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## DEMOGRAPHY

### THE POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA

By June 1986 the estimated resident population of Australia had passed the 16 million mark, reaching 16,468,600 by March 1988. Despite the continuous growth in population throughout the years since European settlement, the rate at which the growth has occurred has varied considerably. The statistics in this chapter are derived from population censuses, registers of births, deaths and marriages, court records of divorces and other records such as passenger cards from international travel and family allowance transfers.

Estimates of the Aboriginal population at the time of European settlement vary considerably but recent archaeological finds suggest that a population of 750,000 could have been sustained. Since European settlement, the Aboriginal population has suffered considerable decline, although to what extent is unclear. Section 127 of the Constitution required the exclusion of Aboriginals when estimating the population of the Commonwealth or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth. This provision was repealed with the proclamation of the *Constitution Alteration (Aboriginals) Act 1967* and, since 10 August 1967, population and vital statistics have included full-blooded Aboriginals. Additionally, population estimates back to 30 June 1961 have been revised to include Aboriginals.

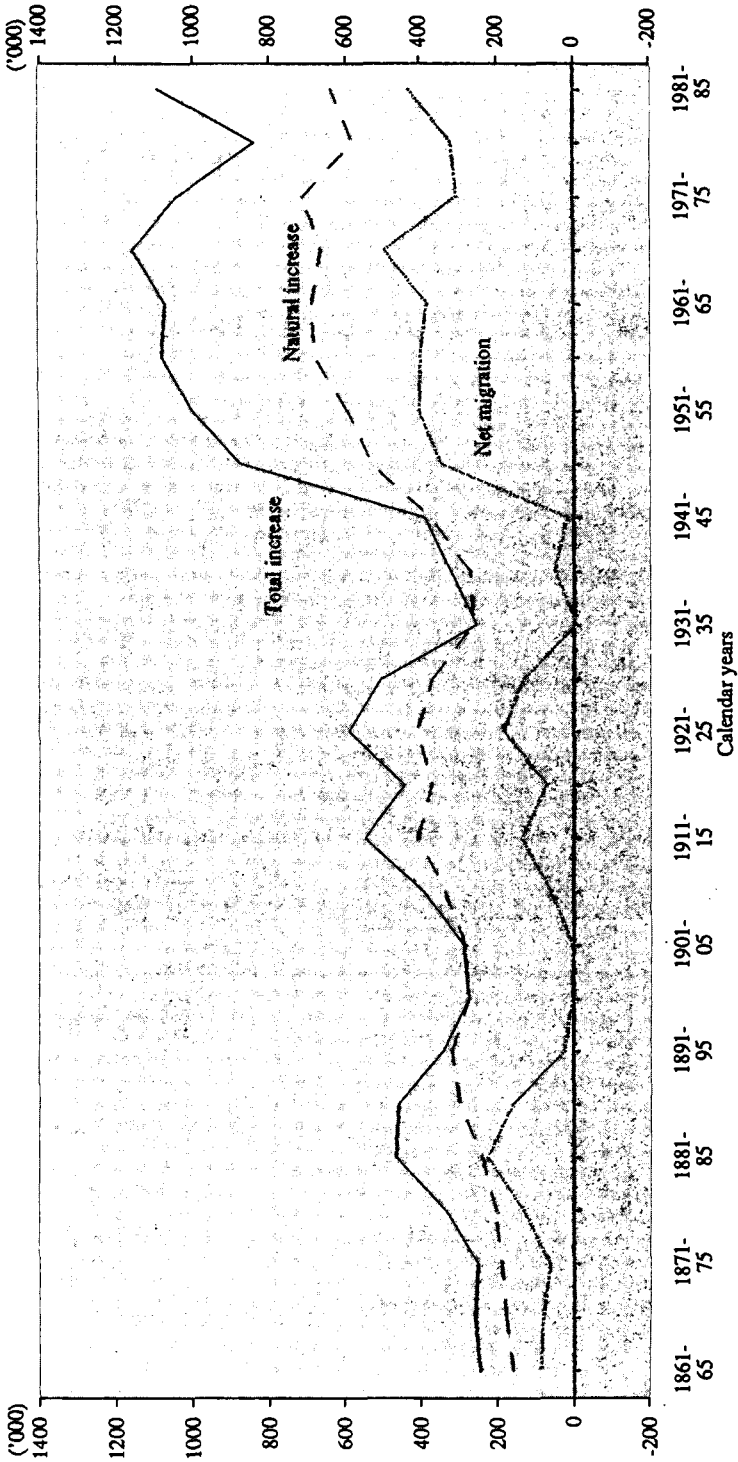
#### Size and Growth of the Australian Population

##### AUSTRALIAN POPULATION GROWTH SINCE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT, TIME ELAPSED BETWEEN SUCCESSIVE MILLIONS, 1788-1986

Population (a)	Year attained	Interval since previous million attained		Average annual rate of population growth
		Years	Months	
One million	1858	70		..
Two million	1877	19		3.7
Three million	1889	12		3.4
Four million	1905	16		1.8
Five million	1918	13		1.7
Six million	1925	7		2.6
Seven million	1939	14		1.1
Eight million	1949 (November)	10		1.3
Nine million	1954 (August)	4	9	2.5
Ten million	1959 (March)	4	7	2.3
Eleven million	1963 (December)	4	9	2.0
Eleven million	1963 (October)	..	..	..
Twelve million	1968 (June)	4	8	1.9
Thirteen million	1972 (September)	4	3	1.9
Thirteen million	1971 (March)	..	..	..
Fourteen million	1976 (March)	5	—	1.5
Fifteen million	1981 (October)	5	7	1.2
Sixteen million	1986 (June)	4	8	1.3

(a) For population estimation purposes, estimates prior to 1961 exclude full-blood Aboriginals. Estimates for dates earlier than the 1971 Census are based on census counts (actual location) and contain no adjustments for census under-enumeration. Estimates for 1971 and subsequent years are estimated resident population. The attainment of the eleventh million is shown both excluding and including full-blood Aboriginals and the attainment of the thirteenth million is shown both on an actual location basis and an estimated resident population basis.

POPULATION INCREASE AND COMPONENTS OF INCREASE, 1861 - 1985



Note: Full-blood Aborigines excluded prior to 1961. Deaths and migration of troops excluded during 1939-1947. Break in continuity of total increase between 1966-70 and 1971-75 due to the introduction of the estimated resident population series. Commencing 1971, the total increase includes an adjustment for intercensal discrepancy. Commencing 1976, net migration includes an adjustment for 'category jumping', persons whose duration of stay (category) differs from their stated intention at the time of arrival or departure.

The population of Australia now exceeds 16 million. The increase from 15 to 16 million took approximately 4 years and 10 months, compared with the 70 years it took to reach the first million, achieved in 1858, and the 19 years to reach the second million in 1877. The shortest period for a population growth of 1 million was 4 years and 3 months, when the population reached 13 million in 1972. The previous table shows the growth of the Australian population since European settlement and clearly indicates the variety in growth rates.

Since 1788, four periods in particular experienced high rates of growth. The first of these occurred during the gold rush of the 1850s, when the population doubled from 0.5 million in 1852 to 1 million in 1858. Subsequent economic diversification and pastoral expansion led to the second period of rapid population growth during the prosperity of the 1850s, when the population increased by 1 million in the 12 years between 1877 and 1889, with average annual growth rates of 3.4 per cent.

Both the third and fourth phases of rapid growth occurred during the present century, after World War I and World War II respectively. Between 1918 and 1925, the population grew by 1 million, with average annual growth rates rising from 1.7 per cent in the pre-war period to 2.6 per cent during 1918–25, before falling to 1.1 per cent during the economic depression of the 1930s. The boom in population growth after World War II continued until the early 1970s, with annual growth rates averaging 2.1 per cent between 1946 and 1970. After reaching 8 million in 1949 the addition of each successive million took less than 5 years and, in 1972, the population stood at 13 million.

Until the 1860s, net migration was the major component of population growth, but since that time natural increase has been the dominant factor, providing 69.3 per cent of the increase between 1861 and 1985. Nevertheless, the importance of natural increase to population growth was greater during the period prior to World War II, contributing 83.3 per cent of total increase between 1901 and 1945, but only 62.4 per cent between 1946 and 1985.

Changes to the level of net migration have influenced the rate of population growth. Periods of rapid growth have included a large net migration component, 73.0 per cent in the 1850s, 40.1 per cent in the 1880s, 31.0 per cent in the first half of the 1920s and 39.1 per cent between 1946 and 1970. Conversely, the rate of population increase has fallen when net migration levels have dropped—during the economic depressions of the 1890s and 1930s, both World War I and World War II and, more recently, during the recession of the 1970s.

During the 1970s, population growth slowed as both net migration and natural increase declined, with average annual growth rates falling from 1.9 per cent at the end of the 1960s to 1.2 per cent between 1976–81. Natural increase stabilised more recently, while net migration generally increased and average annual growth rates have increased slightly in the 1980s to 1.4 per cent.

## Population Distribution

The population of Australia is concentrated in capital and other major cities, mainly on the south and east coasts of the continent. This results from a variety of factors including climate, physical characteristics of the continent, changing agricultural practices, exploitation of mineral resources and personal preference.

Historically the Australian colonies relied on shipping as a major form of transportation, both between themselves and with Britain. Subsequent economic developments throughout the 19th century, such as the development of an export economy based on wool, gold and wheat, together with a continuing dependence on imports, ensured the predominance of capital cities located on or close to coastal ports.

The tendency of settlement to concentrate along the coastal strip was exacerbated initially by difficulties in traversing the coastal range of New South Wales. The arid nature of

much of inland Australia militated against the viability of small-scale intensive farming techniques beyond the coastal areas.

In 1850, some 80.0 per cent of the population was estimated to be living in the older settlements of New South Wales and Tasmania, with most of the remaining population residing in South Australia. However, the gold discoveries of the 1850s attracted a wave of overseas migrants to the south-eastern corner of the continent, particularly to the Victorian goldfields. This pattern of settlement has continued since that time. In 1987, 62.0 per cent of the Australian population was living in New South Wales, Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory. The Australian Capital Territory had the highest population density of the States and Territories at 110.9 persons per square kilometre, followed by Victoria at 18.5 and New South Wales at 7.0. These figures contrast sharply with densities in Western Australia and the Northern Territory of 0.6 and 0.1 persons per square kilometre respectively.

#### POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA, STATES AND TERRITORIES(a)

Date		NSW	Vic.	Qld	SA	WA	Tas.	NT	ACT	Aust.
1828—	November	36,598	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1833—	2 September	60,794	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1836—	2 September	77,096	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1841—	2 March	130,856	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	27 September	..	..	..	..	..	50,216	..	..	..
1844—	26 February	..	..	..	17,366	..	..	..	..	..
1846—	26 February	..	..	..	22,390	..	..	..	..	..
	2 March	189,609	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1847—	31 December	..	..	..	..	..	70,164	..	..	..
1848—	10 October	..	..	..	..	4,622	..	..	..	..
1851—	1 January	..	..	..	63,700	..	..	..	..	..
	1 March	268,344	..	..	..	..	70,130	..	..	..
1854—	26 April	..	(b)234,298	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	30 September	..	..	..	..	11,743	..	..	..	..
1855—	31 March	..	..	..	85,821	..	..	..	..	..
1856—	1 March	269,722	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1857—	29 March	..	408,998	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	31 March	..	..	..	..	..	81,492	..	..	..
1859—	31 December	..	..	..	..	14,837	..	..	..	..
1861—	7 April	350,860	538,628	(b)30,059	126,830	..	89,977	..	..	..
1864—	1 January	..	..	61,467	..	..	..	..	..	..
1866—	26 March	..	..	..	163,452	..	..	..	..	..
1868—	2 March	..	..	99,901	..	..	..	..	..	..
1870—	7 February	..	..	..	..	..	99,328	..	..	..
	31 March	..	..	..	..	24,785	..	..	..	..
1871—	2 April	502,998	730,198	..	185,626	..	..	..	..	..
	1 September	..	..	120,104	..	..	..	..	..	..
1876—	26 March	..	..	..	213,271	..	..	..	..	..
	1 May	..	..	173,283	..	..	..	..	..	..
1881—	3 April	749,825	861,566	213,525	276,414	29,708	115,705	(c)3,451	..	2,250,194
5 April 1891		1,127,137	1,140,088	393,718	315,533	49,782	146,667	4,898	..	3,177,823
31 March 1901		1,354,846	1,201,070	498,129	358,346	184,124	172,475	4,811	..	3,773,801
3 April 1911		1,646,734	1,315,551	605,813	408,558	282,114	191,211	3,310	(b)1,714	4,455,005
4 April 1921		2,100,371	1,531,280	755,972	495,160	332,732	213,780	3,867	2,572	5,435,734
30 June 1933		2,600,847	1,820,261	947,534	580,949	438,852	227,599	4,850	8,947	6,629,839
30 June 1947		2,984,838	2,054,701	1,106,415	646,073	502,480	257,078	10,868	16,905	7,579,358
30 June 1954		3,423,529	2,452,341	1,318,259	797,094	639,771	308,752	16,469	30,315	8,986,530
30 June 1961		3,917,013	2,930,113	1,518,828	969,340	736,629	350,340	27,095	58,828	10,508,186
30 June 1966		4,237,901	3,220,217	1,674,324	1,094,984	848,100	371,436	56,504	96,032	11,599,498
30 June 1971		4,725,503	3,601,352	1,851,485	1,200,114	1,053,834	398,073	85,735	151,169	13,067,265
30 June 1976		4,959,588	3,810,426	2,092,375	1,274,070	1,178,342	412,314	98,228	207,740	14,033,083
30 June 1981		5,234,889	3,946,917	2,345,208	1,318,769	1,300,056	427,224	122,616	227,581	14,923,260
30 June 1986		5,531,526	4,160,856	2,624,595	1,382,550	1,459,019	446,473	154,421	258,910	16,018,350
30 June 1987		5,612,244	4,208,946	2,676,765	1,394,154	1,500,507	447,941	156,674	266,088	16,263,319

(a) Figures prior to 1971 are census counts. The estimates from June 1971 are estimated resident populations at census dates. Figures prior to 1966 exclude full-blood Aborigines. (b) Previously included with New South Wales. (c) Previously included with South Australia.

Discovery and exploitation of mineral resources have not only encouraged immigration from overseas, but have affected the distribution of population internally. Discoveries of gold in Queensland in the 1870s and Western Australia in the 1890s encouraged interstate migration from the south-eastern States, and particularly from Victoria and South Australia during the economic recession of the 1890s. This pattern of interstate migration to Queensland and Western Australia was repeated during the 1960s mineral boom in those States. However, the rank order of the States by population numbers in 1901 (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania) remained the same until 1982 when the population of Western Australia surpassed that of South Australia.

In June 1987, 70.5 per cent of the Australian population lived in the combined State capitals, the national capital and Darwin, and four other major cities of 100,000 or more persons (capital city statistical divisions and statistical districts). Although urban populations are not strictly comparable due to changes in classification, the proportions of New South Wales and Victorian populations residing in the metropolitan areas of Sydney and Melbourne at the 1871 Census were 26.7 per cent and 28.9 per cent respectively, while one hundred years later these proportions were estimated to be 63.8 per cent and 71.5 per cent.

Between 1921 and 1947, 71.1 per cent of the intercensal population increase was within capital cities, and this proportion increased to 81.0 per cent between 1947 and 1981. With the continuing development of urban industrialisation in the 20th century, capital cities have been the consistent choice for settlement of the majority of overseas immigrants, as well as receiving centres in the general internal trend towards rural to urban migration which persisted until recent times. This trend was already established by the 1890s as changing technological and marketing conditions associated with agricultural practices reduced the potential for labour force absorption to below the level of natural increase. By the 1930s, the population in rural areas had declined, not only as a proportion of the total population, but also in absolute numbers.

**URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AT SELECTED CENSUS DATES,  
AUSTRALIA(a)  
(per cent(b))**

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>Viç.</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>SA</i>	<i>WA</i>	<i>Tas.</i>	<i>NT</i>	<i>ACT</i>	<i>Aust.</i>
<b>URBAN</b>									
1921	67.8	62.3	52.1	60.0	59.3	50.5	36.2	—	62.1
1947	71.9	71.0	59.7	69.4	64.6	58.9	23.4	89.7	68.7
1954	82.6	81.3	73.0	74.5	71.0	65.9	65.9	93.3	78.7
1961	85.1	84.8	75.9	78.8	73.2	70.4	39.6	96.0	81.7
1966	86.4	85.5	76.4	82.4	75.7	70.3	53.4	96.1	82.9
1971	88.6	87.7	79.4	84.6	81.5	74.2	64.1	97.8	85.6
1976	88.7	87.9	80.2	84.9	83.5	74.9	66.4	98.4	86.0
1981	88.2	87.8	79.1	84.9	84.6	75.1	74.2	99.0	85.7
1986	87.9	88.1	78.9	84.6	84.7	74.5	72.0	99.1	85.4
<b>RURAL</b>									
1921	31.6	37.3	47.5	39.4	39.1	49.2	62.1	99.7	37.4
1947	27.9	28.9	40.1	30.3	34.9	40.9	75.4	10.4	31.1
1954	17.2	18.4	26.8	25.2	28.7	33.9	32.7	6.7	21.0
1961	14.6	15.0	24.0	20.8	26.4	29.4	59.9	4.0	18.1
1966	13.4	14.4	23.5	17.5	23.9	29.6	46.1	3.9	16.9
1971	11.3	12.2	20.4	15.3	18.2	25.7	35.4	2.2	14.3
1976	11.1	12.1	19.7	15.0	16.3	24.9	33.0	1.6	13.9
1981	11.8	12.1	20.8	15.1	15.3	24.8	25.3	1.0	14.2
1986	12.0	11.9	21.0	15.3	15.0	25.4	27.8	0.9	14.5

(a) Census counts by State of enumeration. Excludes full-blood Aborigines prior to 1961. (b) Urban and rural proportions do not add up to 100 per cent as the proportion of migratory population is not included.

Between the 1976 and 1986 Censuses, the proportion of the population living in rural areas actually increased from 13.9 per cent to 14.5 per cent, while the proportion of State populations living in the capital cities of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane declined slightly. Parallel with this has been an emerging trend since the 1970s towards selective rapid growth of smaller coastal towns in Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria which have favoured the development of retirement, recreation and tourist amenities.

