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METROPOLIS DIVIDED: THE POLITICAL DYNAMIC OF SPATIAL INEQUALITY AND MIGRANT SETTLEMENT IN SYDNEY

Ernest Healy and Bob Birrell

Contrary to the argument that high immigration does not exacerbate population pressures in Sydney, not only is this city's population growing, it is also bifurcating. There are now two Sydneys — one increasingly dominated by low to moderate-income non-English-speaking migrant communities in the West and South West and the other comprised of established inner affluent areas and predominantly English-speaking 'aspirational' areas on the metropolitan periphery. In the high migrant, low to moderate-income areas in the West and South Western suburbs, Australian-born residents are moving out at greater rates than overseas-born residents. In turn, low and moderate-income overseas arrivals continue to settle disproportionately in these locations. These geographic changes have political implications. Since the early 1990s, the Labor Party's federal representation in Sydney has shrunk and is now confined to seats in these locations. While Labor is unlikely to lose these seats, it is equally unlikely to gain seats elsewhere in Sydney.

INTRODUCTION

Sydney is the focal point of debate about migration issues in Australia. The reason is that Sydney is the main locus of the surge in migrant numbers in the late 1980s and since the mid-1990s. As Table 1 indicates, 37 per cent of all migrants who had arrived in Australia between 1996 and 2001 were living in Sydney at the time of the 2001 Census. Yet, Sydney holds just 22 per cent of Australia's population. Partly because of this attraction to overseas migrants, Sydney's population grew at record levels of around 50,000 persons per year during this five-year period. Meanwhile the migrant impact on the rest of NSW is negligible. Only 8.7 per cent of the 256,884 migrants who arrived between the years 1996 and 2001 and were living in NSW in 2001 were located outside Sydney.

This paper looks at some of the dilemmas arising from this situation. One concerns the physical task of coping with the extra numbers. Another, which is the focus here, concerns the social implications of Sydney's role as the main settlement location of overseas migrants. Land and housing are scarce in Sydney

and competition for dwellings in both high and low amenity areas is intense. The problem of housing affordability (for buyers and renters) is now widely considered to be of crisis proportions in Sydney. Housing stress intensified markedly in Sydney during the late 1990s with the percentage change in median unit prices and median weekly unit rent values outstripping average weekly earnings.¹ As a consequence, the Sydney community is differentiating spatially on income and wealth criteria.

The Canberra economist Ross Garnaut has recently lobbed a bombshell into this debate. Garnaut's work was commissioned by the Department of Immigration, Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA). Because of this, and because of the attention it has already received, as in the Sydney Morning Herald, its claims must be addressed. Garnaut argues that there are no grounds for concern about the high propensity for overseas migrants to settle in Sydney (or indeed in Melbourne). As far as Sydney is concerned, he says: 'there are no obvious problems of pop

Table 1: Share of all overseas-born persons living in Australia, who were residing in Sydney in 2001, by time of arrival in Australia

	Per cent of Australian total living in Sydney by time of arrival					Per cent of Australian total
	Australia total	Pre 1991	Arrived 1991 - 1995	Arrived 1996 - 2001	Not stated	
New Zealand	82,217	21	24	27	25	23
Fiji	25,412	56	59	59	58	57
The United Kingdom and Ireland	199,618	17	22	31	19	18
Greece	33,682	29	30	33	30	29
Italy	49,050	22	32	33	22	22
Malta	16,117	34	39	32	31	34
Former Yugoslavia	52,026	29	31	27	30	29
Germany	19,786	17	22	30	18	18
Poland	13,739	23	26	31	23	24
Former USSR & Baltic States	14,301	28	35	38	33	31
Lebanon	51,985	73	74	73	72	73
Turkey	10,902	36	37	39	37	37
Cambodia & Laos	14,537	47	40	39	43	45
Malaysia	18,962	26	24	18	21	24
Philippines	47,131	45	47	45	44	45
Vietnam	61,396	40	39	40	38	40
China (excl Taiwan Province)	81,995	58	58	57	58	57
Hong Kong	36,201	55	59	48	47	54
Korea, Republic of (South)	27,034	75	72	65	60	69
India	34,463	28	46	44	35	36
South Africa	25,419	32	37	31	31	32
Iran	10,126	56	57	49	33	53
Iraq	15,491	78	63	59	43	63
Indonesia & East Timor	21,977	40	36	39	32	39
Singapore	7,675	26	23	19	21	23
Taiwan	7,480	41	32	29	32	33
Afghanistan	4,542	52	45	41	12	40
Pakistan	6,298	50	60	52	47	52
Sri Lanka	15,833	26	34	34	34	30
Somalia	602	26	14	16	18	16
Ethiopia	515	17	16	12	8	14
Other Birthplaces	223,611	31	38	37	32	32
Inadequately described, at sea, nec	5,955	32	39	39	29	34
TOTAL OVERSEAS BORN	1,236,078	27	39	37	30	30

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2001 Census, customised matrix, Centre for Population and Urban Research (CPUR), Monash University

ulation growth related to immigration in the main city of migrant settlement — Sydney.²

Garnaut acknowledges that migrants

showed a high propensity to settle in Sydney and Melbourne from 1996 to 2001, but asserts that this propensity was offset by a high rate of out-migration to

other locations in Australia. Indeed for the period 1981 to 1996 he says that 'Australian-born residents moved out of the great cities almost as rapidly as migrants moved in'.³ According to Garnaut, this pattern changed during the most recent late 1990s period when Sydney benefited from the Olympics and (with Melbourne) because of a financial boom, which generated rapid job growth in the financial services industries. This, plus poor economic circumstances in regional Australia (magnified by the drought), diminished the incentive to move out of Sydney and Melbourne. Garnaut argues these are temporary phenomena, which will be reversed in the immediate future.

This is a provocative theory. If Sydney's recent financial boom is temporary and the drought ends, Garnaut may be right. Also, his assertion that high out-migration from Sydney is associated with high overseas immigration has a long and influential provenance. Burnley and Murphy noted these linkages in their 1994 study of immigration and housing in Sydney.⁴ They claim that in the late 1980s there was roughly a one to one movement out of Sydney for each movement in from overseas.

However, Garnaut is wrong in suggesting that Sydney's recent high rate of population growth (relative to the rest of NSW) is restricted to the late 1990s. Sydney (like Melbourne in the Victorian context) has been growing faster than the rest of NSW since the early 1990s.⁵ Also the very high rates of out-migration from Sydney in the late 1980s have not been repeated through the 1990s. Over the 1991 to 1996 period net overseas migration to Sydney was about 131,700 while the net loss of persons out of Sydney to other locations in Australia was 66,644. In the 1996 to 2001 period, net overseas

migration to Sydney was about 189,150 compared with net out-migration from Sydney of only 58,333.

As to Garnaut's claim that Sydney's population expansion during the late 1990s was an aberration, if it is, it is an aberration that has been going on since the early 1990s. Moreover, it is not restricted to Sydney, since Melbourne (despite the absence of an Olympic jamboree) has also experienced faster population growth during the 1990s than the rest of Victoria. Data on employment levels show that both cities have been the major beneficiaries of the structural changes associated with the globalisation of the Australian economy. Both have experienced an increase in their share of employment in the 'new economy' sector over the past decade. This is the basis of their economic buoyancy relative to their regional hinterlands. It also explains why there is no longer a close association between the arrival of overseas migrants and the departure of former residents. Both Sydney and Melbourne have been net attractors of the young and the better qualified from their regional hinterlands.⁶

Another factor shaping overseas migration flows is the ethnic make up of residents of these two cities. Most of the non-English-speaking background (NESB) origin ethnic communities, which have dominated the migration intake since the early 1980s, are located in Sydney and Melbourne — especially Sydney. These communities derive from Asia, the Middle East and the Pacific and are fed by the skill, family and humanitarian streams of the immigration program. The family and humanitarian intakes tend to be less proficient in English and low skilled. Migrants in these streams are attracted to existing communities because of family and community ties. Table 1 shows how strong that attraction is in the

case of Sydney. It is also notable that Sydney receives a relatively low share of the main English-speaking (MES) migrant groups, predominantly from the UK and New Zealand.

By 2001, overseas migrants made up 32 per cent of Sydney's population, up from 30 per cent in 1996. Our interest is in the pattern of settlement of both existing residents and of recently arrived migrants. Are there different patterns of concentrations for migrants? If so, do these concentrations appear to influence the residential movements of existing residents? Are there 'no obvious' problems associated with these issues as Garnaut claims?

BACKGROUND TO THE SPATIAL EQUITY DEBATE

A number of analyses published in *People and Place* since the 1996 Census have addressed the issue of growing spatial concentrations of poor persons within Australia's major capital cities — Melbourne and Sydney.⁷ The accompanying study by Leonardo Carroll on the settlement patterns of Vietnamese migrants in Sydney supplements this earlier work.

By the early 1990s, differences as to how to measure and explain the spatial patterning of disadvantage within Australian cities came to a head. Some commentators focused on suburban sprawl and the proliferation of job-remote, poorly serviced fringe locations as a key factor in explaining the spatial patterning of locational disadvantage.⁸ This line of thinking was in keeping with the assumptions of the Federal Government under the influence of Labor Deputy Prime Minister, Brian Howe who, by the early 1990s, had included locational disadvantage as a focus of Labor's social justice strategy. Ironi-

cally, the work by Chris Maher, which was sponsored by the federal government, argued that there was no evidence that the urban poor in particular were being forced to urban fringe locations.⁹ This view has been reaffirmed since. For example, a recent study of the Cranbourne area on Melbourne's Eastern fringe found Cranbourne to have been underpinned by the growth of a family-orientated population of modest incomes and low levels of unemployment.¹⁰ Current residents of this area are not particularly disadvantaged.

