

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURALISM FOR A NEW CENTURY:

TOWARDS INCLUSIVENESS

NATIONAL MULTICULTURAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

APRIL 1999

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INTRODUCTION

The Australian Bureau of Statistics and Professor Murray Goot, Professor of Politics at Macquarie University were commissioned to prepare a statistical appendix to the report of the National Multicultural Advisory Council *Australian multiculturalism for a new century: Towards inclusiveness*¹. This appendix provides information about some key areas of change in Australia that have occurred because of, or concurrently with, Australia's immigration program over the past fifty years.

Part 1, *Demographic and sociological trends in Australia since 1947*, was prepared by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. It contains information under the headings of population, family, health, education, employment, housing and income provides a very interesting insight into Australian society. It shows that the past fifty years are notable for increased diversity in Australia: not just in terms of ethnicity but in terms of many social indicators.

The overall picture that comes from the appendix is of a community in a state of change. Some of the changes have arisen as a direct result of Australia's immigration program (the increase in the ethnic diversity of our population); other changes are only partially explained by immigration (the changing religious profile of Australia); other changes appear to have little or no connection to immigration (family and housing arrangements, for instance, and the changing pattern of Australia's trading partners).

Indeed, many of the changes would appear to be a natural consequence of a society participating in the global economy at a time of profound global change.

Part 2, *Migrant numbers, Asian immigration and multiculturalism: trends in the polls, 1943-1998*, prepared by Professor Goot, analyses opinion polls since the 1940s that have reported the views of the Australian people on a range of immigration and multicultural issues. These polls provide an important, although limited, window into the minds of the Australian people.

Importantly, Professor Goot makes it clear that it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from the surveys because of gaps in the data, inconsistencies in the questions asked, and the different survey contexts in which the same questions appeared. These limitations reflect the fact that most polling is done for newspapers on particular issues that newspaper executives judge to be newsworthy from time to time.

The overall message from polls on immigration and multicultural issues is mixed. This reflects the fact that people simultaneously hold divergent, even contradictory, views. The wording of the question and the context within which it is asked help determine the views respondents express.

¹ The full report is available from the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, or through its web site: <http://www.immi.gov.au>

PART 1: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRENDS IN AUSTRALIA SINCE 1947²

Australia has a diverse population. People from various cultural backgrounds, together with their Australian born children, have contributed much to this diversity. The population has grown through immigration which has been actively sought by the governments of the day, at least since World War II. Immigrants have been selected for their skills, their expected contribution to Australia and their ease of assimilation within Australian society. Together with the population growth, rapid changes have occurred in the demographic, social and economic profiles of the population. This statistical appendix describes the Australian diversity as it has evolved since 1947, drawing on some indicators relating to population composition, family, health, education, economic development, housing, and income.

Population

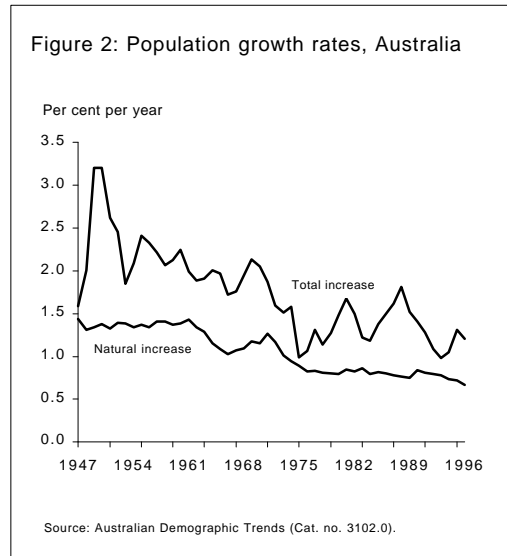
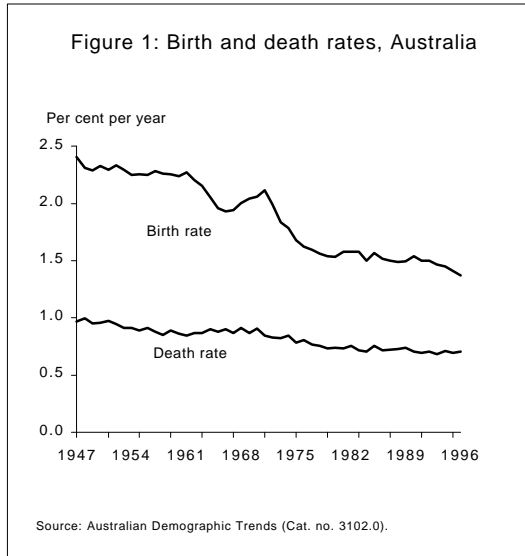
Australia was mostly settled by European migrants at least until World War II. The population reached 7.6 million in 1947 and doubled by 1979. At 30 June 1997, the resident population of Australia was estimated to be 18.5 million people.

Population projections prepared by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, using various assumptions of future fertility, mortality and overseas migration levels, estimate that the population will increase to between 22.1 and 23.1 million, and to between 24.9 and 26.4 million in 2051.

National populations grow by natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) and net overseas migration (excess of arrivals over departures). In Australia, natural increase has contributed more than half of the population growth that has occurred since World War II, the rest involving some 4.2 million people, has been added by net overseas migration. Declining birth and death rates throughout this century have seen growth rates due to natural increase on a downward sloping path except for a slight recovery in the post-war baby boom period (1947 to 1960). Since 1974 the rates of natural increase have been below 1% per annum; the rate in 1996 stood at 0.7%. The contribution of migration to total growth has fluctuated in response to changes in migration programs and the social, economic and political conditions of the economy which have shaped them. Net migration contributed to 48% of the average annual growth in 1980-89; the highest contribution for any decade this century. Other periods of high migration contribution were 1947-60 (44%) and 1961-69 (42%). In 1996, 221,000 people were added to the population: natural increase contributed 122,000 people (55% of the growth) and net migration 99,000 people (45%).

Overall, the population grew at an average annual rate of 2.3% between 1947 and 1960, the highest rate this century. It was supported by high natural increase and high levels of immigration. The rate fell first gradually to 1.5% in 1980-89 and rapidly thereafter. In 1996 the growth rate was 1.2%. Population growth rates are projected to continue to decline over the next 50 years, with net migration increase exceeding natural increase after around 2020.

² Prepared by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, July 1998.



Country of birth

Overseas migration has played a key role in shaping Australia as one of the world's most culturally diverse nations. Today, people from nearly 200 countries of birth are represented in the population. Migration since World War II has resulted in the overseas born population increasing from 744,000 (9.8% of the population) in 1947 to 4.3 million people in 1996 representing 23.3% of the total resident population of Australia.

The birthplace composition of the overseas born population has changed over the last 50 years. In 1947, 81% of the overseas born population came from the main English speaking countries (the United Kingdom and Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada and the United States), mainly

Table 1 : Main countries of birth of overseas born residents

Country	Census years			
	1947(a)	1971(a)	1981(b)	1996(b)
	%	%	%	%
United Kingdom and Ireland	72.7	42.2	37.8	28.6
New Zealand	5.9	3.1	5.6	7.4
Italy	4.5	11.2	9.2	6.1
Former Yugoslav Republic	0.8	5.0	5.0	4.6
Viet Nam	n.a.	0.0	1.4	3.9
Greece	1.7	6.2	4.9	3.3
China	0.9	0.7	0.9	2.8
Germany	2.0	4.3	3.7	2.8
Philippines	0.0	0.1	0.5	2.4
Netherlands	0.3	3.8	3.2	2.2
Malaysia	0.2	0.6	1.0	2.0
Other countries	11.0	22.8	26.8	33.8
Total overseas born	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total overseas population ('000)	744.2	2579.3	3111.0	4258.7

(a) Census counts.

(b) Estimated resident population.

Source: Year Book Australia, 1998, Table 5.40 (Cat. no. 1301.0), and updated.

from the United Kingdom and Ireland. By 30 June 1996, only 39% of the overseas born population were from the main English speaking countries. Together with those from New Zealand, the largest groups in 1996 were from European and Asian countries. In size order, as a proportion of all overseas born Australian residents, these groups included those from the United Kingdom and Ireland (29%), New Zealand (7%), Italy (6%), Greece (3%) and Germany (3%) and from Asian countries those from Viet Nam (4%), China (3%), the Philippines (2%), and Malaysia (2%). In total, those born in Asian countries constituted 5% of the total population and 22% of overseas born residents in Australia.

Population projections prepared by the former Bureau of Immigration and Population Research indicate that the proportion of the Australian born population in 2031 will be between 79% and 82% depending on assumed levels (100,000 or 70,000) of annual net migration, compared to 77% in 1996. The proportion of the population born in the United Kingdom and Ireland and other European countries would decline (largely due to the effect of mortality on these ageing population groups) from 13% of the total population to between 6% and 7%, while the proportions of those born in Asia would increase from 5% to between 7% and 9%. The projections assumed that the birthplace composition of net permanent migrants between 1990-91 and 1993-94 would prevail in the future (BIPR 1997).

The range of source countries of settler arrivals, previously dominated by the United Kingdom and Ireland (49% of all settler arrivals in 1962-66), has widened since the 1980s. The number of settlers from countries such as the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Greece, Italy and Lebanon have generally declined, while the number of Asian immigrants have increased. During 1992-96, 12% of the settlers came from the United Kingdom and Ireland, 11% from New Zealand, 6% from China, 6% from Hong Kong, 5% from Viet Nam, and 5% from the Philippines. In 1995-96, 40% of all settlers to Australia were born in Asia, but in 1996-97 this proportion declined to 37%.

Table 2 : Country of birth of settler arrivals, 1962-66 to 1992-96, Australia

1962-66		1972-76			
Country	'000	%	Country	'000	%
United Kingdom and Ireland	305.8	49.2	United Kingdom and Ireland	184.7	40.9
Greece	71.3	11.5	Yugoslavia	23.5	5.2
Italy	62.3	10.0	New Zealand	16.9	3.7
Yugoslavia	29.3	4.7	Lebanon	15.3	3.4
Malta	19.7	3.2	USA	14.5	3.2
Germany	16.7	2.7	Greece	14	3.1
1982-86		1992-96			
Country	'000	%	Country	'000	%
United Kingdom and Ireland	94.1	21.2	United Kingdom and Ireland	52.2	12.2
New Zealand	47.4	10.7	New Zealand	47	11.0
Viet Nam	42.2	9.5	China	27	6.3
Philippines	17.3	3.9	Hong Kong	25.9	6.1
South Africa	13.1	2.9	Viet Nam	20.1	4.7
Poland	12.4	2.8	Philippines	19.3	4.5

Source: Year Book Australia, 1998, Table 5.37 (Cat. no. 1301.0).

Citizenship

Prior to 1949 all Australians were British subjects. Since the passing of the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948, which came into effect from 26 January 1949,

over 3.1 million overseas-born people have been granted Australian Citizenship (many, of course, became Australian Citizens automatically on 26 January 1949). At the 1996 Census, the overall citizenship rate (ie the percentage of overseas born residents in Australia eligible for citizenship who are Australian citizens) was 73.2%, up from 65.8% at the 1991 Census. People who had lived in Australia longer were more likely to have become citizens. However, the citizenship rate varied considerably between people from different countries. At the 1996 Census, birthplaces with the highest citizenship rates were Laos (97.6 per cent), Lebanon (97.4 per cent), Greece (97.3 per cent), Hungary (96.6 per cent) and Latvia (96.5 per cent). Those birthplaces with the lowest citizenship rates were Japan (25.3 per cent), New Zealand (35.1 per cent), Malaysia (56.9 per cent) and the USA (57.3 per cent). The citizenship rate for those born in the United Kingdom improved from 52.7 per cent in 1991 to 62.2 per cent in 1996.

Religious affiliation

The religious profile of the population has changed with the arrival of migrants into Australia. Up to the end of World War II, European settlers brought their traditional churches with the result that in 1947, 39% of the population were Anglican, 21% Catholic, and 28% reported affiliation to other Christian denominations and beliefs. Since then, the proportion declaring a Christian faith has declined from 88% to 71% in 1996. Immigration to Australia, firstly from Europe and later from the Middle east and South-east Asia, has helped to reshape this profile with relatively small but growing numbers of people adhering to faiths such as Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism. However, a more significant trend has been the rise in the proportion of the population who do not have evident religious affiliations. In 1996, almost one quarter of the population either reported having no religion (17%) or preferred not to answer the census question (9%). Together, these groups only represented 13% of the population in 1971.

Table 3 : Religious affiliation, selected years, Australia

Religions	1947 %	1971 %	1981 %	1996 %
Catholic	20.9	27.0	26.0	27.0
Anglican	39.0	31.0	26.1	22.0
Uniting Church	(a)	(a)	8.3	7.5
Presbyterian & Reformed	9.8	8.1	4.4	3.8
Orthodox	(a)	2.7	2.9	2.8
Baptist	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.7
Lutheran	0.9	1.5	1.4	1.4
Pentecostal	(a)	(a)	0.5	1.0
Jehovah's Witness	(a)	0.3	0.4	0.5
Churches of Christ	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.4
Salvation Army	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.4
Other Christian	14.4	13.0	4.2	2.4
Total Christian	88.0	86.2	76.4	70.9
Islam	0.0	0.2	0.5	1.1
Buddhism	0.0	(b)	0.2	1.1
Judaism	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.8
Other non-Christian	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4
Total non-Christian	0.5	0.8	1.4	3.5
Inadequately described	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.3
No religion	0.3	6.7	10.8	16.6
Not stated	10.9	6.1	10.9	8.7
Total population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total population ('000)	7579.4	12755.6	14576.3	17752.8

(a) Included with other Christians

(b) Included with other non-Christian

Source: Censuses of Population and Housing.

Language spoken at home

English is the national language, but a substantial proportion of the population aged five years and over speak languages other than English at home. In 1996, nearly 2.5 million people (16% of the total population aged five and over) spoke other languages at home. 74% of these people were overseas born and 26% were Australian born (most likely Australian born children of migrants). The main languages spoken by overseas born people were Chinese (15.5%), Italian (11.6%), Greek (7.4%), Vietnamese (6.3%) and Arabic/Lebanese (5.3%). Among the Australian born, the main languages spoken were Italian (19.3%), Greek (15.7%), Arabic/Lebanese (7.9%), Aboriginal languages (5.7%) and Chinese (4.5%). These figures suggest a strong language influence of Italian and Greek migrants on their Australian born children.

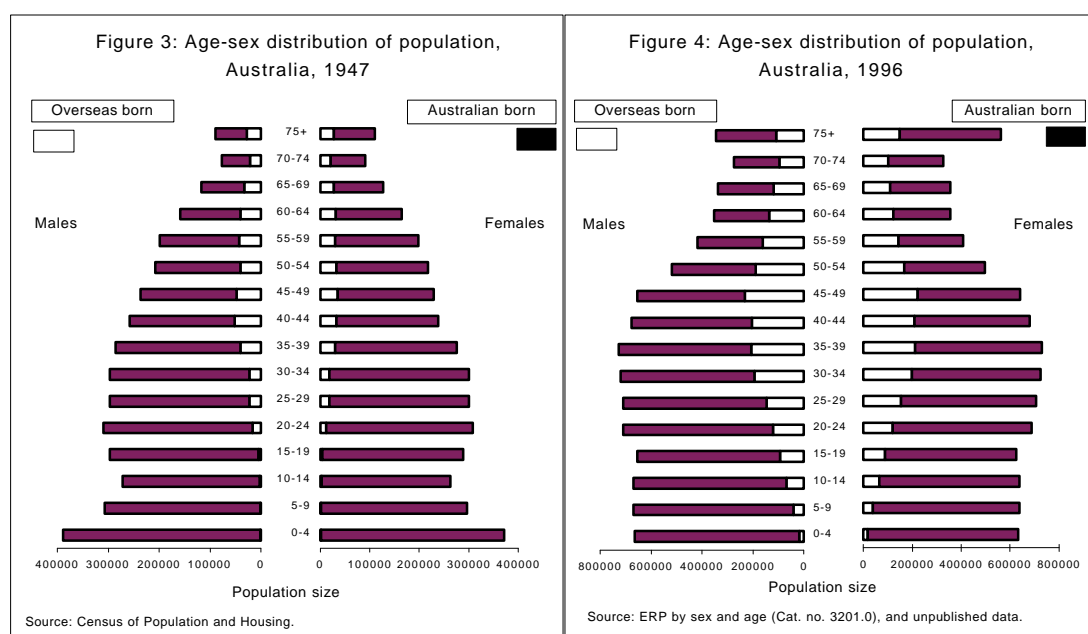
Within the group who spoke a language other than English at home, proficiency in English speaking was higher among the Australian born than overseas born, and in both groups was higher in the younger age groups of the population.

Age and sex structure

As in many other countries, Australia's population has been ageing. The median age of the population has increased from 30.7 years in 1947 to 34.3 years in 1997. Over this period the proportion of the population aged 65 and over increased from 8.0% to 12.1%.

Settlers from overseas have reduced the ageing process since their age profile, at their time of arrival, has generally been younger than that of the Australian population. However, the age profiles of people from particular countries vary substantially, reflecting their different periods of arrival in Australia. In 1996, the overseas born population was older (median age of 44 years) than the Australian born population (median age of 30 years). The median ages of the birthplace groups of the USSR and Baltic states (65 years), Hungary (58 years), Italy (58 years), Greece (55 years), Poland (54 years), and United Kingdom and Ireland (49 years) were higher than for birthplace groups who migrated to Australia more recently, for example those born in South-east and North-east Asia (median ages of between 33-35 years).

Prior to 1979, Australia's population had more males than females, but this difference reversed in 1979 due to the ageing of the population. In 1996, there were 99 males to 100 females. Among older persons aged 65 years and over there were 77 men per 100 women in 1996. The excess mortality of men over women, women's longer life expectancy, and the narrowing of mortality differentials between men and women have contributed to these trends. The overseas-born population had an excess of males (105 males to 100 females) in 1986, but in 1996 this excess had fallen to 102.



Population distribution

Australia's population is unevenly distributed across its six States and two Territories. In 1996, just over three quarters of the population lived in the eastern seaboard states

(New South Wales 34%, Victoria 25% and Queensland 18%). Settlers tend to settle in the most populous states and the largest cities, mainly due to the availability of employment opportunities, infrastructure support (friends and other family members already settled in the area), and other reasons (climate and health). The post-war settlement pattern of immigrants, together with internal migration and slight variations in rates of natural increase across the states/territories, have resulted in a slight decline in percentage points of the population of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania, and an increase in the share of the population of Queensland, Western Australia, and to some extent, that of the Australian Capital Territory. The interstate movements of people have had a major influence on the distribution of the population across the States and Territories. During 1991-96, nearly 1.6 million people aged five years and over (8.9% of total population) changed their State or Territory of usual residence. This transfer provided a net gain of population to two States, Queensland (145,000 people) and Western Australia (17,300 people), and a net loss to all other States and Territories. In terms of the absolute numbers however, the population of each State and Territory has risen.

While the overseas born are generally spread across the States and Territories, some had a higher proportion of the overseas born population than their share in the total population. New South Wales (24%), Victoria (25%), Western Australia (29%), and the Australian Capital Territory (24%) had higher shares, while Tasmania (with 11% of its population born in other countries) had the lowest share.

