



## Basic demographic analysis of coastal towns from Towns in Time 2001 database

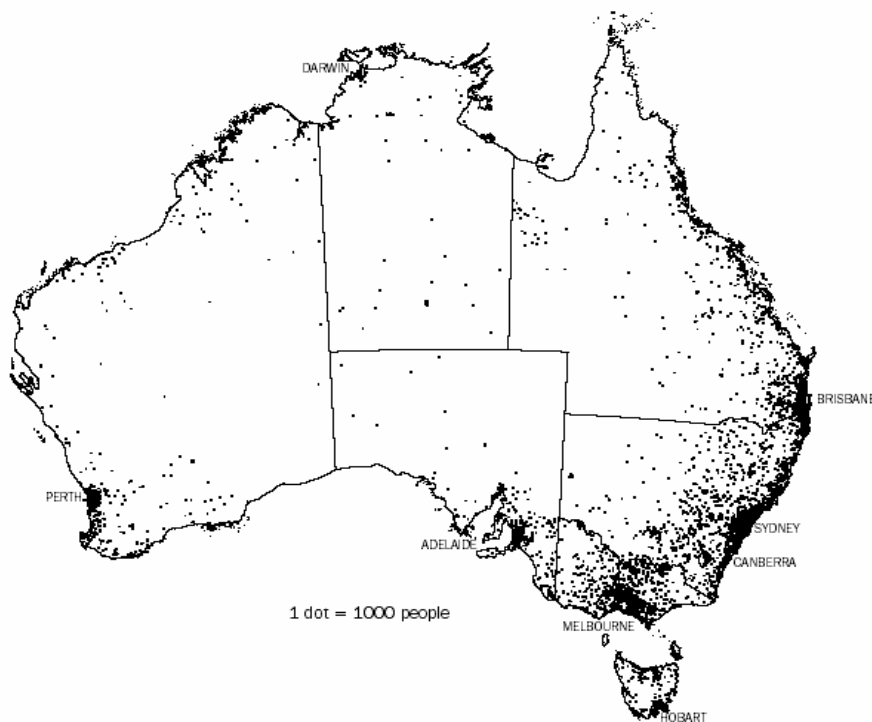
Prepared by – Demographic Research Team, Spatial Information and Research

### Introduction

Demography is at the heart of the paradox of coastal development: along much of Australia's non-metropolitan coastline, high rates of population growth and construction and rapid house and land price increases are often 'matched' by high unemployment and welfare dependency rates and narrow, specialised and often weak local economies.

Australia has a strong and increasingly coastal pattern of settlement. In 2001, over 81% of Australia's population was estimated to live within fifty kilometres of the coast. This proportion has increased slightly, from 79.9% in 1991 to 81.1% in 2001.

### Australia's population distribution



(a) Estimated resident population.  
Source: *Regional Population Growth, Australia and New Zealand (3218.0)*.

This picture of a predominantly coastal pattern of settlement, however, has to be qualified. Over 61% of Australia's population live in the six state capitals which are all located on the coasts, having cemented their roles as colonial capitals and the foci of trade. Other major cities such as Newcastle, Geelong, Wollongong, Wyalla and Launceston all have long established industrial and port functions. While many of these older industrial cities experience now have slow growth rates (Geelong is an exception), the state capitals are all growing strongly: all state capitals now experience faster population growth rates than their non-metropolitan areas.

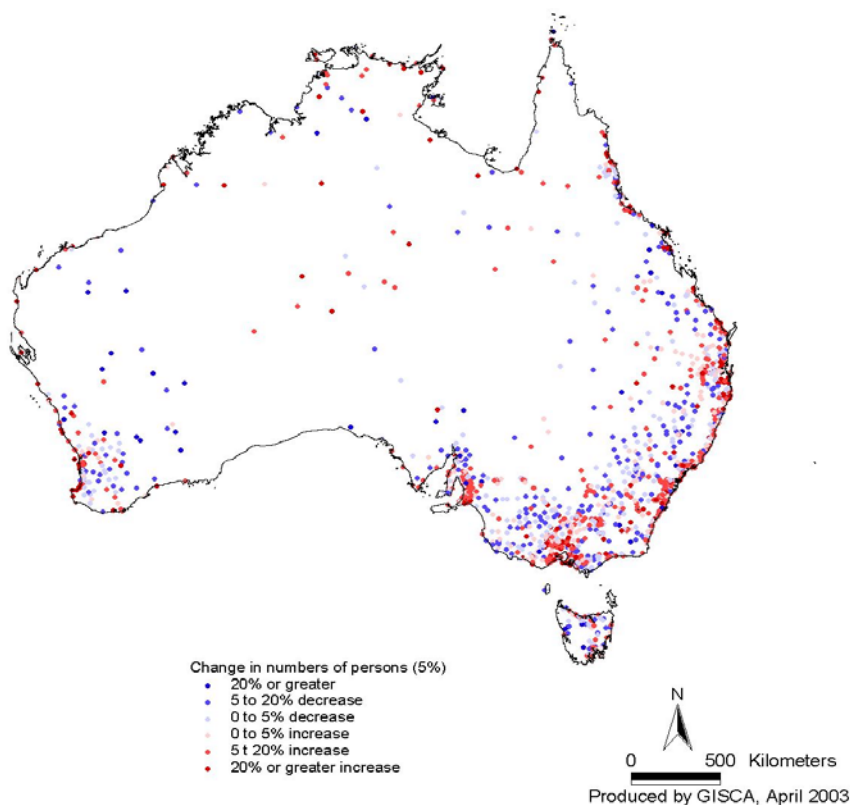


## Rates of population growth, 1998-2003, capital cities and rest of states

State/Territory	Capital	Rest of State
NSW	1.1	1.0
Victoria	1.3	0.9
Queensland	2.0	1.9
South Australia	0.5	0.4
Western Australia	1.4	1.3
Tasmania	0.4	0.1
Northern Territory	1.3	0.4
ACT	0.8	0.5
Australia	1.3	1.2

A second major factor in Australia's changing settlement pattern has been either absolute or relative population decline in many inland areas. Increasing mechanisation of agriculture, changing commodity prices, lower tariffs, improved communications and only slow growth of business and personal service employment has led to a shift of people out of many rural areas and small towns.

