Australians Today

The Australia@2015 Scanlon Foundation Survey

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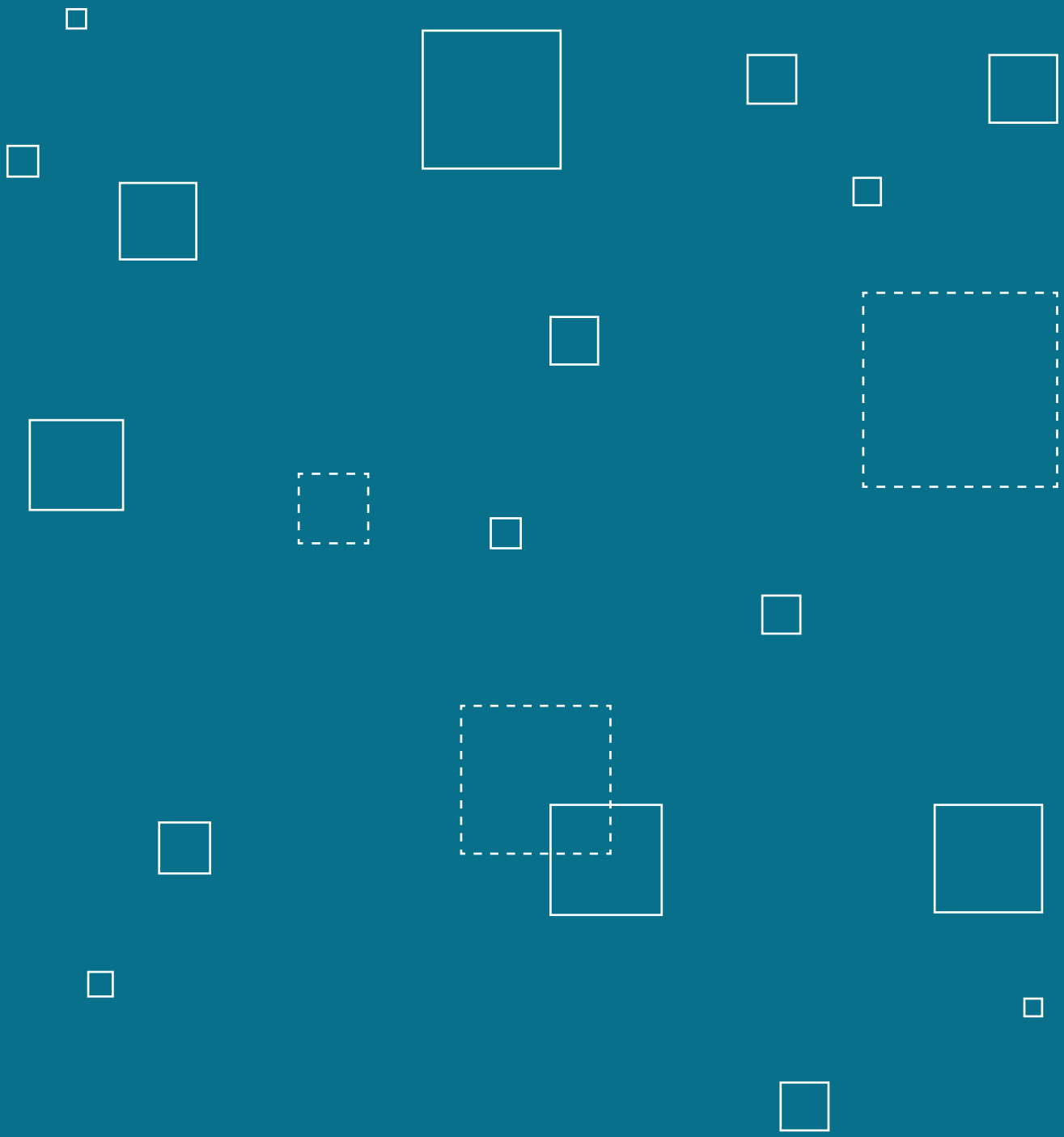
AUSTRALIAN multicultural foundation

MONASH University



Copies of this report can be accessed and downloaded at
scanlonfoundation.org.au/australianstoday
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ISBN: 978-0-9945960-1-7
Published 2016

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Australia@2015 is the largest parallel survey of Australian born and immigrants undertaken in Australia. The survey was open between September 2015 and February 2016 and was completed by more than 10,000 respondents.

The objective of reaching such a large number of respondents was to further understand sub-groups of the population that are not represented in sufficient number in general surveys. Australia@2015 (abbreviated as Au@2015 in this report) was available in English and 19 languages, with 1,521 (14%) questionnaires completed in a language other than English; there were 100 or more respondents from fifteen countries, with the largest number, 5,061, born in Australia, and more than 100 respondents from each of twelve faith groups. Of the overseas born, 1,440 arrived over the last five years.

In addition to Au@2015, which was available for completion online and in print form, there were 51 focus group discussions with a total of 285 participants. The focus groups were conducted in areas of immigrant concentration in Australia's four largest cities, Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, and Perth.

Context

Australia has experienced sustained population growth for many decades, with a substantial increase in immigrant numbers since the late 1990s. In 1996 the population of Australia was 18.3 million, at the end of 2015 it was close to 24 million, having grown by 2.3 million in the ten years to 2005 and a further 3.3 million to 2015.

The current immigration program provides for 190,000 permanent places, 68% in the Skill stream and 32% in the Family stream. In addition, there are 13,750 places in the Humanitarian program, with a special provision over several years for 12,000 refugees from the Syrian conflict. It is a complex program to administer and a complex program to understand. For example, in the Skill stream the total allocation of places includes both primary and secondary (dependent) applicants – so in a Skill program of, for example, 100,000 places, with the typical family unit of four persons, only one quarter may be assessed for employment. The Skill stream includes employer nominated, independent and, in effect, family components.

Further complications are the increasing number who gain long-stay residence outside the immigration program, with numbers in large part demand driven rather than government controlled.

Those within the long-stay categories include Business visa classes and international students, both eligible for work in Australia and who may later gain onshore selection into the permanent program. Another major category outside the immigration program comprises New Zealand citizens, who may gain indefinite residence simply by presenting their passport at the point of entry.

Immigration is never an easy program for governments to manage across a number of dimensions, including economic, social and environmental. Difficulties include the need to balance a range of at times competing interests, including those of employers and trade unions, members of the public with differing views on humanitarian obligations and cultural diversity, and lobbying by immigrants to influence policy, for example to change their access to welfare entitlements or improve the prospects of entry of relatives or friends. The focus group discussions undertaken for this project indicate that immigrants often under-estimate the difficulties that they will face in Australia.

Au@2015 and the focus groups conducted for the project provide a rich data source to address a range of issues related to immigration and cultural diversity. What is the extent of division among the Australian born? From the perspective of recent arrivals, how is the immigration program working? What is the indication of pressure points, emerging problems? Is there scope for changes that in the view of immigrants would make a significant difference to their prospects of successful settlement and integration? What are the costs and benefits of current policy settings?

Broad perspective

Australia is a good country for immigrants, a view supported by international country rankings and a wealth of surveying, in addition to the Scanlon Foundation surveys conducted annually since 2009.

When Au@2015 asked respondents to indicate their level of happiness in Australia, of those who arrived in the last fifteen years just 13% indicated that they were 'very unhappy' or 'unhappy.' Only 6% indicated that they are 'strongly dissatisfied' or 'dissatisfied' with their life in Australia.

Recent arrivals are optimistic in their outlook. When presented with the proposition that 'Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life,' of those who arrived in the last five years just 6% disagreed; this compares with 13% who arrived between 2001-2005 and 18% who arrived between 1991-1995.

In similar terms, the most recent arrivals (who have been in Australia for less than five years) indicate a higher level of trust than those who have been in Australia for between 10 and 14 years in the federal parliament, the Department of Immigration and Border Protection, and Centrelink,.

When asked if they had a sense of belonging in Australia, just 9% of recent arrivals indicated 'not at all.' Close to 65% of arrivals since 2001 indicate a sense of belonging to a 'great' or 'moderate' extent and identification increases with length of residence: it is at 82% for arrivals between 1991-2000 and 88% for arrivals between 1981-1990.

Further evidence of the high level of identification is provided by the uptake of citizenship, a key indicator of a person's long term commitment: 50% of those who have been resident for between 5 and 9 years indicated that they have become Australian citizens, 59% resident between 10 and 14 years, and 82% resident between 15 and 19 years. A higher proportion of those who have taken up citizenship indicate that they are satisfied with life in Australia when compared with those who have not (81%, 74%).

One factor differentiating current immigrants from earlier generations is enhanced connectedness with former home country. Thus, of arrivals between 2011-15, 71% keep in contact with friends or relatives by SMS or social media daily or several times a week; a marginally lower 65% of arrivals 2001-05 indicate the same level of contact. Close to one in three arrivals between 2001 and 2015 watch television programs from their former home country at least several times a week. Au@2015 did not find evidence that this level of contact with former home countries impacts negatively on identification with Australia.

When asked to select the best aspects of life in Australia from a list of 15 possible attributes, there is indication of shared understanding between Australian born and immigrant about what is valued as most important: the Australian way of life, freedom and democracy, and the standard of living.

With regard to the level of trust in the institutions of Australian society, Au@2015 finds the highest level of trust is in doctors, hospitals and the Medicare system, followed by schools, police, law courts and government departments; a relatively low level of trust in employers and trade unions; and at the lowest level, real estate agents, federal parliament and political parties. Immigrants share the high levels of trust in the top ranked institutions of the Australian born. But in their first five years in Australia, immigrants indicate higher levels of trust in political parties (Australian born 19%, immigrants 34%) and the federal parliament (30%, 48%).

Visa categories

Au@2015 and the focus groups conducted for the project also provide the capacity to go beyond these general positive results to examine attitudes within sub-groups of both the Australian born and immigrant population. The closer analysis indicates that findings are not at the same positive level for all, with indication of difficulties and relatively high dissatisfaction within some visa categories.

A broad indicator is self-described financial status during the first five years in Australia. At the top of the scale were those who indicated that they were 'prosperous' or 'living very comfortably': this proportion was 24% of those who entered on a Business (457) visa; in the mid-range, 12% of those on a Family visa; and at the low end, 7% of those on an Independent Skill visa.

Business (457) visa

A number of economic studies have established that the highest levels of workforce participation are among those sponsored by employers, notably those on a Business (457) visa.

Asked if they are satisfied with their life in Australia, 90% answer in the positive. When asked concerning their financial circumstances, of those who arrived over the last five years just 25% indicate that they are 'just getting along', 'struggling to pay bills', or are 'poor.' Business visa holders indicate the highest level of personal trust, with 68% in agreement that 'most people can be trusted', a much lower 21% that 'you can't be too careful.'

When asked what they least like about life in Australia, the top ranked issue was the high cost of living, selected by 41%, compared to just 6% who indicated 'racism and discrimination.'

Independent Skill

Focus group participants who gained entry under other visa categories discussed the difficulty of obtaining work commensurate with their qualifications and training.

One issue relates to the difficult process of online job applications, with many expressing frustration at what they interpret as rejection solely on the basis of ethnicity and assumed religion. Participants gave examples of not getting a response, then anglicising their name with immediate effect. One focus group participant observed that Australia was not much different to third world countries where to secure a job it was not so much what you know as who you know.

Of those who arrived in the last five years on an Independent Skill visa, 53% indicate that they are 'just getting along', 'struggling to pay bills', or are 'poor', more than double the proportion of Business visa holders

Humanitarian

Many who arrived in Australia on a Humanitarian visa have experienced problems of economic integration: of respondents to Au@2015, a low 36% indicate that they are employed, while 20% are looking for work and the remaining 44% are not in the workforce. When asked to describe their financial status, a relatively high proportion indicated that they are 'just getting along', 'struggling to pay bills', or were 'poor.' Their trajectory over the first fifteen years in Australia points to increasing difficulty: of those who arrived between 2011-15, 50% indicate that their circumstances are 'comfortable' or 'prosperous', a lower 31% of those who arrived between 2000-05.

Despite difficulties, most indicate a positive attitude to life in Australia and high levels of identification. When asked if they are satisfied with their lives, 81% indicated that they were and only 5% that they were dissatisfied.

The highest proportion indicating that the attribute that they most liked about Australia was 'freedom and democracy' was among Humanitarian entrants and asylum seekers, indicated by 34% and 41% respectively, compared to 22% of third generation Australians. The response to a number of questions indicates that Humanitarian entrants are reluctant to criticise Australia, where they have been given permanent residence and government support, although 34% indicate that they have experienced discrimination over the last twelve months.

New Zealand Special Category Visa

Those who entered on a New Zealand Special Category Visa provide mixed indicators with regard to economic fortunes. Of Au@2015 respondents they have among the highest level of workforce participation. Just 13% indicate that they are 'struggling to pay bills' or are 'poor.' But when asked 'Has your experience of Australia been more positive than you expected before your arrival, or has it been more negative?', New Zealand SCV have the highest proportion (28%) indicating that it has been more negative.

New Zealand SCV also report the highest level of discrimination among the visa categories analysed. When asked to specify the aspect of life in Australia that they least like, a relatively low proportion of 12% indicate that it is the high cost of living, while 28% indicate 'racism and discrimination.'

Questioned on institutional trust, of eight birthplace groups considered those born in New Zealand had the lowest level of trust in Australian political parties (at just 10%), the federal parliament (17%), the Department of Immigrant and Border Protection (27%) and Centrelink (38%); there is also indication of a low level of personal trust.

One New Zealand focus group participant asked if what she was saying would make any difference, whether anyone would listen.

The findings for two additional groups, receiving considerable recent public attention, are next considered.

Muslim Australians

The level of diversity within the Muslim community is of a complexity that is not recognised in much public discussion. One participant commented: *'we are lumped as one by the media or some politician, while in reality we are not as one, we are extremely diverse.'* There are divisions between the secular and the religious; between the different streams of Islam; between young, the middle aged and elderly; and between national and ethnic groups. Australia's Muslims are as diverse as the Australian population.

A substantial majority of Muslims have a high level of identification with Australia; 72% indicated that they had a sense of belonging in Australia to a 'great' or 'moderate' extent; 75% indicated that they were satisfied with their life in Australia.

There are, however, problems. There is a small minority within the Muslim population that is less positive in their outlook and identification; thus in response to the question on sense of belonging, a relatively high 14% indicated that they did not know or declined to answer.