#### POPULATION OF CAPITAL CITIES, AUSTRALIA

	1921(a)	1947(a)	1961(a)	1971(a)	1976(b)	1981(b)	1986(b)
POPULATION (PERSONS)							
Sydney	899,059	1,484,004	2,183,704	2,935,937	3,143,750	3,279,500	3,472,700
Melbourne	766,465	1,226,409	1,914,011	2,503,022	2,723,700	2,806,300	2,931,900
Brisbane	209,946	402,030	621,770	869,579	1,000,850	1,096,200	1,196,000
Adelaide	255,375	382,454	588,093	842,693	924,060	(c)954,300	(c)1,003,800
Perth	154,873	272,528	420,283	703,199	832,760	922,040	1,050,400
Hobart	52,361	76,534	115,932	153,216	164,400	171,110	179,000
Darwin (d)	1,399	2,538	12,326	38,885	44,232	56,478	74,800
Canberra (e)	3,873	20,189	65,896	159,003	226,450	246,500	281,000
(f)	2,048	15,156	56,449	142,925	206,550	226,450	257,850
<b>Total (e)</b>	<b>2,343,351</b>	<b>3,866,686</b>	<b>5,922,015</b>	<b>8,205,534</b>	<b>9,060,202</b>	<b>9,532,428</b>	<b>10,189,600</b>
PROPORTION OF STATE POPULATION (PER CENT)							
Sydney	42.8	49.7	55.7	63.8	63.4	62.7	62.8
Melbourne	50.1	59.7	65.3	71.5	71.5	71.1	70.1
Brisbane	27.8	36.3	40.7	47.6	47.8	46.7	45.6
Adelaide	51.6	59.2	60.5	71.8	72.5	72.3	72.6
Perth	46.6	54.2	56.3	68.2	70.7	70.9	72.0
Hobart	24.5	29.8	33.1	39.2	39.9	40.1	40.1
Darwin (d)	36.2	23.4	27.7	45.0	45.0	46.1	48.4
Canberra (e)	79.7	89.7	96.0	99.2	99.4	99.5	99.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>43.1</b>	<b>51.0</b>	<b>56.1</b>	<b>64.3</b>	<b>64.6</b>	<b>63.9</b>	<b>63.6</b>

(a) Census counts actual location (not adjusted for under-enumeration). (b) Estimated resident population at 30 June. (c) Estimate based on Statistical Division boundary as redefined at 30 June 1985. (d) Urban area for years 1920 to 1961, Darwin Statistical Division for years 1971 onwards. (e) Includes Queanbeyan urban area for years 1921 and 1947, Canberra Statistical District for years 1961 onwards. (f) Excluding Queanbeyan.

### Age/Sex Profile

During the early years of European settlement the age/sex profile of the non-Aboriginal population was highly irregular, consisting predominantly of young adult males. Although efforts were made from the 1830s to assist families and young single women to migrate to Australia, the gold discoveries of the 1850s and the high rates of economic growth which followed until the late 1880s encouraged the continuance of migration in which males predominated. Net migration figures from 1861 to 1900 show that males outnumbered females almost 2 to 1.

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, however, rises in natural increase ensured a decline in the overall sex ratio, particularly among the younger age groups. At the 1881 Census, for example, the overall sex ratio was 121 males for every 100 females but stood at 143 for those aged 25 and over and 103 for those under 25 years. The sex ratio continued to decline until after World War II when the male dominated overseas migration intake reversed this trend.

**SEX RATIOS, AGE DISTRIBUTION AND MEDIAN AGES OF THE POPULATION  
AUSTRALIA**

<i>Sex ratios (a)—</i>					
<i>Census</i>	<i>Ages 15-25</i>	<i>Ages 15-44</i>	<i>All ages</i>	<i>Aust. born</i>	<i>O' seas born</i>
1861	n.a.	n.a.	137.1	(b)101.1	(b)169.4
1871	n.a.	n.a.	120.7	(b)101.7	(b)149.0
1881	103.9	118.7	120.8	100.8	153.3
1891	104.8	119.9	115.9	101.4	155.5
1901	101.1	110.4	110.1	100.5	151.3
1911	104.0	106.7	108.0	100.7	152.0
1921	98.9	100.3	103.4	98.6	134.2
1933	103.1	103.2	103.2	99.0	135.0
1947	101.3	101.9	100.4	97.8	127.5
1954	106.2	106.2	102.4	98.1	132.7
1961	106.4	106.7	102.2	98.2	124.7
1966	104.8	106.0	101.4	98.0	117.9
1971	104.4	105.6	101.1	98.0	114.3
1976	102.8	104.3	100.4	97.8	109.5
1981	103.3	103.4	99.6	97.4	107.5
1986	104.1	103.1	99.7	98.1	106.2
1987	104.0	102.9	99.7	98.1	105.8

<i>Per cent of population aged—</i>					
<i>Census</i>	<i>0-14</i>	<i>15-44</i>	<i>45-64</i>	<i>65+</i>	<i>Median ages(c)</i>
1861	36.3	}	62.7	{	n.a.
1871	42.1		56.2		n.a.
1881	38.9	45.5	13.0	2.2	20.1
1891	36.9	47.8	12.3	2.9	21.7
1901	35.1	48.8	12.0	4.0	22.5
1911	31.7	49.1	14.9	4.3	24.0
1921	31.7	46.9	17.0	4.4	25.8
1933	27.5	47.4	18.6	6.5	27.7
1947	25.1	45.6	21.3	8.0	30.7
1954	28.5	43.1	20.0	8.3	30.2
1961	30.2	41.4	19.9	8.5	29.4
1966	29.4	42.2	19.9	8.5	28.2
1971	28.7	43.0	20.0	8.3	27.5
1976	27.0	44.1	20.0	8.9	28.4
1981	25.0	46.1	19.2	9.7	29.6
1986	23.1	47.3	19.1	10.5	31.1
1987	22.6	47.6	19.0	10.7	31.3

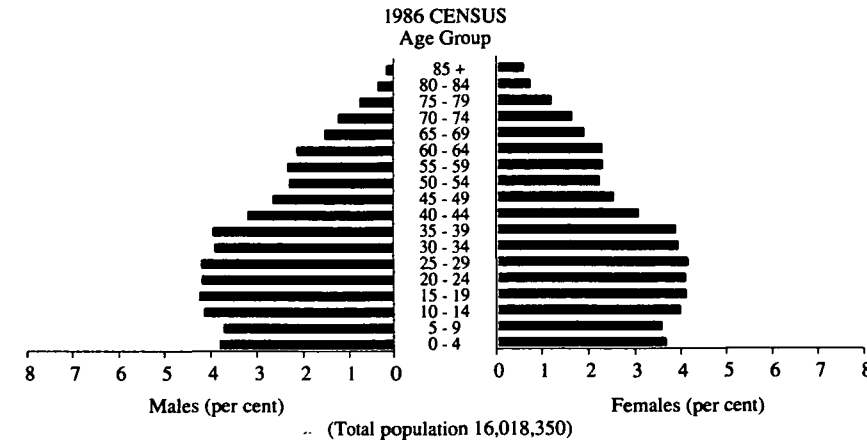
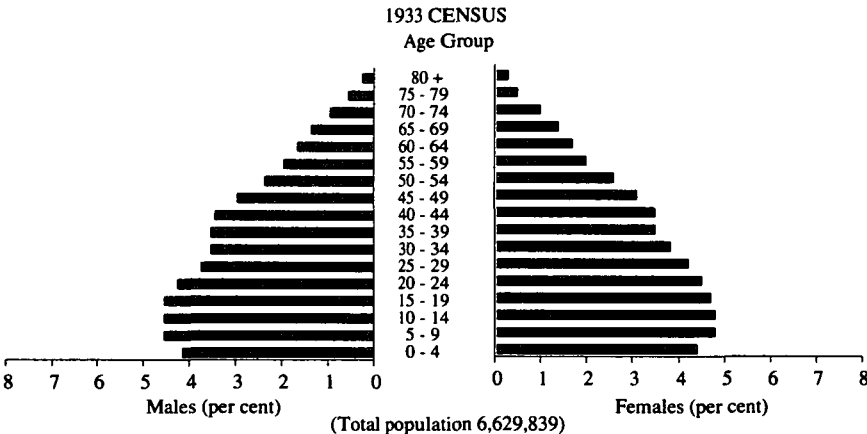
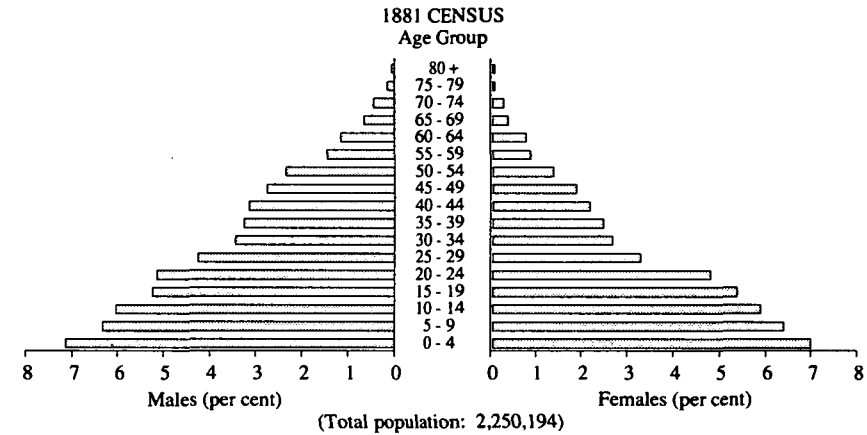
(a) Males per 100 females. (b) Figures for birthplace not available for Tasmania, therefore excluded from sex ratios for Australian-born and Overseas-born. (c) The median age is the age at which half of the population is older and half is younger.

While the overall sex ratio remained around 102 during the 1950s and 1960s, for the 15-44 year age group the ratio was 106 or more. Both began to fall during the 1970s as migration rates declined and the composition of the migrant intake changed. By 1981, the female population of Australia exceeded the male population, with the sex ratio indicating a definite female bias in the older age groups.

Comparison of the 1881 and 1986 age pyramids clearly shows the extent to which the Australian population has 'aged' during the last 105 years. At the 1881 Census, the median age was 20.1 years. By 1986 it had reached 31.1 years and rose to 31.3 years in 1987. It is projected to increase to between 35.0 and 35.8 years by 2001. Similarly, the proportion of the population aged 65 years and over has increased from 2.2 per cent in 1881 to 10.5 per cent in 1986 and to 10.7 per cent in 1987 while the proportion aged less than 15 years fell from 38.9 per cent to 23.1 per cent and to 22.6 per cent at the same dates.



POPULATION AGE PYRAMIDS, AUSTRALIA



The change in the age structure over the last century has been due to improvements in life expectancy, and declines in the birth rate, both of which have increased the median age of the population. Declines in fertility are particularly indicated by the undercutting at the base of the age pyramids for 1933 and 1986 in the under 5 age group.

Nevertheless, the trend towards ageing of the population has not been uniform throughout the last century. High levels of migration and rising numbers of births during the 1950s and 1960s both contributed to a temporary decline in the median age, from 30.7 years in 1947 to 27.5 years in 1971, while the proportion aged under 15 increased from 25.1 per cent in 1947 to 30.2 per cent in 1961, as indicated in the previous table.

Rapid declines in fertility and, to a lesser extent, mortality, have contributed significantly to the ageing of the population in the 1970s and 1980s. However, the increase in migration flows as well as emphasis on family migration, have tended to delay this process.

## Marital Status

Marriage laws were first enacted in the Australian colonies from the late 1830s. Following Federation the Commonwealth Parliament was given power to legislate concerning marriage, divorce and matrimonial causes. Subsequent amendments were made to the Marriage Act in 1961.

The Marriage Act makes provision, on a uniform basis, in respect of prohibited relations, other grounds for void marriages, legitimization, marriage overseas and premarital education. Dissolution of marriage was covered by separate State and Territory legislation until 1961 when the *Matrimonial Causes Act 1959-66* came into operation. The *Family Law Act 1975* which replaced the Matrimonial Causes Act, came into operation on 5 January 1976 and provides for a single ground for divorce—irretrievable breakdown of marriage—and for nullity of marriage on the ground that the marriage is void.

A major factor influencing marriage rates and therefore the marital status of the population in the first century of European settlement was the availability of partners and, in particular, the sex ratio at marriageable ages.

At the 1851 Census, the New South Wales Statistician reported that 77 per cent of women aged 20 and over in the colony were married, compared with 57 per cent in Great Britain. However, proportions for men aged 20 and over showed 49 per cent married in New South Wales compared with 62 per cent in Great Britain. By the time of the 1881 Census, the proportion of males aged 15 and over ever-married in Australia was 47 per cent compared with 63 per cent of women. The proportion of women never-marrying was lower than for men in every age group, with only 6.6 per cent of women remaining unmarried at ages 40-44 compared with 30.6 per cent of men.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the pattern of high incidence of marriage for women began to change. A number of factors combined to reduce the availability of marriage partners for women, particularly in south-east Australia. Overseas migration virtually ceased during the economic depression of the 1890s and sex ratios for the 15-24 year-olds began to fall, the numbers of males and females being close to equal by 1901. Moreover, the geographical distribution of the sexes differed, with men leaving the south-eastern States in search of work, particularly in the Western Australian goldfields. By 1901 the sex ratio for the 15-24 year-olds was below 100 in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia, varying throughout Australia between 93 in Victoria to 144 in Western Australia.

In the years following the 1881 Census, the proportion of males who had never married by ages 40-44 declined continually at every census date to about 10 per cent in 1981. For women of the same age group, however, the proportions who never married increased until the 1921 Census, peaking at 17.7 per cent, and did not decline to the low rates of 1881 until 1961. The overall extent of the decline in proportions never-married during the last century has thus been greater for men than for women.

Part of the decline in proportions of never married following the 1933 Census can be accounted for by marriages deferred during the economic depression, but more importantly, there was a shift to marrying at an earlier age.

By 1971, only 10 per cent of men and 5 per cent of women aged 40-44 had never married. Since the 1970s there has been a reversal of these previous trends. The increasing proportions of never married for both sexes in the younger age groups since 1971 can be seen in the above graph. In the decade and a half between 1971 and 1986 there has been an increase in the proportions of never married in the 20-24 year age group by 20 percentage points for males and 28 percentage points for females. At the time of the 1986 Census, the proportions never married had increased for both sexes at most ages between 15 and 40 years, suggesting that there is likely to be an overall increase in the proportions who will ultimately never marry.

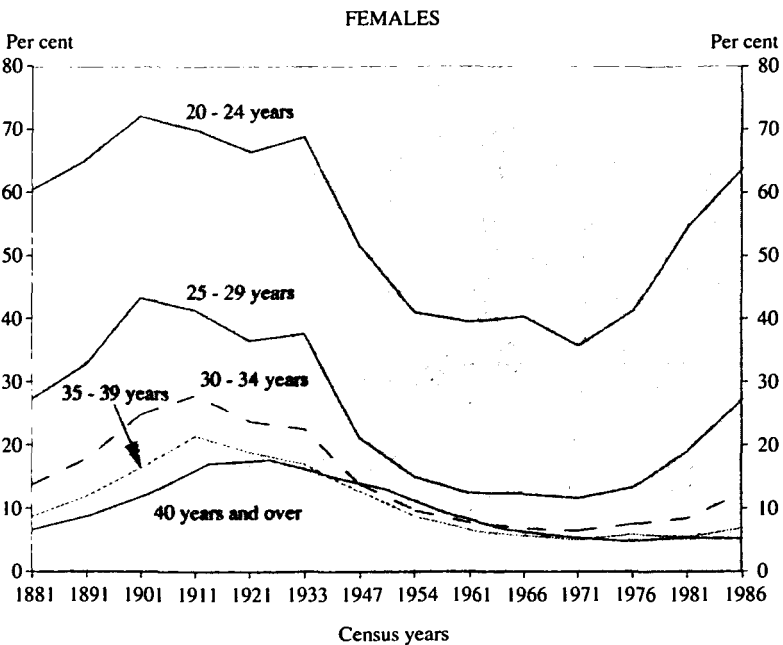
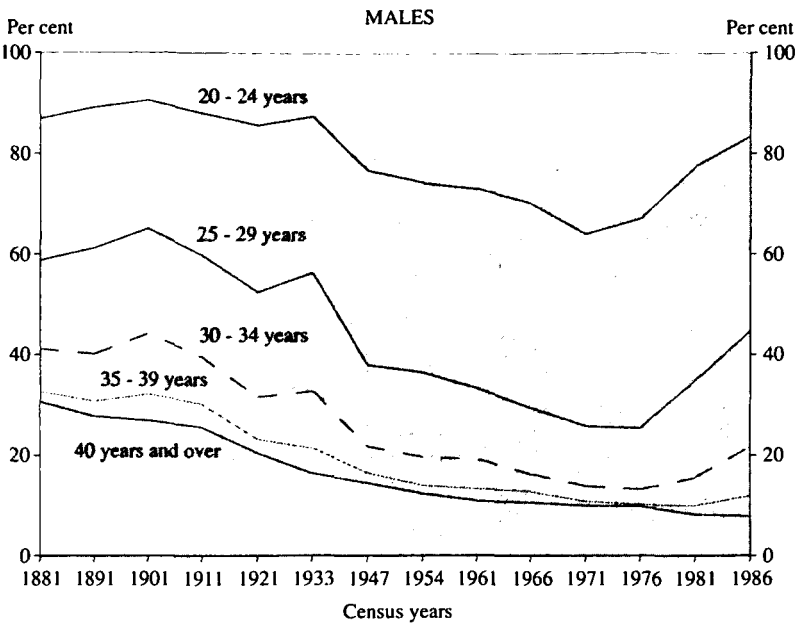
Two changes are noticeable within the distribution of the ever-married population. Firstly, there has been a gradual increase in the proportion of divorced persons since 1901 with a more noticeable increase since 1976 following reforms to the Family Law Act in 1975 (see also Vital Statistics Section on divorce). Secondly, while the proportion of widows has increased since the turn of the century, the proportion of widowers has declined. This change needs to be set in the context of improvements to life expectancy and falls in death rates which have been greater for females than males since 1901, thus increasing the likelihood that married women will survive their husbands.

**POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER: MARITAL STATUS BY SEX(a), AUSTRALIA**  
(per cent)

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Never married</i>		<i>Married</i>		<i>Married but permanently separated</i>		<i>Divorced</i>		<i>Widowed</i>	
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
1881	53.0	37.0	43.0	54.7	..	..	..	..	4.0	8.4
1891	52.9	38.0	42.8	53.1	..	..	..	..	4.3	8.8
1901	52.1	40.5	43.5	50.0	..	..	0.1	0.1	4.4	9.4
1911	49.7	40.2	46.2	50.8	..	..	0.2	0.2	4.0	8.9
1921	42.5	35.6	52.9	54.8	..	..	0.2	0.2	3.9	9.0
1933	41.7	34.9	53.3	54.6	..	..	0.4	0.5	4.0	9.7
1947	32.8	26.3	59.8	59.2	2.1	2.4	0.9	1.0	4.0	10.9
1954	29.7	21.5	63.7	64.1	1.8	2.1	1.0	1.2	3.5	11.0
1961	29.8	21.1	64.2	64.3	1.9	2.2	1.1	1.2	3.2	11.2
1966	30.6	22.1	63.6	63.2	1.8	2.1	1.1	1.3	3.0	11.4
1971	29.3	20.7	66.5	66.3	1.9	2.1	1.4	1.6	2.9	11.4
1976	29.1	21.1	66.3	62.6	2.3	2.8	2.0	2.5	2.6	11.3
1981	30.9	22.9	63.3	61.6	2.4	2.3	3.3	4.1	2.5	11.1
1986	32.5	24.4	58.6	57.1	2.4	2.8	4.2	5.1	2.4	10.6

(a) Not-stated marital status for 1921, 1933, 1947 and 1954 were: 1921, males 0.5 per cent, females 0.3 per cent; 1933, males 0.6 per cent, females 0.3 per cent; 1947, males 0.4 per cent, females 0.4 per cent; 1954, males 0.3 per cent, females 0.2 per cent. Proportions may not total 100 per cent due to rounding. Figures for 'Married but Permanently Separated' included with 'Married' until 1947 Census and 'Divorced' unavailable prior to 1901 Census.