## Population changes of Australian towns, 1996-2001

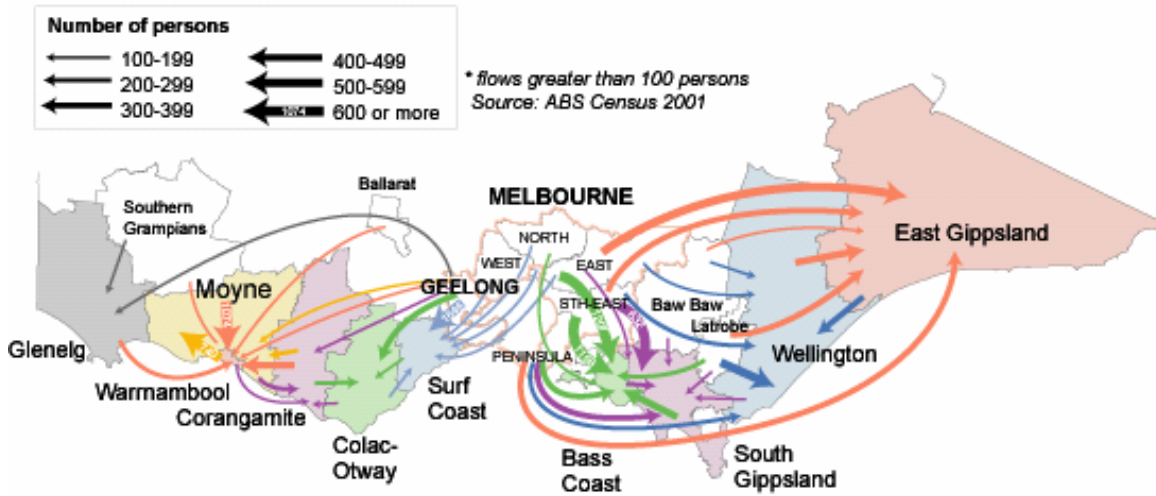


With this context of national growth, there has nevertheless been fast development along the coast of Australia or at least certain parts of it. The Gold and Sunshine Coasts are the best examples, and more recently much of the coast of NSW and Victoria has experienced intense pressure for development.

Population growth along Victoria's coasts is driven almost entirely by migration from other parts of Victoria. Overseas and interstate migration focussed on Melbourne while owing to the old population structures of most coastal settlement, natural increase (births minus deaths) is either slow or negative. Unsurprisingly, Melbourne with over 70% of Victoria's population is the main source of coastal migrants. There are other significant two way shifts of people between adjacent municipalities, Geelong and Surf Coast and Warrnambool and Moyne being examples.



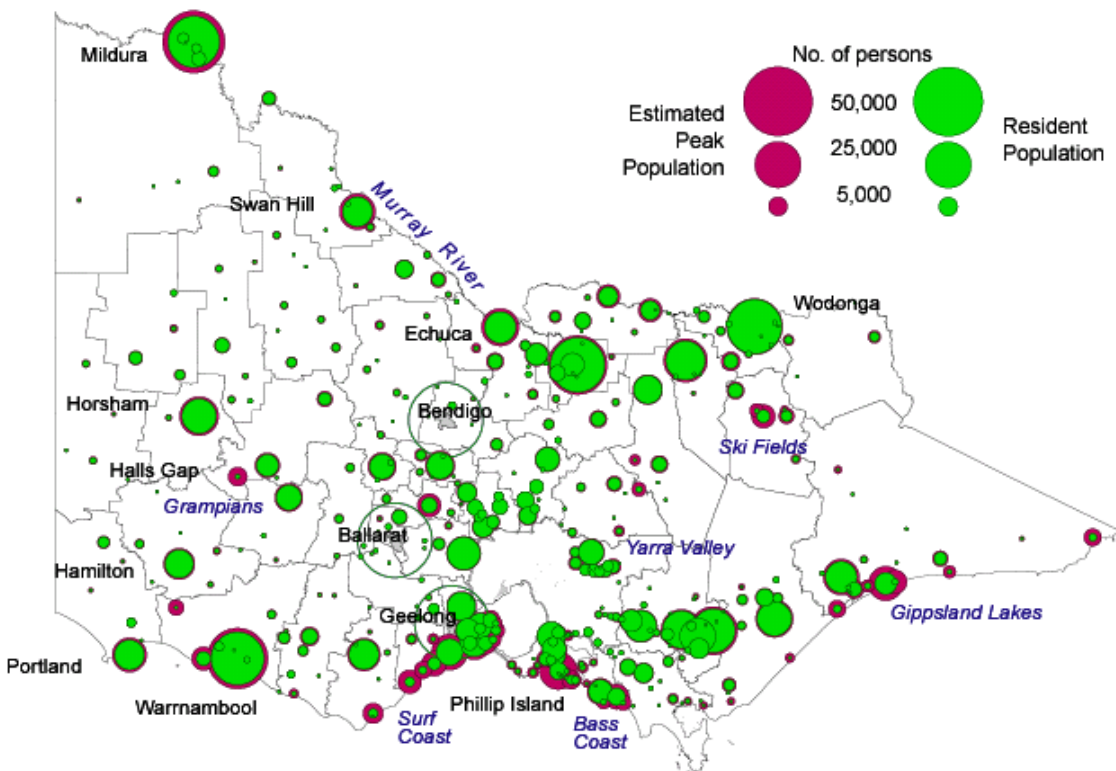
## Migration flows into Victorian coastal LGAs, 1996 to 2001



Source: INRM project, DSE, 2004

Furthermore population pressure on coasts is expected to intensify over time as the population ages and the numbers of people entering retirement increases.

## Population Estimates for selected Victorian Towns

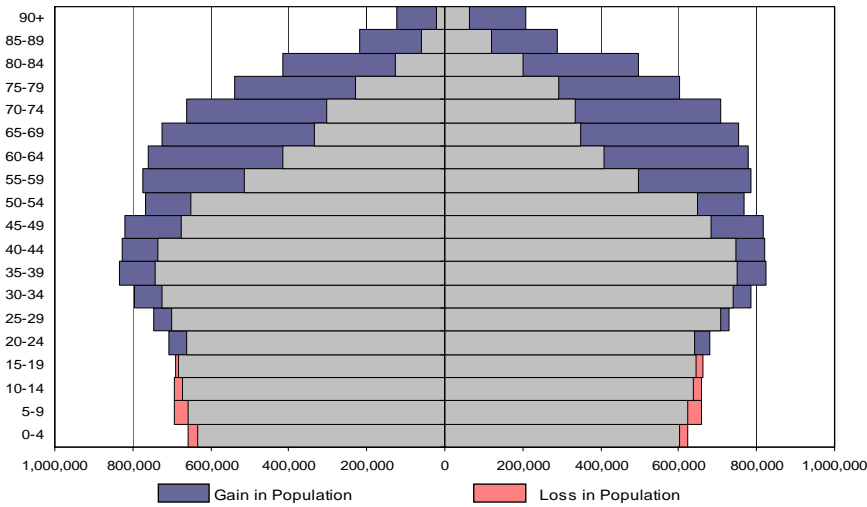


Sources: DSE Towns in Time data based on ABS Census 2001; RACV, Experience Victoria, 2000.  
DSE September 2004.

