

Chapter

Australia's people

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1 Australia's people

Key points

- Australia's population was 22.3 million people in June 2010; one-third were aged under 25 years and 13% were 65 years or over.
- The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population has a younger age structure than the Australian population generally: more than half of all Indigenous people were aged under 25, and only 3% were aged 65 years or over.
- The Australian population is ageing. In 2010 there were five adults of traditional working age for each person of traditional retirement age, compared to six in 1990.
- Australia's total fertility rate in 2009 was 1.9 births per woman—below the replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman, but higher than the historical low reached in 2001 (1.7).
- More than one in four (27%) Australian residents in 2010 were born overseas, including 17% in non-English-speaking countries.
- Almost one in three (32%) Indigenous Australians lived in *Major cities* in 2006, with another 21% living in *Inner regional* areas.
- One in three people living in capital cities were aged 20–39 years, compared to one in four people living in other parts of the country. The concentration of education, employment and other opportunities in cities is a driving factor behind young adults moving out of regional areas.
- Almost two-thirds (64%) of Australians lived in capital cities in 2010. Recent population growth rates were higher than average in areas including capital city suburban fringes, the north of Western Australia and the south coast of Queensland, but large parts of remote Australia underwent population decline.

1.1 Introduction

The demand for various types of welfare services is influenced by a range of large-scale factors including age structure; population health and disability status; social and economic participation; access to appropriate housing; and availability of informal support networks. Further, population diversity and geographical distribution are important considerations for planning culturally and linguistically appropriate services in the locations they are needed. This chapter sets out some of the key demographic factors of relevance to the demand for, and delivery of, welfare services in Australia, with a particular focus on significant trends and differences between population groups. The composition of Australian families and households, and trends in education, employment and access to economic resources are discussed in chapters 2 and 3, respectively.

1.2 Population size and structure

The Australian population was approximately 22.3 million people in June 2010. One-third (7.4 million people) of the population were aged under 25 years (Figure 1.1). Children and young people are the focus of Chapter 4, in which this group is further divided into four subgroups:

- 1.5 million in infancy and early childhood (0-4 years)
- 2.2 million primary school-aged children (5–12 years)
- 1.4 million adolescents (13–17 years)
- 2.3 million young adults (18–24 years).

Slightly more than 3.0 million people (13% of the population) were 65 years or above, the traditional target group for aged care services. Needs and services related to older people are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

There were more males than females at all ages up to 35 years—51% of children and young people were male. From middle age, however, the sex ratio favoured women, especially at more advanced ages. Just under half (49%) of people aged 65–74 years were male, compared to a third (35%) of those aged 85 years or over. Differences in mortality rates between males and females that contribute to this pattern are discussed later in the chapter.





Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population

According to the 2006 Census, around one in 40 Australians (2.5% or 517,000 people) identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander. The age profile of the Indigenous population is considerably younger than the overall Australian population. More than half (56%) of all Indigenous people were aged under 25 years, and only 3% were aged 65 years or over (Figure 1.2).

As in the wider Australian population, there were more Indigenous females than males at older ages. Males accounted for 46% of Indigenous people aged 50 years or over, and 38% of Indigenous people aged 75 years or over.

The differences between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous population structures are due to both higher fertility rates and earlier mortality among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, as discussed further below.



1.3 Australia's population is ageing

Population ageing is characterised by an increase in the proportion of older people in the population, accompanied by a decrease in the proportion of children and young people. Ongoing population ageing has social and economic consequences that affect the demand for services (both welfare and health), the ability of government to provide the same level and types of services as in the past, and the broader economy.

Long-term trends and projections

The Australian population grew five-fold over the past century, from around 4.5 million people in 1911 to 22.3 million in 2010 (Figure 1.3). In recent decades growth has been strongest among older age groups. For example, the period 1971–2010 saw the number of people aged 65 years or over nearly triple, including a six-fold increase in the population aged 85 years or older—the latter growing from 66,900 to 398,000 people (Table A1.3). Over the same period the number of children aged less than 15 rose by only 13%.

