



Australian Government
Department of Home Affairs

Immigration to South Australia

Submission to the South Australian Government Economic
and Finance Committee's inquiry into the economic
contribution of immigration to South Australia

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Overview

- Australia's immigration programs have significantly contributed to our national prosperity, with immigrants bringing skills and knowledge and delivering economic and fiscal benefits. They are carefully designed to achieve social and economic outcomes in Australia's interest.
- Population growth is not uniform across Australia. During the last decade, the predominant cause of growth in South Australia's (SA) population has been an increase in Net Overseas Migration (NOM). However, Net Interstate Migration (NIM) losses have continuously offset SA's population growth since the beginning of 1990s¹.
- Specific programs within the permanent Migration Program operate to attract migrants to SA. In particular, the state and territory nominated visa programs enable state and territory governments to nominate skilled areas according to the needs of specific regions, to benefit businesses within the state, and to contribute to the economy through innovation and investment.
- For the purpose of skilled immigration, all of SA, including Adelaide, is classified as a regional area. As a consequence, the entirety of the state, including Adelaide, is able to benefit from program settings that incentivise skilled applicants to settle within regional areas.

¹ The Department of the Treasury and the Department of Home Affairs (2018). Shaping a Nation - Population and immigration growth over time. Report, p.8.

Immigration Programs

Immigration performs a critical role in Australia's economic prosperity and social cohesion. The Commonwealth Government continuously assesses ways to maximise the benefits of immigration programs and settings. The importance of immigration is highlighted by recent reports that have examined the benefits of population growth and immigration but have equally observed that growth is not uniformly distributed between capital cities, nor between capital cities and regional Australia.

The Productivity Commission Inquiry Report – *Migrant Intake into Australia* (2016), examined the benefits and impacts of immigration and how to deliver the best outcomes for the Australian community into the future.

The joint Department of the Treasury and Department of Home Affairs report - *Shaping a Nation* (2018) reviewed the relationship between immigration and economic growth. The report noted that the effects of immigration and population growth on the geographic distribution of Australia's population are less well documented than positive effects of immigration on economic growth and Australia's fiscal position.²

The permanent Migration Program

Australia's permanent Migration Program planning ceiling and composition is set annually. It consists of three components: the Skill Stream; the Family Stream; and the Special Eligibility Stream.

- The Skilled Stream is designed to improve the productive capacity of the economy and fill skill shortages in the labour market, including those in regional Australia.
- The Family Stream is predominately made up of Partner visas, enabling Australian citizens and permanent residents to reunite with family members from overseas, and provide them with pathways to citizenship.
- The Special Eligibility Stream covers visas for those in special circumstances that do not fit into the other streams. This can include permanent residents returning to the country after a period away.

Since 2012-13 the permanent Migration Program has been set at a ceiling of 190,000 places. Since the late 1990s, Australia has leveraged the benefits of immigration by giving priority to skilled immigrants. From 2005-06, approximately two-thirds of the permanent Migration Program has been dedicated to the Skill Stream and approximately one-third dedicated to the Family Stream (see Attachment A: 2018-19 Migration Program Planning Ceiling).

The focus on bringing in young, skilled immigrants ensures that the permanent Migration Program benefits the economy. Importantly, their contribution helps to reduce the adverse effects on Australia's future prosperity of an ageing workforce.

The Family Stream supports family reunion needs of Australian communities, as does the child program which is uncapped.

² The Department of the Treasury and the Department of Home Affairs (2018). *Shaping a Nation - Population and immigration growth over time*. Report, p 1.

The Humanitarian Program

Australia is committed to working with other countries, United Nations agencies, and the wider international community, as part of our global responsibility to find solutions to the plight of refugees and displaced people.

The Humanitarian Program is a planned program, separate to the permanent Migration Program, with places targeted to those most in need of resettlement. People who come to Australia under the Humanitarian Program and who do not have links here are encouraged to settle away from the major metropolitan areas in order to build and improve settlement in regional areas. However, these people are permanent residents and free to live anywhere in Australia.

Most humanitarian entrants settle successfully and make a positive contribution to the community, including social engagement, workforce participation, business ownership, and volunteering within the community. In 2018-19, 18,750 places are available under the Humanitarian Program.

Temporary visa programs

Australia's temporary visa programs facilitate: tourists; students; work and holiday makers; and temporary skilled workers to support the Australian economy. Australia granted almost 8.4 million temporary visas in 2016-17 program year³. This has supported Australia's major export industries; tourism which was worth \$37.2 billion in 2016-17⁴, and international education, worth \$28 billion in 2016-17⁵, delivering significant economic benefits and strengthening Australia's integration into the region. The temporary visa programs also benefit Australia by filling temporary skills shortages. Australia's temporary immigration programs are uncapped and demand driven.

³ Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2017). 2016-17 Annual report.

⁴ Austrade (Tourism Research Australia). Report Tourism Satellite Accounts (Cat. No. 5249.0) (table 13).

Consumption by short-term education visitor arrivals (or those international visitors who travel to Australia and stay for less than one year) are included in this estimate. Education visitors are defined as those who state their main purpose of travel to Australia was for education purposes.

⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics (August 2018). Report International Trade in Goods and Services (Cat. No. 5368.0) (table 11a).

Education export data is sourced from and includes an estimate of consumption of all students – short-term and long-term.

Programs with specific application to South Australia

Regional immigration programs

To meet the individual requirements of state and territories, a number of permanent and temporary immigration programs operate to attract and support immigration to regional Australia. In determining the size and composition of permanent immigration programs, the Commonwealth Government consults with states and territories at multiple points across every program year.

- The **Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS, subclass 187)** is a permanent visa which enables businesses in regional areas to sponsor immigrants. The visa provides businesses with access to critical skills where no skilled Australian is available.
- The **Temporary Skill Shortage visa (subclass 482)** enables employers in regional Australia to sponsor temporary immigrant workers where no skilled Australian is available.
- The **Working Holiday Maker Program (WHM, subclass 417)** and the **Work and Holiday program (subclass 462)** encourage visa holders to spend time in regional Australia. Visa holders can apply for a second year visa if they have undertaken three months' work in regional Australia in specified industries.
- The **Seasonal Work Program (SWP)** offers seasonal labour to employers in agricultural and accommodation industries. This program is administered by the Department of Jobs and Small Business.
- A **Designated Area Migration Agreement (DAMA)** allows employers in regional areas access to tailored arrangements to nominate skilled immigrants to fill regional labour shortages. There is presently no DAMA in place for any areas of South Australia.
- The **Safe Haven Enterprise visa (SHEV)** provides an incentive to illegal maritime arrivals, who have been found to engage Australia's international protection obligations, to contribute to the development of regional Australia. SHEV holders who work without receiving special benefits or study (or a combination of both) in regional Australia for 42 months may apply for certain prescribed visas.
- The **Pacific Labour Scheme** commenced on 1 July 2018 to assist in addressing labour gaps, including in rural and regional Australia.

State and territory nominated visa programs

Programs under the permanent Migration Program enable state and territory governments to nominate skilled workers: the State/Territory and Regional Nominated Programs; and Business Investment and Innovation Programs. These visas are subject to points tests.

- The **State/Territory and Regional Nominated (STRN)** program enables state and territory governments to nominate skilled areas according to the needs of their specific regions, and to benefit businesses within the state. In 2018-19 the overall planning level is 28,850.
- The **Business Innovation and Investment Program (BIIP)** targets immigrants who can contribute to Australia's economy through innovation, investment and business. In 2018-19 the overall planning level is 7,260.
 - Most business innovation and investment immigrants enter Australia on a provisional visa and then apply for permanent residence after satisfactory business or investment activity.

- Following consultation, the Department of Home Affairs allocates nomination ceilings for each state and territory for STRN and BIIP within the overall Migration Program ceilings.
 - For 2017-18, SA's nomination ceiling for STRN was 3750, and for BIIP it was 595.
 - In 2017–18, SA had the second highest number of allocated places for STRN category after NSW, and the third highest state after Victoria and NSW for BIIP.
- The nomination allocation process for STRN and BIIP into the 2018-19 program year is underway.

Permanent Skilled Stream visa grants

Over the periods 2012-13 to 2016-17 the number of Skilled Stream immigrants who intend to reside in SA has been stable. By comparison, the number of people who intend to reside in New South Wales and Victoria has increased over that period whilst those who intend to reside in Western Australia decreased from 2013-14.

In the 2016-17 Migration Program, 8,238 Skilled Stream visas were granted to people who intended to reside in SA. For the program year 2016-17, more than 50 per cent of the Skilled Stream visas that were granted to people who intended to reside in SA were granted to people under the State/Territory and Regional Nominated category. Skilled Independent and Employer Sponsored categories accounted for 15 and 22 per cent of the total number respectively.

- Detailed information and data on the Migration Program outcomes is at Attachment B.

Pilots

In 2018, the Commonwealth Government announced the pilot of new arrangement to attract foreign entrepreneurs to take forward innovative ideas and launch seed stage start-ups.

- This pilot is being conducted in collaboration with the South Australian Government. The Department of Home Affairs is working closely with the South Australian government to develop policy settings for the pilot.
- The pilot will complement other visa programs that are designed to support innovation in Australia, including the Global Talent Scheme pilot that commenced on 1 July 2018, which provides employers with the flexibility to sponsor high value niche skills that cannot be obtained under the standard Temporary Skill Shortage visa.

