

**The Australian Population Research Institute, Research
Report,
April 2019**



**Immigration, population growth and voters: who
cares, and why?**

The October/November 2018 TAPRI survey

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Executive summary

Previous research has shown a wide split between elite and non-elite opinion on topics such as cultural diversity, globalisation and immigration. Media professionals and most politicians share these elite views, but large swathes of the electorate do not.

The current findings of the survey conducted late in 2018 by The Australian Population Research Institute (TAPRI) on attitudes to immigration and population growth confirm this. They show that the split between elite and non-elite opinion is mirrored in the divisions between voters who are university graduates and voters who are not. This is logical as most elites are now recruited from the graduate class.

The gap is wide. Overall 50% of voters want a reduction in immigration. But this proportion rises to 60% of non-graduates while only 33% of graduates agree.

Overall 72% of voters say Australia does not need more people, a proportion that rises to 80% of non-graduates and falls to only 59% of graduates (Figures 1 and 2).

But these findings nonetheless present a puzzle. Given elite domination of cultural and political institutions, why haven't the non-graduate majority fallen into line on population growth and immigration?

To answer this question we need to look more deeply into the second major finding of the TAPRI survey: the central relationship between attitudes to the cultural consequences of high immigration and a desire for the rate of growth to be slowed right down. (See pp. 19-34.)

We now know that most Australian voters are unhappy with the heavy growth that immigration policies impose upon them. Survey data and numerous complaints about congestion and unaffordable housing attest to this. The TAPRI survey asks whether there is anything more to their disquiet than practical and economic problems.

In 2016 commentators were taken aback by two unexpected and, seemingly, unrelated events: the Brexit vote in the UK and the election of Donald Trump in the US. Analysts scrambled for explanations and initially settled on the idea of voters who had been 'left behind', people economically pinched by the evaporation of manufacturing jobs in the heat of globalisation. These 'left behinds' had sought relief from their common misfortune by choosing the populist side in each of these two elections.

From this perspective the two events were related after all: economic pressures could explain them both.

But now there has been time for more research and opinions have become more nuanced. A number of analysts have found that it is not always the most destitute who have swung to the populist side. On the contrary, in both countries they are often people of middling means who are not as distressed by low wages and job losses as much as they are by the high immigration of ethnically diverse people and the cultural changes that they bring with them.

The divide is not so much between the well-to-do and the poor and unemployed. Rather it is between the graduate class, immersed in a cosmopolitan world view, and non-graduates attached to the ethos of their national home. Immigrants can share this attachment. Indeed it may have been the pull of the national culture which encouraged them to migrate in the first place. Because of this some of the new populists may be immigrants themselves.

Eric Kaufmann uses the analogy of Londoners moving to Cornwall because they are attracted by the local culture. They are less than pleased if their fellow Londoners stream in after them and turn Cornwall into just another London suburb.

These more recent analysts also note that social taboos can stifle open expressions of scepticism about high immigration; the risk that honest expressions of concern about population pressures will be read as racism can inhibit open discussion. These constraints on public debate may mislead growth enthusiasts into believing that voters are more acquiescent than they actually are. Such constraints can also mean that people at all levels of society are less well informed about demography than might otherwise be the case.

Could a similar dynamic be influencing the attitudes of Australian voters, both native-born and possibly immigrant as well?

The TAPRI survey finds that this is possible. After all, in the safety of an anonymous online survey, 50% per cent of voters say they want immigration to be reduced and 72% say that Australia does not need more people.

Voters see property developers, big business, and new migrants as the main beneficiaries of immigration, not themselves or even the economy as a whole. They are also keenly aware of population pressures on vital institutions such as hospitals, transport and schools (Figures 5-8).

But consistent with the imposition of speech taboos, they are not well informed about the nature of the demographic challenge. The survey's questions about demographic knowledge show that, while voters who know the most are the most sceptical about growth, the more ignorant are both more compliant and more numerous (Figures 3 and 4).

But the strongest division that the survey uncovered was between graduates and non-graduates. As we have seen only 33% of graduates want a reduction in immigration compared to 60% of non-graduates.

Just as Kaufmann found that many immigrants are sceptical about the benefits of further large-scale immigration, TAPRI found that some groups of migrants, those born in English-speaking background (ESB) countries and in Europe, tend to be even more sceptical about immigration than are the Australian-born. Fifty per cent of the Australian-born wanted immigration to be reduced compared to 58% of the ESB-born and 56% of those born in Europe. In contrast only 33% of voters born in Asia wanted a reduction (Figure 14).

The survey asked a number of questions designed to measure attitudes to cultural change, including attitudes to asylum seekers arriving by boat. This is a question at the heart of the rift between graduates and non-graduates. Should national sovereignty as manifested in strict border controls supersede compassion for outsiders? We found that 60% of voters supported turning back the boats, a proportion rising to 66% among non-graduates and falling to 50% among graduates. Sixty-seven per cent of the voters who supported turning back the boats wanted immigration to be reduced compared to only 17% of those who were opposed to turn-backs (Table A23).

The survey also found that 47% of voters supported 'a partial ban on Muslim immigration', a proportion that rose to 53% among non-graduates and fell to 39% among graduates. The voters supporting and strongly supporting this policy were the most likely to want all immigration to be reduced (70%). (See Figure 37 and Table A42.)

A further question read: 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' Fifty-six per cent per cent agreed and, of

this group, 68% wanted a reduction in immigration. Among non-graduates this proportion rose to 76% (Table A30 and A31).

There was also widespread support for economic protection: 63% of all respondents said that 'we should protect Australia's manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary'. Among non-graduates the proportion was 66% and among graduates it was 59%. (Only 16% of all respondents said 'we should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas').

Fifty-eight per cent of all those who supported protection also wanted lower immigration, as did 69% of non-graduates. However only 38% of graduates shared this view. Support for economic protection was also strongly associated with support for other forms of cultural protection (Figure 44).

In contrast, individual experiences of unemployment, job insecurity and financial hardship showed only a modest association with support for reducing immigration. Among the small proportion experiencing economic hardship so extreme that they would find it 'nearly impossible' to find \$400 in an emergency, 61% wanted immigration to be reduced (pp. 38-42). Among non-graduates this rose to 68% but was exceeded by the many who wanted national economic protection — 69% of non-graduates who favour protection also want a reduction in immigration.

(It cannot be the case that enthusiasm for protection is caused by widespread experience of economic stress. Sixty-three per cent of respondents say they want economic protection while only 10% say that it would be 'nearly impossible to find \$400 in an emergency'.)

The survey also found a high level of agreement (67%) with the statement 'that people who raise questions about immigration being too high are sometimes thought of as racist'. Overall 24% of the sample thought that this assumption was justified because such people 'usually are racist' while 43% thought it 'unfair because very few of them are racist' (p. 47).

The former were termed 'guardians against racism' and the latter the 'threatened'. Guardians were more numerous among university graduates (33%) and the threatened more numerous among non-graduates (47%). Guardians are much more likely to want an increase in immigration (48%, as compared to 25% in the sample as a whole) while the threatened are much more likely to want a reduction (66%). (See Figure 60.) Guardians are also disproportionately likely to vote for the Greens and, to a lesser extent, for Labor. The threatened prefer the Coalition, One Nation, or 'other' parties (Figure 59).

In sum, the TAPRI survey found that concern about cultural change, including border control, has a stronger association with the desire to reduce immigration than do economic variables. (Support for economic protection and lower immigration sits between these two different sets of variables.)

Most graduates endorse high, or higher, immigration as well as other elements of the cosmopolitan agenda. Yet despite their dominance of Australia's cultural institutions, most non-graduates are unconvinced.

The TAPRI data support the new hypothesis developed by Kaufmann and others that many voters, especially non-graduates, are quiet non-conformists to the cosmopolitans' high immigration agenda. The data also show that these non-conformists are motivated more by dissatisfaction with cultural change than they are by economic hardship.

But to date non-graduate dissension from this agenda has not resulted in political populism. Opposition to further high immigration is strong in Australia but this does not mean that it is the most salient problem for most voters. Unlike citizens of the UK and the US, they have not experienced serious economic contraction and, unlike the Europeans, they have not had to deal with a significant influx of asylum seekers and other undocumented immigrants.

Furthermore there are no major media outlets supporting their views. Australia does not have a local version of America's Fox News nor of Britain's *Daily Mail* and *Daily Telegraph*.

These differences mean that, provided conditions remain fairly stable, political and media elites, with their cosmopolitan supporters among the graduate class, can continue to feel relaxed. Their political experiment with high immigration, ever growing diversity, and globalisation will continue to be free of serious political challenge.

Political implications

This assumption pervades the run up to the 2019 federal election. The dominant view within the media is that the Coalition faces serious threats of losing centre-left voters in blue ribbon Coalition seats. This is because such voters appear to be attracted by relatively strong Labor/Green policies supporting the progressive agenda.

This is a realistic possibility. The TAPRI survey shows that a minority of Coalition voters do hold such views. For example 26% of Coalition voters want immigration to be further increased and 21% want it to 'remain about the same as it is' (Table A12), 8% of Coalition voters do not support turning back the boats (Table A20), 20% of Coalition voters disagree with the statement that Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity (Table A26), 14% oppose the idea of a partial ban on Muslim immigration (Table A39), 16% think we should abolish all tariffs (Table A45), and 31% say Australia needs more people (Table A13).

However there has been a notable absence of commentary on the majority of Australian voters who do not share these progressive views.

If there were to be an effort to mobilize this majority around their cultural priorities, as has been the case in recent elections in Europe and the US, it is likely that it would shape the votes of many.

The potential for voter response is much larger than is likely to be the case in blue-ribbon seats and would impinge on many more seats. Since Labor has stamped itself as the centre/left champion it is Labor that would be most at risk. For example 44% of Labor voters want immigration to be reduced (Table A12), 49% support boat turn-backs (Table A20), 47% agree that Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity (Table A26), 38% support a partial ban on Muslim immigration (Table 39), 61% support economic protection (Table A45), and 69% say Australia does not need more people (Table A13).

A similar response is likely should the political contest in Australia be framed between parties in favour of high migration and parties opposed to this stance. As we have seen the TAPRI survey shows that 69% of Labor voters are in favour of lower population growth and 44% want lower migration.

Not only that. The survey also shows that most of those favouring lower migration also oppose the elite progressive agenda. We argue that this is because most of these anti-immigration voters think that high immigration is a threat to their sense of identity and their nation's sovereignty.

It is true that any attempt to mobilize this voting block would prompt a ‘guardian’ response asserting that such advocacy was shameful and illegitimate. The experience in Europe and the US suggests that this tactic may have only a limited effect (as with the Brexit campaign). This is especially likely if those involved in the mobilization include credible, mainstream political figures (like the Tory party grandees, Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, who led the leave campaign).

Immigration, population growth and voters: who cares, and why?

The October/November 2018 TAPRI survey

Introduction

Over the last eleven years Australia's population growth, largely driven by immigration, has been running at record levels. For the 34 years from June 1972 to June 2006 growth averaged 210,200 per year; from June 2007 to June 2018 the annual average was 378,400.

In the earlier period net overseas migration (NOM) accounted for 42% of the increase, while in the recent period it has accounted for 59%. By 2017-18 the population was growing by 393,500 per year, with 67% due to NOM.¹

As the population has grown it has become more culturally diverse. At the 1976 census there were 10.8 million people living in Australia and 80% were Australian-born. Most of the rest (17%) had been born in the UK, Europe or New Zealand.² In 2017 the total was 24.6 million with 71% Australian-born, 12% born in the UK, Europe or New Zealand, 14% in the Middle East, North Africa or Asia, and 3% in Other Africa or the Americas.³

Growing numbers and increasing diversity have been especially marked in the major cities. Some of the consequences are starting to have an impact on electoral politics.

Here we begin with an overview of the current situation in Australia and then review the effects of increasing numbers and diversity on the politics of two other Anglophone nations, the US and the UK. Are there signs of similar effects in Australia?

Answers to this question rely on an analysis of the national survey of voters' attitudes to population growth, immigration, and cultural and economic change run by The Australian Population Research Institute (TAPRI) late in 2018.

Immigration opinion and the cultural divide in Australia

Much of the public debate on immigration has been dominated by the group Thomas Picketty calls the 'Brahmins', left-leaning, well-educated intellectuals with progressive views on diversity, social justice and a welcoming attitude towards high levels of immigration. Data from the 2016 Australian Election Study show that 72% of arts and media professionals supported even higher immigration (as compared to 26% of all voters). Politicians were not far behind. Sixty per cent of all candidates for the 2016 federal election wanted a further increase and only 6% wanted a decrease, a position then preferred by 40% of voters.⁴

Political and media elites are in prime position to set the tone of the immigration debate and by early 2019 public discussion was not focused on the problems of population pressure. Rather commentators concentrated on threats to Coalition seats arising from the government's tough position on off-shore processing of former boat arrivals. Journalists warned of defections from the Coalition by social liberals in a number of high-income inner-city metropolitan seats.

Late in 2018 the win by Kerryn Phelps in Malcolm Turnbull's former seat of Wentworth showed that this threat is real.⁵ The recent 2018 Victorian state election provides another cautionary tale. The leader of the Liberal opposition, Mathew Guy, ran hard on a law and order platform which gestured towards public concern about the rise of black African

crime. The outcome was a disaster. The Liberals lost a number of safe seats where, it appeared, educated middle-class voters turned against the party.

As most media commentators see it, the challenge is that the Liberal party has not offered enough to social-liberal voters, the people who support a cosmopolitan position oriented towards diversity, climate change and refugees. Though Paul Kelly refers to this as a ‘flawed morality’, his analysis concludes that it is a serious threat to the Liberal party’s May 2019 federal election prospects.⁶

There is no doubt that this threat has substance. As our analysis of the TAPRI survey data shows, there is a large divide within the Australian electorate on social and cultural issues, particularly between voters who are university graduates and voters who are not. The latter, as we will see, are much more likely to favour reduced immigration and are much more critical of cultural change and social diversity than are graduates.

The graduate class constitutes a large and expanding share of the voting population. While the TAPRI sample is representative of the electorate in terms of age, sex and location, it oversampled graduates. This provides more graduate numbers for analysis, but at the cost of skewing the overall results towards a more cosmopolitan response than would be representative of the electorate as a whole. Nearly 40 per cent of voters in the sample are graduates, compared to 23.6 per cent of Australian citizens aged 20 plus at the 2016 census. (See Table A1 in Appendix 1.) While graduates are over-represented, our data show that, to the extent that the election debate focuses on social and cultural issues, the Coalition may indeed be vulnerable to defections from this class in inner city electorates with high proportions of graduate voters.

But there is another side to this story. Political parties that run on a cosmopolitan agenda are vulnerable to defections from the non-graduate class, a group who predominantly do not support this agenda. At the 2016 census there were more than three times as many non-graduate voters as there were graduates. They comprised 76.4 per cent of the Australian electorate.

Right-wing populism? It can’t happen in Australia...

Needless to say, media and academic observers in Australia are alert to the potential of populist responses to the question of immigration and cultural diversity. It could hardly be otherwise given the huge publicity surrounding Trump’s rise in the US and the success of Brexit in the 2016 UK referendum.

Nevertheless, such commentary in Australia tends to be muted. This is because most observers share the belief that the main driving force behind populism in the US and UK is the large numbers of voters who, in economic terms, have been ‘left behind’. This belief in turn stems from the destruction of much of the manufacturing base in both countries.

Australia is considered less vulnerable because of sustained economic growth since the early 2000s. Both blue- and lower white-collar workers have benefited from this. Besides, the share of manufacturing in Australia’s economy is smaller than in the US and the UK. In any case, the worst hit workers from the decline in Australia’s manufacturing have been migrants, many of whom are not citizens and thus are not voters.

By contrast, in the US, the manufacturing decline affected the country’s large native (white) manufacturing workforce. They were heavily represented in key mid-west rust-

belt states, including Michigan and Ohio, which fell to Trump in 2016. Likewise, the main casualties of Britain's manufacturing decline were also native-born workers.

An alternative perspective: the cultural challenge thesis versus the 'left-behind' theory

Recent academic analysis of the populist revolt in the US and the UK has shown that the 'left behind' thesis is overstated. Voters' concerns about this issue can't be neglected. However, careful analysis of the factors shaping their response to the right-wing populist agenda show that cultural changes were more important than any economic hardship.

As in Australia, these studies confirm that in the UK and the US there is a large and growing divide on social questions between graduate and non-graduate voters.

Moreover, an increasing share of American graduates, whether of white or non-white background, have shifted their voting allegiance to the Democratic party, precisely because that party has made support for diversity, open borders and other items in the cosmopolitan framework the centrepiece of its agenda.

But as with Australia, non-graduates still comprise the majority of the US electorate. Among this group a reverse trend has occurred, particularly amongst whites. It was amongst them that Trump garnered the greatest support (relative to previous Republican presidential aspirants, including Romney in the 2012 presidential election). It was Trump's inroads amongst these voters in the mid-west rust belt that put him over the line in numbers in the electoral college.

Recent academic analyses of Trump supporters have shown that they were attracted by Trump's social message, especially on immigration. By comparison, the 'left-behind' factor was much less significant.

This thesis is spelled out in Alan Abramowitz's analysis of voters' attitudes in the 2016 Presidential election.⁷ Abramowitz concludes that within the white non-graduate group voter concerns about the growth in the non-white ethnic population, and the threats that they thought this growth held for them, was the main factor determining Trump's success. He writes: 'Not only did racial resentment have a strong influence on support for Trump, it had by far the strongest influence of any of the independent variables included in the analysis'.⁸

A similar exhaustive academic analysis by John Sides and his colleagues reached an identical conclusion. White non-graduate voters were the key to Trump's electoral success. These voters felt that their position in American society was threatened by the growth in numbers and influence of non-white migrants. It was this sense of threat that was the main driver of their swing to Trump. Sides et al. conclude that: 'Voters' attitudes on these issues became more strongly related to how they voted in 2016 than in recent presidential elections. Other types of attitudes - including economic anxiety - did not show this pattern'.⁹

Recent analyses of the Brexit vote reach parallel conclusions. Cultural concerns stemming from the scale of immigration to the UK were the main factors driving the vote for Brexit, particularly amongst working-class (and former Labour party) voters. Eatwell and Goodwin provide a summary of this literature. Though sympathetic to the 'left behind' thesis, they are forced to conclude that: 'Ongoing cultural changes and the fears they engender are powerful drivers of the national-populist revolt'. The best they can say for the 'left behind' thesis is that 'this does not mean that we should completely ignore economic perspectives'.¹⁰

These studies all base their voter analyses on descriptions of the rapid changes in the demographic make-up of Britain and the US. In both countries there has been a surge in the share of the population made up by immigrants from non-western societies. All of these studies show that the best indicator of support for populist causes is the extent to which voters are concerned about the impact of this outcome.¹¹

The theoretical links between demographic changes and voter attitudes have been spelled out in two important recent books. The first is *White Backlash*, by Abrajano and Hajnal.¹² The authors note that at the time of writing the 'left behind' thesis dominated academic opinion in the US. They argue that, on the contrary, the main divide in US politics between Republicans and Democrats is on attitudes to the challenge of immigration. They show that, over two decades, American voters concerned about immigration and associated rapid cultural change have gravitated to the Republicans while those with the opposite views have gravitated to the Democrats. They also show that the movement from the Democrats to the Republicans predominantly involved white voters. In contrast, Black, Hispanic and Asian voters moved in the other direction.

The second elaboration on this perspective is Eric Kaufmann's book *Whiteshift*.¹³ Kaufmann's theory is that all western countries contain majorities who shape their identity around their nation and its traditions or national story. In the case of the US the majority includes most of the second- or third-generation European migrants, the great majority of whom have embraced the American national story. Perhaps provocatively, he labels this group as 'whites'. They share a sense that their identities as Americans (or as British in the case of the UK) are being challenged, as is their cultural supremacy. The challenge comes from the surge in numbers of migrants from non-western sources as well as their progeny, especially in the case of the Hispanic community.

According to Kaufmann these ethno-traditional cultural concerns are strongly felt because the cultural elites (including majorities of the graduate class) have accentuated this insecurity through explicit denigration of majority views and vigorous advocacy of contrary positions. These include, as noted, an embrace of open borders and diversity (including ethnic, gender, and other forms of diversity).

These elites have also supported legislation which challenges mainstream ethno-traditional supremacy. They do so in aggressive terms, condemning non-conformists as racists, thus provoking resentment and heightening majority grievances. Kaufmann cites a multitude of opinion polls which support this conclusion. He also writes of the speech taboos enforced by aggressive accusations of racism, and of how the media play a key role in 'marginalizing dissenting views'.¹⁴ These tactics do not promote social peace. Rather they foster resentment among ethno-traditionalists.¹⁵

However Kaufmann holds a caveat. On the basis of his comparative analysis of these phenomena he notes that, although it is possible to trace an upsurge of ethno-traditional concerns across all western countries, this does not become politically significant unless two other criteria are met. For a populist revolt to gain traction it needs both effective leadership and serious attention from the media.¹⁶

Kaufmann argues that though concerns about the challenge of immigration may be rising, if there is a strong moral consensus within elite and media circles against any voicing of anti-immigration worries these concerns may remain dormant. He thinks that this is what is happening in Canada and probably in Australia. As Kaufmann puts it: 'Moral norms form a complex system in which people act not only on their own beliefs, but from perceptions of what others think is correct. So long as a critical mass of opinion formers

support – or fail to challenge - the rule that politicizing multiculturalism and immigration is racist, the system is stable.’¹⁷

The fact is that, notwithstanding this moral consensus in Australia, there has been a surge in public concern about immigration levels. There have been multiple recent opinion polls which show that 50 per cent or more of Australian voters think immigration levels should be reduced.

Nonetheless there has been no breach in the bi-partisan stance of the Coalition and the Labor parties to ignore these concerns. The moral elite consensus is holding, just as appears to be the case in Canada.

This leaves the question, what is the basis for rising public concern about immigration in Australia?

Relevance to Australia

Is the cultural challenge theory relevant to Australian politics? There have, of course, been occasions in Australia when non-graduates have been mobilised to populist ends, most notably by the One Nation party. The recent challenge for the Liberal leadership by Peter Dutton, with the support of Tony Abbott, appears to have derived from factions within the Liberal party who also support the populist cause.

But so far such challenges have not breached the hegemony of graduate-class opinion. In Australia, anxiety about cultural change and political movements based on such anxiety are still held to be illegitimate. Within the mainstream media, One Nation remains beyond the pale. It is treated more as an object of derision than as an expression of voter sentiment that merits serious, if critical, attention.

The TAPRI survey

The TAPRI survey offers the opportunity to see whether the cultural thesis has any basis in explaining rising concerns about immigration levels amongst Australian voters. On the face of it, one might expect that there would be such a basis. This is because Australia has also experienced a demographic shock – in the rapidity of immigration growth, particularly from Asian and Middle Eastern sources.

As well as exploring attitudes to immigration-fuelled population growth our research aims to answer three questions. Does concern about cultural change correlate more closely with voters’ attitudes to immigration more than does economic stress? And is concern about cultural change linked to a voting preference for the conservative parties (the Coalition and One Nation). On the other hand, is enthusiasm for social-liberalism linked to preference for the progressive parties (Labor and The Greens)? Finally, do speech taboos inhibit conservative ethno-traditionalists from expressing their opinions about immigration?

There is no doubt that there is already a divide on cultural issues within the Coalition, and that it is growing. This mirrors the split within the US Republican party prior to Trump’s emergence. Though the Republican party had moved towards a critical stance on immigration, there remained a big business faction which supported amnesty for the millions of illegal immigrants present in the USA and which supported an open borders stance on migration. This faction also encouraged a rapprochement with the Latino

immigrant community on the grounds that, given the rapid expansion of minority voters, Republicans could never win national office without appealing to minority opinion.

Trump exploded this thesis. He showed that there were many more votes to be won amongst the white voting majority with a populist/closed borders agenda than there were votes to be lost with such a strategy.

Could any such development be possible in Australia if the faction within the Coalition sympathetic to a similar Trump agenda were to prevail? Conversely, is the Coalition in danger of leaking support from those within its constituency who hold progressive attitudes on migration and cultural issues as Paul Kelly assumes?

The answers depend on whether there is cultural divide amongst Australian voters similar to that which has been found in the US and UK. To this end our research explores the difference in attitudes between graduates and non-graduates, as well as any differences between Australian-born and immigrant voters on these issues.

Survey results

The following section presents the survey results in more detail and ends with specific answers to the research questions.

Attitudes to immigration and population growth

The survey found that, in October/November 2018, 50% of voters wanted immigration to be reduced, either a little or a lot, 26% wanted it to remain about the same as it is, and 24% wanted it increased, either a little or a lot.

The immigration question was asked early in the schedule. Later respondents were told: 'From December 2005 to December 2017 Australia's population grew from 20.5 million to 24.8 million; 62% of this growth was from net overseas migration'.¹⁸ If it had not been clear before, it was now clear to respondents that Australia's population growth is largely fueled by immigration.

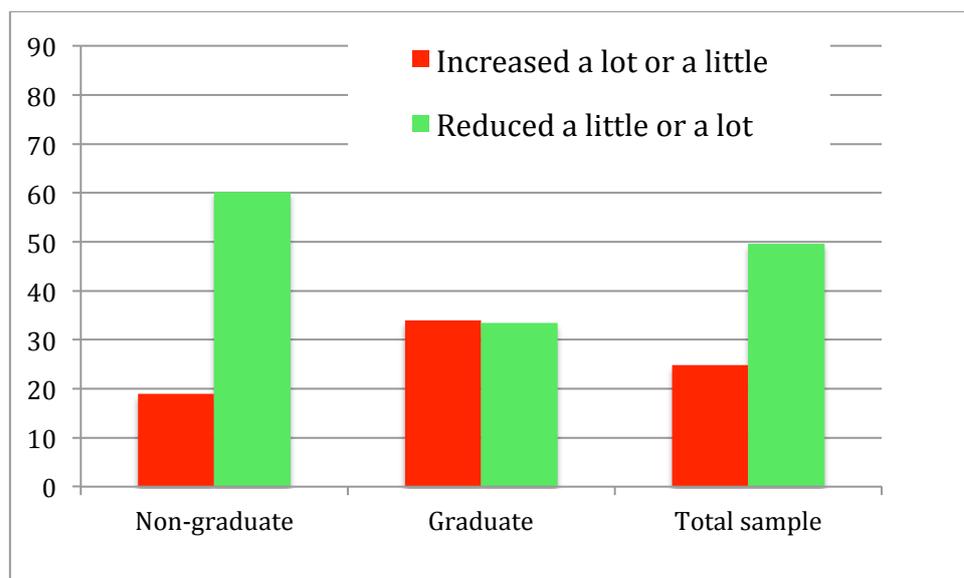
The question then asked: 'Do you think Australia needs more people?' Here 72% said 'No' and 28% said 'Yes'. (Initial ignorance may play a role in the discordant answers to the two questions. For example 522 respondents, 26% of the sample, said immigration should either be increased or remain the same, but then went on to say that Australia did not need more people.)

Nevertheless from the two questions it is clear that most voters do not want further population growth in Australia, a trend that is especially evident when voters have some information.

Graduates and non-graduates

Figures 1 and 2 also make it clear that non-graduates are more negative about immigration and population growth than are graduates.

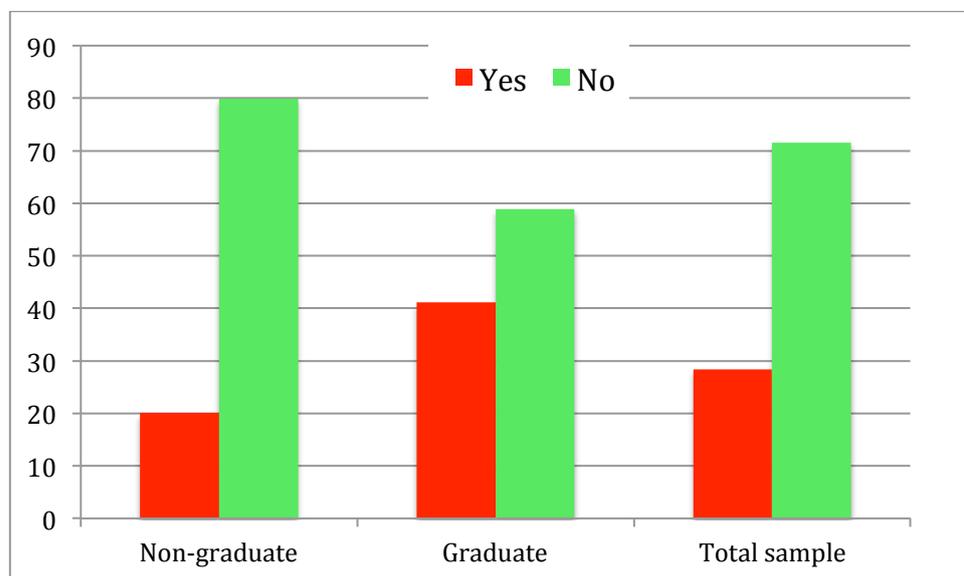
Figure 1: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by education %



Source: Table A2 in Appendix 1

Note: The term *graduate* here and hereafter includes current university students. There were 735 graduates in the sample and 69 university students.

