POPULATION TRENDS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Graeme Hugo

This paper analyses recent trends in the size and composition of South Australia's population. It explores the reasons for the state's relatively low rate of population growth and examines the long term demographic implications for South Australia.

INTRODUCTION

South Australia has long had a distinctive demography in the Australian context.[1] Population growth in this state has been the lowest of the mainland States and Territories over the last decade and grew at 0.3 per cent in 2000 compared with 1.2 per cent in the nation as a whole. Partly as a result of this, the State had the largest percentage of its population aged 65 years and over (13.8 per cent in 1996) of any of the States and Territories. The State government and others in the community have expressed concern about these and other aspects of South Australia's population.

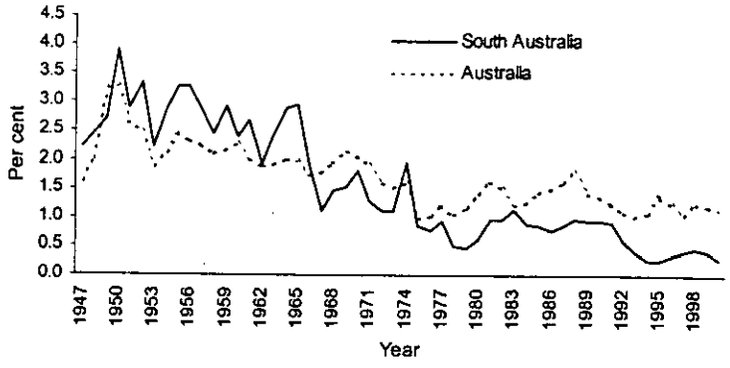
The present paper is the first of two addressing South Australia's current population situation, the outlook for the future and possibilities regarding a population policy for the State. This first paper analyses recent trends in the growth of South Australia's population and each of the demographic processes shaping that growth. Issues relating to the changing composition of the population, especially its age structure, are addressed as is population distribution. Recent projections of future growth are also discussed.

POPULATION GROWTH IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Figure 1 shows that the State's population grew faster than that of the nation during the long post-war boom from 1947 to the early 1970s and slower than the national average in the subsequent period when Australia's overall rate of growth was reduced. Hence both the Australian post-war population boom and the subsequent bust were both exaggerated in South Australia and this has had a number of significant effects on South Australia's population structure. South Australia's share of the national population has declined from 9.2 per cent in 1961 to 8.1 per cent in 1996 and 7.8 per cent in 2001. The rate of growth of South Australia's population bottomed out in 1992 to 1995 at 0.22 per cent per annum.

It has been conventional to divide Australia between the low growth manufacturing based so-called 'rustbelt' States of the southeast and the dynamic new-economy based 'sunbelt' rapidly growing population of the west and north. This has always been an oversimplification of national population growth trends but there are indications that it is becoming less true. Table 1 indicates that the so-called 'rustbelt' States of NSW, Victoria and South Australia maintained or increased their *rates* of population growth between 1994-95 and 2000-01. The most substantial increase was in Victoria followed by South Australia. The fastest growing populations in Australia are still in Queensland and Western Australia. The gap between the 'sunbelt' and 'rustbelt' States, however, has converged in the last six years although Tasmania has experienced

Figure 1: Australia and South Australia, rate of population growth per annum, 1947 to 2000



Source: *Australian Demographic Trends*, cat. no. 3102.0, ABS, Canberra, 1986 and *Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly*, cat. no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, various issues
Note: Data are for calendar years.

actual population decline from 1996-97 until the present.

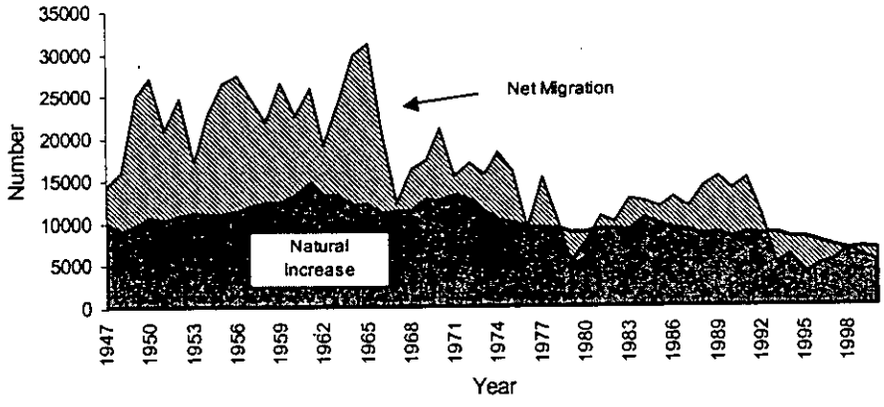
Population growth is the function of three basic processes: mortality, fertility and migration and each of these need to be considered separately. Figure 2 indicates that while natural increase (that is, births minus deaths) has changed very little in South Australia over the post-war period in absolute terms (though not as a rate), net migration (excess of migration gains over losses) gain was consistently high during the boom period up to the late 1960s but has subsequently been considerably lower. Moreover, in two periods (1977 to 1981 and 1992 to 1997) there were, in fact, more people who migrated out of the State (either to other States or overseas) than moved into it. For much of the 1990s the net gains of overseas immigration have been outnumbered by the net losses of people to other States. For example, in the first five quarters of 2000-01, the level of net immigration from overseas (4057) has been less than the loss to other States (6484 persons).