Labour market outcomes for immigrants to South Australia

Permanent migration program

To measure and analyse the labour market outcomes of skilled and family immigrants, the Government draws from various sources of data, including the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) and the Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants (CSAM).

CSAM, funded by Commonwealth Government, captures the changes in immigrants' labour market status and measures how recent immigrants (those who have arrived in Australia or been granted a permanent or provisional visa since 2009) integrate into the Australian labour force. The survey is conducted every 12 months, and comprises two surveys that are run concurrently, one at the six month stage of immigrants' settlement, and a follow-up survey 12 months later. According to CSAM (2017) and ABS (2017) data:

- 18 months after arriving in SA, both primary⁶ and secondary⁷ visa holders from the Skill Stream and the partner category in the Family Stream, demonstrated labour force participation rates significantly above the state average of 62 per cent as at November 2017 (see Attachment B: Table 3)⁸.
- Primary visa holders in all Skill Stream categories in SA performed strongly, with their labour force participation rate at 96.6 per cent and unemployment rates at 4.2 per cent, compared to 5.8 per cent of unemployment rates in SA's general population⁹.
- Employer Sponsored skilled immigrants performed especially well, with unemployment rates at 1.7 per cent and labour force participation rate at 98.3 per cent, followed by Skilled Independent and State/Territory Regional Nominated immigrants (97.1 per cent and 95.8 per cent of labour force participation rates, respectively)¹⁰.
- Secondary Skill Stream category visa holders and partner visa holders from the Family Stream were less likely to secure employment within 18 months after arrival with unemployment rates of 17.3 percent and 10.3 per cent respectively.
- Despite this, labour force participation rates for the secondary Skill Stream visa holders and partner visa holders are still well above the state average¹¹, and long term modelling suggests their employment rates improve over time¹².
- Average annual income of primary skilled visa holders in SA is \$64,078; \$47,787 for secondary skilled visa holders; and \$43,776 for partner visa holders (see Attachment B: Table 4)¹³.

⁶ A primary visa holder is the person who met the core visa eligibility criteria.

⁷ A secondary visa holder is the immediate family member of the primary visa holder, usually their partner and/or children.

⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics (November 2017). Labour Force (trend) (Cat. No. 6202.0).

⁹ Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants (CSAM) (November 2017). Labour force participation and unemployment rates for South Australia by migrant type after 18 months in Australia.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Productivity Commission Inquiry Report (2016). Migrant Intake into Australia.

¹³ Ibid.

- SA's primary skilled immigrants' average annual earnings are 12.5 per cent higher than the average annual earnings of the South Australian population, and 3 per cent higher than the earnings of the Australian general population (all employees)¹⁴.

Impact of temporary immigrants

Temporary immigrants such as visitors, international students and temporary skilled workers also make a significant contribution to Australia's economic growth, including in SA.

- Detailed information and data on the temporary outcomes is at Attachment B.
- There were nearly 36,000 international student enrolments in South Australian institutions in 2017, compared to 11,100 enrolments in 2002 (see Attachment B: Table 5).
 - ABS data indicates that international education contributed \$28.6 billion to the Australian economy in the 2016–17 financial year¹⁰.
 - In SA, international students spent \$1,468 million on education fees and other goods and services in 2016-17¹¹.
- In the 2017-18 program year there were 1,066 Temporary Work (skilled) primary visas granted to people who indicated they would reside in South Australia and 290 of those were sponsored in the Health and Social Assistance industry (see Attachment B: Tables 6 and 7).

¹⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics (November 2017). Average figures derived from Average Weekly Earnings.

¹⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics. Report International Trade: Supplementary Information, Financial Year 2016-17 release (Cat. No.5368.0.55.003).

¹¹ Deloitte Access Economic analysis for the Department for Trade, Tourism and Investment (2018). International Education in South Australia.

Immigration and Population trends in South Australia

The changes in the three major components of Australia's population growth - natural increase, net overseas migration and net interstate migration - affect both the size and the structure of the population in states and territories. While South Australia has experienced small increases in population growth during the mining boom, its annual population growth is in line with long-term trends¹⁵, and during the last 20 years the proportion of Australian population living in South Australia decreased from 8 per cent to 7 per cent¹⁶. Currently,