PROPORTION OF PERSONS NEVER MARRIED, CENSUS DATES, AUSTRALIA



## Birthplace

After the arrival of European settlers and the numerical decline of the Aboriginal population, the British rapidly became the most populous birthplace group in Australia. However, by the 1860s, natural increase had become the major component in population growth and by the 1870s, the majority of the population were born in Australia. Thereafter, the overseas-born declined as a proportion of the total population until after World War II, when there was a reversal of the trend. In 1881, the overseas-born comprised 36.8 per cent of the population; by 1947 this had fallen to 9.8 per cent while numbers declined from over 1,000,000 at the 1891 Census, following the immigration boom of the 1880s, to 744,200. By 1986, however, the overseas-born had increased to 20.8 per cent of the total population, numbering 3,247,381.

### MAJOR BIRTHPLACE GROUPS, AUSTRALIA, SELECTED CENSUS DATES

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1947</i>	<i>1954</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1986</i>
				—number—			
Africa	(a)	2,869	7,537	15,826	61,935	90,237	108,547
America	(a)	12,507	11,630	14,496	55,752	96,247	116,459
Asia	(a)	47,014	24,096	51,581	167,226	371,588	536,152
Europe	(a)	753,832	651,606	1,155,064	2,196,478	2,232,718	2,221,802
UK and Eire	689,642	679,159	541,267	664,205	1,088,210	1,132,601	1,127,196
Germany	(a)	38,352	14,567	65,422	110,811	110,758	114,810
Greece	(a)	878	12,291	25,862	160,200	146,625	137,637
Italy	(a)	5,678	33,632	119,897	289,476	275,883	261,878
Yugoslavia	(a)	(b)	5,866	22,856	129,816	149,335	150,040
Other Europe	(a)	29,765	43,983	256,822	417,965	417,516	430,241
New Zealand	(a)	25,788	43,610	43,350	80,466	176,713	211,670
Other	137,827	15,566	5,708	6,149	17,461	36,331	52,751
Overseas	827,469	857,576	744,187	1,286,466	2,579,318	3,003,834	3,247,381
Australia	1,422,725	2,908,303	6,835,171	7,700,064	10,176,320	11,393,861	12,110,456
Not stated	..	7,922	..	..	..	178,635	244,319
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,250,194</b>	<b>3,773,801</b>	<b>7,579,358</b>	<b>8,986,530</b>	<b>12,755,638</b>	<b>14,576,330</b>	<b>15,602,156</b>
				— per cent —			
Africa	(a)	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.7
America	(a)	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.7	0.7
Asia	(a)	1.2	0.3	0.6	1.3	2.5	3.4
Europe	(a)	20.0	8.6	12.9	17.2	15.3	14.2
UK and Eire	30.6	18.0	7.1	7.4	8.5	7.8	7.2
Germany	(a)	1.0	0.2	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.7
Greece	(a)	(b)	0.2	0.3	1.3	1.0	0.9
Italy	(a)	0.2	0.4	1.3	2.3	1.9	1.7
Yugoslavia	(a)	(b)	0.1	0.3	1.0	1.0	1.0
Other Europe	(a)	0.8	0.6	2.9	3.3	2.9	2.8
New Zealand	(a)	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.6	1.2	1.4
Other	6.1	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3
Overseas	36.8	22.7	9.8	14.3	20.2	20.6	20.8
Australia	63.2	77.1	90.2	85.7	79.8	78.2	77.6
Not stated	..	0.2	..	..	..	1.2	1.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a) Included in 'other', except for UK and Eire. (b) Included in 'Other Europe'. Percentage distribution may not equal totals due to rounding error.

The composition of the overseas-born population between 1788 and 1947 remained predominantly British, although the gold rush in the 1850s encouraged the proliferation of a wider range of nationalities. For example, in Victoria non-British subjects increased from 1,500 to 46,000 between the 1851 and 1861 Censuses and one man in five was estimated to be Chinese at some of the gold diggings.

This diversification was short-lived. Many of the miners were transients who subsequently left for the New Zealand goldfields, while restrictive immigration practices imposed during

the second half of the 19th century, curtailed Chinese and other non-European migration. By the 1891 Census, following high levels of immigration during the 1880s, 81.7 per cent of the overseas-born were from the United Kingdom and Ireland, comprising 25.7 per cent of the Australian population at the time, while the other larger birthplace groups—Germany and China—comprised only 1.4 per cent and 1.1 per cent of the Australian population respectively.

With the adoption of the 'White Australia' policy after Federation, and emphasis on United Kingdom migration throughout the first half of this century, the extent of representation of other overseas birthplace groups in the Australian population diminished further. By 1947, 97.9 per cent of the Australian population were either born in Australia or the United Kingdom, Ireland or New Zealand. The largest non-British overseas-born group, the Italians, comprised only 0.4 per cent of the population (33,600), while the number of overseas-born Chinese had fallen from 36,000 in 1891 to 6,400 by 1947.

Since 1947, not only has the decline of the overseas-born population been reversed, significant changes have taken place in the composition of that group. The progressive removal of immigration restrictions based on country of origin, race or colour between 1949 and 1973, together with the extension of assisted migration schemes to some non-British groups and refugees, have ensured a greater diversity of ethnic origin among the Australian population (*see also* section on Overseas Migration). The relative size of overseas-born groups from the United Kingdom, Eire and New Zealand combined, increased only slightly as a proportion of the total population between 1947 and 1986, from 7.7 per cent to 8.6 per cent. However, overseas-born persons from other countries increased from 2.1 per cent to 13.8 per cent during the same period. Overseas birthplace groups comprising 0.1 per cent or more of the total population—apart from the United Kingdom, Eire and New Zealand—increased in number from 4 in 1947 to over 30 in 1986.

The largest overseas-born group at the present time remains those born in the United Kingdom and Ireland, having more than doubled in number from 541,300 to 1,127,200 between 1947 and 1986. By comparison, the second largest overseas-born group, Italians, comprised only 1.7 per cent of the Australian population in 1986 (261,900). Eight of the first nine large overseas-born groups are European, the exception being New Zealand which comprised 1.4 per cent of the population and ranked third after Italy in 1986. Although Europe remains the region of origin of the majority of the overseas-born population, European-born persons declined as a proportion of the total Australian population between 1971 and 1986, while persons born in other regions increased their share. Between 1971 and 1986, the European-born population increased by only 39,000 compared with an increase of 369,000 in the Asian-born group.

The proportion of the Australian population born in Asia has increased continually from 0.3 per cent in 1947 to 3.4 per cent in 1986. As recently as 1966, however, only two Asian birthplace groups had populations amounting to more than 0.1 per cent of the Australian population, namely China and India. By 1986 this number had increased to twelve. Sources of the largest Asian-born populations in 1986 were Vietnam (83,040), Lebanon (56,340), India (47,820) and Malaysia (47,800), comprising 0.5, 0.4, 0.3, and 0.3 per cent of the Australian population respectively.

In 1986, 77.6 per cent of the population was born in Australia. Of these, 74.9 per cent reported Australia as the birthplace of both their parents. This implies that 58.1 per cent of the total population of Australia are at least second generation Australians. A further 13.7 per cent of the Australian-born population (10.6 per cent of the total population) had one parent born in Australia. Conversely, 41.9 per cent of the total population were either born overseas or had at least one parent born overseas,

#### BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS OF AUSTRALIAN-BORN PERSONS, AUSTRALIA, CENSUS 1986

<i>Birthplace of parents</i>	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Both parents born in Australia	9,070,739	74.9
1 parent born in Australia, 1 born overseas or not stated	1,657,548	13.7
Other	1,382,169	11.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>12,110,456</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Citizenship

The grant of citizenship is controlled by the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*. Prior to 26 January 1949, aliens who were naturalised became British subjects and, with the introduction of the Act, all such persons automatically became Australian citizens.

Citizenship may be acquired by birth in Australia provided that at the time of birth one of the parents is an Australian citizen or legal resident of Australia, by birth abroad to an Australian parent, or by grant of citizenship to a person resident in Australia under conditions prescribed in the Act. All persons are now eligible for the grant of Australian citizenship provided that they have resided in Australia for at least two years, are of good character, have an adequate knowledge of English and of the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, and intend to reside permanently in Australia.

At the 1981 Census, 88.7 per cent of the population were Australian citizens, with 11.9 per cent of these being born overseas. At the 1986 Census the proportion of the population with Australian citizenship was identical to the 1981 level, but the share of those born overseas increased to about 13 per cent.

### COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP, AUSTRALIA, 1981, 1986

Country	Persons		Percentage	
	1981	1986	1981	1986
Australia—				
Born in Australia	11,393,861	12,110,456	78.2	76.2
Born overseas	1,537,212	1,726,642	10.5	12.5
Other	1,413,654	1,331,335	9.7	8.5
Not Stated	231,603	433,723	1.6	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>14,576,330</b>	<b>15,602,156</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Religion

Details on religious affiliation have been collected in all Australian censuses, however since the 1933 Census, it has been clearly stated on the census form that the question on religion is not obligatory. This clarification resulted in a large increase in the numbers of people responding 'no religion' or simply not answering the question, with these responses combined increasing from 2.4 per cent in 1921 to 13.2 per cent in 1933. By 1986, 25.0 per cent of the population described themselves as either having 'no religion' or did not answer the question.

Census data show that the Australian population is predominantly Christian with the majority associating themselves with the two major groups, the Catholic Church and the Church of England (26.1 per cent and 23.9 per cent respectively at the 1986 Census).

### MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS, AUSTRALIA, SELECTED CENSUS DATES (per cent)

Year	Church of England	Catholic	Other Christian	Total Christian	Non- Christian	Not stated or No Religion	Total
1861	(a)43.9	22.3	27.4	93.6	}	6.4	100.0
1901	40.3	23.0	34.2	97.5		1.0	100.0
1921	43.7	21.6	31.7	96.9	0.7	2.4	100.0
1933	38.7	19.6	28.1	86.4	0.4	13.2	100.0
1947	39.0	20.9	28.1	88.0	0.5	11.5	100.0
1961	34.9	24.9	28.4	88.3	0.7	11.1	100.0
1971	31.0	27.0	28.2	86.2	0.8	13.1	100.0
1981	26.1	26.0	24.3	76.4	1.4	22.3	100.0
1986	23.9	26.1	23.0	73.0	2.0	25.0	100.0

(a) Includes Protestant undefined.

The remainder of the Christian population, amounting to 23 per cent of the total population at the 1986 Census, is dispersed between several other groups, with only three denominations consisting of more than 2.0 per cent of the population; the Uniting Church (7.6 per cent), Presbyterian (3.6 per cent) and Orthodox (2.7 per cent).

There has been a slight increase in the proportion of persons of non-Christian religions since 1981, from 1.4 per cent to 2.0 per cent in 1986. At the 1986 Census, Muslims comprised 35.0 per cent of the non-Christian response, Hebrews 20.0 per cent and Buddhists 25.0 per cent.

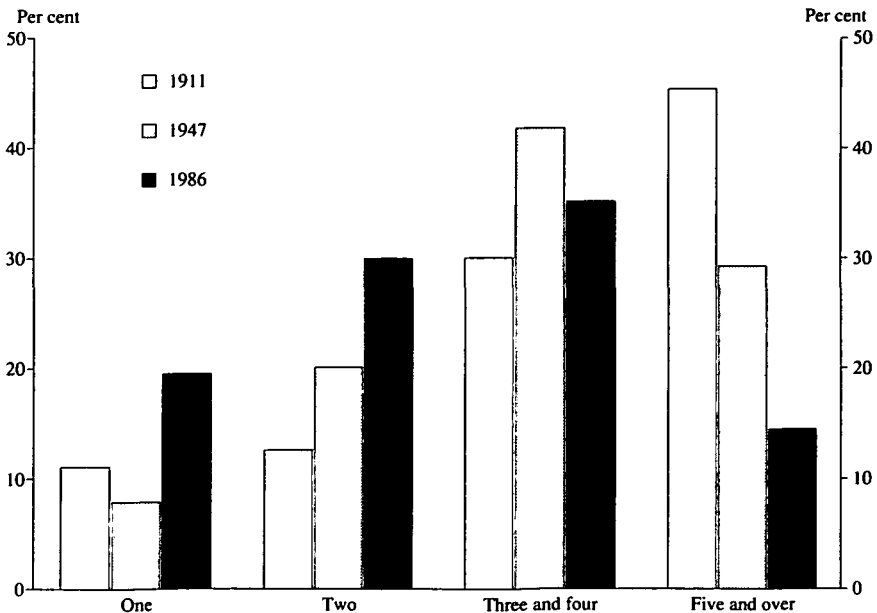
## Households

The incidence of household formation in Australia has exceeded population growth rates since 1911, with the average number of persons per household declining from 4.5 in 1911 to 2.9 in 1986. Major declines occurred throughout the period in the numbers and proportion of households with five or more persons. Much of the decline in the number of persons per household this century can be attributed to reductions in completed family size. There has been considerable growth in one and two-person households for most of this period, these households almost doubling as a proportion of all households from 24.1 per cent in 1911 to 47.2 percent by 1981 and to 49.5 per cent at the 1986 Census.

### POPULATION IN PRIVATE HOUSEHOLDS, AUSTRALIA

Year	Persons in private households	Private households	Persons per private household
1911	4,055,926	894,389	4.53
1921	4,875,428	1,107,010	4.40
1933	6,164,709	1,509,671	4.08
1947	7,026,760	1,873,623	3.75
1954	8,314,362	2,343,421	3.55
1961	9,870,494	2,781,945	3.55
1966	10,955,250	3,155,340	3.47
1971	12,155,386	3,670,554	3.31
1976	12,942,708	4,140,521	3.12
1981	13,918,445	4,668,909	2.98
1986	14,920,230	5,187,422	2.88

### PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE(a), AUSTRALIA



(a) Persons per household



The incidence of household formation and household size has been affected by social and economic factors, such as the availability of mortgage finance schemes repayable in instalments which were introduced shortly before the 1920s as well as demographic changes.

During the 1960s and 1970s, for example, there was an increase in the proportion of the population aged 15–29 years—prime years for household formation as young adults leave the parental home—from 20.6 per cent in 1961 to 25.6 per cent by 1976. This increase resulted both from high birth rates during the post World War II ‘baby boom’ years after 1947, and high rates of immigration of those aged 20–29 years during the 1960s. The rapid rise in numbers of 15–29 year olds coincided with a period of economic growth and high rates of employment until the 1970s, providing a favourable environment for household formation.

Increases in the number of households have also been affected by a complex combination of factors at older ages. The proportion of the population aged 65 years and over has increased throughout most of the last century, as a result of increases to life expectancy, while both completed family size and age at completion have generally declined. Thus, older families are likely to experience several years of ‘empty nesting’, that is, time lived in the household without dependants after children leave home. There has been a tendency for increasing numbers of older couples and older persons who are widowed, particularly females, to remain as separate households to a later age—with long-term cumulative affects on the total number of households.

Only a small proportion of households include more than one family, some 3 per cent at the 1981 Census which declined further to 2.4 per cent at the 1986 Census. The 1986 Census indicated that 47.6 per cent of total families had no dependent children and 52.4 per cent had dependent children. Among families with dependent children, 35.9 per cent had one child and 64.1 per cent had two or more dependent children. Single parent families comprised 7.9 per cent of total families and were mostly composed of parent and dependent children (76.3 per cent) and parent and other adult family member present (23.7 per cent).

#### FAMILY TYPE AND COMPOSITION, AUSTRALIA, 1986

<i>Family Type</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Families without dependent children		
Couple	1,271,872	30.6
Couple and adult family member	449,208	10.8
Related adults	258,768	6.2
Families with dependent children		
Couple and 1 dependent child	403,298	9.7
Couple and 2 or more dependent children	1,072,968	25.8
Couple and 1 dependent child and adult family member	206,496	5.0
Couple and 2 or more dependent children and adult family member	171,230	4.1
Single parent and 1 dependent child	124,166	3.0
Single parent and 2 or more dependent children	123,016	3.0
Single parent and 1 dependent child and adult family member	48,054	1.2
Single parent and 2 or more dependent children and adult family member	28,935	0.7
<b>Total families</b>	<b>4,158,011</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## VITAL STATISTICS

Registration of vital events, i.e. births, deaths and marriages, has been compulsory throughout Australia since 1856. The total number of these registrations is available for each year since the 1860s and more detailed information since the 1910s. The number of divorces has been published since 1891, but other details have been published on a consistent basis only since the 1950s.

## Births

Current fertility levels in Australia are lower than at any time since European settlement. Crude birth rates declined from 42.6 per thousand population in 1860 to 27.2 in 1901 and to 15.0 in 1987. Australia's current fertility rates, however, are higher than several other industrialised countries in Northern Europe and Japan.

### CRUDE BIRTH RATES AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, LOW FERTILITY COUNTRIES

Country	Crude birth rate		Total fertility rate (a)	
	1970	1980s	1970	1980s
Australia	20.6	15.2 (1986)	2.86	1.87 (1986)
Canada	17.4	14.8 (1985)	2.26	1.63 (1985)
Denmark	14.4	10.8 (1986p)	1.97	1.44 (1985)
France	16.7	14.1 (1986p)	2.47	1.83 (1985)
Federal Republic of Germany	13.3	10.2 (1986p)	2.01	1.30 (1985)
Japan	18.8	11.9 (1985)	2.07	1.73 (1985)
New Zealand	22.1	16.3 (1986p)	3.16	1.96 (1986)
Norway	16.6	12.6 (1986p)	2.49	1.65 (1984)
Sweden	13.7	12.2 (1986p)	1.94	1.74 (1985)
Switzerland	15.8	11.7 (1986p)	2.09	1.51 (1985p)
United Kingdom	16.2	12.9 (1984)	2.38	1.79 (1985)
United States	18.2	15.7 (1985p)	2.46	1.81 (1984)

(a) The total fertility rate is the sum of the age-specific birth rates. It represents the number of children that would be born to a female who experienced, throughout her child-bearing life, the age specific rates for the years shown.

