distribution, Australia, 2005–06*, cat. no. 6554.0, ABS, Canberra.

8 ABS 2004, 'Home ownership' in *Australian Social Trends 2004*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

9 ABS 2007, *Housing Occupancy and Costs, Australia, 2005–06,* cat. no. 4130.0.55.001, ABS, Canberra.

10 Department of the Treasury 2004, 'Recent developments in the Australian housing market' in *Economic Roundup Summer 2003–04*, Canberra.

11 Housing loan repayments and Rent data are adjusted to 2006 dollars using the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for the eight capital cities.

12 ABS 2006, *Housing Finance, Australia, August 2006,* cat. no. 5609.0, ABS, Canberra.

Trends in housing utilisation

Australians are building and living in bigger homes than ever before.[1] Increased (real) household income and wealth, changing lifestyle preferences, continued low unemployment and low interest rates over this period have contributed to many home owners moving to a bigger home or renovating their existing home. Over the past 20 years, the size of occupied private dwellings has increased both in terms of floor area and the average number of bedrooms. Despite the trend towards larger homes, the average number of residents per household is declining. Consistent with this decline, the number of dwellings in Australia increased faster than population growth. For more detail on household and dwelling sizes, see the 'Housing overview', p. 204–214.

As a result of larger homes and decreasing household size, there is increasing underutilisation of housing—as measured in this article by 2 or more bedrooms in a dwelling being excess to the requirements of the household (for details see 'Housing utilisation' box, next page). This trend has implications for the ongoing sustainability of residential development in Australia: declining household size accelerates the demand for new housing development, while growth in excess bedrooms indicates less efficient use of housing, both of these factors increase the demand for resources and energy. For example, a decrease in household size is linked to projected increases in residential energy use over the next 20 years.[2]

Housing underutilisation grows, while overutilisation is less common

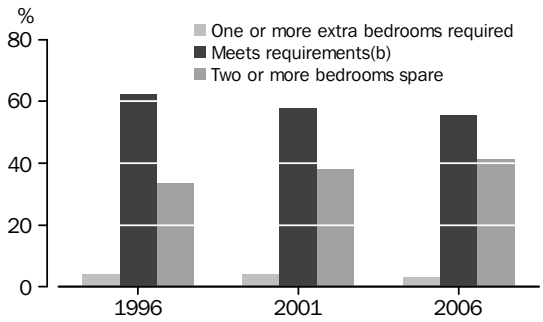
In the 2006 Census, 41% of all occupied private dwellings in Australia had 2 or more bedrooms above minimum household requirements, based on the Canadian National Occupancy Standard of housing utilisation. These underutilised dwellings housed 33% of the population living in private dwellings in 2006. This was a substantial increase from 34% of underutilised dwellings measured in the 1996 Census, which then housed 26% of the population in private dwellings (see Housing utilisation graph below).

In 2006, another 36% of occupied private dwellings had one extra bedroom above minimum household requirements; down from 38% in 1996. A further one fifth (20%) of dwellings in 2006 had the required number of bedrooms for the household, compared with 24% in 1996. Only a small proportion of occupied private dwellings were overutilised, with fewer bedrooms than required according to the Canadian National Occupancy Standard. In the decade before the 2006 Census, the proportion of all dwellings requiring extra bedrooms decreased, from 4.2% in 1996 to 3.2% in 2006.

The terms underutilisation and overutilisation are used in this article to describe broad housing trends. However, for individual households there may be many reasons for having either bedrooms spare or a requirement for extra bedrooms in their houses.

Firstly, it appears that community standards for dwelling sizes are changing towards bigger houses with more bedrooms (see the 'Housing

Housing utilisation(a), 1996, 2001 and 2006



(a) Based on the Canadian National Occupancy Standard for housing suitability.

(b) No extra bedrooms needed or one bedroom spare.

Housing utilisation

The concept of housing utilisation in this article is based upon a comparison of the number of bedrooms in a dwelling with a series of household demographics such as the number of usual residents, their relationship to one another, age and sex. There is no single standard or measure for housing utilisation; however the Canadian National Occupancy Standard presented in this article is widely used internationally and in Australia.

The Canadian National Occupancy Standard for housing appropriateness is sensitive to both household size and composition. The measure assesses the bedroom requirements of a household by specifying that:

- there should be no more than 2 persons per bedroom
- children less than 5 years of age of different sexes may reasonably share a bedroom
- children less than 18 years of age and of the same sex may reasonably share a bedroom
- single household members 18 and over should have a separate bedroom, as should parents or couples.

This standard applies for occupied private dwellings only and excludes households where the number of bedrooms were not stated and where there were persons temporarily absent, other than spouses. For more information see, *Housing Occupancy and Costs, Australia, 2003–04* (ABS cat. no.4130.0.55.001).

For the purposes of this article, the following terms are used to describe the relationship between the number of bedrooms in a dwelling and the minimum bedroom requirements of the household living in that dwelling, as defined by the occupancy standard.

Overutilisation describes dwellings where one or more bedrooms are required.

Underutilisation describes dwellings where there are two or more bedrooms excess to minimum requirements.

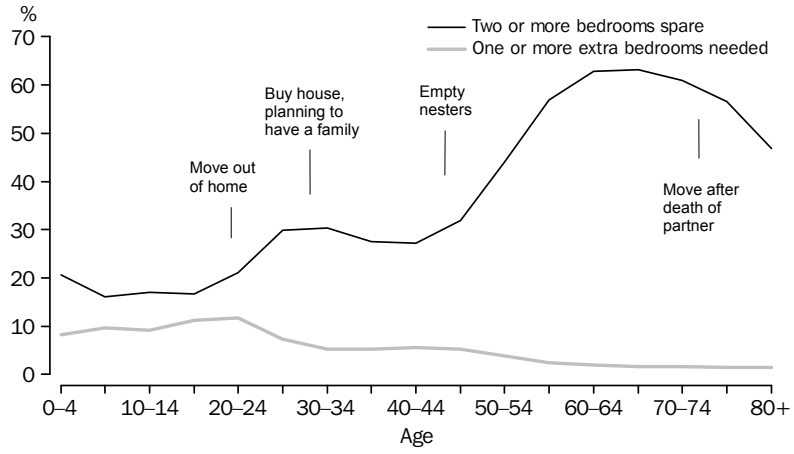
overview', p. 204–214). Combined with declines in average household size, in 2006 just over three quarters (77%) of all occupied private dwellings had spare bedrooms. Many households use these extra bedrooms as a study or computer room, or as a spare room for guests or visitors.

Secondly, most people's living arrangements change many times over their lifetime, and their home will not always 'fit' their current household size. For example, many dwellings with spare bedrooms could house couples planning to have families, empty nesters or families who have children who stay part-time. In 2006–07 there were around 444,000 children aged under 18 who stayed part-time (at least once per fortnight) with a natural parent living elsewhere.[3] Conversely, people in dwellings requiring extra bedrooms could be planning to extend or to move into larger accommodation. For example, a new baby in a family can increase the bedroom requirements of a household.

Finally, some people in households requiring extra bedrooms may forgo a larger dwelling for living close to extended family, living in a convenient location or having lower housing costs. In other cases, people's desire for location and for future resale potential may involve home purchases that have spare bedrooms compared to their current or expected future needs. Moving costs, such as removal expenses and, especially for homeowners, transaction costs, including commissions and legal costs can also be strong influences to sustain situations of underutilisation or overutilisation. These factors can mean that for some this state may be deliberately transient, while for others it may be long term.

For some people, living in a dwelling which requires extra bedrooms reflects a level of social disadvantage resulting from a limited range of housing to choose from or low levels of economic resources.

Housing utilisation: proportion of people by age group(a)



(a) The life event labels on this graph are indicative only.

Underutilisation

Underutilisation can occur for many reasons. Many households living in underutilised dwellings enjoy a higher household income. However, many older couples and older people living alone have lower incomes and their home is their only major asset. While some older home owners move into units or retirement villages because of ill health, to be closer to services or to release equity from their home, many others choose to remain in the family home, and stay close to the local community, family and friends.[4]

...increases with age

In 2006, people in older age groups were more likely to be living in underutilised housing than younger people (see graph above). Overall, 33% of people in private dwellings were living in an underutilised dwelling. However, less than a fifth (18%) of people under the age of 25 were living in an underutilised dwelling. For people aged 25 to 44, this proportion was 29%, and among people 45 years or more this was considerably higher, at 51%.

Among family types, couple only households were more likely than other households to live in underutilised dwellings (see life-cycle groups table, next page). In 2006, 83% of *middle-aged couple families without children* and 75% of *older couple families without children* were living in dwellings with 2 or more spare bedrooms, reflecting the high levels of underutilisation among older people. This is associated with the emergence of new empty nesters as children leave home. However, *young couple families without children* also had high levels of housing underutilisation, at 56%. This is perhaps owing to the higher household income levels among this group, and that many move into a home anticipating having children. For more information on different family and household types, see the 'Living arrangements overview', p. 60–72.

...varies with income

The connection between housing utilisation and *household income*[5] is complex. Households in dwellings with 2 or more bedrooms spare were more likely than all households in Australia to have a *higher household income* (27% compared with 21%). That said, households in underutilised dwellings were just as likely as all households to have a *lower household income* (22% for both), but were less likely to have a *household income* in the middle range (15% compared to 18%). In part this pattern of incomes was due to the particular characteristics of the households that commonly occupy these dwellings. This can be seen when comparing the *household incomes* of two life-cycle groups with high rates of underutilisation. In 2006, 60% of *older couple families without children* in underutilised dwellings had a *lower household income* and 7% had a *higher household income*, while only 3% of *young couple families without children* in underutilised dwellings had a *lower household income* and 51% had a *higher household income* (see table of selected characteristics on p. 219).

...is more common in fully owned, separate dwellings

Consistent with the older age profile of people living in underutilised dwellings, in 2006 almost half (49%) of these dwellings were owned

Housing utilisation by life-cycle groups(a)

Life-cycle group	*Requiring one or more extra bedrooms* %	*Two or more bedrooms spare* %	*Total households (b)* '000
Young group household	11.4	5.9	155.0
Young lone person	. .	40.2	291.2
Young couple family without children	0.9	55.6	341.6
Couple family with young children	5.3	21.9	727.8
One parent family with young children	14.3	6.5	119.6
Couple family with school-aged children	5.0	21.3	861.9
One parent family with school-aged children	9.7	9.4	291.8
Couple family with young adult children	4.0	27.0	577.1
One parent family with young adult children	7.2	13.8	218.8
Middle-aged couple family without children	0.3	83.4	813.6
Older couple family without children	0.2	75.3	485.0
Older lone person	. .	49.1	649.1
Multiple-family households	29.0	13.2	93.2
Other living arrangements	1.3	43.5	1 518.2
Total(c)	**3.2**	**41.3**	**7 144.1**

(a) See Glossary for more information on life-cycle groups.

(b) Includes households in dwellings meeting minimum bedroom requirements and without two or more bedrooms spare, and households where bedroom requirements could not be determined. Excludes visitor only and non-classifiable households.

(c) Includes households not included in selected life-cycle groups.

outright, another 35% were owned with a mortgage and 15% were rented. As renters generally live in their homes for a shorter length of time than home owners, they may be more likely to live in a dwelling better suited to their current needs. Emotional and social attachment, transaction costs, and investment considerations all mean that owner households are less likely to move. When these factors are combined with changes in their household composition, such as children leaving, higher levels of underutilisation result.