Particular birthplace groups have different patterns of concentration across the States and Territories. For example, the New Zealand born tend to be over-represented in Queensland (3.3% of Queensland's population) and Western Australia (2.4%) relative to their share of the total population of Australia (1.7%). Of the two largest non-English speaking European birthplace groups (the Italian and Yugoslav born), the Italians were over-represented in Victoria (2.4%) and South Australia 2.0% (compared to 1.4% across Australia), and the Yugoslav born were over-represented in Victoria (1.6%) and the Australian Capital Territory (1.4 %) - compared to 1.1% in Australia. Among the largest Asian birthplace group the Vietnamese were over-represented in Victoria (1.3%) and New South Wales (1.1%), compared to 0.9% of the total population of Australia.

Australia's population is highly urbanised. In 1947, 69% of the total population lived in towns and cities of 1,000 or more people. The proportion increased to 79% in 1954 and 86% in 1971 and has remained around that level ever since. In 1996, New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory were the most urbanised, 88% and 99% respectively, while the Northern Territory (73%), Tasmania (73%) and Queensland (81%) were the least.

People born overseas are more likely to live in urban centres than those born in Australia. At the 1996 Census, 80% of those born overseas were enumerated in capital city statistical divisions within each State and Territory compared to 58% of the Australian born. Over half (53%) of all overseas born residents were enumerated in Sydney and Melbourne compared with 34% of the Australian born population.

Family

Australia's migration program has encouraged the immigration of families (BIPR 1994). Since the early 1980s the program has given emphasis to migration enabling the reunion of family members. Of the main visa categories, family, skilled and humanitarian migration, family migration has been the largest since 1982-83 until 1996-97, representing over 40% of all settlers in each year (ABS 1998). However, in the first three quarters of 1997-98, settler arrivals have favoured skilled migration (34%) over family migration (28%).

The composition of immigrant families, and especially those from Europe who have been in Australia for a longer time, differ very little from Australian born families. Couple families are by far the major family type in both groups but one parent families are more common among Australian born people. Also, the 'extended family' (i.e. those families that extended beyond a couple and their off-spring living in the same dwelling) are more common among overseas born people. 1991 Census data showed that the proportion of family members living in 'extended families' was higher among people from southern Asia (in excess of 20% for those born in Cambodia and Viet Nam) compared with Australian born people (3.6%) (BIPR 1994).

Information from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants collected by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs during 1994 and 1995, indicate that most migrants, when they first arrive, share accommodation with family (70%) or friends (17%) already living in Australia. For most, however, this tended to be a temporary phase. Just under half (46%) of recent migrants had changed their initial accommodation 3 to 6 months after their arrival. Most lived in rental accommodation (54%), and in housing types comprising a separate house (49%), followed by flats (37%) and semi-detached houses (13%) (ABS 1998).

Declining household size

While the number of households has been increasing the average number of people per household has been decreasing. In 1971, there were 3.3 people per household (on average): the number decreased to 2.7 in 1996. This reflects the trend toward smaller families and an increase in the proportion of single person households (from 14% in 1971 to 22% in 1996). In 1996, 55% of all households contained one or two people only (ABS 1998).

Family type and composition

With the increase in people living alone and in group households, the proportion of family households has decreased from 84% in 1976 to 70% in 1997. In 1997, there were 5 million families with an average size of 3.1 people. Between 1976 and 1997, there was an increase in the proportion of one-parent families with dependent children (from 7% to 10%) and a decline in couple families (from 88% to 83%). However, the proportion of couple only (no other person present) families increased (from 28% to 35%).

Families are mostly formed through marriage. However, de facto partnering is another form of family building which has been gaining prominence in Australian society. In

1997, 9% of all couple families were in a de facto relationship, an increase from 8% in 1992 and 5% in 1982. A high proportion of people in de facto relationships are currently divorced or widowed (31% in 1997). De facto partnering is age related and is higher among younger couples aged 15-24 and 25-34 years.

In 1991, de facto partnering was low (about 3%) among people in couple relationships involving people born in non-English speaking countries as compared with nearly 16% for New Zealand born people who were in couple relationships (BIPR 1994).

Marriages

The rate of marriage per head of population has been declining and in 1996 it was the lowest throughout this century. In the post-1970 period, remarriages as a proportion of all marriages have increased. The proportion of marriages where at least one of the partners was remarrying was 34% in 1996, compared with 29% in 1976.

The median age at marriage for both bridegrooms and brides has increased. At first marriage, the median age of the bridegroom and bride was 27.6 and 25.7 years respectively in 1996, up by about 4 years for both parties from their 1976 levels. The median age at remarriage among divorced and widowed grooms was considerably higher, 41.6 and 62.6 years respectively in 1996. Divorced and widowed brides were younger by 3 and 9 years respectively.

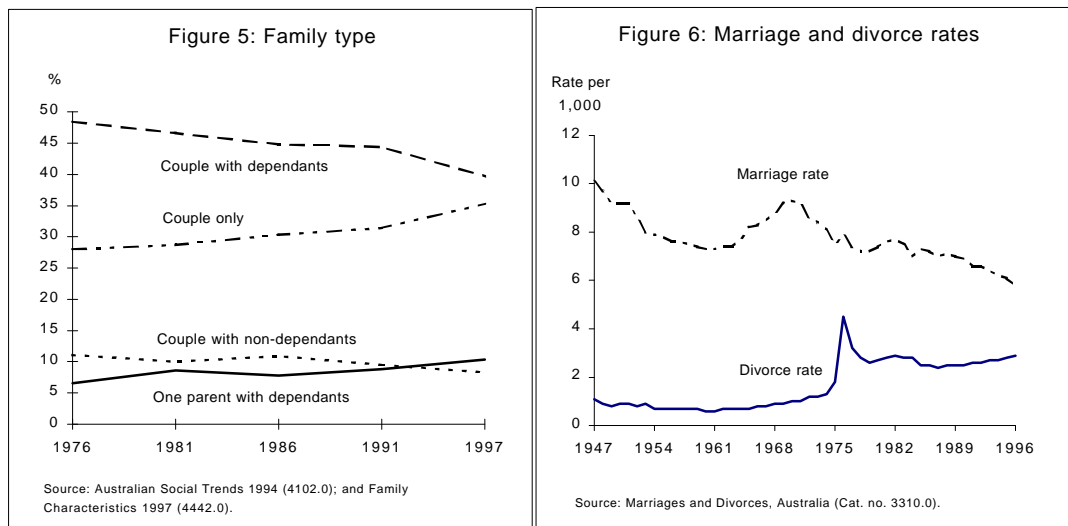
The proportion of marriages where at least one of the partners was overseas born has remained fairly stable over the last decade, representing about 36% of all marriages registered in a year. In 1996, nearly 14% of all bridegrooms and 16% of all brides born in Australia married an overseas born partner. Rates of intermarriage were generally higher for longer established migrant groups (Italians, Greeks, and Germans) and those coming from the English speaking countries (United Kingdom and Ireland, USA, and New Zealand), but lower for migrants who were born in Asian countries. Religion, customs, traditions, and proficiency in English may have been reasons for their lower levels of intermarriage with Australian born partners (BIPR 1996).

Divorces

There were 52,500 divorces granted in Australia in 1996. This was the highest number ever recorded in a year, with the exception of 1976 and a few years thereafter when the back-log of applications for divorce was cleared with the passing of the Family Law Act of 1975. A slight upward trend in divorces (per head of population) commenced in 1987 and has continued ever since. In 1996, there were 2.9 divorces per 1,000 population.

Divorce occurs at relatively older ages. The median age at divorce was 40.2 years for men and 37.4 years for women in 1996, up from 36.2 years for men and 33.1 years for women in 1976. The median duration of marriage of divorcing couples has fluctuated between 10 and 11 years. Over the past 10 years, the number of divorces granted where children (under 18 years of age) were involved has fallen from 60% in 1986 to 54% in 1996. However, the average number of children (aged under 18) of divorcing couples has remained constant at 1.9 children.

The divorce rate is higher among overseas born people (married in Australia or overseas) than Australian born people. In 1996, women born in some countries (China, Viet Nam, Philippines and New Zealand) had divorce rates at least twice the rate for Australian born women. For overseas born men, the divorce rate was generally higher than the rate for overseas born women. The age difference between the partners, the duration of their marriage at the time of divorce, and children involved in divorce are some of the factors which may mitigate the differences noted above.



Children

The average size of a family is largely determined by the level of fertility experienced by women. The total fertility rate declined to less than 2 children per woman in 1978, and has remained below that level ever since. The rate in 1996 was 1.8 children per woman.

Together with the decline in fertility levels there has been a decrease in the proportion of births to teenage mothers (falling from 9% of all births in 1971 to 6% in 1996), women have been starting child-bearing later in life (the median age of mothers at birth of child increased from 26 years in 1971 to 29 years in 1996) and the proportion of births occurring outside wedlock has been increasing (9% in 1971 to 27% in 1996).

Overseas born women had slightly higher fertility than Australian born women but there has been a narrowing of the fertility differentials between these two groups in the 1990s. Women born in Lebanon, China, Viet Nam, Philippines, New Zealand and India had higher fertility than Australian born women in 1994 (BIPR 1995).

Health

By world standards most Australians enjoy good health. Medicare and other government services have made health care more accessible and more affordable for most people. Reductions in mortality and increase in longevity have meant an ageing

population, with consequent increases in the prevalence of both short and long-term health conditions and an increase in the utilisation of health services, such as doctor consultations, dental visits and hospital episodes. In 1985-86 there were 212 hospital separations per 1,000 population, which increased to 285 in 1995-96. The use of Medicare services, after adjusting for the changed age composition of the population, is up from an average of 6.1 services for men and 9.2 services for women in 1985-86 to 8.7 and 12.4 services in 1995-96 for men and women respectively. Despite these trends in service use levels, the average length of stay in the hospital is down from 6.5 days in 1985-86 to 4.3 days in 1995-96 (ABS 1998).

Infant mortality and life expectancy

Two key indicators of the progress with respect to health status of the population are the infant mortality rate and life expectancy at birth. Infant mortality rates (involving death of children under one year of age) have declined from just below 30 children (per 1,000 live births) in the years after World War II to 6 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1996. The majority of infant deaths occur in the first month of life and are due to conditions present since birth. In 1946-50, 71% of all infant deaths occurred within four weeks of life, however medical advances have helped to reduce this proportion to 66% in 1996.

The life expectancy at birth measure indicates the average number of years a newly born child can look forward to live in his/her life if exposed to the death rates for a given period. In 1946-48, the expectation of life at birth for males and females had reached to 66.1 and 70.6 years respectively. Since then, according to the mortality situation in 1994-96, levels of life expectancy at birth have risen to 75.2 years for males and 81.1 for females.

Australia enjoys one of the highest life expectancies among the low mortality countries in the world. Japan had the highest expectation of life at birth of 76.9 years and 82.9 years for males and females respectively in 1995, which is about two years higher than the current levels in Australia.

The gain in the expectancy of life at birth over time has mainly been caused by the reduction in mortality in the younger age groups of the population up to the first 50 years of life. From about the early 1970s, mortality among the elderly (aged 65 years or more) also reduced which added further to the gains in life expectancy. Men benefited most from this decline although men continue to have higher death rates than women at all ages. The difference in the expectancy of life at birth was 4.6 years in favour of girls in 1946-48 rising to 7.1 years in 1980-82. A fall then followed such that in 1994-96 the sex differential reduced to 5.8 years. Much of the sex differential in expectancy of life is due to excess mortality of men than women aged 65 years or over.

Estimates prepared by Kliewer et al (1996) indicate that the overseas born population had slightly lower mortality and longer life expectancy (about one year more at age 40) than their Australian born counterparts in the early 1990s. The difference has been postulated to be due to migrant health checks before immigration, their diet and lifestyle in Australia.

Causes of death

The general pattern of mortality decline over this century has been the declining significance of infectious diseases and the increasing significance of chronic diseases such as cancer and diseases of the circulatory system, and deaths due to motor vehicle and other accidents. Diseases such as diphtheria, polio, tetanus and tuberculosis are now rare and seldom fatal. As a proportion of all deaths, those from infectious diseases declined from 19% in 1921 to 1% in 1995 (ABS 1997).

The four leading causes of death, contributing to two-thirds of all deaths in 1996, were heart attack (23%), cancer (28%), stroke (10%) and respiratory disease (5.5%). Death rates from cancer have increased since 1971, while those for heart attacks and strokes have decreased. Death rates for respiratory diseases increased since 1971 for women, but decreased for men.

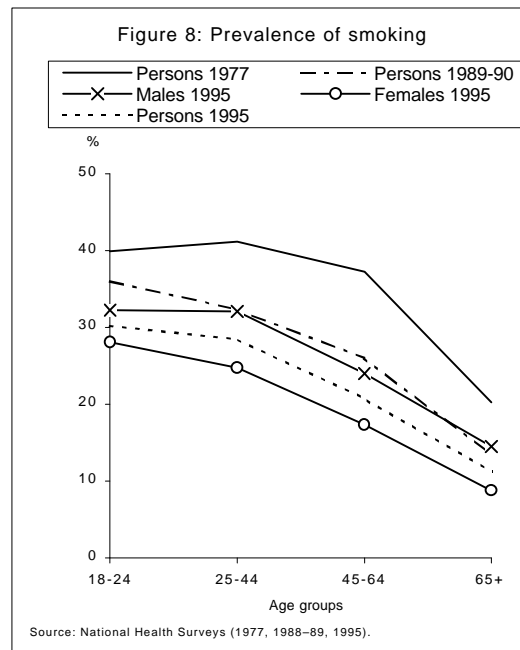
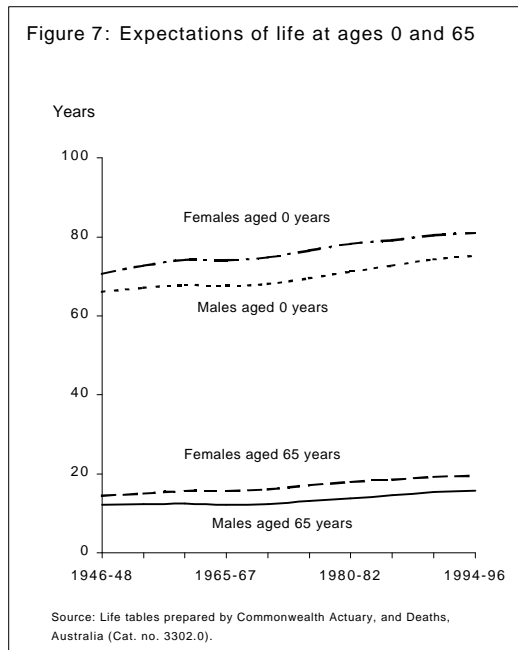
Deaths due to the leading causes usually take place at advanced ages (median age was over 75 years in 1992). Deaths due to some other causes occur earlier in life, for example deaths due to motor vehicle accidents (median age of 35 years for men and 54 years for women) and suicide (median age of 45 years for men and 50 years for women) (ABS 1994).

Health risk factors

The risk of exposure to illness, injury or death at any age is dependent on a wide range of biological and environmental factors. Some of these relate to lifestyle choices such as smoking and alcohol consumption.

Information obtained from ABS National Health surveys reveal that the prevalence of smoking has been declining. In 1977, 37% of the adult population were smokers, the proportion reduced to 28% in 1989-90 and to 24% in 1995. In 1995, approximately 3.2 million adult Australians were smokers. Those most likely to smoke were people aged 18-24 years, followed by those aged 25-44 years. More men than women smoked at all ages. In 1995, the proportion of adult overseas born people who had been smokers (including current smokers) was identical to Australian born people (51%). However, people born in New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Ireland and other Western European countries had a higher prevalence (of around 60%) compared to those born in Asia (a prevalence of less than 30%).

National Health Survey data also indicates that the proportion of the adult population aged 15 years and over who consume alcohol has decreased from 63% in 1989-90 to 55% in 1995 and that decreases have occurred in all categories of 'risk level' of alcohol consumption defined in the surveys. More men than women consume alcohol, and the proportion of population consuming alcohol rises with increases in age. Consumption of alcohol at the 'high' level, however, has a prevalence which is highest in the younger age groups of the population (aged 15-34). This is likely to be a factor in accounting for higher mortality rates from motor vehicle accidents experienced by this group.



Long-term health conditions

As might be expected from an aging population, the proportion of people with a long-term health condition (one lasting for 6 months or more) has been increasing. In 1995, 75% of the population (73% of the Australian born and 81% overseas born) reported a long-term health condition. The prevalence was higher among the European and American born populations (over 80%) than the Asian born population (60% to 70%), which may be related to the older age profile of persons born in the former group of countries.

Research on how the health of overseas born people (in Australia) compare with those born in Australia is not conclusive. Overseas born people appear to have higher life expectancy, drink and smoke less and take less health related actions. However, among overseas born people the prevalence of long-term health conditions is higher and they are more likely to give a negative assessment of their health status. There is considerable variation in different health status indicators for people born in different countries. For example those born in New Zealand, the USA and Western Europe drink and smoke more but are more likely to assess their own health as being 'good' or 'excellent' than people born in Asia and other countries in Europe and Africa (BIPR 1994).

Aged care

Improving levels of access to aged care services to people from diverse backgrounds has been a key policy objective over the last decade (AIHW 1997). Some indications of differentials in usage patterns is available from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare report. When focussing on people from non-English speaking countries aged 65 and over (which represented 15% of all people in that age group in 1991 and 18% in 1996), the study found that these people represented 13% of home and community care clients (HACC), 19% of community options clients (COP), 22% of

care package clients, 8% of hostel residents and 9% of nursing home residents. The data indicates that older people from non-English speaking backgrounds were more likely to use home-based rather than residential care services.

Education

Education is an activity of great significance in social and economic terms. It is of major economic importance because of the share of total Australian resources it absorbs. In 1996, 7.1% of employed people worked in the education industry and outlays on education represented 5.5% of GDP in 1995-96. These resources went to providing education for 3.1 million school students, 1.4 million students in vocational education and training and 634,000 higher education students.

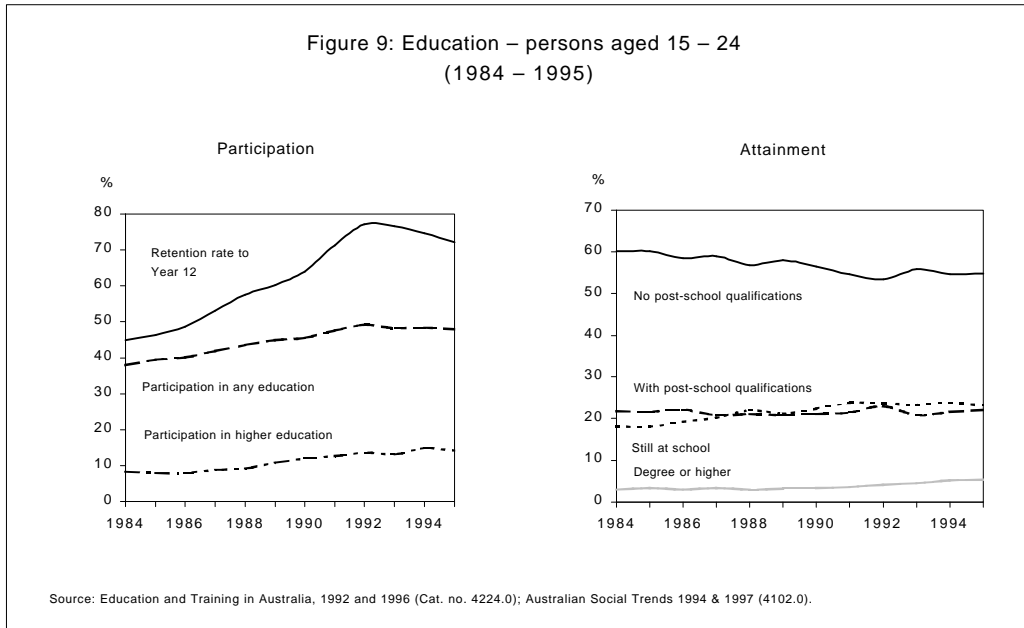
There have been major changes in levels of participation in education in the post-war period. While key indicators of levels of participation in education and educational attainment have become progressively available over more recent decades, it is evident that most of the post-war gains, particularly in the higher levels of education, have occurred in more recent times.