Table 1: Australian States and Territories: population change in the twelve months to March quarter, 2001

Preliminary Data	Population at End March Quarter 2001	Rate of Population Growth 2000-01		1994-95
	'000s	'000s	per cent	per cent
New South Wales	6,516.6	69.5	1.1	1.1
Victoria	4,816.1	60.8	1.3	0.7
Queensland	3,612.3	59.7	1.7	2.5
South Australia	1,501.4	4.4	0.3	0.2
Western Australia	1,904.1	25.9	1.4	1.8
Tasmania	470.3	-0.3	-0.1	0.2
Northern Territory	196.9	2.2	1.1	2.4
Australian Capital Territory	313.4	2.7	0.9	1.1
Australia	19,334.2	224.9	1.2	1.2

Source: *Australian Demographic Statistics*, March Quarter 2001, cat. no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, 2001

Figure 2: South Australia, total population growth showing the natural increase and net migration components, 1947 to 2000



Source: *Australian Demographic Trends*, cat. no. 3102.0, ABS, Canberra, 1986 and *Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly*, cat. no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, various issues

MORTALITY

As in the rest of Australia there has been a major improvement in mortality in South Australia over the post-war period. Between 1947 and 1998 Australian males have increased their average span of life from 66.7 years to 76.2 (9.5 years) and women from 70.7 to 81.8 (11.1 years). A distinctive feature of South Australian mortality for much of the period of European settlement has been that the life expectancy of its citizens has exceeded those of residents of other States.[2] This, however, has changed in the last three decades. In 1999 South Australia still had mortality levels below the national average (a standardised death rate of 5.7 per 1000 compared with the national rate of 5.9) but this was higher than that for the Australian Capital Territory (5.4) and equal to the rates in Victoria and Western Australia.[3]

In South Australia, as in all Australia, one of the main features of the mortality decline of the last thirty years has been an improvement in life expectancy among the older population. For the century preceding the early 1970s the bulk of the improvement in Australian life expectancy had come about through a decrease in infant, child and, to a lesser extent, maternal mortality. Hence the life expectancy of Australians over age 50 changed little over that period, improving 1.6 years for men and 4.2 years for women between 1870 and 1970.[4] However, between 1970 to 1972 and 1998 the improvement was 5.2 years for men over 50 and 5.0 years for women over 50. This was largely as a result of reduction in death from ischaemic heart disease through medical advances such as by-pass surgery, the development of intensive care units and so on as well as lifestyle adjustments such as reduced smoking and improved diet.

What this meant was that there has been in Australia an unanticipated greater degree of survival of our elderly population.[5] This has proved especially

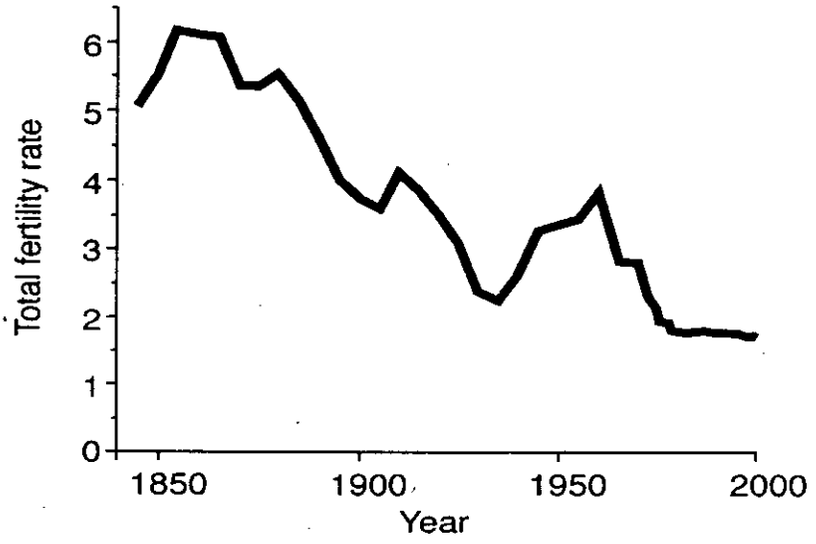
significant in South Australia where, as is shown later, the aged are a larger proportion of the resident population than the other States. Moreover, health and aged care service providers have been dealt a 'double whammy' since, not only have they been confronted with a situation in which there are an unexpectedly large number of older people surviving, but the survivors are 'sicker' than in the past. The people 'rescued from death' by the new developments in medicine who previously would have died are generally not rescued in full health. Accordingly, the incidence of illness and disability among the elderly population has increased.

FERTILITY

Turning to fertility, Figure 3 shows trends in the Total Fertility Rate (TFR)[6] in South Australia over the last century or so. We will focus on the post-war period especially and it is possible to identify three phases in the trends over this period. The diagram shows a sharp increase in fertility in the State during the early post-war years when the post-war baby boom took the average number of children per woman up to over three. This was followed by a steep decline between the early 1960s and the mid 1970s which saw fertility fall below replacement level (TFR of 2.1). The subsequent period however has seen stability in fertility levels around a TFR of 1.7.

This level of fertility is somewhat lower than that of Australia as a whole and there has been a consistent pattern of South Australia's fertility being substantially lower than the national level. For example in 1999, 1996, 1986 and 1976 the state levels were 1.72, 1.75, 1.76 and 1.86 respectively compared with 1.74, 1.8, 1.87 and 2.05 for Australia as a whole. Indeed, another distinctive feature of South Australia's demography over

Figure 3: South Australia, total fertility rate, 1845 to 2000



Source: G. Hugo, 'South Australia's changing population,' *South Australian Geographical Papers*, no. 1, Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA Branch), Adelaide, 1983; Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics (CBCS), *Demography*, CBCS, Canberra, various issues and *Births Australia*, cat. no. 3301.0, ABS, Canberra, various issues

much of the history of European occupation has been a significantly lower fertility than the other States and Territories.[7] This trend is so well established that the ABS has utilised lower levels of fertility in its population projections for South Australia than it has for other States and Territories. However, as has been the case for mortality, there has been a convergence toward national levels in recent times so that in 2000 South Australia had a TFR of 1.713 compared with 1.749 nationally and 1.625 in Victoria and 1.614 in the ACT.[8]

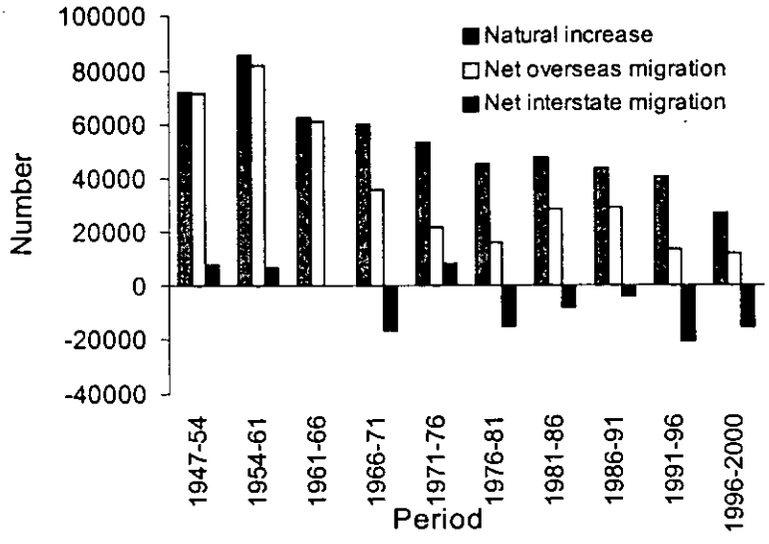
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Net migration has been very volatile in South Australia over the post-war period (Figure 2). The shift from sustained large gains in the first three decades to smaller gains and even net losses subsequently has been the main element in reduced population growth rates for the State although the decline in fertility has also played an important role. This net migration comprises two components — the net gain or loss in exchange with other States and Territories and also net migration from overseas. The scale of both forms of net migration in the period is depicted in Figure 4.