Others analysts looked to the impact of economic restructuring, especially the decline of manufacturing employment, in explaining localised concentrations of labour market disadvantage.¹¹

Consistent with Maher's analysis, but critical of the explanations based on manufacturing decline or sprawl, Birrell, O'Connor and Rapson argued that an understanding of the operation of housing markets was central to the metropolitan patterning of social disadvantage during the late 1980s and the 1990s. Following Winter and Bryson,¹² they argued that unfavourable perceptions, or the stigmatisation, of an area can adversely affect its housing prices and rental values. When this happens people who can afford to move out do so, while those on very low-incomes with limited housing choice tend to remain.¹³ The data pointed to a strong (NESB) dimension to the consolidation of low-income, high unemployment areas in parts of Melbourne, including Dandenong in the South-East, Maribyrnong/Sunshine in the West and the Northern suburbs from Preston to Broadmeadows. This corroborated earlier research that showed an increasing overlap between residential concentrations of the poor and of NESB migrants.¹⁴ In the localities in question, the net rates

of out-migration of the Australian-born and overseas-born from English-speaking background countries (including those in the low income category) were significantly in excess of out-migration rates of NESB persons.

This finding raises the crucial issue of whether Australian-born residents are showing a relatively high propensity to move out of such areas, thus accentuating the spatial concentration of low-income ethnic communities. This possibility challenges those who argue that such concentrations would be relatively transitory (following the pattern of earlier post-war migrant groups) and not a more enduring feature of contemporary metropolitan development in Sydney and Melbourne.¹⁵

Data and approach

This study is based on two customised sets of 2001 Census data. The first included data on detailed birthplace, time of arrival in Australia, income by age group, and sex for all Sydney Local government Areas (LGAs). The second was a 2001 Census internal migration matrix. As the Census asks respondents to state their residential location five years earlier, it is possible to construct a picture of the scale and spatial patterning of residential movement between the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. The matrix contains information on 34 spatial units designating place of usual residence in 1996, including cases where 2001 respondents were either overseas or their 1996 place of residence was not stated or specifiable from the 2001 Census form. The spatial units comprising the Sydney metropolitan area are, for the most part, at the LGA level or selected groupings of LGAs. Selected non-metropolitan coastal regions in NSW are also included to gauge metropolitan-coastal movements, as well as a 'rest of Australia' category to ascertain movements to and from Sydney

from outside of New South Wales.

In order to study the influence of birthplace, those born in Australia, in Main-English speaking countries (MES) and other countries (which broadly corresponds to NESB countries) were identified. The matrix only identifies the characteristics of individuals (not families). Given this limitation it was decided that the best indicator of movement patterns by socio-economic status was male income. Female income is an unreliable indicator of socio-economic status because it does not take account of the earnings of a male partner if the woman is living in a partnered relationship. In this study, the individual weekly income of men aged 25-64 years is used to identify the socio-economic status of movers and non-movers.

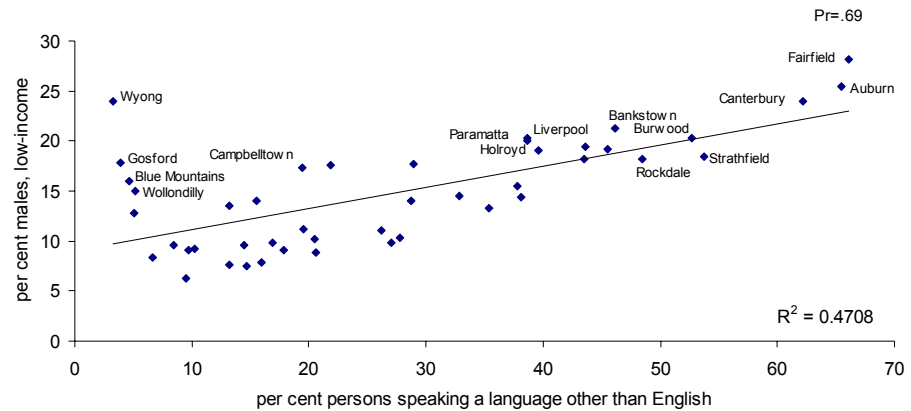
THE IMPACT OF INTERNAL RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION AND OVERSEAS IMMIGRATION

Low-income areas of Western Sydney

Figure 1 plots the relationship between the incidence of persons who speak a language other than English in the home and the proportion of low-income working-age males for different LGAs within Sydney. Most of the areas where a high percentage of men are in the low-income bracket (around 25 per cent or more) are also areas of high concentrations of people who speak a language other than English at home. This figure confirms the extent to which concentrations of disadvantaged residents in Sydney are associated with NESB immigrant communities. The only location where there is any significant link between low-income and Australian-born residents is Wyong.

Table 2 shows the 1996-2001 net internal migration and overseas immigration outcomes for four of the LGAs

Figure 1: LGAs in Sydney, per cent of persons who speak a language other than English in the home by per cent of males, 25 to 64 years, with individual income <\$300 per week, 2001



Source: ABS, 2001 Census, customised matrix, CPUR, Monash University

shown in Figure 1 which are amongst the most disadvantaged. These are Fairfield, Auburn, Canterbury and Bankstown. As is well known, these localities have substantial NESB communities and have been prominent in public debate about the social consequences of such concentrations. They are vulnerable to negative labelling and thus to the depressing effect which such labels can have on property prices. Rental prices in these locations are the lowest in Sydney.¹⁶

In terms of the theory summarised above, the consequences to be expected would include: a) a tendency for persons with the most financial resources to move out of the locality relative to those with limited resources, and b) a tendency for persons living elsewhere in Sydney or moving to Sydney from overseas with low resources to gravitate to these areas because of their relatively low housing prices.

The top part of the panels shown in Table 2 allows an assessment of these expectations. These data are for men aged

25-64. There are two clear findings. First, there are more out movers from these localities by 2001 (on the part of 1996 residents) than there are of people moving into these localities (who were resident elsewhere in Australia in 1996). While we do not know what drove this outcome it may well be that the media labelling of these locations as ‘troubled’ has had an impact. The second finding is that there is a higher rate of net out-movement amongst higher income males than amongst lower income males. In relative terms, men with more resources do appear to be using their financial capacity to move out of, or avoid locating in, these LGAs.

It is striking that there are net losses of low-income males. Given the high cost of housing in Sydney, and the fact that the four areas are amongst the localities with relatively low housing costs, one might expect that poorer males would gravitate to these localities.

Some insight into what is happening is provided in the bottom section of each

Table 2: Sydney, four LGAs, men aged 25-64 years, by weekly individual income and persons aged five or more years by birthplace, 1996 to 2001

