

AN OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS FOR SOUTH AUSTRALIA, AUSTRALIA AND GLOBALLY

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INTRODUCTION

International migration has been a major contributor to Australian population growth in the postwar period. Without this international migration, Australia's population would be around 13 million as opposed to almost 23 million at present (McDonald and Kippen 2000). In any consideration of future population growth at national and state levels, international migration must loom large. The present paper analyses recent changes in South Australia's international migration and considers some likely trends in international migration over the next few years.

In the last decade or so there has been a transformation in both the Australian and South Australian international migration situation. At the Australian level the year 2008-09 was a record year for immigration with 206,135 permanent settler arrivals and 542,902 long term arrivals and a net overseas migration of 299,863. In South Australia the change has been even more profound (Hugo 2009) with the release of the first Population Policy developed by a national or state government in Australia (Government of South Australia 2004) and the setting of a number of population targets in the State Strategic Plan (Government of South Australia 2007) including several relating to international migration. The introduction of the South Australian policy has been accompanied by the formation of a new agency, *Immigration SA*, to facilitate immigration to South Australia and the setting up of a population unit within the Department of Trade and Economic Development (DTED). In addition, *Education SA* and *Multicultural SA* which were already established have expanded their migration related activities. The state has been the strongest lobbyist for developing and expanding the State Specific and Regional Migration Schemes section of the Australian Immigration Program.

The report begins with some comments on the international context which is of crucial importance when discussing future possible trends in South Australia's international

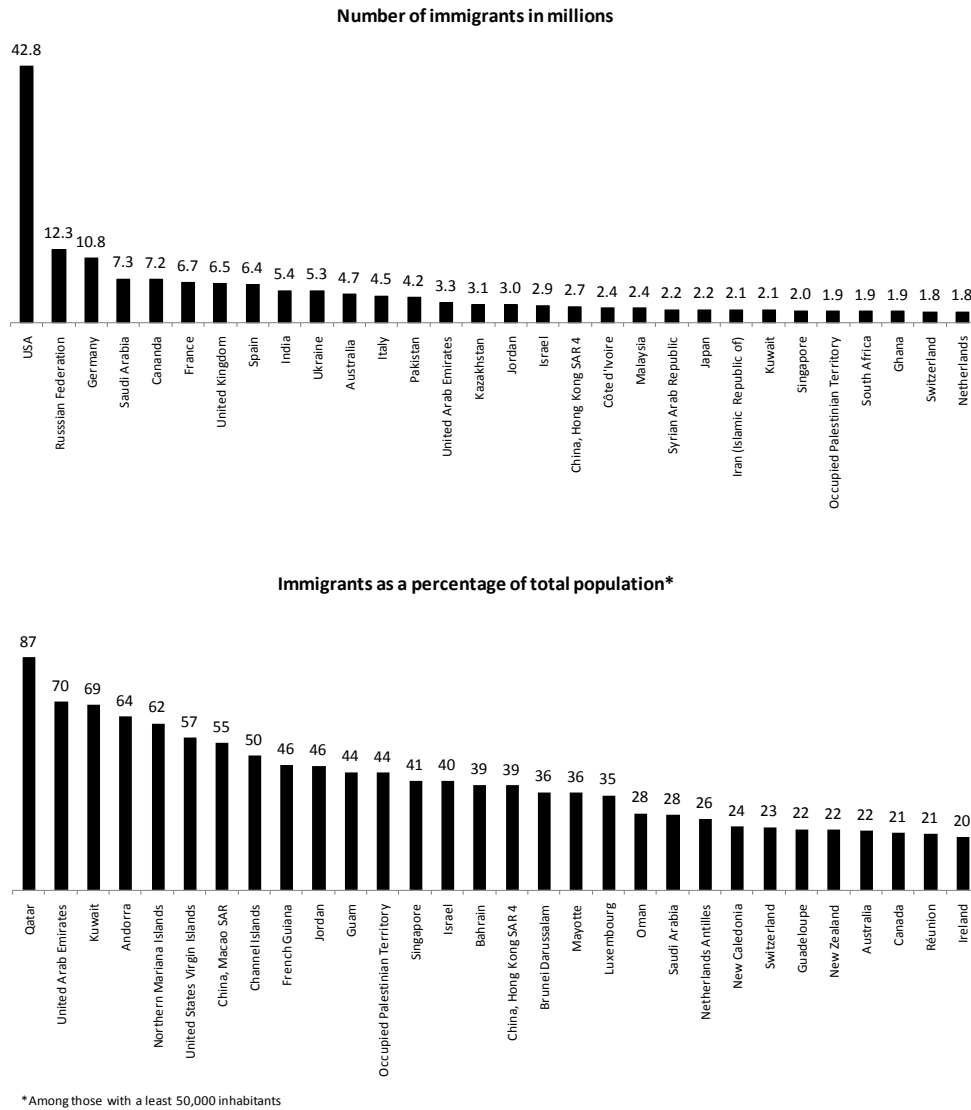
migration. This is followed by a discussion of the role of international migration in recent population growth in South Australia. Then trends in the types, scale and composition of international migration influencing South Australia since 2001. This discussion focuses not only on permanent settlement migration at national and state levels but also on non-permanent migration. One of the important changes in recent years has been an exponential increase in temporary migration which has a complex relationship with permanent movement. In addition there is a focus on the role of the State Specific and Regional Migration initiatives in present and future migration for South Australia. The final part of the paper addresses the future outlook for international migration for South Australia and the national and international influences which are likely to shape future migration.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

There has been a massive change in global international migration over the last decade or so. The most recent United Nations (2009) figures indicate that in 2010 there were globally 213 million people living outside their country of birth – 3.1 percent of the total population with the numbers growing at 1.8 percent per annum. Of these migrants, 60 percent were living in more developed countries where migrants now make up more than 1 in 10 of the resident population.

Whereas in the early postwar years Australia was one of the few immigration nations (along with the United States, Canada and New Zealand), now all OECD nations along with several Middle Eastern countries and the Asian tiger economies are all major migrant destinations. This is evident in Figure 1 which shows that Australia figures among the world's leading immigration countries from the perspectives of both the number of immigrants and as a percentage of the national population.

Figure 1: Top Immigration Countries, 2010
 Source: United Nations 2009



What are the drivers of the new international migration? The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM 2005) suggested that the main drivers of an increase in movement between countries were widening differences between countries with respect to the three D's:

- Development – widening of gaps in income levels between nations in line with Neo-Classical Migration Theory produce movement from low income to high income countries.

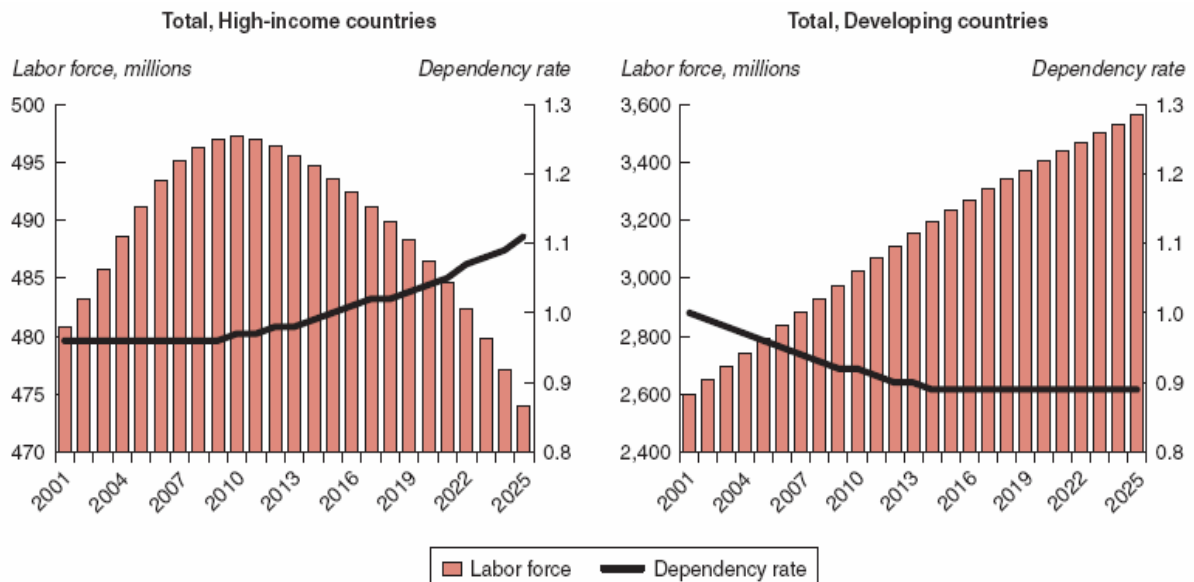
- Demography – the prolonged period of low fertility and population ageing in high income countries has resulted in the numbers of people leaving the workforce outnumbering those entering it.
- Democracy – widening differences between nations in freedom are an important driver of movement.

The demographic driver is of particular significance. A profound demographic transformation is occurring across high income countries such that the chief economist of the OECD (Cotis 2005) has commented:

Over the next couple of decades nothing will impact OECD economies more profoundly than demographic trends and, chief among them, ageing’.

Figure 2 shows that in 2010 the growth of the working age (15 to 64 years) population in high income countries has ceased and thereafter will decline (World Bank 2006). Figure 2 shows that the numbers of persons in the workforce age groups in high income countries will decline by more than 20 million over the next 15 years.

Figure 2: Labour Force Age Groups and Dependency Rates in High Income and Developing Countries, 2001-25
Source: World Bank 2006



In addition to the 3D's there are a number of other developments which are important drivers of global international migration:

- The proliferation of social networks.
- The development of an international migration industry.
- The cheapening of travel and massive impact in electronic communication which means that migrants can maintain stronger and more intimate linkages with their origins.
- Globalisation of business, media, information and labour markets.

All of these factors have been strengthening and are projected to increase in significance so that most commentators anticipate increases in global international migration over the next few decades.

POPULATION GROWTH TRENDS

It is important at the outset to establish that Australian population contemporary growth levels are high by global standards. Table 1 compares Australian and South Australian growth rates with global trends. It will be noted that Australian growth rates are

Table 1: Contemporary Population Growth Rates (% pa)
Source: UNESCAP 2009; Population Reference Bureau 2008 and 2009; ABS 2011

Country/Region	Year	Rate Per Annum
World	2009-10	1.2
LDCs (excl. China)	2009-10	1.7
MDCs	2009-10	0.4
Europe and the New Independent States	2009-10	0.1
North America	2009-10	0.9
ESCAP Region	2008-09	1.0
Indonesia	2008-09	1.1
Australia	2008-09	2.1
Australia	2009-10	1.7

more than fifty percent greater than global levels while that of South Australia was similar to world population growth rates. It is significant to note that South Australia's population is currently growing faster than the Asia-Pacific population as a whole and Indonesia and four times faster than Europe's population.

After an extended period of population growth being less than half the national average, the annual population growth rate in South Australia breached the one percent per annum threshold for the first time for more than two decades in 2006-07. Table 2 shows that this was still only two thirds the rate of growth of the national population but that rate is also the highest for two decades. Moreover it has continued to increase so that in 2008-09 the South Australian population grew at 1.2 percent per annum, although it fell to 1.0 percent in the calendar year 2010.

Table 2: South Australia and Australia: Population Growth, 1947-54 to 2010
Source: Australian Census; ABS *Regional Population Growth*, various issues; ABS 2011

Intercensal Period	Population (Annual Growth) ¹		SA as Percent of Australia's Growth	Population (Average Annual Growth Rate)	
	South Australia	Australia		South Australia	Australia
1947-54	21,574	201,025	10.73	4.29	3.46
1954-61	24,913	217,379	11.46	4.04	3.18
1961-66	24,699	218,244	11.32	2.42	2.00
1966-71	15,745	231,246	6.81	1.85	2.41
1971-76	14,791	193,164	7.66	1.20	1.44
1976-81	8,940	178,035	5.02	0.69	1.24
1981-86	12,756	219,018	5.82	0.95	1.43
1986-91	12,750	253,137	5.04	0.91	1.53
1991-96	5,618	205,490	2.73	0.39	1.16
1996-2001	7,495	220,351	3.40	0.50	1.18
2001-06	11,295	257,650	4.38	0.74	1.29
2006-07	17,906	374,572	4.78	1.14	1.81
2007-08	18,191	426,088	4.27	1.15	2.02
2008-09	20,527	453,196	4.53	1.28	2.11
2009-10	20,070	377,111	5.32	1.24	1.72
2010 (calendar)	15,602	325,469	4.79	0.95	1.47

¹ Average annual growth for intercensal periods

Note: Population totals 1947-54 and 1966-71 based on census counts, 1971-76 to 2008-09 on estimated resident population.

At the end of 2010 South Australia's population stood at 1,650,400, an increase of 15,600 over the previous years. Table 2 shows that this is lower than the highest annual

increment in the state's population since the early 1960s which was recorded in 2008-09 but remains high by the standards of recent decades. Table 3 shows that South Australia's share of the national population continues to fall from the peak of 9.44 percent in 1966, and despite recent increases in population growth that proportion has continued to fall.

Table 3: South Australia and Australia: Population, 1947-2010
Source: ABS *Regional Population Growth*, various issues; ABS 2011

Census Year	Population (Persons)		SA as Percent of Australia
	South Australia	Australia	
1947	646,073	7,579,358	8.52
1954	797,094	8,986,530	8.87
1961	971,487	10,508,186	9.25
1966	1,094,984	11,599,407	9.44
1971	1,200,114	13,067,265	9.18
1976	1,274,070	14,033,083	9.08
1981	1,318,769	14,923,260	8.84
1986	1,382,550	16,018,350	8.63
1991	1,446,299	17,284,036	8.37
1996	1,474,389	18,311,486	8.05
2001	1,511,728	19,413,240	7.79
2006	1,567,888	20,697,880	7.58
2007	1,585,794	21,072,452	7.53
2008	1,603,985	21,498,540	7.46
2009	1,624,512	21,951,736	7.40
2010	1,644,582	22,328,847	7.37

Note: Population totals 1947-66 are census counts, 1971-2010 figures are estimated resident populations as at 30 June.