Figure 2: 'From December 2005 to December 2017 Australia's population grew from 20.5 million to 24.8 million; 62% of this growth was from net overseas migration. Do you think Australia needs more people?' by education %



Source: Table A3 in Appendix A

Knowledge and ignorance

Could it be that graduates were more in favour of immigration and population growth because they knew more than non-graduates? Perhaps they were well informed and thus

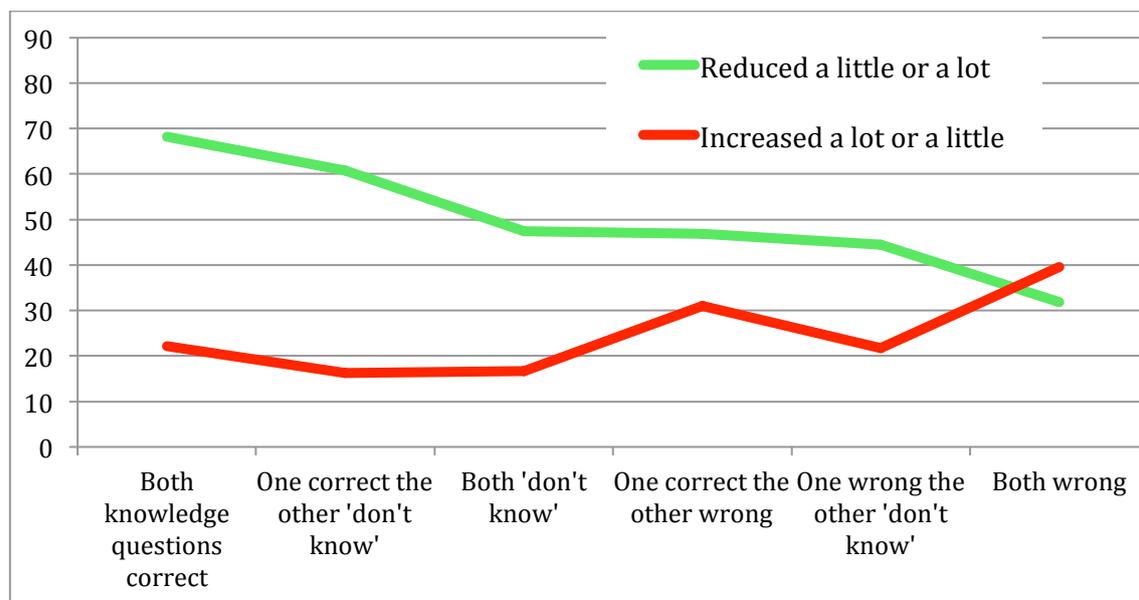
knew about benefits of population growth, benefits that were not apparent to less educated people?

The survey included two questions designed to tap respondents' basic knowledge of demography.¹⁹

Here we found that the more voters knew about demography the more reluctant they were to endorse population growth, while the less they knew the more relaxed they were about growth. See Figures 3 and 4.

Education was not linked to greater demographic knowledge. On the contrary, university graduates knew rather less than non-graduates. (See Table A6 in Appendix 1.) Some of their enthusiasm could therefore be attributed to ignorance though, as data presented below indicate, cultural predispositions may play a major role. If a cosmopolitan outlook frames attitudes to immigration it may also shape guesses to questions about demographic facts

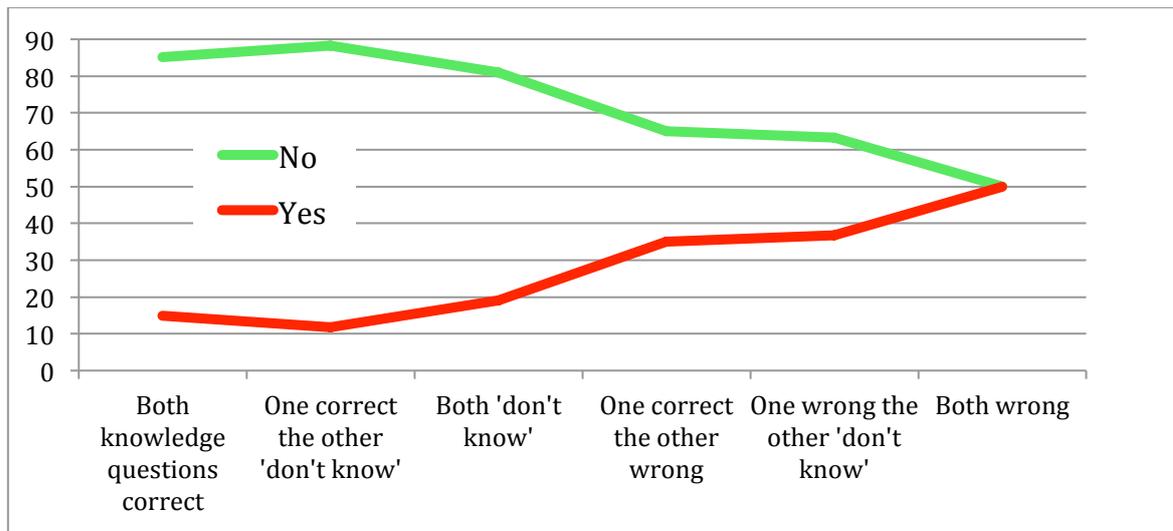
Figure 3: '...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased' by responses to two questions on demographic knowledge %



Source: Table A4 in Appendix 1

Note: The knowledge questions are set out in endnote 17.

Figure 4: 'Does Australia need more people?' by responses to two questions on demographic knowledge %



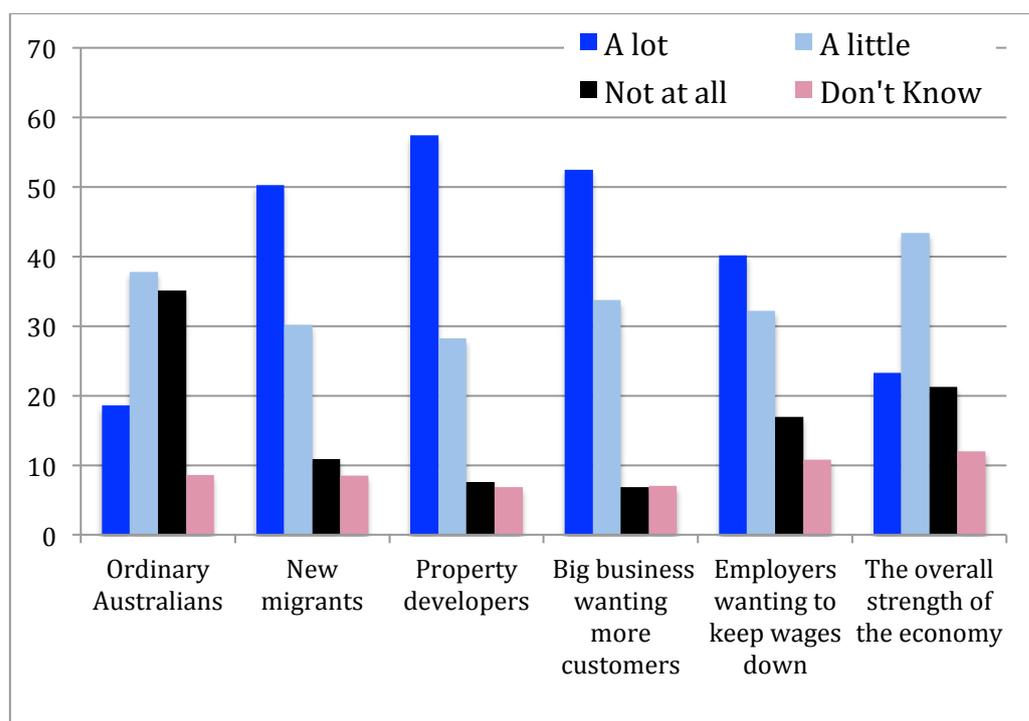
Source: Table A5 in Appendix 1

Note: The knowledge questions are set out in note 17.

Who benefits and who pays?

Some of the reasons for voter unhappiness about population growth become clearer in their answers to the question: 'Who (or what) do you think benefits from population growth across Australia?'

Figure 5: 'Who (or what) do you think benefits from population growth across Australia?' — a lot, a little, not at all, don't know %

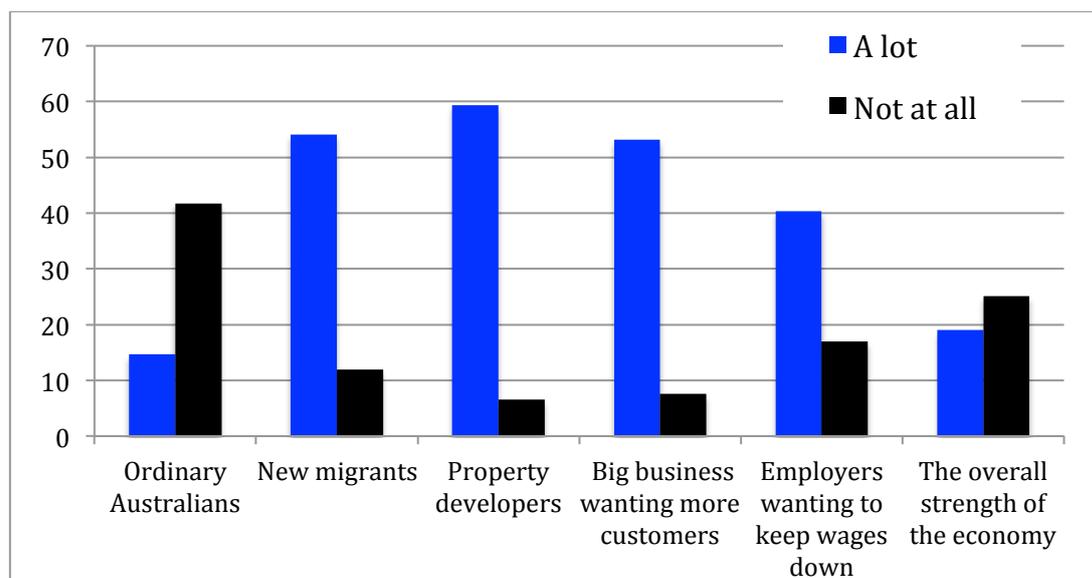


Source: Table A7 in Appendix 1

Figure 5 shows that very few (19%) think 'ordinary Australians' benefit 'a lot' and more than a third think they benefitted 'not at all'. Property developers were seen as strong beneficiaries, followed by big business wanting more customers, then the new migrants themselves, and then employers wanting to keep wages down. Less than a quarter think the overall strength of the economy benefits 'a lot'.

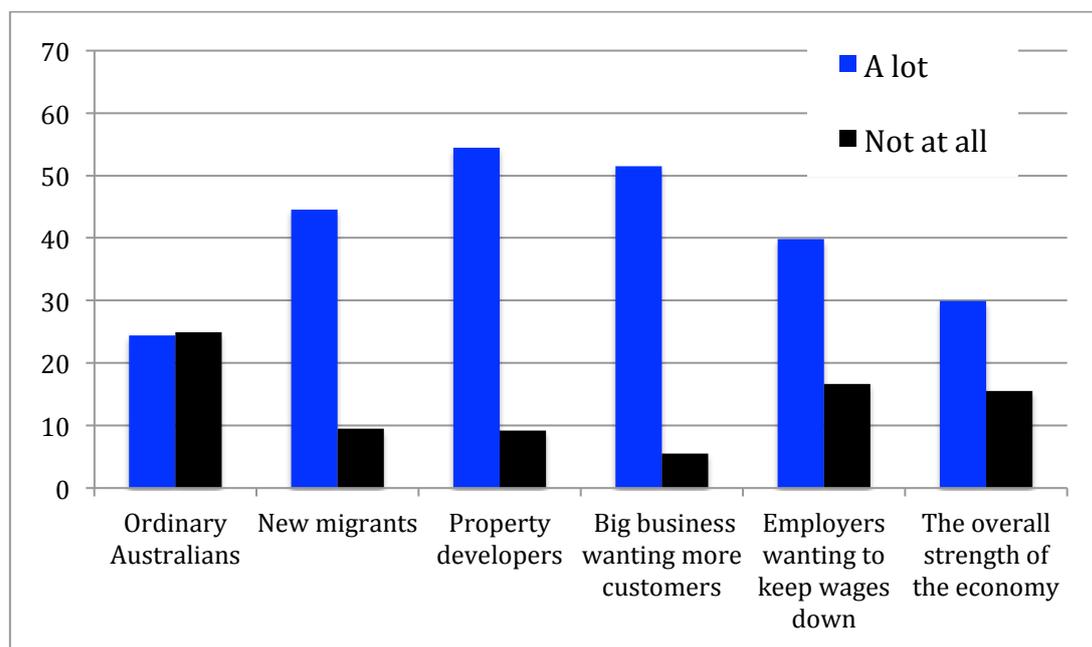
When the sample is divided by education it is clear that non-graduates are much more likely than graduates to say that ordinary Australians benefitted 'not at all', that new migrants benefit 'a lot' and that the overall strength of the economy benefits 'not at all'. See Figures 6 and 7.

Figure 6: ‘Who (or what) do you think benefits from population growth across Australia?’ — a lot and not at all, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A8 in Appendix 1

Figure 7: ‘Who (or what) do you think benefits from population growth across Australia?’ — a lot and not at all, graduates only %



Source: Table A9 in Appendix 1

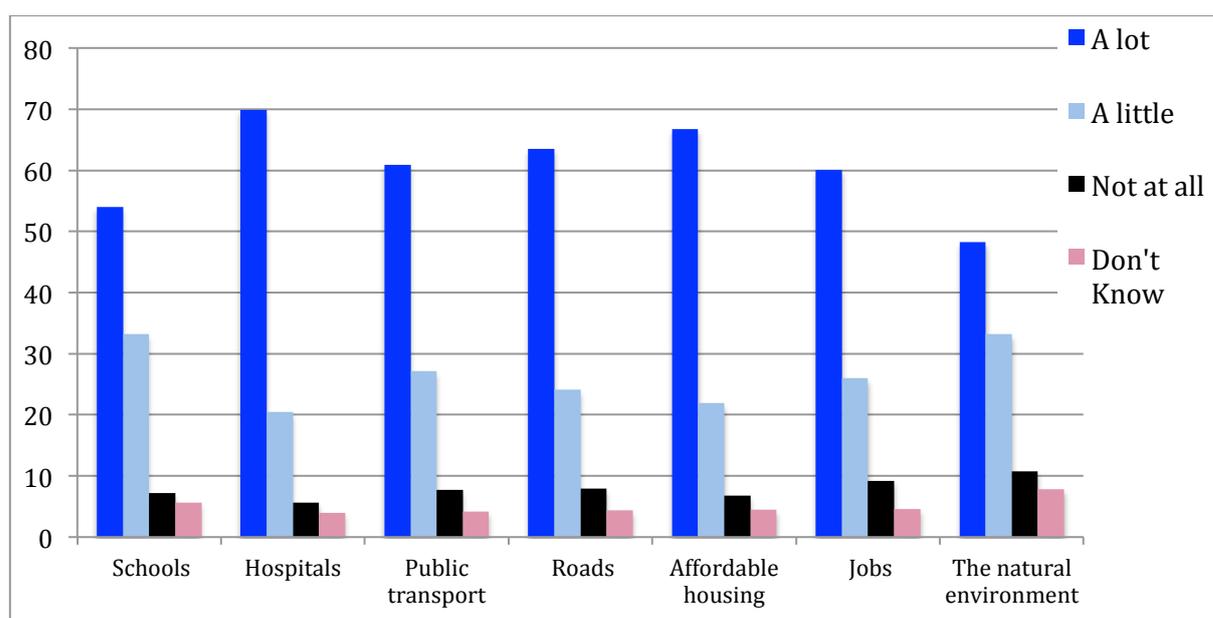
Graduates are more likely to think that ordinary Australians benefit ‘a lot’ from high immigration and more likely to see some gains for the economy. Even so, a high proportion of graduates see vested interests as key beneficiaries. In their eyes, property developers and big business benefit more from population growth than do the general public and the economy as a whole. The proportions of graduates seeing these interests as

prime beneficiaries is not as high as the proportions of non-graduates seeing them this way, but it is still relatively high.

Graduates' reasons for supporting immigration, and thus population growth, presumably stem from different causes apart from any belief in its material benefits. This must be so because any such belief among them seems to be weak.

The next survey question asked whether population growth had put pressure on a range of institutions. Figure 8 shows that, in most instances, a clear majority of respondents thought that growth had put a lot of pressure on these institutions.

Figure 8: 'In your opinion has population growth put pressure on—' %



Source: Table A10 in Appendix 1

On the whole, immigration-fueled population growth is not seen as benefitting ordinary Australians 'a lot' and voters feel that there is much to be unhappy about it. But possibly due to ignorance of the underlying dynamics, not all of those who want population stability say that they want the number of immigrants to be decreased.

Most voters believe that only the few benefit 'a lot' or 'a little' from population growth while 35% believe that ordinary Australia benefit 'not at all'. This impression of concentrated benefits and diffused costs provides a back ground for attitudes to immigration but, as Figure 21 below demonstrates, variables tapping concerns about cultural change suggest that this aspect of growth has in itself a strong effect on voters' attitudes.

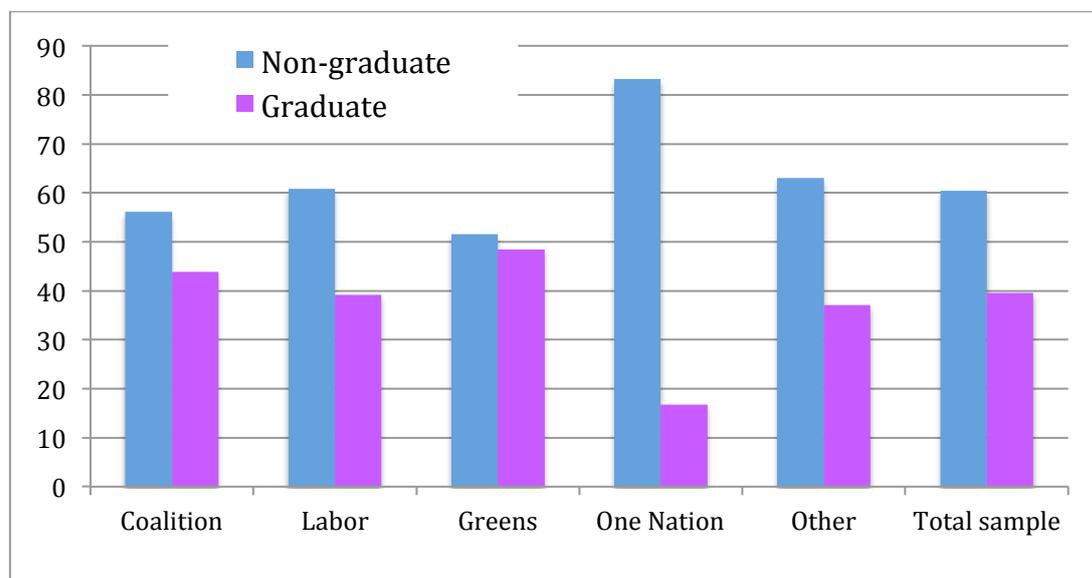
Thus there may be more to attitudes to population growth than crush-loaded hospitals and trains, and housing priced beyond one's reach. For some there's also a sense of cultural loss and challenges to their identity. There may also be a personal feeling of economic stress. This brings us to the issue raised in the introduction that, to the extent that voters are concerned about immigration and thus potentially responsive to populist mobilisation, it could be for cultural or economic reasons.

Before exploring this issue we pause to consider voting intentions by overall attitudes to immigration.

Voting intentions and attitudes to immigration

Respondents were asked how they would vote if a ‘federal election for the House of Representatives were held today’. Figure 9 shows voting intentions by educational status while Figure 10 sets out the association between voting intentions and attitudes to immigration.

Figure 9: Educational status by voting intention %

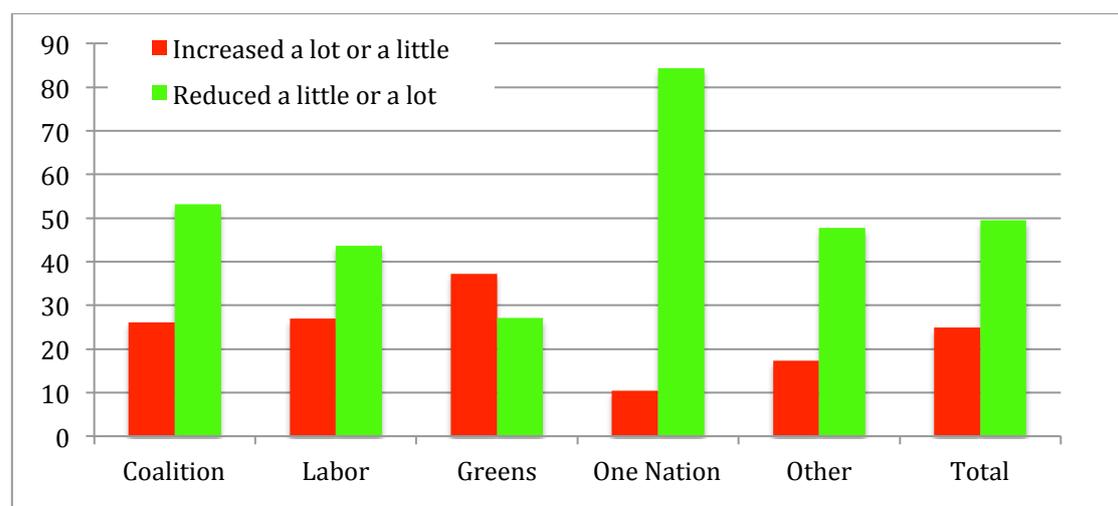


Source: Table A11 in Appendix 1

Figure 9 shows only minor differences in the share of graduates and non-graduates who intend to vote for the two major parties. As you might expect, there is a higher share of Labor voters who are non-graduates than is the case for Coalition voters. But the difference is not large. However, Figure 9 shows that the Greens attract a relatively high share of graduates, while One Nation and the minor parties, grouped as ‘other’, are heavily dependent on non-graduate voters.

We showed in Figure 1 that non-graduates have a much higher propensity to favour a reduction in migration than do graduates. Since both major parties have a substantial support base among both graduates and non-graduates it won’t be a surprise that Figure 10 shows that there are large chunks of both parties’ voter constituencies who support an increase in migration and who want migration reduced.

Figure 10: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be...’ by voting intention %

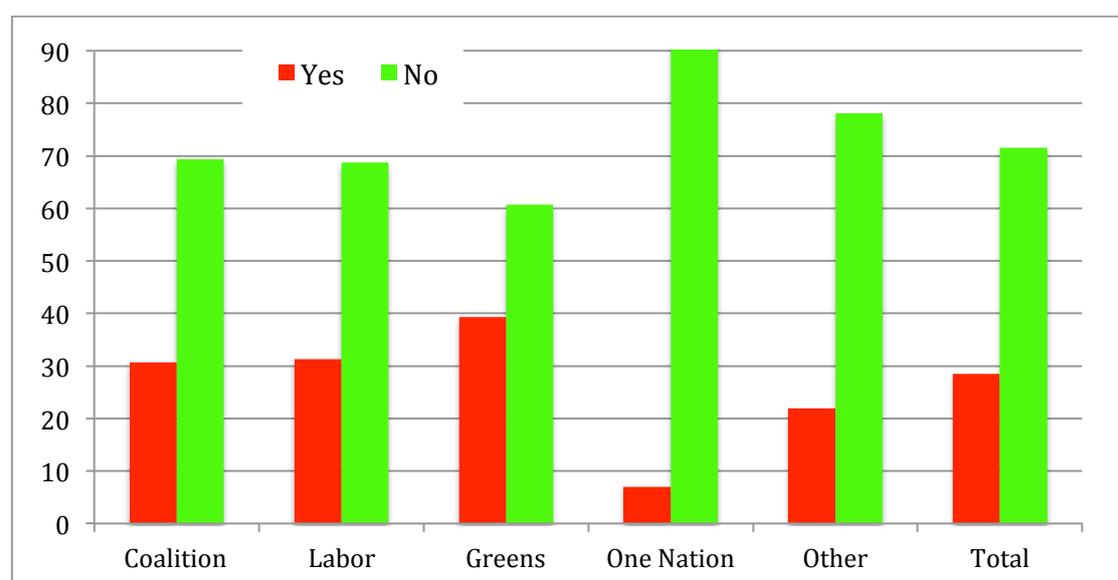


Source: Table A12 in Appendix 1

Nonetheless Figure 10 shows that a higher share of Coalition voters are more in favour of a reduction in immigration than are Labor voters and, in the case of One Nation voters, the great majority favour a reduction in migration.

In contrast, Greens voters are the only group where more voters favour an increase than a reduction. And as the note to Table A11 makes clear, One Nation voters are nearly as prevalent in the sample as Greens voters: 8.5% as opposed to 9.7%.

Figure 11: ‘Does Australia need more people?’ by voting intention %

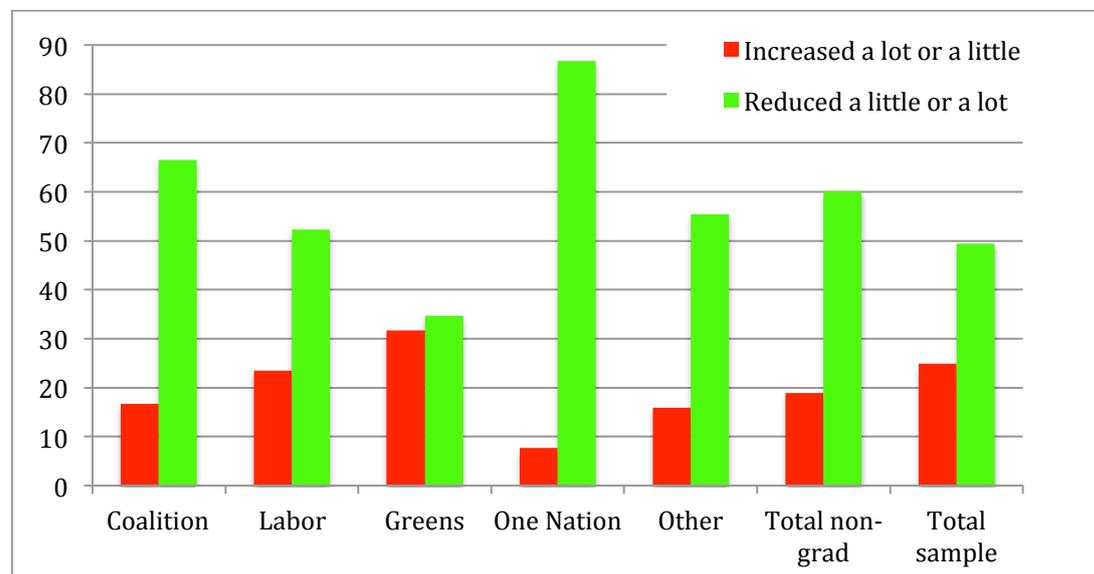


Source: Table A13 in Appendix 1

Figure 11 shows that Coalition and Labor voters are equally likely to say that Australia does not need more people, while Greens voters are rather less likely to say this. In contrast One Nation voters are literally off the chart: 93% of this group say Australia does

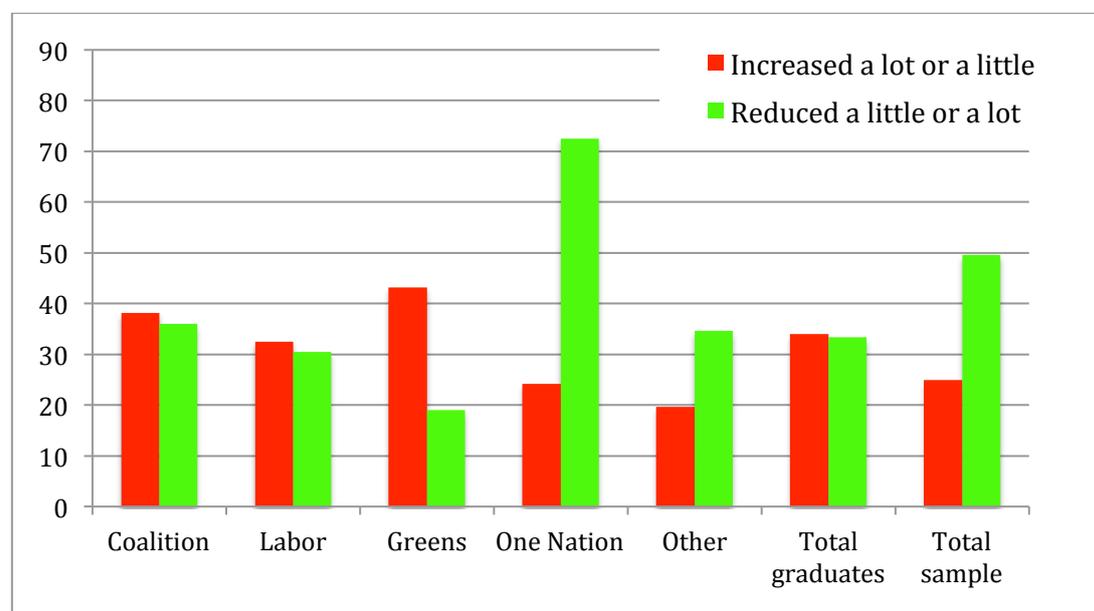
not need more people, a position that it is also popular with voters intending to vote for 'other' parties.

Figure 12: '...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be...' by voting intention, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A14 in Appendix 1

Figure 13: '...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be...' by voting intention, graduates only %



Source: Table A15 in Appendix 1

Figures 12 and 13 shows that the attitudes to immigration by voting intention displayed in Figure 10 is accentuated when attitudes are analysed for non-graduates and graduates

separately. Both the major parties contain significant voter constituencies who are graduates and who are non-graduates. The non-graduate supporters of both parties show a much higher propensity to want lower migration than do graduate supporters.