	2001 Aust residents who reported living in area in 1996	Movement to/from elsewhere in Australia					Lived overseas 1996				Total net movement	Total net as % of 1996	Total residing in location in 2001**
		Non-mover	Inflow	Outflow	Net as % of 1996	Net	Born MESB (incl. Aust.)	Born NESB	Total*	% of 1996			
Fairfield													
< \$300	12,364	10,175	1,376	2,189	-813	-6.6	34	1,260	1,302	10.5	489	4.0	12,853
\$300-\$599	13,001	10,339	1,615	2,662	-1,047	-8.1	53	737	799	6.1	-248	-1.9	12,753
\$600-\$999	13,318	10,141	1,618	3,177	-1,559	-11.7	58	338	396	3.0	-1,163	-8.7	12,155
\$1,000-1499	4,702	3,393	500	1,309	-809	-17.2	18	68	86	1.8	-723	-15.4	3,979
\$1500+	1,675	1,105	158	570	-412	-24.6	3	21	24	1.4	-388	-23.2	1,287
Total ***	46,852	36,608	5,472	10,244	-4,772	-10.2	172	2,545	2,737	5.8	-2,035	-4.3	44,817
Australia	73,385	55,356	7,632	18,029	-10,397	-14.2			322	0.4	-10,075	-13.7	63,310
MESB country	4,808	3,615	623	1,193	-570	-11.9			601	12.5	31	0.6	4,839
NESB country	83,342	69,330	8,454	14,012	-5,558	-6.7			9,152	11.0	3,594	4.3	86,936
Total*	166,221	132,355	17,090	33,866	-16,776	-10.1			10,193	6.1	-6,583	-4.0	159,638
Canterbury													
< \$300	7,662	5,455	1,305	2,207	-902	-11.8	43	1,107	1,162	15.2	260	3.4	7,922
\$300-\$599	9,136	6,405	1,815	2,731	-916	-10.0	87	1,007	1,100	12.0	184	2.0	9,320
\$600-\$999	9,037	5,973	1,985	3,064	-1,079	-11.9	117	523	640	7.1	-439	-4.9	8,598
\$1,000-1499	3,716	2,377	795	1,339	-544	-14.6	35	140	175	4.7	-369	-9.9	3,347
\$1500+	1,678	969	374	709	-335	-20.0	26	25	51	3.0	-284	-16.9	1,394
Total ***	32,445	22,110	6,490	10,335	-3,845	-11.9	328	3,016	3,367	10.4	-478	-1.5	31,967
Australia	55,421	38,972	9,311	16,449	-7,138	-12.9			532	1.0	-6,606	-11.9	48,815
MESB country	3,982	2,554	939	1,428	-489	-12.3			808	20.3	319	8.0	4,301
NESB country	51,921	37,488	8,061	14,433	-6,372	-12.3			9,563	18.4	3,191	6.1	55,112
Total*	114,419	81,531	18,733	32,888	-14,155	-12.4			11,014	9.6	-3,141	-2.7	111,278
Auburn													
< \$300	3,432	2,429	565	1,003	-438	-12.8	18	831	855	24.9	417	12.2	3,849
\$300-\$599	3,484	2,497	800	987	-187	-5.4	36	578	620	17.8	433	12.4	3,917
\$600-\$999	3,488	2,274	702	1,214	-512	-14.7	40	273	319	9.1	-193	-5.5	3,295
\$1,000-1499	1,325	799	310	526	-216	-16.3	16	68	84	6.3	-132	-10.0	1,193
\$1500+	450	244	164	206	-42	-9.3	16	36	52	11.6	10	2.2	460
Total ***	12,691	8,621	2,610	4,070	-1,460	-11.5	132	1,925	2,079	16.4	619	4.9	13,310
Australia	20,152	14,057	3,152	6,095	-2,943	-14.6			269	1.3	-2,674	-13.3	17,478
MESB country	1,314	871	298	443	-145	-11.0			378	28.8	233	17.7	1,547
NESB country	21,858	15,738	4,269	6,120	-1,851	-8.5			5,822	26.6	3,971	18.2	25,829
Total*	44,682	31,757	7,896	12,925	-5,029	-11.3			6,572	14.7	1,543	3.5	46,225
Bankstown													
< \$300	8,266	6,307	1,623	1,959	-336	-4.1	51	557	615	7.4	279	3.4	8,545
\$300-\$599	9,576	7,350	2,052	2,226	-174	-1.8	97	477	580	6.1	406	4.2	9,982
\$600-\$999	11,890	8,740	2,524	3,150	-626	-5.3	115	335	453	3.8	-173	-1.5	11,717
\$1,000-1499	5,671	4,032	1,108	1,639	-531	-9.4	38	91	129	2.3	-402	-7.1	5,269
\$1500+	2,441	1,675	429	766	-337	-13.8	24	39	63	2.6	-274	-11.2	2,167
Total ***	39,224	29,229	7,973	9,995	-2,022	-5.2	331	1,570	1,917	4.9	-105	-0.3	39,119
Australia	92,922	71,516	13,500	21,406	-7,906	-8.5			589	0.6	-7,317	-7.9	85,605
MESB country	6,021	4,408	1,043	1,613	-570	-9.5			955	15.9	385	6.4	6,406
NESB country	42,229	34,310	9,931	7,919	2,012	4.8			5,238	12.4	7,250	17.2	49,479
Total*	145,059	113,518	25,028	31,541	-6,513	-4.5			6,868	4.7	355	0.2	145,414

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 Census, customised internal migration matrix, CPUR

* Total includes those who did not state their birthplace. ** Does not include those who did not report their 1996 residential location.

*** Total includes those who did not state their income.

panel in Table 2. This shows that there was a higher rate of net out-mobility on the part of Australian-born men who

lived in these localities in 1996 than of those born in NESB countries. The implication is that an ethnic factor is

involved. Before considering its basis, we provide additional detail for migration patterns in Fairfield. This is shown in Table 3, where the movements of men aged 25-64 are detailed by birthplace and income level. The key finding is that the net losses of Australian-born men are high across all the income categories. On the other hand, the net losses of NESB-born men are relatively low amongst the lower income categories, though much higher amongst NESB-born

men with higher incomes. Indeed, for men on \$1500 per week the net loss of NESB residents is 26.3 per cent; this is slightly higher than the 24.9 per cent figure for Australian-born men in this income category.

In other words, low-income NESB-born men are much more likely to remain in these localities than their Australian-born counterparts. The reasons for this are likely to be connected to attractions based on ethnic enclave

Table 3: Fairfield, men, 25-64 years, by individual weekly income, birthplace and net movement, 1996-2001

Weekly income and country of birth	Residents of Australia in 2001 who lived in Fairfield in 1996		Outflow as % of 1996 residents		Net flow	Movement Net to Fairfield outflow of persons as % of 1996 overseas in 1996		Total net movement	Total net movement as % of 1996 *	Residents in Fairfield in 2001
	Inflow	Outflow	residents	residents		1996	1996			
<\$300										
Australia	2,510	301	796	31.7	-495	-19.7	16	-479	-19.1	2,031
ESB	268	60	84	31.3	-24	-9.0	18	-6	-2.2	262
NESB	9,250	984	1,284	13.9	-300	-3.2	1,260	960	10.4	10,210
Total	12,364	1,376	2,189	17.7	-813	-6.6	1,302	489	4.0	12,853
\$300-\$599										
Australia	3,423	469	952	27.8	-483	-14.1	9	-474	-13.8	2,949
ESB	313	43	67	21.4	-24	-7.7	44	20	6.4	333
NESB	8,934	1,067	1,599	17.9	-532	-6.0	737	205	2.3	9,139
Total	13,001	1,615	2,662	20.5	-1,047	-8.1	799	-248	-1.9	12,753
\$600-\$999										
Australia	4,840	656	1,479	30.6	-823	-17.0	15	-808	-16.7	4,032
ESB	525	76	105	20.0	-29	-5.5	43	14	2.7	539
NESB	7,719	868	1,553	20.1	-685	-8.9	338	-347	-4.5	7,372
Total	13,318	1,618	3,177	23.9	-1,559	-11.7	396	-1,163	-8.7	12,155
\$1,000-\$1,499										
Australia	2,045	232	672	32.9	-440	-21.5	12	-428	-20.9	1,617
ESB	227	34	52	22.9	-18	-7.9	6	-12	-5.3	215
NESB	2,373	228	576	24.3	-348	-14.7	68	-280	-11.8	2,093
Total	4,702	500	1,309	27.8	-809	-17.2	86	-723	-15.4	3,979
\$1,500+										
Australia	743	83	268	36.1	-185	-24.9	3	-182	-24.5	561
ESB	68	9	9	13.2	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	68
NESB	841	66	287	34.1	-221	-26.3	21	-200	-23.8	641
Total	1,675	158	570	34.0	-412	-24.6	24	-388	-23.2	1,287
Total										
Australia	14,010	1,799	4,270	30.5	-2,471	-17.6	55	-2,416	-17.2	11,594
ESB	1,455	225	344	23.6	-119	-8.2	117	-2	-0.1	1,453
NESB	30,302	3,351	5,497	18.1	-2,146	-7.1	2,545	399	1.3	30,701
Total	46,852	5,472	10,244	21.9	-4,772	-10.2	2,737	-2,035	-4.3	44,817

Source: ABS, 2001 Census, customised internal migration matrix, CPUR.

* Does not include respondents to 2001 Census whose residential location in 1996 is unknown or unclear.

characteristics of these locations for NESB-born persons, including jobs in ethnic specific businesses, access to ethnic specific services and proximity to family members. There are unlikely to be parallel attractions for the shrinking minority of Australian-born men still living in these localities. (Table 3 shows that, by 2001, there were 11,594 Australian-born men and 30,701 NESB-born men living in Fairfield.) Such men and their families also have more options for shifting residence to a culturally familiar location. We explore later the extent to which these alternative locations are being found elsewhere in Sydney or in other parts of Australia.

Table 4 provides data on residential retention rates for a number of locations in Western Sydney including the four analysed above, which substantiates the above point. For this table, the residential retention rate is defined as the proportion of the 1996 population of an area who were still resident in the same area in 2001. The table indicates that a much higher proportion of low-income NESB men stayed in their 1996 location than their Australian born counterparts on the same incomes. This pattern is particularly strong for low-income males and confirms earlier work showing that low-income Australian-born men are relatively highly dispersed across Sydney.¹⁷

Table 2 above shows that the tendency for low-income male NESB migrants to concentrate in the four locations analysed here has been compounded by substantial inflows of recently arrived overseas migrants. Most of these 1996 to 2001 arrivals came from NESB countries that are prominent in the family reunion and humanitarian streams. For example, (though not shown in Table 2) 3,188 out of the total 6,788 Iraq-born migrants in Sydney as of 2001 were located in Fairfield. The men amongst these arrivals were heavily concentrated in the lower income categories. For example, in the case of Canterbury, Table 2 shows that overseas arrivals added an additional 1,162 low-income men, equivalent to 15 per cent of the stock of male residents in this income band who were resident in Canterbury as of 1996.

The case of Fairfield highlights the compounding effects of internal and overseas migration in these low income LGAs. Table 3 shows that low-income NESB men are being left behind in Fairfield to be joined by low-income NESB new-arrivals from overseas. Thus, the spatial alignment of disadvantage and ethnicity is strengthened over time.

