

DISSATISFACTION WITH IMMIGRATION GROWS

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Immigration has increased considerably since the late 1990s and between 2004 and 2007 the proportion of voters who want the intake to be reduced rose from 34 per cent to 46 per cent. While support for a reduction was highest in New South Wales, this support was already high in 2004. In relative terms support for a reduction rose most strongly in Victoria. This may be because, over the four-year period, Melbourne absorbed a greater proportion of Australia's population growth than any other region. Despite growing electoral disquiet, the new Labor Government is increasing the immigration program to record levels.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last 18 years attitudes to immigration in Australia have changed dramatically. In 1993 67 per cent of the electorate thought the intake too high while in the early years of this century this proportion halved to around a third. Now dissatisfaction is rising again. This article describes what has happened, analyses the social bases for both opposition and support, and outlines the recent policy changes which are taking immigration to record levels.

PUBLIC OPINION SINCE 1990

Immigration was deeply unpopular in the early 1990s. Figure 1 is based on responses to the post-election Australian Election Studies (AES) from 1990 to 2007. It relies on the question: 'The number of immigrants allowed into Australia at the present time has ...' with response categories: gone much too far, gone too far, about right, not gone far enough, not gone nearly far enough. This has been asked regularly since 1990.

Comparison with a different question, 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?', asked since 1996, shows that the reduce/increase question tends to elicit more definite answers; fewer respondents choose the neutral middle option or skip the question altogether.¹ This may be because the wording is clearer. The gone too far/not gone far enough question

is also asked as part of a bank of questions about trends that may or may not have gone too far, such as: the right to show nudity and sex in films and magazines, controls on firearms, support for the fight against terrorism and so on. Consequently some respondents may not focus clearly on the immigration question, or may simply overlook it. In contrast the reduce/increase question is set out clearly as a stand-alone question.

Nevertheless the gone too far/not gone far enough question is useful because of the longer time series it presents. Figure 1 shows that in the early 1990s two thirds of the electorate thought the current intake had either gone too far or much too far, while by 2001 this proportion had dropped to 34 per cent.

In 1990 the economy was in recession; not only was GDP shrinking, unemployment was high and bank interest rates on housing loans had reached 17 per cent.² Net overseas migration had averaged more than 130,000 a year for the previous five years (1985–86 to 1989–1990),³ and the then Labor Government (led first by Bob Hawke and then by Paul Keating) was enthusiastically committed to multiculturalism. Leaders of ethnic groups were courted by politicians and new immigrants had easy access to welfare and to labour-market benefits. In such a setting some voters could have believed that

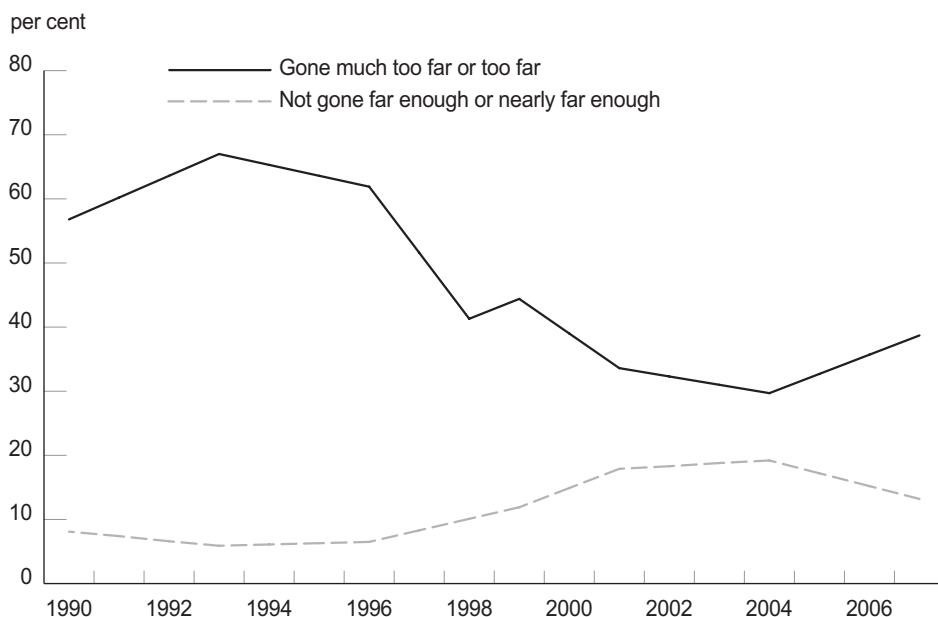
immigration was bringing in competitors for scarce jobs, and (as the FitzGerald Report suggested) that its key purpose was to appease ethnic lobbyists and increase ethnic diversity.⁴

