e-brief

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Trends in NSW population growth

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1. Introduction

On 7 August 2018, Australia's population grew to an estimated 25 million people, up from 24 million people in 2015. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), on current trends Australia's population will reach 26 million by 2021. One hundred and seventeen years earlier, at Federation, the continent was home to just 3.8 million. Over this period the NSW population has grown by 6.5 million people, from 1.4 million to 7.9 million.

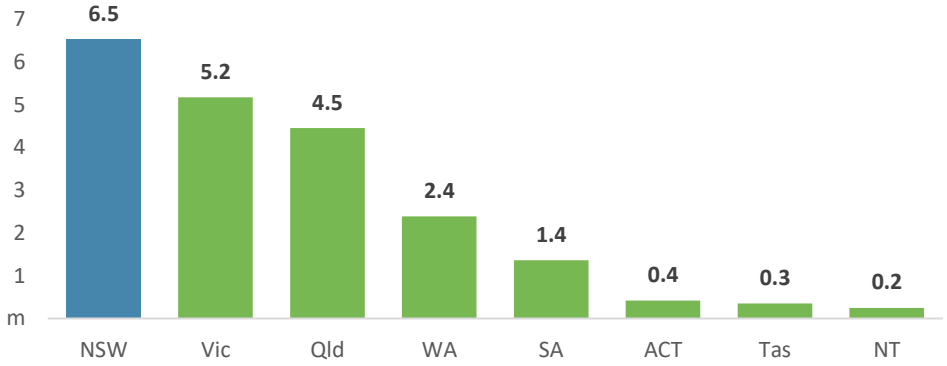
This e-brief provides an overview of NSW and Australian population trends using a range of ABS datasets. It first summarises long term population trends for NSW and Australia, before using available data to determine which areas of the State have experienced the highest growth.

The two main contributors to population growth—natural increase and net overseas migration—are analysed to show the degree to which these contributors are responsible for the increase in NSW's population. Finally, for reasons discussed later in the e-brief, the paper focuses on recent migrants to show how this group has influenced State population trends.

2. Population growth since Federation

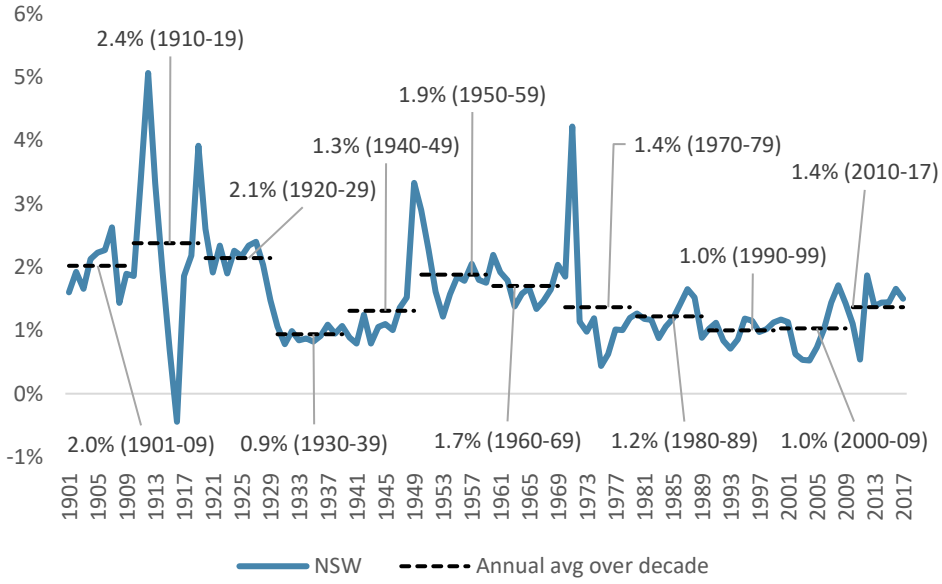
According to the ABS, between 1901 and 2017 Australia's population grew from 3.8 million to 24.7 million: an increase of 20.9 million people. Over this period NSW saw its population rise by 6.5 million people, from 1.4 million to 7.9 million. This was the largest increase of all States and Territories, accounting for 31.2% of total national growth (see Figure 1 overleaf).

Figure 1: Population change by State/Territory, 1901 to 2017 (millions)[1]



Since Federation, Australia's average growth rate has been around 1.6% per annum. NSW has seen slightly lower average annual growth of 1.5% per annum. However, both the Australian and NSW growth rates have fluctuated significantly over the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries (for NSW, see Figure 2).

Figure 2: NSW annual population growth rate, 1901 to 2017[2]



Australia's national population growth is high by international standards. As Table 1 shows, World Bank data ranked Australia fifth highest for population growth out of 36 OECD countries. Australia's 2017 annual growth rate (1.6%) was surpassed only by Luxembourg, New Zealand, Israel, and Iceland. This growth rate was also well above the OECD 2017 average of 0.6%.

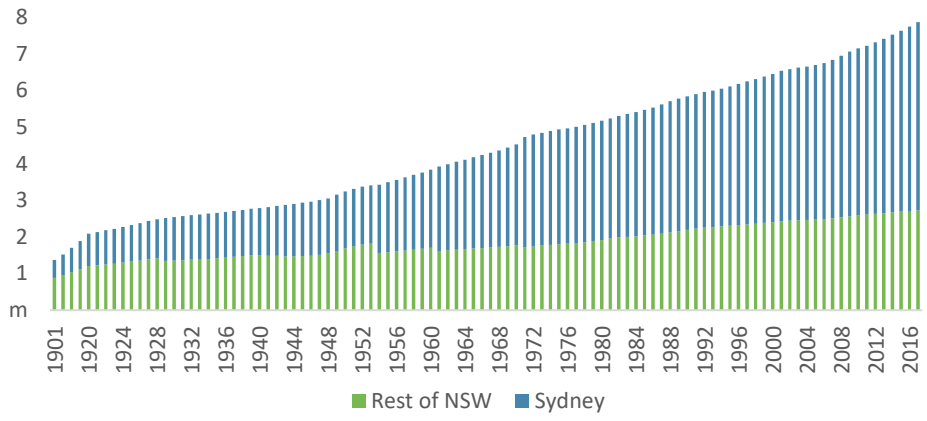
Table 1: Top ten OECD countries by annual population growth, 2017[3]	
Country	**Annual population growth rate**
Luxembourg	3.0%
New Zealand	2.1%
Israel	1.9%
Iceland	1.7%
Australia	***1.6%***
Turkey	1.5%
Sweden	1.4%
Mexico	1.3%
Ireland	1.2%
Canada	1.2%