With respect to international migration, Figure 4 shows heavy gains in the 1947 to 1971 period being replaced with smaller gains over the next quarter century. Table 2 shows the national and State net gain of migrants from overseas since 1966 and there is a clear pattern of reduction in the overall intake to the State, but also in the *proportion* of the national intake coming to live in South Australia. In 1996 and 1997 this fell below four per cent, substantially below the State's share of the national population.

The last few years have seen a more concerted effort by the Department of

Figure 4: South Australia, components of population change, 1947-1954 to 1996-2000



Source: Bell, M., *South Australia at the 1996 Census: Population Change and Distribution*, Department for Transport, Urban Planning and the Arts and the University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1997, p. 6; *Australian Demographic Statistics, March Quarter 2001*, cat no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, 2001

Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) to influence where immigrants settle than at any time since the intake of Displaced Persons in the immediate post World War Two period. In May 1996 the annual meeting involving Commonwealth, State and Territory Ministers for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs established a working party on regional migration which could herald a new era in patterns of migrant settlement. The working party examined ways in which a higher proportion of migrants might be encouraged to settle in regional Australia. Accordingly and, a number of initiatives were taken to attract immigrants to areas which are currently receiving small intakes.

Table 2: Net overseas immigration,* total Australia and South Australia, 1966 to 1999

Year (ending Dec 31)	Australia Number	South Australia Number	SA Percentage of Australian Net Migration Gain
1966-70	643,351	64,766	10.1
1971-75	343,372	28,169	8.2
1976-80	293,860	10,517	3.6
1981-85	419,297	27,733	6.6
1986-90	591,770	26,570	4.5
1991-95	411,630	17,420	4.2
1996-97	182,529	6,851	3.8
1998	111,600	3,327	3.0
1999	111,195	3,039	2.7
2000	104,482,	3,402	3.3

Source: *Overseas Arrivals and Departures Australia*, cat. no. 3402.0, ABS, Canberra, various issues and *Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly*, cat. no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, various issues

* Overseas Immigration: 1966 to 1973 = permanent movement; 1974 to 1999 = permanent and long-term movement.

South Australia embraced the new regional immigration category and in the financial year 1998-99, 1034 of the 2804 migrants entering Australia under this category came to the State. However, by 1999-2000 this had been reduced to 702 out of 3309. The Minister of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs described the impacts of the schemes to attract migrants to regional areas as 'patchy'.[9] There is no doubt that the programs introduced in the past four years will divert some newly arrived migrants to regional Australia, and to South Australia, but the numbers are unlikely to be substantial and it seems unlikely that there will be a major redistribution in the main destination areas of migrants.

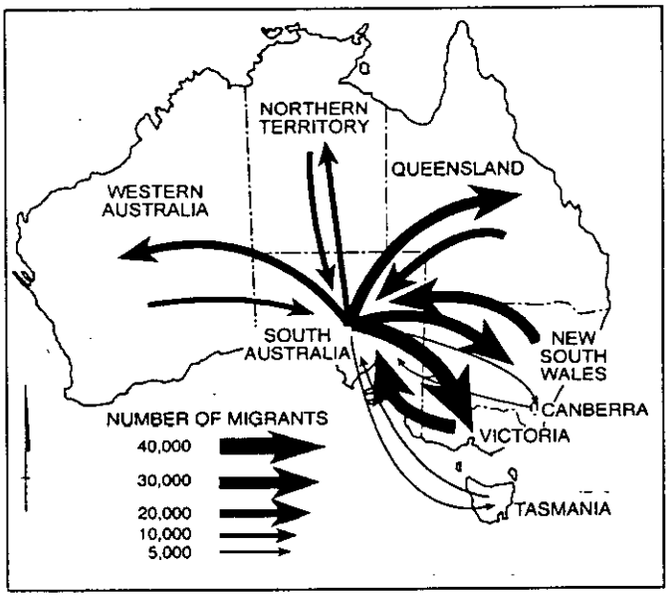
INTERSTATE MIGRATION

Interstate migration is the major factor causing South Australia's rate of population growth to be lower than those of the other mainland States and Territories. Figure 4 shows that, while net migration gains were recorded from elsewhere in Australia in 1947 to 1966 and 1971 to 1976, the other post-war periods have shown substantial net losses from interstate migration. In the last intercensal period the net losses reached record proportions with a net loss of 21,016 persons in 1991-96. The interstate migration pattern since 1996 for South Australia is shown in Figure 5. It will be noticed that there are net losses to most states, especially Queensland. Nevertheless it is clear that in all cases there are significant reciprocal flows. However those reciprocal flows are generally older and poorer than the flows out of the State.

The downturn in the State's economy since the fall of the State Bank in 1994 has been a major factor in the record outflow of South Australians. Moreover, the flow has been selective of particular groups:[10]

- young adults aged 15-29, especially young women;

Figure 5: Australia, interstate migration flows, 1996 to 2000



- to a lesser extent those aged 40-64;
- singles and couple families;
- overseas born (especially those born in Mainly English Speaking Countries, most of them had been in Adelaide a fairly long time);
- professionals, managers, sales and service workers and clerks (the largest net outflows were in these occupations);
- people in the middle ($30,000-$50,000 per annum) and high income groups (more than $50,000) (but there were gains of households earning below $14,000 per annum).

Hence the effect of the net loss interstate was amplified by the fact that it disproportionately contained the young workforce and economically productive groups.