Participation

Education of children aged between 6 and 15 (or 16 in Tasmania) is compulsory in Australia. An indicator of the growing importance attached to school and further education has been the rise in participation rates of 16 to 17 year old students (the ages during which schooling is not compulsory). For those aged 16, the participation rate was 22% in 1956, 58% in 1980 and 83% in 1995. For those aged 17, the corresponding increase was from 8% in 1956 and 30% in 1980 to 67% in 1995.

The apparent retention rate to year 12, which is the percentage of full-time students of a given cohort of children who continued from the first year of secondary schooling to year 12, has increased from around 30-35% in the 1970s to around 70% in the late 1990s. Since 1976, the retention rate for girls has been higher than for boys.

The number of higher education students has more than doubled since 1979 when there were 317,000 students. The participation rate of those aged 15-24 years in higher education has increased from 8.0% in 1986 to 15.5% in 1996. More young women than young men have enrolled in higher education courses since 1987. However, when taking all post-school education into account, men still have higher levels of participation, although the gap between the two sexes is now narrowing.



Educational attainment

As a result of the increased levels of participation in tertiary education and the intake of skilled migrants, the proportion of people with post-school qualifications has been rising. In 1976, 32% of men and 17% of women aged 15 years and over had attained a post-school education. By 1996 these proportions had increased to 42% and 28% for men and women respectively.

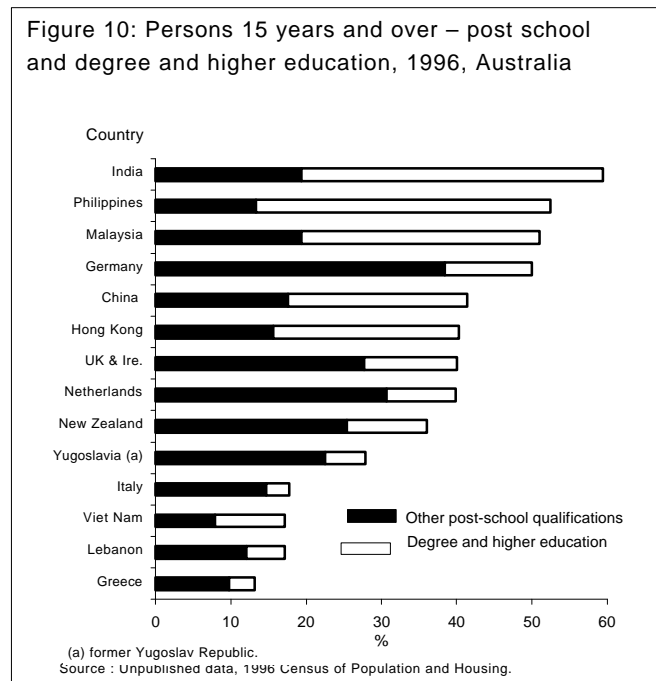
Comparisons of the educational status of 15-24 year olds reveal the effect of recent movements in education participation rates. While 22% of people in this age group had a post-school qualification in both 1984 and 1995, the proportion still at school has increased. Among those who had attained a post school qualification, however, the proportion who had attained a degree or higher qualification increased from 14% to 24%.

Overseas born people, and particularly those who have come to Australia more recently, are generally more likely to have a post-school qualification than people born in Australia. At the 1996 Census, of all persons aged 15 and over, 36% of those born overseas and 33% of Australian born people had a post-school qualification. Overseas born residents from some countries had post-school qualification attainment rates of 50% or more (eg. India, the Philippines and Malaysia). With attainment rates of between 13% and 18% people born in Greece, Lebanon, Viet Nam and Italy were less likely to have attained a post-school qualification.

Literacy

The 1996 Survey of Aspects of Literacy found that there was a strong relationship between the first language spoken and literacy skill level. Of those whose first language was English, 14% were assessed to have very poor English language prose skills (measured in terms of their ability to understand and use information from

newspapers, magazines and brochures). The skill levels of people whose first language was not English, but who were born in Australia, were similar to those of people whose first language was English (17% had very poor prose skills). In contrast, of people whose first language was not English and who were born outside Australia, 55% were assessed to have very poor English language prose skills (ABS 1998).



Economic development

In the post-war period leading to the early 1970s, Australia experienced strong and sustained economic growth. High levels of immigration in the post-war period played a major role in the growth of the economy. Much of the early growth occurred in the manufacturing sector. However, over time, growth in the agriculture, manufacturing and construction industries has declined and been largely overtaken by growth in the finance, insurance, and a diverse number of community service industries. Levels and patterns of international trade have also undergone significant change.

Industry

The change in the structure of employment across different industries over the last decade reflects the general move away from employment in the production industries. Between 1985-86 and 1995-96, the employed labour force increased by 21%, however, employment in the production industries grew by a mere 0.7% (mainly due to an increase in jobs in the construction industry). In all other production industries (namely agriculture, manufacturing, mining and electricity, gas and water supply) there has been a considerable drop in employment. The major shift in employment has occurred with the continued growth of the service sector, with employment growing by 31% between 1985-86 and 1995-96. The main growth areas in the service industry sector (with much of the growth being jobs offered on a part-time basis) have been in property and business services, accommodation, cafes and restaurants, cultural and

recreational services, health and community services, the retail trade and in education. The shift in the proportion of the employed labour force from production to service industries has also altered the balance of blue-collar and white-collar workers. In 1986-87, 41% of employed workers were in blue collar occupations, compared with 36% in 1995-96 (ABS 1997).

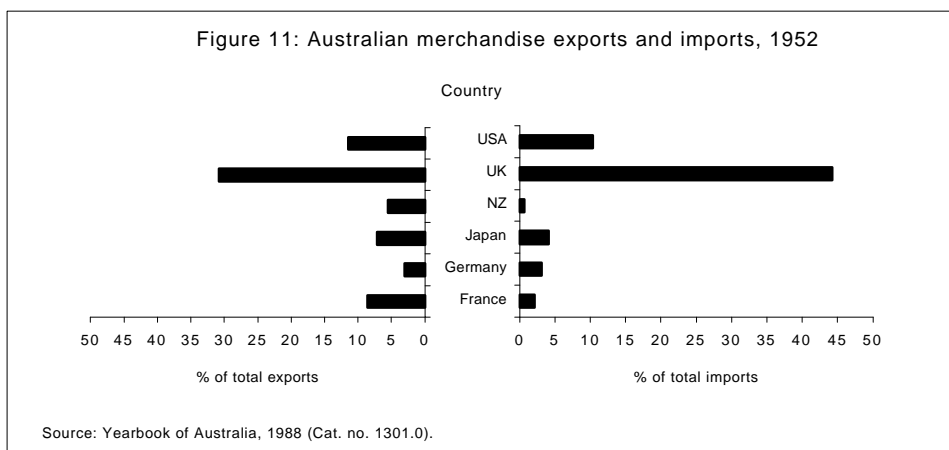
A disproportionate share of migrants in Australia have found employment in the manufacturing industries and in blue-collar occupations. In November 1996, of all migrants aged 18 years and over who arrived between 1971 and 1996, 40% were employed in blue-collar occupations (trade persons and related workers, intermediate, production and transport workers, and labourers and related workers) and 23% in manufacturing industries, compared with 32% and 12% of all Australian born persons employed in those two sectors respectively. Migrants from Europe (excluding United Kingdom and Ireland) were heavily represented in blue-collar occupations (55%) and in manufacturing industries as well (31%) (ABS 1998).

International Trade

Across the developed world, post-war reconstruction and development have led to an increase in demand for goods and services. In Australia, exports and imports increased. Over the post-war period both the types of Australian exports and imports and the source and destination countries with whom Australia has been trading have changed.

Total merchandise imports increased rapidly after World War II, from \$2.1 billion in 1951-52 to \$4.0 billion in 1971-72, \$35 billion in 1986, and to \$78 billion in 1995-96. The value of exports from Australia was similar to that of imports until the early 1980s when the value of imports started to regularly exceed exports. In 1988-89, export of all goods and services as a proportion to GDP stood at 16% and had increased to 20% by 1995-96. Imports represented 18% and 20% of GDP in respective years.

In the early 1950s and 1960s, much of Australia's trade was with the United Kingdom and the USA. The main commodity groups imported were metals, oil, apparel and paper. Australia's main exports were wool, wheat and meat. In the 1970s Australia's major trading partners were Japan, the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, in that order. The main commodities imported were machinery and transport equipment, manufactured goods, and chemicals. The traditional exports of wool, wheat and meat were supplanted by ores and concentrates, coal, and petroleum products, which yielded higher export earnings than the traditional exports. In 1995-96, about 67% of all imports and 76% of all exports have been with APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation) countries, and about 25% of all imports and 11% of all exports have been with countries of the European Union (EU). Thus, over the last decade or so, Australian trade links with Asia have increased while those with Europe have decreased slightly.



Other employment trends

As well as changes in industry and occupation structure the composition and structure of the labour force has changed in other ways. Labour force participation rates of men have declined slightly but increased substantially for women, levels of part-time employment are now much higher, as are levels of unemployment than those observed during the post-war reconstruction period of the 1950s and 1960s.

The size of the labour force increased from 3.2 million people at the 1947 Census to 9.1 million in August 1997. In 1947, the labour force participation rate (labour force as a percent of population aged 15 years and over) was 88% for men and 25% for women. By 1978 the labour force participation rates for men had declined to 78% and by August 1997 to 72%. The lower rate of entry of young people into the labour force (as a result of their greater participation in education) together with the trends towards earlier retirement have accounted for some of this change. In contrast, labour force participation rates of women increased to 44% in 1978 and to 53% in 1997. As a

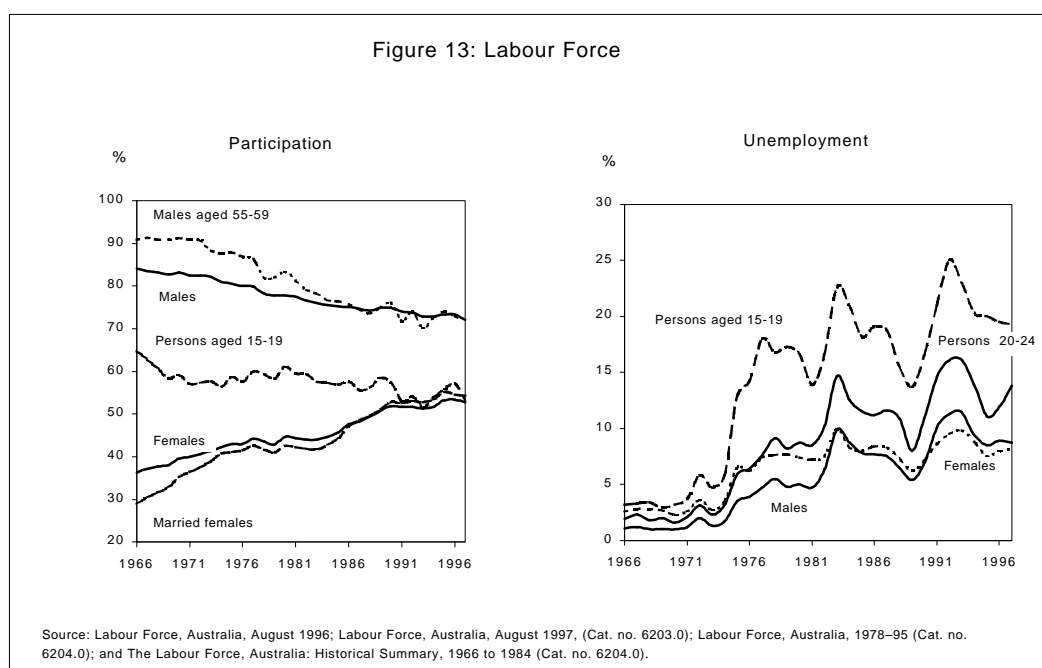
result of these trends, the proportion of men in the labour force has declined from nearly 78% in 1947 to 67% in 1971 and to 57% in August 1997.

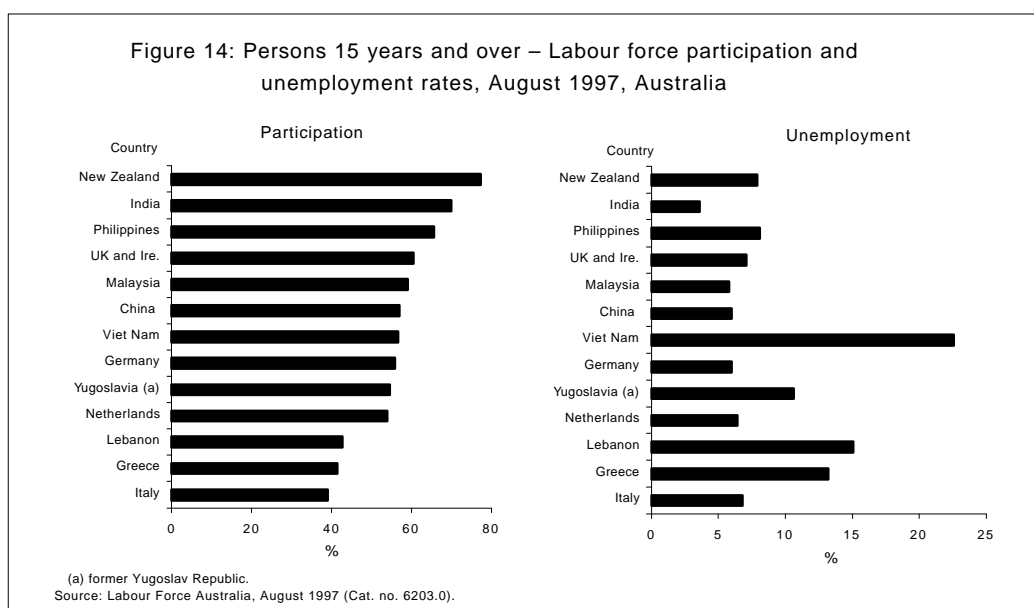
In August 1997, overseas born people had a lower (58%) participation rate than Australian born people in Australia (65%), although at least some of this difference is likely to be associated with the older age profile of the overseas born population. People in New Zealand (77%) had higher participation rates than for those born in Australia while those with comparatively older populations, such as those born in Italy (39%) and Greece (41%), had lower participation rates.

Unemployment

Only a small proportion of the labour force was unemployed during the 1950s and 1960s, but this increased rapidly in the late 1970s. The unemployment rate was under 2% in 1954, increased to 4% in 1961, but dropped back to the 1954 level in 1971. From the early 1970s, the unemployment rate for both men and women, while fluctuating, began climbing, peaking at about 10% in 1983, and slightly higher in 1992-93. There has been some easing in unemployment rates since then. In August 1997, the unemployment rate was 8.7% among men and 8.1% for women. As a group, overseas born people had a higher unemployment rate (9.3%) than those born in Australia (8.1%), but people born in some countries (e.g. New Zealand and North America) had lower unemployment rates. Recently arrived migrants tend to have higher unemployment rates than those who arrived earlier (ABS 1997).

Unemployment rates tend to be higher among young people. The unemployment rates for those aged 15-24 years increased rapidly in the post-1970 period and in 1992 peaked at 25% and 16% for people in the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 respectively. Since then the rise in levels of youth unemployment has been arrested. In August 1997, the rates were 19.3% and 13.8% for these two age groups respectively.





Full and part-time employment

In 1966, nearly 90% of the employed labour force worked full time (ie. 35 or more hours per week). Since then, the proportion involved in part-time work has increased to nearly 26% in August 1997. In August 1997, three times as many women (1.6 million) than men (0.6 million) worked in a part-time job: 44% of employed women worked part time compared to 12% of men. Part-time work among men is concentrated in the younger (15-24) and older (55 and over) age groups, whereas for women, part-time work is common across all age groups, and especially for those with young children.

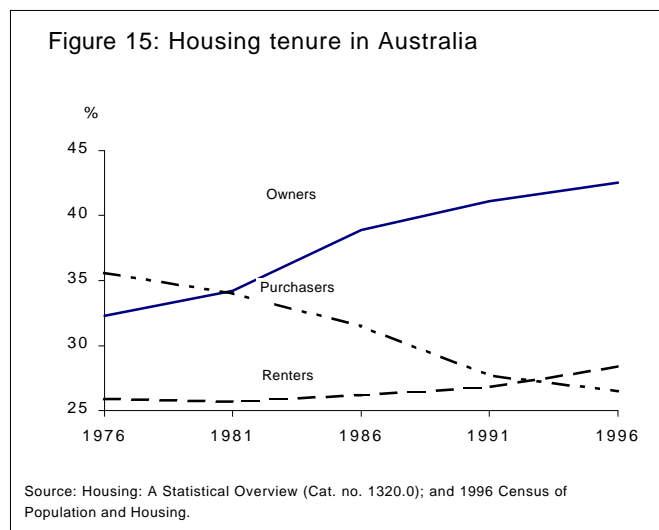
Housing

Housing satisfies the essential needs of people for shelter, security and privacy. The adequacy or otherwise of housing is an important component of individual well-being. Housing also has an enormous significance in the national economy, with its influence on investment levels, interest rates, building activity and employment.

Rapid growth in the stock of housing in the years after the war was supported by the high levels of fertility and migration. The number of occupied dwellings almost doubled from 1.9 million in 1947 to 3.7 million in 1971. Since the 1970s the demand for housing has accelerated even further. In addition to population growth, factors such as the rise in de-facto living, divorce and remarriage, and the ageing of the population have contributed to the processes of household formation. Together with these, economic factors such as the affordability of the house, employment and unemployment, and social factors such as the desire of the young, old, and divorced and separated people to live separately and form their own households had an effect on the demand and the supply of the residential accommodation sought and built. The number of occupied dwellings increased to 6.5 million in 1996.

Tenure type

The separate house is the most popular type of dwelling in Australia, making up 79% of all occupied dwellings in 1995-96. Flats, units or apartments are the next most common type, with 12% of all dwellings falling into this category. Semi-detached, row or terrace houses and town houses comprised 8% of dwellings in Australia. Much of the growth in medium density housing and of high rise apartments occurred in the post-1966 period.



At the 1991 Census, living in a separate dwelling was slightly lower among overseas born households (75%) compared with Australian born households (79%). Migrants with longer periods of residence in Australia were more likely to live in separate dwellings than the recently arrived migrants, for example those born in Asia (BIPR 1994).