3. Where has population growth occurred?

At the turn of the 20th century Australia's population was based predominantly in the regions. Only 36.3% of Australians lived in the nation's capital cities. As of 2017 this has reversed: 67.3% of Australians now live in the capital cities, while 32.7% reside in other urban and regional areas.

NSW has experienced a similar geographic shift in its population. In 1901, 36.1% of NSW residents lived in Sydney; in 2017, this has increased to 65.3% of State residents. Just over a third of the NSW population (34.7%) now live outside the State capital.[4]

Figure 3: Sydney vs Rest of NSW population, 1901 to 2017 (millions)[5]



The ABS's *Regional Population Growth* publication shows the change in the estimated resident population (ERP) of NSW by remoteness between 2007 and 2017. As Figures 4 and 5 show, the 'Major Cities' category in NSW recorded the largest increase in population by number and percentage growth over the decade.

Figure 4: Increase in NSW ERP by remoteness, 2007 to 2017 ('000)[6]

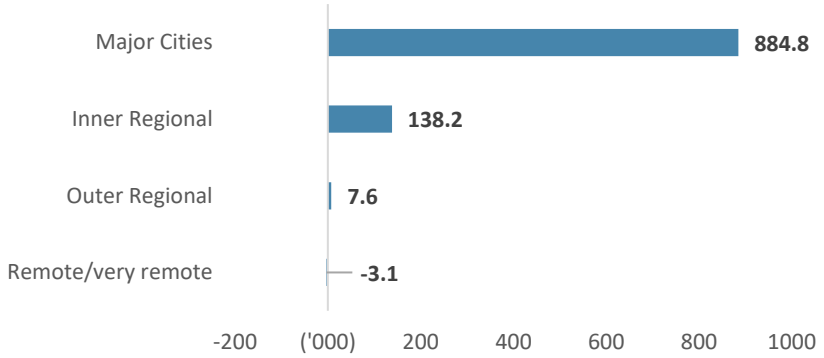
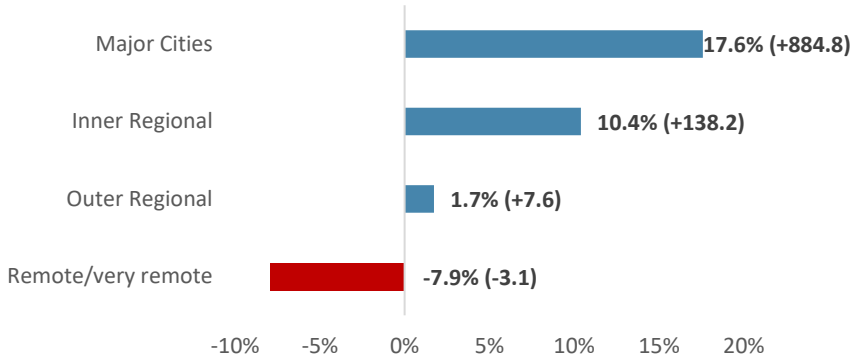


Figure 5: Growth in NSW ERP by remoteness, 2007 to 2017 (%)[7]



The increased growth of Australian cities is part of a global trend towards urbanisation; a trend identified by the United Nations, World Bank and the International Organisation for Migration. Internal migration is one factor driving increased urbanisation. The ABS has identified a number of factors that affect the likelihood of migration within Australia, including economic characteristics such as educational attainment, employment status and industry of employment; social dimensions such as indigenous status and country of birth; and housing tenure.[8]

The literature shows that Australia's capital cities drive the national economy, Sydney in particular. In 2017-18 Sydney was responsible for 74.3% of NSW gross state product (GSP), and 24.4% of total Australian GDP: more than the entire State of Victoria (23.3%). In comparison, the rest of NSW was responsible for 8.3% of national GDP. GDP per capita is also significantly higher in Sydney ($84,700) than the rest of NSW ($54,500).[9]

In terms of GDP *growth*, Sydney was second to Melbourne (25.1% vs 27.7%) in 2017-18. Nevertheless, the NSW capital has contributed more to national GDP growth than the rest of the State by a large margin (Table 2):

Table 2: Contribution to Australian GDP growth, Sydney vs rest of NSW (%)[10]

Region	1990s	2000s	2010s (to 2017-18)	2017-18	Whole period (1989-90 to 2017-18)
Sydney	29.8	17.1	25.9	25.1	22.8
Rest of NSW	11.1	5.5	6.0	4.4	6.6

4. Population growth within NSW

4.1 NSW regions

According to ABS data, between 2007 and 2017 the NSW population increased by 1.03 million people. This represents a 15% increase in population, and was equivalent to an average 11,042 people per electorate. However, there is considerable variation in population increase across NSW, with metropolitan regions seeing the largest levels of growth over the decade.

Table 3 shows the increase in population in the nine NSW regions used in the 2018 NSW Parliamentary Research Service paper, *NSW State Electoral Districts Ranked by 2016 Census Characteristics*, where the regions consist of groups of NSW electorates.[11] In the decade to 2017, the Sydney regions experienced the greatest population growth—both in total numbers and percentage increase—followed by Newcastle, the Illawarra and the Central Coast.

