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Access Economics

Estimating the economic impacts of lowering current levels of income support payments

Australian Council of Social Service

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Acronym	Full name
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AWOTE	Average Weekly Ordinary Time Earnings
CGE	Computable General Equilibrium
CPI	Consumer Price Index
Coronavirus supplement	Temporary additional payment to those on JobSeeker, Austudy and other Government support payments
DAE	Deloitte Access Economics
DAE-RGEM	Deloitte Access Economics – Regional General Equilibrium Model
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
FTE	Full Time Equivalent
GRP	Gross Regional Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JobKeeper	Income support payments for businesses with employees whose revenue has been affected by COVID-19
JobSeeker	Government income support payment for the unemployed or those with income below a threshold, aged over 22
Labour force	The sum of people who are employed and unemployed
Labour force participation rate	The share of those of working-age population who are in the labour force
LGA	Local Government Area
Long term unemployed	Persons unemployed for 12 months or longer
LGA	Local Government Area
Newstart	Previous name for JobSeeker
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
RBA	Reserve Bank of Australia
SA2	Statistical Area Level 2
SEIFA	Socioeconomic Index for Areas
Short term unemployed	Persons unemployed for less than 12 months
Unemployment rate	The percentage of people in the labour force who are unemployed
Working-age population	The total number of civilians aged 15 years and over

Executive summary

Even before COVID-19 hit our shores, the case to lift unemployment benefits in Australia has been strong for many years:

- they've been a shrinking share of wages for a quarter of a century,
- raising them would deliver the economy a boost (including through raising individuals' well-being), and,
- most importantly, doing so would help address this nation's standout fairness fail of recent decades.

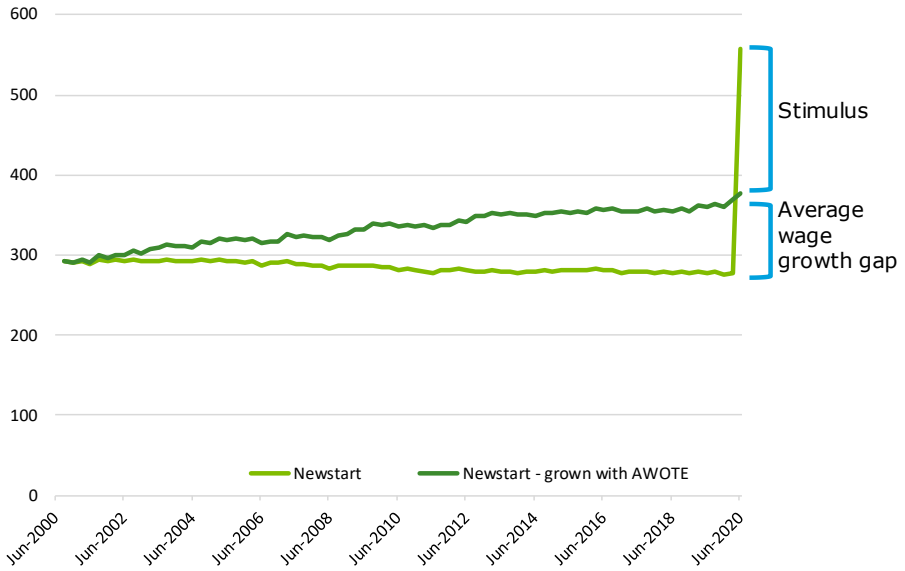
Now we face pandemic and an unprecedented recession.

That strengthens the case for a permanently higher unemployment benefit:

- **More people:** just over 5% of people in the Australian workforce were unemployed before this crisis hit, but that number is expected to have doubled to 10% within months. So, were the unemployment benefit to return to $40 a day, then this nation's fundamental fairness fail would be two times worse than it was at the start of 2020.
- **A bigger boost:** every dollar getting pumped back into the Australian economy is doing more good than ever before – unemployment is really high, and the Reserve Bank is already doing pretty much everything it can. And a dollar that goes to the unemployed is much more likely to be spent than a dollar to others. So a higher unemployment benefit currently provides a supercharged boost to the economy – because there are more people on the benefit, but also as the economy is in greater need.
- **Where it's needed most:** Australia's most disadvantaged regions have been hardest hit in the current crisis – relatively more jobs have been lost where unemployment rates were already the highest, so COVID-19 has markedly worsened regional inequality in Australia. In turn, that says the Coronavirus Supplement is doing a striking amount of heavy lifting in easing regional inequality.
- **A cheaper borrowing cost:** yes, there are more dollars. But governments have never been able to borrow at cheaper rates.
- **The Budget isn't broken:** 99% of the Federal Government's responses to the coronavirus crisis have been temporary rather than ongoing costs to the Budget. That's not well understood. But it means that, if we can repair the economy, then that will repair the Budget. In turn, that says there remains room to move where it is needed most – to help Australian people doing it the toughest.

To the credit of this nation, one of the first things we did was to double the unemployment payment by adding a Coronavirus Supplement to it – helping ensure that those worst off had a strong safety net through this crisis, and more than closing the large gap that had been wedged between wages and unemployment benefits over the last two decades.

Chart 1.1: Real value of JobSeeker payments relative to average ordinary time earnings indexation, today's dollars



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis, Department of Social Services

But that is currently scheduled to step down from $550 to $250 a fortnight from late September, and then to end at Christmas, though the Prime Minister has indicated that the Government has *"no intention of that going back to the original JobSeeker base payment certainly by the end of December and as I've flagged, I would be very surprised if we weren't to extend it beyond then"*.

This report examines the implications of winding back – and then eliminating – the Coronavirus Supplement – for all recipients and for the broader economy. We find that this will have the following effects:

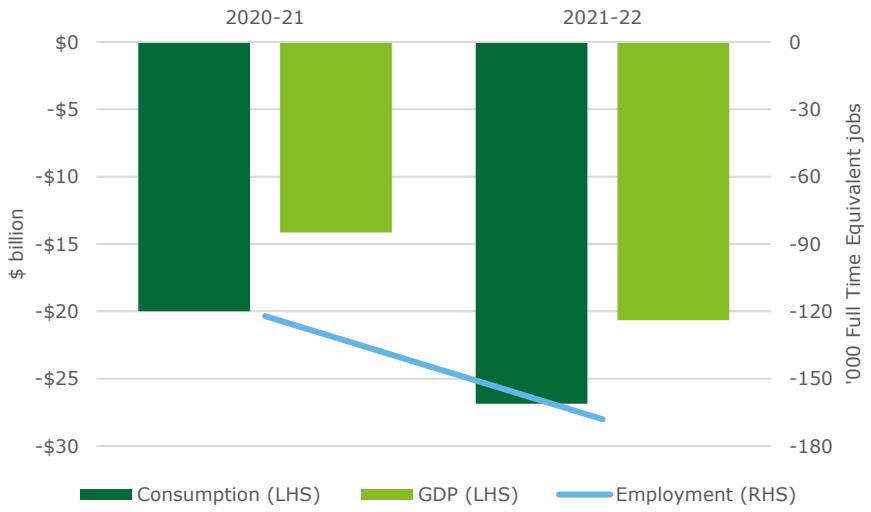
- The stepping down and then removal of the Coronavirus Supplement represents a direct reduction in government spending of an average of over $23 billion across 2020-21 and 2021-22.
- The average annual impact of that reduced expenditure across the broader economy is equal to a reduction in the size of the economy of $31.3 billion and an average loss of 145,000 Full-Time Equivalent jobs over that two-year horizon.

The policy scenario involves a large and sustained negative shock to income among people with a high propensity to consume; one would therefore expect, *a priori*, for there to be a measurable contraction in the broader Australian economy.

The economy is in a deep recession, and so reducing government spending would hurt more than if the economy were in good shape.

So, although the main reason for higher unemployment benefits is to ensure people have enough income support to cover the basics whilst unemployed, there's a much stronger than usual argument for boosting these payments when times are tough.

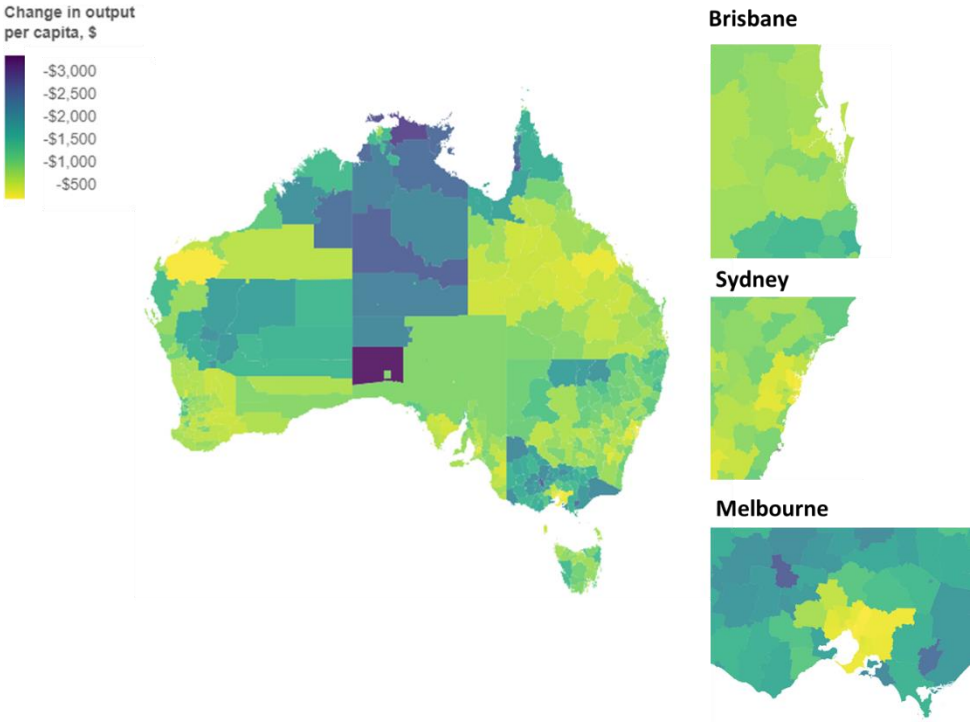
Chart 1.2: Impact on the Australian economy



Source: DAE-RGEM

Further, the impacts of this economic hit will be felt harder in regions already facing greater levels of disadvantage. This is particularly true for regional Northern Territory and Western Australia. In Victoria, elevated case numbers and the extended lockdown restrictions are likely to result in higher unemployment figures than elsewhere. As such, the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement is likely to be more damaging. Again, regional communities will be most impacted by its removal as investment shifts to other regions weighing heavily on Victorian construction and mining.

Figure 1.1: Heat map of impact by LGA on Gross Regional Product, 2021-22



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis

And while the impact on the economy is significant, the impact on individuals and households cannot be underestimated. With recent research from the ANU suggesting that the Coronavirus Supplement has reduced poverty by almost a third (compared with what it would otherwise have been), there are currently far fewer people in Australia living in poverty – in the midst of a recession – than there were in the period leading up to it.

Recent research released by the ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods has provided further evidence on the impacts that changes in support payment have had on poverty rates and housing stress. These impacts covered both the effects of the initial Coronavirus Supplement as well as the changes that removing the supplement will have[1]. The research notes that while the initial impact of COVID-19 might have been expected to lift the number of people living in poverty from 1.6 million to 3.8 million, the introduction of JobKeeper and JobSeeker meant that '…the number of people in poverty has been lowered by around 32 per cent'.

More specifically, without these income support changes, the current recession would have increased the number of people in poverty in June 2020 from 3.0 million to almost 5.8 million. However, with the introduction of both JobKeeper and the Coronavirus Supplement, the number of people in poverty in June 2020 was actually reduced by 13% to 2.6 million.

There is much inherent uncertainty in the economic future we face in the next few years, and we know that it will be tough. Premature removal of the Coronavirus Supplement, and a failure to permanently lift the base rate, would hit hard not only for those among our most disadvantaged, but also for Australian society as a whole.

The value of the current Coronavirus Supplement goes beyond what has previously been called for – closing the gap between those on JobSeeker (Newstart) and other forms of government support and providing much-needed stimulus to the economy in a time of crisis.

As the economy recovers, there will be increasing discussion around what an appropriate level of permanent increase in JobSeeker might look like. That is outside the scope of this report although, as noted above, the timing on unwinding the flow of dollars into local communities is important and should take into account the long timelines of raised unemployment

The complexity of exiting from this emergency is high. And things keep changing fast. So, over and above existing reasons to have higher unemployment benefits anyway, keeping JobSeeker stronger for longer will be vital in filling the cracks as emergency safety nets morph or disappear. We're all in this together.

[1] Phillips, Gray & Biddle, ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods (2020), 'COVID-19 JobKeeper and JobSeeker impacts on poverty and housing stress under current and alternative economic and policy scenarios' (https://csrm.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2020/8/Impact_of_Covid19_JobKeeper_and_Jobeeker_measures_on_Poverty_and_Financial_Stress_FINAL.pdf)

2 Background

This section explores the context in which the Coronavirus Supplement emerged; effectively *raising the rate* of income support for a rapidly increasing number of people as the COVID-19 crisis hit our economy.

2.1 The arrival of COVID-19

The arrival of COVID-19 on Australian shores in early 2020, and the associated social distancing measures put in place to slow the spread of virus, has caused significant disruption to our way of life and way of work. Trade, output and employment have been slashed across the globe; and Australia hasn't been immune from these impacts.

The result has been a sharp global recession the likes of which we have never seen. In response, governments across the world have been pulling out all the stops to stimulate their economies and protect businesses and jobs.

Closer to home, Australia's economy has been hit hard, with border closures, state-wide shutdowns and the greatest uncertainty and disruption in our economy in living memory.

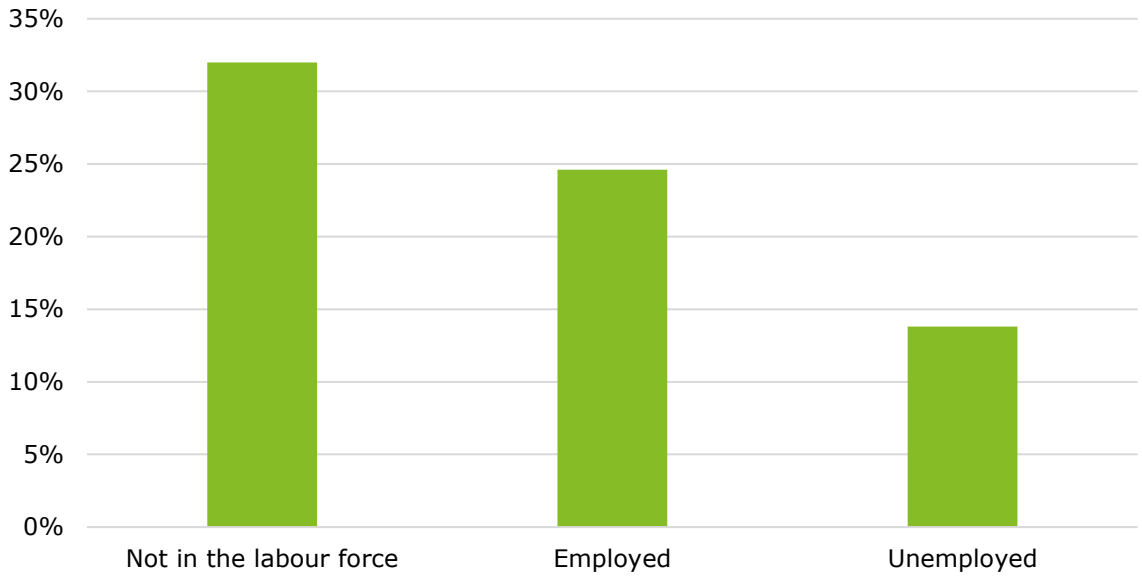
Since March, more than 2.1 million people in Australia have lost employment or left the labour force. And many people have accessed the Newstart Allowance (since renamed JobSeeker) as a result, with the payment acting as a lifeline to those facing significant income losses and employment disruption.

The Australian Government has been at the forefront of the effort to support people, delivering massive fiscal stimulus including both the JobKeeper and JobSeeker programs. The Coronavirus Supplement has been a key plank in that overall strategy and has assisted 2.25 million people since it was introduced.

That intervention has had a huge impact on the lives of many – from those who had struggled to make ends meet on the old rate of Newstart, to those who are experiencing unemployment for the first time in their lives. Combined with other measures, the impact on the economy has been profound.

Let's be clear here – the Coronavirus Supplement has saved Australian jobs through this recession. Supplementing the income of those who have lost work has seen more consumption and demand for goods and services supporting jobs in other parts of the economy. Indeed, we know that it is low-income households receiving support that have been the ones to spend, because they have to, while high-income households have been more likely to lift savings (see Chart 2.1 below).

Chart 2.1: Primary use of government stimulus payments in response to COVID-19



Source: ABS *Household Impacts of COVID-19 Survey* (Catalogue No. 4940.0)

Emergency measures have put great strain on the Budget – for the moment.

History has shown us that the right way to repair the Budget after emergency spending is to grow the economy. That's what Australia did after World War 2, and it's what's needed after the COVID-19 crisis fades.

Alternative approaches to Budget repair – such as raising taxes or cutting spending – may play a role, but these risk hurting the economy when it is still fragile.

Yes, the budget is badly bent, but it's not broken. Today's emergency policy measures are temporary. When they're gone, the budget will still be running big deficits: but that will be because the economy is still weak. If our economy gets better, the budget will too.

As the Parliamentary Budget Office has noted, government debt could increase – depending on virus-driven scenarios – by up to $800 billion over the coming decade even though policy decisions are set to 'only' cost $192 billion. That says that as little as a quarter of the increase in debt will be due to this nation's policy response to the coronavirus crisis, whereas as much as three-quarters will be due to the impact of the weaker economy on spending and (especially) tax receipts.

Many people don't understand that, so they are chasing down imaginary problems – such as arguing for immediate budget repair.

The smart play remains fixing the Budget by fixing the economy.

Removing the Coronavirus Supplement from JobSeeker payments in isolation won't make a material difference to the future path of Australian Government debt. But doing so too quickly and without a plan to address the reduction in incomes could make a material difference to the economy. In turn, that would place pressure on the Budget via reductions in revenue.

Over time, as the economy recovers, the economic benefits of stimulus will fall, and the economic costs of reducing labour supply will rise.

So there will come a time to transition to a long run level of JobSeeker; but building a strong economy means erring on the side of caution – even if that does come at a cost to the Budget over the next few years, that cost will be less than heading down the alternative path in both economic and human terms.

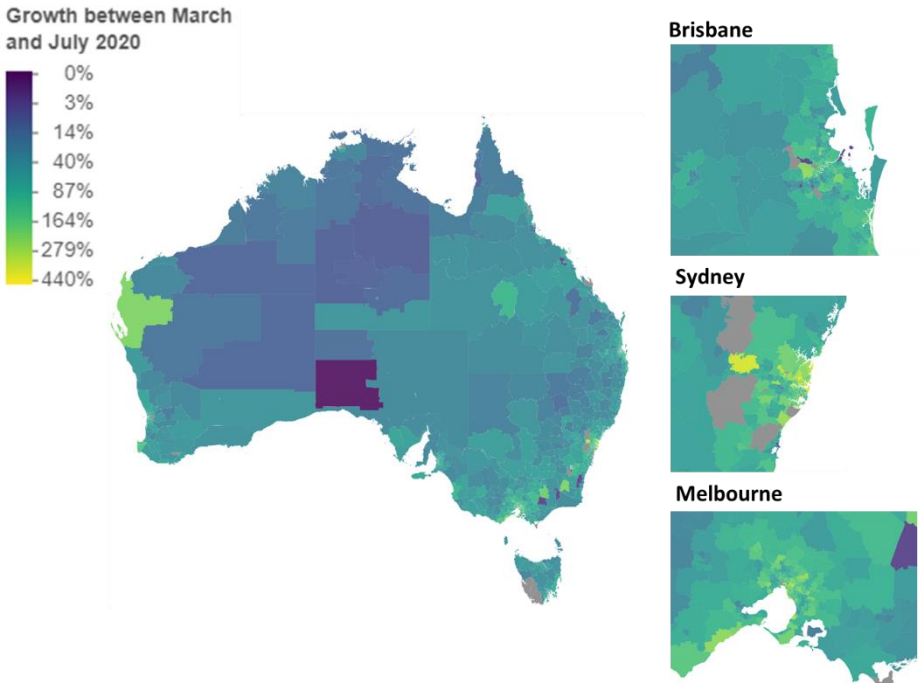
One useful aspect of the government's response to COVID-19 has been the releases of more frequent and more detailed data than ever before. This has allowed deeper analysis and more nuanced insights into the impact of COVID-19, and the resulting employment shocks, including for specific cohorts and regions than was previously possible. As we explore further in Chapter 3, this matters enormously because the impact of COVID-19 has been anything but equal.

2.2 Australia's first economic recession in almost 30 years

The impacts of COVID-19 have resulted in mass disruption to our way of life and way of work. As a result, millions of people in Australia have been stood down, lost hours, received wage cuts or been made redundant.

As Figure 2.1 illustrates, the change in JobSeeker recipients between March and July 2020 has been substantial across the nation. But the impacts haven't been equal. While some regions have seen a high percentage growth in JobSeeker claims due to a low starting point (that is, relatively few people receiving Newstart prior to COVID-19), other regions have seen substantial growth where the number of people receiving income support payments was already relatively high.

Figure 2.1: Change in JobSeeker recipients, March to July 2020, by SA2



Source: Department of Social Services, Deloitte Access Economics

More specifically, the impacts have so far have been most pronounced in many of our vulnerable cohorts.

- almost half of people in the workforce aged under 20 are either unemployed or underemployed
- job losses have been highest in industries with greater casualised workforces, including arts, recreation, accommodation and food services
- regions already suffering the greatest disadvantage pre-COVID-19 have been hit hardest by the economic fallout (not to mention those attempting to recover from the devastating 2019-20 national bushfire crisis).

While these impacts have been most pronounced in already vulnerable cohorts, the speed and scale of this crisis has meant the impacts have been widespread. And for many, this crisis marks their first interaction with the income support system.

It's telling that every region in Australia has been impacted by the economic fallout of this crisis.

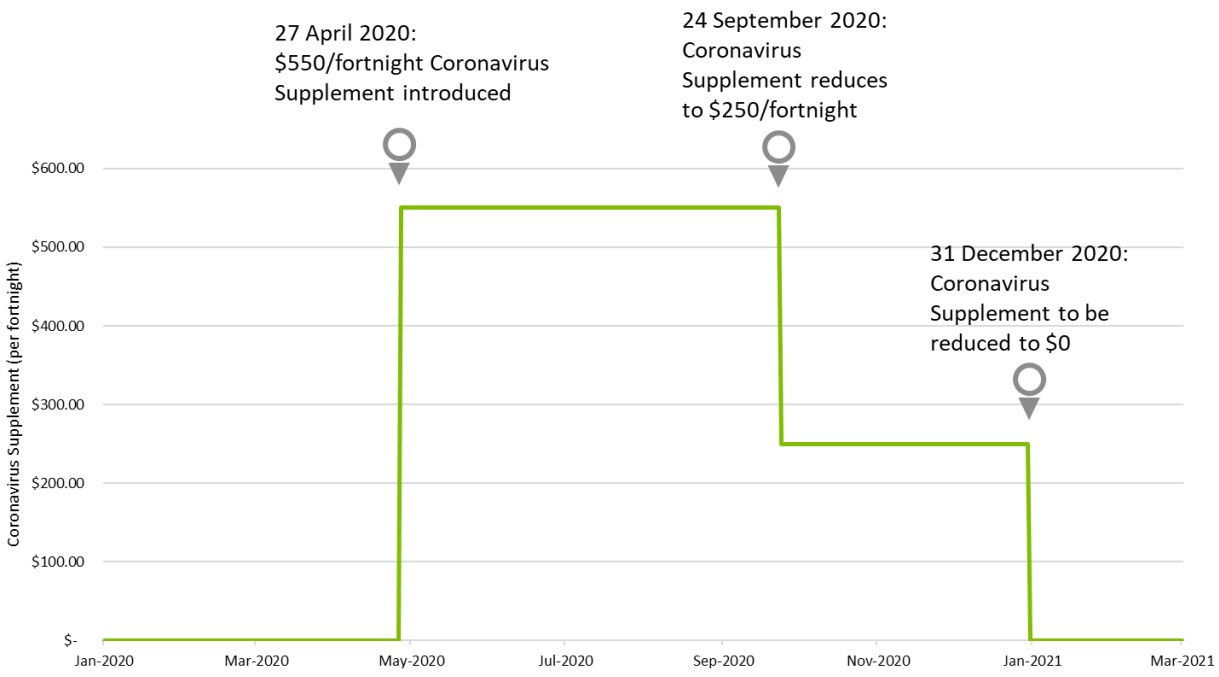
Most importantly, the crisis hasn't been averted. It has been contained, for now. The recent situation in Victoria has demonstrated that any progress being made – whether it be in the reduction of unemployment or an increase in consumption and spending – can rapidly fall away again.