Table 5 provides an indication of the implications of these trends for the overall

Table 4: Residential retention rates, 1996-2001, males 25 to 64 years, by birthplace and selected LGAs, per cent, Sydney

	Marrickville	Sth Sydney/ Sydney	Auburn	Canterbury	Strathfield	Parramatta & Holroyd	Fairfield	Liverpool	Bankstown	Blacktown	Campbelltown
Males, 25 to 64 years											
Aust.-born, <\$300 p.w.	54	57	58	65	63	69	68	67	69	71	70
NESB, <\$300 p.w.	70	71	75	74	75	80	86	82	82	85	82
Australian-born, income \$1000 or more p.w.	54	55	55	60	60	62	66	67	70	70	74
NESB income \$1000 or more p.w.	54	60	61	63	76	65	73	78	73	76	78

Source: ABS, 2001 Census, customised internal migration matrix, CPUR

overseas-born share of the adult male population in the four LGAs detailed above and all other Sydney LGAs (to be discussed further below). It compares the proportion of the male population aged 25-64 who are born overseas (in either MES or NESB countries), for the years 1991, 1996 and 2001. The adult male population is used because this gives a better indication of the changes to the ethnic make-up of Sydney LGAs wrought by migration than would a table showing all persons, including young people. Many of the latter would be Australian-born but in many Sydney LGAs most of their parents would be overseas-born. As can be seen, Fairfield and Canterbury top the list in 2001, each with 73 per cent of their male population aged 25-64 years being born overseas. The trend since 1991 is, as expected, towards greater concentration of the overseas-born, particularly in the Western and South-Western LGAs of Sydney. It is likely that the 2001 figures understate the concentration of the overseas born because, in 2001, a higher proportion of census respondents did not state their birthplace than was the case in earlier censuses. This tendency was most pronounced amongst overseas-born persons.¹⁸

Outer-suburban moderate-income suburbs

Three areas were chosen to explore the changing social make-up of outer suburban, moderate-income locations in the west of Sydney: Liverpool, Parramatta/ Holroyd and Blacktown. In each case, Table 5 shows that the overseas-born adult residents have expanded relative to their Australian-born counterparts over the decade 1991 to 2001. This growth was particularly striking in Liverpool and in Parramatta and Holroyd, where the proportion of overseas-born males grew from

44 to 53 per cent and 43 to 50 per cent, respectively.

Table 5: Per cent of males aged 25-64 years in Sydney LGAs and Sydney Statistical Division who were born overseas (excludes those who did not state their birthplace), 1991, 1996 and 2001 ranked on proportion overseas-born 2001

Area	% overseas-born		
	1991	1996	2001
Fairfield	70	73	73
Auburn	66	73	73
Canterbury	67	69	67
Strathfield	55	58	63
Burwood	61	60	61
Sydney - Remainder	52	50	60
Botany	63	61	57
Rockdale	56	57	56
Ashfield	65	61	55
Liverpool	44	49	53
Bankstown	43	48	52
Holroyd	43	46	50
Parramatta	43	47	50
Marrickville	62	57	49
Sydney - Inner	43	35	49
Sutherland Shire	24	24	47
Waverley	52	50	47
Kogarah	42	45	47
Willoughby	47	46	47
Hurstville	38	42	46
Ryde	43	45	45
Blacktown	42	44	44
Randwick	47	45	44
Concord	48	45	44
South Sydney	49	44	43
North Sydney	45	41	43
SYDNEY SD	42	43	42
Woollahra	43	41	41
Ku-ring-gai	37	40	41
Lane Cove	40	41	40
Mosman	38	37	39
Hornsby	33	37	39
Manly	37	36	38
Campbelltown	37	37	37
Baulkham Hills	35	35	37
Leichhardt	41	37	37
Drummoyne	42	39	35
Warringah & Pittwater	34	33	33
Hunters Hill	31	33	32
Penrith	36	34	32
Blue Mountains	27	26	25
Camden	27	26	24
Hawkesbury	24	23	20
Wollondilly	25	23	20
Gosford	20	20	20
Wyong	16	17	16

Source: ABS, customised 1991, 1996 and 2001 census matrices, CPUR

The pattern in these areas, as described in Table 6, is that males at the more affluent end of the income spectrum moved out at a greater rate than did lower-income men over the period 1996 to 2001. However, this movement was more notable amongst the Australian-born than amongst residents from NESB countries. This partly explains why the overseas-born proportion of these areas has been growing. In addition, there have been two other contributors to this trend. The first,

seen in the case of Liverpool, which is still a growth area of Sydney, is that NESB-born persons are moving in at a much greater rate and leaving at a lower rate than the Australian-born. In the cases of Parramatta/Holroyd and Blacktown, which are growing only marginally, there are net losses of Australian-born residents, but small gains of NESB residents in the case of Blacktown and little change in the case of Parramatta/Holroyd. The second factor, as Table 6 indicates, is that each

Table 6: Movement into and out of selected Sydney LGAs and locations, men aged 25-64 yrs by weekly individual income and persons aged five or more years by birthplace, 1996 to 2001

	2001 Aust residents who reported living in area in 1996	Movement to/from elsewhere in Australia					Lived overseas 1996				Total net movement	Total net as % of 1996	Total residing in location in 2001**
		Non-mover	Inflow	Outflow	Net	Net as % of 1996	Born MESSB (incl. Aust.)	Born NESB	Total*	% of 1996			
Liverpool													
< \$300	6,358	4,749	1,850	1,609	241	3.8	40	928	984	15.5	1,225	19.3	7,583
\$300-\$599	7,735	5,825	2,681	1,910	771	10.0	85	609	697	9.0	1,468	19.0	9,203
\$600-\$999	11,104	7,998	4,350	3,106	1,244	11.2	115	521	639	5.8	1,883	17.0	12,987
\$1,000-1499	4,684	3,346	1,788	1,338	450	9.6	48	134	182	3.9	632	13.5	5,316
\$1500+	1,842	1,282	597	560	37	2.0	27	42	72	3.9	109	5.9	1,951
Total ***	32,905	24,157	11,582	8,748	2,834	8.6	331	2,345	2,704	8.2	5,538	16.8	38,443
Australia	70,198	51,316	21,357	18,882	2,475	3.5			429	0.6	2,904	4.1	73,102
MESB country	5,740	4,213	1,641	1,527	114	2.0			1,057	18.4	1,171	20.4	6,911
NESB country	33,614	27,854	13,779	5,760	8,019	23.9			7,754	23.1	15,773	46.9	49,387
Total*	112,659	85,951	37,462	26,708	10,754	9.5			9,350	8.3	20,104	17.8	132,763
Parramatta & Holroyd													
< \$300	10,952	8,117	2,014	2,835	-821	-7.5	118	1,528	1,668	15.2	847	7.7	11,799
\$300-\$599	12,290	8,991	2,599	3,299	-700	-5.7	207	1,161	1,375	11.2	675	5.5	12,965
\$600-\$999	17,230	11,726	4,557	5,504	-947	-5.5	339	969	1,314	7.6	367	2.1	17,597
\$1,000-1499	9,080	5,956	2,411	3,124	-713	-7.9	166	402	568	6.3	-145	-1.6	8,935
\$1500+	4,786	2,726	1,067	2,060	-993	-20.7	103	199	302	6.3	-691	-14.4	4,095
Total ***	56,008	38,817	12,944	17,191	-4,247	-7.6	959	4,440	5,440	9.7	1,193	2.1	57,201
Australia	123,301	88,790	23,425	34,511	-11,086	-9.0			956	0.8	-10,130	-8.2	113,171
MESB country	11,153	7,750	2,431	3,403	-972	-8.7			2,257	20.2	1,285	11.5	12,438
NESB country	53,660	40,834	12,284	12,826	-542	-1.0			14,297	26.6	13,755	25.6	67,415
Total*	192,829	141,326	38,734	51,503	-12,769	-6.6			17,679	9.2	4,910	2.5	197,739
Blacktown													
< \$300	11,341	8,597	1,853	2,744	-891	-7.9	101	717	826	7.3	-65	-0.6	11,276
\$300-\$599	13,879	10,998	2,836	2,881	-45	-0.3	170	739	915	6.6	870	6.3	14,749
\$600-\$999	19,942	15,686	5,123	4,256	867	4.3	309	682	994	5.0	1,861	9.3	21,803
\$1,000-1499	9,188	6,783	2,307	2,405	-98	-1.1	99	207	309	3.4	211	2.3	9,399
\$1500+	3,377	2,218	810	1,159	-349	-10.3	76	86	162	4.8	-187	-5.5	3,190
Total ***	59,665	45,878	13,271	13,787	-516	-0.9	785	2,552	3,360	5.6	2,844	4.8	62,509
Australia	141,817	108,779	26,610	33,038	-6,428	-4.5			619	0.4	-5,809	-4.1	136,008
MESB country	14,898	11,400	2,642	3,498	-856	-5.7			2,400	16.1	1,544	10.4	16,442
NESB country	50,627	42,763	11,030	7,864	3,166	6.3			9,146	18.1	12,312	24.3	62,939
Total*	213,542	168,198	41,072	45,344	-4,272	-2.0			12,294	5.8	8,022	3.8	221,564

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 Census, customised internal migration matrix, CPUR

* Total includes those who did not state their birthplace. ** Does not include those who did not report their 1996 residential location.

*** Total includes those who did not state their income.

of these three areas was an important settlement location of NESB migrants who arrived over the 1996 to 2001 period. New migrants added substantially to the greater overseas-born and NESB concentrations in these suburbs.

Space prohibits detailed analysis of other moderate-income Western and South-Western suburban areas of Sydney. However, it appears that a similar process to that just described has occurred in other LGAs, including Kogarah and Hurstville (see Table 5).

