Literature review:
Policy that encourages population to relocate to regional areas

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Project Scope
An academic literature review of existing literature pertaining to policy that encourages population to relocate to regional areas rather than the capital big cities. The output will be a plain English report compiling and tabulating relevant literature, without policy recommendations.

Summary report

Introduction
This review considers literature pertaining to policies that encourage population to relocate to regional areas, rather than the capital big cities. While the focus is mainly on the Australian policy context, consideration is given to international case studies and policy examples. For the purposes of this review, the literature has been divided into two categories: studies that focus on regional migration policies designed to disperse international migrants beyond capital cities, and those that examine general policies and initiatives encouraging movement to the regions (internal migration). Overall, we distinguish four types of relevant policy: marketing strategies, visa-linked incentives, and place- or people-based investments.

Defining ‘regional’
Although the terms regional and regional Australia are widely used in the literature, there is seldom a clear or consistent definition given for the geographical area/s they incorporate. The terms are often used interchangeably with each other, or with more general words like rural, countryside, and the bush.

A default classification for a regional area, and arguably the most common usage of the term, is any area that falls outside the metropolitan zone of Australia’s capital cities (Maude 2004; McManus and Pritchard 2000; Withers and Powall 2003). This aligns with the definition used by the Regional Australia Institute (RIA), which states regional Australia “includes all of the towns, small cities and areas that lie beyond the major capital cities” (Regional Institute Australia 2017).

Some authors use the Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS) developed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) to inform their discussion (Hugo 2008b). In these cases, the spatial categories most frequently used are the Remoteness Structure, which classifies Australia into five large regions that share common characteristics of remoteness or distance from metropolitan areas, and the Section of State (SOS) Structure, defining urban and rural sections of state based on population range.

A third means of classifying regional areas originates with government departments who oversee policies and programs that fall within so-called regional Australia. The Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP), for example, administers the Regional Migration Program and defines regional Australia differently according to visa type. In some cases, the boundaries of ‘Regional Australia’ are extended to include low-population-growth metropolitan areas, including the capital cities Adelaide, Hobart and Darwin.

Background
However defined, regional Australia comprises a vast and diverse geographical area with marked contrasts in population densities ranging from small to large inland towns, bustling coastal zones, population centres within commuting distance of bigger cities, and very remote locations. Demographic trends are beyond the scope of this review, but form its backdrop and, often, are key drivers of the policy responses under discussion.
Broadly speaking regional areas are facing slow growth rates or population decline caused by low fertility (in some cases, sub-replacement levels) and net outmigration, particularly among youth and young adults who are attracted to educational and employment opportunities in larger cities, as well as the lifestyle they offer (Argent, Smailes and Griffin 2007). The latter, in combination with an ageing population, have led to serious labour and skills shortages, which have been intensified in agricultural zones by job losses due to other factors including expanding economies of scale, technological advances, and climatic uncertainty (Argent and Tonts 2015).

Understandably, regional areas want to reverse these trends and policy makers are increasingly under pressure to do so (Wulff et al. 2008). Some commentators have argued that the recruitment of individuals and families from metropolitan settings holds the greatest hope for demographic, social and economic development of regional areas (Argent, Smailes and Griffin 2007). For others, research has shown immigration (international) can play a role in reversing population decline in regional areas by supplementing the supply of skills and labour, and stemming the decline of services (Hugo 2008b; Hugo and Morén - Alegret 2008).

Approach to the literature
Stage one of this literature review involved in-depth exploration of academic databases for peer-reviewed journal articles and books. A significant body of literature examines policies aimed at channelling international immigrants to regional areas, both in Australia and internationally, but limited academic attention has been given to policies encouraging internal migration to regional areas. Stage two of this review extended the search to include reports and other material available on the internet. Again, this revealed a substantial body of work on regional migration policies for international migrants, and also offered some information on internal migration policies.

The dearth of literature on policies to encourage the movement of people internally reflects the lack of policies that seek to do this. While government can encourage, even induce, movement to regional areas, it would be an egregious overreach to legislate where people must live. This is not to say, however, that strategies cannot be adopted to encourage settlement in a particular area and several reports in this review provide excellent examples of strategies that have been used before by regional communities in Australia and overseas (Kenyon and Black 2001a, 2001b; McMillan 2015; SCORD 2004). Examples are provided in text below, and more detail can be found in the annotated bibliography that follows.

Moreover, in recent decades, the approach of successive Australian Federal governments to regional development has been underpinned by a preference for ‘neoliberal’ policies involving deregulation, privatization, labour market reform, and smaller government (Maude 2004). This has manifested in regional Australia as a largely hands-off approach to economic development, infrastructure provision, and spatial planning by government (Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie 2005). By contrast, the Whitlam government in the 1970s had pursued an interventionist regional policy, which included an explicit plan regarding population distribution or decentralisation (Beer 2012; Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie 2005). Though these attempts ultimately failed, decentralisation has nevertheless been a long-held, never realised, regional policy goal in Australia (Gurran and Blakely 2007; Hugo 1999, 2013).

The next section broadly outlines policies that encourage population to relocate to regional areas, with examples.
Policies to encourage regional settlement of international migrants

Policies to encourage regional settlement of international migrants in Australia, dubbed ‘regionalisation policies’ (Wulff et al. 2008), can be divided into those that aim to attract skilled migrants and those aimed at resettling or relocating humanitarian entrants (Boese 2010).