Most importantly, the future remains uncertain. And while economic forecasts may not be able to accurately *predict* the future, that's not their role. Their role is to help policy makers *shape* the future by providing a plausible view of the outlook given current settings. And our future outlook tells us that there's still a bumpy road ahead in which employment recovers at a much slower rate than it fell (described further in Section 3.1).

2.3 The introduction of the Coronavirus Supplement

As thousands of new claims were filed with Centrelink, the Federal Government responded by providing a temporary supplementary payment – essentially *raising the rate* – to all people receiving unemployment, student and parenting income support payments, effective 27 April 2020. The Coronavirus Supplement payment of $550 per fortnight ($275 per week) was made available up until 24 September 2020, at which point it reduces to $250 per fortnight ($125 per week) until the end of the year, after which it will cease completely (as illustrated in Figure 2.2 below).

Figure 2.2: Timeline of Coronavirus Supplement and Removal



Source: Deloitte Access Economics

In the months following the announcement of the Coronavirus Supplement – and as the economic impacts of COVID-19 continued to build – more than 2.25 million people accessed the income support payment, including 1.6 million receiving JobSeeker and Youth Allowance (JobSeeker).

In announcing the Coronavirus Supplement, Prime Minister Scott Morrison stated:

"The Government is taking unprecedented action to strengthen the safety net available to Australians that are stood down or lose their jobs"[2]

The intention of the Coronavirus Supplement has been to minimise the impact on household spending, overall levels of consumption and, hence, GDP. In this, it has been very effective. Payments data shows that the Supplement – together with the two $750 Economic Support payments - has been key in supporting consumer spending since the first nationwide lockdowns. The modelling undertaken by Deloitte Access Economics in 2018 to demonstrate the benefits of raising the rate has been borne out.

2.4 Who receives the Coronavirus Supplement?

As at July 10, 2020, there were 2,246,620 people receiving the Coronavirus Supplement, equating to $1.24 billion per fortnight.

Eligible payments for the Coronavirus Supplement included:

- JobSeeker Payment (formerly known as Newstart Allowance)
- Youth Allowance
- Sickness Allowance
- ABSTUDY (Living Allowance)
- Austudy
- Parenting Payment
- Partner Allowance
- Widow Allowance
- Farm Household Allowance
- Special Benefit.

Two days after the Newstart's name was changed to JobSeeker, the Federal Government announced the Coronavirus Supplement – a $550 per fortnight payment to eligible income support recipients. The Coronavirus Supplement provides a lifeline to people facing hardship as well as acting as a vital stimulus measure to an economy contracting at its fastest rate since WWII.

2.4.1 JobSeeker – some context

The Newstart/JobSeeker Payment has been a central feature of Australia's social welfare system. Since the pandemic, the number of people receiving this payment has doubled, accounting for more than half of the total people eligible for Coronavirus Supplement.

First announced in 1991 as one of two measures to replace the existing Unemployment Benefit, Newstart Allowance provided support for individuals that had been unemployed for more than 12 months, while a separate Job Search Allowance supported individuals unemployed for less than 12 months, as well as those under 18 years.

Under reforms introduced by the Howard Government in 1996, Job Search Allowance and Newstart were merged into a single payment, maintaining the Newstart name. Later, those aged under 22 were moved onto the Youth Allowance payment.

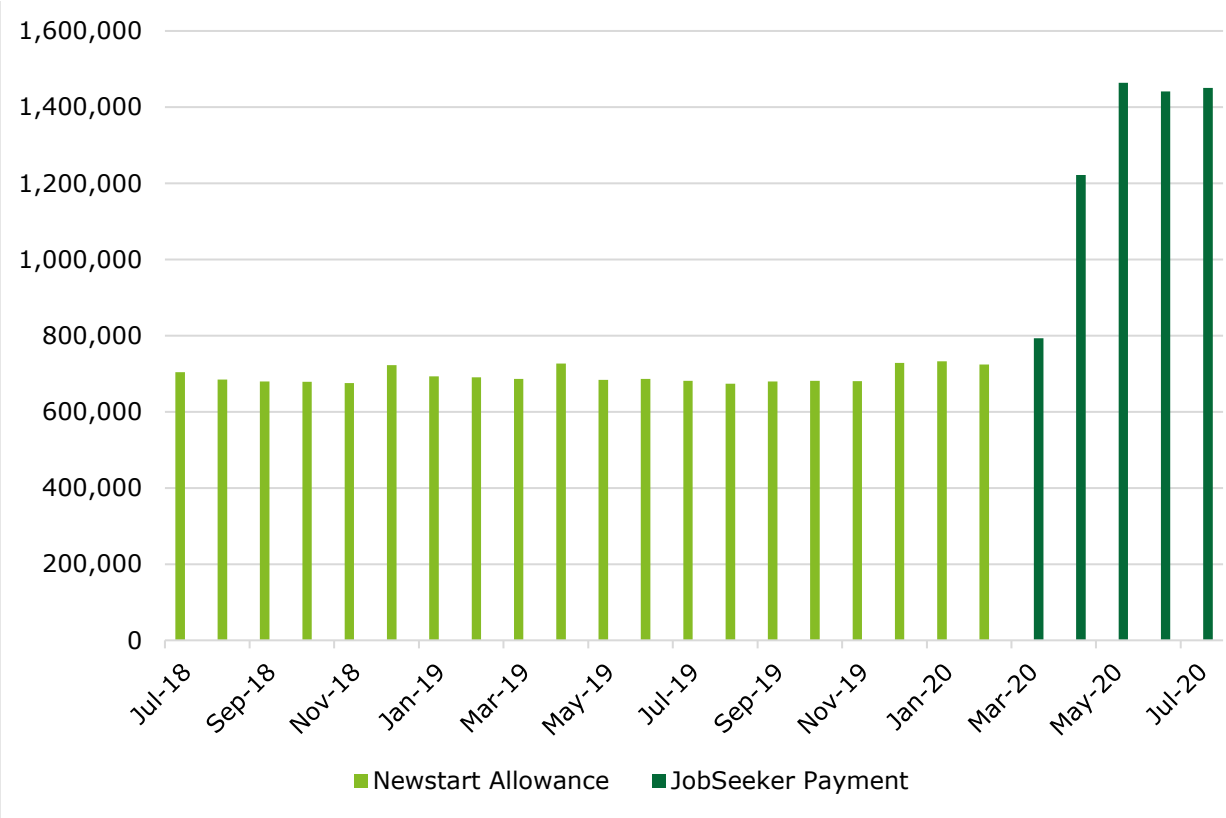
From 20th March 2020, the Newstart Allowance was renamed JobSeeker, and expanded to include Sickness Allowance, Bereavement Allowance and some recipients of Wife Pension in a move that predated the COVID-19 response.

[2] https://www.pm.gov.au/media/supporting-australian-workers-and-business

While the number of recipients on the Newstart/JobSeeker Payment had been relatively consistent at around 700,000 recipients, the arrival of COVID-19 saw this number increase rapidly (see Chart 2.2). And as the enquiries about accessing JobSeeker continued to flood in, the government responded by relaxing the eligibility criteria, including around income and asset thresholds as well as the "mutual obligation" requirements – which allowed an increased proportion of the displaced workforce to access Australia's social security system in a time of crisis.

In addition, with mandated restrictions – introduced to combat the spread of COVID-19 – impeding the operations of many business, the mutual obligation requirements for JobSeeker recipients were suspended in March. For all states excluding Victoria, these requirements have now been reintroduced in part.

Chart 2.2: Newstart and JobSeeker recipients, July 2018 to July 2020, Australia



Source: Department of Social Services

2.4.2 JobSeeker and the unemployment rate

The relationship between JobSeeker and unemployment is complex. And the relaxation of the mutual obligations – a perfectly appropriate response in the middle of a pandemic where people were encouraged to stay at home and new job opportunities were scarce – has further complicated the relationship between unemployment (a survey-based measure) and JobSeeker counts (an administrative dataset).

A key criterion for being counted as unemployed is the act of **actively** looking for employment (*willing* and *able* to work). And in pre-COVID-19 times, recipients of JobSeeker were required to meet mutual obligation requirements that mandated activities to support job searching – meaning that for the most part, JobSeeker recipients would be counted as being unemployed.

That said, there are several reasons why someone receiving JobSeeker may not be required to search for employment, and therefore not be included in the unemployment pool.

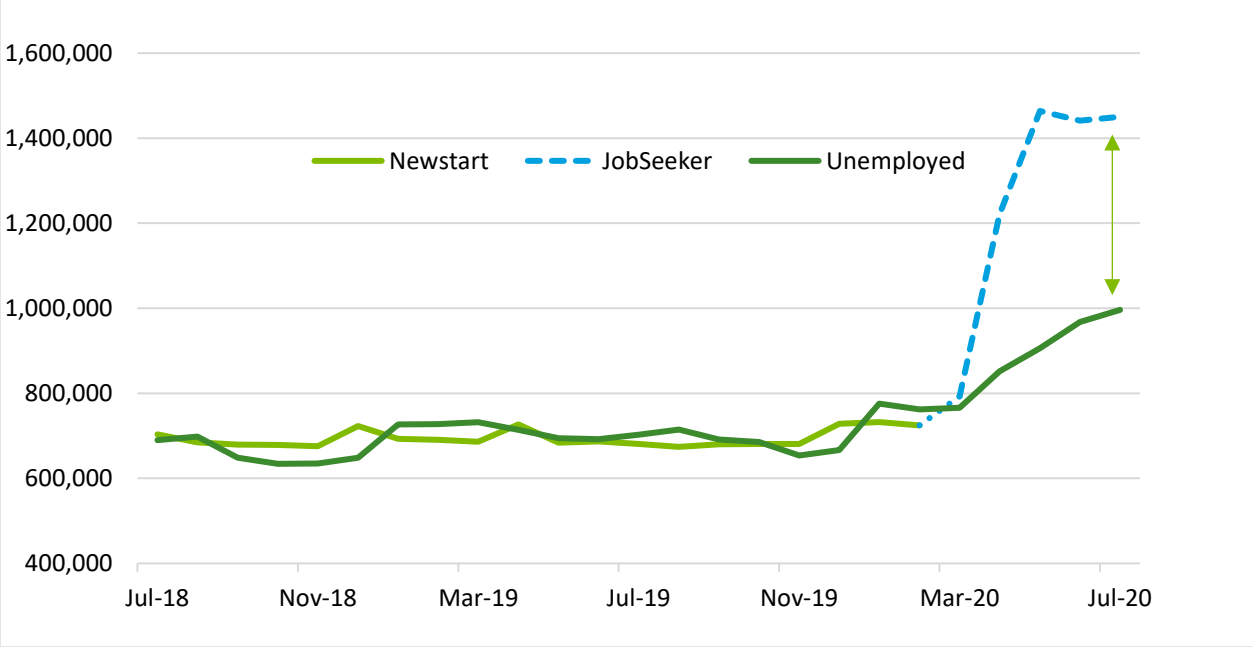
These include individuals:

- with a disability that limits their ability to engage in full time paid work
- temporarily incapacitated due to illness or injury
- with a range of caring responsibilities (obligations and timing of exemptions vary significantly)
- aged over 55 who are engaged in volunteer work or self-employment

In addition, with mandated restrictions – introduced to combat the spread of COVID-19 – impeding the operations of many business, the mutual obligation requirements for people receiving JobSeeker were suspended in March. For all states excluding Victoria, these requirements have now been reintroduced.

As depicted in Chart 2.3, a clear gap has emerged between the count of people who are unemployed and the number of people receiving income support via JobSeeker.

Chart 2.3: Unemployment and JobSeeker recipients, July 2018 to July 2020, Australia



Source: Department of Social Services, ABS *Labour Force, Australia* (Catalogue No 6202.0)

Just as not all JobSeeker recipients are counted as unemployed, not all unemployed individuals are eligible for JobSeeker payments. Prior to COVID-19, the key criteria that prevented unemployed individuals accessing Newstart (beyond age limits) were the income and assets test requirements. Through the crisis, partner and individual income tests were relaxed and asset tests lifted completely. These are gradually being phased back in.

2.4.3 JobSeeker and JobKeeper

In addition to the traditional social welfare system, people have been supported by the JobKeeper wage subsidy through the COVID-19 crisis. Introduced at the end of March, JobKeeper initially consisted of a flat $1,500 per fortnight payment to eligible employees (fulltime, part-time, and casual employees who have been employed on a regular basis for at least 12 months) where their employer had suffered a significant decline in turnover.

Without this policy, the number of people receiving JobSeeker would have been significantly higher. In its July Economic and Fiscal Outlook, the Commonwealth Treasury estimated "the 'effective' unemployment rate was close to 15 per cent in April."

Importantly, the JobKeeper Payment is more generous than JobSeeker. Inclusive of the Coronavirus Supplement, JobSeeker recipients have received $384 less per fortnight than those receiving JobKeeper.

A review of JobKeeper in June introduced a tiered payment system beginning on 28th September: a $1,200 per fortnight payment for individuals working over 20 hours a week, and $750 for those working under 20 hours a week. This will be further reduced to $1,000 and $640 per fortnight, respectively, from 4th January.

JobKeeper is set to conclude on 28th March 2021. At this point, it is expected that many of those remaining on JobKeeper will transition to JobSeeker payments – and, depending on where the economy is placed at this point in time, an influx of people onto the lower JobSeeker payment would further exacerbate the economic impact of the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement.

2.4.4 JobSeeker and unemployment: a regional perspective

The availability of more detailed and more contemporary data has allowed us to undertake deeper and more nuanced analysis than ever before. One of the things this has revealed is that the relationship between JobSeeker and unemployment is complex, with important trends across regions with different socioeconomic characteristics.

And while we can disentangle this relationship in the pre-COVID-19 period, what we don't know – yet – is what impact COVID-19 and the associated changes in the eligibility criteria have had on these relationships. So while we know that the count of JobSeeker claims has gone up for **each and every region**, we can't measure this against changes in unemployment until the detailed data is released sometime in late October 2020.

Why does this matter? It matters because we often equate unemployment with JobSeeker – and any differences between those two measures is something that happens at the margin. This means that if we use forecasts of the unemployment rate to predict future JobSeeker claims based on an existing relationship at the national level, we might be missing the mark a bit when it comes to understanding the regional and socioeconomic dynamics.

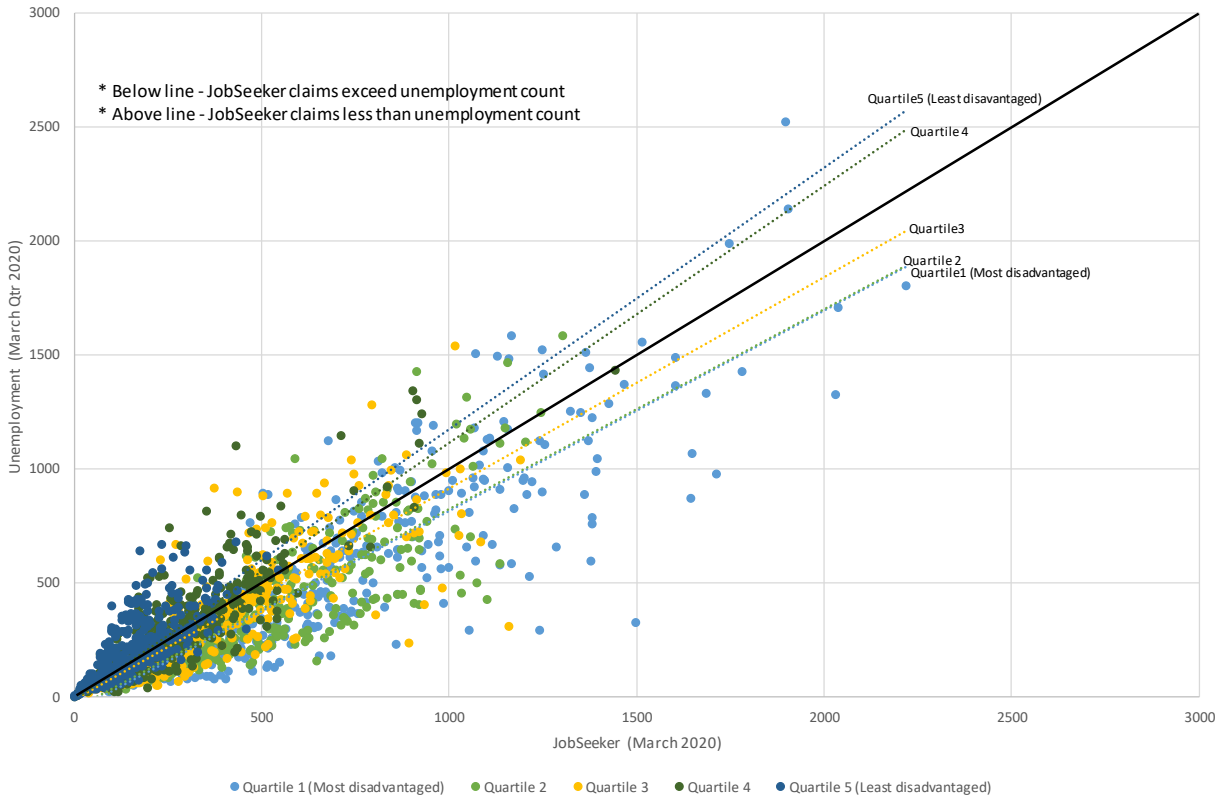
And that's because, while there is certainly a relationship, these two measures are **not equivalent**. Moreover there is a relatively clear pattern in the ratios between these two measures across different levels of socioeconomic disadvantage – or at least there was back in March 2020.

For the most part, the count of unemployed persons living in regions within the **two least disadvantaged quartiles**[3] generally *exceeds* the count of JobSeeker claims (a ratio of <1). This is likely to largely reflect the restrictions associated with household income and assets, where people who are unemployed may not be eligible for income support due to their partner's earnings or existing assets.

On the other hand, for people living in the **three most disadvantaged quartiles** the count of people receiving JobSeeker often exceeds the count of unemployed (a ratio of >1). And while the reasonings are ago likely to be complex, in some part they are due to people who are working part-time with low wages and therefore still qualify for a component of the JobSeeker allowance.

[3] It's important to remember that these measures of disadvantage are calculated on a *regional* basis. It doesn't mean that everyone living in the region has this level of disadvantage, but rather it's an average measure of all people living in the region (at the time of the 2016 Census).

Chart 2.4: Ratio of unemployment to Jobseeker by SA2, March 2020, Australia



Source: Deloitte Access Economics, ABS *Census of Population and Housing: Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), Australia, 2016* (Catalogue No. 2033.0.55.001), Department of Social Services, Department of Education, Skills & Employment

That all makes intuitive sense, but **it also matters**. Because reducing unemployment in the *least* disadvantaged regions in Australia is not going to have the same level of impact on JobSeeker counts as in the *most* disadvantaged regions. And removing the Coronavirus Supplement is going to **hurt most in the most disadvantaged areas** as the number of people receiving JobSeeker falls more slowly than unemployment.

And what we're still waiting to find out is *has this relationship changed*? We'll know that in a few months.

2.5 Raising the rate

Prior to the economic fallout owing to COVID-19, there have been consistent public statements from a wide range of organisations, including ACOSS and Deloitte Access Economics, that the then current rate of Newstart was too low. Not only does it force people into poverty, the current rate is detrimental to people's physical and mental health outcomes. The costs of these are in turn, born by the public and impose additional strain on government budget. Further, raising the rate has flow-on benefits to the broader economy in terms of higher GDP and job creation.

Current events only heighten these arguments.

While the value of the payment differs across recipients due to individual circumstances, the single maximum rate for JobSeeker is $282.85 per week (equating to $40.41 per day for JobSeeker

recipients aged over 21 years). In comparison, the minimum wage since 1 July 2020 equates to $753.80 per week (or $148.80 per day)[4].

The JobSeeker Payment usually increases each March and September[5], in line with broader price growth in the economy – with the aim that welfare payments maintain their real value over time. In essence, it seeks to ensure that people receiving JobSeeker are able to keep purchasing the same amount of a particular a good or service, regardless of prices rises.

But that system is vulnerable to two key flaws:

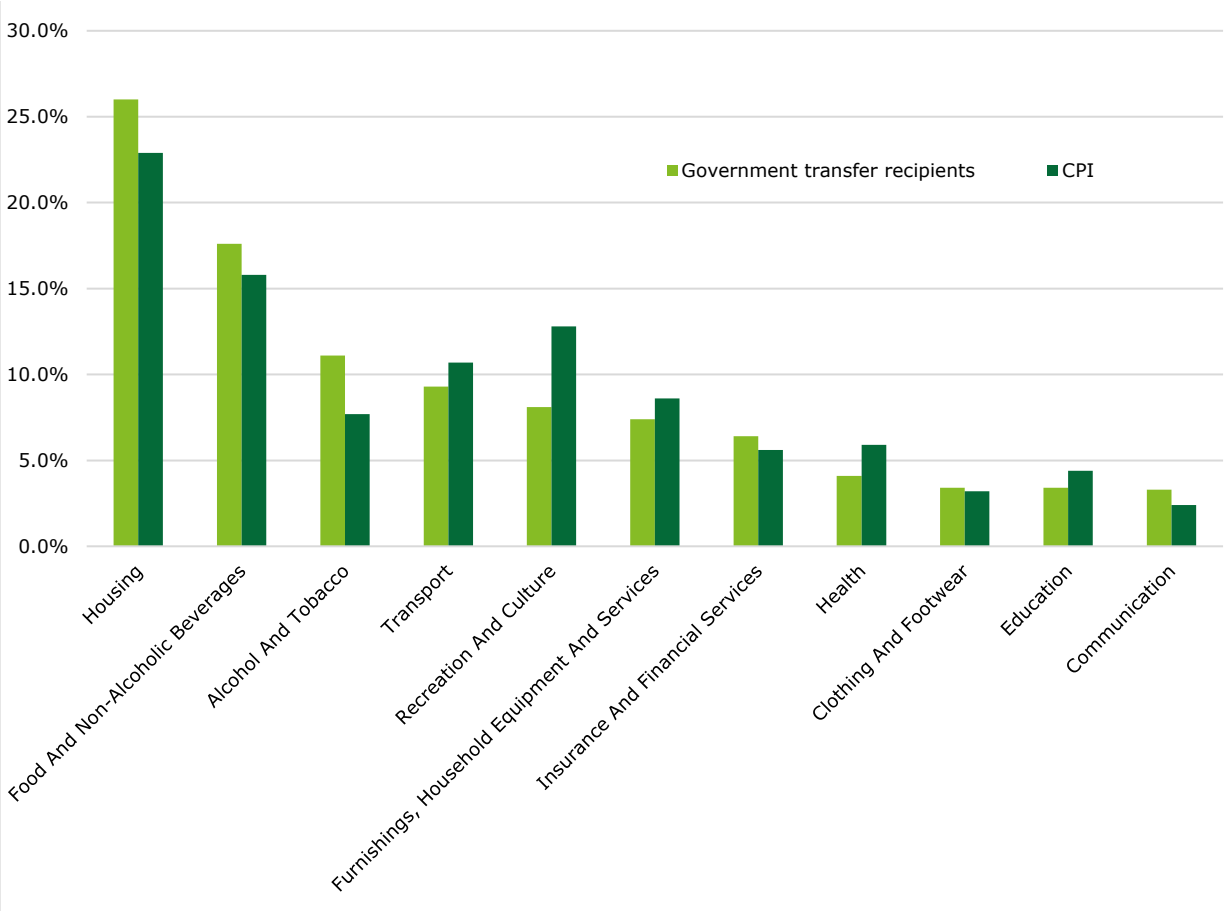
1. Price changes facing JobSeeker recipients are higher than those faced by the broader community, meaning they are worse off in real terms.
2. Over time, wages rise faster than prices. And given that living standards move with wages (rather than prices), the living standards of people receiving JobSeeker has been falling relative to national averages.