ABS data on estimates of net interstate migration have been made since 1981-82. Table 3 shows that in only two of the 19 years that have elapsed did South Australia record net interstate migration gains. New South Wales recorded net losses in all years and this was also the case in Victoria until 1997-98. Queensland on the other hand has experienced net gains in each year and Western Australia in each year except 1990-91 to 1992-93 and 1999-2000.

CHANGING AGE STRUCTURE

The processes outlined above have had profound effects on the age structure of South Australia. This is important because the level and nature of demand for virtually all goods and services is influenced by age structure. The declines in fertility and immigration have meant that, while South Australia's population was younger than that of the nation in the 1950s and 1960s when Australia had a young population, in the 1980s and 1990s the State's population was older than that of the nation as a whole when Australia's total population has been ageing. As a result of lower fertility, disproportionately low net overseas migration gain and

Table 3: States and Territories, Australia: estimated net interstate migration, financial years 1981-82 to 1999-2000

Year	State/Territory							
	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	NT	ACT
1981-82	-19,584	-14,429	35,453	-4,875	3,558	-2,022	2,069	-170
1982-83	-17,181	-5136	20,831	-328	1,510	-1,214	530	988
1983-84	-10,267	-3,34 0	9,959	553	732	695	726	942
1984-85	-9,328	-5799	12,920	-2,317	1,70	777	608	1,169
1985-86	-12,462	-13,201	16,500	-1,417	9,428	-138	-493	1,783
1986-87	-9,524	-13,105	19,718	-3,977	6,576	-1,508	-120	1,940
1987-88	-13,340	-14,423	27,720	-1,240	4,274	-1,924	-3,129	2,062
1988-89	-37,974	-12,504	-47,062	-221	4,017	203	-1,469	-114
1989-90	-35,983	-7,829	38,102	-252	3,012	2,790	-1,170	1,330
1990-91	-17,206	-14,853	29,709	1,545	-1,791	816	-1,152	2,932
1991-92	-13,807	-18,427	34,099	-658	-1,314	-289	-969	1,365
1992-93	-17,535	-25,388	49,162	-5,210	-152	-1,494	-699	1,316
1993-94	-12,180	-29,195	44,936	-3,978	3,825	-2,107	-875	-426
1994-95	-13,478	-22,020	40,224	-7,069	5,101	-2,636	384	-486
1995-96	-14,770	-12,800	32,614	-6,192	4,066	-2,590	328	-656
1996-97	-11,975	-4,687	20,179	-4,628	6,189	-3,661	1,790	-3,207
1997-98	-13,542	1,206	17,967	-3,254	4,726	-3,966	-439	-2,698
1998-99	-14,315	3,975	17,233	-2,869	1,775	-3,669	-917	-1,213
1999-2000	-15,586	6,713	19,012	-4,773	-684	-2,972	-871	-839

Source: M. Bell, and G. Hugo, *Internal Migration in Australia, 1991-1996: Overview and the Overseas-Born*, DIMA, 2000, and *Australian Demographic Statistics Quarterly*, cat. no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, various issues

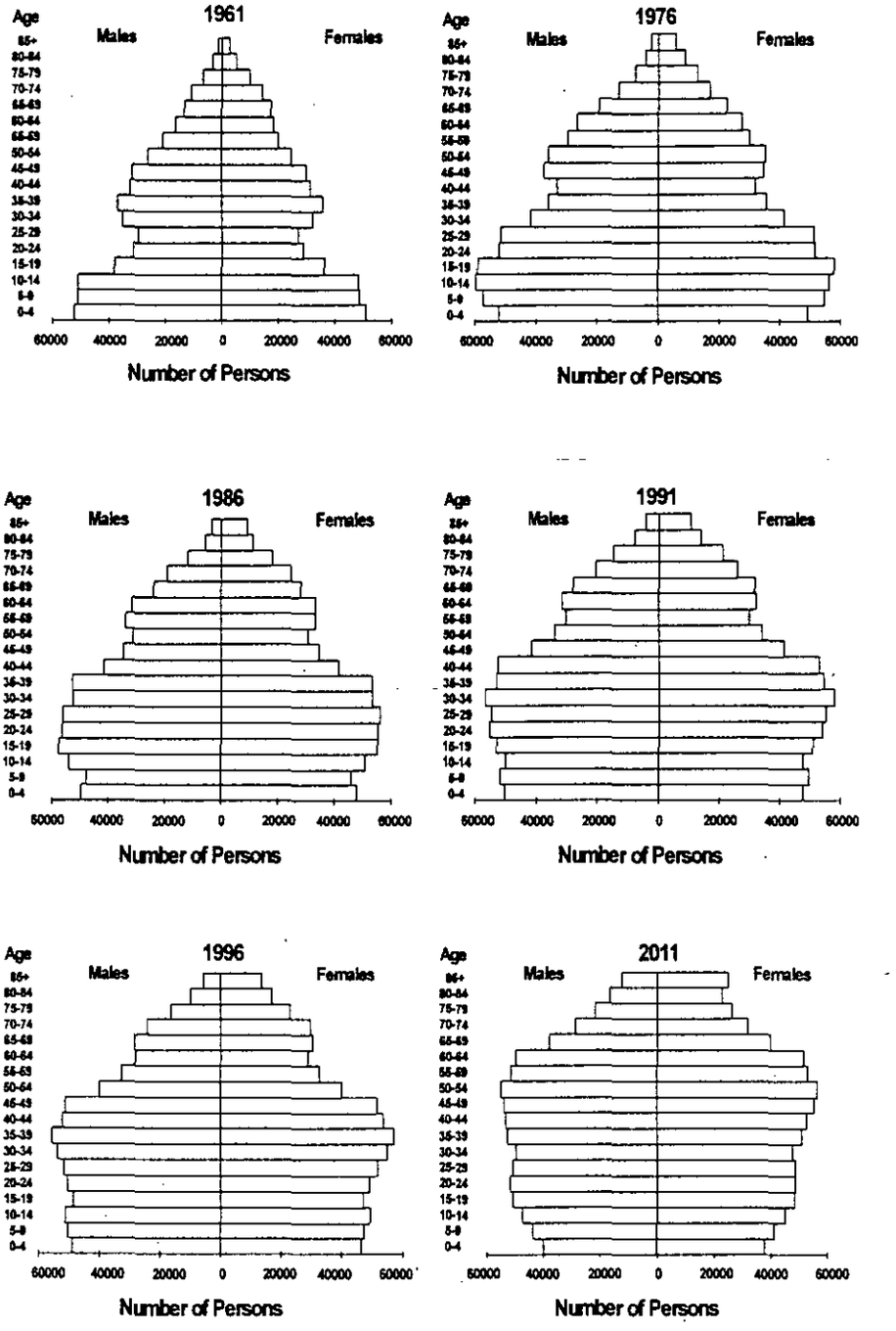
selective net interstate migration loss, South Australia has an older population than that of the nation as a whole; in 1999 14.3 per cent were aged 65 years or over compared with 12.2 per cent nationally. South Australia also currently has the fastest growing elderly population in Australia. While the State's total population has grown at well below national averages in the last 15 years, the population aged 65 years and over grew at an annual rate of 3.4 per cent, six times as fast as the total population.