Negativity towards Muslims is relatively high in Australia; some groups of Muslim Australians reported relatively high levels of discrimination over the last twelve months: 51% of those born in Australia, 46% born in Iraq, and 47% of those on Student visas. Also a relatively high proportion of Muslim women report discrimination, some 50% higher than men.

In focus group discussions Muslim respondents indicated concern at what they saw as deterioration in relations, linked to the actions of politicians who they saw as inciting division within the community, and at much of the Australian media which was seen as biased and ill-informed in much of its coverage.

African groups

Those born in African countries had a low level of participation in previous surveys conducted by the Scanlon Foundation. For example, the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey was completed by 2,324 respondents of whom only 25 were born in sub-Saharan countries other than South Africa.

To further understanding of issues impacting on those born in African countries the Au@2015 survey worked with organisations, notably the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, to promote the online survey and distribute print versions to encourage participation. The largest number of completed surveys (166) was obtained from South Sudanese, who are of Christian faith. In total, close to 500 surveys were completed by respondents born in sub-Saharan African countries other than South Africa.

The Sudanese are a relatively new immigrant group in Australia, with the peak of arrivals between 1996-2005 within the Humanitarian program. Of Au@2015 respondents, 52% of South Sudanese arrived between 2001-2005, 31% between 2006-2010.

A large majority of South Sudanese, 76%, indicated that they are satisfied with life in Australia, with 12% dissatisfied; 58% indicated that their experience of life in Australia is more positive than they had expected before arrival, 4% that it was more negative, and a relatively high proportion, 30%, declined to answer.

There are, however, several negative aspects in the South Sudanese responses. When asked about their current employment, 23% indicated that they were unemployed; personal trust was indicated by just 4%, compared to the survey average for recent arrivals of 37%. Just 26% indicated trust in police, which was the lowest for eight national groups analysed, with the next lowest response at 68%. Low levels of trust may be an indication of war-time experiences prior to arrival, although in contrast with the lack of trust in police, trust in doctors, hospitals, Medicare and Centrelink are all at or above 80%.

Experience of discrimination over the last 12 months is at the highest level among some African groups, with discrimination indicated by 53% of those born in Egypt, 60% Ethiopia, 67% Kenya, 75% Zimbabwe, and 77% South Sudan. A relatively high proportion of South Sudanese, 59%, indicated that they had experienced discrimination when in contact with police over the last 12 months, 26% indicated that their property had been damaged, and 17% that they had been subject to physical attack. These findings are consistent with a number of issues raised in focus group discussion.

Second and third generation Australians

Close to half the Australian population comprise what are termed the third generation in this report, although they may be fourth, fifth or of earlier generations – they are those who are born in Australia with both parents born in Australia. The 2011 census indicated that of these, 94% are of Anglo-Celtic ancestry. A further 20% of the population are the second generation, Australian born with one or both of their parents born overseas, and 28% are the first generation, having been born overseas.

The majority of Australians support the current immigration program. The Scanlon Foundation national surveys over the last four years found that an average of 56% either support the current immigration intake or consider that it should be increased, while 37% consider that the intake is too high. This finding is similar to that obtained by the 2014 ANU poll and the 2016 Lowy Institute poll. Au@2015 found that 40% of Australian born respondents considered the current intake to be too high, a marginally higher 44% among the third generation.

However, opinion is not simply to be understood in for or against terms. Immigration is an issue on which very strong feelings are held by minorities. Au@2015 finds that when questioned on what they least like about Australia, the first choice of 18% of third generation Australians was the extent of 'racism and discrimination', while a similar proportion, 19%, indicated 'too much immigration.'

Additional evidence is provided by the Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale developed on the basis of nine questions for this report. Those who obtain a low score on this scale indicate rejection of cultural diversity.

Of third generation Australians 29%, and of all Australian born 26%, obtained low scores, with a significant difference between the proportions of men (35%) and women (17%). In contrast, a much lower 8% of overseas born of non-English speaking background obtained low scores.

Regional analysis indicates 18% low scores in major cities, 25% in inner regional areas, and 39% in outer regional areas.

Analysis of areas in major cities that are both high diversity and relatively high socio-economic disadvantage finds that among the third generation 34% obtain low scores, in contrast with 4% of overseas born.

Among the relatively few third generation Australians who live in such areas, a substantial minority are negative concerning the impact of immigration and cultural diversity.

A prominent theme in focus group discussions was the difference in urban areas that are diverse and those that seem monocultural. Many focus group participants contrasted the urban landscape, environments in which they felt a sense of 'belonging', 'at home', 'comfortable', and 'normal', and areas where they felt 'out of place', a 'stare object', an 'alien.'

The experience of socialisation in a culturally diverse environment was a second theme: some grow with diversity, seeing it as the normal way of existence, others among their 'own kind.' Urban segmentation is not a new development, it has been a feature of Australian life since the arrival after 1947 of large numbers of immigrants from continental Europe. But areas of immigrant concentration are increasing in size with Australia's more diverse and growing population – and in the perception of a number of focus group participants, the extent of differentiation is increasing.

Local areas

More than 2,200 Au@2015 respondents who live in eight areas of relatively high immigrant concentration and high socio-economic disadvantage were selected for detailed analysis. A social cohesion index was calculated for these local areas on the basis of 22 questions.

The highest negative results were obtained in three areas, one each in Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. The negative results included questions that relate to crime and safety. Thus 50% of respondents in Hume indicated that they are 'very worried' or 'fairly worried' about becoming a victim of crime. When asked concerning sense of safety on the streets at night, the proportion indicating that they felt 'very unsafe', 'a bit unsafe' or that they never walked alone at night was 56% in Hume, 51% in Logan-Inala and 41% in Auburn-Bankstown.

While the survey results are relatively negative, there were a number of positive comments by the focus group participants. Participants in the nine focus groups conducted in the Logan-Inala area made favourable comments concerning the personal involvement of Councillors and their support of community events, the extent of assistance provided by voluntary organisations, the creativity and talent of individuals, the growth of the region, and significant improvement in some schools. While the participants recognised a range of problems, the tenor of the discussion indicated that local Councils, voluntary organisations, and the leadership of school Principals had the capacity to make a significant difference to local communities.

Key issues

1. Immigration is a difficult process for the host society and immigrant, and Australia does as well as any country in its selection and settlement policies. A range of positive indicators are noted in this report, as is the high level of hope and optimism of recent arrivals. But the question raised by issues noted below is: with relatively minor changes in policy settings, can the goals of immigration policy be better achieved?

2. Those in the Independent Skill and some other visa categories are able to meet the requirements for entry into Australia, but encounter significant difficulties when seeking employment in their area of qualification and work experience, or in obtaining employment at all. Obstacles include difficulties of navigating unfamiliar institutional requirements and lack of local experience. Many recent arrivals and those who have been settled for a number of years are of the view that the job selection process discriminates on the basis of ethnicity and perceived religion. Many immigrants discussed a level of difficulty that they had not expected to encounter. Responses to a broad range of questions contrast the positive outlook of those in independent and employer sponsored visa categories.

3. Findings indicate that Humanitarian entrants from African countries have faced high levels of difficulty, not the least of which is the ongoing experience of colour prejudice. Listening to the accounts of South Sudanese and other African focus group participants raises the question of the extent to which governments since the mid-1990s have recognised the difficulties to be faced by what are pioneer immigrant groups in Australia. There is a different range of problems facing the large number of asylum applicants, numbering close to 30,000, most of whom are resident in Australia, with smaller numbers offshore.

4. An estimated 200,000 New Zealand Special Category Visa holders who arrived after 2001 are in an in-between status, neither long-stay nor permanent. Au@2015 findings point to a high level of dissatisfaction. Recent legislative changes provide new opportunities, but run the risk of heightening dissatisfaction of those who do not qualify, which is likely to include the most in need. One perspective is that intending settlers need to take responsibility for their own decision to settle in Australia on clearly stated terms; another perspective considers the situation of people, including family members, after what may be many years in Australia, the cost to the community of policy which entrenches a second-class status, and the cost of administering a complex and changing system of inclusion and exclusion.

5. Muslims are often misconceived as a unified group. The reality is that Australian Muslims are as diverse as the Australian population, divided by culture and ethnicity, religiosity, and by generational difference. Most Muslims regard themselves as Australian, although a small minority is not comfortable with the dominant secular values. In common, Muslim Australians face a public and political discourse that alienates. Segments within the community report high levels of discrimination. The challenge for the mainstream is to engage with the reality of Muslim diversity.

6. There is a range of views within the Australian population on immigration policy and cultural diversity, as on all issues of political significance. While the majority support current policy, there are minorities with strongly held views, evident at elections and in public campaigns. Advocacy of the benefits of Australia's diverse immigration program and the policy of multiculturalism has not changed the level of entrenched opposition, which by some indicators has grown, with a relatively high proportion (almost 20%) of the Australian born considering that the least favourable aspect of life in Australia is the high level of immigration.

7. A number of local areas of immigrant settlement and socio-economic disadvantage face a range of heightened problems, including concern over levels of substance abuse, crime and personal safety. Focus group discussions indicate local initiatives that can make a difference, including the level of community involvement of local Councils, the extent of volunteer work, and the transformative impact of school Principals.

1 INTRODUCTION

Project objectives

Since it was established in June 2001, the Scanlon Foundation has pursued a mission to support '*the advance of Australia as a welcoming, prosperous and cohesive nation.'* The Foundation's social cohesion research program guides its Australia-wide grant-based investment in programs designed to promote diversity and social cohesion.

Historically immigration has been central to Australia's economic and social development, a contribution that is unlikely to diminish in the foreseeable future. One simple but critical question arising from this expectation is whether, in future decades, Australia can sustain the migration and social cohesion successes which characterise immigration since the Second World War.

In order to address this question, the Monash Institute for the Study of Global Movements and the Australian Multicultural Foundation, with Scanlon Foundation funding, commissioned Professor Andrew Markus from Monash University to design and undertake a benchmark measure of social cohesion, with the aim of repeating the study every two years. The national benchmark survey was undertaken in June–July 2007 by the Melbourne-based Social Research Centre.

It is important to note that rather than look at social cohesion in the abstract, the benchmark survey was designed to examine cohesion within the context of the social impact of a prolonged period of sustained and significant immigration. Towards this end, the focus was to establish a national measure of social cohesion and to underpin it with a series of comparative surveys in areas of high immigrant concentration (also first conducted in 2007) where, it is predicted, the potential for social tension is higher.

The national survey, which provides data for the Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion, was replicated in 2009 and since then has been conducted annually. All surveys conducted are listed in appendix 4 at the end of this report.

The local area survey was replicated in 2009 and 2012. Australian government funding in 2013 made possible a fourth round of local surveys and contributed to a survey of new arrivals. A component of Au@2015 is the fifth round of local area surveying.

The Australian government again provided funding to expand the reach of the survey in local areas of interest to government from a social cohesion perspective. The purpose of the additional surveying is to provide an enhanced evidence base to support the development and delivery of Government programs, and to help inform the advice to Government on issues of social cohesion.

The Scanlon Foundation

In addition to the landmark Mapping Social Cohesion surveys, the Scanlon Foundation continues to create awareness and stimulate knowledge-based discussion about Australia's population growth and the relationship between immigration and social cohesion. To further this end, the Foundation has extended its own internet site and has supported the establishment and on-going development of the Mapping Australia's Population internet site based at Monash University. These sites seeks to augment informed public discussion of immigration and population issues by making available the findings of the Scanlon Foundation surveys. To provide a context, the Monash University site also provides an inventory of other relevant surveying undertaken in Australia, with updates of statistical data on immigration and population sourced from government publications.[1]

The Foundation continues to use the results of this research to initiate on-the-ground action projects designed to address factors which affect social cohesion and in particular the transition of immigrants into Australian society. Details of these projects are available at the Scanlon Foundation internet site. They include:

- *The National Community Hubs Project*
- *'The Huddle' Learning and Life Community Centre* (North Melbourne)
- *CALD Communities Family Violence and Early Intervention* (Whittlesea, Melbourne)
- *Welcoming Cities Project*
- *Umpiring Diversity Program*
- *Enterprising Tarneit* (Wyndham)
- *Border Trust Community Grants* (Albury/ Wodonga)
- For further information, see *Annual Community Grants*[2]

[1] The Mapping Australia's Population website is at http://monash.edu/mapping-population/
[2] See http://www.scanlonfoundation.org.au/projects

Scope and methodology

The Australia@2015 survey was an open access internet based survey conducted between 16 September 2015 and 29 February 2016.

The survey was available in English and 19 languages, with translations of the questionnaire undertaken by the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and Multicultural NSW. The languages were

> Arabic, Cantonese, Dari, Dinka, English, French, Hindi, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Malayalam, Mandarin, Persian (Farsi), Punjabi, Portuguese, Spanish, Thai, Tigrinya, Turkish, Vietnamese

Au@2015 was widely promoted over a period of more than five months. Key support was provided by SBS radio programs and internet platforms and a number of other organisations, notably the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, Multicultural NSW, the Australian Multicultural Council, the Centre for Multicultural Youth (Melbourne), Afghan Australian Initiative (Melbourne), Settlement Services International (SSI, Sydney), MDA (Brisbane), Access Community Services (Logan, Brisbane), the Department of Social Services, and a number of state and local government departments. Other service and community organisations were contacted to promote the survey through their networks and paid Facebook promotions were undertaken.

Au@2015 was hosted by Research Now, who also undertook data integrity checks with reference to speed of completion, pattern response and IP address. A total of 10,026 questionnaires were cleared. In addition, a limited number of print versions of the questionnaire were distributed in Melbourne to extend survey reach. Au@2015 was completed in print by 522 respondents, including 288 born in African countries (147 in South Sudan, 45 in Sudan, 21 in Zimbabwe), 63 Philippines, 47 Turkey, 43 Cyprus, and 26 Vietnam.

A combined 10,548 online and print versions were completed. Of these, 5,061 were born in Australia (48%) and 5,487 (52%) born overseas. Of the overseas born, 3,652 (69%) were recent arrivals, having arrived over the last twenty years.