Overall, separate houses made up 77% of all occupied private dwellings but 91% of underutilised dwellings. This reflects the dominance of separate houses for *older couple families without children* and *older lone person households*.

Underutilisation in different parts of Australia has different causes

The highest levels of housing underutilisation occurred in a mixture of city, regional and remote areas. In 2006, the area in Australia with the highest proportion of dwellings with 2 or more spare bedrooms was Lakes Statistical Subdivision (SSD) in the Wheatbelt region of southern Western Australia (WA), with 61% of households living in underutilised dwellings. This is related to a number of factors, including a relatively high proportion of older people and declining numbers of families with children living in them, a recent decline in population and, like many rural areas, a high proportion of older, separate houses.

In urban areas, high underutilisation was more common in regional areas with high population growth and newly-built areas on the outskirts of major cities. In 2006, both Mandurah SSD, south of Perth in WA, and Beaudesert Shire Part A SSD, on the outskirts of Brisbane, had high underutilisation (60% and 55% of dwellings respectively). Both areas have recently experienced high population growth, accompanied by a growing number of new, larger dwellings. In Mandurah this was compounded by a low proportion of households containing families with children (35% of households, compared with 42% of all households in Australia) and a high proportion of older people. In contrast, there was a large proportion of families with young children in Beaudesert Shire (58% of households) although these families tended to live in larger dwellings. Occupied private dwellings in this area were the largest in Australia—having an average of 3.6 bedrooms, compared to 3.0 bedrooms for all dwellings in Australia.

Overutilisation

Like underutilisation, different family and household circumstances may be associated with overutilisation. Overcrowded conditions and the lack of privacy associated with these conditions have been identified as a cause of stress and conflict in the home.[6] Other studies have linked overcrowding to poor physical and mental health, and low educational performance in children.[7]

However, a dwelling that requires extra bedrooms may not be overcrowded. For example, it could have large bedrooms or extra rooms not reported as bedrooms. Furthermore, some people's cultural norms may be that families live together regardless of dwelling size, and adults of the same sex may commonly share bedrooms, while other people may be living in overcrowded dwellings as a temporary measure. Nevertheless, certain groups in the community, including people born overseas

Housing utilisation: selected characteristics

	Requiring one or more extra bedrooms	*Two or more bedrooms spare*	*Total households(a)*
	%	%	%
Dwelling structure			
Separate house	67.0	90.8	76.6
Higher density(b)	30.6	8.9	22.3
Dwelling tenure			
Owned outright	16.8	49.4	35.0
Owned with a mortgage	29.1	35.4	35.1
Rented	53.3	14.6	29.0
Household income(c)			
Lower income	27.4	22.4	21.9
Middle income	20.4	15.5	17.6
Higher income	7.2	26.6	21.3
Total(d)	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

(a) Includes households in dwellings meeting minimum bedroom requirements and without two or more bedrooms spare, and households where bedroom requirements could not be determined. Excludes visitor only and non-classifiable households.

(b) Includes semi-detached, row or terrace house, townhouse, flat, unit or apartment.

(c) Levels for household income groups are based on the distribution of equivalised gross household income for persons. For more details see Glossary.

(d) Total includes categories not listed in table.

and Indigenous Australians are more likely to be living in overutilised housing. Further, the number of children in these households is of particular concern due to the potential impacts overcrowding may have on them.

...linked with households on lower income, renting

Overcrowding has been linked with lower income and the associated reduced ability to afford a suitable dwelling in which to live.[8] In 2006, 27% of households in dwellings requiring one or more extra bedrooms had a *lower household income*, and only 7% had a *higher household income*.

Further, overutilisation was more common in rented dwellings. Half of all overutilised dwellings were rented (53%), while only 17% were owned outright. In comparison, 29% of all households in 2006 lived in rented dwellings and 35% lived in dwellings that were owned outright (see table of selected characteristics on previous page).

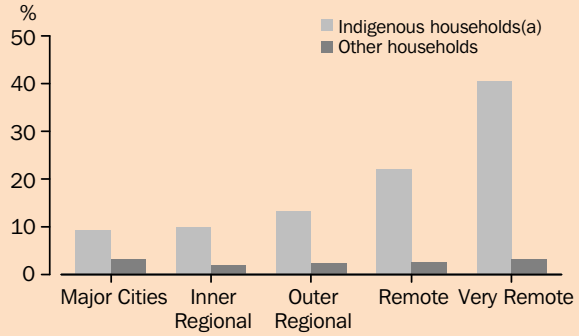
Almost a third (31%) of households requiring extra bedrooms were in higher density dwellings (that is, flats or semi-detached dwellings), in comparison these dwelling types housed 22% of all households. This is likely to be associated with these dwellings having fewer bedrooms on average than separate houses. That said, these dwelling types also house a somewhat different population, on average, than separate houses. For example in 2006, 25% of overseas-born people lived in higher density dwellings, compared with 14% of the Australian-born population, and as can be seen below this group was generally more likely to live in overutilised dwellings.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander households

In 2006, 14% of Indigenous households (households with one or more Indigenous residents) required at least one extra bedroom to adequately accommodate all members of the household. For these households, average household size and the proportion of households requiring an extra bedroom rose with increasing remoteness, from 9% in Major Cities to 40% in Very Remote areas.

Results from the 2006 Census suggest that households requiring one or more extra bedrooms that were Indigenous households had different characteristics to other households requiring extra bedrooms. Overutilised Indigenous households were more likely to contain children under 15 than other overutilised households (82% compared with 63%). Further, overutilised Indigenous households were more likely to contain more than one family than other overutilised households (24% compared with 10%). Reflecting both of these patterns, overutilised Indigenous households were larger than other overutilised households (an average of 5.9 people, compared with 4.7). For more 2006 Census information about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, refer to *Population Characteristics, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians* (ABS cat. no. 4713.0).

Households requiring an extra bedroom, by Remoteness Areas



(a) An Indigenous household is any household that had at least one resident of any age who identified as being of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander origin in the 2006 Census.

... more common among multiple family households and one-parent families with young children

In 2006, close to one third (29%) of households that contained more than one family required extra bedrooms. Most of these households (91%) contained children aged under 15. Of all life-cycle groups, *one-parent families with young children* had the highest level of overutilisation of their dwellings, with 14% requiring extra bedrooms.

In 2006, children and young adults were more likely than older people to be living in a household requiring one or more extra bedrooms. This was consistent with the types of families and households more likely to experience overutilisation of their dwellings. Overall, 6% of people in private dwellings were living in an overutilised dwelling. For children under the age of 15 the proportion was higher, at 9% or 326,900 children.

...more common among overseas-born

In 2006, people born overseas were more likely than those born in Australia to live in a household that required one or more extra bedrooms: 8% of overseas-born residents compared to 5% of Australian-born residents. People born overseas were less likely to be living alone and more likely to live in family households than those born in Australia; this would increase the likelihood of living in overutilised housing.

In terms of country of birth, people born in Afghanistan and Sudan had the highest rates of overutilisation (46% of each). Most recent migrants to Australia from Sudan and Afghanistan have come through Australia's Humanitarian Program rather than migrating for work or to join family already in Australia.[9] As a result, these migrants are likely to have very few economic resources at their disposal in Australia.

...highest in areas with a large Indigenous population

Many regions of Australia with high proportions of overutilised housing also had a large Indigenous population. For example, in the Kimberley Statistical Division (SD) in WA, 15% of households were living in dwellings requiring extra bedrooms, three quarters (77%) of which were Indigenous households. In the Northern Territory (NT), excluding Darwin (NT Balance SD), 20% of households were overutilised, and 88% of these were Indigenous households.

Similarly, 7% of households in North West Queensland SD were overutilised, of which 63% were Indigenous (see Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander households box on previous page for further information on Indigenous households).

...also high in some urban areas

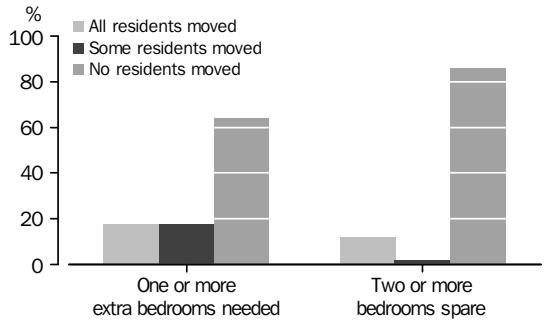
Overutilisation in urban areas tended to occur in major cities, and was more common in Sydney than other cities in 2006. Canterbury-Bankstown SSD, Central Western Sydney SSD and Fairfield-Liverpool SSD—all in Sydney—each had the highest rate of overutilisation in major cities (9% each). The next highest levels were in Greater Dandenong City SSD (8%) in Melbourne, Inner Sydney SSD and Inner Western Sydney SSD (both 7%).

Several factors could contribute to high overutilisation in Central Western Sydney, Inner Sydney and Inner Western Sydney: such as the higher housing costs and high proportions of flats and apartments. In Canterbury-Bankstown, Fairfield-Liverpool and Greater Dandenong City, lower *household income* levels and high numbers of recent overseas arrivals may make overutilisation higher in these areas.

Mobility higher in households requiring extra bedrooms

People generally move residence to improve the quality or suitability of their accommodation, or because of a change in life events; for example, additional children in the family or a new job in a different location. A move to a dwelling that does not have enough bedrooms for the household could result from not having enough resources to live in a home more suited to the household's needs. Alternatively, some households may trade off the number of bedrooms for other aspects of amenity, such as location, or investment potential. For others, it may be a temporary measure—if a family is renovating their permanent home, for example.

Households with residents who moved in the year before the 2006 census(a)



(a) Proportion of total households requiring extra bedrooms and proportion of total households with two or more bedrooms spare.

Residents living in households requiring extra bedrooms were more likely to have moved in the year before the 2006 Census than those in other households (see graph above). Over one third (36%) of all households in overutilised dwellings included residents (either some or all) who had moved in the year before the 2006 Census, compared to 14% of households in underutilised dwellings. Half of these movements of people into overutilised dwellings were due to people moving in to live with existing residents. Just as a house can become underutilised when people such as children leave home, a house may require extra bedrooms if new people move in to live with the existing residents. For example, a household may take in family members studying away from home. See 'On the move', p. 24–32, for more information on mobility in Australia.

Endnotes

1 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2005, 'Australian home size is growing' in *Year Book Australia 2005*, cat. no. 1301.0, ABS, Canberra.

2 ABS 2006, 'Environmental impact of household energy use' in *Australian Social Trends 2006*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

3 ABS 2008, *Family Characteristics and Transitions, Australia, 2006–07*, cat. no. 4442.0, ABS, Canberra.

4 Olsberg, D. and Winters, M. 2005, *Ageing in place: intergenerational and intrafamilial housing transfers and shifts in later life*, Final Report No. 88, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Melbourne.

5 Household income is equivalised gross household income. The household income groups used are defined according to the distribution of household income of persons, for more detail see Glossary.

6 Dockery and Milsom 2006, *Who cares about housing anyway?*, paper presented at the 4th National Housing Conference 2005, Darby, Flateau and Hafekost (eds.), Department of Housing Works, Perth.