It is important to disaggregate this growth and examine the contribution of different demographic processes to this striking change. Figure 3 indicates that the major shift has been in net migration. Although there has been a slight upturn in natural increase it is the steep rise in net migration which has contributed virtually all of the increase in growth. Indeed the spiking of net migration has taken it to a level not seen in South Australia for over four decades. Table 4 provides the ABS estimates of the contribution of the demographic processes to South Australian population growth and it shows the spectacular increasing of

net migration gain more than ten times between 2003-04 and 2008-09. It is important to note, however, that the net gain of overseas migrants was even greater rising from 2,765 in 2000-01 to 17,327 in 2008-09. However this was somewhat negated by a continuing pattern of net loss through interstate migration. The pattern of the number of people leaving the state for elsewhere in Australia outnumbering those moving in the other direction has continued for several decades and has not changed in recent years. Indeed there has been an increase in net interstate migration loss such that it is at the highest level since the early 1990s when the state was experiencing the fallout of the State Bank collapse. As is discovered later, this increase is undoubtedly associated with an outflow of immigrants. It is interesting to note in Table 4 the increase in natural increase in recent years due to the increased fertility levels in South Australia as well as in Australia as a whole (Hugo 2009).

Figure 3: South Australia: Total Population Growth Showing the Natural Increase and Net Migration Components, 1947-2010

Source: ABS 1997 and *Australian Demographic Statistics*, various issues

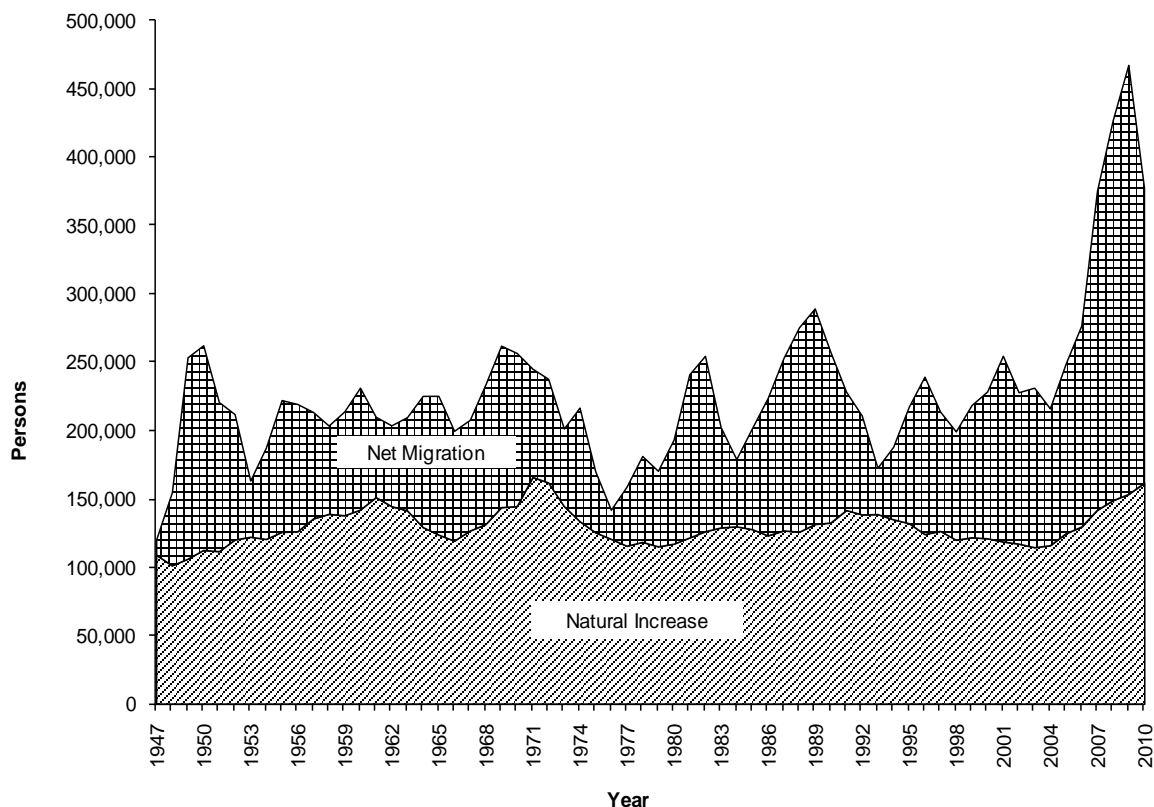


Table 4: South Australia: Components of Population Change, 1996-2010
 Source: ABS 2002, 11-12; ABS 2011, 11-12

Year	Natural Increase	Net Migration	Net Overseas Migration	Net Interstate Migration
1996-97	6,951	-1,524	3,104	-4,628
1997-98	6,602	1,194	3,160	-1,966
1998-99	6,751	1,051	2,682	-1,631
1999-2000	6,306	298	3,829	-3,531
2000-01	5,495	347	2,765	-2,418
2001-02	5,772	1,196	2,798	-1,602
2002-03	5,198	2,407	3,904	-1,497
2003-04	5,408	1,108	4,305	-3,197
2004-05	5,879	3,231	7,020	-3,483
2005-06	5,857	7,102	9,813	-2,711
2006-07	6,926	10,980	14,638	-3,658
2007-08	7,366	10,825	15,324	-4,499
2008-09	7,219	13,308	17,984	-4,676
2009-10	7,663	12,407	15,371	-2,964

TRENDS IN PERMANENT IMMIGRATION FLOWS

Thus far we have examined the *net* contribution of international migration to population growth in South Australia and in this section we will investigate in a more detailed way the flows of international migrants to and from the state. Table 5 indicates where newly arriving migrants in Australia indicate they intend to settle (from the data on arrival cards) and it shows that New South Wales and Victoria account for the destinations of two thirds of immigrant settlers arriving in Australia. Hence while the pattern of *internal* migration in Australia is dominated by Queensland because this is where there is the greatest perceived availability of jobs, international migration is strongly focused on Sydney and Melbourne because they are the hubs of most social networks in Australia of newly arrived migrants. It is noticeable that the number of permanent arrivals coming to Australia has increased substantially in recent years. Although South Australia's share of the national

intake hasn't changed very much this has meant that the number of settler arrivals who are coming to South Australia has increased substantially.

Table 5: Intended State of Residence of Settler Arrivals, 1989-2010
Source: DIAC, *Immigration Update*, various issues; DIAC, unpublished data

Year	Number of Settler Arrivals		NSW %	Vic %	Qld %	SA %	Tas %
	Australia	South Australia					
1989-90	121,227	5,898	38.9	26.2	13.1	4.9	0.7
1990-91	121,688	5,963	39.1	26.4	13.3	4.9	0.6
1991-92	107,391	4,796	41.0	25.7	14.1	4.5	0.6
1992-93	76,330	3,534	42.0	25.0	14.3	4.6	0.5
1993-94	69,768	3,201	44.3	22.8	14.7	4.6	0.7
1994-95	87,428	3,782	43.5	22.8	15.1	4.3	0.6
1995-96	99,139	3,842	44.7	22.5	15.4	3.9	0.6
1996-97	85,752	3,336	43.4	21.3	17.1	3.9	0.5
1997-98	77,327	3,069	41.0	21.0	19.5	4.0	0.5
1998-99	84,143	3,320	41.8	20.5	19.0	3.9	0.5
1999-2000	61,703	3,105	42.2	23.2	11.8	5.3	0.7
2000-01	64,592	3,183	39.8	24.3	11.7	4.5	0.8
2001-02	89,000	3,316	39.7	24.0	17.8	3.7	0.7
2002-03	93,914	3,657	38.8	24.6	17.2	3.9	0.9
2003-04	111,590	4,773	36.3	25.1	18.2	4.3	0.8
2004-05	123,424	6,364	36.3	24.8	18.4	5.2	0.8
2005-06	131,593	9,099	33.9	24.5	18.9	6.9	0.7
2006-07	140,148	10,061	31.3	24.8	20.4	7.2	0.7
2007-08	149,365	9,896	29.1	24.9	21.8	6.6	0.7
2008-09	158,021	9,695	29.8	25.0	20.9	6.1	0.8
2009-10	140,610	11,377	30.1	26.1	17.7	8.1	0.9

In examining international migration trends in Australia, however, it is not sufficient to examine only persons who arrive in Australia as permanent settlers. As is shown later in this paper there has been an upturn in temporary migration to South Australia and with it an increasing number of persons who are 'onshore' settlers or persons who arrive in Australia on a temporary resident visa but subsequently apply for, and are successful in gaining, Permanent Resident Status.

How is the gain of settlers in South Australia broken down between 'offshore' and onshore' settler arrivals? Table 6 shows that the proportion of permanent additions to the

population who are ‘onshore’ arrivals in that they were already in Australia as temporary residents before being granted permanent residence. It will be noted that South Australia’s share of the nation’s onshore migrants was smaller than its share of ‘offshore’ migrants in recent years, although the numbers in both categories have increased substantially. In recent times its share of onshore migrants has especially increased.

Table 6: Australia and South Australia: Permanent Additions, 2001-10
Source: DIAC, *Immigration Update*, various issues

Year	Australia				South Australia				Total
	Onshore		Offshore		Onshore		Offshore		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	% of Australian Total	Number	% of Australian Total	
2001-02	32,274	26.6	88,900	73.4	1,147	3.6	3,316	3.7	4,463
2002-03	31,946	25.4	93,914	74.6	1,017	3.2	3,657	3.9	4,674
2003-04	38,402	25.6	111,590	74.4	1,384	3.6	4,773	4.3	6,157
2004-05	43,895	26.2	123,424	73.8	2,433	5.5	6,364	5.2	8,797
2005-06	48,214	26.8	131,593	73.2	2,780	5.8	9,099	6.9	11,879
2006-07	51,759	27.0	140,148	73.0	2,976	5.7	10,061	7.2	13,037
2007-08	56,575	27.5	149,365	72.5	3,111	5.5	9,896	6.6	13,007
2008-09	66,598	29.6	158,021	70.4	3,745	5.6	9,695	6.1	13,440
2009-10	68,311	32.6	140,610	67.3	3,864	5.7	11,377	8.1	15,241

It is important to disaggregate the immigration to South Australia according to the visa category under which they qualified as settlers. There has been a substantial change in Australian immigration policy over recent years with an increasing focus being put on increasing the skill profile of the immigrant intake to maximise its positive impact on the national labour market and economy. At the national level there is a clear pattern of skilled migration more than quadrupling since 1996 while the changes in the other visa categories are small. The proportion of onshore migrants who are in the skilled category (41.3 percent in 2008-09) is lower than for offshore additions (58.7 percent).

Table 7: South Australia: Settler Arrivals, Composition and Growth, 2002-03 to 2004-05 and Recent Additions 2005-06 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data; DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues

	02/03		06/07		09-10*	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Skilled	1,239	3.7	8,972	9.2	10,742	9.9
Business	93	1.7				
Humanitarian	686	7.2	1,330	9.4	1,098	7.5
Family	1,243	4.4	2,185	4.5	2,831	4.8
Special	21	11.8	545	1.8	570	2.1
Other	375	2.1				
Total	3,657	3.9	13,037	6.8	15,241	7.3

* Permanent Additions including onshore and offshore arrivals.

Percentage is percent of national intake in that category going to South Australia.

The pattern for South Australia is depicted in Table 7. In this table the data from 2006-07 onward differ from those of earlier years. The former include both settler ‘offshore’ arrivals *and* ‘onshore’ settlers who are temporary visa holders who are granted permanent residence ‘onshore’. For earlier years it only includes offshore arrivals. The data show that there has been increases in all visa categories of immigrants both in numbers and in the proportion of the national intake. There has, in recent years however, been a levelling off after the state has increased its share of the national intake for successive years since 2002. This table is especially interesting, however, because it shows the changing mix of immigration program categories which have made up the increased numbers of immigrants settling in South Australia. Most striking in this respect has been the increased significance of Skilled Migration. In 2002-03 the state received only 3.7 percent of the national intake of skilled migrants but this had increased to 9.2 percent in 2006-07 and 7.7 percent in 2008-09, while the actual number of skilled migrant settlers increased seven times. This expansion was largely a function of the state’s active involvement in the State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme which is discussed below. It needs to be stressed, however, that South

Australia has gone from receiving half its proportionate share of skilled migrants in 2002-03 to now receiving more than its share.

It is also interesting to observe in Table 7 that South Australia has taken a substantial share of the national refugee-humanitarian settler intake over the entire period increasing from 7.2 percent in 2002-03 to 9 percent in 2004-05. This stems from a special request made by the Premier of South Australia to DIAC in 2003 for the state to increase the number of refugees settling in South Australia.¹ Refugee-humanitarian settlers are directed upon arrival in Australia to communities where there are support services in place for them so this request was able to be accommodated. This of course places some pressure on support services across the state, especially since there has been settlement of some refugee-humanitarian arrivals outside of the Adelaide area (Hugo 2008a). It will be noted, however, that the numbers of humanitarian migrants have been relatively stable since 2004-05.

Although there was a significant increase in the number of family migrants settling in South Australia from 1,243 in 2002-03 to 2,831 in 2009-10 the proportion of the national intake remained stable at around 4.8 percent. This is a function of the fact that South Australia's migration intake until recently has been quite small. As a result the pool of potential family sponsors remains limited in the state. The level and percentage of family migration can be expected to increase as the number of recent migrants who are potential sponsors increase.

A key factor in the increase in international migration has been the highly active participation of the South Australian government in the State Specific and Regional Migration initiatives (DIAC 2009a). These subcategories are only available for skilled migrants. This set of visa categories introduced progressively over the last decade give particular advantages such as extra points or waiving of particular conditions to potential

¹ Personal communication from State Manager of DIAC.

setters willing to settle outside of the major areas of immigrant settlement. The categories have varying residence requirements but SA as a whole (including the Adelaide metropolitan area) is eligible for virtually all categories. This partly reflects the fact that the state has been among the most enthusiastic supporters of, and strongest lobbyists for, the State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme (Hugo 2005). Table 8 shows the growth of the SSRM program in Australia both in terms of the numbers of immigrants and the proportion they make up of the total non-humanitarian intake. By 2005-06 SSRM immigrants made up almost a quarter of the total non-humanitarian intake, although both the numbers and the proportion had fallen back by 2006-07. It is also evident in the table that South Australia has been a major player in the SSRM scheme from the earliest days of the program.

