



**Free speech on immigration versus the guardians against racism**

**Based on the September 2022 Tapri survey of voters' attitudes to population issues**

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# Free speech on immigration versus the guardians against racism

## Executive Summary

With the end of Covid-era restrictions Australia is experiencing both a housing crisis and a surge in immigration-fuelled population growth. How is that such a surge can be happening at such a time? Yes, the level of demand from international students and others was unexpected but the Government was not powerless to stem it.

There are two linked answers to the question. One is the work of an influential growth lobby (developers, employers, universities) supported by Treasury. This activity is shielded from the public by a tacit agreement among the major political parties to keep the topic of immigration off the public agenda. Indeed, during the May 2022 Federal election campaign Phil Honeywood in fact spoke of a ‘bipartisan cone of silence on migration’.

The second answer involves a more diffuse influence. This stems from parts of the media, academia, some NGOs, and a significant section of the wider public. It manifests as the social norm that decent people do not criticise the level of immigration. This has consequences.

There is now strong evidence that many Australians feel silenced and afraid to speak on some public matters. For example, a recent survey by Essential Research found that 67 percent of respondents say that ‘People are scared to say what they really think because they don’t want to be labelled as racist’.

The data explored in this paper concerns this second answer. It is taken from the September 2022 national survey of 3018 voters conducted by The Australian Population Research Institute (Tapri). The survey focused on attitudes to population growth and immigration but it also covered a range of other cultural topics: ethnic diversity, transgender, the referendum on an Indigenous voice to parliament, Australia Day, and readiness to help defend Australia.

The survey instrument contained two questions designed to help discern who was likely to discourage conversations about the size of the immigration intake, who was likely to feel threatened by such discouragement, and who was not. The questions were:

‘Do you think that people who raise questions about immigration being too high are sometimes seen as racist?’ Response categories: Yes, No, and Don’t know.

Those who chose ‘Yes’ were then asked to choose between these two statements: ‘This is because they usually are racist’ or ‘This is unfair because very few of them are racist’.

This sequence produced four categories:

Those who said ‘Yes’ to first question and chose ‘This is because they usually are racist’ were termed the Guardians against racism. They constitute 19 percent of the sample.

Those who said ‘Yes’ to the first question and chose ‘This is unfair because very few of them are racist’ were termed the Threatened (33 percent of the sample).

Those who said ‘No’ to the first question were termed the Fearless (36 percent).

And those who said ‘Don’t know’ to the first question were termed the Confused (13 percent).

Further analysis found that the Guardians against racism were disproportionately in favour of high immigration, 240,000 net a year or more (41 percent in favour compared to 12 percent of the rest of the sample).

They were much more likely to say that Australia needs more people (61 percent, compared to 29 percent of the rest of the sample).

They also felt more free to talk to others about these beliefs (57 per cent were either happy to talk about their support for high immigration or had felt no need to question it) while 35 percent

of the Threatened feared that people would get the wrong about them if they voiced their opinion.

Guardians tended to be younger than the rest of the sample, better educated, and more financially secure. They were also rather more likely to be Australian-born (86 percent as opposed to 81 percent of the rest of the sample) and slightly more likely than the Threatened or the Fearless to live in capital cities.

They were also more likely to vote for Labor or the Greens (75 percent would do so, as opposed to 49 percent of the rest of the sample). The Fearless were the group most likely to say that they would vote for the Coalition or One Nation (43 percent, as opposed to 18 percent of the Guardians).

There is little difference between the Guardians and others on questions concerning economics. Neoliberalism in the form of free trade, privatisation and low taxation was unpopular with strong majorities across the board.

But as far as other topics were concerned the Guardians were different. They were, for example, much more likely to say that they were very worried about climate change (59 percent ‘very worried’ as opposed to 31 percent of the rest of the sample).

Moreover 64 percent of Guardians wanted to increase immigration in order to increase ethnic and other forms of diversity, compared to 20 percent of the rest of the sample.

Forty-eight percent of Guardians strongly agreed or agreed that a woman is anyone who identifies as a woman, compared to 20 percent of the rest of the sample.

Sixty-six percent of Guardians said that they would vote ‘Yes’ in the referendum on an Indigenous voice to Parliament, compared to 33 percent of the rest of the sample.

Sixty-three percent of Guardians supported or strongly supported changing the date of Australia Day, compared to 30 percent of the rest of the sample.

Tapri also asked this question: ‘Thinking of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, what would you do as an Australian if we faced a similar invasion?’ Leave Australia, Stay and fight, Stay and help the fighters, or Don’t know. Nineteen percent of Guardians said that they would leave Australia, compared to nine percent of the rest of the sample, or 11 percent of the total sample.

Guardians disproportionately live in Canberra which may help explain the 33 percent of voters who live there and also say that, in the event of an invasion, they would leave Australia.

Overall the Guardians are a small minority but they tend to be graduates, younger, better educated and more financially secure than other voters. But on immigration, population growth, growing ethnic diversity, transgender, and Indigenous matters, as well as readiness to defend their country, they are quite unlike other voters. Nevertheless, their role in keeping a lid on open debate is pervasive.

Unlike the growth lobby they have no material stake in high immigration. Theirs is a moral position, not a material one. Because of this they are likely to see those who do not share their position as morally suspect, and to see their shaming as legitimate.

The non-Guardians account for 81 percent of the sample, and 75 percent of them want lower immigration or none at all (ie nil net migration).

The censorious climate created but the Guardians mutes public discussion but seems not to have changed the opinions of the majority. Their feelings as of now are not mobilised, but this may not always be the case.

# Free speech on immigration versus the guardians against racism

## Introduction

How hard is it in today's political climate to have a respectful debate about key questions such as population growth and immigration? And how easy is it to fall victim to public shaming? The history of the last forty years shows that the first can be quite hard, and the second rather too easy. Over the last few decades and up until today, numerous accusations of racism in Australian political debates bear witness to this.<sup>1</sup> Fear of being accused of racism is also prevalent.<sup>2</sup> Indeed a recent Essential Research survey found that 67 percent of respondents say that 'People are scared to say what they really think because they don't want to be labelled as racist'.<sup>3</sup>

This climate of accusation and fear currently bedevils the referendum debate on a constitutional voice to parliament for Indigenous Australians,<sup>4</sup> with many voters who are inclined to vote 'no' being afraid to discuss the matter.<sup>5</sup> But it has a longer and deeper history as is attested by a number of unsuccessful attempts to debate the role and size of the migrant intake.

In the early 1980s Geoffrey Blainey's critique of the then current immigration policy led to him being hounded by accusations of racism. In the late 1980s John Howard endured similar damaging allegations and, in the late 1990s, Pauline Hanson became the new focus. (Hanson had announced in her maiden speech that the proportion of Asians in the migrant intake should be reduced. In so doing she invited the strident accusations of racism that she suffered, though not the violence that ensued at her public appearances.)<sup>6</sup>

Yet, as the opinion polls came in, during the 1980s and 1990s, it was clear that around two thirds of Australians thought that the migrant intake was too high.<sup>7</sup>

The agonised reaction to the immigration critics came from a minority, but it displayed deep social and cultural divisions in Australia. Perhaps partly because of these divisions, after each storm had subsided the topic receded. Further attempts at debate were either self-censored or ignored. Long periods of high immigration,<sup>8</sup> and thus high levels of population growth, passed without serious public challenge.

While this uneasy silence may have been partly due to the climate of accusation and fear, it cannot be the whole story. The inhibition of debate appears to have structural support as well.

We know that for some time there has been a tacit bipartisan agreement between the major political parties to keep the topic of immigration off the political agenda. Peta Credlin writes:

Back in 1994, launching a book of essays, former prime minister Bob Hawke made the remarkably frank admission that immigration policy had effectively been a conspiracy by the political establishment against the Australian public. Hawke agreed with one author's observation that most voters wanted immigration reduced and that the parties had deliberately kept it out of public debate, saying there had indeed been 'an implicit pact between the major parties to implement broad policies on immigration that they know are not generally endorsed by the electorate' and that 'they have done this by keeping the subject off the political agenda'.<sup>9</sup>

While the curtain of bipartisan silence excludes most voters, others are more fortunate. Behind it, close to the policy makers, is an active growth lobby. This includes property developers, many employers and, in recent times, the universities. In their different ways all can profit from population growth, be it through selling land and apartments, suppressing wages, or gathering up tuition fees from international students.<sup>10</sup>

The growth lobby also enjoys active support from Treasury, a powerful department of government.<sup>11</sup> Treasury focuses on income tax receipts from immigrants and downplays the less precisely documented costs of congestion, house-price inflation, pressure on services and erosion

of the environment.<sup>12</sup> From their perspective population growth looks like a bonus, but others wear the costs.<sup>13</sup>

Given this setting it is not surprising that both major political parties were careful not to mention immigration during the leadup to the May 2022 federal election. An editorial in *The Australian Financial Review* put it tactfully: ‘Neither party mentions migration in their formal economic election documents ...the prospect of more migrants is not always an easy sell’.<sup>14</sup> But Phil Honeywood, a proponent of high immigration via international students, was more explicit. He wrote that there was a ‘bipartisan cone of silence on migration’.<sup>15</sup> The inference seems to be that the politicians were on the side of the growth lobby, hence the silence.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed insiders know full well that the people and the growth lobby are at odds, and that the role of politicians is not to let this become apparent. A few days before the election, Abul Rizvi, former deputy secretary of the Immigration Department, was quoted as saying: ‘If the prime minister were to come out and say, “I’m going to increase my migration program to 190,000 per annum as assumed in my budget papers”, he’s gone, 100 per cent. He’ll never say it – and neither will the opposition’.<sup>17</sup>