While GDP increased from 1992–93,⁵ thus bringing the recession to a technical end, unemployment remained at over 10 per cent, only falling to around eight per cent in 1995.⁶ With the election of the Liberal/National Party Coalition Government led by John Howard in March 1996, the economy continued to improve. Interest rates, which were 10.5 per cent at the time of the 1996 election, began to fall, as did unemployment. As far as the politics of immigration were concerned the term *multiculturalism* almost disappeared from political rhetoric and far reaching changes

to the immigration program limited family reunion and restricted new migrants' access to welfare and labour market benefits.⁷

The Howard Government also initially reduced the overall size of the program. The reduction was not extensive (see Figure 2 below) but it was widely criticised by the growth lobby, and by some opinion makers; consequently voters may have thought the cuts larger and more long lasting than they actually were. An impression that the Government was determined to be firm on immigration was reinforced by its tough action on border control.⁸ Many voters may have come to believe that the program was not only small, well targeted and operating in the national interest, but that it was also under close control.

Figure 1: Responses to 'The number of immigrants allowed into Australia at the present time has ...', 1990 to 2007



Sources: Australian Election Studies (AES) 1990 to 2007, see appendix for details.

Note: The question was: 'The number of immigrants allowed into Australia at the present time has ...' response categories: gone much too far, gone too far, about right, not gone far enough, not gone nearly far enough. The 'about right' group are not shown in Figure 1.

All of these changes may have muted voters' concerns about immigration. An additional factor was anxiety about the ageing of the population. The 2005 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes asked respondents what was the most important issue facing Australia. It gave them a list of 18 issues and 14.2 per cent chose 'An ageing population' as their top issue, a score only bested by 'Health care and hospitals' (15.2 per cent) and 'Taxes too high on ordinary Australians' (14.5 per cent). People who worried about ageing were more supportive of immigration than the electorate as a whole, suggesting that some voters believe the myth that high immigration is an effective anti-ageing remedy.⁹ This too may have softened attitudes to immigration. As Figure 1 shows, by the late 1990s, opposition had fallen substantially.¹⁰

The reduce/increase immigration question has now been asked in all of the AES voters' studies since 1996 (except the 1999 referendum study). It was also asked

in the separate questionnaires sent to election candidates in 1996, 2001 and 2004 (there was no candidates study in 1998, and no immigration question for candidates in 2007). It was also asked in the 2003 and 2005 Australian Surveys of Social Attitudes (AuSSA). It is now so widely used that the present analysis will focus on it, rather than on the not gone far enough/gone too far question. Table 1 shows changes in responses to the reduce/increase question among voters between 1996 and 2007.

Table 1 confirms the picture provided by Figure 1; 2004 was the year when dissatisfaction with immigration was at its lowest level. But by 2007 this dissatisfaction had increased by 12 percentage points to 46 per cent of the electorate and active support for an increase had fallen by eight percentage points to 15 per cent of the electorate.¹¹ Previous research has shown that people standing for election to the federal parliament tend to be much more in favour of immigration than the electorate

Table 1: Attitudes to immigration, 1996 to 2007, per cent

Number of immigrants should be:	§1996	§1998	§2001	*2003	§2004	*2005	§2007
Increased a lot or a little	8	13	25	24	23	23	15
Remain about the same as it is	28	38	37	33	40	33	38
Reduced a little or a lot	63	47	36	37	34	39	46
Missing/can't choose	1	2	2	7	2	6	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1797	1897	2010	4270	1769	3902	1873

Sources: § AES, * AuSSA, see appendix for details.

Notes: The question was: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' Response categories: increased a lot, increased a little, remain about the same as it is, reduced a little, reduced a lot. Can't choose was a further option, offered only by AuSSA; n=250 (5.9 per cent) in 2003 and 192 (4.9 per cent) in 2005. (It seems to reduce the percentage choosing the 'about the same' category more than it reduces the other categories.)

The difference between 2003 and 2004 in the category 'Increased a lot or a little' is very small: 23.7 per cent in 2003 and 23.3 per cent in 2004, a difference of 0.4 per cent.

as a whole.¹² This is particularly true of Labor candidates; in 2004, 24 per cent of Labor voters wanted an increase in immigration compared to 72 per cent of Labor candidates. Unfortunately the absence of an immigration question on the 2007 candidates' survey means that this part of the story cannot be brought up-to-date.