Source: United Nations 1986 *Demographic Yearbook* New York.

Despite an overall fertility decline, the number of births has shown an increasing trend. This has been caused by a continued increase in the number of women of reproductive ages. However, the rate of increase has varied, with annual average births rising from over 50,000 to 100,000 in the 25 year period between 1861-65 and 1886-90, but taking more than the next 50 years to reach 150,000 by 1944. Birth numbers then increased very rapidly in the immediate post-war period to reach over 200,000 a year by 1952 and exceeded 250,000 per year between 1969 and 1972, reaching a peak of 276,400 in 1971. The sharp rise in births during the late 1960s and early 1970s is due to the 'echo-effect' as children of the post-World War II 'baby-boom' moved into their childbearing years and started their own families. Between 1981 and 1985 the number of births averaged 240,000 annually.

Although fertility decline is evident since the 1860s, this trend has not been continuous, and at times fertility has increased. Major declines continued well into the depression years of the 1930s, but then fertility recovered in the following years to 1961. Despite temporary halts between 1965 and 1971, fertility has generally declined until the present time.

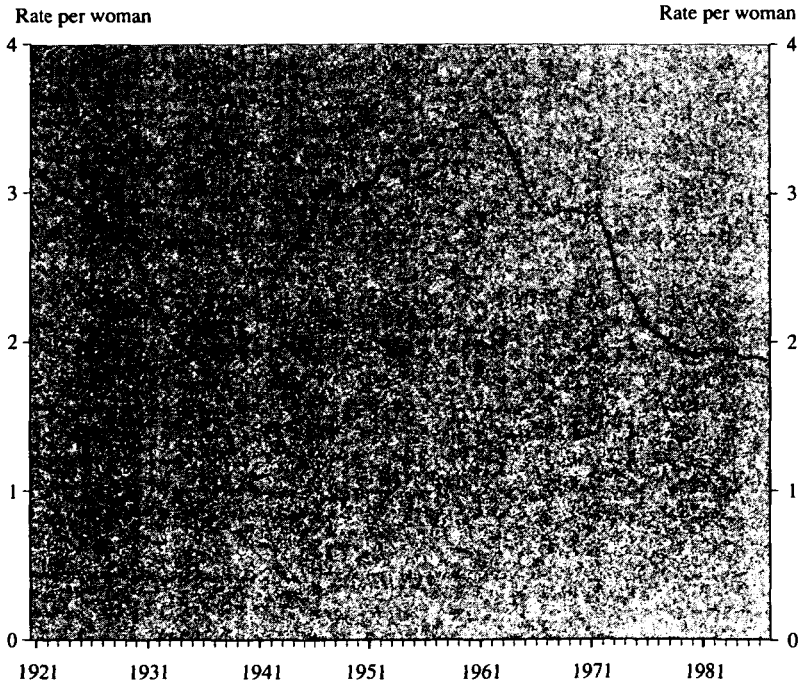
A number of changes occurred from the mid 1930s which contributed to increasing fertility levels until recent times. The proportion of women marrying began to rise, while the proportion remaining childless fell. In the late 1940s, the increasing number of births from these trends coincided with births that had been postponed during World War II. However, high levels of fertility were sustained during the 1950s as the timing of births changed. Women began marrying earlier and having their children at a younger age, which is reflected in the rapid rise of the age-specific birth rate for the 20-24 year age group. In addition birth rates for women up to age 40 remained higher than they had during the early 1930s depression years, resulting in increasing levels of total fertility.

AGE-SPECIFIC BIRTH RATES AND TOTAL FERTILITY: AUSTRALIA (a)

Period	Age group (years)							Total fertility
	15-19(b)	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49(c)	
AVERAGE ANNUAL RATES								
			—per '000 women—				per woman	
1921-25	27.3	133.7	167.0	137.0	96.9	40.4	4.2	3.032
1926-30	29.7	125.3	152.5	119.3	81.4	33.5	3.6	2.726
1931-35	25.6	101.8	124.1	96.8	61.6	24.8	2.7	2.186
1936-40	24.2	108.4	131.9	98.3	57.6	20.1	2.0	2.213
1941-45	23.9	126.9	152.8	114.3	66.3	21.1	1.7	2.535
1946-50	33.1	164.2	183.3	126.6	72.3	22.7	1.8	3.020
1951-55	39.5	192.8	193.0	123.5	65.1	20.5	1.5	3.180
1956-60	44.2	216.4	211.5	126.1	63.9	19.0	1.5	3.412
1961-65	46.5	204.0	207.2	122.4	59.2	17.5	1.2	3.289
1966-70	49.3	172.7	187.6	103.0	46.9	12.9	1.0	2.867
1971-75	48.0	154.0	166.9	85.0	33.7	8.5	0.6	2.484
1976-80	30.7	116.4	143.9	73.8	23.8	4.8	0.3	1.968
1981-85 (d)	25.7	100.8	144.5	82.0	25.4	4.4	0.3	1.915
ANNUAL RATES								
			—per '000 women—				per woman	
1981	28.2	107.5	145.2	77.6	24.5	4.5	0.3	1.938
1982	27.5	104.0	144.9	80.6	25.6	4.6	0.3	1.936
1983	26.6	102.7	145.9	81.5	25.0	4.4	0.2	1.931
1984	23.6	96.0	143.0	83.0	25.6	4.4	0.3	1.879
1985	22.5	94.1	143.4	87.2	25.4	4.4	0.2	1.891
1986	21.8	90.0	141.9	88.7	27.2	4.3	0.2	1.870

(a) Excludes full-blood Aborigines prior to 1966. (b) Includes births to mothers aged less than 15. (c) Includes births to mothers aged 50 and over. (d) Rates are adjusted for late registrations of New South Wales births in 1984.

TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, AUSTRALIA (a)



(a) Excludes full-blood Aborigines before 1966.

From the late 1950s and the early 1960s, fertility levels began to decline. In 1961, oral contraception became widely available in Australia contributing to, or accelerating, fertility decline, which was most noticeable among the older age-groups as women began completing child-bearing earlier. Changes to child-bearing patterns also occurred at younger ages. The duration between marriage and first nuptial confinement began to increase, and by 1965 the proportion of women who were pregnant at the time of marriage began to decrease.

**MARRIED FEMALES UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE AT TIME OF MARRIAGE: YEAR  
MARRIED AND TIMING OF FIRST NUPTIAL CONFINEMENT**

<i>Percentage of married females under 45 years of age at time of marriage</i>								
<i>Year of marriage</i>	<i>Premaritally pregnant (b)</i>	<i>Having the first nuptial confinement before the end of a given year of marriage duration (a)</i>						<i>Number of brides aged under 45 years</i>
		<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	
		—cumulative per cent—						
1948	14.1	33.8	60.7	72.2	78.3	82.1	88.3	71,867
1949	14.2	34.0	61.6	73.5	80.0	83.9	90.5	69,863
1950	13.9	33.0	60.1	71.7	78.0	81.8	88.1	72,221
1951	13.9	33.2	59.5	70.6	76.6	80.3	86.4	73,718
1952	14.7	34.7	60.7	71.8	77.9	81.7	87.8	70,659
1953	15.7	35.7	61.9	73.3	79.7	83.5	89.9	67,114
1954	16.2	36.0	62.1	73.5	80.0	83.8	90.1	67,585
1955	16.8	36.9	63.5	75.0	81.3	85.1	91.7	68,564
1956	18.0	38.6	65.7	77.2	83.5	87.4	93.9	68,032
1957	18.1	38.5	64.7	75.6	81.8	85.6	91.7	69,983
1958	18.8	39.4	65.5	76.2	82.3	86.0	92.0	70,395
1959	19.8	40.6	66.8	77.6	83.6	87.1	92.8	70,553
1960	21.1	41.8	67.5	78.3	84.4	88.1	93.8	71,679
1961	22.0	42.2	66.9	77.9	84.3	88.2	94.2	72,727
1962	22.5	40.9	64.4	75.9	82.8	87.0	93.2	75,176
1963	23.3	40.0	62.8	75.3	83.1	87.8	94.4	77,031
1964	23.0	37.3	59.3	72.5	80.9	86.2	93.1	82,025
1965	22.0	34.6	55.7	69.4	78.4	83.9	91.1	89,377
1966	21.7	33.5	54.6	69.1	78.7	84.6	91.9	91,718
1967	21.4	32.5	53.6	68.3	78.2	84.2	91.5	95,474
1968	21.1	31.2	51.9	67.0	77.1	82.9	90.8	101,766
1969	20.3	29.6	50.5	65.3	75.3	81.3	89.7	107,798
1970	20.5	29.4	49.5	63.7	73.7	80.0	89.2	111,211
1971	19.8	28.1	46.5	60.6	70.6	77.0	87.0	112,817
1972	18.0	25.5	43.7	57.9	68.0	74.9	86.2	109,007
1973	15.6	22.8	41.0	54.7	64.8	72.0	84.5	107,563
1974	13.4	20.6	38.0	51.5	61.7	69.0	82.4	105,759
1975	12.2	19.3	36.9	50.5	60.8	68.5	82.6	98,951
1976	10.9	18.0	35.0	47.5	57.2	64.5	76.2	103,108
1977	11.1	17.6	34.1	46.9	57.0	64.5	77.4	98,551
1978	11.3	17.7	34.6	47.8	57.8	65.1	—	96,859
1979	11.3	17.7	35.4	48.8	58.7	65.7	—	98,286
1980	11.5	17.9	35.7	48.9	58.6	65.5	—	103,019
1981	11.3	17.9	33.5	48.3	57.8	64.6	—	107,855
1982	10.4	16.8	33.7	46.0	55.3	61.8	—	111,295
1983	9.9	16.0	33.0	45.8	55.0	—	—	108,931
1984	10.1	16.6	34.8	48.1	—	—	—	102,785
1985	9.2	15.4	32.3	—	—	—	—	109,377
1986	8.3	15.0	—	—	—	—	—	108,442

(a) Includes premarital pregnancies. (b) Premaritally pregnant comprises wives who delivered their first child within marriage duration of 0–7 completed months.

In the 1970s, fertility declines became obvious across all age-groups, falling rapidly between 1971 and 1980, and marginally since then. This decline has been attributed to demographic, social, economic and attitudinal changes of the 1970s, which individually or collectively influenced fertility behaviour during this period. Between 1971 and 1986, the total fertility rate for all ages declined by 35 per cent. The largest declines in age-specific fertility rates occurred to younger women aged 15–29 years, in particular the 20–24 age group. Compared with women in the 1960s, women in the 1980s are more likely to defer and restrict child-bearing to the middle range of their reproductive years. In 1961–65, 81.0 per cent of births occurred to women aged 20–34. By 1986, the corresponding figure was 86.0 per cent. Women in the 25–29 age group maintained the highest fertility rates.

Concurrent with the downward movement that has occurred in the levels of fertility, the family formation patterns of couples have changed. An increasing proportion of total births has now been occurring outside marriage, and for those occurring within marriage, concentration has been on the first and second order births.

Confinements resulting in ex-nuptial births have increased continually as a proportion of total confinements from the 1950s to the present time increasing from 4.5 per cent in 1956–60 to 16.9 per cent in 1986. The median age of ex-nuptial mothers has been lower than that at first nuptial confinement and it seems likely that ex-nuptial births are predominantly first order births.

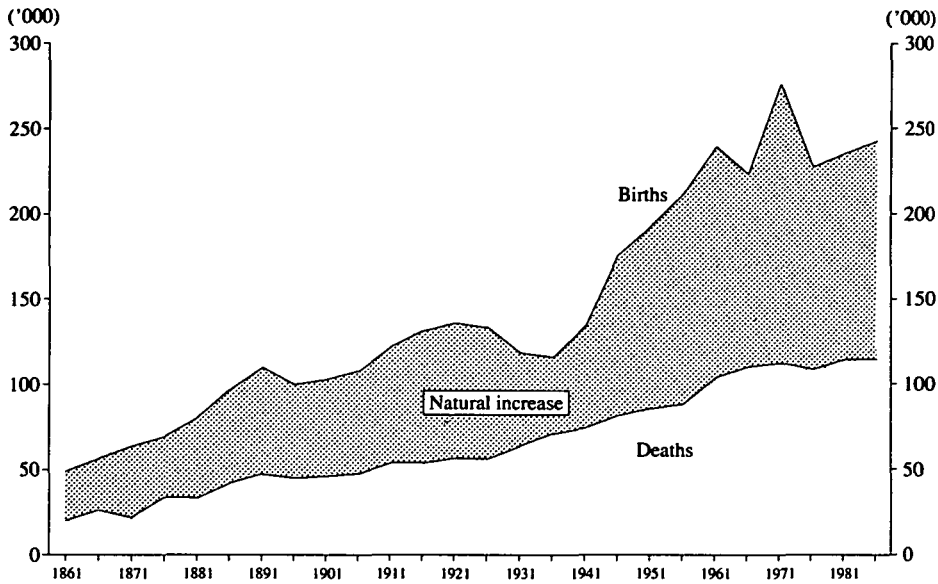
**TOTAL CONFINEMENTS BY NUPTIALITY AND PREVIOUS ISSUE TO THE CURRENT MARRIAGE OF MOTHER (NUPTIAL BIRTHS), AUSTRALIA (a)**

<i>Married mothers with previous issue to the current marriage of—</i>								
<i>Ex-nuptial confinements</i>	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Not stated	Total
ANNUAL AVERAGES								
1956–1960	9,918	65,695	57,532	40,920	22,968	11,299	11,633	— 219,965
1961–1965	13,655	69,281	57,971	40,818	23,612	12,125	13,022	— 230,484
1966–1970	18,707	80,999	62,930	37,446	18,899	8,961	9,700	— 237,644
1971–1975	24,299	88,120	74,641	36,914	15,216	6,006	5,765	12 250,973
1976–1980	24,851	77,877	69,291	34,288	11,119	3,332	2,451	15 223,224
1981–1985	34,248	82,279	70,089	34,399	11,354	3,093	1,918	103 237,484
ANNUAL TOTALS								
1981	30,956	82,476	67,627	35,445	11,750	3,282	1,993	6 233,535
1982	32,679	83,300	69,963	34,670	11,631	3,193	2,016	— 237,454
1983	35,335	83,466	70,427	34,081	11,343	3,108	1,878	476 240,111
1984(b)	34,337	79,295	69,312	33,027	10,802	3,013	1,825	32 231,643
1985(b)	37,933	82,860	73,114	34,774	11,246	2,867	1,877	— 244,672
1986	40,580	80,563	70,017	33,937	10,955	2,904	1,723	20 240,699

(a) Excludes full-blood Aboriginals prior to 1966. (b) These figures have been affected by late registration in New South Wales.

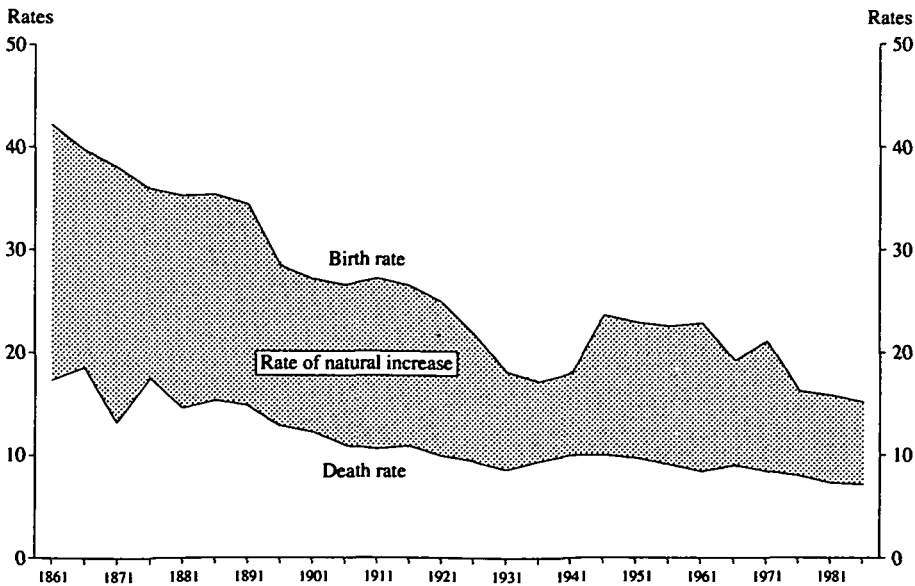
Since the 1950s there has been a decline in the proportion of females having three or more children in their marriage. Between 1956 and 1960, 58.7 per cent of nuptial confinements resulted in the first or second child of a marriage. In 1986, 75.2 per cent of confinements resulted in first or second children. The proportion of nuptial confinements that produced a fourth or higher order birth declined from 21.8 per cent between 1956 and 1960 to 7.8 per cent in 1986.

**BIRTHS AND DEATHS(a), AUSTRALIA**



(a) Excludes full-blooded Aborigines before 1966.

**RATES OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS(a), AUSTRALIA, 1861-1986(b)**



(a) Per 1000 mean population. Excludes full-blooded Aborigines before 1966. (b) There is a break in continuity due to revision in the methods used to calculate population estimates between 1961 and 1962, and between 1971 and 1972.

## Deaths

Numbers of deaths a year in Australia have risen from 23,400 in 1860 to 114,980 in 1986. However, relative to the growth of the population throughout that period, crude death rates per 1,000 population have fallen—from 20.9 in 1860 to 10.7 in 1911 and to 7.2 in 1986. With the exception of the years during World War II, declines in crude death rates have been virtually continuous. In comparison with other countries, Australia ranks amongst those with the lowest mortality levels and the highest expectations of life.

### EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH AND INFANT MORTALITY RATES IN SELECTED LOW MORTALITY COUNTRIES, RECENT YEARS

(Source: United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook*, 1984 and 1986 (except figures for Australia).)

Country	Infant mortality		Life expectancy at birth		
	Rate	Year	Males	Females	Year
Australia	8.8	1986	72.9	79.2	1986
Canada	7.9	p1985	71.9	79.0	1980-82
Denmark	7.7	1984	71.6	77.5	1984-85
England and Wales	(a)9.4	p1985	71.8	77.5	1983-85
Federal Republic of Germany	8.9	1985	71.2	77.8	1983-85
France	7.9	p1986	71.0	79.2	1983-85
Italy	10.9	1985	71.1	77.8	1981
Japan	5.5	1985	74.8	80.5	1985
Netherlands	8.1	p1986	72.9	79.8	1984-85
New Zealand	10.8	1985	71.0	76.8	1985
Sweden	5.9	p1986	73.8	79.9	1985
Switzerland	6.9	1986	73.5	80.0	1984-85
United States	10.3	p1986	71.2	78.2	1984

(a) Total United Kingdom.

