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The population turnaround: A case study of the Shire of Toodyay

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The Population Turnaround: a Case Study of the Shire of Toodyay

BY

Matthew Aaron Tonts

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Award of

Bachelor of Arts Honours (Social Sciences)

in the Faculty of Arts, Edith Cowan University

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June 16, 1993.

Abstract

During the 1970's a number of Australia's rural municipalities began to counter the long term pattern of population decline. This thesis provides empirical evidence of these changes within Western Australia and investigates the reasons for the turnaround. To develop this, a case-study examination has been made of the Shire of Toodyay in an effort to ascertain the circumstances surrounding households decisions to migrate into rural districts.

This study reveals that the newcomer households exhibit a diverse range of characteristics and conform to no clear stereotypical groupings. Rather, it appears that those who have made the transition, have done so in response to individual circumstances and the way in which these relate to broad based societal forces. None the least of these, is the ability to blend a preferred rural residential setting with the economic and social advantages of large urban centres. A set of circumstances which have considerable implications for the host agricultural communities.

Declaration

"I certify that this thesis does not incorporate, without acknowledgment, any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where reference is made in the text."

Matthew Tonts

June 16, 1993

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Glossary

ABS: Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Counterurbanisation: "Is deemed to be the prevailing tendency when the distribution of population is shifting from larger to smaller places, where 'places' are defined in relatively self contained areas comprising an urban area and its commuting and servicing catchment." (Champion, 1989, p.32.)

Newcomer Household: Comprises a person or people who usually reside together (ABS, 1991, p.1.), and in this case, those who have migrated into the Shire of Toodyay after 1981.

Population Turnaround: This term is often used as a substitute for counterurbanisation, however the population turnaround is generally used to describe growth in small rural municipalities which had previously experienced population loss.

Counterurbanisation on the other hand, is generally used to describe population and settlement change over larger areas, such as a states or nations.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Hugo and Smailes (1985, 1992.) have established that over recent years the long term trend towards rural depopulation has slowed, and in some regions has clearly reversed. This apparent rural 'revival' is one of the most significant, yet comparatively under-researched, demographic developments within Australia.

Although the trend towards a population turnaround, or 'counter-urbanisation' (Berry, 1976.), had been recognised in North America (Berry, 1976; Morrison and Wheeler, 1976.) and Western Europe (Champion, 1981; Fielding 1982.) during the 1970's, Australian writers continued to refer to the decline of small rural centres until Hugo and Smailes (1985) published a paper recognising an urban-to-rural migration movement. Using census data they identified patterns of population dynamics at national, state and local levels which confirmed an apparent reversal in trends, and related this to several possible 'causal mechanisms'.

While not all rural areas have experienced this population turnaround, and recently the pace of urban-rural migration has begun to falter (Hugo and Smailes, 1992), the general transition from depopulation to repopulation has the potential to transform the nature of many rural communities. As Morrison and Wheeler (1976) have noted, changes in social make-up, local economies, service provision and the quality of

community life, due to the influx of predominantly ex-urban migrants, has clearly altered the longstanding nature of a number of rural localities. (See also Hudson, 1989.)

Significance of the Study

Despite the evidence of selective rural repopulation, an understanding of the processes behind the shift remains limited, mainly due to the paucity of detailed studies of this phenomenon. Consequently, urban-to-rural migration is an area rich in theory and speculation but relatively poor in reliable evidence gathered from detailed empirical studies.

(Bolton and Chalkley, 1990, p.29.) This research helps to strengthen the understanding of rural repopulation by providing not only an analysis of appropriate census data, but also by gathering detailed case-study information in an effort to understand the circumstances surrounding the decisions of households who have migrated into a particular rural district. This is an important consideration because past studies of the population turnaround have tended to inductively use census data to establish patterns of population change, rather than attempting to seek-out explanations from the people involved. As Nicola Bolton and Brian Chalkley have observed:

" in the quest for an explanation it has been easier for academics to theorise than to undertake the detailed fieldwork essential if the process of change is to be fully understood." (Bolton and Chalkley, 1990, p.29.)

Furthermore, apart from the broad statistical data gathered by the Department of Planning and Urban Development's Population Monitoring Unit in WA, the study of regional repopulation is an area which has largely been neglected within Australia and particularly in Western Australia. In this respect, this research is of fundamental significance in that it provides insights into the circumstances surrounding selective population changes within rural Western Australia. From this, the findings have implications for a wide variety of environmental and social issues, including social cohesion and class structure, planning, landcare and infrastructure and service supply.

Selection of the Study Area

Figure 1:1 shows a number of local government areas within a 150 kilometre radius of Perth which have been identified by Hugo and Smailes (1992) as having experienced recent net-migrational increases. These were considered as potential locations for this research and the immediate task involved the selection of an appropriate municipality. Preliminary investigations of census data relating to these local government areas indicates that prior to 1976 all had experienced a steady population decline, however between 1976 and 1991 a number of these municipalities had experienced steady population increases; as indicated in Table 1:1. Among those which experienced a turnaround were Cunderdin, Wickiepin, York, Boddington, Chittering and Toodyay.

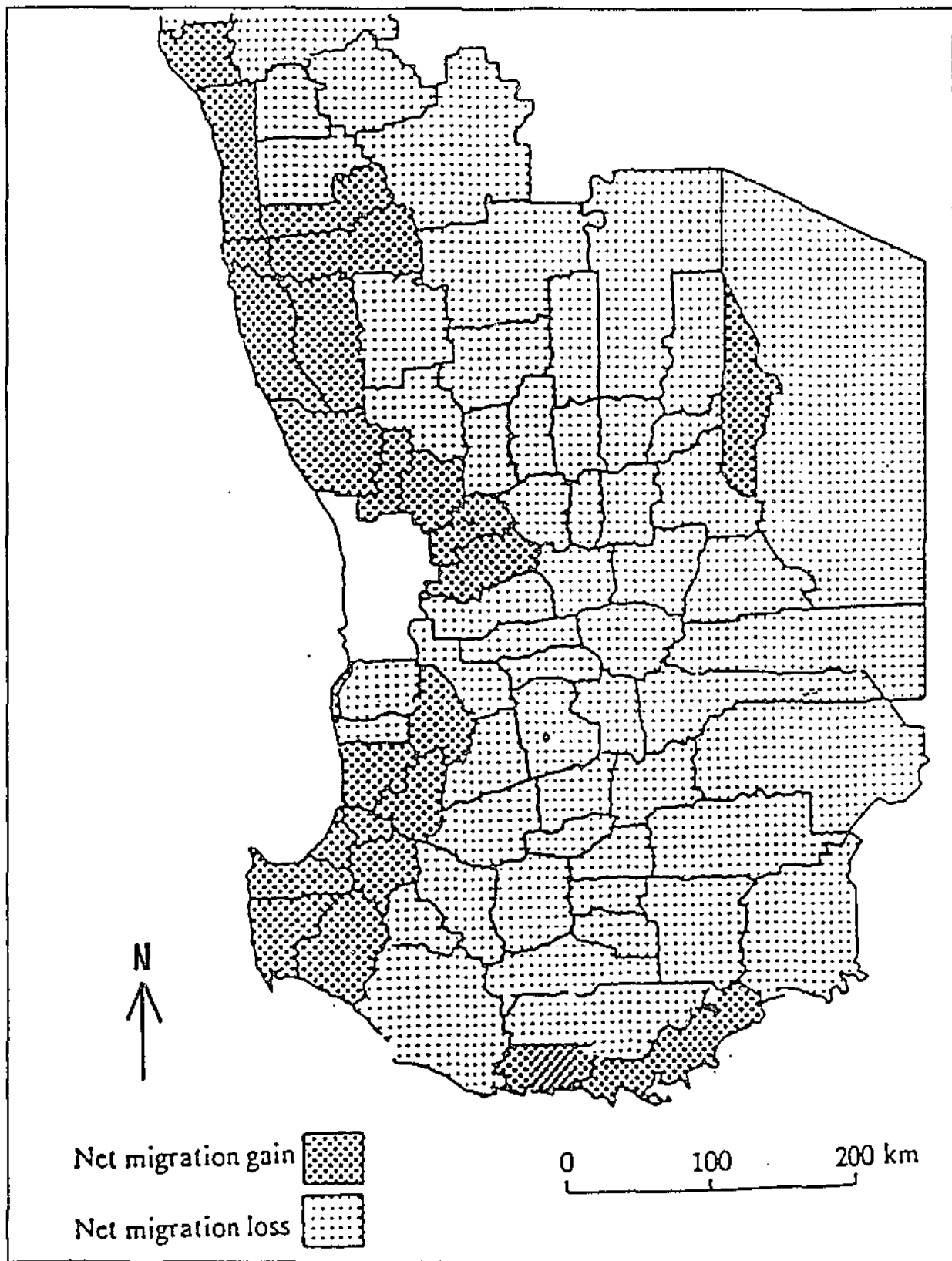


Figure 1:1: Western Australia: South Western Non-metropolitan Local Government Areas Experiencing Net-Migration Gain and Loss, 1981-1986. (Source: Hugo and Smailes, 1992, p.38.)

Table 1:1 Selected Western Australian Towns to Record Population Growth, 1976 to 1991.

	1976	1981	1986	1991
Toodyay	1140	1396	1798	2461
Chittering	1078	1169	1371	1920
Boddington	724	749	885	1416
Wickepin	1076	984	921	923
Cunderdin	1587	1558	1342	1389
York	1909	2108	2277	2501

(Source: ABS census reports, 1976-1991.)

It was decided to select Toodyay for the focus of this study for the following reasons: Firstly, of all the local government areas investigated, Toodyay has experienced the most pronounced population revival. Following a rapid population decline prior to 1976, it has since then recorded the highest rate of population growth. Secondly, the population growth did not appear to be employment-led, as was the case in the Boddington Shire, where new mining activity has played an important role. Thirdly, given the available resources to conduct this research, it was necessary to confine the study to one shire and the accessibility of Toodyay was an important consideration. Fourthly, the study has the full endorsement of the Toodyay Shire Council who agreed to provide access to their records, electoral roles and other archival material. Finally, the area is of personal interest to me in terms of both its physical environment and historic development.

Having selected the case study district it was also necessary to establish a time-frame for the research. For practical reasons the period selected for the detailed analysis of repopulation within the Shire of Toodyay is from 1981 to 1991. This ensures that the study focuses upon the population which has recently arrived and therefore reflects the current trends within the Shire. However, the study also reviews census data from 1971, to help establish the long term patterns of demographic change within the Shire.

Setting of the Study

The Shire of Toodyay is located 91 kilometres north-east of Perth and 26 kilometres north-west of the nearest major regional centre at Northam. (See Figure 1:2) The physical landscape of the region is dominated primarily by the Avon river and its tributaries. The undulating landscape is also characterised by a heavy loam soil and numerous granite intrusions and lateritic breakaways. Biologically, the Shire of Toodyay may be described as being in a zone of transition, with the tall Jarrah forest making way for the more open Wandoo woodland as the annual rainfall begins to diminish rapidly east of the Darling escarpment.

The significance of both the Darling scarp and the associated Jarrah forest are substantial factors in the unique character of the Toodyay district. Both of these natural features present barriers to the outward development of the Perth metropolitan area and help Toodyay maintain a rural character and the perception of the Shire being

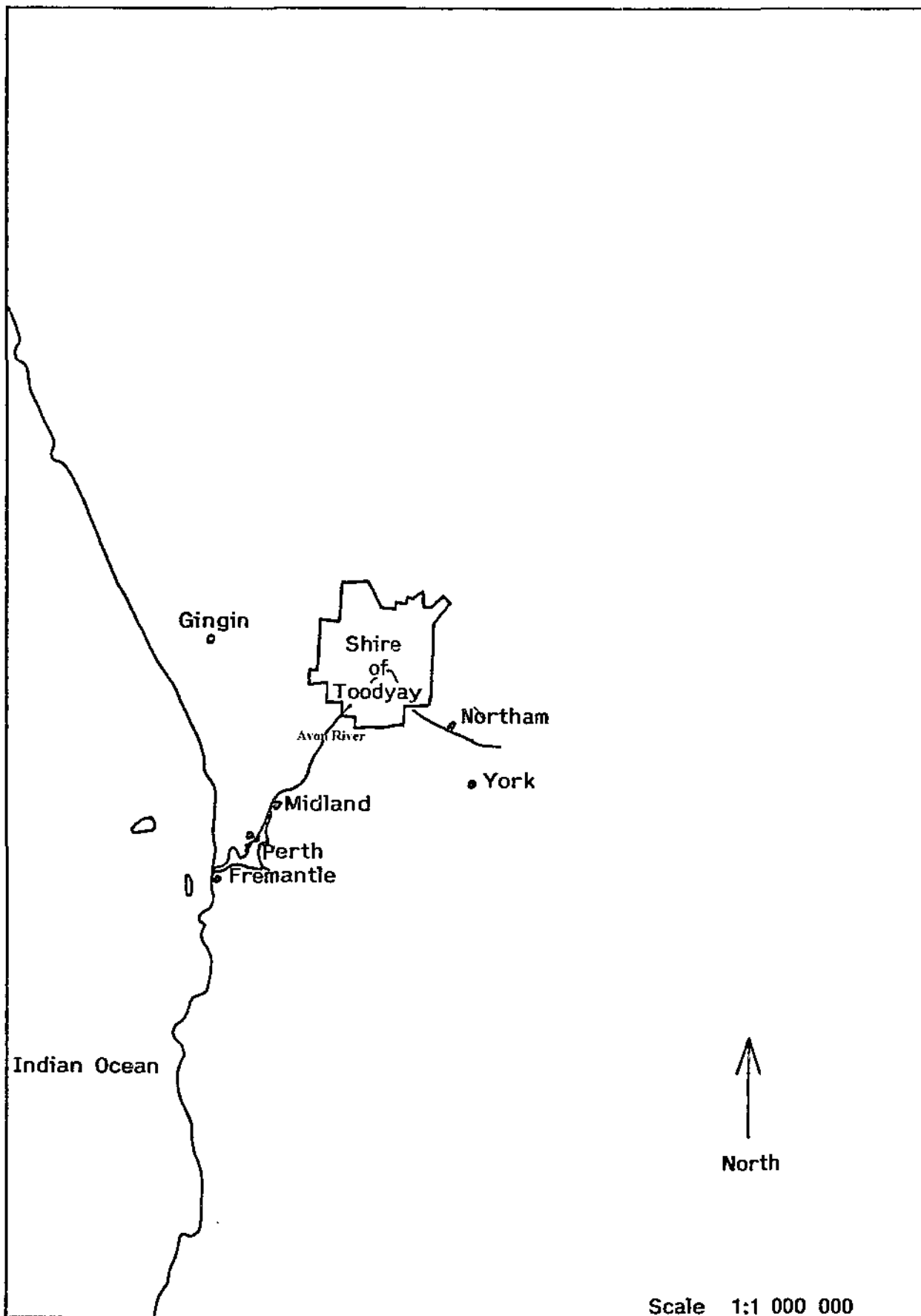


Figure 1:2 Location of the Shire of Toodyay. (See Appendix A)

distinctly separate from the Metropolitan area. The Darling scarp presents a physical barrier to development, and although the significance of this may have diminished in recent years, the existence of a series of national parks and water catchment areas stretching from north to south, east of the scarp presents a permanent barrier to urban development and effectively blocks the outward sprawl of the metropolitan area into the Avon district.

Toodyay's origins date back to the 1830's when many of the free land grants to the south of the district around Northam, York and Beverley were being finalised. The northward development saw three settlers; Drummond, Whitfield and Carter, explore a new trail into the district North of Northam and in 1836 these men settled land grants in the Toodyay district. Swift development followed and late in 1836 a townsite was gazetted on the Avon River. (Erickson, 1974.)

The original Toodyay settlement consisted of some 50 to 60 dwellings, however was subject to repeated flooding and in 1859 the current townsite was surveyed, gazetted and renamed Newcastle. The development of Toodyay as a agricultural district for sheep and cereal crops was rapid and in 1888 a railway was opened which linked Newcastle and the Avon Valley to the Metropolitan area. In 1910 the name of the town was changed to Toodyay after much confusion with Newcastle in New South Wales. (Erickson, 1974.)

Industry within the Shire of Toodyay has always focussed upon agriculture and the function of the Town has generally been to

support this. The area is predominantly used for sheep and cereal crop production, with small pockets of viticulture and a number of small orchards also present. The area was also a major source of Sandalwood in the 1850's and collection of this material still occurs within the district. (Erickson, 1974.) A tannins extract factory operated within the Shire over a 17 year period until its bankruptcy in the early 1970's.

The function of the Shire of Toodyay began to alter during the 1970's as a number of economic downturns in the wool industry saw many farmers face financial ruin. A number saw that the easiest way out of their financial difficulties was to subdivide their properties rather than to sell them as going concerns; mainly because small lots fetched higher prices per hectare. The first of these special rural subdivisions was created in 1974 and presented the opportunity for many people to purchase land and take up 'hobby farming'. (Zekulich, 1977, p.18.) The growth in the number of these hobby farm estates has seen not only the population within the Shire grow, but the function of the area change from the dominant agricultural base, to one which is far more diversified.

Research Problem

This study has the primary aim of examining the circumstances surrounding the decisions of households to settle in rural municipalities such as the Shire of Toodyay. Thus, the research question can be stated as follows:

To identify and analyse the major circumstances which prompted households to settle within the Shire of Toodyay between 1981 and 1991.

The investigation also has the secondary objective of identifying some of the major ramifications of this demographic revival in terms of the future needs of the Shire. Furthermore, it provides a basis for more detailed research into the subject area, a matter which is of significance for not only academics but also, in a practical way, the communities upon which such developments impact.

Following a detailed review of the literature and examination of the methodology used in this study, this thesis proceeds to establish a profile of the newcomer households which have recently settled in the Shire. From this, a number of conclusions regarding the nature of the population turnaround are developed, followed by a brief discussion of the ramifications of the demographic change within the Shire.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The past fifteen years or so, has seen the development of a growing body of published material concerning the population turnaround in rural regions. Broadly, the literature pursues two basic themes.

Firstly, there is a complex body of material establishing evidence of an urban-to-rural migrational movement within Western countries. This evidence has been predominantly assembled from census data, with some detailed 'field' based research undertaken in recent years. The second major theme involves the body of theory which is used in an attempt to explain the population turnaround. These efforts have also encountered severe criticism from those researchers who have attempted to present evidence to support a case that counterurbanisation is not taking place.