Policies to attract skilled migrants largely form part of a large-scale, centralised program introduced in Australia in the mid-1990s, primarily overseen by the Federal government, chiefly the Department of Immigration (Hugo, Khoo and McDonald 2006). A range of visas in this program direct permanent, temporary, skilled and business migrants into regional Australia where they are required to stay for a minimum of two years, but hopefully stay for longer.

A number of articles describe these policies, and assess their impacts (Hugo 2008a). The Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS), for example, was designed to meet two objectives: providing the skilled labour needed in regional areas and facilitating the distribution of population away from capital cities to regional areas. Increasingly, Australian States and Territories have been able to influence the number and profile of migrants entering through the RSMS by way of their expanding role in the recruitment, selection and settlement of migrants within their jurisdictions (Gołębiowska 2012; Wickramaarachchi and Butt 2014).

However, the overwhelming focus of the relevant literature, is on what attracts skilled migrants to regional areas and what keeps them there (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2014; Hugo, Khoo and McDonald 2006; Miles et al. 2006; Wulff and Dharmalingam 2008), with retention identified as a major challenge for governments (Hugo 2008b; Wickramaarachchi and Butt 2014; Wulff and Dharmalingam 2008). Still, the consensus is that the body of academic research on regional migration is underdeveloped (Boese 2010; Wickramaarachchi and Butt 2014).

The literature pertaining to policies that direct humanitarian migrants to regional areas is even smaller. While there is a vast academic literature on other elements of refugee and humanitarian migration and settlement in Australia, the policy dimensions of regional settlement have been neglected. To a degree, this gap is filled by the significant number of reports on the regional settlement of refugee and humanitarian migrants in Australia (discussed below), though few deal directly or in depth with the policies or programs driving this flow. Meanwhile, the trend has been an increasing number of refugee and humanitarian migrants settling in regional Australia.

Direct regional settlement of humanitarian entrants was not undertaken in a planned way by the Federal government until the Department of Immigration conducted a review of settlement services for migrant and humanitarian entrants in 2003 (Gołębiowska 2012; McDonald et al. 2008). The main objectives of the ensuing policies was to relieve the pressure humanitarian entrants place on services in larger centres, boost the population in regional towns and benefit the migrants (Gołębiowska 2012). The literature draws a useful distinction between regional resettlement of refugee-humanitarian migrants, understood to be direct settlement in regional areas, and regional relocation or secondary migration, or the voluntary movement of refugees from their first settlement location in Australia to a second (Broadbent, Cacciattolo and Carpenter 2007; McDonald et al. 2008).

Direct humanitarian settlement in regional areas has been facilitated by Federal government policy in the form of visas such as the Safe Haven Enterprise Visa (SHEV) (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2017). Other Federal efforts to channel migrants into regional areas are two pilot programs to settle humanitarian entrants in the regional towns of Mt Gambier and Ballarat, although these involved collaboration between all levels of government (Piper and Associates 2008, 2009).
By contrast, relocation or secondary migration of humanitarian entrants is typically supported by programs and initiatives led by local governments or non-government agencies, including community and business groups. Examples include the settlement of Iraqis in Shepparton by the Ethnic Community Council and the critical role an employment firm played in bringing the first Sudanese migrants to Colac (Taylor and Stanovic 2005). As Broadbent et al (2007) write, these are “local solutions for local communities” (p. viii).

Policies to encourage internal migration

Policies and initiatives to encourage internal migration to regional Australia are similarly fragmented and ad hoc, with most rolled out by local governments and non-government organisations responding to demographic and economic challenges by taking action to attract and retain newcomers and, occasionally, returnees (Regional Institute Australia 2014, 2016). Among the Federal-run exceptions are the Harvest Trail Guide (Piper and Associates 2008), a job-search program linking job seekers with harvest jobs Australia wide, and the General Practice Rural Incentives Program (Piper and Associates 2009), which encourages and incentivises GPs to move to rural and remote Australia.

The latter is a good example of what McMillan (2015) defines as ‘countering strategies’, that is, strategies to counter depopulation by stimulating population growth. McMillan classifies these as either strategies to attract human capital or attract capital flows. SCORD (2004) provide many examples of community initiatives to attract skilled people, including financial incentives like subsidised housing and access to online education so people do not have to leave to study. Meanwhile, local government approaches to attracting business and investment have included business incubators, changing planning regulations and rate relief from councils (Rural Councils Victoria 2013).

Marketing has also been a popular tool adopted by local governments to influence city dwellers to relocate internally to regional areas. Common approaches have been to use website marketing, conduct expos, and advertise in magazines (Rural Councils Victoria 2013). Connell and McManus (2016) provide a comprehensive analysis of marketing and place branding to inspire relocation, in their study of the Country and Regional Living Expo in New South Wales. A good example of a program to encourage returnees was run by the South Australian government in the early 2000s. It was called ‘Bringing them back home’ and was aimed at ex-residents aged over 30 (Rural Councils Victoria 2013).

Though a broad-based decentralisation agenda has not been pursued in Australia, steps to relocate government departments to regional locations have been taken before. In the early 1990s, 500 public servants relocated to Orange when the Department of Agriculture (now Primary Industries) was moved from Sydney (Lowrey 2017). The aim of this move, however, was not to boost regional population but to bring the Department and the people it served – farmers – closer together. There are currently also plans to relocate the Australian Pesticides and Veterinary Medicines Authority (AVPMA) from Canberra to Armidale.