### INDICATORS OF MORTALITY, AUSTRALIA, 1961-1986

Year	Crude death rates		Age-adjusted death rates		Infant mortality rates
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
1961	9.5	7.5	12.0	7.6	19.5
1962	9.7	7.7	12.3	7.7	20.4
1963	9.7	7.7	12.3	7.6	19.6
1964	10.0	8.0	12.8	8.0	19.1
1965	9.8	7.8	12.4	7.7	18.5
1966	9.9	8.0	12.7	7.9	18.7
1967	9.7	7.7	12.3	7.5	18.3
1968	10.1	8.1	13.0	7.9	17.8
1969	9.7	7.7	12.4	7.4	17.9
1970	10.0	8.1	12.9	7.8	17.9
1971	9.3	7.6	12.0	7.3	17.3
1972	9.1	7.4	11.8	7.0	16.7
1973	9.1	7.3	11.7	6.9	16.5
1974	9.3	7.5	12.0	7.1	16.1
1975	8.7	7.0	11.1	6.5	14.3
1976	8.9	7.2	11.2	6.5	13.8
1977	8.5	6.8	10.6	6.2	12.5
1978	8.4	6.7	10.4	6.0	12.2
1979	8.2	6.5	10.0	5.7	11.4
1980	8.3	6.6	9.9	5.6	10.7
1981	8.2	6.5	9.7	5.4	10.0
1982	8.4	6.8	9.9	5.6	10.3
1983	7.9	6.4	9.2	5.3	9.6
1984	7.9	6.5	9.1	5.3	9.2
1985	8.0	6.8	9.2	5.4	10.0
1986	7.8	7.2	8.6	5.1	8.8

The crude death rate, as a measure of mortality, is distorted by changes in the age structure of the population over time. The fall in death rates is considerably greater if the population is standardised in terms of age structure. Using the age structure of the estimated resident population of persons as at 30 June 1981 as the standard, the adjusted death rate fell from 12.0 per thousand in 1961 to 8.6 per thousand in 1986 for males and from 7.6 to 5.1 per thousand for females during the same period.

The decline in death rates has been brought about primarily through improvements to community health care and advances in medical science and technology. A series of comprehensive health Acts were passed towards the end of the 19th century and efforts were made to improve infant nutrition. These advances were followed by improvements to hospital care and antiseptic surgery, the discovery of antibiotics and the development of immunisation programs. As a result, many of the infectious and diarrhoeal diseases, maternal mortality, pneumonia and tuberculosis were brought under control by the 1950s with consequent reductions in mortality rates from these causes.

**AGE-SPECIFIC DEATH RATES BY SEX, AUSTRALIA (a)**  
(per '000)

	Age group (years)																			85 and over
Period	0	1-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75-79	80-84		
MALES																				
Average annual rates—																				
1921-25	64.2	5.7	1.8	1.5	2.2	3.0	3.4	3.9	5.2	6.8	9.5	12.9	18.2	28.1	41.5	63.5	101.1	160.0	305.2	
1926-30	57.7	5.2	1.6	1.3	2.1	2.8	3.2	3.7	4.6	6.2	8.9	12.7	17.8	26.5	40.7	61.5	101.2	152.0	335.8	
1931-35	46.0	4.0	1.6	1.3	1.8	2.3	2.5	3.0	4.0	5.4	7.8	11.6	17.6	26.3	40.4	61.9	99.3	156.6	258.8	
1936-40	43.2	3.6	1.5	1.2	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	11.8	17.8	27.4	41.3	63.0	100.0	158.2	277.4	
1941-45	38.8	3.2	1.3	1.1	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	(b)	11.3	17.4	27.8	42.9	64.6	101.2	155.2	289.8	
1946-50	30.1	1.9	0.9	0.8	1.4	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.6	4.1	6.8	11.1	17.6	27.4	42.4	64.0	99.3	149.7	255.3	
1951-55	26.0	1.7	0.7	0.7	1.6	1.9	1.7	1.8	2.5	3.7	6.2	10.8	17.4	27.4	42.2	64.7	99.7	147.2	254.1	
1956-60	23.3	1.3	0.6	0.5	1.4	1.8	1.5	1.8	2.3	3.5	5.9	10.0	16.9	26.6	42.0	63.5	97.5	145.0	251.2	
1961-65	21.7	1.1	0.5	0.5	1.2	1.7	1.5	1.7	2.4	3.7	6.2	10.3	16.8	27.4	42.2	64.7	97.2	145.0	243.7	
1966-70	20.4	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.4	1.8	1.5	1.6	2.4	3.8	6.2	10.4	17.2	27.8	44.3	67.0	102.7	149.2	245.9	
1971-75	18.4	0.9	0.4	0.4	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.4	2.1	3.4	6.0	9.6	15.9	25.5	39.3	61.2	95.3	141.2	231.7	
1976-80	13.6	0.7	0.3	0.4	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.9	3.0	5.2	8.6	13.8	22.2	35.3	54.2	87.7	127.9	210.7	
1981-85(c)	11.0	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.5	2.4	4.1	7.2	12.2	19.2	31.1	49.4	78.0	119.1	205.6	
Annual rates—																				
1981	11.4	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.7	2.6	4.6	7.9	13.0	19.8	32.3	52.0	80.2	121.2	208.1	
1982	11.8	0.7	0.4	0.4	1.3	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.6	2.5	4.5	7.5	12.7	20.0	33.0	51.9	82.7	124.4	216.0	
1983	10.5	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.1	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.4	2.3	3.9	7.3	12.2	18.9	30.7	47.8	76.9	115.8	201.4	
1984(c)	10.4	0.6	0.2	0.3	1.0	1.5	1.1	1.3	1.4	2.4	3.7	6.7	11.7	18.7	29.8	48.2	75.3	114.1	195.8	
1985(c)	11.3	0.6	0.3	0.3	1.1	1.6	1.3	1.3	1.4	2.2	3.7	6.6	11.4	18.5	29.5	47.1	74.7	119.4	205.1	
1986	10.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.4	2.3	3.5	6.3	10.7	18.0	28.3	45.4	72.1	110.7	187.2	
FEMALES																				
Average annual rates—																				
1921-25	51.2	4.9	1.5	1.2	1.8	2.8	3.4	3.9	4.8	5.3	6.8	9.2	12.7	19.3	30.3	49.0	83.4	138.6	264.7	
1926-30	46.0	4.8	1.3	1.0	1.6	2.7	3.3	3.5	4.3	5.0	6.6	8.8	12.3	18.8	30.0	47.8	81.8	126.7	285.8	
1931-35	36.3	3.5	1.2	0.9	1.4	2.1	2.7	3.0	3.8	4.4	6.0	8.5	11.6	17.9	29.8	47.1	77.4	127.6	234.6	
1936-40	34.2	3.2	1.1	0.8	1.2	1.9	2.4	2.7	3.3	4.1	5.7	8.0	11.3	17.9	28.9	46.5	79.7	124.9	244.8	
1941-45	30.9	2.6	1.0	0.7	1.0	1.4	1.9	2.2	2.9	3.7	5.4	7.8	11.1	17.6	29.0	47.9	80.2	125.7	243.5	
1946-50	23.7	1.6	0.6	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.2	3.2	4.9	7.3	10.3	16.2	26.0	44.6	74.7	120.8	221.8	
1951-55	20.6	1.4	0.5	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.8	2.7	4.4	6.7	9.5	15.1	24.6	41.3	71.6	118.5	220.2	
1956-60	18.7	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.6	2.4	3.9	5.7	8.7	13.8	23.0	38.8	63.9	113.5	215.6	
1961-65	17.0	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.0	1.5	2.3	3.7	5.6	8.3	13.6	21.7	37.4	63.3	107.5	205.1	
1966-70	15.7	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.5	2.3	3.7	5.9	8.7	13.6	22.1	37.3	63.6	105.9	201.0	
1971-75	14.0	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.3	2.1	3.5	5.2	8.0	12.2	19.4	33.1	57.3	97.4	187.9	
1976-80	10.7	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.8	2.8	4.5	6.8	10.8	16.9	27.9	48.4	84.0	168.4	
1981-85(c)	8.9	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.4	2.4	3.9	6.0	9.6	15.3	25.3	43.3	76.4	160.5	
Annual rates—																				
1981	8.9	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.4	2.7	3.8	6.2	9.7	15.7	25.5	44.3	76.0	160.4	
1982	9.1	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.5	2.5	4.2	6.2	10.1	16.0	25.7	45.1	79.3	170.4	
1983	8.7	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.3	2.3	4.0	6.1	9.7	15.2	25.2	42.5	73.6	154.2	
1984(c)	7.8	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.4	2.2	3.8	5.7	9.4	15.3	25.0	41.5	76.6	157.0	
1985(c)	8.9	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.3	2.3	3.8	5.9	9.0	14.6	25.5	42.9	76.4	157.9	
1986	7.7	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	1.4	2.2	3.5	5.7	8.8	15.1	24.8	41.1	71.2	148.3	

(a) Excludes full-blood Aborigines prior to 1966. (b) Rates are not available as population estimates for males in these age groups exclusive of defence personnel were not compiled for the period September 1939 to June 1947. (c) Adjusted for late registrations in New South Wales.



In Australia, as in most other countries, females have lower death rates than males. Age-specific rates for years since 1921 show this discrepancy occurring across all age groups. In 1986, for example, the female death rate in many age groups was about half that of males. The relative difference between death rates for males and females was greatest in the age group 15 to 24 years where in 1986 the female rate was about one-third that of males. The overall effect of these differences in death rates has been to increase the proportion of females in the older age groups of the population.

Concurrent with the decline in death rates has been a rise in life expectancy at birth, increasing for males from 47.2 years to 71.2 years between the periods 1881-1890 and 1980-1982, and correspondingly for females from 50.8 years to 78.3 years. In 1986, life expectancy at birth for males and females was 72.9 and 79.2 years respectively. Female life expectancy at birth has exceeded that of males throughout the period, with the difference increasing until 1980-1982. Contributing to the increase in life expectancy at birth is the reduction in infant mortality, falling from rates of 115.8 per thousand in 1881 to 8.8 per thousand by 1986. These changes reflect a very significant improvement in chances of survival from birth to age 1 year. The considerable difference between life expectancy at birth and at age 1 year which existed in the 1880s has disappeared and life expectancy at birth now exceeds life expectancy at age 1 year.

#### LIFE EXPECTANCY AT VARIOUS AGES, AUSTRALIA (a)

Year	Ages—									
	0		1		25		45		65	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1881-90	47.2	50.8	53.3	56.4	37.1	39.7	23.0	25.6	11.1	12.3
1891-1900	51.1	54.8	56.9	59.9	38.9	41.7	24.0	26.7	11.3	12.8
1901-10	55.2	58.8	60.0	62.9	40.6	43.4	24.8	27.6	11.3	12.9
1920-22	59.2	63.3	62.7	66.0	42.7	45.7	26.0	29.0	12.0	13.6
1932-34	63.5	67.1	65.5	68.7	44.4	47.2	26.9	29.7	12.4	14.2
1946-48	66.1	70.6	67.3	71.5	45.0	48.7	26.8	30.5	12.3	14.4
1953-55	67.1	72.8	67.9	73.2	45.5	50.2	27.2	31.4	12.3	15.0
1960-62	67.9	74.2	68.5	74.5	45.8	51.3	27.4	32.4	12.5	15.7
1965-67	67.6	74.2	68.1	74.4	45.9	51.2	27.0	32.3	12.2	15.7
1970-72	67.9	74.6	68.3	74.7	45.8	51.5	27.1	32.6	12.2	15.9
1975-77	69.6	75.6	69.6	76.5	46.9	53.1	28.3	34.0	13.1	17.1
1980-82	71.2	78.3	71.1	78.0	48.2	54.5	29.5	35.3	13.8	18.0
1981	71.4	78.4	71.2	78.1	48.3	54.7	29.6	35.4	13.9	18.1
1982	71.2	78.2	71.1	77.9	48.2	54.5	29.5	35.2	13.9	17.9
1983	72.1	78.7	71.9	78.4	48.9	54.9	30.1	35.6	14.2	18.3
1984 (b)	72.6	79.1	72.4	78.7	49.3	55.2	30.5	35.9	14.5	18.5
1985 (b)	72.3	78.8	72.1	78.5	49.2	55.0	30.4	35.7	14.3	18.2
1986	72.9	79.2	72.6	78.8	49.6	55.3	30.9	36.0	14.7	18.5

(a) Excludes full-blood Aborigines until 1966. (b) Adjusted for late registrations in New South Wales.

Changes in levels of mortality and age-specific death rates reflect trends in the incidence of specific causes of death. The three most prevalent causes of death for both sexes at the present time are ischaemic heart disease, cancer and cerebrovascular disease or stroke. In recent years there have been decreases in the incidence of most of the major causes of death with the exception of cancer, with age-standardised death rates falling by half or more for some classes of disease between 1966 and 1986.

## STANDARDISED DEATH RATES (a), CAUSES OF DEATH BY SEX, AUSTRALIA

<i>Cause of death</i>	1966	1971	1976	1981	1985	1986
<b>MALES</b>						
Neoplasms	184	198	205	215	217	214
Endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases	18	20	17	16	16	17
Cardiovascular diseases	498	458	419	349	309	292
Cerebrovascular diseases	141	143	123	98	79	73
Other circulatory diseases	70	62	53	40	33	31
Respiratory diseases	127	106	109	83	86	73
Diseases of the digestive system	34	29	32	32	29	28
Diseases of infancy	27	25	20	14	14	12
Accidents	79	80	70	58	50	48
Violence, suicide	21	21	19	20	20	21
Other	68	58	53	49	55	52
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,269</b>	<b>1,200</b>	<b>1,121</b>	<b>974</b>	<b>907</b>	<b>861</b>
<b>FEMALES</b>						
Neoplasms	123	125	125	122	130	130
Endocrine, nutritional and metabolic diseases	19	19	16	13	13	13
Cardiovascular diseases	269	246	212	175	165	159
Cerebrovascular diseases	137	136	113	86	73	66
Other circulatory diseases	52	46	37	27	22	20
Respiratory diseases	48	37	40	28	33	27
Diseases of the digestive system	20	17	18	17	18	17
Diseases of infancy	21	21	17	11	11	10
Accidents	34	32	28	22	20	20
Violence, suicide	12	11	7	7	6	7
Other	49	45	37	35	40	38
<b>Total</b>	<b>785</b>	<b>734</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>544</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>506</b>

(a) Per 100,000 persons, standardised to age distribution for persons, 1981.

Cause of death is age-related, with different causes assuming greater or lesser significance in persons of different age groups. The most common causes of death during the first year of life are the culmination of conditions originating in the perinatal period. These include prematurity, birth injury and respiratory conditions present from birth. The three main causes of death in 1986 were heart disease, malignant neoplasms (cancer) and cerebrovascular disease (including stroke), which collectively accounted for 69.0 per cent of deaths registered.

Accidents, poisoning and violence were the leading causes of death for each age group in the range 1-44 years, and particularly at ages 15 to 24 years where external causes accounted for 73.8 per cent of all deaths.

When male and female deaths were compared for particular age groups there were marked differences for certain main causes of death. For example, in the age group 25 to 44 years, the male death rates for heart disease and accidents, poisonings and violence (external causes) were over three times the equivalent rates for females.

In 1986, 33.9 per cent of all deaths registered in Australia were attributed to heart disease. While this proportion was similar for males and females overall, the distribution of deaths by age group differed between the sexes. Heart disease was a more significant cause of death at younger ages for males than for females. For males, heart disease was the leading cause of death for each age group over 44 years and almost 30 per cent of all male deaths due to heart disease were at ages below 65 years. For females, heart disease was the leading cause of death for age groups over 64 years only. These age groups accounted for almost 90 per cent of all female deaths from heart disease.

Deaths due to malignant neoplasms as a proportion of all deaths have risen slightly over the period 1980 to 1986. However, there has been little change in the distribution of cancer deaths by the primary site of growth. Malignant neoplasms of the digestive organs and peritoneum accounted for approximately 30 per cent of both male and female cancer deaths. The pattern of cancer deaths across other sites varied between the sexes. Whereas for 29.7 per cent of male deaths due to malignant neoplasms the primary site of growth was located in the respiratory and intrathoracic organs, this site accounted for only 11.6 per cent of female cancer deaths. However, malignant neoplasms of the breast accounted for 2,230 female deaths in 1986, representing 18.3 per cent of all female cancer deaths.

## Marriages

Numbers of marriages recorded in Australia have risen from 10,000 in 1861 to annual averages of nearly 25,000 at the end of the 19th century, almost 65,000 between 1936 and 1940, reaching 115,000 by 1985, then declining to 114,000 in 1987. Exceptions to the general increase in numbers occurred during the economic depressions of the 1890s and 1930s and, more recently, during the 1970s. Both World Wars this century created major fluctuations in numbers marrying, distorting for a time the overall trend.

### MARRIAGES REGISTERED: RELATIVE PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS, NUMBER AND PER CENT, AND CRUDE MARRIAGE RATE, AUSTRALIA

Years	<i>Both partners never married</i>		<i>One or both partners previously married</i>		<i>All marriages</i>	<i>Crude marriage rate (a)</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>		
<i>Annual averages—</i>						
1861–1870	}	Not available	}		10,940	8.0
1871–1880					13,799	7.2
1881–1890					21,284	7.9
1891–1900					23,327	6.7
1901–1910					30,414	7.5
1911–1920	36,727	89.4	4,368	10.6	41,095	8.1
1921–1930	40,931	88.0	5,584	12.0	46,515	7.8
1931–1940	49,902	89.1	6,109	10.9	56,011	8.2
1941–1950	62,385	84.4	11,551	15.6	73,936	9.9
1951–1960	61,129	83.2	12,349	16.8	73,478	7.9
1961–1970	81,720	86.3	12,997	13.7	94,717	8.2
1971–1975	93,734	83.8	18,068	16.2	111,802	8.3
1976–1980	73,401	69.1	32,896	30.9	106,297	7.4
1981–1985	77,003	67.5	37,035	32.5	114,038	7.4
1986	76,647	66.7	38,266	33.3	114,913	7.2
1987	76,684	67.2	37,429	32.8	114,113	7.0

(a) There is a break in the continuity due to revision of methods used to calculate population estimates between 1961 and 1962, and between 1971 and 1972.

Throughout this century there have been two periods of rising marriage rates, firstly from the mid 1930s until just after World War II, and secondly from the early 1960s to the early 1970s. During the first of these periods, the crude marriage rate rose from annual averages of 7.2 per 1,000 population during 1931–35 to 9.7 over the next 15 years, reaching the highest rate on record in 1942, at 12.0 per 1,000 population, when 86,000 marriages were registered. The second period of rising marriage rates occurred during the 1960s and early 1970s, following stabilisation of marriage numbers during the 1950s, when these averaged 73,500 annually. The number of marriages rose to a peak of 117,600 in 1971 before falling back to 104,000 by 1975.