However, the non-graduate Coalition supporters are more inclined to favour a reduction than are the non-graduate supporters of Labor. Nonetheless there are large minorities amongst both the graduate and non-graduate supporters of both parties who favour a decrease in migration.

Country of birth and attitudes to immigration

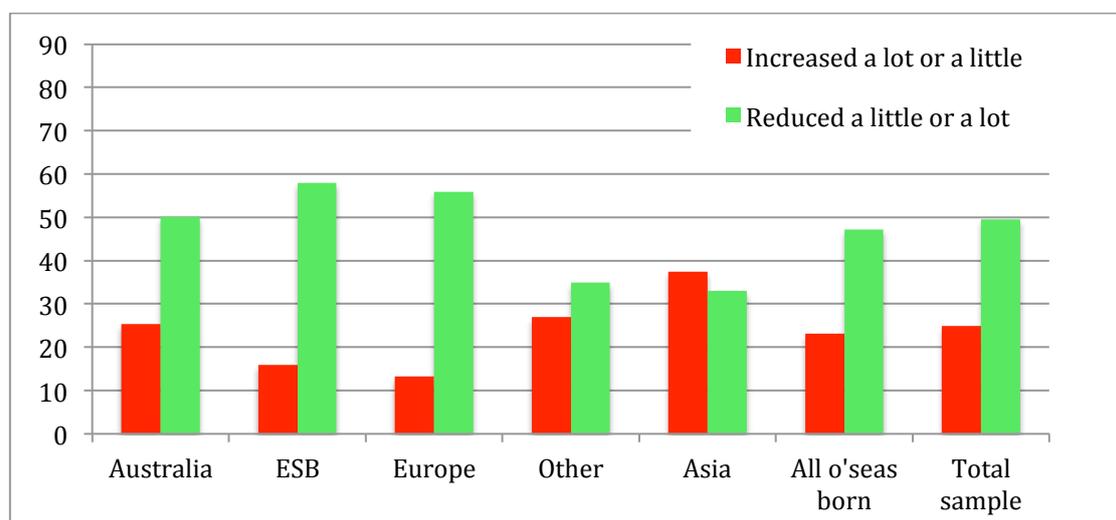
There is one more issue concerning the social base of voters' views about immigration that should be reported before examining the source of voter concerns about immigration. This is the birthplace factor.

Recall that Eric Kauffman argues that in the UK and the USA the ethno majority has absorbed European migrants into its ranks. To use Kauffman's terminology, most of these migrants, who in the USA are now second- or third-generation have absorbed the mainstream American identity and national story. They are significant components of the populist uprising that propelled Trump to the US presidency.

The outcome is similar in Australia, at least as regards attitudes to immigration.

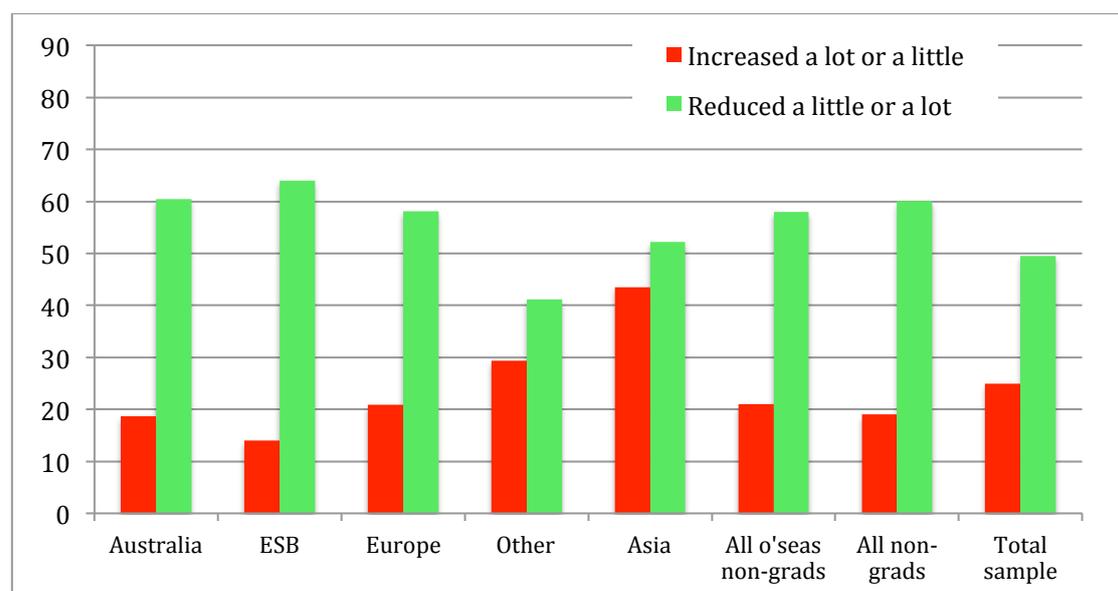
Figure 13 shows that the birthplace group where the most members want a reduction in the number of immigrants are those born overseas in English-speaking background (ESB) countries, followed by voters born in Europe. The Australian-born are the next most in favour of reduction. In contrast voters born in Asia are more likely to favour an increase, as are those born in 'other' countries, a diverse category that includes the Middle East and North Africa.

Figure 14: '...the number of immigrants should be..' by country of birth %



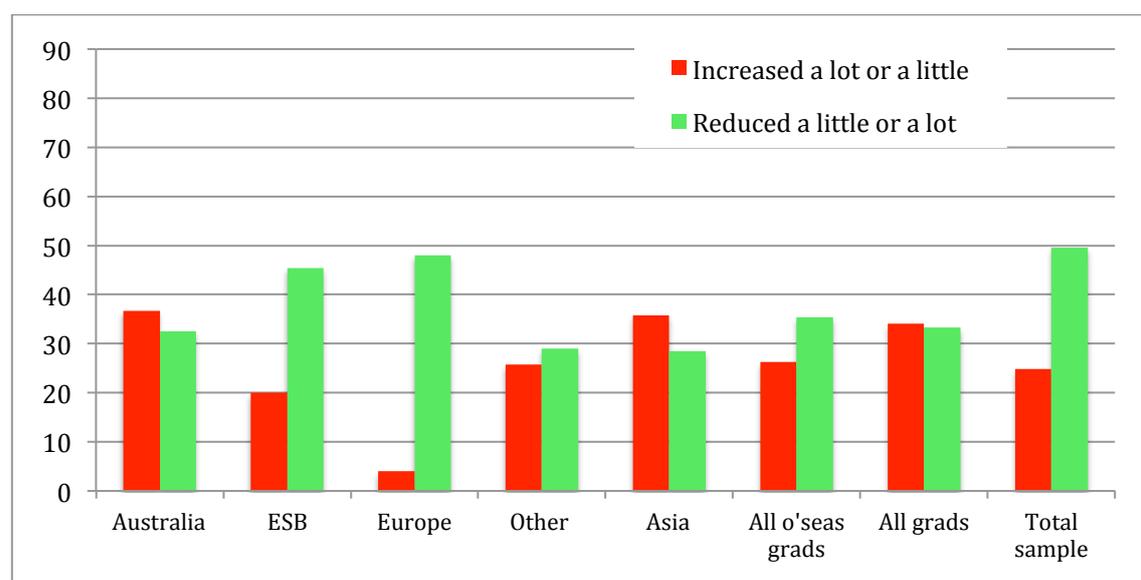
Source: Table A16 in Appendix A

Figure 15: ‘...the number of immigrants should be..’ by country of birth, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A17 in Appendix 1

Figure 16: ‘...the number of immigrants should be..’ by country of birth, graduates only %

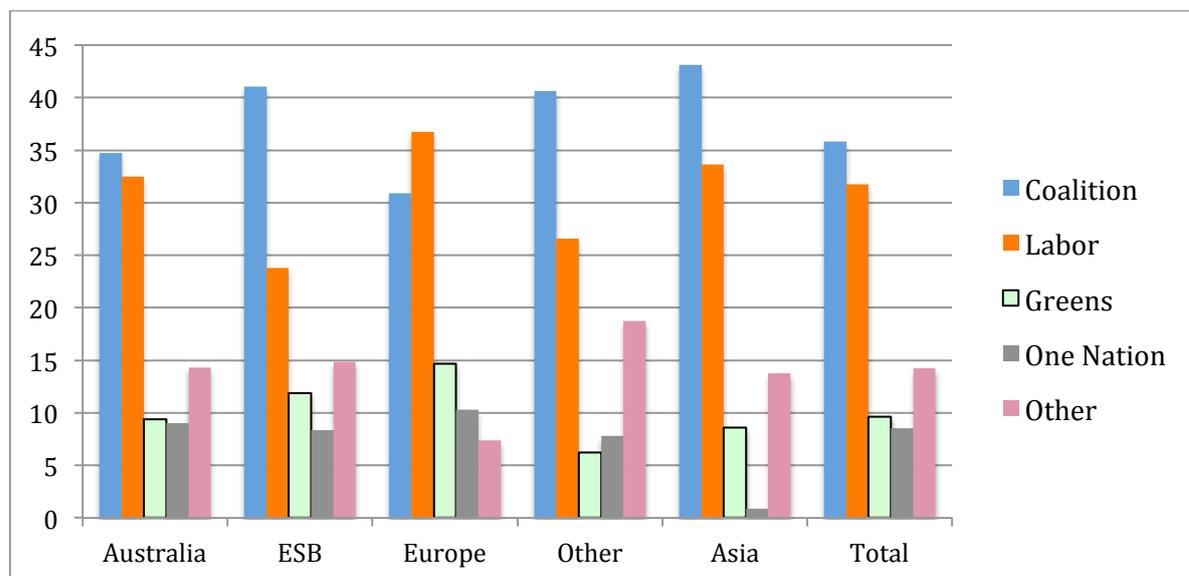


Source: Table A18 in Appendix 1

Figures 15 and 16 control for education. Almost irrespective of educational status, immigrants from ESB countries and from Europe are more opposed to current levels of immigration than are voters from any other birthplace grouping.

The situation is different for the Australian-born. The non-graduates among the Australian-born strongly favour reduction while the graduates are more likely to favour an increase.

Figure 17: Voting intention by country of birth %



Source: Table A19 in Appendix 1

Figure 17 shows that, as of October/November 2018, more voters in the sample of all birthplace groupings bar one intended to vote for the Coalition than for any other party. It was only among those born in Europe (excluding the UK and Ireland) where a larger proportion intended to vote Labor.

Though this does not apply to migrants from Asia, we conclude that first- and second-generation European and ESB-born migrants have been absorbed into the ranks of voters concerned about migration. These migrants have become an important part of voter base worried about immigration.

Which major party would be most affected by an attempt by a faction within their ranks to mobilise voters on the immigration issue or by a new populist party? The answer is that both would be affected. As noted above, both contain significant numbers of voters who might change their allegiance if immigration became a major focus of the forthcoming or subsequent elections. As far as the Coalition is concerned ESB-born voters form an important part of their base.

This is just the starting point for an analysis of the potential magnitude of any such outcome. There is a further crucial matter to consider. This is, to the extent that voters might be swayed by populist appeals, what aspect of the populist cause are they most likely to be mobilized by? Is it economic pressures (the 'left behind' factor) or is it cultural concerns (the sense that their ethno-majority status is being challenged)?

In order to explore this problem we asked respondents several questions about their attitudes to cultural changes as well as questions about their experiences of stresses linked to money or jobs. The data can then show whether voters who are uneasy about these matters are more likely to favour lower immigration than are those who are indifferent to them.

Cultural change, protection, economic stress, voting intentions, and attitudes to immigration

We start with cultural change and its possible challenges and then move on to examine economic stresses.

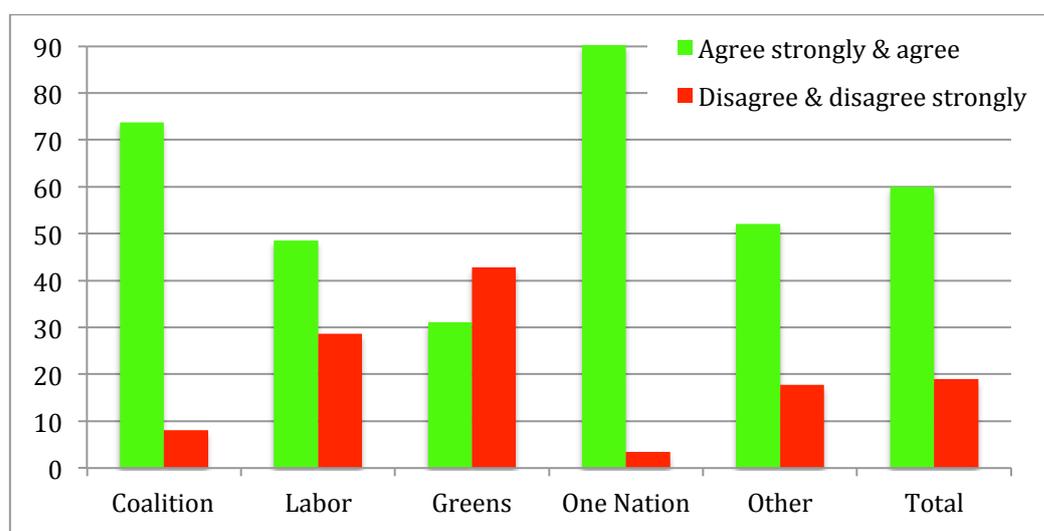
Cultural change

A key cultural issue that the survey explored was voters' attitudes to asylum seekers arriving by boat. Attitudes on this issue get to the heart of the progressives' agenda. Progressives support open borders, especially for asylum seekers, people whom they regard as especially deserving of Australians' compassion. Anyone who opposes the entry of asylum seekers and supports turning them back on the high seas is fundamentally at odds with this progressive commitment.

Respondents were offered the statement 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back'. Most (60%) either agree strongly or agree that they should be, while only 19% disagree or disagree strongly.

Figure 18 shows that, overall, most Coalition voters (74%) support the policy, and that more Labor voters support it than oppose it. (Greens and One Nation voters take diametrically opposite positions.)

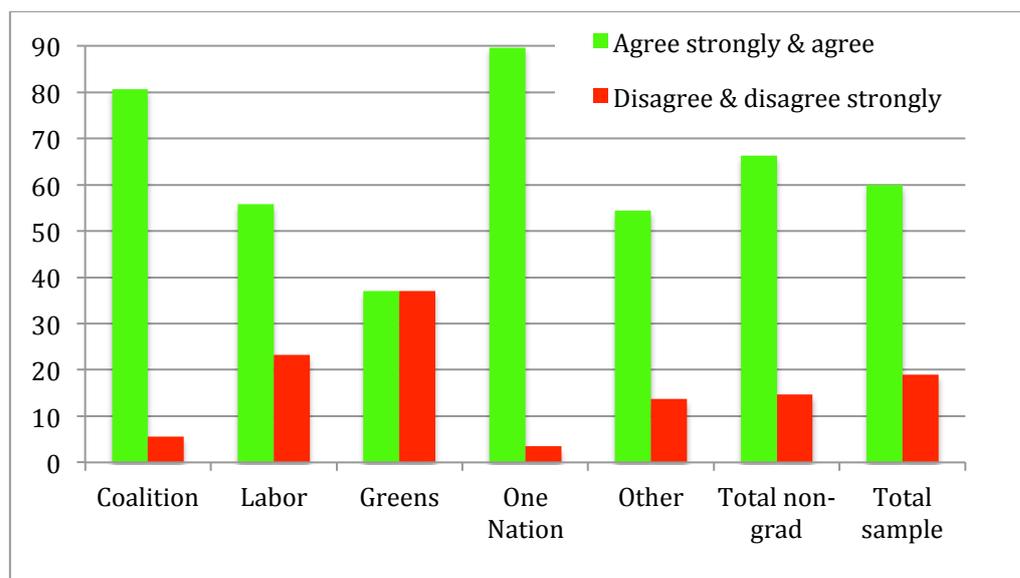
Figure 18: 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' by voting intention, whole sample %



Source: Table A20 in Appendix 1

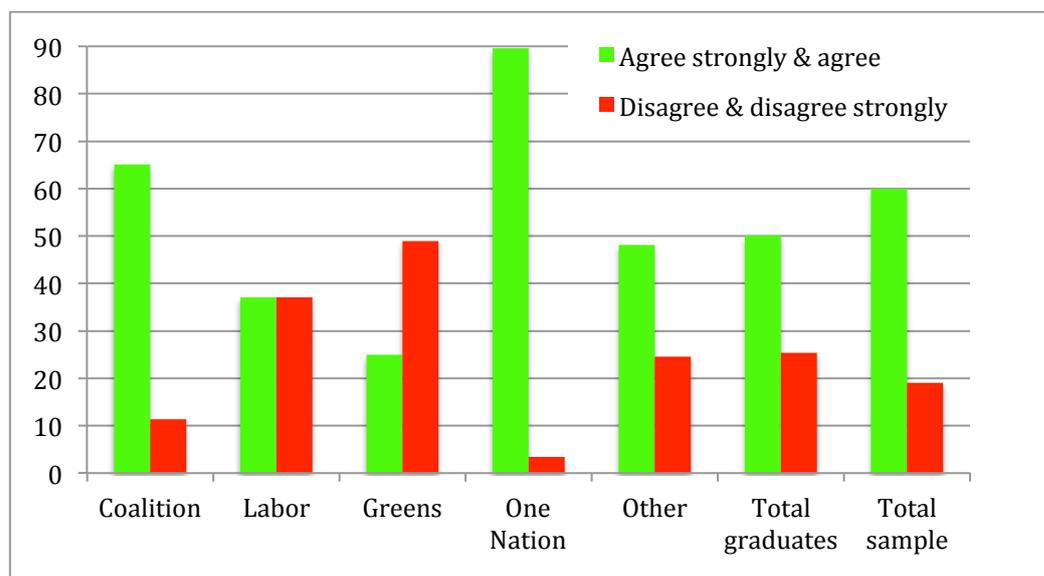
When we control for education the support that Coalition voters have for the turn-back policy hardly changes. Even among graduates only a small minority of Coalition voters (11%) oppose it while support among non-graduate Coalition voters reaches 81%. See Figures 19 and 20.

Figure 19: ‘All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back’ by voting intention, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A21 in Appendix 1

Figure 20: ‘All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back’ by voting intention, graduates only %



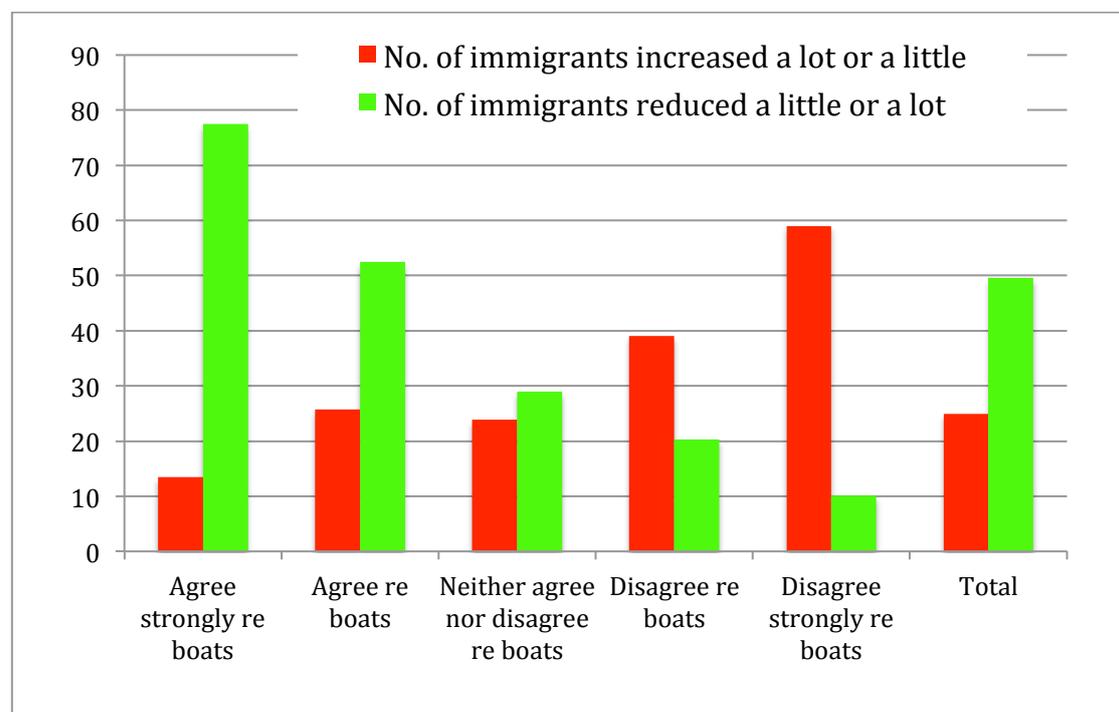
Source: Table A22 in Appendix 1

Among Labor voters a majority of non-graduates support turn backs, while among graduate Labor voters the proportions of supporters and opponents are equal (at 37%). The standout group in Figure 20 are graduates who intend to vote for the Greens; nearly half of this group opposes turn-backs.

As to the question of whether there is any link between voters' attitudes to asylum seekers and their attitudes towards immigration levels, Figure 21 also shows a clear association.

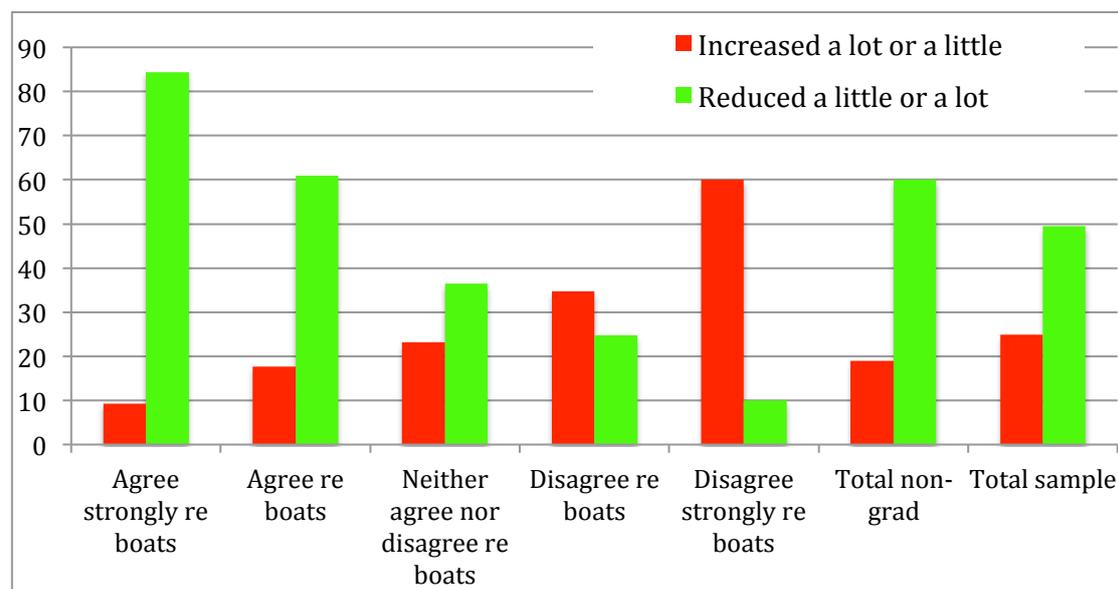
Voters who strongly favour turning back the boats are much more likely to want a reduction in immigration overall, and those who oppose turn-backs are much more likely to want an increase in immigration.

Figure 21 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' %



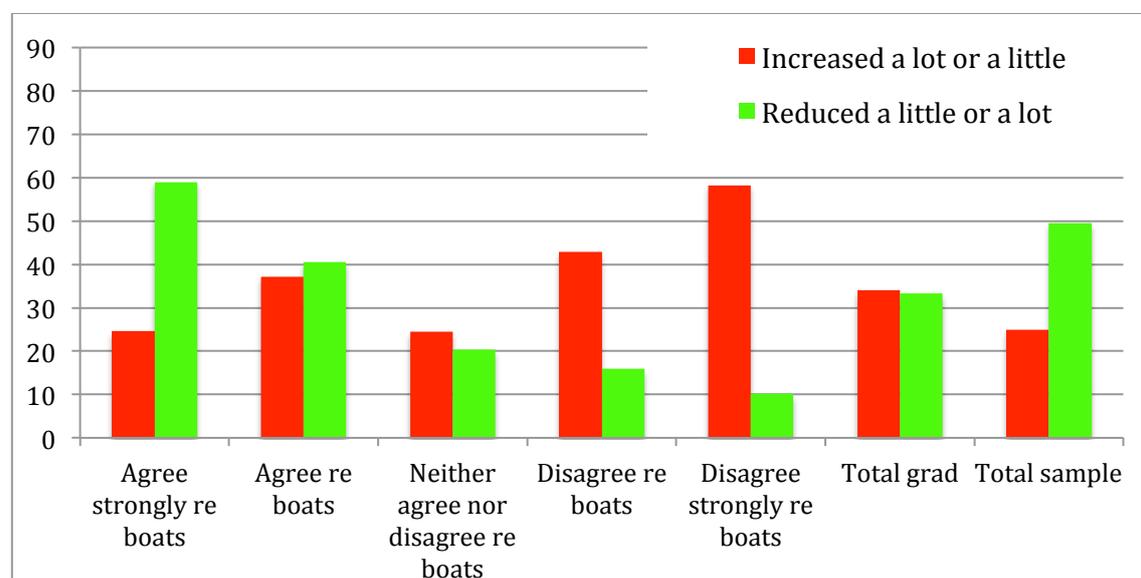
Source: Table A23 in Appendix 1

Figure 22: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back’ Non-graduates only %



Source: Table A24 in Appendix 1

Figure 23: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back’ Graduates only %



Source: Table A25 in Appendix 1

The association between favouring turn-backs and wanting lower immigration is even stronger among non-graduates (Figure 22) and present, but less pronounced, among graduates (Figure 23).

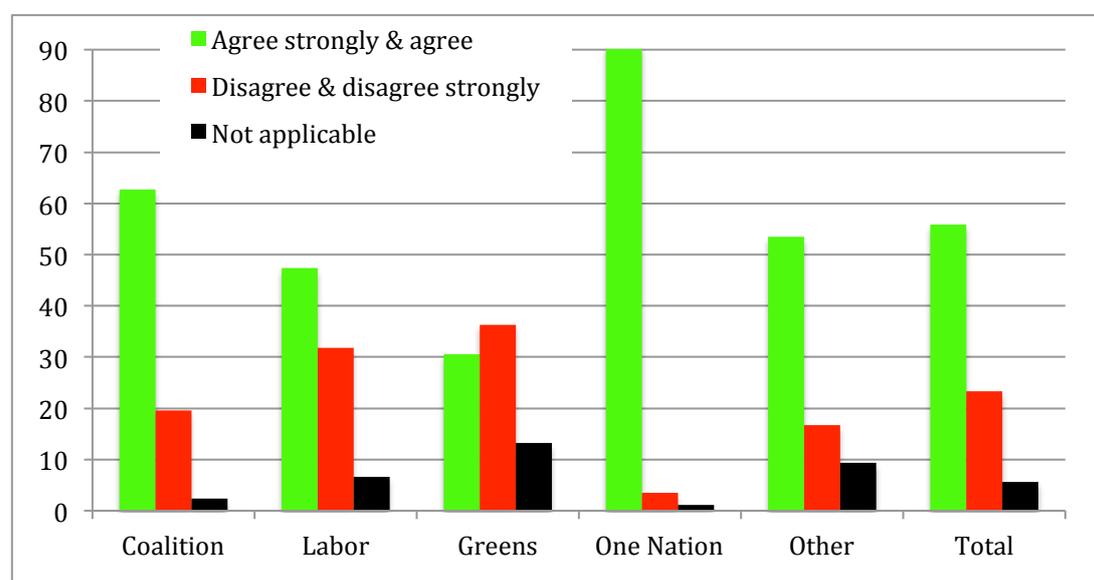
We asked three other questions on cultural change designed to explore Australia voters' feelings about this change.

The first offered a statement: ‘Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity.’ The response categories were: agree strongly, agree, neither agree not disagree, disagree, and disagree strongly. But they also included a sixth category: ‘Not applicable — Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity’.

Figure 24 sets out the results by voting intention. It shows that concern about cultural change is widespread, particularly among Coalition and One Nation voters.

Again Greens voters are different. Here more voters disagree than agree, plus a comparatively large proportion say that the question is ‘Not applicable: Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity’.