Australia has a high rate of home ownership. At the 1947 Census, 53% of the occupied private dwellings were either owned or being purchased by a household member. Home ownership increased to 71% by 1961 and has remained at about that level since. The proportion of dwellings owned outright to total occupied dwellings however increased from 32% in 1976 to nearly 43% in 1996. A slight upward movement in proportion of households renting their dwelling has also occurred over recent years. At the 1991 Census, the extent of home ownership among the overseas born and the Australian born was very similar (BIPR 1994).

Reflecting the general increase in living standards, the size of new private dwellings has been on the rise. The average floor area of new private sector houses built in 1986 was 178 square meters; it increased to 205 square meters for houses built in 1996. The average number of rooms per occupied private dwelling has also increased. In 1971, nearly 64% of all occupied private dwellings had three or more bedrooms, whereas in 1996 this proportion had risen to 72% (ABS 1998). Despite the increase in the area and the number of bedrooms in the dwellings, the average number of persons per household has decreased from 3.6 persons in the 1950s to 3.1 in 1976, 2.9 in 1986, and 2.7 in 1996. Declines in fertility levels and an increase in one parent and lone person households have contributed to these trends.

Income

The economic well-being of the population is dependent upon the resources available to provide for the consumption of goods and services. Such resources are in the form of cash income received from wages and salaries or investments, or as income support from government and other welfare agencies. Government programs aim to help the economically disadvantaged to achieve social and economic well-being and to participate in society. These programs include those which provide income security for the retired, people with disabilities, carers, unemployed people and families with children, war veterans, war widows and their families, and students. To some groups other indirect benefits are provided, such as pensioner concession and health cards. In 1995-96, the Australian government spent \$37 billion on income support payments, representing 7.4% of GDP.

Gross domestic product

A general indicator of changes in levels of economic prosperity in a country can be observed from the value of its gross domestic product (GDP). This measure is based on the total value of goods and services produced after deducting the cost of goods and services used up in the process of production but before allowances for depreciation of the fixed capital assets. As more than one-half of the GDP comprises salary and wage income, changes in GDP reflect changes in individual incomes.

There has been a sustained growth in GDP in the post-war period. When measured in terms of constant (1989-90) prices GDP doubled from \$70 billion to \$141 billion between 1948-49 and 1965-and again to \$280 billion in 1983-84. In 1996-97, the value of GDP (at 1989-90 prices) was \$451 billion. When standardised for the growth in population, GDP per capita increased from \$9,000 in 1948-49 and \$18,300 in 1979-80 to \$24,400 in 1996-97.

Household income and distribution

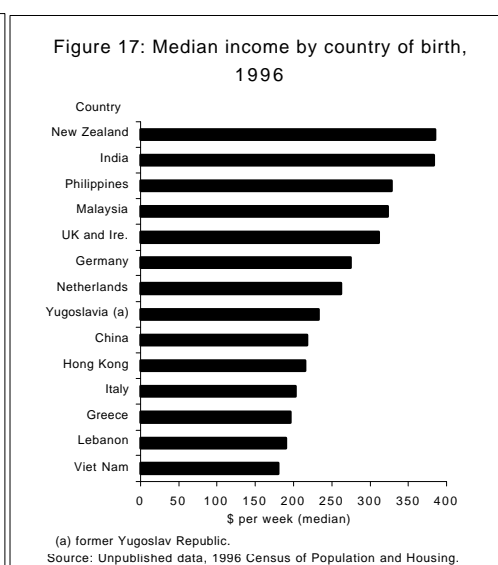
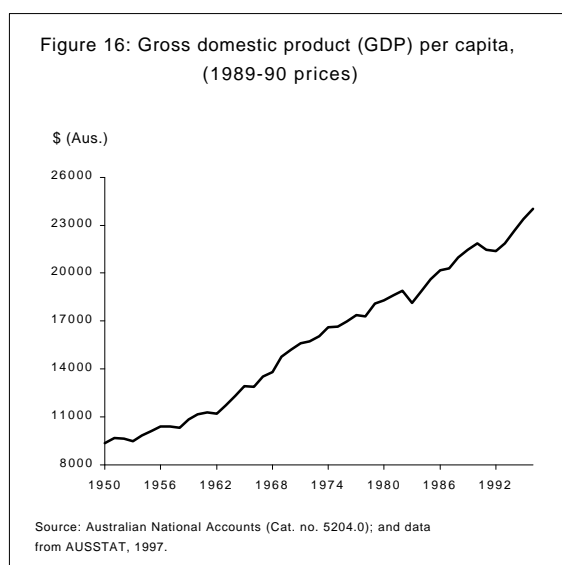
The most recent ABS Survey of Income and Housing Costs conducted in 1995-96 indicated that the median gross (before tax) weekly income of a couple with dependent children was \$849 per week while that for a lone parent was \$352 per week. The main source of income was from wages and salaries (56%), followed by government pension and allowances (29%) for most income units. The 'own business' and 'other private income' together was the main source of income of about 14% of income units in equal proportions.

Income is not uniformly distributed among households. In 1993-94, the 20% of households with the highest incomes received 40% of total household disposable (after tax) income. The bottom 20% of households received a 6% share. Between 1984 and 1993-94, the disposable income of households in the lowest income quintile increased by 52% (from \$115 to \$175 per week) while those of households in the highest income quintile increased by 71% (from \$703 to \$1,205 per week) (ABS 1997).

The lowest quintile group comprised a large proportion of households formed by single people living on their own. One-person households increased from 19% in

1984 to 22% in 1993-94, and aged one-person households from 8% to 9% over the same time span. Fewer members of these households were employed and most relied on government pensions and allowances as their principal source of income. On the other hand, households in the highest quintile group were usually couples (with and without dependent children) who both worked. The principal source of income was wages and salaries, with very few relying on government pensions and allowances. These trends have contributed to the increased inequality of household incomes (ABS 1997)

The level of income among overseas born residents differs considerably. The 1996 Census revealed that median income of individuals aged 15 years and over was \$292 per week. Overseas born residents had a median income of \$275 per week compared with \$302 per week for Australian born residents. Among people from particular countries, New Zealanders and Indians had the highest median incomes while those from Viet Nam, Greece and Italy had comparatively low incomes. The older age profile of people born in some overseas countries, such as Italy and Greece, helps to account for their lower average incomes. Higher proportions of these people are dependent on age related government support payments, such as the age and the disability support pension.



Government allowances and benefits

Overseas born residents tend to be over represented among social security benefit recipients. Among all people aged 16 years and over, individuals born overseas represented 26% of the total population in 1996 but 29% of the population receiving a pension or benefit from the Department of Social Security. Among the largest birthplace groups those born in Italy, Greece, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia (all with typically older age profiles than the Australian born population) had in excess of 35% of their populations receiving a pension or benefit. As a group, people born in the south-east Asian countries of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia had social security recipient rate of 31%. Other more recently arrived birthplace groups, including those

from China, the Philippines, Malaysia and Hong Kong, had recipient rates of 20% or less, in part reflecting their lower age profiles (ABS 1997).

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PART 2: MIGRANT NUMBERS, ASIAN IMMIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM: TRENDS IN THE POLLS, 1943-1998 ³

Introduction

To what extent has public opinion on the size of the immigration program, the composition of the migrant intake, or the number of refugees, changed since the war? Do Australians want a policy that discriminates on the basis of race or region or are they prepared to back a non-discriminatory policy? Does the public believe that settlement policies should encourage migrants to assimilate or have most people embraced the idea of multiculturalism?

One way of answering these questions is to review the considerable volume of data produced over the last fifty years or more by polling organisations contracted to the press, by market research organisations working for other clients and by researchers working in the academy. Most of the findings have been generated by polling organisations whose work is commissioned by the press; these date from the establishment of the Australian (Morgan) Gallup Poll in the early 1940s and encompass the polls produced in the 1970s and beyond by ANOP, McNair Anderson (later AGB: McNair), Irving Saulwick and Associates and Newspoll. In addition, number of market research organisations have conducted surveys for clients other than the press; in the 1980s, for example, both McNair Anderson and Reark Research, conducted surveys for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. These can be supplemented by academic surveys; most notably, the Australian National Political Attitudes Surveys undertaken in 1967, 1969-70 and 1979.

This review is largely restricted to opinion polls that have drawn on national samples, to other surveys of this kind that are open to public view and to questions about immigration and cognate matters which have been included in such polls or surveys on a number of occasions across a reasonably long time-span. It largely ignores: surveys based on single cities (other than Sydney or Melbourne) or on specific sub-groups (where these are smaller than the workforce); surveys which have not been published; and questions which span a period of less than ten years.

Polls commissioned by the press concentrate on issues that the media consider newsworthy; the absence of polling generally indicates that whatever the matter's importance it does not figure prominently as an issue of contention in the public domain. As a result there are moments when polling can be quite intense and long periods when even important issues, like immigration, drop off the pollsters' agendas. During 1984, in the course of a debate on immigration occasioned by Professor Blainey, five polls were published on the size of the immigration intake; between 1977 and 1981, when Asian immigration had been less of an issue, there were none.

Finding out what people think, or tracking changes in their opinions, is also made difficult by differences in the way issues are addressed. When, for example, respondents are asked how many migrants should be allowed to enter the country, the answers they give will depend on whether they are told the size of the current

³ Prepared by Professor Murray Goot, Professor of Politics at Macquarie University

immigration program or not told and simply asked to nominate their own figure. Again, questions which offer a middle option typically suggest a less polarised pattern of opinion than questions which demand a 'Yes' or 'No' response. And the context in which a question is asked can matter as well; respondents have just committed themselves to the view that we need fewer (or more) migrants may be less (or more) sympathetic to the case for having fewer (or more) migrants of a particular kind.

Aspects of an issue on which the polls focus are usually those that respondents might be expected to know something about and in respect of which they may have formed an opinion. Typically, however, this is assumed rather than demonstrated; respondents are not often asked whether they have heard of an issue and rarely are they invited to say that they don't care about it or have no opinion to offer. The language in which the questions are couched and the categories within which respondents are asked to respond are determined by the polling organisations not by the people they interview.

Until the 1970s, public opinion polls were overwhelmingly concerned with public policy issues; of the 4,000 or so questions asked by the Morgan poll in the first thirty years of its existence as many as four per cent touched on immigration. After 1971, when polling became more competitive, the questions most frequently asked in the polls were not concerned with issues of public policy but with federal and State voting intentions, leadership approval and with respondents' preferred Prime Minister or premier. So while the number of questions asked increased more than four-fold, the proportion devoted to immigration and related matters sharply declined.⁴

The questions on immigration asked most frequently by the polling organisations and other survey researchers, since the 1940s, have concerned migrant numbers; for the period 1951 (when the first question was asked) to 1997 more than 50 questions on this topic can be identified. In addition, there are more than 30 questions, asked between 1943 and 1997, which allow us to trace changing attitudes towards admitting migrants from Asia; and a slightly smaller number of questions, commissioned between 1966 and 1996, which allow us to track changing views about whether the number of Asians admitted has been too many, about right or too few. By contrast, polling between 1972 and 1996 produced only four questions that addressed the more abstract issue of whether Australia should have a non-discriminatory immigration policy.

On refugee numbers - displaced persons after World War II (1947-1949); refugees from Indo-China (1975-1993) in more recent times - the pattern of polling is mixed: just three questions relate to the first wave; six times that number were prompted by the second. The difference partly reflects the fact that in the 1940s there was only one national polling organisation; but it also suggests that the controversy generated by the arrival of Vietnamese refugees was greater than that generated by the refugees from Europe.

No questions were asked about assimilation, until 1972 - a sign, again, of the relatively uncontroversial nature of the policy up to that time. On multiculturalism, no questions were asked until 1988, the year when bi-partisan support for the policy

⁴ See Murray Goot *et al.*, *Australian Opinion Polls 1941-1990: An Index* Vol. I 1941-1977, Vol. II 1977-1990, Port Melbourne: DW Thorpe, 1993.

came under strain. Even then, few questions appeared in the polls; most appeared in other places.

On a number of other aspects of the immigration program - for example, the proportion of places allocated to skilled migrants, the level of business migration, or the handling of family reunions - there are no substantial time-series data at all. This is partly because questions to do with these things have not often been asked and partly because when they have been asked they have taken forms which make comparisons over time very difficult.

Within these constraints, what do the polls and other surveys suggest about trends in public opinion? On migrant numbers, the composition of the intake and refugees, they suggest three things. First, that support for the size of the immigration program peaked in the 1960s; since the mid-1980s the size of the migrant intake has failed to secure majority support. Second, that until the early 1980s, when unemployment was less of an issue and the proportion of Asian migrants relatively low, the size of the Asian intake, too, had majority support; since then it hasn't. And third, that fluctuations in the levels of opposition to (or support for) Indo-Chinese refugees to a large extent have been a function of the questions asked; the levels vary because some questions have invited more favourable responses than others.

What this says about the public's willingness to make good its notional support for a non-discriminatory immigration policy is unclear. Widespread opposition to the number of Asians entering the country may represent a rejection of the principle of non-discrimination; it may simply be part of a wider view that there are too many migrants of any kind coming to Australia; or it may signify the rejection of a 'biased' immigration policy in the name of non-discrimination itself.

On the question of assimilationism versus multiculturalism, the surveys suggest that the public subscribes to both. It appears to recognise the inevitability, even the advantages, of a society which in many respects is culturally diverse while at the same time wanting migrants in other respects to be 'one of us'.

Immigration Levels

For parts of the 1950s and throughout the 1960s - the post-war decade when settler arrivals were at their highest - Australia's immigration program enjoyed widespread public support. When it took its first sounding on the issue, in 1951, the Morgan poll reported that the majority of respondents thought 'the number of people coming to live in Australia' was 'about right' or 'too few' rather than 'too many'. In 1953, it recorded a similar result. But a year earlier, the balance had been reversed; and for much of the 'fifties, while the balance of opinion favoured the sorts of numbers the government was allowing in, majorities in favour were fairly narrow.

It was from the late 'fifties to the beginning of the 1970s, that immigration received its broadest backing. At its highest point, when the program was bringing up to 180,000 migrants a year, as many as three-quarters of those polled by Morgan thought the number of people coming to settle was 'about right' or even 'too few'; in the mid-'sixties, no more than one-in-five of those polled said the number of arrivals was 'too many'.

Since those days Australia's annual migrant intake has only occasionally met with majority support. Of the 38 polls conducted between 1971 and 1997, only three report majorities for maintaining or increasing the intake. Most of the polls, especially those taken since the mid-1980s, have registered majority opposition. See Table 1, attached, for further information.

While one can readily identify the early 1970s as a turning point, subsequent shifts are more difficult to track. In some cases, years elapsed before a question was repeated. In others, comparisons are made difficult by variations in the way questions about immigration were phrased - a consequence, in part, of the emergence of new polling organisations. And there are variations, too, in the context in which the questions were asked.

The difficulties generated by gaps in the data are easy to illustrate. On the standard Morgan question, for example, support for the size of the immigration intake fell, between 1970 and 1984, by 20 to 30 percentage points; but, since no similar question was asked during the intervening years, it is impossible to say whether this fall was gradual or quite sudden. By 1988, half this loss appears to have been reversed. But by 1992, on this measure, the level of support had dropped back to its 1984 level. In 1996, responses to the question (this time asked by AGB: McNair) suggested that another rise in support might be some way off.

That variations in the wording of questions can have a dramatic effect is readily demonstrated as well. Between 1988 and 1990, for example, a Morgan series suggested that the public was evenly divided over the size of the migrant intake; public opinion did not oppose the size of the annual intake until a year or two later. But the pattern of response to a separate set of questions asked by Saulwick suggests that public opinion was overwhelmingly opposed to the level of immigration throughout. In the Morgan poll respondents were given three options; in the Saulwick survey they were given four - to have a greater number of migrants than the number the government had announced; to have the same number; to have a lesser number; or to have no migrants at all. The decision to have two reduce options (Saulwick) rather than one (Morgan) is likely to have made a decisive difference.

Context can make a difference, too. In 1988, the year of the FitzGerald Report, the polls asked more questions about migrant numbers - and recorded a greater spread of results - than in any year before or since. Saulwick, for reasons we have already noted, recorded the lowest level of support (30 per cent) for the governments target; Morgan's figure (49 per cent) was much higher; AGB: McNair's (56 per cent) was higher still. Like the question asked by Saulwick, the one posed by AGB: McNair offered two 'reduce' options (balanced, in a formal sense, by two 'increase' options). But AGB: McNair's respondents, unlike Saulwick's, had just been asked whether it was 'important that we make use of the skills and education of all immigrants.' And having agreed that more use should be made of migrants' skills, many respondents might have found it hard to say that they wanted fewer of them.

While there is clear evidence of majority opposition to the size of the migrant intake through most of the 1980s and 1990s, this does not mean that the issue of immigration has weighed very heavily on the public. Asked by Morgan, in a series of surveys

conducted between 1982 and 1998, to nominate (unaided) the 'three issues the government should be doing something about', immigration was mentioned more often than some issues but much less often than others. The median score for immigration has been about 10 per cent - 9 per cent, since 1992 - a figure which (for the last eight comparable surveys, 1992-1998), is rather higher than the figure for defence, the republic, or Aborigines but well below the figure for unemployment, the economy, social welfare and the aged, health or education. See Table 2, attached, for further information.

In a similar series, conducted by Newspoll since 1989, respondents have been asked which of a dozen issues (immigration among them) would be 'very important, fairly important or not important' to how they personally 'would vote in a federal election'. Here the proportion of respondents (31 per cent to 48 per cent) whom have said that immigration would be 'very important' to how they voted seems high, especially when placed alongside the Morgan results. But any comparison between the two sets of responses needs to be treated with caution. First, Newspoll boosts the number of references to immigration (and to any of the other issues) by the very act of listing it; if it were not mentioned in the question it would elicit only a fraction of the responses. Second, the idea that anything like a third, let alone a half, of the electorate is influenced in any very important way by any issue is difficult to take seriously; respondents may tell pollsters that any number of issues is 'very important' but every psephologist knows that such confessions need to be taken with a large grain of salt. Third, even if it were true that issues mattered in the way Newspoll suggests, on its own reckoning immigration ranks quite low; few issues have ranked below it. See Table 3, attached, for further information.

If there is a relationship between the level of concern with immigration and the emergence of either Pauline Hanson or the Pauline Hanson One Nation Party, neither the Morgan nor the Newspoll results show it. On the contrary, on the last occasion before the 1996 election on which Morgan posed its question the proportion of respondents who nominated immigration as one of the 'three issues the government should be doing something about' fell rather than rose. Newspoll's figures, too, point to a decline, between the end of 1994 and the beginning of 1996, in the number who rated immigration a 'very important' election issue. On Newspoll's figures, the rise in the electoral salience of immigration post-dated Pauline Hanson's first parliamentary speech; it didn't precede it. By January 1998, the issue had dropped back to around the level registered by Newspoll before she entered Parliament.

Asian Immigration

In the war and early post-war years, when White Australia seemed secure, opposition to Australia's taking any 'coloured' migrants was widespread. Certainly, most of those interviewed by the Gallup Poll balked at the idea of admitting '50 people a year from each and every country' from which people were 'not allowed to come and live'; nor were they impressed by the suggestion that Australia should admit 'limited numbers' of 'coloured people such as Chinese and Indians'.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, when organisations like the Immigration Reform Group were arguing for an end to the White Australia Policy, opposition to the idea of Asian immigration of any kind had declined. For the first time, in 1958, the majority

of respondents to the Morgan poll did not oppose Australia's taking 50 people a year from each of the countries from which migrants were not then accepted. The following year, when the poll raised the possibility of allowing 'a certain number of Asians to settle here each year', the majority agreed.