International policy context

Of course, many of the demographic challenges described above are not unique to the regional areas of Australia, but can be seen in areas outside major cities across the world. They, too, are looking for ways to bolster declining populations and counter ageing. McMillan (2015) critically evaluates the policies of eight OECD countries to address population decline in regional areas. In the New Zealand context, the report suggests three responses population decline: 1) non-intervention, 2) countering decline with strategic intervention by attracting human capital (through place-making and marketing)
and physical capital (aimed at job creation); and 3) and accepting and managing the consequences of decline. The report finds that (re)development of the built environment to attract people has been a common strategy in regions around the world, but there is little evidence that it works.

Other international comparisons are also available. As in Australia, overseas governments at all levels are actively seeking ways to disperse migrants and the economic benefits they can bring beyond major receiving cities. A significant literature has emerged in Canada, for example, where Municipal and Provincial governments have been proactive in trying to attract international migrants (Carter, Morrish and Amoyaw 2008; Derwing and Krahn 2008; Krivokapic - Skoko and Collins 2016; Wulff et al. 2008). The Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP), for example, involves multiple stakeholders supporting a range of entry streams for different migrant types, including employer, student and family streams, but also more innovative streams such as the young farmer stream and a community support stream, requiring a letter of support from the host community. Other literature has focussed on policies in New Zealand (Spoonley and Bedford 2008), USA (Massey 2008), and Europe (Fonseca 2008; Morén-Alegret and Solana 2004). Decentralisation policies have been more successful in other countries, too. In Sweden, for example, reforms have merged municipalities and “concentrated political power and public service and workplaces to a limited number of urban localities spread out in rural areas” (Niedomysl and Amcoff 2011, p. 264).

**Conclusion**

The term regional, as it is predominantly used in the academic literature, refers to areas in Australia that lie beyond the metropolitan zones of capital cities. As described here, many of these areas are prone to demographic and economic decline resulting from low fertility, net outmigration and an ageing population. One option governments have considered is to channel newcomers, either from overseas or elsewhere in Australia, into regional areas. As this report has outlined, both Federal and State governments have made more cohesive and concerted efforts to channel international entrants rather than promoting internal migration, and this is reflected in the quantity of literature analysing and appraising these policies. By comparison, policies and incentives encouraging internal migration have been undertaken on an ad hoc basis and mostly by local governments, non-government organisations and business.

On the whole, this literature review identifies at least four main types of policy lever available to policy makers at different levels (local, state and federal) for attracting migration away from the capital cities into the regions. These types are schematic only, and not intended as a comprehensive listing. The lightest touch approach we have seen – and perhaps for this reason one of the more widespread – is simply to market the existing characteristics of regional areas more effectively to prospective residents. Also relatively inexpensive are visa-linked incentives which make entry to the country conditional upon moving to a particular regional location. However, these programs tend to involve more intervention/interference with movers themselves, and tend to be difficult to enforce. More significant interventions take the form of investments either in the places of interest or in the people targeted to move to them. Place-based investments may involve enhancing the lifestyle appeal of locations through urban design, or improving the quality of key services of interest to the target group, or investing in job creation for example through infrastructure upgrading and partnerships with local businesses. People-based investments tend to take the form of subsidies (housing, education, relocation etc.) provided to specific individuals.
# Literature by subject

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<td>Regional migration – international migrants (skilled)</td>
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**INTERNAL MIGRATION**

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Annotated Bibliography:

Argent, N and Tonts, M 2015, 'A multicultural and multifunctional countryside? International labour migration and Australia's productivist heartlands', Population, Space and Place, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 140-156

This article makes an important contribution to the literature, chiefly through its key point of difference, which is a specific focus on the impact of international migrants on the Australian agricultural sector. The authors contend that the rapid neoliberalisation of Australian agriculture and the sector’s growing need for foreign labour are inextricably linked, but that until recently the global trend of international migrant labour has bypassed the sector. In this context, they investigate the extent to which Australia’s agricultural regions are being integrated into ‘the global’ via international labour migration and examine the role of this migration as a solution to rural labour market shortages, as well as the extent to which international labour migrants are transforming the demographic and cultural composition of destination regions.

In examining these issues, the authors summarise and discuss the key visa streams directing migrants into rural Australia. They argue there are five key components of the skilled migration program that underpin regional migration and are critical to agriculture – two are focused on permanent migration, three on temporary migration. Importantly, a small focus of their discussion is on unskilled labour supplied by the Working Holiday Maker (WHM) visa and the Pacific Seasonal Workers Pilot Scheme (PSWPS). The authors conclude that much of the demand is likely to be filled by temporary migration which, although it benefits individual business, may not be a suitable long-term answer for economic growth in the regions and could have negative impacts for local communities in terms of social capital, sense of place and service provision.

Boese, M 2010, 'Challenging current policy rationales of regionalising immigration', Australian Political Science Association Conference, University of Melbourne

This paper discusses the increasing trend in policy initiatives in industrialised countries aimed at promoting regional settlement of international migrants. It reviews these policy initiatives with a focus on Victoria, Australia, drawing on analysis of primary data collected during a project on the regional and rural settlement of visible migrants and refugees in Australia.