This review of the population turnaround literature will demonstrate the current state of the knowledge concerning the study of counterurbanisation, the pertinent field and census based studies and the methodological issues raised by those researching and writing in the field. The themes pursued will help establish the contextual, theoretical and methodological significance of the Toodyay case study.

The Discovery of the Population Turnaround

In 1975 C. L. Beale drew the attention of the academic community to an unprecedented development occurring in the population geography of the USA. From his research into demographic data, he observed that between 1970 and 1973 the United States population in non-metropolitan regions was growing faster than in metropolitan areas. During the 1960's, non-metropolitan America lost almost three million people through net out-migration, however in the first three years of the 1970's alone it gained more than 1.1 million through net in-migration. (Beale, 1975.) It would appear that it was this single paper which triggered a wave of investigations and population monitoring into what has been termed "counterurbanisation" (Berry, 1976, p.7.), or the population turnaround.

The possibility of this population turnaround appears to have been foreseen prior to Beale's seminal paper. Berry (1976) quoted extensively from H. G. Wells's 1902 book Anticipations, including, "The city will diffuse itself until it has taken up considerable areas and many of the characteristics of what is now the country". (as quoted in Berry, 1976, p.21.) In this vein, Champion (1989) refers to Hoyt's 1939 study of residential neighbourhoods in which he pointed to the uncompromising outward movement of the urban periphery as families sought new housing. Champion (1989) also points to an equally well known 1960 study by Vernon, who forecast a time when the New York metropolitan area would no longer be growing.

Berry (1976) observed that the pace of the change had preceded more rapidly than Wells had anticipated and in response to Beale's paper proclaimed:

" A turning point has been reached in the American urban experience. Counterurbanisation has replaced urbanisation as the dominant force shaping the nations settlement patterns."
(Berry, 1976, p.2.)

This statement was, to some extent, supported by the plethora of research conducted in the USA following Beale's 1975 paper.

Beale (1975) found that, although counties lying adjacent to metropolitan areas were growing more rapidly than those at greater distances, the difference between the two (4.4 and 3.7 percent respectively) over the 1970-1973 period was marginal and much narrower than during the previous decade. Subsequent studies in the USA by Morrison and Wheeler (1976) confirmed this, and demonstrated that it was the rural localities not adjacent to metropolitan areas that had experienced the most significant population growth rates between the 1960's and early 1970's. Morrison and Wheeler (1976) not only confirmed the conclusions of Beale (1975) but also demonstrated the validity of the turnaround for a wide range of county types, including those dominated by employment in mining, recreation and government related activities, as well as manufacturing and retirement areas.

The Worldwide Search for a Population Turnaround

The apparent revolutionary nature of events in the USA stimulated a wider search for similar developments across the developed world. Berry's 1976 book Urbanisation and Counterurbanisation compiles evidence from around the world on changing urbanisation experiences during the early 1970's. This was the first major work which assembled international evidence demonstrating that the population turnaround was not confined to the USA. For example, it was reported that:

"Urbanisation in Australia and Canada appears to have entered a new period. Internal migration streams have shifted away from the two major dominant metropolitan areas in each country towards medium sized cities and to small centres just outside the metropolitan regions." (Berry, 1976, p.136.)

Further essays in Berry's book demonstrate patterns of counterurbanisation throughout Western Europe, however it is noted that the general theme of the essays is more cautious than Berry's claim that counterurbanisation has replaced urbanisation. In fact much of the text refers to the stability of existing urban systems, the emergence of new metropolitan centres and the strong degree of similarity in many aspects of urban change experienced in the 1970's with that of the 1950's and 1960's.

Vinning and Kontuly (1978) were the first to demonstrate the widespread nature of the slowdown of metropolitan growth rates in

conjunction with the increased population growth in rural areas. Examining eighteen Western countries they found that eleven had experienced either a reversal of the direction of net population flow from their remote peripheral regions to their densely populated cores, or had at least recorded a dramatic reduction in the level of this flow.

The Vinning and Kontuly study followed closely behind Berry's pronouncement of the end of urbanisation in the USA and, according to Champion (1989), provided a stimulus for further research into the apparent patterns of counterurbanisation. Fielding (1982) appears to have been prompted by the Vinning and Kontuly study and clearly investigated the notion that counterurbanisation had replaced urbanisation as the dominant force in Western Europe. Fielding was primarily interested in population redistribution across the urban system rather than simply migration patterns. He adopted a framework of geographical areas which represented the structure of the urban system as closely as the available data would allow, and developed a test for counterurbanisation based on the statistical relationship between net-migration rate and settlement size. From this detailed approach Fielding was able to confirm counterurbanisation in Western Europe.

Champion's (1989) book entitled Counterurbanisation, presents a series of national case studies from around the world, in a similar manner to Berry's 1976 publication. However, Champion focuses closely upon theoretical and methodological issues and postulates that what may actually be occurring is the development of a 'post industrial' pattern

of settlement, based largely on medium-sized towns and small cities, which will be distributed much more evenly throughout a nation. (Champion, 1989, p.17.) What is therefore suggested, is that counterurbanisation may be one of the most tangible forms of the move towards a 'post-industrial' society.

The Australian Experience

Despite the acknowledgment of a rural population turnaround in North America and Western Europe, Australian writers continued to refer to the decline of small rural centres (For example Burnley, 1978.), until Graeme Hugo and Peter Smailes published their seminal papers in 1985 in the Journal of Rural Studies. The first of the papers; "Urban-Rural Migration in Australia: a Process View of the Turnaround" (Hugo and Smailes, 1985), summarises evidence for the presence of a trend towards counterurbanisation in Australia at both the national and local levels. Hugo and Smailes confirmed the presence of a urban-to-rural migration movement within Australia using a detailed analysis of census data between 1966 and 1981, however they were unable to identify a precise reason for the turnaround. While this paper does demonstrate a urban-to-rural movement within Australia it is primarily concerned with the identification of theoretical explanations for population turnaround. On the other hand, the companion paper; "A Process View of the Population Turnaround: an Australian Rural Case Study" (Smailes and Hugo, 1985.), provides detailed empirical evidence of local demographic change in South Australia during the decade from 1970 to 1980.

This case-study confirms the existence of a population turnaround within an area occupied by five rural towns in the Saddleworth and Mallala districts, 80-90 kilometres north of Adelaide. Surveys carried out in 1968, 1970 and 1980 indicate a variety of subtle demographic changes throughout the district, which have produced a considerable aggregate improvement in the balance between population loss and population gain. Smailes and Hugo (1985) attempted to identify the causal factors responsible for the turnaround, however were unable to identify any single dominant reason; although they did note some economic, lifestyle and transport factors at work in the district which may have been significant.

Further evidence of a population turnaround within Australia is presented by Hudson (1989) in "Change and Adaptation in Four Rural Communities in New England, NSW." In this, Hudson acknowledges Hugo and Smailes (1985) paper and attributed much of the social change which has occurred in New England to the influx of ex-urban migrants. While this paper does acknowledge an increasing population in the previously depopulating rural areas of New England, it does not deal specifically or at length with the population turnaround.

The most significant contributor to demonstrating and understanding the population turnaround in Australia is Graeme Hugo. In Australia's Changing Population (Hugo, 1987.) and in Champion's (1989) Counterurbanisation, Hugo again closely examines census data to confirm the trend of urban-to-rural migration throughout the 1980's

and continues the theoretical debate as to the causes behind the population shift. A 1992 paper by Hugo and Smailes entitled "Population Dynamics in Rural South Australia", updates the case study reported in 1985 and confirms the continuing trends towards counterurbanisation within Australia, although the paper acknowledges there has been a slowdown in the trend during the 1990's.

There would appear a reluctance within Australia to fully accept the notion of a population turnaround or, if the trend has been accepted, research into the processes and patterns still remains scarce. Apart from studies undertaken in New South Wales and South Australia, few other studies have occurred within Australia and most evidence seems to indicate none within Western Australia. This situation is difficult to explain, particularly when the broad implications of such a population shift are considered. As Morrison and Wheeler (1976) point out, such a population turnaround has many implications for local economies, planning policies, services and the quality of community life in these rural regions. There is therefore a need for far greater investigation into not only the population turnaround within Australia and Western Australia, but the implications upon the various components of rural life.

The Theoretical Debate

The discovery and examination of the counterurbanisation phenomenon has resulted in much debate within academic circles as to the nature of, and reasons for the population shift. The central reason for the

discussion is the challenge the concept poses to the familiar geographical idea of population concentration in urban areas. Vinning and Pallone (1982) even see a paradigmic change growing out of the counterurbanisation debate, however this view may be somewhat enthusiastic considering the rather loose body of knowledge and data currently available. Vartiainen (1989) on the other hand, believes that rather than any paradigm shift, the counterurbanisation concept rests on only a few new and unexpected empirical observations which can be explained by means of traditional geographical methods. The theoretical debate is a complex one which is still being fiercely discussed throughout the social sciences. One of the most thorough outlines of the hypotheses used to explain the turnaround is presented by Hugo and Smailes (1985).

Upon the discovery of the population turnaround there appeared to be a quest to explain the movement through the development of a detailed body of theory. This theorising has seen three basic models developed out of both 'structural' and 'behavioural' backgrounds which are of relevance to the Australian situation. (Hugo and Smailes, 1985.) Hugo and Smailes (1985) believe one of the most significant features of the turnaround is its widespread occurrence in industrialised countries, and the remarkable synchronisation of the occurrences. Valid theoretical explanations of the turnaround must therefore not only provide a plausible account of the turnaround, but must consider the timing, international nature and local level variables which appear to play a significant role in a rural demographic revival. Migration is considered a such complex phenomenon by geographers such as Vartiainen (1989)

and Hugo and Smailes (1985), that they believe an eclectic approach is necessary when attempting to explain rural population change. It is therefore highly probable that several of the following hypotheses need to be considered in building a realistic picture of the Toodyay situation. It may also be possible that none of the existing hypotheses fit the Toodyay situation and that a selective approach does not present a model with internal consistency. (Fielding 1982)

Hugo and Smailes (1985) present a synopsis of eight "causal mechanisms" used to explain the population turnaround throughout Western nations, with two of these being of considerable relevance to the Toodyay situation. The first major hypothesis of relevance is a 'behavioural' approach, suggesting that there has been a basic change in peoples lifestyle preferences, acting in favour of residence in rural or small town environments. As Morrison and Wheeler state:

"Many people now enjoy more financial freedom to act upon their preferences: early retirement, retirement benefits, rising affluence, and the availability of public assistance are enabling considerable numbers, both young and old, to enter into a free floating population that can settle down where it chooses." (Morrison and Wheeler, 1976, p.21.)

Writing in the 1970's Fugitt and Voss (1979, p.28.) observe that:

"no longer are job related factors the dominant influences on migration behaviour. On the other hand, quality of life factors, variously measured, are beginning to emerge in the migration literature with unprecedented clarity."

This approach however ignores broad social and economic forces which play a part in our everyday behaviour and seems to imply that we are 'free-floating' individuals with few social constraints influencing our decisions and actions.

An approach which tends to redress the imbalance of the former, is a 'structural' view, which suggests that the population turnaround is tied to broad national and international changes in the economy. As Jarvie (1981, p.38.) argues:

"Traditional theories of urbanisation emphasise the role of the transformation of the economic structure of a country from agriculture to manufacturing and tertiary activities in producing massive population concentration in urban areas. What is now proposed is that it is further structural transformation of the national economy which is producing "counterurbanisation"."

This argument suggests that migration is primarily related to the economy and that competing forces within the city result in industry relocating into rural areas to utilise cheap land, resources and possibly to exploit a 'reserve army of labour' in depressed rural areas.

(Champion, 1989.) Hugo and Smailes (1985) suggest that the turnaround is primarily a result of structural change in modern Western economies as the proportion of tertiary and quaternary employment increases relative to secondary employment, while the decline in primary employment has almost run its course. Further structural changes include government policies of decentralisation steering jobs into rural areas, early retirement and increased urban unemployment forcing

people into rural areas to find employment and make use of cheaper housing.

While the work of Hugo and Smailes (1985, 1992.) is vitally important in an area receiving little research attention within Australia, the work of many overseas writers is also of some value to the Australian situation. Fielding (1982) presents a similar examination into the reasons for a population turnaround as Hugo and Smailes, although he is perhaps more critical of the structural and behavioural models used so widely throughout the counterurbanisation literature. Fielding firstly examines the behavioural approach, similar to that discussed by Hugo and Smailes (1985), in which peoples lifestyle preferences had changed in preference of small town or rural living; he then turns to focus upon a neo-classical economic model which emphasises the importance of employment opportunities and identifies the key forces not at the level of the individual, but at the level of institutions. This also places migration within the context of wider market forces with respect to where the job opportunities will arise, and within the operation of the wider national labour market. (Fielding, 1982.) Fielding however believes the most fundamental problem with this model is that:

"...it is precisely these regions with the highest wages and lowest unemployment levels that are currently losing by migration, and it is the low wage rural areas that are often so strikingly gaining." (Fielding, 1982, p.21.)

The work of Cloke in "Counterurbanisation: a Rural Perspective" (1985) is another paper of distinct relevance to the Australian turnaround. Cloke emphasises the localised conditions which attract people to rural localities, rather than urban forces of diffusion. This view is a major change of direction from the emphasis placed by many theorists upon the urban centred explanations of change. At a local level Cloke believes certain conditions are of importance to rural population growth and are more likely to attract in-migrants, while at the same time preventing excessive out-migration. These conditions include:

1. An attractive physical environment which is perceived to have ecological value, prestige or scenic quality.
2. Settlement quality in terms of the built environment is important, again particularly if heritage is to be conserved and will add value to the community.
3. The availability of a suitable housing stock, at the right price, promotes repopulation. This stock of housing will generally include a variety from luxury housing for the affluent, to bungalows for the less so. A suitable stock of houses available for rental is also an important factor.
4. Social and community attributes, including available services, the existence of community groups and social cohesion.

(Cloke, 1985, p.21.)

The debate attempting to establish a theoretical framework for the population turnaround is complex and appears at this point to be no closer to any reasonable or justifiable model. There is some debate that

we need not attempt to develop any singular theory to explain the turnaround, rather, as Hugo and Smailes (1985, p.12.) suggest, we should take an eclectic approach and utilise only the relevant points of each theory for individual situations and localities, as in reality no two places, in either geographical or social terms are alike. Therefore, it may be suggested that attempting to establish one all encompassing theory is a futile exercise. While this approach is supported strongly by Massey (1985) and Vartiainen (1989), Fielding (1982) takes this view one step further believing that the eclectic approach does not necessarily result in a compensatory explanation with internal consistency. According to Fielding the weaknesses in one particular model are not necessarily equally compensated by the strengths of others. Fielding advocates more of a 'Weberian' approach, focussing upon the broad combination of economic, political, social and historical forces which shape the patterns of migration according to individual circumstances, rather than attempting to develop a single universal model or theory to explain the population turnaround.

Local Level Case-Studies of the Population Turnaround

Over the past few years a number of case studies have been published on the population turnaround. Many of the early studies into the phenomenon were census based, such as most of those in Berry's (1976) collection, along with those by Morrison and Wheeler (1976), Champion (1981) and Ogden (1985). While these studies demonstrated quite clearly the existence and patterns of counterurbanisation, they fail to come to terms with the processes behind the shift. Until recently these

processes had been the subject of speculation, however a number of valuable 'field-based' studies have begun to emerge which not only provide relevant models for the Toodyay case-study, but outline clearly the appropriate methodology for a study of this type.

The case-study of most relevance to the Toodyay research is that by Bolton and Chalkley (1990): "The Rural Population Turnaround: a Case-Study of North Devon." This study focuses closely upon the demographic revival within North Devon, utilising a series detailed household interviews as the main method of investigation. Bolton and Chalkley suggest that while this method has its critics, it is the only method which establishes the motivations and characteristics of the individual migrant household. Questioning focussed upon both economic and non-economic explanations for migration, such as employment, lifestyle changes, environmental considerations and so-forth. The study was also designed to examine the validity of the stereotypical image of former urban dwellers being dominated by retirees or those seeking an alternative lifestyle. Bolton and Chalkley (1990), upon completion of their research presented a detailed review of counterurbanisation theory and found that due to the complexity and diversity of the migrant group, the quest for a theory was fraught with difficulties. The study suggested that while the eclectic approach may not necessarily be internally consistent:

"...the various theories may best be seen as each shedding light on a particular dimension of the turnaround process and each therefore making a distinctive, if partial contribution." (Bolton and Chalkley, 1990, p. 42.)

A number of other local case-studies have been published, including Ambrose's (1974) examination of social change in a repopulating Sussex village; Hudson's (1989) study of community adaptation and change in rural New England, NSW; and Smailes and Hugo's (1985) study of counterurbanisation in rural South Australia. Unfortunately these studies have not clearly outlined methodologies, and with the exception of Smailes and Hugo (1985) do not directly examine the population turnaround, but the issues of social change associated with a new type of population that is, the ex-urban dweller settling in rural communities.

One of the most important publications published in terms of both methodology and theoretical framework is R. C. Taylor's (1969) study of migration and motivation in West Durham. Taylor believes that generally in the study of migration we either accept the migrants own statement of motives, or the motives which have been inferred from a study of structural determinants. Taylor however supports a view that we must combine the two approaches to have any valid account of migration, thus we should examine both the migrants subjective account of motives, along with our own account based upon the examination of a number of structural determinants. The most striking problem with this approach is; how do we classify the infinite collection of motives within the limited framework of structural determinants? (Taylor, 1969.)

Throughout migration literature, a distinct methodological concern is regularly raised in simply asking migrants why they moved, and then distinguishing between 'real' and 'stated' motives. Taylor (1969) believes that a more accurate account of the motivation for migration can be achieved if our line of questioning during the interview investigates the discussion within the household prior to the move. If the questioning attempts to help reconstruct the debates and considerations discussed when the decision to move was first forwarded, to the point of the move itself, a clearer picture of the migrational motivations may be attained. This line of interviewing helps the researcher to gain at least some detailed insight into the 'real' motivations for the move, rather than simply attempting to gain a retrospective opinion from the migrant.