The topic may have been too sensitive to talk about before the election but now we have a ‘surprise population boom’.<sup>18</sup> This burst unheralded on the nation in April 2023, with the forecast of the arrival of an extra 700,000 migrants or more over the next two years,<sup>19</sup> while the Government’s Centre for Population projects more than 1.5 million migrants over the five years from 2022-23 to 2026-27.<sup>20</sup> As Nick Cater comments: ‘The claim that immigration policy is being conducted by stealth is a statement of the obvious since the important conversations on immigration are almost always confined to the beltway’.<sup>21</sup>

Current numbers mean a larger influx than Australia has ever experienced before,<sup>22</sup> with all the immediate consequences of escalating rents, added congestion, and stressed services. And, strangely, it seems to have appeared without human planning or agency.<sup>23</sup>

In the recent past governments have been at pains to emphasise how well the migrant intake has been controlled, a strategy that has lulled many voters into tolerating large numbers.<sup>24</sup> Times have changed. Now policy makers are claiming that the current surge is not their fault. As the Treasurer Jim Chalmers puts it, ‘the increase in the net overseas migration number it’s not a Government policy or a target’.<sup>25</sup> Or as John Kehoe and others report: ‘Dr Chalmers said net overseas migration forecasts were not government policy or targets, but rather the result of a demand-driven migration program’.<sup>26</sup> More international students and other long-term temporary migrants had arrived than the Government had expected. But Judith Sloan writes that this denial of responsibility is disingenuous. It’s the Government that ‘sets the rules that allow migrants to enter the country and to stay (or not)’.<sup>27</sup> Or as Bob Birrell puts it, ‘Labor did not forget about the impact of immigration, it chose to ignore it’.<sup>28</sup>

Pressure from the growth lobby, together with a compliant political class bound by their code of silence, are part of the explanation for the surge. But what about the voters? Why so little resistance from below?

By the end of the 1980s many progressives had come to see immigration through a cultural, rather than an economic lens. Support for ethnic diversity and the humanitarian intake had become highly salient to them, pervading their sense of morality and becoming a key part of their identity. The surprise immigration surge occurred not just because of demand pressures from international students and other temporary entrants together with a complaisant government. The electorate was ill-informed and unorganised. There was little public objection to the surge from media figures, academics and public intellectuals or from other well educated persons. The cone of silence may also have been garnering support from some members of the

general public, most especially the cultural progressives. It may be that, like the politicians, some members of the public also prefer silence to debate but for different reasons.

Matthew Goodwin, and others, have written about the rise to power of a new class, sometimes referred to as the new elite, or liberal cosmopolitans, or ‘anywhere people’. Many are said to be university graduates, and most are urban. These authors find that this group tends to be supportive of ethnic and gender diversity, and relaxed about border control.<sup>29</sup> If such a group is active in Australia they may well be helping to mute questions and objections from the majority of voters, those who are unhappy with high levels of immigration-fuelled population growth.

The history of attempts to question high immigration suggests a strain of moral aversion to criticism of immigration-fuelled population growth. And that this may have informal support from some members of the electorate.

There may be people who, for moral reasons, would also prefer reticence to open debate. And such an attitude may provide an ever-present risk of censure, a risk that helps enforce a ‘cone of silence’ among the voters.

### **Voters’ attitudes to immigration and their willingness to talk about it**

The Australian Population Research Institute (Tapri) conducted a survey of 3018 voters’ attitudes to both immigration and population growth, and to other aspects of social change, in September 2022.

A paper setting out some of the results and their political and economic context was published in March 2023.<sup>30</sup> But the survey also asked about voters’ attitudes to criticism of high immigration, and their readiness to talk about immigration with others. A quantitative survey such as this cannot capture the passion of the past failed attempts at discussion. Nevertheless it can help us to see if the basis for underlying currents of high emotion and distaste still prevails, currents which may make attempts at sensible debate too hazardous to try.

Such a survey can also help us identify people who may play the role of informal shamers among, and against, the general public, and also identify those who are likely to fear them, and thus hold their peace.

While this method cannot discover passionately held beliefs, it can shed light on some of the unsung, and perhaps unwitting, handmaidens of the growth lobby. It can help us find those voters who believe that scepticism about the virtues of high immigration is usually racism in disguise, and thus must be condemned and, if possible, left unexpressed.

Respondents were asked: ‘Do you think that people who raise questions about immigration being too high are sometimes seen as racist?’ The response categories were: ‘yes’, ‘no’, and ‘don’t know’. (See Appendix 2 for the full questionnaire.)

People who answered ‘yes’ were offered another question, with two choices: ‘This is because they usually are racist’ or ‘This is unfair because very few of them are racist’.

These two questions allow us to sort respondents into four categories:

Those who answered ‘yes’ to the first question and then chose ‘This is because they usually are racist’ are termed the ‘Guardians against racism’.

Those who answered ‘yes’ to the first question and chose ‘This is unfair because very few of them are racist’ are termed ‘the Threatened’.

Those who answered ‘no’ to the first question are termed ‘the Fearless’.

And those who answered ‘don’t know’ to the first question are termed ‘the Confused’.

The four categories together constituted the free speech variable. See Table 1.

Table 1: The free speech variable %

	%
<i>Guardians against racism</i>	19
<i>The Threatened</i>	33
<i>The Fearless</i>	36
<i>The Confused</i>	13
<i>Total %</i>	100
<i>Total N</i>	3018

Apart from the Confused, the Guardians were the smallest category, less than 20 percent of the sample. It transpired, however, that they were not only censorious about immigration sceptics, they were also keen on high levels of immigration themselves.

The immigration question read: ‘Some business groups want Australia to return to pre-covid levels of immigration, around 240,000 migrants net a year. This would take the population to about 39 million in 2050, 50% more than today’s 25.7 million.

‘Which of the following is closest to your views?’

Table 2 sets out the five responses offered, and the results.

Table 2: Attitudes to immigration by the free speech variable %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1 We should return to net migration of around 240,000 a year or higher.</i>	41	11	11	20	12	18
<i>2 We should return to net migration at somewhat lower levels.</i>	34	25	28	24	26	28
<i>3 We should return to net migration at much lower levels.</i>	6	22	20	12	19	17
<i>4 We should keep migration low enough so that new arrivals just balance out departures [ie nil net migration].</i>	7	33	29	20	29	25
<b><i>2, 3 &amp; 4 Somewhat lower levels, much lower levels or nil net migration</i></b>	<b>47</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>70</b>
<i>5 Don't know</i>	12	10	12	24	13	13
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018



Overall only 18 percent of voters wanted a return to the high pre-Covid levels of immigration. But the Guardians, at 41 percent, were more than twice as enthusiastic. Indeed they were more than three times more likely to favour high immigration than were the rest of the sample of non-Guardians.

If the results of the three response categories favouring either lower levels or nil net migration (responses 2, 3 and 4), are combined we can also see that the Threatened and the Fearless are a lot keener on lower immigration than are the Guardians.

Respondents were also asked ‘Overall, do you think Australia need more people?’ Table 3 shows that Guardians, compared to the non-Guardians, were more than twice as likely to say ‘yes’.

*Table 3: ‘Overall, do you think Australia needs more people?’ By the free speech variable %*

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Yes</i>	61	26	27	40	29	35
<i>No</i>	39	74	73	60	71	65
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

While the Threatened are much more likely to say Australia does not need more people and to prefer lower immigration than are the Guardians, they may have well-grounded fears for the social consequences of voicing their concerns.

The questions measuring the free speech variable were followed by this: ‘Have you yourself ever felt uncomfortable raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or workmates?’

Five responses were offered, including ‘I don’t know enough about immigration to discuss it’, a response that was favoured by the Confused. See Table 4.

A majority of Guardians (57 percent) chose either ‘I haven’t wanted to question it; I’m okay with things as they are’ or ‘I’m happy to speak in favour of it, even if others don’t agree’.

In contrast a third of the Threatened chose ‘Yes, people can get the wrong idea about you if you do’.

Despite this, a quarter of them gamely said ‘I’m happy to speak against it, even if others don’t agree’, as did a third of the Fearless.

Table 4: 'Have you yourself ever felt uncomfortable raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or workmates?' By the free speech variable %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total non- Guardian	Total
1 Yes, people can get the wrong idea about you if you do.	18	35	14	9	22	21
2 I haven't wanted to question it; I'm okay with things as they are.	21	14	21	18	18	18
3 I'm happy to speak against it, even if others don't agree.	7	25	33	18	28	24
4 I'm happy to speak in favour of it, even if others don't agree.	36	10	12	12	11	16
5 I don't know enough about immigration to discuss it.	19	15	20	43	22	21
<b>2 &amp; 4 Haven't wanted to question it... or Happy to speak in favour of it...</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>34</b>
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Guardians are less than 20 percent of the electorate, but it seems that they have a disproportionate influence on formal and informal discussion. So who are they?