- SA's population growth rate is 0.7 per cent (as at the year ended 31 March 2018):
 - SA's growth rate is currently second lowest in Australia only to the Northern Territory.
 - Australia overall is currently experiencing a high rate of population growth (1.6 per cent over 2017).
 - The natural increase in SA population was 4,883 people.¹²
- Net Overseas Migration (NOM) was the major contributor to population growth in SA for the year ended 31 March 2018.¹³
- Net Interstate Migration (NIM) has offset the population growth rate of SA.
 - NIM losses from SA were 5,700 people (as at the year ended 31 March 2018).¹⁴
- International immigration has been the major driver of SA's population growth during over the decade.
 - In 1996-2016, immigrants contributed 42 per cent of the population increase in Adelaide.
 - However, during the same period of time the immigrant population fell 20 per cent in the rest of South Australia, even as the total population declined by less than 1 per cent.¹⁵
- While SA has several skilled immigration programs available to source skilled immigrants to meet the skill needs of businesses, a key challenge that SA faces is retaining skilled immigrants over the long-term.
- A research report by the Productivity Commission¹⁶ suggested that many factors influence an individual's decision to remain in a location or relocate to another including personal, locational and transitional factors.
 - Mobility is correlated with education and skills – an individual's mobility appears to increase with the higher level of education and the higher skill level of an individual's occupation (p.112).
 - In general, people between the ages of 20-29 will move to other states and territories seeking education and employment opportunities if they do not find sufficient opportunities in their home location (p.107).
- Attachment C includes a selection of figures and tables from the joint Department of the Treasury and Department of Home Affairs report, *Shaping a Nation*.

¹⁵ The Department of the Treasury and the Department of Home Affairs (2018). *Shaping a Nation - Population and immigration growth over time*. Report, p.6.

¹⁶ Australian Bureau of Statistics. *Demographic statistics* (Released on 20 September 2018) (Cat. No. 3101.0).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ The Department of the Treasury and the Department of Home Affairs (2018). *Shaping a nation- Population and immigration growth over time*. Report.

¹⁶ Productivity Commission (2014). *Geographic Labour Mobility*, pp. 9-13, 19, 29-31, 107, 113.

Attachments

Attachment A: 2018-19 Migration Program Planning Ceiling

Stream and Category		2018-19
		Planning Level
SKILL STREAM		
	Employer Sponsored	48,250
	Skilled Independent	43,990
Category	State & Territory & Regional Nominated	28,850
	Business Innovation & Investment Program	7,260
	Distinguished Talent	200
Skill Total		128,550
Skill % of Program		68.9% [†]
FAMILY STREAM		
	Partner	47,825
Category	Parent	8,675
	Other Family	900
Family Total		57,400
Family % of Program		30.8% [†]
Special Eligibility		565
Total Migration Program		186,515
Child (outside the Migration Program ceiling)		3,485
Total permanent migration places		190,000

Attachment B: Labour participation outcomes and skilled migration to South Australia

Table 1: Skilled Migration Program Outcomes by Intended Residence State, Program Years 2012-13 to 2016-17

State/Territory	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17
NSW	26,921	34,589	36,509	42,189	40,704
VIC	23,136	25,513	29,630	32,206	32,197
QLD	13,447	13,421	14,713	14,354	14,175
WA	23,074	23,097	20,216	15,914	12,765
SA	8,934	7,980	10,701	9,504	8,238
ACT	3,093	3,386	3,450	2,317	2,755
NT	1,786	1,796	2,007	1,858	1,769
TAS	704	768	679	772	1,582
Not Specified	27,878	18,000	9,869	9,436	9,382
Total	128,973	128,550	127,774	128,550	123,567

Source: Department of Home Affairs, 2017, BP0055 Migration and Child Program Outcome – Historic Report at 2017-06-30.

The latest data available as at 28 September 2018.

Note: Figures include primary and secondary applicants.

Table 2: South Australia, Skilled Migration Program Outcomes by Visa Category, Program Years 2012-13 to 2016-17

Skilled visa category	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17
Business Innovation and Investment	294	240	272	319	665
Distinguished Talent	<5	0	0	0	0
Employer Sponsored	2,814	2,332	1,614	1,801	1,805
Skilled Independent	946	1,483	1,671	1,539	1,207
Skilled Regional	447	196	163	228	136
State/Territory Nominated Visa Classes	4,432	3,729	6,981	5,617	4,425
Total:	8,934	7,980	10,701	9,504	8,238

Source: Department of Home Affairs, 2017, BP0055 Migration and Child Program Outcome – Historic Report at 2017-06-30.

The latest data available as at 28 September 2018.

Note: Figures include primary and secondary applicants.

Table 3: Labour force participation and unemployment rates for South Australia by migrant type after 18 months in Australia (CSAM Nov. 2017)

	All Skill stream categories (primary)	Employer Sponsored	State/Territory Nominated	Independent	Other Skilled	Skilled secondary applicant	Partner visa from Family stream	SA general population ¹⁷
Labour force participation rate (%)	96.6	98.3	95.8	97.1	95.5	82.4	69.6	62.0
Unemployment rate (%)	4.2	1.7	5.7	6.0	1.0	17.3	10.3	5.8

Table 4: Median and average annual earnings for South Australian migrants after 18 months in Australia (CSAM Nov. 2017) ABS, Labour Force (cat.no. 6202.0), November 2017 (trend).