Table 3: NSW region population change, June 2007 to June 2017[12]

Region	Population (2007)	Population (2017)	Decade growth (no)	Decade growth (%)
Sydney (East/Inner)	932,175	1,137,185	205,010	22.0
Sydney (West)	1,859,395	2,246,241	386,846	20.8
Sydney (North)	816,179	943,149	126,970	15.6
Sydney (South)	447,174	506,805	59,631	13.3
Newcastle	548,387	614,729	66,342	12.1
Illawarra	294,253	328,143	33,890	11.5
Central Coast	278,133	306,357	28,224	10.1
North Coast	556,699	603,360	46,661	8.4
Country	1,101,761	1,175,099	73,338	6.7
NSW Total	**6,834,156**	**7,861,068**	**1,026,912**	**15.0**

4.2 State Electoral Divisions (SEDs)

Population growth has been uneven across SEDs. Compared to other electorates, there has been notably higher growth in the Sydney SEDs of Camden (+58.8%), Heffron (+51.3%) and Riverstone (+50.7%).

Indeed, the only non-Sydney electorate in the top ten SEDs by population growth was the Newcastle electorate of Maitland (Table 4). However, many Sydney SEDs record growth below the NSW average.

Table 4: Top ten NSW SEDs by population growth, June 2007 to June 2017[13]				
Electorate	**Population (2007)**	**Population (2017)**	**Change (no)**	**Change (%)**
Camden	61,325	97,221	35,896	58.5
Heffron	76,748	116,101	39,353	51.3
Riverstone	64,172	96,739	32,567	50.7
Auburn	83,089	112,842	29,753	35.8
Drummoyne	64,711	85,417	20,706	32.0
Parramatta	83,959	110,756	26,797	31.9
Londonderry	74,766	97,331	22,565	30.2
Newtown	72,737	92,643	19,906	27.4
Rockdale	75,403	94,562	19,159	25.4
Maitland	65,012	81,037	16,025	24.6

In contrast, eight of the ten SEDs recording the lowest population growth were outside Sydney, with Barwon recording a 6.2% *decline* in population over the decade (Table 5).

Table 5: Bottom ten NSW SEDs by population growth, June 2007 to June 2017[14]				
Electorate	**Population (2007)**	**Population (2017)**	**Change (no)**	**Change (%)**
Barwon	83,656	78,488	-5,168	-6.2
Lismore	74,141	75,195	1,054	1.4
Cootamundra	71,728	73,021	1,293	1.8
Murray	82,708	85,024	2,316	2.8
Northern Tablelands	78,905	81,175	2,270	2.9
Blue Mountains	70,378	73,147	2,769	3.9
Clarence	71,689	74,616	2,927	4.1
Heathcote	75,277	78,476	3,199	4.2
Charlestown	70,883	74,363	3,480	4.9
Upper Hunter	73,333	77,125	3,792	5.2

The population change for all NSW SEDs are shown on an interactive map that accompanies this paper.

5. Changes in population density

By virtue of their small geographic size (11,606km^2, or just 1.4% of total State area), Sydney's four regions have a significantly higher population density than the rest of NSW (416.5 persons per km^2 vs 3.8 persons per km^2). However, as Table 6 shows, even density levels within Sydney vary dramatically.

Table 6: NSW region density change, June 2007 to June 2017[15]					
Region	**Area (km^2)**	**Density (2007)**	**Density (2017)**	**Decade growth (no)**	**Decade growth (%)**
Sydney (East/Inner)	269	3,467.7	4,230.3	762.6	22.0
Sydney (West)	9,882	188.2	227.3	39.1	20.8
Sydney (North)	856	953.7	1,102.1	148.4	15.6
Sydney (South)	599	746.2	845.7	99.5	13.3
Sydney (All)	**11,606**	**349.4**	**416.5**	**67.1**	**19.2**
Newcastle	7,093	77.3	86.7	9.4	12.1
Illawarra	2,851	103.2	115.1	11.9	11.5
Central Coast	1,760	158.0	174.0	16.0	10.1
North Coast	44,982	12.4	13.4	1.0	8.4
Country	733,939	1.5	1.6	0.1	6.7
Rest of NSW	**790,626**	**3.5**	**3.8**	**0.3**	**8.9**
NSW Total	***802,231***	***8.5***	***9.8***	***1.3***	***15.0***

Table 7 lists the top ten SEDs by increase in population density between 2007 and 2017 (an interactive table shows data for all 93 SEDs). With the exception of Kogarah in the Sydney (South) region, the SEDs with the highest densities were located in just two Sydney regions: Sydney (East/Inner) and Sydney (West).

Table 7: Top ten NSW SEDs by largest population density, June 2007 to June 2017 (persons per km^2)[16]				
SED	**Region**	**Density (2017)**	**Increase from 2007**	**Difference from region average**
Newtown	Sydney (East/Inner)	9,003.2	1,934.5	4,772.9
Sydney	Sydney (East/Inner)	7,405.9	1,420.2	3,175.6
Heffron	Sydney (East/Inner)	3,290.8	1,115.4	-939.4
Balmain	Sydney (East/Inner)	5,565.3	994.7	1,335.0
Kogarah	Sydney (South)	5,427.7	906.7	4,582.1
Strathfield	Sydney (East/Inner)	4,416.5	833.1	186.3
Coogee	Sydney (East/Inner)	7,120.9	832.7	2,890.6
Drummoyne	Sydney (East/Inner)	3,351.0	812.3	-879.3
Granville	Sydney (West)	4,301.4	808.1	4,074.1
Auburn	Sydney (West)	2,882.3	760.0	2,655.0