Au@2015 was the third Scanlon Foundation online survey conducted with the aim of furthering understanding of recent immigrant arrivals, of the Australian born, and of the impact of mode of surveying on the pattern of response. The first online survey of recent arrivals survey was conducted in 2013 and a survey of third generation Australians was conducted in 2014.[3]

Table 1 indicates the weighted respondent profile of recent arrivals surveyed in the 2013 and 2015 surveys and the demographic profile of recent arrivals in the 2011 census. This comparison of arrivals between 1990-2010 indicates a close match for decade of arrival and gender, for the distribution in the major states (NSW Victoria, and Queensland), of the proportion indicating their religion as Christian or of no religion, and employment status. The sample includes a relatively high proportion aged above 45, of Australian citizens, and of those who indicate that their religion is Islam and Judaism, and a relatively low proportion of those who indicate that their religion is Buddhism or Hinduism and of Western Australians. While the proportion with post-graduate qualifications matches the census proportion, there is a relatively low proportion with Bachelor level degrees and without post-school qualifications, and a high proportion with trade, certificate or diploma level qualifications.

Of Au@2015 arrivals, 29% arrived between 1990-99, 71% between 2000-10, 44% are make, 56% female. Selected demographic features of new arrivals are presented in Table 1, with further details in Appendix 1.

- **Age**: 6% aged 18-24; 19% aged 25-34; 27% aged 35-44; 27% aged 45-54; and 20% aged 55/+.
- **Citizenship status:** 63% Australian citizens, 36% were not.
- **State of residence:** 34% of respondents live in New South Wales, 29% Victoria, 20% Queensland, 9% Western Australia, 3% South Australia; 5% other.
- **Religion:** 41% of respondents are of Christian faith, 22% indicate that they have no religion, 12% are Muslim, 7% are Buddhist, 4% Jewish and 3% Hindu.
- **Highest educational level**: 21% have no post-school qualification, 42% a Trade, Certificate or Diploma, 15% a Bachelor degree, 14% postgraduate.
- **Workforce status**: 65% of respondents are employed, 8% unemployed and 27% other.

[3] See Andrew Markus, Mapping Social Cohesion, *The Scanlon Foundation Surveys: Recent Arrivals Report 2013*; Andrew Markus, *Mapping Social Cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation Surveys 2014*, available at http://www.monash.edu/mapping-population/public-opinion/surveys

Table 1: Respondent profile, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 surveys and 2011 Australian census (%)

		2013 Recent Arrivals Survey Respondents arrived 1990-2010, aged 18-84; weighted %	Au@2015 Respondents arrived 1990-2010, aged 18-84; weighted %	2011 CENSUS Arrivals 1990-2010 (aged 15-84) %
Year of arrival	1990-99	34.1	29.3	33.7
	2000-10	65.9	70.7	66.3
Sex	Male	48.3	43.7	48.7
	Female	51.7	56.3	51.3
Age	18-24 (census 15-24)	8.3	6.0	19.3
	25-34	38.6	19.0	29.8
	35-44	25.7	27.4	24.6
	45-54	16.6	27.1	15.9
	55+	10.8	20.4	10.4
Australian citizen	Yes	60.5	63.4	46.4
	No	37.5	35.9	52.0
State	NSW	32.7	33.8	34.2
	Victoria	29.2	29.2	25.9
	Queensland	14.9	19.6	18.2
	Western Australia	16.6	9.2	13.3
	South Australia	6.7	3.4	5.3
	Other	0	4.8	3.1
Religion	Christian	42.0	41.0	44.1
	No religion	26.9	21.8	23.4
	Buddhist	8.0	7.3	9.1
	Islam	3.5	11.8	7.8
	Hinduism	7.9	3.2	7.8
	Judaism	1.4	4.4	0.8
Highest educational level	To Year 12	12.3	20.6	33.9
	Trade/Certificate/Diploma	22.5	42.0	25.5
	Bachelor	39.4	16.3	26.8
	Post-graduate	24.3	13.8	13.7
Workforce status	Employed	68.3	65.4	65.7
	Unemployed	6.4	7.7	5.2
	Other	25.3	26.8	29.1
N (unweighted)		**2,324**	**2,581**	**2,242,237**

Survey weights

Survey data was weighted to bring the achieved respondent profile into line with Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) demographic indicators. Where possible, target proportions were taken from the 2011 ABS Census.

Three separate weights were developed for use in this report: [a] Australian born respondents; [b] Overseas born respondents; [c] Local area respondents. For the Australian born, five variables were weighted: state, gender, educational attainment, political affiliation and age. For the overseas born and local areas, four variables were weighted: gender, educational attainment, age and country of birth.

Details of the weighting procedure are available in the Methodological Report, accessed at the Mapping Australia's Population internet site.[4]

Mode effect

There are two aspects of internet based surveys that require attention: [1] reliability of the sample; [2] impact of the online mode of administration.

As noted, Au@2015 was promoted over more than five months through a number of organisations and by advertising, in the attempt to obtain a large and representative sample. Results were weighted to bring the sample into alignment with Australian population.

Au@2015 was an open access non-probability sample. There is scope to cross-check the achieved respondent profile against the six Scanlon Foundation probability samples conducted between 2010-15, and the Scanlon Foundation panel based online sample of recent arrivals conducted in 2013. Comparative results for the different surveys are provided in this report. These comparisons show a large measure of consistency.

For example, in response to the proposition that 'Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life,' the proportion responding 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' was 12% of recent arrivals in the Scanlon Foundation national surveys, 11% in the 2013 online survey of recent arrivals, and 8% of recent arrivals in Au@2015; the proportions indicating 'agree' are respectively 46%, 48%, 47%.

However, the proportions indicating 'strongly agree' and 'neither agree nor disagree' differ between the interviewer administered and self-administered online surveys, for reasons considered below.

Online surveys yield a relatively high proportion of mid-point responses, in large part explained by process of administration. An interviewer typically presents a question and asks the respondent if she/he agrees or disagrees, leading to a relatively high proportion of end point responses (for example, 'strongly agree' or 'strongly disagree').[5] The interviewer does not initially bring to notice the option of a mid-point response and leaves it to the respondent to indicate such a response, whereas in an online survey the full-range of responses are presented on the computer screen. A further issue related to use of interviewers in telephone surveying is that personal contact has the potential to lead to what is known as 'social desirability bias' (SDB). SDB refers to the tendency of respondents to give answers they believe are more socially desirable than responses that reflect their true feelings. This form of bias is of particular importance in questions that deal with socially sensitive or controversial issues, such as perception of minorities or government programs which provide assistance to sub-groups.

A 2010 report prepared for the American Association for Public Opinion Research noted that '… respondents may be more honest and accurate when reporting confidentially on a computer.' A prominent American researcher, Humphrey Taylor, observes that 'where there is a "socially desirable" answer, substantially more people in our online surveys give the "socially undesirable" response. We believe that this is because online respondents give more truthful responses.' Similarly, Roger Tourangeau and his co-authors of *The Science of Web Surveys* report that a review of research 'demonstrates that survey respondents consistently underreport a broad range of socially undesirable behaviours and over-report an equally broad range of socially desirable behaviours.'[6]

An online questionnaire such as Au@2015 completed in privacy on a computer, or a printed questionnaire returned anonymously, has the advantage that it provides conditions under which a respondent feels greater freedom to disclose opinions on sensitive topics.

[4] http://www.monash.edu/mapping-population/public-opinion/surveys

[5] Roger Tourangeau Frederick Conrad and Mick Couper, *The Science of Web Surveys*, Oxford University Press, 2013, , pp. 8, 146, 147, 150

[6] American Association for Public Opinion Reseach, AAPOR Report on Online Panels, March 2010; Humphrey Taylor, 'The Case for Publishing (Some) Online Polls', *The Polling Report,* 15 January 2007; Tourangeau et al., p. 133

Focus groups

Focus groups were conducted by the Qualitative Unit of the Social Research Centre, which set up the administrative structure for recruitment and hosting.

The objective of the qualitative component of the project was to provide understanding in their own words of the settlement experience of immigrants from the major sources countries of India, China, New Zealand, supplemented by one African group, the South Sudanese, and Muslim Australians. The focus groups also sought the perspectives of third generation Australians.

Five main topics were explored in the focus groups:

- **Challenges of settling in Australia**: what has helped or hindered transition to a new life; what support was needed; how effectively was it provided?
- **Understandings**: accessing information about government services; communication with service providers; knowledge of Australian society.
- **Identity:** views of Australia; sense of belonging; links with country of origin.
- **Local communities**: community dynamics; nature and extent of communal participation; neighbours; sense of safety; gender; intergenerational issues.
- **Future expectations**: perceptions of change over time.

The focus groups were conducted in eleven areas of relatively high immigrant concentration, six of which were the location of earlier Scanlon Foundation surveys: four were conducted in Sydney (Bankstown, Auburn, Fairfield, Liverpool), four in Melbourne (Greater Dandenong, Moreland, Brimbank, Hume), two in Brisbane (Logan, Inala), and one in Perth (Mirrabooka.)

To recruit participants the Social Research Centre made contact with a wide range of community groups, migrant organisations and key community members in each LGA to ask for information or assistance with the recruitment of respondents. Over 100 organisations and individuals were contacted by the researchers. Recruitment was also undertaken through purchased advertisements on Gumtree, local community noticeboards, online forums and Facebook.

A total of 51 focus groups were conducted between September 2015 and May 2016, 37 by the Social Research Centre; 11 by the project leader, Andrew Markus; one by Dr Hass Dellal, Executive Director of the Australian Multicultural Foundation, and two by a member of a western Sydney community.

Discussions were audio-taped and full transcripts prepared. The transcripts were first coded in NVivo by the Social Research Centre, a second independent coding was undertaken by two Monash University project members.

A total of 285 persons participated, comprising 279 participants in focus groups and an additional six persons individually interviewed. The profile of the participants, where indicated, was:

- **Gender:** 125 male (44%); 156 female (55%).
- **Location**: Sydney, 109 (39%); Melbourne, 107 (38%); Brisbane, 44 (16%); Perth, 20 (7%).
- **Age**: 18-24, 87 (31%); 25-34, 94 (33%); 35-44, 48 (17%); 45-54, 29 (10%); over 54, 13 (14%).
- **Main countries of birth:** Australia 76 (27%); China and Hong Kong 31 (11%); India 29 (10%); New Zealand 25 (9%); South Sudan 23 (8%); Samoa and Tonga 13 (5%); Lebanon 13 (5%); Sudan 11 (4%); Afghanistan 9 (3%); Iraq 9 (3%); Pakistan 7 (3%); Iran 5 (2%).
- **Overseas born, year of arrival:** before 1990, 9 (5%); 1990-1999, 41 (21%); 2000-2009, 97 (49%); after 2009 51, (26%).
- **Religion:** Christian, 127 (45%); Islam, 66 (23%); Hindu, 22 (8%); Buddhist, 14 (5%); no religion 38 (8%).
- **Highest level of education:** Postgraduate degree or diploma, 36 (13%); Bachelor degree, 69 (24%); undergraduate or associate diploma, 34 (12%); trade or other qualification, 15 (5%); Year 12 high school, 88 (31%); middle school, 19 (7%).
- **Current employment**: work full-time, 86 (30%); part-time, casual, 69 (24%); unemployed, 34 (12%); studying full-time, 40, (14%); home duties, 31 (11%).

Context: Population growth

Australia has experienced sustained population growth for many decades, with a substantial increase in immigrant numbers since the late 1990s. In 1996 the population of Australia was 18.3 million, at the end of 2015 it was close to 24 million, having grown by 2.3 million in the ten years to 2005 and a further 3.3 million to 2015.

While annual population growth averaged 1.4% between 1970–2010, over the last decade it peaked at 2.1%, with a decline in growth after 2008-09 and 2012. In 2015 the estimated growth is close to the long-term average of 1.4%, which represents a current population increase of 325,000 persons per year.

Population growth is uneven across Australia. For the twelve months ended December 2015, Victoria's population grew by 1.9%, New South Wales and ACT 1.4%, Queensland 1.3%, Western Australia 1.2%, South Australia 0.7%, Tasmania 0.4%, and the Northern Territory 0.3%.

There are two components of population growth: natural increase and net overseas migration (NOM), which represents the net gain of immigrants arriving less emigrants departing. Between 1975 and 2005 natural increase accounted for 58% of population growth. Since 2006, NOM has been the major component. NOM accounted for 67% of growth in 2008, a lower 54% in the 12 months ended 31 December 2015.

The measure of immigration, net overseas migration, is often misunderstood in public discussion. Since 2006, NOM has included all who maintain residency for 12 months in a 16-month period, irrespective of resident status. It thus includes both permanent and temporary (long-term) arrivals, and in recent years temporary arrivals have outnumbered the permanent.

The major categories of temporary admissions are overseas students, business visa holders (primarily visa subclass 457) and working holiday makers. Over the last seven years the number of overseas students peaked in 2009, business (457) visa holders in 2012, and working holiday makers in 2014. (Table 3)

On 30 June 2013 there were 1.67 million temporary residents in Australia. This number includes 640,770 New Zealand citizens and represents 7.2% of the estimated resident population.

Within the permanent immigration program, the main categories are Skill, Family and Humanitarian. Skill is the largest category, in recent years more than double the Family category. The migration program for 2014-15 provided 127,774 places in the Skill stream and 61,085 in the Family stream. Within the Skill stream 38% of places were employer sponsored, 22% state, territory and regional nominated, and 34% Skill Independent. Within the Family stream, 79% places were for a partner, 14% for a parent and 6% for a dependent child. 52% of visas were allocated to offshore residents, 48% to onshore. Within the Skill stream, 45% were offshore, within the Family stream, 67% were offshore.

In 2014-15 the Humanitarian program provided 13,756 places. The main countries of citizenship were 2,335 Iraqi, 2,232 Syrian, 2029 Burmese (Myanmar), and 1813 Afghan.

Table 2: Population growth and components of growth, Australia 2006-2013

At 30 June	Natural Increase	Net Overseas Migration	Growth on previous year	Growth on previous year
	'000	'000	'000	%
2007	141.7	232.9	318.1	1.54
2008	154.4	277.3	421.6	2.02
2009	156.3	299.9	442.5	2.08
2010	162.6	196.1	340.1	1.57
2011	155.7	180.4	308.3	1.40
2012	158.8	229.4	388.2	1.74
2013	162.0	227.1	389.1	1.71
2014	157.0	186.4	343.3	1.49
2015 (estimate)	148.9	176.5	325.4	1.39

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Demographic Statistics*, December quarter 2015, catalogue number 3101.0 (released 23 June 2016), Table 1. Differences between growth on previous year and the sum of the components of population change are due to intercensal error (corrections derived from latest census data).