Migrant type	Median earnings	Average earnings
Primary skilled	\$55,000	\$64,078
Primary Skilled Partners (secondary applicants)	\$39,000	\$47,787
Combined primary and secondary applicants	\$51,000	\$59,843
Primary Family (Partner Visa)	\$40,000	\$43,776

Table 5: Distribution of international student enrolments in Australian capital and regional areas, 2017

State/ Territory	Share(%)		Enrolments		Total
	Major Cities area	Regional area	Major Cities area	Regional area	
NSW	98.8%	1.2%	292,972	3,585	296,557
VIC	99.1%	0.9%	247,331	2,326	249,657
QLD	94.0%	6.0%	115,605	7,367	122,972
WA	99.8%	0.4%	53,468	7,367	53,696
SA	99.8%	0.2%	35,657	89	35,746
ACT	100%	0.0%	16,910		16,910
TAS	0.0%	100%		8,103	8,103
NT	0.0%	100%		2,430	2,430
Australia	96.9%	3.1%	716,943	24,128	786,071

Source: Department of Education and Training, 2018, International students in regional areas,

<https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/Research-Snapshots/Documents/Location%20of%20International%20Students%20in%202017.pdf>

¹⁷ ABS, Labour Force (cat.no. 6202.0), November 2017 (trend).

Table 6: Temporary Work (skilled) primary visa granted, Program Years 2012-13 to 2017-18

State/Territory	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
NSW	24,158	19,693	20,389	19,706	21,423	15,488
VIC	14,395	12,261	12,664	11,546	11,724	9,351
QLD	10,945	7,547	6,384	5,378	5,203	3,792
WA	14,655	8,605	8,238	5,963	5,241	3,353
SA	2,025	1,658	1,529	1,157	1,035	1,066
ACT	938	840	823	672	709	571
NT	913	1,031	830	716	846	552
TAS	374	264	248	252	216	226
Not Specified	83	40	20	5	83	47
Total	68,486	51,939	51,125	45,395	46,480	34,446

Source: Department of Home Affairs, 2017, BP0003 Temporary Work (Skilled) Pivot table report at 2018-06-30.

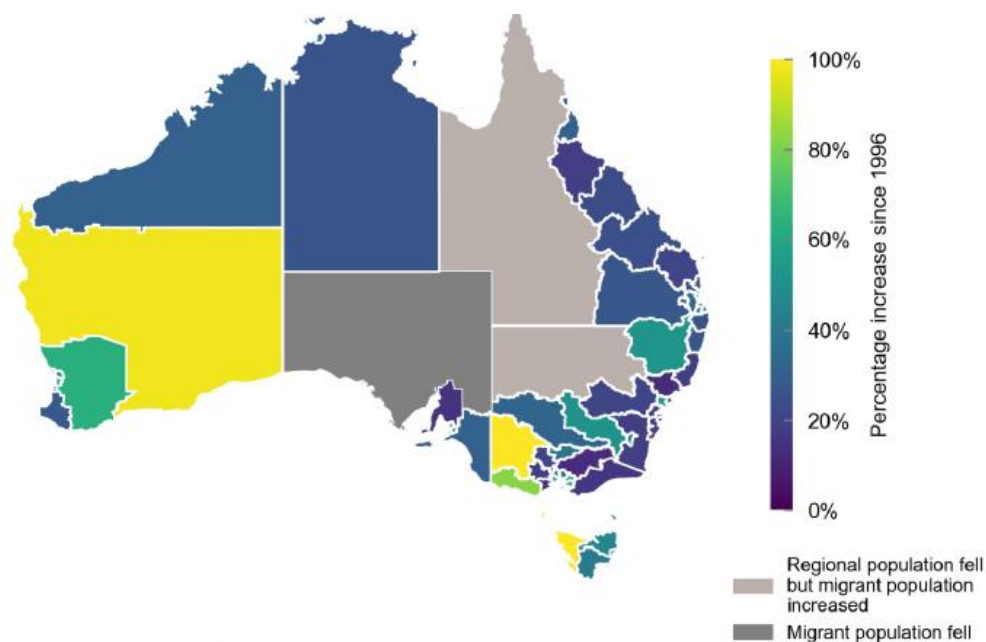
Note: Figures include primary visa grants.