Affluent areas

Migrants drawn from the skilled and business components of the immigration program avoid the low-income LGAs and, for the most part, the moderate-income areas described above. However, higher-income migrants from Asia do not disperse across affluent Sydney as their UK-born counterparts do. Burnley has shown that, by 1996, higher-income Asian migrants were aggregating in particular suburbs. For example, in the case of Chinese speakers from Hong Kong and Malaysia, the largest concentration was in the Hornsby and Baulkham Hills LGAs located in outer Northern Sydney.¹⁹ The question tackled here concerns the extent to which such concentrations are consolidating through internal migration and by the addition of recent arrivals from overseas since 1996. To explore this issue, we have selected four relatively high-income Sydney locations. One is Baulkham Hills/Hornsby. The 'North'²⁰ area, consisting of a number of LGAs, covers the affluent northern suburban zone of Sydney. Leichardt and Concord/Drummoyne are gentrifying locations near to the inner city to the south of the Harbour. As Table 7 indicates, each of these areas experienced net losses of low-income male residents over the 1996

to 2001 period, but net gains of high-income males. The lower panels in each of these data sets indicate that, in the cases of Leichardt and Concord/Drummoyne, the in-movements are mainly of Australian-born persons. There is also only a moderate inflow of overseas migrants. Thus, gentrification is not being accompanied by much change in the ethnic make-up of these areas. Ironically, despite its trendy nature, the Leichhardt area (which includes Balmain) is holding against the overseas-born tide (See Table 5). Though not shown in Table 7 the same trend is occurring in the adjoining inner LGA of Marrickville.

The situation is different in Baulkham Hills/Hornsby and to a lesser extent in the North region. Most of the substantial net gain from internal movement to Baulkham Hills/Hornsby during the 1996 to 2001 period was from persons born in NESB countries. In addition, a large number of overseas migrants settled in this location and in the North region, most of whom were from NESB countries. The major source countries of those settling in Hornsby were China, Hong Kong and Korea. The net effect of these two streams has been to give the Baulkham Hills/Hornsby area (particularly Hornsby) a distinctive Asian flavour. However, unlike the Western suburban LGAs, there is not yet evidence of any net loss of Australian-born residents in this process. Space precludes analysis of other areas of the North region which are taking on an Asian flavour on account of high settlement rates of high-income NESB settlers. One of the best known is Chatswood.

In the case of Baulkham Hills/Hornsby and the North region the impact of internal and overseas migration is the reverse of

Table 7: Movement to and from selected Sydney LGAs and locations, men aged 25-64 yrs by weekly individual income and persons aged five or more years by birthplace, 1996 to 2001

	2001 Aust. residents who reported living in area in 1996	Movement to/from elsewhere in Australia					Lived overseas 1996				Total net movement	Total net as % of 1996	Total residing in location in 2001**
		Non-mover	Inflow	Outflow	Net	Net as % of 1996	Born MESB (incl. Aust.)	Born NESB	Total*	% of 1996			
Concord/Drummoyne													
< \$300	1,877	1,307	413	570	-157	-8.4	41	112	156	8.3	-1	-0.1	1,876
\$300-\$599	2,500	1,735	603	765	-162	-6.5	55	74	129	5.2	-33	-1.3	2,467
\$600-\$999	3,759	2,524	1,408	1,235	173	4.6	122	95	217	5.8	390	10.4	4,149
\$1,000-1499	2,565	1,736	1,267	829	438	17.1	141	49	190	7.4	628	24.5	3,193
\$1500+	2,508	1,668	1,441	840	601	24.0	206	60	266	10.6	867	34.6	3,375
Total ***	13,546	9,205	5,227	4,341	886	6.5	576	415	994	7.3	1,880	13.9	15,426
Australia	32,224	23,064	10,624	9,160	1,464	4.5			525	1.6	1,989	6.2	34,213
MESB country	3,062	1,958	1,199	1,104	95	3.1			938	30.6	1,033	33.7	4,095
NESB country	11,102	9,046	2,929	2,056	873	7.9			1,451	13.1	2,324	20.9	13,426
Total*	47,408	34,900	14,943	12,508	2,435	5.1			2,935	6.2	5,370	11.3	52,778
Baulkham Hills and Hornsby													
< \$300	6,992	4,959	1,397	2,033	-636	-9.1	136	478	621	8.9	-15	-0.2	6,977
\$300-\$599	10,485	7,938	2,296	2,547	-251	-2.4	180	398	578	5.5	327	3.1	10,812
\$600-\$999	17,950	13,289	5,137	4,661	476	2.7	348	430	784	4.4	1,260	7.0	19,210
\$1,000-1499	14,403	11,189	4,534	3,214	1,320	9.2	355	322	677	4.7	1,997	13.9	16,400
\$1500+	15,359	12,420	4,417	2,939	1,478	9.6	870	410	1,288	8.4	2,766	18.0	18,125
Total ***	66,490	50,794	18,089	15,696	2,393	3.6	1,915	2,110	4,046	6.1	6,439	9.7	72,929
Australia	170,966	134,321	38,521	36,645	1,876	1.1			1,817	1.1	3,693	2.2	174,659
MESB country	21,754	16,910	4,714	4,844	-130	-0.6			4,554	20.9	4,424	20.3	26,178
NESB country	39,122	32,779	13,144	6,343	6,801	17.4			8,205	21.0	15,006	38.4	54,128
Total*	236,145	187,692	57,182	48,453	8,729	3.7			14,692	6.2	23,421	9.9	259,566
Leichardt													
< \$300	2,664	1,551	692	1,113	-421	-15.8	112	142	254	9.5	-167	-6.3	2,497
\$300-\$599	2,567	1,474	767	1,093	-326	-12.7	129	88	217	8.5	-109	-4.2	2,458
\$600-\$999	3,877	2,074	1,691	1,803	-112	-2.9	380	85	465	12.0	353	9.1	4,230
\$1,000-1499	2,938	1,619	1,447	1,319	128	4.4	344	58	402	13.7	530	18.0	3,468
\$1500+	3,641	2,078	2,016	1,563	453	12.4	570	93	666	18.3	1,119	30.7	4,760
Total ***	16,067	9,037	6,747	7,030	-283	-1.8	1,567	478	2,048	12.7	1,765	11.0	17,832
Australia	34,041	20,468	14,303	13,573	730	2.1			1,164	3.4	1,894	5.6	35,935
MESB country	6,077	3,649	2,065	2,428	-363	-6.0			2,498	41.1	2,135	35.1	8,212
NESB country	7,486	5,131	1,948	2,355	-407	-5.4			1,548	20.7	1,141	15.2	8,627
Total*	48,604	29,937	18,507	18,667	-160	-0.3			5,222	10.7	5,062	10.4	53,666
North region****													
< \$300	15,685	10,952	1,888	4,733	-2,845	-18.1	554	1,353	1,922	12.3	-923	-5.9	14,762
\$300-\$599	21,981	16,892	2,946	5,089	-2,143	-9.7	711	1,072	1,786	8.1	-357	-1.6	21,624
\$600-\$999	35,872	27,652	6,405	8,220	-1,815	-5.1	1,703	1,122	2,833	7.9	1,018	2.8	36,890
\$1,000-1499	26,727	20,825	5,437	5,902	-465	-1.7	1,626	777	2,406	9.0	1,941	7.3	28,668
\$1500+	39,217	32,997	8,189	6,220	1,969	5.0	4,622	1,512	6,153	15.7	8,122	20.7	47,339
Total ***	142,602	111,866	25,303	30,736	-5,433	-3.8	9,367	6,033	15,461	10.8	10,028	7.0	152,630
Australia	349,521	286,538	56,524	62,983	-6,459	-1.8			7,212	2.1	753	0.2	350,274
MESB country	59,245	48,031	7,263	11,214	-3,951	-6.7			18,111	30.6	14,160	23.9	73,405
NESB country	81,419	67,773	12,134	13,646	-1,512	-1.9			21,919	26.9	20,407	25.1	101,826
Total*	499,445	410,398	76,840	89,047	-12,207	-2.4			47,512	9.5	35,305	7.1	534,750

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 Census, customised internal migration matrix, CPUR

* Total includes those who did not state their birthplace. ** Does not include those who did not report their 1996 residential location.

*** Total includes those who did not state their income. **** See text for description of this region.

that found in the low-income Western suburbs discussed above. Table 7 shows that these locations can be described as 'poor-shedding/rich absorbing'.

The suburban fringe

The final locations considered are a group of three areas on the fringe. These are Wyong/Gosford on the Northern coastal zone of Sydney, Camden/ Wollondilly to

the South-West and Hawkesbury/Blue Mountains to the Northwest. Except for the latter, these are population growth areas.

Table 8 indicates that these are predominantly centres of Australian-born residents. In contrast to most of the locations discussed above, the share of Australian-born residents has actually grown since 1991 (see Table 5). The reasons for this are clear from Table 8. In the case of Wyong/ Gosford and Camden/ Wollondilly, new additions are mainly

Australian-born residents who are internal migrants. There is very little recent overseas migration to these locations.

There has been much discussion about the socio-economic characteristics of people moving to the urban fringe, in part because the federal electorates covering these locations have proven to be major swing zones in favour of the Coalition. The data displayed in Table 8 indicate that most of the in-movers are in the moderate-to-high income group.