In contrast with the beginning of the 20th century, three changes in marriage patterns had taken place by the early 1970s. Firstly, a far higher proportion of people were marrying; secondly, the age range across which marriage took place had narrowed with a definite preference for marriage at a younger age; thirdly, differences between the sexes relating to age at marriage had been reduced, with marriage patterns for males conforming more closely to those of females. Changes to proportions marrying are covered in the previous section on marital status of the population.

**MEDIAN AGES OF BRIDEGROOMS AND BRIDES, PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS,  
AUSTRALIA (a)**

<i>Period</i>	<i>Median age of bridegrooms</i>				<i>Median age of brides</i>			
	<i>Bachelors</i>	<i>Widowers</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Spinsters</i>	<i>Widows</i>	<i>Divorced</i>	<i>Total</i>
1926-30	26.4	45.5	38.6	26.8	23.4	41.1	34.1	23.8
1931-35	26.5	46.7	39.3	26.9	23.4	42.9	34.2	23.7
1936-40	26.7	48.7	38.6	27.1	23.7	44.1	34.0	24.0
1941-45	25.7	50.8	38.5	26.3	22.9	43.6	34.0	23.3
1946-50	25.2	52.2	37.1	25.9	22.4	41.6	33.1	23.0
1951-55	25.0	54.3	38.9	25.7	22.1	45.3	34.6	22.7
1956-60	24.7	56.5	39.3	25.4	21.6	47.6	35.4	22.0
1961-65	24.2	56.6	40.4	24.7	21.3	49.3	36.6	21.7
1966-70	23.5	56.7	39.8	23.9	21.2	50.1	36.1	21.5
1971-75	23.3	57.8	37.3	23.9	21.0	51.1	33.0	21.4
1976-80	23.9	58.4	36.1	25.4	21.6	51.6	32.5	22.7
1981-85	24.9	59.8	36.6	26.4	22.7	52.2	33.5	23.9
1986	25.6	60.5	38.3	27.3	23.5	52.6	34.8	24.9
1987	25.9	60.6	38.6	27.6	23.8	52.4	35.1	25.2

(a) Excludes full-blood Aborigines before 1966.

The shift to younger marriage was already evident from declines in median age at first marriage prior to the 1930s, but postponements of marriage during the economic depression subsequently increased the median age when these delayed marriages eventuated in the second half of the 1930s. Between the 1936-40 and the 1971-75 periods, however, median age at first marriage declined from 26.7 years to 23.3 years for males and from 23.7 years to 21.0 years for females. Until the early 1960s, the difference between median age at marriage of males and females remained around 3.0 years. However during the 1960s this gap became smaller, falling to 2.3 years by 1971 as the age at first marriage for males became younger. Between 1956-60 and 1966-70, while the ratio of first marriages for females aged 20-24 remained virtually static, the ratio for males of the same age increased from 484.8 to 553.8 per thousand.

**FIRST MARRIAGE RATIOS (a), AUSTRALIA (b)**

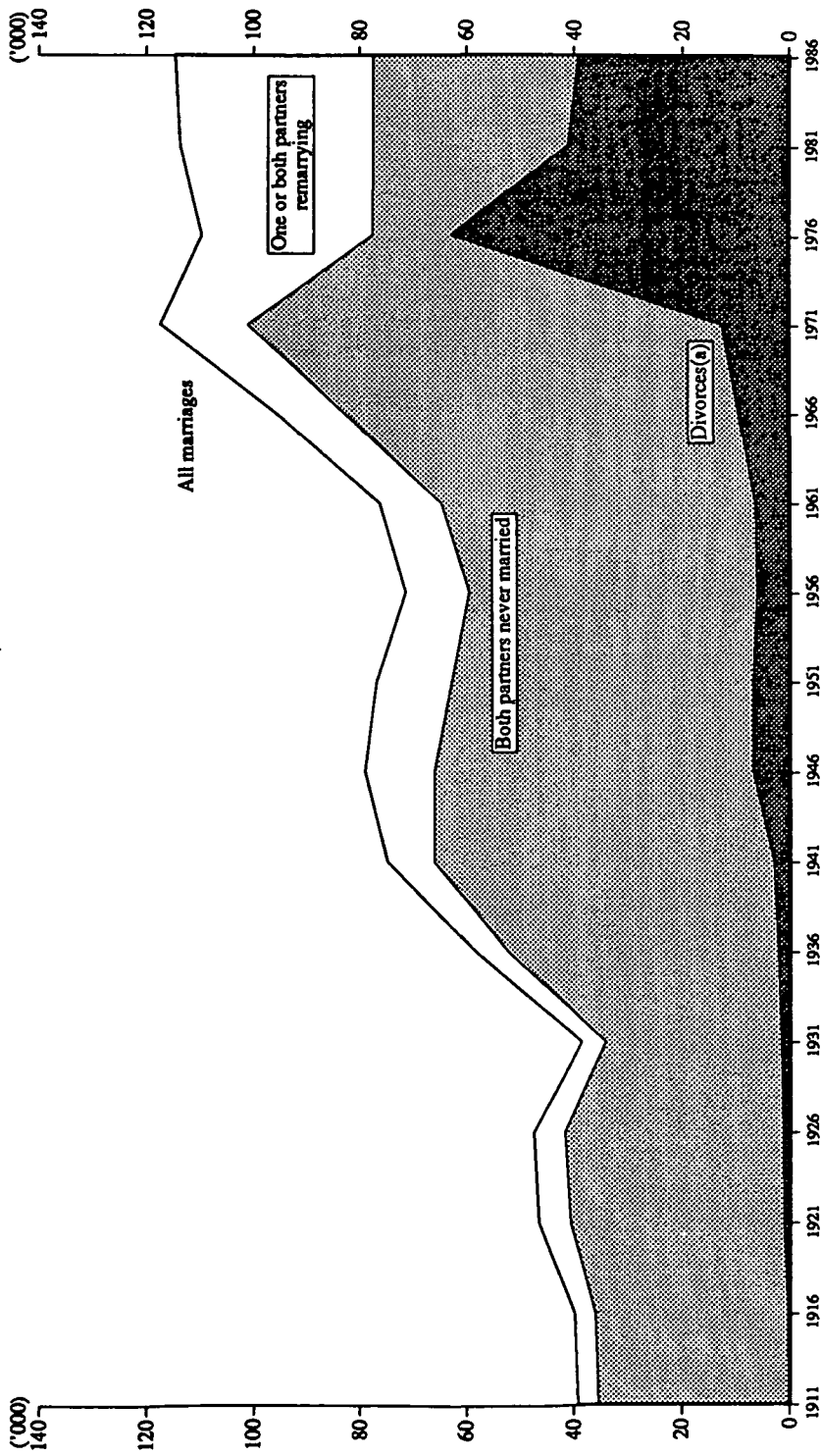
Years	Cumulative ratios of age-groups (c)—						Index of total first marriages (d)
	To 19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 and over	
BRIDEGROOMS							
Average annual ratios—							
1951-55	41.0	466.7	275.1	92.9	42.3	58.5	976.5
1956-60	48.8	484.8	274.5	92.6	34.7	45.6	981.0
1961-65	59.8	506.2	279.0	88.9	33.6	38.0	1,005.5
1966-70	72.1	553.8	265.1	75.9	29.9	35.4	1,032.2
1971-75	72.0	506.4	201.4	58.7	22.9	30.9	892.2
1976-80	37.6	368.2	184.4	55.2	20.8	28.5	694.7
1981-85(e)	16.9	310.1	221.1	71.2	23.3	24.6	667.3
Annual ratios—							
1982	24.1	337.0	220.3	68.2	22.9	27.3	699.8
1983	19.1	312.6	223.4	71.0	22.9	24.6	673.7
1984(e)	15.6	277.3	218.4	70.9	22.7	23.9	628.7
1985(e)	14.1	280.3	236.9	81.2	25.2	25.0	662.9
1986(e)	9.8	263.0	237.1	85.0	26.6	23.6	645.0
1987	9.0	247.2	241.5	90.4	27.4	24.3	639.8
BRIDES							
Average annual ratios—							
1951-55	272.2	559.5	148.0	48.0	23.5	37.0	1,091.8
1956-60	280.4	545.2	127.7	40.2	18.0	28.4	1,044.3
1961-65	271.6	530.5	115.7	34.3	14.9	23.6	993.5
1966-70	290.5	541.2	112.0	30.4	12.2	19.6	1,006.9
1971-75	299.1	452.2	92.7	27.5	10.9	15.8	898.2
1976-80	182.9	362.7	95.5	28.0	11.4	14.7	695.0
1981-85(e)	111.9	377.0	135.0	36.1	11.8	11.2	682.8
Annual ratios—							
1982	130.7	389.2	129.8	34.3	11.4	12.2	707.9
1983	110.4	382.8	136.9	36.4	11.5	11.4	689.3
1984(e)	93.2	355.5	137.4	36.6	11.3	11.1	645.0
1985(e)	88.7	372.5	156.1	39.5	13.4	12.0	685.0
1986(e)	76.3	360.7	165.8	46.5	14.0	11.2	674.6
1987	67.3	350.0	173.5	50.8	15.8	11.5	668.9

(a) Per 1,000 mid-year population of males and females of each age. There is a break in the continuity due to the revision of methods used to calculate population estimates between 1961 and 1962, and between 1971 and 1972. (b) Excludes full-blood Aboriginals prior to 1966. (c) Ratios for each age-group are calculated by summing the ratios for single years. (d) The sum of all single year ratios. (e) These ratios have been affected by late registrations of births, deaths and marriages in New South Wales.

Since the early 1970s, new marriage patterns have emerged. Firstly, while total numbers of persons marrying recovered during 1981-85 to an annual average of 114,000 (higher than the previous peak of 111,800 during 1971-75), the numbers of marriages in which neither party has been previously married had fallen during that time, from annual averages of 93,700 during 1971-75 to 77,000 between 1981-85 and remained at the same level in 1986 and 1987. Secondly the median age at first marriage has risen during the decade 1976-85. In 1987 it was 25.9 years for males and 23.8 years for females. The age differential between the sexes at first marriage has declined to 2.1 years in 1987 from being almost constant at 2.3 years between 1966 and 1985.

The decline in first marriage ratios and increase in the median age at first marriage over the last decade may reflect to some extent the tendency of some couples to live together before getting married. Although there is no reliable time series data on this group, the

## MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES, AUSTRALIA



(a) The sharp increase in divorces between 1971 and 1976 is due to the introduction of the Family Law Act in 1976.

1986 Census showed that 95,995 females aged 20–29 years were living in a de facto marriage relationship. This represented 7.5 per cent of all females in this age group.

## Divorces

### DIVORCES (a) AUSTRALIA

<i>Years</i>	<i>Divorces</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Divorces</i>
Annual averages—		Annual averages—	
1891–1900	357	1976–80	45,220
1901–10	399	1981–85	42,396
1911–20	742	Annual totals—	
1921–30	1,692	1982	44,088
1931–40	2,508	1983	43,525
1941–50	4,584	1984	43,124
1951–60	6,906	1985	39,830
1961–70	9,120	1986	39,417
1971–75	17,348	1987	39,725

(a) Includes small numbers of nullities between 1891 and 1950.

For most of this century there has been a slow but steady rise in the number of divorces granted each year, increasing from annual averages of 400 between 1901–10 to 9,120 between 1961–70. However, the most important factor involved in rising divorce rates in recent times has been the introduction of the *Family Law Act 1975* which came into operation on 5 January 1976. This legislation provides for a single ground for divorce, namely irretrievable breakdown of marriage, which is established by a minimum one-year separation of the husband and wife.

Removal of the need to prove fault, together with reduction of the separation period from five years to one year, has provided easier and faster access to divorce for either party. After the introduction of the *Family Law Act*, the number of divorces per year rose from annual averages of 17,350 to 45,220 between 1971–75 and 1976–80, while the median duration of marriage of divorcing couples decreased from 12.5 years in 1971 to 10.2 years in 1981, increased slightly to 10.6 in the years to 1986 and then declined to 10.2 years in 1987.

## DIVORCES: DURATION OF MARRIAGE, AUSTRALIA

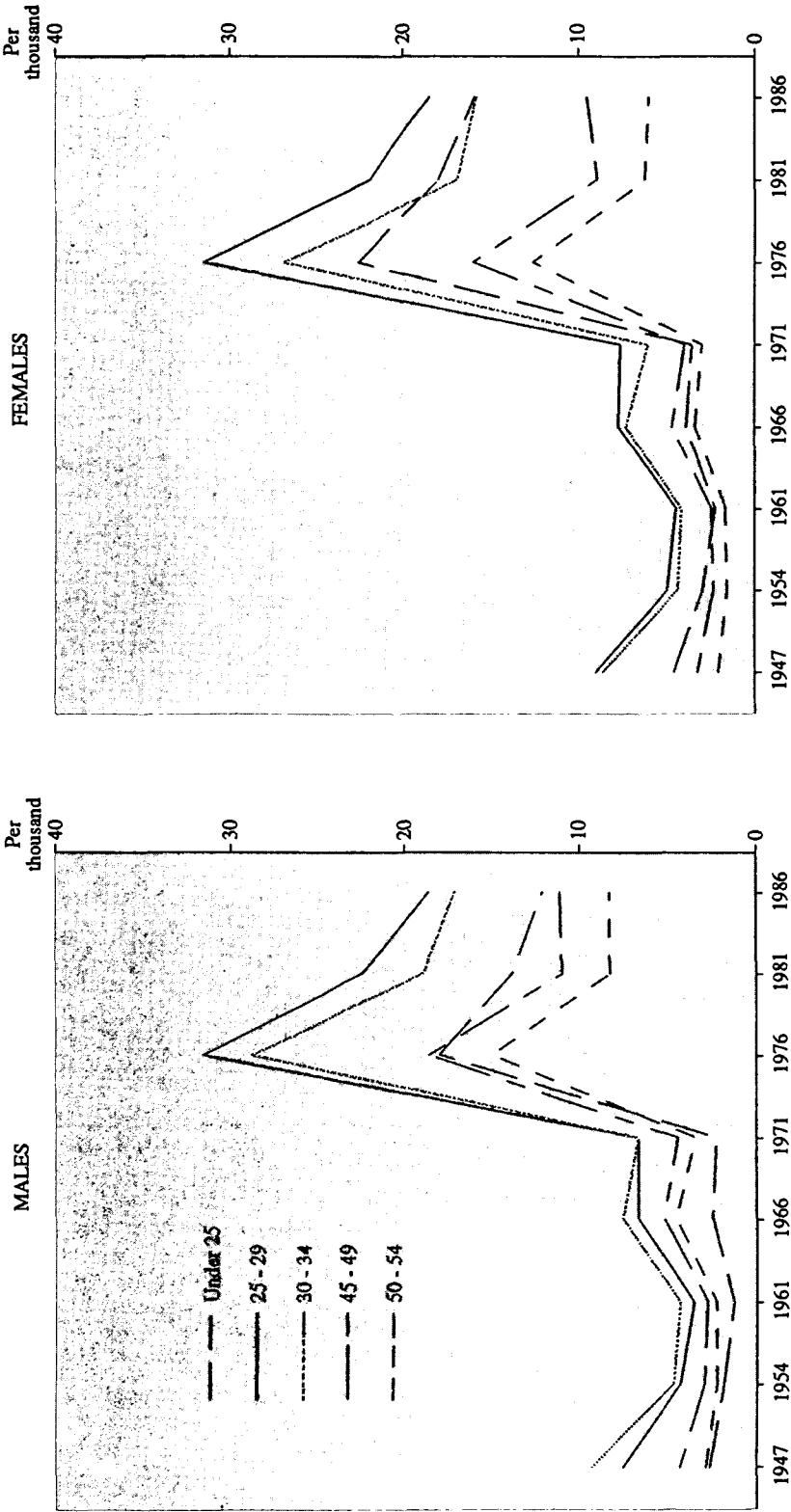
Year	Duration of marriage (years)					Total	Median duration of marriage
	Under 5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20 and over		
ACCORDING TO INTERVAL BETWEEN DATE OF MARRIAGE AND DATE DECREE MADE ABSOLUTE							
	—per cent—						years
1967	7.1	25.4	20.2	17.4	29.9	100.0	n.a.
1968	8.0	28.2	19.8	15.6	28.3	100.0	n.a.
1969	8.9	28.0	20.7	14.8	27.6	100.0	13.0
1970	10.0	29.4	19.4	14.0	27.1	100.0	12.5
1971	9.3	30.0	20.0	14.3	26.4	100.0	12.5
1972	10.0	30.8	19.2	14.2	25.8	100.0	12.1
1973	10.0	32.2	19.3	13.5	25.1	100.0	11.8
1974	9.5	31.7	20.2	13.5	25.2	100.0	11.8
1975	9.9	32.4	20.1	13.8	23.8	100.0	11.6
1976 (a)	15.5	30.2	18.1	12.5	23.7	100.0	11.0
1977	17.3	28.7	18.6	12.5	23.0	100.0	10.9
1978	19.3	28.6	18.5	12.2	21.4	100.0	10.5
1979	20.1	28.4	18.3	12.3	20.9	100.0	10.3
1980	20.7	28.4	19.3	11.8	19.8	100.0	10.2
1981	20.8	28.5	19.6	11.9	19.2	100.0	10.2
1982	20.3	28.0	20.0	13.0	18.8	100.0	10.4
1983	20.8	26.8	20.3	13.2	18.9	100.0	10.5
1984	21.4	26.4	19.6	13.7	19.0	100.0	10.5
1985	21.7	26.2	18.7	14.0	19.3	100.0	10.5
1986	21.7	26.2	17.8	14.3	19.9	100.0	10.6
1987	22.6	26.7	17.3	14.3	19.1	100.0	10.2
ACCORDING TO INTERVAL BETWEEN DATE OF MARRIAGE AND DATE OF FINAL SEPARATION							
	—per cent—						years
1976	39.6	22.5	13.6	10.6	13.8	100.0	6.9
1977	36.9	24.2	14.9	10.7	13.4	100.0	7.4
1978	36.4	24.6	15.1	10.6	13.3	100.0	7.4
1979	36.2	24.5	15.0	11.0	13.3	100.0	7.5
1980	36.4	24.9	15.4	10.5	12.8	100.0	7.5
1981	36.4	24.9	15.9	10.2	12.6	100.0	7.5
1982	36.2	24.3	16.3	10.9	12.3	100.0	7.6
1983	36.3	23.3	16.9	11.0	12.4	100.0	7.7
1984	36.9	22.7	16.8	11.1	12.6	100.0	7.7
1985	37.1	22.1	16.5	11.5	12.6	100.0	7.6
1986	37.6	21.5	16.0	11.7	13.2	100.0	7.6
1987	38.6	21.5	15.3	11.8	12.6	100.0	7.3

(a) Discontinuity in the series due to the *Family Law Act 1975* which came into operation on 5 January 1976.