Given the scarcity of income, JobSeeker recipients are forced to spend a greater proportion of their income on essentials; notably, housing and food (as shown in Chart 2.5 below). Conversely, spending on *luxuries* such as recreation, furnishings and education make a far lesser share.

That difference in spending composition is important given each bucket faces different price pressure. And for people being supported on JobSeeker, the impacts of housing booms and rocketing food prices have squeezed their incomes more than that faced by the wider community.

[4] FairWork (https://www.fairwork.gov.au/pay/minimum-wages) (accessed 30.08.2020)

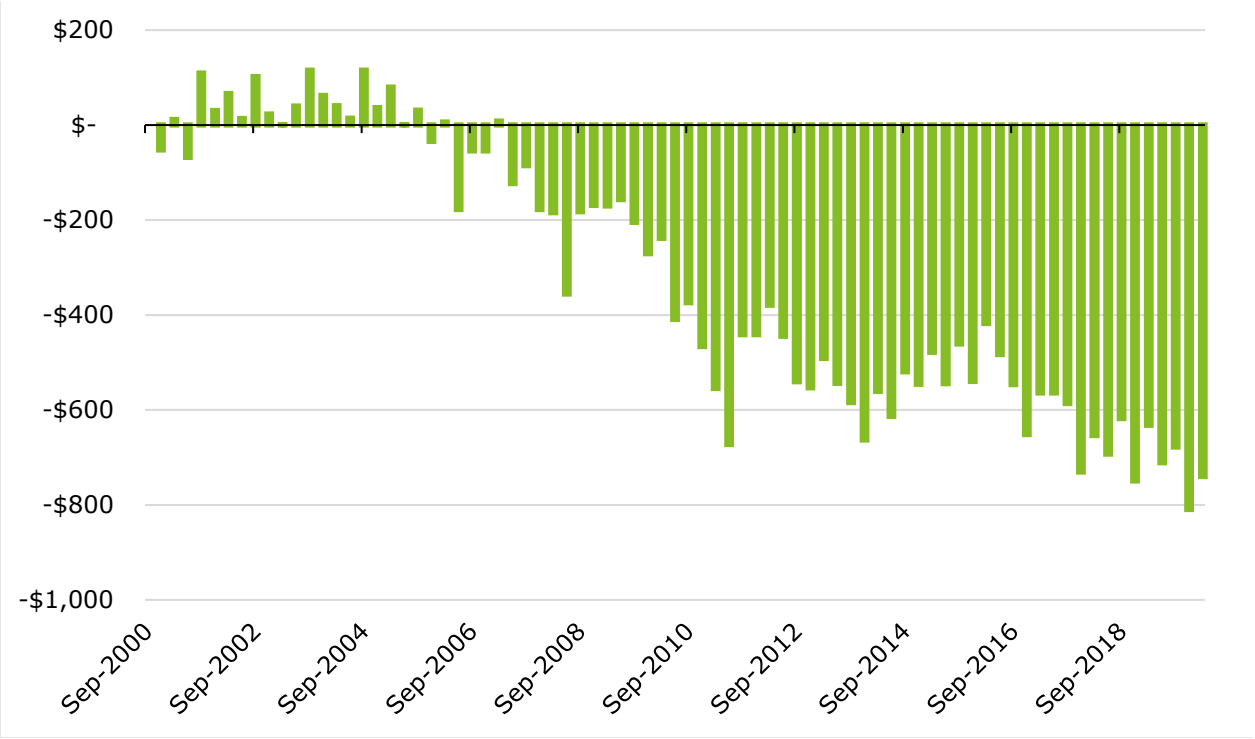
Chart 2.5: Cost of Living Index weighting of spending, by category



Source: ABS *Selected Living Cost Indexes, Australia* (Catalogue No. 6467.0)

But when it comes to the twice annual increases in JobSeeker, those price and spending differences are ignored. Instead, JobSeeker recipients are assumed to spend equally to the wider community, despite the fact the costs they face have risen faster than the nominal increase in their income. In other words, **JobSeeker (Newstart) recipients have seen a real decline in living standards for more than two decades**. In effect, those on JobSeeker today are being short-changed $740 a year in real terms.

Chart 2.6: Annual cost of indexation relative to cost of living increases for government transfer recipients, $



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis, Department of Social Services

On the second:

More importantly, Newstart (and now JobSeeker) hasn't risen in line with national living standards for a quarter of a century. That's because living standards are dominated by movement in wages – which have far outpaced the growth in prices that drives the indexation of most welfare payments.

That means the current JobSeeker payment has fallen over time relative to:

- average wages
- median wages
- the minimum wage
- the age pension.

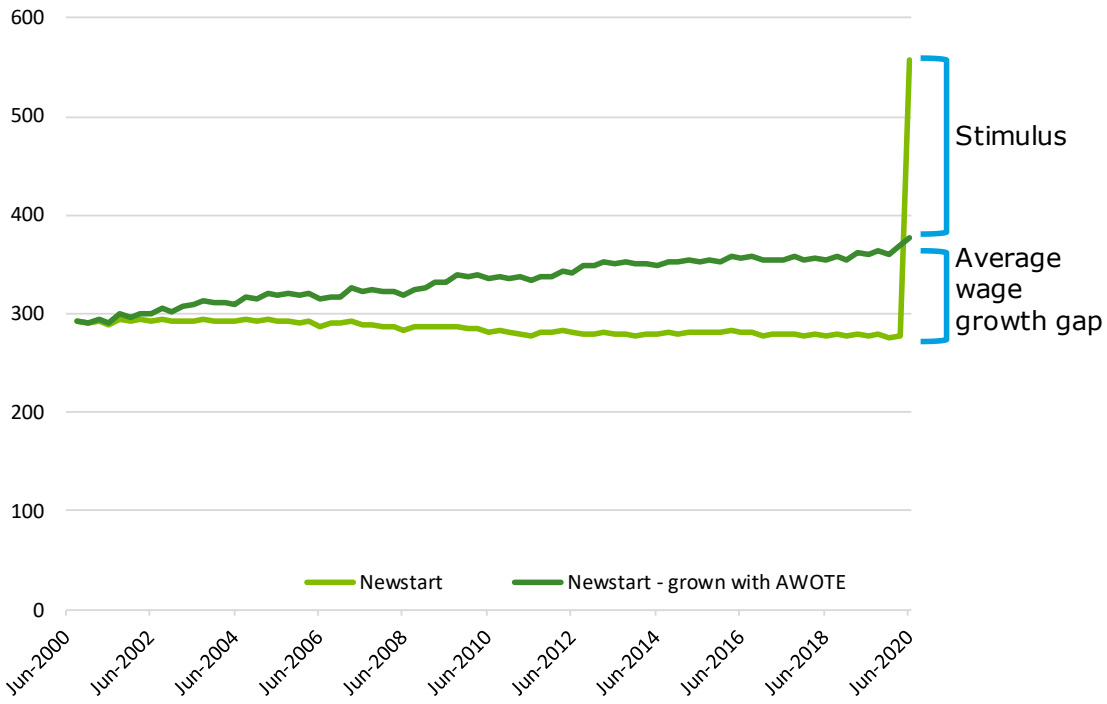
That's a policy decision.

In fact, while the indexation system for the JobSeeker allowance is designed to ensure there is no improvement in real income, the indexation for the age pension is *specifically* designed to ensure living standards don't fall (by linking increases to average earnings, a proxy for living standards).

Had the same system been introduced for the biannual indexation of JobSeeker (rather than price growth) since 2000, recipients would $187 better off a fortnight this year – $4,892 annually.

The Coronavirus Supplement more than unwinds that gap. And any decision to reduce it needs to consider where the JobSeeker payment *should* be, rather than were it *would* be. This should be based on a careful assessment of the living costs (cost of essentials) for people receiving the payment, in comparison with others in the community.

Chart 2.7: Real value of JobSeeker payments relative to average ordinary time earnings indexation, today's dollars



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis, Department of Social Services

So a return of JobSeeker payments to their old Newstart rates would be a return to a large gap between unemployment payments and the rest of the community.

Recent research released by the ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods has provided further evidence on the impacts that changes in support payment have had on poverty rates and housing stress. These impacts covered both the effects of the initial Coronavirus Supplement as well as the changes that removing the supplement will have[6]. The research notes that while the initial impact of COVID-19 might have been expected to lift the number of people living in poverty from 1.6 million to 3.8 million, the introduction of JobKeeper and JobSeeker meant that '…the number of people in poverty has been lowered by around 32 per cent'.

Yes, **there are fewer Australians now living in poverty - in the midst of our first recession in 30 years - than there were in the period leading up to it**.

This reduction in poverty isn't expected to last much longer, with the number of 'persons in poverty [expected to] increase by 740,000 persons' as a result of the reduction in the supplement slated for September[7]. This number includes an additional '…212,000 persons [who] will be added to poverty compared to pre-COVID-19 economic and policy conditions'[8] – implying that more than 1.8 million people in Australia would be living in poverty after the reductions.

[6] Phillips, Gray & Biddle, ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods (2020), 'COVID-19 JobKeeper and JobSeeker impacts on poverty and housing stress under current and alternative economic and policy scenarios' (https://csrm.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/2020/8/Impact_of_Covid19_JobKeeper_and_Jobeeker_measures_on_Poverty_and_Financial_Stress_FINAL.pdf)
[7] Ibid
[8] Ibid

While drawing the conclusion that 'poverty rates and housing stress are lower than they otherwise would have been in the absence of policy change', the ANU research also highlights that further reductions to poverty and housing stress may have been achieved with a more refined policy design.

3 The economic context and outlook

Economic uncertainty will continue to weigh over the Australian economy for some time to come. Even without further outbreaks, recovery will be slow and unemployment is yet to hit its peak. Fiscal stimulus will need to do some heavy lifting for a while yet, but we can afford to carry this increased load.

3.1 Fast crisis, slow recovery

The course of 2020 has shown us that the only certainty is more uncertainty. In a volatile environment, the best leading indicator of how an economy will perform is how that nation is going in its fight against the virus. A second lockdown in Victoria has seen the ranks of the unemployed rise once again and we cannot ignore the possibility of further outbreaks or the potential for on-going uncertainty – not just physical restrictions – to impede economic recovery. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this modelling exercise, we assume that:

- Australia succeeds in keeping virus numbers mostly suppressed, allowing restrictions to continue to be lifted. The Victorian second wave numbers continue to improve and the economy comes out of lockdown in the coming weeks with no further additional impact on the economy.
- A vaccine or good anti-virals are available from mid-2021, and
- International borders re-open gradually, starting with New Zealand in early 2021, and broadening to cover essentially the world by end-2021.

Australia's policies, most notably JobKeeper, have successfully protected many jobs and businesses that would otherwise have been lost. Even so, the economy will continue to suffer as the recession broadens and migration is put on hold. **The ranks of unemployed people will be badly swollen for a while.** Worse still, those regions which already had the highest unemployment rates have now lost the most jobs in the coronavirus crisis – a blow that's a double challenge.

Understanding just what the level of unemployment looks like is difficult at present. Hundreds of thousands of people have left the workforce altogether, in response to a lack of opportunity or because of caring responsibilities (especially in response to school closures). And hundreds of thousands more are working zero hours.

What we do know is that unemployment goes up rapidly, but comes down slowly. Treasury has warned that "the unemployment rate [is] not expected to fall below 6 per cent for four to five years". The RBA estimates that unemployment will peak at 10% in December 2020 and still be 8.5% a year later.[9]

And an enduring high rate of unemployment will continue to place downward pressure on wages growth that was already struggling before COVID-19 hit, placing further downward pressure on the economy.

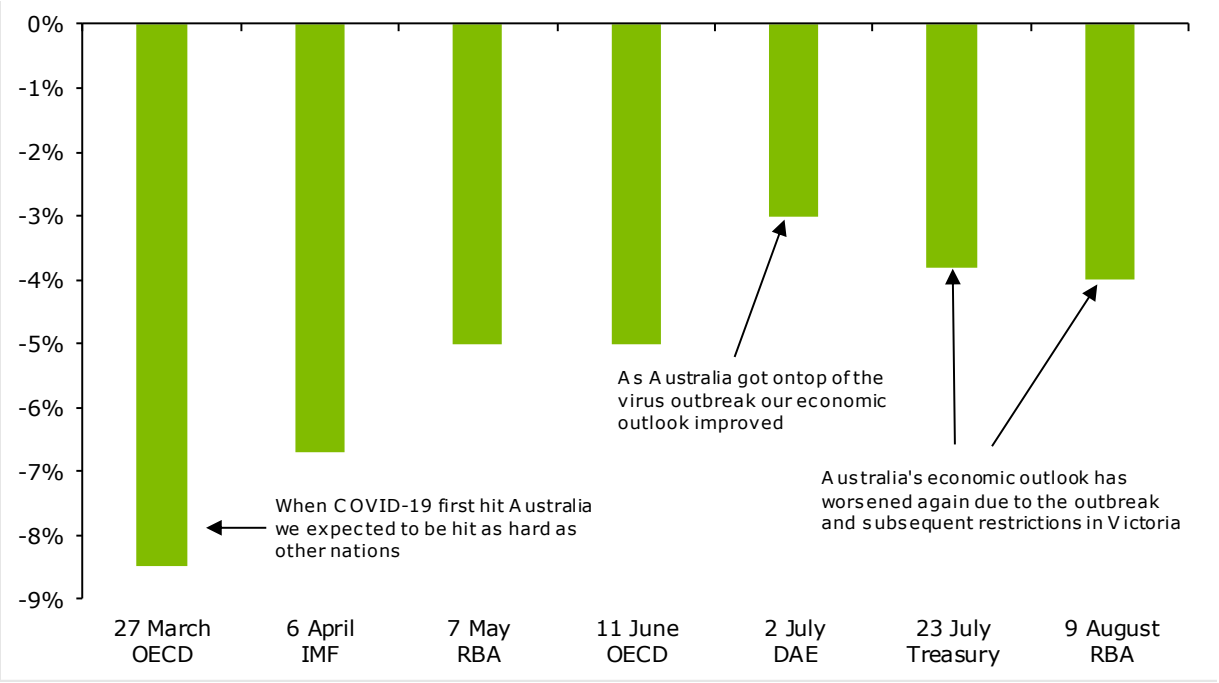
Of course, the fiscal stimulus that has been so important in helping to stave off the worst of the effects of the COVID-19 recession has come at a hefty price. Most recent Treasury estimates put the 2020-21 Federal Budget deficit at $184.5 billion – or almost 10% of national income this year. But much of this – on both the revenue and expenditure sides of the equation – is the result of temporary factors and policies, which will do a U-turn once we are past the worst of the crisis. That means there is room to

[9] RBA SOMP August 2020.

move on raising the rate permanently, especially as, both globally and locally, interest rates will be nailed to the floor for years to come. The Reserve Bank of Australia has made that abundantly clear.

As shown in Chart 3.1 below, the expected impact of COVID-19 on Australia's national economy for 2020 has shifted significantly since March. And it will continue to do so. That's where forecasts come into their own – they show us what the future *might* look like, and if it doesn't look particularly favourable then new policies can be implemented and existing policies adjusted to improve the outlook. No one wanted the first forecast from the OECD to be accurate.

Chart 3.1: Evolution of forecasts for Australia's 2020 GDP growth



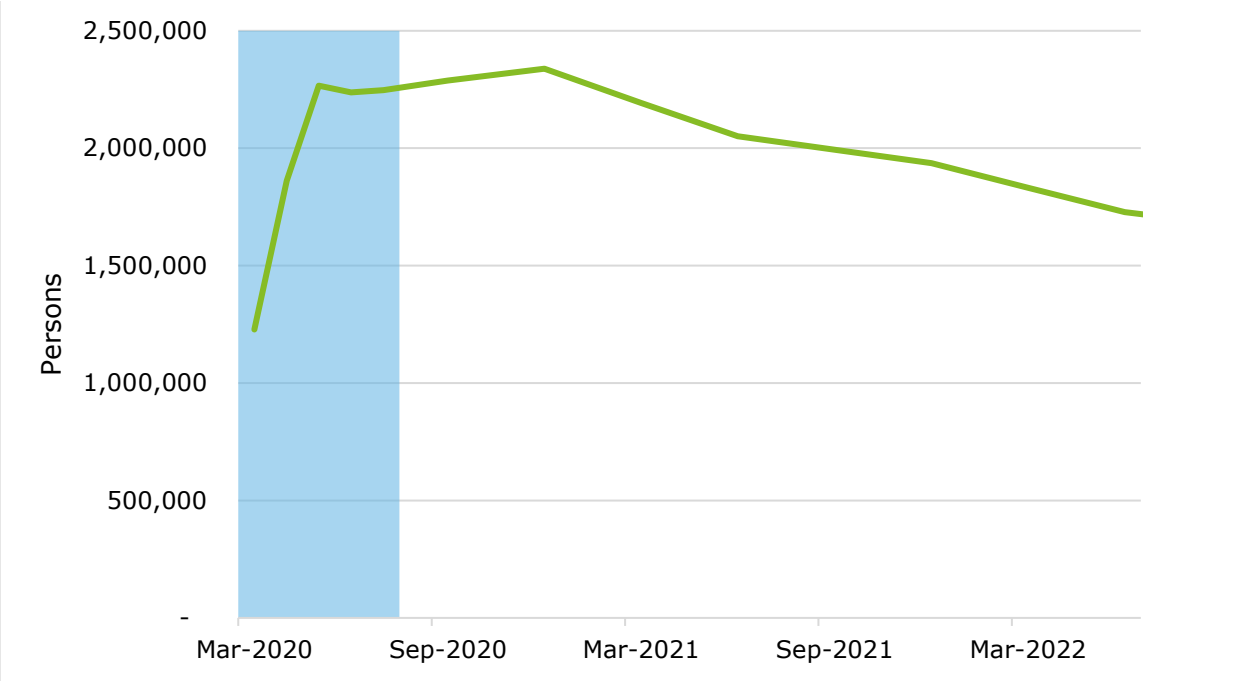
Sources: Deloitte Access Economics (Business Outlook, June 2020), OECD, The Treasury, RBA, IMF

3.2 Outlook for the number of people receiving income support

Our expectations for the number of people receiving income support payments, which makes them eligible for the Coronavirus Supplement, forms a key part of our analysis. While we've largely focused on JobSeeker to date in this report, Section 2.4 makes it clear that the Coronavirus Supplement is available to a broad range of people who receive income support.

We estimate that the number of people eligible for the Coronavirus Supplement will peak in December of this year at 2.34 million, up from 2.25 million in July. At that time, unemployment is expected to reach 10%, before gradually declining as broader economic conditions improve. By June 2022, if the payment were continued, the number of people eligible for the coronavirus supplement is expected to have fallen to 1.73 million (see Chart 3.2). It should be noted that we do not consider in this report what the future path of the JobSeeker payment should be. The focus in on the impact of the removal of the supplement in the short term.

Chart 3.2: Eligible recipients for Coronavirus Supplement



Source: Department of Social Services, Deloitte Access Economics

3.2.2 Key risks to the outlook for people receiving income support

There are both upside and downside risks to our outlook, and not just because the shape of the recovery remains uncertain, especially given the uncertainties surrounding the trajectory of the virus from here and what that might mean for the need to re-impose restrictions in the future.

As noted earlier, the introduction of the JobKeeper Payment has assisted many businesses in maintaining a relationship with their employees. But not every business is going to survive the impact of COVID-19 – the ABS estimates that more than 35% of businesses expect to find it difficult to meeting financial commitments over the next three months[10] - and it's likely that many of those JobKeeper recipients will transfer to JobSeeker as their previous jobs disappear. This could boost the number of people receiving JobSeeker in the future. And with JobKeeper extended to 28 March 2021, this potential shift will come at a time when the Coronavirus Supplement has already been removed, making the income drop from JobKeeper to JobSeeker much greater than it is right now.

Another unknown around JobSeeker is how many people are technically eligible but have not yet signed up for the allowances due to accessing their superannuation early (to date, the maximum withdrawal allowed over two financial years has been $20,000 in total). As these funds are spent, there may be further JobSeeker applicants, the scale of which may be greater (or fewer) than our current estimate.

With the implementation of JobSeeker and the Coronavirus Supplement came a temporary expansion of the eligibility criteria for claiming these income support payments. While currently suspended, the asset test and Liquid Assets Waiting Period will be re-introduced from 25 September 2020, and the Ordinary Waiting Period, Newly Arrived Resident's Waiting Period and Season Work Preclusion Period will continue to be waived until 31 December 2020[11]. At this stage it is impossible to know exactly what impact this will have on the number of people eligible to claim JobSeeker given the complexities

[10] ABS (August 2020) *Business Indicators, Business Impacts of COVID-19, August 2020* (cat. no. 5676.0.55.003)
[11] The Treasury (2020) 'Economic Response to the Coronavirus' (https://treasury.gov.au/coronavirus/households/increased-income-support) (accessed 28.08.2020)

around individual circumstances, however it is expected that the re-introduction of these criteria, most notably the liquid assets test, will put some downward pressure on our outlook.

Similarly, during the peak of the crisis, the mutual obligation requirements typically associated with Newstart were suspended (and to date, remain suspended in Victoria). These requirements were partly reintroduced from 4 August 2020[12], and while JobSeeker and Youth Allowance payment data are not yet available for this period, it's expected that this re-introduction may have some influence on the number of income support recipients. On the other hand, the reintroduction of mutual obligation requirements will almost certainly push the unemployment rate upwards, as the count of people *willing and available to work* (the definition of unemployment) will increase in line with the re-establishment of these criteria.

Further, potential policy shifts are highly likely and these will again change the economic landscape.

3.3 The economic impact of removing the Coronavirus Supplement

Economic activity involves a range of complex interactions between households, businesses and governments with these agents operating across regions and countries. A change in any part of the economy therefore has effects that reverberate throughout the initial scope of impact. For example, development of a new project or program might create economic opportunities in one region, but its introduction may make input resources relatively more scarce, affecting output in other sectors.

Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) models are the best-practice method available for examining the impacts of a change in one part of the economy on the broader economy. The reason for this is that it is able to explicitly account for behavioural response of consumers, firms, governments and foreigners while evaluating the impacts of a given policy change. At the same time, CGE modelling also accounts for resource constraints and effectively represents the economic trade-offs that face the economy and its participants.

The economic impact of removing the Coronavirus Supplement has been estimated using Deloitte Access Economics' in-house Regional General Equilibrium Model (DAE-RGEM). More technical detail regarding CGE modelling can be found in Appendix A. Economic impact modelling compares two future projections of the economy (scenarios) and compares the difference between the two to estimate net impacts. Here the two scenarios are:

> *Baseline — where the Coronavirus Supplement remains at $550 per fortnight for the horizon of analysis*
>
> *Policy — where the Coronavirus Supplement changed as slated, with reductions in late September 2020 before being completely removed in December 2020.*

The policy scenario is a 'shock' to the baseline where income and consumption for the model's representative household is reduced. The payment changes are equal to the estimated number of income support recipients multiplied by the scheduled payment change. The shock is applied as a reduction in consumption from the representative household in part due to limitation of the CGE framework in analysing household and government budgets. More detail on the shock development is provided in Appendix B.2.