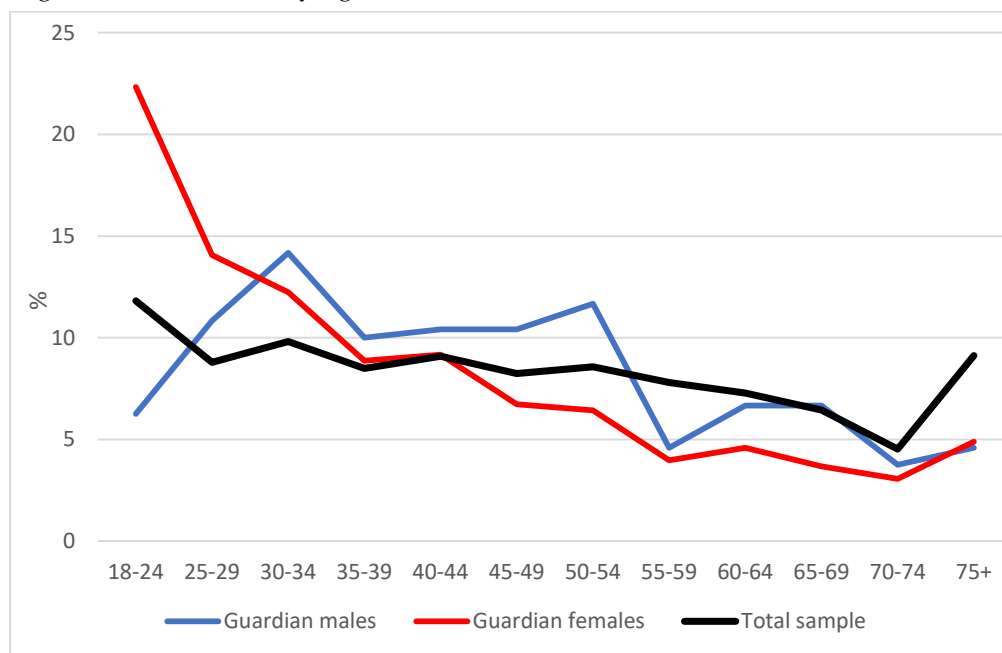
Table 5: Free speech variable by education %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total non- Guardian	Total
Non graduate	50	67	69	68	68	65
University student	8	4	7	8	6	6
Graduate	42	30	23	23	26	29
<b>Graduate or uni student</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>35</b>
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Table 5 shows that Guardians are more likely to be either university graduates or university students. Those who are graduates are also more likely to have degrees in society and culture (including the humanities and social sciences), or in the creative arts, or law (see Table A1 in Appendix 1).

As well as this, Guardians are more likely to be young women. Fifty-seven percent of Guardians in the sample are women, and their median age is 38.2, as compared to 41.8 for male Guardians and 45.2 for the sample as a whole. See Figure 1.

Figure 1: Guardians by age and sex



Source: Table A2 in Appendix

Table 6 shows that the Threatened and The Fearless are close to eight years older on average than the Guardians (and the Confused 10 years older).

Table 6: Age by the free speech variable %

Whole sample	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total
18-24	15	10	12	12	12
25-29	13	8	9	5	9
30-34	13	10	8	8	10
35-39	9	9	7	11	8
40-44	10	9	9	8	9
45-49	8	8	9	7	8
50-54	9	9	8	8	9
55-59	4	10	7	8	8
60-64	5	9	7	7	7
65-69	5	6	7	8	6
70-74	3	3	6	6	5
75+	5	9	10	13	9
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	567	980	1090	381	3018
Median age	38.8	46.5	46.8	48.8	45.2

Guardians are also more likely to be Australian born (86 %) compared to 81 percent for the rest of the sample. See Table A4 in Appendix 1. Table A4 also shows that the Fearless are slightly more likely to have been born in non-English-speaking-background countries (12 percent as opposed to nine percent for the sample as a whole).

Tapri then asked respondents about their economic circumstances. The question was: ‘How are you getting on financially these days?’

The response categories are set out in Table 7. They show that, despite their relative youth, 61 percent of Guardians are either living comfortably or doing alright, as compared to 54 per cent of the rest of the sample.

Correspondingly only 39 percent of Guardians were doing it tough (Just about getting by or finding it quite, or very, difficult). This was as opposed to 46 percent of the rest of the sample, the non-Guardians.

*Table 7: ‘How are you getting on financially these days?’ Financial status by the free speech variable %*

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Living comfortably</i>	17	14	16	12	14	15
<i>Doing alright</i>	44	39	39	42	39	40
<b><i>Living comfortably or doing alright</i></b>	<b>61</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>55</b>
<i>Just about getting by</i>	24	27	33	30	30	29
<i>Finding it quite difficult</i>	9	12	9	10	11	10
<i>Finding it very difficult</i>	6	7	4	7	6	6
<b><i>Just about getting by, or Finding it quite or very difficult</i></b>	<b>39</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45</b>
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Respondents were also asked about home ownership: ‘Do you (or you and a partner) own the place where you usually live?’

Table A5 in Appendix 1 shows that Guardians are less likely to be homeowners. Though this may be partly due to their youthful status, Table 8 also shows that, even when the sample is restricted to voters aged thirty plus, this is still the case.

Table 8: 'Do you (or you and a partner) own the place where you usually live?' By the free speech variable (voters aged 30 plus only) %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total non-Guardian aged 30 plus	Total aged 30 plus
Yes, I/we own a house outright	29	33	40	38	37	35
Yes, I/we own an apartment outright	3	4	3	3	3	3
Yes, I/we own a house with a mortgage	31	35	31	28	32	32
Yes, I/we own an apartment with a mortgage	5	2	3	3	2	3
<b>Total 'yes'</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>74</b>
No	32	27	23	28	25	26
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	408	807	865	317	1989	2397

Respondents who were not homeowners were asked about their prospects of becoming homeowners. 'Which of the following is most true of you?' Table 9 sets out the response categories and the results.

Table 9: Expectations of home ownership by the free speech variable, non-homeowners only %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total non-Guardian	Total non-homeowners
I expect to own a home (a house or apartment) in the next 10 years	38	31	22	26	26	29
I would like to be a homeowner within the next 10 years but this will be hard to achieve	37	42	34	31	37	37
I'm not interested in being a homeowner	15	13	16	17	15	15
I have an investment property now but chose not to live in it	1	2	4	1	2	2
None of the above	9	12	24	26	19	17
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	227	326	313	124	763	990

Table 9 shows that, among the non-homeowners, the Guardians were the most optimistic about owning a home within the next 10 years.

And Table 10 shows that, among those who were already homeowners, the Guardians were more likely to own one or more investment properties.

Table 10: 'Do you currently own an investment property or properties?' By the free speech variable (homeowners only) %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total non-Guardian homeowners	Total homeowners
Yes, outright	10	8	5	5	6	7
Yes, with a mortgage (or mortgages)	21	16	22	11	18	19
One (or some) outright, one (or some) with a mortgage	4	2	2	5	3	3
<b>Total 'yes'</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>
No	66	74	71	79	73	72
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	341	654	776	256	1686	2027

The survey also asked about political preferences and, as Table 11 shows, Guardians lean well towards the left, preferring either Labor or the Greens. By contrast the Fearless tend more towards the right (the Coalition or One Nation), even though a higher proportion of the Fearless still intend to vote Labor or Greens.

Table 11: 'If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for?' By the free speech variable %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total non-Guardian	Total
Coalition	16	26	35	27	30	28
One Nation	2	9	8	3	7	6
<b>Coalition or ON</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>34</b>
Labor	48	41	35	44	39	40
Greens	27	11	10	9	10	14
<b>Labor or Greens</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>54</b>
Other	7	13	12	17	13	12
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Table 11 shows that, at the time of the survey (September 2022), the intention to vote for Labor or the Greens was strong across the board, but much stronger among the Guardians. Indeed, Guardians were nearly three times as likely to vote for the Greens as were the non-Guardians.

Table 12 shows that the Guardians tend to cluster in Canberra and Victoria and, in general, are more likely to be found in capital cities rather than in non-metropolitan areas. The Threatened are more likely to be found in rural Western Australia and Tasmania.

Table 12: Free speech variable by location %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total %</i>	<i>Total N</i>
<i>ACT/Canberra</i>	25	27	29	18	100	51
<i>Rest of VIC</i>	24	29	39	9	100	187
<i>Melbourne</i>	20	31	33	15	100	583
<i>Brisbane</i>	17	32	36	16	100	290
<i>Perth</i>	18	30	42	10	100	250
<i>Sydney</i>	20	33	33	14	100	625
<i>Adelaide</i>	16	37	33	13	100	171
<i>Rest of South A</i>	16	36	38	10	100	50
<i>Rest of NSW</i>	18	33	41	8	100	342
<i>Rest of West A</i>	12	43	37	7	100	67
<i>Northern Territory</i>	14	38	41	7	100	29
<i>Rest of Qld</i>	18	13	39	12	100	309
<i>Tasmania</i>	18	41	29	12	100	67
<i>Total</i>	19	32	36	13	100	3018

Table A9 in Appendix 1 also shows that, apart from the Confused, the Guardians are the group slightly more likely to live in capital cities and the Fearless are more likely to live in non-metropolitan regions.