The State received a disproportionately large number of young adult interstate and international migrants in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of these have remained in South Australia and 'aged in place' resulting in an exacerbation of the national ageing trend in the State.

This is reflected in Figure 6 which shows the age structure of the State in several census years since the war and the projected population in 2011. Figure 6 shows how the age pyramid has been dominated by the high fertility of the baby boom years which has produced a 'bulge' which has moved inexorably up the pyramid, followed by the smaller numbers of the baby bust years born in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Hence, the State's age structure is being transformed from a pyramid to a pillar in shape. This of course reflects considerable changes in the numbers entering education over time as well as of those entering the workforce, needing housing and so on.

The past, present and impending age structure situation in South Australia is reflected in Table 4 which shows that the

Figure 6: South Australia, age and sex structure of the population, 1961 to 1996 and projected 2011



Source: ABS 1961 to 1996 Censuses and *Population Projections Australia 1999 to 2101*, cat. no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000b

Table 4: South Australia: summary measures of age and sex composition 1911 to 1996, 2000 and projected measures 2001 to 2031

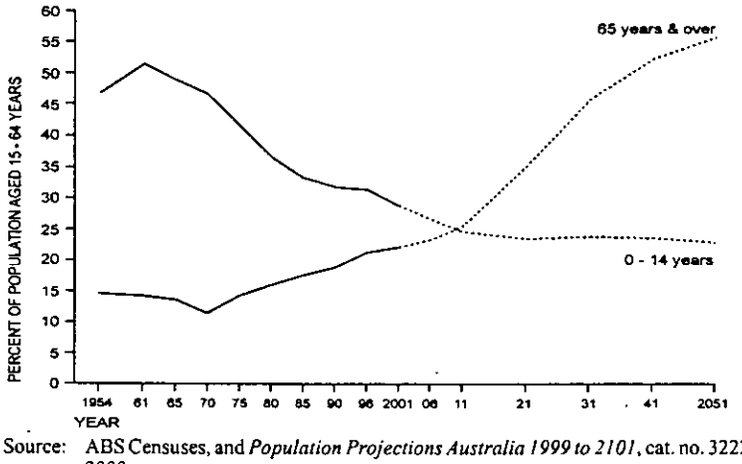
	1911	1954	1976	1986	1991	1996	2000	2001	2011	2031
Dependency ratio (each group as a percentage of population 15-64 years)										
Youth (0-14 years)	48.3	46.6	41.2	33.1	31.8	31.3	29.4	28.9	24.7	23.9
Elderly (65 yrs & over)	7.3	14.4	14.2	17.4	18.9	21.2	21.9	22.0	25.4	45.7
Aged (85 yrs & over)	0.3	0.7	1.0	1.4	1.4	2.1	2.4	2.5	3.6	6.2
Total (0-14 and 65+)	55.6	61.1	55.3	50.5	50.7	52.8	51.3	51.0	50.1	69.6
Median age (years)	23.9	30.7	28.7	32.0	33.5	34.9	37.1	37.4	40.9	46.8
Per cent aged 65+	4.6	8.9	9.1	11.6	12.5	13.8	14.5	14.5	16.9	26.9
Sex ratio (males per 100 females)										
0-14	102.4	104.8	105.5	104.9	104.7	105.3	105.2	105.4	105.2	105.6
15-24	102.9	109.6	102.0	103.8	103.3	103.6	105.0	104.7	105.5	105.0
65 and over	96.4	80.0	66.9	71.9	74.3	74.6	77.1	77.2	81.1	84.6
85 and over	76.5	60.1	17.1	37.3	41.2	40.2	44.2	44.3	50.4	62.1
Total	104.4	107.7	99.3	97.9	97.4	96.8	97.9	97.9	98.1	97.8

Source: ABS 1911, 1954, 1976, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Censuses; *Australian Demographic Statistics, March Quarter 2001*, cat. no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, 2001, and *Population Projections Australia 1999 to 2101*, cat. no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000

State's median age has increased from 23.9 in 1911 to 36.7 currently and will be 46.8 by 2031. Meanwhile, the per cent aged 65 years and over has increased from 4.6 to 14.4 and will increase to 26.9 in 2031. The table shows that the ratio of dependent population (aged 0-14 and 65+) to that in the working ages (15-64) has decreased from 61.1 per cent in 1954 to 51.3 per cent currently and will continue to decrease to 50.1 per cent in 2011. Thereafter, however, the passage of the baby-boom cohort into the older age groups will see a rapid growth of the dependency ratio in the population.

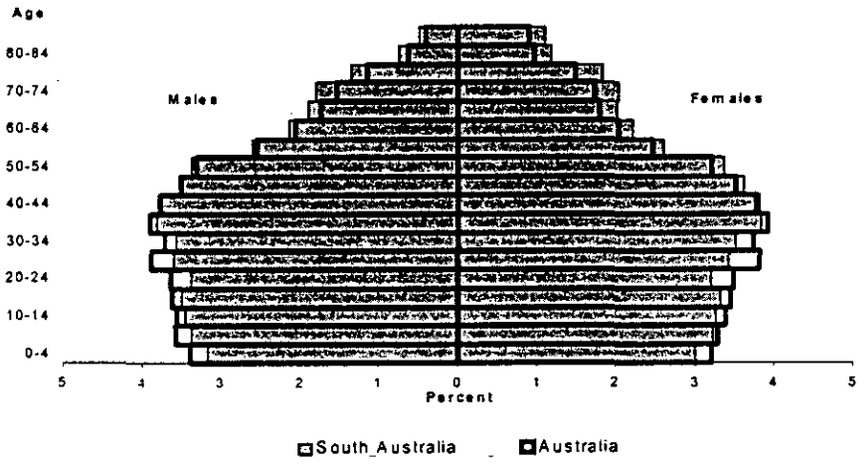
Figure 7 shows that within two decades elderly dependents will outnumber children in the State for the first time in history. The ageing of the population has also brought with it a change in the sex ratio of the population in the State. In the mid 1970s women began to outnum-