The current body of literature dealing with counterurbanisation, or the population turnaround, within many rural areas throughout the Western world is complex and detailed in terms of both research and theory. The strengths within the literature lie primarily in the analysis of census data relating to the patterns of migration into rural areas and away from the urban setting, along with the detailed literature dealing with the complex theoretical debate. On the other hand, detailed investigation at a local level, particularly case-study research, has been somewhat neglected. While case-study research has formed a minor part of the literature to date, it has been a significant contributor not only to the developing body of counterurbanisation theory, but to the

methodological techniques required for studies of local level migration. The case-study material of such writers as Bolton and Chalkley (1990), Hudson (1989), Jones *et al* (1986.), Taylor (1969) and a number of others, are of particular note in terms of the development of the methodology for this research, such is the fundamental significance of their work.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The study of demographic change within the Shire of Toodyay is based on two research methods; census analysis and household interviews. While these methods comprised the primary method of research, observation also played a significant role in understanding the environment and the circumstances under which the demographic revival has occurred.

The methodology for the study was designed specifically to reflect the research problem stated in Chapter One: "To identify and analyse the major circumstances which prompted households to settle within the Shire of Toodyay between 1981 and 1991."

While much of the previous work within Australia relating to the population turnaround has involved a description of the demographic trends based on census data, this research takes the analysis further and focuses on the reasons of why people have moved into the Shire of Toodyay. Although a number of theories have been developed regarding the population turnaround, few have evolved out of detailed case-studies and most are based upon speculative theory. (Bolton and Chalkley, 1990.) In an endeavour to better understand rural repopulation, this study utilised methods which allow a detailed investigation into a number of households involved in the resettlement.

Household Interviews

The household interview was the central method used to collect the majority of the data required to provide an insight into the demographic revival within the Shire of Toodyay. The method was able to not only give detailed and descriptive information regarding households decisions to settle within the Shire, but provided significant information regarding commuter behaviour and employment patterns, age/sex structures of households, leisure and recreation patterns, and other information of fundamental significance to the study. This information helps to establish the involvement of newcomers within the Shire, in terms of employment and recreation, and begins to provide a profile of the type of people involved in the turnaround. The information sought was also designed to reveal the applicability of the theories and hypotheses discussed in Chapter Two.

The use of the household interview has been severely criticised by Fielding (1982) who argues that

"...the explanation must be located in the social relations and social processes of wider society and not in the aspirations of the individual migrant." (Fielding, 1982, p.37.)

However, Bolton and Chalkley (1990, p. 31.) present the argument that it cannot be assumed that migrants are a group whose characteristics are those specified by a particular theory. Thus, the view of this research is that detailed interviews are required in order to establish the

similarities and differences between groups, and to 'test' the merits of competing turnaround theories. (Bolton and Chalkley, 1990, p.31.) It is however acknowledged that there are problems associated with household interviews, such as the accuracy of the interviewees recall; the extent to which they may be able to admit failure, either of the move or for the move itself; or the inability of an interviewee to pinpoint the precise reason for moving. (Bolton and Chalkley, 1990.)

On a practical level the household interview was selected because, as Bolton and Chalkley (1990, p.31.) point out, there is such a dearth of published migration data that there is no other way of obtaining information on matters such as origin, destination, characteristics and the motivation of migrant households.

Identification of Newcomer Households

The application of the household interview method required the selection of a sample of households which arrived during the study period (between 1981 and 1991). A number of selection techniques have been applied in similar studies of local communities, with the 'key contacts' method particularly popular throughout Western Europe and the United States. This method, employed by Bolton and Chalkley (1990), and Jones *et al.* (1986), requires the selection of a number of reliable informants within the locality to identify in-migrants. This might include local farmers or long term residents, who are asked to examine the relevant electoral roles and pinpoint recently settled households. While this method proved to be highly successful in Europe, with only 5% of those

identified not recent in-migrants, it was considered unsuitable for the Toodyay study as the extremely rapid growth and dispersal of the population within the Shire would make it difficult for individual contacts to recognise a high proportion of newcomer households.

Given this difficulty, the method used to identify households which had moved into the Shire of Toodyay after 1981, was to compare the 1980 and 1991 names on local electoral roles. Those names not present on the 1980 role, which are on the 1991 role were deemed to be recent settlers. This method provided an extremely reliable sample and it was found that only 2% of the identified households had not arrived after 1981.

However, one of the potential problems with this method is the possibility that some recent migrants had not yet informed the Electoral Commission of their move into the Shire and were therefore not on the current roles, or alternatively, weekend and 'part-time' residents were still enrolled in the electorate of their full time residence.

As a result of the electoral role examination, it was found that 322 households had established in the Shire between 1981 and 1991.

Because of this large number, and the constraints of time and distance, it was necessary to select a sample group for the household interviews. The selection and size of a suitable sample of households was considered to be one of the most important tasks to ensure the reliability and validity of the research.

Sample Size

The issue of an appropriate sample size proved to be one of the most difficult aspects of the research method to establish and justify. The main consideration in establishing an appropriate sample size was the method of data collection. The use of a mailed questionnaire, rather than the household interview, would have facilitated the contact with all 322 households, however this method was rejected for the following reasons. Firstly, the percentage of respondents could not be guaranteed. Secondly, preliminary research had indicated that newcomer households were selectively distributed and it was considered important to attain a reliable and sufficient sample from each geographical area of settlement. Thirdly, it is considered that a survey technique, such as the Likert scale, falls short in discovering the motivations and structural determinants involved in migration when compared to the detail and comprehensiveness of the interview technique. (Taylor, 1969.) The decision was therefore taken to acquire a representative sample from the 322 recent arrivals and use detailed interviews as a means of determining the circumstances surrounding their moves into the Shire of Toodyay.

The factor which played a major part in establishing the sample size for the investigation was the precedents set by previous successful research in similar fields such as community and migrational studies. Hudson (1989) for example, in her study of changing rural communities in New England (NSW), used personal interviews as the main method of data collection and determined that between 10% and 12% was an

appropriate sample for a rural population of approximately 660. Wild (1978), who focused upon class and stratification concepts, took a 20% sample of Bradstow's (NSW) 1635 population for interview over a period of two years, while Montague (1981) used a 12% sample in a study of stratification in the Queensland town of Barcaldine. The successful implementation of these studies indicates that between 12% and 20% is an appropriate sample size for small rural populations where interviews provide the major data source. Thus, the trade-off is between the detail provided from household interviews, with the broader cross section of households sampled using less detailed surveys. Taylor (1969) has commented that the latter is a less than ideal method for researching migration determinants; a view which is supported by this research, particularly as little detailed knowledge exists concerning this phenomenon in Western Australia.

Given the time and distance constraints involved in this study, a target of between 12% and 20% of newcomer households was set, this required between 38 and 64 interviews. Overall 55 interviews were completed, however only 48 were considered suitable as seven were part of an earlier pilot study, after which a number of modifications were made to the interview schedule. Therefore, this research is based on 15% of those households which settled in the Toodyay district between 1981 and 1992; a sample which is comparable with the 12% and 20% of previous similar investigations.

Distribution of the Newcomer Households

Having established that the household interview method was to be used, and with the sample size determined, it became necessary to consider the problem of population distribution. Initially it was considered that a simple random sample of the total newcomer population would prove the most suitable method, however this technique would not have reflected the spatial nature of repopulation within the Shire. An initial analysis of the Shire showed an increasing number of large farming properties being subdivided into Special Rural Subdivisions, or hobby farms, coupled with a significant population increase within the Toodyay townsite. Therefore, one of the factors given careful consideration was that migrants moving into the Toodyay townsite may have done so under different circumstances and with different aspirations from those who moved into Special Rural Subdivisions. Consequently, it was necessary to ensure that these variables were covered by the sample. The preferred method used to cover these variables was the "cluster sample method" (Judd, et al, 1991.) which has a strong geographical foundation and ensured interviews were held with semi-rural migrants, along with those who have settled within the townsite.

The cluster sample method involved plotting the address of each of the 322 newcomers on a series of 1:25,000 cadastral maps of the Shire, thus exhibiting the spatial distribution of the households. As indicated in Figure 3:1, the map was then divided into clusters with relatively even proportions of migrants within each. Upon the creation of the clusters each household was numbered and using a

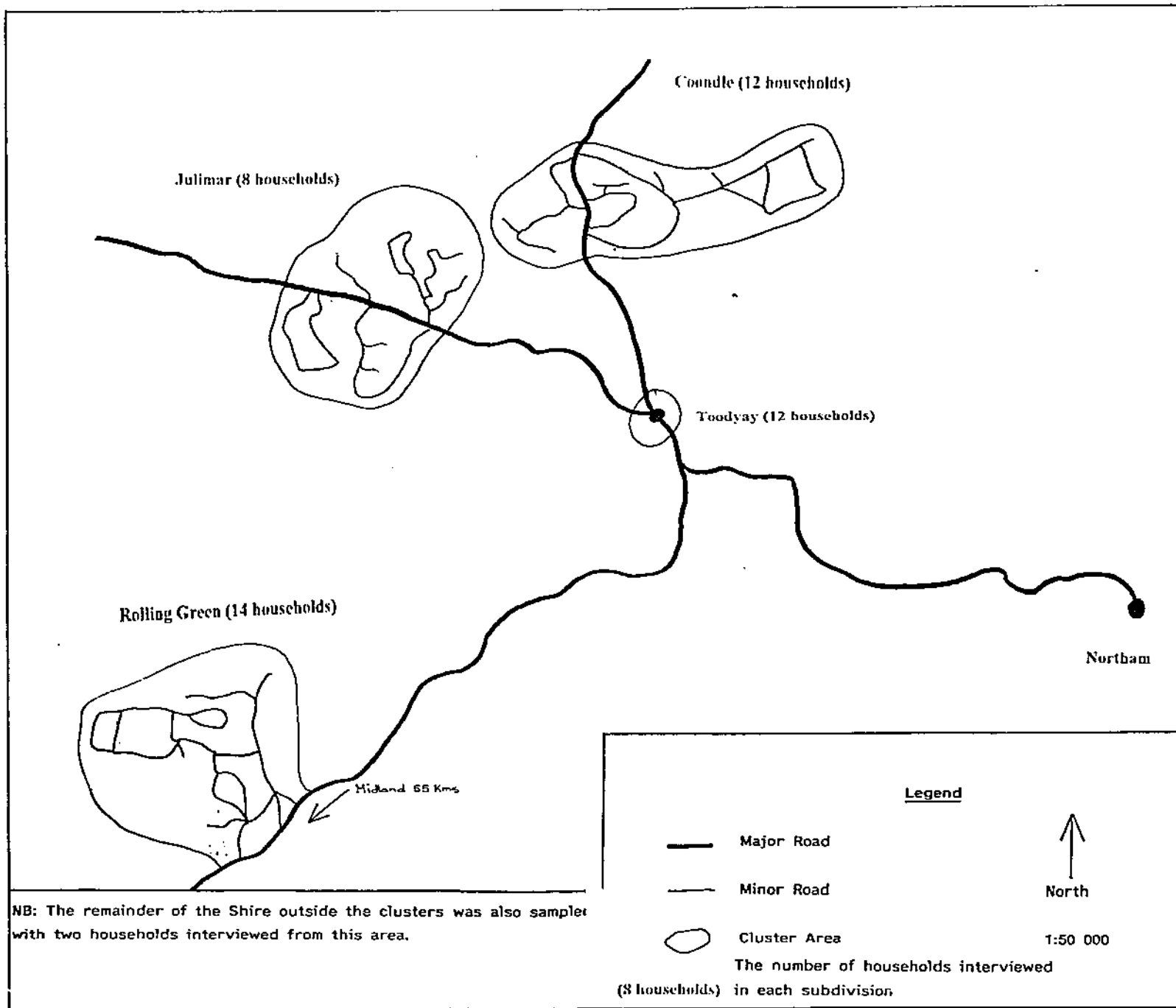


Figure 3:1 Location of Sample Clusters within the Shire of Toodyay.

table of random numbers a selection from each group was made for the interviews. As Figure 3:1 indicates, the newcomers settlement localities formed a distinct pattern. The most dominant settlement areas were the Rolling Green, Coondle and Julimar subdivisions, with a number settlers located in and around the immediate townsite. Each of these major settlement areas was formed into a cluster and then sampled in the attempt to achieve a representative group of households from each. The lowest proportion was achieved in the Rolling Green subdivision, with 13.4% of all newcomer households surveyed, while the highest was the Coondle subdivision at 18.3%.

Pilot Study

Following the selection of potential interviewees, a draft pilot study was designed to test the suitability of the interview schedule. The pilot study consisted of eight interviews, comprising of two households within the townsite and six on Special Rural Subdivisions. The eight interviewees were initially contacted by letter informing them of the nature of the study and the purpose of the interviews. The households were contacted by telephone during the following week to arrange a suitable time for the interview, to which seven agreed and one refused.

The pilot study focussed largely upon the Age/Sex structure and basic demographic makeup of the household; the economic and behavioural factors influencing the move into the Shire, and finally the 'pull' factors which saw the households select Toodyay ahead of similar localities.

Particular note was given to those factors identified in Chapter Two, from the discussion by Cloke (1985). (See Appendix B)

The pilot study proved moderately successful, however a number of problems emerged which were rectified in the major study. The first involved the tape recording of the entire interview, each of which lasted approximately thirty minutes. It was discovered that the length of time required to transcribe, analyse and codify the material from a single interview could take up to three hours which, over the course of some fifty interviews, was clearly too long in terms of the study's time constraints. The problem was dealt with in the major study by only having the tape recorder running during the sections of the interview which dealt with the behavioural motivations and the household discussions and debate during the so-called "germination period" (Taylor, 1969.) prior to migration. The remainder of the interview was recorded by jotting down the responses to questions on commuter patterns, demographic details, recreation activities and other components of the interview schedule.

The second major concern arising from the pilot study was the insufficient depth and the superficial nature with which the interview examined the reasons why people decided to move into the Shire of Toodyay rather than an alternative location, with particular reference to Cloke's (1985) rural 'pull' factors as outlined in Chapter Two. The questions relating to these matters were biased and tended to lead the interviewee to predetermined answers, without allowing the unique factors of attraction within Toodyay to emerge. Also,

questions often resulted in a rehash of the economic and behavioural 'push' factors from the urban areas discussed at earlier points of the interview. Consequently, the interview schedule was substantially modified for the major study.

Interview Schedule

Following modifications to the schedule, forty eight successful interviews were conducted throughout the Shire during January and February 1993. This involved approximately 35 hours of interviews, and while it may have been desirable to conduct a greater number, this is all that time constraints allowed, as there was approximately a further 75 hours spent codifying and analysing the data. However, the sample of 15% clearly compares well with investigations conducted elsewhere.

The finalised interview schedule (Appendix C) was designed in order to specifically reflect the Research Question and to provide a profile of the newcomer households. The schedule examines a number of areas such as employment, commuting patterns and above all, the motives which prompted migrants to settle in the Shire of Toodyay. The interview schedule is designed to investigate both behavioural and the broader economic explanations for the turnaround and was conducted with, where possible, all members of the household present.

Census Data

Analysis of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data relating to population and housing provided an essential basis for understanding the demographic revival within the Shire of Toodyay. By examining the census reports between 1971 and 1991, long term trends and changes were identified and used to establish the demographic makeup of the Shire. The census data was also used extensively to contrast the housing, employment and age characteristics of the overall Shire population with the newcomer population.

There was some concern that the conducting of censuses prior to 1991 during school holidays may have affected the validity of the data, particularly in terms of hobby farms and the associated 'part time residents'. This methodological problem may have seen an increased population residing in Toodyay over school holiday periods as families may have left their city residences to pursue their 'rural interests'. However, the results of the 1991 census, without the school holiday problem, showed that the population increases within the Shire was not simply due to an influx of holiday residents.

In summary, the methodology for the research into the population turnaround within the Shire of Toodyay rests primarily on a detailed set of household interviews designed to be as reflective of the newcomer population as possible through the use of the cluster sample method and the random sample. While there are criticisms of the household

interview, it is possibly the only way to obtain the detailed information required to build a profile of the newcomer households and the circumstances surrounding their decisions to relocate. The household interview is supported by a detailed examination of census data in an attempt to establish the changing community profile of the Shire and its population.

CHAPTER FOUR: POPULATION PROFILE

The population within the Shire of Toodyay has undergone a number of gradual but profound changes. Clearly, the most striking and unexpected change is the turnaround from the long term trend of depopulation since the late 1950's, to the 'demographic revival' of the last decade. This chapter provides a profile of the Shire's changing demographic makeup between 1971 and 1991, with particular focus upon the newcomer households and those characteristics which may provide clues to the reasons for the population turnaround within the Shire of Toodyay.

Prior to the 1976 census, which marked the beginning of a population turnaround, the Shire of Toodyay presented many characteristics typical of similar rural localities affected by the processes of urbanisation. Until the mid 1970's Toodyay had traditionally been a rural service centre, supporting an active wool and cereal crop industry. Advances in agricultural production and a decline in the viability of small holdings resulted in the rationalisation of the labour-force employed in the district. Furthermore, the proximity of Toodyay to the expanding metropolitan agricultural services and markets at Midland, on the outskirts of Perth 50 kilometres to the west, encouraged many farmers to deal directly with the metropolitan area rather than within the Toodyay townsite. Thus, there was a decline in both the Town's rural and service sectors. Furthermore, Toodyay had also supported a tannin extraction factory which, due to declining economic viability, closed in 1972 resulting in the loss of approximately 30 jobs.

The loss of population associated with these changes and a 'negative multiplier effect', resulted in a dramatic population decline of 585 persons between 1971 and 1976. Toodyay was not the only municipality to experience such dramatic losses in the region, with substantial falls also occurring in; York (-135), the Town of Northam (-301) and Gingin (-87). (ABS, 1976.) However, Toodyay did experience the most significant population decline, and as Figures 4:1 to 4:3 indicate, during the period 1976 to 1991 the population has steadily increased from 1140 to 2473, an increase of 54%.