Overall the Guardians tend to be young, well-educated and financially secure. In most cases they enjoy these advantages to a greater extent than do the rest of the electorate.

### **Free speech, neoliberalism, and climate change**

Apart from being wary of immigration sceptics, what else concerns the Guardians? Like the majority of the sample they are not keen on neoliberal economics.

They tend to prefer protecting local industry over the importation of cheaper goods, they are not fans of low taxes, and they agree with the majority that the privatisation of services such as electricity, gas and telecommunications has gone too far.

On all of these economic questions the Guardians are not so very different from the sample as a whole. See Tables A6, A7 and A8 in Appendix 1. As Table A7 suggests, they are rather more keen on taxing the rich, but there is not a wide gulf between them and their fellow voters on protection and privatisation. Neoliberalism is unpopular across the board

Table 13, however, does show that they are nearly twice as likely to say that they are very worried about climate change than are the rest of the sample.

Table 13: 'Are you worried about climate change?' By the free speech variable %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Yes, very worried</i>	59	35	29	29	31	36
<i>Yes, slightly worried</i>	34	46	45	51	46	44
<i>Not at all worried</i>	7	18	24	15	20	17
<i>No opinion</i>	1	2	2	6	3	2
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

### Free speech and cultural questions

A bigger gap between Guardians and others appears when we turn to cultural themes, questions concerning social norms and values.

Table 14, for example, shows that Guardians are more than three times as likely to prefer more ethnic diversity than are the rest of the sample.

By contrast the Threatened and the Fearless are more than twice as likely to say that we need to encourage national unity and a shared Australian identity, especially the Fearless.

Table 14 'Some people argue we should increase immigration in order to increase our ethnic and other forms of diversity. What is your view?' By the free speech variable %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Yes, more diversity will give Australia a more vibrant society and economy</i>	64	20	18	24	20	28
<i>No. We have enough diversity. We need to encourage national unity and a shared Australian identity</i>	27	71	73	49	69	61
<i>Don't know</i>	9	9	9	27	12	11
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Ethnic diversity is not the only cultural theme where the Guardians take a distinctive stance.

The concept of gender diversity is another point of difference. This is particularly clear when it comes to people who were born male identifying as female.



For example, Guardians are more than twice as likely as the rest of the sample to think that transwomen should be allowed to compete in women's sports. See Table 15.

*Table 15: 'A number of people who were born male now identify as female. Do you think they should be allowed to compete in women's sports?' By the free speech variable %*

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Yes</i>	31	11	12	13	12	15
<i>No</i>	49	78	78	55	74	70
<i>Don't know</i>	20	11	11	32	14	15
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

And as Table 16 shows, they also take a broadminded view on the primacy of self-identification of gender in general.

Compared to the non-Guardians, they are more than four times as likely to strongly agree that a woman is anyone who identifies as a woman regardless of their biological sex.

*Table 16: 'Some people argue that a woman is anyone who identifies as a woman, regardless of their sex when born. What do you think?' By the free speech variable %*

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Strongly Agree</i>	22	7	5	4	5	8
<i>Agree</i>	26	12	17	15	15	17
<b><i>Strongly agree &amp; agree</i></b>	<b>48</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>25</b>
<i>Neither Agree nor Disagree</i>	23	21	25	42	26	25
<i>Disagree</i>	17	22	20	20	21	20
<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	13	39	33	19	33	29
<b><i>Disagree &amp; strongly disagree</i></b>	<b>29</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>49</b>
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Another point of division concerns voters' attitudes to the proposed referendum on a constitutionally enshrined voice to parliament for Indigenous Australians.

*‘The Australian Government is planning a referendum on having a separate ‘voice to parliament’ for Indigenous Australians (Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders). This voice would be written into the Australian Constitution.’*

*Table 17: ‘If the referendum were held today would you vote “Yes” or “No”’? By the free speech variable %*

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>I would vote ‘Yes’</i>	66	38	30	31	33	39
<i>I would vote ‘No’</i>	13	31	39	19	33	29
<i>I don’t know how I would vote</i>	21	32	31	51	34	32
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Table 17 shows that, as of September 2022, Guardians were much more likely to say they would vote ‘yes’ in the coming referendum on the voice to parliament for Indigenous Australians. Indeed they were twice as likely to say this compared to the rest of the sample.

And Table 18 shows that they are quite unlike the rest of the sample on the question of changing the date of Australia Day.

*‘Australia Day is celebrated annually on 26<sup>th</sup> of January. This is the anniversary of the 1788 arrival of the First Fleet of British ships at Sydney Cove, New South Wales.’*

*Table 18: ‘Would you support or oppose changing the date on which Australia Day is celebrated?’ By the free speech variable %*

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardian</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Strongly support</i>	41	13	11	12	12	17
<i>Support</i>	22	19	17	20	18	19
<b><i>Strongly support &amp; support</i></b>	<b>63</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>36</b>
<i>Oppose</i>	11	16	19	17	18	16
<i>Strongly oppose</i>	14	33	38	24	34	30
<b><i>Oppose &amp; strongly oppose</i></b>	<b>25</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>46</b>
<i>No opinion</i>	12	19	15	27	19	18
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

Table 18 shows that Guardians were more than three times as likely as non-Guardians to strongly support changing the date of Australia Day, and that the non-Guardians were more than twice as

likely to oppose it. Indeed the Fearless stand out as being more than twice as opposed to the idea as were the Guardians.

Overall, nearly two thirds of Guardians want more ethnic diversity, nearly half say that a woman is anyone who identifies as such, two thirds plan to vote ‘yes’ in the referendum on an Indigenous voice to parliament, and just under two thirds want to change the date of Australia Day. And three quarters of them favour either Labor or the Greens. On all of these questions they are very different from the other voters.

Their responses to the cultural questions suggest that some Guardians are discontented with the nature of Australian society.

Of course it is the mark of committed citizens to want to try to change aspects of their country which they deem unsatisfactory. But in a number of cases disappointments of this kind can lead to disenchantment with the idea of the nation itself.

### **Voters’ responses if, like the Ukraine, Australia faced the threat of invasion**

A survey in the United States in early 2022 asked Americans whether, if they were threatened with invasion as the Ukrainians are, would they fight or flee. A surprising number (38 percent) said that they would flee.<sup>31</sup>

In March 2022 Greg Sheridan reported on a similar poll conducted in Australia, commissioned by John Anderson. This found that ‘53 per cent said they would leave the country, while 47 per cent said they would stay and fight’. Given the history of Australian patriotism during the two World Wars this is surprising.

However Sheridan sensibly remarks that, if respondents had been given a third option, to stay and help the fighters, the results might have been different.<sup>32</sup> The elderly or unfit might well imagine that they would be more of a hindrance than a help on the battlefield.

Tapri did provide such an option. It also gave respondents the option of saying ‘don’t know’. Afterall, many of us don’t really know how we would respond in such extreme circumstances.

We found that Guardians were indeed more likely to say that they would leave Australia. They were more than twice as likely to say this than were the rest of the sample. See Table 19. The Fearless are the group most likely to say that they would stay and fight.

*Table 19: ‘Thinking of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, what would you do as an Australian if we faced a similar invasion?’ By the free speech variable %*

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardians</i>	<i>Total sample</i>
<i>Leave Australia</i>	19	10	9	9	9	11
<i>Stay and fight</i>	24	28	30	17	27	27
<i>Stay and help the fighters</i>	34	39	37	36	38	37
<i>Don’t know</i>	22	23	24	38	26	25
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	381	2450	3018

The preponderance of Guardians in Canberra may help explain why a third of Canberra's residents also say that, if there were a threat of invasion, they would leave Australia.

This is three times the proportion of the total sample who said they would leave. See Table 20. (The data also show that 21 percent of Greens voters would leave Australia. See Table A10 in Appendix 1.)

*Table 20: 'Thinking of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, what would you do as an Australian if we faced a similar invasion?' By location*

	<i>Leave Australia</i>	<i>Stay and fight</i>	<i>Stay and help the fighters</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Total %</i>	<i>Total N</i>
<i>ACT/Canberra*</i>	33	21	31	15	100	51
<i>Rest of VIC</i>	15	20	40	25	100	187
<i>Melbourne</i>	14	26	35	25	100	585
<i>Brisbane</i>	13	28	37	22	100	290
<i>Perth</i>	11	26	38	25	100	250
<i>Sydney</i>	11	26	39	24	100	624
<i>Adelaide</i>	9	22	37	32	100	170
<i>Rest of South A</i>	8	16	48	28	100	50
<i>Rest of NSW</i>	8	28	41	24	100	343
<i>Rest of West A</i>	8	38	36	18	100	66
<i>NT</i>	7	61	21	11	100	28
<i>Rest of QLD</i>	7	29	35	29	100	309
<i>Tasmania*</i>	3	30	28	39	100	67
<i>Total sample</i>	11	26	37	25	100	3018

\* The results for 'Leave Australia' for ACT/Canberra and Tasmania are significant at the .01 level.

### **The two sets of mufflers suppressing debate**

There are two rather different influences, knowingly and unknowingly, working to scramble attempts at having serious conversations about immigration and Australia's population futures.