Note: Peak population estimates take into account potential population should unoccupied dwellings and tourist accommodation be utilised. A count of unoccupied dwellings is provided by the ABS Census and this number has been multiplied by the average household size for Regional Victoria in 2001 (2.52 persons). Tourist accommodation data has been obtained from the RACV Experience Victoria accommodation guide and the number of person in tourist accommodation determined on the basis of either 2 persons per bedroom, or a person capacity where this was stated.



## Projected change in Australia's population age structure, 2001-2031

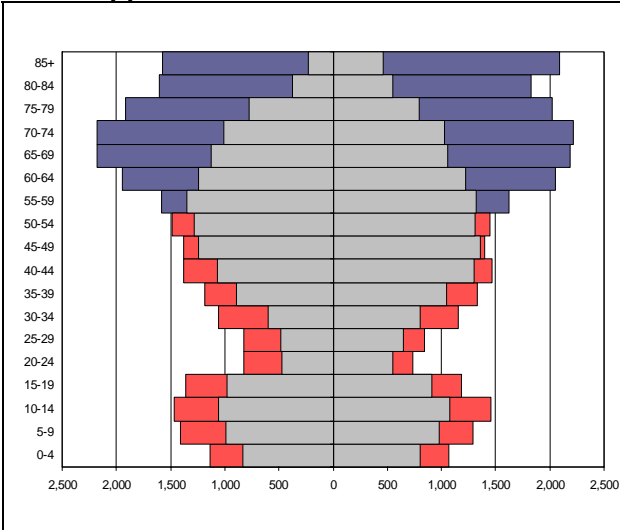


Source: Population projections, Australia, 2002-2101 (series B) ABS, Catalogue no. 2002, September, 2003

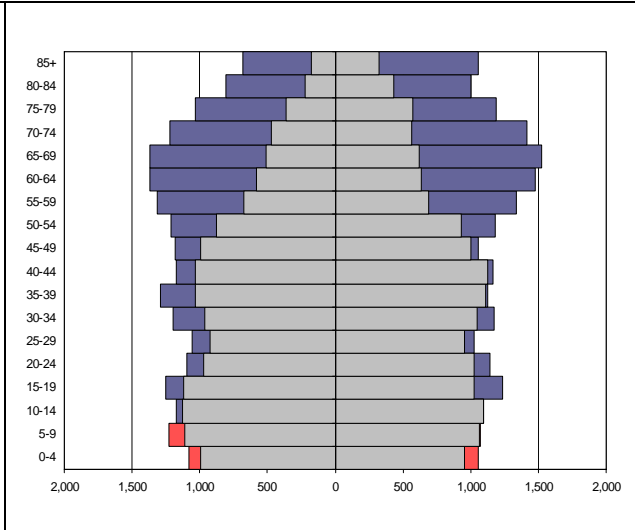
The leading age of baby boomers, born in 1946, is currently aged 58 and is at the point when many are either retiring or at least downsizing their work commitments. The highest single cohort of people in Australia and Victoria are people born in 1971 and now aged 33. So over the next twenty five years, there will be large and increasing numbers of people who will reach retirement. Most of these people currently live in the big cities. Where will they live as they age? Even if small proportions want to retire to the coast, the pressure for development will be intense. So will the demand for all the services that older people demand, including the need for labour to provide those services. Victorian government population projections show that the ageing process that is common across all of Victoria, is particularly intense along coasts should current migration patterns persist.

## Projected Population changes: 2001-2031

### East Gippsland



### Warrnambool



Source: Victoria in Future 2004, DSE

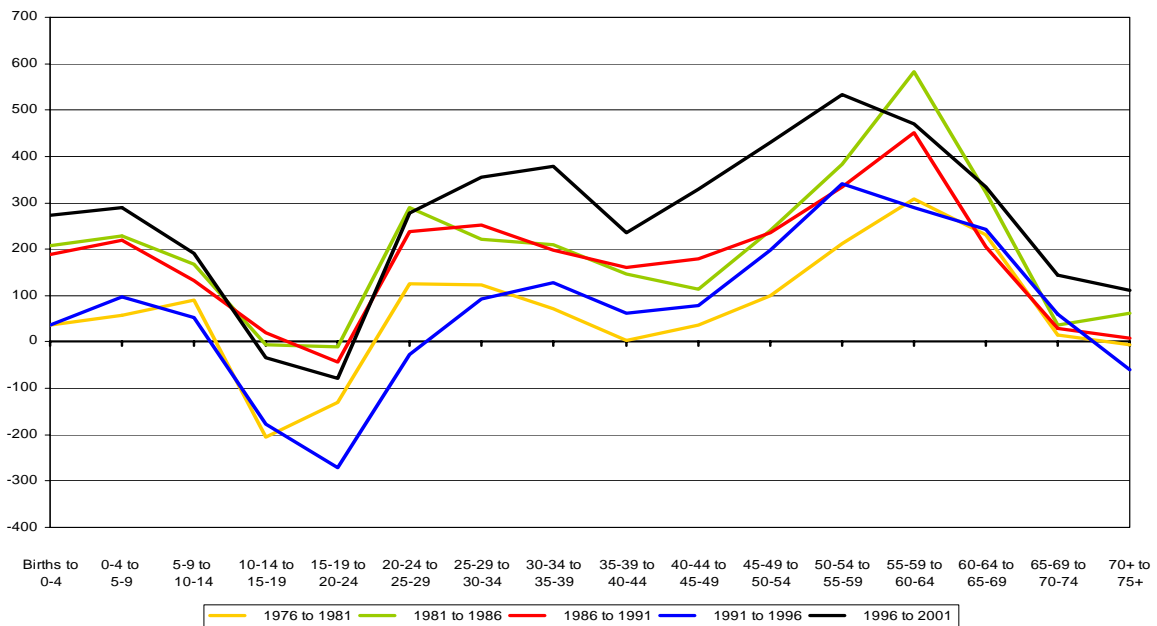
While the 2003-04 State of the Regions report prepared by NIEIR for the Australian Local Government Association ascribed the movement of retirees to the coast as Australia's biggest national demographic shift, pressure on the coasts comes from more than just retirement migration. Other demands come from:



1. Increasing demands from a younger commuting population. Most of the coastal growth outside metropolitan areas is in areas immediately adjacent to them.