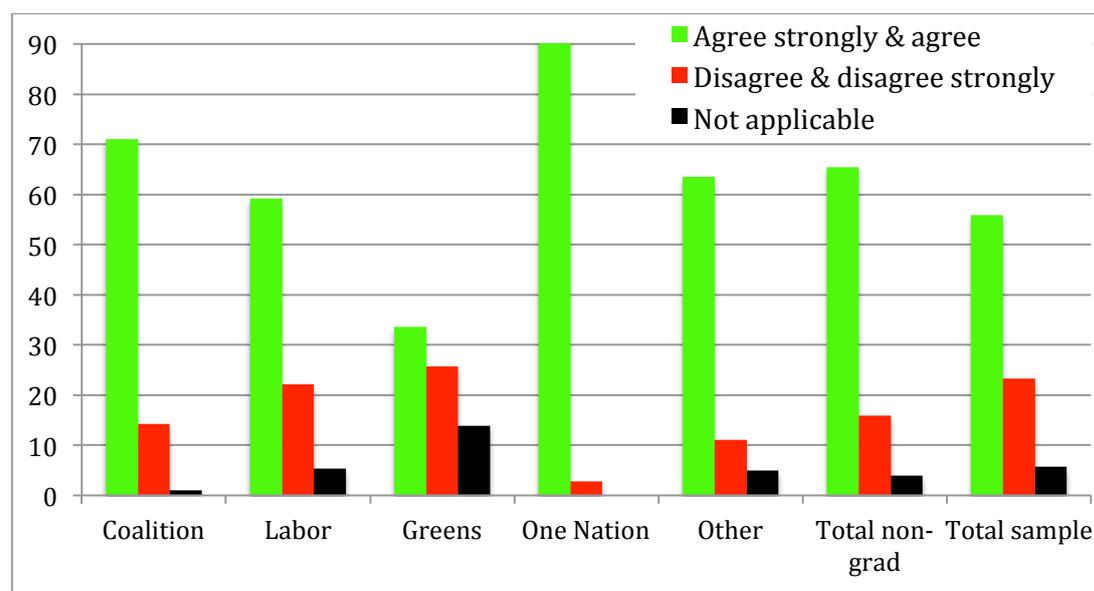
Figure 24: ‘Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity’, by voting intention



Source: Table A26 in Appendix 1

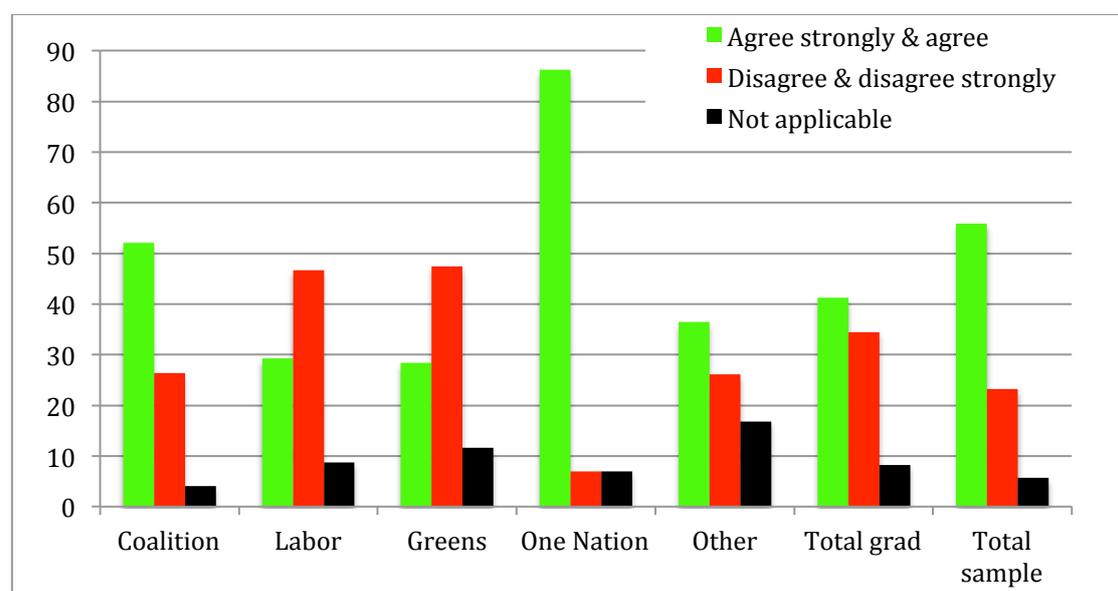
The full text for *Not applicable* is ‘Not applicable – Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity’.

Figure 25: ‘Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity’, by voting intention, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A27 in Appendix 1

Figure 26: ‘Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity’, by voting intention, graduates only %



Source: Table A28 in Appendix 1

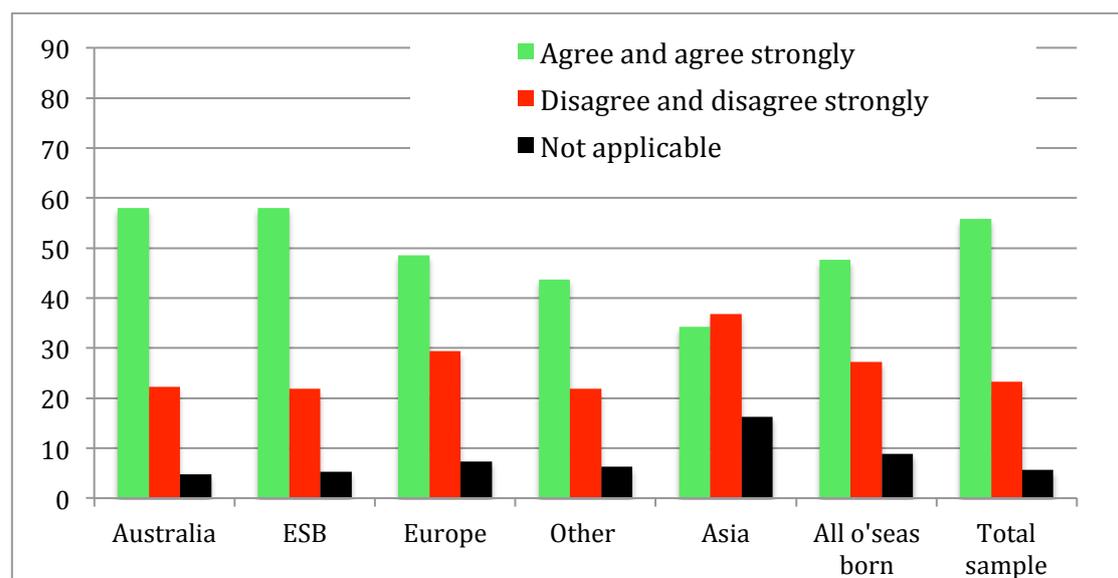
Figure 25 focuses on non-graduates and repeats the pattern shown in Figure 24 but in a more accentuated form. Non-graduates were more likely to say that Australia was in danger of losing its culture and identity and less likely to say that the question was ‘not applicable’.

Figure 26 focuses on graduates. It presents a different pattern for supporters of the progressive parties. Among graduates, more Labor and Greens voters were likely to disagree with the statement than agree with it. This presents clear evidence of a divide

between graduates and non-graduates on the progressive sides of politics. It also shows that, though the divide is also present among conservative voters, it is more muted.

Do overseas born voters share a concern about Australia possibly losing its culture and identity? Yes, if they were born in ESB countries, but not so much if they are Asia-born. Indeed the latter group is the most likely to choose the option that the question is not applicable because 'Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'. See Figure 27.

Figure 27: 'Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity', by country of birth

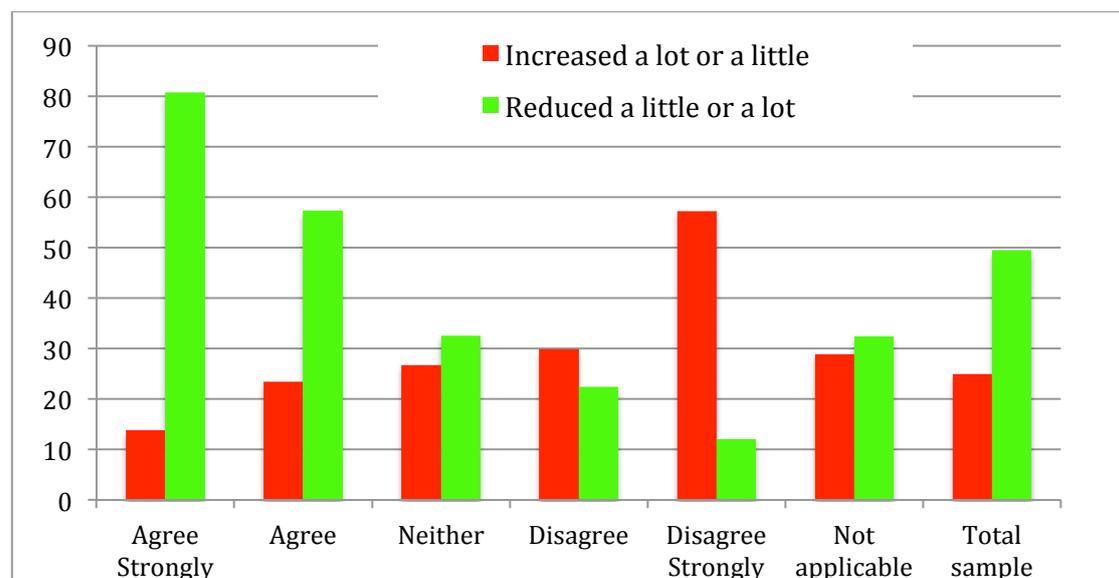


Source: Table A29 in Appendix 1

These results confirm the earlier findings that most ESB and European migrants have absorbed mainstream concerns about the importance of defending Australia's identity and sovereignty.

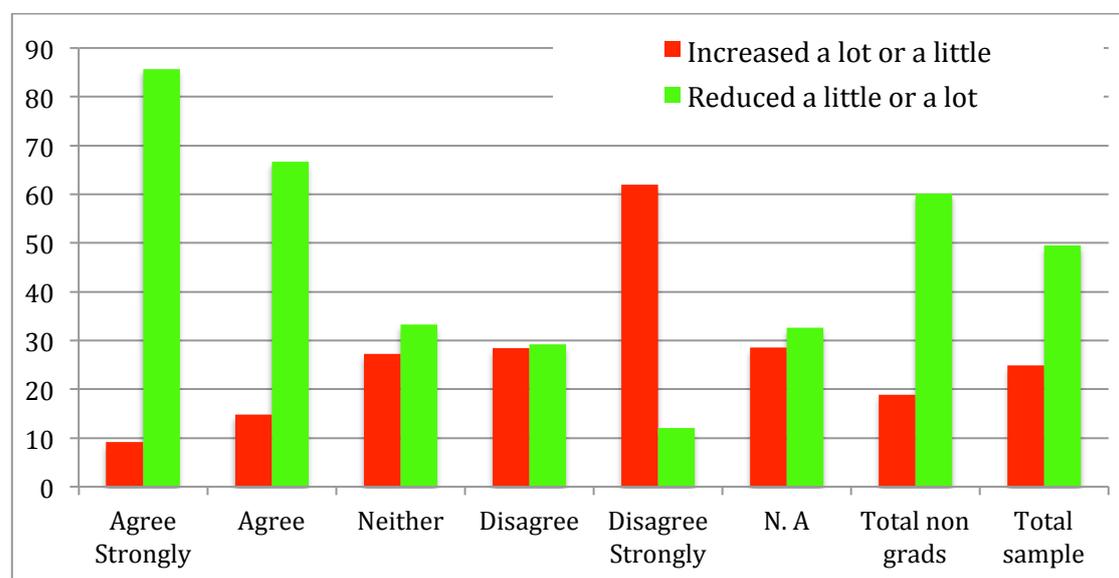
Figure 28 shows that concern about loss of culture and identity is strongly associated with a preference for lower immigration. In contrast, the minority who disagree or strongly disagree with the statement about this loss are more in favour of an increase.

Figure 28: ‘...the number of immigrants should be..’ by ‘Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?’



Source: Table A30 in Appendix 1

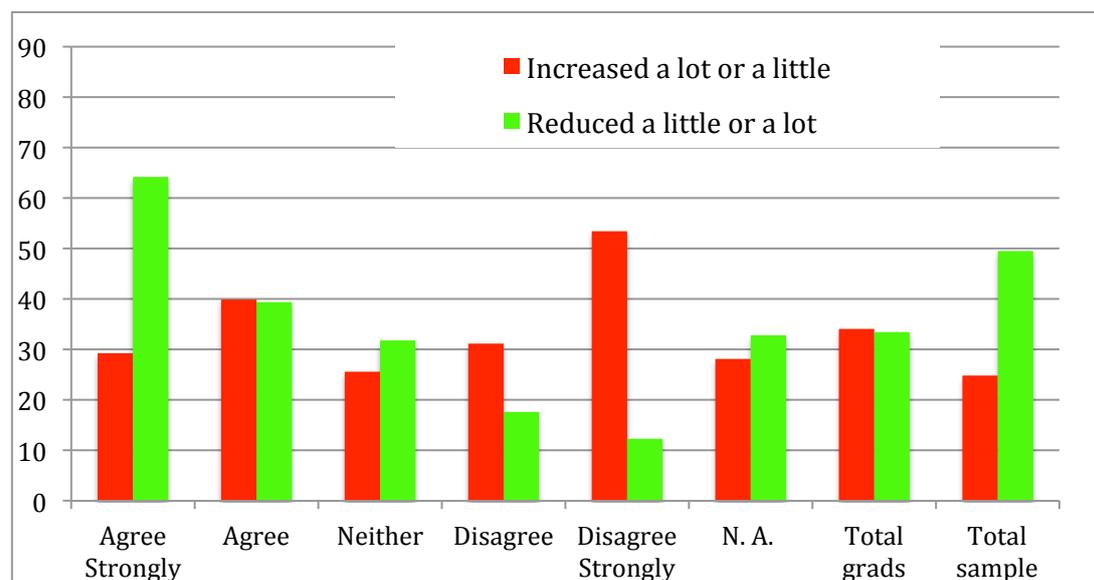
Figure 29: ‘...the number of immigrants should be..’ by ‘Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?’ Non-graduates only



Source: Table A31 in Appendix 1

The full text for *N. A.* is ‘Not applicable – Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity’.

Figure 30: ‘...the number of immigrants should be..’ by ‘Some people say that today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?’
Graduates only



Source: Table A32 in Appendix 1

The full text for *N. A.* is ‘Not applicable – Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity’.

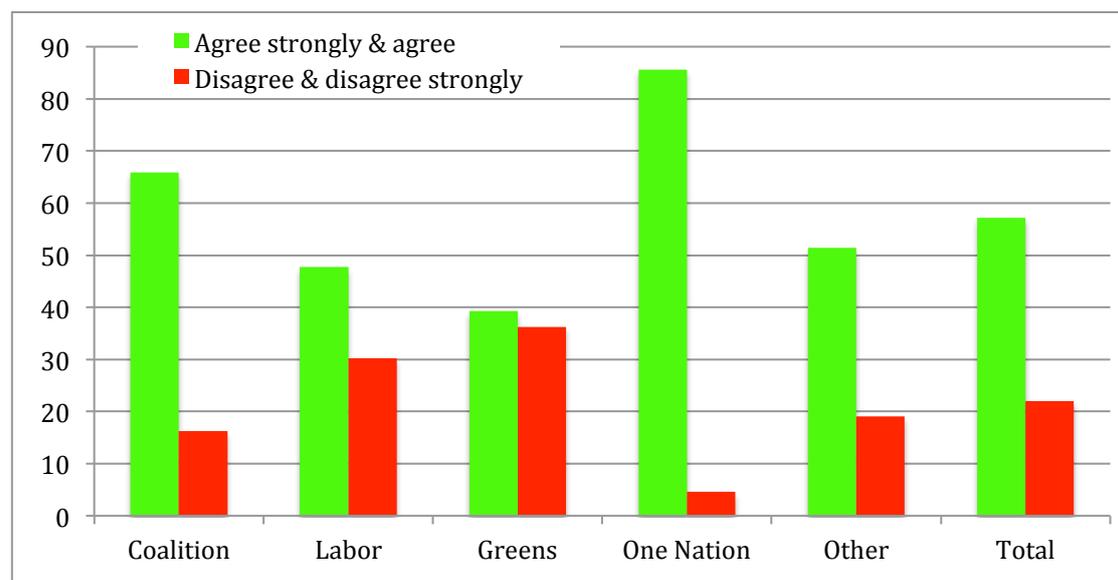
Figures 29 and 30 illustrate the difference between non-graduates and graduate on both attitudes to immigration and their association with concern about cultural change. Non-graduates are more concerned about cultural change and than are graduates, and among those most deeply concerned, are much more likely to want immigration reduced.

The differences between those disagreeing about loss of culture and identity are less clear, but the numbers in each category differ. Overall only 16% of non-graduates disagree with the statement about loss of culture and identity compared with 35% of graduates. (See Tables A31 and A32).

The two other questions on attitudes to cultural change were ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ and ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’

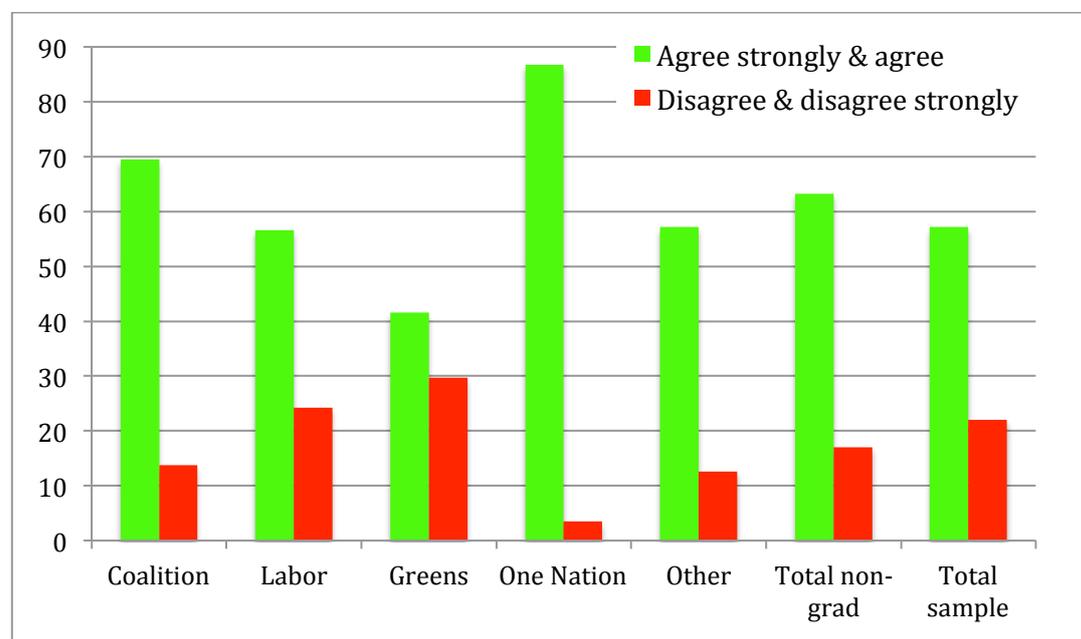
Figure 31 shows that Coalition voters are more likely to agree or strongly agree with the statement that Australia has changed so much that ‘it sometimes feels like a foreign country’. They are more likely to agree or agree strongly than are voters for any other party, apart from One Nation.

Figure 31: ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ by voting intention %



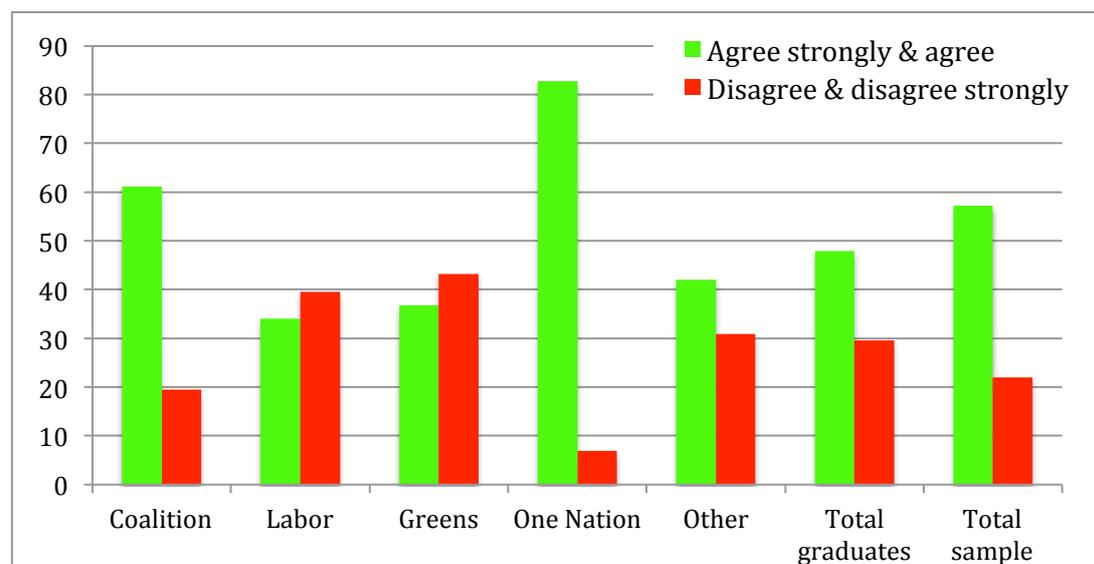
Source: Table A33 in Appendix 1

Figure 32: ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ by voting intention, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A34 in Appendix 1

Figure 33: ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ by voting intention, graduates only %

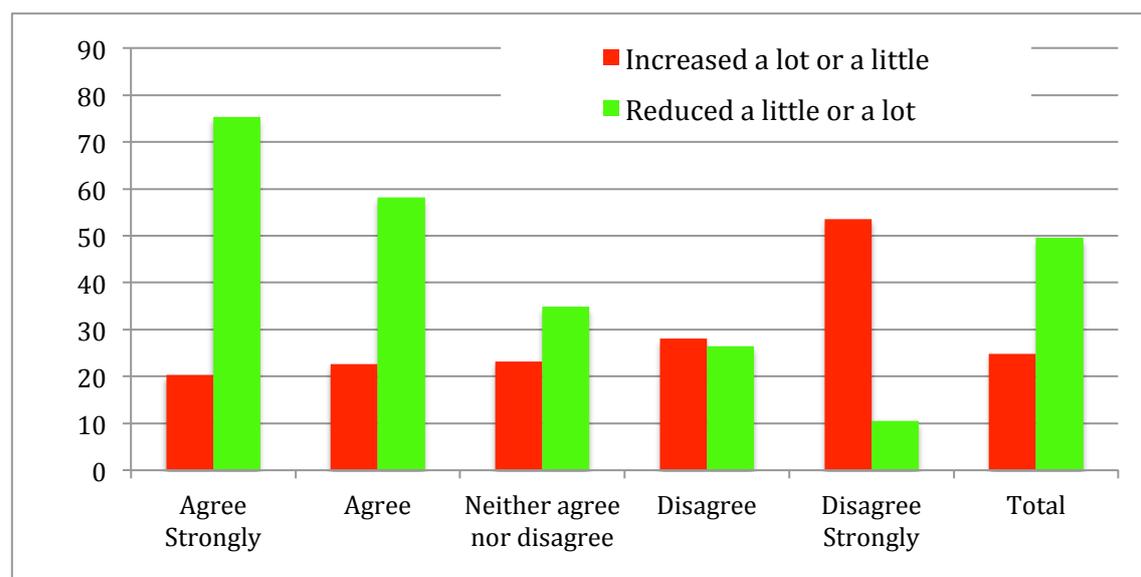


Source: Table A35 in Appendix 1

A comparison of Figures 32 and 33 shows that overall non-graduates are more likely to agree with the statement that Australia sometimes feels like a foreign country, and that those who feel this way are more likely to support the Coalition and One Nation.

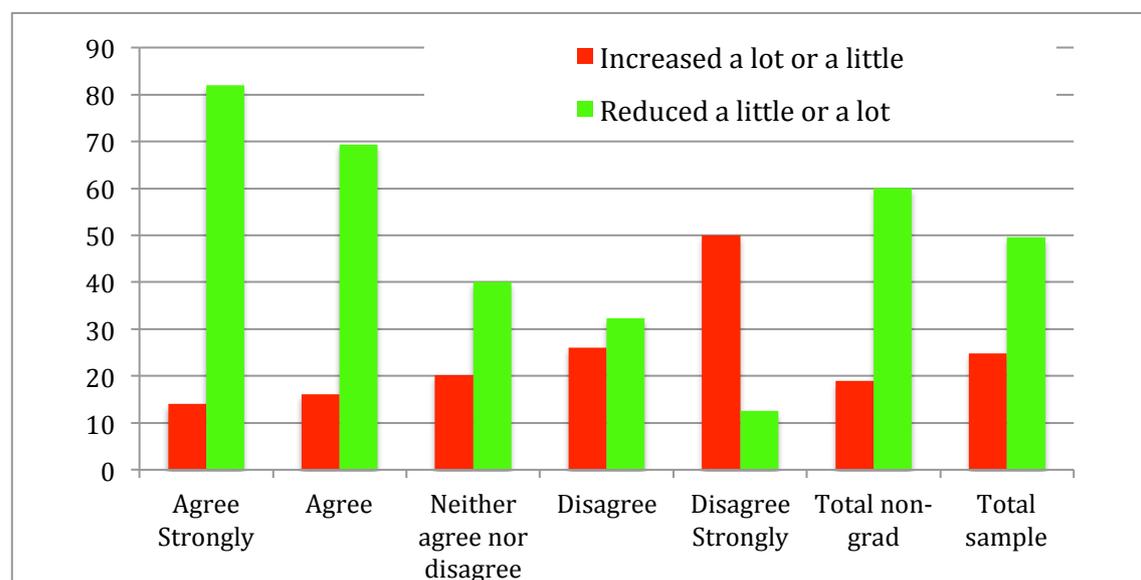
By contrast graduates who intend to vote Labor or Greens are more likely to disagree with the statement. See Figure 33.

Figure 34: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ %



Source: Table A36 in Appendix 1

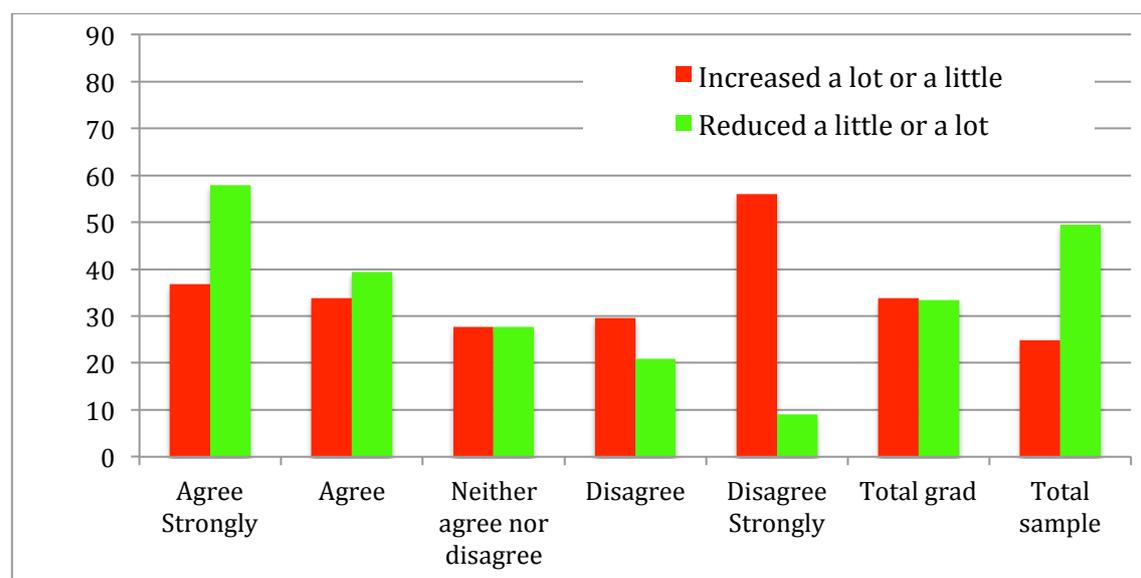
Figure 35: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ Non-graduates only %



Source: Table A37 in Appendix 1

Figure 34 shows that, overall, most voters who think that Australia ‘sometimes feels like a foreign country’ prefer a reduction in immigration to an increase. In contrast, the minority who disagree with the statement show a moderate preference for an increase.

Figure 36: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ Graduates only %



Source: Table A38 in Appendix 1

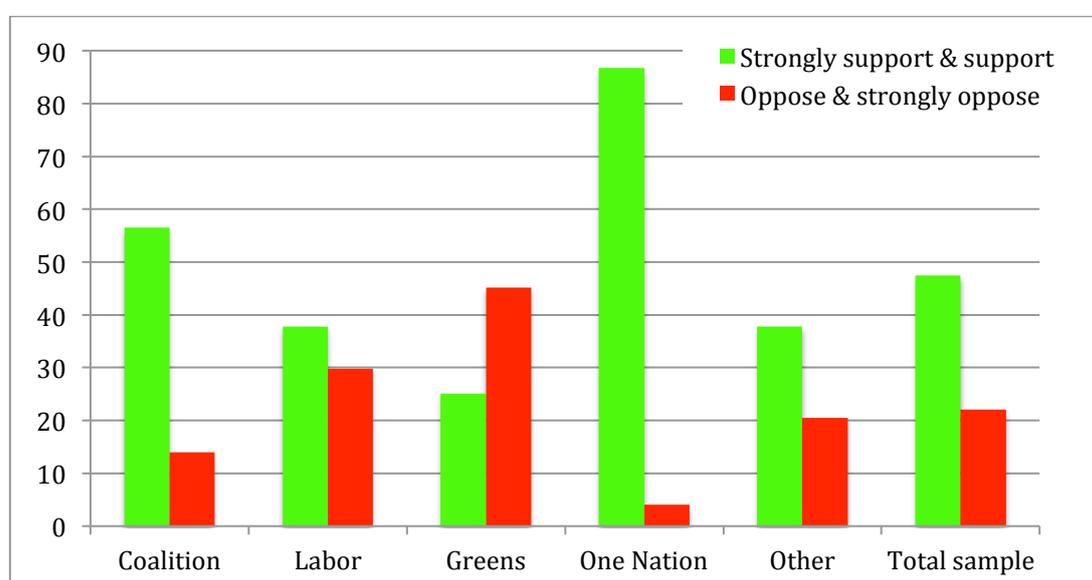
Figure 35 repeats the analysis for non-graduates. Again the numbers in this group who disagree about cultural change are small: 17% disagree or strongly disagree whereas 63% agree or strongly agree. (See Table A37.)