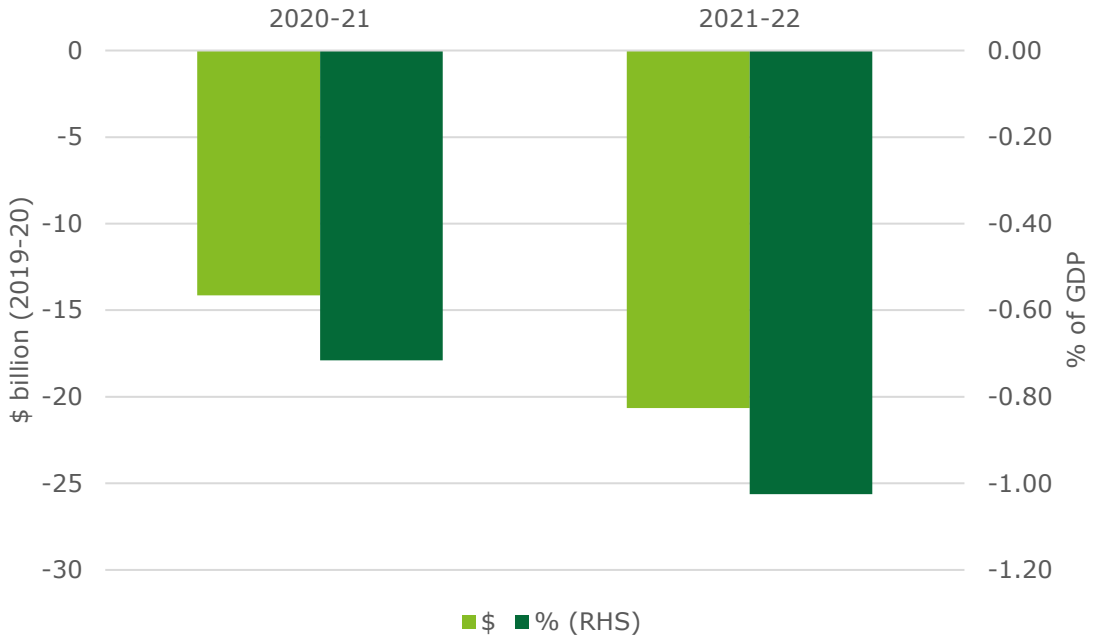
As the policy scenario involves a large and sustained negative shock to consumption, one would expect, *a priori*, for there to be a measurable contraction in the broader Australian economy. Much of this would be anticipated to occur in sectors such as services which typically makes up a significant portion of household expenditure. As domestically focussed labour intensive industries, reduced

[12] Services Australia (2020) 'Gradual return to mutual obligation requirements' (https://www.servicesaustralia.gov.au/individuals/news/gradual-return-mutual-obligation-requirements) (accessed 28.08.2020)

consumption in the services sector should see a significant impact to Australian employment and in general a large redistribution of productive inputs to the rest of the economy.[13]

The shock should also have an impact on goods producing sectors in Australia, however these effects are likely to be varied. The Agri-food sector for example is export focused and is in many ways is a basket of necessary products for Australian households. A consumption shocks would therefore be less likely to negatively impact output. In contrast production of other non-durable and durable goods would likely be negatively impacted on two fronts. First through a reduction in discretionary spending and second through deteriorating exchange rate effects as the sector increasingly relies on imports.

Chart 3.3: Impact on Australian GDP



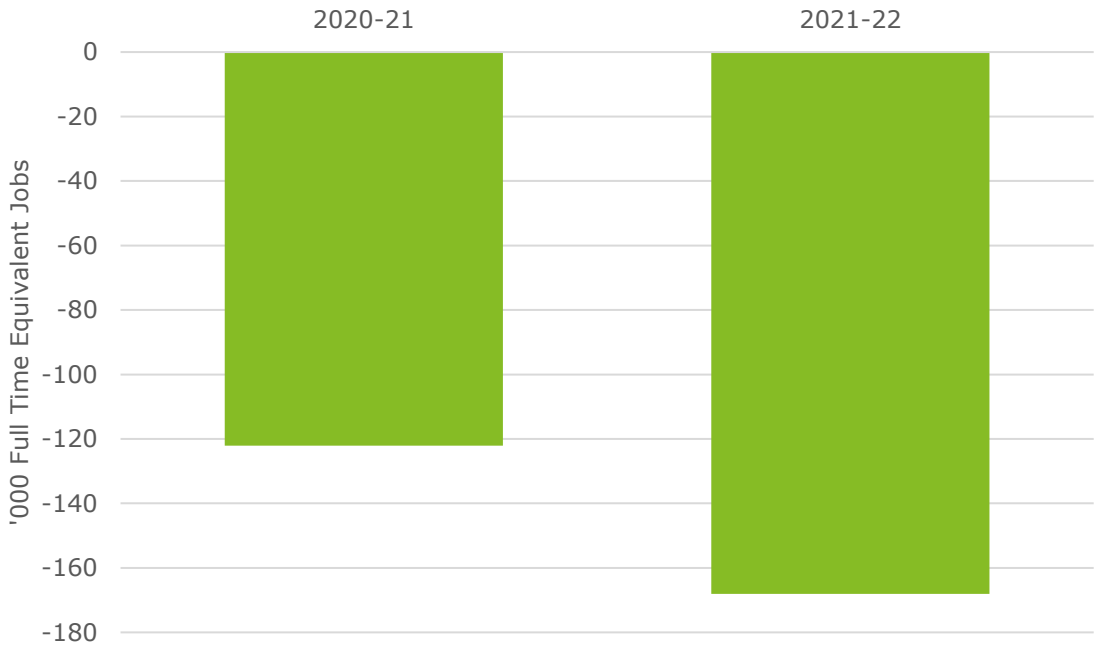
Source: DAE-RGEM

In the two years to 2021-22 removal of the Coronavirus Supplement is projected to cost the Australian economy $31.3 billion in Gross Domestic Product.[14] In relative terms this equates to an average reduction in GDP of 0.87 per cent per annum.

Most of the losses to GDP occur in 2021-22. During this period, the deviation in baseline and policy JobSeeker Coronavirus Supplement is first at its peak ($550 per fortnight) while the number of eligible recipients remains high at an estimated 1.9 million people, despite declining from the 2020-21 peak of 2.2 million.

[13] There is considerable uncertainty over the extent to which this redistribution of resources is going to be possible in the current and near-term economic environment.
[14] Present value terms, discounted at 7%.

Chart 3.4: Impact on Australian employment



Source: DAE-RGEM

The removal of the JobKeeper Coronavirus Supplement is also projected to reduce employment in the Australian economy. Between 2020-21 and 2021-22 around 145,000 FTE jobs are projected to be lost, on average. This equates to an average reduction in employment of around 1.28 per cent during this period. As with GDP, most of the employment losses occur in 2021-22 and reflect the deviation in total expenditure.

3.4 A temporary measure?

The Coronavirus Supplement was designed as a temporary measure, to assist in the midst of an unexpected and highly unusual crisis. However, even prior to COVID-19 and the ensuing recession, there have been widespread calls for a permanent increase in the base rate from voices as diverse as the Business Council of Australia and ACOSS, as well as Deloitte Access Economics.

Even if that were not the case, the severity and duration of the current recession would give pause to the timing and nature of any withdrawal of support.

There are more economic risks to reducing JobSeeker too early than there are to reducing it too late. And with the task of growing the economy the key to rebuilding the Budget, that is also true of Budget risks.

3.4.1 The budget impact

This has been the fastest moving crisis policymakers have ever had to navigate. And Australian policymakers can be proud of their record: our defence against the virus has been very good.

That success has come at a big cost. But that cost – and what to do next – isn't well understood.

Yes, the budget is badly bent, but it's not broken. Today's emergency policy measures are temporary. When they're gone, the budget will still be running big deficits: but that will be because the economy

is still weak. As our economy gets better, the budget will too - as it did over the last ten years following the Global Financial Crisis. But it will take time.

Many people don't understand that, so they are chasing down imaginary problems, including arguing for immediate budget repair.

However, as the Prime Minister has noted, the key problem Australia will face on the other side of this crisis will be unemployment. Although joblessness will go down fast as Australia reopens, we're years away from returning unemployment to the 5% rate it was at when this crisis hit. Even more challenging, governments will have to drive unemployment down without any help from the RBA, as the Reserve is already tapped out. This is – to use a now much overused word – unprecedented. And it requires a change of thinking from the fiscal policy makers, as the head monetary policy maker – the RBA's Governor, Philip Lowe – keeps telling us.

How we support those historically high numbers of unemployed will directly impact their ability to spend and thus the impact right across the economy. It will determine how quickly we can turn a vicious economic cycle into a virtuous one.

There is also much talk about the potential future impost on our younger generations with all this extra emergency spending. But the flipside to this is the cost of inaction or too early withdrawal of stimulus. The young are inevitably hardest hit by a recession – it affects both their current and future job opportunities and their lifetime incomes, including superannuation savings (which for many have taken an extra whammy through early withdrawal). The flipside of this is that the young are also big beneficiaries of the spend as it cushions, at least partially, some of the biggest impact of this recession.

Add to all this the fact that interest rates are at an historically low and will stay that way for many years. So the cost of borrowing for the fight against the virus is much lower than people realise.

Rapid budget repair would therefore be misguided: the budgetary damage isn't structural, but the damage to our economy and our jobs would be if we start raising taxes or cutting spending beyond temporary measures.

It is also important, albeit challenging, to think beyond the current crisis and to come back to the fact that, in addition to the critical role that the Coronavirus Supplement is currently playing, a return to the old Newstart rate would be condemning a large swathe of the Australian community to living below the poverty line once again.

3.4.2 A disincentive to work?

Disincentives to work are a problem when they prevent people from taking a job by choice. Yet there is little by way of choice for those on JobSeeker in the middle of both a recession and a pandemic.

Arguments around the rate of unemployment benefits and financial incentives to work are arguments around the impact of payments on the supply of labour. When economies are close to full employment those arguments make sense, but the COVID-19 recession means Australia is experiencing high rates of effective unemployment. Or, to put it another way, the supply of labour is not our problem right now – it is the demand for labour that is the issue of the day. With large numbers of people seeking paid work competing for scarce job vacancies, higher unemployment payments are likely to have very little impact on the level of employment in the short term.

It is also important to view these incentives in the context of the mutual obligation arrangements applying to JobSeeker payments. These punish those who do not look for paid work or turn down a job when it is offered. Even if there were a financial incentive to remain on JobSeeker rather than paid work, these arrangements would make such a strategy very difficult to follow in practice. Outside Victoria, the requirement to accept a suitable job offer was restored from 4 August. Other obligations are likely to be gradually restored as lockdowns as eased.

So there are rules in place that limit any negative impact of higher unemployment benefits on the economy, and those impacts are likely to be very small indeed in the current environment.

Incentives to work should be a consideration in setting the long run level of JobSeeker; but policy makers also need to be mindful that extraordinarily high levels of unemployment will be with us for quite some time to come. Furthermore, there are valid concerns that inadequate rates of unemployment payments act as a barrier to employment because people cannot meet basic living expenses like food, rent or a phone (a key reason why the Business Council of Australia supports increasing unemployment payments).[15] That means that policy makers need to consider the settings for unemployment benefits in the context of their role as a counter-cyclical stimulus measure, but also as a safety net set at a reasonable level that supports the well-being of some of our most disadvantaged members of society.

[15] Business Council of Australia (2012) 'Submission to the Senate Inquiry into the Adequacy of the Allowance Payment System for Jobseekers and Others'

4 Distributional impacts

Every region in Australia is being affected by the wide-ranging impacts of COVID-19. But not all are being impacted equally. The greatest pain is being felt by the regions that were already hurting the most leading into the crisis – and they're the same regions that have the most to lose if the Coronavirus Supplement is removed.

4.1 A regional perspective on income support measures

The previous sections of the report explored the national economic impact of the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement. But that's only part of the story.

Not every region was at the same starting line before the crisis happened, and the impacts have been similarly unequal. The proximity of a region to COVID-19 outbreaks, the industry structure of employment, and even the demographics of a region are all key factors in how hard a region has been hit by the COVID-19 outbreak. And these factors will also be central to the pace of the recovery. Which also means that removing the Coronavirus Supplement is likely to hit the most disadvantaged cohorts and regions the hardest.

4.1.1 Regional distribution of people receiving JobSeeker

One key factor in differences in both the pre- and post-COVID-19 unemployment payment recipients, is the variation in socioeconomics characteristics across different regions of Australia.

The key overall relationship is that – very consistently across regions of Australia – areas with higher unemployment rates at the start of the pandemic have seen relatively large jumps in JobSeeker recipients in the months since.

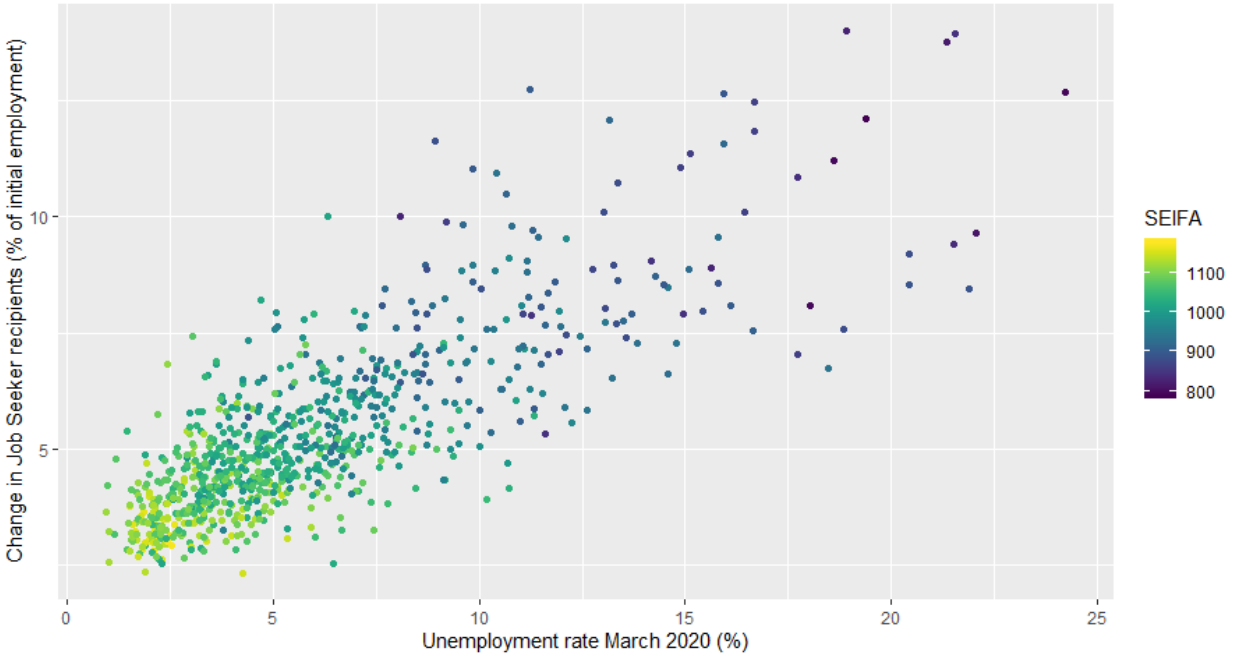
The data also shows a very strong correlation to the socio-economic status of an area (measured by its SEIFA score[16]), with that relationship very strong in capital city areas, and slightly more muted in the regions, particularly in those regional areas that either:

- Are relatively protected by the current downturn due strong links to mining and agriculture which have been less affected in terms of demand and social distancing, or
- Have traditionally seen low unemployment rates due to their strong tourism sectors but have been seen rapid job losses as visitor numbers have fallen.

The relationship between pre-COVID-19 unemployment rates, changes in JobSeeker recipients and SEIFA scores are shown in Chart 4.1 for capital city areas and Chart 4.2 for regional areas in Australia. Each data point represents an SA2-level area, with lower SEIFA scores (dark spots) showing areas of greater disadvantage.

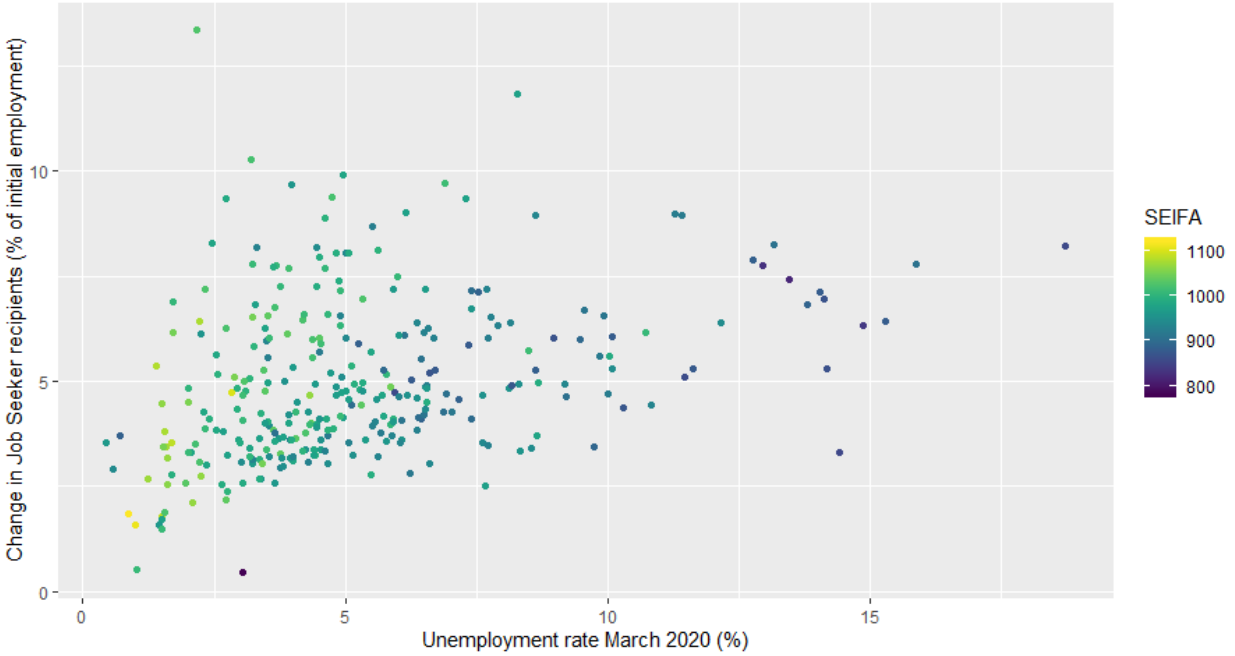
[16] The SEIFA used for this analysis is the *Index of Relative Socio-economic Disadvantage (IRSD)*. The IRSD is a general socio-economic index that summarises a range of information about the economic and social conditions of people and households within an area. A **low** score indicates relatively greater disadvantage, while a **high** score indicates a relative lack of disadvantage. The ABS recommends the use of this index when a broad measure of disadvantage is required.

Chart 4.1: Changes in JobSeeker recipients (March to July 2020), by unemployment rate and SEIFA, SA2 (Capital Cities)



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis. Department of Education, Skills and Employment *Small Area Labour Markets*. Department of Social Services *JobSeeker Payment and Youth Allowance Recipients – monthly profile*. Australian Bureau of Statistics *Socio-Economic Indicators for Areas.*

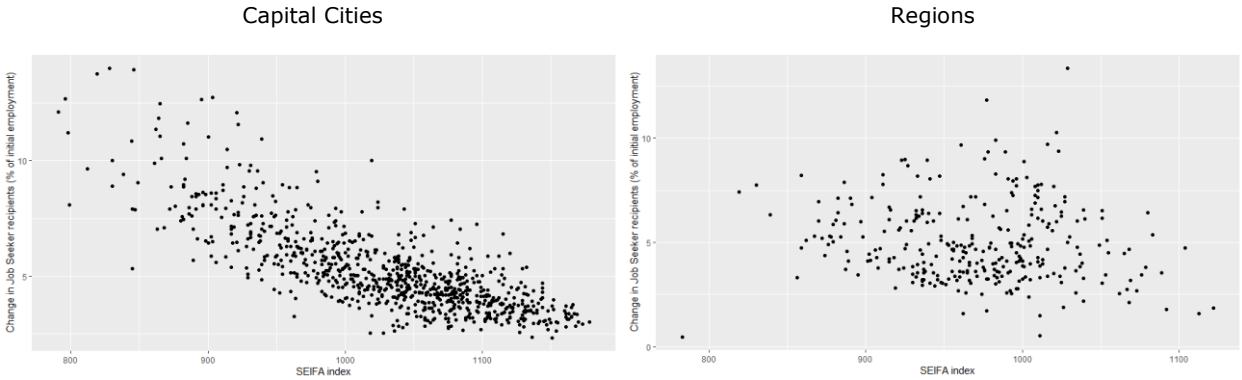
Chart 4.2: Changes in JobSeeker recipients (March to July 2020), by unemployment rate and SEIFA, SA2 (Regional Areas)



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis. Department of Education, Skills and Employment *Small Area Labour Markets*. Department of Social Services *JobSeeker Payment and Youth Allowance Recipients – monthly profile*. Australian Bureau of Statistics *Socio-Economic Indicators for Areas.*

As with impact of initial unemployment rates, the relationship between SEIFA and changes in JobSeeker levels is strong – with a very high level of correlation in capital cities, and a more modest relationship in regional Australia (Chart 4.3).

Chart 4.3: Changes in JobSeeker claims (March to July 2020), by SEIFA[17], SA2



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis. Department of Education, Skills and Employment *Small Area Labour Markets*. Department of Social Services *JobSeeker Payment and Youth Allowance Recipients – monthly profile*. Australian Bureau of Statistics *Socio-Economic Indicators for Areas.*

4.2 Differential impacts

As discussed in Section 3, reducing the Coronavirus Supplement would harm the economic recovery and decrease both GDP and employment across Australia. These impacts are large in aggregate, but they are not uniform. Indeed, the loss of GDP, consumption and employment differs considerably across and within Australia's states and territories (Figures 2 and 3).

The differing structure and dynamics of Australia's regional economies is a key determinant of the variation in the responses to the change in income that result from the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement. LGAs that are export-orientated (that is exporting to other areas within Australia as well as overseas) are less affected than LGAs that are more exposed to domestic demand (spending and production within that LGA). That said, existing levels of disadvantage in many regional areas are compounded by the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement. This is particularly true for regional Northern Territory and Western Australia. In Victoria, elevated case numbers and the extended lockdown restrictions are likely to result in higher unemployment figures than elsewhere. As such, the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement is likely to be more damaging. Again, regional communities will be most impacted by its removal.

Table 4.1 below shows the results for the 20 LGAs most impacted by the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement. Regional and remote regions are overrepresented in this group.