7 Mullins, P., Western, J. and Broadbent, B. 2001, *The links between housing and nine key socio cultural factors: a review of the evidence*, Positioning Paper No. 4, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Melbourne.

8 Waters, A. 2001, *Do housing conditions impact on health inequalities between Australia's rich and poor?*, Positioning Paper No. 2, Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, Melbourne.

9 Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) 2008, *Top 20 Countries by Migration Stream*, DIAC Settlement Database, data extracted on 11 April 2008, <www.settlement.immi.gov.au>.

Housing across Brisbane and Melbourne city rings

The location and growth of housing in all metropolitan areas in Australia has been strongly influenced by the development of transportation systems.[1] Cities developed in stages out from a central area, initially as compact 'walking' cities, then to suburban areas extending along tram and rail lines, and with the increased use of automobiles, further along major road corridors. This article examines the characteristics of housing in Melbourne and Brisbane, using inner, middle and outer city rings that are based on these transport-driven patterns of growth.

Melbourne and Brisbane are the second and third most populous metropolitan areas in Australia after Sydney. In 2006, the census counted 3.6 million and 1.8 million residents in these cities respectively, making them home to almost one quarter of the country's population. While Melbourne and Brisbane share many similarities in population and dwelling characteristics, clear differences have arisen from the way the cities evolved. These characteristics have been influenced by political, social and economic factors. The function of the original settlements, as well as the timing of their main periods of development also contributed to these differences. Melbourne was established and planned with the expectation of it developing into a large city, becoming the federal capital before Canberra was established. Brisbane was developed as a penal settlement and its role as a city only came to be recognised late in the 19th century. The layout of these cities, as well as the types of housing and the characteristics of the people living in them, has also been influenced by their distinct climates and geographies.

The differences between the two cities continue to this day, and are reflected in their populations. Between 1996 and 2006, Brisbane's population increased by 22% (312,200), a stronger rate of population growth than in Melbourne, which increased by 14% (434,400)—the number of people in Melbourne grew by more than Brisbane because of its larger initial size. The movement of people into these cities contributed to population growth in each city, but was a more significant factor in Brisbane's population growth. In 2006, 18% of Brisbane's population had lived at an address outside the city 5 years previously, compared with 8% of Melbourne's population.

In addition to the movement of people into these cities, there was substantial movement of people within them. Combining moves from outside the cities and moves within the cities, in 2006, 49% of Brisbane's population had changed their usual address in the previous 5 years compared with 39% of Melbourne residents. This movement of people into and within Melbourne and Brisbane, has influenced and been influenced by the type and tenure of housing in these cities.

Inner city ring—mostly young renters in high-rises

In 2006, the inner city ring of Brisbane contained 99,700 dwellings (99,300 private dwellings) and 198,200 residents. The inner ring of Melbourne had slightly lower numbers with 95,500 dwellings (95,000 private dwellings) and a population of 176,000. As a result, the population density of the inner ring of Brisbane (2703 people per square kilometre) was slightly higher than Melbourne (2604 people per square kilometre). These differences between the two cities may be associated with inner Melbourne containing a larger commercial centre than inner Brisbane, leaving less area for residential dwellings and residents. These two inner rings include areas with some of the highest population densities in Australia (see maps on p. 226).

Although these rings have the smallest population of all rings, between 1996 and 2006 they had the highest rates of population growth of all urban rings in these two cities, with Melbourne growing by a greater proportion (38%) than Brisbane (26%) (see General characteristics table, next page).

Associated with this growth, people in the inner ring areas of both cities also had the highest rates of mobility of all rings. In 2006, 49% of people who lived in inner Brisbane and 45% of inner Melbourne residents had moved into the ring in the previous 5 years. Of all new residents in the inner ring, movers into inner Brisbane were more likely to have come from areas in Australia outside the city (38%), while new residents in inner Melbourne were more likely to have come from overseas (47%).

Higher density dwellings (such as flats, apartments and semi-detached dwellings) were the most common dwelling type in the inner rings of both cities in 2006 (see Dwelling structure table, p. 229), a strong factor in the high population densities. Since 1996, the proportion of higher density dwellings in the inner ring has increased, driven by an increase in the number of high-rise units (of four or more storeys), which more than tripled in both cities. Between 1996 and 2006, high-rise units increased from 9% to 20% of dwellings in inner Brisbane and from 16% to 38% of dwellings in inner Melbourne. These additional higher density dwellings have accommodated many of the people moving into the inner city rings.

Historically, semi-detached, row and terrace houses have been a prominent housing type in inner Melbourne. Although their numbers have increased between 1996 and 2006, the proportion of this dwelling type has decreased from 39% to 30%. While semi-detached, row and terrace houses were less common in Brisbane, their proportion increased from 5% to 7% between 1996 and 2006.

In 2006, around half the people in each inner city ring were Generation X and Y (aged 20–39 years), accounting for 46% of the population who lived in inner Brisbane and 51% of the population in inner Melbourne. These young adults are attracted to the inner city for education, employment and entertainment. They are a highly mobile group[3] and made up 72% of new residents in inner Melbourne and 64% of new residents in inner Brisbane. Inner city suburbs with over 60% of their population aged 20–39 years included Fortitude Valley in Brisbane; and Docklands, Cremorne and Southbank in Melbourne.

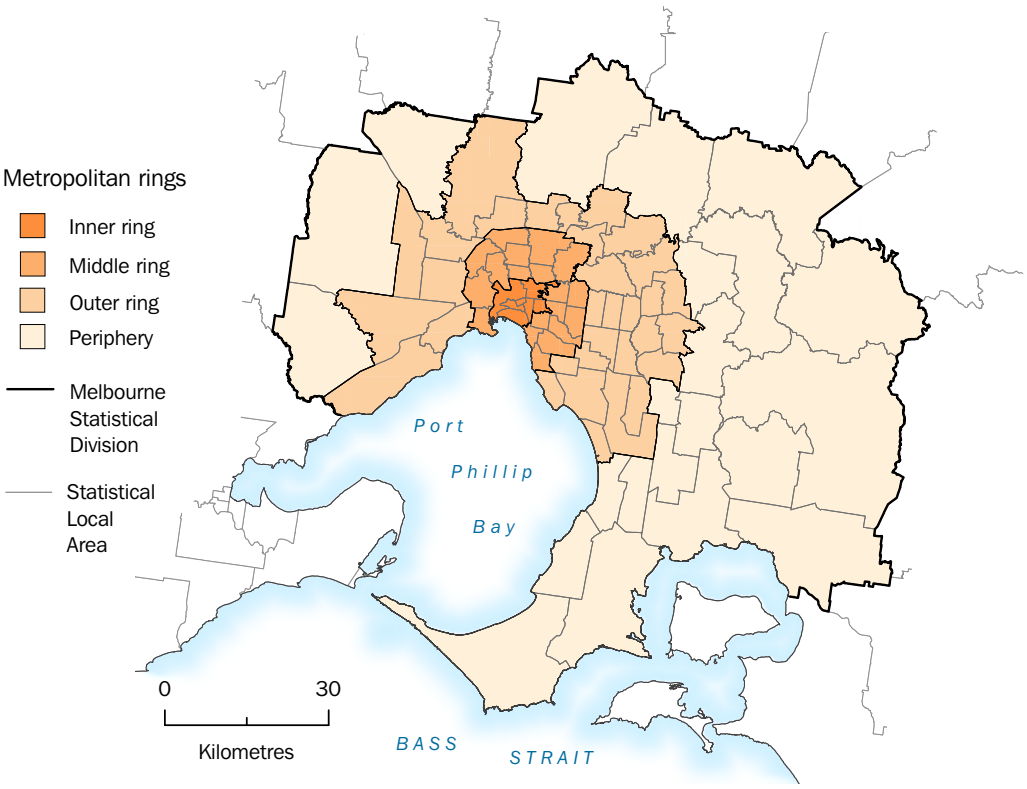
General characteristics: Brisbane and Melbourne city rings

	Population(a)				*Change of usual address— proportion of 2006 population*			*Dwellings(b)*	
	No.	*Growth 1996–2006*	*Area*	*Pop. density*	*From outside of ring*	*All*	*Private dwellings*	*No.*	*Growth 1996–2006*
	'000	%	km²	person per km²	%	%	'000	'000	%
Brisbane									
Inner	198.2	26.3	73.3	2 703.4	49.1	63.3	99.3	99.7	29.5
Middle	320.8	8.6	209.0	1 534.8	32.6	46.1	137.0	137.1	10.7
Outer	948.7	25.2	1 676.7	565.8	23.6	47.8	354.9	355.2	30.0
Periphery	295.5	22.7	3 943.0	74.9	29.9	49.1	114.6	114.7	25.9
Total	**1 763.1**	**21.5**	**5 902.0**	**298.7**	**. .**	**49.4**	**705.8**	**706.7**	**25.0**
Melbourne									
Inner	176.0	38.1	67.6	2 603.7	44.8	63.7	95.0	95.5	54.1
Middle	930.8	5.0	359.0	2 592.7	22.3	40.1	413.9	414.6	7.8
Outer	1 694.1	10.9	1 714.4	988.1	13.4	34.5	640.7	641.3	17.3
Periphery	791.7	28.3	5 553.0	142.6	15.8	41.5	321.6	321.9	32.4
Total	**3 592.6**	**13.8**	**7 694.0**	**466.9**	**. .**	**38.8**	**1 471.2**	**1 473.3**	**19.2**

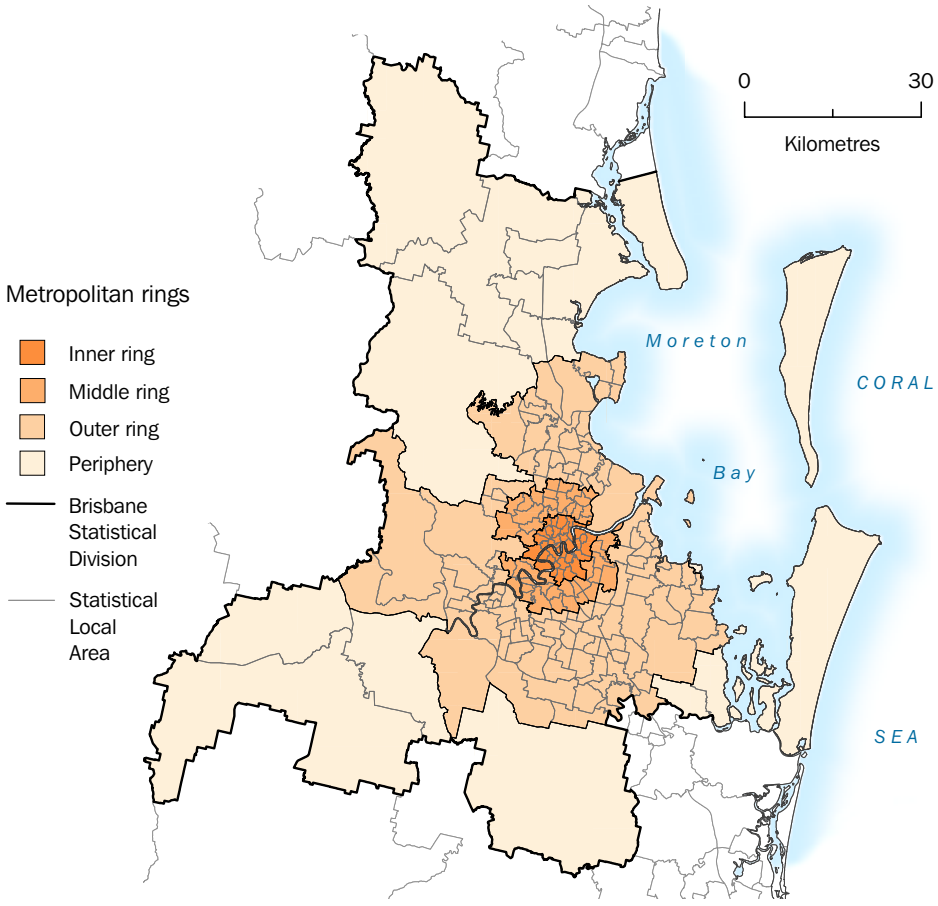
(a) Usual residents.