Nonetheless, through the early 1960s substantial opposition to Asian immigration - even, or especially, to Asian migrants who were skilled - showed no sign of abating. Between 1960 and 1963, roughly a third of those interviewed by Morgan rejected the idea of 'a reasonable number' or 'quota' of Asians with 'skilled occupations' coming 'to live in Australia permanently'; even the idea that 'some' might come proved unacceptable.

Not until the mid-1960s, when Morgan dropped the link between Asian migration and the economy - or at least stopped focusing on Asian migrants with skills - did the level of opposition decline. Thus, when respondents were asked whether 'migrants from Asia' should be 'allowed here without restriction, on a selective basis, or not at all', only one-in-six of those interviewed said 'not at all'. When respondents were told that the government was admitting a certain number of Asians, the proportion opposed to admitting any Asians remained steady.

Other polls from the 1960s and 'seventies tell a slightly different story. According to one survey, conducted in 1963 by Alan Hughes, opinion in Melbourne was evenly divided between those who favoured 'greater numbers of Asians' being allowed 'to settle' in Australia and those who thought 'the White Australia Policy should be kept as it is'. His question, however, set the hurdle higher than Morgan's: to be counted as an opponent of White Australia in Hughes' survey, respondents had to indicate a preference for more Asians not just a willingness to accept some. National surveys, conducted in the late 'sixties by Don Aitkin, offer more persuasive evidence that the level of support for keeping Asians out was greater than that indicated by the response to Morgan's question. More than one-in-five of Aitkin's respondents agreed that 'Asians should not be allowed to enter Australia as migrants' (7 per cent, 1967; 5 per cent, 1969-70), or that 'we should only allow people from Britain and Northern Europe to enter Australia' (20 per cent, 1967; 16 per cent, 1969-70). This suggests that in the 1960s it may have been easier to express a preference for European migrants than to voice one's opposition to migrants from Asia; if so, by 1979 the difference had disappeared. We should also note that, in response to a 1971 question on whether they approved or disapproved of 'coloured' migrants settling in Australia, as many as a third (35 per cent) of those interviewed by ANOP said they disapproved of such migrants.

Since the 1970s, different sorts of surveys have reported widely differing levels of support for excluding migrants from Asia. Figures from the 1987 Australian Election Survey, based on a re-run of the Aitkin question, suggest that the level of support for excluding Asians was no greater than 10 per cent; a 1984 McNair Anderson survey, in which respondents were offered a different set of choices, found that over a quarter (27 per cent) of those interviewed wanted no immigrants from Asia; while ten years later, asked to respond to the words 'Asian immigration', half (51 per cent) of those interviewed by John Henningham said 'No'. How many might have said 'No' ten or twenty years earlier is, of course, impossible to say. See Table 4, attached, for further information.

In 1966, the year which marks the end - or the beginning of the end - of the White Australia policy, the Morgan poll began to elicit opinions about the number of Asian migrants entering the country. Those with a view on the matter were inclined to think the number of Asian settlers was about right or too low. (The proportion with a view on the matter was very high when respondents were given a particular number but much lower when they had to nominate an appropriate number themselves).

From the early 1980s, the balance of opinion changed. As unemployment rose to be consistently greater than 6 per cent and the proportion of Asians in the migrant intake grew to around 40 per cent, majority support for the annual intake of Asian settlers turned to majority opposition. From 1984, around the time of Professor Blainey's intervention; through 1998, the year that Mr Howard, the then Leader of the Opposition expressed his desire to see Asian immigration reduced; to 1996, when Ms Hanson called for cuts to Asian migration; most, though not all, of the polls showed that respondents thought the number of Asians settling in Australia was too many. See Table 5, attached, for further information.

Most of the polls, however, also report widespread support for a non-discriminatory policy. There are two ways of resolving this paradox. One is to suppose that respondents are hypocrites - or happy to tease: that they find it easy to affirm non-discriminatory principles, but difficult to let them influence their judgements. The second is to suppose that respondents really are committed to non-discriminatory principles but either think too many Asians are coming (because they believe too many migrants of *any* kind are coming) or think the system of selection itself is weighted in favour of Asians. There is no need to choose among these possibilities; there is almost certainly something in each. See Table 6, attached, for further information.

Refugees

The first refugees after the war were displaced persons from Europe, the first significant group of non-British migrants to enter the country since Federation. But the polling they occasioned was much less intense than that prompted thirty years later by the arrival of refugees from Indo-China, the largest group of non-European migrants allowed to settle since the end of the White Australia Policy. The alternatives posed by the polls in respect of the Europeans were also less drastic than they were in respect of the Indo-Chinese; and the opinions expressed in the 1940s, arguably, were more favourable than those recorded thirty or forty years later.

At the end of 1949, most of those interviewed by Morgan agreed that the 'many thousands of non-British immigrants, mostly displaced persons', who had 'come to Australia from the continent of Europe since the war' would be 'good' for Australia in 'the long run'. A year earlier, a third (36 per cent) had been unable to say what a displaced person was; in 1947, the majority of respondents (55 per cent) could not say. See Table 7, attached, for further information.

In late 1977, after the first of the Vietnamese refugees had landed in Darwin in small boats, almost everyone had heard of them. But although their numbers ran to hundreds

rather than thousands, most (60 per cent) of those interviewed by Morgan wanted to accept only a limited number of them; how limited, many could not say.

In that poll, one-in-five wanted the boat people stopped from 'staying here'. But at various times between 1978 and 1993, just over a quarter (28 per cent) to just under a half (44 per cent) of those interviewed would have 'sent them back'; and many of those who did not want them sent back (27 per cent in a 1978 poll; 39 per cent, in 1979) told McNair Anderson that the federal government ought to 'make special efforts to get some other country to take them' rather than 'take a lenient view and allow them to stay'. In those polls not much more than a quarter (29 per cent, in 1978; 27 per cent in 1979) chose the third alternative: to 'take a lenient view and allow them to settle here'.

A different set of alternatives brought a different pattern of response. When McNair Anderson, in two other polls conducted in 1979, asked whether the number of Indo-Chinese refugees the government had promised to take was 'too high, too low or about right for Australia', the proportion who replied that it was 'too low' or 'about right' was nearly half (47 per cent) - not, as the other question might have led one to expect, a little over a quarter.

Supplementing or correcting the information that respondents had at their disposal may also have had an effect. In another 1979 poll, again conducted by McNair Anderson, respondents were asked how many Indo-Chinese refugees had come to Australia since 1975 (about a quarter overestimated the number), then told the correct number and asked whether 'this level of acceptance' was 'too high, too low or about right'. This time, over half (55 per cent) of those interviewed said it was 'too low' or 'about right'. In 1986, after Reark had explained to respondents that in 'recent years' the proportion of 'our migrants' who had come as 'refugees and displaced persons' had been '10 per cent' or '15 per cent', no fewer than 59 per cent of those interviewed agreed that the refugee intake should be 'increased' or 'kept at its present level'.

Cultural Diversity

While a policy which favoured assimilation gave way, in the 1970s, to one which mandated multiculturalism, evidence from the polls suggests that most Australians are prepared to endorse both views in more or less the same breath. This dual endorsement is not necessarily contradictory or even especially odd. Official renderings of multiculturalism have almost always stressed both. Thus, in 1989, when the Government described multiculturalism as a public policy designed to respond to the 'cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia' it immediately added that the policy was subject to a series of 'limits'. These 'limits' included requiring 'all Australians to accept the basic structures and principles of Australian society'.⁵

Estimates of support for statements of an assimilationist kind, reported in national surveys, suggest majority support - though not strong or intense support - for the view that migrants should try to 'forget their old national customs', adopt 'the Australian

⁵ Office of Multicultural Affairs, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia ... Sharing Our Future* Canberra: AGPS, 1989; see also, *Multicultural Australia: The Way Forward* National Multicultural Advisory Council, 1997, p.6.

way of life' and 'live and behave the way the majority of Australians do'. See Table 8, attached, for further information.

Reactions to propositions with a strongly multicultural flavour are also suggest majority support - though, again, not strong or intense support - for the view that 'ethnic' groups should not be criticised if they 'want to mix mostly with themselves'; that migrants should be able to 'become Australians without giving up their own culture'; and that multiculturalism promotes fairness, is necessary for a harmonious society and should not be abolished. See Table 9, attached, for further information.

What is most striking about the two sets of responses is that majority support for assimilationist and multiculturalist views co-exist not only in the same period but in the same surveys: in the 1988-89 AGB McNair survey, in the 1994 Saulwick survey and in the 1995 National Social Science Survey. The fact that neither set of prescriptions wins strong support makes it possible for respondents to move between them with little difficulty.

Conclusion

Australia may be 'a nation of migrants' but the proportion of the pollsters' output concerned with immigration and related issues has always been small. Since the days when the number of arrivals was at its height, when the White Australia Policy seemed secure and when assimilation seemed as straight-forward as it was desirable, the relative effort devoted by pollsters to immigration issues has declined.

One reason why immigration issues are not polled more frequently may be that, for the most part, the electorate doesn't rate their importance very highly. This is true whether we compare immigration to other issues raised spontaneously in interviews, or immigration with other issues when such comparisons have been explicitly invited.

Aside from question of salience, there are three broad implications to be drawn from the findings of the polls. The first is that attitudes to immigration are not directly related to the size of the intake: enlarging the program won't, in itself, weaken its support; reducing numbers won't strengthen it. In the 1960s, when the popularity of immigration was at its height, the number of migrants - in absolute numbers and in relation to population size - was also at its height. In the 1990s, the immigration program has lacked widespread popular support notwithstanding cuts in the overall numbers.

Second, support for immigration appears to be related to trends in unemployment. It is surely no accident that the sea-change of the 1980s, from majority support (for the size of the immigration program in general and the number of Asian migrants in particular) to majority opposition, coincided with the growth of unemployment. Opposition is unlikely to be reversed until unemployment itself subsides.

The third implication has to do with the possibilities of opinion leadership. Notwithstanding the constraints imposed by the level of unemployment, there appears to be some scope for opinions to be changed or at least for the expression of quite different sorts of opinions to be encouraged. On the evidence of the polls: support for immigration can be readily reduced by questions which lack 'balance'; support for

refugees is greater when respondents are asked to pass judgement on the relatively benign policies of government than when they are confronted by the much more ruthless alternatives of those who would send them back; and multiculturalist positions can be just as attractive as assimilationist ones.

In short, the public is capable of responding in quite different ways to particular issues - the pattern of response depending on which of the public's conflicting predispositions are mobilised. The idea, for example, that assimilationist policies are what 'ordinary' Australians really want and that multiculturalism is nothing more than the ideal of a self-appointed elite, is unsustainable. The bulk of the electorate is capable of endorsing both.

Summary of tables attached:

TABLE 1	Whether the number of migrants entering Australia is too many, too few or about right, national samples, 1951-1997.
TABLE 2	The three most important things the government should be doing something about (unaided) Morgan Poll, 1982-1998
TABLE 3	Electoral issues rated 'very important', Newspoll, 1989-1998 (aided)
TABLE 4	Support for White Australia or for Australia's taking no more Asian migrants, 1943 - 1994
TABLE 5	Whether the number of Asian migrants entering Australia is too many, too few or about right, 1966-1996
TABLE 6	Support for a non-discriminatory immigration policy, 1972 - 1996.
TABLE 7	Whether Australia should take more, less or the same number of displaced Europeans and refugees from Indo-China, 1947-1993
TABLE 8	Support for assimilation, 1972-1997
TABLE 9	Support for multiculturalism, 1988-1997

TABLE 1 Whether the number of migrants entering Australia is too many, too few or about right, national samples, 1951-1997.

Date	Poll	Too Many	About Right	+ Too Few	= Total Support	DK	n	Age
1951	Morgan	41	33	22	55	4	(1700)	21+
1952	Morgan	52	29	14	43	5	(1800)	21+
1953	Morgan	42	32	21	53	5	(na)	21+
1954	Morgan	44	40	9	49	7	(1700)	21+
1955	Morgan	45	39	10	49	6	(na)	21+
1956	Morgan	45	40	8	48	7	(1700)	21+
1957	Morgan	na	na	24	na	6	(1912)	21+
1958	Morgan	34	33	26	59	7	(na)	21+
1961	Morgan	44	37	15	52	4	(1650)	21+
1963	Morgan	27	43	28	71	2	(1900)	21+
1964	Morgan	21	43	29	72	7	(1800)	21+
1966	Morgan	19	43	33	76	5	(1600)	21+
1967	Morgan	19	36	36	72	10	(1413)	21+
1968	Morgan	26	45	19	64	10	(2706)	21+
1970	Morgan	38	45	12	57	5	(2108)	21+
1971a	ASRB	53	34	11	45	2	(1000)	21+
1971b	Morgan	31	21	14	35	34	(2251)	18+
1972	Morgan	46	17	4	21	33	(2189)	16+
1974	Morgan	28	25	15	40	33	(1776)	14+
1975	McNair Anderson	43	44	8	48	5	(2057)	16+
1977	McNair Anderson	43	40	14	54	2	(1993)	16+
1981	ANOP*	45	37	11	48	7	(1004)	18+
1984a	McNair Anderson	59	na	na	28	13	(2112)	13+
1984b	ANOP	60	32	3	35	5	(2002)	15-24
1984c	McNair Anderson	64	27	4	31	5	(2053)	16+
1984d	Morgan	58	28	6	34	8	(2273)	14+
1984e	Morgan	62	27	4	31	7	(1920)	14+
1985	McNair Anderson	57	34	5	39	4	(1490)	14+
1986a	Austn Class Project**	53	na	na	34	13	(1195)	18+
1986b	Reark	35	44	17	61	4	(2512)	15+
1988a	Saulwick	68	22	8	30	2	(1000)	18+
1988b	Frank Small***	52	na	na	45	3	(1300)	16+
1988c	Saulwick	65	21	10	31	4	(1000)	18+
1988d	Morgan	46	42	7	49	5	(1277)	14+
1988e	Morgan	≥50	na	na	na	3	(1010)	18+
1988f	AGB: McNair	43	33	23	56	1	(1552)	15+
1989	Morgan	47	41	8	49	4	(1071)	14+
1990a	Morgan	47	40	7	47	6	(1196)	14+
1990b	Saulwick	65	24	8	32	4	(1000)	18+
1990c	Morgan	69	na	na	27	4	(818)	18+
1990d	Austn Election Study	57	33	8	41	2	(1982)	18+
1991	Saulwick	73	16	9	25	2	(1000)	18+
1992a	AMR: Quantum	71	na	na	na	na	(2000)	18+
1992b	Morgan	71	21	4	25	4	(1244)	18+
1993a	Austn Election Study	76	24	6	30	4	(3023)	18+
1993b	AMR: Quantum	73	na	na	na	na	(1100)	18+
1995	ISSS	59	27	11	37	4	(2259)	18+
1996a	Austn Election Study	63	28	8	36	1	(1795)	18+
1996b	AGB: McNair	65	30	3	33	2	(2063)	18+
1996c	Newspoll	71	20	2	22	7	(1200)	18+
1996d	Morgan	≥66	na	na	≥30	4	(1215)	18+
1996e	AGB: McNair	62	na	na	32	6	(2060)	18+
1997	Newspoll	64	26	2	28	8	(1200)	18+

na: not available or not asked.

- * Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.
- ** Members of the paid workforce, working at least 15 hours per week.
- *** Mainland capitals

Questions:

1951 (March): 'Do you think the number of people coming to live in Australia is too great, too few or about right?'

1952 (June): 'Do you think the number of people coming to live in Australia is too great, about right or too few?'

1953 (August): As for 1952

1954 (July): 'This card shows how migration was cut by 128,000 in 1952 to 75,000 last year because of adjustments to our economy. It's now been restored to 100,000 a year. In your opinion are 100,000 migrants a year too many, too few or about right?'

1955 (July): 'Last year 115,000 migrants came to Australia and the government now plans an increase to 125,000 a year. In your opinion are 125,000 migrants a year too many, too few or about right?'

1956 (May): 'This year about 125,000 new people will come from England and other countries to live in Australia. In your opinion are 125,000 migrants a year too many, too few or about right?'

1957 (April): 'The next question is on whether or not the number of migrants coming to Australia should be increased by 50,000 a year - that is, from 100,000 to 150,000 a year. Would you favour or oppose that increase?'

1958 (October): 'And now a question about immigration. In the last eight years our population has increased by two millions, including a million migrants. Do you think the number of people who come here each year should be increased or reduced or remain the same?'

1961 (December): 'Next about immigration. Do you think the number of people coming here each year as migrants should be increased or reduced or remain about the same?'

1963 (August): 'Next about immigrants, of whom 135,000 came to Australia last year. Do you think the number of people coming here each year, to live permanently, should be increased or reduced or remain about the same?'

1964 (August): 'And about immigration. Last year about 120,000 migrants came to Australia to live permanently. Do you think the number of people coming here each year to live permanently should be increased or reduced or remain about the same?'

1966 (February): 'And a question about immigration. Last year about 140,000 people came to Australia to live permanently. Do you think the number of people coming here each year to live permanently should be increased or reduced or remain about the same?'

1967 (December): 'The first question is on immigration. Each year about 140,000 people come to Australia to live permanently. Do you think the number of people who come here each year should be increased, maintained or reduced?'

1968 (October): 'Firstly, we'd like your opinion on immigration. Last year about 137,000 migrants came to Australia to live here permanently and this year 160,000 migrants may come here. In your opinion are 160,000 migrants a year too many, too few or about right?'

1970 (August): 'Now one on immigration. Last year about 180,000 migrants came to Australia to live permanently and this year another 180,000 may come here. In your opinion are 180,000 migrants a year too many, too few or about right?'

1971a (June): Respondents were told that over the past few years Australia's intake of migrants had averaged about 160,000 per year and that the target for the next financial year was 140,000. They were

then asked whether they thought this was 'far too many, somewhat too many, about right, somewhat too few or far too few.'

1971b (July): 'Next about immigration. Last year 170,000 people came to Australia to live here permanently and next year the planned intake is 140,000. How many migrants a year do you favour in future?'

1972 (October): 'Next about immigration. This year 140,000 people will come to live permanently. How many migrants do you favour coming here each year in future? [If refuse/don't know] Well, just your best guess?'

1974 (April): 'Firstly, about immigration. This year about 110,000 people will come to Australia to live permanently and some people say we should plan for 130,000 each year. How many migrants do you favour coming here each year in future?'

1975 (November): Respondents were asked whether they believed the Federal Government was letting too many non-English speaking Europeans settle in Australia, or too few or about the right number.

1977 (March): 'To give Australia the best possible population in size and composition, would you like to see the rate of immigration increased or decreased or kept at the present level?'

1981 (August): 'Thinking about immigration as a whole, do you believe the federal government is letting too many people into Australia or too few or about the right number?'

1984a (March): Respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, neither agreed nor disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that 'Australia has admitted too many migrants in recent years.'

1984b (April): Respondents were asked whether the government's current immigration policy allowed too many, too few or about the right number of people overall into Australia.