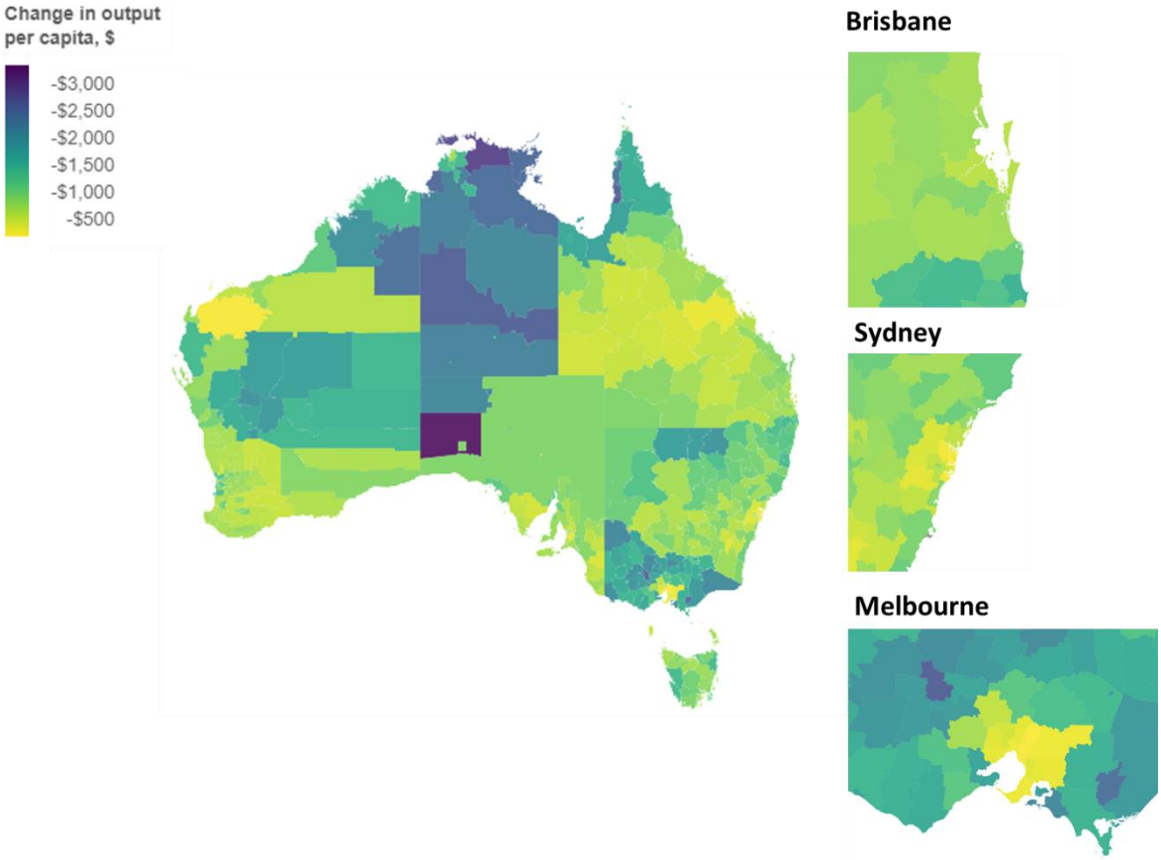
[17] As noted above, the SEIFA used here is the IRSD. A lower score indicates relatively greater disadvantage.

Table 4.1: Outcomes for key economic indicators for the top 20 LGAs affected, 2021-22 annual

LGA name	Jurisdiction	Consumption ($)/person	Output ($)/person	FTE
Maralinga Tjarutja (AC)	SA	-5,987	-4,868	-4
Halls Creek (S)	WA	-5,832	-3,462	-87
West Arnhem (R)	NT	-5,354	-4,223	-234
Tiwi Islands (R)	NT	-5,076	-4,003	-88
Kowanyama (S)	Qld	-4,934	-3,941	-36
Yarrabah (S)	Qld	-4,837	-3,863	-105
Central Goldfields (S)	Vic	-4,767	-3,806	-394
Central Desert (R)	NT	-4,755	-3,750	-128
Derby-West Kimberley (S)	WA	-4,633	-2,750	-165
Cue (S)	WA	-4,620	-2,743	-3
Pormpuraaw (S)	Qld	-4,611	-3,683	-29
West Daly (R)	NT	-4,566	-3,601	-107
East Arnhem (R)	NT	-4,551	-3,590	-299
Roper Gulf (R)	NT	-4,461	-3,519	-210
Sandstone (S)	WA	-4,394	-2,609	-2
Latrobe (C) (Vic.)	Vic	-4,371	-3,490	-2071
Aurukun (S)	Qld	-4,216	-3,367	-45
Meekatharra (S)	WA	-4,135	-2,455	-18
Wiluna (S)	WA	-4,082	-2,423	-12
Victoria Daly (R)	NT	-3,945	-3,112	-79

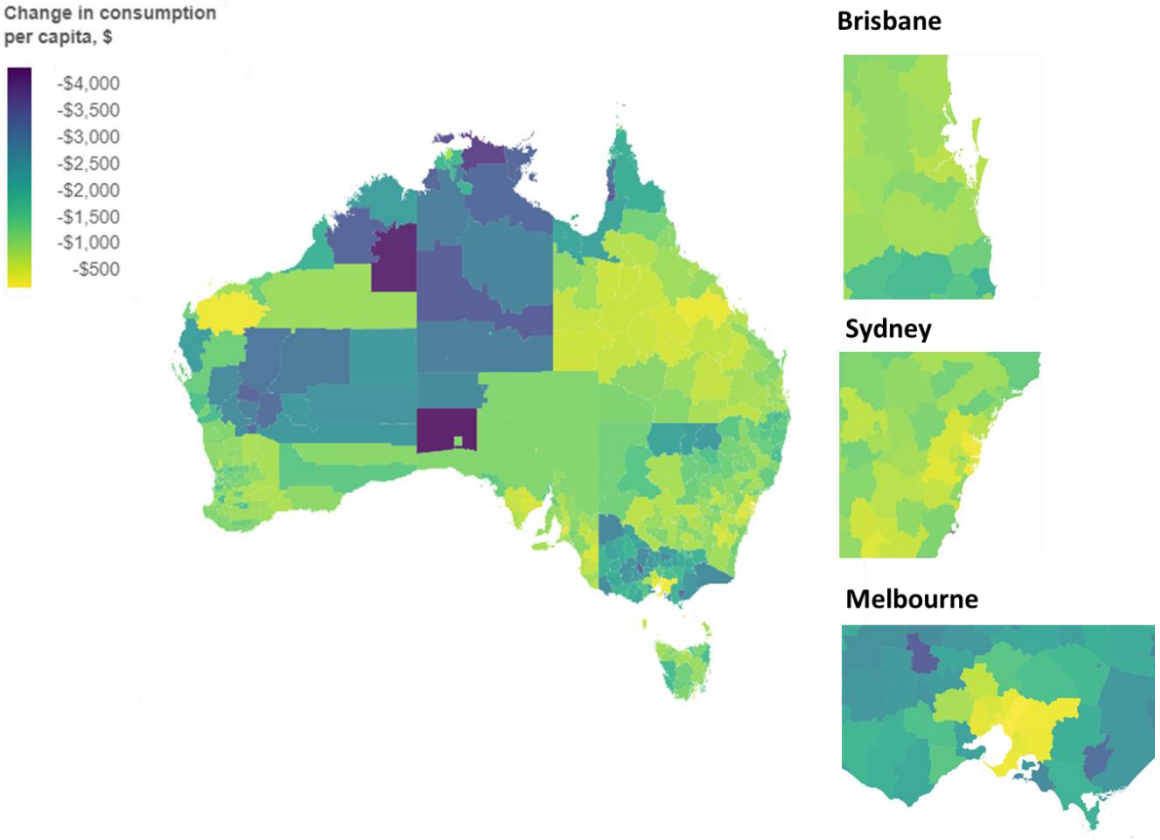
Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis

Figure 4.1: Heat map of impact by LGA on GRP, 2021-22



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis

Figure 4.2: Heat map of impact by LGA on consumption, 2021-2



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis

Overwhelmingly, the regions most impacted from the removal of the Coronavirus Supplement are those already experiencing the most hardship. Chart 4.4 shows the per capita consumption decreases relative to the socio-economic level of the region (measured by the SEIFA index). Those in the bottom left-hand corner are the regions that face the greatest losses in consumption per capita from the removal of the supplement, but also enter this crisis with the highest levels of disadvantage. Conversely, those in the top right have much higher levels of socioeconomic advantage and are likely to experience much smaller consumption decreases from its removal.

Chart 4.4: Disadvantage and consumption decrease per capita, 2021-22

Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis

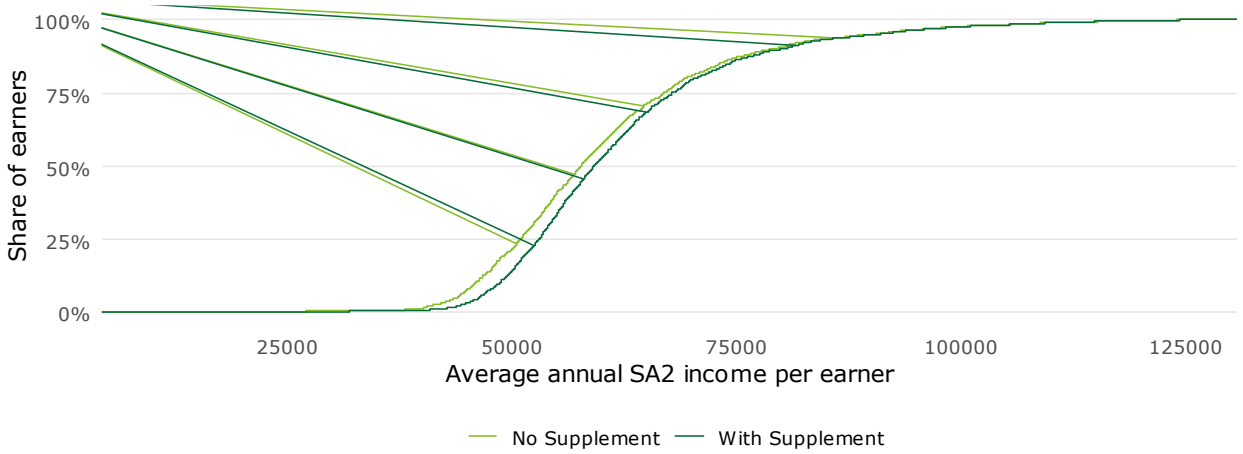
The same is true when looking at the benefits of keeping the Coronavirus Supplement in place. Chart 4.5 shows the distributional benefits of a permanent increase of unemployment benefits (equivalent to the amount of the Coronavirus Supplement), had it been introduced before the COVID-19 virus arrived. That is, before the income shocks that are currently being observed and before unemployed numbers swelled.

The largest gains would have been for regions with the lowest incomes. And given the nature of the supplement, it would have had a very tightly targeted fairness impact, with the bulk of relative improvements in disposable incomes going to Australia's lowest income families and regions.

As a policy, it would have been one of the single largest measures to reduce inequality in Australia.

With the economic consequences of COVID-19 most harshly impacting lower income households, the benefits now are likely to be even greater.

Chart 4.5: Cumulative average SA2 income distribution, 2016-17



Source: Deloitte Access Economics analysis

Appendix A : CGE modelling

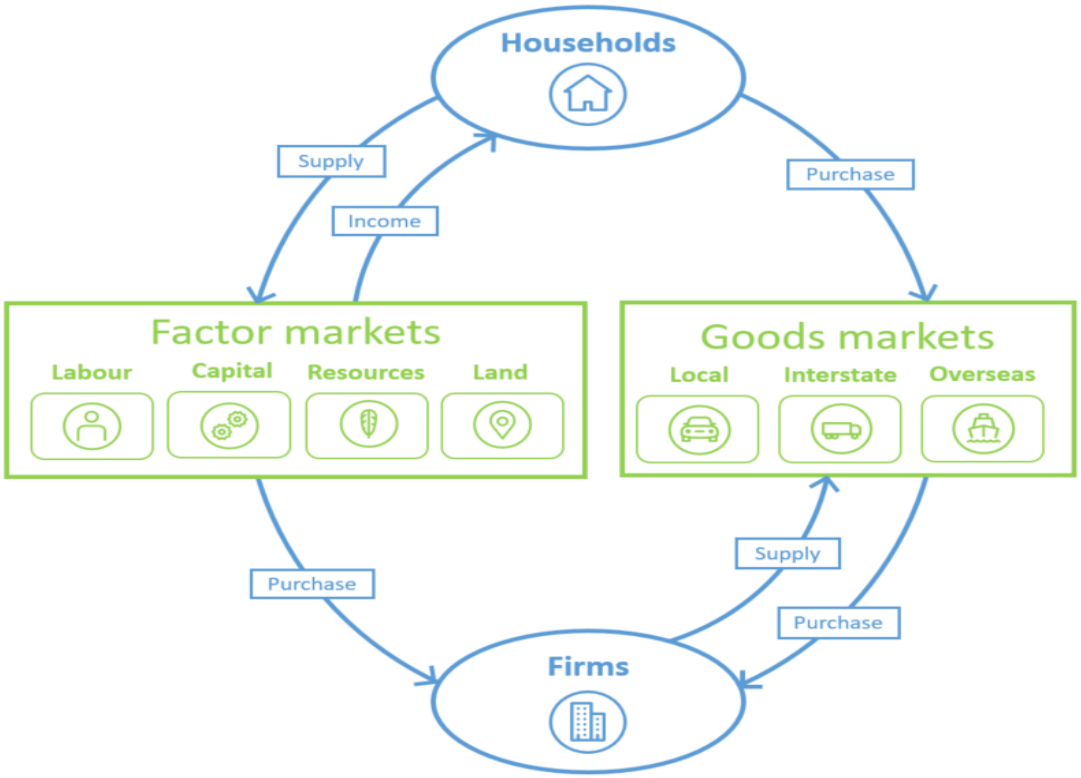
A.1. Computable general equilibrium modelling

The project utilises the Deloitte Access Economics' – Regional General Equilibrium Model (DAE-RGEM). DAE-RGEM is a large scale, dynamic, multi-region, multi-commodity CGE model of the world economy with bottom-up modelling of Australian regions. DAE-RGEM encompasses all economic activity in an economy – including production, consumption, employment, taxes and trade – and the inter-linkages between them.

For this project, the model has been customised to explicitly identify core sectors of the Australian and global economy, and has split each jurisdiction into greater city and rest of jurisdiction regions.

Figure A.1 is a stylised diagram showing the circular flow of income and spending that occurs in DAE-RGEM. To meet demand for products, firms purchase inputs from other producers and hire factors of production (labour and capital). Producers pay wages and rent (factor income) which accrue to households. Households spend their income on goods and services, pay taxes and put some away for savings. The government uses tax revenue to purchase goods and services, while savings are used by investors to buy capital goods to facilitate future consumption. As DAE-RGEM is an open economy model, it also includes trade flows with other regions, interstate and foreign countries.

Figure A.1: The components of DAE-RGEM and their relationships



Source: Deloitte Access Economics

DAE-RGEM is based on a substantial body of accepted microeconomic theory. Key assumptions underpinning the model are:

- The model contains a 'regional consumer' that receives all income from factor payments (labour, capital, land and natural resources), taxes and net foreign income from borrowing (lending).

- Income is allocated across household consumption, government consumption and savings so as to maximise a Cobb-Douglas (C-D) utility function.
- Household consumption for composite goods is determined by minimising expenditure via a CDE (Constant Differences of Elasticities) expenditure function. For most regions, households can source consumption goods only from domestic and imported sources. In the Australian regions, households can also source goods from interstate. In all cases, the choice of commodities by source is determined by a CRESH (Constant Ratios of Elasticities Substitution, Homothetic) utility function.
- Government consumption for composite goods, and goods from different sources (domestic, imported and interstate), is determined by maximising utility via a C-D utility function.
- All savings generated in each region are used to purchase bonds whose price movements reflect movements in the price of creating capital.
- Producers supply goods by combining aggregate intermediate inputs and primary factors in fixed proportions (the Leontief assumption). Composite intermediate inputs are also combined in fixed proportions, whereas individual primary factors are combined using a constant elasticity of substitution production function.
- Producers are cost minimisers, and in doing so, choose between domestic, imported and interstate intermediate inputs via a CRESH production function.
- The model contains a more detailed treatment of the electricity sector that is based on the 'technology bundle' approach for general equilibrium modelling developed by ABARE (1996).
- The supply of labour is positively influenced by movements in the real wage rate governed by an elasticity of supply.
- Investment takes place in a global market and allows for different regions to have different rates of return that reflect different risk profiles and policy impediments to investment. A global investor ranks countries as investment destinations based on two factors: global investment and rates of return in a given region compared with global rates of return. Once the aggregate investment has been determined for Australia, aggregate investment in each Australian sub-region is determined by an Australian investor based on: Australian investment and rates of return in a given sub-region compared with the national rate of return.
- Once aggregate investment is determined in each region, the regional investor constructs capital goods by combining composite investment goods in fixed proportions, and minimises costs by choosing between domestic, imported and interstate sources for these goods via a CRESH production function.
- Prices are determined via market-clearing conditions that require sectoral output (supply) to equal the amount sold (demand) to final users (households and government), intermediate users (firms and investors), foreigners (international exports), and other Australian regions (interstate exports).
- For internationally traded goods (imports and exports), the Armington assumption is applied whereby the same goods produced in different countries are treated as imperfect substitutes. But, in relative terms, imported goods from different regions are treated as closer substitutes than domestically produced goods and imported composites. Goods traded interstate within the Australian regions are assumed to be closer substitutes again.
- The model accounts for greenhouse gas emissions from fossil fuel combustion. Taxes can be applied to emissions, which are converted to good-specific sales taxes that impact on demand. Emission quotas can be set by region and these can be traded, at a value equal to the carbon tax avoided, where a region's emissions fall below or exceed their quota.

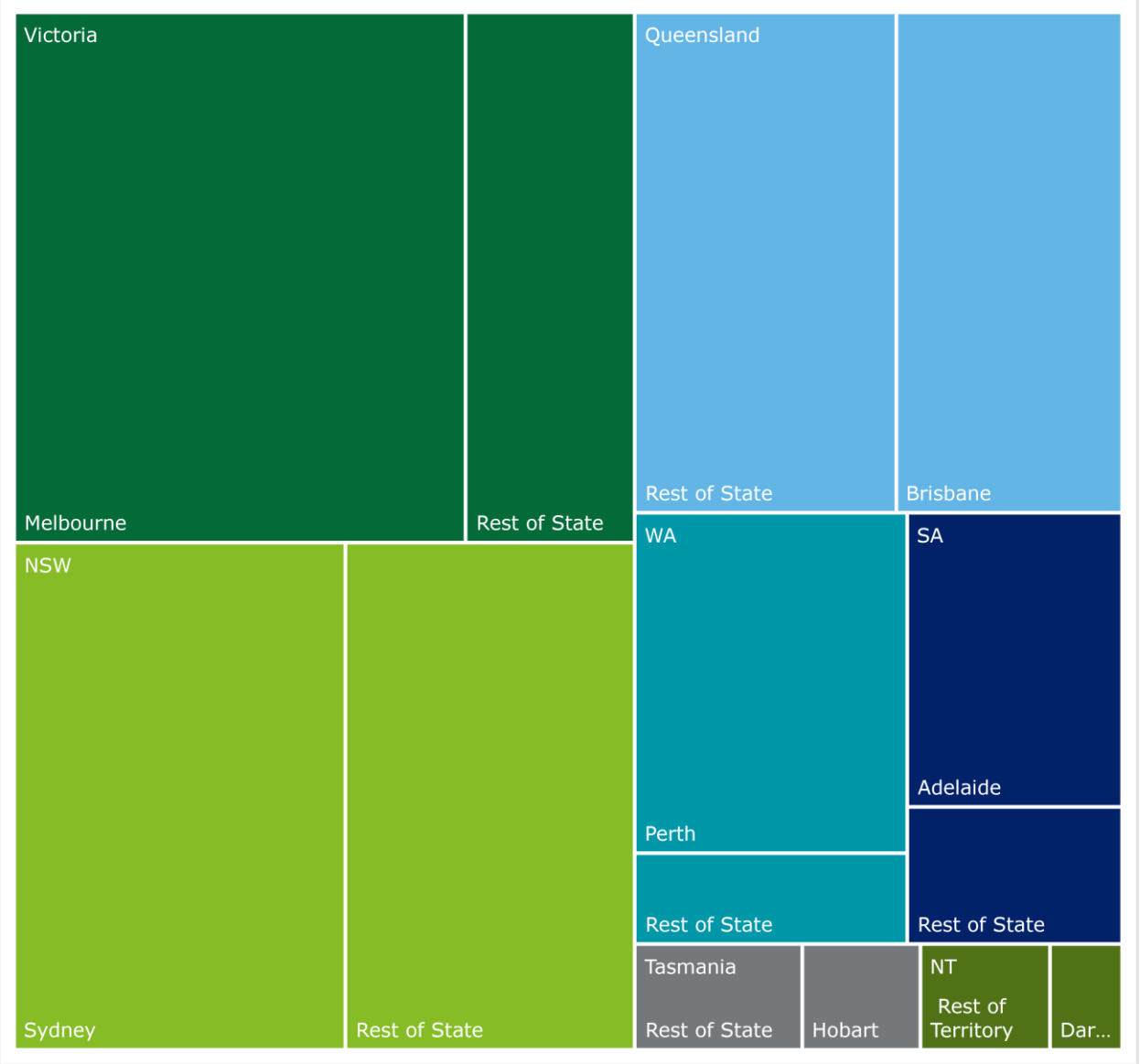
Appendix B : Methodology

The estimates presented in this report were derived by integrating macroeconomic modelling by Deloitte Access Economics into Deloitte's CGE model (DAE-RGEM). This process was undertaken in three broad steps described in the following sections of this Appendix.

B.1. Income support recipient forecast

The total number of JobSeeker recipients in Australia was estimated using a bottom up approach. Each state and territory was split into a Metro and rest of jurisdiction region. The exception here is the ACT which, along with other Statistical Area 3 regions categorised as 'other', was merged into the Rest of NSW region.

Chart B.1: 2020-21 JobSeeker recipients by jurisdiction, million persons

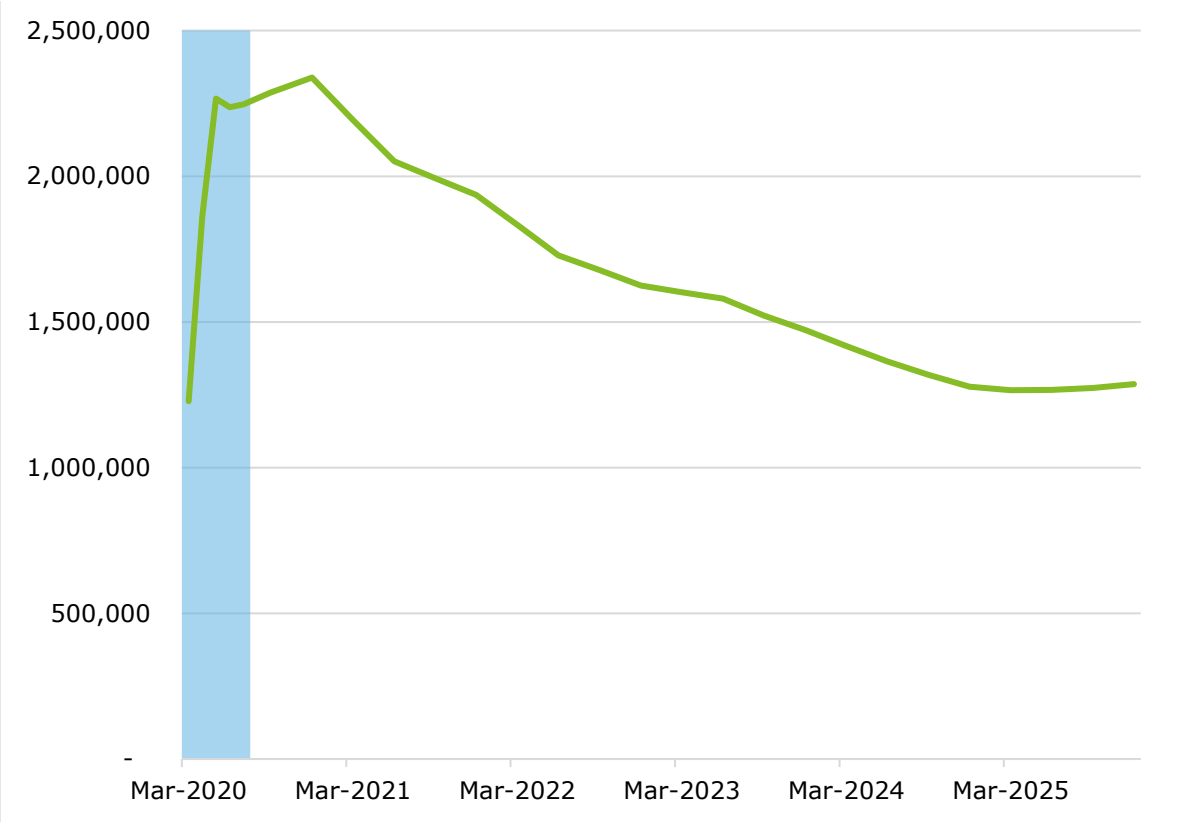


Source: Deloitte Access Economics

Note: Rest of NSW includes ACT and 'other' jurisdictions

Unemployment rates were then used to estimate the number of recipients in each region using unemployment forecasts along with mutual obligation requirements gap closing over time (Chart B.2).