PATTERNS OF DISSATISFACTION AND SUPPORT IN 2007

The 2007 AES data were collected just after the 24 November election (won by the Labor Party led by Kevin Rudd). Overall, in 2007, Australia-born voters were more disaffected with the level of immigration than were overseas-born voters, but the difference between the Australia-born and voters born in main-English-speaking-background (MESB) countries was very slight. Consequently Table 2 combines these two birthplace groupings.¹³ It is those born in other countries, almost all non-English-speaking-background countries (NESB),

who are the stand-out group. They are much more likely to want an increase, and much less likely to want a decrease (even so only 27 per cent of NESBs would prefer an increase). The other main division is between graduates and non-graduates; this follows a long-standing pattern of university-educated people tending to have sharply different attitudes to immigration from those of their less well-educated compatriots.¹⁴

Table 3 shows that this educational division is reflected when attitudes to immigration are analysed by occupation; professionals, who are much more likely to be graduates, are also much more likely to support high immigration, and much less likely to want a reduction. The occupational groups that are most negative about immigration are tradespeople, intermediate production and transport workers, and elementary clerks.

Immigrants disproportionately settle in Sydney in New South Wales (NSW) and Melbourne in Victoria. In 2006–07, 33.1 per

Table 2: Attitudes to immigration by education level and birthplace, 2007, per cent

Number of immigrants should be:	Graduates		Non-graduates		Total
	Australia- and MESB-born	NESB-born	Australia- and MESB-born	NESB-born	
Increased a lot or a little	**29	*32	**8	*25	15
Remain about the same as it is	42	49	37	38	38
Reduced a little or a lot	**28	**18	**55	*33	46
Missing	1	1	0	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	358	84	1112	167	1873

Source: AES 2007

Notes: MESB stands for main English-speaking background countries and NESB for non-English-speaking-background countries.

Those missing on education and/or birth place (n=152) are not shown separately but are included in the total.

* The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .05 level.

** The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .01 level.

Table 5: Attitudes to immigration by occupation, 2007, per cent

Number of immigrants should be:	Managers and administrators	Professionals	Associate professionals	Tradespersons & related workers	Advanced and intermediate clerks	Intermediate production & transport workers	Elementary clerks	Labourers & related workers	Total
Increased a lot or a little	16	**25	13	11	10	9	9	10	15
Remain about the same as it is	43	44	38	30	39	33	33	33	38
Reduced a little or a lot	41	**31	48	*58	49	*58	*58	57	46
Missing	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	216	404	242	158	312	112	110	93	1873

Source: AES 2007

Notes: The occupation data on the original file were coded to the new ANZSCO schema. They have been recoded here back into the former ASCO system using ANZSCO—Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations, First Edition, Correspondence tables, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Catalogue no. 1220.0.

Occupation is the respondent's current occupation, or their former occupation if unemployed or retired. Respondents who have never been in the labour force, or whose occupation is inadequately described or missing (n=226), are not shown separately but are included in the total.

* The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .05 level.

** The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .01 level.

cent settled in NSW and 25.5 per cent in Victoria; Queensland came third, attracting 18.6 per cent, and Western Australia (WA) fourth, with 13.2 per cent.¹⁵ This follows a long established pattern. In 2004 opposition to immigration was higher than the national average in NSW and lower in Victoria, suggesting that higher levels of settlement had eroded the willingness of voters in NSW to accept further inflows more rapidly than the rather smaller inflows in Victoria. (See Tables 5 and 6 below.) But by 2007 there was no statistically significant difference between the states and territories, except for the Australia Capital Territory (ACT). Table 4 shows the four most populous states separately, together with the ACT, and groups the remainder together.

Previous research has shown that support for high immigration tends to be concentrated in inner-metropolitan areas and in Canberra, in the ACT.¹⁶ Despite the overall drop in support since 2004, Table 4 shows that the ACT remains a pro-

immigration stronghold. The number of respondents is small, but the difference between their attitudes and those of other Australians is marked. Table 5 shows that the relative pattern of more support for immigration in inner-city regions still holds in 2007. It also suggests that, while Victoria in 2007 was not very different from Australia as a whole at the state level, inner-city Melbourne was more supportive of immigration than all other regions in Australia, apart from the ACT.

Graduates and NESB migrants are more likely to live in inner-metropolitan areas than are other demographic groups; in 2007, 29 per cent of all respondents to the AES lived in inner-metropolitan areas compared to 43 per cent of graduates and 47 per cent of NESB-born immigrants. Differences in support for immigration can be largely explained by these different residential patterns.¹⁷ But while this explains the locational differences it does not explain them away. They still matter politically

Table 4: Attitudes to immigration by state and territory, 2007, per cent

Number of immigrants should be:	NSW	Victoria	Queensland	WA	ACT	South Australia, Tasmania, Northern Territory	Total
Increased a lot or a little	14	16	12	16	*34	16	15
Remain about the same as it is	34	39	39	43	46	42	38
Reduced a little or a lot	50	44	48	38	**20	42	46
Missing	2	2	1	2	0	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	606	480	359	164	35	211	1873

Source: 2007 AES

Notes: Missing on state and territory (n=18) are not shown separately.

Of the 35 respondents in the ACT, 34 lived in Canberra.

* The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .05 level.