Table 8: Number of Immigrants with Visas Granted Under the State Regional Specific Migration Mechanisms and Their Proportion of the Total Non Humanitarian Intake, 1997-98 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues

Year	Number	Percent of Total	
		Non Humanitarian Intake	Percent in SA
1997-98	1,753	2.3	34.5
1998-99	2,804	3.3	36.9
1999-2000	3,309	3.6	21.2
2000-01	3,846	3.6	19.5
2001-02	4,136	4.6	17.5
2002-03	7,941	8.5	16.7
2003-04	12,725	11.4	16.6
2004-05	18,697	15.6	26.5
2005-06	27,488	19.2	29.8
2006-07	25,845	17.4	27.7
2007-08	26,162	17.5	26.9
2008-09	33,474	21.2	22.9
2009-10	36,570	26.0	26.0

The reliance of South Australia on the SSRM scheme for its immigrant intake is evident in Figures 4 and 5 which show the settler arrivals (and hence does not include onshore migrants) in each state and territory in 2005-06 and 2008-09 by proportional circles. The circles are subdivided into segments representing the numbers coming under the SSRM or regular migration programs. It will be noticed that only in South Australia are the majority of migrants derived from the SSRM scheme. South Australia has been a leader on lobbying

Figure 4: Australia: Settler Arrivals by State According to Whether They are State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme Migrants or Other Migrants, 2005-06

Source: DIAC unpublished data

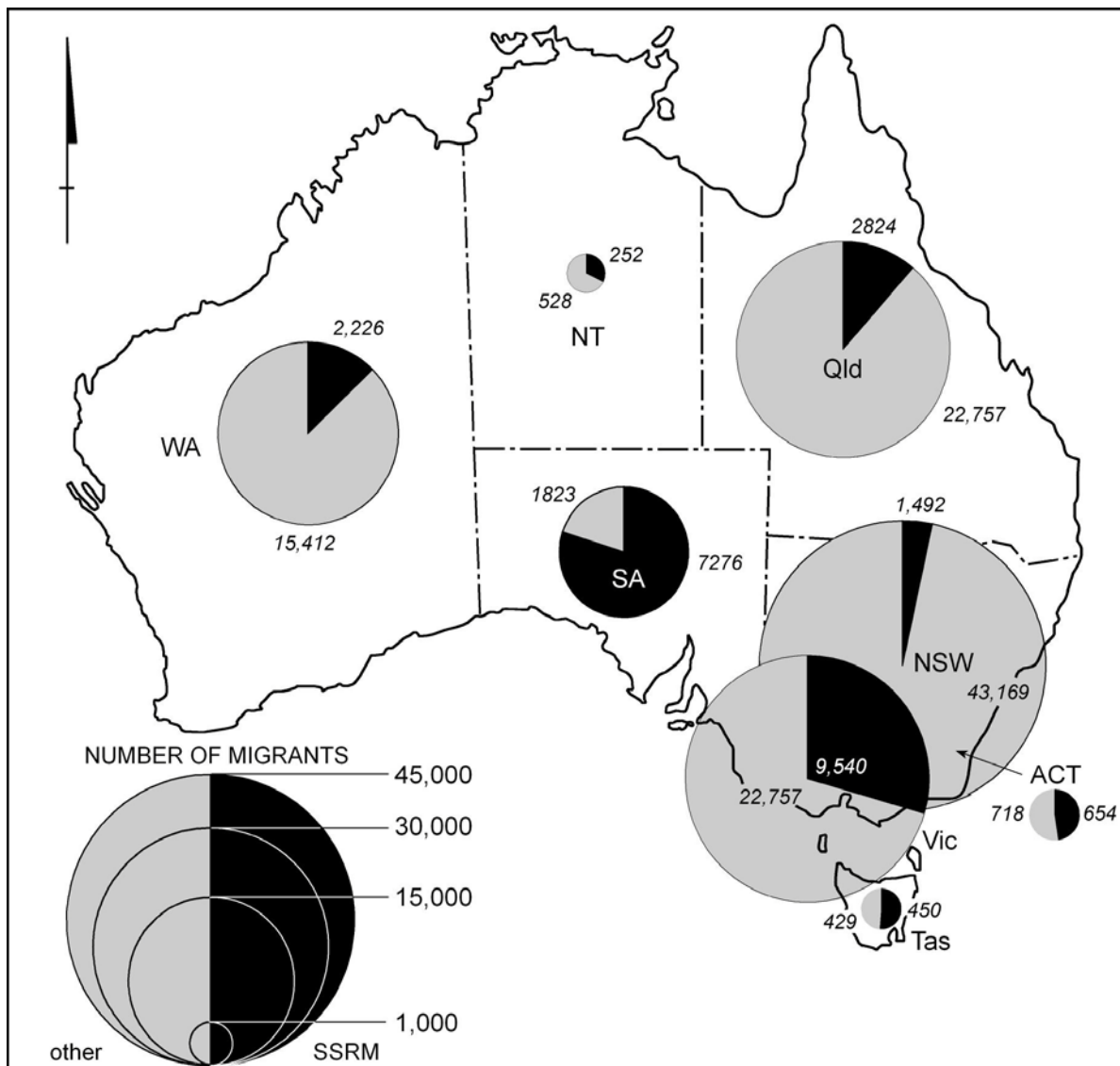
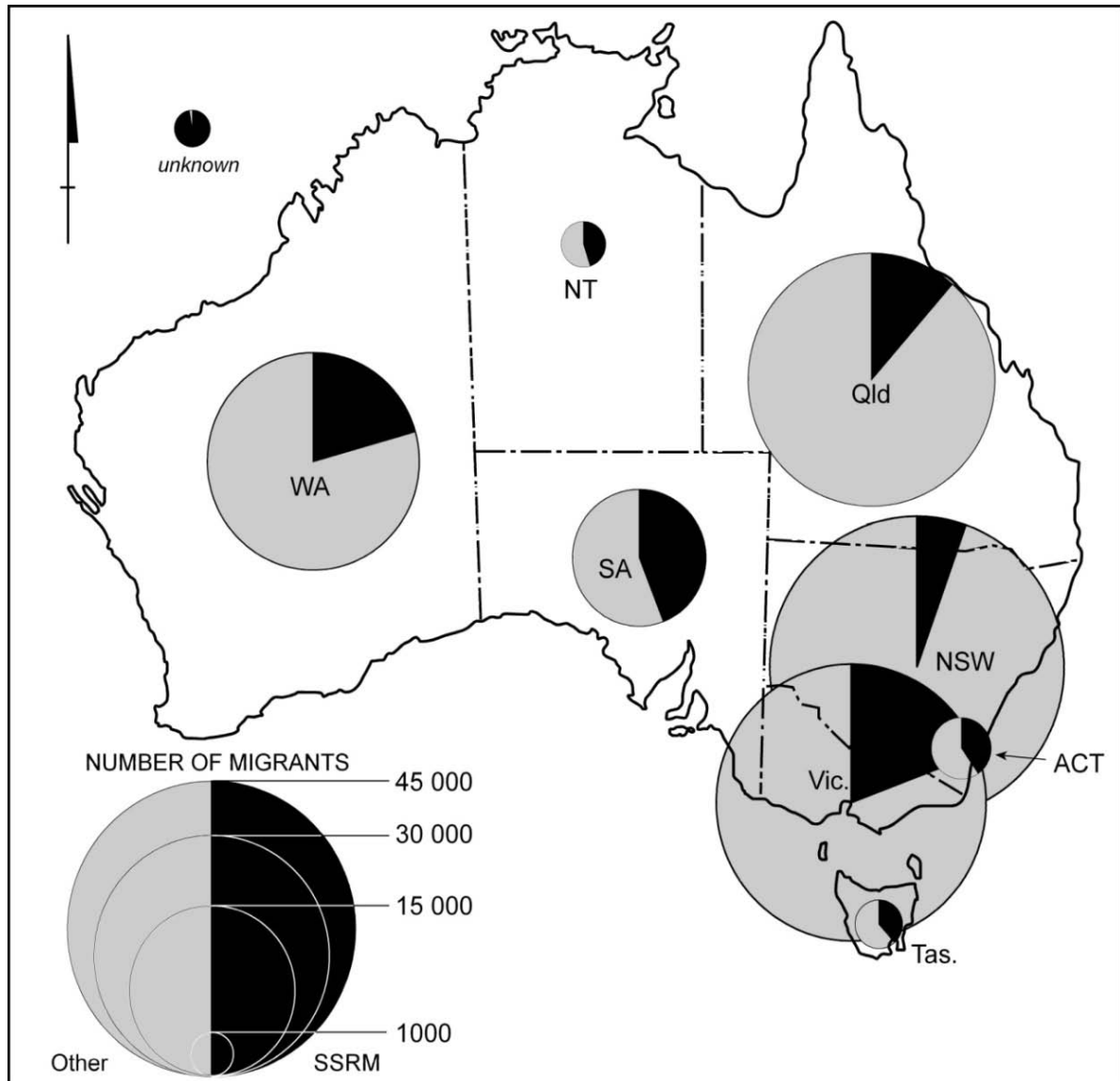


Figure 5: Australia: Settler Arrivals by State According to Whether They are State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme Migrants or Other Migrants, 2008-09

Source: DIAC 2009a and b



the federal government for an expansion of the initiatives under the program and have actively used the program to attract settlers. It has been favoured in that Adelaide has been eligible to receive all SSRM migrants while most categories have not allowed migrants to settle in a mainland capital city. The original *raison detre* of the SSRM scheme was to attract migrants to ‘regional Australia and low population growth areas’ (DIAC 2008, 13). The

latter was areas experiencing a population growth rate less than half the national average in the last intercensal period. Adelaide qualified under this requirement for 1996-2001 but was marginally above it in 2001-06. Some other states subsequently lobbied for Adelaide's special status to accordingly be withdrawn but the South Australian government has been successful thus far in having it retained. While there has been some fluctuation, South Australia has been able to attract around a fifth of the SSRM intake. It is interesting to note in comparing Figures 4 and 5 that while SSRM settlers were still substantial in 2008-09, their share of total immigration to the state had declined since 2005-06. This indicates that South Australia is building up a significant migrant community which is starting to attract other immigrants to the state.

Table 9: South Australia: Settler Arrivals, Top 10 Countries, 2002-03 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data

Top 10 Countries in 2009-10	2002-03	2005-06	2008-09	2009-10	Percent Increase 2002-10
India	138	909	1578	1983	1337.0
United Kingdom	785	3009	2291	1897	141.7
China	113	879	905	1292	1043.4
Philippines	134	285	362	519	287.3
Sri Lanka	23	85	145	448	1847.8
South Africa	209	263	329	389	86.1
New Zealand	232	373	479	354	52.6
Bangladesh	1	16	122	354	35300.0
Malaysia	91	154	139	331	263.7
Korea	34	163	194	324	852.9
Other	1897	2963	3151	3486	83.8
Total	3657	9099	9695	11377	211.1

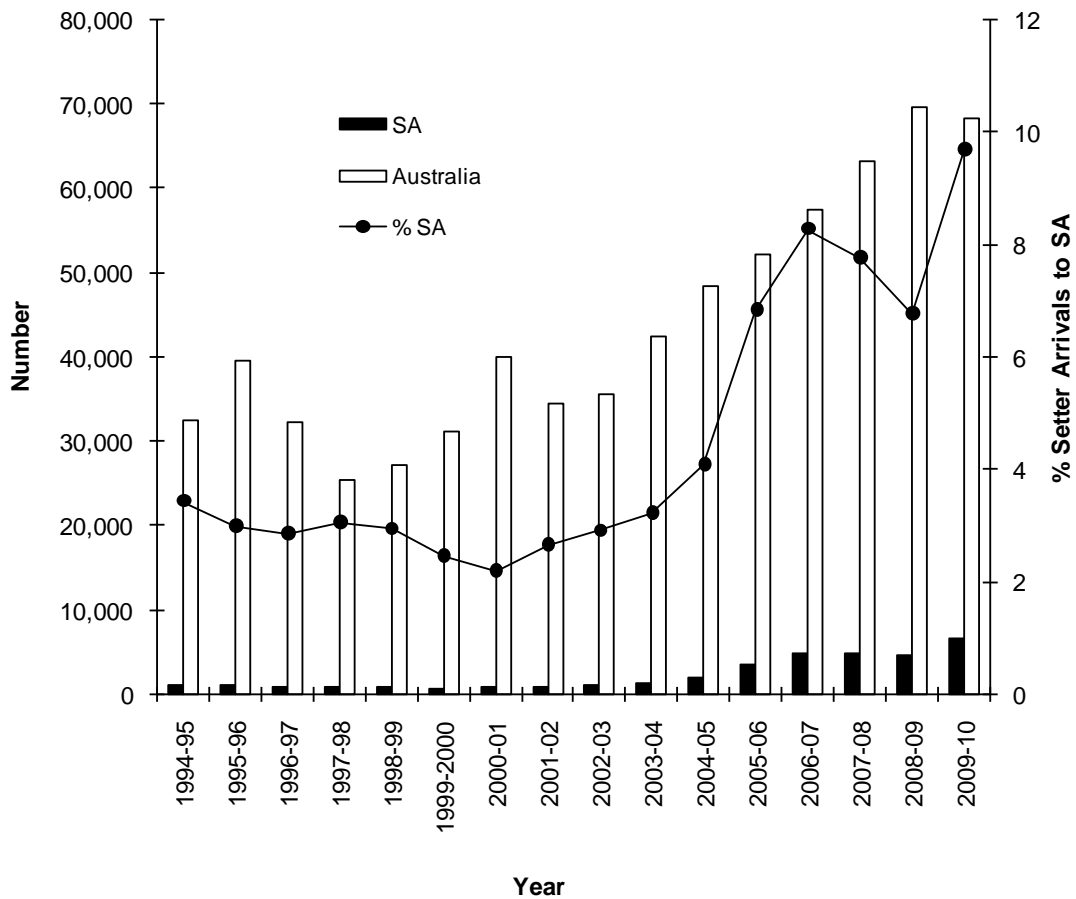
The origins of permanent settlers are shown in Table 9 and it is noticeable that the United Kingdom has been the major country of origin in the expansion of immigration in the last few years. The United Kingdom has long been the traditional main source of immigrants to South Australia (Hugo 1989) and UK immigrants settled disproportionately in South

Australia in the postwar economic boom years. The return of the UK to dominance in the state's migrant intake is interesting. It partly reflects the concentration of Immigration SA activity recruiting in the UK but also the strength of linkages between South Australia's substantial UK-born population back to their homeland. The growth of the UK origin migrants does appear to have declined after peaking at 3,009 in 2005-06.