In Victoria, inter-censal migration profiles show that municipalities such as Bass Coast attract a cross section of age groups. Retirement migration is strong but so too is the migration of families (adults aged in their 30s and 40s) and their children. Characteristic of most areas outside inner Melbourne, however, an area like Bass Coast loses some of its young adult population.

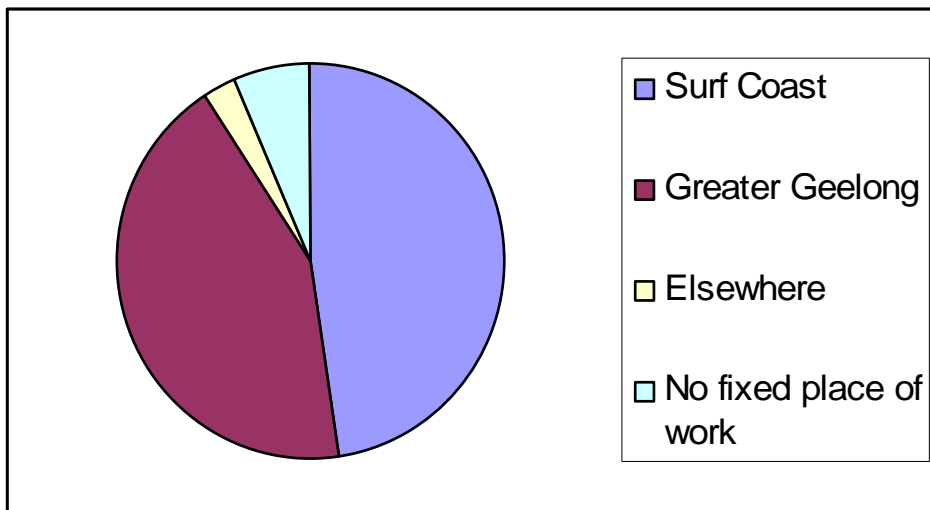
### Age specific migration, Bass Coast, 1976-2001



Source: ABS Census 1976 to 2001

With improved communications, more flexible working hours and more employment opportunities in the outer suburbs, coastal areas have become prime commuting territory for the state capitals or the cities near them. In Victoria, people can live in Bass Coast Shire, the Bellarine Peninsula or Surf Coast and commute into Melbourne or Geelong for work and more people are capitalising on that opportunity. At a smaller scale, the coasts either side of Warrnambool and Bairnsdale have also taken on a dormitory role.

### The workplace of Surf Coast's workers



Source: ABS Census 2001 – Journey to Work data



2. Increasing demands from second home owners. Higher second home ownership is a function of increasing affluence with much of this increasing wealth being in middle aged and older age groups who have paid off their first home. In Australia, housing investment remains a sound source of wealth accumulation. Investment in residential property along coasts has therefore occurred for lifestyle and investment reasons.

#### Examples of vacancy rates in Victoria, 2001

Victoria	8.7%
Melbourne metropolitan area	7.0%
Regional Victoria	12.5%
Coastal Regions*	
Shipwreck Coast	13.2%
Great Ocean Road	25.7%
Bellarine Peninsula	12.6%
Bellarine Peninsula excluding Geelong city	28.5%
Queenscliffe	49.8%
Bass Coast and Westernport	34.9%
Gippsland Coast	23.7%

Source: ABS Census 2001, DSE

\*See later in this section for definition of SLAs and LGAs that comprise these regions

3. Increasing demands from day-trippers. While coast have always been popular for day trippers, their reach has been extended by high car ownership and better roads.

Increasing second home ownership and day-tripping result in a stronger seasonality of populations and demands for services. But the extent of this is difficult to measure. The census, the only true count of the population, occurs on a weekday every five years in August, outside of any school or public holidays: a time in Victoria when the Victorian coastline is most deserted. To estimate the higher seasonal populations, other less systematic estimates are required.



## Overview of Regions

This section of analysis presents key data from the unpublished Time Series database which is a collection of Census data from the past five censuses dating back to 1981. This is intended to establish introductory overviews of identified regions along the Victoria coast.

### Shipwreck Coast

Incorporating Glenelg (S) – Portland SLA, Glenelg (S) – Heywood SLA, and Moyne (S) – North-West SLA

The total population in the Shipwreck Coast region grew in the early 1980s to just over 21,000 (due to growth in Portland associated with the aluminium smelter) but has declined since then to around 18,700 in 2001. Over the 20 year period the average annual population change was -0.1%.

The number of households has grown from just under 6,000 in 1981 to just over 7,000 in 2001 with a flat period of no growth between 1991 and 1996.

### Great Ocean Road region

Incorporating Moyne (S) – South SLA, Warrnambool (C), Corangamite (S) – South SLA, Colac-Otway (S) – South SLA, and Surf Coast (S) LGA.

The total population in the Great Ocean Road region has grown strongly and steadily throughout the 20 years from the early 1980s (when it was 52,950) to around 69,400 in 2001. Over the 20 year period the average annual population growth was 1.4%.

The number of households has grown even more strongly, averaging growth of 2.0% per annum, growing from 16,700 in 1981 to 24,800 in 2001.

### Bellarine Peninsula

Incorporating Greater Geelong (C) and Queenscliff (B) LGAs

The total population in the Bellarine Peninsula region has grown strongly and steadily throughout the 20 years from 1981 to 2001. The region grew from 158,000 to 187,400 people at an average annual rate of 0.9% over this 20 year period.

The number of households has grown even more rapidly, averaging growth of 1.7% per annum, growing from 51,150 in 1981 to 71,350 in 2001.