6. Where has the growth come from?

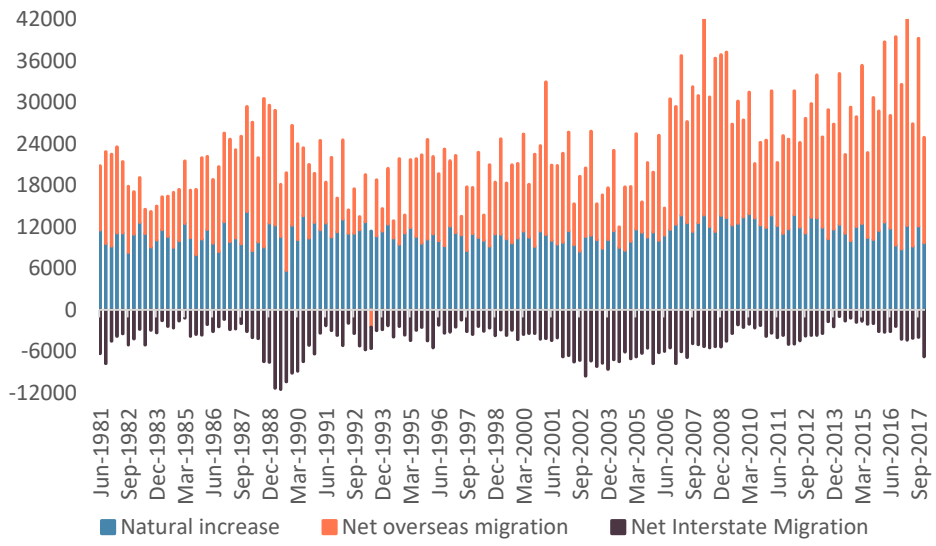
There are three main components to population change:[17]

- **Natural increase** – the count of births minus deaths;
- **Net overseas migration (NOM)** – the net gain (or loss) of population from immigration and emigration; and
- **Net interstate migration (NIM)** – the net gain (or loss) of population from interstate movement.

Available data from 1981 to 2017 shows that NOM rather than natural increase is responsible for the majority of NSW population increase, particularly since the mid-2000s. In comparison, NIM results were negative

throughout this period, thereby reducing net population change in each quarter (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Quarterly NSW population change, June 1981 to December 2017[18]

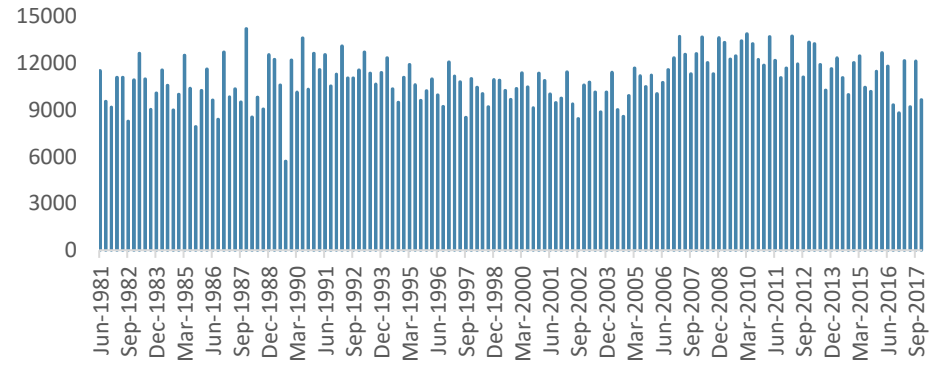


Both NOM and natural increase are discussed below. NIM has been excluded as it has been negative in every quarter since 1981. The reasons for this are unclear, although some observers have speculated that—in Sydney at least—housing affordability and liveability have played a role in residents leaving the State.[19]

6.1 Natural increase

With the exception of elevated results in the late 2000s to early 2010s, NSW's natural population increase has remained generally stable. Between June 1981 and December 2017, there has been a quarterly average increase of around 11,000 persons (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Quarterly increase in natural population, NSW, June 1981 to December 2017[20]



Although these figures indicate a slow increase in natural population, fertility rates in NSW were 1.71 in 2017: the lowest of all jurisdictions, and, for the last 40 years, below the replacement rate of 2.1. The reasons for this, and the need for ongoing migration to mitigate this trend, were explained in the *2016 NSW Intergenerational Report*:

> After the introduction of the oral contraceptive pill in 1961, the fertility rate began a steep decline. As discussed in Chapter Two, large increases in female workforce participation, which saw women defer childbirth, added to this trend. Importantly, the fertility rate has remained below the replacement rate of 2.1 for the last 40 years and this is expected to continue. **Population growth will therefore depend on migration and increases in longevity.**
>
> Improvements in medical technology and increases in female workforce participation are likely to see the average childbearing age continue to rise, albeit at a slower rate than in the past. The average age of a woman at childbirth in 1975 was 26 years. This increased to 30.5 years in 2014 and is expected to rise to 32.9 years by 2056.[21] [emphasis added]

A 2018 Commonwealth Government report, *Shaping a Nation*, noted that, Australia-wide, natural population increase has slowed due to falling fertility rates. Nationally, the fertility rate has fallen from 3.5 babies per woman in 1961 to 1.74 in 2017.[22] Ultimately, both the NSW and Commonwealth Intergenerational Reports have predicted that migration will be the key component of long term population growth.[23]

6.2 Net overseas migration

NOM has played a significant role in NSW population growth. This is evident in quarterly NOM results, especially from the mid-2000s onward (Figure 8 overleaf).