Another very striking trend in Table 9 is the rapid increase in the numbers of migrants coming from India and China, doubling between 2004-05 and 2006-07 and together accounting for 25.6 percent of the total intake in 2008-9 compared with 6.8 percent in 2002-03. This reflects a significant shift in the South Australian immigrant intake. In 2002-03 there was only one Asian country in the top five origin countries (India) but in 2008-09 three of the top five were Asian. The growth of the Indian intake is especially striking from 3.7 percent to 16.3 percent between 2002 and 2009. Asian migration to Australia as a whole grew rapidly in the 1990s so that the Asia-born population stock increased from 687,850 in 1991 to 882,918 in 2001 (28.4 percent). However, in South Australia the increase was only 24.1 percent from 32,720 to 40,621. This, however, has changed in recent years. Figure 6 shows how Asian migration to South Australia has increased both numerically and as a percentage of the total Australian intake from Asia. Hence the Asian immigration influence in Australia has been somewhat delayed in South Australia but is now being felt. The Philippines is the other Asian country whose numbers have increased significantly in recent years and in 2008 (*Advertiser*, July 2008, 1) it was announced that the state had negotiated a Memorandum of Understanding to receive up to 50,000 workers over the next decade. It is interesting that while New Zealand in 2006-07 was the largest single origin of immigrants to Australia as a whole, in South Australia it was only the fifth largest source, making up 3.9 percent of arrivals compared with 17.1 percent of the national intake.

Figure 6: Australia and South Australia: Settler Arrivals from Asia, 1994-95 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC *Settler Arrivals*, various issues



While the focus in recent immigration efforts in SA has been on skilled migrants, South Australia has been an important destination for refugee-humanitarian migrants even before the recent increase in the overall intake. As indicated earlier, the state has taken more than its proportionate share of refugee-humanitarian migrants. In 2008-09 South Australia settled 1,013 (or 8.7 percent) of ‘offshore’ arrivals in this group and 94 (2.9 percent) of ‘onshore’ arrivals or persons who arrived as Asylum Seekers but were granted resident status. The refugees are dominantly from the Horn of Africa and Afghanistan and are increasing the diversity of the state’s population. Hence in 2008-09 there were substantial settler arrivals from Afghanistan (186), Sudan (87), Iran (184), Democratic Republic of Congo (28) and

Liberia (102). This group is adding a new element of diversity into the South Australian population.

TEMPORARY MIGRATION

One of the most important changes in Australian immigration over the last decade has been the increase in non-permanent migration. This represents a parametric shift from the Australian immigration policy imperative of the half century following World War II which eschewed temporary worker migration in favour of focussing on permanent settlement. Elsewhere it has been shown (Hugo 1999; 2006a) that there has been significant growth since 1995 in the numbers coming to Australia and being granted temporary residence in order to work. There has been particular growth in:

- Temporary business migrants
- Students
- Working holiday makers

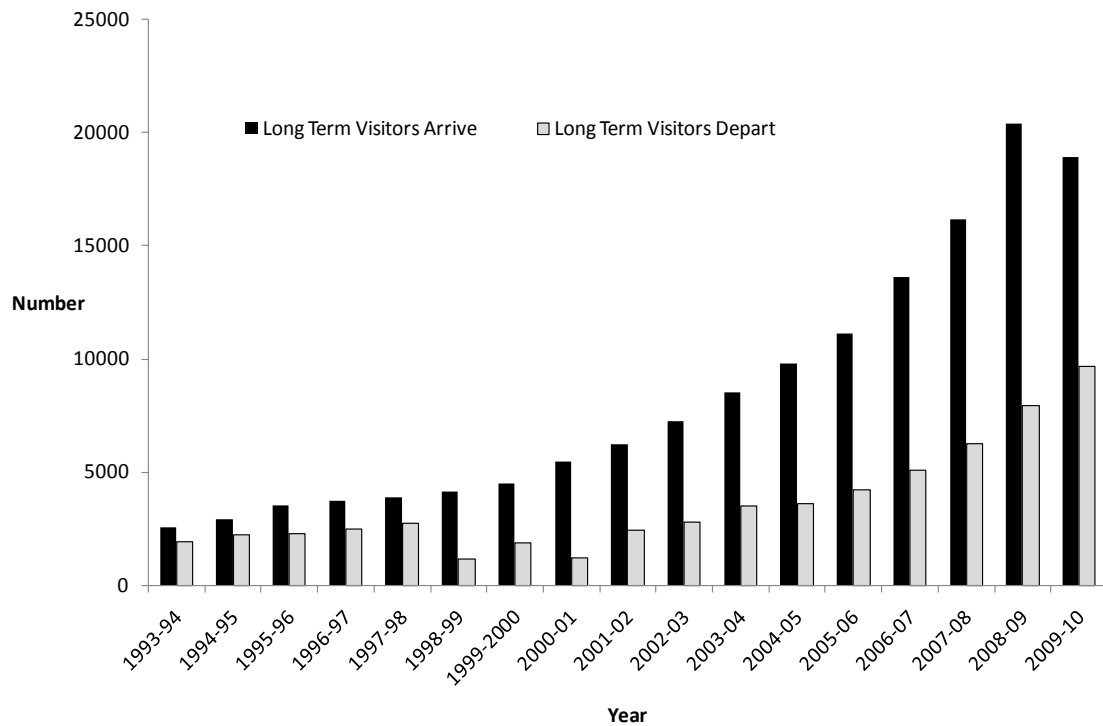
The temporary residents who intend to stay in Australia for more than one year are picked up as long term visitor arrivals² by DIAC and Figure 7 shows that there has been a steady increase in non-permanent long term migration to South Australia in recent years. Indeed the level of long term migration increased by 693 percent between 1993-94 and 2008-09. What is also evident in Figure 7 is that the number of long term visitors who leave South Australia is less than half the number arriving. Clearly the state's population is gaining not only permanent settler arrivals but also temporary residents who extend their stay in South Australia, many eventually becoming permanent residents. Hence in any consideration of international migration's contribution to South Australian population growth it is crucial to include a consideration of long term temporary, as well as permanent, settler arrivals. It will

² i.e. foreigners arriving on temporary residence visas who intend to stay in Australia more than one year but don't intend to settle permanently.

be noted that in common with Australia as a whole there was a reduction in temporary migration in 2009-10. It is even greater in 2010-11 reflecting the major changes to the student migration regulations.

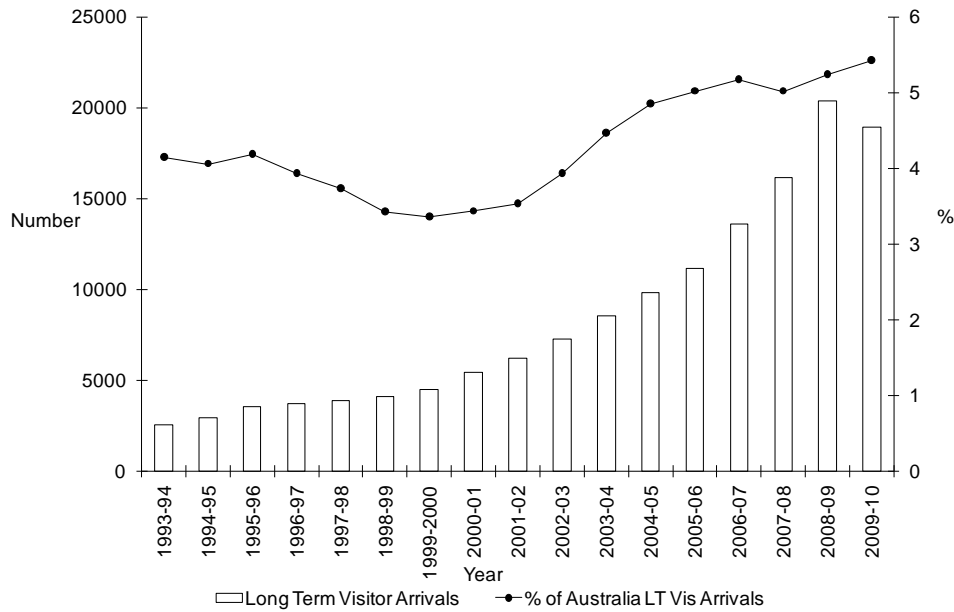
Figure 7: South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals and Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data



Since the mid 1990s Australia has introduced a number of visa categories whereby foreigners can come to Australia for an extended period to work but on a temporary resident visa. This contrasted with the pre-1996 situation when such migration was discouraged. The crucial point to be made about this migration is that the categories are focused very strongly on skill – even more so than is the case in permanent migration. Moreover, persons arriving under these programs have higher levels of workforce participation than permanent arrivals. It is also important to point out that South Australia has tended to receive less than its proportionate share of long term visitor arrivals in Australia as Figure 8 indicates.

Figure 8: South Australia: Number of Long Term Visitor Arrivals and Percent of the Australian Long Term Visitor Arrivals, 1993-94 to 2009-10
Source: DIAC unpublished data



In considering temporary migration it is necessary to disaggregate the visitor arrivals according to the visa category under which they entered Australia. Table 10 shows the numbers in the major visa categories who indicated on their arrival cards that they were intending to work/stay in South Australia.

One of the most important temporary residence categories is the 457 long term temporary business visitor group and Figure 9 shows that the numbers of 457s increased substantially in the last 2 years but the state still only gets around 4 percent of the total national intake. The 457 migrants are especially important because unlike the HB1 visa of temporary skilled migrants in the United States, the 457 program is not capped and the numbers arriving is determined by the number of Australian employers who make eligible applications for workers. Workers must be in the top four ASCO categories and employers are required to pay a minimum wage. They can be used to quickly fill skilled labour shortages (Khoo *et al.* 2009). In South Australia, until recently, it was possible to bring in

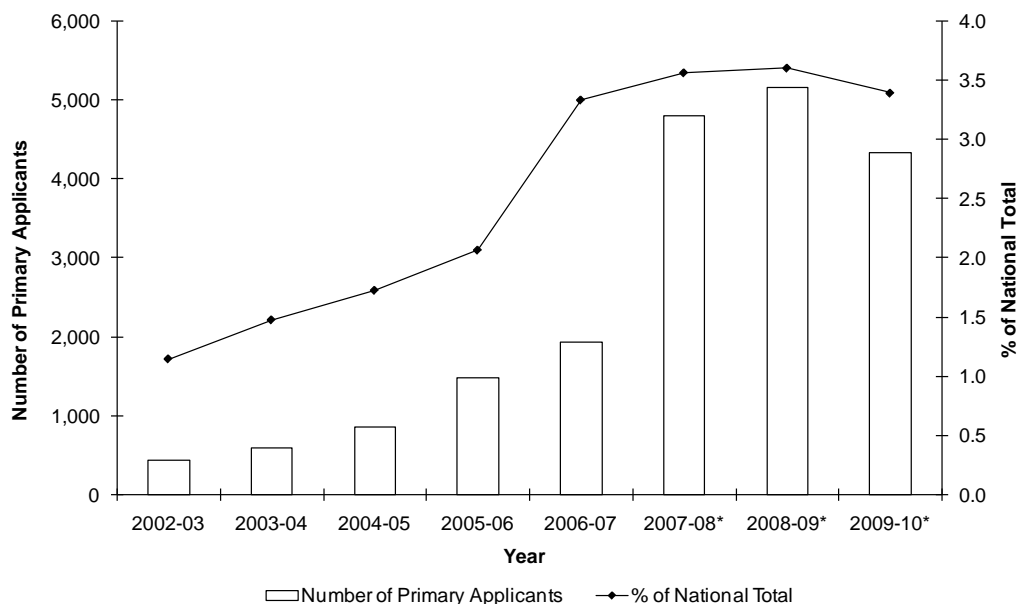
temporary workers under the Regional 457 program which released some of the occupational and wage conditions of the 457 visa. The 457 program has considerable labour market impact and there is a high level of transfer from temporary to permanent residence. Nationally the numbers of 457s increased exponentially each year until 2007-08 but there was a small decline in 2008-09 due to the onset of the Global Financial Crisis. It may also

Table 10: South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals, 2003-07
Source: DIAC unpublished data

	Temporary Residents	Students	Visitors	Total
2002-03	1,439	5,001	477	6,917
2003-04	1,741	6,200	274	8,215
2004-05	2,033	7,006	285	9,384
2005-06	2,544	7,624	263	10,431
2006-07	3,122	9,197	238	12,557

Figure 9: 457 Visa Grants to Primary Applicants Where the Nominated Position Was in South Australia, 2002-03 to 2009-10

Source: Rizvi 2007 and DIMA *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues



*Total 457 entrants

have been due to a tightening of the requirements for the 457 visa, including the removal of the Regional 457 concessions. Nevertheless, the 457 visa will remain an important part of the way in which migration will meet labour and skill shortages in South Australia.

There has been some controversy around the 457 visa category in South Australia. There have been a number of newspaper stories (e.g. *The Advertiser* February 13, 2006) which suggest that 457 migrants:

- Are being used to replace Australian workers.
- Are being paid less than Australian workers.
- Have conditions below the minimum acceptable to Australian workers.

Each of these three areas contravenes the regulations of the 457 visa which is only available for occupations in the top four ASCO categories and for which a minimum salary is set. Hence if employers are contravening the conditions of the visa in these ways they should be presented.

One of the major elements in the increased international migration into South Australia in recent years has been the increase in student migration. Along with Australia as a whole there has been a rapid increase in overseas student numbers as education export has become a more significant industry. However, Figure 10 shows that not only have numbers increased more than sixfold since 1999, to 33,731 in 2009, but South Australia has increased its share of the national intake from 3.2 percent in 2000 to 5.4 percent in 2006 but it declined to 5.1 percent in 2007 and increased to 5.3 percent in 2009. As with other forms of immigration the state has stepped up activity in attracting students to South Australia with the setting up of a dedicated agency to facilitate this (Education Adelaide). Figure 11 shows that Asia is the dominant origin of students and this is adding to the significant presence of Asian origin people in Adelaide. The main origins are China (33 percent), Malaysia (12 percent), India (10 percent) and Hong Kong (8 percent).