Figure 36 shows the same variables for graduates. The association between uneasiness about cultural change and a preference of lower immigration is still visible here, but much weaker.

The final question tapping attitudes to cultural change asked if voters would support or oppose a 'partial ban on Muslim immigration'.

Figure 37 shows that 47% would support such a ban on Muslim immigration, a proportion that rises to 53% for Coalition voters (and 90% for One Nation voters). In contrast, people who intend to vote for the Greens are more likely to oppose a ban than to support it.

Figure 37: 'Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?' by voting intention %



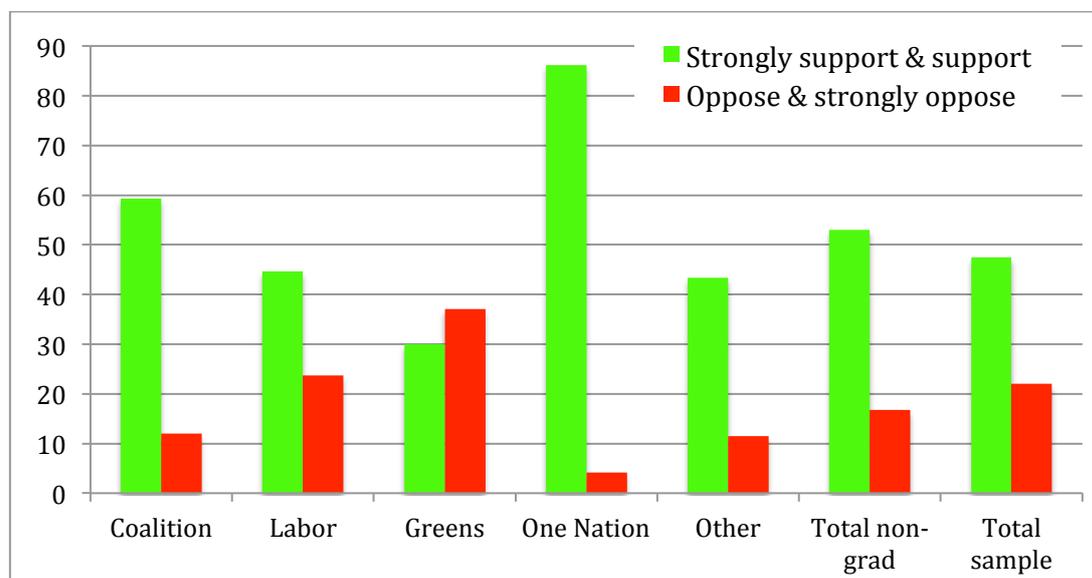
Source: Table A39 in Appendix 1

Figures 38 and 39 show the results when voters are separated by educational status. Overall non-graduates are more supportive of a partial ban on Muslim immigration. While more graduates support the ban than oppose it, they are much more likely to register opposition to it than are non-graduates.

A majority of Coalition voters support the partial ban irrespective of educational status, but this majority is stronger among non-graduates. By contrast the difference between Labor voters by educational status is marked. Forty-five per cent of non-graduate Labor voters support a partial ban but only 27% of graduate Labor voters share their views. Many more graduate Labor voters (40%) oppose a ban.

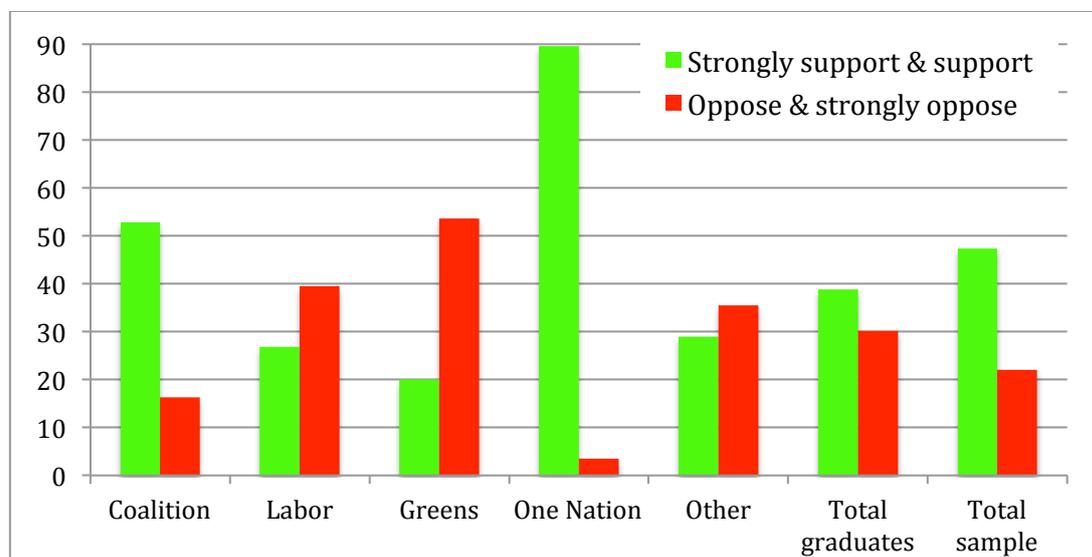
More Greens voters oppose the ban than support it, irrespective of educational status, but the tendency is particularly marked among graduates. One Nation voters, however, strongly support it regardless of educational status.

Figure 38: ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ by voting intention, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A40 in Appendix 1

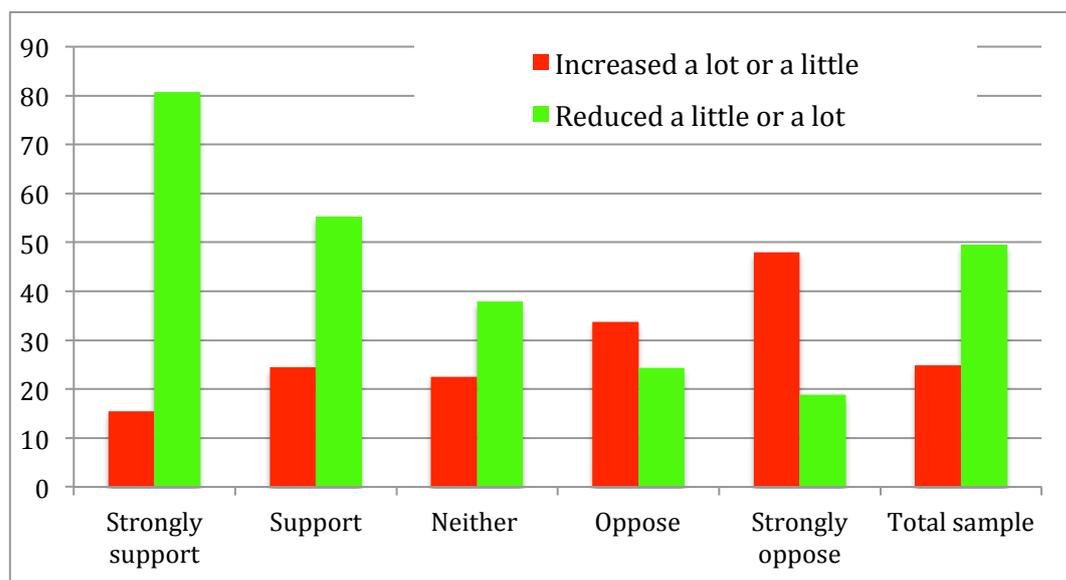
Figure 39: ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ by voting intention, graduates only %



Source: Table A41 in Appendix 1

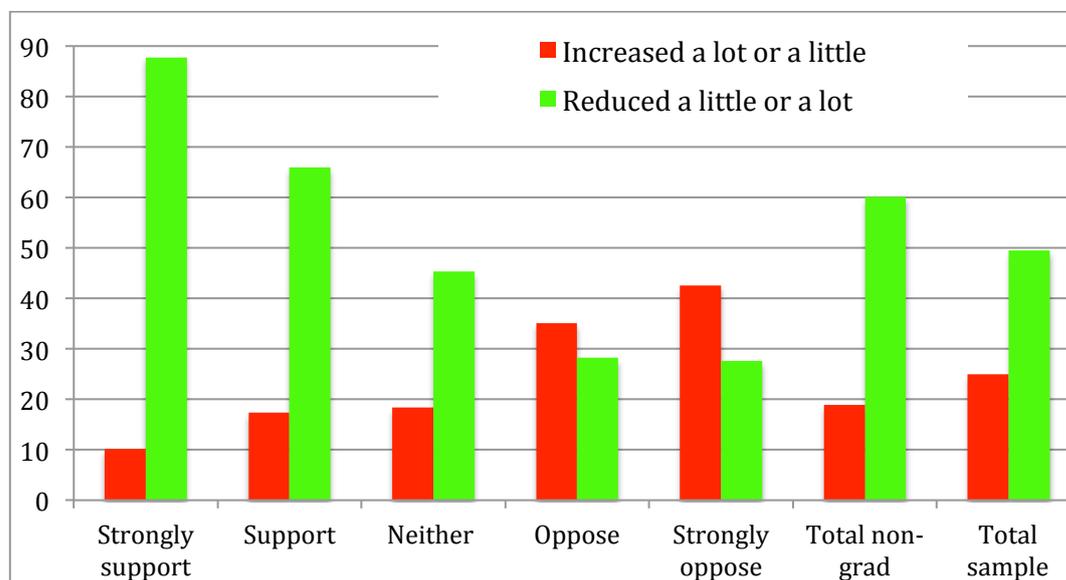
Figure 40 shows that support for a partial ban on Muslim immigration is strongly associated with a preference for all immigration to be reduced, while opposition to it is associated more with a desire to increase immigration.

Figure 40: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ %



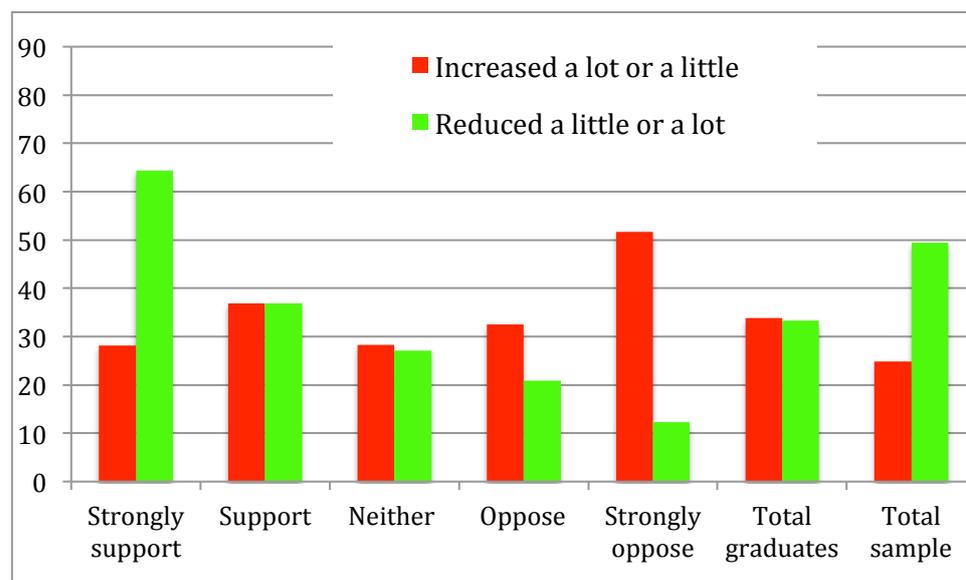
Source: Table A42 in Appendix 1

Figure 41: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ Non-graduates only %



Source: Table A43 in Appendix 1

Figure 42: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ Graduates only %



Source: Table A44 in Appendix 1

Figures 40 to 42 show a strong association between supporting a partial ban on Muslim immigration and wanting lower immigration in general, especially among non-graduates. Eighty-eight per cent of non-graduates who strongly support the partial ban also want a reduction in immigration.

Overall, the four questions on attitudes to cultural change show considerable disquiet about this change, especially among non-graduates and among people who intend to vote for the Coalition or One Nation.

The four questions also show a marked correlation between concern about cultural change and a desire to reduce immigration, especially among non-graduates.

When these results are combined (Figures 21-23, 28-30, 34-36, 40-42) they reveal a strong link between non-economic aspects of immigration and attitudes to whether the intake should be reduced or increased.

The results also show that voters who are most concerned about cultural change and border control favour the Coalition over Labor and the Greens and that only the group intending to vote for One Nation shows higher levels of concern.

Economic protection

In Australia, elites who prioritise progressive values on diversity and welcoming attitudes to migration usually also strongly support free trade. Protectionism is seen as a throwback to Australia's early 20th Century defensiveness when elites were worried about preserving Australia's Anglo heritage and defending Australia's internal markets from foreign competition.

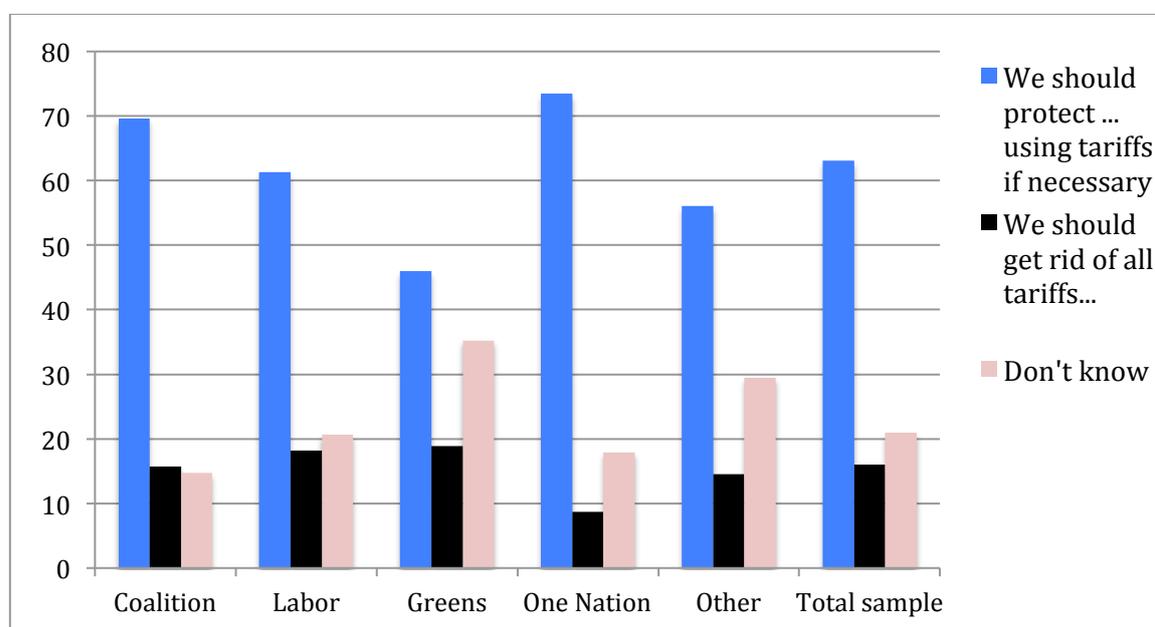
Our findings so far show that most Australian voters don't share the current progressive consensus on migration and diversity.

The results on the issue of protectionism are striking. Most voters have not absorbed the elite consensus on this matter since the Hawke/Keating era. That is, most voters do not agree that Australia should open its economy to world-wide competition.

TAPRI asked voters about their attitudes to economic protection. The question read: ‘The share of manufacturing in Australia’s economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think — We should protect Australia’s manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary; [or] We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas; [or] Don’t know’. Sixty-three per cent chose protection, 16% getting rid of all tariffs, and 21% said ‘don’t know’.

Figure 43 shows these preferences for the sample as a whole and by voting intention. It shows that conservative voters (Coalition and One Nation) are more in favour of protection than are progressive voters (Labor and the Greens) but that it is only among the Greens that support for getting rid of all tariffs rises above one third.

Figure 43: Attitudes to economic protection by voting intention

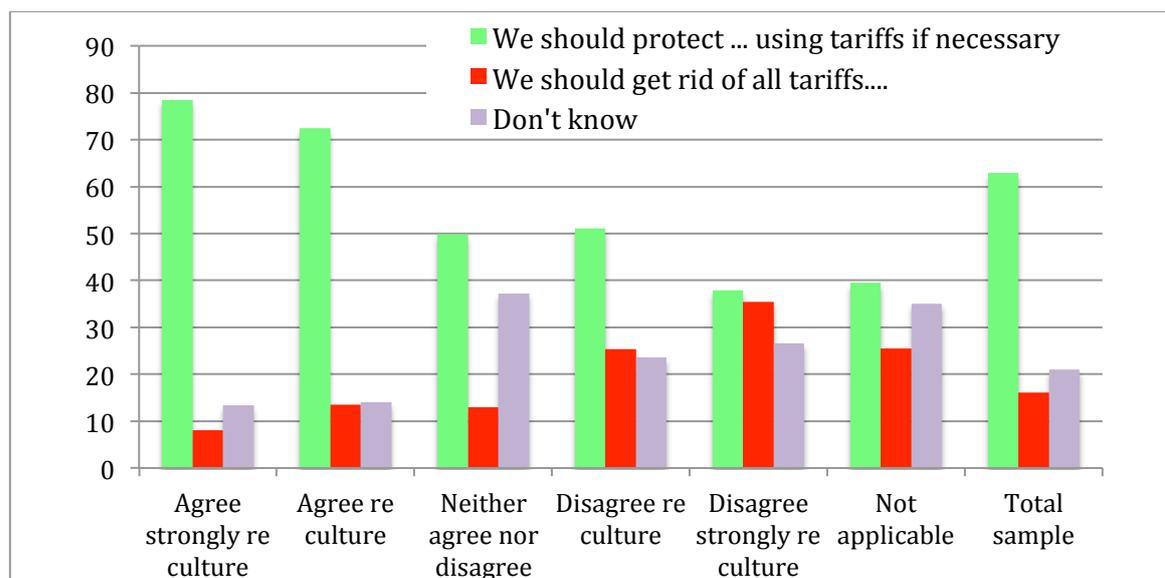


Source: Table A45 in Appendix 1

Note: The full response categories for the question on protection are: We should protect Australia’s manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary; We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas; and don’t know.

Figure 44 also shows that a preference for economic protection correlates with concern about the loss of culture and identity.

Figure 44: Attitudes to economic protection by 'Some people say Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity' %

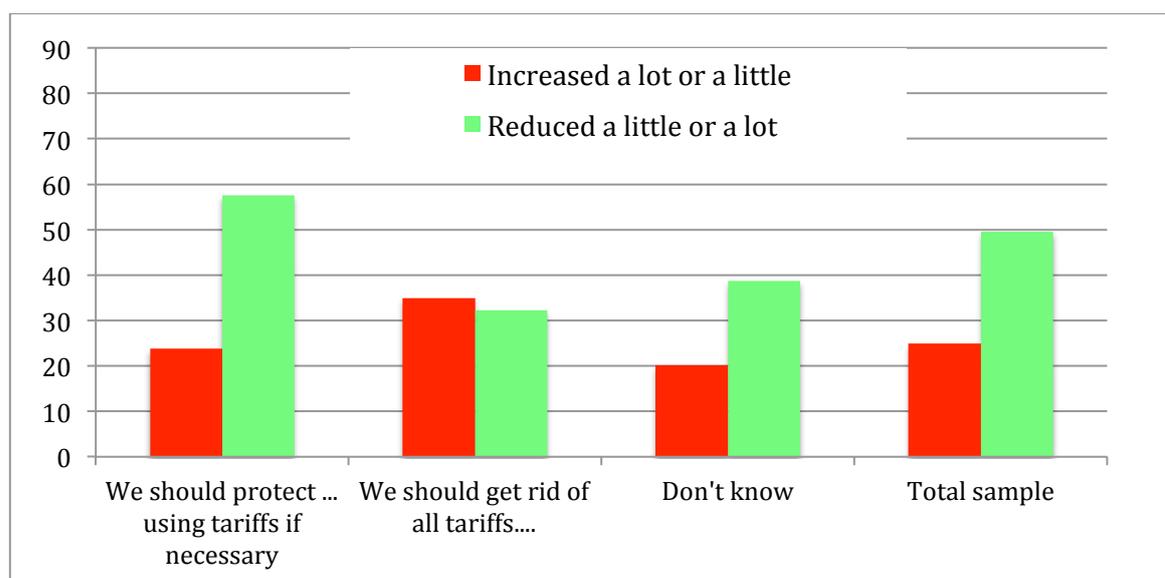


Source: Table A46 in Appendix 1

Of the 529 voters who strongly agree that Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity 78% want economic protection. In contrast, among the 124 voters who strongly disagreed that Australia is in such danger only 38% wanted protection and 35% wanted the abolition of all tariffs.

Attitudes to protection also correlated with attitudes to immigration though the picture in Figure 45 is not as sharp as it is in Figure 44. Voters who favour economic protection also fear a loss of cultural and identity but protectionists account for 63% of the sample so it is not surprising that their overall attitudes to immigration should be close to those of the sample as a whole.

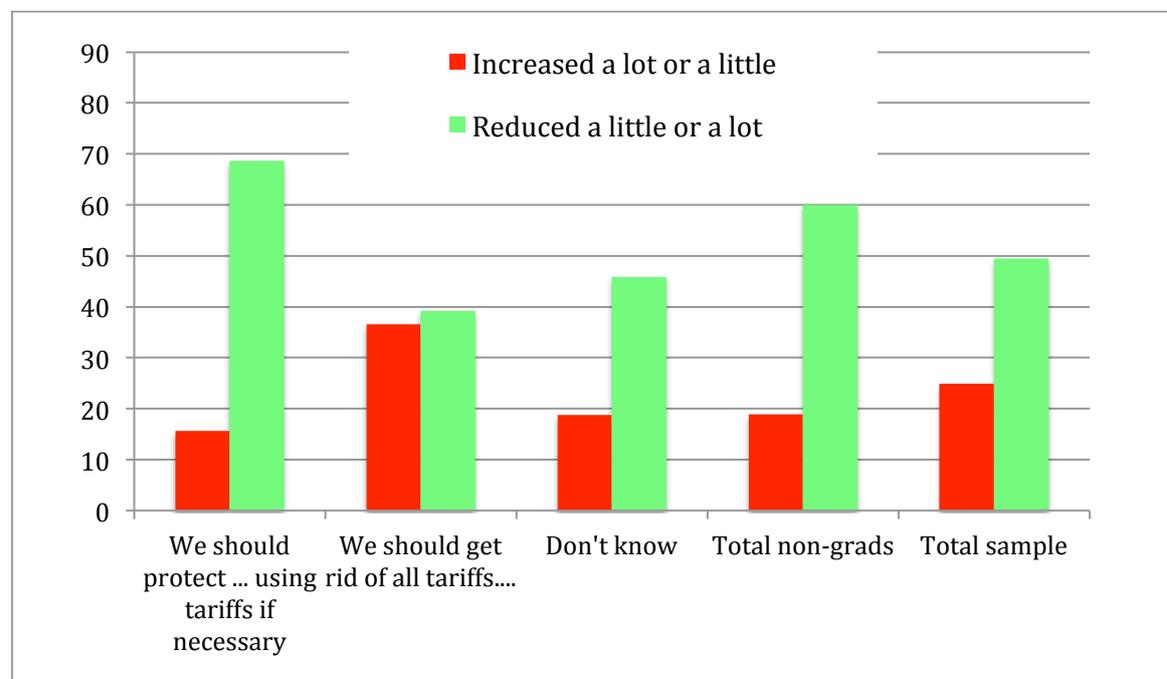
Figure 45: Attitudes to immigration by attitudes to economic protection %



Source: Table A47 in Appendix 1

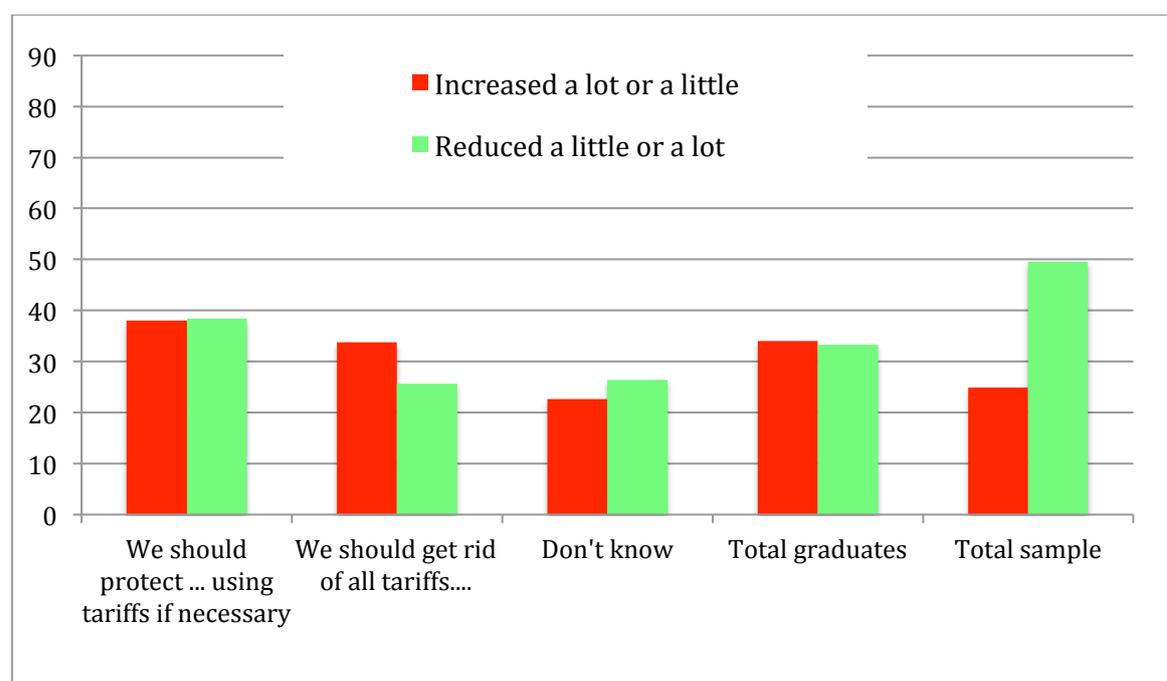
However when the sample is divided by educational status the non-graduates who favour protection are much more in favour of reducing immigration than are the graduates who favour protection. See Figures 46 and 47.

Figure 46: Attitudes to immigration by attitudes to economic protection, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A48 in Appendix 1

Figure 47: Attitudes to immigration by attitudes to economic protection, graduates only %



Source: Table A49 in Appendix 1

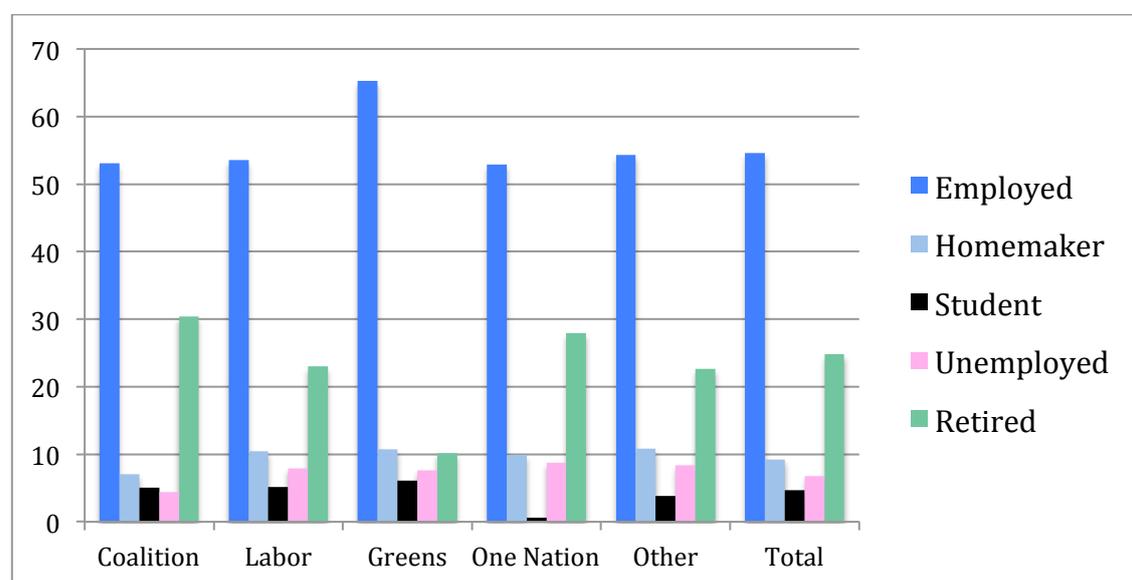
As a whole, voters who want protection are also more likely to want immigration to be reduced. But on closer analysis this turns out to be true only for non-graduates. Sixty-nine per cent of non-graduates who prefer economic protection also want immigration to be reduced while only 16% of this group want immigration to be increased. By contrast, graduates who favour economic protection are equally divided on attitudes to immigration: 38% want a decrease and 38% want an increase. Among both graduates and non-graduates a preference for no tariffs and cheaper goods is associated with a stronger preference for an increase in immigration.