Table 7: Number of primary applications granted in 2017-18 to 30 June by sponsor industry and nomination position location

Sponsor Industry	ACT	NSW	NT	QLD	SA	TAS	VIC	WA	Not specified	Total
Accom & Food Serv	110	1,530	70	590	110	30	870	400	0	3,700
Admin & Support Serv	<5	150	0	10	<5	<5	60	10	0	240
Agric Forest & Fishing	0	230	10	230	80	10	220	130	0	910
Arts & Recr Serv	<5	200	<5	10	20	10	130	10	0	390
Construction	50	1,160	50	220	50	< 5	290	270	30	2,130
Education & Training	110	670	10	310	70	20	630	120	0	1,940
Elec Gas Water & Waste	<5	160	<5	80	10	10	60	170	0	490
Finance & Insur Serv	<5	840	0	30	10	0	190	20	0	1,100
Health & Social Assist	110	1,370	50	880	290	110	1,170	610	0	4,570
Info Media & Telecom	20	2,550	10	170	30	< 5	1,150	140	< 5	4,060
Manufacturing	20	520	20	200	150	10	360	170	< 5	1,440
Mining	0	60	30	90	10	< 5	10	200	0	400
Other Services	70	2,440	180	350	100	20	2,150	620	10	5,940
Prof Scientific & Tech	60	2,550	70	420	80	10	1,510	340	0	5,030
Public Admin & Safety	< 5	40	< 5	<5	10	0	10	<5	0	70
Rental Hire & Realty	< 5	40	0	10	< 5	0	10	10	0	80
Retail Trade	10	570	30	100	40	10	310	60	0	1,110
Transp Post & W'house	< 5	190	10	40	10	0	110	30	0	390
Wholesale Trade	0	240	0	60	10	0	110	40	0	450
Not Specified	0	< 5	< 5	0	0	0	0	10	0	10
Total	570	15,490	550	3,790	1,070	230	9,350	3,350	50	34,450

Attachment C: Shaping a Nation tables and figures

Figure 1: Migration contribution to population growth, 1996-2016



Source: ABS 2017d, ABS 2017e, ABS 2017f & ABS 2017g, authors' calculations.

Table 1: Migrant contribution to population growth by capital city, 1996-2016

SYDNEY	PERTH	MELBOURNE	DARWIN	CANBERRA	ADELAIDE	BRISBANE	HOBART
63 %	50 %	50 %	42 %	44 %	42 %	41 %	32 %

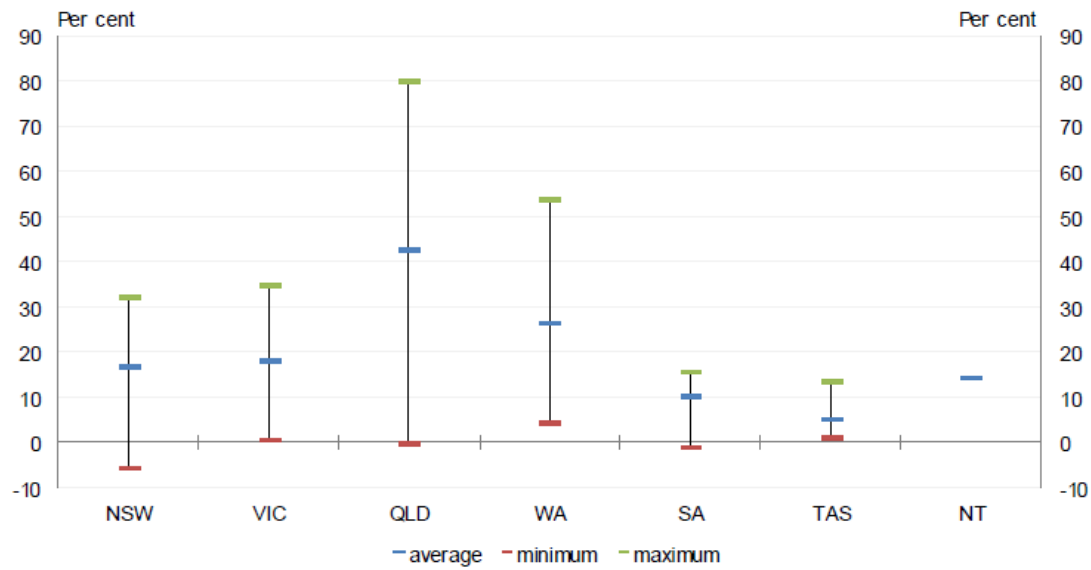
Source: ABS2017a, authors' calculations.