Figure 10: South Australia: Overseas Student Enrolments, 1994-2010

Source: Australian Education International

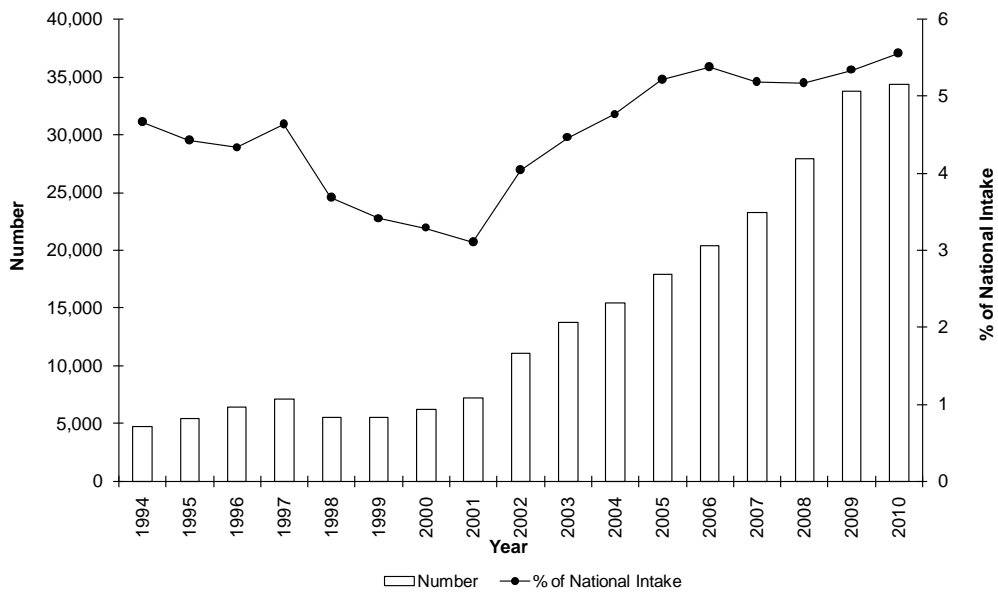
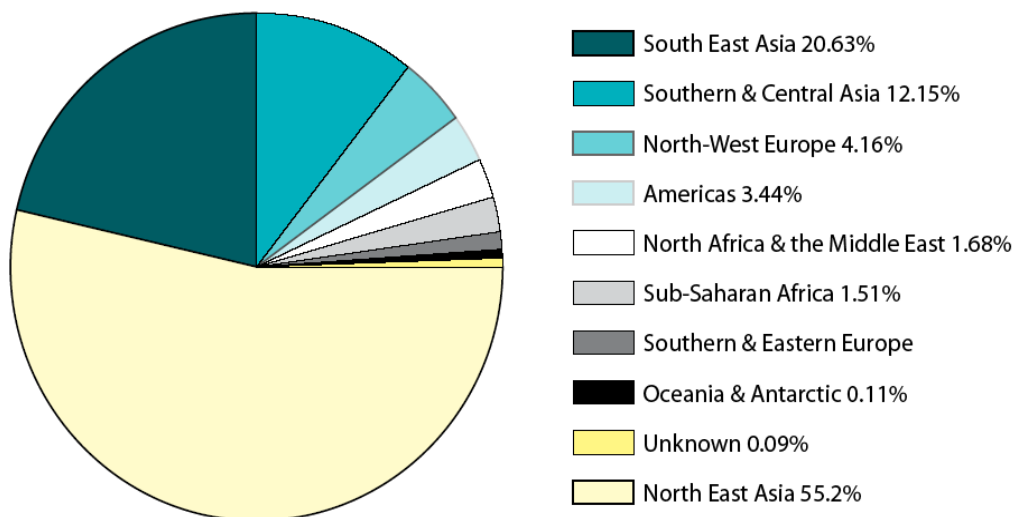


Figure 11: Onshore Overseas Students by Region of Origin, South Australia, YTD June 2006 (Total = 15,295)

Source: Education Adelaide

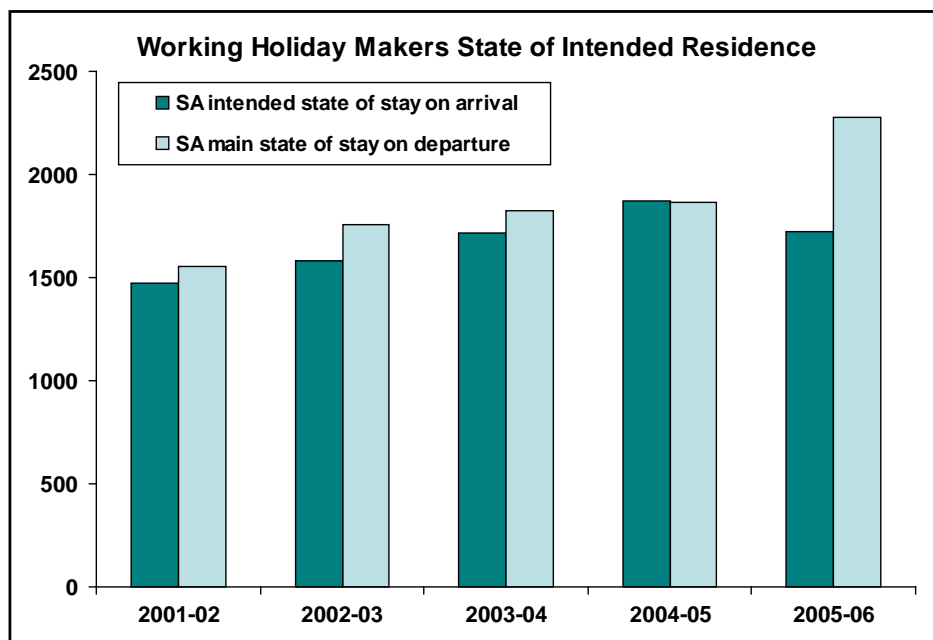


Students are especially important from the perspective of permanent settlement since they have a high rate of application for permanent residence (Tan, forthcoming). South

Australia for several years had an advantage in that students staying in regional areas, which as discussed earlier includes Adelaide, could gain 5 extra points in the assessment for permanent residence. This advantage, however, has been reduced by recent changes to the requirements for permanent residence.

The Working Holiday Maker (WHM) program also has increased in significance in recent years increasing nationally from 76,576 in 2000-01 to 187,696 in 2008-09 (DIAC 2009c). This program allows young people aged 18-30 to come to Australia to work for a period of up to a year. They have been shown to make significant contributions to some labour markets, especially agriculture, tourism and some services (Harding and Webster 2002; Tan *et al.* 2009). They also have a significant rate of change to permanent residence. However, it is difficult to assess the extent to which each state or territory gains from WHM since one of the requirements of the visa is that holders are required to spend no more than 3 months in a single job. Since they are holiday makers they travel from state to state. However, data presented in Figure 12 show that less than 2 percent of WHMs indicate on

Figure 12: South Australia: Working Holiday Makers, 2001-02 to 2005-06
Source: Rizvi 2007



their arrival cards that they intend for South Australia to be their main state while in Australia. A similar proportion indicated this in their departure cards. Moreover, while a national survey of 956 ‘back packers’ found that 35 percent had visited South Australia (*Advertiser*, 11 March 2003), a survey in 2000 of 1,774 WHMs found that only 2 percent had worked in South Australia (Harding and Webster 2002, 25). A more recent survey of 29,178 WHMs found that 3.1 percent had worked in South Australia (Tan *et al.* 2009).

The composition of long term immigrants to South Australia is somewhat different to that of permanent arrivals. Table 11 shows that Asia is much more important accounting for 76.0 percent of all long term visitor migrants over the 2004-09 period. This reflects the significance of students among the long term arrivals.

Table 11: South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals by Birthplace Region, 2004-05 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data

Birthplace Region	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	Total 2004-10	Percent
Oceania and Antarctica	270	288	305	348	412	359	1982	2.2
Europe	1374	1412	1459	1594	1663	1645	9147	10.2
North Africa and Middle East	228	256	316	508	842	1063	3213	3.6
SE Asia	2276	2349	2866	3350	3713	4003	18557	20.6
NE Asia	3614	4493	5385	5978	6938	7362	33770	37.6
S Asia	1176	1394	2058	3011	5331	3249	16219	18.0
C Asia	20	16	9	4	10	10	69	0.1
N America	394	382	468	471	522	484	2721	3.0
S & C America and Caribbean	56	76	189	216	209	186	932	1.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	381	462	533	624	708	547	3255	3.6
Total	9789	11128	13588	16104	20348	18908	89865	100.0

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS

One of the most universal features of migration is its selectivity by age. Except in special circumstances (as for example in retirement migration) immigration propensity is

always greatest in the young adult years and declines with age thereafter. This selectivity is enhanced in the Australian case by deliberate policies to select young adults and families into the settler and temporary migrant streams. This is done by some visa categories being excluded to older people (aged 45+) and a significant element of the points assessment test being age. Accordingly, the age structure of recent arrivals (those resident in Australia less than 5 years at the 2006 census) in South Australia as depicted in Figure 13, shows a concentration in the young adult ages, and to a lesser extent the dependent child ages reflecting inmovement of young families. If on the other hand we examine the age structure of the South Australian overseas born who had been resident in Australia for more than five years, Figure 14 indicates that this is a quite old population with a high proportion in the retirement and near retirement ages. This of course reflects the fact that Australia experienced heavy immigration from overseas in the first half of the postwar period but very

Figure 13: South Australia: Age Structure of Overseas-Born Resident in Australia Less Than 5 Years

Source: ABS 2006 Census

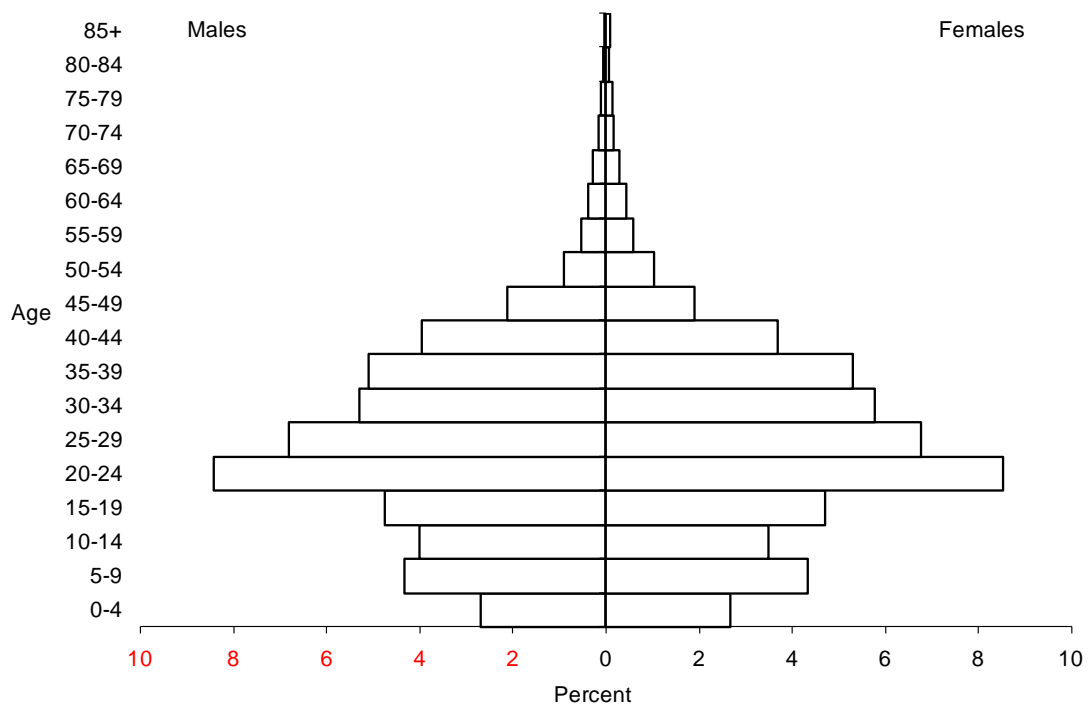


Figure 14: South Australia: Age Structure of Overseas Born Resident in Australia More Than 5 Years

Source: ABS 2006 Census

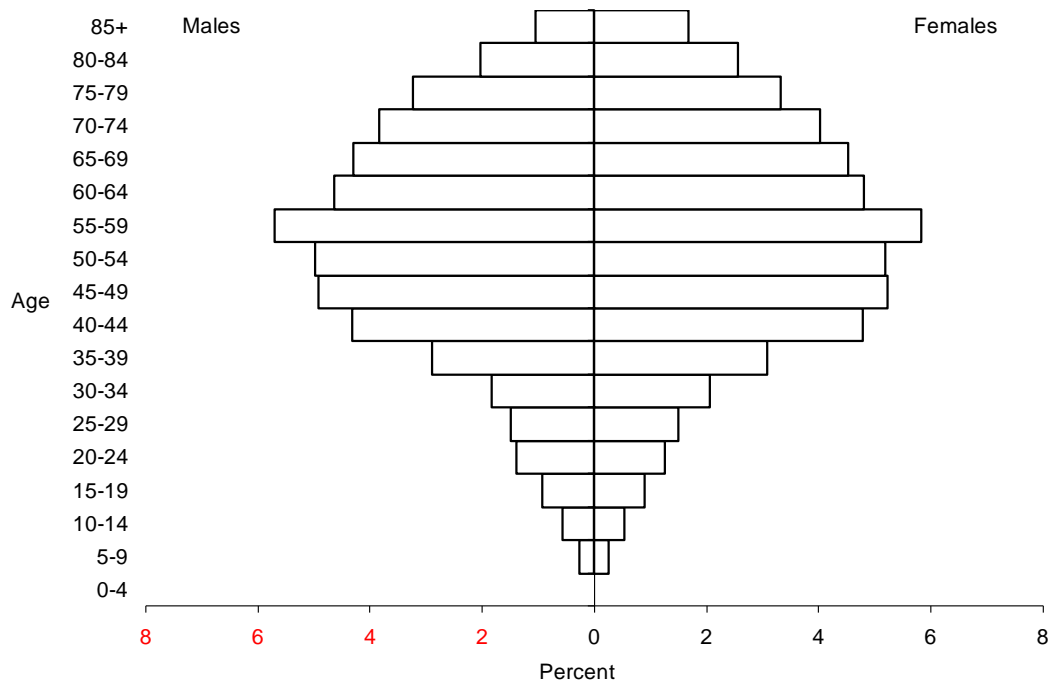


Figure 15: South Australia: Age Structure of Australian Born Population, 2001

Source: ABS 2006 Census



low inmovement in the second half. The Australian born population (Figure 15) is much younger than the total overseas born partly because it includes the Australian born children of former immigrants.