### Westernport and Bass Coast

Incorporating Casey (C) – South SLA, Cardinia (S) – South SLA and Bass Coast (S) LGA.

The total population in the Westernport and Bass Coast region has grown very rapidly over the 20 years from 1981 (24,100) to 2001 (40,100). This represents an average annual growth rate of 2.4% over this 20 year period, despite the period between 1991 and 1996 recording only a relatively low average annual population growth rate of 0.8%.

The number of households again grew very quickly, averaging growth of 3.1% per annum, rising from 8,000 in 1981 to 14,900 in 2001.

### Gippsland Coast

Incorporating South Gippsland (S) – Central SLA, South Gippsland (S) – East SLA, Wellington (S) – Alberton SLA, Wellington (S) – Rosedale SLA, East Gippsland (S)

The total population in the Gippsland Coast region grew strongly in the decade from 1981 to 1991, growing from 63,150 to 73,350 people at an average annual rate of 1.5%. From 1991 to 2001, growth continued but at a much more modest average annual rate of 0.3%, with the region reaching a total of 75,500 people in 2001.



A similar pattern occurred with the growth in total number of households being much faster in the 1981 to 1991 decade (2.5%) than the 1991 to 2001 period (1.1%). Over the entire 20 year period, the total number of households grew strongly from 19,900 to 28,450 at 1.8% per annum.

## Analysis of Towns

This section of analysis presents key data from the Towns in Time 2001 database which is a collection of Census data from the past five censuses dating back to 1981. This is intended to establish profiles of demographic change in towns and rural areas along the Victoria coast.

### Population growth

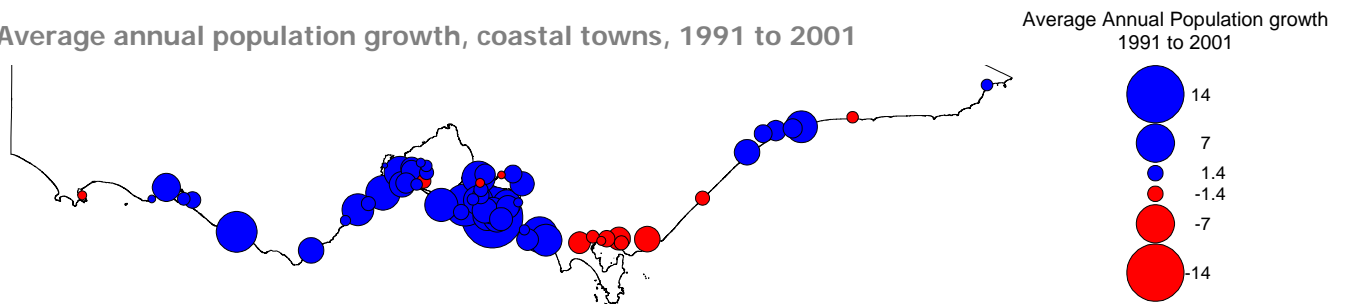
Towns along the Victoria Coast have demonstrated a variety of patterns of population growth over the past two decades, ranging from very rapid growth through to population decline. Furthermore, the patterns of growth have varied between the decades of the 1980s and the 1990s.

From 1981 to 1991 average annual population growth in Victoria was 1.0% and from 1991 to 2001 it was 0.9%. The coastal towns examined in this analysis are grouped according to very high growth (greater than 4.0% per annum), high growth (above average at 1.0% to 4.0% per annum), low growth (0.0% to 1.0% per annum) and decline. Some smaller towns have no growth data available from the 1991 to 2001 period.

Generally most towns have grown in population over the 10 year period from 1991 to 2001 with the largest concentration of growing towns being located in the Port Fairy-Warrnambool area, Surf Coast, Bellarine Peninsula, Mornington Peninsula, Bass Coast and Gippsland Lakes areas.

The largest concentration of declining towns were in the South Gippsland area, with most towns experience population decline – an indicator that they have not been targeted by the same markets as other parts of the coast, particularly near Melbourne.

### Average annual population growth, coastal towns, 1991 to 2001



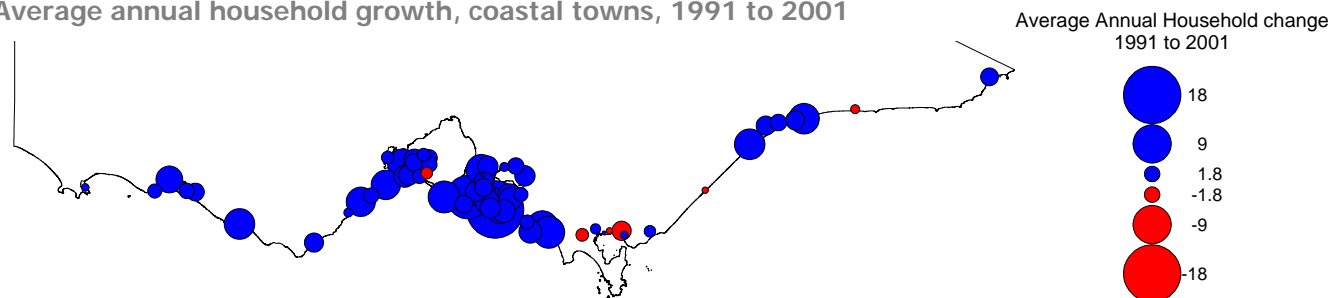
Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001

### Household growth

Growth in households in the last decade has generally been associated with population growth, although there are some towns in East Gippsland that saw increased numbers of households but net population decline.