Table 3: Temporary entrants and New Zealand citizens in Australia, selected categories, resident n Australia

At 30 June	Overseas students	Business (sub-class 457) visa	Working holiday makers	New Zealand citizens
2009	386,528	146,624	103,482	548,256
2010	382,660	127,648	99,388	566,815
2011	332,700	131,341	111,990	600,036
2012	307,060	162,270	136,590	646,090
2013	304,250	191,220	160,500	640,770
2014 Dec	303,170	167,910	160,940	623,440
2015 Dec	328,130	159,910	155,180	634,560

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Control, Temporary entrants and New Zealand citizens in Australia as at 31 December 2015

Ethnic diversity

At the 2011 census, almost half the population were third generation Australian, meaning that both they and their parents were born in Australia; 20% second generation, born in Australia with at least one overseas-born parent; and 27% first generation, born overseas. Thus in total 47% of the population comprised first or second generation Australians.[7]

There has been a gradual increase in the proportion overseas-born, from 23% in 2001 to 24% in 2006, and 27% in 2011, an increase from 4.1 million in 2001 to 5.3 million in 2011.

In 2015 it was estimated that 28% were overseas-born, ranking Australia first within the OECD among nations with populations over ten million. It compares with 20% overseas-born in Canada, 13% in Germany, 13% in the United States, 11% in the United Kingdom, and 12% in France. The average for the OECD is 12%.

A relatively high proportion of the overseas-born in Australia live in capital cities: 82% in 2011, compared to 66% of all people. In 2011, the overseas-born comprised an estimated 37% of the population of Perth, 36% of Sydney, 33% of Melbourne, 26% of Adelaide and Brisbane, and a much lower 14% of Hobart.

The overseas-born are unevenly distributed within the capital cities, with concentrations above 50% in some Local Government Areas. In Melbourne, the largest concentrations are located in the central, south-eastern and western regions of the city; in Sydney they are located in the central and western regions.

Data on language usage provides a fuller understanding of the extent of diversity than country of birth, as it captures the diversity among both first and second generation Australians.

In some suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne, where over 60% of the population is overseas-born, over 75% speak a language other than English in the home. These suburbs with a large proportion indicating that they speak a language other than English in the home include, in Sydney, Cabramatta (88%), Canley Vale (84%), and Lakemba (84%); in Melbourne, Campbellfield (81%), Springvale (79%), and Dallas (73%).

In 2011, of the overseas-born, the leading countries of birth were the United Kingdom (20.8%), New Zealand (9.1%), China (6.0%), India (5.6%), Italy and Vietnam (3.5%).

[7] ABS, Cultural Diversity in Australia, cat. Number 2071.0

Table 4: Top 10 countries of birth of the overseas-born population, 2011 (census)

Country of birth	Persons	%
United Kingdom	1,101,100	20.8
New Zealand	483,400	9.1
China	319,000	6.0
India	295,400	5.6
Italy	185,400	3.5
Vietnam	185,000	3.5
Philippines	171,200	3.2
South Africa	145,700	2.8
Malaysia	116,200	2.2
Germany	108,000	2.0
Elsewhere overseas	2,183,800	41.2
Total overseas-born	5,294,200	100

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Cultural Diversity In Australia, catalogue number 2071.0 (21 June 2012).

Over the last thirty years, an increasing proportion of immigrants have been drawn from the Asian region. Thus, in 2014-2015 the leading country of birth for immigrants was India (18%), followed by China (15%) and the United Kingdom (11%). Of the top ten source countries, seven are in the Asian region. Settler arrivals from New Zealand, who are not included in the Migration Programme, numbered 27,274 in 2013-14, a marked decline from 41,230 in 2012-13.

Table 5: Migration Programme – top 10 source countries, 2012-2014

Country of birth	2013-14	2014-15
India	39,026	34,874
People's Republic of China	26,776	27,872
United Kingdom	23,220	21,078
Philippines	10,379	11,886
Pakistan	6,275	8,281
Irish Republic	6,171	6,187
Vietnam	5,199	5,100
South Africa, Republic of	4,908	4,284
Nepal	4,364	4,130
Malaysia	4,207	3,977
Total (including Other)	190,000	189,097

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, '2014-15 Migration Program Report', p. 7

Workforce outcomes

The demographic characteristics of permanent settlers are indicated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Migrants Integrated Dataset, released in 2013. The dataset integrates census data with the Department of Immigration and Border Control's Settlement Data Base. It covers permanent settlers who arrived in Australia between 1 January 2000 and 9 August 2011, the date of the census.

The Integrated Dataset enables the settlement outcomes of recent migrants to be cross tabulated by visa stream, onshore or offshore application, and for principal and secondary applicant. The following summary of key indicators considers visa stream and includes both primary and secondary applicant, that is, the applicant who was granted permanent residence and the person's accompanying family.

In August 2011 there were 1.3 million permanent settlers who had arrived in Australia since 1 January 2000: 716,793 (56%) via the Skill stream, 418,553 (33%) via the Family stream, and 138,355 (11%) via the Humanitarian stream.[8]

Age: Within the Skill stream, 56% were in the 25 to 44 year age group; within the Family stream, 61%; and within the Humanitarian stream, 39%. There was a greater proportion (21%) in the Humanitarian stream under the age of 20 than in the other migration streams, compared with 17% in the Skill stream and 7% in the Family stream.

Proficiency in English: Nearly all (95%) of Skill stream spoke English either 'very well' or 'well', or only spoke English; this compares with 82% of Family stream migrants and 68% of Humanitarian stream; 5% of Skill stream migrants, 18% of Family stream, and 31% of Humanitarian stream indicated that the spoke English 'not well' or 'not at all.'

Education: A higher proportion of Skill stream and Family stream migrants aged 15 years and over had completed a Bachelor degree or higher university qualification: 52% Skill, 32% Family, and 8% Humanitarian stream. Within the Humanitarian stream, 18% of migrants had completed a Diploma or Certificate level qualification, however, the highest proportion recorded 'Other' for their level of non-school qualification (74%). The 'Other' category included persons with no qualification and persons still studying for a first qualification.

Employment: Almost three-quarters (76%) of Skill stream migrants aged 15 years and over were employed in August 2011; this compares with 55% of Family stream migrants and 32% of Humanitarian stream migrants. Less than one fifth of Skill stream migrants (19%) were not in the labour force, while 37% of Family stream migrants and 56% of Humanitarian stream migrants were not in the labour force.

Income: A relatively high proportion of Skill stream migrants aged 15 years and over had high incomes: almost 21% of Skill stream migrants had individual income exceeding $1,500 per week, compared with 8% of Family stream migrants and 1% of Humanitarian stream migrants. Conversely, a relatively high proportion of Humanitarian stream migrants aged 15 years and over had low weekly incomes: 51% of Humanitarian stream migrants had incomes of less than $300 per week. This compared with 41% of Family stream migrants and 26% of Skill stream migrants. Income less than $600 was indicated by 72% of Humanitarian stream migrants, 58% Family stream and 37% Skill stream.

A number of studies have been undertaken using the Integrated Dataset and other sources to further understanding of the workforce outcomes of recent immigrants. They include consideration of time since arrival, field of qualification, whether the person is working in their field of qualification or another field, and country of origin.

[8] Australian Bureau of Statistics, Understanding Migrant Outcomes-Enhancing the Value of Census Data, 2011, cat. number 3417

Table 6: Selected variables by visa stream (main and secondary applicant), permanent settlers resident in August 2011 and arrived since 1 January 2000 – onshore and offshore applicants

Variables	Sub-group	Skill	Family	Humanitarian
Settlers	Number	716,793	418,553	138,355
	Percentage	56%	33%	11%
Sex	Male	53%	37%	54%
	Female	47%	63%	46%
Age	0-14	17%	7%	21%
	15-24	12%	11%	23%
	25-44	56%	61%	39%
	45/ +	14%	21%	17%
Country of birth	Main English-speaking country	31%	21%	1%
	Non-main-English speaking country	69%	78%	97%
	Other country	1%	1%	3%
English language competence (aged 5/+)	Speaks only English, or speaks language other than English and speaks English 'very well' or 'well'	95%	82%	68%
	Speaks English 'not well' or 'not at all'	5%	18%	31%
	Not stated	1%	1%	2%
Non-school qualifications (aged 15/+)	BA or postgraduate	52%	32%	8%
	Diploma or Certificate	21%	21%	18%
	Other, including 'not applicable'	27%	47%	74%
Workforce status (aged 15/+)	Employed	76%	55%	32%
	Unemployed	5%	6%	9%
	Not in workforce	19%	37%	56%
Income (aged 15+)	Greater than $1,500 per week	21%	8%	1%
	$600-$1499	40%	30%	18%
	$300-$599	11%	17%	21%
	Negative or nil-$299	26%	41%	51%
	Not stated	2%	3%	8%

The Department of Immigration and Border Protection undertakes a continuous survey of Australia's migrants. The recent finding indicates that after six months residence 90% of Skill stream primary applicants are employed and 63% of spouses of Skill stream primary applicants; a lower 58% of partner migrants were employed. After eighteen months there was an increase of between 3% and 5% in the proportions employed. (Table 7)

Professor Lesleyanne Hawthorne of Melbourne University has published a number of analyses of the 2011 census and other employment data. A study of Skill stream migrants with Australian qualifications covering the years 2009-11 found that 81% were fully employed at twelve months (up from around 60% in the mid-1990s), but not necessarily in their field of qualification, with indication of over-supplied labour markets in business and commerce, accounting, and Information Technology. Comparison of graduates of Australian tertiary institutions found that in the field of business and commerce 76% of domestic graduates and 40% who had studied in Australia as international students were employed full-time; in accounting, 83% of domestic graduates and 35% of international students; and in Information Technology, 78% of domestic students and 42% of international students.[9]

A study of labour market outcomes for degree-qualified Australian students and immigrants who arrived in Australia between 2006-2011 considered the proportion working in their own field, another professional field, or as an administrator or manager.

By country of birth, 57% of Australian born were working in one of these fields, 55% New Zealand, 58% United Kingdom, 27% India and 20% China.[10]

Other 2011 census analyses by Professor Hawthorne indicate that in some fields such as nursing a high proportion of immigrants are employed in their own fields within five years of arrival, but a minority in engineering and accounting. A qualitative study published in 2015 by AMES Australia reported that recent migrants with low level English were finding it difficult to obtain suitable work. Many found it harder than they had expected to learn English at the level required to be competitive in the labour market, with women experiencing more difficulties than men.[11]

A major longitudinal study of Humanitarian migrants is being undertaken by the Australian Institute of Family Studies for the Australian government. It follows the settlement experiences of those granted their visa in 2013. The first phase of the project has reported on the difficult settlement process of many Humanitarian migrants. Indicators of background disadvantage include the findings that 13% of men and 20% women aged 18 or over never attended school, 33% of men and 44% of women did not understand English prior to arrival, and 24% of men and 67% of women had never undertaken paid work. At the second phase of the project, of those with 'very good English' only a minority, 23%, were employed. But participant had a high uptake of English language classes, 80% were engaged in either study or work, and over 80% of participants said their overall settlement experiences were positive.[12]

Table 7: Employment outcomes by visa stream (six and eighteen months after arrival or visa grant), 2013-2014

	All surveyed migrants	Skill Stream – Primary Applicant	Skill Stream – Migrating Unit Spouse	Family Stream – Partner Migrant	General population
Sample size	9,950	5,237	2,880	1,833	
After six months					
Employed	70.6	89.9	63.4	58.0	61.0
After eighteen months					
Employed	74.8	93.2	68.4	62.7	60.6

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Control, Continuous Survey of Australia's Migrants. Cohort 1 Report (Change in Outcomes) June 2015, Commonwealth of Australia, 2015, Table 1

[9] Lesleyanne Hawthorne, 'The Impact of Skilled Migration on Foreign Qualification Recognition Reform in Australia', *Canadian Public Policy*, August 2015, p. 5184; Lesleyanne Hawthorne and Anna To, 'Australian Employer Response to the Study-Migration Pathway', *International Migration*, 2014, pp. 104-5

[10] Hawthorne, L & Hawthorne, G (2014), Analysis of the qualification level and employment outcomes for migrants to Australia by source country and period of arrival, based on customised 2011 Census data derived from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, University of Melbourne, Parkville

[11] Monica O'Dwyer and Stella Mulder, 'Finding satisfying work: The experiences of recent migrants with low level English', AMES Australia 2015

[12] Australian Government, Department of Social Services, National Centre for Longitudinal Data, Building a New Life in Australia

2 ECONOMIC STATUS

Key points

Au@2015 is consistent with earlier Scanlon Foundation surveys in finding that those who indicate dissatisfaction with their financial circumstances are a small minority. Among those who have arrived since 2001, 7% are 'very dissatisfied' with their present financial circumstances; 8% disagree with the proposition that in Australia 'in the long run, hard work brings a better life' and 16% indicate that they are 'struggling to pay bills' or are 'poor.'

There is a second level of concern with financial status, in the range 20%-30%: thus 21% are 'dissatisfied' with present circumstances.

With regard to positive responses, proportions are dependent on the framing of questions. Satisfaction with present financial circumstances is indicated by 45% of respondents, another 26% are 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied', a combined 71%. The strongest level of agreement is with the proposition that in Australia hard work is rewarded: 74% agree, while another 15% 'neither agree nor disagree', a combined 89%.

These responses may be interpreted to indicate that between 60% and 70% are satisfied with their present financial status, with a higher level of endorsement of the proposition that in Australia hard work is rewarded.

There are, however, several qualifications to be made. Analysis by length of residence over 15 years finds a deterioration in the self-reported financial circumstances of those who entered on a Family, New Zealand Special Category and Humanitarian visa, while there are mixed results for Student visa holders.

There are also some more negative indicators than in earlier Scanlon Foundation surveys. The 16% indicating that they are 'struggling to pay bills' or are 'poor' is higher than the 10% in the 2013 Recent Arrivals surveys.

Introduction

Au@2015 included five questions on economic status:

- Which one of these best describes your employment situation? ... Employed full-time, employed part-time, unemployed, retired, student, home-duties
- Which of the following terms best describes your financial circumstances today? Would you say you are… prosperous; living very comfortably; living reasonably comfortably; just getting along, struggling to pay bills, poor
- How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your present financial situation?
- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
    - Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life.
    - People living on low incomes in Australia receive enough financial support from the government.