The author discusses the interrelated individual, social and structural factors that impact on regional settlement and goes on to challenge the rationale behind initiatives aimed at regionalising immigration. The limitations of economising regional settlement are discussed and categorised as political, practical and ethical limitations. The author notes the body of knowledge on regional migrant and refugee settlement is underdeveloped.


This report presents the results of an evaluation of the processes and outcomes of the relocation of Horn of Africa refugees from Melbourne to two regional centres in Victoria: Swan Hill and Warrnambool. Both programs were a response to static or slow population growth and labour shortages in these locations, and to unemployment amongst Horn of Africa and other refugees living in Melbourne.
The study found that the best chance for successful relocation occurred when there were: partnerships between host and refugee communities, funds and other resources made available for refugee advocacy groups, refugees were given employment and other means of support by local government, critical mass among the refugee community, community development framework principles, and diversity of housing options, among other factors.


This article begins by outlining the key demographic trends in Canada - low birth rates and population ageing – which have led to immigration being the primary driver of its population and labour force growth. The authors see immigration as a demographic and economic imperative for the nation, though the distribution of new arrivals has historically been concentrated in the major cities of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The response from all levels of government has been to introduce initiatives to try and influence the regional distribution of immigrants so the benefits of immigration are shared.

This article describes and assesses the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP), which is considered to be one of the most effective programs in Canada at attracting immigrants to regional and rural areas. The multi-layered program involved multiple stakeholders and a range of entry streams for different migrant types. Regular evaluation and the flexibility to implement changes when needed were seen as key to the success of the program. In concluding, the authors discuss best practices for attracting migrants to areas beyond major cities.

Connell, J and McManus, P 2016, Rural revival?: place marketing, tree change and regional migration in Australia, Ashgate, Surrey

The preface to this book opens with the questions, “Is it possible to re-populate and otherwise support declining rural and regional areas? If so how might this be done?” What follows in examination of the problems of regional development in Australia – population decline and stagnation – and particular efforts to try to achieve repopulation in these areas. The book focuses on New South Wales and to a lesser extent, Queensland, and begins by examining why a “rural revival” might be needed. This discussion briefly considers the approaches of different levels of government in Australia to regional development before providing a history of rural Australia and an analysis of population trends for selected regions, as shown in Census data. The remainder of the book deals with the inter-related issues of rurality, counter-urban migration, rural gentrification and lifestyle migration, with a particular focus on rural place marketing and place branding, as it examines one example of innovative and organised place-marketing activity: Country Week Expo.

Primary research carried out for this study involved the collection of quantitative and qualitative data through surveys, interviews, and general observations of visitors at Country Week (later known as Country and Regional Living Expo), as well as semi-structured interviews with stakeholders from local government and discussions with stall holders. The authors find efforts to stimulate rural revival have been virtually non-existant in developed countries, but that Country Week events are unique, “innovative engagements between urban residents and rural communities” (p.170), that target tailored messages to different groups including young families and trades people. Although they find examples of place marketing have occurred elsewhere (mainly Sweden), they say the phenomenon hasn’t previously been documented, as they successfully achieve in this book.
In this article, the authors describe how the capped nature of international immigration to Canada (a Federal decision) has set up a competitive scenario whereby “second-tier” cities and smaller towns are vying for newcomers to their communities from a finite pool of new arrivals. In response, many municipal and provincial governments have commissioned studies to determine the best way to attract and retain migrants, subsequently releasing proactive policies which seek to increase the proportion of immigrants settling in their regions.

The article then focuses on the specific case of Edmonton, Alberta where the government commissioned a study to determine how to attract more immigrants to its city. They particularly wanted to understand why Calgary, a similarly-sized city in the same province was receiving double the number of migrants each year. This article describes this study in detail, including the comparative survey undertaken to understand the experiences of over 200 recent immigrants (100 in Calgary and 100 in Edmonton). In the ensuing analysis and discussion, the article refers to the strategies and migration policies (implemented and proposed) of dozens of regional areas in Canada, among them: increasing the capacity of settlement programs; language programs, educating receiving populations about human rights, multiculturalism and diversity, creating welcoming communities, tax credits, increasing employment opportunities, affordable housing etc.

This report gives an overview of governance of immigration, settlement and integration policies for immigrants in regional areas in Australia, particularly the constitutional division of power between Federal, State and Local governments, and the roles and responsibilities of each level of government. It provides some particularly useful background information on the rationale for and operationalisation of the so-called regional migration “dispersal” policies (State Specific and Regional Migration initiatives), although some information is now out-dated, for example, several State Migration Plans have been superseded by new arrangements.

While the report focuses mostly on policies aimed at skilled migrants, a small section recognises more recent attempts to direct the settlement of humanitarian entrants to regional areas. The author refers to settlement pilot programs in Victoria and South Australia which have highlighted the need for intensive coordination between government and non-government agencies to facilitate and support humanitarian migrants to settle in regional locations.

This report presents the findings of a study undertaken in 2009 by the Institute for Social Science Research (ISSR) for the Department of Immigration on the factors that impact on skilled migrants’ settlement in regional Australia. The authors find that while regional migration is a well-established policy objective, there has only been limited research on migrants’ decisions to settle and stay in regional areas. They therefore set out to investigate the perspectives of skilled migrants, employers and
government officials on the factors and processes involved in skilled migrants’ decisions to settle and remain in regional areas.