(b) Includes private and non-private dwellings.

Melbourne city rings



Brisbane city rings



City rings

The areas used in this article are rings based primarily on transportation systems and development. The Statistical Local Areas (SLAs) in the Statistical Divisions of Brisbane and Melbourne in 2006 have been divided into three rings: inner, middle and outer. The rings are not concentric circles as the boundaries of the rings are the boundaries of the selected SLAs. SLAs were selected for each ring if their centre point (centroid) fell within the defined distance from the historical general post office (GPO). The Statistical Divisions of Brisbane and Melbourne are the geographic areas used to define the cities in this article. As the article compares 1996 with 2006 data, the 1996 ring boundaries are based on the 1996 SLA boundaries matched on a best-fit basis to the 2006 ring boundaries.

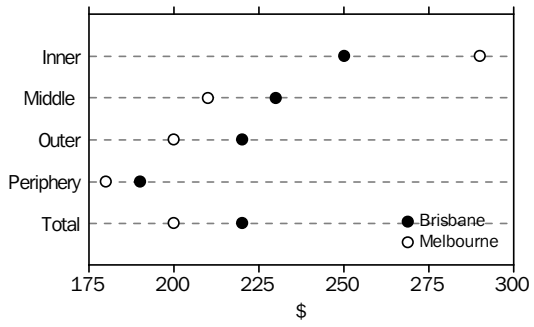
Inner ring: The inner ring of both cities is an area defined by a 5 km radius from the GPO. This is a common distance when defining inner city areas—being an approximate measure of the maximum walking distance to the city centre.[2]

Middle ring: The middle ring contains the majority of the tram network in each city (although Brisbane no longer has a tram network). For Brisbane the outer edge of the middle ring is 10 km from the GPO and for Melbourne, 12.5 km.

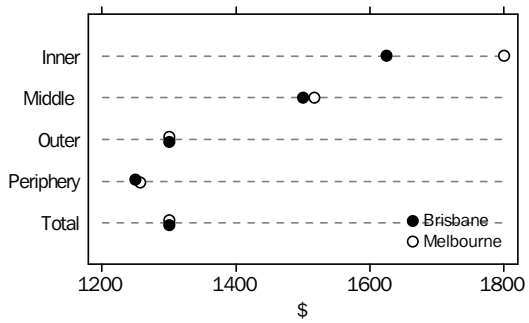
Outer ring: The outer ring extends to 30 km from the city centre for both cities. This approximates an accepted distance for commuting by motor vehicle (reflecting a maximum journey of approximately one hour).[2]

Periphery: The remaining area of the Statistical District is referred to as the periphery. They contain areas such as Ipswich for Brisbane and Mornington Peninsula for Melbourne.

Median weekly rent

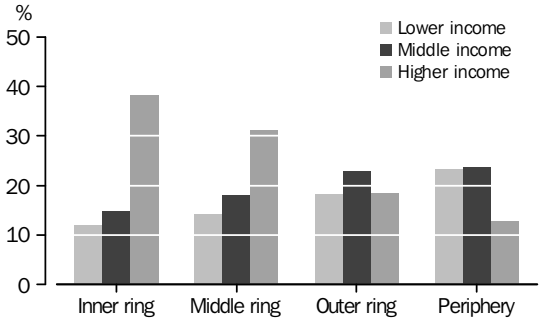


Median monthly housing loan repayments

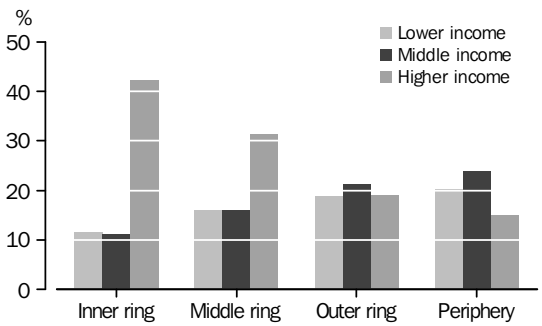


Persons in selected income groups(a)

Brisbane city rings



Melbourne city rings



(a) For details of the income groups used see Glossary.

For both cities the inner city was the ring most likely to have rented dwellings, with over half of all private dwellings being rented (see Tenure type table below). Relatively high proportions of rented dwellings may be linked to the characteristics of the population in inner city areas. Rental tenure offers flexibility for highly mobile tenants, and is evident in the high rates of young adults living in rented dwellings: 77% of people aged 20–29 years who lived in inner Brisbane and 80% of people in this age group in inner Melbourne lived in rented dwellings, the next highest proportion for this age group was 57% in the middle ring in Brisbane and 59% in middle Melbourne.

High rates of renting in inner city areas by this group may also reflect the strong association between tenure and life-cycle stages, as young adults often live in rented dwellings before moving on to purchasing a home at the formation of partnerships and/or family.[4]

The inner city rings had the highest housing costs of all the city rings in both Brisbane and Melbourne (see rent and housing loan repayment graphs on the previous page). The median weekly rent was $250 in inner Brisbane and $290 in inner Melbourne. Median monthly housing loan repayments followed a similar pattern and were $1625 in inner Brisbane and $1800 in Melbourne. Closely associated with higher housing costs was the concentration of people with *higher household incomes*[5]. In 2006, 38% of the inner Brisbane population and 42% of the inner Melbourne population had *higher household incomes* (see income group graphs on the previous page), compared with 22% each for the total Brisbane and Melbourne populations.

Middle ring—the stable suburbs

In 2006, the middle ring in Brisbane contained 137,100 dwellings (137,000 private dwellings) and 320,800 residents. The middle ring of Melbourne was more highly populated with 414,600 dwellings (413,900 private dwellings) and 930,800 residents. The higher number of people and dwellings in middle Melbourne is in part because of the larger size of this ring: because Melbourne's tram network is larger than Brisbane's was (see City rings definition box, p. 227). The middle ring of Brisbane had a population density of 1535 people per square kilometre, whereas the middle ring in Melbourne had a density of 2593 people per square kilometre which was only slightly less than the density in the inner ring (2604 people per km^2).

Tenure type: Brisbane and Melbourne city rings

	1996				2006			
	Owned outright %	*Owned with a mortgage* %	*Being rented* %	*Total private dwellings (a)* %	*Owned outright* %	*Owned with a mortgage* %	*Being rented* %	*Total private dwellings (a)* %
Brisbane								
Inner	31.2	17.0	50.9	100.0	21.6	24.6	52.9	100.0
Middle	43.4	23.5	32.3	100.0	33.1	33.1	33.2	100.0
Outer	38.5	33.2	27.4	100.0	30.9	40.3	27.9	100.0
Periphery	38.3	36.2	24.6	100.0	32.2	40.9	26.3	100.0
Total	**38.6**	**29.4**	**31.1**	**100.0**	**30.3**	**37.0**	**31.9**	**100.0**
Melbourne								
Inner	26.5	16.6	56.2	100.0	19.9	21.1	58.3	100.0
Middle	44.8	20.0	34.4	100.0	36.5	28.6	34.4	100.0
Outer	48.3	30.8	20.0	100.0	39.3	39.3	20.8	100.0
Periphery	38.4	42.2	18.3	100.0	31.5	48.8	18.9	100.0
Total	**44.3**	**28.9**	**25.8**	**100.0**	**35.7**	**37.2**	**26.4**	**100.0**

(a) Other tenure included in total when calculating percentages.

This difference in the population size and density of the middle rings is due in part to the time periods that development occurred in these rings in each city. Higher-density housing was more common at the time of much of Melbourne's middle ring development, resulting in higher population densities. Further, the colder climate of Melbourne has made common-wall housing (included in higher density housing) a more accepted style of housing than in Brisbane. In Brisbane separate housing is more suitable to the climate as it permits air flow and cooling.

Between 1996 and 2006 the middle ring of both cities experienced the lowest growth in the number of dwellings of all the rings—Brisbane 11% and Melbourne 8% (see General characteristics table on p. 225). The relatively lower growth in the middle rings is because the type of development in the other rings, which leads to substantial growth in dwelling numbers, is less common in the middle ring. For example, higher land values support redevelopment driven by gentrification and urban renewal in the inner ring (including the construction of high-rise units), while undeveloped land permits new development in the outer rings. Closely linked to low dwelling growth, population growth in the middle ring was also the lowest of all city rings for both cities over the period (Brisbane 9% and Melbourne 5%).

While population numbers have been relatively stable, some characteristics of the population in the middle ring have changed. Between 1996 and 2006, there were approximately 20% fewer *young lone person households* in both Brisbane and Melbourne middle rings, and a similar decline in *couple families with young adult children* (10% and 13% respectively). This may be associated with the departure of younger people from this ring to both the inner and outer areas, and elsewhere.

There has also been some rejuvenation of these areas. This has been occurring through the inward movement of young couples and families with children, or people forming these family types: in some instances these may have been from those people previously in younger lone person households. These families have to some extent balanced the movement of young people out of these areas. In 2006, people in *young couple families without children, couple families with young children* and *couple families with school-aged children* together represented 37% of the middle ring population in Brisbane and 34% of the

Dwelling structure: Brisbane and Melbourne city rings

	1996				2006			
	Separate house	*Semi-detached (a)*	*Flat, unit or apartment*	*Total private dwellings (b)*	*Separate house*	*Semi-detached (a)*	*Flat, unit or apartment*	*Total private dwellings (b)*
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Brisbane								
Inner	52.1	5.1	42.0	100.0	40.5	7.2	51.6	100.0
Middle	78.9	4.3	16.3	100.0	74.5	8.1	17.0	100.0
Outer	88.0	6.5	4.0	100.0	86.2	8.4	4.5	100.0
Periphery	90.0	3.5	4.0	100.0	90.4	3.7	4.2	100.0
Total	**81.5**	**5.4**	**11.8**	**100.0**	**78.2**	**7.4**	**13.5**	**100.0**
Melbourne								
Inner	17.5	39.1	41.5	100.0	11.1	30.0	58.0	100.0
Middle	61.3	10.1	27.7	100.0	56.9	14.7	27.8	100.0
Outer	85.6	5.7	8.1	100.0	80.1	10.2	9.2	100.0
Periphery	91.5	2.8	4.8	100.0	90.1	4.7	4.5	100.0
Total	**75.9**	**8.1**	**15.2**	**100.0**	**71.3**	**11.5**	**16.6**	**100.0**

(a) Includes semi-detached, row or terrace house, townhouse etc.

(b) Other dwelling included in total when calculating percentages.