Figure 7: South Australia, actual and projected youth and elderly dependency ratios, 1954 to 2051



Source: ABS Censuses, and *Population Projections Australia 1999 to 2101*, cat. no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000

Figure 8: Australia and South Australia, age and sex distribution of the population 2000



Source: *Australian Demographic Statistics, March Quarter 2001*, cat. no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, 2001

ber men in South Australia for the first time. It will be noted in Table 4, however, that in recent years the sex ratio among the elderly has begun to increase as a result of the greater improvement in life expectancy for older men than older women.

There are some distinctive differences between the age structures of South Australia and Australia as a whole and these are evident in Figure 8 which overlays the two relevant age pyramids in 2000. The most striking difference lies in the significant under-representation in the South Australian structure of people aged under 40 and an over-representation of older people. Indeed, whereas 57.6 per cent of all Australians were aged less than 40 in 2000 this applied to only 54.6 per cent of South Australians. This is clearly the result of continued substantial out-migration from South Australia of young adults, especially school leavers and first-time job seekers.

POPULATION PROJECTIONS

ABS projections for South Australia adopt modified assumptions from those used for all Australia to take account of the State's different demography. These projections are based very heavily on the Australian (and the South Australian) experience of the first half of the 1990s. From the South Australian perspective, however, these were exceptional years in its post-war history. This was a period of unprecedentedly low overseas migration gains and heavy interstate migration losses. The projections take this experience and project it forward into the next half century. They must not be interpreted as predictions. The projections suggest that the economically worst post-war five-year period in the State's post-war history following the collapse of the State Bank will continue for a half century — a most unlikely scenario. Nevertheless it is indicative to look at the results of these projections since they indicate what is likely to happen if the pattern of the 1990s are continued over the next half century.

The main differences in the assumptions used in the projections for South Australia were firstly with respect to fertility. The average differentials in fertility for 1996-98 (that is 96.9 per cent of the national fertility level) were

maintained. Hence for South Australia the two fertility assumptions are:

- That fertility is maintained at 1.7 throughout the projection period.
- That the TFR declines to 1.55 in 2008 and thereafter is constant.

With respect to overseas migration the average share of permanent movement, long-term movement and category jumping for the period 1996-97 to 1998-99 was adopted. Hence the State was allocated 3.5 per cent of the total assumed net overseas migration gain. In the ABS projections, net overseas migration to Australia was assumed to be 110,000 per annum in the high scenario and 90,000 per annum in the medium scenario.

Interstate migration assumptions are crucial in the State projections. Due to the volatility of this movement three long-term assumptions were provided for each State providing high, low and medium levels of interstate migration. The medium assumption is the average for the last three decades with weight given to the last decade. The low and high assumptions 'reflect the variability in the historical data, and give a plausible range of projection outcomes'.[11] The resultant South Australian interstate migration assumptions are shown in Table 5 and all project that net interstate migration loss will continue. This is a realistic assumption on the basis of recent and current trends but it would seem that the medium interstate loss assumptions are most appropriate in the short term and the low losses in the medium term

Table 5: ABS population projections, assumed net interstate migration from South Australia, 1998 to 2051

Year	Net interstate migration ('000s)		
	Observed		
1998	-3.3		
1999	-2.9		
	Assumption 1 (high)	*Assumption 2 (medium)*	*Assumption 3 (low)*
2000	-3.5	-3.5	-3.5
2001	-3.7	-3.3	-2.8
2002	-3.9	-3.1	-2.1
2003	-4.1	-2.9	-1.4
2004 to 2051	-4.5	-2.5	-0.5

Source: *Population Projections Australia 1999 to 2101*, cat. no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000, p. 63

A full range of ABS future population scenarios for South Australia are presented in Table 6. It will be noticed that most scenarios envisage the State experiencing a decline in population by the middle of the present century. The most optimistic

Table 6: Projected population, selected component levels — total South Australia

Total fertility rate	Net overseas migration		Net internal migration	Series	Total SA population as of 30 June				
	National	To SA			2000 '000s	2001 '000s	2011 '000s	2021 '000s	2051 '000s
1.7	110,000	3,900	-4,500	A (I)	1,500.2	1,506.9	1,547.4	1,563.6	1,423.1
			-2,500	B	1,500.2	1,507.3	1,567.0	1,606.8	1,540.6
			-500	C	1,500.2	1,507.8	1,587.3	1,650.9	1,659.9
	90,000	3,200	-4,500	D	1,500.2	1,506.4	1,538.9	1,545.6	1,373.1
			-2,500	E	1,500.2	1,506.8	1,558.4	1,588.8	1,490.3
			-500	F	1,500.2	1,507.3	1,578.7	1,632.9	1,609.3
1.55	110,000	3,900	-4,500	M	1,499.9	1,506.1	1,535.5	1,537.9	1,345.5
			-2,500	N	1,499.9	1,506.5	1,554.9	1,580.5	1,459.1
			-500	O	1,499.9	1,507.0	1,575.1	1,624.2	1,574.4
	90,000	3,200	-4,500	P	1,499.9	1,505.7	1,527.0	1,520.2	1,297.2
			-2,500	Q (II)	1,499.9	1,506.1	1,546.4	1,562.8	1,410.5
			-500	R	1,499.9	1,506.6	1,566.6	1,606.4	1,525.5

Source: *Population Projections Australia 1999 to 2101*, cat. no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000

scenarios are those in which the net interstate migration loss is lowest, and the greatest they see the population increasing by 2051 over 2000 is around 70,000 people. Focusing on the high, low and medium scenarios of the ABS, under the high scenario, assuming the medium pattern of interstate migration loss, the population would increase from 1.5 million in 2000 to 1.57 in 2011 and 1.61 in 2021 and decline to 1.54 in 2051. The medium projection sees increases to 1.55 million and 1.56 and a decrease to 1.41 while the figures for the low projections are 1.54, 1.55 and a decrease to 1.36 million.