Economic stress

The survey asked voters about their employment status, their job security (if they were in paid work) and their ability to find \$400 in an emergency.

Figure 48 shows little difference in employment status by voting intentions except that a higher proportion of Coalition voters are retirees than are Labor voters, and that a higher proportion of Greens voters are employed. (These differences can be largely explained by the age structure of the different groups. Coalition voters tend to be include more older people, and Labor and Greens voters include more younger people.)

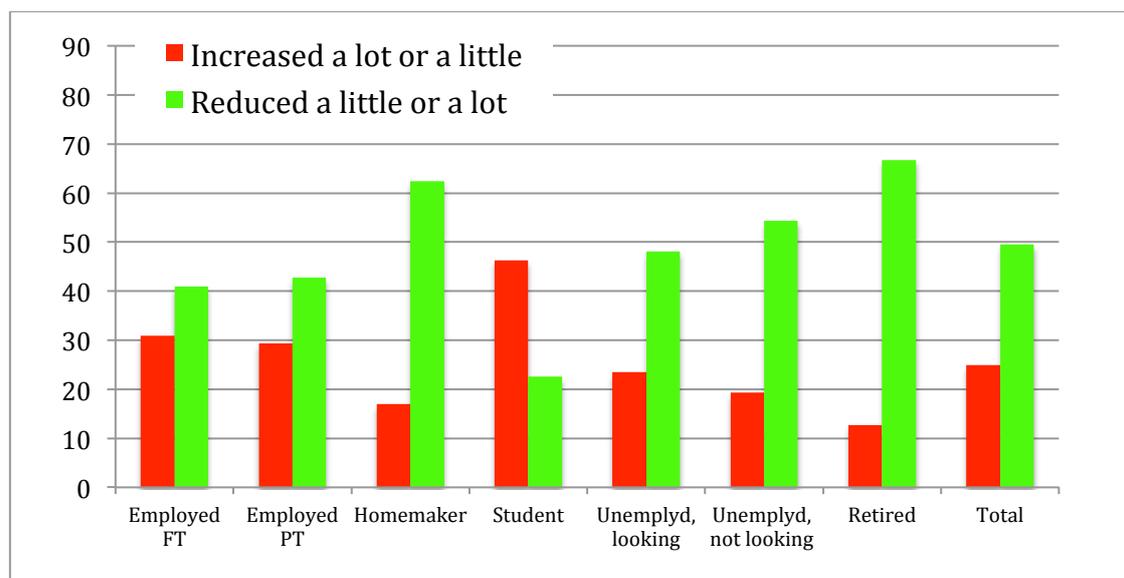
Figure 48: Voting intention by employment status %



Source: Table A50 in Appendix 1.

Note: *Employed* includes full-time and part-time employees and *unemployed* includes those looking for work and those not looking for work. Details for these sub-groups are in Table A50.

Figure 49: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By employment status



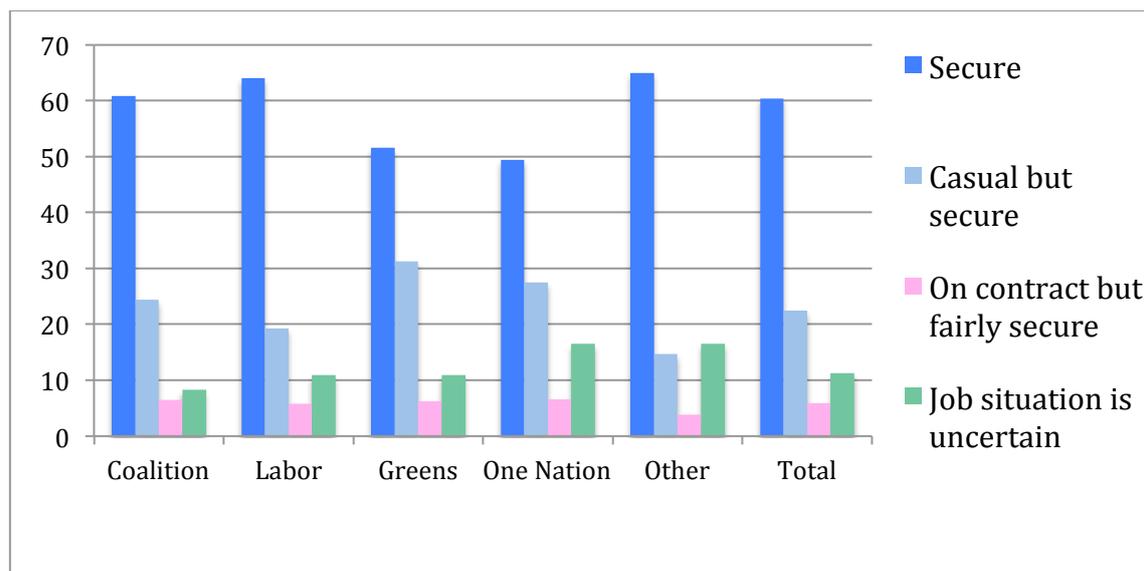
Source: Table A51 in Appendix 1.

Figure 49 shows that voters who are unemployed and looking for paid work are marginally less likely to want a reduction in immigration (and those who are not actively looking for work are marginally more likely to want a reduction). But the groups most likely to want a reduction are retired people followed by homemakers.

The group most likely to want an increase are voters who describe their situation as ‘student’, though people who are employed, either full-time or part-time, are also better disposed towards an increase in immigration than are the sample as a whole. But there is no clear association between the economic stress of unemployment and a stronger preference for reduced immigration.

Figure 50 is restricted to voters who were employed at the time of survey and were asked about the security of their work. It shows that voters that who are employed (either full-time or part-time) and who feel that their jobs are secure are less likely to vote for the Greens or One Nation but more likely to vote for the Coalition, Labor or ‘other’ minor parties. Voters who say that their job situation is ‘uncertain’ are rather more likely to support One Nation or ‘other’ parties but, overall, there is little variation in voting intention by job security.

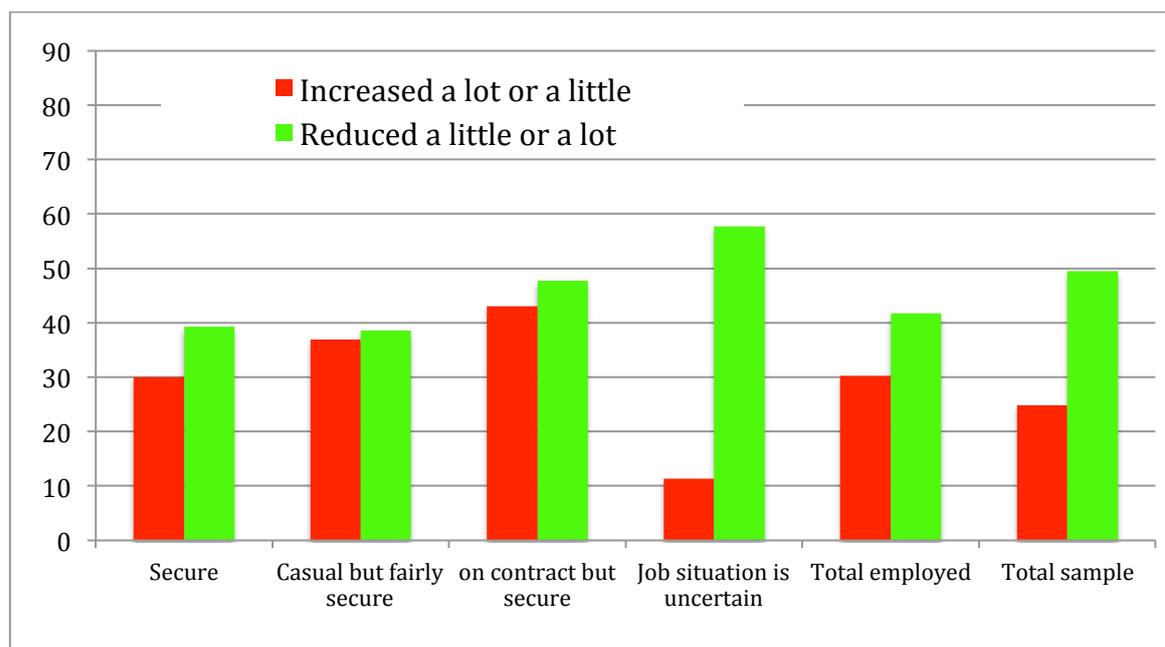
Figure 50 (Employed voters ...) 'My job situation is ...' by voting intention



Source Table A52 in Appendix A

Figure 51 shows that voters who are employed but feel their job situation to be insecure are more likely to want a reduction in immigration than those who feel secure (or indeed than the sample as a whole). If Figure 51 is compared with Figure 49 voters who are insecurely employed are more likely to want a reduction than are voters who are unemployed. But the difference between them and the sample as a whole does not approach the differences shown by those who were unhappy with cultural change, or those who favour turning back the boats.

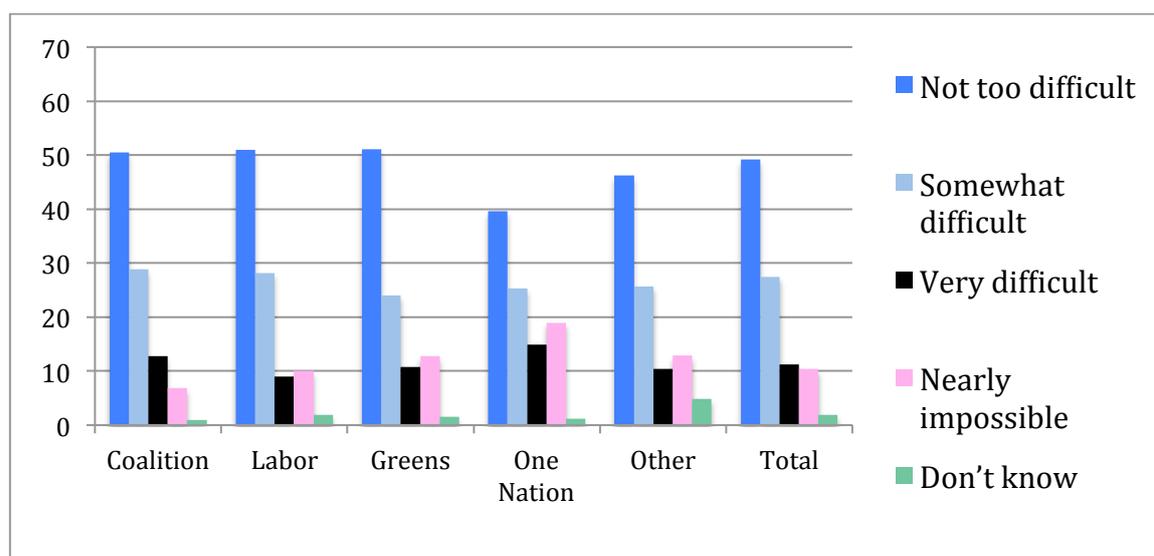
Figure 51: '...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?' By job situation (employed voters only) %



Source: Table A53 in Appendix 1

Figure 52 displays answers to a more direct question about economic security. Could the respondent find \$400 in an emergency? Here voters who would find it very difficult on nearly impossible to find \$400 in an emergency are more likely to vote for One Nation, while the economically more secure are more likely to vote for the Coalition, Labor or the Greens. (If the numbers of those who would find it ‘very difficult’ or ‘nearly impossible’ to find \$400 are combined they account for 21.5% of the sample.)

Figure 52: ‘Suppose that you had an emergency expense that cost \$400. Based on your current financial situation, how difficult would it be for you to pay for this expense?’ By voting intention %

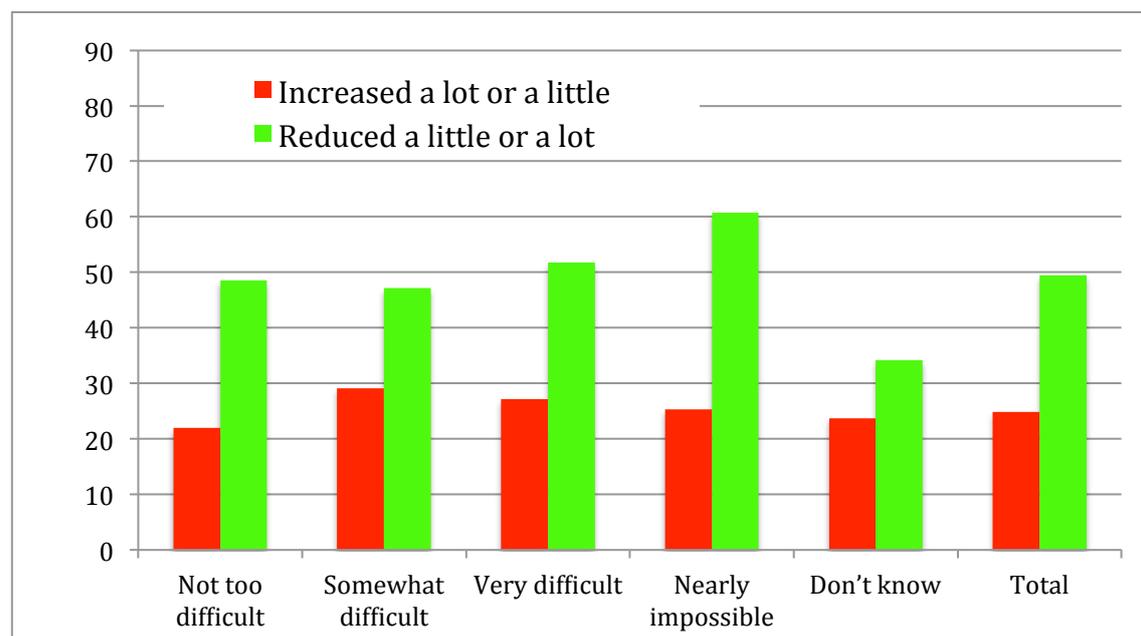


Source: Table A54 in Appendix 1

Figure 53 shows that the more straightened a voter’s financial situation the more likely he or she is to want a reduction in immigration.

For example among the 10% of voters (n=209) who say that it would be nearly impossible for them to find \$400 in an emergency, 61% want a reduction. In contrast, of the 11% who say that it would be very difficult, 52% want a reduction, a proportion only marginally higher than that of the sample as a whole.

Figure 53: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Suppose that you had an emergency expense that cost \$400. Based on your current financial situation, how difficult would it be for you to pay for this expense?’ %



Source: Table A55 in Appendix 1

Sixty-eight per cent of non-graduates who would find it nearly impossible to raise \$400 in an emergency wanted immigration to be reduced, compared to only 36% of graduates who said that they would be in a similar position. (See Tables A56 and A57 in Appendix 1.)

This indicates that economic penury is more closely linked to a desire for lower immigration among non-graduates than it is for graduates. Nonetheless it does not have such a strong association with wanting lower immigration as does unease about cultural change and loss. It also affects fewer people: 13% of non-graduates and 6% of graduates would find it ‘nearly impossible’ to raise \$400 in an emergency. By contrast 65% of non-graduates agree or strongly agree that ‘today Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity’, as do 41% of graduates (see Tables A27 and A28).

Summary: Preferring lower immigration by concern about culture, border control, protection, and economic stress

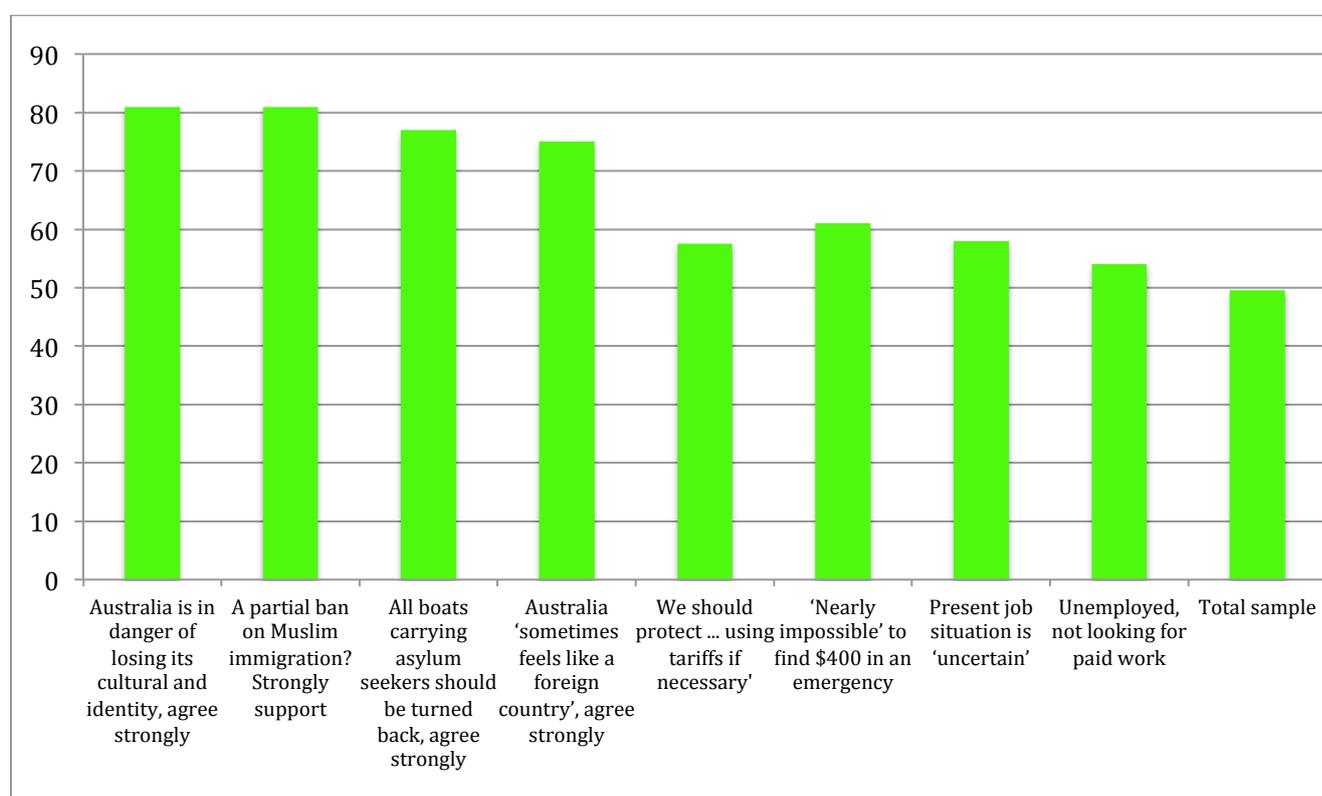
The strongest demographic variable showing a correlation with attitudes to immigration is education as defined by graduate/non-graduate status. As we have seen, county of birth also matters: voters born overseas in ESB countries and in Europe are more in favour of a reduction in numbers and less in favour of an increase than are either the Australian-born or the sample as a whole. This pattern is accentuated among non-graduates and present, but muted, among graduates.

Questions of cultural change, and border control, however have a much sharper association with attitudes to immigration than does country of birth. Questions designed to indicate economic stress also had an effect but one that was less pronounced.

Attitudes to economic protection form an interesting mid point. Sixty-three per cent of voters want to protect Australia's manufacturing industries. They are also more likely to favour a reduction in immigration than are the minority (16%) who want to 'get rid of all tariffs' (see Figures 45-47). But Figure 44 shows a much closer association between economic protection and concern about the loss of culture and identity. This suggests that economic protection is linked more strongly to aspirations to strengthen Australia's economic and cultural sovereignty than it is to economic fears.

Figure 54 provides a summary of these two sets of variables for the sample as a whole. First it shows the proportions among those who strongly agreed that cultural change was deleterious, or that asylum seekers arriving by boat should be turned back, or who strongly supported a partial ban on Muslim immigration, and who also said that numbers should be reduced, either a little or a lot. It then shows the rather smaller proportion of those who both want protection and reduced immigration. It also shows the proportions most affected by economic stress who also said immigration should be reduced.

Figure 54: '...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be', reduced a lot or a little by cultural, border control, protection, and economic variables %



Source: Table A58 in Appendix 1

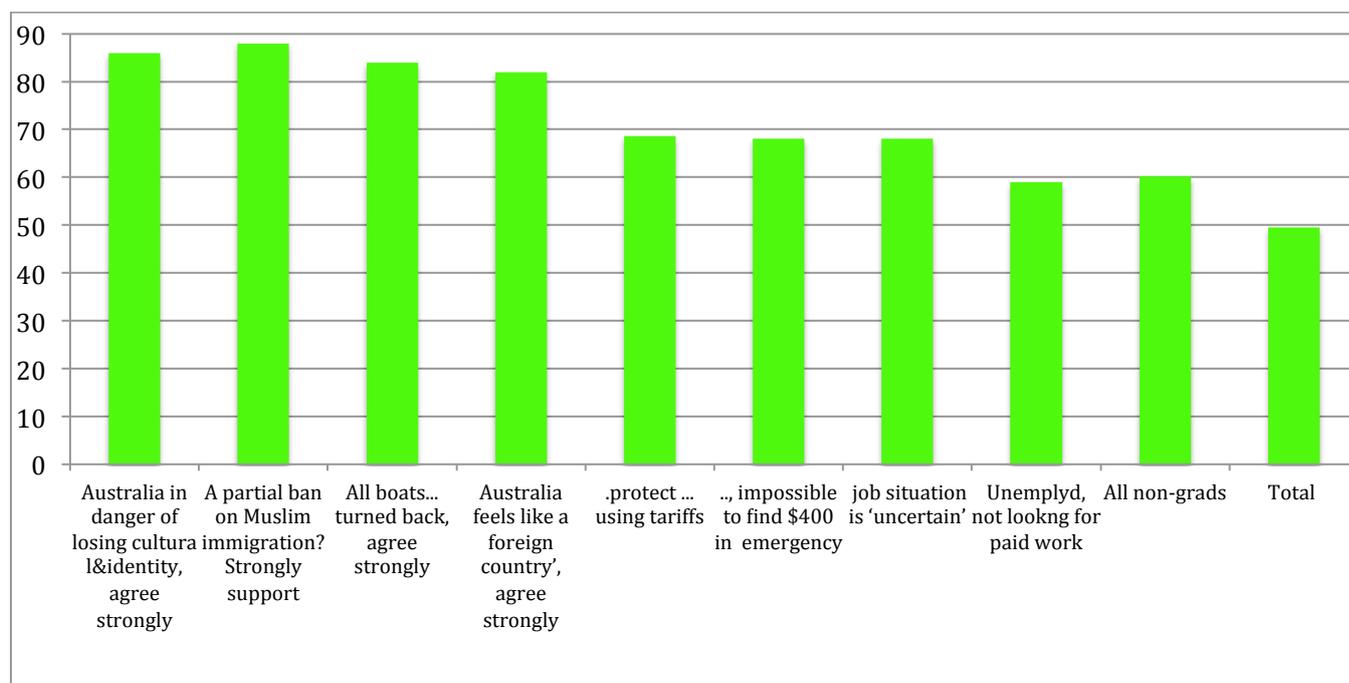
Note: Table A58 provides full details of the questions illustrated above.

Figure 54 makes it clear that the questions focused on cultural change were more strongly associated with a desire for reduced immigration than were questions focused on economic stress.

While Figure 55 shows that all of these concerns were more closely linked to a desire for reduced immigration among non-graduates, it also shows that the cultural and border-control questions still had more of an impact than did questions on economic stress. But

among non-graduates who want economic protection the desire to reduce immigration is higher than it is for the sample as a whole and fractionally higher than it is among those who find it nearly impossible to get hold of \$400 in an emergency.

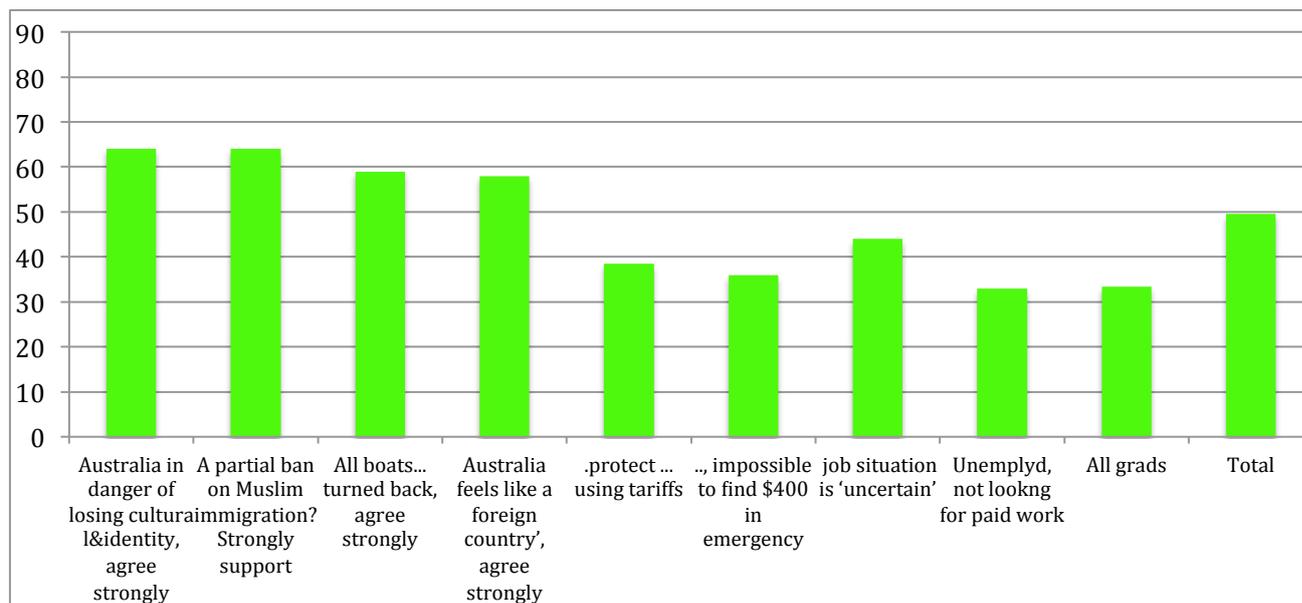
Figure 55: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be’, reduced a lot or a little by cultural, border control, and economic variables, non-graduates only %



Source: Table A59 in Appendix 1

Note: Table A58 provides full details of the questions illustrated above.

Figure 56: ‘...the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be’, reduced a lot or a little by cultural, border control, and economic variables, graduates only %



Source: Table A60 in Appendix 1

Note: Table A58 provides full details of the questions illustrated above.

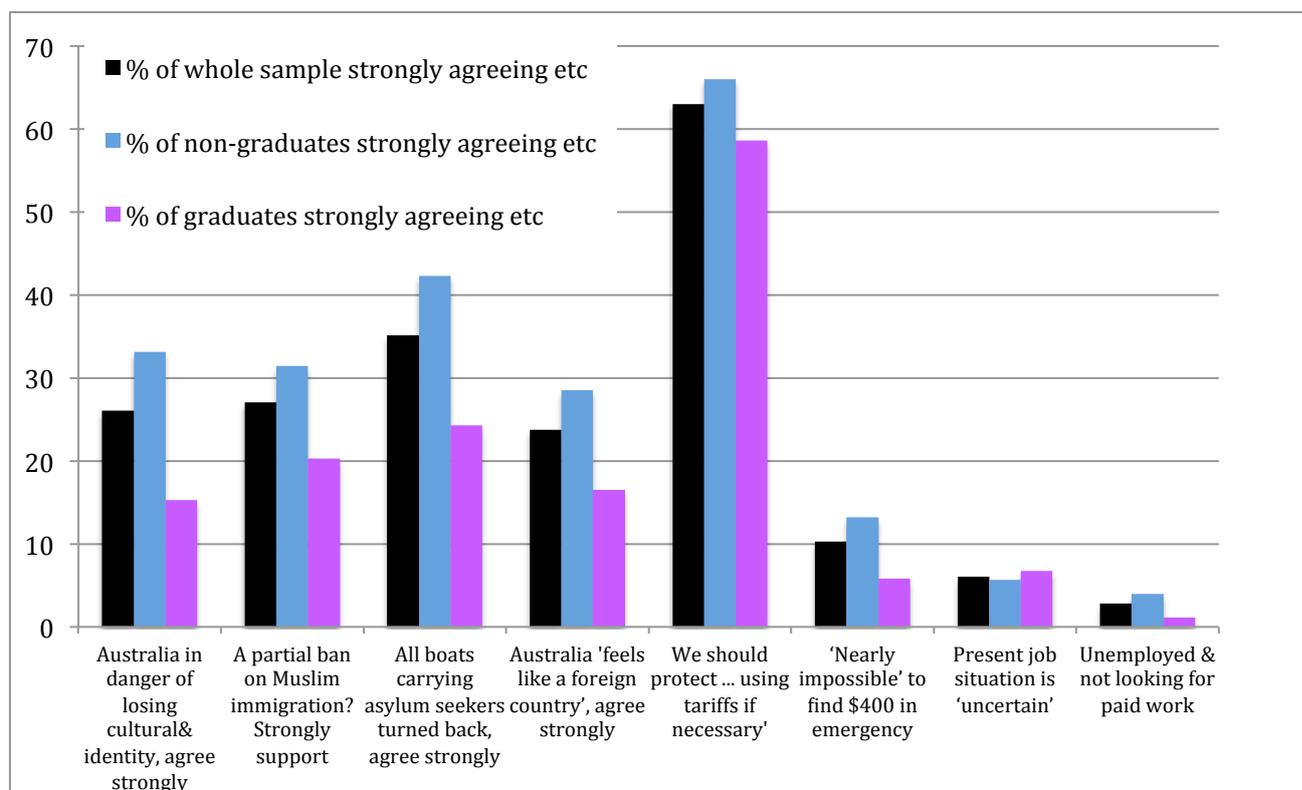
Figure 56 shows a similar pattern for graduates but, in keeping with graduates' lower level of concern about immigration, one that has a flatter profile than that of Figure 55.