Table 8: Movement into and out of selected Sydney LGAs and locations, men aged 25-64 yrs by weekly individual income and persons aged five or more years by birthplace, 1996 to 2001

	2001 Aust residents who reported living in area in 1996	Movement to/from elsewhere in Australia					Net as % of 1996	Lived overseas 1996			Total net movement	Total net as % of 1996	Total residing in location in 2001**
		Non-mover	Inflow	Outflow	Net	Born MESB (incl. Aust.)		Born NESB	Total*	% of 1996			
Wyong/Gosford													
< \$300	12,512	9,989	3,381	2,523	858	6.9	140	57	197	1.6	1,055	8.4	13,567
\$300-\$599	13,933	12,011	3,015	1,922	1,093	7.8	164	56	223	1.6	1,316	9.4	15,249
\$600-\$999	18,146	15,773	4,245	2,373	1,872	10.3	318	48	372	2.1	2,244	12.4	20,390
\$1,000-1499	8,805	7,531	2,028	1,274	754	8.6	161	35	196	2.2	950	10.8	9,755
\$1500+	4,078	3,333	984	745	239	5.9	145	27	172	4.2	411	10.1	4,489
Total ***	59,183	50,098	13,990	9,085	4,905	8.3	952	233	1,194	2.0	6,099	10.3	65,282
Australia	200,474	171,728	39,798	28,746	11,052	5.5			942	0.5	11,994	6.0	212,468
MESB country	20,203	17,287	5,025	2,916	2,109	10.4			2,030	10.0	4,139	20.5	24,342
NESB country	9,896	8,380	3,086	1,516	1,570	15.9			1,013	10.2	2,583	26.1	12,479
Total*	236,822	202,939	48,938	33,883	15,055	6.4			4,045	1.7	19,100	8.1	255,922
Camden/Wollondilly													
< \$300	2,581	1,831	624	750	-126	-4.9	25	22	50	1.9	-76	-2.9	2,505
\$300-\$599	3,604	2,860	1,135	744	391	10.8	26	10	36	1.0	427	11.8	4,031
\$600-\$999	5,874	4,739	2,503	1,135	1,368	23.3	73	20	93	1.6	1,461	24.9	7,335
\$1,000-1499	3,395	2,821	1,500	574	926	27.3	42	6	48	1.4	974	28.7	4,369
\$1500+	1,502	1,224	574	278	296	19.7	31	9	40	2.7	336	22.4	1,838
Total ***	17,446	13,874	6,523	3,572	2,951	16.9	202	70	275	1.6	3,226	18.5	20,672
Australia	51,275	41,307	17,089	9,968	7,121	13.9			194	0.4	7,315	14.3	58,590
MESB country	5,476	4,319	1,813	1,157	656	12.0			448	8.2	1,104	20.2	6,580
NESB country	4,181	3,386	1,654	795	859	20.5			313	7.5	1,172	28.0	5,353
Total*	62,392	50,247	20,894	12,145	8,749	14.0			958	1.5	9,707	15.6	72,099
Hawkesbury & Blue Mountains													
< \$300	5,099	3,539	1,292	1,560	-268	-5.3	60	29	89	1.7	-179	-3.5	4,920
\$300-\$599	7,044	5,469	1,515	1,575	-60	-0.9	86	47	133	1.9	73	1.0	7,117
\$600-\$999	10,331	7,988	2,780	2,343	437	4.2	152	33	185	1.8	622	6.0	10,953
\$1,000-1499	6,396	5,067	1,525	1,329	196	3.1	75	10	85	1.3	281	4.4	6,677
\$1500+	2,916	2,255	713	661	52	1.8	79	11	90	3.1	142	4.9	3,058
Total ***	32,556	24,960	7,991	7,596	395	1.2	464	139	603	1.9	998	3.1	33,554
Australia	98,413	76,598	20,632	21,815	-1,183	-1.2			512	0.5	-671	-0.7	97,742
MESB country	11,385	8,915	2,563	2,470	93	0.8			869	7.6	962	8.4	12,347
NESB country	7,304	5,796	1,752	1,508	244	3.3			604	8.3	848	11.6	8,152
Total*	119,539	93,293	25,349	26,246	-897	-0.8			1,997	1.7	1,100	0.9	120,639

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001 Census, customised internal migration matrix, CPUR

* Total includes those who did not state their birthplace.

** Does not include those who did not report their 1996 residential location.

*** Total includes those who did not state their income.

Internal migration, overseas immigration and spatial equity outcomes

The ways in which the processes of internal migration and overseas migrant settlement combine to exaggerate spatial inequity within Sydney are illustrated by Figures 2 and 3. In short, affluent areas tend to be made more affluent through the combined impact of internal migration and overseas migrant settlement, while disadvantaged areas tend to become more so as the numbers of low-income males increase.

Figure 2 shows that, as a result of internal migration between 1996 and 2001, Fairfield had a net loss of low to middle income men. However, this loss was disproportionately replenished through the arrival of low-income men from overseas.

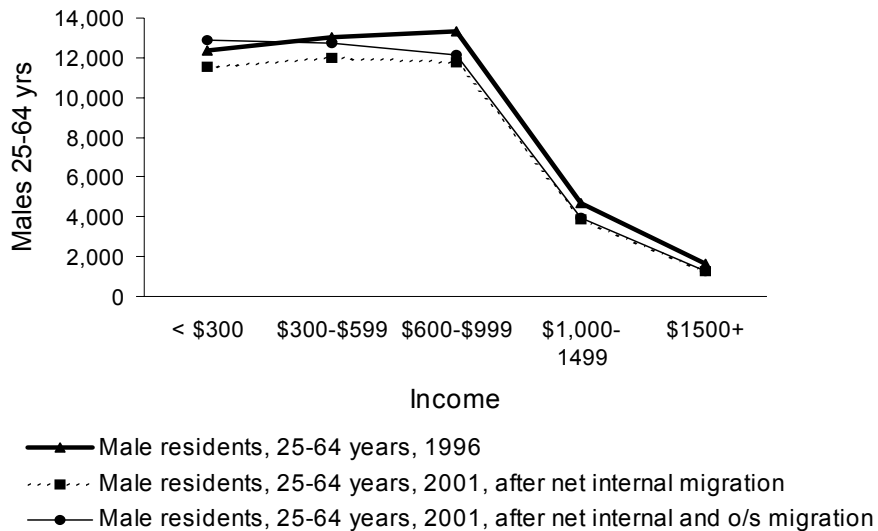
By contrast, Figure 3 illustrates the outcome for Baulkham Hills/ Hornsby. This affluent area experienced a net gain

of middle to higher income men as a result of internal migration, augmented by overseas immigration during the inter-censal period.

RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION - SYDNEY AND THE BUSH

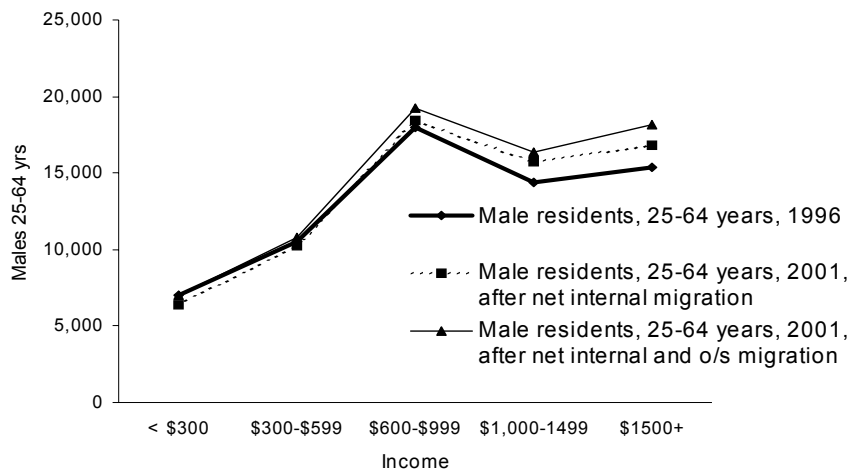
Movements to and from Sydney over the period 1996 to 2001 have had only a minor impact on the ethnic and socio-economic characteristics of the population of Sydney. Table 9 shows that Sydney experienced a net loss equivalent to 1.8 per cent of its 1996 residents to locations elsewhere in Australia. The table also indicates that the loss was almost entirely due to the movement of Australian-born and MES-born residents. There was essentially no net movement out of Sydney on the part of NESB persons. As a consequence, this migration pattern is contributing to the increased weight of the overseas-born population of Sydney.

Figure 2: Fairfield, income profile, 1996 and 2001, showing the impact of internal migration and overseas migration, males 25-64 years



Source: ABS, 2001 Census, customised matrix, CPUR

Figure 3: Baulkham Hills/Hornsby, income profile, 1996 and 2001, showing the impact of internal migration and overseas immigration, males 25-64 years



Source: ABS, 2001 Census, customised migration matrix, CPUR

Though not shown in the table, the relatively small numbers moving out of Sydney are concentrated in the low-income categories²¹ and pre-retirement age brackets. On the other hand, those moving into Sydney tend to be concentrated amongst the younger age groups and those of working age tend to be in the high-income categories.

As indicated at the outset, net movement out of Sydney is not acting as a 'safety valve' for the population pressures arising from Sydney's role as the prime settlement destination for overseas migrants, as imagined by Garnaut. This is a myth that is taking a long time to die. The less affluent, who might be expected to struggle for housing in Sydney, are moving out in very small numbers. Successive studies have shown that the build up of low-income people, including sole parents, in coastal locations is only partly a consequence of internal migration. Rather, it is mainly a

home-grown phenomenon attributable to the limited educational and employment opportunities in these locations.²² Nevertheless, the movement out of Sydney can be read, in part, as an extension of the flow of the Australian-born to Sydney's fringe suburbs. About one quarter of the net loss of 27,385 Australian-born residents from the Sydney metropolitan region to the rest of NSW, between 1996 and 2001, came from the high NESB LGAs of Canterbury, Bankstown, Fairfield, Strathfield, Auburn and Liverpool.