Chart B.2: Eligible recipients for Coronavirus Supplement



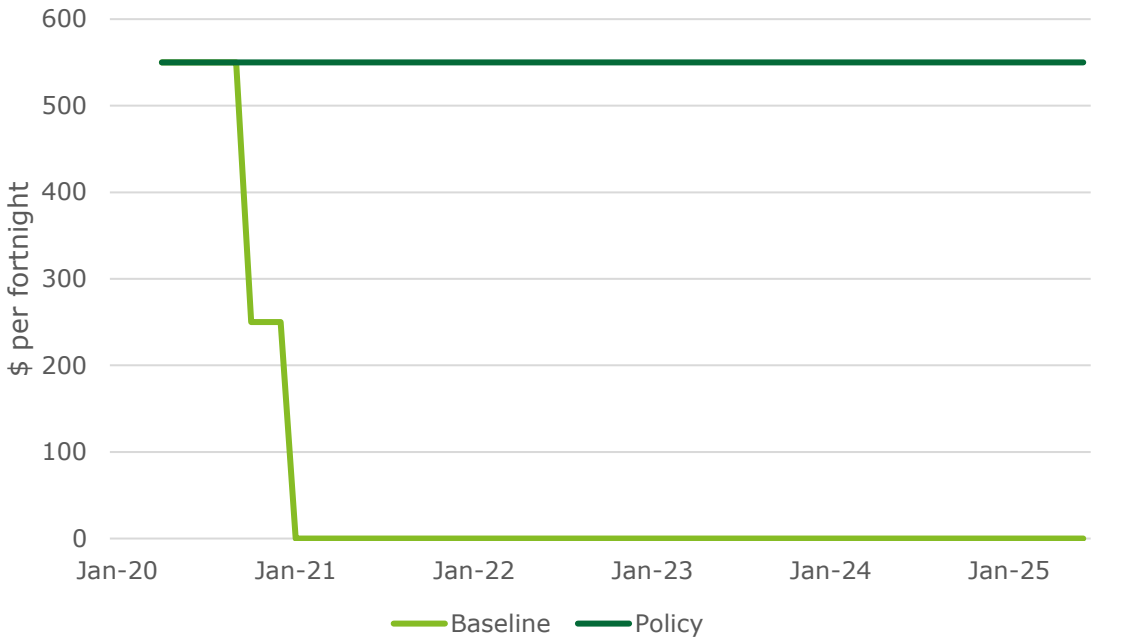
Source: Department of Social Services, Deloitte Access Economics

B.2. Calculating the shock

The forecasts for the number of income support recipients were then used in forecasting the change in income per region.

The baseline scenario assumes the Coronavirus Supplement ($550 per fortnight) is paid in full throughout the modelling horizon. The policy scenario assumes the supplement is phased out in line with the announced staged reductions. From 25 September the payment will be reduced to $250 per fortnight before being completely removed on the 31 December 2020.

Chart B.3: Baseline and policy JobSeeker payments, $ per fortnight

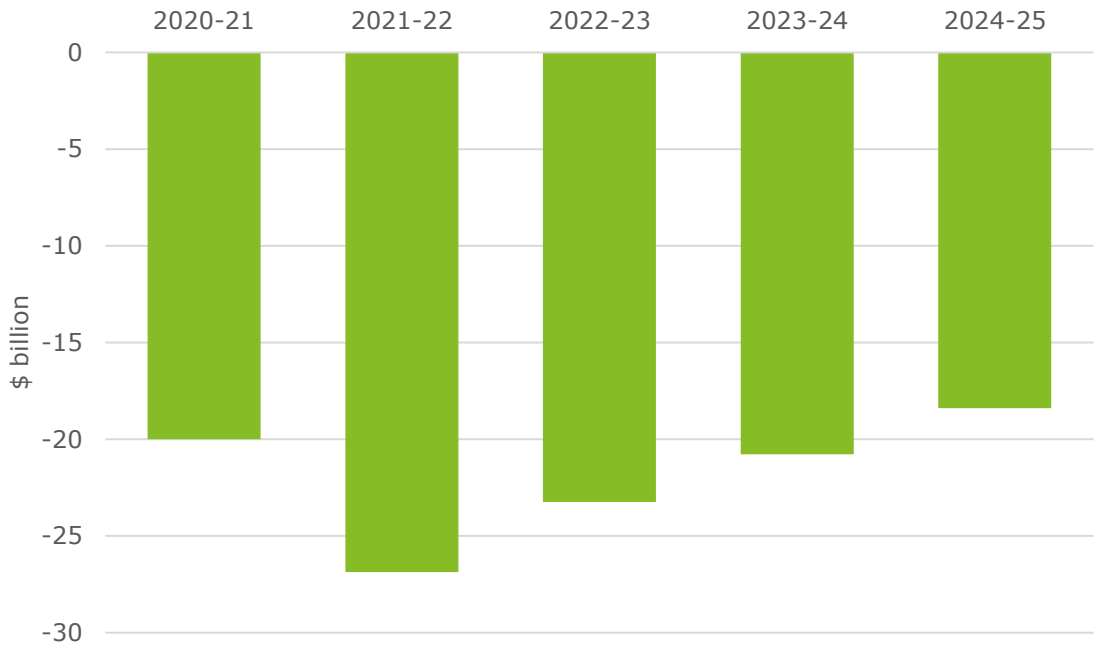


Source: Deloitte Access Economics

The quarterly deviation in income per region was then calculated as the number of estimated welfare recipients in each region multiplied by the deviation in income per person per quarter. These results were then converted into a fiscal year equivalent.

The difference between these two payment schedules is the shock applied to the model in the form of a consumption shock. Here it is assumed that consumption in each region will decrease by the same amount as the removal of the JobSeeker supplement. This approach was taken mainly due to limitations in the database structure of the CGE model which contains representative households and governments for each region.

Chart B.4: Deviation in JobSeeker payments, $ billion



Source: Deloitte Access Economics

B.3. Mapping results by LGAs

The principal outputs of the CGE modelling are impacts to Gross Regional Product and Regional employment. Ratios of these variables against the introduced shock to consumption provide multiplier estimates for each of the regions.

The impacts to GRP and employment per LGA are calculated by multiplying the GRP and employment multipliers for the LGA's region by the deviation in payments for the respective LGA. The deviation in payments by LGA were calculated by multiplying the welfare recipient by LGA by the scheduled change in payment as discussed in section B.2 for the regional level.

These results were then visualised in a heatmap in the programming language R.

Table B.1: Estimated multipliers by region

Region	Shock to Consumption (average $m)	GRP impact (average $m)	Employment impact (average FTEs)	GRP multiplier ($/$)	Employment multiplier (FTE/$m)
Darwin	-$153	-$137	-891	0.895	5.824
Rest of NT	-$278	-$210	-1,658	0.755	5.964
Northern Territory	-$432	-$348	-2,549	0.806	5.900
Hobart	-$254	-$219	-1,986	0.862	7.819
Rest of Tasmania	-$356	-$301	-2,530	0.846	7.107
Tasmania	-$610	-$519	-4,516	0.851	7.403
Perth	-$1,881	-$1,643	-12,145	0.873	6.457
Rest of WA	-$491	-$293	-2,916	0.597	5.939
Western Australia	-$2,372	-$1,936	-15,061	0.816	6.349
Adelaide	-$1,273	-$1,083	-8,761	0.851	6.882
Rest of South Australia	-$621	-$510	-4,444	0.821	7.156
South Australia	-$2,878	-$1,593	-13,205	0.554	4.588
Brisbane	-$2,257	-$1,896	-15,722	0.840	6.966
Rest of Qld	-$2,588	-$2,033	-17,542	0.786	6.778
Queensland	-$4,845	-$3,929	-33,264	0.811	6.866
Melbourne	-$3,890	-$3,333	-23,961	0.857	6.160
Rest of Victoria	-$1,494	-$1,309	-17,542	0.876	11.742
Victoria	-$5,384	-$4,642	-41,503	0.862	7.709
Sydney	-$3,327	-$2,884	-19,249	0.867	5.786
Rest of NSW	-$2,985	-$2,512	-15,930	0.842	5.337
New South Wales	-$6,312	-$5,396	-35,179	0.855	5.573

Source: Deloitte Access Economics

Note: Rest of NSW includes ACT and 'other'

Appendix C : LGA results

C.1. Key economic outcomes by LGA, 2021-22

Table C.1: Key economic outcomes by LGA, 2021-22, annual, per capita

Local Government Area	Jurisdiction	Consumption ($) /person	Output ($)/person	Full Time Equivalient Jobs
Maralinga Tjarutja (AC)	SA	-5,987	-4,868	-4
Halls Creek (S)	WA	-5,832	-3,462	-87
West Arnhem (R)	NT	-5,354	-4,223	-234
Tiwi Islands (R)	NT	-5,076	-4,003	-88
Kowanyama (S)	Qld	-4,934	-3,941	-36
Yarrabah (S)	Qld	-4,837	-3,863	-105
Central Goldfields (S)	Vic	-4,767	-3,806	-394
Central Desert (R)	NT	-4,755	-3,750	-128
Derby-West Kimberley (S)	WA	-4,633	-2,750	-165
Cue (S)	WA	-4,620	-2,743	-3
Pormpuraaw (S)	Qld	-4,611	-3,683	-29
West Daly (R)	NT	-4,566	-3,601	-107
East Arnhem (R)	NT	-4,551	-3,590	-299
Roper Gulf (R)	NT	-4,461	-3,519	-210
Sandstone (S)	WA	-4,394	-2,609	-2
Latrobe (C) (Vic.)	Vic	-4,371	-3,490	-2,071
Aurukun (S)	Qld	-4,216	-3,367	-45
Meekatharra (S)	WA	-4,135	-2,455	-18
Wiluna (S)	WA	-4,082	-2,423	-12
Victoria Daly (R)	NT	-3,945	-3,112	-79
MacDonnell (R)	NT	-3,931	-3,101	-173

Mount Magnet (S)	WA	-3,914	-2,323	-8
Barkly (R)	NT	-3,789	-2,988	-177
Mildura (RC)	Vic	-3,712	-2,963	-1,298
Bass Coast (S)	Vic	-3,668	-2,928	-835
Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AC)	SA	-3,657	-2,973	-99
Murchison (S)	WA	-3,641	-2,161	-3
East Gippsland (S)	Vic	-3,630	-2,898	-1,077
Greater Shepparton (C)	Vic	-3,629	-2,897	-1,513
Loddon (S)	Vic	-3,598	-2,872	-169
Yalgoo (S)	WA	-3,586	-2,129	-6
Glenelg (S)	Vic	-3,580	-2,859	-442
Northern Grampians (S)	Vic	-3,454	-2,758	-247
Ballarat (C)	Vic	-3,376	-2,696	-2,318
Laverton (S)	WA	-3,364	-1,997	-17
Greater Bendigo (C)	Vic	-3,312	-2,644	-2,452
Ararat (RC)	Vic	-3,309	-2,642	-246
Wellington (S)	Vic	-3,271	-2,612	-910
Coober Pedy (DC)	SA	-3,256	-2,647	-63
Leonora (S)	WA	-3,244	-1,926	-21
Menzies (S)	WA	-3,243	-1,925	-7
Ngaanyatjarraku (S)	WA	-3,234	-1,920	-25
Pyrenees (S)	Vic	-3,233	-2,581	-151
Palm Island (S)	Qld	-3,224	-2,575	-64
Walgett (A)	NSW	-3,199	-2,677	-115
Hepburn (S)	Vic	-3,180	-2,539	-319
Wodonga (C)	Vic	-3,179	-2,538	-839
Unincorporated Vic	Vic	-3,155	-2,519	-17

Wyndham-East Kimberley (S)	WA	-3,104	-1,843	-99
Campaspe (S)	Vic	-3,097	-2,472	-730
Carnarvon (S)	WA	-3,089	-1,834	-69
Benalla (RC)	Vic	-3,033	-2,422	-267
Moira (S)	Vic	-3,030	-2,419	-568
Brewarrina (A)	NSW	-3,015	-2,523	-29
Warrnambool (C)	Vic	-3,010	-2,403	-664
Gannawarra (S)	Vic	-3,005	-2,399	-197
Carpentaria (S)	Qld	-2,990	-2,388	-44
Swan Hill (RC)	Vic	-2,959	-2,362	-383
Greater Geelong (C)	Vic	-2,954	-2,359	-4,796
Bourke (A)	NSW	-2,925	-2,448	-46
Hindmarsh (S)	Vic	-2,902	-2,317	-102
Mount Alexander (S)	Vic	-2,898	-2,314	-359
Burke (S)	Qld	-2,880	-2,300	-8
Strathbogie (S)	Vic	-2,830	-2,259	-191
Mornington (S)	Qld	-2,806	-2,241	-26
Colac-Otway (S)	Vic	-2,788	-2,226	-377
Doomadgee (S)	Qld	-2,785	-2,224	-32
Southern Grampians (S)	Vic	-2,768	-2,210	-279
Alpine (S)	Vic	-2,746	-2,193	-221
Yarriambiack (S)	Vic	-2,741	-2,188	-114
Horsham (RC)	Vic	-2,698	-2,154	-337
Wangaratta (RC)	Vic	-2,669	-2,131	-488
Mapoon (S)	Qld	-2,667	-2,130	-7
Cook (S)	Qld	-2,646	-2,114	-90
Wujal Wujal (S)	Qld	-2,606	-2,082	-6

Baw Baw (S)	Vic	-2,605	-2,080	-872
Corangamite (S)	Vic	-2,593	-2,071	-260
Lockhart River (S)	Qld	-2,584	-2,064	-15
Napranum (S)	Qld	-2,557	-2,042	-21
West Wimmera (S)	Vic	-2,556	-2,040	-62
South Gippsland (S)	Vic	-2,520	-2,012	-473
Towong (S)	Vic	-2,519	-2,011	-95
Broome (S)	WA	-2,516	-1,494	-184
Torres Strait Island (R)	Qld	-2,515	-2,009	-96
Katherine (T)	NT	-2,512	-1,981	-169
Hope Vale (S)	Qld	-2,509	-2,004	-21
Buloke (S)	Vic	-2,488	-1,987	-96
Byron (A)	NSW	-2,462	-2,060	-520
Moyne (S)	Vic	-2,461	-1,965	-262
Mansfield (S)	Vic	-2,344	-1,872	-135
Unincorporated NT	NT	-2,343	-1,857	-110
Alice Springs (T)	NT	-2,334	-1,841	-391
West Coast (M)	Tas	-2,273	-1,829	-69
Bunbury (C)	WA	-2,267	-1,346	-311
Kwinana (C)	WA	-2,246	-1,949	-462
Coomalie (S)	NT	-2,240	-1,767	-19
Kyogle (A)	NSW	-2,240	-1,874	-119
Break O'Day (M)	Tas	-2,236	-1,799	-102
Nambucca (A)	NSW	-2,229	-1,866	-266
Collie (S)	WA	-2,224	-1,320	-84
Northern Peninsula Area (R)	Qld	-2,215	-1,769	-52
Murrindindi (S)	Vic	-2,215	-1,774	-202

Greater Geraldton (C)	WA	-2,198	-1,305	-365
Belyuen (S)	NT	-2,191	-1,728	-2
Mandurah (C)	WA	-2,186	-1,898	-862
Kempsey (A)	NSW	-2,184	-1,828	-391
Armadale (C)	WA	-2,137	-1,855	-885
Belmont (C)	WA	-2,137	-1,855	-410
Fremantle (C)	WA	-2,133	-1,851	-302
Northampton (S)	WA	-2,119	-1,258	-27
Gosnells (C)	WA	-2,111	-1,832	-1,195
Golden Plains (S)	Vic	-2,107	-1,682	-313
Northam (S)	WA	-2,103	-1,248	-101
Indigo (S)	Vic	-2,093	-1,671	-219
Coonamble (A)	NSW	-2,093	-1,751	-50
Tenterfield (A)	NSW	-2,084	-1,744	-83
Katanning (S)	WA	-2,082	-1,236	-36
Wagait (S)	NT	-2,067	-1,631	-7
Lismore (C)	NSW	-2,018	-1,688	-531
Central Darling (A)	NSW	-1,992	-1,667	-22
Broken Hill (C)	NSW	-1,983	-1,659	-209
Murray (S)	WA	-1,970	-1,694	-161
Port Augusta (C)	SA	-1,968	-1,600	-288
Bellingen (A)	NSW	-1,967	-1,646	-154
Mitchell (S)	Vic	-1,962	-1,577	-568
George Town (M)	Tas	-1,949	-1,569	-99
Surf Coast (S)	Vic	-1,948	-1,555	-409
Brighton (M)	Tas	-1,944	-1,533	-266
Glen Innes Severn (A)	NSW	-1,936	-1,620	-103

Moree Plains (A)	NSW	-1,933	-1,618	-154
Coolgardie (S)	WA	-1,930	-1,146	-28
Clarence Valley (A)	NSW	-1,924	-1,610	-598
Woodanilling (S)	WA	-1,909	-1,133	-4
Rockingham (C)	WA	-1,886	-1,637	-1,169
Swan (C)	WA	-1,884	-1,635	-1,266
Dundas (S)	WA	-1,879	-1,116	-6
Ceduna (DC)	SA	-1,876	-1,526	-68
Whyalla (C)	SA	-1,854	-1,507	-423
Tasman (M)	Tas	-1,852	-1,490	-33
Bassendean (T)	WA	-1,835	-1,593	-132
Richmond Valley (A)	NSW	-1,824	-1,527	-258
Coffs Harbour (C)	NSW	-1,812	-1,516	-843
Bayswater (C)	WA	-1,793	-1,556	-559
Victoria Park (T)	WA	-1,790	-1,553	-302
Mid-Coast (A)	NSW	-1,788	-1,496	-1,010
Gilgandra (A)	NSW	-1,788	-1,496	-46
Wanneroo (C)	WA	-1,777	-1,542	-1,687
Derwent Valley (M)	Tas	-1,734	-1,374	-138
Inverell (A)	NSW	-1,733	-1,450	-176
Glenorchy (C)	Tas	-1,730	-1,364	-643
Douglas (S)	Qld	-1,723	-1,377	-159
Armidale Regional (A)	NSW	-1,717	-1,437	-318
Port Hedland (T)	WA	-1,716	-1,019	-113
Narrogin (S)	WA	-1,710	-1,015	-37
Shark Bay (S)	WA	-1,708	-1,014	-7
Port Pirie City and Dists (M)	SA	-1,706	-1,387	-317

Queenscliffe (B)	Vic	-1,700	-1,358	-31
Tammin (S)	WA	-1,700	-1,010	-3
Warren (A)	NSW	-1,700	-1,423	-28
Lachlan (A)	NSW	-1,695	-1,418	-62
Bogan (A)	NSW	-1,690	-1,414	-26
Tweed (A)	NSW	-1,686	-1,411	-984
Streaky Bay (DC)	SA	-1,677	-1,363	-39
Plantagenet (S)	WA	-1,677	-995	-38
Eurobodalla (A)	NSW	-1,673	-1,400	-388
Cessnock (C)	NSW	-1,673	-1,400	-604
Launceston (C)	Tas	-1,669	-1,343	-827
Warrumbungle Shire (A)	NSW	-1,667	-1,395	-93
Wentworth (A)	NSW	-1,655	-1,385	-70
Quairading (S)	WA	-1,650	-979	-7
Cunderdin (S)	WA	-1,648	-978	-10
Upper Gascoyne (S)	WA	-1,644	-976	-2
Perth (C)	WA	-1,640	-1,424	-216
York (S)	WA	-1,640	-973	-25
Kellerberrin (S)	WA	-1,638	-972	-8
Exmouth (S)	WA	-1,629	-967	-20
Central Highlands (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-1,620	-1,304	-25
Burnie (C)	Tas	-1,620	-1,303	-231
Albury (C)	NSW	-1,619	-1,355	-530
Unincorporated NSW	NSW	-1,614	-1,350	-10
Cherbourg (S)	Qld	-1,612	-1,287	-16
Beverley (S)	WA	-1,610	-956	-12
Toodyay (S)	WA	-1,607	-954	-31

Muswellbrook (A)	NSW	-1,602	-1,341	-158
Cockburn (C)	WA	-1,601	-1,389	-834
Narrabri (A)	NSW	-1,597	-1,337	-126
Mareeba (S)	Qld	-1,597	-1,276	-271
Stirling (C)	WA	-1,596	-1,385	-1,609
Wandering (S)	WA	-1,595	-947	-3
Liverpool Plains (A)	NSW	-1,590	-1,331	-76
Waroona (S)	WA	-1,584	-940	-29
Cowra (A)	NSW	-1,579	-1,321	-121
Chapman Valley (S)	WA	-1,577	-936	-10
Narromine (A)	NSW	-1,560	-1,306	-61
Murray Bridge (RC)	SA	-1,559	-1,267	-370
Devonport (C)	Tas	-1,538	-1,237	-287
Narrandera (A)	NSW	-1,532	-1,282	-54
Brookton (S)	WA	-1,518	-901	-6
Dorset (M)	Tas	-1,513	-1,217	-73
Gunnedah (A)	NSW	-1,511	-1,264	-115
Fraser Coast (R)	Qld	-1,511	-1,207	-1,201
Corrigin (S)	WA	-1,510	-896	-7
Parkes (A)	NSW	-1,509	-1,263	-135
Tamworth Regional (A)	NSW	-1,507	-1,262	-568
Canning (C)	WA	-1,502	-1,304	-636
Augusta-Margaret River (S)	WA	-1,501	-891	-105
Copper Coast (DC)	SA	-1,498	-1,218	-237
Morawa (S)	WA	-1,495	-887	-4
Lithgow (C)	NSW	-1,495	-1,251	-194
Palmerston (C)	NT	-1,494	-1,313	-346

Pingelly (S)	WA	-1,493	-886	-7
Denmark (S)	WA	-1,488	-883	-40
Bulloo (S)	Qld	-1,483	-1,185	-4
Huon Valley (M)	Tas	-1,479	-1,190	-189
Orroroo/Carrieton (DC)	SA	-1,472	-1,197	-13
Shoalhaven (C)	NSW	-1,467	-1,228	-933
Port Stephens (A)	NSW	-1,460	-1,222	-646
Dubbo Regional (A)	NSW	-1,459	-1,221	-472
Port Macquarie-Hastings (A)	NSW	-1,455	-1,217	-740
Edward River (A)	NSW	-1,454	-1,217	-80
Coorow (S)	WA	-1,452	-862	-6
Logan (C)	Qld	-1,451	-1,167	-3,540
Mingenew (S)	WA	-1,451	-861	-3
Perenjori (S)	WA	-1,448	-860	-4
Berri and Barmera (DC)	SA	-1,447	-1,176	-165
Newcastle (C)	NSW	-1,442	-1,206	-1,437
Albany (C)	WA	-1,439	-854	-237
Manjimup (S)	WA	-1,439	-854	-57
Unincorporated SA	SA	-1,428	-1,161	-53
Vincent (C)	WA	-1,427	-1,238	-238
Irwin (S)	WA	-1,424	-845	-22
Nannup (S)	WA	-1,420	-843	-9
Three Springs (S)	WA	-1,414	-839	-4
Carnamah (S)	WA	-1,412	-839	-3
Bega Valley (A)	NSW	-1,405	-1,176	-292
Cairns (R)	Qld	-1,402	-1,119	-1,743
Busselton (C)	WA	-1,390	-825	-239