1984c (May): 'In 1984 about 90,000 migrants in total will be allowed to come and live in Australia, mostly relatives of previous migrants. Do you think this is too many migrants or too few migrants or about the right number?'

1984d (May): 'Next about immigration. Last year about 93,000 people came to Australia to live permanently. In your opinion were 93,000 people too few, too many or about right?'

1984e (June): 'Next about immigration. In the next 12 months, from July, about 72,000 people will come to Australia to live permanently. In your opinion are 72,000 people too few, too many or about right?'

1985 (June): 'In the 1985/86 financial year up to 76,000 people will be approved for migration to Australia. This is a slight increase from the previous year. Do you think this level of migrant intake is too high, too low or about right?'

1986a (July-September): Respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that 'there are too many migrants coming to Australia at present.'

1986b (November): 'The government's migration program for 1985/86 is 95,000 new settlers. This is a higher migrant intake than in the last few years but lower than it was for most of the 1950's and 1960's. Over the next ten years do you think immigration should be increased, kept at present level, reduced?'

1988a (February): 'Over the past four years, Australia's intake of immigrants has averaged just under 100,000 a year. The target for the current financial year is 120,000. Do you think that Australia should take: more than 120,000 immigrants this year; about 120,000 immigrants this year; fewer than 120,000 immigrants this year [43%]; or take no immigrants this year [25%]?'

1988b (March): 'Now, thinking about other social issues. Do you feel that ... the number of people coming to Australia should be reduced?'

1988c (May-June): 'There has been some discussion about immigration policy recently. Over the last four years, Australia's intake of immigrants has averaged just under 100,000 a year. The target for this financial year is 120,000. It is understood that the inquiry into immigration set up by the Federal Government has recommended that the target for next year be 150,000. Do you feel that Australia should take: more than 150,000 immigrants a year, about 150,000, fewer than 150,000 [46%], or should Australia take no immigrants at all at this time [19%]?'

1988d (August): 'Next about immigration. Last year about 143,000 people came to Australia to live permanently. In your opinion were 143,000 people too few, too many or about right?'

1988e (August): 'In your opinion does Australia need to increase our population by immigration or not?'

1988f (October-February '89): 'Looking at card 18, please tell me if you think that the government should accept more or less migrants into Australia? Should the government : accept a lot more [7%]; accept some more [17%]; stay about the same; accept some less [20%]; accept a lot less [22%]?'

1989 (August): 'Next about immigration. Last year 145,000 people came to Australia to live permanently. In your opinion were 145,000 people too few, too many or about right?'

1990a (February): 'Next about immigration. Last year about 134,000 people came to Australia to live permanently. In your opinion were 134,000 too few, too many or about right?'

1990b (April-May): 'Over the past four years, Australia's intake of immigrants has averaged 120,000 a year. The target for this financial year is 140,000. Do you think that Australia should take more than 140,000 immigrants this year, about 140,000 immigrants this year, fewer than 140,000 this year [46%], or take no immigrants this year [19%]?'

1990c (May): 'It's been suggested that in Australia's present economic situation, immigration should be reduced significantly, or even stopped and only special cases allowed. Would you favour or oppose that? Would you prefer immigration were significantly reduced [51%] with only special cases allowed [18%]?'

1990d (March-June): 'The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years ... please say whether you think the change [the number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time] has gone too far, not gone far enough, or is it about right?'

1991 (October): 'Over the past four years, Australia's intake of immigrants has averaged 132,000 a year. The target for this financial year is 111,000. Do you think Australia should take: more than 110,000 immigrants this year, about 110,000 immigrants, fewer than 110,000 immigrants [46%] or take no immigrants this year [27%]?'

1992a (April-May): Respondents were presented with a four-point scale ranging from 1 to 4, 'strongly disagree' [4%] to 'strongly agree' [32%] and asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that 'Australia should reduce the number of migrants coming to this country'. We assume that those who circled '2' [19%] disagreed with the statement while those who circled '3' [39%] agreed with it.

1992b (May) 'Last year about 122,000 people came to Australia to live permanently. In your opinion, were 122,000 people too few, too many or about right?'

1993a (March-June): 'The statements below indicate some of the changes that have been happening in Australia over the years. For each one, please indicate whether you think the change has gone too far, not far enough or is about right? ... The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time: gone much too far [38%]; gone too far [29%]; about right; not gone far enough; not near far enough?'

1993b (October): Respondents were presented with a four-point scale ranging from 1 to 4, 'strongly disagree' [4%] to 'strongly agree' [31%] and asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that 'Australia should reduce the number of migrants coming to this country.' We assume

that those who circled '2' [23%] disagreed with the statement while those who circled '3' [42%] agreed with it.

1995 (March-October): 'Do you think the number of immigrants to Australia nowadays should be increased a lot [2%], increased a little [9%], remain the same as it is, reduced a little [30%], reduced a lot [29%]?'

1996a (March-June): 'Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be reduced or increased? Increased a lot [3%]; increased a little [5%]; remained [sic] the same [28%]; reduced a little [29%]; reduced a lot [33%].

1996b (June): 'This year about 100,000 migrants will immigrate to Australia. Do you feel that the current level of immigration to Australia is too high, too low or about right?'

1996c (September): 'Thinking now about immigration. Do you personally think that the total number of migrants coming to Australia each year is too high, too low or about right? If too high, is that a lot too high [52%], or a little too high [19%]? If too low, is that a lot too low [1%], or a little too low [1%]?'

1996d (October): 'Thinking of Independent MP Pauline Hanson. In her maiden speech to Parliament, Pauline Hanson called for immigration to be stopped in the short term so that Australia's immigration is not added to. Do you agree or disagree with stopping immigration in the short term?'

1996e (November): 'In her maiden speech to Parliament, Pauline Hanson set out her policies on a number of topics. I am now going to read out a number of the policies Pauline Hanson outlined in her speech. Could you please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them? Do you agree or disagree that ... there should be a short term freeze in immigration?'

1997 (April): 'Thinking now about immigration. Do you personally think that the total number of migrants coming into Australia each year is too high, too low or about right? If too high, is that a lot too high [45%] or a little too high [19%]? If too low, is that a lot too low [1%] or a little too low [1%]?'

Sources:

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1952: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 865-874, July-August 1952 and Survey No. 89 draft questionnaire.
1953: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 950-959, September-October 1953, Survey No. 97.
1954: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1022-1035, July-August 1954 and Survey No. 105 draft questionnaire.
1955: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1103-1115, July-August 1955 and Survey No. 112 questionnaire.
1956: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1171-1182, July 1956 and Survey No. 118 questionnaire.
1957: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1241-1252, April-May 1957, Survey No. 124 and 'User's Guide to the Machine Readable Data File', SSDA Study No. 85, Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University.
1958: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1360-1374, December 1958-January 1959 and Survey No. 134 questionnaire.
1961: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1581-1591, February-March 1962 and Survey No. 154 questionnaire.
1963: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1698-1710, September-October 1963 and Survey No. 164 questionnaire.
1964: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1776-1788, September-October 1964 and Survey No. 171 questionnaire.
1966: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1900-1915, May-July 1966 and Survey No. 181 questionnaire.
1967: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2021-2039, January-March 1968, Survey No. 195.
1968: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2087-2104, November 1968-February 1969, Survey No. 200.
1970: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2205-2221, June-October 1970, Survey No. 212.
1971a: Age 12 July 1971.
1971b: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2282-2285, nd. Survey No. 221.
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1975: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* Poll No. 06/11/75.

1977: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* No. 05/3/77.

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1984b: ANOP *Young Australian Today* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1985, p. 189.

1984c: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* Poll No. 05/5/84.

1984d: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1203, Computer Report No. 589.

1984e: As for 1984d.

1985: McNair Anderson Associates 'Immigration' for the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1985, Table 1.

1986a: John Western et al., 'The Class Structure of Australia, 1986' [Computer File] Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, 1991.

1986b: Reark Research 'Attitudinal Survey of Population Issues in Australia' for the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1986, p. 96.

1988a: *Age and Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 February 1988.

1988b: Frank Small & Associates.

1988c: *Age and Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1988.

1988d: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1755, Computer Report No. 914.

1988e: The Roy Morgan Research Centre 'Herald Snap Poll' for the *Melbourne Herald* c. 20 August 1988.

1988f: Office of Multicultural Affairs, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet 'Issues in Multicultural Australia, 1988', Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Canberra, 1989, p. 151.

1989: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1884, Computer Report No. 978.

1990a: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1942. Computer Report No. 1006.

1990b: *Age and Sydney Morning Herald* 14 May 1990.

1990c: The Roy Morgan Research Centre Finding No. 1990 for the *Sunday Sun*, 13 May 1990.

1990d: D. Gow, R. Jones, I. McAllister and E. Papadakis 'Australian Election Survey, 1990: User's Guide for the Machine-Readable Data file', Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Canberra, 1990.

1991: *Age and Sydney Morning Herald* 4 November 1991.

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1992b: *Morgan Poll* Finding No. 2263, Computer Report No. 1154.

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1993b: AMR: Quantum 'Australian Social Monitor'.

1995: J. Kelley, C.S. Bean, M.D.R. Evans and K. Zagorski 'Australia, 1995: International Social Science Survey. Codebook and Machine Readable Data File (Preliminary). Canberra: Institute of Advanced Studies, Australian National University.

1996a: R. Jones, I. McAllister and D. Gow 'Australian Election Study, 1996: User's Guide for the Machine Readable Data File', Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Canberra, 1996.

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1996c: *Australian* 10 October 1996.

1996d: *Morgan Poll* Finding No. 2941, Computer Report No. 1391.

1996e: *Sydney Morning Herald* 5 November 1996.

1997: *Weekend Australian* 3-4 May 1997.

TABLE 2 The three most important things the government should be doing something about (unaided)
Morgan Poll, 1982-1998

Issues	Feb 1982	Feb 1983	Feb 1984	Feb 1985	Feb 1986	Feb 1987	Sept 1987	Feb 1988	June 1988	Sept 1988
Reduce unemployment	49	79	61	63	53	40	35	35	28	27
Lower tax	24	11	14	14	15	27	18	20	19	26
Improve education	15	13	13	13	13	14	na	20	23	
Help elderly	19	11	16	14	11	9	na	12	10	
Reduce cost of living	19	24	14	8	10	14	12	8	12	11
Housing/home loans/homeless	25	8	8	6	9	8	na	9	na	
Hospitals and health care	13	8	8	10	8	8	na	14	13	
Stabilise/improve economy	5	9	7	7	6	7	na	7	na	
Business/industry/rural growth	6	7	7	7	12	10	na	7	na	
More social welfare	10	9	7	6	9	9	na	11	12	
Migrants/Immigration	3	3	6	5	6	6	6	11	15	18
Conservation/environment	2	2	4	2	2	2	5	4	5	5
Interest rates	#	6	2	1	8	6	na	1	na	
Decrease deficit	#	#	#	#	#	7	na	4	na	
Law and order	1	1	3	6	10	7	na	11	7	
Improve roads	3	2	4	3	3	1	na	3	na	
Overseas trade	#	2	3	3	4	8	na	4	na	
Less social welfare	#	#	#	1	3	4	na	4	na	
Quality of politicians and government	#	#	#	#	#	#	na	#	na	
Reduce size and cost of government	3	1	1	2	2	3	na	2	na	
Reduce imports	#	2	1	2	1	2	na	1	na	
N	(na)	(na)	(na)	(na)	(na)	(na)	(194 7)	(213 7)	(190 3)	(205 1)

Not mentioned or coded separately
na: not available

Issues	Feb 1989	June 1989	Sept 1989	Feb 1990	June 1990	Sept 1990	Feb 1991	June 1991	Sept 1991	Feb 1992
Reduce unemployment	23	19	17	15	19	24	37	54	63	74
Lower tax	25	18	14	13	14	14	13	10	13	11
Improve education	16	na	na	21	na	na	16	na	na	21
Help for elderly	13	na	na	9	na	na	8	na	na	5
Reduce cost of living	9	na	na	5	na	na	6	na	na	4
Housing/homeloans/homele ss	19	na	na	9	na	na	5	na	na	5
Hospitals and health care	8	na	na	12	na	na	8	na	na	11
Stablise/improve economy	8	na	na	10	na	na	23	na	na	11
Business/industry/rural growth	5	na	na	6	na	na	16	na	na	16
More social welfare	10	na	na	12	na	na	9	na	na	5
Migrants/Immigration	14	9	10	9	23	10	8	13	12	18
Conservation/environment	7	26	19	19	19	16	15	15	14	11
Interest rates	9	na	na	18	na	na	8	na	na	3
Decrease deficit	6	na	na	8	na	na	5	na	na	6
Law and order	8	na	na	6	na	na	5	na	na	4
Improve roads	8	na	na	22	na	na	5	na	na	3
Overseas trade	5	na	na	6	na	na	8	na	na	7

Less social welfare	3	na	na	4	na	na	3	na	na	4
Quality of politicians and government	#	na	na	#	na	na	#	na	na	3
Reduce size and cost of government	2	na	na	1	na	na	2	na	na	4
Reduce imports	1	na	na	1	na	na	4	na	na	5
n	(205 9)	(194 9)	(199 6)	(788)	(215 8)	(210 2)	(228 0)	(215 7)	(235 6)	(232 8)

Not mentioned or coded separately.

na: not available

Issues	June 1992	July 1994	Feb 1995	Mar 1995	July 1995	Nov 1995	April 1998
Unemployment	75	56	50	39	43	46	49
Economy and finance	24	19	24	26	30	25	11
Social welfare and the aged	17	24	19	23	24	19	18
Health	14	24	27	26	22	26	37
Education/schools	18	22	20	19	18	20	29
Environment	13	12	16	12	15	10	9
Trade and foreign policy	12	10	10	13	12	10	4
Taxation	11	11	14	12	11	12	16
Industry and business	16	13	9	11	11	10	6
Law and order	4	6	9	12	9	14	14
Quality of government/politicians	8	9	6	14	9	14	9
Migrants/Immigration	13	7	11	10	8	5	7
Transport	5	6	5	5	6	3	2
Child and youth issues	5	11	8	5	6	4	7
Working conditions	5	4	#	5	6	8	2
Family issues	2	7	4	4	4	7	7
Aborigines	2	6	5	7	3	2	13
Interest rates	2	1	4	7	3	6	1
Defence	1	2	1	2	2	3	1
Republic/flag/Constitution	1	4	1	1	2	2	1
Housing	6	2	2	3	1	2	3
AIDS/drugs/alcohol	1	2	#	1	1	3	6
Others	8	13	16	7	12	10	9
n	(214 8)	(113 8)	(569)	(122 9)	(108 1)	(103 7)	(535)

Not mentioned or coded separately.

Sources: Morgan Gallup Poll Finding No. 1752, for *The Bulletin*, 23 August 1988; No. 2185, 15 November 1991; No. 2253, 4 May 1992; No. 2725, for *The Bulletin* 14 March 1995; No. 2826 for *The Bulletin* 28 November 1995; and Finding No. 3073, for *The Bulletin* 21 April 1998.

TABLE 3 Electoral issues rated 'very important', Newspoll, 1989-1998 (aided)

Issue	July 1989	Sept 1989	Feb 1990	Mar 1990	Mar 1990	July 1990	Oct 1990	Feb 1991	Apr 1991
The economy	85	80	82	82	83	na	na	na	na
Health/Medicare	na	Na	na	Na	Na	63	62	62	61
Unemployment	na	Na	na	Na	Na	58	62	70	74
Taxation	67	62	61	64	64	61	64	65	55
Welfare/social issues	60	64	59	60	62	56	58	57	56
Party leadership	53	53	51	51	54	56	57	61	55
Environment	68	71	66	64	63	62	62	63	56
Interest rates	na	Na	na	Na	Na	64	64	58	54
Industrial relations	45	48	44	44	47	39	45	42	41
Inflation	na	Na	na	Na	Na	63	65	65	60
Balance of payments	na	Na	na	Na	Na	50	54	49	48
Immigration	36	41	38	32	31	44	38	33	34
Foreign investment	na	Na	na	Na	Na	42	44	36	33
n	(1134)	(1140)	(1130)	(1716)	(1713)	(1128)	(1126)	(1153)	(1134)

na: not asked

Issue	July 1991	Oct 1991	Feb 1992	May 1992	July 1992	Oct 1992	Feb 1993	Nov 1993	June 1994
Health/Medicare	63	69	65	70	67	71	69	70	74
Unemployment	73	82	79	85	82	83	82	79	77
Taxation	62	61	59	64	58	61	61	58	57
Welfare/social issues	57	58	54	59	58	61	56	60	60
Leadership	58	60	58	63	58	58	57	61	60
Environment	60	58	52	58	57	59	52	64	62
Interest rates	55	54	53	54	50	51	48	50	57
Industrial relations	44	43	37	43	46	47	50	39	41
Inflation	60	58	51	56	50	56	50	54	56
Balance of payments	46	47	43	49	47	50	53	na	49
Women's issues	na	Na	na	Na	na	na	42	37	41
Aboriginal and native title issues	na	Na	na	na	na	na	na	32	27
Immigration	46	37	46	48	45	42	33	33	32
Foreign investment	36	35	32	36	37	36	39	na	na
n	(1153)	(1144)	(1142)	(1139)	(1127)	(1142)	(1719)	(1140)	(1145)

na: not asked

TABLE 3 (cont) Electoral issues rated 'very important', Newspoll, 1989-1998 (aided)

Issues	Sept 1994	June 1995	Sept 1995	Jan 1996	Sept 1996	Jan 1997	June 1997	Sept 1997	Jan 1998
Health/Medicare	77	77	72	72	73	77	76	76	76
Unemployment	78	71	69	69	71	75	77	79	77
Taxation	57	57	58	53	58	64	64	67	63
Welfare/social issues	63	56	57	55	59	62	59	65	63
Leadership	60	55	62	56	57	61	64	64	63
Family	65	60	61	58	61	64	59	64	62
Environment	71	59	64	58	61	63	61	64	64
Interest rates	58	62	58	55	53	56	55	52	52
Industrial relations	43	38	36	41	41	44	43	49	43
Inflation	58	56	52	50	51	53	48	45	49
Balance of payments	50	49	49	48	43	48	44	45	45
Women's issues	44	39	37	35	36	39	36	41	42
Aboriginal and native title issues	33	26	24	20	27	33	36	36	37
Immigration	38	36	33	32	34	45	41	43	37
n	(1139)	(1150)	(1141)	(1145)	(1140)	(1148)	(1146)	(1140)	(1152)

na: not asked

Issues	May 1998	Sept 1998
Health/Medicare	78	74
Unemployment	71	76
Taxation	66	71
Welfare/social issues	61	60
Leadership	61	61
Family	61	60
Environment	59	57
Interest rates	48	52
Industrial relations	46	39
Inflation	45	49
Balance of payments	42	41
Women's issues	39	39
Aboriginal and native title issues	33	31
Immigration	31	29
n	(1150)	(1147)

Question:

'Thinking about federal politics. Would you say each of the following is very important, fairly important or not important on [sic] how you personally would vote in a federal election?'

Sources:

Australian 13 July 1989, 15 September 1989, 7 February 1990, 8 March 1990, 21 March 1990, 3 August 1990, 4 March 1991, 26 April 1991, 2 August 1991, 21 October 1991, 20 May 1992, 3 August 1992, 14 October 1992, 17 February 1993, 16 November 1993, 21 September 1994, 13 June 1995, 20 September 1995, 19 September 1996, 24 January 1997, 10 June 1997, 12 September 1997, 27 January 1998, 27 May 1998; *Weekend Australian* 13-14 October 1990, 8-9 February 1992, 2-3 July 1994 and 20-21 January 1996; and *Australian* 9 September 1998.