** The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .01 level.

Table 5: Attitudes to immigration by location, 2007, per cent

Number of immigrants should be:	Inner Sydney	Inner Melbourne	Inner Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth	ACT	Inner Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth	Outer Sydney	Outer Melbourne	Outer Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth	Rest of NSW	Rest of Victoria	Rest of Qld, SA and WA	Total
Increased a lot or a little	20	*27	20	*34	20	12	15	15	10	8	*10	15
Remain about the same as it is	37	41	39	46	39	37	39	42	31	36	41	38
Reduced a little or a lot	39	30	40	**20	40	51	45	42	*58	*53	46	46
Missing	3	2	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	190	125	177	35	177	136	190	196	280	165	292	1873

Source: 2007 AES

Notes: Sub-totals for Tasmania and the Northern Territory (n=69) and missing (n=15) are not shown separately.

ACT is Australia Capital Territory, NSW is New South Wales, Vic is Victoria, Qld is Queensland, SA is South Australia, and WA is West Australia.

* The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .05 level.

** The difference between the sub-category and the total is significant at the .01 level.

Table 6: Attitudes to immigration in NSW and Victoria, 2007 and 2004, per cent, and per cent change

The number of immigrants should be:	New South Wales		Victoria		Rest of Australia		Total				
	2004	2007	2004-2007	2004	2007	2004-2007	2004	2007			
Increased a lot or a little	*18	14	-4	*31	16	-15	23	15	23	15	-8
Remain about the same as it is	37	34	-3	39	39	0	43	41	40	38	-2
Reduced a little or a lot	*43	50	7	*27	44	16	31	43	34	46	11
Missing	2	2		3	2		2	1	2	2	
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100	100	100	
Total N	555	606		442	480		753	769	1769	1873	

Sources: AES 2004 and 2007

Note: * The difference between the sub-category and the total for that year is significant at the .05 level.

because people living in inner-city areas, and in Canberra, are more likely to influence public debates, by virtue of their higher education, their professional occupations, and their proximity to government.

CHANGES BETWEEN 2004 AND 2006

In 2004 voters in NSW were more negative about immigration than Australians as a whole, while those in Victoria were less negative. Table 6 shows that by 2007 this difference had eroded; it was still evident but was no longer large enough for statistical significance. Support for increased immigration in Victoria had shrunk by 15 percentage points and support for a reduction had grown by 16 percentage points; both of these changes were well above the national average. This meant that, by 2007, Victorians were much more like the rest of Australians than they had been in 2004.

Why did these changes occur, both in Victoria and in Australia as a whole? There had been a rise in interest rates during the 2007 election campaign, but in late November and December 2007 the overall economic outlook was fair. The bad economic news—the international credit squeeze, the dramatic fall in the stock market that may have reduced household wealth by seven per cent,¹⁸ the falling value of superannuation, the sharp increases in the costs of fuel and food, fears of inflation—all these came later, during 2008.

From any conventional economic perspective the years 2004 to 2007 were rosy. It is unusual to see support for immigration decline so steeply in such circumstances. What could have caused it? One possibility is that the immediate negative consequences of rapid population growth became evident to more people: rising house prices and rents, pressure to increase residential densities in previously low-density suburbs, increased congestion on the roads, pressure on hospitals and

health services, and overcrowding on public transport.

From 1995 to 2004, Australia's total population grew by around 235,000 or 1.26 per cent a year, 42 per cent from net overseas migration. From 2005 to 2007 the annual growth rate averaged 294,830 or 1.46 per cent, 50 per cent from net overseas migration.¹⁹

This growth was not evenly distributed. From 2004 to 2007 Australia added an extra 884,500 people. But despite the fact that more overseas migrants settle in Sydney, nearly twice as many people were added to Melbourne's population than to Sydney's (see Table 7). The reason for this is that heavy out migration from NSW (mainly Sydney) reduced the overall impact of overseas immigration. From 2004 to 2007 a net average of 27,000 people left NSW each year for other parts of Australia, many of them for south-eastern Queensland.²⁰ Indeed, from 2004 to 2007 interstate migration accounted for 34 per cent of Queensland's population growth.²¹

Table 7 shows that Melbourne added more people during the four-year period than any other region and its acute growing pains have been analysed elsewhere.²² Residents protested as urban planners strove to accommodate burgeoning numbers by increasing housing densities, and as Melbourne, and other cities, continued to be plagued by water shortages, some voters wondered about the logic of pursuing further growth.²³ (Other commentators, motivated mainly by rising property values, found the prospect of more and more growth appealing.)²⁴

Though the 2007 Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA) had no question on immigration it did repeat the question on important issues facing Australia. Table 8 shows that an ageing population was still high on the list of concerns (ranked fourth, instead of third) but that the environment and affordable housing had moved much

nigger up the list. indeed lack of affordable housing moved from eleventh place to third place, a quite remarkable change over a two-year period. Even public transport moved from being the issue least likely to be chosen in 2005, and ranked 18th, to a higher concern, ranked 15th. And environmental damage was now firmly in second place.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN IMMIGRATION POLICY