First there is the informal battalion of Guardians against racism. Their presence makes it hard for ordinary people to discuss the topic without fear of public shaming. This constitutes a diffuse capacity to deter the many voters who are unhappy with population growth from voicing their opinions.

And second there are those with a more focussed capacity to maintain the cone of silence and thus keep discussions about immigration and population growth within the circle of political elites.

Given the unrepresented discontent of many voters, let alone the current immigration surge, why is it that most federal politicians have avoided public debate, and refrained from offering voters low immigration policies at election time? There is after all a sizeable potential constituency among the Fearless, not to mention the Threatened.

The cynical answer is that the major parties depend too much on donations from developers and others affiliated with the growth lobby, those with a vested interest in population growth. There is probably a lot in that explanation. But there is something else to consider: the relative paucity of current parliamentary pensions and MPs' uncertainties about their post-political future.

In 2004 the previously generous system of pensions for federal politicians was closed to new entrants. Members who entered parliament before 2004 were grandfathered into the old system, but men and women elected after 2004 had to make do with a much more modest pension.<sup>33</sup>

Political careers are insecure and often short. A spell in Canberra (or in a state parliament) can disrupt the careers that MPs had had before their electoral success. This, and the vagaries of a political career, can mean that it is only prudent to keep an eye out for openings that could lead to rewarding opportunities in a post-parliamentary role.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps a board membership in a major company or an affiliation with a prominent NGO? The former could well be part of the growth lobby and the latter well-stocked with careful Guardians. While parties worry about keeping donors happy, politicians may also be worrying about their post-political futures.

In both cases, annoying powerful groups by moderating the size of the migrant intake may seem unwise, even if taking a stand could win over many voters.

### **Conclusion**

The Guardians against racism are quite unlike their fellow voters on a range of cultural issues: Unlike the growth lobby, the Guardians against racism - the informal supporters of the cone of silence - are not looking for material gains.

Their opinions on economic questions are similar to those of the rest of the sample. Like their compatriots, most are disenchanted with neoliberalism. It is on cultural questions that they differ sharply. Not only do they support growing diversity and identity politics, many are also enthusiasts for high immigration and population growth.

The Tapri survey shows that many of the graduate elite who dominate the media and public discussion of immigration do indeed regard it as a moral issue. And they do tend to regard those who do not share their position as morally suspect. Because of this they see the shaming of dissenters as legitimate.

This standpoint has the effect of muting discussion. There is little public resistance to the immigration surge. This is not because many non-graduate voters share the position of the cultural progressives, but because they are disorganised and in many cases intimidated. While the feelings are there, they are not mobilised. This may not always be the case.

## Appendix 1

### The free speech variable by graduates' field of study, together with the full sample's age, sex, birthplace and home ownership (all age groups)

Table A1: Free speech variable by field of study (graduates only) %

	Guardian	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total %	Total N
Science, IT, Engineering, Architecture, and related studies	26	29	33	12	100	187
Medicine, Nursing, Pharmacy, and related health studies	24	32	34	10	100	118
Education	29	37	23	11	100	124
Management and Commerce	22	35	33	9	100	215
Law	37	32	21	11	100	38
Society and Culture (including humanities and social science)	41	35	17	7	100	102
Creative Arts	47	26	21	6	100	34
Other	13	38	34	15	100	53
Total graduates	27	34	29	10	100	871
Total sample	19	33	36	13	100	3018

Table A2: Guardians by age and sex %

Age	Guardian males	Guardian females	Total sample
18-24	6	22	12
25-29	11	14	9
30-34	14	12	10
35-39	10	9	8
40-44	10	9	9
45-49	10	7	8
50-54	12	6	9
55-59	5	4	8
60-64	7	5	7
65-69	7	4	6
70-74	4	3	5
75+	5	5	9
Total %	100	100	100
Total N	240	327	3018
Median age	41.8	38.2	45.2

Table A3: The free speech variable by birthplace %

	<i>Australia</i>	<i>ESB</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Guardians</i>	20	15	13	15	12	19
<i>The Threatened</i>	33	36	31	18	32	32
<i>The Fearless</i>	35	35	48	50	42	36
<i>The Confused</i>	12	13	7	17	15	13
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	2469	268	83	141	60	3018

Note: ESB stands for English speaking background countries.

Table A4: Birthplace by the free speech variable %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total non-Guardians</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Australia</i>	86	83	79	80	81	82
<i>ESB</i>	7	10	9	9	9	9
<i>Europe</i>	2	3	4	2	3	3
<i>Asia</i>	4	3	7	6	5	5
<i>Other</i>	1	2	2	2	2	2
<i>Australia and ESB born</i>	93	93	88	90	90	91
<i>Born in NESB countries</i>	7	7	12	10	10	9
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	382	2450	3018

Note: ESB stands for English-speaking-background countries and NESB stands for non-English-speaking-background countries.

Table A5: Home ownership (all age groups) by the free speech variable %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Yes, I/we own a house outright.</i>	24	29	35	34	30
<i>Yes, I/we own an apartment outright.</i>	4	3	4	4	4
<i>Yes, I/we own a house with a mortgage.</i>	28	33	30	27	30
<i>Yes, I/we own an apartment with a mortgage.</i>	4	2	3	3	3
<b><i>Total yes</i></b>	<b>60</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>67</b>
<i>No</i>	40	33	29	33	33
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	567	980	1090	382	3018

## Attitudes to neoliberal economics by the free speech variable

Table A6: 'The share of manufacturing in Australia's economy is less than half of what it was forty years ago. Do you think....' By the free speech variable %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total
We should protect Australia's manufacturing, using tariffs if necessary.	66	74	73	62	70
We should get rid of all tariffs so that we can buy goods more cheaply from overseas.	14	10	13	10	12
Don't know	20	16	14	27	17
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	567	979	1091	381	3018

'Labor and the Coalition both say they support lower taxes for individuals and for businesses. Some people say this would boost economic growth. Others say we should increase taxes for the rich and big business. This would reduce inequality and help to pay for better services.'

Table A7: 'What is your view [on tax levels]?' by the free speech variable %

	Guardians	The Threatened	The Fearless	The Confused	Total
We should reduce taxes for both rich and poor.	17	22	23	23	22
We should stop reducing tax levels. The existing rates are appropriate.	13	15	22	13	17
We should increase tax rates for high income earners and big business.	64	54	46	44	52
Don't know	5	8	9	20	9
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	567	979	1091	381	3018



*'In recent years Federal and State governments have privatised services such as electricity, gas and telecommunications.'*

Table A8: 'What is your view [on privatisation]?' By the free speech variable %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Privatisation is a good idea.</i>	15	11	16	12	14
<i>Privatisation has gone too far. Governments should play a greater role in owning and managing such services.</i>	72	76	72	64	72
<i>Don't know</i>	13	13	12	24	14
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	568	980	1089	381	3018

### Location by the free speech variable

Table A9: Location by the free speech variable %

	<i>Guardians</i>	<i>The Threatened</i>	<i>The Fearless</i>	<i>The Confused</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Sydney</i>	22	21	19	23	21
<i>Melbourne</i>	21	19	18	23	19
<i>Rest of NSW</i>	11	11	13	7	11
<i>Rest of QLD</i>	10	10	11	10	10
<i>Brisbane</i>	8	9	9	12	10
<i>Rest of VIC</i>	8	6	7	4	6
<i>Perth</i>	8	8	10	7	8
<i>Adelaide</i>	5	6	5	6	6
<i>ACT/Canberra</i>	2	1	1	2	2
<i>Tasmania</i>	2	3	2	2	2
<i>Rest of South A</i>	1	2	2	1	2
<i>Rest of West A</i>	1	3	2	1	2
<i>Northern Territory</i>	1	1	1	1	1
<i>Capital cities*</i>	66	65	62	74	65
<i>Non-metropolitan</i>	34	35	38	26	35
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	569	979	1091	381	3018

\* Excludes Hobart, which was not enumerated separately

## Leaving Australia if threatened by invasion, by voting intention

Table A10: 'Thinking of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, what would you do as an Australian if we faced a similar invasion?' By intended vote %

	<i>Coalition</i>	<i>Labor</i>	<i>Greens</i>	<i>One Nation</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Leave Australia</i>	8	10	21	9	11	11
<i>Stay and fight</i>	29	25	25	35	23	26
<i>Stay and help the fighters</i>	44	40	24	30	32	37
<i>Don't know</i>	19	25	31	26	34	25
<i>Total %</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Total N</i>	834	1217	408	192	367	3018

## **Appendix 2**

### *Methods*

The survey ran from 9 September 2022 to 19 September 2022. Questions were chosen, and the analysis done, by Tapri.

Respondents were a random national sample of 3019 people drawn from Pureprofile internet panel, a source of over 450,000 panel members.

The sample was restricted to voters. Quotas were set with a 10 percent leeway in line with the ABS distribution for age, gender, and location. The final data were then weighted to the population's actual age, gender, location and graduate/non-graduate status distribution as according to the ABS Census.

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

The fieldwork was managed by Andrew Elturk and the project was financed by Tapri donors. Tapri is responsible for the choice of questions and the author for the interpretation of the findings.