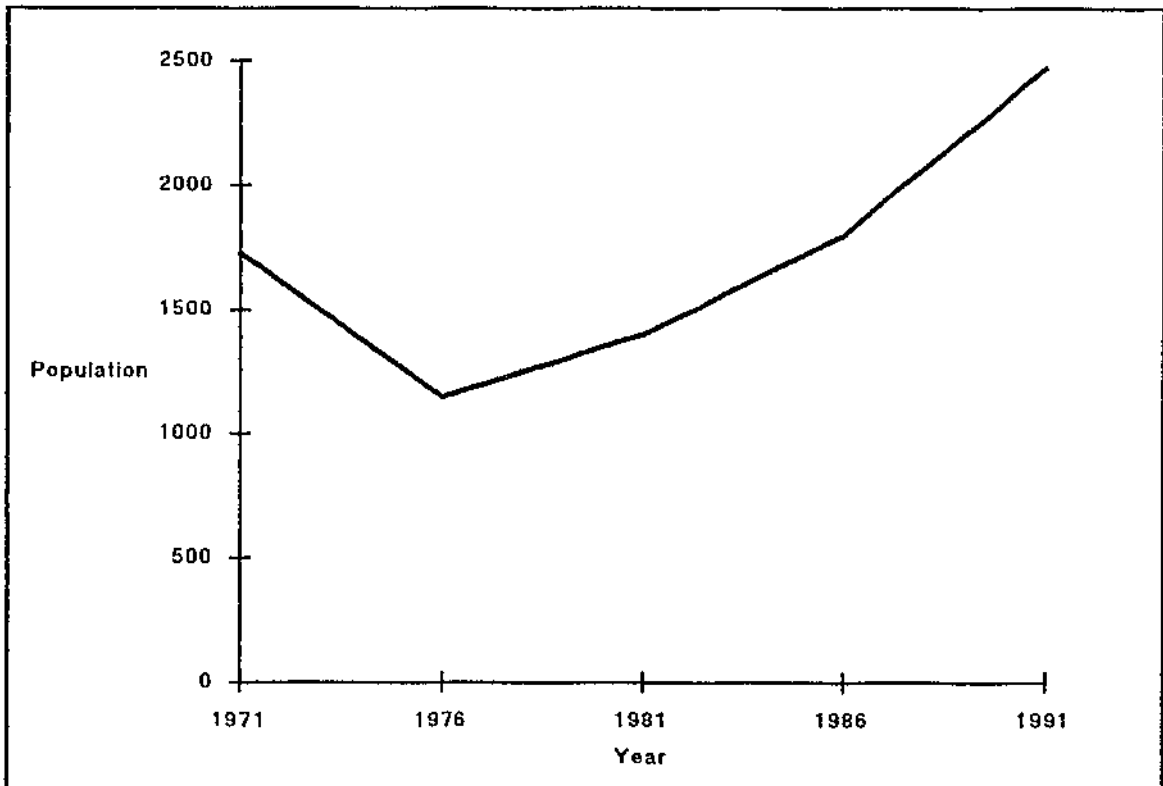


Figure 4:1 Changing Population of the Shire of Toodyay, 1971 - 1991.
(Source: ABS 1971 - 1991 census reports.)

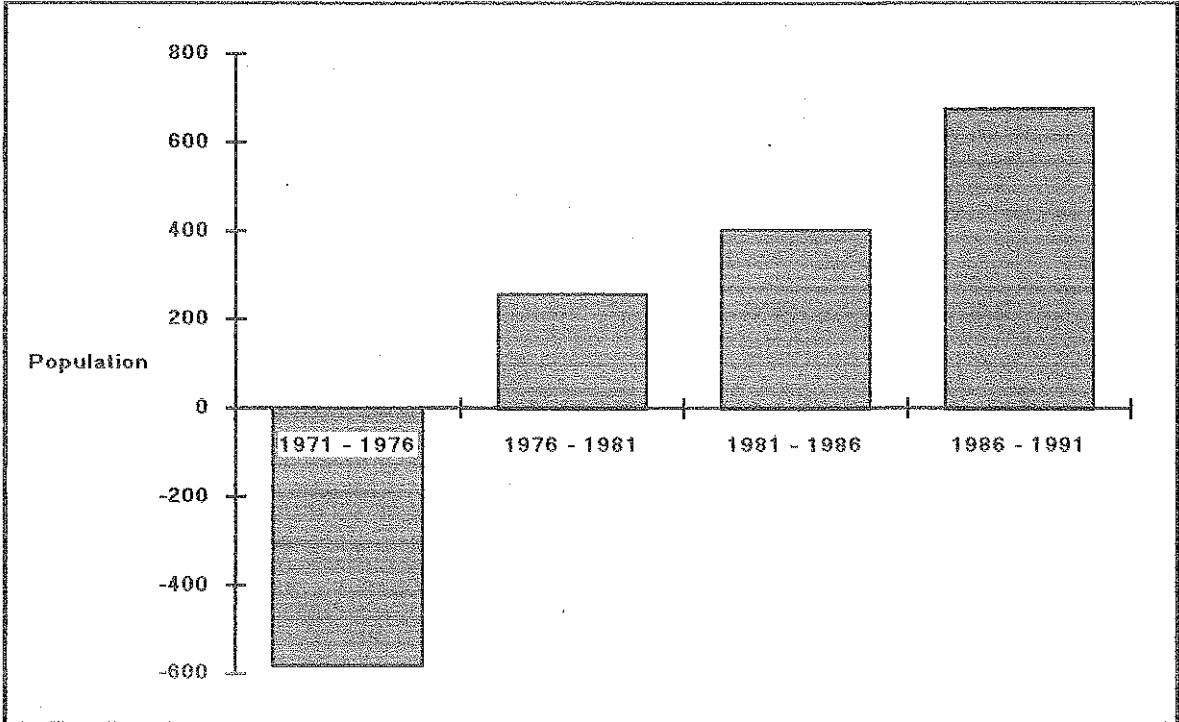


Figure 4:2 Shire of Toodyay, Intercensal Variations, 1971 - 1991.

(Source: ABS 1971 - 1991 census reports.)

The Toodyay situation is not an isolated case, with a number of municipalities within a 150 kilometre radius of Perth such as Gingin, York, Northam, Chittering and Boddington all experiencing significant increases. (See Figure 4:3) It would also appear that these increases are not confined to rural local government areas in close proximity to the Metropolitan area, but also occur in 'remote' shires such as Wickepin, Cunderdin, Moora, Dandaragan, Narrogin and Cuballing. It is also significant that while many rural shires continue to lose population, the rates of population loss have sharply declined over recent years. Toodyay therefore is clearly not an isolated case in terms of population increases, however the changes in Toodyay have been significantly more than in most other rural municipalities.

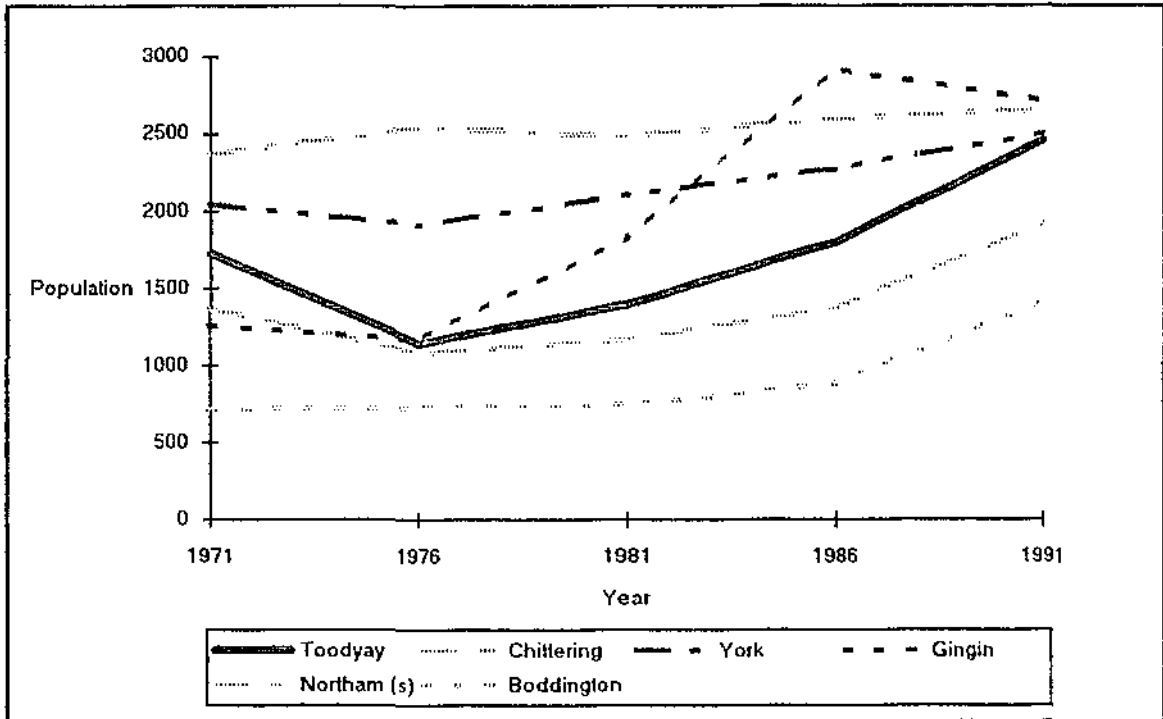


Figure 4:3 Population Change in Selected Non-Metropolitan Municipalities Within a 150km Radius of Perth.

(Source: ABS census reports 1971 - 1991.)

The changing nature of the Shire of Toodyay's population is most dramatically revealed in an analysis of the detailed demographic characteristics of the population. An examination of the changing age structure, education levels and employment sectors of the population all provide clues to the type of people involved in the turnaround.

Age Structure

The age structure is possibly the demographic feature of the Shire of Toodyay which has altered most dramatically during the period 1971 to 1991, a feature which is demonstrated in Table 4:1 and Figure 4:4. This shows that, while the younger age groups (0 - 19 years) and

the older (50 - 75+ years) have remained relatively stable throughout the period, the middle age groups have altered dramatically.

Table 4:1 The Changing Age Structure within the Shire of Toodyay, 1971 - 1991.

Age	1971 (%)	1976 (%)	1981 (%)	1986 (%)	1991 (%)
0 - 4	7.8	7.6	9.9	10.9	8.3
5 - 9	9.7	11.2	9.8	10.0	10.1
10 - 14	9.2	11.4	10.8	7.9	9.5
15 - 19	8.2	10.1	5.8	6.2	5.4
20 - 24	15.4	4.0	6.5	5.8	3.7
25 - 29	13.0	6.5	7.7	7.7	6.0
30 - 39	11.4	13.0	15.5	17.3	16.5
40 - 49	8.2	12.2	12.2	12.4	15.7
50 - 59	8.2	11.5	9.5	10.6	11.9
60 - 64	3.4	3.4	5.1	4.0	5.5
65 - 69	2.3	3.8	2.9	2.9	3.0
70 +	5.4	4.9	4.3	4.5	4.4

(Source: ABS census reports, 1971 - 1991.)

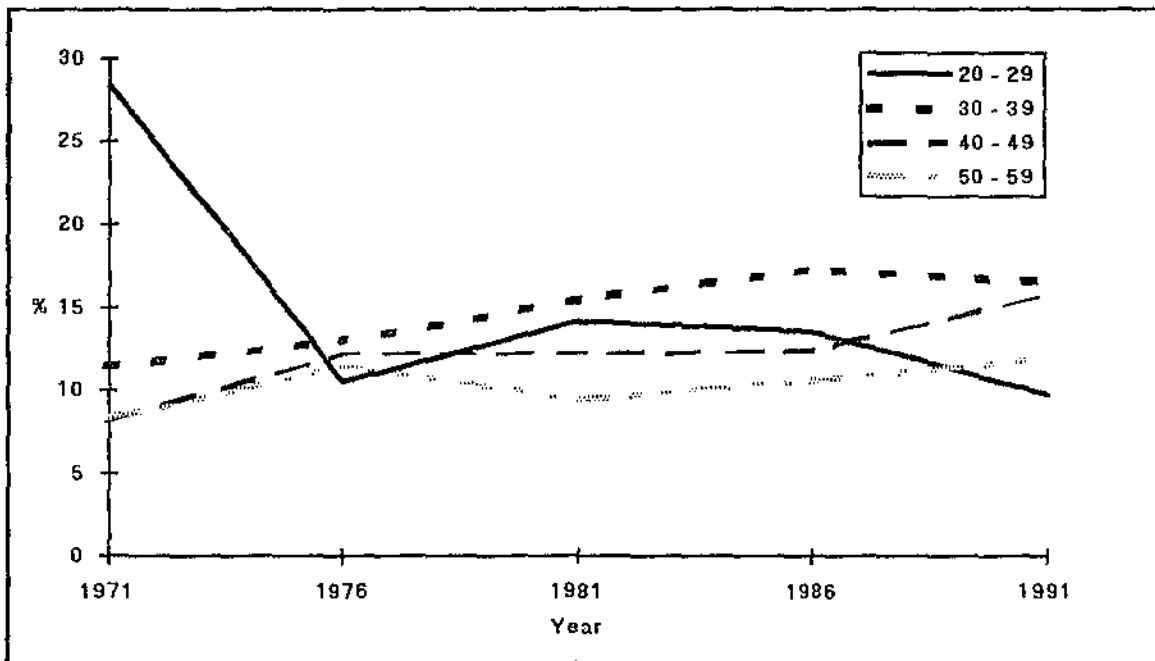


Figure 4:4 The Changing Proportion of Population within Selected Age Groups in the Shire of Toodyay.

(Source: ABS census reports, 1971 - 1991.)

Table 4:1 displays a striking change in the 20 - 29 age group, where the proportion of the population dropped from 28% to 10.5%. (See Figure 4:4) This decline can be put down primarily to the closing of the tannery in 1972 and the general decline of agricultural employment throughout the early 1970's. In 1991 this group stood at an overall low of 9.7% for the total study period.

In the older age groups however, particularly the 30 - 39 and 40 - 49 groups, the population has increased steadily to reach all time highs in the 1986 and 1991 censuses. The 30 - 39 group climbed to 17.3% of the population in 1986, while the 40 - 49 group reached 15.7% in 1991. The changing structure towards a more 'middle aged' population gives some indication to the identity of the newcomer households within Toodyay.

This suggests that there is a middle aged migration movement into the Shire as the younger age groups, 20 - 29 and to a lesser extent 15 - 19, continued to drift away; possibly to seek tertiary education or find work in the metropolitan area. The absence of a senior high school within Toodyay may in fact mean that the move away from the Shire by these people is pre-empted by the lack of educational opportunities.

One of the notable features of Toodyay's age structure is the stability of the older (60+) age group throughout the study period. (See Table 4:1) This stability casts considerable doubt on the notion that retirees are a significant contributor to the population turnaround, a myth which has previously been explored by Bolton and Chalkley (1990).

The census data providing the age structure of Toodyay bears considerable similarities to the demographic data collected during the series of household interviews. During the household interviews, basic demographic data for 207 persons in 48 households was collected. (See Table 4:2.) From this information the number of persons per household was calculated and found to be 4.3. While this is quite high, it reinforces the impression of the type of family unit which has recently moved into the district. That is, young families with children living at home. The dominant age groups were 30 - 39 and 40 - 49, with the 0 - 15 age groups also well represented; helping to confirm the young family notion. The smallest representation came in the 18 - 24 and 60+ age groups. This raises the question as to whether the rural lifestyle is unattractive to the younger age groups (18 - 24), or if issues such

as education and employment opportunities play a major role in deciding where this age group lives.

Table 4:2 Age Structure of the Newcomer Sample

Age Group	Population	Newcomer Percentage	Shire Percentage
0 - 4	23	11.1	8.3
5 - 9	29	14.0	10.1
10 - 14	26	12.5	9.5
15 - 18	16	7.6	4.6
19 - 24	7	3.4	4.5
25 - 29	14	6.7	6.0
30 - 39	38	18.35	16.5
40 - 49	35	16.9	15.7
50 - 59	15	7.2	11.9
60 - 69	4	1.9	8.5
70 +	0	0	4.4
TOTAL	207	100	100

(Source: Household Interviews; ABS, 1992, p.2.)

Qualification By Education

The changing educational qualifications within the Shire of Toodyay has been a significant trend over the past twenty years. Although the census data reveals only slight increases in educational qualifications within the Shire, the interview data presents quite a different picture in terms of the newcomer households.

Tertiary qualifications, particularly those persons with Bachelor's degrees and diplomas increased steadily from 0.34% of the Toodyay population in 1971, to 3.8% in 1991. Similarly, those persons with higher degrees increased from 0.1% in 1971 to 1.4% in 1991. It is also significant that the proportion of the Toodyay population with no qualifications fell from 73.27% in 1971 to 63.5% in 1991, compared with the present Western Australian average of 68.1%. (ABS Census reports 1971, 1991.)

The household interview data confirms that the arrival of newcomers has been a significant factor in the increasing education levels within the Shire. While higher degrees among the newcomer population represented only 1.1 percent, compared with 1.4% for the overall population; Bachelor's degrees represented 13.2% of the over 18 population, compared to the 3.8% of the total Shire population. The number of newcomers with a 'Trade' was slightly lower at 14.3% than the average for the overall population, which stood at 14.5%. Those persons with no qualifications represented only 49.8% of the newcomer population, significantly less than the 63.5% of the overall Shire population.

**Table 4:3 Highest Level of Qualification Achieved by Newcomers
Over 18 Years of Age.**

Highest Qualification	Persons	Percentage
Higher Degree	1	1.1
Post-Graduate Diploma	1	1.1
Bachelor Degree	12	13.2
Undergraduate Diploma	10	11.0
Associate Diploma, Advanced Certificate	8	8.8
Trade	13	14.3
Inadequately Described	1	1.1
Not Qualified	45	49.8
Total	91	100

The newcomer population is clearly a well educated group, with qualifications at all levels far exceeding the overall Shire averages. However, the qualifications of the newcomers provides only part of the picture; of more fundamental importance is the employment characteristics of this group, in terms of both location and industrial sectors.

Employment Characteristics

Overall, between 1981 and 1991 there have been major changes within the Shire of Toodyay regarding employment patterns. From the data presented in Table 4:4 it is evident that there is a significant shift away from agriculture, which declined from 38.4% to 18.7% of the labour force between 1981 and 1991. (ABS, 1981; 1991.) This has been countered by an increase in the Community Services sector, rising from 12.2% in 1981 to 18.4% in 1991, and now rivals agriculture as the principal employer of Shire residents. (ABS, 1981; 1991.) Significant increases have also occurred in the retail sector and most importantly, in the construction sector, which may be a direct result of the development within the Shire. These increases in all sectors other than agriculture has seen the development of a more diverse population within Toodyay; a factor which has led to the emergence of a more 'white collar' community.