Workforce participation

A higher proportion of immigrants than of the total population are of working age and in the workforce. Of Au@2015 respondents, 84% in the Independent Skill category, 79% New Zealand Special Category Visa, 75% Business (457), and 72% Student, indicated that they were in the workforce.[13]

Consistent with the discussion of workforce outcomes in the Introduction to this report, the proportion in the workforce is lower for other visa categories: 58% Family and 58% Humanitarian, although 20% of Humanitarian indicated that they are unemployed, the same proportion as those who entered on the Student visa. Asylum seekers, many of whose visa status is unresolved and who may not have work rights, indicated that 27% were employed, 50% unemployed.

Table 8: Arrived 2006-15, employment status by visa category, Au@2015 survey (%)

	Permanent – Skill	Family reunion	Humanitarian visa	Business visa (457)	Student	NZ visa	Asylum seeker
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Employed full-time	54	25	24	58	27	55	14
Employed part-time	17	20	13	10	24	19	13
Total employed	***71***	***45***	***37***	***68***	***51***	***74***	***27***
Unemployed	13	13	20	8	20	5	50
Retired	0	5	11	0	0	4	1
Student	9	15	23	7	34	2	6
Home-duties	4	16	4	8	4	10	2
Other/Don't know/ decline	3	6	5	8	3	5	15
N (unweighted)	372	531	245	134	425	307	222

[13] Au@2015 included a question on visa status on first entry into Australia, but did not distinguish between the primary applicant who obtained the visa and accompanying family members (secondary applicants).

Hard work is rewarded

Au@2015 asked for response to the proposition that Australia is 'a land of economic opportunity where in the long run hard work is rewarded.' This question has been used extensively in international surveying. The World Values survey conducted between 2010-2014 found that Australia is among the countries with high level agreement with the proposition that hard work is rewarded, just 11% disagreed and saw success as 'more a matter of luck and connections.'

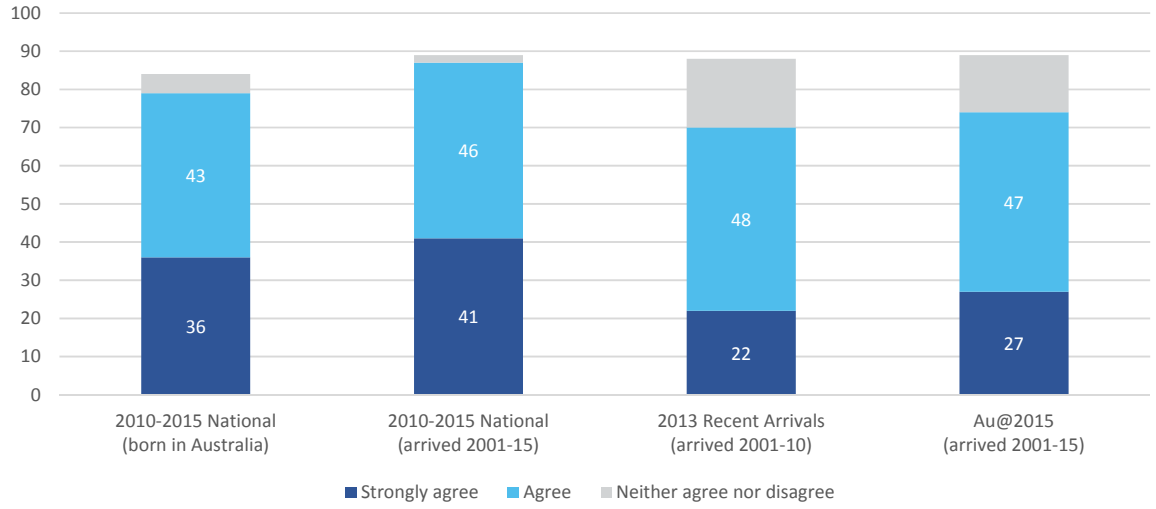
Au@2015 found a similarly low level of disagreement at 8%. Across the three Scanlon Foundation surveys – Scanlon Foundation National, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 – the level of disagreement ranges from 8%-11% among overseas born, but is a higher 16% among those born in Australia.

74% of respondents agreed that hard work brings a better life', slightly above the 70% in the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey. The Scanlon Foundation national surveys conducted between 2010 and 2015 found a higher level of agreement, 87% among recent arrivals and 79% among respondents born in Australia. The higher level of agreement is in large part explained by the low proportion indicating a mid-point response, 2%-5%, compared to 15%-18% in the Recent Arrivals and Au@2105 surveys. The relatively high proportion of mid-range or 'don't know' responses is a feature of self-completion surveys.

Table 9: 'Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life.' Scanlon Foundation national surveys 2010-2015, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 (%)

	2010-2015 National (born in Australia)	2010-2015 National (arrived 2001-15)	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2001-10)	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15)
	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	36	41	22	27
Agree	43	46	48	47
Neither agree nor disagree	5	2	18	15
Disagree	11	7	7	6
Strongly disagree	5	5	4	2
Sub-total disagree	***16***	***12***	***11***	***8***

Figure 1: 'Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life.' Scanlon Foundation national surveys 2010-2015, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 (%)



Analysis of Au@2015 by year of arrival highlights the optimism and positive outlook of recent arrivals; disagreement with the proposition that hard work brings a better life is at a low of 6% among those who arrived between 2011-15, rising to 10% for 2006-10, 13% for 2001-2005, and 18% for 1991-95, which is close to the level of Australian born in the Scanlon Foundation national surveys conducted between 2010-15. The pattern of increased negative response is in contrast with response to a number of other Au@2015 questions, which find little change over the first 20 years' residence.

An additional question relates to sense of social justice, the adequacy of support for those on low incomes. The Scanlon Foundation surveys indicate that this question almost evenly divides the Australian population. Thus in the 2015 Scanlon Foundation social cohesion survey 44% agreed that people on low incomes receive enough financial support, 46% disagreed, and 10% either did not know or did not agree or disagree. Among overseas born a relatively small proportion disagree with the view that government provides adequate support: 22% of Au@2015 recent arrivals (2001-15), 14% of respondents to the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey. Analysis of Au@2015 by visa category found highest disagreement among New Zealand SCV (32%) and Humanitarian entrants (27%).

Table 10: 'Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life.' Au@2015 survey, by year of arrival (%)

	2011-2015 %	2006-2010 %	2001-2005 %	1996-2000 %	1991-1995 %
Disagree or Strongly disagree	6	10	13	14	18
N (unweighted)	1,440	1,088	713	411	301

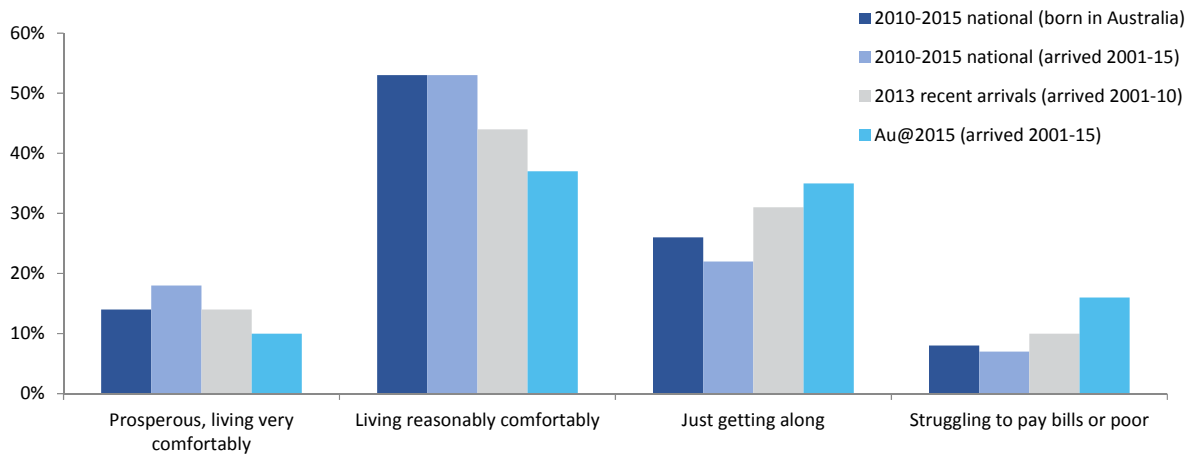
Personal financial circumstances

When asked concerning their personal financial circumstances 10% of recent arrivals in Au@2015 indicated they were 'prosperous' or 'living very comfortably'; 37% 'reasonably comfortably'; 35% 'just getting along'; and 16% 'struggling to pay bills' or 'poor.' The 16% indicating that they are 'struggling to pay bills' or 'poor' is higher than the 10% in the 2013 Recent Arrivals surveys, and the 7%-8% in the 2010-2015 Scanlon Foundation national surveys. The 35% of respondents indicating that they are 'just getting along' is also the highest across the surveys considered.

Table 11: 'Which of the following terms best describes your financial circumstances today?' Scanlon Foundation national surveys 2010-2015, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 (%)

	2010-2015 National (born in Australia) %	2010-2015 National (arrived 2001-15) %	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2001-10) %	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15) %
Prosperous, living very comfortably	14	18	14	10
Living reasonably comfortably	53	53	44	37
Just getting along	26	22	31	35
Struggling to pay bills or poor	8	7	10	16
Don't know/ decline	1	0	2	2

Figure 2: 'Which of the following terms best describes your financial circumstances today?', Scanlon Foundation national surveys 2010-2015, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015



Analysis by visa status

Analysis be visa status was undertaken for the three self-reported financial circumstances that indicate difficulties: 'just getting along', 'struggling to pay bills' and 'poor.'

The highest proportion indicating that they were 'struggling to pay bills' or 'poor' were Humanitarian entrants, 18% and asylum seekers, at 19%. With the response 'just getting along' added, the highest proportion at 68% was indicated by asylum seekers, followed by the Humanitarian entrant, 54%, and Student categories, 53%. The lowest proportion was indicated by Independent Skill and Business (457) visa holders at 31% and 25%, with Family and New Zealand SCV holders close to the mid-point, in the range 41% to 46%.

Further analysis sought to determine the pattern of change over time for the different visa categories.

There were sufficient Business (457) visa holders only to consider two five-year periods, 2006-2010 and 2011-2015. Over these two periods, a high proportion indicate that their financial status was prosperous or comfortable (+75%), with little change by period. There was adequate sample size to provide scope to analyse an additional five-year period, 2000-05, for the remaining six visa categories.

Improved financial status over time was indicated by Independent Skill and those whose first visa was Student (although there is a mixed finding for students, with a proportion also indicating a deterioration in their circumstances after 10 years of residence).

There was indication of deterioration over time for Family, New Zealand SCV and Humanitarian visa holders; for example, the proportion of New Zealand SCV indicating that they were 'prosperous', or 'living very comfortably' decreased from 63% among arrivals 2011-15 to 59% among arrivals 2000-05; the decrease for Humanitarian entrants over these years was greater, from 50% to 31%.

Table 12: 'Which of the following terms best describes your financial circumstances today?' All overseas-born by first visa status, Au@2015 survey (%)

	Skill %	Family %	Business 457 %	Student %	NZ %	Humanitarian %	Asylum %
Struggling to pay bill/ poor	7***	14*	9	12	12	18***	19***
Just getting along	25**	32	16**	41***	29	35*	49***
Total	31	46	25	53	41	54	68
N (unweighted)	475	649	157	515	451	356	220

* Significantly different from the total (weighted) sample, at p < .001
** Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .01
*** Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .1

Figure 3: 'Which of the following terms best describes your financial circumstances today?' Au@2015, overseas-born, first visa status

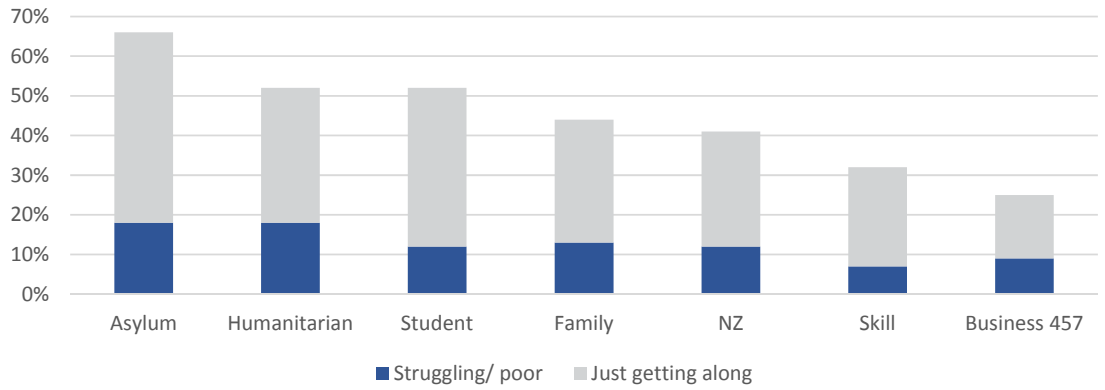
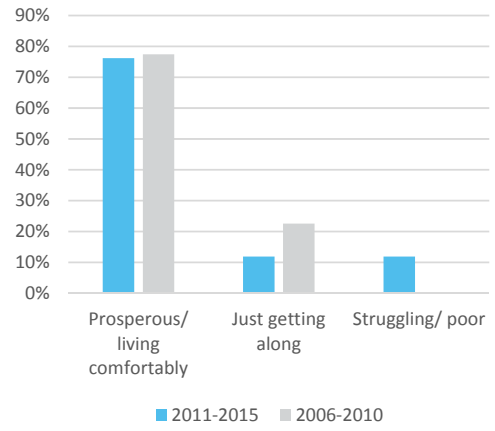


Table 13: Self-described financial status by year of arrival and visa category on entry, Au@2015 (%)