## Questionnaire

### Tapri questionnaire September 2022

*[Questions on age, sex, and location were framed by Tapri's field agent, Andrew Elturk, and incorporated into the web version of the questionnaire used by Pureprofile, plus a screening question on being enrolled to vote.]*

1 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

2 In the Federal election for the House of Representatives on Saturday the 21<sup>st</sup> of May which party did you put first?

- 1 Centre Alliance
- 2 Country Liberal (NT)
- 3 Jacqui Lambie Network
- 4 Katter's Australia Party
- 5 Labor Party
- 6 Liberal National Party (Qld)
- 7 Liberal Party
- 8 National Party
- 9 Pauline Hanson's One Nation
- 10 Sustainable Australia Party
- 11 The Greens
- 12 United Australia Party
- 13 Other party
- 14 One of the 'teal' independents
- 15 A different independent
- 16 Other
- 17 Didn't vote

3 Are you worried about climate change?

- |                          |                          |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Yes, very worried      | 2 Yes, slightly worried  | 3 Not at all worried     | 4 No opinion             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

4 Some business groups want Australia to return to pre-Covid levels of immigration, around 240,000 migrants net a year. This would take the population to about 39 million in 2050, 50% more than today's 25.7 million.

Which of the following is closest to your views?

- 1 We should return to net migration of around 240,000 a year or higher.
- 2 We should return to net migration at somewhat lower levels.
- 3 We should return to net migration at much lower levels.
- 4 We should keep migration low enough so that new arrivals just balance out departures.
- 5 Don't know

5 Before the pandemic Australia's universities recruited large numbers of overseas students, making up 32 per cent of all new student enrolments in 2018.

Overseas students pay high fees and universities want governments to allow their numbers to be restored to their pre-Covid levels.

Which of the following is closest to your views?

1 Recruitment of overseas students should be restored. Their education here is an important export industry. They also contribute to the local economy and to university finances.

2 Their recruitment should stay low. Universities have become too dependent on them, and some universities have neglected providing for local students.

3 Don't know

6 Many employers argue that we must open the borders as soon as possible to allow temporary and permanent migrant workers to help fill job vacancies.

Which of the following is closest to your views?

1 They are right. We should let in as many migrant workers as employers want to employ.

2 They are wrong. We should deal with worker shortages by raising wages and improving skills training for locals.

3 Don't know.

7 Overall, do you think Australia needs more people?

1 Yes  [Go to question 8]

2 No  [Go to questions 15]

[For those who answered 1, 'yes', to Q 7 — All of questions 8 to 14 are for those who said 'yes' to Q7]

This is because—

8 We need more people to help defend Australia

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9 We need more babies to be born so that we can offset the ageing of the population.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10 We need more migrants so that we can offset the ageing of the population.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11 We should have a strong humanitarian policy and bring in more refugees.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12 We need more people to boost the economy.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13 Australia's population can grow without causing serious environmental damage.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14 We can increase our population and also achieve a reduction in Australia's total greenhouse gas emissions.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*[Then go to question 22]*

*[Questions 15 to 21 are for those who said 'no' to Q7]*

We don't need more people because—

15 Our cities are overcrowded and there is too much traffic.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16 Our hospitals are overcrowded.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17 Our schools are overcrowded.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18 The natural environment is under stress with the number of people we already have.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19 Adding more people will drive down wages.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20 Adding more people will push up the cost of housing.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21 Adding more people will make it harder for Australians to reduce our total greenhouse gas emissions.

1 agree strongly	2 agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 disagree	5 disagree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

[All respondents answer Q22]

22 Do you think that people who raise questions about immigration being too high are sometimes seen as racist?

- 1 Yes  [Go to question 23]
- 2 No  [Go to question 24]
- 3 Don't know  [Go to question 24]

23 This is:

- 1 Because they usually are racist
- 2 Unfair because very few of them are racist

[Then go to Q24]

[All respondents answer Q24]

24 Have you yourself ever felt uncomfortable raising questions about immigration, for example with friends or co-workers?

- 1 Yes, people can get the wrong idea about you if you do.
- 2 I haven't wanted to question it; I'm okay with things as they are.
- 3 I'm happy to speak against it, even if others don't agree.
- 4 I'm happy to speak in favour of it, even if others don't agree.
- 5 I don't know enough about immigration to discuss it.

25 Are you worried about the ageing of Australia's population?

- 1 Yes, very worried
- 2 Yes, slightly worried
- 3 Not at all worried
- 4 No opinion

26 Housing prices have risen since the pandemic began, making it harder for first home buyers to buy a home. How important is this issue to you?

- 1 It's Australia's most serious social problem
- 2 It's one of a number of important problems
- 3 It's not an important problem
- 4 It's not a problem at all
- 5 Don't know

Which of the following policies do you think should be followed to improve first-homebuyers' access to housing? For each policy chose one of the responses.

27 Remove negative gearing tax concessions for people who buy houses as investments.

(Explanation: Sometimes owners of investment properties don't make enough money from rents to cover the cost of their mortgage on the property and other expenses. If this happens, investors can claim the loss as an income tax deduction. It's called 'negative gearing'.)

A policy to remove this concession is:

- 1 Very important
- 2 Important
- 3 Should not be followed
- 4 don't know

28 Encourage the development of more high-rise apartments.

- 1 Very important
- 2 Important
- 3 Should not be followed
- 4 don't know

29 Encourage extending housing development in the outer suburbs.  
1 Very important [ ], 2 Important [ ], 3 Should not be followed [ ], 4 don't know [ ]

30 Keep immigration low to reduce competition for existing housing.  
1 Very important [ ], 2 Important [ ], 3 Should not be followed [ ], 4 don't know [ ]

31 If a federal election for the House of Representatives were held today, which one of the following would you vote for? If "uncommitted" to which one of these do you have a leaning?

- |                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| 1 Liberals                    | [ ] |
| 2 Nationals                   | [ ] |
| 3 Liberal National Party      | [ ] |
| 4 Country Liberals (NT)       | [ ] |
| 5 Labor                       | [ ] |
| 6 Greens                      | [ ] |
| 7 One Nation                  | [ ] |
| 8 Sustainable Australia Party | [ ] |
| 9 United Australia Party      | [ ] |
| 10 Other                      | [ ] |

*And now a few questions on some different topics*

32 A number of people who were born male now identify as female. Do you think they should be allowed to compete in women's sports?

- |              |     |
|--------------|-----|
| 1 Yes        | [ ] |
| 2 No         | [ ] |
| 3 Don't know | [ ] |

33 Some people argue that a woman is anyone who identifies as a woman, regardless of their sex when born. What do you think?

- |                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| 1 Strongly agree             | [ ] |
| 2 Agree                      | [ ] |
| 3 Neither agree nor disagree | [ ] |
| 4 Disagree                   | [ ] |
| 5 Strongly disagree          | [ ] |

34 The Australian Government is planning a referendum on having a separate 'voice to parliament' for Indigenous Australians (Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders). This voice would be written into the Australian Constitution.

In the past month, how much have you heard about the proposed 'voice to parliament'?

- |                   |     |
|-------------------|-----|
| 1 A lot           | [ ] |
| 2 A fair amount   | [ ] |
| 3 Hardly anything | [ ] |
| 4 Nothing at all  | [ ] |



35 If the referendum were held today would you vote 'Yes' or 'No'?

- I would vote 'Yes'
- I would vote 'No'
- I don't know how I would vote

36 Thinking of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, what would you do as an Australian if we faced a similar invasion?

- 1 Leave Australia
- 2 Stay and fight
- 3 Stay and help the fighters
- 4 Don't know

37 Labor and the Coalition both say they support lower taxes for individuals and for businesses. Some people say this would boost economic growth. Others say we should increase taxes for the rich and big business. This would reduce inequality and help to pay for better services. What is your view?

- 1 We should reduce taxes for both rich and poor.
- 2 We should stop reducing tax levels. The existing rates are appropriate.
- 3 We should increase tax rates for high income earners and big business.
- 4 Don't know

38 In recent years Federal and State governments have privatised services such as electricity, gas and telecommunications. What is your view?

- 1 Privatisation is a good idea.
- 2 Privatisation has gone too far. Governments should play a greater role in owning and managing such services.
- 3 Don't know

39 Australia Day is celebrated annually on 26<sup>th</sup> of January. This is the anniversary of the 1788 arrival of the First Fleet of British ships at Sydney Cove, New South Wales. Would you support or oppose changing the date on which Australia Day is celebrated?

- 1 Strongly support
- 2 Support
- 3 Oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose
- 5 No opinion

40 Some people argue we should increase immigration in order to increase our ethnic and other forms of diversity. What is your view?