The results of the household interviews, as shown in Table 4:5, confirms the importance of the recent settlers to the changing employment base. These reveal an extremely high proportion of persons employed in professional and para-professional sectors; of these Health is significant, largely due to the presence of regional hospitals in Goomalling and Northam. Of the ten persons employed in the health sector, eight were employed at these hospitals. Business is another sector which is well represented, with the majority of employees located in the metropolitan area, particularly in Midland. The under-representation of agriculture

in the sample highlights the newcomers non-affiliation with traditional rural forms of employment.

Table 4:4 Employment of the Overall Population within the Shire of Toodyay by Industry, 1981 - 1991.

Industry	1981 (%)	1991 (%)
Agriculture and Related Fields	38.4	18.7
Mining	0.3	2.1
Manufacturing	6.9	7.1
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.3	1.0
Construction	4.2	7.1
Wholesale, Retail Trade	9.9	14.2
Transport, Storage	4.5	4.4
Communications	1.0	1.7
Finance, Property, Business Services	3.0	3.6
Public Administration, Defence	8.0	6.0
Community Services	12.2	18.4
Recreation, Personal, Other Services	3.9	5.2
Not Classified, Stated	7.4	10.5
Total	100	100

(Source: ABS 1981 and 1991 Censuses.)

Table 4:5 Newcomers Employment by Industry Sector.

Industry Sector	Number	Percentage
Health, Medical	10	11.0
Education	6	6.6
Other Professional (eg. Architect)	10	11.0
Administrative, Clerical	16	17.5
Agriculture and Related Fields	5	5.5
Wholesale, Retail Trade	15	16.5
Mining	1	1.1
Other Services (eg. Police)	5	5.5
Construction	2	2.2
Finance, Property, Business Services	17	18.7
Personal Services (eg Hairdressers)	2	2.2
Apprentices, Trainees	1	1.1
Armed Services	1	1.1
TOTAL	91	100

The employment localities of the 91 persons actively involved in the workforce varied greatly. Only 21 worked within the Shire of Toodyay, including 10 who worked from home. Northam was the major employment location, highlighting the importance of this growing regional centre. This locality's attraction was primarily for those employed by State government departments such as the Water Authority, Department of

Health and Westrail. However, it is also the employment focus for nine people involved in the business sector.

Midland and immediately surrounding localities was the next most common location, however the employment sectors were vastly different to that in Northam. Of the 26 people commuting to Midland, 12 were involved in business and 9 in retail activities. The importance of the Rolling Green subdivision (which is located within 40 minutes drive of Midland), is considerable for this group, with 20 people travelling from that subdivision into the metropolitan region. The remaining persons in the labour force worked at various localities outside the Shire of Toodyay and clearly the greater employment opportunities in Midland and Northam have formed an integral part in the Shire's growth.

There appears to be a slight relationship between where newcomers reside within the Shire and their employment locality. It seems that the majority of those employed in the Metropolitan area live on the western edge of the Shire, within easy commuting distance of Perth. Those newcomers employed in Northam, Toodyay and other rural centres tended to be more dispersed throughout the Shire, being particularly focussed in the Julimar and Coondle subdivisions. Therefore, it would appear that the location of employment opportunities has played a considerable part in the decisions made by newcomers as to where they reside within the Shire.

In summary, the demographic profile of the Shire of Toodyay indicates the dynamic changes which have occurred within the Shire over the

past twenty years and the type of people who are contributing to the population turnaround. The changing age structure of the population indicates a recent shift towards a more middle aged, family orientated population, with relatively stable numbers in the older age groups. This trend reinforces the view of Bolton and Chalkley (1990) that retirees do not constitute the most significant group in the population turnaround.

The educational qualifications and employment data for the population also indicates a well educated and professional newcomer group. This is demonstrated by the fact that, within the Shire the percentage of those without any qualifications stands at 63.5%, while the newcomer group is well below this at 49.5%. The move away from agriculture as the dominant employer is also significant, resulting in the development of a more diverse Shire population. While this population profile establishes the general characteristics of the Shire, it does not provide insights into the precise reason why households migrated into a the locality. To address this, the following chapter closely examines the newcomer population to establish the reasons for households decisions to migrate into the Shire of Toodyay.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE NEWCOMER HOUSEHOLDS

Having established the broad demographic characteristics of the Shire of Toodyay, this chapter seeks to obtain a detailed profile of the newcomer households. A broad range of interview questions were asked concerning matters such as housing, schooling, the 'pull' factors of Toodyay and most importantly the migration motives. Establishing a detailed profile of the households provides the opportunity to analyse the circumstances surrounding the demographic revival within the Shire of Toodyay.

Housing

One of the principle features of the newcomer households is the rates of home ownership. As Table 5:1 indicates, of the 48 households interviewed, only seven (14.6%) were renting, while the remainder (85.4%) owned their dwelling outright or were owner-purchases. This compares with an overall ownership rate within the Shire at the 1991 census of 76.4%. An important feature of the ownership aspect is that 35 of the 41 households are located in the hobby farm estates (or special rural subdivisions), and six of the seven renting households are located within the town. Interestingly, five of the renting households in the townsite did not intend to purchase within the district and only regarded themselves as temporary residents, spending most of their weekends and holidays outside the Shire. It is important to note that

these households had members connected with what has traditionally been labelled transient jobs, such as teachers and bank employees.

Table 5:1 Home Ownership within the Shire of Toodyay

	Newcomer Households	Total Shire
	(%)	(%)
Owner Occupied	85.4	76.4
Rented and Other	14.6	23.6

(Source, Household Interviews; ABS, 1991, p.19.)

The purchase of land by the newcomer households outside the Townsite gives important indications of their requirements and intentions. While land and affordable housing stock within the Town are readily available, development has proceeded more towards the hobby farms, indicating a distinct rural preference by the newcomers. (a theme which is developed in depth in a later section)

The exceptionally high rate of home ownership appears to be closely linked to the cost of land and housing within the Shire. The availability of small rural holdings at a reasonable price has undoubtedly been a stimulating factor in the population growth within Toodyay. While the average size of hobby farms is approximately 5 hectares the cost of land varies according to the physical environment, ease of access and the availability of services. Thus, while some 5 hectare lots can be purchased for as low as \$15,000 the average is approximately \$26,000. The cost of metropolitan land is

considerably more expensive and rarely provides the opportunity to purchase 5 hectare lots, except in parts of the rural-urban fringe such as Darlington or Kalamunda.

While the cost of vacant land within the Shire did not conform to any distinct pattern, the quality and style of housing clearly reflects a spatial distribution. In the Rolling Green subdivision, which is closest to the metropolitan area, the housing appears to be more lavish than found in many inland subdivisions and resembled many of Perth's newer suburbs. (See Plate 5:1) On the other hand, those subdivisions further from the metropolitan area, such as Coondle and Julimar north of Toodyay, have decidedly more modest housing. (See Plate 5:2) The housing in these areas, while being far from 'rural slums', is considerably more diverse, ranging from large attractive dwellings to small bungalows, caravans on lots and sheds used as temporary dwellings.

The reason for the differences in housing quality is difficult to pinpoint, however a number of reasons may play a significant role. Firstly, increased 'site works' are incurred on the estates further from the metropolitan area where numerous granite intrusions and steep topography present construction difficulties which greatly added to the cost. On the other hand, in areas such as Rolling Green, which are located on gently undulating land, fewer problems with rock intrusions are encountered. Another important factor is the classification of areas as either rural or metropolitan by those involved in the construction of



Plate 5:1 This style of housing is typical of the Rolling Green subdivision and is similar to that found throughout much of the Perth Metropolitan area.



Plate 5:2 This unfinished dwelling is typical of many found on the inland subdivisions. In contrast with the Rolling Green estate, these houses are often smaller and built to a much lower cost. The caravan in the Plate was being used as temporary accommodation while the dwelling was under construction.

dwellings. A brief discussion with a local real estate agent revealed that construction on the Rolling Green subdivision is generally undertaken at metropolitan prices and that, due to freight, builders accommodation and transport costs; expenses increase with distance inland. Finally, an examination of the demographic profiles of individual subdivisions revealed that the areas closer to the metropolitan area contain a slightly higher proportion of those in the 40 - 49 and 50 - 59 age groups. An older and possibly more financially established population than the younger age groups (24 - 39) living further inland.

One of the interesting facets of the newcomer dwelling profile is the age of the buildings in relation to when the migrants arrived. The rate of new houses built by newcomers is extremely high, again primarily in the hobby farm estates. Within the townsite, only two out of 12 households moved into a new dwelling, with the remainder settling in a pre-existing dwellings. On the subdivisions however the trend was quite different. Of the 36 estate households interviewed only 11 had purchased pre-owned homes. It is expected that this trend will decline over time, and could possibly be put down to the relative newness of the subdivisions, with too short a period having elapsed for home turnover to be substantial in the estates. This view is reinforced by the fact that the three non-new home owners in the estates were located in the oldest subdivision.

The fact that a large proportion of people built new houses in the Shire of Toodyay is reflected in the responses to interview question 6, which asked for the length of time between purchasing the property and

shifting there to live. The average time was between two and three years, with the lag period attributed to the financing and construction of the dwelling. Of the 27 newcomer households who constructed dwellings on their land, 5 were previously in owner occupier premises; while 22 rented. This figure represents an extremely high number of first home buyers in the Shire of Toodyay, reinforcing the notion that the cheap land and housing may have played a major role in attracting people to the Shire.

Former Locations of the Newcomer Households

Clearly one of the most important sections in meeting the objectives of this research deals with the questions, 'where did they come from?' and 'why did they come?'. The remainder of the chapter deals with these issues.

On the whole, the movement into the Shire of Toodyay represents a distinct urban-to-rural movement, with all but three of the households interviewed originally living in the Perth metropolitan area. Of the remaining households two were from Northam and one from Goomalling. As Figure 5:1 indicates, there appears to be some pattern in terms of the former locality of the newcomer households. The majority of migrant households have left inner metropolitan suburbs such as Wembley, Morley and Como, rather than the newer developing outer suburbs. While it might be said that many of these suburbs are in a state of decline, such a generalisation is dangerous because of the broad cross section of suburbs and the diversity of socio-economic groups

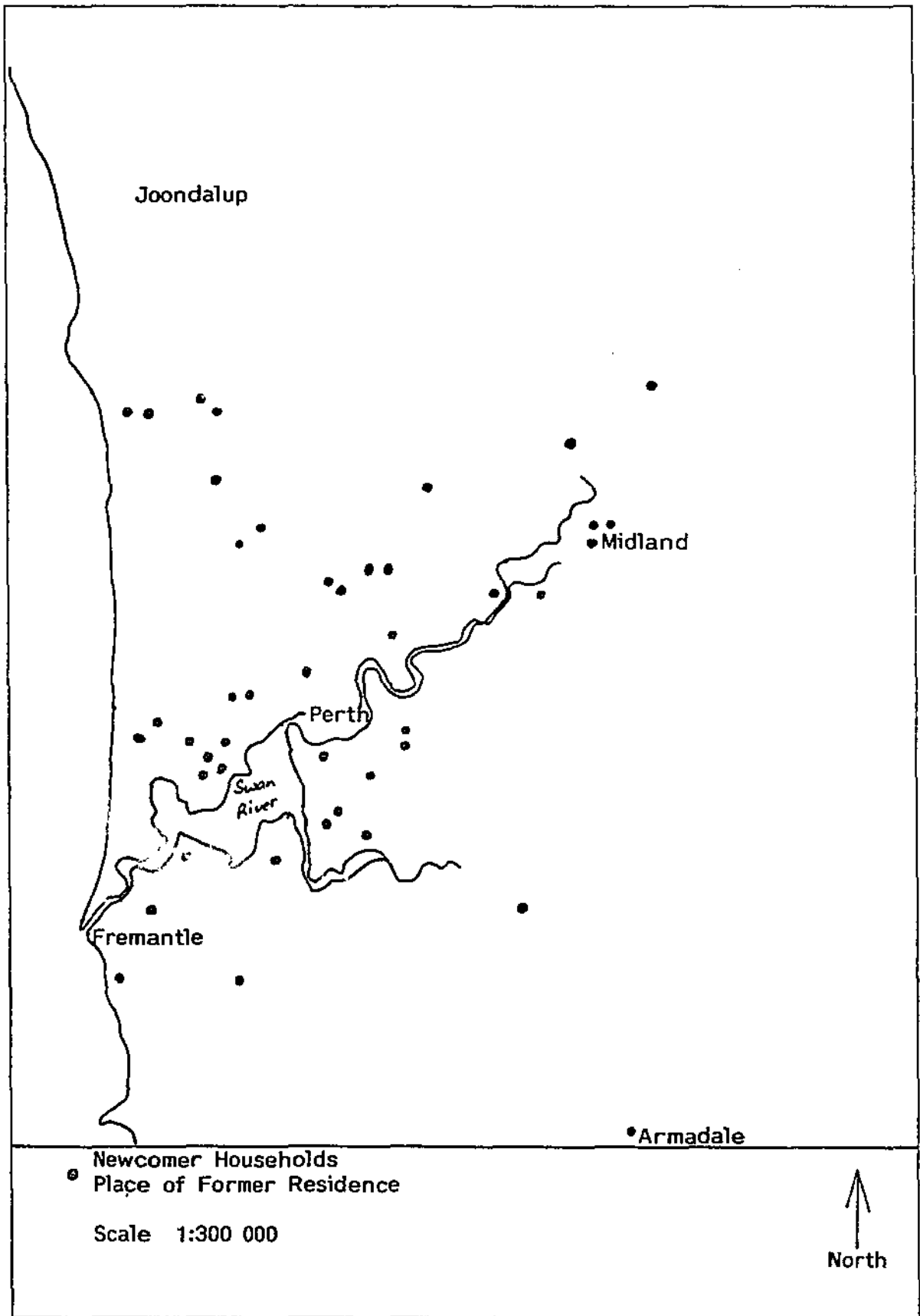


Figure 5:1 Former Residential Location of the Newcomer Households
(See Appendix D)

represented. While the pattern may be only partially linked to urban decline, problems such as the absence of open spaces and feelings of being trapped in older, densely populated suburbs may be significant factors in the movement of people from these inner city areas. This pattern is one which is mentioned throughout much of the population turnaround literature, with authors such as Berry (1976) claiming that true counterurbanisation only occurs when growth within rural areas is accompanied by a declining population in the inner metropolitan areas. While the population of many of Perth's inner suburbs may not be in decline, the movement of a number of households away from these areas in favour of rural localities is clearly counter to the traditional process of urbanisation. The Toodyay case-study demonstrates a similar process of movement away from inner metropolitan areas to that in many other Western countries (Vinning and Kontuly 1978; Fielding, 1982.), but not to the point where rural growth is exceeding the growth in urban areas.

Year of Migration into the Shire of Toodyay

While the increase in population within the Shire of Toodyay began in the mid 1970's, the study sample did not begin to settle in the Shire until 1983. As indicated by Table 5:2 the movement by households during the 1980's peaked in 1986, and remained high until 1990.

Table 5:2 Year of Settling within the Shire of Toodyay by the Newcomer Households.

Year	Number	Percentage
1981	0	0.0
1982	0	0.0
1983	1	2.1
1984	1	2.1
1985	3	6.2
1986	10	20.8
1987	7	14.5
1988	8	16.7
1989	9	18.7
1990	6	12.5
1991	3	6.2

The movement into the Shire appears in part to be linked to the economic climate within Western Australia throughout the 1980's. Hugo and Smailes (1992) believe that the counterurbanisation movement within Western Australia was stunted initially by the rapid development and tourism booms that occurred in Perth during the early 1980's, linked primarily to the America's Cup Challenge. Despite the development in Perth, the urban-to-rural movement began to gather momentum by 1986, due largely to the downturn in agriculture and the sale of some large farming properties within the Toodyay district. A number of farmers

decided to subdivide properties, rather than to sell them as 'going concerns', and in this manner attain higher prices per hectare. This resulted in special rural subdivisions becoming readily available during the mid 1980's. The increase in the availability of these hobby farms in the 1980's, at costs well below metropolitan land, resulted in urban households purchasing properties in the Shire during a period of rising interest rates and urban land prices.

The Relocation Decisions

Looking at why the newcomer households decided to move into the Shire is a process fraught with difficulties, particularly when the methodological problems of 'real' and 'stated' motives are considered. This section focuses primarily upon why households have moved into the Shire, considering both the interviewees stated motives, and the broader forces which influenced households to relocate in a rural setting.

Previous studies of the population turnaround have generally used two broad categories to help conceptualise household motivations for leaving urban areas and settling in rural localities, those categories generally being linked to economic and non-economic motivations. Throughout the series of household interviews it became apparent that the real reasons for moving were often extremely complex and while one or two factors may have been of special significance, it was the entirety of the issues that had to be appreciated. Despite the complex nature of migration two relatively simple categories, economic and non-economic motivations, with

push and pull forces help conceptualise the decisions to migrate into the Shire of Toodyay. These are discussed under a series of considerations.

Lifestyle Considerations

Throughout the interviews it became apparent that most newcomer households considered non-economic, lifestyle motives the most important factors in their decision to settle within the Shire of Toodyay.

Responses to interview question 24, which raised the issue of lifestyle motives, suggested that the move into the Shire of Toodyay was linked to the need for a new direction for many households and an escape from the city 'rat race'. Other lifestyle considerations included health, the need for an improved social environment, the need for open spaces, a more easy going lifestyle, and a return to a rural lifestyle for people who had at some earlier stage lived in country areas. While the majority of households initially stated that the need for a lifestyle change had been the major factor influencing migration from the city, four households believed that lifestyle considerations had no real bearing upon their move into Toodyay. These households cited employment and job opportunities as the most important factors in their decision to move. Table 5:3 briefly summarises the major non-economic reasons and number of households which mentioned these during the interviews.