IMPLICATIONS

This study confirms what must seem obvious to most Sydney residents, that the differentiation of Sydney into rich and poor (and layers in between) is fundamentally a consequence of competition for housing and other forms of residential amenity. Whether there is

Table 9: Movement into and out of the Sydney metropolitan area, Australian residents aged 5 or more years, by birthplace, 1996 to 2001

Birthplace	2001 Aust residents who reported living in area in 1996	Movement to/from elsewhere in Australia					Net as % of 1996	Lived overseas in 1996		Total net change		Total residing in location in 2001**	Location unknown 1996
		Non-mover	Inflow	Outflow	Net	Total (incl. not stated)		% of Aust Residents 1996	No.	% of 1996			
Australia	2,226,018	2,042,232	138,755	183,786	-45,031	-2.0	25,868	1.2	-19,163	-0.9	2,206,855	39,295	
MESB country	265,579	241,212	13,888	24,367	-10,479	-3.9	62,421	23.5	51,942	19.6	317,521	6,898	
NESB country	726,190	704,599	20,091	21,591	-1,500	-0.2	149,589	20.6	148,089	20.4	874,279	26,588	
Birthplace Not Stated	77,233	73,105	2,805	4,128	-1,323	-1.7	1,991	2.6	668	0.9	77,901	146,911	
Total	3,295,020	3,061,148	175,539	233,872	-58,333	-1.8	239,869	7.3	181,536	5.5	3,476,556	219,692	

Source: ABS, 2001 Census, customised internal migration matrix, CPUR

* Does not include respondents to 2001 Census whose residential location in 1996 is unknown or unclear.

an added ethnic dimension has been more controversial. However, the present analysis leaves little doubt that there is.

The main focus of this paper has been the lower cost housing areas of Western Sydney. The data show low internal migration rates out of these areas on the part of NESB persons, which implies that they are locked into these zones. In addition, there remain substantial streams of low-income overseas migrants, stemming from the family reunion and humanitarian programs, which are adding to these concentrations. As Leonardo Carroll shows in the accompanying article, it is no longer the Vietnamese who are the main source of such flows. Rather, new streams are settling in Western Sydney, including those from Iraq and Iran. Meanwhile, the rate of out-movement of the remnant Australian-born and MES populations of the Western Sydney heartland is much higher than that of the established NESB populations — thus again adding to the scale of the NESB community.

There is also evidence of consolidation of moderate and high-income class fractions with a NESB component elsewhere in Sydney. In the case of the moderate-income areas in middle and outer Sydney, including Liverpool, Parramatta, Kogarah and Hurstville, there is a distinct movement towards a more pronounced ethnic component.

On the other hand, the fringe areas on the periphery of Sydney, including Wyong/Gosford, Camden/Wollondilly and Penrith, remain predominantly Australian-born communities. This is partly because of the residential movement of Australian-born residents out of increasingly NESB areas and partly because very few recently arrived migrants are settling in these fringe locations.²³

The present study supports the hypothesis that the spatial concentration of rich and poor largely reflects their respective capacity to access high-amenity housing. However, in addition, as earlier research has shown for Melbourne, there is an ethnic factor at work. As a consequence concentrations of the suburban poor are increasingly comprised of ethnic-minorities in both metropolises.

However there is much more to community differentiation in Sydney than has occurred in the much-publicised areas of Fairfield, Auburn and the like. This study has shown that across much of the moderate-income areas of Western and South- Western Sydney there is also a significant degree of spatial differentiation between the NESB-born and the MES/Australian- born population. We have emphasised how important recent overseas migration is in accentuating this process. Table 10 provides additional data on this point. It shows the percentage distribution of 1996 to 2001 arrivals by

Table 10: Overseas born persons arriving in Australia, 1996-2001, birthplace by area of settlement, per cent

	New Zealand	The United Kingdom and Ireland	Lebanon	Turkey	Asia **	India	Iran	Iraq	Afghanistan	Pakistan	Sri Lanka	Other	Total	Total (Nos)
Botany	9	2	1	2	29	4	1	5	0	2	1	45	100	2,982
Leichhardt	19	34	0	0	14	2	0	0	0	0	0	30	100	3,823
Marrickville	13	9	2	1	36	3	0	0	0	1	0	36	100	5,217
South Sydney	17	19	0	0	27	3	0	0	0	0	0	33	100	8,598
Sydney - Inner	11	18	0	0	37	3	0	0	0	0	0	30	100	890
Sydney - Remainder	6	10	0	0	64	2	0	0	0	0	0	19	100	5,800
Randwick	8	12	0	0	48	1	0	0	0	1	1	28	100	12,169
Waverley	13	30	0	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	48	100	5,626
Woolahra	14	30	0	0	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	42	100	3,627
Hurstville	12	3	1	0	58	4	0	0	0	1	1	21	100	5,155
Kogarah	11	3	2	0	52	4	0	0	0	1	0	27	100	3,351
Rockdale	13	3	5	0	35	4	0	1	0	1	1	37	100	6,113
Sutherland Shire - East	26	19	1	0	17	1	0	0	0	0	0	35	100	2,191
Sutherland Shire - West	17	19	1	0	17	4	0	1	0	0	0	40	100	1,889
Bankstown	12	2	12	0	37	4	0	3	0	2	0	27	100	7,445
Canterbury	7	1	5	0	47	4	0	3	0	4	1	28	100	12,765
Fairfield	6	0	1	1	37	1	1	25	0	0	0	28	100	12,833
Liverpool	8	1	3	1	13	6	1	9	0	1	1	54	100	10,533
Camden	20	27	1	0	16	2	1	1	0	2	1	30	100	527
Campbelltown	18	5	1	0	20	7	0	1	1	1	1	44	100	4,899
Wollondilly	17	25	4	0	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	100	238
Ashfield	6	5	0	0	47	13	0	0	0	1	1	27	100	4,094
Burwood	5	4	1	0	59	11	0	0	0	0	2	17	100	3,544
Concord	12	11	1	2	47	7	0	0	0	0	3	18	100	1,429
Drummoyne	20	24	0	1	22	0	0	0	0	0	1	31	100	1,086
Strathfield	4	2	1	0	51	12	0	0	0	1	16	13	100	3,413
Auburn	5	1	4	4	33	5	1	8	7	3	6	22	100	7,641
Holroyd	11	2	6	1	24	11	3	4	5	1	6	26	100	6,603
Parramatta	8	2	5	1	36	14	3	3	3	1	3	22	100	12,615
Blue Mountains	16	28	2	0	14	4	1	0	0	0	0	33	100	848
Hawkesbury	30	17	1	0	14	3	0	1	0	1	1	30	100	621
Penrith	19	11	1	0	17	9	1	2	1	2	4	34	100	3,773
Baulkham Hills	11	13	1	0	34	4	2	0	0	1	2	31	100	5,217
Blacktown - North	19	7	1	1	25	11	1	0	0	2	4	30	100	3,163
Blacktown - South-East	11	2	1	2	25	10	2	1	2	2	3	39	100	5,813
Blacktown - South-West	15	1	1	1	25	6	0	5	3	3	3	36	100	5,446
Hunters Hill	13	17	0	0	34	0	2	1	0	0	0	33	100	463
Lane Cove	15	15	0	0	23	8	2	0	0	1	1	35	100	1,825
Mosman	13	31	0	0	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	44	100	2,320
North Sydney	15	28	0	0	14	3	0	0	0	0	0	38	100	6,158
Ryde	6	4	1	0	51	7	3	0	1	1	4	22	100	7,279
Willoughby	10	9	0	0	45	4	1	0	0	1	0	29	100	5,375
Hornsby	8	11	0	0	39	8	3	0	1	1	3	26	100	8,401
Ku-ring-gai	8	16	0	0	26	2	1	0	0	0	1	47	100	6,594
Manly	15	37	0	0	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	37	100	3,414
Pittwater	12	33	0	0	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	45	100	1,522
Warringah	17	22	0	0	20	3	1	0	0	0	0	38	100	5,955
Gosford	18	33	0	0	12	2	0	0	0	0	0	34	100	2,108
Wyong	27	27	0	0	18	1	0	0	0	0	0	26	100	1,035
Sydney	11	10	2	1	33	5	1	3	1	1	2	32	100	234,432
Australia	15	12	1	1	28	4	1	2	1	1	2	34	100	626,507

Source: ABS, 2001 Census, customised matrix, CPUR

* nec = not elsewhere counted

** Asia includes: Cambodia & Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam, China (excl. Taiwan), Hong Kong, Republic of Korea (south), Indonesia and East Timor, Singapore and Taiwan.

major birthplace by all Sydney LGAs. The table also provides an additional insight into the way Sydney is fractionating by

birthplace. There is an inverse relationship in the settlement pattern of migrants from New Zealand and the United Kingdom

and Ireland on the one hand and NESB-born migrants on the other.

Political consequences

In a cultural sense, there are already 'two Australias'.²⁴ Metropolitan Australia has absorbed almost all of the non-European migrants who have dominated the migrant intake since the early 1980s. On the other hand, such migrants are noticeable by their absence in regional Australia. This split has been accompanied by a yawning cultural divide, in that metropolitan cultural elites have embraced the resultant multicultural diversity and insisted that this diversity now represents what is 'truly' Australian. For its part, regional Australia has been dragged reluctantly, and sometimes truculently, behind.