Figure 8: Quarterly increase in NOM, NSW, June 1981 to December 2017[24]

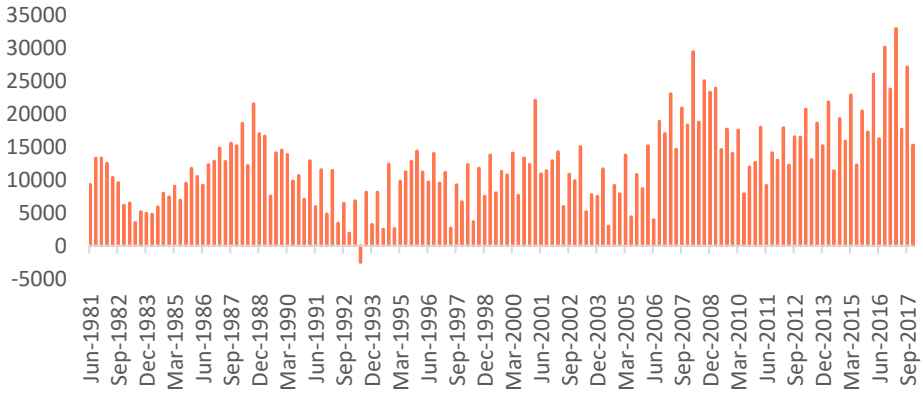
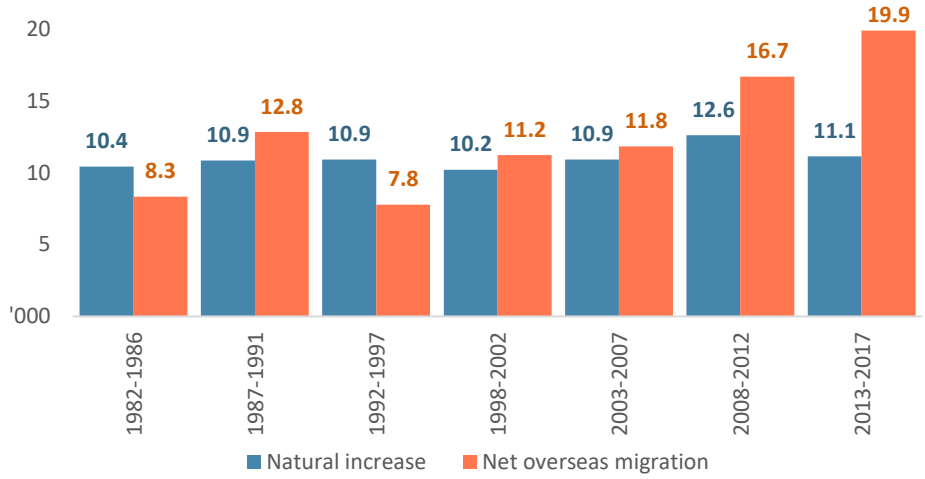


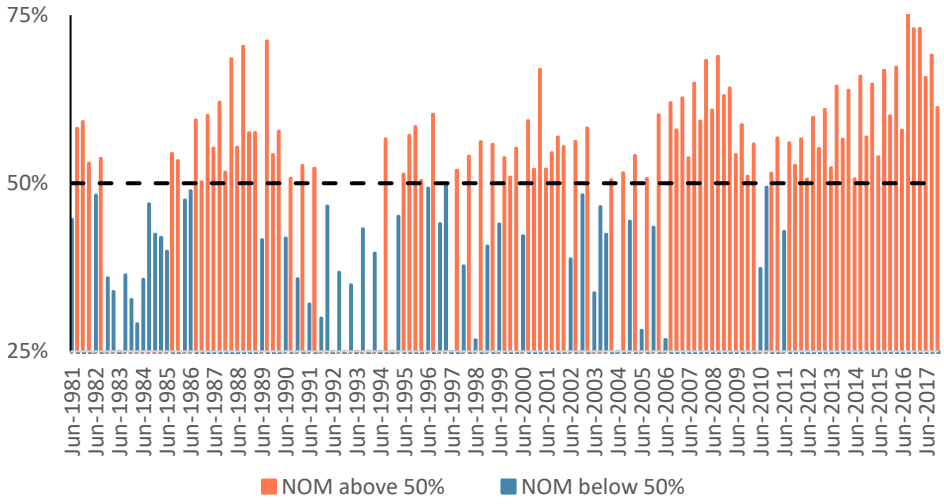
Figure 9 shows average five year quarterly NOM growth between 1982 and 2017. Following a fall in NOM growth from 1992 to 1997, average quarterly growth slowly recovered until 2008, when a substantial increase was recorded. By comparison (and with the exception of the period 2008-2012), average quarterly natural increase growth has been largely stable:

Figure 9: Average five year NSW quarterly growth by decade, natural increase vs NOM[25]



Across the period 1981 to 2017, NOM was responsible for 53.2% of total net population growth. Of the 147 quarters recorded during this period, NOM was the largest component in 93 quarters, and natural increase responsible for more than half the growth in just 54 quarters (Figure 10). The last quarter where natural increase was the largest contributor to State population growth was June 2011.

Figure 10: Quarterly NSW population growth, NOM over 50% of growth, June 1981 to December 2017[26]



In general, Australia's population growth has long been strongly linked to immigration. In its 2016 *Migrant Intake* report, the Productivity Commission noted that NOM has been the major contributor to population growth in Australia since World War II, and will likely continue to be in future:

> Australia's immigration policy is inextricably linked to population policy — any decision about the level of immigration is implicitly a decision about the rate of population growth.
>
> Net overseas migration (NOM)—the difference between immigration and emigration—has been the major contributor to population growth in Australia, especially since World War II. As Australia's population progressively ages and its natural rate of increase eventually declines, NOM is expected to

> continue to play an important role in the size and growth of Australia's population.[27]