Peterborough (DC)	SA	-1,390	-1,130	-25
Kentish (M)	Tas	-1,390	-1,118	-64
Donnybrook-Balingup (S)	WA	-1,387	-824	-37
Mid Murray (DC)	SA	-1,386	-1,126	-133
Bundaberg (R)	Qld	-1,385	-1,106	-990
Cassowary Coast (R)	Qld	-1,384	-1,105	-307
South Burnett (R)	Qld	-1,384	-1,105	-335
Paroo (S)	Qld	-1,381	-1,103	-16
Hilltops (A)	NSW	-1,380	-1,155	-155
Gympie (R)	Qld	-1,378	-1,100	-538
Gladstone (R)	Qld	-1,374	-1,097	-649
Wagga Wagga (C)	NSW	-1,373	-1,149	-539
Merredin (S)	WA	-1,372	-815	-20
Mount Remarkable (DC)	SA	-1,370	-1,114	-42
Gingin (S)	WA	-1,370	-813	-31
Quilpie (S)	Qld	-1,367	-1,092	-8
The Coorong (DC)	SA	-1,367	-1,111	-78
Glamorgan/Spring Bay (M)	Tas	-1,366	-1,099	-46
Ipswich (C)	Qld	-1,363	-1,096	-2,211
Sorell (M)	Tas	-1,363	-1,075	-165
Kalgoorlie/Boulder (C)	WA	-1,362	-809	-174
Playford (C)	SA	-1,358	-1,075	-1,350
Ballina (A)	NSW	-1,357	-1,136	-365
Mundaring (S)	WA	-1,354	-1,175	-241
Gwydir (A)	NSW	-1,353	-1,132	-44
Dandaragan (S)	WA	-1,349	-801	-19
Shellharbour (C)	NSW	-1,344	-1,125	-593

Boddington (S)	WA	-1,344	-798	-10
Fairfield (C)	NSW	-1,343	-1,019	-1,466
Port Lincoln (C)	SA	-1,333	-1,084	-207
Mount Isa (C)	Qld	-1,330	-1,062	-184
Wongan-Ballidu (S)	WA	-1,327	-788	-7
Bruce Rock (S)	WA	-1,325	-786	-5
Tablelands (R)	Qld	-1,321	-1,055	-252
Leeton (A)	NSW	-1,320	-1,105	-91
Narembeen (S)	WA	-1,320	-783	-5
Esperance (S)	WA	-1,319	-783	-81
Kalamunda (C)	WA	-1,314	-1,140	-353
Goomalling (S)	WA	-1,302	-773	-6
Moora (S)	WA	-1,301	-772	-13
Wyalkatchem (S)	WA	-1,299	-771	-3
Dalwallinu (S)	WA	-1,299	-771	-8
Woorabinda (S)	Qld	-1,298	-1,037	-10
Wollongong (C)	NSW	-1,293	-1,082	-1,698
Mid-Western Regional (A)	NSW	-1,291	-1,081	-196
Koorda (S)	WA	-1,291	-766	-2
Torres (S)	Qld	-1,283	-1,025	-37
Goulburn Mulwaree (A)	NSW	-1,277	-1,069	-239
Darwin (C)	NT	-1,275	-1,121	-641
Maitland (C)	NSW	-1,274	-1,066	-653
Dowerin (S)	WA	-1,271	-755	-4
Serpentine-Jarrahdale (S)	WA	-1,269	-1,101	-188
Waratah/Wynyard (M)	Tas	-1,265	-1,018	-127
Flinders Ranges (DC)	SA	-1,262	-1,026	-23

Federation (A)	NSW	-1,258	-1,052	-94
Snowy Valleys (A)	NSW	-1,256	-1,051	-110
Whitsunday (R)	Qld	-1,252	-1,000	-330
Harvey (S)	WA	-1,252	-743	-152
South Perth (C)	WA	-1,252	-1,087	-250
Victoria Plains (S)	WA	-1,244	-738	-5
Southern Midlands (M)	Tas	-1,241	-999	-57
Renmark Paringa (DC)	SA	-1,240	-1,008	-130
Orange (C)	NSW	-1,238	-1,036	-316
Goyder (DC)	SA	-1,237	-1,006	-55
Rockhampton (R)	Qld	-1,230	-982	-747
Mount Gambier (C)	SA	-1,221	-993	-351
Bridgetown-Greenbushes (S)	WA	-1,220	-724	-25
Forbes (A)	NSW	-1,218	-1,020	-73
Lake Macquarie (C)	NSW	-1,218	-1,020	-1,510
Somerset (R)	Qld	-1,215	-977	-232
Boyup Brook (S)	WA	-1,214	-721	-9
Barunga West (DC)	SA	-1,208	-982	-33
Uralla (A)	NSW	-1,206	-1,009	-44
Wakefield (DC)	SA	-1,199	-975	-86
Dardanup (S)	WA	-1,194	-709	-75
Yorke Peninsula (DC)	SA	-1,191	-968	-142
Yankalilla (DC)	SA	-1,183	-962	-70
Cranbrook (S)	WA	-1,180	-701	-5
West Arthur (S)	WA	-1,180	-701	-4
Hay (A)	NSW	-1,177	-985	-21
Townsville (C)	Qld	-1,174	-938	-1,707

East Pilbara (S)	WA	-1,171	-695	-55
Broomehill-Tambellup (S)	WA	-1,170	-695	-6
Northern Midlands (M)	Tas	-1,170	-941	-115
Wagin (S)	WA	-1,169	-694	-9
Bathurst Regional (A)	NSW	-1,166	-976	-306
Southern Downs (R)	Qld	-1,162	-928	-307
Kojonup (S)	WA	-1,160	-688	-10
Kent (S)	WA	-1,159	-688	-3
Cuballing (S)	WA	-1,156	-686	-4
Gnowangerup (S)	WA	-1,155	-686	-6
Joondalup (C)	WA	-1,152	-1,000	-840
Cootamundra-Gundagai Regional (A)	NSW	-1,152	-964	-78
Central Coast (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-1,148	-924	-184
Dungog (A)	NSW	-1,144	-957	-65
Lockyer Valley (R)	Qld	-1,143	-917	-351
Walcha (A)	NSW	-1,141	-954	-22
Jerramungup (S)	WA	-1,139	-676	-6
Capel (S)	WA	-1,138	-676	-90
Moreton Bay (R)	Qld	-1,138	-915	-3,898
Cloncurry (S)	Qld	-1,131	-903	-26
Charters Towers (R)	Qld	-1,128	-901	-99
Weddin (A)	NSW	-1,125	-941	-24
Snowy Monaro Regional (A)	NSW	-1,123	-939	-141
Loxton Waikerie (DC)	SA	-1,117	-908	-138
Clarence (C)	Tas	-1,115	-880	-500
Victor Harbor (C)	SA	-1,115	-907	-182
Singleton (A)	NSW	-1,114	-932	-157

Gold Coast (C)	Qld	-1,113	-889	-5,148
Wattle Range (DC)	SA	-1,112	-904	-141
Murweh (S)	Qld	-1,111	-887	-36
Berrigan (A)	NSW	-1,100	-921	-58
West Tamar (M)	Tas	-1,096	-882	-192
Alexandrina (DC)	SA	-1,087	-883	-314
Circular Head (M)	Tas	-1,085	-873	-64
North Burnett (R)	Qld	-1,085	-867	-86
Western Downs (R)	Qld	-1,085	-866	-280
Williams (S)	WA	-1,084	-644	-5
Flinders (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-1,081	-870	-8
Hinchinbrook (S)	Qld	-1,079	-862	-86
Meander Valley (M)	Tas	-1,076	-866	-156
Nungarin (S)	WA	-1,063	-631	-1
Karratha (C)	WA	-1,062	-631	-105
Scenic Rim (R)	Qld	-1,062	-852	-336
Noosa (S)	Qld	-1,061	-848	-442
Oberon (A)	NSW	-1,056	-884	-34
Temora (A)	NSW	-1,055	-883	-40
Blayney (A)	NSW	-1,053	-881	-47
Westonia (S)	WA	-1,053	-625	-1
Salisbury (C)	SA	-1,049	-831	-1,578
Yilgarn (S)	WA	-1,049	-623	-5
Sunshine Coast (R)	Qld	-1,045	-835	-2,559
Latrobe (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-1,044	-840	-89
Cobar (A)	NSW	-1,043	-873	-29
Kangaroo Island (DC)	SA	-1,041	-846	-55

Upper Hunter Shire (A)	NSW	-1,041	-871	-89
Griffith (C)	NSW	-1,040	-870	-169
Mukinbudin (S)	WA	-1,038	-616	-2
Hobart (C)	Tas	-1,037	-818	-439
Moorabool (S)	Vic	-1,035	-840	-228
Balonne (S)	Qld	-1,035	-826	-34
East Fremantle (T)	WA	-1,029	-893	-37
Junee (A)	NSW	-1,025	-857	-41
Toowoomba (R)	Qld	-1,012	-808	-1,274
Litchfield (M)	NT	-1,007	-885	-156
Mount Marshall (S)	WA	-998	-593	-2
Murray River (A)	NSW	-996	-833	-73
Ravensthorpe (S)	WA	-994	-590	-7
Dumbleyung (S)	WA	-993	-589	-3
Burdekin (S)	Qld	-992	-793	-126
Murrumbidgee (A)	NSW	-991	-830	-23
Trayning (S)	WA	-990	-588	-2
Melville (C)	WA	-988	-858	-461
Subiaco (C)	WA	-985	-855	-78
Northern Areas (DC)	SA	-985	-801	-48
Kondinin (S)	WA	-980	-582	-4
Lake Grace (S)	WA	-975	-579	-5
Greater Hume Shire (A)	NSW	-974	-815	-63
Wickepin (S)	WA	-974	-578	-3
Kulin (S)	WA	-966	-574	-3
Campbelltown (C) (NSW)	NSW	-961	-729	-847
Mosman Park (T)	WA	-955	-829	-40

Liverpool (C)	NSW	-953	-723	-1,119
Peppermint Grove (S)	WA	-949	-824	-7
Lower Eyre Peninsula (DC)	SA	-946	-769	-58
Carrathool (A)	NSW	-940	-787	-16
Mackay (R)	Qld	-935	-747	-814
Coolamon (A)	NSW	-924	-773	-24
Port Adelaide Enfield (C)	SA	-919	-728	-1,231
Adelaide Plains (DC)	SA	-910	-730	-87
Croydon (S)	Qld	-909	-726	-2
Kingborough (M)	Tas	-904	-714	-267
Livingstone (S)	Qld	-903	-721	-256
Etheridge (S)	Qld	-899	-718	-5
Redland (C)	Qld	-898	-722	-1,041
Kingston (DC) (SA)	SA	-896	-728	-22
Cumberland (A)	NSW	-894	-678	-1,114
Canterbury-Bankstown (A)	NSW	-890	-675	-1,736
Grant (DC)	SA	-883	-718	-80
Brisbane (C)	Qld	-866	-697	-7,929
Upper Lachlan Shire (A)	NSW	-865	-724	-42
Lockhart (A)	NSW	-860	-720	-17
Central Coast (C) (NSW)	NSW	-860	-653	-1,526
Onkaparinga (C)	SA	-857	-679	-1,553
Goondiwindi (R)	Qld	-851	-680	-69
Clare and Gilbert Valleys (DC)	SA	-846	-687	-84
Bland (A)	NSW	-845	-707	-30
Karoonda East Murray (DC)	SA	-840	-683	-10
Robe (DC)	SA	-835	-679	-13

Balranald (A)	NSW	-830	-695	-12
Cabonne (A)	NSW	-825	-690	-68
Central Highlands (R) (Qld)	Qld	-806	-644	-173
Barossa (DC)	SA	-804	-653	-212
Blacktown (C)	NSW	-801	-608	-1,547
Macedon Ranges (S)	Vic	-793	-641	-250
Claremont (T)	WA	-790	-685	-39
Tumby Bay (DC)	SA	-789	-641	-22
Chittering (S)	WA	-788	-468	-20
Elliston (DC)	SA	-779	-633	-8
Naracoorte and Lucindale (DC)	SA	-779	-633	-70
Gawler (T)	SA	-779	-617	-199
Maranoa (R)	Qld	-778	-622	-73
Light (RegC)	SA	-778	-627	-126
Penrith (C)	NSW	-776	-588	-852
Wingecarribee (A)	NSW	-774	-648	-238
Southern Mallee (DC)	SA	-765	-622	-17
Boulia (S)	Qld	-753	-602	-2
Barcoo (S)	Qld	-750	-599	-1
Flinders (S) (Qld)	Qld	-726	-580	-8
Adelaide (C)	SA	-724	-573	-193
Winton (S)	Qld	-723	-577	-6
Charles Sturt (C)	SA	-719	-569	-896
Banana (S)	Qld	-713	-569	-75
Wudinna (DC)	SA	-711	-578	-10
King Island (M)	Tas	-711	-572	-8
Queanbeyan-Palerang Regional (A)	NSW	-709	-593	-261

Marion (C)	SA	-700	-554	-685
Cambridge (T)	WA	-700	-607	-92
Longreach (R)	Qld	-696	-556	-18
Richmond (S)	Qld	-694	-555	-4
Kiama (A)	NSW	-692	-579	-97
McKinlay (S)	Qld	-688	-549	-4
Nedlands (C)	WA	-676	-587	-70
Diamantina (S)	Qld	-666	-532	-1
Yass Valley (A)	NSW	-663	-555	-68
West Torrens (C)	SA	-648	-513	-413
Franklin Harbour (DC)	SA	-624	-507	-9
Blackall-Tambo (R)	Qld	-624	-498	-9
Cleve (DC)	SA	-618	-502	-12
Kimba (DC)	SA	-613	-499	-7
Barcaldine (R)	Qld	-608	-486	-13
Blue Mountains (C)	NSW	-597	-453	-244
Hawkesbury (C)	NSW	-592	-449	-205
Mount Barker (DC)	SA	-588	-465	-225
Hume (C)	Vic	-584	-499	-866
Inner West (A)	NSW	-575	-436	-596
Cottesloe (T)	WA	-572	-497	-22
Bayside (A)	NSW	-571	-433	-525
Brimbank (C)	Vic	-571	-488	-759
Tatiara (DC)	SA	-565	-460	-41
Tea Tree Gully (C)	SA	-558	-442	-586
Georges River (A)	NSW	-549	-416	-452
Parramatta (C)	NSW	-546	-415	-725

Sydney (C)	NSW	-535	-406	-680
Campbelltown (C) (SA)	SA	-532	-422	-291
Camden (A)	NSW	-530	-402	-277
Burwood (A)	NSW	-529	-401	-111
Strathfield (A)	NSW	-518	-393	-125
Norwood Payneham St Peters (C)	SA	-515	-408	-200
Greater Dandenong (C)	Vic	-509	-435	-544
Unincorporated ACT	ACT	-504	-382	-1,120
Prospect (C)	SA	-490	-388	-111
Wollondilly (A)	NSW	-484	-367	-133
Holdfast Bay (C)	SA	-481	-381	-189
Weipa (T)	Qld	-462	-369	-15
Maribyrnong (C)	Vic	-462	-395	-274
Frankston (C)	Vic	-453	-387	-410
Melton (C)	Vic	-453	-387	-474
Roxby Downs (M)	SA	-445	-362	-19
Ryde (C)	NSW	-438	-332	-297
Whittlesea (C)	Vic	-417	-356	-609
Casey (C)	Vic	-416	-356	-935
Wyndham (C)	Vic	-413	-353	-709
Yarra (C)	Vic	-408	-349	-263
Darebin (C)	Vic	-406	-347	-423
Moreland (C)	Vic	-403	-345	-476
Mitcham (C)	SA	-401	-318	-284
Randwick (C)	NSW	-401	-304	-322
Unley (C)	SA	-398	-316	-164
Isaac (R)	Qld	-398	-318	-62

Walkerville (M)	SA	-394	-312	-33
Adelaide Hills (DC)	SA	-393	-312	-165
Waverley (A)	NSW	-389	-295	-149
Sutherland Shire (A)	NSW	-377	-286	-449
Cardinia (S)	Vic	-368	-315	-262
Hornsby (A)	NSW	-358	-272	-281
Canada Bay (A)	NSW	-351	-266	-174
Northern Beaches (A)	NSW	-345	-262	-487
Port Phillip (C)	Vic	-340	-291	-250
Hobsons Bay (C)	Vic	-338	-289	-210
The Hills Shire (A)	NSW	-337	-255	-309
Ashburton (S)	WA	-330	-196	-19
Mornington Peninsula (S)	Vic	-329	-281	-350
Yarra Ranges (S)	Vic	-328	-280	-332
Maroondah (C)	Vic	-317	-271	-239
Burnside (C)	SA	-316	-250	-152
Moonee Valley (C)	Vic	-314	-268	-260
Knox (C)	Vic	-313	-268	-327
North Sydney (A)	NSW	-308	-234	-119
Willoughby (C)	NSW	-304	-230	-127
Woollahra (A)	NSW	-301	-229	-92
Banyule (C)	Vic	-289	-247	-241
Kingston (C) (Vic.)	Vic	-278	-238	-293
Lane Cove (A)	NSW	-274	-208	-57
Hunters Hill (A)	NSW	-273	-207	-21
Melbourne (C)	Vic	-272	-232	-309
Manningham (C)	Vic	-249	-213	-202

Monash (C)	Vic	-248	-212	-320
Whitehorse (C)	Vic	-245	-210	-278
Mosman (A)	NSW	-243	-185	-39
Stonnington (C)	Vic	-238	-203	-178
Ku-ring-gai (A)	NSW	-234	-177	-153
Glen Eira (C)	Vic	-231	-197	-229
Nillumbik (S)	Vic	-206	-176	-85
Bayside (C)	Vic	-181	-154	-123
Boroondara (C)	Vic	-178	-152	-207

Table C.2: Key economic outcomes by LGA, 2021-22, annual

Local Government Area	Jurisdiction	Consumption ($m)	Output ($m)	Full Time Equivalent Jobs
Brisbane (C)	Qld	-1,121	-902	-7,929
Greater Geelong (C)	Vic	-791	-631	-4,796
Gold Coast (C)	Qld	-713	-569	-5,148
Moreton Bay (R)	Qld	-551	-443	-3,898
Logan (C)	Qld	-501	-403	-3,540
Greater Bendigo (C)	Vic	-404	-323	-2,452
Ballarat (C)	Vic	-382	-305	-2,318
Sunshine Coast (R)	Qld	-354	-283	-2,559
Canterbury-Bankstown (A)	NSW	-343	-260	-1,736
Latrobe (C) (Vic.)	Vic	-341	-273	-2,071
Ipswich (C)	Qld	-313	-252	-2,211
Blacktown (C)	NSW	-306	-232	-1,547
Central Coast (C) (NSW)	NSW	-302	-229	-1,526
Fairfield (C)	NSW	-290	-220	-1,466
Wollongong (C)	NSW	-288	-241	-1,698

Lake Macquarie (C)	NSW	-256	-214	-1,510
Greater Shepparton (C)	Vic	-249	-199	-1,513
Wanneroo (C)	WA	-249	-216	-1,687
Newcastle (C)	NSW	-243	-204	-1,437
Cairns (R)	Qld	-241	-193	-1,743
Stirling (C)	WA	-238	-206	-1,609
Townsville (C)	Qld	-236	-189	-1,707
Salisbury (C)	SA	-230	-182	-1,578
Onkaparinga (C)	SA	-227	-180	-1,553
Unincorporated ACT	ACT	-221	-168	-1,120
Liverpool (C)	NSW	-221	-168	-1,119
Cumberland (A)	NSW	-220	-167	-1,114
Mildura (RC)	Vic	-214	-171	-1,298
Playford (C)	SA	-197	-156	-1,350
Swan (C)	WA	-187	-162	-1,266
Port Adelaide Enfield (C)	SA	-180	-142	-1,231
East Gippsland (S)	Vic	-178	-142	-1,077
Gosnells (C)	WA	-177	-153	-1,195
Toowoomba (R)	Qld	-177	-141	-1,274
Rockingham (C)	WA	-173	-150	-1,169
Mid-Coast (A)	NSW	-171	-143	-1,010
Penrith (C)	NSW	-168	-128	-852
Campbelltown (C) (NSW)	NSW	-167	-127	-847
Tweed (A)	NSW	-167	-140	-984
Fraser Coast (R)	Qld	-166	-133	-1,201
Shoalhaven (C)	NSW	-158	-132	-933
Casey (C)	Vic	-152	-130	-935

Wellington (S)	Vic	-150	-120	-910
Redland (C)	Qld	-147	-118	-1,041
Baw Baw (S)	Vic	-144	-115	-872
Parramatta (C)	NSW	-143	-109	-725
Coffs Harbour (C)	NSW	-143	-119	-843
Hume (C)	Vic	-141	-121	-866
Wodonga (C)	Vic	-138	-110	-839
Bass Coast (S)	Vic	-138	-110	-835
Bundaberg (R)	Qld	-137	-109	-990
Sydney (C)	NSW	-134	-102	-680
Charles Sturt (C)	SA	-131	-104	-896
Armadale (C)	WA	-131	-114	-885
Mandurah (C)	WA	-127	-111	-862
Port Macquarie-Hastings (A)	NSW	-125	-105	-740
Joondalup (C)	WA	-124	-108	-840
Brimbank (C)	Vic	-124	-106	-759
Cockburn (C)	WA	-123	-107	-834
Campaspe (S)	Vic	-120	-96	-730
Inner West (A)	NSW	-118	-89	-596
Wyndham (C)	Vic	-115	-99	-709
Launceston (C)	Tas	-114	-92	-827
Mackay (R)	Qld	-113	-90	-814
Maitland (C)	NSW	-111	-93	-653
Warrnambool (C)	Vic	-109	-87	-664
Port Stephens (A)	NSW	-109	-92	-646
Darwin (C)	NT	-106	-93	-641
Bayside (A)	NSW	-104	-79	-525

Rockhampton (R)	Qld	-103	-83	-747
Cessnock (C)	NSW	-102	-86	-604
Clarence Valley (A)	NSW	-101	-85	-598
Shellharbour (C)	NSW	-100	-84	-593
Marion (C)	SA	-100	-79	-685
Whittlesea (C)	Vic	-99	-85	-609
Northern Beaches (A)	NSW	-96	-73	-487
Tamworth Regional (A)	NSW	-96	-80	-568
Canning (C)	WA	-94	-82	-636
Moira (S)	Vic	-94	-75	-568
Mitchell (S)	Vic	-93	-75	-568
Wagga Wagga (C)	NSW	-91	-76	-539
Gladstone (R)	Qld	-90	-72	-649
Lismore (C)	NSW	-90	-75	-531
Albury (C)	NSW	-90	-75	-530
Georges River (A)	NSW	-89	-68	-452
Sutherland Shire (A)	NSW	-89	-67	-449
Greater Dandenong (C)	Vic	-89	-76	-544
Byron (A)	NSW	-88	-74	-520
Tea Tree Gully (C)	SA	-86	-68	-586
Glenorchy (C)	Tas	-84	-66	-643
Bayswater (C)	WA	-83	-72	-559
Wangaratta (RC)	Vic	-81	-64	-488
Dubbo Regional (A)	NSW	-80	-67	-472
South Gippsland (S)	Vic	-78	-62	-473
Moreland (C)	Vic	-77	-66	-476
Melton (C)	Vic	-77	-66	-474

Gympie (R)	Qld	-75	-60	-538
Glenelg (S)	Vic	-73	-58	-442
Darebin (C)	Vic	-69	-59	-423
Kwinana (C)	WA	-68	-59	-462
Melville (C)	WA	-68	-59	-461
Surf Coast (S)	Vic	-67	-54	-409
Frankston (C)	Vic	-67	-57	-410
Kempsey (A)	NSW	-66	-55	-391
Eurobodalla (A)	NSW	-66	-55	-388
Central Goldfields (S)	Vic	-65	-52	-394
Clarence (C)	Tas	-65	-51	-500
Randwick (C)	NSW	-64	-48	-322
Swan Hill (RC)	Vic	-63	-50	-383
Colac-Otway (S)	Vic	-62	-50	-377
Alice Springs (T)	NT	-62	-49	-391
Ballina (A)	NSW	-62	-52	-365
Whyalla (C)	SA	-61	-50	-423
Noosa (S)	Qld	-61	-49	-442
The Hills Shire (A)	NSW	-61	-46	-309
Belmont (C)	WA	-61	-53	-410
West Torrens (C)	SA	-60	-48	-413
Mount Alexander (S)	Vic	-59	-47	-359
Ryde (C)	NSW	-59	-44	-297
Palmerston (C)	NT	-57	-50	-346
Mornington Peninsula (S)	Vic	-57	-49	-350
Hobart (C)	Tas	-57	-45	-439
Greater Geraldton (C)	WA	-57	-34	-365