Based on medium-level growth assumptions, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has projected the population to grow to 28.8 million people over the next two decades—an increase of 29% compared to 2010 levels. The number of people aged 65 years and over is projected to rise by 90%, and the number aged 85 years and over to more than double. Growth in the population aged 85 years and over is particularly significant for aged care service planning, as this group is most likely to require formal services, including residential care (see Chapter 6).



As a consequence of these changes, older Australians account for an increasing share of the population. People aged 65 years or over comprised 13% of the population in 2010 compared to 8% in 1970. The past four decades saw a corresponding decline in the share of the population that was aged under 25, from almost half (46%) in 1970 to one-third (33%) in 2010 (Figure 1.4).



Box 1.1: Global population ageing

In 2009, the median age of the world population was estimated to be 28 years, with 7.5% aged 65 years or over. As in Australia, the world population is ageing, the median age having risen from 24 years in 1950 and projected to reach 38 years by 2050.

Median age and the rate at which populations are ageing differ markedly between more and less developed countries:

- In more developed regions (which includes Australia), the median age was 40 years, an increase of 11 years since 1950. Around 15.8% of people living in these countries were aged 65 years or over-more than double the global proportion.
- In less developed regions, the median age was 26 years, an increase of four years since 1950. Roughly 5.7% of people living in these countries were aged 65 years or over.
- In the least developed countries, the median age (20 years) has not changed appreciably since 1950. Only 3.3% of people living in these countries were aged 65 years or over.

However, Australia has a relatively young population compared to many developed countries, ranking 24th out of 34 OECD member countries in terms of median age (37.6 years). In particular, many developed countries have a median age around 40 years or over, including Japan (44.4), Germany (43.9), Italy (43.0), France (39.9), Spain (39.8) and the United Kingdom (39.7).

Source: United Nations 2010.



Dependency ratios

Children and older people are likely to be dependent on other people for financial and physical support, whether through direct personal assistance or income support provided through the taxation system. Dependency ratios provide an indication of the number of people who are likely to be 'dependent' on others due to not being in the labour force, compared to the number of people who are in the labour force and therefore potentially able to provide support. Three measures are commonly used:

- Youth dependency ratio: the number of children (0–14 years) compared to the number of 'traditional working age' adults (15–64 years)
- Old-age dependency ratio: the number of people aged 65 years or over compared the number aged 15–64 years
- Total age dependency ratio: the total number of people aged either 0–14 years or 65 years and over compared to the number aged 15–64 years.

Dependency ratios are expressed as a percentage, with a higher number suggesting less support available to meet the needs of dependent persons. A dependency ratio of more than 100 implies that there are more dependents than supporting people in the population. Dependency is also sometimes expressed as the number of 'traditional working age' adults theoretically available to support each dependent.

Australia's youth dependency ratio has fallen considerably since the 1960s, from 49.3% in 1960 to 28.0% in 2010 (Table 1.1). An increase in the old-age dependency ratio, which rose from 13.9% to 19.9% over the same period, has partially offset this trend. As a result Australia's total age dependency ratio has decreased over the past five decades, implying slightly more 'supporters' per 'dependent'; however, in recent years the trend has slowed. Given current population projections, the Treasury predicts a stabilisation in the youth dependency ratio while the old-age ratio will continue to rise. As a result, the total age dependency ratio is expected to reach 65% by 2050—or 1.5 adults of traditional working age for each person of 'dependent' age (Treasury 2010).

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010		
Dependency ratio (%)								
Youth	49.3	45.9	38.8	32.9	31.0	28.0		
Old-age	13.9	13.3	14.8	16.6	18.6	19.9		
Total	63.2	59.2	53.5	49.5	49.5	47.9		
Number of working age adults to support each dependent								
Youth	2.0	2.2	2.6	3.0	3.2	3.6		
Old-age	7.2	7.5	6.8	6.0	5.4	5.0		
Total	1.6	1.7	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1		

Table 1.1: Dependency ratios, 1960–2010

Source: AIHW analysis of ABS 2010a.

It is important to note that these measures are broadly indicative of population trends rather than providing a definitive classification of 'dependents' and 'supporters'. For example, the dependency ratios cited here do not account for changes in the proportion of people of 'traditional working age' who are not in the labour force due to study, ill health or disability, caring responsibilities or other reasons; nor do they differentiate between people aged 65 years

or over who are completely dependent on government pensions and other benefits and those whose retirement is partly or wholly self-funded. Further, total dependency ratios do not fully reflect differences in the costs of caring for children and older people.