Primary data were collected for this study through semi-structured interviews with 110 skilled migrants, 26 employers and 15 public officials in four regional areas. Findings are reported and summarised as either employment factors or community factors, both of which are shown to be crucial in migrants’ decision to settle and remain in regional locations in Australia, confirming the findings of previous studies.

Hugo, G 2008, 'Immigrant settlement outside of Australia's capital cities', *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 14, no. 6, pp. 553-571

This paper analyses the policy shifts from the mid-1990s that created new flows of immigrants into regional Australia. It traces developments in these policies and uses empirical data to assess the scale and impact they’ve had on regional Australia. The author notes that while most immigrants continue to settle in metropolitan areas, international migration is increasingly playing a role outside larger cities in Australia and other OECD countries, yet this trend has received little attention in the literature.

This paper analyses secondary administrative data to explore the patterns and distribution of international migration to regional Australia through both permanent and temporary migration programs, before exploring the role of government in immigrant settlement to regional areas. It goes on to present empirical evidence of the role these policies play and the implications they have on regional communities and migrants themselves. The author identifies several issues associated with the new patterns of immigrant settlement beyond metropolitan areas, including: the lack of formal post-arrival services available for migrants in these areas, work-related concerns, housing, labour shortages, and the issue of retention.


This article notes the major shift in Australian immigration policies has been the introduction of special visa categories which allow people to enter the country and work provided they settle outside traditional metropolitan areas of settlement. It traces changes in regional migration national policies through changes to visa structure from the inception of regional visas in 1996 to the time of publication. Because of a general lack of research into the nature and effects of regional migration, the authors seek to contribute to our understanding of the factors which could make regional migration more attractive to migrants through an analysis of primary survey data from 1,175 skilled temporary (457) migrants.

They conclude that the attitudes and opinions of temporary migrant workers regarding factors that would attract or retain them in regional areas are important to policies relation to migration and regional development. Some policy implications that emerged from their survey include: that there is considerable potential for attracting migrants to regional areas if they are carefully matched with employment opportunities, and if promotion and recruitment activities target migrants from less developed countries who displayed greater readiness to move to regional areas, tradespeople who were more willing among survey respondents to move to regional areas, and families rather than singles who also showed a propensity to move.
Hugo, G and Morén-Alegret, R 2008, 'International migration to non-metropolitan areas of high income countries: editorial introduction', Population, Space and Place, vol. 14, no. 6, pp. 473-477

This article is an editorial introduction to a Special Issue of the leading journal Population, Space and Place, which focussed on international migration to non-metropolitan areas. Several articles from this special issue have been included in this review. In their introduction, the authors explain that the settlement of migrants outside metropolitan areas has largely been missed by researchers and policy makers. They argue, however, that this phenomenon can play a role in countering the impact of ageing and fertility decline in regional areas. Moreover, the authors argue that the settlement experiences and integration processes for migrants in regional areas are likely to be different than for their urban counterparts and these differences need to be understood.


This policy brief provides useful background information in which to consider policies that encourage population to settle in regional areas. It explores the relationship between population and regional development, moving through a discussion about the distribution of Australia’s population before examining the role of ageing in regional development and interactions between people and the environment in regional zones. The author concludes by tracing the history of population policy and regional development in Australia.

Kenyon, P and Black, A 2001a, 2001b, Small town renewal: overview and case studies, Volume 1, and A manual for small town renewal: change the future of your community, Volume 2, no. RIRDC 01/043, Project No. ECU-6A, Rural Industries Research and Development Commission, Barton

This entry summarises volumes 1 and 2 of the small town renewal series by the Rural Industries Research and Development Commission. Together these handbooks are designed to generate action for community change and renewal by focussing on what communities are doing and can do. They provide information, tools and resources to enhance the capacity of small rural communities to take proactive renewal initiatives. Volume 1 begins with an introduction exploring experiences of demographic, economic, social, environmental and economic change in rural Australian towns before discussing the concept of vibrant rural communities and processes of small town renewal. It then summarises in detail a range of small town renewal case studies from around Australia.

Volume 2, a ‘Manual for small town renewal’ provides information sheets, development tools and other resources. The information sheets have been developed from the experiences of rural communities around Australia and the world, including the USA, Canada and South Africa. Among the development tools provided are a community assessment survey, first impressions survey, skills audit sheet, and a business and jobs inventory form.


This article outlines the empirical findings of the first national longitudinal study of almost 1,000 recent immigrants who decided to move to non-metropolitan Australia. It presents the results of a study funded by Rural Industries Research and Development Corporation (RIRDC) which was designed to answer the question: what would it take to attract and keep new immigrants in small regional townships and rural areas?
The results showed that people settling in rural and regional areas are highly qualified, bring significant human capital and show high economic participation. Their migration to Australia tends to be for mainly non-economic reasons, i.e. to join family or for marriage, while their movement once they are onshore is typically shaped by job opportunities. At the same time, the survey showed that settlers in rural and regional Australia were attracted to these areas because of so-called ‘natural attractors’ – natural beauty, lifestyle, climate, affordability, community spirit, rural peacefulness etc. On the other hand, the single most important factors about which migrants complained was inadequate local services and facilities which the authors suggest are key areas for policy intervention, for example, investing in infrastructure.