Table 5:3 Most Frequent Non-Economic Reasons Given by Newcomer Households for Moving into the Shire of Toodyay

Lifestyle Reason Cited for Migration	Number of Households which Mentioned
Escape Urban 'Rat Race'	26
Urban Crime	14
Lack of space, feeling of entrapment	18
Improved Social Environment in the Country	15
Pollution	9
Family/Personal	9
Scenic Physical Environment	14
Return to Rural Lifestyle	2
Health	2
Alternative Lifestyle	1

One of the interesting points to come out of this part of the study was the preference for a rural lifestyle by the newcomers. When asked: "Did you or any other member of the household, prior to moving, have a preference for a rural lifestyle", the answers generally indicated most newcomers did not. The reason most gave for wanting to get away from the metropolitan area was not a distinct need for a rural environment, but for the lifestyle benefits which they felt such a move would provide; indicating that the 'push' factors from the city probably

overwhelm the 'pull' factors of rural areas. There was also the problem of what is rural? Most interviewees saw *rural* as directly linked with agriculture, which was not the preferred lifestyle for most households. Although a number of households have utilised land for some capital gain, such as cultivating Proteas, fruit trees and for horse and goat studs (See Plates 5:3; 5:4.), the majority were content to use their land for their own enjoyment and perhaps a few horses and sheep. Consequently, most have left much of their land 'fallow'. On the whole, the preference of most households was for a lifestyle surrounded by open space and a scenic physical environment, rather than one which is distinctly agricultural.

While the majority of households cited lifestyle factors as the prime reason for the move into the Shire of Toodyay, the remainder of the interview material seemed to indicate that broader, economic and social forces influenced the ability of people to migrate into rural localities and thus shaped the pattern of urban to rural migration. The lifestyle reasons cited in the interviews may have been the reasons many households wanted to move, and undoubtedly played a part in the initial decision to investigate the possibilities of migration; however, the remainder of the process seems to have occurred within the constraints of everyday economic and social realities.



Plate 5:3 The cultivation of Proteas within the Rolling Green Subdivision is one of the few forms of production occurring on the hobby farms.



Plate 5:4 Horse studs were common throughout the subdivisions however, many households kept horses purely for their own enjoyment.

Employment Considerations

Employment was possibly the most important and significant constraint upon migration into the Toodyay area. Prior to moving, the majority of households carefully considered the jobs they were in and how a move would affect their career. For some, the move into the Shire of Toodyay was intended to further careers, particularly within government departments and the health sector. The location of Toodyay between the two major employment locations of Perth and Northam, seems to have played an important role in the Shire's attractiveness as a migration destination, with the majority of newcomers employed at one of these two locations.

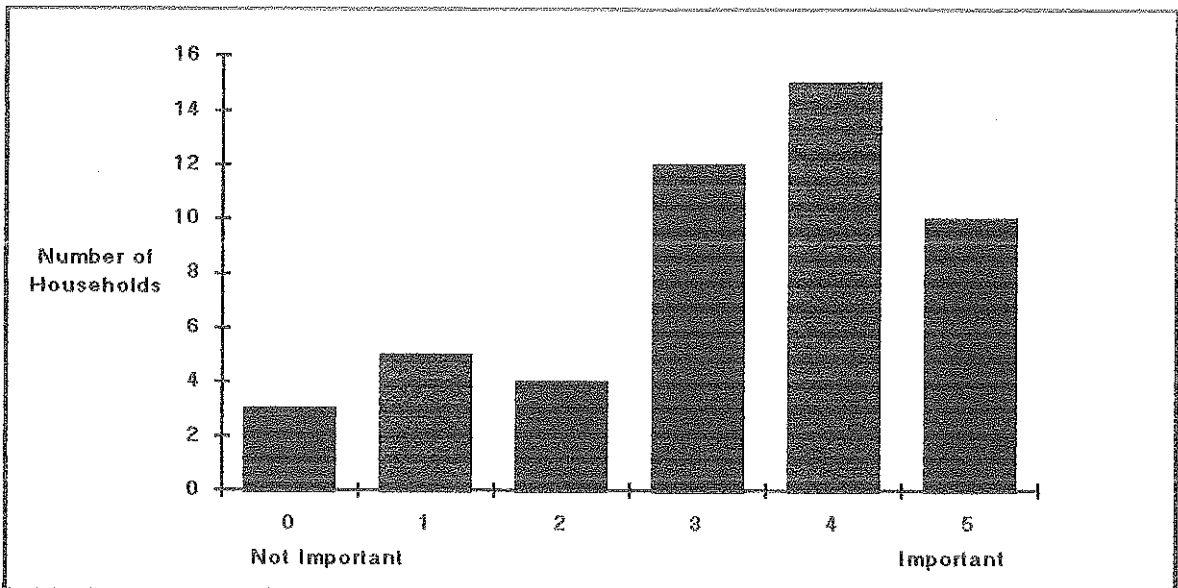


Figure 4:3 Importance of Employment and Business Opportunities in Attracting Newcomer Households into the Shire of Toodyay.

When asked directly as to the importance of employment in attracting them to the Toodyay district, the majority of households indicated it was significant, as shown in Figure 5:2. While employment within the Shire of Toodyay was not necessarily important, its proximity to easily commutable employment centres was very important. Thus, the convenient location of Toodyay between Northam and Perth seems to have made it an ideal dormitory area for people working in these urban areas.

The expansion of Northam as a regional centre offered many people the opportunity of secure employment within the region, particularly with the Public Service, while Midland provided a number of employment opportunities within various private and public organisations. Due to the availability of transfers within the Public Service, employees, particularly those in professional occupations, have the opportunity to migrate and work either in Northam or Midland. This demand, and the subsequent relative ease of mobility, is probably one of the reasons for the high proportion of well educated persons in the newcomer sample. A less educated group, employed in sectors such as manufacturing or entertainment, may have fewer opportunities to find work in rural areas such as Toodyay because of the high competition for jobs requiring lower levels of qualifications.

Consequently, the incoming population is not necessarily a reflective of the total urban population which may prefer a rural lifestyle, but the inability of many people to act on such preferences due to numerous

economic constraints such as employment. The end result is a newcomer population characterised by higher than average educational qualifications and professional standing, probably because it is these people who are most able to act on their preference.

Housing and Land Considerations

The housing and land market within the Shire of Toodyay has played a considerable role in allowing many households to settle within the Shire. The cheap price of land was one of the most significant and important considerations for 81% of the newcomer households. Although a number felt the land was to some extent overpriced, the general consensus was that the relatively cheap cost of land was a primary reason for settling in Toodyay, particularly in comparison with the cost of large lots of land in rural-urban fringe localities such as Mundaring and Kalamunda.

The importance of cheap land was particularly significant to the younger migrants, especially those aged in their late twenties and early thirties. These people felt that the prospects of owning their own home, at an affordable price, in the city were slim. In Toodyay however younger households had the opportunity to own a significant sized block of land at about half the price of a small city lot. This not only reduced the length of mortgage time, but also gave households the opportunity to experience a number of rural lifestyle benefits, including open space and a pleasant physical environment. It also appears that the cost of housing was of considerable importance to those living in the central subdivisions, such as Julimar and Coondle, rather than those on the

western edge of the Shire closer to Perth's rural-urban fringe. These central subdivisions are significantly cheaper and seemed to have catered for younger migrants, and possibly those less well off. Thus issues of cost are far more significant for these households than those in the more expensive estates such as Rolling Green.

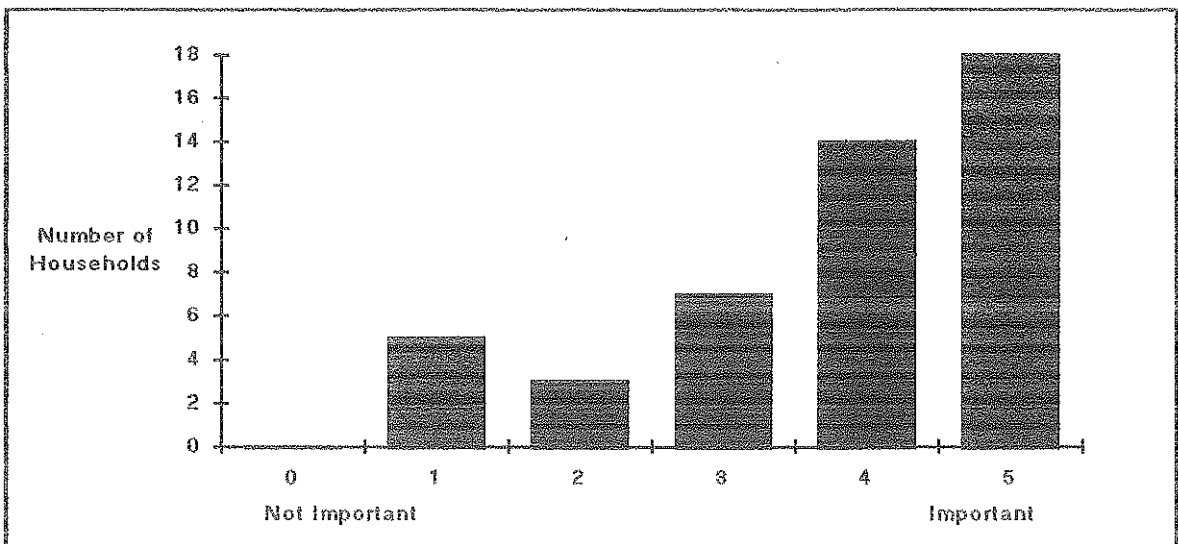


Figure 5:3 The Importance of a Reasonably Priced Land and Housing Stock in Attracting Newcomer Households into the Shire of Toodyay

As indicated in Figure 5:3, when interviewees were asked to value the importance of reasonably priced land and housing within the Shire, 32 (67%) believed it was of significance. Therefore, the point made by Cloke (1985), that a fundamental pull factor of many rural towns is the availability of cheap housing appears to be substantiated in this study.

Social Considerations

A number of other considerations have played a significant role in the decisions of households to relocate within the Shire of Toodyay. These include, leaving friends and an established social network; leaving family, particularly grandparents where children were involved; and concern for the education of children within the Shire of Toodyay.

Many parents showed significant concern for quality of education within the Shire of Toodyay, however 96% enrolled their children at the local primary school. However, considerable concern was expressed regarding the presence of only a District High School in Toodyay, and that students completing year 11 and 12 would have to catch a daily bus to Northam or, as an alternative, board in the city. While the majority of parents were satisfied with the quality of primary education within the Shire, 78% stated that they would like to see the district high school upgraded to senior high school status. With regard to high school education for the teenagers of recent settlers, 37% travelled daily to Northam, 55% boarded in the Metropolitan area, while 8% boarded at the Northam residential hostel. The main reason given for sending children to the metropolitan area was to attain quality private education. Some parents also stated that it was better to send the children in year eight, rather than later, to avoid the trauma of re-establishment in a new school at year eleven.

Other considerations such as family and friends were also mentioned by a number of households who emphasised concerns regarding isolation and being away from regular social circles in the city. One of the

primary concerns however was the loss of contact with close relatives, particularly grandparents and, from the retirees who were interviewed, the loss of regular contact with grandchildren was deemed a problem. Families also considered the difficulties of having to make new friends within the Shire and the problems associated with establishing new social groups. However, many of these concerns seem to have been overcome by households commuting regularly to nearby urban localities to maintain their traditional social groups.

Other Rural Pull Factors

Cloke (1985) believes there has been an over reliance in the analysis of counterurbanisation on urban centred explanations for the turnaround, without really examining the localised conditions that make rural localities attractive to many people. While a number of pull factors have been confirmed, such as housing and employment, a number of others were examined to establish the importance of localised conditions in attracting newcomers to settle within the Shire.

The attractive physical environment of the Toodyay district was a point commented upon by many of the newcomer households. Particularly the undulating landscape with pleasant views, flowing streams, open farmland and many pockets of natural bushland and forest. (See Plate 5:5) The presence of the Avon river was also mentioned as a significant physical feature adding to the quality of the natural environment within the district. A number of households commented that it was the

attractive physical landscape which prompted them to buy in Toodyay, without considering any other localities. The importance of these physical attributes in attracting people into the area is clearly reflected clearly in the question which asked interviewees to rank its importance in their decision to settle within the Shire.



Plate 5:5 The picturesque physical environment, in this case in the Coondle subdivision, plays an important role in attracting urban migrants to the Shire of Toodyay.

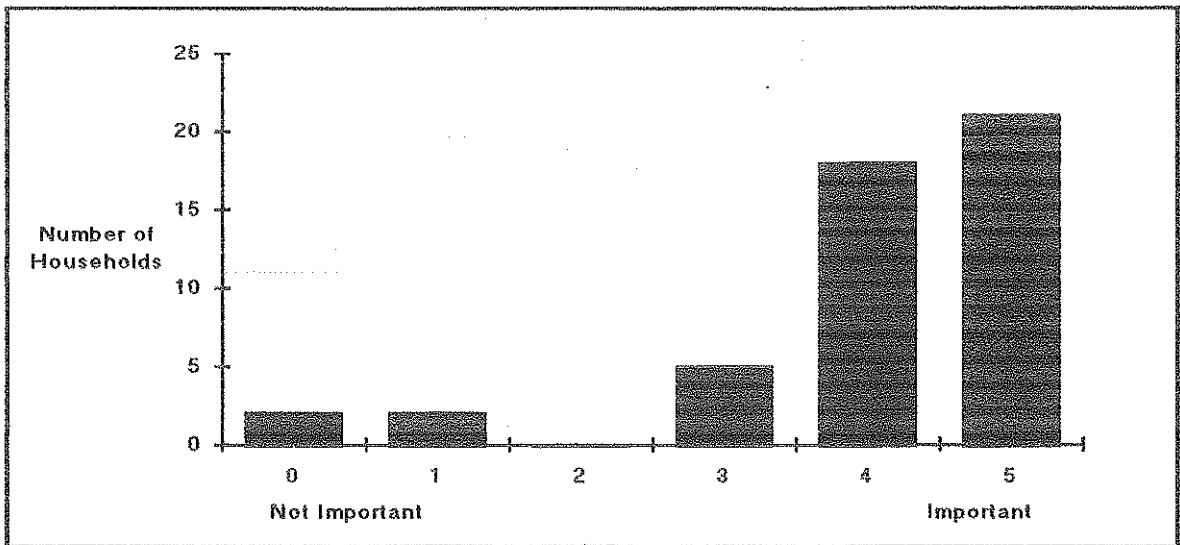


Figure 5:4 The Importance of an Attractive Physical Environment in Attracting Newcomers to the Shire of Toodyay.

While the physical environment represented a distinct localised condition attracting newcomer households into Toodyay, the built environment seemed to have had very little significance. Despite the historical heritage of the district, especially its old buildings, as Figure 5:5 shows, the newcomer households did not see this as a major force of attraction.

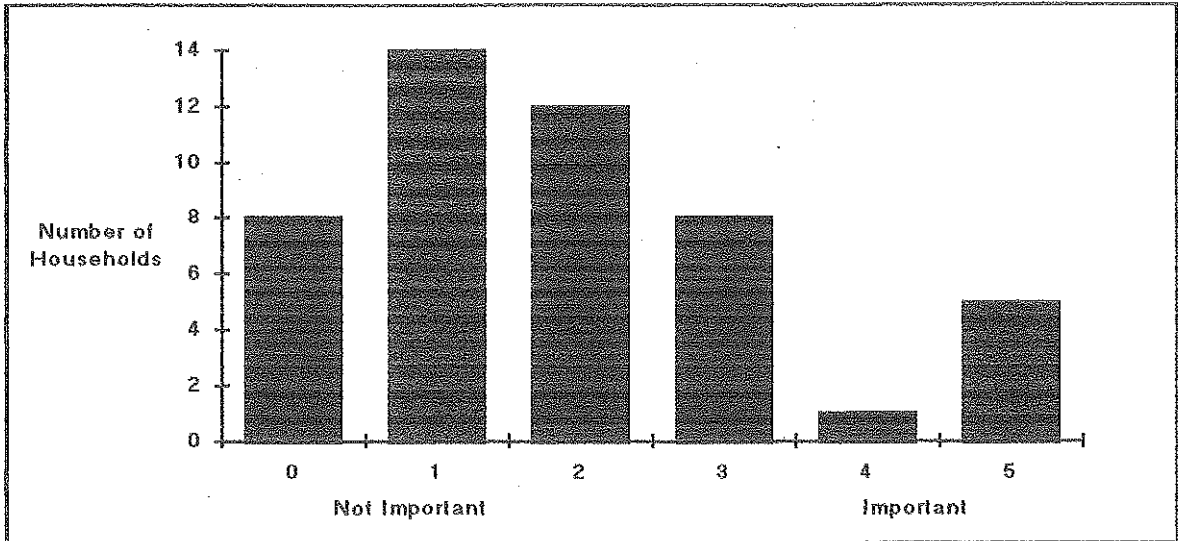


Figure 5:5 The Importance of a Built Environment of Historic Significance and Aesthetic Quality in Attracting Newcomer Households to the Shire of Toodyay.

Although there was a degree of interest in the built environment of the townsite, it was not of any major significance except to those living within Toodyay. This is primarily because the majority of newcomers were seeking a semi-rural environment with open space and scenic beauty, rather than an attractive urban environment.

When the newcomer households were asked, "why did you select Toodyay ahead of other locations such as York, Chittering and Gingin", the answers reflected the natural attraction of the Shire. Other answers to come out of this question were the issues of available employment at Midland and Northam, the cost of land and the close proximity to the metropolitan area.

Hugo and Smailes (1985) believe that one of the most likely causes of the population turnaround is the expanding urban field. This involves improved transport technology which has reduced the friction associated with long distance commuting; resulting in people being prepared to travel further to work and other social activities in return for a residential environment with numerous lifestyle benefits. While this notion may represent an expanded rural-urban fringe, the Toodyay case study does not provide enough evidence to fully support this view. This is because, while a large proportion of people commuted regularly to the Perth region for employment, an equally large number have settled into the Shire without any regular connection with the metropolitan area. However, this does not deny the significance of the ability to commute easily to the metropolitan area from Toodyay as a factor which attracted them to the district.