The youthful nature of the permanent and long term intakes of immigrants into South Australia are evident in Figure 16 and Figure 17 which show the age-sex composition of recent arrivals. The concentration in the 20's age group is especially marked in the long term arrivals due to students dominating this category. The significance of the increasing numbers in this group is evident in Figure 18 which overlays the total South Australian population at the 2001 (shaded) and 2006 censuses. The blank areas indicate the ages in which there was growth between the censuses. It will be noted that almost all net growth occurred in the older age groups as larger baby boomer cohorts replaced smaller numbers. However, a major exception is in the 20's age group where there was significant intercensal growth due to the effects of overseas students.

Figure 16: South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Permanent Arrivals, 2001-09
Source: DIAC unpublished data

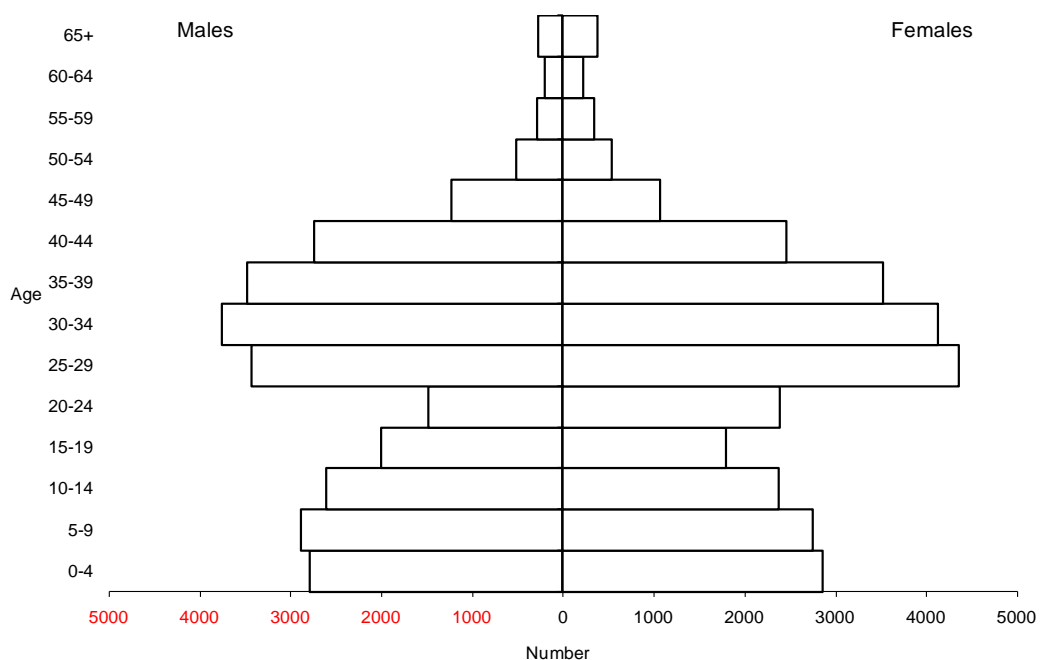


Figure 17: South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Long Term Visitor Arrivals, 2001-09

Source: DIAC unpublished data

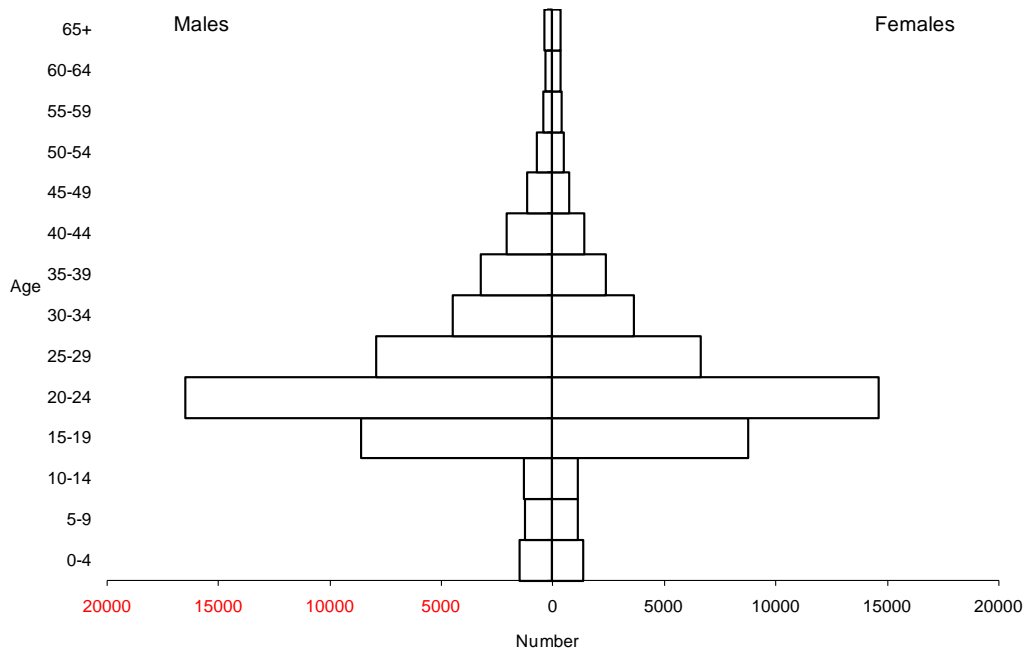
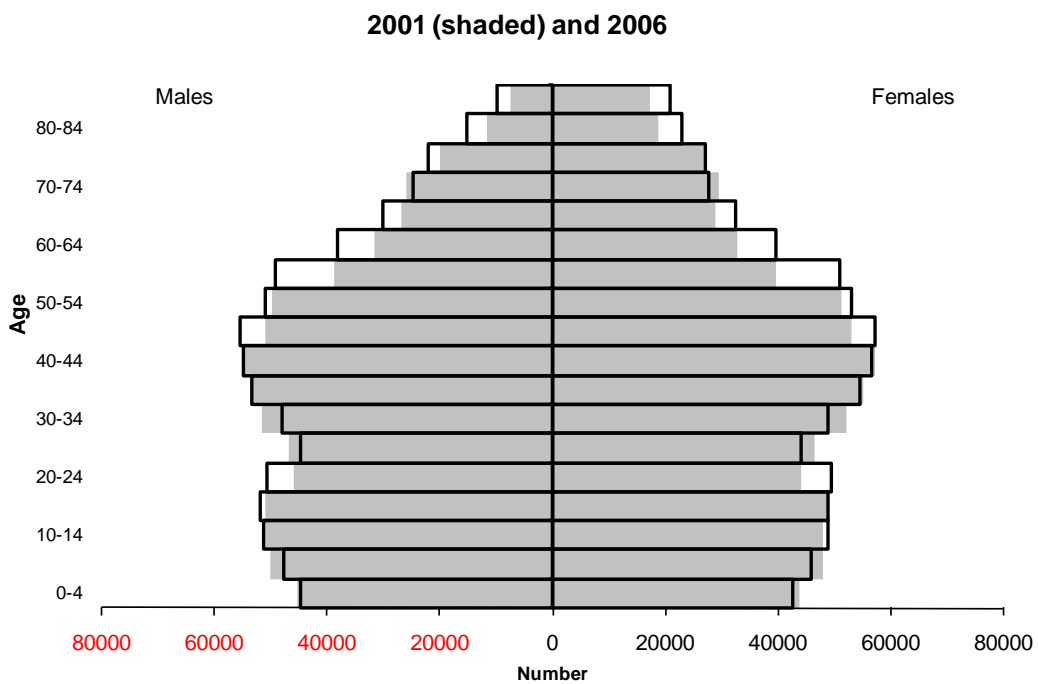


Figure 18: South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of the Population, 2001 and 2006

Source: ABS Censuses



There have also been some significant changes in the ethnic composition of the population due to the effects of emigration. Table 12 indicates the transition which is occurring. The 2001-06 intercensal period was the first one for more than a quarter of a century in which there was an increase in the percentage of the South Australian population born overseas, although it still remains below the national average. The overseas-born population increased almost three times as fast as the Australia-born in 2001-06 but the Europe-born population fell while that from Asia and Africa grew rapidly. Each of the five largest overseas-born groups in Australia in 2001 experienced a *reduction* in their population between 2001-06 – England, Italy, Scotland, Germany and Greece. Except for the UK- and Italy-born they undoubtedly will be passed by Asia-born groups, especially India and China, by the time of the next census.

Table 12: South Australia: Birthplace of Population, 1971, 2001 and 2006
Source: ABS Population Censuses

Region of Birth	Number	Number	Change	Number	Change
	1971	2001	1971-2001	2006	2001-06
Australia	884,923	1,099,585	24.3	1,110,297	1.0
Overseas	274,352	296,465	7.8	304,666	2.8
UK-Ireland	146,391	127,274	-13.1	122,076	-4.1
Other Europe	111,801	95,663	-14.4	87,335	-8.7
Oceania	3,607	12,980	259.9	13,537	4.3
Africa	1,741	6,740	287.1	11,755	74.4
Middle East	2,581	5,259	103.8	5,673	7.9
North America	2,602	4,579	76.0	5,299	15.7
South America	294	2,711	822.1	3,032	11.8
Asia	5,335	40,284	655.1	55,095	36.8
Total	1,159,275	1,396,050	20.3	1,414,963	1.4
Percent Overseas-Born	23.7	21.2		21.5	

EMIGRATION

Immigration has been the major element in the revival of population growth in South Australia. Figure 19 shows the dramatic increase of net overseas migration to South Australia both in absolute numerical terms and as a percentage of the national intake. Moreover, it must be recalled that in recent years immigration to Australia has reached unprecedented levels. It does need to be stressed, however, that the last decade has seen a reconfiguration of where migrants settle in Australia (Hugo 2008a). Table 13 shows that over the 1996-2008 period the proportion of national permanent additions to the population by migration which were accounted for by New South Wales declined from 43.7 to 30.1 percent. Queensland gained the largest amounts in its share (gaining 3.9 percentage points) but South Australia increased its share of the national intake from 3.8 to 6.1 percent and Western Australia added 4.7 percent.

Figure 19: South Australia: Net Overseas Migration, 1979-2010
Source: ABS *Australian Demographic Statistics*, various issues

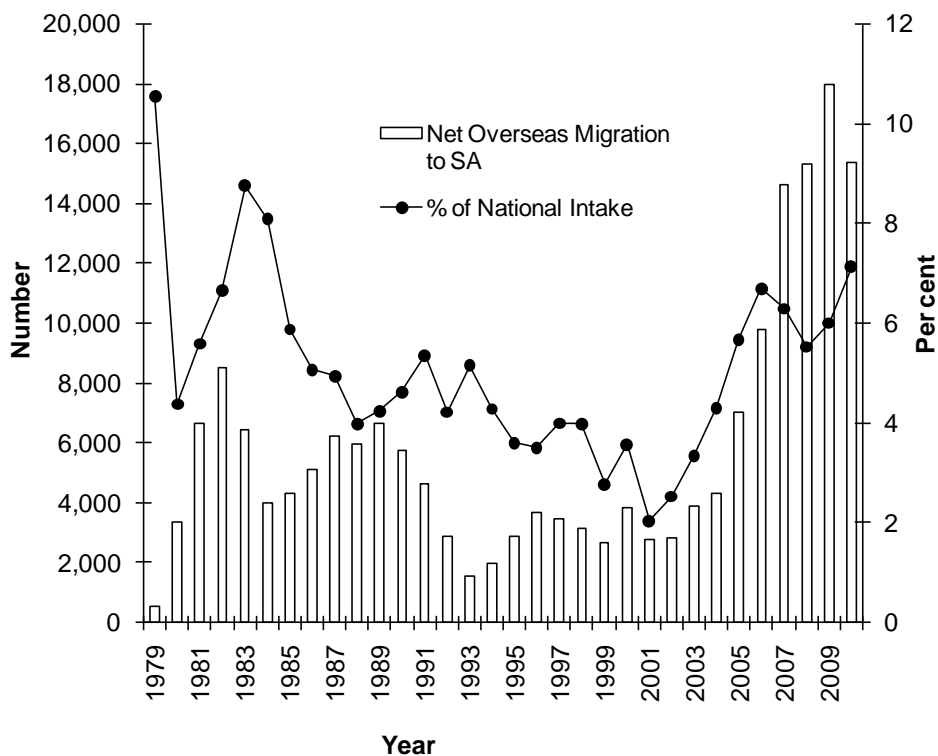


Table 13: Intended State and Territory Destinations of Permanent Additions

Source: ABS 2007; DIAC 2009b

	1996-97	2008-09	
	%	%	000
New South Wales	43.7	30.1	67.9
Victoria	21.7	24.4	54.8
Queensland	15.8	19.7	44.2
South Australia	3.8	6.0	13.4
Western Australia	11.6	16.3	36.6
Other (a)	2.3	3.2	7.3
Australia (b)	100.0	100	224.6

(a) Other includes Tasmania, NT, ACT and other territories.

(b) Total includes those for which state and territory destinations were not known.