Even while they were enjoying economic prosperity the share of the Australian electorate wanting a contraction in immigration increased sharply between 2004 and 2007. Late in 2007 46 per cent wanted a reduction and only 15 per cent wanted an increase. But one of the first actions of the Rudd Government after the election was to announce a dramatic increase in the intake, from its already very high levels. Including the humanitarian sub-program, the total

planned permanent intake for 2008–2009 stands at 203,800.²⁵

Figure 2 shows that this exceeds the very high levels of the 1960s, and that it is much higher than the high immigration of the Hawke/Keating Labor Governments from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s.

There had been no mention of plans to boost immigration and population growth during the campaign; it was a post-election surprise. But it was not challenged by any of the other political parties. In a casual aside in September 2008 Rudd showed that he simply assumed that Australia would grow from its current population of 21 million to reach 35 million in 2050.²⁷ Here he was drawing on recent ABS projections, the series B projection which assumes a total fertility rate of 1.8 and net overseas migration of 180,000 a year, a number which Figure 2 shows to be considerably higher than recent totals. For example in the years to June 30, 2001 to 2006, net

Table 7: Population growth in Australia by region, numbers and per cent distribution, 2004 to 2007

	2004	2007	Increase	per cent
Sydney	4,225,088	4,334,000	108,912	12
Rest of NSW	2,485,404	2,555,072	69,668	8
Melbourne	3,592,975	3,805,800	212,825	24
Rest of Victoria	1,390,081	1,399,416	9,335	1
Brisbane	1,777,667	1,857,000	79,333	9
Rest of Queensland	2,124,144	2,325,062	200,918	23
Other capital cities	3,213,162	3,376,700	163,538	18
Rest of Australia	1,317,941	1,361,712	43,771	5
Australia	20,132,756	21,017,222	884,466	100

Sources: Derived from *Australian Demographic Statistics* (September Quarter 2007) Catalogue no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, 2008; data for cities' populations in 2007 are from *Population Projections, Australia, 2006 to 2101*, Catalogue no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2008, p. 7.

Note: Sub-totals do not add exactly to the total given for Australia; the discrepancies are in the original data.

overseas migration averaged 122,000 per annum (more recent data are not yet available).

Table 9 sets out three different ABS projections, one (series B) including net overseas migration at 180,000 a year, and the other two with net overseas migration set at zero. The contrast is striking. While nil net migration is probably both unattainable and undesirable the table

shows that almost all of Australia's growth between 2007 and 2056 under series B would be due to immigration. It also shows that an increase in the total fertility rate from 1.8 to 2.0 would have only a small effect on overall numbers, especially relative to immigration. (It would however have a beneficial effect on the age structure of the population, a point that cannot be pursued here.)²⁸ True the decreases in Sydney's

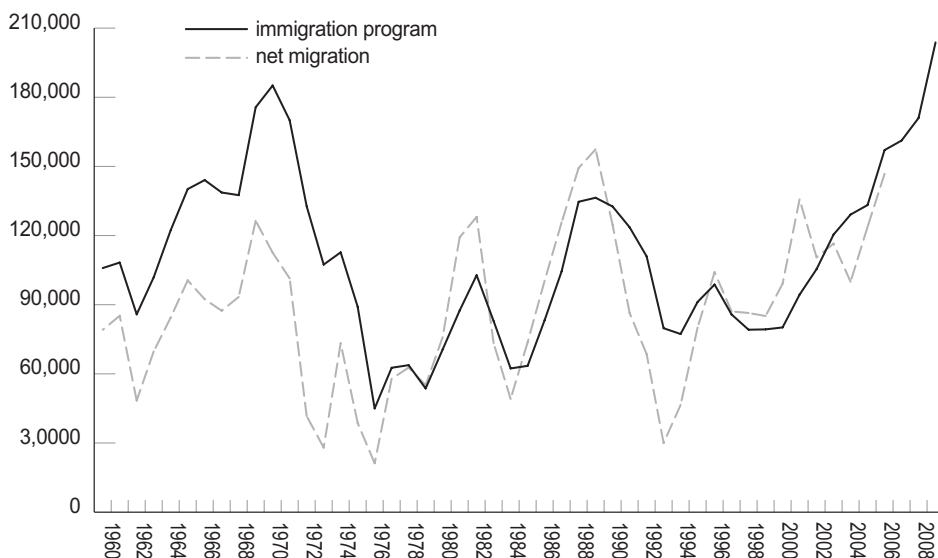
Table 8: AuSSA 2005 and 2007, issues facing Australia, first and second choices combined, by per cent and rank order in 2007