In particular, current patterns of labour force participation suggest that the concepts of 'working age' and 'retirement age' are more fluid than in the past. Extended engagement in formal education has resulted in delayed entry into the labour force for many young people, while at the other end of the age spectrum considerable numbers of people retire before the age of 65. On the other hand, an increasing percentage of older Australians remain engaged in paid employment beyond the traditional retirement age. These trends are discussed in detail in 'Chapter 3 Employment participation'.

Population ageing and disability

In 2009, there were 4.0 million people estimated to have some form of disability—18.5% of the population (ABS 2010d). This included 1.3 million people (5.8%) with severe or profound core activity limitations (see Chapter 5 for more information about measuring disability).

Apart from a peak in boys aged 5–14 years, disability rates were below 10% among people aged less than 35 years, before climbing gradually throughout middle age (Figure 1.5). After around 50 years of age the prevalence of disability rose considerably, from 20% in the 50–54 years age group to more than 80% among people aged 85 years or over. Rates of severe or profound core activity limitations were even more strongly associated with ageing. This degree of disability was reported for fewer than one in 20 Australians up to the age of 55 years (excluding the peak in boys aged 10–14 years), but almost one-third of people aged 75 years or over.



If population ageing trends continue and there is no change in the underlying rates of disability, Australia is projected to have both increasing numbers of people with disability, and a greater overall percentage of the population affected by disability, including more people with high support needs.

In addition to an increase in disability overall, population ageing changes the composition of the population with disability. In 1981, 10% of all Australians with disability were aged under 15 years and 31% were 65 years or older; in 2009, 7% of the population with disability were aged 0–14 years and 39% were 65 years or over. If this continues, the mix of services and support required by older people with disability will need to increase, relative to those required by younger people.

The interaction between population ageing and disability can also be seen in participation and income support trends. For example, the ageing of the 'baby boomer' generation appears to have contributed to the growth in numbers of Disability Support Pension recipients between 2002 and 2008 (AIHW 2009). The different types of disability and support needs among younger and older people are discussed in detail in chapters 5 and 6.

1.4 Components of population growth

Changes in population size consist of two major factors:

- natural increase (the difference between the number of births and number of deaths)
- net overseas migration (the difference between the number of permanent or long-term arrivals from overseas, and the number of permanent or long-term departures).

The annual growth rate due to natural increase fell from over 1% in the early 1970s to 0.6% at the turn of the 21st century, before recovering slightly to 0.7% in 2010. Estimated population growth attributable to net overseas migration has been volatile, ranging from 0.2% to over 1.0% in a given year. These factors combined have resulted in the Australian population growing by between one and two per cent per year in recent decades (Figure 1.6).



Fertility

The total fertility rate is a summary measure used to describe the number of children 'an average woman' would bear during her lifetime if she experienced current age-specific fertility rates throughout her child-bearing life. The rate of births needed to offset the number of deaths in a population over the long term is referred to as the 'replacement rate', and is estimated at 2.1 births per woman.

Australia's total fertility rate in 2009 was 1.9 births per woman—an increase from its historical low of 1.7 births per woman in 2001 (Figure 1.7). Historically, Australia experienced a decline in fertility in the 1920s and 1930s, before rebounding to more than three births per woman in the 1950s and early 1960s (the 'baby boom'). However, the current period of lower fertility has been sustained for more than a generation—the total fertility rate has been consistently below replacement rate since 1977.

While poor quality of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander birth registrations data makes historical comparisons difficult, recent data indicate a higher fertility rate among Indigenous women than the population as a whole (Figure 1.7). The total fertility rate for Indigenous women in 2009 was 2.6 births per woman. This difference, in part, contributed to the younger age structure of the Indigenous population.

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Fertility rates based on births registrations data for Indigenous women are not available prior to 1996.
Source: Table A1.7.