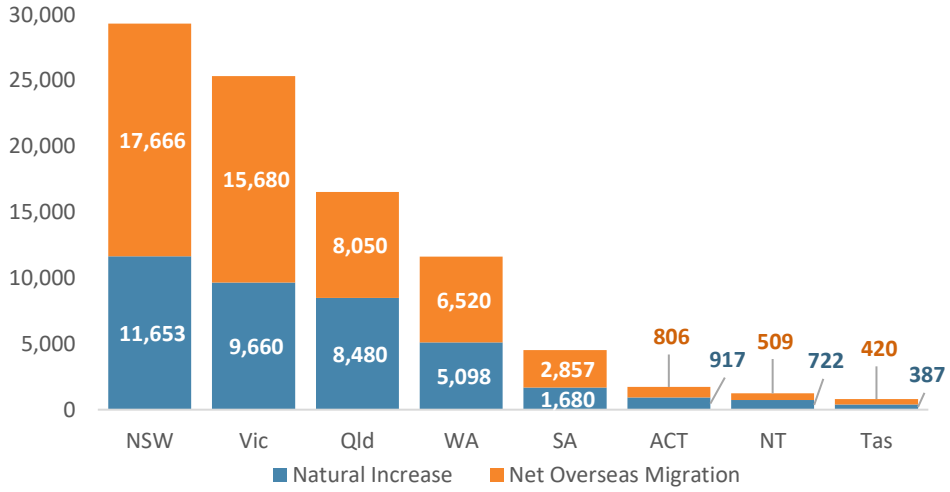
The NSW Government has also recognised this trend. The *2018-19 NSW Budget Statement* noted that much of the State's recent growth has been driven by NOM, particularly temporary migrants such as overseas students.[28]

7. NSW's migrant population

7.1 Immigration as part of population growth discussions

Although immigration is only one contributor to population growth, this paper considers it in some depth here for two reasons. Firstly, immigration has accounted for a considerable proportion of total population growth in recent decades, both in NSW and in other parts of Australia (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Average quarterly population growth by State or Territory, NOM vs natural increase, March 2010 to December 2017[29]



Secondly, as explained by the Productivity Commission, immigration rates can be more easily adjusted by policy measures than other contributors to population:

> Immigration is also the *primary* policy lever government has to influence population size and growth. Other factors that affect population — such as births, deaths and emigration — are more difficult to *directly* influence through policy.[30] [emphasis in original]

On this point, it should be emphasised that only the Commonwealth Government has the power to determine current and future rates of migration. This limits the possible responses available to the NSW Government when it comes to addressing population growth-related challenges.

Nevertheless, an understanding of migration trends, including how migrants arrive and where they settle, is of benefit to the NSW Government, which is responsible for much of the infrastructure and amenities needed to maintain high levels of wellbeing and prosperity. Knowledge of these trends is also useful for stakeholders such as planners, developers and local governments, who can use this data when addressing challenges associated with population growth.

7.2 How have migrants come to NSW?

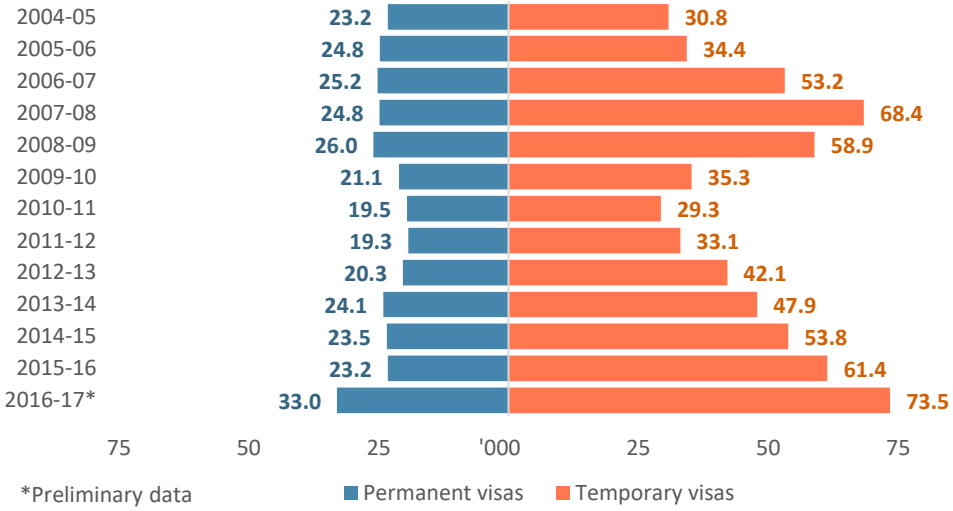
Excluding Australian citizens returning to Australia, three major visa groups contribute to NOM:[31]

1. Temporary visa-holders;
2. Permanent visa-holders; and
3. New Zealand citizens, who have their own special category visa to enter and reside in Australia.

Temporary and permanent visa-holders are the largest groupings and so are analysed in this section. New Zealand citizens, because they contribute far less to population growth, are not discussed in this e-brief.

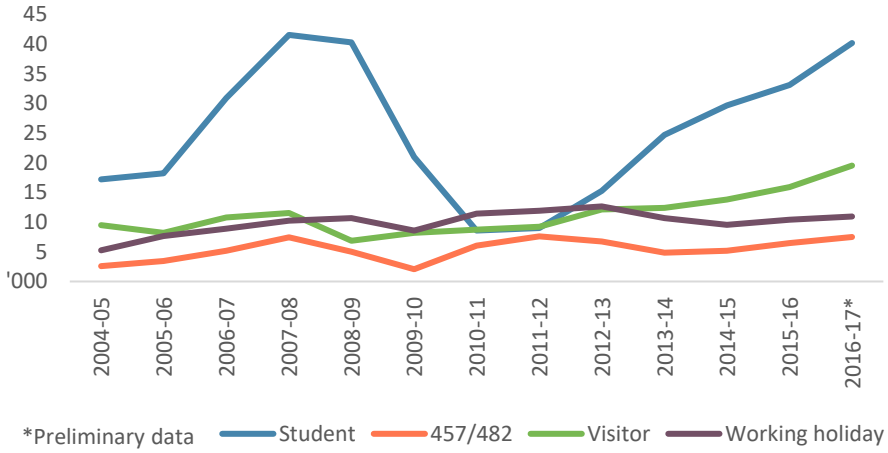
Temporary visa-holders are the largest cohort of NOM, being larger than permanent visa-holders in all years from 2004-05 to 2016-17. In 2016-17, the share of temporary visa-holders outnumbered permanent visa-holders by a factor of slightly over two to one (Figure 12); the same as the national share.