## Average annual household growth, coastal towns, 1991 to 2001



Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001

## Very high growth towns –growth greater than 4.0% per annum (1991 to 2001)



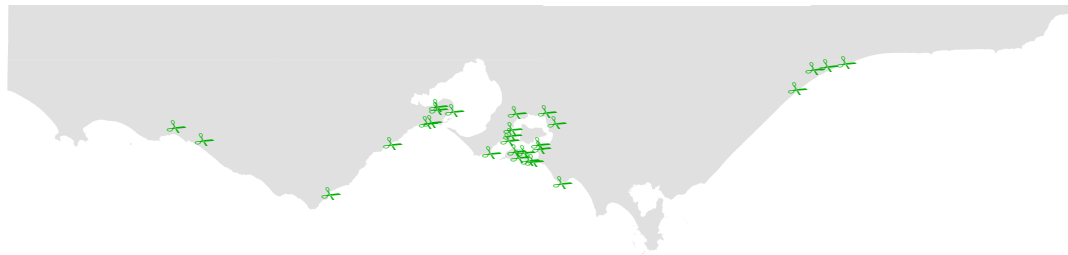
	Enumerated population 2001	Absolute population change 1991-01	Average Annual population change 1991-01	Average Annual population change 1981-91	Absolute Household change 1991-01	Average Annual Household change 1991-01	Average Annual Dwelling change 1991-01	Vacancy Rate* change 1991-01
<b>Surf Beach - Sunderland Bay</b>	642	468	14.0	0.1	265	16.0	10.1	-20.6
<b>Shoreham</b>	416	207	7.1	3.3	107	9.9	8.5	-5.7
<b>Port Campbell</b>	459	225	7.0	3.3	57	5.2	2.1	-17.5
<b>Inverloch</b>	3,742	1,547	5.5	3.7	770	5.9	2.2	-18.8
<b>Torquay</b>	8,003	3,116	5.1	5.4	1,222	5.0	3.9	-6.9
<b>Somerville</b>	8,838	3,251	4.7	10.0	1,215	5.4	5.1	-2.2
<b>St Andrews Beach</b>	666	244	4.7	11.4	117	5.7	4.9	-3.9
<b>Venus Bay</b>	441	158	4.5	9.1	99	5.8	3.4	-4.1
<b>Lake Tyers Beach</b>	517	182	4.4	7.2	90	5.2	2.9	-12.6
<b>Leopold</b>	6,783	2,351	4.3	4.2	975	5.4	5.4	0.1
<b>Aireys Inlet-Fairhaven</b>	1,033	358	4.3	9.6	174	5.1	4.1	-2.9

There were eleven towns that had population growth of 4.0% per annum or higher in the 1991 to 2001 period. These are a mix of towns with populations greater than 1,000 people and some with population between about 400 and 1,000 people. These towns are spread out along the coast of Victoria.

The rate of population growth in the 1981-91 period was also high for Somerville, St Andrews, Venus Bay, Lake Tyres, and Aireys Inlet-Fairhaven indicating that strong coastal population growth is not just a recent phenomenon. This is reinforced by the large declines in vacancy rates in some towns lining up with areas where household growth rates are ahead of population growth rates.



## High growth towns – growth between 1.0% and 4.0% per annum (1991 to 2001)



There were nineteen towns that had population growth rates of between 1.0% and 4.0% per annum, between 1991 and 2001. There are three main concentrations of these towns – one in the Gippsland Lakes region, another around Westernport Bay and the third on the Bellarine Peninsula. Selected towns in the Surf Coast and Shipwreck Coast areas also had high population growth rates during this period.

	Enumerated population 2001	Absolute population change 1991-01	Average Annual population change 1991-01	Average Annual population change 1981-91	Absolute Household change 1991-01	Average Annual Household change 1991-01	Average Annual Dwelling change 1991-01	Vacancy Rate* change 1991-01
<b>Smiths Beach</b>	217	69	3.9	6.2	20	2.5	2.7	0.4
<b>Somers</b>	1,274	401	3.9	3.7	197	4.6	1.1	-14.8
<b>Koroit</b>	1,376	408	3.6	-0.2	162	4.1	3.5	-5.3
<b>Corinella</b>	478	138	3.5	7.0	59	3.4	2.1	-8.2
<b>Newhaven-Cape Woolamai</b>	1,371	391	3.4	6.9	193	4.0	2.1	-6.4
<b>Rhyll</b>	449	128	3.4	7.9	87	5.0	3.1	-8.9
<b>Barwon Heads</b>	2,600	691	3.1	4.4	271	3.0	2.4	-3.5
<b>Loch Sport</b>	949	249	3.1	10.8	206	5.2	1.6	-11.0
<b>Cowes</b>	3,571	913	3.0	5.5	472	3.6	2.0	-5.0
<b>Apollo Bay</b>	1,190	296	2.9	-0.3	101	2.4	2.8	2.2
<b>Lang Lang</b>	921	225	2.8	1.8	71	2.6	2.4	-1.2
<b>San Remo</b>	859	185	2.5	3.8	105	3.2	2.9	-2.1
<b>Coronet Bay</b>	579	122	2.4	10.7	82	3.2	1.4	-7.3
<b>Cape Paterson</b>	648	131	2.3	8.0	84	3.3	2.3	-3.3
<b>Clifton Springs</b>	7,302	1,455	2.2	10.1	707	3.1	2.9	-1.8
<b>Pearcedale</b>	2,195	414	2.1	12.6	151	2.6	2.4	-2.0
<b>Ocean Grove</b>	10,055	1,895	2.1	4.0	892	2.6	2.5	-0.5
<b>Drysdale</b>	1,731	325	2.1	2.2	109	2.1	1.9	-1.7
<b>Metung</b>	516	92	2.0	2.2	41	1.9	2.3	2.1
<b>Lakes Entrance</b>	5,503	881	1.8	3.1	460	2.3	2.2	-0.8
<b>Koo Wee Rup</b>	1,305	199	1.7	0.5	78	1.9	2.0	1.3
<b>Paynesville</b>	2,861	417	1.6	4.3	293	2.4	2.0	-2.9
<b>Allansford</b>	529	73	1.5	1.1	35	2.1	1.3	-6.9
<b>Crib Point</b>	6,471	847	1.4	10.4	332	2.0	1.9	-1.2
<b>Flinders</b>	511	60	1.3	1.7	44	2.0	1.5	-1.9
<b>Hastings</b>	6,376	665	1.1	0.1	516	2.4	2.4	0.0
<b>Anglesea</b>	2,203	226	1.1	3.1	146	1.7	1.8	0.3
<b>St Leonards</b>	1,339	133	1.1	3.0	97	1.6	0.9	-3.0

Most of these towns also grew strongly in the 1981-91 period including very strong growth in towns such as Pearcedale, Loch Sport, Coronet Bay, Crib Point, Cape Paterson and Rhyll.

Many of these towns also experienced significant drops in the vacancy rate between 1991 and 2001. The fast growing Loch Sport and a number of towns on or near Westernport Bay saw very large declines in



vacancy rates. This indicates that the high population growth is also associated with conversion of holiday homes to permanent residences.