The impact of international migration on population growth in South Australia, however, is dampened by two processes:

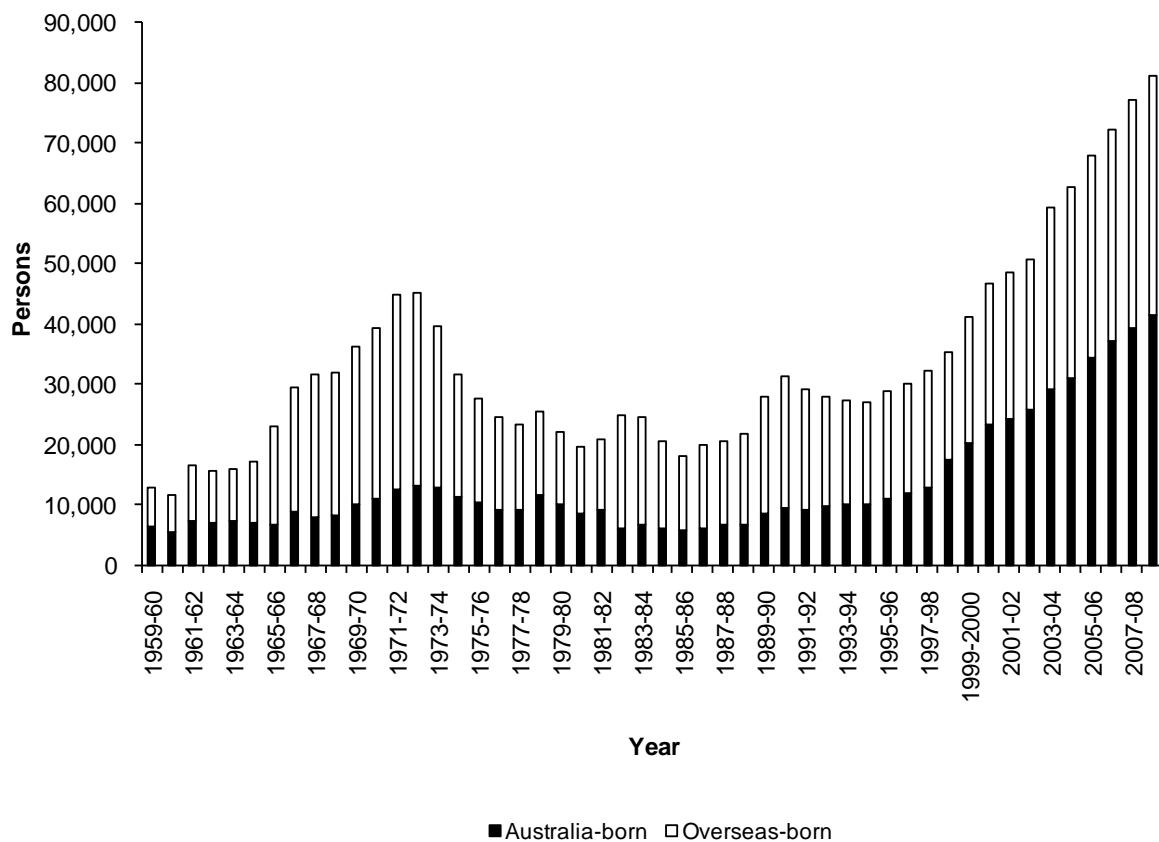
- The extent to which the state loses people (both immigrants and natives) to emigration out of Australia.
- The extent to which the state loses people (both immigrants and natives) to outmigration to other states and territories.

The first of these will be considered in this section and the second in the following section.

While Australia is perceived as a quintessential ‘immigration country’ it also experiences significant emigration. Moreover, Australia is one of the few countries which collects detailed and comprehensive information on people leaving the country as well as those entering. Figure 20 shows that there has been a substantial upturn in permanent movement of Australian residents out of the country. In 2008-09 there were a record number of permanent departures of Australian residents (81,018) of whom 50.9 percent were born in Australia. The numbers of Australia-born leaving permanently has more than doubled from 17,264 in 1997-98 to 41,249 in 2008-09. The number of resident long term departures

increased from 79,422 in 1997-98 to 102,066 in 2007-08 but fell to 84,810 in 2008-09. The rate of return migration of former settlers varies considerably among particular birthplace categories (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2003) with especially high rates among those born in New Zealand, United Kingdom, Japan and USA. There are some interesting patterns of difference among Asia-born groups with those from Northeast Asia having relatively high rates of return and those from South Asia quite low rates (Hugo 2008b). The emigration outflow is highly skilled – more so than the immigration intake although the difference is converging.

Figure 20: Permanent Departures of Residents from Australia, 1959-60 to 2008-09
Source: DIMIA, *Australian Immigration Consolidated Statistics*; DIAC *Immigration Update*, various issues



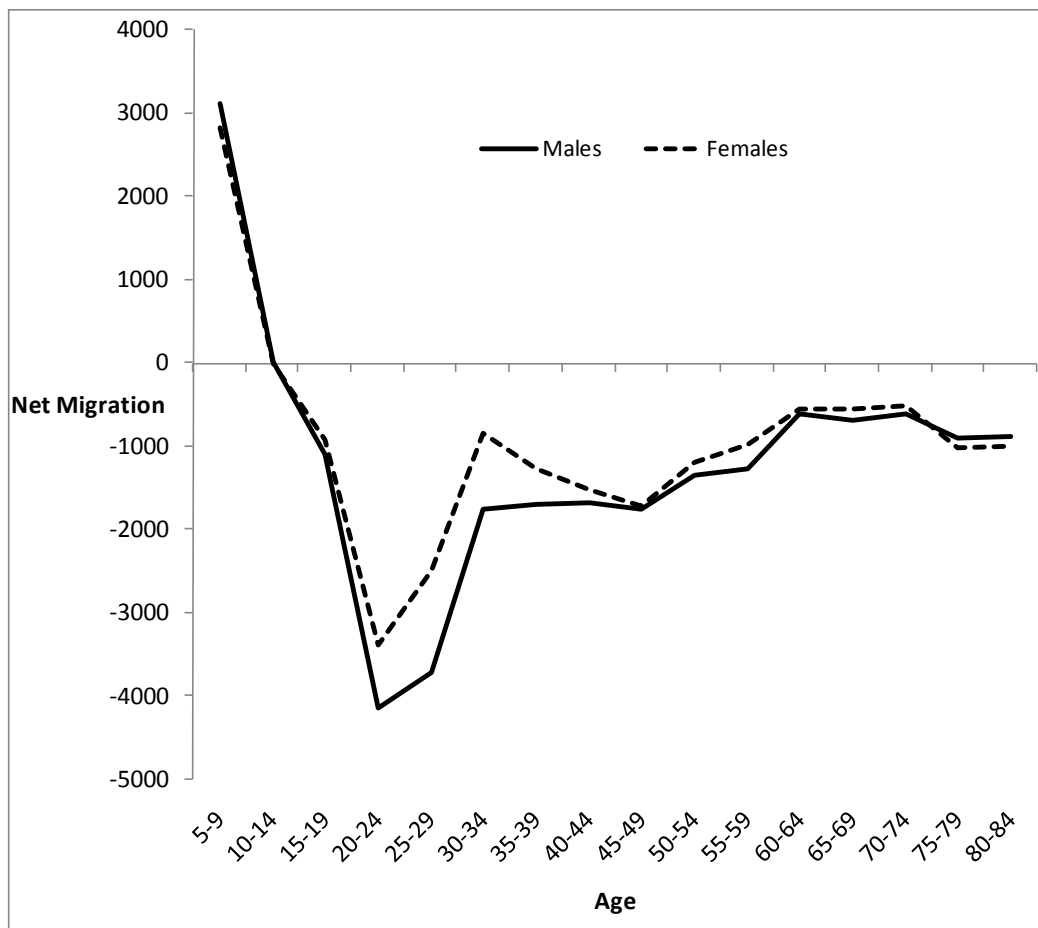
In South Australia then, there are two aspects of emigration which are of interest to population projection:

- The extent to which native South Australians move overseas on a long term or permanent basis.
- The extent to which immigrant settlers return to their home country or remigrate to a third country.

Both of these areas are also of concern to South Australian policy makers. The loss of Australia-born people through emigration and to other states and territories has been of particular concern to the South Australian government. The fact that the state experiences a significant outmigration of young adults which is *not* compensated for by immigration of Australians of the same age is demonstrated in Figure 21. This depicts the net migration gain

Figure 21: South Australia: Australia-Born Age-Sex Specific Net Migration Estimates, 2001-06

Source: ABS, 2001 and 2006 Censuses



or loss in particular age cohorts of Australia-born persons between the 2001 and 2006 population censuses. It will be noted that there are net losses in most age groups but there are very substantial losses in the young adult ages. This reflects both the loss of young people to other states and territories but an important part has been the increasing flows of young South Australians overseas (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001, 2003; Hugo 2006b).

The steady increase in emigration from South Australia is depicted in Figure 22. It will be noted, however, that this increase was much smaller than the rapid increase in permanent arrivals which has occurred in recent years. It is important to examine how this permanent outflow is broken down between the Australia-born and the remigration of former settlers. Table 14 shows that the emigration from South Australia is dominated by the Australia-born, more so than is the case for Australia. This reflects the low levels of immigrant settlement in South Australia until recent years. This has meant that the number of potential return migrants and remigrants has been small since we know that the heaviest settler loss occurs in the initial years of settlement (Hugo 1994). However, it will be noted that the emigration of overseas-born from the state has increased in 2008-09, perhaps reflecting the recent upswing in the number of settlers in the state. An important point to bear in mind is that many of the young South Australians who move overseas in fact initially move to Sydney and Melbourne before emigrating in a pattern described as 'escalator migration' (Hugo 2008c). Hence they show up as interstate migrants for South Australia rather than emigrants. Hence Figure 22 probably understates the actual degree of emigration from the state and hence the size of the South Australian global diaspora. This diaspora of South Australians has considerable potential not only for encouraging return migration but also for furthering the state's economic interests (Hugo *et al.* 2001). Hence the emigration must not be seen as a purely negative phenomenon from the perspective of state development.

Figure 22: South Australia: Settler Arrivals and Permanent Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data

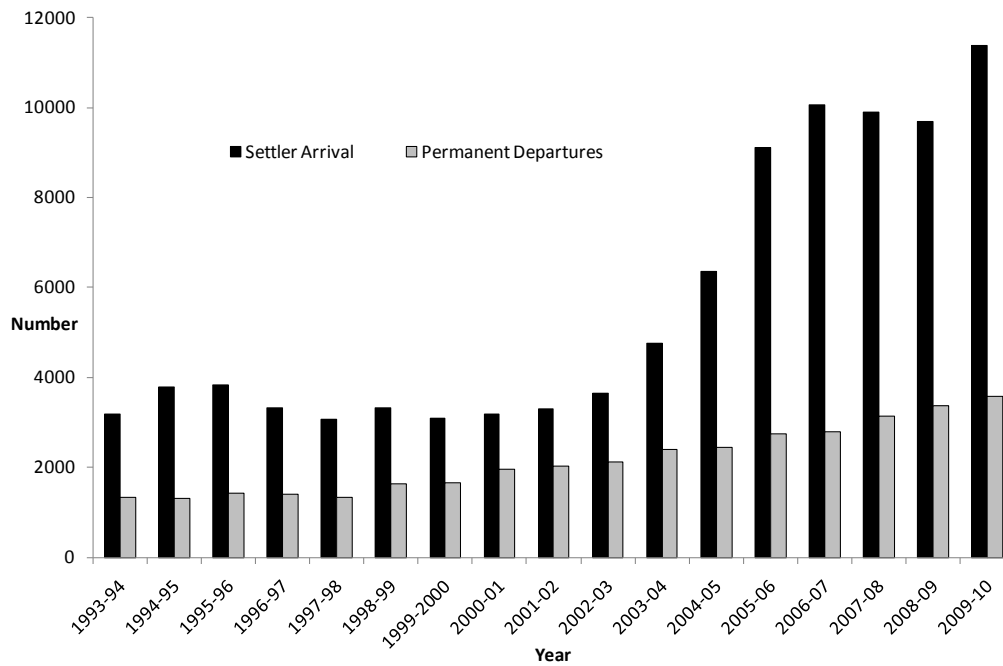


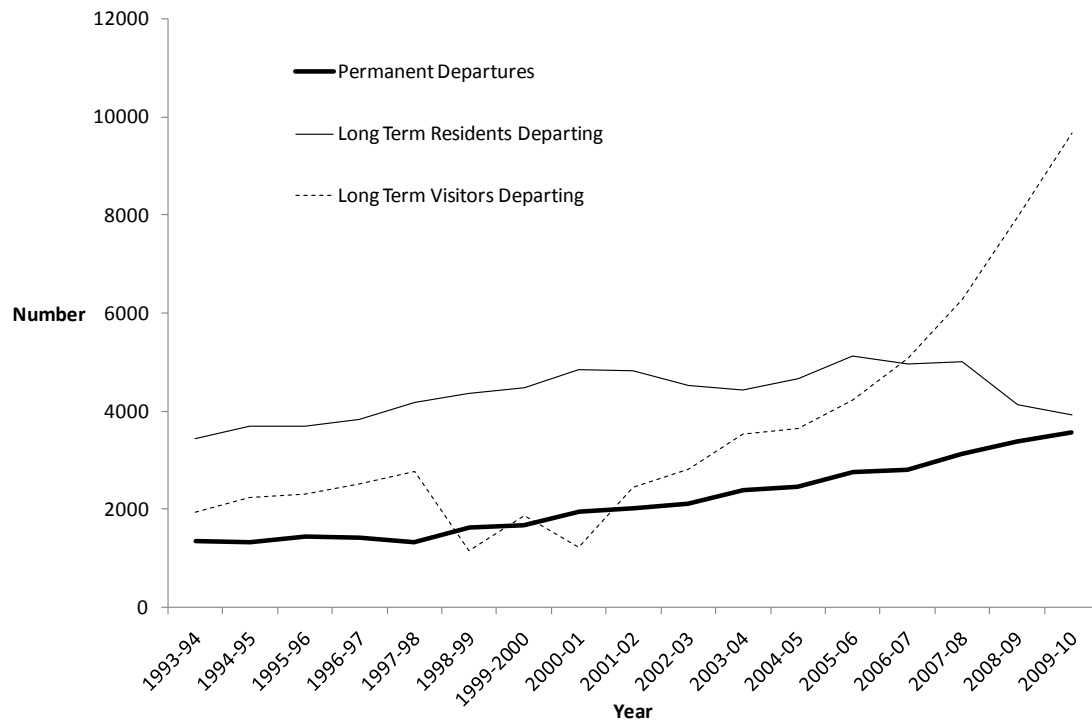
Table 14: South Australia: Permanent Departures, Australia and Overseas-born, 1993-94 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data

Year	Australia-born	Overseas-born	Total	% Australia-born
1993-94	504	836	1340	37.6
1994-95	554	774	1328	41.7
1995-96	621	823	1444	43.0
1996-97	629	783	1412	44.5
1997-98	645	694	1339	48.2
1998-99	944	692	1636	57.7
1999-2000	991	675	1666	59.5
2000-01	1164	797	1961	59.4
2001-02	1212	820	2032	59.6
2002-03	1283	841	2124	60.4
2003-04	1457	946	2403	60.6
2004-05	1507	948	2455	61.4
2005-06	1639	1124	2763	59.3
2006-07	1721	1080	2801	61.4
2007-08	1865	1275	3140	59.4
2008-09	2038	1340	3378	60.3
2009-10	2063	1511	3574	57.7

Figure 23: South Australia: Permanent and Long Term Departures from South Australia, 1993-94 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data



As in the case of considering immigration it is necessary to examine not only permanent movement but also long term (i.e. an absence of more than 1 year) movement. Figure 23 depicts trends in long term outmovement and compares them to permanent departures. It will be noticed that the level of long term movement is significantly higher than that of permanent emigration. The long term outmovement is broken down into that of residents and visitors. It will be noted that there is a substantial upswing in visitor departures as would be expected with the large increase of temporary immigrants, especially students. There is a steady increase in the long term movement of Australian residents but it is apparent that this is largely counterbalanced by returning South Australians who have spent more than a year living and/or working overseas. This is evident in Figure 24 which compares the numbers of South Australian residents departing with the numbers returning. Only in the years 1998-2001 did those leaving significantly outnumber those returning. In many ways

this pattern of temporary departure and eventual return is one which should be encouraged. South Australians who have the experience of living and working in other countries return with enhanced skills and experience and the international networks and linkages which can be of value to South Australian economic development.