Figure 12: NSW NOM by visa type, 2004-05 to 2016-17[32]



***Temporary visa-holders*:** Temporary visa-holders are comprised of students (vocational education and training, higher education, and other students); temporary workers (subclasses 482 and the former 457); working holiday visitors; and visitors.[33] In most years between 2004-05 and 2016-17, students were the largest NSW subgroup by a significant margin (Figure 13). A decline in NSW student numbers between 2008-09 and 2011-12 was part of an Australian-wide fall.[34]

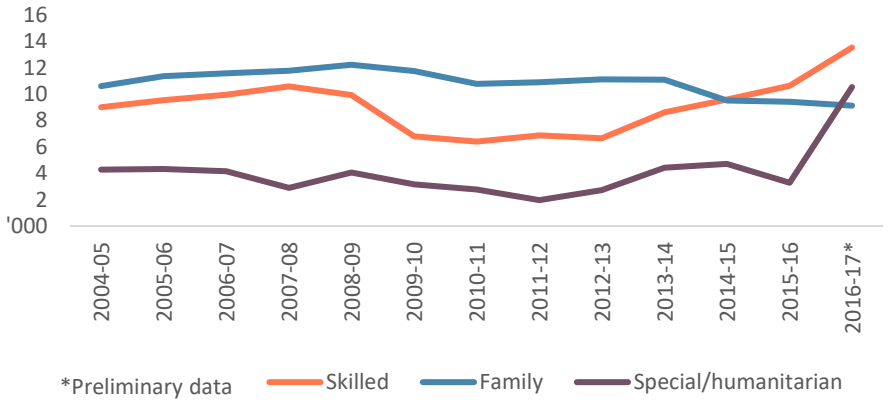
Figure 13: NSW NOM by temporary visa type, 2004-05 to 2016-17[35]



***Permanent visa-holders*:** Permanent visa-holders include three major subgroups: skilled worker visas; family and spousal visas; and special eligibility and humanitarian visas.[36] While studies into Australian public opinion report negative perceptions of humanitarian entrants—for example, that they "compete with Australians for jobs … [or] will be a drain on public resources"[37] —only a small proportion of permanent migrants are refugees.[38]

Between 2004-05 and 2016-17, the total net number of NSW family and skilled visas issued was nearly five times greater than the number of special eligibility and humanitarian visas (Figure 14). Only in 2016-17 did special/humanitarian visas come close to surpassing one of the other two subgroups. Even then, the data shows that the number of student visas issued that year for NSW was almost four times the number issued for special/humanitarian purposes.

Figure 14: NSW NOM by permanent visa type, 2004-05 to 2016-17[39]



7.3 Where are migrants moving?

The movements of recent migrants mirrors the urbanisation trend seen across the world (see section 3), with most moving to Australia's capital cities.[40] Reviewing 2016 Census data, former economics editor for *The Age*, Tim Colebatch, found that the most recent 'wave' of migrants into NSW has been overwhelmingly city-centric. For example:

> In Sydney on census night, the 224,685 Chinese migrants clearly outnumbered the 178,411 British – probably the first time in Australian history that British migrants have ever been outnumbered by another race in any capital city. But in the rest of New South Wales, with its 2.65 million people, the census found just 9,578 Chinese migrants. Only 4.2 per cent of those in New South Wales live outside Sydney.

The Grattan Institute has also considered the settlement patterns of recent migrants, noting that the proportion of the population born overseas in cities is much higher than in regional and remote regions, and in Sydney are most concentrated in the western suburbs.[41]

ABS data confirms these findings: between June 2016 and June 2017 SEDs in Sydney regions received 85% of NSW NOM growth (104,478 persons). 60.8% of NOM growth occurred in the Sydney (West) and Sydney (Inner/East) regions, while 15% of migrants moved outside Sydney:

Table 8: NOM growth by NSW region, June 2016 to June 2017[42]

Region	Population (no)	NOM growth (no)	NOM growth (% of NSW total)
Sydney (West)	2,246,241	31,978	30.6
Sydney (East/Inner)	1,137,185	31,561	30.2
Sydney (North)	943,149	15,888	15.2
Sydney (South)	506,805	9,344	8.9
Sydney (All)	**4,833,380**	**88,770**	**85.0**
Country	1,175,099	5,254	5.0
Newcastle	614,729	3,446	3.3
Illawarra	328,143	2,873	2.8
North Coast	603,360	2,649	2.5
Central Coast	306,357	1,486	1.4
Rest of NSW	**3,027,688**	**15,708**	**15.0**
NSW Total	***7,861,068***	***104,478***	**-**

As Table 9 shows, the top ten SEDs by highest annual increase in NOM were all in Sydney. These ten LGAs alone saw a NOM increase of 36,696 persons in the 12 months to June 2017: 35.1% of the State's total net increase from migrants. In contrast, the bottom ten electorates had an NOM increase of just 1,903 persons (1.8% of the NSW total).