Figure 1.7: Total fertility rates, by Indigenous status, 1920–2009

In addition to a decline in the number of children borne per woman, the past four decades have seen a considerable shift in the age profile of women giving birth, reflected in age-specific fertility rates. Throughout the 20th century fertility rates were highest among women in their 20s (Figure 1.8). However, since 2000 fertility has been highest among women aged 30–34 years, and rates among women aged 35–39 years have exceeded those of women aged 20–24 years since 2004. Teen fertility rates over the past decade (around 16–17 births per 1,000 women) have been at an historical low.

As a consequence of these trends the median age of mothers has risen—from 25.4 years in 1971 to 30.7 years in 2007, before dropping slightly to 30.6 years in 2009. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women are more likely to have children at younger ages than the general population, with the median age of Indigenous women who gave birth in 2009 being 24.5 years. Similar trends have occurred in the median age of fathers at the birth of their child (ABS 2010b).

The changes in patterns of fertility observed since the 1970s are associated with increasing female participation in higher education and employment (discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Greater workforce participation by parents—particularly mothers—also adds to the demand for child care services, discussed in Chapter 4.



Figure 1.8: Age-specific fertility rates, 1920–2009

Mortality rates

The second component of natural change in population is the mortality rate. Australia's all-ages crude mortality rate in 2009 was 6.4 deaths per 1,000 population (ABS 2010c). After the first year of life (in which Australia's infant mortality rate was 4.3 deaths per 1,000 live births), mortality is strongly correlated with age. Fewer than one in 1,000 Australians aged 1–39 years died in 2009; in contrast, there were 4.2 deaths per 1,000 persons aged 55–59 years, 10.5 deaths per 1,000 persons aged 65–69 years and 133.0 deaths per 1,000 persons aged 85 years and over (Figure 1.9). Mortality was higher among males than females at all ages—including more than twice as high between the ages of 15 and 39 years.

After accounting for differences due to changes in the population age structure, Australia's overall mortality rate more than halved over a 40-year period from 13.0 deaths per 1,000 people in 1969 (Table A1.10). However, reductions in mortality were not the same for all parts of the population:

- the greatest fall in age-specific rates, by around 80%, was among boys aged 5–14 years
- mortality decreased by 60–65% among people in their 50s, 60s and 70s
- mortality rates fell in the oldest age group (85 years and over) by around one-third.





As well as varying with age and sex, mortality rates are associated with demographic factors including Indigenous status, socioeconomic status and remoteness of residence (AIHW 2010). After accounting for the effect of different population structures, Indigenous Australians experienced mortality rates roughly twice that of non-Indigenous Australians between 2005 and 2009 (ABS 2010c). Indigenous mortality was higher at all ages, with the most pronounced differences in middle adulthood—between the ages of 25 and 54 years Indigenous mortality rates were 4–5 times as high as non-Indigenous rates (Table 1.2).

	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Rate ratio		
	Deaths per 1,000 live births (infant mortality)				
Less than 1 year	9.0	4.2	2.1		
	Deaths per 100,000 population				
1–4 years	56.2	20.3	2.8		
5–14 years	20.9	9.3	2.2		
15–24 years	114.8	40.9	2.8		
25–34 years	235.2	60.7	3.9		
35–44 years	502.5	99.3	5.1		
45–54 years	871.8	223.0	3.9		
55–64 years	1,658.2	526.3	3.2		
65 years and over	5,194.5	3,905.3	1.3		

Table 1.2 Age-specific mortality rates, by Indigenous status, selected states and territories, 2005–2009

Notes

1. Death rates based on average number of death registrations between 2005 and 2009, divided by the population at 30 June 2007.

2. Excludes deaths where Indigenous status was not stated.

3. Based on data for NSW, Qld, SA, WA and NT (state/territory of usual residence).

Source: ABS 2010c: Data cube table 18.

People living in areas classified as *Major cities* (Box 1.2) generally have lower mortality rates than people living in other parts of Australia, as overall mortality increases with remoteness. In 2007 people living in *Inner regional* areas had age-standardised mortality rates 1.1 times those living in *Major cities*; the corresponding rate ratios for *Outer regional* and *Remote/Very remote* areas were 1.2 and 1.3, respectively. The difference between *Major cities* and other regions of Australia was greatest in the age group 15–24 years (Figure 1.10). Mortality rates among people aged 65 years or over did not significantly differ between remoteness areas.