	2005		2007	
	Rank order	Per cent choosing as 1st or 2nd issue	Rank order	Per cent choosing as 1st or 2nd issue
Health care and hospitals	1	15	1	13
Environmental damage	5	7	2	10
Lack of affordable housing	11	3	3	9
An ageing population	3	11	4	8
Australian jobs going to other countries	7	7	5	8
Lack of moral values in the community	6	7	6	8
Taxes too high on ordinary Australians	2	12	7	7
Gap between rich and poor	4	9	8	7
Crime	9	5	9	5
Drugs	12	3	10	5
Australian involvement in military conflicts overseas	10	4	11	3
Terrorism	8	5	12	3
Minorities having too much say in politics	13	2	13	3
Refugees and asylum seekers	14	2	14	2
Inadequate public transport	18	1	15	1
Corruption in government	15	2	16	1
Too much red tape holding business back	16	1	17	1
Not enough progress towards Aboriginal reconciliation	17	1	18	1
Missing	—	2	—	5
Total	—	100	—	100
N (for up to two responses)	—	7804	—	5562

Sources: Australian Survey of Social Attitudes 2005 and 2007 (version A). See appendix.

Note: The questions was: 'Here is a list of issues facing Australia. Which of the following do you see as most important? And the next most important?' Because respondents made a first choice and then a second choice, the unit of analysis in Table 8 is one choice not one respondent.

Figure 2: permanent immigration program and net overseas migration, June 1960 to June 2009



Sources: See endnote 26

Notes: Immigration program figures are permanent settler arrival data up until June 1974, and visas issued data from then on. Both include humanitarian arrivals but the latter do not include New Zealanders; the former do. The program figures for 2008 and 2009 are planning figures only. Net migration figures are net total migration from June 1960 to June 1974, and net overseas migration from June 1975 to June 2006, the most recent year for which data are available.

Table 9: Population projections, 2007 to 2036 and 2056

	2007	2036	2056	Increase 2007 to 2056 per cent
Series B, TFR 1.8, net overseas migration 180,000 p. a.				
Sydney	4,334,000	5,426,300	6,976,800	61.0
Melbourne	3,805,800	5,038,100	6,789,200	78.4
Rest of Australia	12,885,200	16,772,300	21,704,000	68.4
Australia	21,025,000	27,236,700	35,470,000	68.7
Series 65, TFR 1.8, nil net overseas migration				
Sydney	4,334,000	3,847,681	2,976,836	-31.3
Melbourne	3,805,800	3,938,031	3,580,495	-5.9
Rest of Australia	12,885,200	15,559,698	15,989,592	24.1
Australia	21,025,000	23,345,410	22,546,923	7.2
Series 59, TFR 2.0, nil net overseas migration				
Sydney	4,334,000	3,962,322	3,209,621	-25.9
Melbourne	3,805,800	4,044,992	3,811,306	0.1
Rest of Australia	12,885,200	15,963,598	16,947,583	31.5
Australia	21,025,000	23,970,912	23,968,510	14.0

Source: *Population Projections, Australia, 2006 to 2101*, Catalogue no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2008, pp. 3, 7, for series B (also labelled as series 29), and data cubes downloaded from <<http://www.abs.gov.au>> for series 65 and 69.

Note: TFR stands for total fertility rate. All three series assume life expectancy at birth of 85 years for males and 88 years for females and 'medium flows' of net interstate migration.

population might cause some alarm, but these are based on the assumption that current levels of out-migration from NSW to other states would continue.²⁹ Without the pressure on locals to leave their city these levels of out-migration would probably not eventuate.

CONCLUSION

The demographic trajectory that the new Government has committed itself to has minimal electoral support. Forty-six per cent of voters want immigration to be reduced but the Government is deliberately taking it to record levels. It is able to do

this because neither the Liberal/National Party opposition nor any of the minor parties are raising fundamental questions. Will political bipartisanship mean that the Government is able to continue along the path that it has set for itself, or will it meet some of the problems that eventually confronted the Keating Government?

Australia's demographic future is not inevitable; it is determined by government policy. Urban congestion and declining housing affordability suggest that the disjunction between this policy and popular feeling may not be easy to ignore over the long term.

Appendix 1: The Australian Election Studies (AES) 1987 to 2007 and the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA), 2003 to 2007

All respondents are voters drawn from the electoral rolls and the data were collected by mailed-out, self-completed questionnaires. All of the data files were obtained from the Australian Social Science Data Archives at the Australian National University: <<http://assda.anu.edu.au>>. The authors of these files are not responsible for my interpretation of their work.