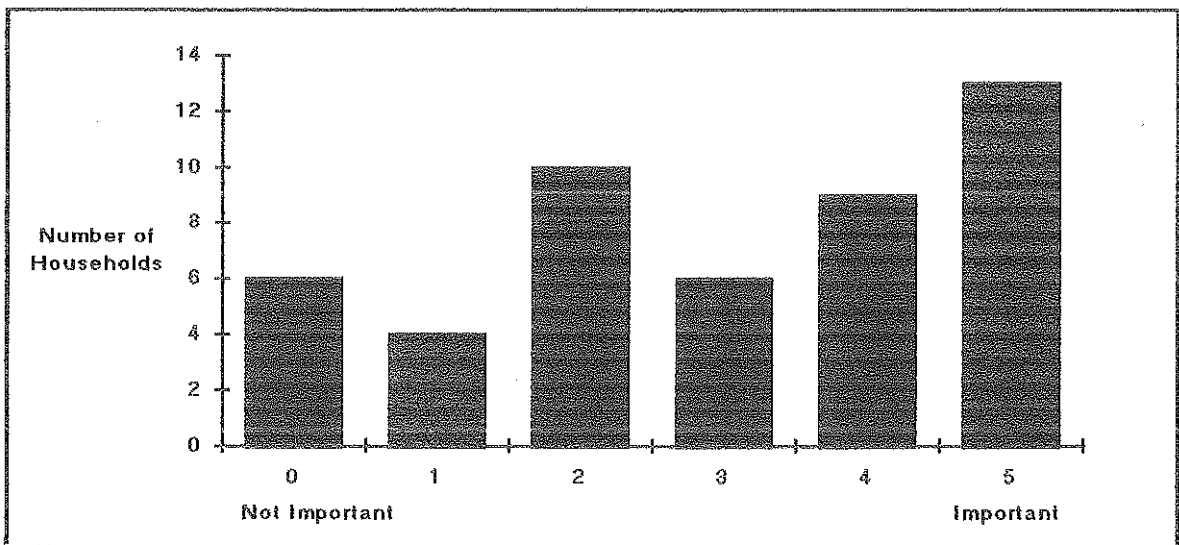


Figure 5:6 The Importance of the Ability to Commute Easily to the Metropolitan Area in Attracting Newcomer Households.

As Figure 5:6 indicates the ability to commute easily to the metropolitan area was a strong consideration for 22 households in their decisions to move into the Shire of Toodyay. However, while 20 households saw the connection as unimportant, they did generally consider an easy connection with an urban centre, such as Northam, to be of importance in their decision to locate in Toodyay.

One of the considerations many households examined when deciding to move, was that Toodyay may offer a better social environment within which to participate. A number of studies investigate rural communities in great detail, such as Dempsey's Smalltown (1990) and Wild's Bradstow (1978) to expose some of the myths of an easy going country lifestyle with a classes structure. While this study did not examine issues of equality and class structure in Toodyay, it did examine levels of community participation in order to establish if newcomers are involved with the local community, and if not, where are their social and community ties located.

When asked to rate the importance of services and community groups in attracting them to the Shire of Toodyay, the results present a diverse set of responses which indicate that these factors are not significant.

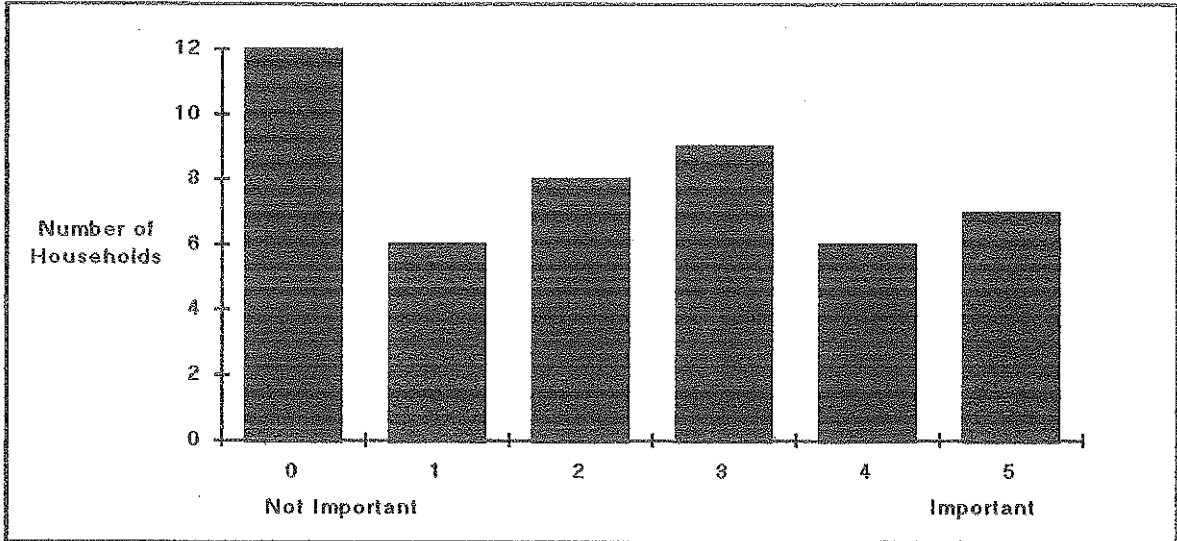


Figure 5:7 The Importance of the Availability of Services and Community Groups in Attracting Newcomer Households into the Shire of Toodyay.

The need for services and community groups as a pull factor was one which varied considerably, with 36% believing that it was significant, while many thought it played no part in their decision to settle in a rural locality. However, more detailed questioning indicated that a clear majority of newcomer households played very little part in the everyday social life of the Shire; rather, they tended to focus their interests on major urban localities such as Northam and Perth.

The community activities which are supported within the Shire include sport, Parents and Citizens and the churches, however participation in the majority of other social and cultural activities occurred in the metropolitan area. Only twelve households used local sporting and recreation facilities. Furthermore, only three households used local

entertainment such as the cinema, concerts, dining out and so forth. The great majority preferred to use either Northam or Perth.

Sixty-seven percent of newcomers openly stated that they had not made an effort to join local clubs and associations as they already had ties in the major urban centres. However another important point which emerged from these discussions was the feeling of exclusion by the local residents of the traditional Toodyay community. A number of households felt that the town was almost a closed circle in which they played little part, had few connections and were not particularly welcome. Only 11 of newcomer households identified themselves as members of the local community and six of these worked and lived within the town itself. A high proportion of newcomers felt that to some extent the long term residents, particularly the farmers, were a separate and exclusive community. However, the newcomers did not appear to function as a community of their own, rather as a group of individual households connected with social groups in other localities such as Perth or Northam.

Generally the social patterns of the newcomers tended to conform strongly with work patterns; social activities being focused largely in the same locality as employment. From this, it would appear that Toodyay simply provides a place of residence for the newcomers, while the remainder of their lives are focused on urban localities. It seems apparent that while there has been a population turnaround towards living within a rural setting, the social needs of the newcomer population are still distinctly urban.

Summary

This chapter has presented a profile of the newcomer households and the reasons which persuaded them to settle in the Shire of Toodyay. While there is no single dominant reasons why households moved into this rural area, a wide range of influences have been cited. These include urban push factors, such as escape, congestion and crime, along with rural pull factors such as a scenic physical environment and cheap land. These push and pull forces, which the migrants often stated as the reason for their move, occur within economic and social constraints such as employment opportunities, financial restraints and social responsibilities. The latter of these include children's education and the wider network of family and friends, which constitute a major factor in keeping people within easy commuting distance to their traditional social networks. Another significant issue is the close connection between newcomers and urban areas, rather than the traditional agricultural based local community. That is, rather than a group of people seeking a genuine rural lifestyle, these new settlers appear to enjoy not only the benefits of a rural environment, but also the advantages of an urban lifestyle. The decision to live in Toodyay may therefore represent the 'best' of two worlds, with the district simply acting as a dormitory for people who are still essential urban in outlook. Therefore, rather than a rural community within a geographical location, as has traditionally occurred, communities are becoming more diverse.

The following chapter takes up the issues, constraints and patterns of migration discussed to this point in an attempt to build a clear picture of the urban-to-rural migration movement in the Toodyay district.

CHAPTER SIX: REVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

This study of the urban-to-rural migration movement has focussed on establishing a profile of the newcomer households and the circumstances surrounding their decisions to migrate. The emphasis now shifts to identify some of the major factors influencing the population turnaround. While this chapter does not seek to build a model for this type of population movement, it does attempt to examine the data, clarify the reasons for the Shire's demographic revival and discuss the findings in terms of the theoretical explanations presented in Chapter 2.

The first clearly distinguishable feature of the population turnaround within Toodyay is the changing demographic profile, from a population dominated by persons aged in the twenties in the early 1970's, to a population now dominated by the 30-60 year age group. This population shift is predominantly the result of young families moving into the Toodyay area and the loss of younger people to the metropolitan area in search of education and employment; rather than the existing population simply growing older. Early counterurbanisation literature, such as Berry (1976), cited retirees as being significant contributors to the population turnaround; however in recent years this has been exposed as a myth, particularly by Bolton and Chalkley (1990). This study of Toodyay confirms their claim that the 60 plus age group, which

traditionally comprises the retirees, has been, the most stable demographic category over the past twenty years.

On the other hand, the increasing proportion of middle aged migrants into the Shire has also seen a corresponding increase in educational qualifications and, more significantly, a change in the dominant employment sector. While the overall levels of educational qualification have increased steadily over the past twenty years, the qualifications of newcomers is far above the average for the Shire. This is demonstrated by the fact that only 49.8% of this group have no qualifications compared to 63.5 for the Shire. These changes are reflected in the employment categories, where Toodyay's traditional agricultural base is now rivalled the Community Services sector as the major employer. There has also been a diversification of people participating in various employment sectors, with only agriculture showing a significant decline. However an important feature of these changes is that the majority of newcomers do not find employment within the Shire; rather, they commute daily to a major urban centre. As such, employment was one of the most important considerations made by households in their decisions to migrate and undoubtedly, Toodyay provided a unique opportunity to live in a rural setting and be employed in a traditional urban workplace. Toodyay's situation, between two major employment centres, Northam 25 kilometres to the south-east and Midland 55 kilometres to the south-west, on the edge of the Perth metropolitan area, places the Shire within easy commuting distance of each. Employment outside the Shire of Toodyay is divided between these two centres, with each offering different types of employment opportunities.

Northam offers a strong public sector employment base and is without doubt one of the largest and most important regional centres in the South West of WA. The relative ease with which employees can attain transfers within the public sector has resulted in a significantly large number of employees taking advantage of rural living in Toodyay, while being able to work only 25 kilometres away in this regional centre. Midland and the metropolitan area offer a different range of opportunities linked not only to the public sector, but also with business, administration, finance and retail opportunities. Consequently, among newcomer households, Midland was the second most common employment locality after Northam.

While Toodyay's location has played an important role in attracting employees willing to commute to urban centres, there is still a pattern of settlement which favours shorter travelling distances to work by newcomers. The majority of newcomers employed in Northam and Toodyay, live in the inland rural subdivisions and within the Town itself, however the employees working in the metropolitan area tended to favour the Rolling Green subdivisions on the western edge of the Shire. These subdivisions are within 35 kilometres of Midland, making daily travel a viable option by most employees. These western subdivisions may almost be considered part of an extended rural-urban fringe, or perhaps the 'frontier' of the outward growth of the metropolitan area, as the pattern west of the Toodyay Shire is one of smaller land holdings and more diverse and intense land use typical of the traditional rural urban fringe.

Employment within the Shire of Toodyay was also the source of a particularly interesting pattern of work, with a number of people working directly from home. These people were engaged largely in professional occupations and generally operated on a consultancy basis. While recent social science literature has raised the prospects of people increasingly working from home rather than attending a traditional workplace, this in fact may be the first signs that Toffler's (1981) notion of the Electronic Cottage is becoming a reality. However, the overall significance of this type of work in the Toodyay case-study is minimal, with a far larger majority finding work in a traditional setting.

Lifestyle motivated reasons for migrating into the Shire of Toodyay were of considerable significance to the newcomer households and undoubtedly played a role in prompting them to investigate the possibilities of a move. It seems clear however that these motives still occur within the constraints of employment availability, income and numerous other social constraints. While these lifestyle considerations are an important characteristic of urban-to-rural migration, it appears that the broader social and economic forces inevitably determine the nature of the move.

The lifestyle motivations for migration generally appeared to be linked to a number of urban push factors, such as pollution, congestion, and the need for open spaces. However, Cloke (1985) suggested, too much emphasis has been placed on urban push factors to explain the

turnaround and local conditions within rural areas, particularly employment, must also be considered.

The Shire of Toodyay has a number of factors which clearly acted as pull factors for migrants now settled within the Shire. The availability of large blocks of land and housing at significantly lower prices than the metropolitan area. This has allowed many people to settle in the Shire with lower mortgage repayments and the opportunity to own their own home much sooner than may normally be expected. This factor is reflected in the Shire's extremely high rates of home ownership and most importantly, first home ownership.

Other significant pull factors include the attractive and scenic physical environment Toodyay has to offer, the ability to commute easily to nearby urban localities, and a quality social environment. These latter points are of considerable interest.

Being able to commute easily to the metropolitan area was of importance to quite a large number of households and interviewees indicated that they were prepared to travel up to 50 kilometres (each way) per day to their places of employment. Many households also cited that rural communities were far more attractive than those in the city, mainly because of the perceived equality, sense of community togetherness and easy going lifestyle. However, newcomers appear to have made very little attempt to become involved with the local community. This may have been due to alienation by the locals, but more probably is due to the close connections maintained by newcomers with established social

and recreational patterns well removed from their place of residence. It generally appeared that the newcomers social ties were in the same locality as their work, which reinforces the strong link with urban areas.

This closely reflects Hugo and Smailes' (1985) concept of an expanding urban field, resulting from reduced friction associated with long distance commuting, due primarily to improvements in transport technology. This has allowed people living in semi-rural localities to establish employment and social connections in urban settings. While this hypothesis may appear adequate to explain the situation in Toodyay, it fails to incorporate other economic and social forces which are involved in the urban-to-rural migration movement.

Differing Categories of New Settlers

Within the overall process of Toodyay's population growth a number of distinct groups seem to be identifiable and are linked primarily to geographical location within the Shire. The three main areas of development, the Toodyay townsite, the Rolling Green subdivisions on the western boundary of the Shire, and the inland subdivisions, particularly Coondle, all have distinct characteristics indicating slightly different migrant households within each. Although the motivations and forces acting upon the migrants living in each locality may have been similar, the type of households in each exhibit subtle differences.

The Rolling Green subdivisions are characterised by migrants focussed almost entirely upon the metropolitan area, both in terms of employment and social activities. The cost of land and housing is also higher than throughout the remainder of the Shire, primarily due to its proximity to the metropolitan area. The migrants also tended to be a slightly older group than the average newcomer households and were more financially established; this is illustrated by a lower proportion of first home buyers.

The migrants within the Toodyay townsite were a diverse groups whose employment patterns were focused either within Toodyay itself, or alternatively, Northam or the Metropolitan area. This group also contained few home owners and included transient employment categories, such as school teachers and bank clerks. The social connections of this groups were as diverse as employment, however more of this group felt part of the local Toodyay community than those in the rural regions of the Shire.

The remaining subdivisions were more focussed to some extent on Toodyay, and particularly Northam for employment and social linkages. This group consists mainly of younger migrants and appeared less financially settled than many other households within the Shire. A factor which was particularly evident in the form of housing (predominantly smaller prefabricated homes), on blocks which are generally unused, infested with weed growth and often subject to erosion. These subdivisions are however, the most recent and as yet have not yet been developed to the extent of the older Rolling Green

properties. Furthermore, the cost of land within these subdivisions is generally lower than in the other special rural subdivisions throughout the Shire.

Summary

This research into the population turnaround within the Shire of Toodyay does not provide any clear single answer to the question of why people have decided to settle within such a rural locality. It appears that a number of forces have aided the repopulation of Toodyay, however none fully support the theories discussed in Chapter 2. There are certainly elements of structural forces at work, with the development of Midland and Northam as regional centres on either side of Toodyay making the Shire an ideal locality for employees working in those centres. The downturn in agriculture resulting in the subdivision of a number of farming properties has also played a significant role in creating cheap land for development. Tied in with this is the role of government in allowing this land to be subdivided.

While these broad developments do not in themselves explain why Toodyay has begun a process of repopulation, there is evidence which suggests that behavioural forces are strongly at work. Most households generally expressed a desire to live in an environment with space, and free of the many urban problems such as pollution, congestion and crime. It was these considerations that prompted many households to investigate the possibilities of leaving the city and establishing a different lifestyle.

To sum up, the population turnaround within the Shire of Toodyay during the 1980's and early 1990's, appears to be a positive result of a variety of individual small scale processes including behavioural, structural elements which in reality are extremely hard to distinguish and separate.

CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLICATIONS OF THE POPULATION TURNAROUND UPON THE SHIRE OF TOODYAY

The steady influx of ex-urban dwellers into the Shire of Toodyay represents a major turnaround from the pattern of rural decline experienced prior to the mid 1970's. Studies of the population turnaround, both within Australia and internationally, have tended to be preoccupied with total population gains and losses in rural areas and have ignored the implications for rural localities. While this research has focussed primarily on the circumstances surrounding the demographic revival within the Shire of Toodyay it has, throughout the research, become apparent that pressing issues and have arisen from these developments. The most significant of these are in the areas of social interaction, local economies, environmental degradation and planning.

Social Implications:

The pattern of in-migration and the rapid increase in the number of special rural subdivisions has had wide ranging social implications for the Shire of Toodyay. An increasingly urban orientated populations in rural areas appear to alter the longstanding social structure of localities, along with undermining community loyalty and solidarity. (Hudson, 1989.)

One of the most notable and significant results of the population turnaround within the Shire of Toodyay is the social relationships which have developed between the 'newcomers' and the 'locals'. From a number of interviews and discussions with the newly arrived residents in the Shire it would appear that many newcomers felt that, they did not belong to the local Toodyay community and consequently most played little part in the everyday life of the region. While many chose to live in the Shire for a combination of reasons, the social and community factors as identified by Cloke, (1985, p.21.) were sighted by newcomers as a relatively important factor in their decision to move into the Shire. However, after having settled into the Shire, the general view is that while Toodyay provides an attractive and affordable living environment, they were still firmly connected to the metropolitan area in term of social and community factors.