What do the projections mean for the age structure? According to the medium level projections (Series II), for Australia we will go from a current median age of 34.3 to between 38.1 and 38.6 in 2011, 40.1 and 41.1 in 2021 and 43.6 and 44.5 in 2051. For South Australia the median age will rise from the present level of 35.9 to between 40.3 and 41.2 in 2011, 42.8 and 44.5 in 2021 and 48.3 and 50.6 in 2051. The proportion aged 65 and above will rise from the present level of 14.4 per cent to 16.9 per cent in 2011, between 21.9 and 22.1 per cent in 2021 and 29.9 and 31.1 per cent in 2051. Table 7 shows the outlook for the State's ageing population under the middle projection scenario. This indicates that there will be relatively slow growth of the State's aged population in the early years of this century but that the size of this population will gather pace and be most rapid when the baby boom birth cohorts begin to enter the 65+ age group. Hence the 65+ age group will be 22.1 per cent bigger than at present in 2011, 61.1 per cent bigger in 2021 and more than twice as large in 2051. However, the growth of the 'old-old' 75+ population will be much more rapid, increasing from 6.6 per cent of the present population to 18.3 per cent in 2051.

Table 7: South Australia, projected growth of 65+ and 75+ population, Series II projection

Year	Population aged 65 and over		Population aged 75 and over	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1999	214.3	14.4	97.8	6.6
2001	219.7	14.6	104.7	7.0
2011	261.7	16.9	123.1	8.0
2021	345.2	22.1	152.2	9.7
2051	439.1	31.1	257.9	18.3

Source: *Population Projections Australia 1999 to 2101*, cat. no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000

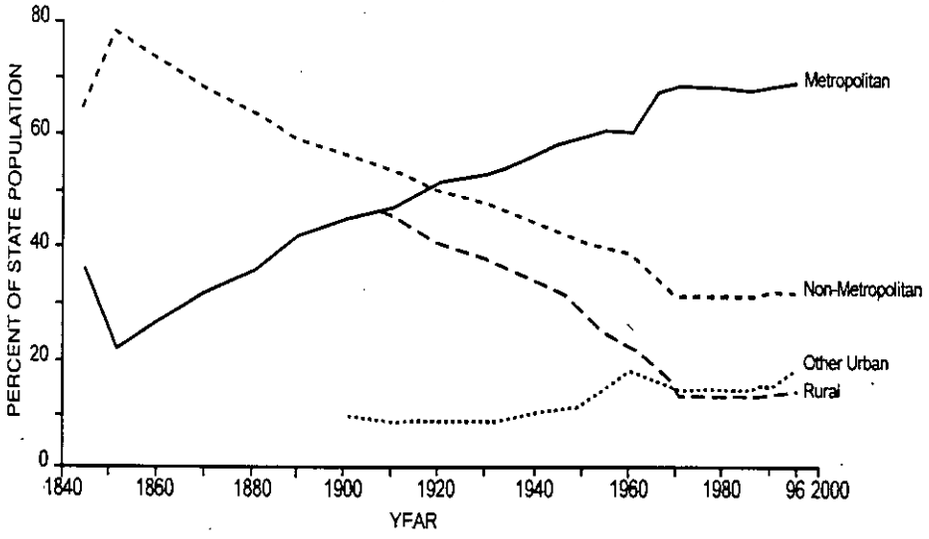
It must be stressed that while the projections of the total population presented above have to be questioned, that of the older population must be accepted as much more robust, especially over the next quarter century. These people are already in South Australia although many are not yet in the older age groups. Hence this is the pattern we are likely to have to deal with in our policy making and planning.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Figure 9 shows that after more than a century of increasing concentration of the State's population in Adelaide, the proportion of South Australia's population living in the capital has stabilised over the last quarter century. The proportion of the State's population living in the Adelaide Statistical Division was 73.09 per cent in 1991 and 73.19 per cent in 2000. This illusion of stability, however, masks considerable mobility within the State. In 1996, 37.6 per cent of the population had moved residence since the 1991 census and these moves had produced some significant shifts in the State's population within metropolitan Adelaide as well as in the non- metropolitan sector. It will be noted in Figure 10, however, that in the 1961 to 1976 period non-metropolitan population growth was stable at low levels while the growth of the Metropolitan Area and the State as a whole was at high but declining levels.

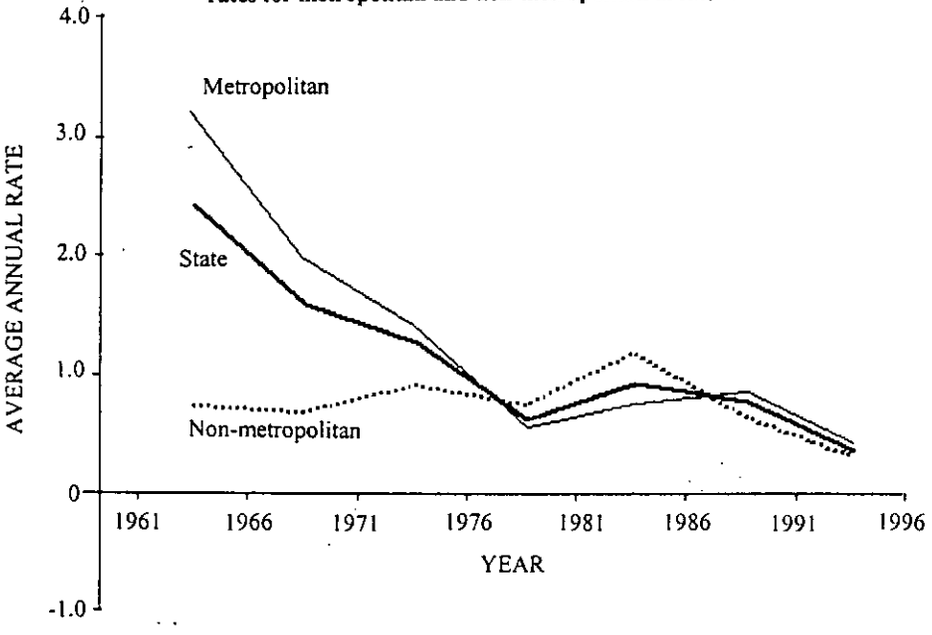
For the next decade, non-metropolitan population growth outpaced that of the Adelaide statistical division. In the