Table 2: Migrant share of capital city populations, 2016

SYDNEY	PERTH	MELBOURNE	DARWIN	BRISBANE	ADELAIDE	CANBERRA	HOBART
39 %	39 %	36 %	29 %	28 %	28 %	28 %	15 %

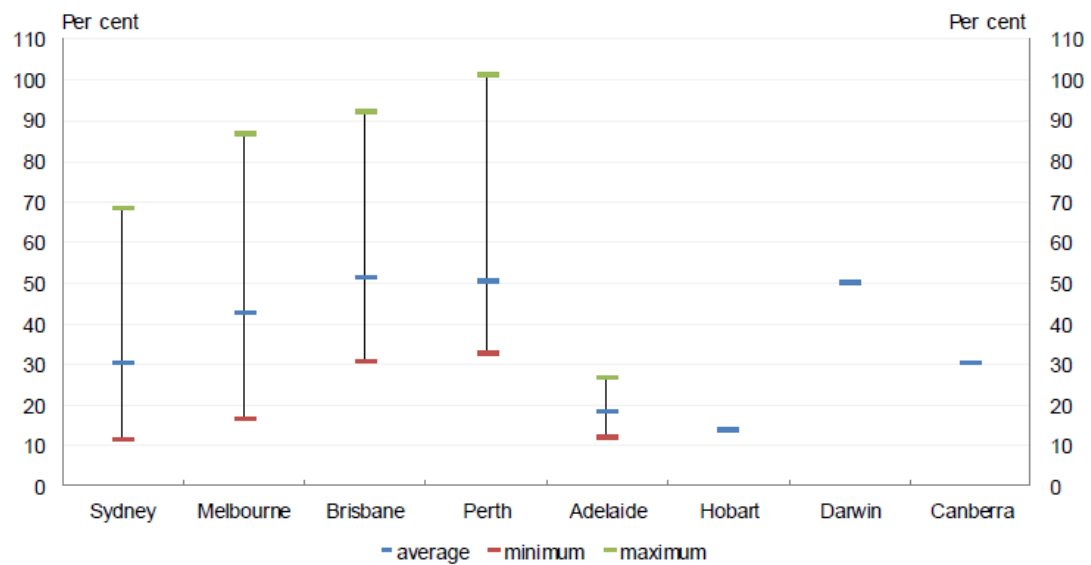
Source: ABS 2017e, ABS 2017f & ABS2017g, authors' calculations.

Figure 2: Population growth rates across the States, 1996-2016



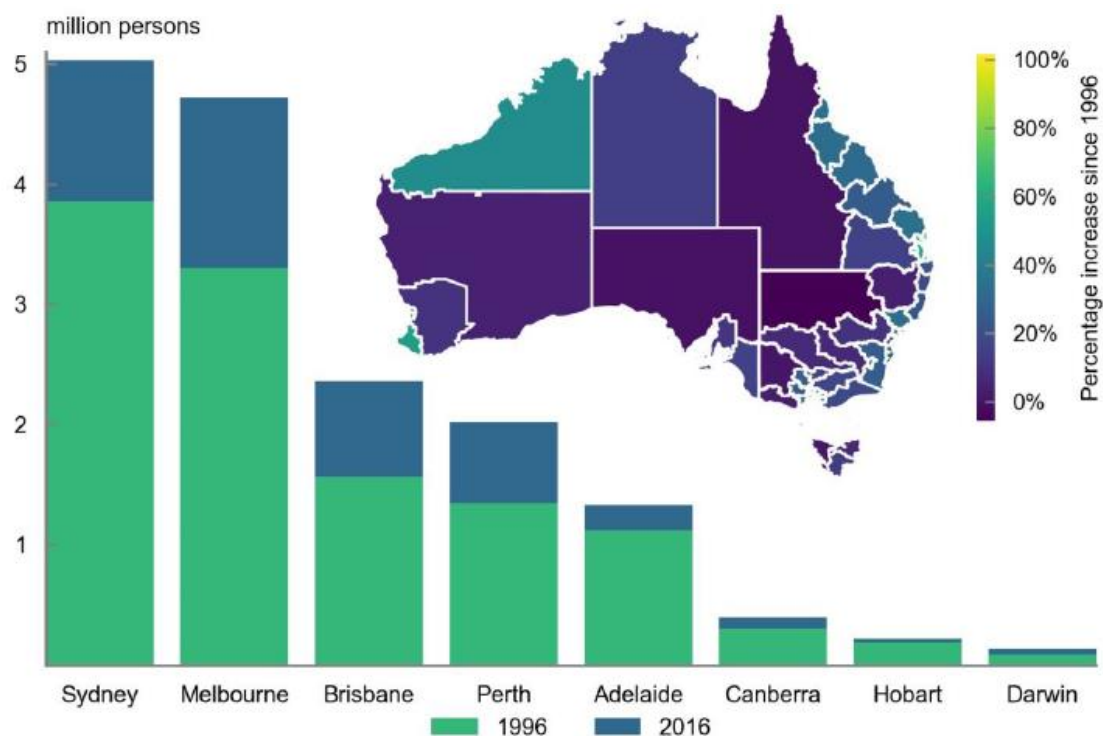
Note: The number of SA4 regions for each State is: NSW 13, Victoria 8, Queensland 9, WA 4, SA 3, Tasmania 3 and NT 1.
Source: ABS 2017d & ABS 2017e, authors' calculations.