This study suggests that this regional/metropolitan split is being mirrored within Sydney itself. Sydney is by far the most important recipient of non-European migrant settlement in Australia. But the impact on the different parts of the city varies sharply. Two distinct communities are emerging, one heavily NESB and the other predominantly Australian-born and MES-born (which for convenience we will label 'Anglo'). The key exception is the emergence of significant aggregations of higher-income Asian settlers in several of the Northern suburban LGAs of Sydney. The evidence suggests that the trend is towards the further accentuation of this divide as Anglo residents and recently arrived Anglo migrants head for the Anglo heartland.

Just as the split into 'two Australias' has had major social and political consequences, so too has the split within Sydney. Our focus here is on federal politics. The demographic divide in Sydney is mirrored in the distribution of federal lower house seats. The ethnic

heartland of Sydney's West and South-West is exclusively represented by the ALP. All the remaining seats, based on areas outside this heartland, are held by the Coalition.

After the 2001 election, Labor held only 19 of the 50 NSW lower house seats in the federal parliament. Fourteen of these were in Sydney. As indicated, they are all seats where the presence of NESB residents is high and expanding. It is striking how rapidly this process has evolved. Just a decade ago, in 1993, the ALP held 33 seats in NSW including all of the 14 seats just described, as well as a number of seats on the fringe of Sydney. Since 1993, some six of these seats have passed to Coalition hands.

Needless to say, the causes of this development are hotly debated. One influential theory is that put by Labor MP Mark Latham, who argues that the voters who have swung to the Coalition are 'aspirational' — small business people, including tradesmen, many of whom have moved out of older suburbs in search of a better quality housing and lifestyle on the fringe. These people are thought to be responsive to the Howard Government's emphasis on the values of individual responsibility and its challenge to allegedly over generous welfare policies. Latham adds another element to this perspective with his argument that many of these people are '...young families and retired people from troubled neighbourhoods [who are moving] to the relative stability of the suburban fringe'.²⁵ He refers to this as what the Americans call 'white flight'.²⁶

The reference to 'troubled neighbourhoods' and 'white flight' opens up a second explanation for the swing away from Labor in 'Anglo' areas, one which links this movement to unhappiness about the 'two Sydneys' phenomenon. There is

no doubt that there is an exodus of Australian-born residents from high NESB areas. The electoral significance of this exodus is problematic, but there are grounds for thinking that it may be important.

It is well known that, since the 1980s, Labor has lost a substantial proportion of its traditional lower-middle and blue-collar working-class constituency.²⁷ It is less well known that successive Australian Electoral Surveys (AES) also indicate a strong trend towards a greater proportion of Australian-born voters supporting the Coalition than their NESB-born counterparts. This generalisation holds when the influences of location, occupation and education are controlled for.²⁸ Furthermore, data from the AES show that NESB-born voters in Melbourne and Sydney have a particularly strong propensity to vote Labor.²⁹ The political consequences in Sydney are, as indicated above, that federal Labor's representation is now confined to the city's Western and Southern suburbs.

One important qualification to this linkage between birthplace and voting is the behaviour of the upper-middle-class Asian communities developing in Sydney and Melbourne. These migrants have not only embraced the suburban Australian life-style but also the political preferences of their fellow upper-middle class residents. For example, the Sydney seat of Berowa (which includes Horsby) and in Melbourne the seat of Menzies (which includes Doncaster — a notable locus of middle-class Chinese speakers) remain strongly Liberal.

The contrast with electoral results in booths with high NESB concentrations in the middle to lower-income federal seats of Western Sydney is dramatic. Liberal voters in such booths are as scarce as hen's teeth.³⁰

One of the factors, which may help explain the Australia-born preference for the Coalition, is that such persons are more likely to support a nationalistic stance on border-control issues and the defence of Australian heritage and cultural values. Since the federal election of 2001 was fought on these issues, it is not surprising that the link between being Australian-born and voting for the Coalition was particularly strong at this election. Sydney electors would be expected to be particularly sensitive to these issues. This is because Sydney has been in the front line of concern about these matters because of the controversy about ethnic concentrations, ethnic-based crime and youth gangs. It seems plausible that the very strong swing towards the Coalition outside Labor's ethnic heartland in Sydney in the 2001 election was in part a product of these attitudes.

The outcome is that Sydney is splitting into rival political camps. The Labor opposition in Sydney is heavily dependent upon an ethnic constituency and this dependency is becoming more marked as a consequence of the demographic developments described above.

The ALP dilemma

Polling data have been recently released from the NSW Labor Party Branch, which suggest that Labor could lose a number of seats in Sydney. In our view, this is implausible because Labor's Sydney seats look impregnable. Even the electorate of Banks in Western Sydney, where the 2001 two-party preferred vote in favour of Labor was 53 per cent, seems safe. It is most unlikely that this seat could be lost because Banks covers parts of Bankstown, Hurstville and Canterbury, all areas where there are increased concentrations of NESB-born residents. Equally, Coalition seats within Northern

Sydney and on the fringe of the city also look invulnerable, given the demographic processes described above. One exception to this is Parramatta, which in the 2001 election showed a bare 51 per cent two-party preferred vote for the Liberal Party. Ironically, the increased NESB concentration in this electorate (which largely coincides with the LGA of Parramatta — see Tables 5 and 6) implies that Labor could well regain this seat at the next election.

While the federal Labor Party has a firm grip on Sydney's ethnic heartland, this is hardly a satisfactory situation from the point of view of the party's larger electoral prospects. It must move outside this core if it is to gain seats in Sydney. The demographic situation in Sydney, as outlined above, is an unhappy one. It is not healthy for a metropolis to be increasingly divided on the basis of rich and poor with associated overlays of ethnic division. Garnaut, like other immigration boosters, averts his gaze from this situation and is in denial that it will only get worse if immigration increases, as he proposes.

The NSW Premier, Bob Carr, understands the situation and clearly empathises with the sensitivities of Sydney residents about what is happening to their city. He has made it clear that he wants a reduction in the overall immigration program. On the occasion of Simon Crean's victory in his leadership contest with Kim Beasley, Carr asserted on the ABC's PM Program that the federal opposition should embrace a lower immigration policy, which Carr said, '...would be attractive in Sydney's greater west...'.³¹ The NSW state Labor Party has been successful in winning many of the outer suburban seats that comprise the same electoral constituencies which federal Labor has lost since 1993.

Yet, so far, federal Labor has ignored these developments. Under Crean's lead-

ership, it has embraced the Business Council of Australia's campaign to boost immigration.³² Why is this so? A partial explanation lies in federal Labor's growing electoral dependence on its ethnically based seats in Sydney and in Melbourne. Federal Labor is also in competition with the Australian Greens for the capture of the upper middle class social justice constituency.

Labor candidates sympathetic to this perspective tend to be preselected. As a result, the cultural values and political outlook of Labor candidates are not representative of the wider electorate. Also, the factional system which governs Labor's policy setting and preselection battles is now heavily penetrated by ethnic political brokers, or leaders who can work with such brokers, in order to manage the branch system. This is one of the reasons why branch stacking has been such a pronounced feature of Labor's metropolitan electorates.

These circumstances help explain the paradox of why Labor currently seems incapable of building a platform likely to be attractive to its traditional Australian-born working class constituency. It cannot respond to their concerns about the need to control immigration for fear of alienating ethnic minorities and the intelligentsia. These fears also seem to inhibit Labor from giving first priority to maximising the opportunities of Australian residents for education, training and access to scarce jobs over prospective migrants.

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- ¹⁷ Healy, *op cit.* 1998, p. 33
- ¹⁸ It should be noted that Table 5 is not directly comparable with Table 2 and all subsequent tables describing internal migration movements. This is because the latter tables only deal with persons who were present in Australia at the 2001 Census and whose location in 1996 was known.
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- ²³ Statistically, areas with low migration inflow inevitably become more Australian-born over each five-year period because of the addition of 0-4 year olds, who by definition are Australian-born.

- ²⁴ B. Birrell and V. Rapson, 'Two Australias, migrant settlement at the end of the 20th Century', *People and Place*, vol. 10, no.1, 2002, pp. 10-25
- ²⁵ M. Latham, *From the Suburbs*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 2003 p. 111
- ²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 110
- ²⁷ K. Betts, 'Boat people and the 2001 election', *People and Place*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2002, pp. 36-54.
- ²⁸ R. Birrell, 'Birthplace: the new political divide', *People and Place*, vol 10, no. 4, 2002, pp. 38-49
- ²⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 44-45
- ³⁰ E. Healy, 'The unity party and the myth of the ethnic vote', *People and Place*, vol. 9, no 4, pp. 66-67; Although Labor's electoral success in the high NESB areas of Sydney's West is due in large part to its appeal to ethnic minority interests, this does not mean that NESB voters would readily support a NESB-based political party. The collapse of the vote for the anti-Hanson Unity Party at the 2001 federal election supports this contention.
- ³¹ PM 16, June 2003, transcript <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2003/s881109.htm>
- ³² S. Crean, Building national confidence through a clear and considered population policy, in S. Vizard, H. Martin and T. Watts (Eds.), *Australia's Population Challenge*, Penguin, Melbourne, 2003, pp. 101-106