This article includes a useful and up-to-date review of Australian and Canadian literature on attracting and retaining new migrants to regional and rural Australian.


This important book provides an overview of a recent shift in the geography of immigration to America. Where immigrants were once overwhelmingly concentrated in a handful of “gateway” metropolitan areas, and many continue to be, the dominance of these cities as migrant receivers has diminished as more immigrants have settled in other large cities and small towns throughout the country. The author notes that in light of the virtual absence of immigrants in many regions of the USA until the 1990s, even a small shift away from the gateway cities means huge relative increases in the new destinations. Overall, the contributors to this book see industrial restructuring as the primary driver of these changing settlement patterns, with ‘cumulative causation’, or network migration increasingly playing a role as migrant communities become established. Each chapter of this book offer analyses and interpretation of the growth and settlement in these new destination areas in the USA.


This Report was commissioned by the Victorian Health Promotion Foundation (VicHealth) and aimed to increase understanding of: the impacts of refugee regional and rural resettlement and relocation programs on the health and wellbeing of refugees and the impacts of refugee regional and rural resettlement programs on regional communities. It also sought to contribute to the development and evaluation of Federal, State and Local government policies and programs relevant to the resettlement of refugees in regional areas. The report draws on a review of national and international studies of regional and rural settlement, plus other relevant literature, and incorporates feedback from a range of community, government and non-government stakeholders.

Two sections of this report are relevant to this review. The first addresses the question ‘what is refugee regional and rural settlement? In answering this, the authors highlight the distinction between regional resettlement, understood to be direct settlement in regional areas, and regional relocation or secondary migration, which refers to the voluntary movement of refugees from their first settlement location in Australia to another location. The latter can occur through formalised relocation programs or informally as migrants join their family and friend networks. The second examines refugee regional and rural resettlement in Australia, both historically and in the contemporary context, the latter of which is divided into direct resettlement and secondary migration.

This article examines regional skills shortages from the perspective of the range of government agencies who deal with this issue. The author argues that the involvement of many different agencies has led to different understandings and responses to skills issues. This paper seeks to clarify the different interests, roles and understandings brought to bear by these agencies in order to develop a more holistic framework in which to view and understand regional skills issues.

The paper lists a number of possible strategies for the attraction and retention of skilled workers, which are drawn from the SCORD report (see annotated bibliography), but only examines regional migration initiatives in any detail. The author concludes by recommending three areas for future work to address the problem of skills shortages in regional areas: quantifying the scale of the problem; developing a more integrated understanding; and balancing promotion strategies with realistic trend analysis and forecasting.

McMillan, R 2015, Strategic interventions to population decline, Commissioned report for the Local Government Shared Services, University of Waikato, Hamilton

This comprehensive report focuses on international responses to depopulation and the spectrum of interventions available, with a view to providing insight into possible solutions for dealing with sub-regional population decline within the Waikato region, New Zealand. Based on available literature, the author posits that there are only three possible policy responses to population decline: non-intervention, countering decline with strategic intervention, and accepting decline, which involves managing its consequences. Key countering strategies are identified as attracting human capital (and attracting capital flows. The former includes promotional and place-making policies such as creating physically appealing places to live, promoting location as appealing to live in, and promoting economic opportunities. Attracting capital flows involves economic regeneration strategies to bring more financial capital into a location thereby boosting job creation. This can take the form of attracting businesses or spending, for example through tourism.

The report examines international policy responses to depopulation from Australia Canada, UK, USA, Germany, the Netherlands and Japan. Drawing on these, it provides critical analysis of successful and, more importantly, unsuccessful efforts to counter depopulation. For example, the author finds that developing or redevelopment of the built environment to attract people has been a common strategy in regions around the world, but there is little evidence that works. In fact, the author cites a number of examples where it has failed, often leaving the local community in a worse financial situation. According to the author’s analysis, of the eight countries analysed in this study Australia is the most passive and least interventionist when it comes to dealing with depopulation.


This article highlights the issues of net migration from regional areas to coastal and metropolitan zones in Australia. In particular, it focuses on the attraction and retention of professionals to regional areas in light of the fact that many professional people are choosing to stay in coastal or metropolitan zones or move away from regional, rural and remote ones. This paper focuses on the Queensland case and reports the results of a qualitative study which scoped the nature, severity and extent of the problem in this State. Primary data were collected through surveys and roundtable discussions from representatives of a cross-section of professions from five regions in Queensland. Participants were asked to provide information on issues within their profession. Other issues raised related to the professional’s career, family and income.
The results showed a high proportion of the organisations that participants worked for had difficulty attracting and retaining suitably qualified professionals. The main issues affecting their capacity to attract and retain skilled workers were: career opportunities, lifestyle, and salary levels. Although some of the issues raised were similar across professions, this study showed that considerable regional variation exists. The authors advocate for a partnership approach between government, industry and regional communities to address the challenges regional areas face, as well as more research into the issues and types of services that might address them.