Figure 3: Population growth rates across Australian capital cities, 1996-2016



Note: The number of SA4 regions for each capital city is: Sydney 15, Melbourne 9, Brisbane 9, Perth 6, Adelaide 4, Others 1.
Source: ABS 2017d & ABS 2017e, authors' calculations.

Figure 4: Regional and metropolitan population growth, 1996-2016



Source: ABS 2017d & ABS 2017e, authors' calculations.

Figure 5: Population trends

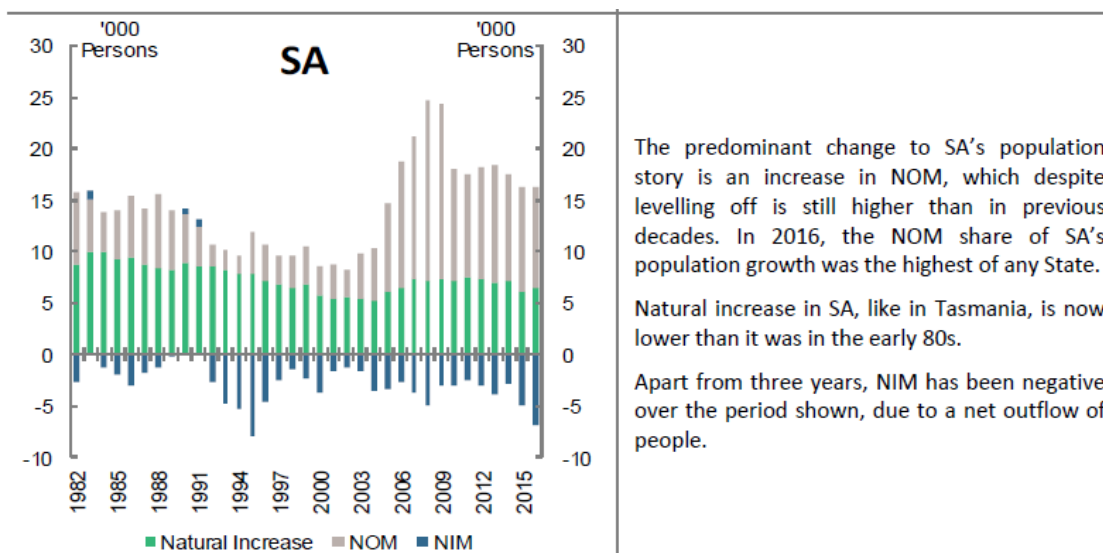
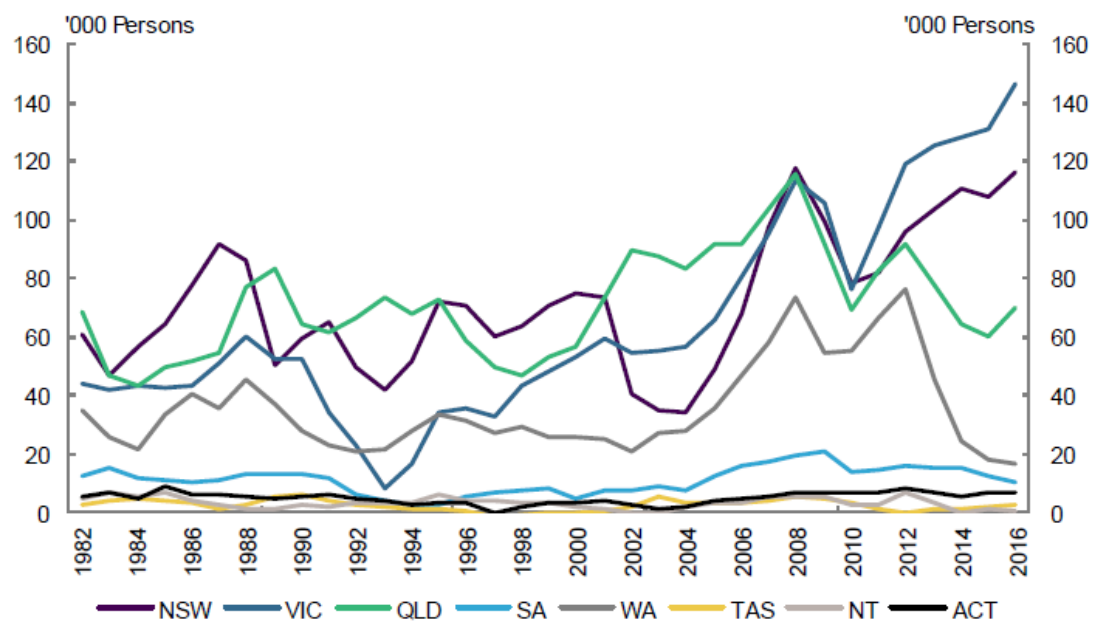


Figure 6: Change in population by State, 1982 to 2016



Source: ABS 2017a.