Horsham (RC)	Vic	-56	-44	-337
Hornsby (A)	NSW	-55	-42	-281
Camden (A)	NSW	-55	-42	-277
Yarra Ranges (S)	Vic	-54	-46	-332
Armidale Regional (A)	NSW	-54	-45	-318
Murray Bridge (RC)	SA	-54	-44	-370
Orange (C)	NSW	-54	-45	-316
Knox (C)	Vic	-53	-46	-327
Hepburn (S)	Vic	-53	-42	-319
Kalamunda (C)	WA	-52	-45	-353
Monash (C)	Vic	-52	-45	-320
Bathurst Regional (A)	NSW	-52	-43	-306
Golden Plains (S)	Vic	-52	-41	-313
Mount Gambier (C)	SA	-51	-41	-351
Melbourne (C)	Vic	-50	-43	-309
Bega Valley (A)	NSW	-49	-41	-292
Lockyer Valley (R)	Qld	-49	-39	-351
Bunbury (C)	WA	-48	-29	-311
Blue Mountains (C)	NSW	-48	-37	-244
Kingston (C) (Vic.)	Vic	-48	-41	-293
Scenic Rim (R)	Qld	-47	-38	-336
East Arnhem (R)	NT	-47	-37	-299
South Burnett (R)	Qld	-46	-37	-335
Southern Grampians (S)	Vic	-46	-37	-279
Port Pirie City and Dists (M)	SA	-46	-37	-317
Whitsunday (R)	Qld	-46	-36	-330
Alexandrina (DC)	SA	-46	-37	-314

Whitehorse (C)	Vic	-45	-39	-278
Nambucca (A)	NSW	-45	-38	-266
Fremantle (C)	WA	-45	-39	-302
Maribyrnong (C)	Vic	-45	-38	-274
Victoria Park (T)	WA	-45	-39	-302
Queanbeyan-Palerang Regional (A)	NSW	-44	-37	-261
Benalla (RC)	Vic	-44	-35	-267
Richmond Valley (A)	NSW	-44	-37	-258
Moyne (S)	Vic	-43	-34	-262
Corangamite (S)	Vic	-43	-34	-260
Yarra (C)	Vic	-43	-37	-263
Cardinia (S)	Vic	-43	-37	-262
Cassowary Coast (R)	Qld	-43	-34	-307
Southern Downs (R)	Qld	-43	-34	-307
Campbelltown (C) (SA)	SA	-43	-34	-291
Moonee Valley (C)	Vic	-42	-36	-260
Port Augusta (C)	SA	-42	-34	-288
Mitcham (C)	SA	-41	-33	-284
Macedon Ranges (S)	Vic	-41	-33	-250
Northern Grampians (S)	Vic	-41	-33	-247
Port Phillip (C)	Vic	-41	-35	-250
Hawkesbury (C)	NSW	-41	-31	-205
Goulburn Mulwaree (A)	NSW	-41	-34	-239
Ararat (RC)	Vic	-41	-32	-246
Wingecarribee (A)	NSW	-40	-34	-238
Devonport (C)	Tas	-40	-32	-287
Banyule (C)	Vic	-39	-34	-241

Maroondah (C)	Vic	-39	-33	-239
Western Downs (R)	Qld	-39	-31	-280
Moorabool (S)	Vic	-38	-30	-228
Mareeba (S)	Qld	-37	-30	-271
Glen Eira (C)	Vic	-37	-32	-229
Busselton (C)	WA	-37	-22	-239
West Arnhem (R)	NT	-37	-29	-234
South Perth (C)	WA	-37	-32	-250
Albany (C)	WA	-37	-22	-237
Alpine (S)	Vic	-36	-29	-221
Indigo (S)	Vic	-36	-29	-219
Mundaring (S)	WA	-36	-31	-241
Livingstone (S)	Qld	-35	-28	-256
Broken Hill (C)	NSW	-35	-30	-209
Vincent (C)	WA	-35	-31	-238
Tablelands (R)	Qld	-35	-28	-252
Kingborough (M)	Tas	-35	-28	-267
Brighton (M)	Tas	-35	-27	-266
Copper Coast (DC)	SA	-34	-28	-237
Canada Bay (A)	NSW	-34	-26	-174
Hobsons Bay (C)	Vic	-34	-29	-210
Boroondara (C)	Vic	-34	-29	-207
Murrindindi (S)	Vic	-33	-27	-202
Roper Gulf (R)	NT	-33	-26	-210
Mid-Western Regional (A)	NSW	-33	-28	-196
Lithgow (C)	NSW	-33	-28	-194
Mount Barker (DC)	SA	-33	-26	-225

Somerset (R)	Qld	-33	-26	-232
Manningham (C)	Vic	-33	-28	-202
Gannawarra (S)	Vic	-33	-26	-197
Perth (C)	WA	-32	-28	-216
Burnie (C)	Tas	-32	-26	-231
Strathbogie (S)	Vic	-32	-25	-191
Barossa (DC)	SA	-31	-25	-212
Ku-ring-gai (A)	NSW	-30	-23	-153
Port Lincoln (C)	SA	-30	-24	-207
Inverell (A)	NSW	-30	-25	-176
Waverley (A)	NSW	-30	-22	-149
Norwood Payneham St Peters (C)	SA	-29	-23	-200
Gawler (T)	SA	-29	-23	-199
Stonnington (C)	Vic	-29	-25	-178
Broome (S)	WA	-29	-17	-184
Griffith (C)	NSW	-29	-24	-169
Adelaide (C)	SA	-28	-22	-193
Barkly (R)	NT	-28	-22	-177
Loddon (S)	Vic	-28	-22	-169
Serpentine-Jarrahdale (S)	WA	-28	-24	-188
Holdfast Bay (C)	SA	-28	-22	-189
MacDonnell (R)	NT	-27	-22	-173
Kalgoorlie/Boulder (C)	WA	-27	-16	-174
Katherine (T)	NT	-27	-21	-169
Muswellbrook (A)	NSW	-27	-22	-158
Singleton (A)	NSW	-27	-22	-157
West Tamar (M)	Tas	-27	-21	-192

Victor Harbor (C)	SA	-26	-21	-182
Hilltops (A)	NSW	-26	-22	-155
Wollondilly (A)	NSW	-26	-20	-133
Huon Valley (M)	Tas	-26	-21	-189
Moree Plains (A)	NSW	-26	-22	-154
Bellingen (A)	NSW	-26	-22	-154
Litchfield (M)	NT	-26	-23	-156
Derby-West Kimberley (S)	WA	-26	-15	-165
Mount Isa (C)	Qld	-26	-20	-184
Central Coast (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-25	-20	-184
Willoughby (C)	NSW	-25	-19	-127
Pyrenees (S)	Vic	-25	-20	-151
Strathfield (A)	NSW	-25	-19	-125
Adelaide Hills (DC)	SA	-24	-19	-165
Berri and Barmera (DC)	SA	-24	-20	-165
Unley (C)	SA	-24	-19	-164
Central Highlands (R) (Qld)	Qld	-24	-19	-173
Snowy Monaro Regional (A)	NSW	-24	-20	-141
Murray (S)	WA	-24	-20	-161
Harvey (S)	WA	-24	-14	-152
North Sydney (A)	NSW	-24	-18	-119
Parkes (A)	NSW	-23	-19	-135
Mansfield (S)	Vic	-22	-18	-135
Burnside (C)	SA	-22	-18	-152
Douglas (S)	Qld	-22	-18	-159
Burwood (A)	NSW	-22	-17	-111
Meander Valley (M)	Tas	-21	-17	-156

Sorell (M)	Tas	-21	-17	-165
Narrabri (A)	NSW	-21	-18	-126
Yorke Peninsula (DC)	SA	-21	-17	-142
Cowra (A)	NSW	-21	-17	-121
Wattle Range (DC)	SA	-20	-17	-141
Central Desert (R)	NT	-20	-16	-128
Kyogle (A)	NSW	-20	-17	-119
Loxton Waikerie (DC)	SA	-20	-16	-138
Bayside (C)	Vic	-20	-17	-123
Bassendean (T)	WA	-20	-17	-132
Gunnedah (A)	NSW	-20	-16	-115
Walgett (A)	NSW	-19	-16	-115
Mid Murray (DC)	SA	-19	-16	-133
Yarriambiack (S)	Vic	-19	-15	-114
Renmark Paringa (DC)	SA	-19	-15	-130
Snowy Valleys (A)	NSW	-19	-16	-110
Light (RegC)	SA	-18	-15	-126
Woollahra (A)	NSW	-18	-14	-92
Derwent Valley (M)	Tas	-18	-14	-138
Waratah/Wynyard (M)	Tas	-18	-14	-127
Port Hedland (T)	WA	-18	-10	-113
Glen Innes Severn (A)	NSW	-18	-15	-103
Burdekin (S)	Qld	-17	-14	-126
Unincorporated NT	NT	-17	-14	-110
West Daly (R)	NT	-17	-13	-107
Hindmarsh (S)	Vic	-17	-13	-102
Kiama (A)	NSW	-17	-14	-97

Augusta-Margaret River (S)	WA	-16	-10	-105
Karratha (C)	WA	-16	-10	-105
Prospect (C)	SA	-16	-13	-111
Federation (A)	NSW	-16	-13	-94
Northern Midlands (M)	Tas	-16	-13	-115
Warrumbungle Shire (A)	NSW	-16	-13	-93
Buloke (S)	Vic	-16	-13	-96
Towong (S)	Vic	-16	-13	-95
Northam (S)	WA	-16	-9	-101
Leeton (A)	NSW	-15	-13	-91
Wyndham-East Kimberley (S)	WA	-15	-9	-99
Upper Hunter Shire (A)	NSW	-15	-13	-89
Yarrabah (S)	Qld	-14	-12	-105
Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AC)	SA	-14	-12	-99
Break O'Day (M)	Tas	-14	-11	-102
Tenterfield (A)	NSW	-14	-12	-83
Tiwi Islands (R)	NT	-14	-11	-88
Capel (S)	WA	-14	-8	-90
Nillumbik (S)	Vic	-14	-12	-85
George Town (M)	Tas	-14	-11	-99
Charters Towers (R)	Qld	-14	-11	-99
Cambridge (T)	WA	-14	-12	-92
Halls Creek (S)	WA	-14	-8	-87
Edward River (A)	NSW	-13	-11	-80
Torres Strait Island (R)	Qld	-13	-11	-96
Cootamundra-Gundagai Regional (A)	NSW	-13	-11	-78
Collie (S)	WA	-13	-8	-84

Liverpool Plains (A)	NSW	-13	-11	-76
Adelaide Plains (DC)	SA	-13	-10	-87
Esperance (S)	WA	-13	-8	-81
Wakefield (DC)	SA	-13	-10	-86
Victoria Daly (R)	NT	-12	-10	-79
Cook (S)	Qld	-12	-10	-90
Forbes (A)	NSW	-12	-10	-73
Murray River (A)	NSW	-12	-10	-73
Latrobe (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-12	-10	-89
Clare and Gilbert Valleys (DC)	SA	-12	-10	-84
Hinchinbrook (S)	Qld	-12	-10	-86
Wentworth (A)	NSW	-12	-10	-70
North Burnett (R)	Qld	-12	-9	-86
Dardanup (S)	WA	-12	-7	-75
Grant (DC)	SA	-12	-9	-80
Yass Valley (A)	NSW	-12	-10	-68
Cabonne (A)	NSW	-11	-10	-68
Subiaco (C)	WA	-11	-10	-78
The Coorong (DC)	SA	-11	-9	-78
Lane Cove (A)	NSW	-11	-9	-57
Dungog (A)	NSW	-11	-9	-65
Carnarvon (S)	WA	-11	-6	-69
Greater Hume Shire (A)	NSW	-11	-9	-63
Lachlan (A)	NSW	-10	-9	-62
Banana (S)	Qld	-10	-8	-75
Narromine (A)	NSW	-10	-9	-61
Nedlands (C)	WA	-10	-9	-70

Naracoorte and Lucindale (DC)	SA	-10	-8	-70
Maranoa (R)	Qld	-10	-8	-73
West Wimmera (S)	Vic	-10	-8	-62
Dorset (M)	Tas	-10	-8	-73
Yankalilla (DC)	SA	-10	-8	-70
Ceduna (DC)	SA	-10	-8	-68
Berrigan (A)	NSW	-10	-8	-58
West Coast (M)	Tas	-10	-8	-69
Goondiwindi (R)	Qld	-9	-8	-69
Narrandera (A)	NSW	-9	-8	-54
Coober Pedy (DC)	SA	-9	-7	-63
Palm Island (S)	Qld	-9	-7	-64
Manjimup (S)	WA	-9	-5	-57
Kentish (M)	Tas	-9	-7	-64
Circular Head (M)	Tas	-9	-7	-64
East Pilbara (S)	WA	-9	-5	-55
Isaac (R)	Qld	-9	-7	-62
Coonamble (A)	NSW	-8	-7	-50
Lower Eyre Peninsula (DC)	SA	-8	-7	-58
Kangaroo Island (DC)	SA	-8	-6	-55
Goyder (DC)	SA	-8	-6	-55
Blayney (A)	NSW	-8	-7	-47
Southern Midlands (M)	Tas	-8	-6	-57
Gilgandra (A)	NSW	-8	-6	-46
Bourke (A)	NSW	-8	-6	-46
Mosman (A)	NSW	-8	-6	-39
Unincorporated SA	SA	-8	-6	-53

Uralla (A)	NSW	-7	-6	-44
Gwydir (A)	NSW	-7	-6	-44
Northern Peninsula Area (R)	Qld	-7	-6	-52
Upper Lachlan Shire (A)	NSW	-7	-6	-42
Junee (A)	NSW	-7	-6	-41
Northern Areas (DC)	SA	-7	-6	-48
Temora (A)	NSW	-7	-6	-40
Glamorgan/Spring Bay (M)	Tas	-6	-5	-46
Denmark (S)	WA	-6	-4	-40
Aurukun (S)	Qld	-6	-5	-45
Carpentaria (S)	Qld	-6	-5	-44
Mount Remarkable (DC)	SA	-6	-5	-42
Plantagenet (S)	WA	-6	-4	-38
Tatiara (DC)	SA	-6	-5	-41
Mosman Park (T)	WA	-6	-5	-40
Oberon (A)	NSW	-6	-5	-34
Narrogin (S)	WA	-6	-3	-37
Claremont (T)	WA	-6	-5	-39
Donnybrook-Balingup (S)	WA	-6	-3	-37
Katanning (S)	WA	-6	-3	-36
Streaky Bay (DC)	SA	-6	-5	-39
East Fremantle (T)	WA	-5	-5	-37
Queenscliffe (B)	Vic	-5	-4	-31
Torres (S)	Qld	-5	-4	-37
Bland (A)	NSW	-5	-4	-30
Kowanyama (S)	Qld	-5	-4	-36
Cobar (A)	NSW	-5	-4	-29

Brewarrina (A)	NSW	-5	-4	-29
Murweh (S)	Qld	-5	-4	-36
Gingin (S)	WA	-5	-3	-31
Toodyay (S)	WA	-5	-3	-31
Walkerville (M)	SA	-5	-4	-33
Barunga West (DC)	SA	-5	-4	-33
Warren (A)	NSW	-5	-4	-28
Balonne (S)	Qld	-5	-4	-34
Tasman (M)	Tas	-4	-4	-33
Waroona (S)	WA	-4	-3	-29
Bogan (A)	NSW	-4	-4	-26
Coolgardie (S)	WA	-4	-3	-28
Doomadgee (S)	Qld	-4	-4	-32
Northampton (S)	WA	-4	-2	-27
Hunters Hill (A)	NSW	-4	-3	-21
Weddin (A)	NSW	-4	-3	-24
Coolamon (A)	NSW	-4	-3	-24
Pormpuraaw (S)	Qld	-4	-3	-29
Murrumbidgee (A)	NSW	-4	-3	-23
York (S)	WA	-4	-2	-25
Bridgetown-Greenbushes (S)	WA	-4	-2	-25
Ngaanyatjarraku (S)	WA	-4	-2	-25
Central Darling (A)	NSW	-4	-3	-22
Walcha (A)	NSW	-4	-3	-22
Peterborough (DC)	SA	-4	-3	-25
Mornington (S)	Qld	-4	-3	-26
Cloncurry (S)	Qld	-4	-3	-26

Hay (A)	NSW	-4	-3	-21
Central Highlands (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-3	-3	-25
Irwin (S)	WA	-3	-2	-22
Leonora (S)	WA	-3	-2	-21
Flinders Ranges (DC)	SA	-3	-3	-23
Tumby Bay (DC)	SA	-3	-3	-22
Kingston (DC) (SA)	SA	-3	-3	-22
Cottesloe (T)	WA	-3	-3	-22
Exmouth (S)	WA	-3	-2	-20
Chittering (S)	WA	-3	-2	-20
Merredin (S)	WA	-3	-2	-20
Coomalie (S)	NT	-3	-2	-19
Dandaragan (S)	WA	-3	-2	-19
Ashburton (S)	WA	-3	-2	-19
Hope Vale (S)	Qld	-3	-2	-21
Lockhart (A)	NSW	-3	-2	-17
Unincorporated Vic	Vic	-3	-2	-17
Napranum (S)	Qld	-3	-2	-21
Meekatharra (S)	WA	-3	-2	-18
Laverton (S)	WA	-3	-2	-17
Roxby Downs (M)	SA	-3	-2	-19
Carrathool (A)	NSW	-3	-2	-16
Longreach (R)	Qld	-2	-2	-18
Southern Mallee (DC)	SA	-2	-2	-17
Paroo (S)	Qld	-2	-2	-16
Cherbourg (S)	Qld	-2	-2	-16
Lockhart River (S)	Qld	-2	-2	-15

Moora (S)	WA	-2	-1	-13
Weipa (T)	Qld	-2	-2	-15
Balranald (A)	NSW	-2	-2	-12
Orroroo/Carrieton (DC)	SA	-2	-2	-13
Beverley (S)	WA	-2	-1	-12
Wiluna (S)	WA	-2	-1	-12
Robe (DC)	SA	-2	-2	-13
Barcaldine (R)	Qld	-2	-1	-13
Cleve (DC)	SA	-2	-1	-12
Unincorporated NSW	NSW	-2	-1	-10
Boddington (S)	WA	-2	-1	-10
Chapman Valley (S)	WA	-2	-1	-10
Cunderdin (S)	WA	-2	-1	-10
Kojonup (S)	WA	-2	-1	-10
Boyup Brook (S)	WA	-1.4	-0.9	-9
Karoonda East Murray (DC)	SA	-1.4	-1.2	-10
Wudinna (DC)	SA	-1.4	-1.1	-10
Wagin (S)	WA	-1.4	-0.8	-9
Woorabinda (S)	Qld	-1.4	-1.1	-10
Nannup (S)	WA	-1.3	-0.8	-9
Kellerberrin (S)	WA	-1.3	-0.8	-8
Franklin Harbour (DC)	SA	-1.2	-1.0	-9
Dalwallinu (S)	WA	-1.2	-0.7	-8
Blackall-Tambo (R)	Qld	-1.2	-1.0	-9
Elliston (DC)	SA	-1.2	-1.0	-8
Mount Magnet (S)	WA	-1.2	-0.7	-8
Pingelly (S)	WA	-1.2	-0.7	-7

Corrigin (S)	WA	-1.2	-0.7	-7
Wongan-Ballidu (S)	WA	-1.2	-0.7	-7
King Island (M)	Tas	-1.2	-0.9	-8
Menzies (S)	WA	-1.1	-0.7	-7
Flinders (S) (Qld)	Qld	-1.1	-0.9	-8
Quairading (S)	WA	-1.1	-0.7	-7
Peppermint Grove (S)	WA	-1.1	-1.0	-7
Flinders (M) (Tas.)	Tas	-1.1	-0.9	-8
Quilpie (S)	Qld	-1.1	-0.9	-8
Shark Bay (S)	WA	-1.1	-0.6	-7
Wagait (S)	NT	-1.1	-0.8	-7
Burke (S)	Qld	-1.1	-0.8	-8
Ravensthorpe (S)	WA	-1.0	-0.6	-7
Kimba (DC)	SA	-1.0	-0.8	-7
Brookton (S)	WA	-1.0	-0.6	-6
Coorow (S)	WA	-1.0	-0.6	-6
Gnowangerup (S)	WA	-0.9	-0.6	-6
Mapoon (S)	Qld	-0.9	-0.7	-7
Dundas (S)	WA	-0.9	-0.5	-6
Goomalling (S)	WA	-0.9	-0.5	-6
Broomehill-Tambellup (S)	WA	-0.9	-0.5	-6
Jerramungup (S)	WA	-0.9	-0.5	-6
Yalgoo (S)	WA	-0.9	-0.5	-6
Winton (S)	Qld	-0.9	-0.7	-6
Cranbrook (S)	WA	-0.8	-0.5	-5
Wujal Wujal (S)	Qld	-0.8	-0.7	-6
Bruce Rock (S)	WA	-0.8	-0.5	-5

Lake Grace (S)	WA	-0.8	-0.5	-5
Yilgarn (S)	WA	-0.8	-0.5	-5
Victoria Plains (S)	WA	-0.8	-0.5	-5
Narembeen (S)	WA	-0.8	-0.4	-5
Williams (S)	WA	-0.7	-0.4	-5
Etheridge (S)	Qld	-0.7	-0.6	-5
Morawa (S)	WA	-0.7	-0.4	-4
Cuballing (S)	WA	-0.7	-0.4	-4
West Arthur (S)	WA	-0.6	-0.4	-4
Maralinga Tjarutja (AC)	SA	-0.6	-0.5	-4
McKinlay (S)	Qld	-0.6	-0.5	-4
Richmond (S)	Qld	-0.6	-0.5	-4
Dowerin (S)	WA	-0.6	-0.3	-4
Kondinin (S)	WA	-0.6	-0.3	-4
Perenjori (S)	WA	-0.6	-0.3	-4
Woodanilling (S)	WA	-0.6	-0.3	-4
Three Springs (S)	WA	-0.5	-0.3	-4
Carnamah (S)	WA	-0.5	-0.3	-3
Bulloo (S)	Qld	-0.5	-0.4	-4
Kulin (S)	WA	-0.5	-0.3	-3
Wickepin (S)	WA	-0.5	-0.3	-3
Tammin (S)	WA	-0.5	-0.3	-3
Wandering (S)	WA	-0.5	-0.3	-3
Cue (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.3	-3
Dumbleyung (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.3	-3
Kent (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.3	-3
Wyalkatchem (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.3	-3

Mingenew (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.2	-3
Murchison (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.2	-3
Belyuen (S)	NT	-0.4	-0.3	-2
Mukinbudin (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.2	-2
Koorda (S)	WA	-0.4	-0.2	-2
Mount Marshall (S)	WA	-0.3	-0.2	-2
Boulia (S)	Qld	-0.3	-0.3	-2
Upper Gascoyne (S)	WA	-0.3	-0.2	-2
Croydon (S)	Qld	-0.3	-0.2	-2
Trayning (S)	WA	-0.2	-0.1	-2
Sandstone (S)	WA	-0.2	-0.1	-2
Westonia (S)	WA	-0.2	-0.1	-1
Barcoo (S)	Qld	-0.2	-0.2	-1
Diamantina (S)	Qld	-0.2	-0.2	-1
Nungarin (S)	WA	-0.2	-0.1	-1

Limitation of our work

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