1987 AES: I. McAllister and A. Mughan, Australian Election Survey, 1987, Data collected by A. Ascui, Canberra, Roger Jones, Canberra: Australian Social Science Data Archives (ASSDA), The Australian National University (ANU), 1987	N = 1825, response rate 62.8% (based on 2905 mailouts that were in scope)
1990 AES: I. McAllister, R. Jones, E. Papadakis, D. Gow, Australian Election Study, 1990, Canberra, ASSDA, ANU, 1990	N = 2037, response rate 58.5% (based on 3482 mailouts that were in scope)
1993 AES: R. Jones, Australian Election Study, 1993, Canberra, ASSDA, ANU, 1993	N = 3023, response rate 62.8 % (based on 4813 mailouts that were in scope)
1996 AES: R. Jones, I. McAllister, D. Gow, Australian Election Study, 1996 Canberra, ASSDA, ANU, 1996	N = 1795, response rate 61.8% (based on 2905 mailouts that were in scope)
1998 AES: Clive Bean et al. Australian Election Study, 1998, Canberra, ASSDA, ANU, 1998	N = 1897, response rate 57.7% (based on 3289 mailouts that were in scope)
2001 AES: Clive Bean, David Gow and Ian McAllister, Australian Election Study, Canberra, ASSDA, ANU, 2002	N = 2010, response rate 55.4% (based on 3631 mailouts that were in scope)
2003 AuSSA: R. Gibson et al., Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2003. Canberra, Canberra, ASSDA, ANU, 2004	N = 4270, response rate 44% (based on 9777 mailouts that were in scope)
2004 AES: Clive Bean et al., Australian Election Study, 2004, Canberra, Clive Bean, David Gow and Ian McAllister, 2005.	N = 1769, response rate 44.5% (based on 3975 mailouts that were in scope)
2005 AuSSA: S. Wilson et. al., Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2005, Canberra, ASSDA, ANU, 2006	N = 3902, response rate 43% (based on 9146 mailouts that were in scope)
2007 AuSSA (version A): T. Phillips, The Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2007, Canberra: ASSDA, ANU, 2008	N (version A) = 2783 (response rate 42%)
2007 AES: C. Bean et al., Australian Election Study, 2007, Canberra, Clive Bean, David Gow and Ian McAllister, 2008	N = 1873, response rate 40.2% (based on 4663 mailouts that were in scope)

References

- ¹ In the 2007 AES, in response to the gone too far/not gone far enough question, 45.0 per cent chose the neutral option of 'about right' and 3.1 per cent didn't answer the question. In response to the reduce/increase question 38.0 per cent chose the neutral middle option of 'remain about the same as it is' and only 1.6 per cent skipped the question.
- ² Data on interest rates are from the Reserve Bank web site <http://www.rba.gov.au/Statistics/AlphaListing/alpha_listing_i.html>, F05 Indicator lending rates, accessed 8/9/08.
- ³ Calculated from *Australian Demographic Statistics*, Catalogue no. 3101.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Canberra, various issues
- ⁴ S. Fitzgerald, *Immigration: A Commitment to Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1988, pp. 31, 59
- ⁵ See <<http://www.treasury.gov.au/documents/110/HTML/docshell.asp?URL=3round.asp>> accessed 8/9/08.
- ⁶ See *Labour Force, Australia*, Spreadsheets, ABS, Catalogue no. 6202.0.55.001.
- ⁷ See B. Birrell, *Immigration Reform in Australia: Coalition Government Proposals and Outcomes since March 1996*, Centre for Population and Urban Research Monash University, Melbourne, 1997.
- ⁸ See K. Betts, 'Immigration policy under the Howard Government', *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2003, pp. 169–192.
- ⁹ K. Betts, 'The ageing of the population and attitudes to immigration', *People and Place*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2006, pp. 26–38. For data on the actual effects of immigration on demographic ageing see Productivity Commission, *Economic Implications of an Ageing Australia: Productivity Commission Research Report, 24 March*, Productivity Commission, Melbourne, 2005; R. Kippen, 'A note on aging, immigration and the birth rate', *People and Place*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1999, pp. 18–22; C. Young and L. Day, 'Australia's demographic future: determinants of our population', *Population 2040: Australia's Choice*, Australian Academy of Science, Canberra, 1994; *Projections of the Populations of Australia, States and Territories: 1999–2101*, Catalogue no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2000, p. 2.
- ¹⁰ See M. Goot, 'More "relaxed and comfortable": public opinion on immigration under Howard', *People and Place*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2000, pp. 46–60; K. Betts, 'Immigration and public opinion: understanding the shift', *People and Place*, vol. 10, no. 4, 2002, pp. 24–37.
- ¹¹ The Scanlon Foundation report used a different method and a different question in 2007 and got a different result. It found in June/August 2007 that 35 per cent of their respondents thought the current intake too high, 42 per cent thought it about right, 13 per cent found it too low, and 10 per cent didn't know or wouldn't answer. The authors add the 'about right' figures to the those for 'too low' and conclude that a majority support current immigration. (This pattern of results is actually quite close to that provided by the gone too far/not gone far enough question in the 2007 AES: 39 per cent gone too far or much too far, 45 per cent about right, 13 per cent not gone far enough or nearly far enough, 3 per cent missing.) For the Scanlon data see A. Markus, *Mapping Social Cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation Surveys, Summary Report*, p. 11, and A. Markus and A. Dharmalingam, *Mapping Social Cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation Surveys*, pp. 62–63, both published by Monash Institute for the Study of Global Movements, Melbourne, 2008. The question asked was: 'Now some questions about immigration. What do you think of the number of immigrants accepted into Australia at present? Would you say it is: too high, about right, or too low?' The data come from a national, random sample, interviewed by telephone.
- ¹² See K. Betts, 'Cosmopolitans and patriots: Australia's cultural divide and attitudes to immigration', *People and Place*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2005, Figures 1 and 2, pp. 32, 33.
- ¹³ Twelve per cent of Australia-born respondents wanted an increase compared with 16 per cent of MESA-born respondents, and 49 per cent of the Australia-born wanted a reduction compared to 46 per cent of the MESA-born.
- ¹⁴ See K. Betts, *The Great Divide: Immigration Politics in Australia*, Duffy and Snellgrove, Sydney, 1999.
- ¹⁵ *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects 2006–07 edition*, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra, 2008, p. 106
- ¹⁶ See for example AES 2004 in Betts, 2005, op. cit., Table 7, p. 37.
- ¹⁷ If support for immigration is analysed by location, controlling for education and birthplace, inner-city dweller are still rather more supportive than people in provincial and rural areas but the differences in the 2007 AES are not statistically significant.
- ¹⁸ M. Stutchbury, 'Backlash in the boom', *The Australian*, 9 September 2008, p. 12
- ¹⁹ Averages calculated from *Australian Demographic Statistics*, Catalogue no. 3101.0, ABS, Canberra, various issues
- ²⁰ Calculated from *ibid*. See also R. Barker, 'Queensland remains a population magnet', *People and Place*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2008, p. 19.