TABLE 4 Support for White Australia or for Australia's taking no more Asian migrants, 1943 - 1994

Date	Poll	Supported	Opposition	DK	N	Age
1943	Morgan	51	40	9	(na)	21+
1944	Morgan	53	35	12	(na)	21+
1948	Morgan	57	39	4	(1950)	21+
1950	Morgan	54	44	2	(1700)	21+
1954	Morgan	61	31	8	(1900)	21+
1956	Morgan	51	42	7	(1800)	21+
1957	Morgan	55	36	9	(1912)	21+
1958	Morgan	46	44	9	(1800)	21+
1959	Morgan	34	56	10	(1695)	21+
1960	Morgan	34	58	8	(1572)	21+
1961a	Morgan	39	51	10	(1600)	21+
1961b	Morgan	32	57	11	(1700)	21+
1962	Morgan	30	64	6	(2000)	21+
1963a	Morgan	34	58	8	(na)	21+
1963b	Morgan	32	59	9	(1866)	21+
1963c	Morgan	16	77	7	(2000)	21+
1963d	Hughes*	47	44	9	(437)	21+
1964	Morgan	22	78	-	(1600)	21+
1965	Morgan	16	77	7	(1952)	21+
1966	Morgan	18	62	20	(2052)	21+
1967a	Morgan	10	68	22	(991)	15-20
1967b	Aitkin	27	55	18	(2054)	21+
1969	Morgan	8	41	51	(2000)	21+
1969-70	Aitkin	21	65	14	(1453)	21+
1970	Morgan	15	53	32	(2064)	21+
1971a	Morgan	20	23	57	(2308)	21+
1971b	ANOP	35	58	7	(1698)	21+
1971c	Morgan	13	50	37	(2251)	16+
1972	Morgan	16	72	12	(2189)	16+
1979	Aitkin	8	56	36	(2016)	18+
1984	McNair Anderson	27	67	6	(2128)	13+
1987	AES	10	43	47	(1780)	18+
1994	Henningham**	51	na	na	(262)	18+

na: not available

* Melbourne.

** Mainland capitals.

Questions:

1943 (March): 'After the war, would you alter the White Australia policy to admit a limited number of coloured people such as Chinese and Indians?'

1944 (February): 'After the war, should Australia admit a limited number of coloured people such as Chinese and Indians?'

1948 (July): 'And about coloured people. Should their immigration here be unrestricted (4%), limited (35%) or stopped?'

1950 (May): 'What about the immigration of coloured people? Should that be unrestricted (3%), limited (39%) or stopped?'

1954 (February): After being told that people from some countries were not allowed to come and live in Australia, respondents were asked: 'Which do you favour - keeping them out; or allowing, say, 50 people a year from each and every country into Australia?'

1956 (February): 'At present, our laws do not allow people from certain countries to come and live in Australia, but it's been suggested that not more than 50 from each of these countries be allowed here each year. Which do you favour - keeping out those people, or letting in 50 a year from each?'

1957 (April): as for 1956.

1958 (June): 'The next question is to do with our immigration laws which don't allow people from certain countries to come and live in Australia. Do you favour keeping out those people or would you let in about 50 a year from each of these countries?' [The alternatives were presented in reverse order in half the cases].

1959 (December): 'Next a question on whether some Asians should be allowed to come and live here permanently. Would you favour or oppose allowing a certain number of Asians to settle here each year? [If favour] About how many each year from all of Asia? Of that number each year would you have a fixed quota from each Asian country or would you have our government select the [number] from all of Asia?'

1960 (July): 'With regard to Asian migrants, it's been suggested that each year a reasonable number of Asians with skilled occupations should be allowed to come and live here permanently. Would you favour or oppose that change in our immigration policy? [If favour] About how many Asians would you allow to come into Australia each year to live permanently?' [0 ≤100, 7%; 200-499, 2%; 500-1,000, 7%; ≥1,000, 11%; DK, 76%].

1961a (June): 'Next, about a suggestion that each year a quota of Asians and Africans with skilled occupations should be allowed to come and live in Australia permanently. Would you favour or oppose some Asians and Africans coming to live here?'

1961b (September): 'Next, about a suggestion that each year a quota of Asians, with skilled occupations, should be allowed to come and live permanently in Australia. Would you favour or oppose some Asians coming to live here? [If favour] About how many Asians do you think should be allowed to come to Australia each year, to live permanently?'

1962 (June): 'And now a very topical question on whether some Asians with skilled occupations should be allowed to come and live in Australia permanently. Do you favour or oppose that? [If favour] About how many each year - 100 [c. one-third]; 1,000 [c. one-third] 10,000 [na]; 100,000 [na]; DK [c. one-third]?'

1963a (June): as for 1961a.

1963b (August): 'And while on the subject of immigration, it's been suggested that some Asians with skilled occupations should be allowed to come and live in Australia permanently. Would you favour or oppose that? [If favour] About how many a year would you suggest: 100 [15%]; 500 [10%]; 1,000 [9%]; 10,000 [3%]; 100,000 [1%]?: DK [61%].

1963c (September): 'In your opinion, should migrants from Asia be allowed here without restriction [6%] or on a selective basis [71%] or not at all? [If selective] About how many each year would you suggest? {Answers were said to have centred on 1250}.

1963d (November-December): 'Do you think the White Australia policy should be kept as it is, or should the policy be relaxed to allow greater numbers of Asians to settle in this country?'

1964 (June): 'And finally one about migrants from Asia. Our immigration policy lets only a few Asians come to live here permanently. Do you think Asian migration should be prohibited altogether, or allowed in small numbers (73%), or allowed without restriction (5%)? [If favour] About how many each year? [If small numbers] About how many each year would you suggest? [DK = two-thirds; of the rest, the majority said less than 500].

1965 (September): 'In your opinion, should migrants from Asia be allowed here without restriction, or on a selective basis, or not at all? [If favour] About how many each year would you suggest?'

1966 (November): 'And about Asian migrants. Last year 500 Asians were allowed to remain here permanently, and this year about 1,000 Asians will probably become permanent residents. About how

many Asians should be given permanent residential status in Australia each year?' [0, 18%; 500, 19%; 5,000, 9%; 10,000, 9%; ≥20,000, 7%]

1967a (March): as for 1966. [0, 10%; 500, 20%; 1,000, 27%; 2,000, 3%; 5,000, 8%; 10,000, 2%; 20,000, 1%]

1967b (September-November): 'There's a good deal of talk these days about migration. Which of these statements comes closest to what you, yourself, feel should be done? If you don't have an opinion on this just say so: Asians should be allowed to enter Australia just like people of European descent [19%]; there should be a small quota of Asian migrants [36%]; Asians should not be allowed to enter Australia as migrants [7%]; we should only allow people from Britain and northern Europe to enter Australia as migrants [20%]; we should not have any more migrants at the present time [13%].

1969 (August): 'And one on Asians living here. Last year about 1,000 Asians were allowed to remain here and become permanent residents. In your opinion about how many should be given permanent residential status each year?' [0, 8%; 500 or less, 2%; 500-999, 4%; 1,000, 22%; 2,000, 2%; 3,000-9,000, 3%; 10,000, 9%]

1969 (October) - 1970 (February): 'There's been a good deal of talk these days about migration. Which of these statements comes closest to what you, yourself, feel should be done/ If you don't have an opinion about this, just say so: Asians should be allowed to enter Australia as migrants just like people of European descent [23%]; there should be a small quota of Asian migrants [42%]; Asians should not be allowed to enter Australia as migrants [5%]; we should only allow people from Britain and Northern Europe to enter Australia as migrants [16%]; we should not have any more migrants at the present time [11%].

1970 (October): 'Next about Asians, of whom about 3,000 became permanent residents of Australia last year. In your opinion, about how many Asians should be given permanent residential status each year - just roughly?' [0, 15%; 500 or less, 2%; 500-999, 1%; 1,000, 4%; 2,000, 5%; 3,000, 24%; 4,000-9,999, 4%; 10,000 or more, 14%]

1971a (May) 'And a question about coloured migrants. About how many non-white Asians and Africans should be given permanent residential status here each year - just roughly?' [0, 20%; less than 1,000, 6%; 1,000-1,999, 6%; 2,000-4,999, 2%; 5,000-9,999, 2%; 10,000 or more, 8%].

1971b (November): Respondents were asked whether they approved or disapproved coloured migrants settling in Australia.

1971c (July) 'Last year 3,500 non-European people were given permanent residential status here. How many do you favour each year?' [0, 13%; less than 3,000, 11%; 3,000-4,999, 3%; 3,500, 28%; more than 3,500, 9%]

1972 (October): 'Of the 140,000 people who came here last year, about 3,000 were Asians and 7,000 had mixed blood. They were given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion, is that annual intake of 10,000 Asians and people of mixed blood too few, too many or about right?' [If too many] How many do you favour each year? [0, 16%, less than 1,000, 2%; 1,000-5,000, 13%; 5,000-9,999, 1%; DK, 9%].

1979 (September-November): 'There's been a good deal of talk these days about migration. Which of these statements comes closest to what you, yourself, feel should be done? If you don't have any opinion about this, just say so: Asians should be allowed to enter Australia as migrants just like people of European descent [27%]; there should be a small quota of Asian migrants [29%]; Asians should not be allowed to enter Australia as migrants [3%]; we should only allow people from Britain and northern Europe to enter Australia as migrants [5%]; we should not have any more migrants at the present time [34%].

1984 (March): 'During the last three months for which there are published figures, about 42 per cent of the people who immigrated into Australia came from Britain and European countries and 40 per cent from Asian countries. In 1984 about 90,000 migrants in total will be allowed into Australia. Which line on this card best describes the balance of migrants you would like from each area? Britain and Europe

90,000 Asia 0 [27%]; Britain and Europe 70,000, Asia 20,000 [28%]; Britain and Europe 45,000, Asia 45,000 [35%]; Britain and Europe 20,000, Asia 70,000; Britain and Europe 0, Asia 90,000 [6% for last two combined]?’

1987 (July-August): ‘There is a good deal of talk these days about migration. Which of these statements comes closest to what you feel should be done? Asians should be allowed to enter Australia as migrants just like people of European descent [22%]; there should be a small quota of Asian migrants [24%]; Asians should not be allowed to enter Australia as migrants [3%]; we should only allow people from Britain and Northern Europe to enter Australia as migrants [7%]; we should not have any more migrants at the present time [40%].’

1994: Respondents were asked to say ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to ‘Asian immigration’.

Sources:

1943: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 117-123, April 1943.

1944: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 180-185, February-March 1944.

1948: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 537-547, August-September 1948.

1950: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 690-699, June-July 1950.

1954: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 988-998, March 1954.

1956: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1150-1161, February-March 1956 and Survey No.116 questionnaire.

1957: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1241-1252 April-May 1957 and ‘User’s Guide to the Machine-Readable Data File’, Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Study No. 83.

1958: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1324-1335, July-August 1958 and ‘User’s Guide to the Machine-Readable Data File’, Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Study No. 86.

1959: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1434-1442, January-February 1960 and ‘User’s Guide to the Machine-Readable Data File’, Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Study No. 87.

1960: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1481-1491, August-September 1960 and ‘User’s Guide to the Machine-Readable Data File’, Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Study No. 88.

1961: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1558-1580, November 1961-January 1962 and Survey No. 152 questionnaire.

1962: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1621-1639, July-October 1962 and Survey No. 157 questionnaire.

1963a and 1963b: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1698-1710, September-October 1963 and ‘User’s Guide for the Machine Readable Data File’, Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, Study No. 94.

1963c: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1852-1871, September-December 1963.

1963d: Alan Hughes *Psychology and the Political Experience* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964, pp. 1, 7 and Appendix C.

1964: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1763-1775, July-September 1964 and Survey No. 170 questionnaire.

1965: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1852-1871, September-December 1965.

1966: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1947-1960, November 1966 and Survey No. 186.

1967: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1981-2002, June-November 1967

1969: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2143-2158, September 1969-January 1970 and Survey No. 205.

1970: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2236-2246, November 1970-January 1971.

1971a: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2268-2271, June 1971.

1967b, 1969-70, 1979: Don Aitkin *Stability and Change in Australian Politics* Second edition Canberra: ANU Press, 1982, pp. 363, 374, 385.

1971b: ANOP *Australian Public Opinion Newsletter* 1 (2) 1971, p. 21

1972: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2362-2365, November 1972.

1984: 1984a: McNair Anderson Associates ‘Immigration: National Public Opinion Survey, March 1984’ for the Big Brother Movement.

1987: Ian McAllister and Anthony Mughan ‘Australian Election Study, 1987: User’s Guide for the Machine Readable Data File’ Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, 1988.

1994: John Henningham ‘Ideological differences between Australian journalists and their public’ *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 3 (1) 1998, pp. 92-101.

TABLE 5 Whether the number of Asian migrants entering Australia is too many, too few or about right, 1966-1996

Date	Poll	Too many	About right	+ Too few	= Total support	DK	n	Age
1966	Morgan	37	25	18	43	20	(2052)	21+
1967	Morgan	30	27	22	49	22	(991)	15-20
1969	Morgan	13	22	14	36	51	(2000)	21+
1970	Morgan	27	24	18	42	32	(2064)	21+
1971a	Morgan	32	Na	na	12	57	(2308)	16+
1971b	Morgan	27	28	9	37	37	(2251)	16+
1972	Morgan	40	40	8	48	12	(2189)	16+
1974	Morgan	32	53	7	60	8	(1776)	14+
1975	McNair Anderson	36	47	11	58	6	(2057)	16+
1978	McNair Anderson	na	Na	16	na	4	(1988)	16+
1981	ANOP*	48	36	8	44	8	(1004)	18+
1984a	McNair Anderson	54	35	5	40	6	(2128)	13+
1984b	ANOP	41	Na	na	48	12	(2002)	15-24
1984c	Morgan	57	31	4	35	7	(2273)	14+
1984d	McNair Anderson	62	Na	na	30	8	(2053)	16+
1984e	Morgan	59	30	4	34	7	(1920)	14+
1984f	McNair Anderson	60	Na	na	28	12	(2182)	16+
1986	Austn Class Project**	69	Na	na	19	12	(1195)	18+
1988a	Morgan	57	34	3	37	6	(1277)	14+
1988b	Newspoll	77	Na	na	18	5	(1150)	18+
1988c	AGB: McNair	45	38	17	55	1	(1552)	15+
1989	Morgan	58	33	3	36	6	(1071)	14+
1990	Morgan	55	35	4	39	6	(1196)	14+
1992a	AMR: Quantum	71	Na	na	29	-	(2000)	16+
1992b	Morgan	68	25	2	27	5	(1244)	14+
1996a	AGB: McNair	45	Na	na	na	14	(2063)	18+
1996b	AGB: McNair	53	Na	na	36	10	(2060)	18+

na: not asked or not available

* Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.

** Members of the paid workforce, working at least 15 hours per week.

Questions:

1966 (November): 'And about Asian migrants. Last year 500 Asians were allowed to remain here permanently, and this year about 1,000 Asians will probably become permanent residents. About how many Asians should be given permanent residential status in Australia each year?' [0, 18%; 500, 19%; 5,000, 9%; 10,000, 9%; ≥20,000, 7%]

1967 (March): as for 1966. [0, 10%; 500, 20%; 1,000, 27%; 2,000, 3%; 5,000, 8%; 10,000, 2%; 20,000, 1%]

1969 (August): 'And one on Asians living here. Last year about 1,000 Asians were allowed to remain here and become permanent residents. In your opinion about how many should be given permanent residential status each year?' [0, 8%; 500 or less, 2%; 500-999, 4%; 1,000, 22%; 2,000, 2%; 3,000-9,000, 2%; 10,000, 9%]

1970 (October): 'Next about Asians, of whom about 3,000 became permanent residents of Australia last year. In your opinion, about how many Asians should be given permanent residential status each year - just roughly?' [0, 15%; 500 or less, 2%; 500-999, 1%; 1,000, 4%; 2,000, 5%; 3,000, 24%; 4,000-9,999, 4%; 10,000 or more, 14%]

1971a (May) 'And a question about coloured migrants. About how many non-white Asians and Africans should be given permanent residential status here each year - just roughly?' [0, 20%; less than 1,000, 6%; 1,000-1,999, 6%; 2,000-4,999, 2%; 5,000-9,999, 2%; 10,000 or more, 8%].

1971b (July): 'Last year 3,500 non-European people were given permanent residential status here. How many do you favour each year?' [0, 13%; less than 3,000, 11%; 3,000-4,999, 3%; 3,500, 28%; more than 3,500, 9%]

1972 (October): 'Of the 140,000 people who came here last year, about 3,000 were Asians and 7,000 had mixed blood. They were given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion, is that annual intake of 10,000 Asians and people of mixed blood too few, too many or about right?' [If too many] How many do you favour each year? [0, 16%, less than 1,000, 2%; 1,000-5,000, 13%; 5,000-9,999, 1%; DK, 9%].

1974 (April): 'Of the people who came here last year, about 10,000 are Asians or have mixed blood. In your opinion, are 10,000 Asians and migrants of mixed blood too few too many or about right?'

1975 (November): Respondents were asked whether they believed the federal government was letting 'too many Asian people settle in Australia, too few or about the right number?'

1978 (June): 'Do you agree or disagree that Australia should take a larger number than at present of migrants from Asia and Africa?'

1984a (March): 'During the last three months for which there are published figures, about 42 per cent of the people who immigrated into Australia came from Britain and European countries and 40 per cent from Asian countries. In 1984 about 90,000 migrants in total will be allowed into Australia. Which line on this card best describes the balance of migrants you would like from each area? Britain and Europe 90,000 Asia 0 [27%]; Britain and Europe 70,000, Asia 20,000 [28%]; Britain and Europe 45,000, Asia 45,000 [35%]; Britain and Europe 20,000, Asia 70,000; Britain and Europe 0, Asia 90,000 [6% for last two combined]?'

1984b (April): Respondents were asked whether there was generally the right balance of races and nationalities immigrating to Australia or whether there were too many [53%] of a particular group; if there were too many, from which groups? [Asians, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese = 41%].

1984c (May): 'Of the 93,000 people who came here last year about 24,500 were Asians. They were given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion were 24,500 Asians too few, too many or about right?'

1984d (May): 'An increasing proportion of migrants are coming from Asia compared with the United Kingdom and Europe. Do you approve or disapprove of this?'

1984e (June): 'Of the 72,000 people who will come here in the next 12 months about 24,000 will be Asians. They will be given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion is 24,000 Asians too few, too many or about right?'

1984f (August): 'A decreasing proportion of migrants are coming from the United Kingdom and Europe compared with Asia. Do you approve or disapprove of this?'

1986 (July): Respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that 'there are too many Asians migrating to Australia at the present time.'

1988a (August): 'Of the 143,000 people who came here last year, about 49,000 were Asians. They were given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion were 49,000 Asians too few, too many or about right?'

1988b (August): 'Do you agree or disagree with the recent statement by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Howard, that Asian immigration to Australia should be slowed down? If agree, is that strongly agree [51%] or only partly agree [26%]; If disagree, is that strongly disagree [8%] or only partly disagree [10%]?'