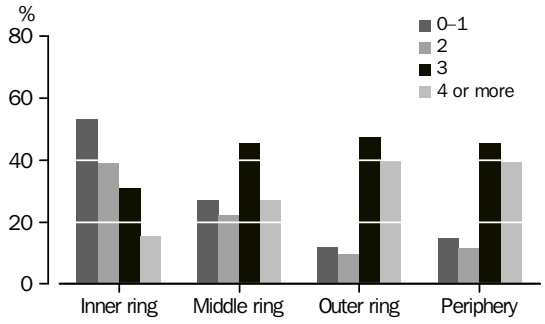
population of middle Melbourne. Of the new residents to these rings, a relatively large proportion were in these family types in 2006—Brisbane (42%) and Melbourne (38%).

Despite slow growth in the absolute number of dwellings in the middle ring since 1996, the type of dwellings in this ring in both cities has changed. Separate houses, which continued to be the dominant dwelling structure in the middle ring, made up 74% of private dwellings in Brisbane and 57% in Melbourne in 2006 (see Dwelling structure table on previous page). However, both of these proportions had decreased since 1996 (from 79% and 61% respectively), while the proportions of semi-detached dwellings increased from 4% to 8% of dwellings in Brisbane and 10% to 15% in Melbourne.

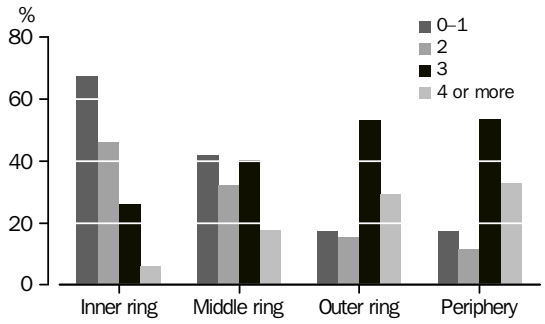
The average number of bedrooms in private dwellings in the middle ring has also increased since 1996. Between 1996 and 2006, the proportion of private dwellings with 4 or more bedrooms increased from 22% to 27% in middle Brisbane and from 14% to 18% in middle Melbourne. Most of these 4 bedroom dwellings were separate houses. New houses generally have more bedrooms and their construction in these areas has contributed to this growth. In contrast, the number of 1, 2 and 3 bedroom houses decreased in the middle rings of both cities. This indicates that the increased proportion of larger houses was the result not only of new construction on vacant land, but also extensions to existing dwellings, and the demolition of smaller dwellings to make way for larger dwellings and/or higher density dwellings. Higher density dwellings also have become larger over this time. Semi-detached dwellings with 3 or more bedrooms increased from 37% to 50% of this dwelling type in Melbourne and from 39% to 53% in Brisbane.

Bedrooms in occupied private dwellings

Brisbane city rings



Melbourne city rings



Outer ring—different city growth patterns

In 2006, the outer ring of Brisbane contained 355,200 dwellings (354,900 private dwellings) and 948,700 residents. The outer ring of Melbourne had 641,300 dwellings (640,700 private dwellings) and 1.7 million residents: almost double the population of the outer ring of Brisbane. The population density of outer Brisbane was 566 people per square kilometre, substantially lower than the 988 people per square kilometre in outer Melbourne. This difference in the population size and density of the outer rings of these cities is principally due to the larger overall population of Melbourne which has spread more into Melbourne's outer ring. Much of the development of the outer ring of Melbourne occurred earlier than outer Brisbane and so suburbs are older and more established.

Between 1996 and 2006 the population of the outer Melbourne ring increased by 167,000 (11%): a smaller number and proportion than outer Brisbane, which increased by 191,000 (25%) over this time. The higher growth in Brisbane's outer ring may be a result of new development occurring in this area, while more recent growth in Melbourne has flowed out to the periphery to a greater degree.

While the population growth between 1996 and 2006 was higher in outer Brisbane, the increase in the number of private dwellings over this period was actually higher in outer Melbourne than outer Brisbane (94,700 and 82,000 dwellings respectively). This is likely to be associated with higher density dwellings accounting for a larger share of the additional dwellings in Melbourne than in Brisbane: where higher density dwellings generally house fewer people per dwelling than separate dwellings. Between 1996 and 2006, 50,500 higher density dwellings in Melbourne and 17,600 in Brisbane were added to the housing stock in these areas.

The increase in the share of dwellings that were higher density in the outer rings of both cities is partly a response to government initiatives to expand this type of housing in new residential developments in outer suburban areas. This is driven by a desire to limit urban expansion, save on infrastructure costs and provide a greater range of housing types for smaller households.[6] Another factor contributing to more higher density housing in Melbourne could be that there is less undeveloped land available for further residential development in the outer ring of Melbourne.

The difference in types of dwellings in the outer rings of these two cities has influenced the size of private dwellings (that is, number of bedrooms). Outer Brisbane was more likely to have larger homes than outer Melbourne, in terms of the number of bedrooms. In 2006, 40% of dwellings in outer Brisbane and 29% of dwellings in outer Melbourne had 4 or more bedrooms (see Bedrooms graphs on previous page), an increase from 30% and 24% respectively in 1996. The difference in the number of bedrooms is associated with the higher proportion of separate houses in outer Brisbane than in outer Melbourne. In addition, the general shift over time towards larger private dwellings[7] may have contributed to this difference, as homes in outer Brisbane were generally newer than those in outer Melbourne. See the 'Housing overview', p. 204–214, for further details on the general increase in the size of houses in Australia.

In 2006, private dwellings in outer Melbourne were more likely to be owned outright (39%) than in outer Brisbane (31%) (see Tenure table on p. 228). This may be a result of the outer ring of Melbourne containing more established suburbs than outer Brisbane, and therefore its residents have generally had more time to pay off mortgages. Dwellings in outer Melbourne were also less likely to be rented (21%) than in outer Brisbane (28%). As in the inner ring, relatively higher proportions of rented dwellings in outer Brisbane were associated with a more highly mobile population than in outer Melbourne. Just over two thirds of new residents in the Brisbane outer ring were from areas outside Brisbane, compared with just over half the new residents in outer Melbourne. Renting may offer greater flexibility to new residents while they decide whether to make the move more permanent and/or decide where they finally want to live.

City periphery —further city spread

In 2006, the periphery of Brisbane contained 114,700 dwellings (114,600 private dwellings) and 295,500 residents. The population of the periphery of Melbourne was 321,900 dwellings (321,600) and 791,700 residents. In both cities, the number of people in these areas has experienced substantial growth since 1996, growing by 23% (54,700) in Brisbane and 28% (174,500) in Melbourne.

The periphery had some characteristics in common with the outer ring. For example, it was dominated by separate houses and had a growing number of larger homes. The most notable difference in housing characteristics was the tenure. In 2006, the periphery in Melbourne had a higher proportion of dwellings that were owned with a mortgage (49%) than Brisbane (41%), while in Melbourne dwellings were less likely to be rented than Brisbane (19% and 26% respectively) and similar proportions of homes were owned outright (see Tenure table on p. 228). As with the outer ring, the tenure pattern in the periphery areas of Brisbane was associated with a more highly mobile population compared with Melbourne. Further, new residents are more likely to live in areas where many of the homes are available for rent or to purchase, which is a feature of these areas.

Endnotes

1 Marsden, S. 2000, *Urban Heritage: the rise and post-war development of Australia's capital city centres*, Australian Council of National Trusts and the Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra.

2 Newman, P. 2001, Walking in Historical and International Context—What is the role of walking in cities for 21st Century economies?, paper presented at Australia: Walking the 21st Century, An International Walking Conference, Perth, 20–22 February 2001.

3 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 1999, 'Housing Stock: Inner city residential development' in *Australian Social Trends 1999*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

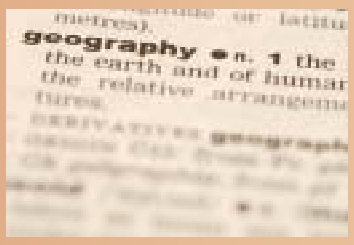
4 ABS 2007, *Housing Occupancy and Costs, Australia, 2005–06*, cat. no. 4130.0.55.001, ABS, Canberra.

5 Household income is equivalised gross household income. For details of the household income groups used see Glossary.

6 Randolph, W. 2006, *Delivering the compact city in Australia: current trends and future implications*, Research Paper No. 6, City Futures Research Centre, University of New South Wales.

7 ABS 2007, 'Larger dwellings, smaller households' in *Australian Social Trends 2007*, cat. no. 4102.0, ABS, Canberra.

Glossary



General descriptions of terms and concepts used throughout the Statistician's Report are provided below. The descriptions provided principally apply to the 2006 Census, where data from previous censuses are used, definitions may differ; where comparisons through time are made in the report, any differences have been considered and allowed for. More detail relating to the classifications and concepts are available in *Census Dictionary*, 2006 (ABS cat. no. 2901.0) and similar publications from previous censuses. Terms and concepts specific to individual overviews and articles are defined in boxes within the overview or article.

Advanced diploma, Diploma or Certificate See *Non-school qualification*.

Ancestry A person's ancestry provides a good indication of the ethnic background of first and second generation Australians. Ancestry is particularly useful to identify distinct ethnic or cultural groups within Australia such as Maoris or Australian South Sea Islanders, and groups which are spread across countries such as Kurds or Indians. Country of birth alone cannot identify these groups.

Australian-born Australian-born includes all people born in Australia and excludes people:

- born at sea
- whose response was classified 'Inadequately described'
- whose response was classified 'Not elsewhere classified'.

Australia is defined in the Standard Australian Classification of Countries (SACC). It includes the states and territories and the other territories of Christmas Island, Cocos (Keeling) Islands and Jervis Bay Territory, but excludes Norfolk Island and the other Australian external territories (Australian Antarctic Territory, Heard and McDonald Islands, Ashmore and Cartier Islands and the Coral Sea Territory).

See also *Overseas-born*.

Average annual growth rate The average annual growth rate is calculated as a percentage using the formula below, where P_0 is the population at the start of the period, P_n is the population at the end of the period and n is the length of the period between P_n and P_0 in years.

$[(P_n/ P_0)^{1/n}-1] \times 100$

Baby Boomers See *Generations in Australia*.

Bachelor degree or above See *Non-school qualification*.

Bounded Locality See *Section of State*.

Canadian National Occupancy Standard The Canadian National Occupancy Standard for housing appropriateness assesses the bedroom requirements of a *household* by specifying that:

- there should be no more than two persons per bedroom
- children less than 5 years of age of different sexes may reasonably share a bedroom
- children less than 18 years of age and of the same sex may reasonably share a bedroom
- single household members 18 and over should have a separate bedroom, as should parents or couples.

Cared accommodation Accommodation in non-private *dwellings* including Public hospitals, Private hospitals, Psychiatric hospitals or institutions, Hostels for the disabled, Nursing homes, and Accommodation for the retired or aged (not self contained).

Census Night For the 2006 Census, Census Night was the evening of Tuesday, 8 August.

Census population The population as measured in the Census. Unless specified otherwise, where population is discussed in this report, it refers to the Census population based on *place of usual residence*, not *place of enumeration*. Where other population counts are used (e.g. *Estimated Resident Population)* this is noted in footnotes and text. In this report the Census population excludes *overseas visitors*.

See *Technical notes*, p. x–xii for more information.