- ⁴¹ Calculated from *Australian Demographic Statistics Catalogue*, op. cit., September quarter 2007, 2008, pp. 10–12
- ²² See B. Birrell and E. Healy, *Melbourne's Population Surge: CPUR Bulletin*, Centre for Population and Urban Research, Monash, Melbourne, 2008.
- ²³ See R. Judd, 'Letter: 8 million by 2050 The liveable city?', *The Age*, 5 August 2008, p. 12; T. Shanahan, 'Letter: Australia can't cope with many more people', *The Australian*, 19 May 2008, p. 9; M. Kingston, 'Letter: Too many people', *The Australian*, 2 July 2007, p. 15; R. Johnston, 'Letter: Missing the point on water', *The Australian*, 7 October 2006, p. 16; J. Orton, 'Letter: It's imperative that governments take more radical action: Most talked about water restrictions', *The Australian*, 27 December 2006, p. 11.
- ²⁴ See B. Salt, 'Growing concern: population boom expected', *The Australian*, 11 September 2008, p. 24.
- ²⁵ The 2008–09 planning figures (non-humanitarian) are from media release May 2008 <www.minister.immi.gov.au/media/media-releases/2008/ce01-buget-08.htm>; humanitarian (and special eligibility data) are from Fact Sheet 20—Migration Program Planning Levels July 2008.
- ²⁶ Data on net migration from June 1960 to June 1974 on both net total migration and settler arrivals are from *Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics No. 13*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA), 1983; 1975 to 2006 net overseas migration data: are from *Migration*, various issues, ABS, Catalogue no. 3412.0 and *Australian Demographic Statistics*, various issues, ABS, Catalogue no. 3101.0. Data for visas issued from June 1975 to June 1999 are from the Immigration Department's annual reports. From June 1999 to June 2008 they are from *Population Flows*, various issues, published by the Immigration Department. The sources for the planning figures for visas for 2008–09 are in note 25 above. The immigration program's permanent migration data include the humanitarian sub-program, though data on this have been published separately since 1993 (however earlier years often do not include immigrants granted visas onshore).
- ²⁷ See M. Franklin, 'Rudd warns Australia must prepare for emerging arms race across Asia—PM flags major naval build-up', *The Australian*, 10 September 2008, pp. 1, 6.
- ²⁸ While Kippen and McDonald do not advocate this, they show that the fastest way to a moderately small stationary population with the youngest feasible age structure is nil net migration plus a TFR of 2.1. R. Kippen and P. McDonald, 'Achieving population targets for Australia: an analysis of the options', *People and Place*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1998, pp. 11–23
- ²⁹ See *Population Projections, Australia, 2006 to 2101*, Catalogue no. 3222.0, ABS, Canberra, 2008, pp. 32–33.