Figure 9: Changing distribution of South Australia's population between major urban, other urban and rural sections of State, 1841 to 1996



Source: ABS, Various Censuses and Population Estimates

Figure 10: South Australia, average annual population growth and net migration rates for metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, 1961 to 1996



Source: ABS and M. Bell, *Non-metropolitan population growth in South Australia*, unpublished BA (Hons)

Table 8: Adelaide statistical division: population growth by sector, 1981 to 2000

	Number			Per cent per annum growth		
	1981	1995	2000 [a]	1981-91	1991-96	1995-2000
Adelaide City council	11,185	12,477	13,496	+0.12	+2.54	+1.58
Inner SLAs[c]	118,309	108,052	110,884	-0.23	+0.24	+0.52
Coastal SLAs Middle SLAs	489,772	511,410	508,606	+0.40	-0.26	-0.11
Outer SLAs	315,687 [b]	432,005	443,559	+2.59	+1.29	+0.53

Source: ABS Estimated Resident Population data

[a] Figures for 2000 are preliminary.

[b] Includes part of Willunga later included with Alexandrina LGA in the Outer Adelaide Statistical Division.

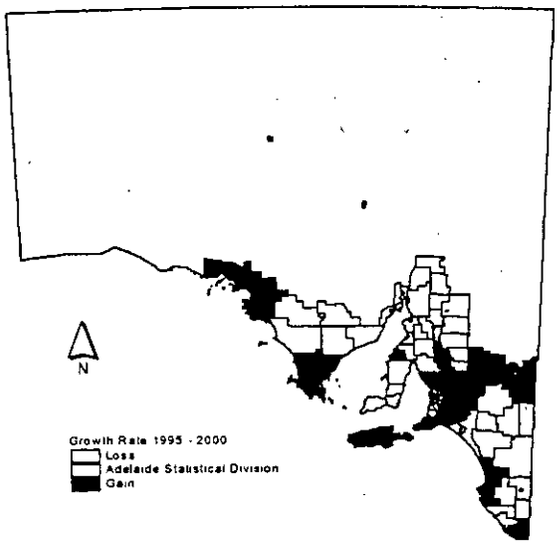
[c] SLA stands for Statistical Local Area.

subsequent decade, rates of growth declined in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas but growth was higher in the former.

Turning to patterns of population change within the metropolitan and non-metropolitan sectors, Table 8 indicates that within Adelaide shifts have occurred in patterns of population growth over the last four decades. As in other Australian cities, population growth in Adelaide up to the 1990s exhibited a doughnut pattern with decline or stability in the inner areas and growth on the periphery. However, the 1990s has seen a change with a renewal of growth in the inner urban areas.

Non-metropolitan population change at the statistical local area level is shown in Figure 11. This shows a dichotomisation with some areas of substantial popu-

Figure 11: South Australia, non-metropolitan population change by Statistical Local Area, (SLA), 1995 to 2000



Source: ABS Estimated Resident Population Data

lation growth and others which are not only stable in population but in some cases actually declining. The former areas include especially the arc of areas in the peri-urban fringe and the Adelaide Statistical Division where there has been an intensification of land use and an influx of commuters to Adelaide.[12] Other growth areas include locations such as parts of the southeast and Riverland where the wine and tourism industries have had an impact and areas in Eyre Peninsula influenced by fishing and tourism developments. On the other hand, the dryland farming area of the wheatbelt and the manufacturing based cities of Northern Spencer Gulf have experienced decline. In both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas there are sharp differences between areas of population growth and those of decline.

CONCLUSION

South Australia has the slowest growing and oldest population of any of the mainland States and Territories in Australia. Despite this, its population is changing in important ways. South Australia has experienced a most difficult economic period over the last decade and the recovery of its economy must remain the priority of the State government. Some aspects of the population situation undoubtedly are barriers to improving the economic situation of the State. An increase in population must not be seen to be, on its own, a solution to the State's undoubtedly significant economic problems. An increase in population per se will not result in increased prosperity. There is no justification for a policy which simply aims at increasing the size of the State's population without making any reference to its implications for economic development. Nevertheless, the ageing of the State's population and the substantial net loss of skilled and highly educated young people do represent barriers to State development. There is scope to develop a State based population policy which is integrated with, and part of, a development strategy for South Australia. Such a policy will be the subject of the second article in this two-part series.

References

1. G. Hugo, 'South Australia's changing population', *South Australian Geographical Papers*, no. 1, Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA Branch), Adelaide, 1983; G. Hugo, 'Playford's people: population change in South Australia', in B. O'Neil, J. Raftery and K. Round (Eds), *Playford's South Australia*, Association of Professional Historians Inc., Adelaide, 1996; G. Hugo, 'South Australia's population at the turn of the century', in J. Spoehr (Ed.), *Beyond the Contract State*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1999
2. Hugo, 1983, op. cit., p. 9
3. *Deaths Australia*, cat. no. 3302.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Canberra, 2000
4. G. Hugo, *Australia's Changing Population: Trends and Implications*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1986, p. 21
5. G. Hugo, 'Projecting Australia's aged population: problems and implications', *Journal of the Australian Population Association*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1984, pp. 41-56
6. The total fertility rate (TFR) 'indicates the number of children that will be born alive to a woman during her lifetime if she were to pass through all her child-bearing years conforming to the age specific rates of a given year' (Hugo, 1986, op. cit., p. 43). More simply it indicates approximately the completed total number of children women are having on average at a particular time.
7. Hugo, 1983, op. cit., p. 14
8. *Births Australia*, cat. no. 3301.0, ABS, Canberra, 2001
9. Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA), 1999-2000 Migration (Non-Humanitarian) Program outcome, *Media Release*, MPS 77/2000, DIMA, Canberra, 1999
10. M. Bell, *South Australia at the 1996 Census: Population Change and Distribution*, Department for Transport, Urban Planning and the Arts and the University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1997; M. Bell, and G. Hugo, *Internal Migration in Australia, 1991-1996: Overview and the Overseas-Born*, DIMA, Canberra, 2000
11. *Population Projections Australia 1999 to 2101*, cat. no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000, p. 59
12. G. Hugo, 'Counterurbanisation', in M. Bell and P. Newton (Eds), *Population Shift: Mobility and Change in Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1996