Figure 57 shows the percentages strongly agreeing (or strongly supporting) the values and border control questions or wanting protection or meeting the criteria for the economic questions.

These data are presented for the whole sample and by educational status. The figure summarises the findings on these questions by education and allows us to see that higher proportions of non-graduates were eligible to be included in Figure 54 on almost all variables.

It also shows strong support for economic protection (which, as we have seen, correlates with concern about the loss of culture and identity). As far as the Kaufmann thesis is concerned, it shows that strong agreement or strong support for the responses to the cultural and border-control questions was much more widespread among the sample as a whole, and especially among the non-graduates, than was the data relevant to economic stress.

Figure 57: Those strongly agreeing, or strongly supporting, cultural and border-control questions or wanting protection or meeting the criteria for economic questions, for the sample as a whole and by educational status %



Source: Table A61

Note: The key refers to the % *strongly agreeing etc*. This means the % strongly agreeing or strongly supporting the responses listed in the first four variables, or wanting economic protection, or meeting the criteria specified in the last three variables.

Free speech and immigration

The TAPRI survey asked several questions designed to measure the social taboo on expressing scepticism about the level of immigration. Two of these explored the topic directly. First, all respondents were asked: 'Do think that people who raise questions about immigration being too high are sometimes thought of as racist?' Response categories were: 'yes', 'no', and 'don't know'. Those who said 'yes' were then asked: 'This is—(1) Because they usually are racist, [or] (2) Unfair because very few of them are racist'.

These two questions allow us to divide the sample into four groups representing attitudes towards immigration sceptics. These are set out in Table 1.

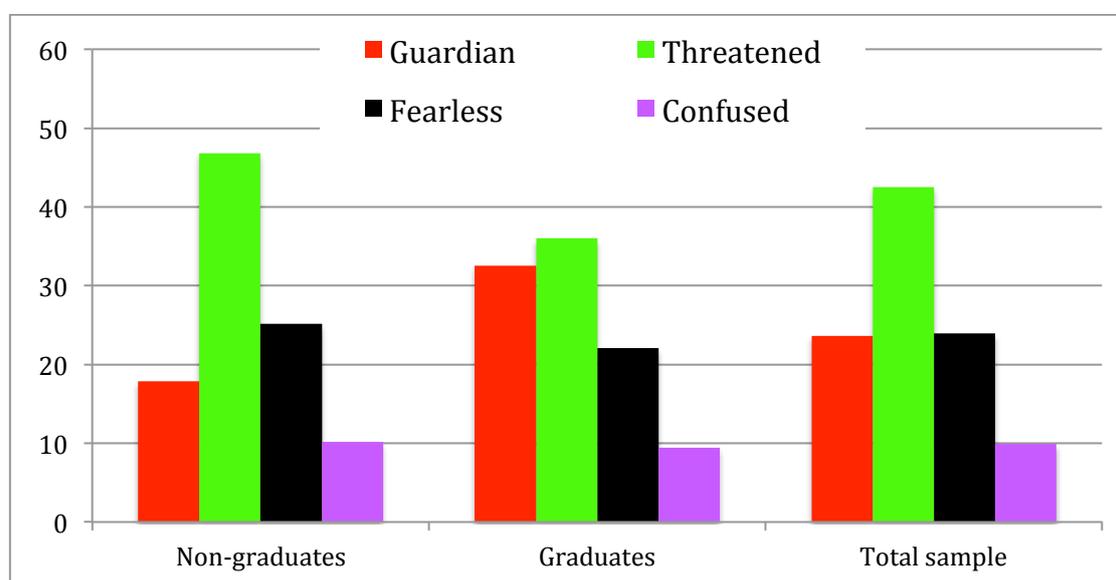
Table 1: Categories of the free speech variable

	Total N	Total %
Guardians against racism (<i>Yes, they are sometimes thought of as racist, and this is because they usually are racist</i>)	480	24
The threatened (<i>Yes, they are sometimes thought of as racist, and this is unfair because very few of them are racist</i>)	863	43
The fearless (<i>No, they are not sometimes thought of as racist</i>)	485	24
Confused (<i>Don't know if they are sometimes thought of as racist</i>)	201	10
Total	2029	100

Table 1 suggests that as many as 67% of voters may be reluctant to voice scepticism about immigration because of consciousness of the racism taboo – either because they believe it to be true, or because they believe the stigma to be unfairly used to repress debate. It also suggests that a further 10% may possibly be prevented from taking part in any debate through ignorance. (This supposition is confirmed in Figure 61 below.)

Figure 58 shows that voters with a university education are more likely to be guardians against racism and that non-graduates are more likely to feel threatened by the possibility of breaching a speech taboo.

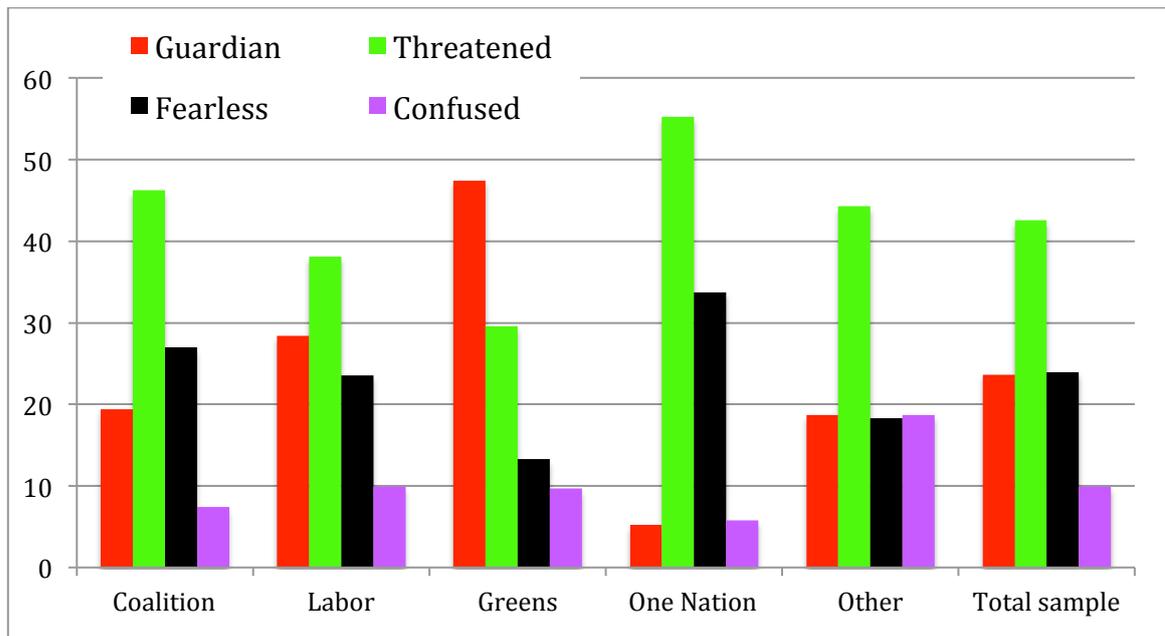
Figure 58: The free speech variable by education %



Source: Table A62 in Appendix 1

Figure 59 shows that among all groups of voters, except The Greens, the threatened are more numerous than the guardians. Apart from voters for One Nation, Coalition voters are the most likely to feel threatened. In contrast, among Greens voters this pattern is reversed. Forty-seven per cent of Greens voters are guardians, almost twice the sample average.

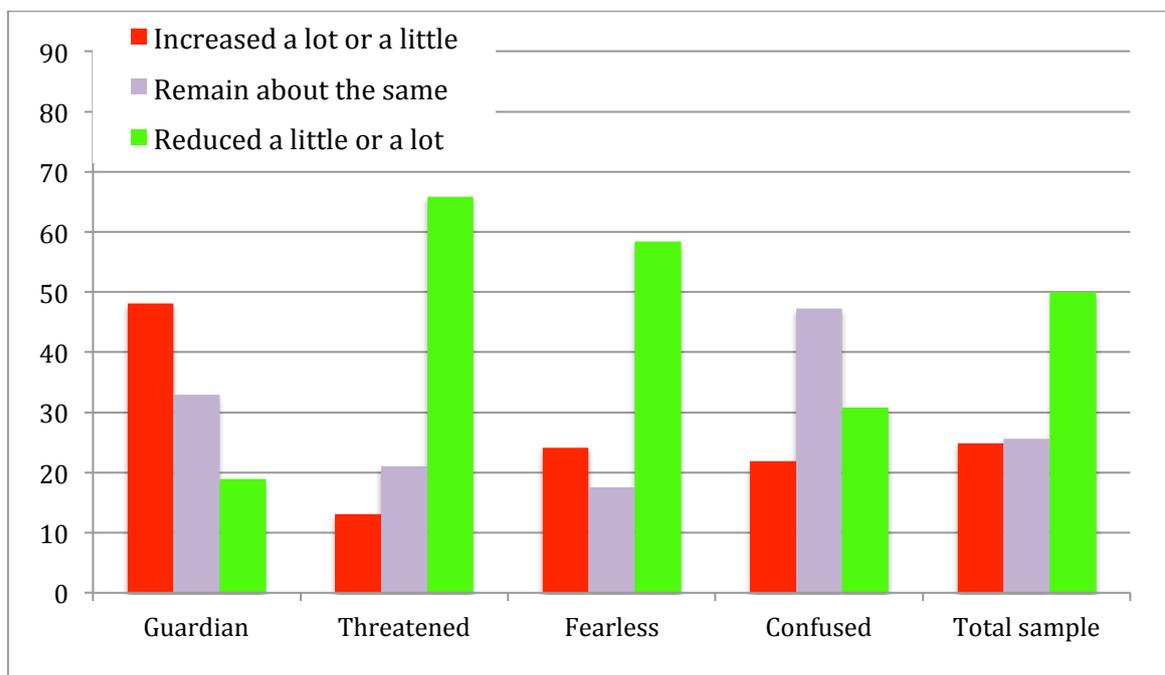
Figure 59: The free speech variable by voting intention %



Source: Table A63 in Appendix 1

Figure 60 shows that threatened include those most likely to want a reduction in immigration and that Guardians are nearly twice as likely to want an increase.

Figure 60: Attitudes to immigration by the free speech variable



Source: Table A64 in Appendix 1

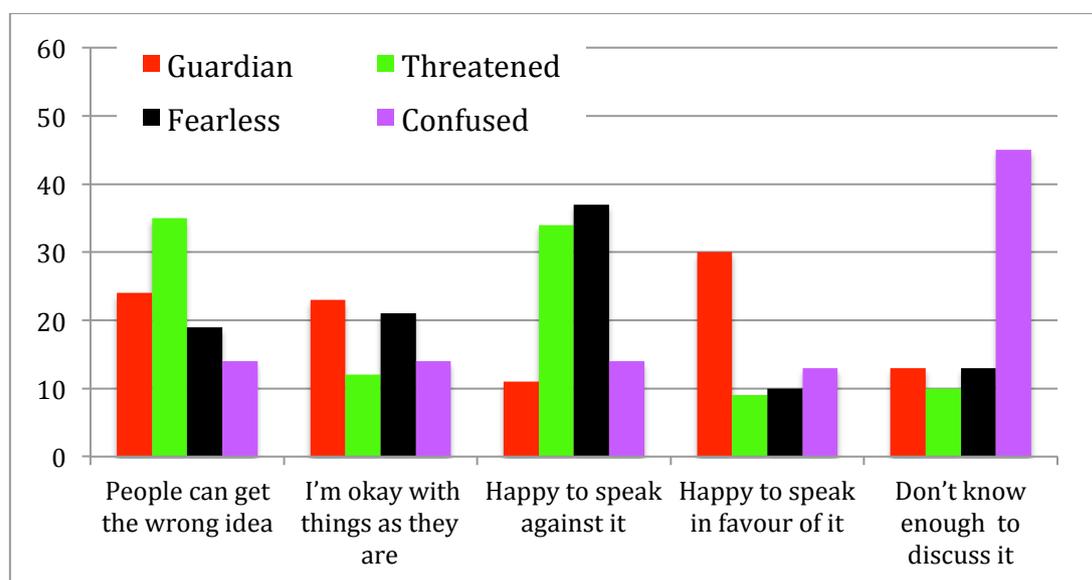
The clearest finding from Figure 60 is that guardians are not only in favour of the taboo they are also much more likely to want an increase in immigration and that voters who feel threatened by the taboo are much more likely to want a reduction. (It also shows that the confused are more likely to chose the seemingly neutral ‘remain about the same’ option.)

The survey went on to ask respondents whether they themselves have ‘ever felt uncomfortable about raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or workmates?’

Five response categories were offered: ‘Yes, people can get the wrong idea about you if you do’; ‘I haven’t wanted to question it – I’m okay with things as they are’; ‘I’m happy to speak against it, even if others don’t agree’; ‘I’m happy to speak in favour of it, even if others don’t agree’; and ‘I don’t know enough about immigration to discuss it’.

Figure 61 sets out the free speech variable by these reponses. The guardians, understandably, are happy to speak in favour of immigration and the threatened are the largest group among those saying ‘people can get the wrong idea about you if you do’. Many, however, are brave enough to say they speak against it, perhaps taking heart from the fearless who are also strongly represented in this category. (And the confused are disproportionately likely to say that they don’t know enough about immigration to discuss it.)

Figure 61: ‘Have you yourself ever felt uncomfortable about raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or workmates?’ by the free speech variable %

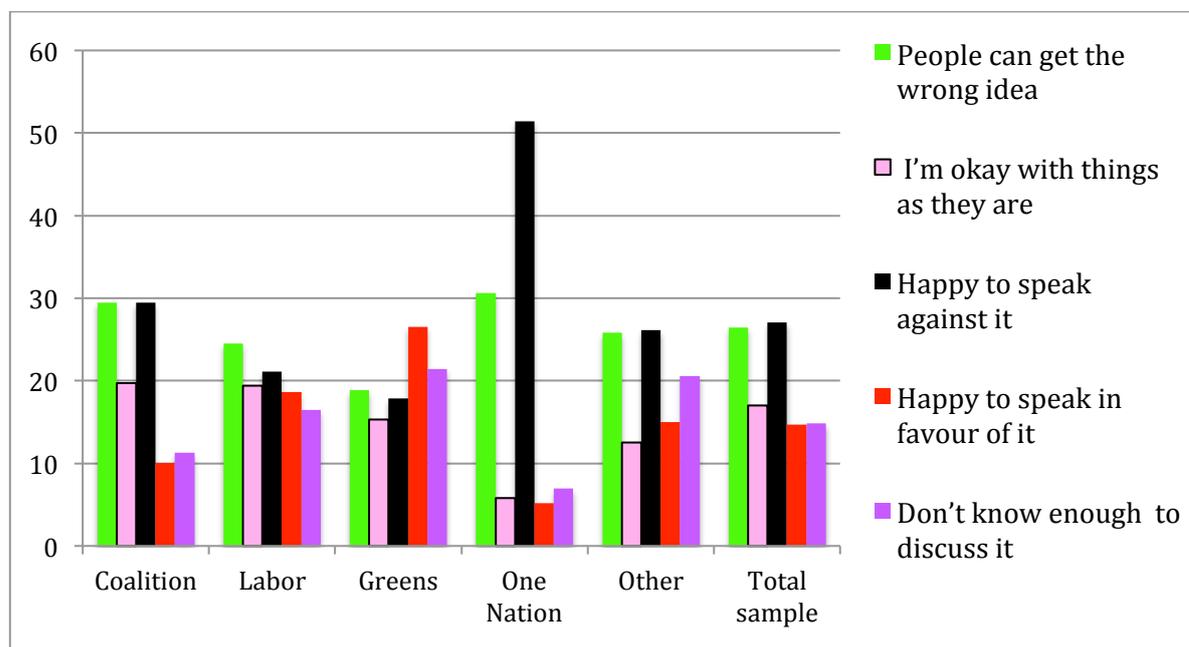


Source: Table A65 in Appendix 1

Figure 62 shows that, apart from One Nation voters, Coalition voters are the most likely to say that ‘people can get the wrong idea about you’ if you question immigration levels, and the least likely to say that they are ‘happy to speak in favour of it’.

By contrast Greens voters are the group most likely to say that that they are happy to speak in favour of it, and One Nation voters, despite showing a high level of concern about the racist slur, include those most forthright in speaking against it.

Figure 62: ‘Have you yourself ever felt uncomfortable about raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or workmates?’ by voting intention %



Source: Table A65 in Appendix 1

Conclusion

The 2018 TAPRI survey shows that there is a striking split between graduate and non-graduate voters on attitudes towards migration and the endorsement of progressive values on diversity, open borders, compassion towards asylum seekers and economic protection.

Most graduates endorse continued high migration and progressive values on diversity and the other elements of the progressive agenda.

Yet despite graduate class domination of Australia's cultural institutions, the media and the education system, most non-graduates are not persuaded. A majority of non-graduate voters favour a reduction in migration. Big majorities, especially of voters born in Australia and in Europe, do not support core progressive values on asylum seekers and take a tough line on curbing the influx of Muslim migrants into Australia (amongst other disagreements with the progressive agenda).

This conclusion also applies to attitudes to free trade. Since the Hawke/Keating era, the notion that Australia should open up its economy to the world has been shared by economic elites and by the Coalition and the Labor party. Yet again, big majorities of non-graduate voters oppose this stance. They want greater tariff protection.

In these circumstances one might expect that Australian politics were primed for a populist movement hostile to the progressive agenda, as has occurred in Europe and the US.

It has not happened. This is despite the finding that the majority of voters want Australia's rate of population growth reduced, that most believe that any benefits of growth go to a few special groups including property developers, big business, and the new migrants

themselves, and that a clear majority see Australia's essential institutions as suffering from the stresses imposed by population growth.

Indeed at the time of writing – in the run up to the 2019 Federal election – both the Coalition and Labor parties have affirmed their commitments to continuing high migration and to other core progressive values. Both parties appear more concerned about losing votes in metropolitan electorates with significant Asian minority populations and with losing votes from progressives in inner-city electorates. They are more focused on electorates which have shown a strong interest in an ostensibly compassionate stance on asylum seekers than they are on losing support in other electorates where non-graduate voters are in the majority.

What is the explanation for Australian exceptionalism?

Despite large shares of Australian graduates agreeing that population growth is having harmful effects on access to services, such as hospitals, and on metropolitan congestion, there is no surprise that most of them endorse the progressive agenda. Having attended university they have been directly exposed to this agenda. They move in circles where such values are prized and where any dissent is likely to be met with disapproval.

As Kaufmann has pointed out, there are strong cultural taboos stigmatising immigration sceptics as racist. These have muffled open debate about immigration in the US and the UK. The TAPRI results show that these taboos are widely recognised in Australia and that Coalition voters are more likely to feel threatened by them than are Labor or Greens voters.

The big puzzle is why, notwithstanding the progressives' dominance of Australia's cultural institutions, most non-graduate voters hold attitudes quite contrary to those embraced by the leaders within these institutions.

There is a wide body of international research on this issue. Much of it asks why so many British non-graduates opposed elite support for staying in the EU and why so many of their counterparts in the US supported Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election.

This research shows that high proportions of these non-graduates hold attitudes contrary to those held by progressive elites. But what is driving this stance? Most commentators think that it is a 'left behind' or economic factor which is the key. Some others think it is cultural concerns deriving from high levels of non-white immigration that are the main factor.

Our survey of the academic literature on this issue at the beginning of this report indicates that the economic or 'left behind' factor has been overstated and that cultural concerns appear to be strongest contributor to non-graduate dissension from the progressive agenda.

We have structured the 2018 TAPRI survey around questions that allow us to test these explanations as they related to Australian voters.

The survey findings strongly support the cultural interpretation. That is, the majority opposition on the part of non-graduates to high migration is linked to these voters' cultural concerns. For example, 66% per cent of non-graduates think that boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back (Figure 19) and some 65 per cent think that Australia is in danger of losing its culture and identity (Figure 25). Well over 80 per cent of the non-graduates who hold these views strongly also think that immigration levels should be reduced (Figure 55).

On the other hand relatively few non-graduate voters in Australia indicate that their economic situation is stressed and, to the extent that they do, there is a low correlation with support for reducing immigration.

We cannot be sure that there is a causal link between cultural concerns and the widespread non-graduate opposition to the progressive agenda. However Kaufmann has provided a plausible hypothesis as to why such a causal link exists.

His thesis is that the surge in non-white migration in both Europe and the US in recent years has generated a belief within the white ethno-majority that their status and interests are being threatened. This response has been fueled by the ethno-majority's resentment at the open scorn that cultural elites have directed towards them and their allegedly racist values. The TAPRI survey findings indicate that this hypothesis provides a plausible explanation for the opposition to the progressive agenda by non-graduates in Australia.

So far so good. But there remains a fundamental difference between the political consequences of these cultural concerns in Europe and the US on the one hand and in Australia and Canada on the other hand. There is little sign of any populist mobilisation around these issues in Australia and almost none in Canada.

Why not? Kaufmann argues that there are two reasons. True, we have established that there is a strong association between cultural concerns in Australia and opposition to high migration – just as there is in Europe and the US. However, Australian voters' concerns about immigration are not nearly as salient, or near the top of voters' concerns, as is the case in Europe and the US.²⁰ This is not surprising given the huge influx of asylum seekers into Europe during 2015 and the serious terrorist events at around the same time. In response, immigration rose to the top of voters' concerns across much of Europe.²¹

The other reason is that both Australia, and especially Canada, lack media outlets interested in reporting on and supporting voters' cultural concerns. There are no parallels in Australia with the coverage of Fox News and the multitude of right-wing radio commentators in the US, nor are there parallels to mass daily newspapers like the *Daily Mail* and 'newspaper of record', *The Daily Telegraph*, in Britain, where such views are promulgated.

The prevailing view among Australian elites is that all is well with their experiment with high immigration, multiculturalism and globalisation.

This complacency is likely to be threatened should Australia experience economic shocks like those that convulsed Europe and the US in the aftermath of the global financial crisis in 2009.

At present, it is clear that most non-graduate voters in Australia are bothered by the stresses of congestion and other pressures caused by high population growth and that they are worried about the challenge to their identity and status as Australians. However, Australia's record of high sustained economic growth and low unemployment means that few non-graduates have to worry about job or income insecurity. If or when this happens, should Australia's economy continue to slow, opposition to high migration will probably move up the hierarchy of public concerns. Such circumstances would provide potent opportunities for populist mobilisation.

Both major political parties will be affected since, as we have shown, both include within their voter base, many people who are likely to be attracted by such mobilisation.

Appendix 1: Tables

Table A1: Australian citizens aged 20 plus at the 2016 census by age and education %

Age	Graduates	Non-graduates	All citizens 20+ %	All citizens 20+ N
20-24	15.4	84.6	100.0	1,186,261
25-29	31.5	68.5	100.0	1,156,903
30-34	34.8	65.2	100.0	1,218,221
35-39	35.3	64.7	100.0	1,202,627
40-44	31.4	68.6	100.0	1,291,739
45-49	26.8	73.2	100.0	1,326,065
50-54	23.1	76.9	100.0	1,293,050
55-59	22.2	77.8	100.0	1,248,318
60-64	20.7	79.3	100.0	1,120,783
65-69	17.0	83.0	100.0	1,031,092
70-74	13.6	86.4	100.0	769,331
75-79	10.5	89.5	100.0	560,950
80-84	7.8	92.2	100.0	393,479
85-89	6.5	93.5	100.0	261,690
90-94	5.4	94.6	100.0	116,719
95-99	5.1	94.9	100.0	27,509
100 plus	4.6	95.4	100.0	2,818
All citizens 20 plus	23.6	76.4	100.0	14,204,737

Source: 2016 Census, persons by place of enumeration, compiled with ABS TableBuilder

Table A2: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by education %

...the number of immigrants... should be...	Education		Total sample
	Non-graduate	Graduate	
Increased a lot	8	16	11
Increased a little	11	18	14
Increased a lot or a little	19	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	21	33	26
Reduced a little	20	17	19
Reduced a lot	40	16	30
Reduced a little or a lot	60	33	50
Total %	100	100	100
Total N	1225	804	2029

Note: The term *graduate* here and hereafter includes current university students. There were 735 graduates in the sample and 69 university students.

Table A3: 'From December 2005 to December 2017 Australia's population grew from 20.5 million to 24.8 million; 62% of this growth was from net overseas migration. Do you think Australia needs more people?' by education %

Do you think Australia needs more people?	Education		Total sample
	Non-graduate	Graduate	
Yes	20	41	28
No	80	59	72
Total %	100	100	100

Total N	1225	804	2029
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Table A4: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ by responses to the two questions on demographic knowledge, %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Both knowledge questions correct	One correct the other ‘don’t know’	Both ‘don’t know’	One correct the other wrong	One wrong the other ‘don’t know’	Both wrong	Total
Increased a lot or a little	22	16	17	31	22	40	25
Remain about the same as it is	10	23	36	22	34	29	26
Reduced a little or a lot	68	61	47	47	44	32	49
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	271	314	335	497	326	286	2029

Note: The two knowledge questions are set out in endnote 19.

Table A5: ‘Does Australia need more people?’ by responses to the two questions on demographic knowledge

<i>Do you think Australia needs more people?</i>	Both knowledge questions correct	One correct the other ‘don’t know’	Both ‘don’t know’	One correct the other wrong	One wrong the other ‘don’t know’	Both wrong	Total
No	85	88	81	65	63	50	72
Yes	15	12	19	35	37	50	28
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	270	315	335	497	326	286	2029

Note: The two knowledge questions are set out in endnote 19.

Table A6: Demographic knowledge by education %

Responses to the two questions on demographic knowledge	Non-graduate	Graduate or current uni student	Total sample
Both questions correct	14	12	13
One correct the other don’t know	18	12	15
Both don’t know	18	15	17
One correct the other wrong	24	25	25
One wrong the other don’t know	15	17	16
Both wrong	11	18	14
Total %	100	100	100
Total N	1225	804	2029

Note: There were 69 current university students in the sample and 734 graduates.

Table A7 ‘Who (or what) do you think benefits from population growth across Australia?’ – a lot, a little, not at all, don’t know %

<i>Who (or what) benefits...</i>	Ordinary Australians	New migrants	Property developers	Big business wanting more customers	Employers wanting to keep wages down	The overall strength of the economy
A lot	19	50	57	53	40	23
A little	38	30	28	34	32	43
Not at all	35	11	8	7	17	21
Don’t know	9	9	7	7	11	12
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	2029	2029	2029	2029	2029	2029

Table A8 ‘Who (or what) do you think benefits from population growth across Australia?’ – a lot, a little, not at all, don’t know, non-graduates only %

<i>Who (or what) benefits...</i>	Ordinary Australians	New migrants	Property developers	Big business wanting more customers	Employers wanting to keep wages down	The overall strength of the economy
A lot	15	54	59	53	40	19
A little	34	25	27	32	31	42
Not at all	42	12	7	8	17	25
Don’t know	9	9	7	7	12	14
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1225	1225	1225	1225	1225	1225

Table A9: ‘Who (or what) do you think benefits from population growth across Australia?’ – a lot, a little, not at all, don’t know, graduates only %

<i>Who (or what) benefits...</i>	Ordinary Australians	New migrants	Property developers	Big business wanting more customers	Employers wanting to keep wages down	The overall strength of the economy
A lot	24	45	54	51	40	30
A little	43	37	31	36	34	46
Not at all	25	9	9	5	17	16
Don’t know	7	8	6	7	9	9
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	804	804	804	804	804	804

Table A10: 'In your opinion has population growth put pressure on—' a lot, a little, not at all, don't know %

<i>...growth [has] put pressure on—</i>	Schools	Hospitals	Public transport	Roads	Affordable housing	Jobs	The natural environment
A lot	54	70	61	64	67	60	48
A little	33	21	27	24	22	26	33
Not at all	7	6	8	8	7	9	11
Don't know	6	4	4	4	5	5	8
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	2029	2029	2029	2029	2029	2029	2029

Table A11: 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' by educational status %

<i>Educational status</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total
Non-graduate	56	61	52	83	63	60
Graduate	44	39	48	17	37	40
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	645	196	173	289	2029

Note: Coalition voters made up 35.8% of the sample, Labor 31.8%, Greens 9.7%, One Nation 8.5%, and 'other' 14.2%.

Table A12: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' %

<i>...the number of immigrants...should be...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total
Increased a lot or a little	26	27	37	10	17	25
Remain about the same as it is	21	29	36	5	35	26
Reduced a little or a lot	53	44	27	84	48	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	645	196	173	289	2029

Table A13: 'Does Australia need more people?' by 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?'