## Low growth towns – growth between 0.0% and 1.0% per annum (1991 to 2001)

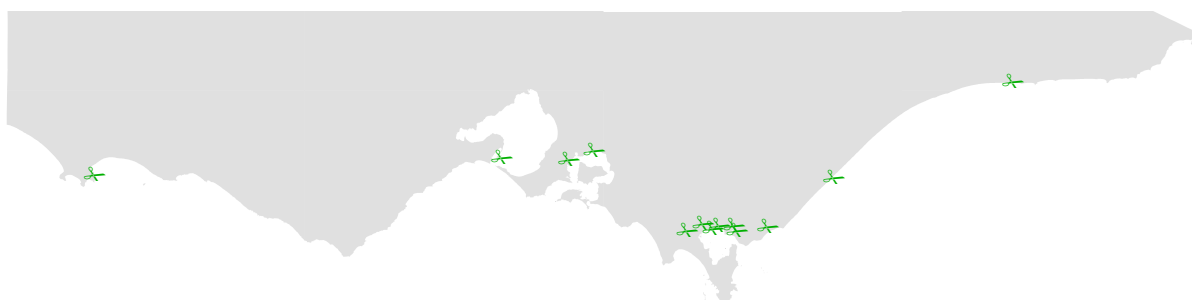


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<b>Warrnambool</b>	27,812	2,398	0.9	1.2	1,554	1.6	1.6	-0.3
<b>Indented Head</b>	597	46	0.8	2.7	51	1.9	1.0	-2.9
<b>Mallacoota</b>	1,041	80	0.8	2.8	89	2.1	2.0	-0.7
<b>Point Lonsdale</b>	2,641	196	0.8	2.2	146	1.3	1.6	1.2
<b>Balnarring-Merricks</b>	1,963	129	0.7	5.6	174	2.5	0.8	-9.8
<b>Wonthaggi</b>	6,150	399	0.7	1.8	313	1.3	1.2	-0.8
<b>Lorne</b>	1,216	73	0.6	2.5	29	0.7	1.3	2.0
<b>Portarlington</b>	2,686	133	0.5	3.2	136	1.2	1.1	-0.5
<b>Grantville</b>	401	18	0.5	7.0	23	1.3	1.0	-2.2
<b>Port Fairy</b>	2,560	93	0.4	0.8	129	1.3	1.5	1.1
<b>Geelong</b>	130,194	2,846	0.2	0.1	5,722	1.2	1.2	0.6

Towns that grew modestly (between 0 and 1.0%) from 1991 to 2001 include some quite small settlements and the two largest coastal towns in Victoria – Warrnambool and Geelong. In these large towns population growth, while at low average rates, was still in the thousands for the decade. The overall growth rate in Geelong in particular reflects the impact of the recession in the early 1990s and other localised events (eg Pyramid collapse).

There is an interesting variation between towns in this category in terms of changing vacancy rates. Point Lonsdale, Lorne and Port Fairy all saw vacancy rates rise, generally reflecting the exclusivity of these towns and the fact that rising house prices are being driven by demand for holiday homes even more than by demand for permanent residences. With the exception of Geelong, vacancy rates in all other towns in this grouping fell – particularly in Balnarring-Merricks – and indication of suburbanisation of towns on the western side of Westernport Bay, in the south-east of the Melbourne metropolitan area.

## Towns with population loss – (1991 to 2001)





Over half of the towns that declined in population between 1991 and 2001 were in the western part of the Gippsland Coast region and two more were in other parts of this region.

	Enumerated population 2001	Absolute population change 1991-01	Average Annual population change 1991-01	Average Annual population change 1981-91	Absolute Household change 1991-01	Average Annual Household change 1991-01	Average Annual Dwelling change 1991-01	Vacancy Rate* change 1991-01
<b>Tooradin</b>	643	-24	-0.4	1.7	14	0.6	0.6	0.6
<b>Tyabb</b>	1,146	-53	-0.5	0.8	7	0.2	0.0	-1.2
<b>Portland</b>	9,588	-527	-0.5	0.8	196	0.5	0.7	1.3
<b>Port Franklin</b>	126	-7	-0.5	0.5	1	0.2	0.1	-0.3
<b>Marlo</b>	353	-27	-0.7	1.9	-10	-0.6	0.8	8.5
<b>Foster</b>	988	-90	-0.9	0.4	37	0.9	0.7	-1.1
<b>Port Welshpool</b>	216	-25	-1.1	-0.7	5	0.5	-0.5	-7.0
<b>Seaspray</b>	208	-25	-1.1	-1.1	-3	-0.3	0.0	1.2
<b>Queenscliff</b>	1,102	-134	-1.1	-1.6	-46	-1.0	0.2	8.1
<b>Toora</b>	490	-77	-1.4	-1.1	-8	-0.4	0.2	5.0
<b>Fish Creek</b>	129	-35	-2.4	0.4	-7	-1.1	-0.3	7.2
<b>Welshpool</b>	142	-40	-2.5	-3.4	-17	-2.3	-1.2	9.1
<b>Port Albert</b>	224	-83	-3.1	1.4	12	1.0	1.5	2.9

For most of the towns in this group, population decline was small in overall numbers; however with a number of the towns being small in population, these declines are quite significant in proportional terms. Apart from Queenscliffe, this decline can be associated with small rural towns that have not (perhaps yet) experienced the high demand for coastal living due to their specific location. Population decline in these towns is similar to that in other parts of regional Victoria.

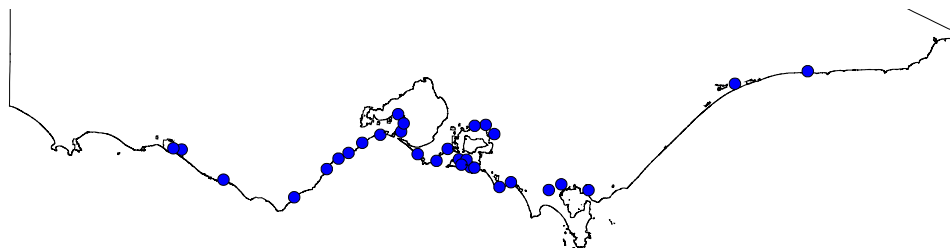
Queenscliffe is different – it has seen high demand and strong house price increase, however its contained nature and exclusivity mean that it is likely that permanent residents have been replaced by owners of holiday homes and thus population and households have declined and the vacancy rate has climbed significantly.