Box 1.2: Classification of geographical remoteness

The ability of people to access a wide range of services is influenced by the distance required to travel to reach providers, or for providers to travel to deliver services close to a person's home. Remoteness is therefore an important concept in planning and analysing the provision of government services. The Australian Standard Geographical Classification (ASGC) Remoteness Structure divides Australia into broad regions of remoteness for comparative statistical purposes:

- Major cities
- Inner regional areas
- Outer regional areas
- *Remote* areas
- Very remote areas.

These regions are referred to throughout *Australia's welfare 2011*, and are based on the 2006 revision of the ASGC. A visual representation of this remoteness structure is shown in Figure 1.14.

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Note: 'All ages' rates are age-standardised to the Australian population as at 30 June 2001. *Source*: Table A1.9.

Figure 1.10: Age-specific mortality ratios compared with Major cities, by remoteness area, 2007^(a)

Overseas migration

Net overseas migration is the change in population due to people migrating into a country or emigrating out of it. A positive figure means that, on balance, more people are entering the country than leaving it, contributing to population growth. In Australia, net overseas migration comprises five groups:

- Australian citizens
- Citizens of New Zealand who are free to cross Australia's borders due to the 1973 Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement
- People holding temporary visas—including student visas, business long-stay visas ('457 visas') and tourists
- People holding permanent visas—including skilled visas, family visas and Humanitarian visas
- Other migration, including non-citizen permanent residents of Australia, onshore visas and unknown visas.

In 2008–09, Australia's net overseas migration was around 299,900 people, comprising 519,800 arrivals and 219,900 departures (ABS 2011a). Temporary visas holders accounted for two-thirds (63%) of this figure, while holders of permanent visas and New Zealand citizens accounted for

29% and 10%, respectively. Around 2,500 more Australians left the country than moved back from overseas in 2008–09, so the movement of Australian citizens had a negative effect on overall population growth.

As Figure 1.6 illustrates, the size of population growth due to net overseas migration can change considerably from year to year, in response to policy settings and a range of other factors including the choices of Australian and New Zealand citizens and permanent residents of Australia. The largest contributor to net overseas migration in recent years was growth in the number of temporary visa holders. Between 2004–05 and 2008–09, a period of 4 years, the net number of temporary visa holders increased by 130%. Growth in the education sector primarily drove this trend—41% of net overseas migration in 2008–09 was attributable to temporary visas for higher education, vocational education and training, or other education courses. More than half the net overseas migration due to student visa holders in 2008–09 was attributed to people born in India (35%) and China (20%) (ABS 2011a).

While there has been a large increase in temporary migration in recent years, the effect of trends in the number and characteristics of permanent migrants can be seen in the long term. More than one-quarter (27%) of the Australian population in 2010 was born overseas (Figure 1.11): 9% in *main English-speaking countries* (the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Canada, the United States of America and South Africa) and 17% in other countries (referred to as *non-main English speaking countries*). It should be noted that all people born in a *main English-speaking country* (or in Australia) are not necessarily proficient in English, nor can a person born in a non-main English-speaking country be assumed to have poor English language skills.



Note: Main English-speaking countries are the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Canada, the United States of America and South Africa. Source: Table A1.11.

Figure 1.11: Resident population born overseas, 1911–2010 (per cent)

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As a proportion of the total population, Australia's overseas-born population has grown steadily since 1950, driven by migration from *non-main English-speaking countries*. The percentage of Australian residents born in *non-main English-speaking countries* rose from just 2% in 1947 to 17% in 2010. Over the same period the percentage born in *main English-speaking countries* has remained at around 8–9%.

The composition of the population born overseas has been changing over recent decades, which is reflected in the varying ethnic backgrounds of different age cohorts (Figure 1.12). According to the 2006 Census, older Australians born overseas were most likely to have migrated from European countries, while younger people were more likely to have been born in New Zealand or countries throughout Asia.

The increasing diversity of the Australian population, especially the growth in the proportion of people born in *non-main English-speaking countries*, creates challenges for service providers to be able to accommodate the cultural and language-related needs of their clients or potential clients. Further, the composition of welfare service target groups in terms of ethnic and language background varies between service types. For example, in aged care there is currently a greater need for services to accommodate people speaking European languages compared to Asian languages; among services targeted at traditional working-age people the reverse is true.