Child This is a person of any age who is a natural, adopted, step, foster or nominal son or daughter of a couple or *lone parent*, usually resident in the same *household*. A child is also any individual under 15, usually resident in the *household*, who forms a parent-child relationship with another member of the *household*. This includes otherwise related children less than 15 years of age and unrelated children less than 15 years of age. In order to be classified as a child, the person can have no identified partner or child of his/her own usually resident in the *household*.

There are three types of child identified by the Relationship in Household classification:

- *Dependent child*: a person who is either a child under 15 years of age, or a *dependent student*.
- *Dependent student:* a natural, adopted, step, or foster child who is 15–24 years of age and who attends a secondary or tertiary educational institution as a full-time student.
- *Non-dependent child*: a natural, adopted, step or foster child of a couple or *lone parent* usually resident in the *household*, who is aged 15 years and over and is not a full-time student aged 15–24 years.

For more information see the *Census Dictionary, 2006,* ABS cat. no. 2901.0.

Child care See *Unpaid child care*.

Cohort A group of people sharing a particular characteristic, for example their age.

See also *Cohort analysis.*

Cohort analysis

Five yearly censuses in Australia provide regular snapshots of the population which enable the experiences of people born in a specific year or group of years to be followed, and changes in their characteristics observed over time. This method of following and comparing different birth year groups is referred to as cohort analysis.

One variation of this method is to examine the characteristics of *cohorts* of people born at different times. Comparisons can then be made to identify the different experiences of each *cohort* at various points in their lives.

To obtain birth year *cohorts*, people are grouped according to their age at the time of the respective censuses. As the date when the census is held has changed over time, this may mean slight differences in the *cohort* groups obtained from each census.

It should be noted that over time people are lost from each *cohort* as a result of deaths and emigration, while additions occur as new migrants enter Australia, resulting in minor changes to the size and composition of the *cohort*. Adjustments for these changes have not been made in this report unless stated.

Collection District (CD)

These *geographic areas* are the second smallest geographic unit, after the Mesh Block, and the smallest standard area for which most detailed census data are available. There is an average of about 225 *dwellings* in each CD. In rural areas, the number of *dwellings* per CD generally declines as population densities decrease. The design of the CDs is reviewed for each Census to allow for change and growth.

See also *Geographic areas*.

Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP)

The CDEP scheme enables participants to exchange unemployment benefits for opportunities to undertake *work* and training in activities which are managed by a local Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander community organisation. Participants in the program are therefore included in the employed category of the *labour force status* classification. Most CDEP organisations are located in regional and remote areas of Australia, where the labour market might not otherwise provide employment.

Core activity need for assistance

The Core activity need for assistance variable was developed to measure the number of people with a profound or severe disability. These are people needing help or assistance in one or more of the three core activity areas of self-care, mobility and communication, because of a long-term health condition (lasting six months or more), a disability (lasting six months or more), or old age. People who reported needing assistance because of a short term health condition (of less than 6 months), difficulty with English language, or young age only, are not classified as needing help or assistance with core activities.

This concept was designed to be conceptually comparable with the ABS Surveys of Disability, Ageing and Carers measure of profound or severe core activity limitation. The difference between the two measures is largely explained by the use of different question sets and different collection methodologies.

For more information see the *Census Dictionary, 2006, ABS* cat. no. 2901.0.

Co-resident carer A co-resident carer is a person who provided unpaid care to a person because of that person's disability, long term health condition or problems related to old age. Co-resident carers lived in a *household* with a person who had a *core activity need for assistance* because of disability, long term health condition (lasting 6 months or more) or problems related to old age.

Those who needed assistance because of young age, a short term health condition (lasting less than 6 months) or difficulty with the English language are not included in the Census count of those with a *core activity need for assistance*. A person who provided unpaid care was not considered a co-resident carer if they had a *core activity need for assistance* and did not live with another person who required such assistance. It is not possible to use the census to link a person who provided unpaid care to the person they provided care to. Therefore it is uncertain whether a co-resident carer provided care to the person who needed assistance in the same *household* or a person who lived elsewhere.

See also *Core activity need for assistance*.

Dependent child See *Child*.

Dependent student See *Child*.

Disability See *Core activity need for assistance*.

Dwellings In general terms, a dwelling is a structure which is intended to have people live in it, and which is habitable on *Census Night*. Some examples of dwellings are houses, motels, flats, caravans, prisons, tents, humpies, and houseboats. There are three main types of dwellings:

- *Occupied private dwelling*: a private dwelling occupied by one or more people. A private dwelling is normally a house, flat, or even a room. It can also be a caravan, houseboat, tent, or a house attached to an office, or rooms above a shop.
- *Unoccupied private dwelling:* structures built specifically for living purposes which are habitable, but unoccupied on *Census Night*. Houses, holiday homes, huts and cabins (other than seasonal workers' quarters), when vacant, are counted as unoccupied dwellings.
- *Non-private dwelling*: dwellings, not included above, that provide a communal or transitory type of accommodation. They include hotels, motels, guest houses, prisons, religious and charitable institutions, boarding schools, defence establishments, hospitals and other communal dwellings. Non-private dwellings also include accommodation for the retired or aged where meals are provided. Self contained units in retirement villages, where meals can be prepared, are generally classified as private dwellings.

Employed population See *Labour force status*.

Employed, full-time A person is considered to be employed full-time if they worked 35 hours or more in all jobs during the week prior to *Census Night.*

Employed, part-time A person is considered to have been employed part-time if they worked from 1 to less than 35 hours in all jobs during the week prior to *Census Night*.

Equivalised gross household income

Equivalised gross household income is often referred to as *household income* in this report.

Equivalised gross household income is obtained by adding the *gross personal incomes* of all the usual residents of the *household* to obtain gross household income. If any of the usual residents aged 15 or more did not state their *personal income*, or were temporarily absent, gross household income is not calculated, and these *households* and their occupants are excluded from any further calculations (11% of persons). Gross household income is then divided by an equivalence factor for each *household*. The equivalence factor is built up by summing points allocated to each person in a *household*, where the points are determined according to the 'modified OECD' equivalence scale. The points estimate the additional resources required by each person to maintain an equivalent standard of living across the *household*—1 point for the first adult, 0.5 points for each additional person who is aged 15 or more, and 0.3 for each *child* under the age of 15.

Equivalised gross household income provides a measure that allows the relative standard of living of *households* of different size and composition to be compared. For example, a couple family without children would be expected to have higher standard of living if they had the same gross household income as a couple family with two children. The application of an equivalence scale adjusts the gross household income to allow for this difference in household composition by taking into account the additional resources required for the children.

Due to the effect of the equivalence factor, equivalised gross household income is not a 'real' measure of *income* and should only be used as an indicator. Where actual dollar values for equivalised gross household income are provided, such as for *medians*, these values are only useful in comparison to other values of equivalised gross household income. They should not be compared to actual gross household income.

See also *Household income groups.*

Estimated Resident Population (ERP)

The Estimated Resident Population (ERP) is the official measure of the Australian population. In the census year, it is calculated for 30 June using census counts of usual residents, adjusted for undercount and the number of Australian residents estimated to have been temporarily overseas at the time of the census. Further adjustments are made for births, deaths and net migration in the period from 1 July to *Census Night* (i.e. 8 August 2006) to estimate the population at 30 June.

The ERP is updated quarterly using administrative data for births, deaths, overseas migration and interstate migration. Note that, unless specified otherwise, where population is mentioned in this report, it refers to the unadjusted *Census population*, not the ERP.

For more information on ERP see Technical notes, p. x, and *Australian Demographic Statistics, December 2007,* ABS cat. no. 3101.0.

Family

A family is defined by the ABS as two or more persons, one of whom is at least 15 years of age, who are related by blood, marriage (registered or de facto), adoption, step or fostering, and who are usually resident in the same *household*.

Family coding

The census is a rich source of information on the living arrangements of Australians in families at one point in time. However, census data do have some limitations.

One of the main limitations is correctly identifying complex families using the information provided by respondents on the census form. The census form does not contain in-depth questions about *family* relationships. It is also self-enumerated and therefore families with complex and dynamic living arrangements may not be able to provide enough information to build a full picture of their *family* and *household*. For more information about the quality of census *family* data see the ABS *Family Composition data quality statement* accessible via the ABS website <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/8F27B9B7ACEDB2B5CA25729E0008A879?opendocument>.

Another limitation is the possibility of double counting children living in a shared care arrangement with separated or divorced parents. As a *child* may spend equal time with each of their parents, on *Census Night* the *child* could have been counted at one parent's house but also been reported as usually resident but absent on *Census Night*, at the other parent's home.

First generation Australians

Those who were born overseas and migrated to Australia.

Generation X and Y

See *Generations in Australia.*

Generations in Australia

The Statistician's Report uses age-based generation groups to categorise Australian residents. All residents belong to one of the below groups.

Generation	*Age in 2006*	*Birth cohort*
Oldest Generation	80 and over	1891–1926
Lucky Generation	60–79	1926–1946
Baby Boomers	40–59	1946–1966
Generation X and Y	20–39	1966–1986
iGeneration	0–19	1986–2006

See also *Cohort analysis*.

Geographic areas

Glossary entries exist for each of the geographic classifications used in this report. They are all classifications from the Australian Standard Geographical Classification. For more information about these geographic areas see *Statistical Geography Volume 1—Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC), July 2006,* ABS cat. no. 1216.0.

Government schools

Schools which are administered by the state or territory governments.

Gross personal income

Gross personal income is often referred to as *personal income* in this report.

Gross personal income is obtained from a single question on the census form that asks for the usual gross income of each person aged 15 or more who is present on *Census Night*. Gross personal income includes *income* from all sources, before the deduction of tax, superannuation contributions, salary sacrifice or any other deductions.

continued...

Gross personal income *continued*

The sources of *income* can include:

- wages and salaries, including overtime, bonuses and allowances
- business, farm and rental property income (excluding operation expenses)
- government benefits such as, aged pensions, unemployment and family tax benefits, and rent assistance
- investment income, including interest, dividends and superannuation (including pensions)
- other sources such as child maintenance and workers compensation.

The census form provides a number of *income* ranges to record gross personal income. While the data obtained by using these ranges are broadly comparable with equivalent data from survey collections (see Census income statistics box on p. 183), it should be noted that the use of ranges makes the data less precise than if individual values were collected.

Where gross personal income data from the census are used to calculate statistics, such as *household incomes* and *medians*, the same gross personal income value is allocated to each person in each range. The values used are the median gross personal income for each range obtained from the more detailed data available from the 1995–96 *Survey of Income and Housing Costs* (SIHC) and 2003-04 *Survey of Income and Housing* (SIH).

See also *Personal income groups.*

Higher density housing

Dwelling structures that are higher density than separate houses, and include: Semi-detached, row or terrace houses, townhouses, and Flats, units or apartments.

Higher household income

See *Household income groups*.

Higher personal income

See *Personal income groups*.

High skill level occupation

See *Occupation skill level*.

High-rise units

High-rise units are flats, units and apartment in buildings of four or more storeys.

Household

A household is defined as one or more persons, at least one of whom is at least 15 years of age, usually resident in a *private dwelling*. Therefore, all occupants of a dwelling form one household.