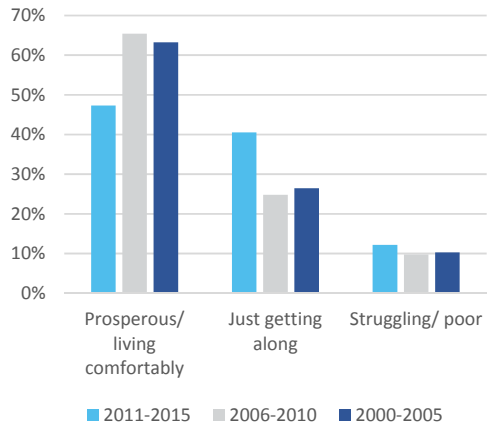
Visa category	Year of arrival	Prosperous/ living very comfortably %	Living reasonably comfortably %	Just getting along %	Struggling to pay bills/ poor %	N (unweighted)
Skill	2011-15	7	41	41	12	153
	2006-10	13	53	25	9	214
	2000-05	19	44	27	10	125
Family	2011-15	12	41	31	16	307
	2006-10	9	38	37	17	204
	2000-05	10	29	34	28	163
Business	2011-15	24	52	12	12	76
	2006-10	26	52	23	0	57
Student	2011-15	4	37	48	12	227
	2006-10	7	34	47	12	189
	2000-05	10	42	30	18	112
NZ	2011-15	11	52	25	13	119
	2006-10	12	45	29	14	187
	2000-05	14	45	32	9	161
Humanitarian	2011-15	16	34	36	14	125
	2006-10	7	31	32	31	107
	2000-05	9	22	40	28	137
Asylum seeker	2011-15	3	23	53	21	205

Figure 4: Visa categories by year of arrival, Au@2015 (%)

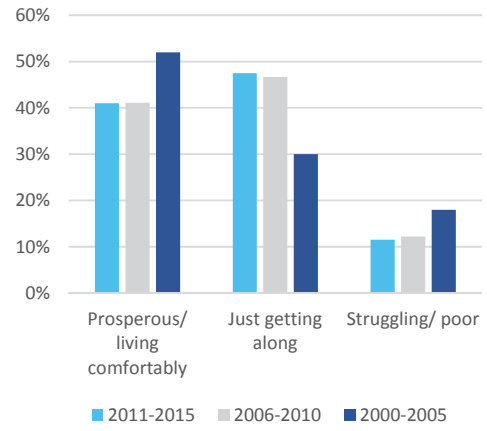
Business visa (457)



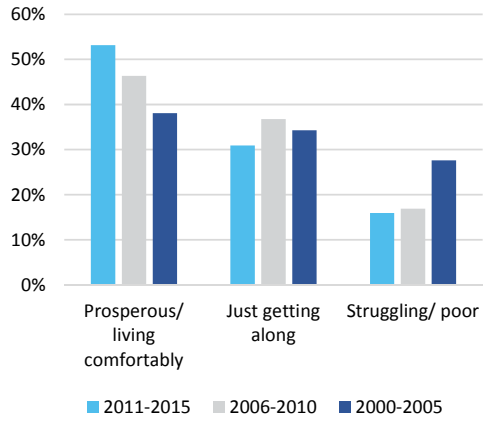
Skill visa



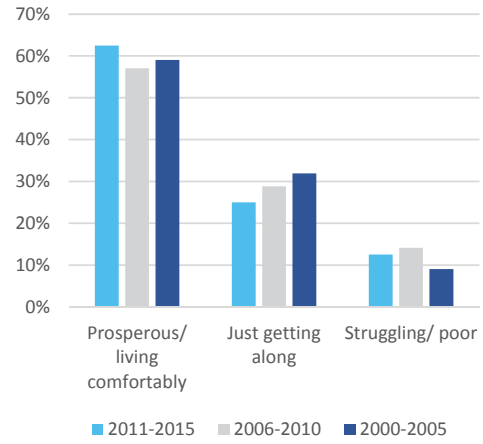
Student visa



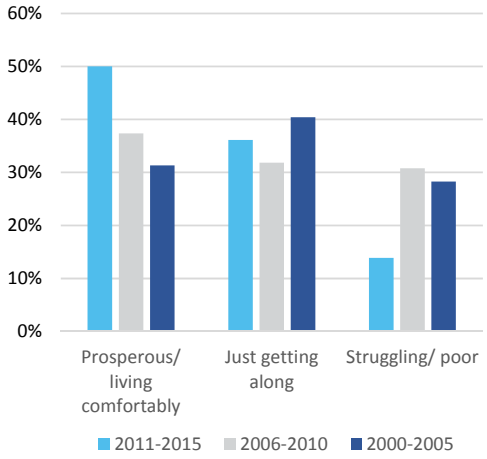
Family reunion



New Zealand SCV



Humanitarian program (refugee) visa



Satisfaction with present financial circumstances

A second question on present financial circumstances asked respondents for their level of satisfaction. 45% indicated that they were satisfied, 26% indicated a mid-point response, and 28% were dissatisfied.

Analysis by visa status finds the highest proportion indicating financial satisfaction are Humanitarian (55%) and Business visa holders (54%). The highest dissatisfaction was in the Student visa and New Zealand SCV at 32%. The low level of dissatisfaction indicated by Humanitarian entrants at 20% and asylum seekers at 16% may indicate a reluctance to endorse negative statements by those who have been given (or who have applied for) settlement in Australia, a pattern of response evident for a number of questions.

Table 14: 'And how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your present financial situation?' 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015, overseas born by year of arrival (%)

	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2001-10) %	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15) %
Very satisfied	5	7
Satisfied	38	38
Neither	25	26
Dissatisfied	22	21
Very dissatisfied	7	7
Don't know/decline	2	2

Table 15: Financial satisfaction by visa status, Au@2015, arrived 2001-15 (%)

	Skill %	Family %	Business 457 %	Student %	NZ %	Humanitarian %	Asylum %
Very satisfied	7	6	7	2	7	13	5
Satisfied	39	35	47	34	39	42	41
Sub-total satisfied	***46***	***41***	***54***	***36***	***46***	***55***	***46***
Neither	24	31	17	31	21	23	34
Dissatisfied	21	19	20	26	24	15	12
Very dissatisfied	8	6	7	6	8	5	4
Sub-total dissatisfied	***28****	***26*****	***27****	***32***	***32***	***20*****	***16*****
Don't know/ decline	2	2	2	1	1	3	4
N (unweighted)	482	671	157	524	453	371	226

* Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .001
** Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .01
*** Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .1

Labour market experiences

The focus group discussions provide insight into labour market experiences of recent settlers. One issue that has received public attention over the last twelve months includes the vulnerability in the job market of those on long-stay visas, leading to systematic underpayment of casual workers. One focus group participant observed:

> *I think discrimination is a major factor, like if you meet people generally they're very welcoming and very friendly [in] … your neighbourhood and everywhere, but especially when you go for a job then it's [different] … I work at a restaurant [for a] … guy who is Indian … and he used to treat me indifferently. He used to abuse me in his language and stuff, but at that time I didn't have any job so I had to work there for four months, because I just had to take it. I used to cry and stuff … I told him I'll go to Fair Work and complain … and he said, 'You're a student, you're working here more than 40 hours and if I go to the Immigration Office they will straightaway deport you.' And he used to threaten me like that. So I didn't have any other choice.* (#18)

Four issues raised in the focus groups are discussed below: Initial settlement problems, especially by those whose visa category does not enable them to access government assistance; difficulties faced by those entering on Independent Skill visas; New Zealand Special Category visa; and asylum seekers.

Initial settlement

All new arrivals face problems in the initial stage of settlement; for many who are adults on arrival, problems of integration may never be fully resolved. In the words of one participant, immigration is a 'long journey':

> *… Settlement is not an overnight thing. It maybe takes 20 years, 50 years or a bit more. So it's a long journey … [I arrived in 2001 and] I think that still I am learning … I am learning from my children … and when [I] … talk to other people.* (#50)

In his view integration was an ambiguous and uncertain outcome; he knew people who had been in Australia for more than 50 years and they still retained their traditional values. They were integrated in a legal sense, but not in their values. Many participants indicated that they found it very difficult to realise their initial expectations of life in Australia:

> *Being a migrant everybody has a very high expectation … But the expectation falls down just like a wall of sand … Firstly, the … biggest problem … is the language barrier …* (#17)

A participant who arrived as a teenager did not face the language barrier, but still encountered significant problems gaining secure employment: *'we thought life was going to be a lot easier … finish high school, you go to uni, you get a job straightaway. But that's not the case.'* (#11)

An immigrant from India observed that in her experience *'most of the people … get depression in the initial stage … I know families that have gone through depression, they're on medications because of depression.'* (#21). Another commented that *'when we first arrived in Australia … we were lost.'* (#38)

Problems are compounded in the case of new arrivals who are ineligible for government assistance. The largest number of permanent settlers are in the Skill Visa and Family Visa categories; within these categories there is no access to government services during the first two years in Australia.

An increasing proportion, now close to 50% of those who gain permanent residence have been in Australia for a number of years and have a track record in the country.

But of those who are selected offshore, numbering close to 25,000 in the Skill Independent category in 2014-15, many encounter a higher level of difficulty. One respondent, who was unable to establish herself in her profession and is now employed in an agency working with immigrants, observed:

> *... [In the case of the] skilled migrant … it's a disaster … because you pass the English IELTS exam, you're educated, you pay for your visa, you wait there and you come to Australia for a new life. No one support you. You cannot receive any social [services] from Centrelink. Centrelink will give you the social [benefits] after being in Australia for two years. After two years you don't need the social services. You definitely found your life. For me, and most of the migrants, when we arrive here, okay. where do we go? We go to the hotel or any short term accommodation, somewhere to stay. When you go to Vodafone to have a plan, they ask you an address. You don't have an address. When you go to rent a property they ask you for rent history. You don't have any rent history. They ask you for payslip, you don't have any job. You apply for jobs, they won't give you any job because you don't have local experience, you don't have the local degree. You go to the bank to open bank account, they ask you for address and telephone. You will go to the telephone company, they ask you for the bank account. What should you do? It's a circle. You cannot get out. (#49)*

Similar views were expressed by female Chinese focus group participants, whose discussion was assisted by an interpreter:

> [Respondent 1] *New migrants who come here, if we get into the trouble … we don't know where to go to get help…. Law issue and family issue and where do you go? … Lots of new migrants, they just didn't know …. Not being informed.* … [Respondent 2] … *She said that her husband… [worked for an] employer who refused to [pay him] … and she don't know what to do* …[Respondent 3] *When I first came here, I don't know how to see a doctor. The medical system is totally different from China. Like so, if I get ill, in China I will go to hospital. But [here] you go to GP first*… (#19)

Independent Skill

Those who gain permanent residence on the basis of their level of education and qualification, assessed on a points test, often face hurdles in obtaining employment in the occupations which gained them entry.

One dimension of problems relate to the rapidly changing job market and the time lag between initial application, acceptance and arrival. Employment which may have been available at the time of initial application may no longer be in demand. One participant who arrived from India spoke of the difficulties in the current job market:

> *As people are increasing, the industries are closing, the options are getting less and less. So it is a struggle to get a good job, or a job you want … Life is becoming really difficult … The cost of living is going up, everything is going up.* (#38)

A second problem relates to the obstacle posed by lack of local work experience.

> *So we came here as a part of the general skilled migration scheme, because the government says that they need [workers] ... So you apply for it and you apply yourself against a certain skill shortage that Australia has. And … the government assesses you.... [A] lot of people from India in the last three years, I think, have come by that means to Australia. And this is the thing that I am very passionate about, because I'm in HR [Human Relations] and I have experienced that myself. So … the government says that there is a shortage of people like me, for example, but when I … approach … a local company, even multinational... I am actually not that suitable for the role it seems, because I do not have ... local experience... And that is part of the reason why there is so much* ... [un]employment in Australia … [in the] immigrant community...
>
> *When I think of someone who is coming here for the first time, because they thought that their skills were in demand in Australia, and they would have a good beginning because there are business companies out there wanting them, … [They find when they…] arrive they are like, no, sorry, you can't do this job because you don't have a local experience. It's a problem for the country. ... We've got a huge amount of people who are highly skilled, but under-employed. ...*
>
> *It's not that Indians ... cannot survive in India. ... I have been in Mumbai for 20 years and for me the difference between India and Mumbai and Melbourne is only one thing, infrastructure. ... I would spend four hours a day just commuting between my work and office ... Here, it takes you about 15 minutes, because of the infrastructure. ... We have … very established jobs back in India. And obviously the only reason we came here, better work life balance and better infrastructure, environment, etc. ... The thing is, if the situation continues to be like what it is, people are going to go back … People will go back.* (#4)

A further problem relates to discrimination in the job selection process, which operates even before qualifications and English language fluency are considered. Focus groups participants discussed the filtering of job applications on the basis of names and countries of origin, even photographs, an issue discussed in section 6 of this report.

New Zealand Special Category Visa holders

New Zealand entrants who have gained residence since 2001 on the basis of a Special Category Visa (SCV) report less difficulty gaining employment; indeed, if they did not gain employment they would not be able to stay in Australia as they are not eligible for Centrelink benefits. Participants observed concerning economic prospects in Australia:

> *The money's better and [the] job opportunities. You'd do the same work back in New Zealand and it's pretty much double the money … In comparison you wouldn't … get far financially in New Zealand*. (#55)

I used to work in New Zealand … as a supervisor of security, so top guy there in security, and it was only $14 an hour for a top job like that. So I came here and looked at how I'm going to educate myself. … I had to do a little bit of study on the side and start a business and that business has been really good to us. I look at Australia as my home because it met everything that I want to achieve in life … I'm telling you, Australia is a country of opportunity and even though there's dramas … everywhere you go around the world there's always dramas. … I'm set here. (#55)

There is, however, considerable resentment by New Zealanders at the lack of entitlement to a range of benefits available to others (see section 8 of this report).

Focus group participants noted the problems faced by those who, having worked and paid taxes for a number of years lost their jobs and found that they were unable to obtain unemployment benefits, even assistance to find employment:

I went to Centrelink on Tuesday, because ... sort of, [I thought] they'll be able to help me with a job ... That's the first time I've ever been to Centrelink. ... I just felt like when I came over I'm grateful that New Zealanders can easily come over to Australia, same as Australians into New Zealand, but thing is, I've been working for five years, paying tax for five years, and this is the first time [I have sought assistance]. I'm not asking for benefit, I'm asking just to ... help me look for [a] job. And they turned around and was like, 'Oh, no, we can't connect you because you're not permanent resident.' And I was like, 'Oh, okay, how's that work? Been working for five years, paying tax and you can't even... I'm not asking for money, I'm just asking to send me to agency to help me look for a job' ... (*#20)*

Asylum Seekers

Some 25,000 asylum seekers arrived in Australia between 2012-2013, the last year of the Gillard and Rudd governments. In the case of a large majority of those who have arrived before the cut off date in August 2013 and have residence in Australia, their claims to asylum are yet to be finalised. Many are living in the community, in a state of uncertainty, unable to obtain clear answers on the timeline for determination of their applications. Some do not have work rights, others over 18 years of age are not entitled to government funded education places. There is substantial risk to individuals from the personal impact of years of uncertainty and missed educational and training opportunities – and risk to Australia with regard to heightened level of future support that may be required by those who gain permanent residence.