	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total
Yes	31	31	39	7	22	28
No	69	69	61	93	78	72
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	645	196	173	288	2029

Table A14: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' Non-graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be....</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total non-grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	17	23	32	8	16	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	17	24	34	6	29	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	67	52	35	87	55	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	407	392	101	144	182	1225	2029

Table A15: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' Graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	38	32	43	24	20	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	26	37	38	3	46	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	36	30	19	72	35	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	320	253	95	29	107	804	2029

Table A16: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by country of birth %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Australia	ESB	Europe	Other	Asia	All o'seas born	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	25	16	13	27	37	23	25
Remain about the same as it is	25	26	31	38	30	30	26
Reduced a little or a lot	50	58	56	35	33	47	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1613	169	68	63	115	415	2029

Note: ESB stands for English-speaking background countries.

Table A17: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by country of birth, non-graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Australia	ESB	Europe	Other	Asia	All o'seas non-grads	All non-grads	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	19	14	21	29	43	21	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	21	22	21	29	4	21	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	60	64	58	41	52	58	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1014	114	43	34	23	214	1225	2029

Note: ESB stands for English-speaking background countries.

Table A18: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by country of birth, graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Australia	ESB	Europe	Other	Asia	All o'seas grads	All grads	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	37	20	4	26	36	26	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	31	35	48	45	36	38	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	33	45	48	29	28	35	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	599	55	25	31	95	206	804	2029

Note: ESB stands for English-speaking background countries.

Table A19: Voting intentions by country of birth %

	Australia	ESB	Europe	Other	Asia	Total
Coalition	35	41	31	41	43	36
Labor	32	24	37	27	34	32
Greens	9	12	15	6	9	10
One Nation	9	8	10	8	1	9
Other	14	15	7	19	14	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	1614	168	68	64	116	2029

Note: ESB stands for English-speaking background countries.

Table A20: 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' by voting intention, whole sample %

<i>All boats ... should be turned back</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	74	49	31	90	52	60
Neither agree nor disagree	18	23	26	6	30	21
Disagree & disagree strongly	8	29	43	3	18	19
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	645	196	173	288	2029

Table A21: 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' by voting intention, non-graduates only %

<i>All boats ... should be turned back</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total non-grad	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	81	56	37	90	54	66	60
Neither agree nor disagree	14	21	26	7	32	19	21
Disagree & disagree strongly	6	23	37	3	14	15	19
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	408	392	100	145	182	1225	2029

Table A22: 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' by voting intention, graduates only %

<i>All boats ... should be turned back</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total grad	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	65	37	25	90	48	50	60
Neither agree nor disagree	24	26	26	7	27	24	21
Disagree & disagree strongly	11	37	49	3	25	25	19
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	318	253	96	29	106	804	2029

Table A23: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Total agree re boats	Total disagree re boats	Agree strongly re boats	Agree re boats	Neither agree nor disagree re boats	Disagree re boats	Disagree strongly re boats	Total
Increased a lot or a little	19	46	13	26	24	39	59	25
Remain about the same as it is	14	37	9	22	47	41	31	26
Reduced a little or a lot	67	17	77	52	29	20	10	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1214	385	713	501	428	246	139	2029

Table A24: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' Non-graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants ... should be...</i>	Total agree re boats	Total disagree re boats	Agree strongly re boats	Agree re boats	Neither agree nor disagree re boats	Disagree re boats	Disagree strongly re boats	Total non-grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	12	43	9	18	23	35	60	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	12	37	6	21	40	40	30	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	76	20	84	61	36	25	10	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	812	181	518	294	233	121	60	1225	2029

Table A25: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back' Graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants ... should be...</i>	Total agree re boats	Total disagree re boats	Agree strongly re boats	Agree re boats	Neither agree nor disagree re boats	Disagree re boats	Disagree strongly re boats	Total grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	31	49	25	37	24	43	58	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	19	38	16	22	55	41	32	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	50	14	59	41	20	16	10	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	402	205	195	207	196	126	79	804	2029

Table A26: 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' By 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' %

<i>Some people say...losing culture & identity...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total
Agree strongly & agree	63	47	31	91	53	56
Neither agree nor disagree	15	14	20	5	20	15
Disagree & disagree strongly	20	32	36	3	17	23
Not applicable	2	7	13	1	9	6
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	645	196	173	288	2029

Note: The full text of *Not applicable* is 'Not applicable - Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'.

Table A27: 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' By 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' Non-graduates only %

<i>Some people say...losing culture & identity...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total non-grad	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	71	59	34	92	64	65	56
Neither agree not disagree	14	13	27	6	20	15	15
Disagree & disagree strongly	14	22	26	3	11	16	23
Not applicable	1	5	14	0	5	4	6
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	408	392	101	144	181	1226	2029

Note: The full text of *Not applicable* is 'Not applicable - Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'

Table A28: 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' By 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' Graduates only %

<i>Some people say...losing culture & identity...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total grad	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	52	29	28	86	36	41	56
Neither agree not disagree	18	15	13	0	21	16	15
Disagree & disagree strongly	26	47	47	7	26	34	23
Not applicable	4	9	12	7	17	8	6
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	319	253	95	29	107	804	2029

Note: The full text of *Not applicable* is 'Not applicable - Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'.

Table A29: Q5 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' By country of birth %

Q5 grouped	Australia	ESB	Europe	Other	Asia	All o'seas born	Total sample
Agree and agree strongly	58	58	49	44	34	48	56
Neither agree nor disagree	15	15	15	28	13	16	15
Disagree and disagree strongly	22	22	29	22	37	27	23
Not applicable	5	5	7	6	16	9	6
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1613	169	68	64	117	418	2029

Note: The full text of *Not applicable* is 'Not applicable - Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'.

Table A30: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By Q5 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' %

<i>the number of immigrants... should be..</i>	Total agree	Total disagree	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	N. A.	Total
Increased a lot or a little	19	37	14	23	27	30	57	29	25
Remain about the same as it is	13	43	5	19	41	48	31	39	26
Reduced a little or a lot	68	20	81	57	33	22	12	32	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1134	472	529	605	310	348	124	114	2029

Note: The full text of *N. A.* is 'Not applicable - Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'.

Table A31: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By Q5 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' Non-graduates only %

<i>the number of immigrants... should be..</i>	Total agree	Total disagree	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	N. A.	Total non grads	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	12	37	9	15	27	28	62	29	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	12	38	5	18	39	42	26	39	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	76	25	86	67	33	29	12	33	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	803	194	406	397	180	144	50	49	1225	2029

Note: The full text of *N. A.* is 'Not applicable - Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'.

Table A32: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ By Q5 ‘Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?’ Graduates only %

<i>the number of immigrants... should be..</i>	Total agree	Total disagree	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	N. A	Total grads	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	36	37	29	40	26	31	53	28	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	15	47	7	21	43	51	34	39	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	49	16	64	39	32	18	12	33	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	331	278	123	208	129	205	73	64	804	2029

Note: The full text of N. A. is ‘Not applicable - Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity’

Table A33: ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ by ‘If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?’ %

<i>...feels like a foreign country...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	66	48	39	86	51	57
Neither agree nor disagree	18	22	24	10	30	21
Disagree & disagree strongly	16	30	36	5	19	22
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	645	196	173	288	2029

Table A34: ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ by ‘If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?’ Non-graduates only %

<i>...feels like a foreign country..</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total non-graduates	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	70	57	42	87	57	63	57
Neither agree nor disagree	17	19	29	10	30	20	21
Disagree & disagree strongly	14	24	30	3	13	17	22
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	407	392	101	144	182	1225	2029

Table A35: ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ by ‘If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?’ Graduates only %

<i>...feels like a foreign country..</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total graduates	Total sample
Agree strongly & agree	61	34	37	83	42	48	57
Neither agree nor disagree	19	26	20	10	27	22	21
Disagree & disagree strongly	19	40	43	7	31	30	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	319	253	95	29	107	804	2029

Table A36: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ %

<i>the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Total agree	Total disagree	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Total
Increased a lot or a little	22	35	20	23	23	28	54	25
Remain about the same as it is	13	43	4	19	42	45	36	26
Reduced a little or a lot	65	22	75	58	35	27	11	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	1161	446	482	679	422	332	114	2029

Table A37: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ Non-graduates only %

<i>the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Total agree	Total disagree	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Total non-grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	15	32	14	16	20	26	50	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	10	41	4	15	40	42	38	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	75	28	82	69	40	32	13	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	776	209	349	427	242	161	48	1225	2029

Table A38: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ By ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ Graduates only %

<i>the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Total agree	Total disagree	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Total grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	35	37	37	34	28	30	56	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	19	45	5	27	45	49	35	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	46	18	58	39	28	21	9	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	384	238	133	251	181	172	66	804	2029

Table A39: ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ By ‘If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?’ %

<i>...a partial ban on Muslim immigration...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total
Strongly support & support	56	38	25	87	38	47
Neither support nor oppose	30	32	30	9	42	31
Oppose & strongly oppose	14	30	45	4	20	22
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	726	644	195	173	288	2029

Table A40: ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ By ‘If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?’ Non-graduates only %

<i>...a partial ban on Muslim immigration...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total non-grad	Total sample
Strongly support & support	59	45	30	86	43	53	47
Neither support nor oppose	29	32	33	10	45	30	31
Oppose & strongly oppose	12	24	37	4	12	17	22
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	408	392	100	144	182	1225	2029

Table A41: 'Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?' By 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' Graduates only %

<i>...a partial ban on Muslim immigration...</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total graduates	Total sample
Strongly support & support	53	27	20	90	29	39	47
Neither support nor oppose	31	34	26	7	36	31	31
Oppose & strongly oppose	16	40	54	3	36	30	22
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	318	253	95	29	107	804	2029

Table A42: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?'

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Total support	Total oppose	Strongly support	Support	Neither support nor oppose	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Total
Increased a lot or a little	19	40	15	25	22	34	48	25
Remain about the same as it is	11	38	4	20	40	42	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	70	22	81	55	38	24	19	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	961	448	549	412	619	246	202	2029

Table A43: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?' Non-graduates only

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Total support	Total oppose	Strongly support	Support	Neither support nor oppose	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Total non-grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	13	38	10	17	18	35	43	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	8	34	2	17	36	37	30	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	79	28	88	66	45	28	28	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	649	204	385	264	371	117	87	1225	2029

Table A44: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by 'Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?' Graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants... should be...</i>	Total support	Total oppose	Strongly support	Support	Neither support nor oppose	Oppose	Strongly oppose	Total grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	32	42	28	37	28	33	52	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	16	42	7	26	45	47	36	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	51	17	64	37	27	21	12	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	312	243	163	149	247	129	114	804	2029

Table A45: 'The share of manufacturing in Australia's economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think...' by voting intention

<i>The share of manufacturing is less than half of what it was... Do you think:</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
We should protect Australia's manufacturing...	70	61	46	73	56	63
We should get rid of all tariffs...	16	18	19	9	15	16
Don't know	15	21	35	18	29	21
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	726	645	196	173	289	2029

Note: The response categories in full to the question on manufacturing read: 'We should protect Australia's manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary'; 'We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas'; 'Don't know'.

Table A46: 'The share of manufacturing in Australia's economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think...' By Q5 'Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?' %

<i>The share of manufacturing is less than half... Do you think:</i>	Agree Strongly re cultural loss	Agree re cultural loss	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree re cultural loss	Disagree Strongly re cultural loss	Not applicable	Total sample
We should protect Australia's manufacturing...	78	72	50	51	38	39	63
We should get rid of all tariffs...	8	14	13	25	35	25	16
Don't know	13	14	37	24	27	35	21
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	529	606	309	348	124	114	2029

Note : Not Applicable in full reads 'Not Applicable – Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity'.

Table A47: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By 'The share of manufacturing in Australia's economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think we should...' %

<i>...the number of immigrants...should be...</i>	We should protect Australia's manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary	We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas	Don't know	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	24	35	20	25
Remain about the same as it is	19	33	41	26
Reduced a little or a lot	58	32	39	50
Total %	100	100	100	100
Total N	1278	326	426	2029

Table A48: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By 'The share of manufacturing in Australia's economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think we should...' non-graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants...should be...</i>	We should protect Australia's manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary.	We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas.	Don't know	Total non-grads	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	16	37	19	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	16	24	35	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	69	39	46	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	807	153	266	1225	2029

Table A49: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By 'The share of manufacturing in Australia's economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think we should...' graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants...should be...</i>	We should protect Australia's manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary.	We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas.	Don't know	Total grads	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	38	34	23	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	24	41	51	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	38	26	26	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	471	172	159	804	2029

Table A50: 'Which of the following best describes your current work situation, as far as paid work is concerned?' by voting intention %

	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
Employed full-time	35	34	39	33	37	35
Employed part-time	19	19	26	20	17	19
Homemaker	7	10	11	10	11	9
Student	5	5	6	1	4	5
Unemployed & looking for paid work	3	4	6	4	5	4
Unemployed & not looking for paid work	2	4	2	5	3	3
Retired	30	23	10	28	23	25
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	644	196	172	287	2029

Table A51: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By 'Which of the following best describes your current work situation, as far as paid work is concerned?' %

<i>...number of immigrants ... should be...</i>	Emp-loyed full-time	Emp-loyed part-time	Home-maker	Student	Unemployed & looking for paid work	Unemployed & not looking for paid work	Retired	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	31	29	17	46	23	19	13	25
Remain about the same as it is	28	28	21	31	28	26	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	41	43	62	23	48	54	67	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	713	395	189	93	81	57	502	2029

Table A52: (Voters employed either full time or part time only) 'Is your present job—' by voting intention %

<i>Present job is —</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
Secure	61	64	52	49	65	60
Casual but secure	24	19	31	27	15	22
I work on contract but am fairly certain that my contract/s will be renewed or that I will find new ones	6	6	6	7	4	6
My job situation is uncertain	8	11	11	16	17	11
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	386	347	128	91	157	1109

Table A53: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' By 'Is your present job—' (voters employed either full time or part time only) %

<i>...the number of immigrants ... should be...</i>	Secure	Casual but secure	I work on contract but am fairly certain that my contract/s will be renewed or that I will find new ones	My job situation is uncertain	Total employed	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	30	37	43	11	30	25
Remain about the same as it is	31	24	9	31	28	26
Reduced a little or a lot	39	39	48	58	42	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	669	249	65	123	1106	2029

Table A54: 'Suppose that you had an emergency expense that cost \$400. Based on your current financial situation, how difficult would it be for you to pay for this expense?' by voting intention %

<i>...how difficult... to find \$400 in an emergency...?</i>	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
Not too difficult	50	51	51	40	46	49
Somewhat difficult	29	28	24	25	26	27
Very difficult	13	9	11	15	10	11
Nearly impossible	7	10	13	19	13	10
Don't know	1	2	2	1	5	2
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	644	196	174	288	2029

Table A55: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed ... should be reduced or increased?' By 'Suppose that you had an emergency expense that cost \$400. Based on your current financial situation, how difficult would it be for you to pay for this expense?' %

<i>...number of immigrants ... should be...</i>	Not too difficult	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult	Nearly impossible	Don't know	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	22	29	27	25	24	25
Remain about the same as it is	29	24	21	14	42	26
Reduced a little or a lot	49	47	52	61	34	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	997	556	228	209	38	2029

Table A56: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed ... should be reduced or increased?' By 'Suppose that you had an emergency expense that cost \$400. Based on your current financial situation, how difficult would it be for you to pay for this expense?'

Non-graduates only %

<i>...the number of immigrants ... should be...</i>	Not too difficult	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult	Nearly impossible	Don't know	Total non-grads	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	16	23	22	19	8	19	25
Remain about the same as it is	25	18	19	14	50	21	26
Reduced a little or a lot	59	59	59	68	42	60	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	544	347	147	162	24	1225	2029

Table A57: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed ... should be reduced or increased?' By 'Suppose that you had an emergency expense that cost \$400. Based on your current financial situation, how difficult would it be for you to pay for this expense?'

Graduates only %

<i>... the number of immigrants ... should be...</i>	Not too difficult	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult	Nearly impossible	Don't know	Total grad	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	29	39	37	49	50	34	25
Remain about the same as it is	35	34	26	15	29	33	26
Reduced a little or a lot	35	27	38	36	21	33	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	452	209	82	47	14	804	2029

Table A58: ‘Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?’ by cultural, border control, and economic concerns

<i>The number of immigrants should be...</i>	Reduced a lot or a little	Remain about the same...	Increased a lot or a little	Sub- total %	Sub- total* N	<i>Sub- totals* as a % of the total sample</i>
1 Australia is in danger of losing its cultural and identity, agree strongly	81	14	5	100	529	26
2 A partial ban on Muslim immigration? Strongly support	81	4	15	100	549	27
3 All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, agree strongly	77	9	13	100	713	35
4 Australia ‘sometimes feels like a foreign country’, agree strongly	75	4	20	100	482	24
5 ‘We should protect ... using tariffs if necessary’	58	19	24	100	1278	63
6 ‘Nearly impossible’ to find \$400 in an emergency	61	14	25	100	209	10
7 Present job situation is ‘uncertain’	58	31	11	100	123	6
8 Unemployed, not looking for paid work	51	28	22	100	138	7
<i>Total sample</i>	<i>(50)</i>	<i>(26)</i>	<i>(25)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>(2029)</i>	

*Note: The sub-totals are for all those who *agreed strongly* or *strongly supported* questions 1-4, or who wanted protection in question 5, or who met the criteria in questions 6-8. (The numbering is for present identification. It does not indicate the questions’ sequence in the questionnaire.)

The questions set out in Table A47 are as follows.:

- 1 ‘Some people say that today Australia is danger of losing its culture and identity. Do you agree or disagree?’ (1) agree strongly, (2) agree, (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4) disagree, (5) disagree strongly, (6) not applicable – Australia never had a distinctive culture and identity: *sub-total shown is (1) agree strongly*
- 2 ‘Would you support or oppose a partial ban on Muslim immigration to Australia?’ (1) strongly support, (2) support, (3) neither support not oppose, (4) oppose, (5) strongly oppose: *sub-total shown is (1) strongly support*
- 3 ‘All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back’ (1) agree strongly, (2) agree, (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4) disagree, (5) disagree strongly: *sub-total shown is (1) agree strongly*
- 4 ‘Some people say that Australia has changed in recent times beyond recognition—it sometimes feels like a foreign country. Do you agree or disagree?’ (1) agree strongly, (2) agree, (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4) disagree, (5) disagree strongly: *sub-total shown is (1) agree strongly*
- 5 ‘The share of manufacturing in Australia’s economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think—(1) We should protect Australia’s manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary (2) We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas (3) Don’t know’: *sub-total shown is (1) We should protect...*
- 6 ‘Suppose that you had an emergency expense that cost \$400. Based on your current financial situation, how difficult would it be for you to pay for this expense?’ (1) Not too difficult, (2) Somewhat difficult, (3) Very difficult, (4) Nearly impossible, (5) Don’t know: *subtotal shown is (4) Nearly impossible*
- 7 ‘Is your present job—’ [*employed respondents only*] (1) Secure, (2) Casual but secure, (3) I work on contract but am fairly certain that my contract/s will be renewed or that I will find new ones, (4) My job situation is uncertain: *Sub-total shown is (4) My job situation is uncertain*
- 8 ‘Which of the following best describes your current work situation, as far as paid work is concerned?’ (1) employed full-time, (2) employed part-time, (3) homemaker, (4) student, (5) unemployed and looking for paid work, (6) unemployed and not looking for paid work, (7) retired. *Sub-total shown is (6) unemployed and not looking for paid work*

Table A59: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by cultural, border control, and economic concerns, non-graduates only %

<i>The number of immigrants should be....</i>	Reduced a lot or a little	Remain about the same...	Increased a lot or a little	Sub- total %	Sub- total* N	<i>Sub- totals* as a % of all non- grads</i>
1 Australia is in danger of losing its cultural and identity, agree strongly	86	5	9	100	406	33.1
2 A partial ban on Muslim immigration? Strongly support	88	2	10	100	385	31.4
3 All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, agree strongly	84	6	9	100	518	42.3
4 Australia 'sometimes feels like a foreign country', agree strongly	82	4	14	100	349	28.5
5 'We should protect ... using tariffs if necessary'	69	16	16	100	807	65.9
6 'Nearly impossible' to find \$400 in an emergency	68	14	19	100	162	13.2
7 Present job situation is 'uncertain'	68	20	12	100	69	5.6
8 Unemployed & not looking for work	59	22	18	100	49	4.0
<i>Total non-graduates</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>1225</i>	
<i>Total sample</i>	<i>(50)</i>	<i>(26)</i>	<i>(25)</i>	<i>(100)</i>		

Note: See notes to Table A58 for details of the questions.

The sub-totals are for non-graduates who *agreed strongly* or *strongly supported* questions 1-4, or who wanted protection in question 5, or who met the criteria in questions 6-8. (The numbering is for present identification. It does not indicate the questions' sequence in the questionnaire.)

The sub-totals as a % of all non-graduates are a percentage of n=1225.

Table A60: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by cultural, border control, and economic concerns, graduates only %

<i>The number of immigrants should be....</i>	Reduced a lot or a little	Remain about the same...	Increased a lot or a little	Sub-total %	Sub-total* N	<i>Sub-totals* as a % of all grads</i>
1 Australia is in danger of losing its cultural and identity, agree strongly	64	7	29	100	123	15.3
2 A partial ban on Muslim immigration? Strongly support	64	7	28	100	163	20.3
3 All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, agree strongly	59	16	25	100	195	24.3
4 Australia 'sometimes feels like a foreign country', agree strongly	58	5	37	100	133	16.5
5 'We should protect ... using tariffs if necessary'	38	24	38	100	471	58.6
6 'Nearly impossible' to find \$400 in an emergency	36	15	49	100	47	5.8
7 Present job situation is 'uncertain'	44	44	11	100	54	6.7
8 Unemployed & not looking for paid work	33	44	22	100	9	1.1
<i>Total graduates</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>804</i>	
<i>Total sample</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>2029</i>	

Note: See notes to Table A58 for details of the questions.

The sub-totals are for graduates who *agreed strongly* or *strongly supported* questions 1-4, or who wanted protection in question 5, or who met the criteria in questions 6-8. (The numbering is for present identification. It does not indicate the questions' sequence in the questionnaire.)

The sub-totals as a % of all graduates are a percentage of n=804.

Table A61 Those strongly agreeing or strongly supporting cultural and border-control questions or wanting protection or meeting the criteria of the economic questions, whole sample, and by educational status %

	whole sample, % strongly agreeing (supporting) 1 to 4, or meeting the criteria for 5-8	Non-grads, % strongly agreeing (supporting) 1 to 4, or meeting the criteria for 5-8	Graduates, % strongly agreeing (supporting) 1 to 4, or meeting the criteria for 5-8
1 Australia is in danger of losing its cultural and identity, agree strongly	26	33	15
2 A partial ban on Muslim immigration? Strongly support	27	31	20
3 All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back, agree strongly	35	42	24
4 Australia 'sometimes feels like a foreign country', agree strongly	24	28	17
5 'We should protect ... using tariffs if necessary'	63	66	59
6 'Nearly impossible' to find \$400 in an emergency	10	13	6
7 Present job situation is 'uncertain'	6	6	7
8 Unemployed & not looking for paid work	3	4	1

Note: See notes to Table A58 for details of the questions.

Table A62: The free speech variable by education %

	Non-graduate	Graduate	Total sample
Guardian	18	33	24
Threatened	47	36	43
Fearless	25	22	24
Confused	10	9	10
Total %	100	100	100
Total N	1225	804	2029

Table A63: The free speech variable by 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' %

	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
Guardian	19	28	47	5	19	24
Threatened	46	38	30	55	44	43
Fearless	27	24	13	34	18	24
Confused	7	10	10	6	19	10
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	727	645	196	172	289	2029

Table A64: 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased?' by the free speech variable %

<i>...the number of immigrants...should be...</i>	Guardian	Threatened	Fearless	Confused	Total sample
Increased a lot or a little	48	13	24	22	25
Remain about the same as it is	33	21	18	47	26
Reduced a little or a lot	19	66	58	31	50
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	480	863	485	201	2029

Table A65: 'Have you yourself ever felt uncomfortable about raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or workmates?' By the free speech variable

	Guardian	Threatened	Fearless	Confused	Total sample
Yes, people can get the wrong idea about you if you do	24	35	19	14	26
I haven't wanted to question it; I'm okay with things as they are	23	12	21	14	17
I'm happy to speak against it, even if others don't agree	11	34	37	14	27
I'm happy to speak in favour of it, even if others don't agree	30	9	10	13	15
I don't know enough about immigration to discuss it	13	10	13	45	15
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	481	863	484	201	2029

Table A66: 'Have you yourself ever felt uncomfortable about raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or workmates?' By 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' %

	Coalition	Labor	Greens	One Nation	Other	Total sample
Yes, people can get the wrong idea about you if you do	29	24	19	31	26	26
I haven't wanted to question it; I'm okay with things as they are	20	19	15	6	13	17
I'm happy to speak against it, even if others don't agree	29	21	18	51	26	27
I'm happy to speak in favour of it, even if others don't agree	10	19	27	5	15	15
I don't know enough about immigration to discuss it	11	16	21	7	21	15
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	726	645	196	172	287	2029

Appendix 2: Method

The survey ran from 26 October 2018 to 2 November 2018. Questions were chosen, and the analysis done, by TAPRI: the field work was organised by Qualtrics and carried out by The Online Research Unit. They collected data from a random national sample of 2029 people drawn from an online panel of 300,000. The survey was restricted to voters. Quotas were set with a 10% leeway in line with the ABS distribution for age, gender and location. The final data were then weighted to the actual age, gender, and location distribution according to the ABS Census.

Participants were offered points as token rewards (these could be used to gain access to a cash raffle, or taken as a \$1 payment, or donated to charity). The survey took them approximately ten minutes to complete.

Notes

¹ Data for 1972 to 1981 are from ABS 3105.0.65.001 Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2014, Table 1.3, and for 1981 to 2018, ABS 3101.0 Australian Demographic Statistics Table 1. Population Change, Summary–Australia

² 1976 Census data are from ABS cat. no. 3105.0.65.001 Australian Historical Population Statistics, Table 81, Population, sex and country of birth, states and territories, 1976 census (usual residence).

³ From ABS.Stat Dataset: Estimated resident population, Country of birth, Age and sex - as at 30 June 2017

⁴ Thomas Piketty, *Brahmin left vs merchant right: rising inequality & the changing structure of political conflict* (Evidence from France, Britain and the US, 1948-2017), World Inequality Database, 2018.

For an analysis of the data from the 2016 Australian Election Study see Katharine Betts, 'Immigration and public opinion in Australia: how public concerns about high migration are suppressed', May 2018, pp. 3, 5. <<https://tapri.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Immigration-public-opinion-2018.pdf>>

⁵ For details of the by-election see Eryk Bagshaw, 'After a fortnight of counting, Kerry Phelps declared Wentworth Victor', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 November 2018 <<https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/after-a-fortnight-of-counting-kerry-phelps-to-be-declared-wentworth-victor-20181104-p50dw8.html>>.

⁶ Paul Kelly, 'Flawed morality of the middle class', *The Australian*, 2 February 2019, pp. 17, 18

⁷ Alan Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment*, Yale University Press, 2018

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 139

⁹ John Sides, et al., *Identity Crisis, The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*, Princeton University Press, 2018, p. 165

¹⁰ Roger Eatwell and Mathew Goodwin, *National Populism, The Revolt Against Liberal Democracy*, Penguin, 2018, p. 175

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 151

¹² Marisa Abrajano and Zoltan L. Hajnal, *White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics*, Princeton University Press, 2015

¹³ Eric Kaufmann, *Whiteshift: Populism, Immigration and the Future of White Majorities*, Allen Lane, UK, 2018. His thesis is summarised in Eric Kaufmann, 'How "Asymmetrical Multiculturalism" generates populist blowback', *National Review*, 6 February 2019 <<https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/02/populism-identity-politics-why-they-rise-in-tandem/>>.

¹⁴ Kaufmann, 2018, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-8, 347

¹⁵ See Kaufmann, 2019, *op. cit.* for an overview.

¹⁶ Kaufmann 2018 *op. cit.*, pp 115, 281, 291-2

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 281

¹⁸ Subsequent revisions to the ABS data in cat. No. 3101.0 reduce this proportion to 61%.

¹⁹ The knowledge questions were:

Q6 As far as you know, is the following statement true or false? Because of our low birth rates, Australia's population would be shrinking now if it were not for immigration.

True False Don't know

Q7 As far as you know, is the following statement true or false? Australia has one of the highest population growth rates in the developed world.

True False Don't know

The correct answer to Question 6 is 'false'. Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) projections have consistently shown that even with 'below replacement fertility' the population will keep growing for many decades because of population momentum. For example the most recent projections published in November 2018 show that with high life expectancy, nil net migration, and a total fertility rate (TFR) of 1.65 the population keeps growing from natural increase alone until 2039. Should the TFR stay at its current level, close to 1.8, the population would keep growing till 2048, and if the TFR should return to 1.95 the population would keep growing until 2060. (All projections here use the high life expectancy assumption and assume nil net migration. See http://stat.data.abs.gov.au/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=POP_PROJ_2011.)

The correct answer to question 7 is 'True'. In 2017-18 Australia's population growth rate was 1.6%. The CIA Fact Book gives estimated population growth rates for all countries in 2017. If members of the OECD are selected from this list, the average rate of growth for 2017 (excluding Australia) is 0.39%, and the only country with a higher rate than Australia is Luxembourg (1.98%). See <abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mf/3101.0> and <cia.gov/LIBRARY/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2002.htm>.

Re responses to the knowledge questions see also Table A4 to A6 in Appendix 1.

²⁰ Kaufmann, *op cit.*, pp. 276-277

²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 243-244