Nicholas, A and Shah, C 2014, 'Incentives for relocating to regional Australia: estimates using a choice experiment', Department of Industry, National Vocational Education and Training Research Program

This report presents the results of a study that used a discrete choice experiment to investigate the willingness to move for work of a sample of individuals from New South Wales and South Australia to Karratha (Western Australia) and Emerald (Queensland), two regional centres with relatively high demand for labour in 2012. The aim of the study was to understand how individual and job characteristics are related to the willingness to move. Its unique contribution to the literature includes estimates of the monetary value of the incentives required for individuals to accept job offers in a region outside where they currently live. The authors argue that their study is important because of the ad hoc nature of policies seeking to move people for work from one location to another, which means understanding the monetary value of a person’s willingness to move will help identify whether such policies are economically feasible and for whom.

Data collected in this study showed that the typical person most likely to move for work is young, male, single, not born in Australia, looking for a new job, knows people other than family at the location where the job is offered and does not own a house. Interestingly, the distance between where the person currently lives and where they are offered a job is not a significant factor in the decision to move. The results show that 14 percent of the total sample required no wage premium to accept a job, and while 75 percent of the ‘young’ group is willing to accept such job offers without a wage premium, none of the ‘old’ group were. However, the major finding of this study was that policies promoting geographic labour mobility are more likely to succeed if the employment contracts include upskilling or reskilling opportunities and the job offered is not short-term.

Standing Committee on Regional Development (SCORD) 2004, Attracting and retaining professional and skilled people in regional Australia: a practitioner’s guide, Department of Local Government and Regional Development, Canberra

This guide was prepared for the Standing Committee on Regional Development by a working group drawn from Federal, State and Territory Government and Local Government Associations. To begin, it identifies attracting and retaining professional and skilled people to live and work in regional communities as a major challenge for building sustainable regions. It goes on to recognise that different regional communities have different needs and levels of resources to draw upon, and argues that this diversity precludes generic strategies and programs. Rather, this complex problem requires a multi-dimensional solution that local communities are often best placed to generate with support provided by local, State, Territory and Australian governments, or some combination of these. This guide argues that a coordinated approach by all three levels of government is the best way to address the issue of attracting and retaining professional and skilled people.

It goes on to present more than 15 case studies collected from across Australia to illustrate strategies that local communities have successfully implemented to attract and retain skilled workers. The key success factors from each of the case studies are identified and explored in detail in the final section of
this guide. Some examples include: advertisements placed outside local areas, work experience outside local areas, assistance from professional organisations, attraction packages offered, council support through salary/housing subsidy, industry/employer support, placement opportunities for students, local training opportunities, informative materials produced, promotion of benefits of regional lifestyle, arrangement of regional visits, publicity recruitment consultant, redevelopment/revitalisation of town and so on.

**Regional Institute Australia, 2016, Four strategies enticing people to move to Regional Australia**

This short website blog identifies four key strategies that have emerged from locally-led initiatives undertaken by regional communities to encourage people to “make the move” to regional Australia. These are: marketing, incentives, targeting an audience and activating the community. The Regional Institute Australia finds locally-led initiatives are helping to drive population growth in regional Australia and lists more than a dozen examples from around Australia in this blog.

**Rural Councils Victoria 2013, Rural migration: trends and drivers Municipal Association of Victoria, Victoria**

This paper was prepared for Rural Councils Victoria by the Networked Rural Councils Program. It forms part of the Rural Migration Trends and Drivers Toolkit; a response to an earlier study by Rural Councils Victoria which recommended a strategic planning framework and tools to help rural communities prioritise their investments in population attraction and retention strategies. A key finding from the early study was that the strategies rural communities use to address population issues are often developed and implemented without sufficient evidence, evaluation processes, or clear objectives.

This report begins by describing the trends and drivers of rural migration in Victoria, before discussing the potential for increasing it and a range of possible local responses. A useful component of this discussion is the categorisation of attraction and retention responses undertaken in Australia and overseas, by their core objective. The categories are: attracting professionals and skilled labour; improving education and training opportunities; building community networks and social capital; business and investment incentives; retaining young people; investments in liveability amenity; reinvention of towns in transition; marketing and promotional activity; attracting overseas migrants. The report goes on to provide details of a number of these initiatives and their likelihood of success.

**Spoonley, P and Bedford, R 2008, 'Responding to regional labour demand: international migration and labour markets in New Zealand's regions', Journal of International Migration and Integration, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 203-223**

The authors begin by pointing out that because New Zealand does not have a federal system of government, policies to promote immigration and meet labour market needs have been centrally driven, unlike in Australia and Canada where State and Provincial authorities have increasingly been seen to play a role in the development of immigration and labour market policy initiatives. Nevertheless, they note that strategies to attract migrants and meet labour needs are being implemented at the operational end of business development, so-called “firm-based responses”.

The article then outlines three case studies of regional initiatives aimed to increase migration to regions to meet local labour demands, which the authors say have occurred against a broader upsurge in these sorts of initiatives. Local economic development agencies, employment committees, and city councils are among the main instigators of these initiatives. The article ends with suggestions for the focus of future research in this area.
Taylor, J and Stanovic, D 2005, Refugees and regional settlement: balancing priorities
Brotherhood of St Laurence, Fitzroy, Victoria.

This report is based on a study that explored the settlement experiences of Iraqi and Sudanese refugees in selected areas of regional Victoria - Shepparton, Colac and Warrnambool - to examine factors that promote successful settlement in such areas. Data for the study were collected from interviews and consultations with 55 Iraqi and Sudanese refugees and 22 community leaders and service providers. Most of the refugees in the study had relocated from capital cities, though some arrived direct from overseas or, in the case of some Iraqis, from Australian detention centres. Their primary reasons for choosing to go to the three regional locations were to seek employment and/or to join relatives and friends. Other considerations included wanting a quiet place, the desire to bring up children in a small town, and a healthier climate.