There has been an increasing tendency for divorce to occur in the early years of marriage and at an earlier age. The proportion of divorces taking place within the first five years of marriage more than doubled from 9.9 per cent in 1975 to 20.7 per cent in 1980, and continues to rise. Similarly, while increases in the divorce rates have occurred in all age categories since the introduction of the Family Law Act, the largest increases have occurred among couples in the younger age-groups. Between 1976 and 1987 the highest divorce rates for both males and females occurred in the 25-29 year age group.



AGE SPECIFIC DIVORCE RATES PER 1000 MARRIED POPULATION : SELECTED AGE GROUPS  
AUSTRALIA



## AGE-SPECIFIC DIVORCE RATES PER 1,000 MARRIED POPULATION, AUSTRALIA

Census year	Age group (years)									Total
	Under 25	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60 and over	
	HUSBAND									
1947	2.7	7.6	9.4	7.9	6.3	4.4	2.9	2.0	0.7	5.0
1954	1.9	4.4	4.8	4.3	3.6	3.0	2.3	1.8	0.6	3.1
1961	1.3	3.6	4.4	3.9	3.3	2.8	2.3	1.6	0.7	2.8
1966	2.5	6.7	7.6	6.9	6.6	5.3	4.6	3.4	1.2	3.7
1971	2.3	6.7	6.7	5.5	5.1	4.5	3.5	2.7	1.1	4.2
1976	18.0	31.6	28.8	23.9	21.2	18.6	15.0	11.1	5.1	18.9
1981	13.8	22.4	18.9	16.2	13.5	10.9	8.3	5.2	2.3	11.9
1986	12.1	18.6	17.1	14.8	13.3	11.1	8.3	5.4	2.1	10.7
WIFE										
1947	4.6	9.0	8.6	6.9	5.0	3.3	2.1	1.2	0.5	5.0
1954	3.0	5.0	4.4	4.1	3.4	2.4	1.6	1.1	0.4	3.1
1961	2.3	4.5	4.2	3.4	3.1	2.5	1.7	1.2	0.6	2.8
1966	3.9	7.7	7.3	6.1	5.7	4.7	3.4	2.6	0.9	3.8
1971	3.6	7.6	6.1	5.0	4.6	4.0	3.0	2.0	0.8	4.2
1976	22.7	31.5	26.9	22.0	19.2	16.0	12.6	8.8	4.1	18.8
1981	18.0	22.0	16.9	14.7	11.8	8.9	6.2	4.1	1.8	11.9
1986	15.9	18.5	15.8	13.7	12.0	9.5	6.0	3.7	1.5	10.6

There has been a recent increase in the proportion of divorces which do not involve children, from 32.4 per cent during 1971-75, to 39.4 per cent in 1985 and to 41.4 per cent in 1987. Where divorce involves children, the average number of children per divorce has fallen from 2.1 to 1.9 in the period between 1971-75 and 1981-85.

## DIVORCES: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF THE MARRIAGE, AUSTRALIA

Year	Number of children							Total divorces	Total children	Average number of children(a)
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more			
	—per cent—							No.	No.	No.
1947-50	38.5	30.4	17.6	7.5	3.2	1.4	1.4	29,819	35,123	1.9
1951-55	34.0	30.2	20.5	8.6	3.7	1.6	1.5	35,454	45,984	2.0
1956-60	34.5	26.9	21.8	9.8	4.1	1.5	1.5	33,601	44,729	2.0
1961-65	37.4	25.8	21.3	9.9	3.7	1.2	0.7	37,841	46,737	2.0
1966-70	34.0	24.9	22.7	11.3	4.7	1.5	0.9	53,406	72,942	2.1
1971-75	32.4	23.4	24.2	12.4	5.0	1.6	0.9	86,743	124,198	2.1
1976-80	37.6	22.5	24.3	10.5	3.6	1.0	0.5	226,100	276,088	2.0
1981	38.9	21.5	25.6	10.0	3.0	0.7	0.3	41,412	49,616	2.0
1982	38.4	21.6	26.2	10.3	2.7	0.6	0.2	44,088	53,010	2.0
1983	38.4	21.8	26.2	10.2	2.7	0.5	0.2	43,525	52,059	1.9
1984	39.1	21.6	26.2	9.8	2.6	0.5	0.2	43,124	50,713	1.9
1985	39.4	21.1	26.2	10.0	2.6	0.5	0.2	39,830	46,800	1.9
1986	40.3	21.2	25.8	9.5	2.5	0.5	0.2	39,417	45,231	1.9
1987	41.4	21.7	25.1	9.0	2.2	0.5	0.1	39,723	44,050	1.9

(a) Divorces involving one or more children.

There is some evidence to suggest that the incidence of divorce is now decreasing. The number of divorces granted has fallen continually since 1982.

## Remarriages

There has been a significant increase throughout this century in both the numbers and proportions of marriages in which one or both parties have been previously married. The average annual number of such marriages increased from 4,368 in 1911-20 to 38,266 in 1986 and decreased to 37,429 in 1987, comprising 10.6, 33.3 and 32.8 per cent of total marriages respectively.

### MARRIAGES IN WHICH ONE OR BOTH PARTNERS HAVE BEEN PREVIOUSLY MARRIED: RELATIVE PREVIOUS MARITAL STATUS, NUMBER AND PER CENT, AUSTRALIA

	<i>Both partners divorced</i>		<i>One partner divorced</i>		<i>Other (a)</i>		<i>Total No.</i>
<i>Years</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Annual averages—							
1911–20	21	0.5	600	13.7	3,747	85.8	4,368
1921–30	80	1.4	1,404	25.1	4,100	73.4	5,584
1931–40	183	3.0	2,306	37.7	3,619	59.2	6,109
1941–50	827	7.2	6,072	52.6	4,651	40.3	11,550
1951–60	1,424	11.5	6,865	55.6	4,059	32.9	12,349
1961–70	1,900	14.6	7,491	57.6	3,606	27.7	12,997
1971–75	3,369	18.6	11,094	61.4	3,606	20.0	18,069
1976–80	9,961	30.3	19,924	60.6	3,011	9.2	32,896
1981–85(b)	12,125	32.7	22,399	60.5	2,511	6.8	37,035
1986(b)	12,870	33.5	22,868	59.9	2,528	6.5	38,266
1987	12,438	33.2	22,594	60.4	2,396	6.4	37,429

(a) One or both partners widowed. (b) The statistics for 1984, 1985 and 1986 were affected by late registrations in New South Wales.

This change has been brought about by the almost continuous growth in the numbers of marriages in which one or both parties were divorced at the time of remarriage. Such marriages have increased from annual averages of 621 between 1911-20 to 35,032 in 1987 and, as a proportion of marriages involving remarriage, from 14.2 per cent to 93.6 per cent over that time.

While the move to predominance of divorced persons among those remarrying has been ongoing throughout most of this century, increases were particularly noticeable at the time of World War II and following the operation of the Family Law Act in 1976. Sharp rises in the number of divorces took place in both these periods, followed by increases to remarriage rates for both sexes.

### REMARRIAGES, DIVORCED AND WIDOWED PERSONS AGED 15 AND OVER, AUSTRALIA

Census year	Total marriages	Remarriages of persons previously—			Remarriage rates		
		Widowed	Divorced	Total	Widowed (a)	Divorced (a)	Total (b)
		MALES					
1911	39,482	2,304	183	2,487	36.1	77.3	37.6
1921	46,869	2,988	562	3,550	40.6	132.8	45.6
1933	46,595	2,434	939	3,373	24.7	91.2	31.0
1947	76,457	3,614	5,178	8,792	32.2	206.7	64.0
1954	71,229	3,344	4,529	7,873	29.5	139.4	54.0
1961	76,686	3,032	4,536	7,568	26.1	117.4	48.9
1966	96,046	3,209	5,598	8,807	26.3	130.5	53.4
1971	117,637	3,604	7,783	11,387	27.8	126.0	59.5
1976	109,973	3,777	19,404	23,181	29.6	201.2	103.5
1981	113,905	3,152	23,293	26,445	23.1	131.1	84.2
1986	114,913	2,952	25,285	28,237	20.9	101.8	72.5

For footnotes see over.

**REMARRIAGES, DIVORCED AND WIDOWED PERSONS AGED 15 AND OVER, AUSTRALIA**  
—continued

Census year	Total marriages	Remarriages of persons previously—			Remarriage rates		
		Widowed	Divorced	Total	Widowed (a)	Divorced (a)	Total(b)
FEMALES							
1911	39,482	1,846	285	2,131	14.4	133.2	16.4
1921	46,869	2,770	583	3,353	16.8	135.5	19.8
1933	46,595	1,620	928	2,548	7.0	85.2	10.5
1947	76,457	3,654	5,102	8,756	11.7	185.4	25.9
1954	71,229	3,456	4,968	8,424	9.8	135.3	21.7
1961	76,686	3,301	4,776	8,077	8.1	110.2	17.9
1966	96,046	3,309	5,627	8,936	7.1	110.0	17.4
1971	117,637	3,833	7,467	11,300	7.4	104.6	19.2
1976	109,973	4,378	18,161	22,539	7.9	146.3	33.3
1981	113,905	3,727	21,870	25,597	6.1	96.9	30.5
1986	114,913	3,564	23,279	26,843	5.6	74.8	28.2

(a) Per thousand widowed or divorced persons. (b) Per thousand widowed and divorced persons.

Compared with the rapid rise in numbers of divorced persons remarrying throughout this century, the number of widowed persons remarrying has increased very slowly.

## MIGRATION

Statistics of overseas arrivals and departures are compiled from incoming and outgoing passenger cards which are collected from all travellers under the Migration Act 1958. Earlier statistics were obtained from Shipping and Plane manifests required under various Acts.

Since 1924, overseas travellers have been classified into two principal categories which distinguish short-term movements (of less than 12 months duration) from long-term movements (of 12 months duration or longer, including permanent movements). Revised questions for travellers were introduced in 1959 and again in 1974. The 1959 revision enabled the distinction of permanent from other long-term movements and also the identification of former settlers departing permanently. The 1974 revisions improved the layout of the passenger card without changing the classification.

### Migration to Australia

Migration to Australia is presently regulated by the Migration Act 1958 which came into force on 1 June 1959. Any person entering Australia after the introduction of the Act without having been granted an entry permit or who is not within an exempted class is a prohibited non-citizen. Exempted persons include New Zealand citizens, diplomatic and consular representatives of other countries, and seamen and air crew who enter Australian ports while on leave.

Until recently, net gains provided a satisfactory measure of the population gain from international migration (i.e., the excess of total arrivals over total departures). In recent years, however, because of the large increase in short term movements (over 6 million in 1986), distortions arising from seasonality of these movements have become very large. For the purpose of estimating the population of Australia and the States and Territories, therefore, the migration component of population growth has been measured since 1 July 1971 by reference to permanent and long-term movements only. Net migration is estimated to have directly contributed 34.0 per cent of the total population increase between

European settlement in 1788 and 1980. The first boost to free settlement came with the introduction of assisted migration schemes during the 1830s, with nearly half of the 2.5 million settlers arriving up to 1939 receiving assisted passage. Over 95.0 per cent of those assisted were British.

In the period since World War II, British migrants have remained the most numerous group of settlers. However, the group has declined in absolute numbers since the 1970s and as a proportion of total settler arrivals since the 1960s, from 46 to 48 per cent in the 1950s and 1960s to 25.2 per cent in 1981-85.

#### BIRTHPLACE OF SETTLER ARRIVALS (a) AUSTRALIA, SELECTED YEARS

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>1961- 65</i>	<i>1971- 75</i>	<i>1981- 85</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>1961- 65</i>	<i>1971- 75</i>	<i>1981- 85</i>	<i>Total</i>
	—'000—				—per cent—			
United Kingdom and Ireland	267.3	226.0	115.9	1,075.5	46.4	41.2	25.2	39.0
New Zealand	7.7	175	48.6	143.0	1.3	3.2	10.6	5.2
Italy	67.3	18.4	4.3	158.5	11.7	3.4	0.9	5.7
Yugoslavia	25.6	40.3	7.3	154.8	4.4	7.3	1.6	5.6
Greece	65.6	21.1	3.9	149.3	11.4	3.8	0.8	5.4
Vietnam	(b)	(b)	47.2	(c)84.9	(b)	(b)	10.3	(c)3.1
Germany	17.8	10.3	11.6	63.8	3.1	1.9	2.5	2.3
United States of America	6.8	19.5	8.4	56.2	1.2	3.6	1.8	2.0
Lebanon	3.5	12.8	7.0	53.9	0.6	2.3	1.5	2.0
Netherlands	13.2	5.6	6.4	41.9	2.3	1.0	1.4	1.5
India	3.2	12.1	8.3	41.6	0.6	2.2	1.8	1.5
South Africa	3.9	6.3	12.2	37.2	0.7	1.1	2.7	1.3
Poland	6.7	2.2	14.8	30.6	1.2	0.4	3.2	1.1
Turkey	(b)	11.6	3.7	(c)29.7	(b)	2.1	0.8	(c)1.1
Philippines	(b)	3.1	15.4	(c)27.0	(b)	0.6	3.4	(c)1.0
Malaysia	(b)	4.8	10.4	(c)24.0	(b)	0.9	2.3	(c)0.9
Hong Kong	(b)	(b)	9.9	(c)15.3	(b)	(b)	2.2	(c)0.6
Kampuchea	(b)	(b)	10.3	(c)13.8	(b)	(b)	2.2	(c)0.5
Other	87.4	136.8	113.8	556.0	15.2	24.9	24.8	20.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>576.0</b>	<b>548.4</b>	<b>459.4</b>	<b>2,757.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(a) Permanent arrivals only. (b) The statistics for this country are not separately available but are included in the category 'Other'. (c) The statistics for some listed countries do not relate to the whole period 1961 to 1985 i.e. the statistics for Vietnam relate to the period 1974-85; Turkey, 1966-85; Philippines, 1971-85; Malaysia, 1971-85; Hong Kong, 1976-85; Kampuchea, 1974-85.

In contrast, source countries of migrants have diversified and the number of non-British migrants has increased. Two factors have contributed to this shift. Firstly, entry conditions to Australia were eased after World War II initially for European refugees from Displaced Persons Camps then, subsequently, restrictions relating to other racial groups were removed. Secondly, assisted passage was extended to a wider range of migrants. Originally this included Central and Eastern European refugees after World War II, then German and Dutch settlers in the 1950s and 1960s, Southern European and Middle-East groups from the 1960s and, more recently, Indo-Chinese refugees. Between 1946 and 1980 some 53.7 per cent of settlers were assisted, reaching an average of 66.8 per cent during the boom migration years of 1966-70. In recent times, however, assisted passages have been phased out with the exception of refugees.

## SETTLER ARRIVALS, ASSISTED AND UNASSISTED, AUSTRALIA

Years	Assisted(a)		Unassisted		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Annual averages—					
1926–30	19,881	60.4	13,028	39.6	32,909
1931–35	156	1.4	10,733	98.6	10,889
1936–40	766	4.3	16,976	95.7	17,742
1941–45	—	—	6,525	100.0	6,525
1946–50	54,639	59.7	36,959	40.3	91,598
1951–55	55,048	48.3	58,970	51.7	114,018
1956–60	61,103	49.6	62,050	50.4	123,153
1961–65	67,426	58.5	47,772	41.5	115,198
1966–70	107,496	66.8	53,320	33.2	160,810
1971–75	58,180	53.0	51,510	47.0	109,690
1976–80	19,660	26.6	54,160	73.4	73,820
Annual totals—					
1982	20,200	18.8	86,970	81.2	107,170
1983	16,370	15.5	62,020	84.5	78,390
1984	—	—	—	—	73,000
1985	—	—	—	—	82,000
1986	—	—	—	—	103,330
1987	—	—	—	—	128,290

(a) From 1946–50 to 1983 figures for assisted settlers include assisted refugee arrivals. The Assisted Settler Scheme was discontinued in mid 1983, however some settlers under that Scheme arrived in the second half of 1983.

Statistics for birthplace of migrants are only available since 1959. However, some indication of migration by the largest non-British groups since World War II can be obtained by using data on nationality and birthplace of migrants. Between 1948 and 1985 approximately 8.7 per cent of all migrants were Italian, 5.1 per cent were Greek, 4.4 per cent were Yugoslavs, 3.8 per cent were Dutch, 3.4 per cent were Germans and 2.4 per cent were Polish.

## NATIONALITY OF PERMANENT ARRIVALS (a), AUSTRALIA

Nationality	1948–50		1951–55		1956–60		Total	
	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%	'000	%
British (b) and Irish	163.2	42.9	274.5	48.2	294.6	47.8	732.3	46.7
Italian	25.2	6.6	101.4	17.8	92.7	15.1	219.3	14.0
Dutch	12.8	3.4	62.7	11.0	45.0	7.3	120.5	7.7
German	3.2	0.8	42.0	7.4	38.6	6.3	83.8	5.3
Polish	63.6	16.7	5.3	0.9	5.3	0.9	74.3	4.7
Greek	4.0	1.1	28.8	5.1	39.3	6.4	72.2	4.6
Yugoslav	19.5	5.1	6.8	1.2	7.2	1.2	33.6	2.1
Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian	30.9	8.1	1.7	0.3	0.2	0.1	32.6	2.1
Hungarian	11.2	3.0	2.3	0.4	13.2	2.1	26.7	1.7
Russian	17.1	4.5	2.7	0.5	3.7	0.6	23.5	1.5
Austrian	1.0	0.3	7.6	1.3	10.5	1.7	19.2	1.2
Other and Stateless	28.6	7.5	34.3	6.0	65.4	10.6	128.4	8.2
Total	380.6	100.0	570.1	100.0	615.8	100.0	1,566.4	100.0

(a) 'Permanent arrivals' includes permanent and long-term movement exceeding 12 months. (b) Includes New Zealand and all British Commonwealth countries during the respective periods.

The contribution of various groups has changed over time, with northern Europe declining as a major source of migrants (apart from the British) by the 1960s, while southern European countries provided the greater part of non-English speaking migrants throughout the 1960s. From the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s migrants from the Middle-East and

India increased in numbers. More recently, since 1975, there has been an upturn in migrants from South-East Asia and Hong Kong, and particularly refugees from Indo-China. Between 1981 and 1985, Vietnamese-born arrivals accounted for 10.3 per cent of Australia's settler intake.

Since 1978-79, family immigration has increased in importance, with migration of family members now amounting to over 50 per cent of settler arrivals. Another recent trend has been the increase in non-visaed migrants in Australia. These are primarily New Zealand citizens migrating under the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement under which Australian and New Zealand citizens may enter each country without the need to obtain visas or entry permits. Other non-visaed migrants include children born to Australian citizens overseas, persons who have acquired Australian citizenship overseas and residents of Norfolk Island (an Australian Territory). New Zealand migrants increased numerically from 17,500 to 48,600 between 1971-75 and 1981-85 and as a proportion of total migrants from 3.2 per cent to 10.6 per cent between those periods. In 1987, New Zealanders comprised 12.0 per cent of total settler arrivals for the year.