Location is also an important factor in providing culturally appropriate services, as the percentage of migrants and their countries of birth varies considerably between regions, and even suburbs within large cities. For example, in 2006 more than half of all Australian residents born in Ethiopia or Somalia lived in Melbourne, while half of those born in Egypt lived in Sydney. In general, migrants disproportionately live in capital cities rather than regional areas (ABS 2008b).

1.5 Where do Australians live?

As services are often delivered to people in the areas in which they live and work, the geographical distribution of the population is an important factor in planning and delivering welfare services. Populations living in different parts of the country are not uniform in their composition—for example, some areas have a relatively high number of children, people with disability, or people from particular migrant backgrounds—so geography has varying implications for different service sectors. In addition, welfare is related to a number of non-demographic factors that vary between local areas, such as participation in employment and access to economic resources (discussed in Chapter 3). Finally, aspects of the physical and built environment that differ throughout the country can affect demand for services as well as the manner in which they are delivered.

The Australian population is unevenly distributed, with the large majority living in a number of relatively small geographical areas. The population is heavily concentrated in the south-east of the country, especially in urban areas. In June 2010, 64% of Australians lived in the eight state and territory capital cities—21% in Sydney alone—and almost one in three people lived in New South Wales (ABS 2011c).



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The location of services and the capacity of providers to deliver services to people depend, in part, on population distribution and density. People living in sparsely populated areas often have to travel long distances to access services, and may have a reduced range of options compared to people living in more densely populated areas; providers may face cost and resource barriers to delivering services to small groups of people, particularly those living far away from large population centres or transport routes. Population density in 2010 ranged from less than one person per square kilometre throughout most of central and northern Australia to more than 1,000 people per square kilometre in some city suburbs (Figure 1.13).



Remote Australia is disproportionately populated by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people: in 2006, Indigenous Australians comprised 2.5% of the total population but 26% of those living in areas classified as *Remote* or *Very remote* (Box 1.2; ABS 2008a). However, Indigenous people were still more likely to live in urban than remote areas. Almost one-third (32%) lived in *Major cities* in 2006, while 21% lived in *Inner regional* areas and 22% lived in *Outer regional* areas.

Like the broader population, the Indigenous population is concentrated in eastern Australia, with relatively large population clusters in the capital cities and regional centres such as Cairns, Townsville, Newcastle and Dubbo (Figure 1.14).



The age profile of the population varies between different regions of Australia, with capital cities generally having younger populations than the rest of the country. This is largely due to the high proportion of people in their 20s and 30s living in capital cities—in 2010 almost one in three people (31%) living in capital cities were aged 20–39 years, compared to one in four people (25%) living outside the capitals (Figure 1.15). The concentration of education, employment and other opportunities in cities is a driving factor behind young adults moving out of regional areas (ABS 2011c).

Children aged less than 15 years made up a slightly smaller share of the population in capital cities (19%) than other areas (20%). The Statistical Divisions with the highest proportion of children were in remote areas. More than one in four people living in the Northern Territory (outside Darwin), north-west Queensland and the Pilbara in Western Australia were aged 0–14 years (ABS 2011c).

As the demographic composition of the population is not constant across geographical regions, the implications of population size for demand for welfare services differ between service types and locations. For example, per head of population regional areas require a relatively greater number of services targeted at older people than cities, while Indigenous communities in remote Australia have a need for children's services disproportionate to their overall size.



Note: Capital cities are here defined as the Statistical Divisions of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Greater Hobart, Darwin and Canberra. Source: Table A1.12.

Figure 1.15: Population living within and outside capital cities, by age and sex, June 2010 (per cent)

Between 2005 and 2010 the population grew by an average of 1.9% per year. Western Australia experienced a faster growth rate than any other state or territory, at 2.6% per year (ABS 2011b). A number of regions in remote Australia underwent population decline over this period, while growth rates were higher than average along much of south-east Queensland, the top of the Northern Territory and parts of Western Australia (Figure 1.16). A number of smaller geographical areas, especially on the fringes of some capital cities, experienced population growth rates of more than double the national average.



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