Figure 24: South Australia: Long Term Resident Arrivals and Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data

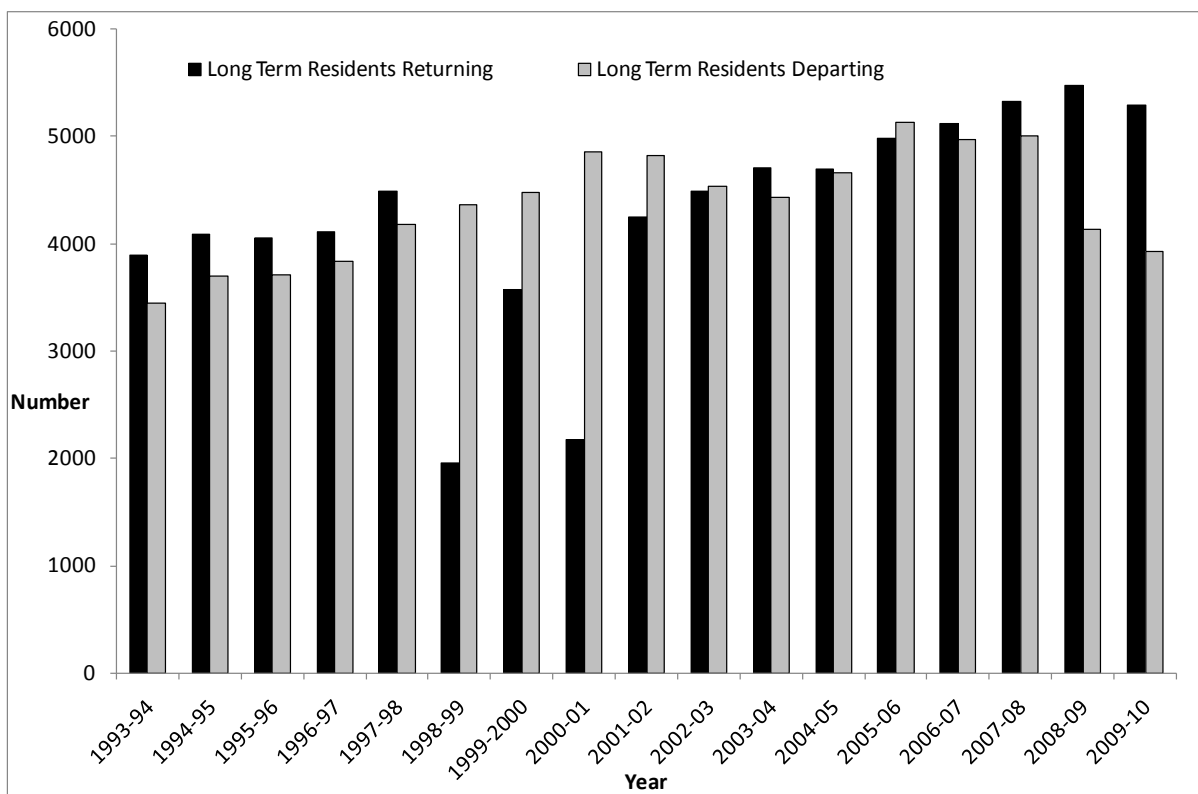


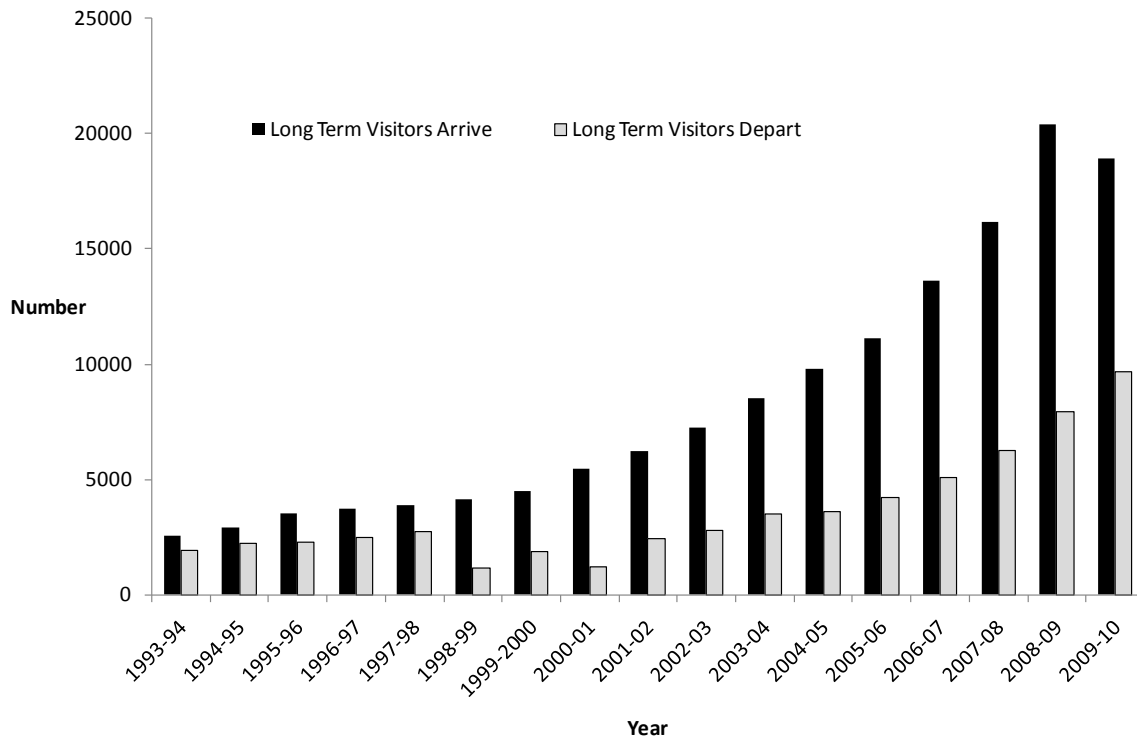
Figure 25 compares the number of visitor long term arrivals and departures. A quite different pattern is in evidence here. Although there is an increase in the numbers departing, it will be noted that there is a substantial discrepancy between arrivals and departures. This reflects two things:

- The increasing numbers of temporary migrants each year so the numbers of potential returnees is lower.

- The increasing tendency discussed earlier for non-permanent immigrants to change their residential status to become permanent residents or citizens.

Figure 25: South Australia: Long Term Visitor Arrivals and Departures, 1993-94 to 2009-10

Source: DIAC unpublished data



The net gain of long term arrivals over departures, however, may not necessarily accrue to South Australia since some of the temporary residents may leave South Australia and move to another state. It is to this important issue that we turn to in the next section.

As is the case with immigration, the emigration from South Australia is selective. Figure 26 shows the age-sex structure of permanent and long term departures from South Australia. This indicates that both permanent and long term outflows are quite young, although they are slightly older than the corresponding inflows. Table 15 shows the occupations of permanent and long term departures from the state and it is evident that they

are strongly concentrated in high skill occupations. In fact, their skill level is slightly higher on average than their incoming counterparts.

Figure 26: South Australia: Age-Sex Structure of Permanent and Long Term Residents Departing, 1993-94 to 2008-09

Source: DIAC unpublished data

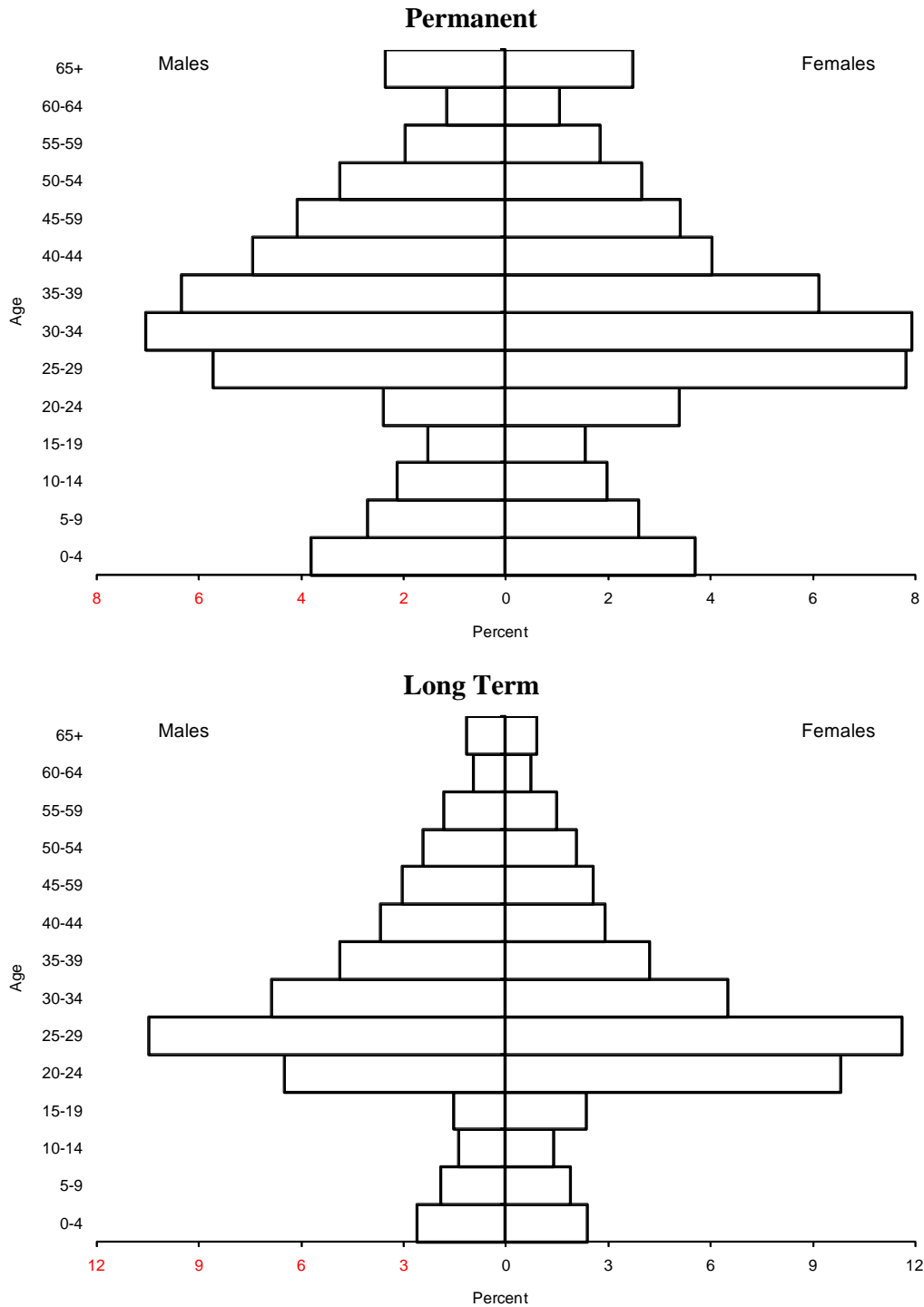


Table 15: South Australia: Occupational Groups of Permanent and Long Term Residents Departing, 1997-98 to 2008-09

Source: DIAC unpublished data

Occupation	Resident Permanent Departure	Long Term Resident Departure	Percent	
			Resident Permanent Departure	Long Term Resident Departure
Managers and Administrators	2,513	4,260	16.1	11.8
Professionals	7,295	19,034	46.6	52.6
Associate Professionals	1,479	3,090	9.4	8.5
Tradespersons	1,010	2,008	6.5	5.6
Advanced Clerical	543	1,007	3.5	2.8
Intermediate Clerical Sales Service	1,914	4,854	12.2	13.4
Intermediate Plant and Transport	237	520	1.5	1.4
Elementary Clerical Sales Service	414	960	2.6	2.7
Labourers	246	425	1.6	1.2
	15,651	36,158	100.0	100.0

CONCLUSION

It is likely that the net overseas migration over the next decade or so will be around 180,000 and that South Australia will receive 6 to 7 percent of that net gain. This of course depends on many factors including the economic future of the state and the impact of the mining industry. The state will face considerable challenges in facilitating the adjustment of around 15,000 new migrants each year together with large numbers of temporary immigrants. It is crucial that there is appropriate planning to ensure that migrants are given equal access to services as non-migrants. The increasing diversity of the migrant intake means that this adjustment task is likely to increase in difficulty. There is a need for as much resources to go into facilitating this adjustment as goes into the successful campaign to attract immigrants to come to South Australia.

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