Further to this, informal discussions with a number of long term local residents revealed a degree of resentment towards newcomers. The loss of traditional agricultural land to 'hobby farms' was another clear issue with the long term residents and, although realising that it was often farmers who had initiated the subdivision of rural properties, it is felt that subdivision and destruction of the traditional rural base was often a last resort. In one case, a local farmer believed that cutting up the land for hobby farms would eventually result in Australia's inability to feed itself because such developments were mainly affecting highly fertile land in the high rainfall districts. Unfortunately these areas are the preferred localities in which newcomers wish to live, thus presenting both authorities and farmers with a dilemma.

However, of considerable significance was the fact that the 'locals' have the impression that the newcomers do not generally take part in the social life of the town. This point did not appear to concern them greatly, as in many respects it was felt that the original Toodyay community had been disrupted little by the migrant population and it was simply a case of two quite separate groups residing within the Shire. The 'locals' may be seen as a more 'typical' rural community as identified by Dempsey (1990), Wild, (1978) and Oeser and Emery (1954), the other, an urban orientated community, with few connections who simply utilise the Shire as a place of residence.

Economic Considerations

The significance of a population turnaround of the type experienced in Toodyay presents a number of important economic considerations. As outlined previously, there is some concern among farmers that too much prime agricultural land is being lost to hobby farms. This loss results in lower primary production levels within the Shire and therefore reduces the economic income from that industry within the district. If this trend is to continue, the viability of many of Toodyay's businesses may well be at risk; a factor which is demonstrated by the fact that most new settlers tend to shop and use services in larger urban centres.

Although much of the land in the hobby farm estates has remained unused, the subdivision of large properties has allowed a number of

small land owners to undertake a variety of intensive agricultural activities including the cultivation of Proteas, citrus and stone fruits as well as a number of horse studs, and oddities such as goat and camel farms. However, this type of production is minimal and overall there appears to be little benefit from these endeavours to the community at large.

The demographic revival within the Shire of Toodyay also presents an interesting model for investment and development by those involved in real estate. While the Shire of Toodyay is still in the development process, land prices are beginning to increase. However, developers wishing to benefit from the population turnaround may look to rural environments which offer similar qualities to Toodyay. That is, an attractive physical environment close to major urban centres.

Overall, the economic benefits of the demographic revival for the Toodyay district are questionable. There is however a distinct benefit to larger centres such as Northam which have picked up some business from those who have settled within the Toodyay Shire.

Other Implications

A number of other important ramifications of the demographic revival of Toodyay have become apparent during conduction of the research. The first area of some significance is environmental degradation resulting from basic landcare practices being neglected. Soil degradation in the form of salinity and erosion, caused by overgrazing of land, are clearly

major problems on many subdivisions. Such neglect, which is not being addressed, has the potential to jeopardise the entire landcare programme within the district. Further problems included the spread of noxious weeds and the fire risks resulting from under-grazing of properties.

Another major ramification of the demographic revival of the Shire is for concerns for planning policies. In this regard planners must confront the dilemma as to whether prime agricultural land should be allowed to be used as unproductive hobby farms; or how these conflicting interests can be combined. This flows on to a concern for the future functional role of towns such as Toodyay. That is, should it attempt to remain a rural service town, or should it deliberately attempt to attract ex-urban migrants and become a dormitory location with appropriate infrastructures. From the experiences of Toodyay, other rural centres which are experiencing declining populations may attempt to identify the factors which made Toodyay attractive to migrants. These may then be developed for the benefit of other communities.

Summary

This discussion of social and economic ramifications of the population turnaround is neither comprehensive nor particularly innovative; however, it does provide an opportunity to explore the potential problems and opportunities brought about by a demographic revival. Undoubtedly the population turnaround presents many issues for rural localities and should be examined in much greater detail in further

research into this phenomenon. Research of this type may help redress the imbalance in the current counterurbanisation literature between the patterns and trends of the population turnaround and the seldom discussed significant implications of such a shift.

CHAPTER EIGHT: SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From this research, it appears that the population turnaround which has occurred within the Shire of Toodyay can be linked to a combination of underlying socio-economic forces and particular local conditions. For the purpose of analysis, it is necessary to disentangle these elements, so that the processes that have affected these rural regions can be identified. However, in reality the two dimensions are intimately interconnected and it is difficult to completely isolate them. That is, the underlying structural forces are acted out in particular situations. These produce a unique set of characteristics which reflect the process of migration.

In terms of the broad processes which have affected this phenomenon, a number of the following facets have been identified; most significantly, the desire of certain elements of the urban community to settle in rural areas. This movement is dominated by those between the ages of 25 and 45, and is primarily linked to young families. The people within these migrant households are prompted into leaving the city for numerous reasons such as; lack of space, stressful lifestyles and high land and housing prices.

The turnaround appears to be limited mainly to professional persons, such as those employed in business, health or education, due mainly to their ability to secure employment. While this may in part be linked to

the local employment market; government policies of decentralisation have resulted in an increase of employment in a number of rural areas. That the turnaround has been dominated by such people, this does not necessarily reflect a non-desire for rural living by the remainder of the urban community, but more probably the inability to act upon such a preference due to constraints of income and employment.

Those people migrating into rural areas are in search of a living environment which has the attributes of space, aesthetics and freedom, rather than an environment which is purely agricultural. This has coincided with a decline in the viability of agriculture in many areas and has resulted in the subdivision of a number of farming properties. This process has facilitated the needs of urban migrants and has provided them with the opportunity to act upon their desire for a rural lifestyle.

Although they desire a rural lifestyle, households involved in the turnaround still retain their urban contacts, particularly in terms of employment, social ties and education. Many of the social and economic needs of migrant households are therefore predominantly urban, thus there is a trend towards these households living in rural areas which are still easily accessible. Advances in transport technology (including cars, fuel efficiency and roads), have helped migrants meet this need and has enabled these people be long distance commuters, in order to retain their urban links.

While these broader conditions apply to a range of rural localities in the close proximity of the Perth metropolitan region, each individual district has its peculiar attributes which have affected the outcomes of the turnaround movement. In the case of Toodyay the following localised conditions appear to be significant.

Firstly, the difficulties experienced by farmers during the 1970's resulted in a number subdividing their properties in an effort to gain higher land prices per hectare. The local Shire council was supportive of the process, resulting in the formation of a number of hobby farm estates. These estates provided land at a much lower price than in urban areas and the attractiveness of Toodyay is enhanced due to the fact that land is cheaper than in similar rural areas such as York.

One of the most important attractions of Toodyay is its convenient location between two major urban centres. This provides people with the opportunity to work in a centre such as Northam, while enjoying the benefits of residing in Toodyay. The easy accessibility of Toodyay from Northam and Perth mean that it is an attractive settlement location for long distance commuters.

Toodyay has the advantage of an extremely picturesque physical environment of rolling hills, watercourses and natural bushland, making it aesthetically attractive. While the physical environment has played a major role in attracting migrants into the area, Toodyay's historical built environment was of relatively little importance. This situation has, in combination with the factors of cheap land and accessibility seen growth

within the Shire occur mainly within the subdivisions rather than the Townsite.

One of the significant facts which emerges from this combination characteristics is the evolution of two distinct communities living within the same spatial area. The newcomer population have settled in the district to experience the lifestyle benefits of rural living along with capitalising upon the cheap land and easy accessibility to urban areas. This has resulted in the development of a 'claytons community' which, while residing in the Shire are connected socially and economically to urban areas.

This point raises the possibility for further research, particularly in terms of the impact these newcomer groups place upon traditional of rural communities, an aspect noted by Dempsey (1990) and Hudson (1989). While there does not appear to be a visible connection between the newcomers and the locals Hudson's (1989) study of New England suggests that over time a connection is formed. This notion is confirmed by Ambrose (1974) and Ward *et al* (1978). Therefore, an important consideration is how the two groups currently interact and what effect the turnaround is having on the social cohesion and status within the district. It is probably worth investigating this trend in a number of different rural areas, including more remote regions such as Moora or Bridgetown, both of which have experienced a population turnaround in the past twenty years. Further research of this nature is important because it provides us with an ability to understand and

anticipate future social, economic and spatial developments in rural regions.

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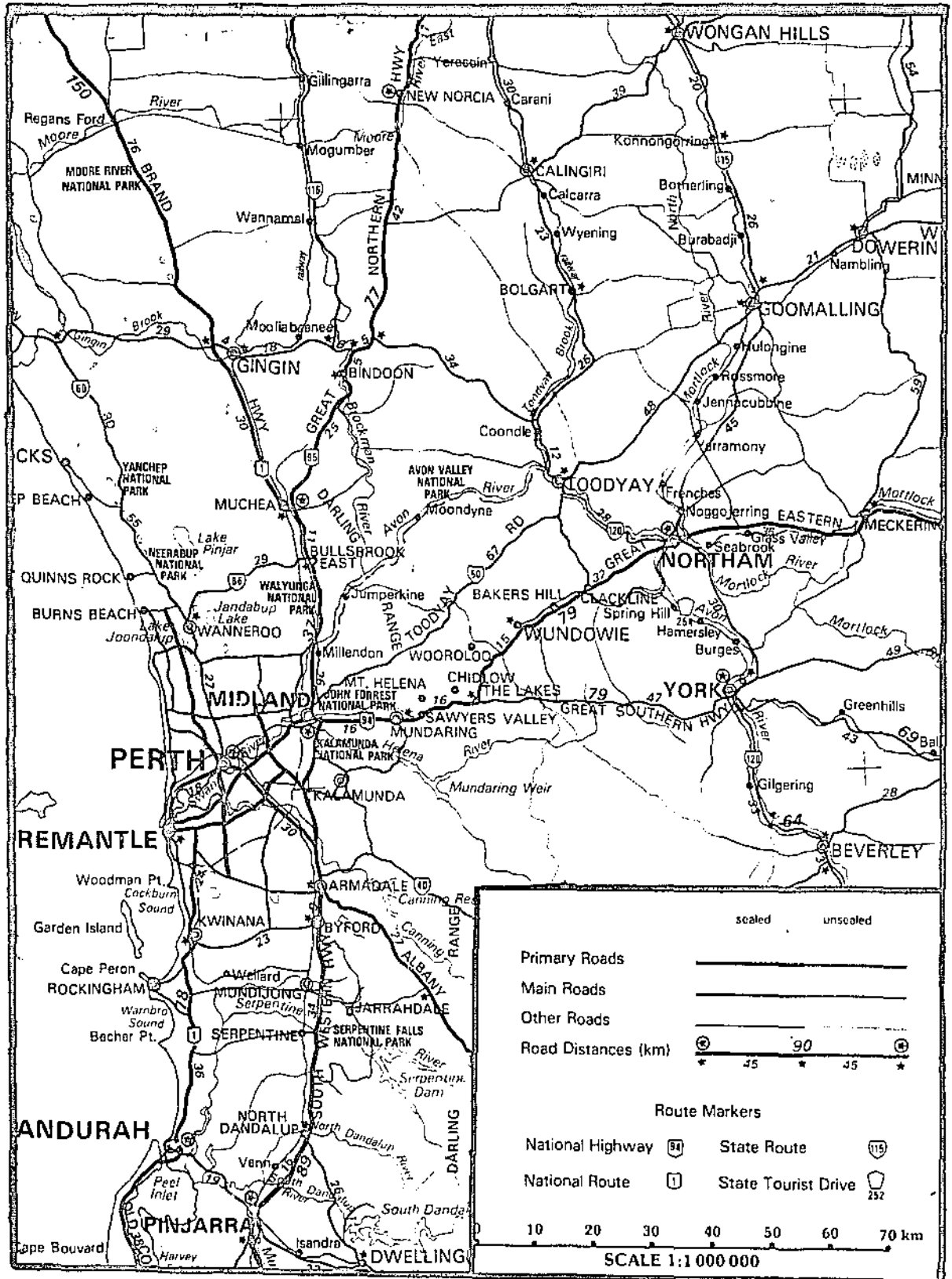
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Appendix A: Location of Toodyay.



(Source: Streetsmart Street Directory.)

Appendix B: Pilot Study.

1. How many family members within the household

Age/Sex?

2. When did you first arrive in Toodyay?

3. Where did you live prior to arriving in Toodyay?

4. Where are each of the household members currently employed?
(How far and travelling time)

5. Is travel to this place of employment daily, weekly etc.?

6. Is any paid work undertaken within the home rather than in a
traditional workplace setting?

7. What factors do you perceive to have played a major role in your
deciding to move into the Shire of Toodyay?

8. Would you say your move into the Shire was primarily
(a) Lifestyle related

- (b) Employment or business related
 - (c) Retirement
 - (d) Investment orientated
9. Had any changes in lifestyle, prior to the move, made it easier to act on your preference to live in a regional locality (eg salary changes, redundancy, workers compensation etc.)
10. Looking back to when the move was first suggested within the household, what were the major issues discussed concerning the move?
11. Which factors saw you decide to leave your former residence in preference for Toodyay?
12. Which of the following (if any) were the most influential in deciding to move into the Shire of Toodyay?
- (a) an attractive physical environment (why)
 - (b) a built environment with quality, in terms of both heritage and scenic quality
 - (c) availability of a reasonably priced housing stock

(d) availability of services and community groups

(e) employment and business opportunities

(f) ability to commute easily to the metropolitan area

13. Why did was the Shire of Toodyay selected rather than another location such as York, Chittering, Gingin etc.

14 Where do you

(a) use services such as health, banks etc.

(b) use recreation facilities

(c) shop for everyday household items

15. Are there any other circumstances surrounding your decision to leave the metro area you would like to elaborate upon?

16. What would you see as the most important factor influencing your decision to leave your former residence?

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

(1) What is your age:

18 - 24

25 - 29

30 - 39

40 - 49

50 - 59

60 - 69

70 +

(2) What are the ages and sex of the remaining members of the household? (Either the precise age or according to the above categories.)

	Member 1	Member 2	Member 3	Member 4	Member 5
Age					

(3) In what year did the household first move into the Shire of Toodyay?

(4) Where was your last residence prior to arriving in the Shire of Toodyay?

(5) Do you own the property and dwelling in which you currently reside? (If no go to question 9.)

(a) Yes

(b) No

- (6) How long after you purchased the property did you take up permanent residence on it? (If immediately go to question 11.)
- (7) Where did you live between the purchasing time and moving on to the property?
- (9) If renting/leasing, how long have you done so on the current property?
- (10) Do you intend to purchase real estate within the Shire of Toodyay?
- (11) How many of the household members are currently employed in paid work outside the home?
(1) (2) (3) (4) (5)
- (12) What types of work are carried out by each member of the household and where is this work undertaken?

	MEMBER 1	MEMBER 2	MEMBER 3	MEMBER 4	MEMBER 5
OCCUPATION					
SECTOR					
LOCATION					

(13) What is the distance and the approximate travel time to the workplace for each household member?

	MEMBER 1	MEMBER 2	MEMBER 3	MEMBER 4	MEMBER 5
DISTANCE					
TIME					

(14) What form of transport is most commonly used in travel to the workplace by each household member?

	MEMBER 1	MEMBER 2	MEMBER 3	MEMBER 4	MEMBER 5
TRANSPORT					

(15) Is there any paid work undertaken within the home? (if No go to question 17.)

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

(16) What type of work is undertaken within the home

(17) What is the highest qualification level achieved by each household member aged 18 or more.

	M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4	M 5
Higher Degree					
Post Graduate Diploma					
Bachelor Degree					
Undergraduate Diploma					
Associate Diploma					
Trade					
Inadequately Described					
Not Formally Qualified					

(18) Where did/do your children attend school for the following:

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5
Pre- primary					
Primary					
Lower Secondary					
Upper Secondary					

(19) Do/did the children board to attend school? (If no go to question 22.)

(a) Yes

(b) No

(20) What level of school are the children attending and where are they boarding?

(21) Why are the children boarding rather than attending the local school? (Go to question 23.)

(22) What is the travelling time to school?

- (23) Where you/are you satisfied with the education provided in Toodyay?
- (24) What was the importance of lifestyle factors such as 'escape', sense of community etc., in contributing to your move into the Shire of Toodyay.
- (25) Did these factors outweigh the consideration of employment education and soforth?
- (26) Did you and the other member of the household, prior to moving to the Shire of Toodyay, have a preference for a rural lifestyle?

- (27) Have any changes in lifestyle, prior to the move, made it easier to act upon your preference to live in a rural environment? (eg. salary changes, redundancy, workers compensation etc.)
- (28) Have government policies at a federal or state level had any direct bearing upon your ability to live within the Shire of Toodyay rather than another location?
- (29) Looking back to when the move was first suggested within the household, what were the major issues and considerations discussed and debated?
- (30) Did the major issues and considerations change at all between the first discussions of a move and the move itself?

- Employment and business opportunities

0 1 2 3 4 5

Not important **Important**

- The ability to commute easily to the metropolitan area

0 1 2 3 4 5

Not important **Important**

- (32) Why was Toodyay selected ahead of other shires such as Gingin, Chittering or York?
- (33) What would you perceive to be the most important factor in your decision to leave your former residence
- (34) What community activities (eg, sport, church groups P&C.) were/are you involved in
- (a) during the first few years of residence
- (b) now

- (35) Where do the members of the household generally use the following services:
- (a) Banks and financial institutions
 - (b) Medical services
 - (c) Libraries/Arts
- (36) Where do members of the household generally use sporting recreation and entertainment facilities?
- (37) What entertainment/recreation activities are participated in locally within the Shire?
- (38) Where do the household members generally shop for everyday household items such as bread, milk and weekly groceries.

(39) How easy/hard do you think it is for newcomers to feel 'part' of the local Toodyay community?

(40) Do you regard the 'local' long term residents as a separate community to the more recent arrivals?

(41) Do you and the other members of the household regard yourself, and feel, part of the Toodyay community?

(42) Do you feel other newcomers in general see themselves as part of a close knit community in Toodyay?

Appendix D: Former location of the Newcomer Households.

Residential Locality	Number	Residential Locality	Number
Rivervale	1	Duncraig	1
Morley	2	Karrawarra	1
Wilson	1	Mandurah	1
North Perth	1	Wembley	2
Como	2	Armadale	1
Bicton	1	Winthrop	1
Nedlands	2	Balga	2
Whitfords	2	City Beach	2
Dianella	3	Victoria Park	2
South Perth	1	Maylands	1
Kenwick	1	Applecross	1
Northam	2	Claremont	1
Midland	3	Guildford	1
Bassendean	1	Herne Hill	1
Swan Valley	1	Subiaco	2
Kingsley	2	Beechboro	1
Goomalling	2	TOTAL	48