Two members of an asylum seeker family, a son and mother, discussed their experiences from the time spent in detention to their current uncertain future in the community.

[Son] *After community detention, they give us three month visa, after renewal now no visa, nothing. And we wait for visa, we don't know what happened for our situation. [We talk to our case worker], tell this is the problem, alright, I'll check it. One month later, 'oh, you can go check it yourself,' [the issue was not resolved]. ... It's very hard if you're not working, if you're not in the uni, there is no way to get friends. … [I went to school, but when I turned 18 they] just tossed me, they told me we're not going to pay for you.... If now we got accepted as refugee we can study, but it's like this, you have to pay for it. And how are you going to pay for it?….*

[Mother] *For refugee people over 18 years old, if they don't have right to work and they don't have right to study, what they can do? I know some, some same age, [they have] no friends, they go to drug you know. My son told me his friend told him, what you can do after we graduate from school? You know what we can do? We need money, maybe we go become a drug deal … This is a big problem when our teenagers think like this.*

[My husband] doesn't have right work and he's very moody… From the camp until now, he told them, ok, give me bridging visa, give me right to work. You don't pay money to us ... But they didn't answer to him, only you must stay in the community detention, after give us visa, bridging visa for three months. After ... they accept us and maybe, I don't know, five months, four months, they didn't pay... [Charities] help us with the voucher card, ... then to go to some church, they give expired [food] ... has a lot of preservative, it's not good for body, especially if expire ... (#46)

3 LIFE IN AUSTRALIA

Key points

- Among recent arrivals (2001-2015) dissatisfaction and unhappiness is at a low level; just 6% indicate that they are dissatisfied, 13% that they are unhappy.

- Analysis by year of arrival highlights the optimism and positive outlook of recent arrivals; disagreement with the proposition that hard work brings a better life is at a low 6% among those who arrived between 2011-15, rising to 10% for 2006-10, 13% for 2001-2005, and 18% for 1991-95, which is close to the level of Australian born in the Scanlon Foundation national surveys conducted between 2010-15. The pattern of increased negative response is in contrast with response to a number of other Au@2015 questions, which find little change over the first 20 years' residence

- Highest level of negative sentiment analysed by visa category is indicated by New Zealand Special Category visa holders: 17% indicate that they are unhappy and a higher 28% that their experience of life in Australia was more negative than they had expected.

- A relatively high proportion of asylum seekers indicate dissatisfaction, but together with Humanitarian entrants are positive with regard to their expectations of Australia having been met.

- Among the most liked features of life in Australia is 'freedom and democracy', but it is selected as the first ranked only by asylum seekers (41%) and Humanitarian entrants (34%), compared to its second rank (at 22%) among third generation Australians, for whom the top ranked feature, selected by 43%, is the 'Australia way of life.'

- In consideration of the least liked feature of life in Australia, there is a substantial measure of division among the Australian born; 18% are concerned by the extent of 'racism and discrimination', but a similar proportion, 17%, are concerned that there is too much immigration.

Introduction

Au@2015 included five questions concerning life satisfaction and views of Australia:

- 'Taking all things into consideration, would you say that over the last year you have been happy or unhappy… ?'
- 'How satisfied are you with life in Australia?'
- (Asked of immigrants) 'Would you say that your experience of Australia has been more positive than you expected before your arrival, or has it been more negative?'
- What do you most like about Australia?'
- What do you least like about Australia?'

Level of happiness

Au@2015 asked respondents if over the last year they had been happy or unhappy, using a five-point response scale. The question replicated one asked in the Scanlon Foundation national surveys and the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey.

Almost two out of three (62%) of those who arrived since 2001 indicated that they were 'very happy' or 'happy', one in four (23%) that they were 'neither happy nor unhappy', and close to one in eight (13%) that they were 'unhappy' or 'very unhappy.'

The indication of happiness was almost at the same level as in the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey, but considerably lower than the level indicated in the Scanlon Foundation national surveys conducted between 2010-2015. Almost nine out of ten recent arrivals in the national surveys (92%) indicated happiness, close to the proportion of Australian born in the same surveys. This difference between the two online surveys and the interviewer administered national surveys is in large part explained by the high proportion (23%) indicating a mid-range response, 'neither happy nor unhappy', compared to 3%-4% in the 2010-2015 national surveys. The 13% of respondents who indicated unhappiness in Au@2015 is at almost the same level as in 2013.

Analysis of overseas born in Au@2015 finds minimal change indicated by those who arrived between 1991 and 2015, with higher level of happiness indicated only by those who have been resident for more than 25 years.

Table 16: 'Taking all things into consideration, would you say that over the last year you have been…', Scanlon Foundation national surveys 2010-2015, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2105 (%)

	2010-2015 National (born in Australia) %	2010-2015 National (arrived 2001-15) %	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2001-10) %	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15) %
Very happy	29	30	11	14
Happy	60	62	54	48
Sub-total happy	***89***	***92***	***65***	***62***
Neither happy nor unhappy	4	3	24	23
Unhappy	6	3	8	10
Very unhappy	2	2	3	3
Sub-total unhappy	***8***	***5***	***11***	***13***
Don't know/ decline	0	0	1	2

Figure 5: 'Taking all things into consideration, would you say that over the last year you have been', Scanlon Foundation national surveys 2010-2015, 2013 Recent Arrivals survey, Au@2015 (%)

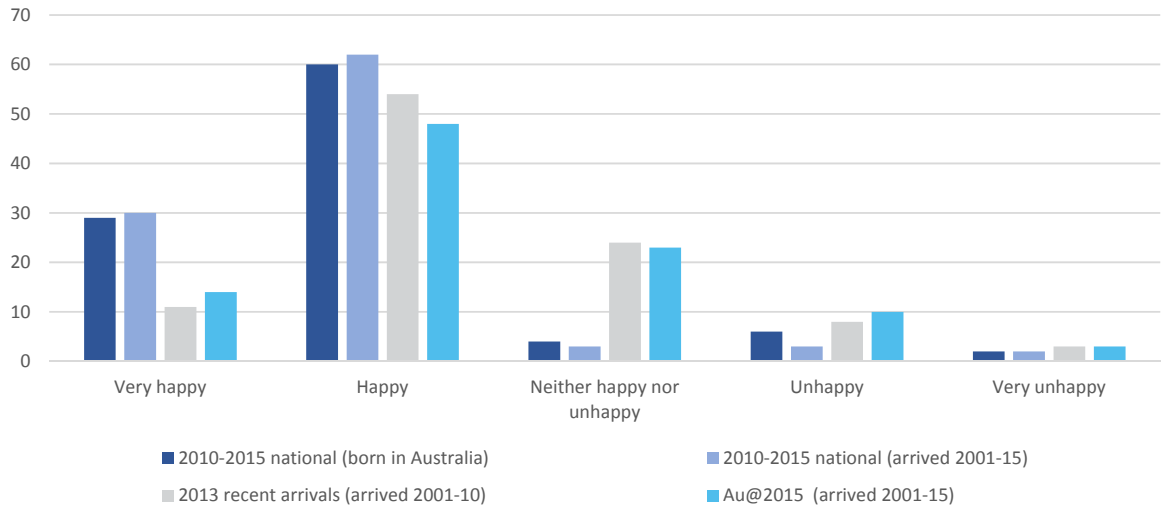


Table 17: 'Taking all things into consideration, would you say that over the last year you have been…' Au@2015, by year of arrival (%)

	2011-2015 %	2006-2010 %	2001-2005 %	1991-2000 %	1981-1990 %
Very happy	15	14	10	15	15
Happy	45	49	53	48	54
Sub-total happy	***61***	***63***	***64***	***63***	***69****
Neither happy nor unhappy	25	22	19	24	22
Unhappy	9	10	12	10	6
Very unhappy	3	4	3	2	2
Sub-total unhappy	***12***	***14***	***15***	***12***	***9****
Don't know/ decline	2	0	3	1	1
N (unweighted)	1,440	1,088	713	712	566

** Significantly different from year of arrival 2011-2015, at p < .01
*** Significantly different from year of arrival 2011-2015, at p < .1

Analysis of arrivals between 2001-15 by visa category finds three groupings: [a] those who entered on a Business visa (457) indicate the highest level of happiness at 76%, followed by Independent Skill visa (70%); [b] happiness in the range 60%-64% is indicated by four visa categories (Student, Humanitarian, Family and New Zealand); and [c] by a large margin, the lowest level of happiness at 50% is indicated by asylum seekers.

The highest level of unhappiness is indicated by those who entered on a New Zealand SCV and asylum seekers (17%).

Table 18: 'Taking all things into consideration, would you say that over the last year you have been…' by first visa category, arrived 2001-2015, Au@2015 (%)

	Skill %	Family %	Business 457 %	Student %	NZ %	Humanitarian %	Asylum %
Very happy	13	14	26	11	9	21	10
Happy	57	48	50	53	51	43	40
Sub-total happy	***70****	***62****	***76****	***64***	***60****	***64***	***50*****
Neither	19	25	16	16	23	20	32
Unhappy	9	8	7	10	13	8	13
Very unhappy	1	3	0	2	4	5	4
Sub-total unhappy	***10***	***11***	***7***	***12***	***17***	***13***	***17***
Don't know/ decline	2	2	1	2	0	3	1
N (unweighted)	482	671	157	524	453	371	226

* Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .001
** Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .01
*** Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .1

Life satisfaction

The question on life satisfaction ('How satisfied are you with life in Australia?') obtained a higher level of positive response than the question on personal happiness (76%, compared to 61%). This level was marginally lower than in than 2013, when 81% indicated satisfaction.

In an important finding and consistent with the 2013 survey, Au@2015 found dissatisfaction (and unhappiness) indicated by only a small minority of recent arrivals: 6% dissatisfied, 13% unhappy. Consistent with the response on personal happiness, there is little indication of change in life satisfaction over the first 25 years residence in Australia.

Figure 6: 'How satisfied are you with life in Australia?' Response: 'Very satisfied' or 'satisfied', Au@2015, by year of arrival (%)

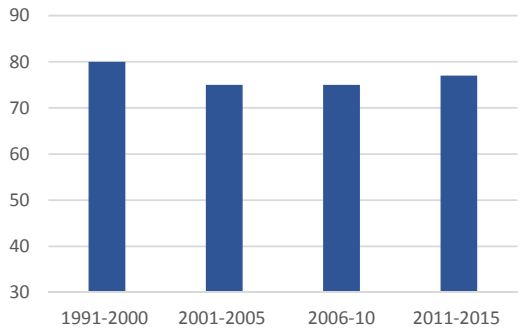


Table 19: 'How satisfied are you with life in Australia?' 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 surveys (%)

	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2001-10) %	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15) %
Very satisfied	29	23
Satisfied	52	53
Sub-total satisfied	***81***	***76***
Neither	13	17
Dissatisfied	4	5
Strongly dissatisfied	1	1
Sub-total dissatisfied	***5***	***6***
Don't know/ decline	1	2

Table 20: 'How satisfied are you with life in Australia?' By year of arrival, Au@2015 (%)

	2011-2015 %	2006-10 %	2001-2005 %	1991-2000 %	1981-1990 %
Very satisfied	24	23	21	26	36
Satisfied	53	52	54	54	51
Sub-total satisfied	***77***	***75****	***75****	***80****	***87*****
Neither	17	17	16	14	9
Dissatisfied	3	6	6	5	4
Strongly dissatisfied	1	2	1	1	0
Sub-total dissatisfied	***4***	***8*****	***7****	***6****	***4***
Don't know/ decline	2	1	3	2	0
N (unweighted)	1,440	1,088	713	712	566

*** Significantly different from year of arrival 2011-2015, at p < .001
** Significantly different from year of arrival 2011-2015, at p < .01
* Significantly different from year of arrival 2011-2015, at p < .1

Life satisfaction indicated by recent arrivals (1991-2015) was analysed by eight variables. Significant variation was found in four of the eight variables tested: financial status, region of residence, visa category, and country of birth.

- **Age**: indication of satisfaction was at 75% for the age ranges 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 and 55-64

- **Gender**: marginally higher satisfaction was indicated by men, 78%, compared to 76% by women.

- **Highest educational qualification**: minor variation indicated, 76% Trade, Certificate, and Diploma level, 78% Bachelor level, and 82% post-graduate.

- **Citizenship**: higher satisfaction indicated by those who have become Australian citizens, 81%, compared to non-citizens at 74%.

- **Financial circumstances:** this variable produced the largest variation, from a high of 90% for those who indicated that they were 'prosperous' or 'living very comfortably', 86% those 'living reasonably comfortably', 71% 'just getting along', and 58% of those 'struggling to pay bills' or 'poor.'

- **Location of residence**: relatively low indication of satisfaction indicated by those resident in Outer Regional areas at 64%, 77% in both Inner Urban and Inner Regional locations.

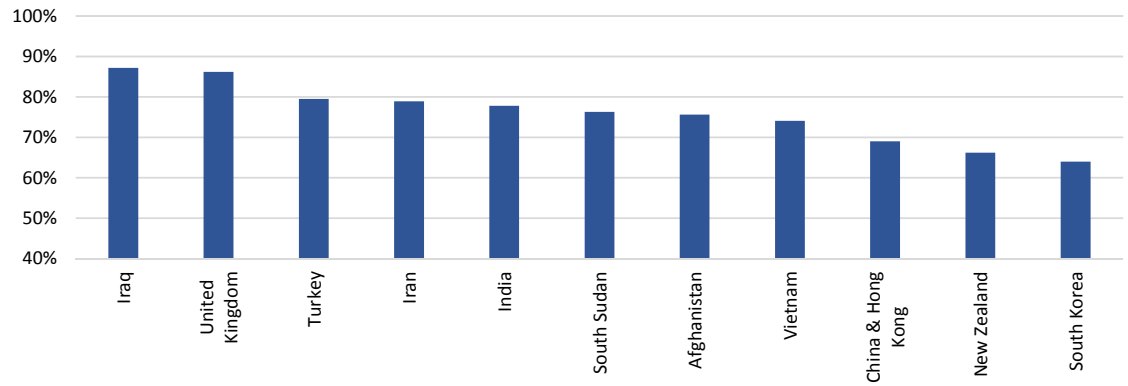
- **Visa category:** considerable variation was found, from 90% indicated by Business (457) visa to a low of 66% indicated by New Zealand SCV; a mid-level 78% was indicated by other visa categories 78%-81%.