- 1 Yes, more diversity will give Australia a more vibrant society and economy.
- 2 No. We have enough diversity. We need to encourage national unity and a shared Australian identity.
- 3 Don't know

And now a few questions about yourself:

41 What is the highest qualification you have gained since leaving school?

- 1 No qualification since leaving school, and not currently studying
- 2 No qualification since leaving school, but currently studying at a university
- 3 No qualification since leaving school, but currently studying at a TAFE or other vocational college

Your qualification—check the box for your highest qualification only

- 4 University degree, bachelor or post grad  *Go to Q42*
- 5 Vocational college diploma
- 6 Other vocational diploma
- 7 Trade qualification

*[All non-university graduate respondents skip Q42 and go to Q43]*

*[For those who said their highest qualification was a university degree, bachelor or postgrad, ie who chose 4 in Q41]*

42 Which of the groupings below include the field of study of your highest university qualification?

- 1 Science, IT, Engineering, Architecture, and related studies
- 2 Medicine, Nursing, Pharmacy, and related health studies
- 3 Education
- 4 Management and Commerce
- 5 Law
- 6 Society and Culture (including humanities and social science)
- 7 Creative Arts
- 8 Other

43 Do you (or you and a partner) own the place where you usually live?

- 1 Yes, I/we own a house outright  *[Go to question 44]*
- 2 Yes, I/we own an apartment outright  *[Go to question 44]*
- 3 Yes, I/we own a house with a mortgage  *[Go to question 44]*
- 4 Yes, I/we own an apartment with a mortgage  *[Go to question 44]*
- 5 No  *[Go to questions 45 and 46]*

44 Do you currently own an investment property or properties?

- 1 Yes, outright  *[Go to Q47]*
- 2 Yes, with a mortgage (or mortgages)  *[Go to Q47]*
- 3 One (or some) outright, one (or some) with a mortgage  *[Go to Q47]*
- 4 No  *[Go to Q47]*

[For non-owners, those who chose 5 in Q43]

45 Which of the following best describes your housing situation?

- 1 Renting
- 2 Living with parents
- 3 Homeless
- 4 Have some other housing arrangement

[For non-owners, those who chose 5 in Q43]

46 Which of the following is most true of you?

- 1 I expect to own a home (a house or apartment) in the next 10 years.
- 2 I would like to be a homeowner within the next 10 years but this will be hard to achieve.
- 3 I'm not interested in being a homeowner.
- 4 I have an investment property now but chose not to live in it.
- 5 None of the above

47 How well are you getting on financially these days?

- 1 Living comfortably
- 2 Doing alright
- 3 Just about getting by
- 4 Finding it quite difficult
- 5 Finding it very difficult

48 In which country or region were you born?

Please write the appropriate number in the space here

Australia	1 [Go to 50]	Vietnam	14
New Zealand	2	The Philippines	15
Other Oceania	3	Other Asia	16
United Kingdom	4	Israel	17
Republic of Ireland	5	Other Middle East	18
Italy	6	North Africa	19
Germany	7	South Africa	20
Greece	8	Other Africa	21
Netherlands	9	North America	22
Former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia)	10	Central America	23
Other Europe	11	South America	24
China	12	Other	25
India	13	Don't know	26

[All respondents who were not born in Australia answer Q49]

49 When did you arrive in Australia?

Year

(For all respondents) In which country were your mother and your father born?

Australia	1	Vietnam	14
New Zealand	2	The Philippines	15
Other Oceania	3	Other Asia	16
United Kingdom	4	Israel	17
Republic of Ireland	5	Other Middle East	18
Italy	6	North Africa	19
Germany	7	South Africa	20
Greece	8	Other Africa	21
Netherlands	9	North America	22
Former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia)	10	Central America	23
Other Europe	11	South America	24
China	12	Other	25
India	13	Don't know	26
50	Your mother		<input type="checkbox"/>
51	Your father		<input type="checkbox"/>

52 Are you of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin?

- 1 No
- 2 Yes, Aboriginal
- 3 Yes, Torres Strait Islander
- 4 Yes, both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander

Thank you

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> See Sean Kelly, [‘Dutton blew his dog whistle. Let’s not pretend otherwise’](#), *The Age*, 15 May 2023; Pip Hinman, [‘Reject Keneally’s dog whistle politics on migrant workers’](#), *Green Left*, 4 May 2020; Andrew Jakubowicz, ‘Racism, Multiculturalism and the Immigration Debate, Making Multicultural Australia, 1984’ [http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/jakubowicz\\_7.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/jakubowicz_7.pdf).  
A request to Get Up by Simon Cole, a member of Sustainable Population Australia, to run a plebiscite on a stable population for Australia was rejected on these grounds: ‘Population control is deeply entwined with racism, particularly in countries like Australia which were invaded by Westerners, colonised, and then saw very racist border regimes installed like the White Australia policy... At the heart of population control in Australia lies racism - and we cannot support it...[signed] Codagh’. Email correspondence of 23/12/2021 forwarded to the author.
- <sup>2</sup> Re debate on the referendum to establish an Indigenous voice to Parliament in the Constitution, John Howard says: ‘The most objectionable thing to me is that there is an undertone, in some cases not an undertone but it’s an outright statement, from some people that if you don’t support the voice, you’re a racist.’ Quoted in Janet Albrechtsen, [‘Indigenous voice to parliament: John Howard denounces Noel Pearson’s “attack” on Peter Dutton’](#), *The Australian online*, 8 April 2023; Paul Garvey, [‘NT Justice Judith Kelly critical of cult of anti-racism’](#), *The Australian online*, 1 September 2022; Stephen Rice, [‘Elite law journal under fire over “racism”’](#), *The Australian online*, 13 April 2021; Chris Mitchell, [‘Necessary debate on immigration is silenced by elite outcry of “racism”’](#), *The Australian online*, 13 August 2018, p. 25; Olivia, ‘Calling overpopulation concern “ecofascist” is absurd and harmful’, [Empathy Conservation](#), 10 May 2020 <[https://empathyconservation.wordpress.com/2020/05/10/calling-overpopulation-concern-ecofascist-is-absurd-and-harmful/?fbclid=IwAR3bk2-wtxDLtxyPlnP-R39GzaBQUH0H9KLCQsys03\\_5QR\\_UoBHNe9kBVZA](https://empathyconservation.wordpress.com/2020/05/10/calling-overpopulation-concern-ecofascist-is-absurd-and-harmful/?fbclid=IwAR3bk2-wtxDLtxyPlnP-R39GzaBQUH0H9KLCQsys03_5QR_UoBHNe9kBVZA)>.
- <sup>3</sup> Essential Research, 30 May 2023, [‘Racism in Australia’](#). Essential Research reports that the figure of 67 percent is an increase on 62 percent in September 2019 < <https://essentialreport.com.au/>>. The sample consisted of 1000+ Australian residents aged 18+ drawn from an internet panel provided by Qualtrics.
- <sup>4</sup> In March 2023 Bret Walker SC said those who complained about the potential influence of the indigenous voice to Parliament were ‘being racist’, quoted in Michael Pelly, [‘Top silk Bret Walker attacks “doomsday” take on Voice’](#), *Australian Financial Review online*, 10 March 2023. A similar charge was laid by NSW Justice Ian Harrison against Nationals NP Pat Conaghan. Harrison said that Conaghan’s support for the No case showed that Conaghan did not ‘understand or appreciate the depths of paternalism and racism that oozed from [his] words.’ Quoted in Simon Benson, Ellie Dudley and Sarah Ison, [‘NSW Chief Justice Andrew Bell scolds Justice Ian Harrison’s Indigenous voice to parliament email to Nationals MP Pat Conaghan’](#), *The Australian*, 25 March 2023. In December 2022 Marcia Langton said she feared that the referendum debate could sink ‘into a nasty, eugenicist, 19th century-style of debate about the superior race versus the inferior race’, quoted in Josh Butler, [‘Marcia Langton warns of risk of “nasty, eugenicist” debate about race ahead of voice referendum’](#), *The Guardian*, 5 December 2022. Janet Albrechtsen reports that many lawyers, including QCs, are reluctant to be quoted on record as having doubts about the voice for fear of stigmatisation by senior colleagues: [‘Anti-intellectual bullying and coercion do not help reconciliation’](#), *The Australian online*, 20 August 2022. In May 2023 Noel Pearson termed readers of *The Australian* who were sceptical about the voice as ‘mostly obscure and borderline casual racists’, Noel Pearson, [‘Noel Pearson reveals he prays Australians “will support the Indigenous voice to parliament by a majority of voters in a majority of the states”’](#), *The Australian online*, 20 May 2023.
- <sup>5</sup> See research quoted in [James Campbell](#), ‘Research shows voters afraid to question Voice for fear of being called racist’, *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 June 2023.
- <sup>6</sup> See Katharine Betts, *The Great Divide: Immigration Politics in Australia*, Duffy and Snellgrove, Sydney, 1999, pp. 256-269 (on Geoffrey Blainey), pp. 289-296 (on John Howard), pp. 316-320 (on Pauline Hanson).
- <sup>7</sup> See Morgan Gallup Poll, 19 May 1984 (no. 02/5/84); Tim Colebatch, *The Age*, 27 August 1984; Morgan Gallup Poll, November 8-9, 1986, no. 768; Age Poll, *The Age*, 9 February 1988; Newspan, *The Australian*, 9 August 1988; Newspan, *The Australian*, 4 November 1996, pp. 1, 4; Newspan, *The Australian*, 3 May 1997, pp. 1, 12. See also Katharine Betts, [‘Population growth: what do Australian voters want?’](#), *People and Place*, 2010, 18, 1, pp. 49-64 <[tapri.org.au/people-and-place](http://tapri.org.au/people-and-place)>.
- <sup>8</sup> See Graph 1.1 Net Overseas migration-Australia-historical(a)(b), Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2022 <<https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/overseas-migration/latest-release#net-overseas-migration>>.
- <sup>9</sup> Peta Credlin, [‘We need to talk about immigration policy’](#), *The Australian online*, 22 July 2021. (Credlin may have been referring to Hawke’s address to the Bureau of Immigration Research conference, ‘The Politics of Immigration’, that took place in Brisbane, 24 May 1993. See Betts, 1999 op. cit. pp. 6-7.) See also Nicholas Stuart, ‘We now live in a land of two nations divided by the topic that nobody wants to talk about, immigration’, *The Canberra Times*, 15 November 2017, p. 16.
- <sup>10</sup> See Katharine Betts and Michael Gilding, [‘The growth lobby and Australia’s immigration policy’](#), *People and Place*, 2006, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 40-52. See also Leith van Onselen, [‘Highrise Harry Triguboff demands mass immigration NOW!’](#), *MacroBusiness*, 11 August 2022; Jess Malcolm, [‘Farmers’ plea to plug worker gaps with foreign labour’](#), *The Australian*, 23 August 2022; J. Greber, G. Moore and T. McIlroy, [‘“State of paralysis”](#). Business despair over sluggish immigration

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flow', *The Australian Financial Review online*, 13 May 2022; Dick Smith, 'Big business wants "Big Australia"', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 2010; re universities see Phil Honeywood and others quoted in Tim Dodd, '[Chance to get in first to lure overseas students](#)', *The Australian*, 25 May 2020, p. 3; Tim Dodd, 'Why we need overseas students', *The Australian online*, 20 May 2020, p. 21.