## Other characteristics

### Changing income

One indicator of change in coastal towns would be changing incomes. The changing proportions of people in high and low income quartiles may be an indicator of gentrification, however income questions from the Census can be unreliable as declared income and disposable income and overall wealth are all different things.

### Towns with an increase in the proportion of persons in the top income quartile, 1991 to 2001

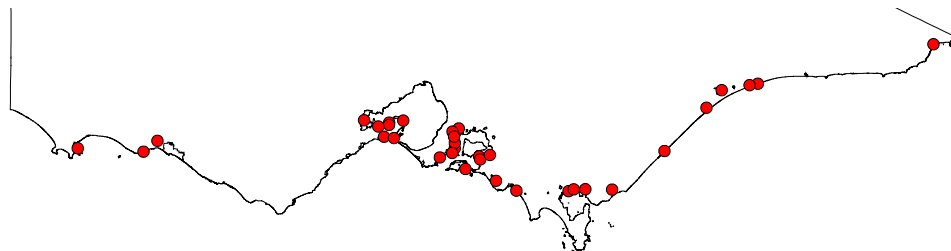


Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001



The maps above and below show that there are no clear geographical patterns relating to towns where households on high incomes have been increasing or decreasing. Analysis shows a similar spread of low income households. This lack of a clear pattern may be a result of the mix of coastal towns differing reasons for population change.

## Towns with a decrease in the proportion of persons in the top income quartile, 1991 to 2001



Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001

Some towns have seen growth through retirement migration but retirees may be on low disposable incomes, while others have grown through sea-changers who may still have high earning capacities. In towns with declining populations, it may be lower income people moving out looking for economic opportunity or low income older people dying out, driving up the average household income in the area or it may be those with good earning capacity who are leaving the lower income households behind.

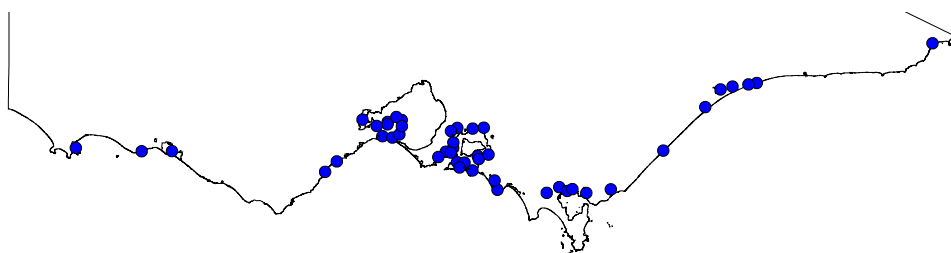
This data highlights another aspect of the individual characters of coastal towns and how specific influences in each town have led to different patterns of population change.

## Ageing

Ageing is a well known phenomenon throughout towns in regional Victoria, however, in coastal towns, like the rest of Victoria, there is some variation between towns and regions and in fact, some areas are seeing increasing proportions of young people rather than an ageing of the population.

## Changing proportion of aged 60+ years

### Towns with an increase in the proportion of persons aged 60 + years, 1991 to 2001

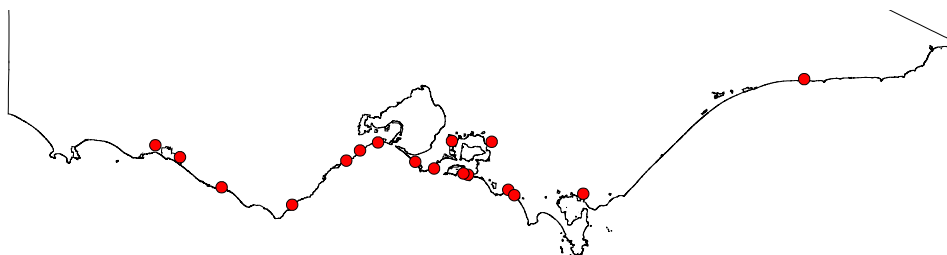


Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001

Most of towns along the Victorian coast have seen increasing proportions of people aged 60 years and over. This has occurred both in towns that are growing in overall population, and many that are declining. This increase is likely to be a combination of retirement migration adding older people to the population, and the ageing in place of the resident communities.



## Towns with a decrease in the proportion of persons aged 60 + years, 1991 to 2001

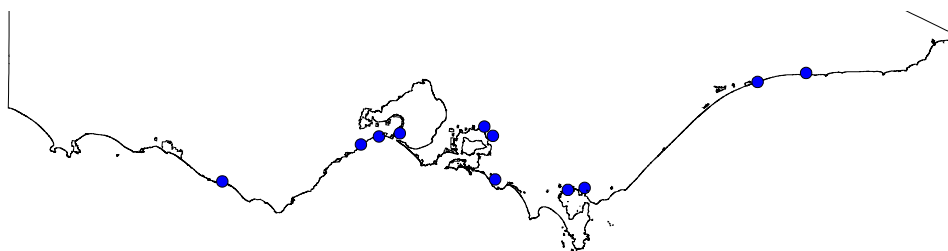


Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001

Despite increasing proportions of over 60s being the most common pattern in the 1991 to 2001 period, there were also a number of towns where the proportion of over 60s declined. These towns are evenly spread along the coast, but with most in the Surf Coast-Bellarine and Westernport areas. While a few of these towns were ones with declining overall populations (Welshpool, Marlo and Tyabb) all of the other towns were very high or high growth towns in the 1991 to 2001 period. This indicates that the declining proportion of over 60s is due more to the increases in numbers of people under 60, rather than an actual decline in older persons in these towns.

## Changing proportion of aged 18 years or less

### Towns with an increase in the proportion of persons aged less than 18 years, 1991 to 2001



Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001

Only a few towns along the Victorian coast saw increases in the proportion of young people aged less than 18 years. A number of these towns were towns where the population was declining, probably indicating that the changing proportions were driven by this population loss. Meanwhile a number of the towns experienced high or very high growth rates in the 1991 to 2001 period.

### Towns with a decrease in the proportion of persons aged less than 18 years, 1991 to 2001



Source: DSE - Towns in Time 2001

Most towns along the coast of Victoria saw declines in the proportions of people aged less than 18 years. There is no strong pattern associated with these declines in terms of whether the town was growing or declining in the 1991 to 2001 period. There are many high or even very high growth towns where the proportion of people aged less than 18 years was declining.



## Sources:

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