The authors conclude that to achieve long-term successful regional settlement policies need to provide generous settlement services for refugees in regional areas. They find that policies should also promote vigorous and sustainable regional economies, which provide education and employment pathways for both the host communities and refugees, as well as enhance the host communities’ capacity to welcome and include newcomers.


Although this article does not deal directly with policies designed to channel settlement to regional areas, it provides a useful summary of changing regional policy in Australia since the 1970s. In particular it traces the rise of neoliberalism and the hands-off approach subsequently taken in to regional areas. The authors argue a more recent acceptance of limited government intervention and institution building are increasingly an accepted policy response.

Wickramaarachchi, N and Butt, A 2014, 'Motivations for retention and mobility: pathways of skilled migrants in regional Victoria, Australia', Rural Society, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 188-197

This article examines retention of skilled migrants in regional Australia, with a focus on the residential choice and satisfaction of migrants in these areas, an area identified by the authors as a gap in the literature. The article begins with a brief discussion of the rationale for the Regional Skilled Migration programs in the Australian context and some background information on the specific visa schemes. The authors then review previous approaches to understanding residential satisfaction, focussing on a model that emphasises satisfaction rather than stress as a key determinant in mobility or, rather, non-mobility.

Considering the above, the authors present the results of an online survey of 500 skilled migrants living in three regional locations in Victoria, Australia. These primary data are used to highlight the level of residential satisfaction of respondents, particularly the relationship between their level of satisfaction and their intention to stay in or leave regional areas once they fulfil their visa requirements. The findings of this study are not consistent with previous studies (Hugo 2008, Wulff and Dharmalingam 2008), which have indicated social connectedness and lifestyle have a significant influence on decisions to move. Rather, this study found a slight majority of respondents intended to stay in regional areas after completing visa obligations. Moreover, only the economic and workplace satisfaction index showed a positive correlation with the intention to move (not the social attachment or lifestyle satisfaction indexes), highlighting the importance of economic factors in residential decision-making processes of regional skilled migrants and the subsequent need for employment and related services.
Withers, GA and Powall, MH 2003, 'Immigration and the regions: taking regional Australia seriously: a report on options for enhancing immigration's contribution to Regional Australia', Chifley Research Centre

This report from the Labour Party think tank, the Chifley Research Centre, argues the case that reformed migration policy could play an important role in seeking to reduce regional inequality and enhance all round prosperity in regional Australia. After reviewing the overall population trends in Australia, it considers the demographic and economic dimensions of change in regional areas.

The report goes on to examine policies that promote regional development from capital works and infrastructure projects to support for specific businesses and industries to set up in particular regions. However, the main focus of this report is 're-thinking' options for the future. The authors conclude that new immigration measures can play a role as part of a package aimed to improve outcomes for regional Australia, and, to that end, they propose a number of commitments and reforms to achieve this.


This article is underpinned by the premise that although most policy has hitherto revolved around attracting migrants to regional areas and linking them with jobs, housing, local information and support services, encouraging migrants to stay in regional areas (retention) is an equally important policy dimension. The authors therefore set out to understand the factors that are likely to increase long-term retention of regional skilled migrants that have arrived through the regional migration program. They posit that while the program clearly has a strong economic rationale, a strong economy and a job may not be enough to retain migrants, therefore it is worthwhile considering the ties migrants have to their communities and factors that contribute to forging stronger local ties.

After reviewing the large body of research on residential mobility, they argue socio-demographic and community factors, particularly social connectedness are factors likely to help retain migrants in regional areas. The authors then turn their attention to an empirical examination of the determinants of social connectedness in regional Australia by analysing a sample of just over 500 migrants who obtained visas under the Regional Sponsored Migration scheme (RSMS). A composite index of ‘social connectedness’ was derived from the answers to five questions about a person’s regular participation in various community activities. According to their classification, the majority had strong social connectedness (72 percent). Logistic regression is used to explore whether personal, community or program characteristics moderated social connectedness. The results from this analysis showed that the following factors were likely to increase migrants’ social connectedness: families with young children, those who have lived in Australia longer, those living in small towns, those who were born in ‘other English-speaking countries’, those who found the assistance they received from their employer on arrival helpful.

In view of the results, the authors argue there are several areas of policy intervention that regional communities can pursue to encourage social connectedness, including: encouraging migrants to participate in local communities and activities; support for program grants from State and Federal governments; selection policies that consider evidence that families with children and migrants from mainly English-speaking countries find it easier to develop social connectedness.
This article introduces an important Special Issue of the *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, a multidisciplinary, peer-reviewed scholarly journal. The edition developed out of research papers presented at the 12th International Metropolis Conference, 2007 and the initiative for the research came from the Victorian State Government, Australia. All five articles in the Special Issue are included in the present literature review.

The article discusses the rise of “regionalisation policies” in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, which have been designed to encourage new arrivals to choose areas beyond the major cities as their long-term settlement location. It then lists the main policies and programs adopted in these countries, before summarising each of the papers published in the Special Issue. The authors note that despite the proliferation of initiatives aimed at dispersing migrants in regional areas, immigrants still face challenges and barriers.
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