- <sup>11</sup> See Abul Rizvi, '[Is Treasury driving the "Big Australia" debate?](#)', *Pearls and Irritations*, 9 May 2023; Shane Wright, '[No evidence migrants drive down wages: Treasury](#)', *The Sydney Morning Herald online*, 6 September 2021; Leith van Onselen, '[IGR deliberately ignores costs of immigration](#)', *MacroBusiness*, 29 June 2021; Ronald Mizen, '[Migrants boost the budget bottom line: Treasury](#)', *The Australian Financial Review online*, 7 December 2021; Peter Martin, '[How Treasury found that immigrants make Australia money](#)', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 April 2018.
- <sup>12</sup> See Treasury and Department of Home Affairs, *Shaping a Nation: Population growth and immigration over time*, Commonwealth of Australia 2018. This argues that migrants pay more in taxes over their lifetime than they receive in welfare payments. It acknowledges that 'pressures on infrastructure, housing, and the environment' are less well documented and writes that 'Australia must continue to explore and address these issues' (p. 1). See also Peter Varela et al., *The Lifetime Fiscal Impact of the Australian Permanent Migration Program: Treasury Paper*, Canberra, 2021.
- <sup>13</sup> In 2006 The Productivity Commission reported that 'Policy simulation results suggest that an increase in the number of skilled migrants would not improve labour productivity overall. The increase in migration leads to a decrease in the level of capital available to each worker', p. 73, and that 'Most of the economic benefits associated with an increase in skilled migration accrue to the immigrants themselves... On the other hand, the real average annual incomes of existing resident workers grows more slowly than in the base-case, as additional immigrants place downward pressure on real wages.' p. 154 Productivity Commission, *Economic Impacts of Migration and Population Growth, Position Paper, January*, Productivity Commission, Melbourne, 2006; '...substantial increases in the level of net overseas migration would have only modest effects on population ageing and the impacts would be temporary, since immigrants themselves age. The Commission has estimated that an increase in annual net migration from 150 000 to 300 000 would lower the proportion of those aged 65 or over by less than 3 percentage points by 2044-45. As an illustration of the challenge, the Commission showed that delaying an increase in the dependency ratio by 40 years would require a net migration-to-population ratio of 3 per cent per year, leading to a population of around 85 million by 2044-45.' Productivity Commission, *Submission to the Taskforce on the Sustainable Population Strategy for Australia*, Productivity Commission, Melbourne, 2011, pp. 5-6; John Kehoe, Nila Sweeney and Michael Read, 'Building crash, migration surge to inflame housing crisis', *The Australian Financial Review*, 10 May 2023; Tom Dusevic, 'Migrant influx and costs fuel housing shortage', *The Australian*, 27 April 2023; Judith Sloan, 'Maths doesn't lie: Big Australia will be a fiscal drain', *The Australian online*, 13 July 2021.
- <sup>14</sup> Editorial, '[Australia must join the global fight for talent](#)', *The Australian Financial Review online*, 16 May 2022
- <sup>15</sup> Phil Honeywood, '[The cone of silence on immigration just delays the inevitable](#)', *The Australian online*, 18 May 2022
- <sup>16</sup> Rachel Dexter, '[Why no one is talking about migration during the election campaign](#)', *The Sydney Morning Herald online*, 19 May 2022; Deborah Morrison, '[Letter: Conspicuously absent](#)', *The Age*, 21 May 2022 '[T]wo major issues at the forefront of many Australians' minds – immigration and population – were notable by their blatant absence'.
- <sup>17</sup> Quoted in Rachael Dexter, 19 May 2022, op. cit.
- <sup>18</sup> The phrase 'surprise population boom' is used by Tom Dusevic, '[Australia will experience biggest two-year population surge in its history](#)', with an extra 650,000 migrants this financial year and next', *The Australian online*, 3 April 2023. It is also used by Joe Kelly in '[Treasurers seek migrant workers settings overhaul](#)', *The Australian online*, 7 April 2023.
- <sup>19</sup> Tom Dusevic, 3 April 2023, op. cit. By April 29 it had become 400,000 for 2023 plus 315,000 for 2024, '[400,000 new migrants to arrive in Australia in 2023](#)', *news.com.au*, 29 April 2023.
- <sup>20</sup> See the Government's Centre for Population, Budget 2023-24: National Population Projections, 2022-23 to 2033-34, spreadsheet. The 2023 budget papers forecast a population increase of 2.176 million from June 2022 to June 2027, See Appendix A, Table A2.
- <sup>21</sup> Nick Cater, '[Immigration policy is being conducted by stealth](#)', *The Australian online*, 1 May 2023
- <sup>22</sup> The previous highest total for net overseas migration was 299,800 for 2008-09 or 315,700 for the calendar year 2008, ABS, Catalogue no 3101.0.
- <sup>23</sup> See 'Australia's "unplanned" immigration population rise "concerning"', [Abul Rizvi](#) on Sky News, 29 March 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FZRU4zu7gqg>; Tom Dusevic also refers to the way in which 'the scale of the surge has taken Canberra's officials by surprise', Tom Dusevic, '[Is Australia ready for the post-pandemic migrant surge?](#)', *The Australian online*, 1 April 2023.
- <sup>24</sup> Betts, 1999, op. cit., pp. 195-196, 202, 207-208, 214
- <sup>25</sup> Quoted in Samantha Maiden, '[Karl Stefanovic clashes with PM and Treasurer on tax](#)', *news.com.au*, 10 May 2023
- <sup>26</sup> J. Kehoe, N. Sweeney and M. Read, '[Building crash, migration surge to inflame housing crisis](#)', *The Australian Financial Review*, 10 May 2023
- <sup>27</sup> Judith Sloan, '[Labor can't pass the buck on migration any longer.](#)' *The Australian online*, 16 May 2023
- <sup>28</sup> Birrell goes on to say 'It has been known for years that temporary migrants, particularly students, are the main source of Australia's migration surge. Once here they have multiple opportunities to stay on thus adding to Australia's resident

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population'. The quoted material is from a personal communication to the author. For an overview of his findings see John Masanauskas, 'A study in how to hit housing', *The Herald Sun*, 16 May 2023.

<sup>29</sup> Matthew Goodwin, *Values, Voice and Virtue: The New British Politics*, Penguin, UK, 2023; David Goodhart, *The Road to Somewhere: The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics*, London, 2017; Maria Sobolewska and Robert Ford, *Brexitland: Identity, Diversity and the Reshaping of British Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2020. Re Australia see Katharine Betts, 1999, op. cit., pp. 3-8, 18-20, 301-303, 312-323.

<sup>30</sup> Katharine Betts and Bob Birrell, *Driving without a licence: voters' views on Labor's immigration agenda*, The Australian Population Research Institute, Melbourne, 1 March 2023 <tapri.org.au>

<sup>31</sup> Fifty-five percent said they would fight and 38 percent said they would flee. See Lionel Shriver, '[Would you stay or would you go?](#)', *The Spectator*, 19 March 2022, p. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Greg Sheridan, '[Do we love Australia as much as Ukrainians love their country?](#)', *The Australian*, 29 March 2022

<sup>33</sup> See Remuneration Tribunal, *Review of the Remuneration of Members of Parliament: Initial Report*, 2011, pp. 28-32.

<sup>34</sup> 'Former MPs speak of unemployment, grief, and challenges post-politics', [Media release](#), 31 May 2022, Deakin University; Jennifer Grove, '[Life after politics: Navigating your career as a former MP](#)', 6 April 2023, Gerard Daniels website; A. Nethery, P. Ferguson, Z. Nwokora and M. Clark, *Transitioning to Life after Parliament: A report commissioned by the Parliament of Victoria in conjunction with the Victorian Parliamentary Former Members' Association*, 2021; For an analysis of post-parliamentary careers in the UK see '[Post-parliament prospects: What are these ex-politicians doing now?](#)' *Elite Business Magazine* web site, 29 October 2018.