Household income

See *Equivalised gross household income* and *Household income groups.*

Household income groups

Three household income groups are used in this report: lower, middle and higher household income. Each group includes approximately 20% of the population for which *household income* data were available. People in the *lower household income* group are those with *household incomes* in the second and third deciles (10% of the population each) of the *household income* distribution. The *middle household income* group comprises those in the fifth and sixth deciles and the *higher household income* group, those in the ninth and tenth deciles. The ranges for the different household income groups are shown below.

continued…

Household income groups *continued*

The *lower household income* group does not include people in the bottom decile of the *household income* distribution. Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) analysis has shown that many of these people have access to resources, such as savings, that allow them to have expenditure levels more consistent with people on moderate incomes. As a result, these very low incomes do not always provide a reliable indication of living standards.

Household income groups	*Weekly equivalised gross household income*
Lower	$246–$419
Middle	$513–$742
Higher	$1,077 or more

See also *Equivalised gross household income.*

Housing utilisation See *Canadian National Occupancy Standard*.

iGeneration See *Generations in Australia*.

Income See *Equivalised gross household income* and *Gross personal income.*

Income groups See *Household income groups* and *Personal income groups.*

Indigenous population Persons who identified themselves as being of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander origin on the census form.

Industry of employment The industries of employment for Australians (aged 15 and over). A person's industry of employment is determined by their description of the business they are employed in, and the main goods produced, or main services provided. The name of the business, the employed person's *occupation* and main tasks and duties, may also help in classifying industry of employment.

The *Australian and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification* (ANZSIC) is used in classifying a person's industry of employment. ANZSIC was first published in 1993 and has been revised for 2006. This report mainly uses the ANZSIC 2006 classification. However, when comparing industries of employment over time ANZSIC 1993 has been used, and indicated in the footnotes and in the text. However, when comparing industries of employment over time ANZSIC 1993 has been used to allow these comparisons. In such cases, this is indicated in the footnotes and in the text.

Inner Regional See *Remoteness Areas*.

Internal migration The census asks a series of questions relating to each person's usual address on *Census Night*, one year prior to the census date and five years prior to the census date. Data collected in the census only reflect movements which coincide with these particular points in time, even though people may have changed address multiple times in the intercensal period. For this reason, there are limitations to the internal migration data collected in the census. For example the census can not show 'return migration', that is where a person or *family* has moved away from their *place of usual residence* to live elsewhere, then returned before the end of the reference period to live at their previous address.

continued...

Internal migration *continued*

The ABS produces quarterly information on interstate migration in the publication *Australian Demographic Statistics* (cat. no. 3101.0). The data are derived from a combination of information that is acquired from the census, and from unidentified information on interstate changes of address advised by Medicare Australia.

Labour force

The labour force includes both *employed* and *unemployed* people aged 15 and over.

See also *Labour force status.*

Labour force participation rate

For any group, the *labour force* expressed as a percentage of the total population aged 15 years and over in the same group.

See also *Labour force status* and *Labour force.*

Labour force status

Labour force status identifies whether a person aged 15 years or over is *employed*, *unemployed* or *not in the labour force*.

- *Employed*: includes those people who, during the week prior to *Census Night*, worked for payment or profit; who had a job from which they were on leave or otherwise temporarily absent; were on strike or stood down temporarily; or worked as unpaid helpers in a *family* business (*Contributing family worker)*.
- *Unemployed*: includes people who, during the week prior to *Census Night*, did not have a job but were actively looking for *work* (either full-time or part-time) and were available to start *work*.
- *Not in the labour force:* includes people aged 15 years or more who were not employed or unemployed as defined above. This category includes people who were retired, pensioners and people engaged solely in home duties.

Landlord

Type of landlord for all *households* in *rented* dwellings (including caravans in caravan parks), according to where the *household* is enumerated on *Census Night*.

Private renters have one of the following landlord types: Real estate agent, Person not in the same *household*—parent/other relative, Person not in the same *household*—other person.

Public renters have the following landlord types: State or territory housing authorities.

Language spoken at home

The main language other than English spoken at home.

Life-cycle group

The life-cycle groups used throughout this report classify individuals and households into easily recognisable and common life stages. Together, the groups account for over three quarters of the Australian population and so are a useful tool for analysing trends and patterns through life.

However, there are many possible paths through life and some people experience living arrangements that are not included in these groups. Further, the order in which people experience different household and family types may vary. For example, some young people never live in a group household; some people live alone throughout their life; some people move from being a lone parent to forming a partnership and so becoming part of a couple family; and so on.

continued…

Life-cycle group *continued*

The life-cycle groups used are shown below. In general, data relating to a group include all members of the household.

Life-cycle groups	*...are households containing:*
Young group household	Two or more people, all unrelated, all aged 15–34 years
Young lone person	Only one person aged 15–34 years
Young couple family without children	A couple without children, both members of the couple aged 15–34 years
Couple family with young children	A couple with children, youngest child aged 0–4 years
Couple family with school-aged children	A couple with children, youngest child aged 5–14 years
Couple family with young adult children	A couple with children, youngest child aged 15–29 years
One parent family with young children	A one parent family, youngest child aged 0–4 years
One parent family with school-aged children	A one parent family, youngest child aged 5–14 years
One parent family with young adult children	A one parent family, youngest child aged 15–29 years
Middle-aged couple family without children	A couple without children, the younger partner aged 45–64 years
Older couple family without children	A couple without children, both partners aged 65 years or more
Older lone person	Only one person aged 65 years or more

Local Government Area (LGA)

These are *geographic areas* under the responsibility of an incorporated local government council, or an incorporated Indigenous government council. The *Local Government Areas (LGAs)* collectively cover only a part of Australia. The main areas not covered by LGAs are northern parts of South Australia, a large part of the Northern Territory, the western division of New South Wales, all of the Australian Capital Territory and the Other Territories.

The creation and delimitation of LGAs is the responsibility of the respective state/territory governments. The LGAs applicable to the 2006 Census are those which existed at 7 August, 2005.

See also *Geographic areas*.

Locality

See *Urban Centre/Locality*.

Lone parent

A lone parent is a person who has no spouse or partner usually resident in the *household*, but who forms a parent-child relationship with at least one *child* usually resident in the *household*. The *child* may be either dependent or non-dependent.

Longer-standing migrants

Overseas-born residents who migrated to Australia before 2002.

Lower household income

See *Household income groups*.

Lower personal income

See *Personal income groups*.

Low skill level occupation See *Occupation skill level*.

Lucky Generation See *Generations in Australia.*

Major City See *Remoteness Areas*.

Major Urban See *Section of State*.

Median The value which divides a population into two equal parts, half falling below this value and half exceeding it.

Medium skill level occupation See *Occupation skill level*.

Middle household income See *Household income groups.*

Middle personal income See *Personal income groups*.

Migration See *Internal migration, Year of arrival, Recent arrivals, Longer-standing migrants*.

Migratory Migratory categories include people who are enumerated on *Census Night* on an overnight journey by train or bus.

Mobility See *Internal migration*.

Multiple family household For the 2006 Census, a maximum of three families can be identified in one *household*. A Multiple family household is a *household* containing two or more families.

In cases where more than three families are identified in a household, the first three families are coded and other persons are classified as either related *family* members of the primary *family* or non-family members.

See also *Family.*

Natural increase (population) Excess of births over deaths.

Net overseas migration The difference between the number of incoming travellers who stay in Australia for 12 months or more and are added to the population, and the number of outgoing travellers who leave Australia for 12 months or more and are subtracted from the population.

Non-dependent child See *Child*.

Non-government (or independent) schools Those which are administered by a religious, community or private organisation. Non-government schools may have a specific religious affiliation or be inter-denominational, non-denominational, or have no religious affiliation.

Non-Indigenous people People who did not identify themselves as being of Australian Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander origin on the census form.

Non-private dwelling See *Dwellings*.

Non-school qualification

Non-school qualifications are awarded for educational attainments other than those of pre-primary, primary or secondary education. They include qualifications at the Postgraduate Degree level, Master Degree level, Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate level, Bachelor Degree level, Advanced Diploma and Diploma level, and Certificates I, II, III and IV levels. Non-school qualifications may be attained concurrently with school qualifications.

In this Report, two broad groupings are used:

- *Advanced Diploma, Diploma or Certificate*: includes qualifications at the Advanced Diploma Level, Associate Degree Level, Diploma Level, Certificate IV Level, Certificate III Level, Certificate II Level, or Certificate I Level.
- *Bachelor degree or above*: includes *qualifications* at the Bachelor Degree Level (including Honours), Graduate Certificate Level, Graduate Diploma Level, Master Degree Level or Doctorate Degree Level.

The full classification for levels of education can be found in the publication *Australian Standard Classification of Education (ASCED)* (cat. no. 1272.0) released in 2001.

Not in the labour force

See *Labour force status*.

Occupation

A collection of jobs which are sufficiently similar in their main tasks to be grouped together for the purposes of classification. Occupation applies to employed Australians (aged 15 and over). Skill level and skill specialisation are major criteria for classifying occupation.

The 2006 Census introduced a new occupation classification called the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO). For the 2006 Census, occupation data were dual coded to give users the option to use either classification—ANZSCO or the earlier Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ASCO). When comparing occupations over time, this report has used ASCO. In such cases, this is indicated in the footnotes and in the text.

Occupation skill level

In this report, *occupations* are divided in three levels according to *skill level*. Skill levels are assigned according to the formal education and/or training and previous experiences usually required for entry to an *occupation* as defined in the ASCO—*Australian Standard Classification of Occupations, Second Edition, 1997* (cat. no. 1220.0).

- *High skill level occupation* includes Managers and administrators; and Professionals.
- *Medium skill level occupation* includes Associate professionals; Tradespersons and related workers; and Advanced clerical and service workers.
- *Low skill level occupation* includes Intermediate clerical, sales and service workers; Intermediate production and transport workers; Elementary clerical, sales and service workers; and Labourers and related workers.

See also *Occupation*.

Occupied private dwelling

See *Dwellings*.

Oldest Generation

See *Generations in Australia*.

One parent family A one parent family consists of a lone parent with at least one child (regardless of age) who is also usually resident in the household and who has no identified partner or child of his/her own. The family may also include any number of other related individuals.

Other tenure See *Tenure*.

Other Urban See *Section of State*.

Outer Regional See *Remoteness Areas*.

Overseas visitors People who are usually resident in another country.

Overseas-born For the Census, people are classified as overseas-born if:

- they were born in a country other than Australia
- they were born at sea
- their response was classified 'Inadequately described'
- their response was classified 'Not elsewhere classified'.

See also *Australian-born*.

Owned outright See *Tenure*.

Owned with a mortgage See *Tenure*.

Part-time work See *Employed, part-time*.

Personal income See *Gross personal income* and *Personal income groups*.

Personal income groups Three *personal incomes* are used in this report: *lower, middle and higher income*. These three *income groups* have been formed by grouping together all of the 2006 Census *personal income* ranges; except nil and negative incomes. The ranges for the different personal income groups are below.

Personal income groups	*Weekly gross personal income*	*Population aged 15 or over (%)*
Lower	$1–$399	37
Middle	$400–$999	35
Higher	$1,000 or more	20

Place of enumeration The place where a person is counted, that is, where he or she spent Census Night, which may or may not be where he or she usually lives.

Place of usual residence The place where a person usually lives. It may, or may not be the place where the person was counted on *Census Night*.

Place of work Place of work data provide information on where a person goes to work. The address was for the main job held in the week prior to the Census.

Private dwelling See *Dwellings*.

Private renter See *Landlord*.

Profound or severe limitation See *Core activity need for assistance*.