Table 9: Top ten highest NSW SEDs by NOM increase, 2016-17[43]					
Top ten SEDs by NOM (no)			Bottom ten SEDs by NOM (no)		
SED	Region	NOM	SED	Region	NOM
Heffron	Sydney (East/Inner)	5,293	Upper Hunter	Country	234
Parramatta	Sydney (West)	4,596	Lake Macquarie	Newcastle	212
Sydney	Sydney (East/Inner)	4,108	Oxley	North Coast	198
Auburn	Sydney (West)	3,776	Bega	Country	197
Strathfield	Sydney (East/Inner)	3,490	Cootamundra	Country	194
Newtown	Sydney (East/Inner)	3,486	Swansea	Newcastle	193
Kogarah	Sydney (South)	3,170	Clarence	North Coast	181
Ryde	Sydney (North)	3,149	Barwon	Country	180
Rockdale	Sydney (South)	3,133	Myall Lakes	North Coast	169
Granville	Sydney (West)	2,495	Cessnock	Newcastle	144

8. Conclusion

Having grown from 1.4 million to 7.9 million people since Federation, Census data indicates that the NSW population continues to grow at a considerable pace. While the State population was predominantly based in the regions at the turn of the 20th century, as of 2017 65.3% of NSW residents lived in Sydney: part of an urbanisation trend that is occurring across the world. Recent population growth has also been distributed unevenly within cities and regions; for example, 50.4% of NOM between 2016 and 2017 was found in 10 LGAs in Greater Sydney.

While a number of factors influence population size, for almost four decades the majority of NSW's growth has come from overseas migration. The majority of those coming from overseas are temporary visa-holders—primarily students—with permanent skilled and family visa-holders a much smaller cohort. Awareness of these trends will better allow policymakers to address the challenges associated with population growth, both now and into the future.

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[1] Data from 1901 to 2011 derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3105.0.65.001 - Australian Historical Population Statistics*, 2014, Table 1.1. Data from 2012 to 2017 derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3101.0 - Australian Demographic Statistics, Dec 2017*, June 2018, Table 4.

[2] Ibid.

[3] World Bank, *Population growth (annual %): OECD members*, 2017.

[4] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australia's population to reach 25 million*, Media Release, 7 August 2018.

[5] Data from 1901 to 2005 derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3105.0.65.001 - Australian Historical Population Statistics*, 2014, Table 3.1. Data from 2006 to 2017 derived from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3218.0 - Regional Population Growth, Australia, 2016-17*, April 2018.

[6] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3218.0 - Regional Population Growth, Australia, 2016-17*, April 2018.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *2071.0 - Census of Population and Housing: Reflecting Australia - Stories from the Census, 2016: Population Shift*, 22 May 2018.

[9] SGS Economics, *Economic Performance of Australia's Cities and Regions: 2017-18: Snapshot*, December 2018; SGS Economics, *Economic Performance of Australia's Cities and Regions: 2017-18*, December 2018, p 10.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Montoya D, *NSW State Electoral Districts Ranked by 2016 Census Characteristics*, NSW Parliamentary Research Service, Background Paper 3/2018, p 21. Each of the nine regions is comprised of electorates in that specific region, allowing a better comparison of population trends than when comparing an electorate to the NSW average.
[12] ABS, note 6; Montoya, note 11.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3101.0 - Australian Demographic Statistics, Dec 2017*, June 2018, Glossary.
[18] Ibid.
[19] For example, see: Carey A, 'ABS data reveals interstate refugees are fleeing NSW thanks to insane housing prices', *news.com.au*, 10 August 2018; Morton R, 'Citizens quitting migrant hotspots, ABS figures show', *The Australian*, 25 April 2018.
[20] ABS, note 17, Glossary.
[21] NSW Government, *NSW Intergenerational Report 2016*, 2016, p 23.
[22] Commonwealth Treasury, Department of Home Affairs, *Shaping a nation: Population growth and immigration over time*, 2018, p 5; Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3301.0 - Births, Australia, 2017*, December 2018.
[23] NSW Government, *NSW Intergenerational Report 2016*, 2016, p 23; Commonwealth Government, *2015 Intergenerational Report: Australia in 2055*, March 2015, p 10.
[24] ABS, note 6, Table 2.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Productivity Commission, *Migrant Intake into Australia*, Inquiry Report No 77, April 2016, p 95.
[28] NSW Government, *Budget Statement 2018-19*, June 2018, p 3-8–3-9.
[29] ABS, note 17.
[30] Productivity Commission, note 27, p 95.
[31] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *3412.0 - Migration, Australia, 2016-17*, July 2018.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Resulting from a combination of factors, including changes to available pathways to temporary and permanent skilled visas, negative student perceptions of safety, a strong Australian dollar and strong global competition for the overseas student market. See Spinks H, *Overseas students: immigration policy changes 1997–2015*, Commonwealth Parliamentary Library, 25 February 2016.
[35] ABS, note 31.
[36] These migrants are former citizens or residents wanting to return to Australia, or certain New Zealanders. See ABS, note 31.
[37] McHugh-Dillon H, *Public attitudes to unauthorised arrivals in Australia*, Foundation House, April 2015, p 12. See also: Muller D, *'Islamisation' and other anxieties: voter attitudes to asylum seekers*, Melbourne Social Equity Institute, Centre for Advancing Journalism, 2016; Haslam N, Holland E, Attitudes Towards Asylum Seekers: The Australian Experience in Bretherton D, Balvin N, Peace Psychology in Australia, 2012, p 114.
[38] Phillips J, *Asylum seekers and refugees: what are the facts?*, Commonwealth Parliamentary Research Service, March 2015; Hoang K, FactCheck Q&A: what are the real numbers on refugees and other migrants coming to Australia?, *The Conversation*, 17 October 2016.
[39] ABS, note 31.
[40] Productivity Commission, note 27, p 137-138.
[41] Daley J, Wood D, Chivers C, *Regional patterns of Australia's economy and population*, Grattan Institute, August 2017, p 24.
[42] ABS, note 6; Montoya, note 11.
[43] ABS, note 6.

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