The age composition of settlers has been younger than that of Australia's population for some time. The median age of settlers arriving between 1971 and 1984 was 24.0 years compared with 29.7 years for the population as a whole at the time of the 1981 Census and the age structure of settlers reflects the predominance of young families arriving in Australia. Persons aged 65 years and over represented 3.6 per cent of migrants arriving between 1971 and 1985, which contrasts with the share of these people in Australia's population of 10.5 per cent in 1986.

#### PERMANENT ARRIVALS BY SEX AND AGE, PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, AUSTRALIA

Years	Age group						Total number
	0-4	5-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65 and over	
MALES							
Annual averages—							
1947-50	9.5	10.3	21.7	48.4	8.8	1.4	62,930
1951-55	9.0	14.9	25.9	41.8	7.2	1.2	64,821
1956-60	25.5	29.0	27.0	38.7	7.4	1.4	59,532
1961-65			25.6	36.3	7.6	1.5	59,972
1966-70	12.2	17.8	24.5	37.3	6.7	1.4	86,480
1971-75	13.3	17.9	23.1	36.4	7.0	2.2	55,790
1976-80	13.4	19.4	20.9	34.4	8.1	3.8	36,830
1981-85	12.2	19.1	19.0	38.4	7.8	3.6	46,760
FEMALES							
Annual averages—							
1947-50	12.1	12.6	18.3	41.6	12.6	2.8	47,013
1951-55	11.1	17.4	18.5	39.6	10.9	2.4	49,197
1956-60	26.7	29.2	24.3	36.4	10.0	2.5	52,514
1961-65			25.8	33.1	9.3	2.7	55,226
1966-70	13.3	19.4	23.9	32.5	8.4	2.5	74,330
1971-75	12.9	17.3	25.4	32.4	8.9	3.2	53,900
1976-80	12.5	17.3	21.9	32.9	10.5	4.9	37,000
1981-85	11.8	17.4	19.3	37.6	9.4	4.5	45,122
PERSONS							
Annual averages—							
1947-50	10.6	11.3	20.2	45.5	10.4	2.0	109,943
1951-55	9.9	16.0	22.7	40.8	8.8	1.7	114,018
1956-60	26.1	29.1	25.8	37.6	8.6	1.9	112,046
1961-65			25.7	34.8	8.4	2.1	115,198
1966-70	12.7	18.6	24.2	35.1	7.5	1.9	160,810
1971-75	13.1	17.6	24.2	34.4	7.9	2.7	109,690
1976-80	13.0	18.3	21.4	33.6	9.3	4.3	73,830
1981-85	12.0	18.3	19.2	38.0	8.6	4.0	91,882

Despite the youthfulness of the settlers, their median age has been rising. In 1971 it was 23.1 years and in 1986 it was 26.4 years. This rise has been particularly marked since 1981, when the numbers of migrants under the 'family reunion' category began to increase. At the younger ages, declines have taken place since the mid 1970s in the proportion of settlers in the 15-24 year age group while there has been an increase in the proportion of settlers aged 45 and over.

The sex ratio of settlers has declined almost continually between 1948-50 and 1976-80, with the exception of the 1961-65 period. The sex ratio tends to be high in years of large intake, and falls as intake declines. Males have constantly exceeded females in the 25-44 year age group, although the sex ratio has fallen closer to equality since the mid 1970s. Traditionally, the sex ratio of the overseas born has been higher than the Australian born population.

#### PERMANENT ARRIVALS: SEX RATIOS (a) BY AGE, AUSTRALIA

Year	Age group					Total
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+	
Annual averages—						
1947-50	107.5	158.5	155.6	93.0	66.2	133.9
1951-55	110.4	184.1	139.0	87.7	62.7	131.8
1956-60	108.4	126.0	120.2	84.0	61.7	113.4
1961-65	107.8	107.9	119.2	88.4	62.3	108.6
1966-70	106.7	119.3	133.7	93.1	66.7	116.3
1971-75	109.6	94.1	116.5	81.2	72.3	103.5
1976-80	109.6	95.1	104.1	76.4	76.8	99.5
1981-85	111.3	101.7	105.7	85.1	83.2	103.6

(a) The number of males per 100 females.

## Refugees

Since 1945, Australia has accepted more than 420,000 refugees or displaced persons, including 170,000 from Europe who were displaced by World War II and its aftermath.

Australia presently accepts refugees from about 40 countries. The largest element in Australia's current refugee intake is the Indo-Chinese program. In 1984, 8,537 Indo-Chinese refugees were resettled in Australia.

#### REFUGEE ARRIVALS(a), AUSTRALIA

Period	Number
Annual averages—	
1961-65	n.a.
1966-70	n.a.
1971-75	10,549
1976-80	12,558
Annual totals—	
1979	17,057
1980	21,692
1981	21,972
1982	17,522
1983	17,016
1984	15,761
1985	13,089
1986	10,196
1987	12,255

(a) Includes arrivals under the Special Humanitarian Program instituted late in 1981.



Australia is one of 97 countries which have become party to an international convention and protocol on the status of refugees and, in so doing, have taken on certain international legal obligations to assist refugees. The final determination of a refugee's status and the decision to accept refugees for resettlement in Australia rests with the Australian Government. Australia is also a member of the Executive Committee of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Australia's response to refugee situations is twofold. Through aid programs directed principally through UNHCR, refugees are offered protection and assistance in countries of first refuge. Those refugees for whom other durable solutions are not feasible may be offered resettlement (in Australia) if they have relatives in Australia, other close ties with Australia or the potential for successful settlement in their own right. Such refugees must also be presented to Australia by the UNHCR as being registered or otherwise eligible for resettlement.

### Permanent Departures

An important influence on the level of population growth is the level of population loss due to outmigration. Between 1971 and 1985, total permanent departures numbered 421,135 persons or an average of 28,076 per year, a level which is 30.6 per cent of the total permanent arrivals in Australia in this period. In other words, for almost every three settlers who arrived during the period, one person has left Australia. The number of departures has declined however since the early 1970s. During the five years between 1981 and 1985, total permanent departures were at a level of 23.8 per cent of total permanent arrivals. In 1987, the number of permanent departures was 20,420 comprising 15.9 per cent of permanent arrivals for the year.

#### PERMANENT DEPARTURES BY CATEGORY AND PERMANENT ARRIVALS, AUSTRALIA

<i>Year ended 31 December</i>	<i>Permanent departures</i>			<i>Permanent arrivals</i>	<i>Ratio of permanent departures to permanent arrivals</i>
	<i>Former settlers</i>	<i>Other residents</i>	<i>Total</i>		
1973	30,325	13,105	43,430	105,003	0.414
1974	21,849	11,902	33,751	121,324	0.278
1975	18,315	10,769	29,084	54,117	0.537
1976	16,815	9,917	26,732	58,317	0.458
1977	14,171	8,591	22,762	75,640	0.301
1978	14,027	10,934	24,961	68,420	0.365
1979	12,670	10,750	23,420	72,420	0.323
1980	11,450	9,393	20,843	94,500	0.221
1981	11,280	8,576	19,856	118,740	0.167
1982	13,352	9,141	22,493	107,170	0.210
1983	16,920	8,950	25,870	78,400	0.330
1984	12,550	9,760	22,310	73,110	0.305
1985	10,020	8,600	18,620	82,000	0.227
1986	9,960	8,860	18,820	103,330	0.182
1987	11,010	9,400	20,420	128,290	0.159

Of the two categories of permanent departures, that is 'former settlers' and 'other residents', it has been under the first category that there has been the greatest outflow of persons. Between 1971 and 1987, 'former settlers' represented 63.6 per cent of all permanent departures. The departure of 'other residents' fluctuated between 9,000 and 13,000 persons from year to year throughout the period. The fall in the total number of departures, noted above, is largely attributable to the decline in the number of 'former settlers' departing. There are two major reasons for this decline, the first relates to the decline in the number of settler arrivals in the early 1970s and the second to the increase

in refugee arrivals for whom there are indications that they are less likely than other settlers to return to their own country.

### Internal Migration

Information on internal migration has been available from the censuses since 1971 and from the annual Internal Migration Survey since 1970. A good indicator of internal movement over the long term is the duration of stay at a person's usual residence, although this indicator is age-selective and, for the overseas-born, dependent on the year of arrival in Australia. According to the Internal Migration Survey, at 31 May 1987, 74 per cent of persons aged 15 and over had lived at their current usual residence for less than 15 years—that is, they had moved at least once during the past 15 years.

#### PERSONS AGED 15 YEARS AND OVER: DURATION OF STAY AT USUAL RESIDENCE BY STATE OF USUAL RESIDENCE, AUSTRALIA, 31 MAY 1987

Duration of stay at usual residence 31 May 1987	State of usual residence at 31 May 1987							
	NSW	Vic.	Qld	SA	WA	Tas.	NT	ACT
	—'000—							
Less than 1 year:								
1–12 weeks	152.3	118.9	102.6	31.4	57.4	14.7	6.1	9.2
13–25 weeks	171.3	110.7	102.7	40.7	60.1	15.2	9.7	9.9
26–38 weeks	181.0	122.8	104.6	42.7	56.5	14.8	7.5	9.3
39–51 weeks	117.5	100.5	64.9	27.5	39.5	10.3	4.8	6.4
Total	622.2	452.8	374.8	142.2	213.5	55.1	28.0	34.7
1–4 years	1,128.5	855.5	580.4	282.6	326.7	95.1	33.9	55.3
5–9 years	772.2	541.4	356.6	186.5	172.1	59.2	14.4	32.0
10–14 years	470.2	430.8	205.6	127.9	128.5	40.1	13.5	25.5
15–19 years	448.8	344.6	140.5	121.5	87.2	31.1	6.4	19.8
20–24 years	276.4	211.3	89.8	69.7	48.6	21.2	2.5	9.8
25 years or more	449.8	337.1	167.8	119.5	88.4	35.8	2.5	10.8
Total	4,168.1	3,173.6	1,915.6	1,050.1	1,065.0	337.5	101.2	188.1

#### INTERNAL MIGRATION (a)(b), AUSTRALIA

	Year ended—			
	30 June 1984	30 June 1985	31 May 1986	31 May 1987
	—'000—			
Changed usual residence—				
Intrastate—				
Within the same metropolitan area	1,326.1	1,296.5	1,195.4	1,259.8
To and from metropolitan areas	227.4	237.9	220.3	243.1
Within the same non-metropolitan area	780.3	771.2	770.8	755.5
Total	2,333.8	2,305.6	2,186.6	2,258.4
Interstate	214.3	239.0	252.3	239.4
Total	2,548.2	2,544.6	2,438.9	2,497.8
Did not change usual residence	12,584.1	12,698.2	13,009.8	13,132.9
Total	15,132.3	15,242.8	15,448.6	15,630.7
	—Movers per thousand of population—			
Mobility rate	168	167	158	160

(a) Non-institutionalised civilians who were resident in Australia at the beginning and end of the survey year. (b) Excludes persons resident in Australia but with no usual residence at the beginning and/or end of the survey year.

Recent Internal Migration Surveys show that about 16 per cent of all persons change their residence within a twelve month period. Of those who change their residence, about 50 per cent remain within the same capital city and another 40 per cent within the same State or Territory. Nearly 10 per cent are interstate movements.

The predominant reason for moving given by persons aged 15 and over at the 1987 Internal Migration Survey, particularly for intrastate movers, was housing. Of all intrastate movers, 32 per cent gave housing as the main reason. The next most quoted reason—employment—accounted for only 10 per cent of intrastate moves. On the other hand employment emerged as the main reason for interstate moves. It accounted for 45 per cent of interstate moves, whilst housing only accounted for 3 per cent.

The level of net interstate migration has been an important influence on the distribution of Australia's population amongst the States and Territories. Historically it has been much more important than differential fertility or mortality and in many periods more important than overseas migration. The table below presents estimates of net interstate migration for the fourteen intercensal periods between 1881 and 1986 and the financial years from 1981–82 to 1985–86. Net interstate migration tends to be volatile in nature and large gains and losses have been recorded by the States.

#### NET INTERSTATE MIGRATION, AUSTRALIA

<i>Period</i>	<i>NSW</i>	<i>Vic.</i>	<i>Qld</i>	<i>SA</i>	<i>WA</i>	<i>Tas.</i>	<i>NT</i>	<i>ACT</i>
Intercensal periods—								
<i>(a)</i>								
1881–91	21.4	7.8	7.3	-31.6	1.7	-6.5	—	—
1891–1901	5.2	-64.0	6.4	-16.7	69.7	-0.7	—	—
1901–11	16.3	-38.6	10.2	-11.1	32.2	-11.0	—	—
1911–21	40.2	-8.8	0.5	5.6	-20.8	-16.8	—	—
1921–33	0.7	3.2	14.3	-5.5	0.6	-18.2	0.5	4.4
1933–47	2.8	18.6	-6.6	-5.2	-10.8	-7.1	4.2	4.2
1947–54	-34.2	-3.5	22.7	7.0	1.4	1.1	1.6	4.1
1954–61	-23.6	1.9	15.4	4.1	-7.7	-6.3	4.1	12.0
1961–66	-15.8	-19.5	10.2	0.8	8.6	-7.1	3.6	19.2
1966–71	-18.5	-33.4	17.6	-15.0	22.6	-7.1	10.7	23.1
<i>(b)</i>								
1966–71	-21.8	-28.4	16.7	-17.9	24.1	-7.1	9.2	25.2
1971–76	-78.7	-41.0	69.8	6.7	20.7	-4.2	-1.2	27.8
1976–81	-26.3	-58.4	88.2	-15.2	11.1	-4.5	4.7	0.5
1981–86	-68.8	-41.9	95.7	-8.4	17.2	-1.9	3.4	4.7
Financial years—								
<i>(c)</i>								
1975–76	-15.5	-13.5	12.5	1.5	8.9	-0.6	3.1	3.6
1980–81	-15.0	-15.4	35.1	-5.1	2.1	-1.0	0.3	-1.0
<i>(d)</i>								
1981–82	-19.6	-14.4	35.5	-4.9	3.6	-2.0	2.1	-0.2
1982–83	-17.2	-5.1	20.8	-0.3	1.5	-1.2	0.5	1.0
1983–84	-10.3	-3.3	10.0	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.9
1984–85	-9.3	-5.8	12.9	-2.3	2.0	0.8	0.6	1.2
1985–86	-12.5	-13.2	16.5	-1.4	9.4	-0.1	-0.5	1.8
1986–87	-10.3	-13.4	18.1	3.2	10.4	-2.8	-1.4	2.7

*Sources:* (a) Rowland, D.T. 1979: Internal Migration in Australia, Census Monograph series, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, p. 20. Figures refer only to movement of Australian born persons, estimated by use of intercensal survival method. (b) Census results adjusted for movement of persons aged 0–4 years. (c) Unadjusted Census data, 1976 and 1981. (d) Based on Family Allowance transfers.

New South Wales gained in population considerably from interstate migration between 1881 and 1921. Minimal gains were made between 1921 and 1947 but from then on the State has experienced substantial net losses, particularly to Queensland and, since the 1960s, to the Australian Capital Territory and Western Australia.

Victoria experienced high net losses during the depression of the 1890s and in the intercensal period 1901–1911. There was a period of large net gains between 1933 and 1947, but by 1961–1966 the State had reverted to net losses which still persist.

Major migration to Queensland occurred in the twenty years from 1966 to 1986. Queensland gained in all intercensal periods, excepting 1933–1947. This gain has been especially large since 1947, and in particular between 1971 and 1986.

South Australia has experienced fluctuating interstate migration, recording large losses between 1881 and 1911, noticeable gains in the 1947–1954 period, and gradual declines until, in 1966–1971, it had returned to large losses. The State gained again between 1971 and 1976 but since then has reverted to losses, although the extent of these has been considerably less than for New South Wales and Victoria.

Western Australia gained considerably from interstate migration between 1891 and 1911, but the following fifty years were generally a period of net losses. From 1961 however, Western Australia has recorded consistent net gains, mainly from Victoria, South Australia and, until 1983, from New South Wales.

Tasmania has a long history of losing population to other States. These losses were greatest between 1901 and 1933. Since 1983, however, the historical trend has been reversed and Tasmania has experienced small gains in net migration.

The Northern Territory and Australian Capital Territory have consistently gained from interstate migration. The Australian Capital Territory in particular recorded very large gains in the seventeen years to 1976. Net migration for the Northern Territory between 1971 and 1976 should be interpreted in the light of the impact of Cyclone Tracy on Darwin which caused an evacuation of a large part of the Territory's population in December 1974 and early 1975. Net migration to both Territories slowed towards the end of the 1970s with Northern Territory receiving only small gains in the 1980s. The Australian Capital Territory lost population at the beginning of the 1980s, but since 1982 has experienced increasing gains.

During the fifteen years from 1971 to 1986, the flow of persons interstate increased, both numerically and in proportion to the population. Recent census data indicate that for the three five-year periods, 1971–76, 1976–81 and 1981–86, the number of interstate movers was 569,500, 651,200 and 716,555 respectively. This increase was evident for both males and females, with the masculinity ratio of interstate flows remaining virtually constant at 107.

#### INTERSTATE MOVERS BY AGE, MOBILITY RATES (a) AND SEX RATIOS (b) AUSTRALIA

Age group years	Number of interstate movers			Mobility rates		
	1971–76	1976–81	1981–86	1971–76	1976–81	1981–86
1–4	..	..	..	..	..	..
5–9	69,810	75,603	69,830	56	61	59
10–14	49,979	59,096	62,803	40	46	48
15–19	49,899	53,025	59,331	41	42	44
20–24	83,239	89,139	92,223	75	72	69
25–29	99,102	100,337	110,169	88	85	82
30–34	64,271	85,729	89,571	68	72	71
35–39	42,174	55,606	73,719	52	57	58
40–44	27,380	34,104	44,539	38	42	44
45–49	22,328	21,948	27,629	29	30	33
50–54	17,993	19,155	19,134	24	25	26
55–59	12,933	16,929	18,700	21	23	25
60–64	11,008	14,769	18,214	20	25	25
65 and over	19,402	25,745	30,693	16	18	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>569,518</b>	<b>651,185</b>	<b>716,555</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Sex ratios—</b>						
Interstate movers	106	107	107			
Total population	100	100	100			

(a) Interstate movers per 1,000 population of the same age group at end of period. (b) The number of males per 100 females.

Interstate mobility rates by age have revealed a clear and consistent life cycle pattern in the propensity of persons to move interstate. Looking at the five-yearly migration data, there was, initially, an above-average rate for the 5–9 year age group because of the high mobility of their parents. This was followed by a period of below average mobility in the early teenage years. Mobility was highest at ages 20–39 years, from whence it steadily declined with age. The highest mobility rates occurred at ages 25–29 years and the lowest at ages 65 and over. Females were generally less likely to move interstate than males, with differences being most pronounced during the child-rearing ages from 25 to 45 years.

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