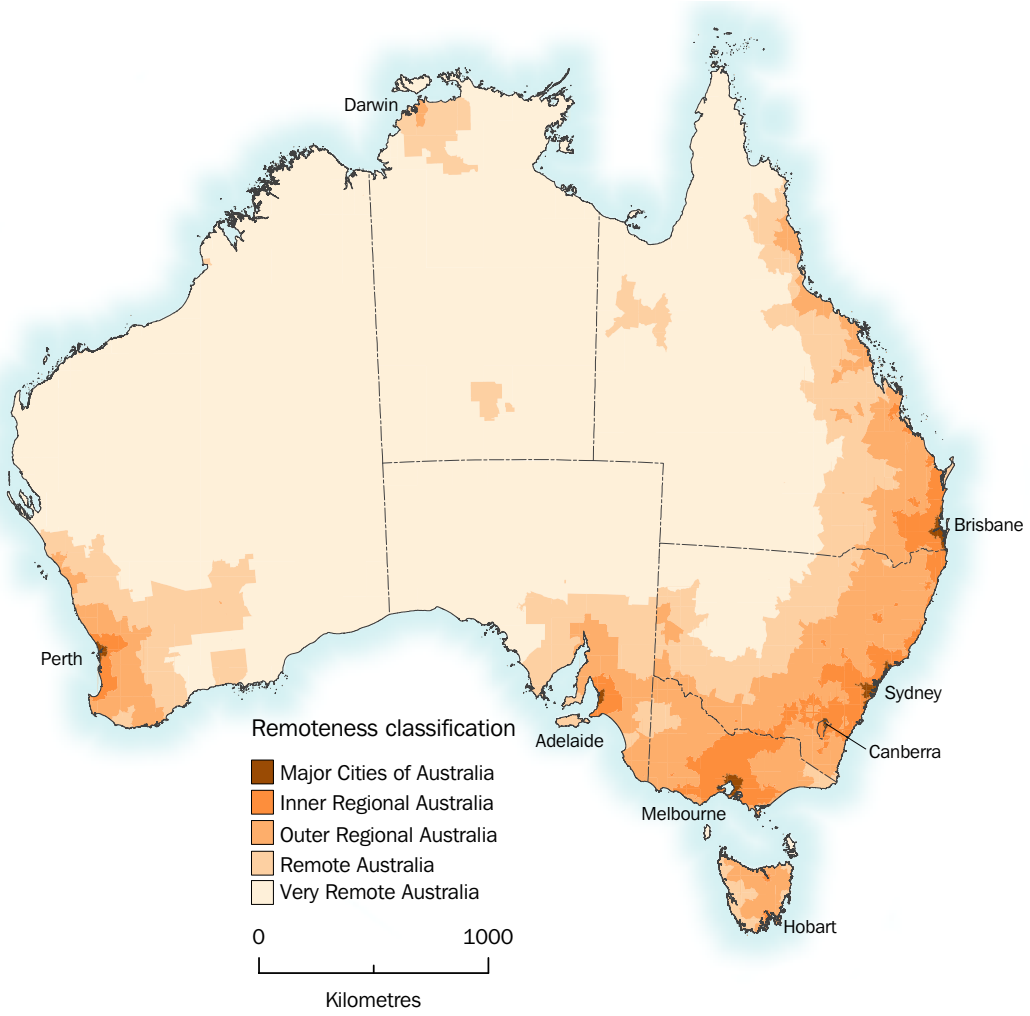
Public renter See *Landlord*.

Qualification See *Non-school qualification*.

Recent arrivals *Overseas-born* residents who migrated to Australia from 2002 to 2006.

Remote See *Remoteness Areas*.

Remoteness Areas



These geographic areas include five broad (non-contiguous) geographic units. The geographic units are made up of *Collection Districts (CDs)* which share a particular degree of remoteness. These areas cross state or territory boundaries and, in aggregate, they cover the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps.

The degree of remoteness of each CD was determined using the Accessibility/Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA). ARIA measures the remoteness of a point based on the road distances to five *Urban Centres*, each of which falls into one of five population size classes. The basic premises of ARIA are that there are more services available in large towns than small towns, and that remoteness is a factor of the relative distance one must travel to access a full range of services.

continued...

Remoteness Areas *continued*

The six Remoteness Areas are:

- Major Cities of Australia—which incorporates: Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Canberra, and nearby urban areas.
- Inner Regional Australia—which includes Hobart.
- Outer Regional Australia—which includes Darwin.
- Remote Australia
- Very Remote Australia
- Migratory.

In this report, they are abbreviated by omitting 'Australia'.

See also *Geographic areas*.

Rented See *Tenure*.

Rural See *Section of State*.

Second generation Australians Those born in Australia with at least one *overseas-born* parent.

Section of State (SOS) These geographic areas cover five broad (non-contiguous) geographic units. These geographic units are made up of *Collection Districts (CDs)* which are defined as urban or rural according to the categories in the Urban Centre/Locality classification. These areas cross state or territory boundaries and, in aggregate, they cover the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps.

Sections of State categories comprise Major Urban (population clusters of 100,000 or more), Other Urban (population clusters of 1,000 to 99,999), Bounded Locality (200 to 999), Rural Balance (remainder of state/territory) and Migratory. In aggregate, these areas cover the whole of Australia.

See also *Urban Centres/Localities* and *Geographic areas*.

Sex ratio The number of males per 100 females.

Skill level See *Occupation skill level*.

Statistical District (SDist) These *geographic areas* are special purpose geographic units, encompassing one or more Statistical Subdivisions (SSDs) that are predominantly urban. Each Statistical District (SDist) incorporates one or more urban centres, in close proximity to each other, with a total population of 25,000 or more. They do not include the *Statistical Divisions (SDs)* of Capital Cities, with the exception of the Canberra-Queanbeyan Statistical District. These areas cross state and territory boundaries and collectively cover only a part of Australia.

See also *Geographic areas*.

Statistical Division (SD) These *geographic areas* are large, general purpose and special purpose geographic units. They are the largest general purpose *geographic area* below states and territories. They consist of one or more *Statistical Subdivisions (SSDs)* and do not cross state or territory boundaries. In aggregate, they cover the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps.

See also *Geographic areas*.

Statistical Local Area (SLA)

These *geographic areas* are relatively small, general purpose geographic units. They consist of one or more *Collection Districts (CDs)*. *Statistical Local Areas (SLAs)* are *Local Government Areas (LGAs)*, or parts thereof. Where there is no incorporated body of local government, one or more SLAs are defined to cover the unincorporated areas. They do not cross state or territory boundaries and, in aggregate, they cover the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps.

See also *Geographic areas.*

Statistical Region (SR)

These *geographic areas* are special purpose geographic units, designed for the presentation of *labour force* statistics from both the labour force surveys and the census. They can consist of a range of geographic areas, from one or more *Statistical Local Areas (SLAs)* to whole states or territories. They do not cross state or territory boundaries and, in aggregate, they cover the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps.

See also *Geographic areas.*

Statistical Subdivision (SSD)

These *geographic areas* are intermediate level, general purpose, regional type geographic units. They consist of one or more *Statistical Local Areas (SLAs)* and do not cross state or territory boundaries. In aggregate, they cover the whole of Australia without gaps or overlaps.

See also *Geographic areas.*

TAFE

A Technical and Further Education institution. In Victoria this may also be interpreted as Training and Further Education.

Tenure

Tenure describes whether a *household* owns (outright or with a mortgage) or rents, the dwelling in which it was enumerated on *Census Night*, or whether the *household* occupies it under another arrangement. The different tenure types are generally used in the four categories shown below.

- *Owned outright: occupied private dwellings* that are fully owned.
- *Owned with a mortgage: occupied private dwellings* that are owned with a mortgage or under a rent/buy scheme.
- *Rented: occupied private dwellings* that are being rented or being occupied rent-free.
- *Other tenure: occupied private dwellings* that are being occupied under a life tenure scheme or *other tenure* type.

'Being purchased under a rent/buy scheme' refers to *households* who are both purchasing some equity in the dwelling, and paying rent for the remainder.

'Being occupied under a life tenure scheme' refers to *households* or individuals who have a 'life tenure' contract to live in the dwelling but usually do not have any equity in the dwelling. This is a common arrangement in retirement villages.

Third-plus generation Australians

All those who were born in Australia of Australian-born parents. One or more of their grandparents may have been born overseas or they may have several generations of ancestors born in Australia. This group also includes the descendants of Indigenous Australians.

Total fertility rate For any given year, the sum of age-specific fertility rates (live births to mothers at each age per 1000 of the female population of the same age). It represents the number of children a woman would bear during her lifetime if she experienced current age-specific fertility rates at each age of her reproductive life.

Unemployed population See *Labour force status*.

Unemployment rate For any group, the number of employed persons expressed as a percentage of the *labour force* in the same group.

Unoccupied private dwelling See *Dwellings*.

Unpaid assistance to a person with a disability This includes the unpaid help a person gives to another person to assist them with their daily activities. It can include, but is not limited to:

- bathing, dressing, toileting and feeding
- helping to move around
- understanding or being understood by others
- providing emotional support and helping maintain friendships and social activities
- helping with or supervising medication
- dressing wounds
- cleaning, laundry, cooking, managing diets and meal preparation
- housework, light household repairs or maintenance, or household finances
- driving or accompanying to appointments and activities.

The 2006 Census asked people aged 15 and over whether they had provided unpaid assistance to a person with a *disability* in the last two weeks.

Unpaid child care This includes the time a person spends caring for a *child* or children without being paid. This can include people caring for their own children, whether they usually live with them or not. It can also include people looking after their own grandchildren or the children of other relatives or the children of friends and neighbours.

The 2006 Census asked people aged 15 and over whether they had provided unpaid care to a *child* under the age of 15 in the last two weeks.

Unpaid voluntary work This includes help willingly given in the form of time, service or skills, to a club, organisation or association. Unpaid voluntary work can include:

- assisting at organised events and with sports organisation
- helping with organised school events and activities
- assisting in churches, hospitals, nursing homes and charities
- other kinds of volunteer work (eg. emergency services, etc.).

Unpaid voluntary work excludes *work* done as part of paid employment; if the main reason is to qualify for Government benefit; or in a family business.

The 2006 Census asked people aged 15 and over whether they had spent time doing unpaid voluntary work through an organisation or group in the 12 months prior to Census Night.

Urban Centre/Locality (UC/L) An Urban Centre is defined as a population cluster of 1,000 or more people. A Locality is defined as a population cluster of between 200 and 999 people. People living in Urban Centres are classified as urban for statistical purposes while those in Localities are classified as rural (i.e. non-urban). Each Urban Centre and/or Locality (UC/L) is bounded (i.e. a boundary for it is clearly defined) and composed of one or more whole *Collection Districts* (CDs). UC/Ls are defined for each Census and are current for the date of the Census.

See also *Section of State* and *Geographic areas*.

Very Remote See *Remoteness Areas*.

Volunteer A person aged 15 and over who spent time in the last twelve months doing *unpaid voluntary work*.

See also *Unpaid voluntary work*

Work and workers Unless otherwise specified, the terms *work* and *workers* relate to employment and employed people.

See also *Labour force status*.

Year of arrival The year of arrival in Australia for people born overseas who intend staying in Australia for at least one year.

Appendix: Photo acknowledgements

Cover

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