1988c (October-February '89): 'Still looking at card 19, do you think that the government should accept more or less of the following groups of migrants ... migrants who are Asians? Accept a lot more [4%], accept some more [13%], stay about the same, accept some less [20%], accept a lot less [25%]?'

1989 (August): 'Of the 145,000 people who came here last year, about 55,000 were Asians. They were given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion were 55,000 Asians too few, too many or about right?'

1990 (February): 'Of the 134,000 people who came here last year about 48,000 were Asians. They were given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion were 48,000 Asians too many, too few or about right?'

1992a (April-May): Respondents were presented with a four-point scale, ranging from 1 to 4, 'strongly disagree' [32%] to 'strongly agree' [4%] and asked whether 'Australia should reduce the number of Asian migrants coming to this country'. We assume that those who circled '2' [19%] disagreed while those who circled '3' [39%] agreed with the statement.

1992b (May): 'Of the 122,000 people who came here last year, about 59,000 were Asians. They were given permanent residential status in Australia. In your opinion, were 59,000 Asians too few, too many or about right?'

1996a (June): 'Do you feel that the current balance of migrants from different countries and regions to Australia is about right [35%] or do you feel that we receive too many migrants from a particular region or country [51%]?' [If too many] 'Which region do you feel that we receive too many migrants from?' [Asia 88%]

1996b (Nov): 'In her maiden speech to Parliament, Pauline Hanson set out her policies on a number of topics. I am now going to read out a number of policies Pauline Hanson outlined in her speech. Could you please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them? Do you agree or disagree that ... The proportion of Asians in our migrant intake should be reduced?'

Sources:

1966: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1947-1960, November 1966 and Survey No. 186.

1967: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 1981-2002, June-November 1967.

1969: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2143-2158, September 1969-January 1970 and Survey No. 205.

1970: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2236-2246, November 1970-January 1971.

1971a: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2268-2271, June 1971.

1971b: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2282-2285, nd.

1972: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 2362-2365, November 1972.

1974: *Morgan Gallup Poll Report*, Nos. 83, 87, 101 and 102 May-June 1974.

1975: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* Poll No. 06/11/75.

1978: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* Poll No. 01/6/78.

1981: *National Times* 13 September 1981.

1984a: McNair Anderson Associates 'Immigration: National Public Opinion Survey, March 1984' for the Big Brother Movement.

1984b: *ANOP Young Australians Today* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1985, p. 121.

1984c: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1203

1984d: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)*, Poll No. 02/5/84.

1984e: as for 1984b.

1984f: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)*, Poll No. 04/8/84.

1988a: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1755, Computer Report No. 914 .

1988b: *Australian* 9 August 1988.

1988c: Office of Multicultural Affairs, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet 'Issues in Multicultural Australia, 1988' Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, 1989, p. 154.

1989: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1884, Computer Report No. 978.

1990: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 1942, Computer Report No. 1006.

1992a: AMR: Quantum 'Australian Social Monitor' 1993/94

1992b: *Morgan Poll* Finding No. 2263, Computer Report No. 1154.

1996a: *Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1996.

1996b: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 November 1996.

TABLE 6 Support for a non-discriminatory immigration policy, 1972 - 1996.

Date	Poll	Support	Opposition	DK	n	Age
1972	ASRB**	75	24	1	(1000)	18+
1984	Spectrum*	45	53	2	(504)	18+
1989	AGB McNair**	66	20	14	(604)	18+
1996	AGB McNair	77	16	7	(2063)	18+

* Sydney.

** Sydney and Melbourne.

Questions:

1972 (June): Respondents were asked whether they agreed strongly [52%], agreed in part [23%], disagreed in part [10%] or disagreed strongly [14%] with the statement: 'Coloured migrants are as acceptable to me as any other migrants.'

1984 (May): 'If Australia is to allow migrants into the country, do you believe that we should be selective as to their country of origin? [Yes, 46%; Yes - in certain circumstances, 7%; No, 45%]. [If not No] Do you think migrants should be mainly Asian [0%], European [32%], from another area [2%], or there should be a balance [61%]?'

1989 (May): 'Do you welcome Andrew Peacock's pledge to return the Liberal-National coalition to an immigration policy which does not discriminate on the basis of a person's racial background? Would you welcome such a policy or oppose such a policy?'

1996 (June): 'Australia has had for more than 20 years an immigration policy that selects migrants on such things as their work skills and reunion with family, but not on a basis of their colour, religion or country. How strongly do you agree or disagree with this policy. Is that strongly agree [30%]/disagree [4%]?'

Sources:

Age 31 July 1972; *Daily Telegraph* 13 May 1984; *Melbourne Herald* 12 May 1989; *Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald* 19 June 1996.

TABLE 7 Whether Australia should take more, less or the same number of displaced Europeans and refugees from Indo-China, 1947-1993

Date	Poll	Too many	Right number	Too few	Support	DK	n	Age
European								
1947	Morgan	48	na	na	39	13	(na)	21+
1948	Morgan	19	na	na	41	40	(na)	21+
1949	Morgan	32	na	na	52	16	(na)	21+
Indo-Chinese								
1975	Morgan	35	8	4	12	54	(1903)	14+
1977a	Morgan	22	4	22	26	52	(2470)	18+
1977b	ANOP	≥45	na	na	≤43	12	(1400)	18+
1978	McNair Anderson	≤66	na	na	≥29	5	(1884)	16+
1979a	McNair Anderson	54	30	11	41	5	(2002)	16+
1979b	Morgan	36	2	10	12	52	(1267)	18+
1979c	Morgan	45	3	11	14	41	(1126)	18+
1979d	Saulwick	67	23	7	30	3	(2000)	18+
1979e	Morgan	62	8	15	23	15	(2191)	18+
1979f	Morgan	28	na	na	53	19	(2191)	18+
1979g	McNair Anderson	37	37	18	55	8	(2100)	13+
1979h	McNair Anderson	48	38	9	47	6	(2100)	13+
1979i	McNair Anderson	51	31	16	47	2	(2011)	16+
1979j	McNair Anderson	≤67	na	na	≥27	6	(2011)	16+
1981	Saulwick	77	na	na	23	-	(2000)	18+
1986	Reark	39	47	12	59	2	(2152)	15+
1984	Saulwick	80	na	na	18	2	(2000)	18+
1993	Saulwick	≤90	na	na	≥ 7	3	(1000)	18+

na: not available

Questions:

1947 (August): ‘Can you tell me what is meant in Europe by a “displaced person”?’ [Knew the term, 46%; Wrong, 9%; DK, 46%]. All respondents were then told: ‘Australia has agreed to admit 12,000 displaced people a year, if the refugee organisations can supply the ships. Are you for or against that agreement?’

1948 (December): ‘What would you say was meant by the term “displaced person”?’ [Know or gave something like the correct answer, 64%; Wrong, 9%; DK, 27%]. [If Know] ‘Do you favour or oppose 12,000 of them coming to Australia each year?’ [DK, 4%]

1949 (December): ‘As you know, many thousands of non-British immigrants, mostly displaced persons, have come to Australia from the continent of Europe since the war. In the long run, do you think their coming here will be good or bad for Australia?’

1975 (April): ‘Firstly about Vietnam, apart from the Vietnamese orphans. In your opinion, should any South Vietnamese refugees - men and women - be allowed to come to Australia to live here?’ [Yes, 54%; No, 33%; DK, 13%] [If Yes] How many?’ [DK, 41%]

1977a (December): ‘Have you read or heard of the hundreds of refugees from Vietnam who have landed in Darwin in small boats? [Yes, 98%]. Would you allow any number of them to live permanently here [13%], or limit their number [60%] or stop them from staying here [20%]? [If limit] How many would you choose? [DK, 46%]

1977b (December): Respondents were asked whether the Vietnamese arriving off the northern Australian coast should be allowed to stay or sent back.

1978 (September): ‘What should the Federal government do about refugees who come by boat from Vietnam without special permits, and land at places like Darwin: take a lenient view and allow them to settle here [29%], or take a hard line and send them back [39%], or make special efforts to get some other country to take them [27%]?’

1979a (February): 'Should Australia be taking in more or less or about the planned number of Vietnamese refugees?'

1979b (February): 'Next about refugees from Vietnam. Would you allow any number of them to live permanently here [7%], or limit their number [61%], or stop them from staying here [28%]? [If limit] How many would you allow?' [DK, 48%]

1979c (March): 'Next about refugees from Vietnam. would you allow any number of them to live permanently here [8%], or limit their number [57%], or stop them from staying here? [32%]? [If limit] How many would you allow? [DK, 38%]

1979d (April): 'In the last year or two, Australia has allowed 10,000 refugees from Vietnam and other Indo-Chinese countries to settle in Australia each year. In future should we: accept more each year; accept about the same number each year; accept fewer each year [30%]; or accept no more [37%]?'

1979e (June): 'First, about refugees from Indo-China. I mean from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Looking at the top card - which line best describes how many, if any, refugees from Indo-China our government should allow to come to Australia each year to live here permanently? [More than 100,000, 2%; 100,000, 2%; 50,000, 3%; 20,000, 4%; 15,000, 2%; 12,500, 1%; 10,000, 8%; 7,500, 1%; 5,000, 10%; 2,000, 7%; 1,000, 9%; less than 1,000/None, 10%].

1979f (June): 'Next about the refugees coming to Australia by boat. Do you feel our government should accept those refugees arriving in Australia by boat or put those boats back to sea?'

1979g (June-July): 'Australia has taken some Indo-Chinese refugees, that is, people from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. How many Indo-Chinese refugees do you think have come to Australia since 1975? [Less than 20,000, 42%; 20,000-30,000, 11%; more than 30,000, 23%; DK, 25%]. In fact the actual number of Indo-Chinese who arrived in Australia between April 1975 and 1979 was 22,000. Do you think this is too many, too few, about right?'

1979h (June-July): 'Now let's think about the future intake of Indo-Chinese refugees. The Australian Government has promised to take 10,500 Indo-Chinese this year and another 10,500 next year. Do you think this level of acceptance is too high, too low, or about right for Australia?'

1979i (September): as for 1979a

1979j (September): 'What should the Federal Government do about refugees who come by boat from Vietnam without special permits, and land at places like Darwin: take a lenient view and allow them to stay here [27%], or take a hard line and send them straight back [28%], or make special efforts to get some other country to take them [39%]?'

1981 (November): 'As you know, Australia has a population of nearly 15 million. The government currently plans to bring about 120,000 new migrants to Australia each year. Thinking about migration, could you tell me which if any of these statements you agree with? ... Australia should accept refugees.'

1984 (July): 'As you know Australia has a population of over 15 million. the government currently plans to bring 74,000 new migrants to Australia this financial year. Thinking about migration, could you tell me which if any of these statements you agree with? ... Australia should accept refugees.'

1986 (November): 'Since the Second World War, Australia has taken in many thousands of refugees and displaced persons, mainly from Europe and South-East Asia. In recent years, between 10 per cent and 15 per cent of all our migrants have been refugees and displaced persons and many more would come if they could. Do you think Australia's refugee and displaced persons intake should be increased, kept at its present level, [or] reduced?'

1993 (September): 'You may know that some people have travelled to Australia from Asia in small boats and have applied to stay as migrants. Do you think people who attempt to become migrants in this way should be: sent straight back where they came from, despite what they say may happen to

them [44%]; assessed with all other migrant applicants, and held in custody in the meantime [46%]; or allowed to stay as migrants in Australia [7%]?’

Sources:

- 1947: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 448-458, September 1947 and Survey No. 51 draft questionnaire.
1948: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 559-568, January-February 1949 and Survey No. 61 draft questionnaire.
1949: *Australian Gallup Polls* Nos. 645-661, January-February 1950 and Survey No. 69 questionnaire.
1975: *Morgan Gallup Poll*, Finding No. 220.
1977: *Morgan Gallup Poll*, Finding No. 519.
1977b: *National Times* 5-10 December 1977 and the ABC's *Four Corners*
1978: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* Poll No. 04/9/78
1979a: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* Poll No. 03/2/79
1979b: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 610, Computer Report No. 252.
1979c: The Roy Morgan Research Centre 'Limit Vietnamese Coming Here', nd. [Morgan Gallup Poll Finding No. 615 Computer Report No. 254]
1979d: *Age* 13 June 1979.
1979e, 1979f: *Morgan Gallup Poll* Finding No. 638 and Computer Report No. 270
1979g, 1979h: McNair Anderson for the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.
1979i, 1979j: *Australian Public Opinion Polls (The Gallup Method)* Poll No. 03/9/79.
1981: *Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald* 18 January 1982.
1984: *Age* 27 August 1984.
1986: Reark Research 'Attitudinal Survey on Population Issues in Australia' for the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1986, p. 57.
1993: *Sydney Morning Herald* 11 October 1993 (Irving Saulwick and Associates).

TABLE 8 Support for assimilation, 1972-1997

Date	Poll	Support	Opposition	Neither/ DK	n	Age
1972	ASRB	56	45	-	(1000)	18+
1988-89a	AGB McNair	69	31	-	(1647)	15+
1988-89b	AGB McNair	66	34	-	(1647)	15+
1992	AMR: Quantum	87	13	-	(2000)	16+
1993	AMR: Quantum	86	14	-	(1070)	16+
1994	Saulwick	61	35	4	(1000)	18+
1994-1995	AMR: Quantum Harris	59	41	-	(2400)	18+
1995	NSSS	73	15	12	(2259)	18+
1995-1996	AMR: Quantum Harris	62	38	-	(2051)	18+
1996-1997	AMR: Quantum Harris	60	40	-	(2017)	18+

Questions:

1972 (July): Respondents whether they agreed 'strongly' [36%], agreed 'in part' [20%], disagreed 'in part' [22%] or disagreed 'strongly' [23%] that 'Migrants should try to forget their old national customs as quickly as possible.'

1988 (October)-1989 (February): 'Looking at Card 17, please tell me if you agree very much, agree a little, disagree a little or disagree very much with the following statements:

a. Having lots of different cultural groups in Australia causes lots of problems [Agree very much, 35%; agree a little, 34%; disagree a little, 19%; disagree very much, 11%]

b. People who come to Australia should change their behaviour to be more like other Australians [Agree very much, 33%; agree a little, 33%; disagree a little, 20%; disagree very much, 13%]

1992 (April-May), 1993 (October): Respondents were presented with a six-point scale ranging from 1 to 6, 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree', and asked whether they agreed or disagreed that 'Immigrants to this country should be prepared to adopt the way of life of this country.' We assume that those who circled 1-3 disagreed with the statement while those who circled 4-6 agreed with it.

1994 (May-June): 'Which of these statements comes closest to your view: we should welcome and respect migrants who have different ways of living and behaving; or, migrants should learn to live and behave like the majority of Australians do?'

1994 (December)-1995 (February), 1995 (November)-1996 (January): Respondents were presented with a six-point scale ranging from 1 to 6, 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree', and asked whether they agreed or disagreed that 'Immigrants to Australia should adopt our way of life even if they have to put their own traditions and culture behind them.' We assume that those who circled 1-3 disagreed with the statement while those who circled 4-6 agreed with it.

1995 (March-October): 'Some people say that it is better for a country if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views come closer to your own? (Choose only one.) It is better for a society if groups maintain their distinct traditions and customs OR it is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society?'

1996 (November)-1997 (January): Respondents were presented with a six-point scale ranging from 1 to 6, 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree', and asked whether they agreed or disagreed that 'Immigrants to this country should adopt the Australian way of life, even if this means they have to put their traditions, their language and the country they came from behind them.' We assume that those who circled 1-3 disagreed with the statement while those who circled 4-6 agreed with it.

Sources:

Age and Sydney Morning Herald 31 July 1972 and 7 June 1984; AMR: Quantum 'Australian Social Monitor', 1992-1993; AMR: Quantum Harris, 'Australian Social Monitor', 1994, 'Australian Scan', 1995-1997; Jonathan Kelley, Clive S. Bean, M.D.R. Evans and Krzysztof Zagorski 'Australia, 1995: National Social Science Survey. Codebook and Machine Readable Data File (Preliminary)', Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, 1995.

TABLE 9 Support for multiculturalism, 1988-1997

Date	Poll	Support	Opposition	Neither/ DK	n	Age
1988-89a	AGB McNair	77	21	2	(1647)	15+
1988-89b	AGB McNair	62	35	3	(1647)	15+
1994a	Saulwick	63	35	2	(1000)	18+
1994b	Henningham*	78	na	na	(262)	18+
1995	NSSS	41	41	16	(2259)	18+
1996a	AGB McNair	61	21	18	(2063)	18+
1996b	AGB McNair	70	20	10	(2060)	18+
1997	Newspoll	78	16	6	(1200)	18+

* Mainland capital cities

na: not available

Questions:

1988 (October)-1989 (February): 'There has been a lot of talk about multiculturalism lately, and people have different views of what that means. I'd like you to tell me how much you agree or disagree with some of these views. There are no right and wrong answers, all we want is your opinion. Using Card 17, please tell me how much you agree or disagree...

a. Multiculturalism is necessary if people from different cultures are to live in harmony. [Agree very much, 39%; agree a little, 38%; disagree a little, 14%; disagree very much, 7%].

b. Multiculturalism promotes a fair go for all members of the community.' [Agree very much, 23%; agree a little, 39%; disagree a little, 25%; disagree very much, 10%].

1994a (May-June): 'Do you agree or disagree that if people from a particular ethnic background want to mix mainly with themselves, they should not be criticised for doing so?'

1994b: Respondents were asked to say 'Yes' or 'No' to 'multiculturalism'.

1995 (March-October): 'Now we would like to ask you a few questions about minorities in Australia. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements....: It is impossible for people who do not share Australian customs and traditions to be fully Australian?' Yes!! [14%], Yes [27%], ?? [16%], No 31%], No!! [10%]

1996a (June): 'Successive Australian governments have adopted a policy of multiculturalism. This involves encouraging migrants to become Australians without having to give up their own culture. Do you agree or disagree with this policy?'

1996b (November): 'In her maiden speech to Parliament, Pauline Hanson set out her policies on a number of topics. I am now going to read out a number of policies Pauline Hanson outlined in her speech. Could you please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them. Do you agree or disagree that ... The policy of multiculturalism should be abolished?'

1997 (April): 'Thinking now about multiculturalism. Do you personally think multiculturalism has been good or bad for Australia?' [If good] Is that very good [41%] or somewhat good [37%]? [If bad] Is that very bad [6%] or somewhat bad [10%]?'

Sources:

1988-89: Office of Multicultural Affairs, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet 'Issues in Multicultural Australia, 1988: Frequency Tables', Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, Australian National University, 1989.

1994a: Irving Saulwick and Associates for the *Age* and *Sydney Morning Herald* 7 June 1994. 1994b: John Henningham 'Ideological differences between Australian journalists and their public', *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 3 (1) 1998, pp. 92-101.

1995: Jonathan Kelley, Clive Bean, M.D.R. Evans and Krystof Zagorski 'Australia, 1995: National Social Science Survey. Codebook and Machine Readable Data File (Preliminary)', Canberra: Social Science Data Archives, 1995.

1996a: AGB McNair for *Sydney Morning Herald* 19 June 1996.

1996b: AGB McNair for *Sydney Morning Herald* 5 November 1996.

1997: Newspoll for *Weekend Australian* 3-4 May 1997.