- **Country of birth:** analysed by 11 selected countries, satisfaction was above 85% of those born in Iraq and the United Kingdom, below 70% of those born in China and Hong Kong, 66% New Zealand, and 64% South Korea.

Table 21: 'How satisfied are you with life in Australia?' Au@2015, overseas born, arrived 1991-2015 (%)

Variable	Sub-group	'Very satisfied'/ 'Satisfied' %	'Strongly dissatisfied'/ 'Dissatisfied' %
Age	25-34	75	6
	35-44	75	7
	45-54	75	7
	55-64	75	9
Gender	Male	78	6
	Female	76	6
Visa category	Skill	78	6
	Family	80	3
	Humanitarian	81	5
	Student	79	4
	Business (457)	90	1
	New Zealand SCV	66	13
	Asylum seeker	78	4
Educational qualification	To Year 12	74	6
	Trade/ Certificate/ Diploma	76	6
	BA	78	5
	Postgraduate	82	6
Region of residence	Inner urban	77	5
	Inner regional	77	8
	Outer regional	64	13
Citizenship/ residence status	Australian citizen	81	4
	Not Australian citizen, permanent resident	74	7
Financial circumstances (self-described)	'Prosperous'/ 'Living very comfortably'	90	4
	Living reasonably comfortably	86	3
	Just getting along	71	5
	'Struggling to pay bills', 'poor'	58	16

Figure 7: 'How satisfied are you with life in Australia?' Response: 'very satisfied' and 'satisfied', Au@2015 by country of birth, arrived 2001-15



Experience of life in Australia

Immigrant respondents were asked 'has your experience of Australia has been more positive than you expected before your arrival, or has it been more negative?'

Positive response is indicated by 51%, the mid-point ('as I expected') by 26%; and negative by 14%.

Analysis by visa category found considerable variation.

The most positive were Humanitarian and Asylum seekers, in the range 63%-66%, with those indicating negative at 11%. The relatively high positive response seems to be at odds with many negative aspects indicated in the survey and may be the result of not wanting to endorse negative comment about Australia; it may also reflect the terrible conditions of life which they have escaped.

The second level of positive response is provided by those whose first visa was Student, Business (457), or Family, with 53%-54% positive, 21%-28% indicating 'as I expected', and 12%-21% negative.

Independent Skill visa holders indicate a lower positive at 46%, 19% negative. The lower level positive response possibly reflects the difficulties experienced finding employment in the field which gained entry into Australia.

New Zealand SC visa holders indicate a lower 31% positive, 40% 'as I expected', and 28% negative.

Figure 8: 'Would you say that your experience of life in Australia has been more positive than you expected before your arrival, or has it been more negative?' Au@2015, overseas born arrived 2001-2015 (%)

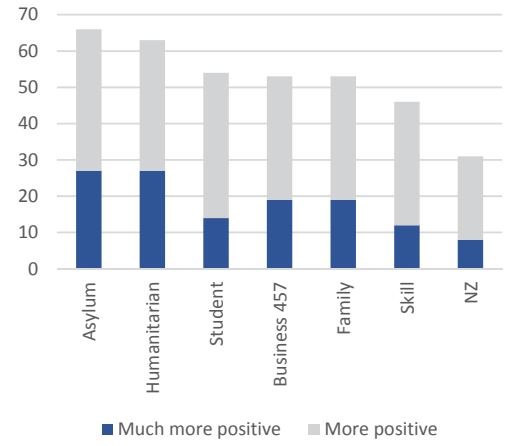


Table 22: 'Has your experience of Australia has been more positive than you expected before your arrival, or has it been more negative?'Au@2015, overseas born arrived 2001-2015 (%)

	Skill	Family	Business 457	Student	NZ	Humanitarian	Asylum
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Much more positive	12	19	19	14	8	27	27
More positive	34	34	34	40	23	36	39
Sub-total positive	***46***	***53***	***53***	***54***	***31******	***63******	***66******
As I expected	29	28	27	21	40	14	17
More negative	17	9	15	18	21	10	8
Much more negative	2	3	0	3	8	1	3
Sub-total negative	***19***	***12******	***15***	***21***	***28******	***11******	***11****
Don't know/ decline	6	7	5	5	1	12	6

*** Significantly different from total (weighted) sample, at p < .001

‘Most like’ about Australia

To further explore experience of Australia, the Au@2015 survey asked ‘what do you most like/ least like about Australia?’ and presented respondents with a list of thirteen attributes. The attributes in large part replicated questions asked in the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), conducted by the former Department of Immigration and Citizenship and described as ‘the most comprehensive survey of immigrants ever to be undertaken in Australia.’ These questions were also posed in the Scanlon Foundation 2013 survey of recent arrivals.

The ‘most liked’ attributes listed were weather/climate; way of life; beauty of the country; freedom, peace, democracy; kind, friendly people; clean environment, standard of living; education system, opportunity for children; presence of friends and family; and cultural diversity and multiculturalism.

Respondents were given the option of selecting three most liked attributes, in ranked order.

Among Australian born respondents, only three attributes were the first choice of more than 10% of respondents: lifestyle/ way or life (39%); freedom and democracy (22%); standard of living (13%).

Table 23: ‘What do you most like about Australia?’ first choice, Au@2015 (%)

	Australian born %	Overseas born %
Lifestyle/ Australian way of life	39	23
There is freedom and democracy	22	20
The standard of living	13	12
Weather/ climate	2	9
Education system/ opportunity for children	2	9
Beauty of the country/ of the land	7	7
Friends and family are close by	7	4
Cultural diversity/ multiculturalism	3	6
Clean environment	1	3
People are kind and friendly	1	3
N (unweighted)	5,061	5,487

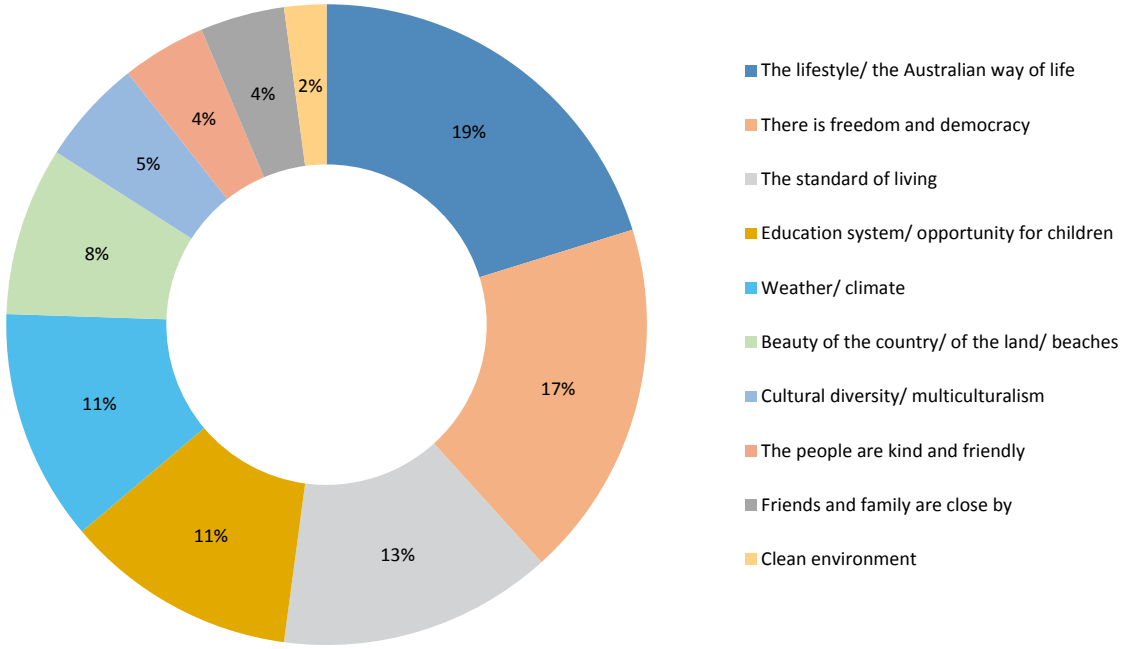
For those born overseas the same three attributes ranked as the top three; a similar proportion selected ‘freedom and democracy’ (22%, 20%) and standard of living (13%, 12%); but whereas among Australian born 39% of respondents selected the Australian way of life, the proportion among overseas born was a much lower 23%, with a higher proportion selecting education and opportunity for children (9%, 2%), climate (9%, 2%), and cultural diversity and multiculturalism (6%, 3%).

Comparing the results for recently arrived in the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey and Au@2015 finds that in 2015 a higher proportion selected freedom and democracy (17%, 12%) and the educations system (11%, 6%), while in 2013 a higher proportion selected the Australian way of life (24%, 19%), standard of living (18%, 13%,) and clean environment (8%, 2%).

Table 24: Most liked about Australia, first choice, overseas born, 2013 Recent Arrivals survey and Au@2015 (%)

	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2000-10) %	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15) %
Lifestyle/ Australian way of life	24	19
Standard of living	18	13
Freedom/ democracy	12	17
Beauty of the country/ land/ beaches	9	8
Weather	9	11
Clean environment	8	2
Education system	6	11
Cultural diversity/ multiculturalism	6	5
People are kind and friendly	3	4
Friends and family are close by		4
Other	7	6

Figure 9: Top Ten things liked about Australia, first choice, overseas-born arrived 2001-15

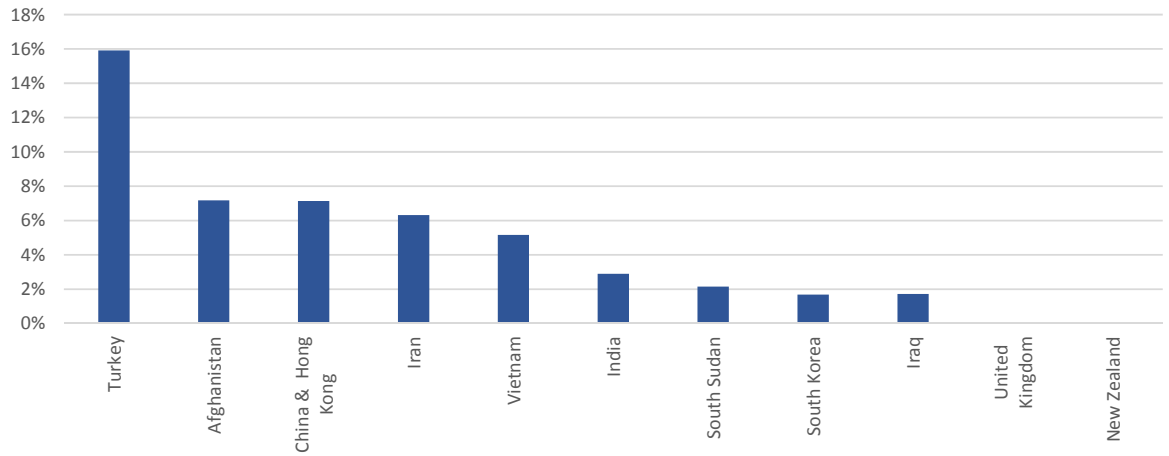


There is also the basis to compare findings with the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA) conducted by the then Department of Immigration and Citizenship in the 1990s.

The key difference between the surveys is that LSIA found that in the 'most liked' option among recent arrivals was that Australians were 'a caring, friendly, and hospitable people.' In contrast, among recently arrived immigrant respondents to Au@2015 this attribute did not rank in the top group; it was selected by just 4% of respondents.

When Au@2015 recent arrivals were analysed by country of birth a large measure of consistency was found. With the exception of respondents born in Turkey, 7% or less of the birthplace groups analysed gave first choice to the Australian attribute of friendliness and hospitability.

Figure 10: 'What do you most like about Australia?' Response: 'The people are kind and friendly' by country of birth, arrived 2001-15, Au@2015 survey



‘Least like’ about Australia

The ‘least like’ question presented thirteen attributes. The thirteen attributes listed were weather, climate; government, politics; cost of living; high unemployment; difficulty of finding employment in profession; high taxes; racism and discrimination against immigrants; public transport; family and friends overseas; no opportunity to have a say on issues of importance; corruption; too many immigrants; unfriendliness of Australians.

Comparing the ranking of Australia and overseas born respondents again finds consistency in the top ranked attributes: cost of living, housing (25%, 24%) and racism and discrimination (18%, 15%). But there is significant variation in the third top ranked attribute: among Australian born, 17% selected ‘there is too much immigration’, among overseas born just 3%; among overseas born, the third ranked attribute was ‘family and friends are not here’, selected by 12%.

This finding points to a substantial measure of division among the Australian born; as noted, 18% give first ranking to the extent of ‘racism and discrimination’, but a similar proportion, 17%, first rank concerned that there is too much immigration.

While for a number of attributes there is a large measure of agreement among Australian born and overseas born, the overseas born are more likely to agree that ‘there is no opportunity for me to have a say on issues of importance’ (8%, 4%) and being immigrants indicate concern that family and friends are not here (12%, 1%). Overseas born are less concerned about corruption (2%, 7%), while more indicate that it is hard to find jobs in their profession (4%, 1%), and have negative view of the climate (4%, 1%).

Table 25: ‘Which three things about Australia do you least like?’ First response, Au@2015 survey (%)

	Australian born %	Overseas born %
Cost of living/housing	25	24
Racism/ discrimination	18	15
No opportunity to have a say	4	8
Taxes are too high	8	8
There is corruption	7	2
High unemployment	5	4
Hard to find job in profession	1	4
Weather/ climate	1	4
Inadequate public transport	4	3
There are too many immigrants	17	3
Australians are not friendly	1	1
Family and friends are not here	1	12
N (unweighted)	5,061	5,487

New Zealand born respondents select ‘racism and discrimination’ as the least liked feature of life in Australia by the highest proportion (29%). Above average indication is also evident in United Kingdom responses (19%).

Figure 11: ‘Which three things about Australia do you least like?’ First response, Au@2015 survey (%)

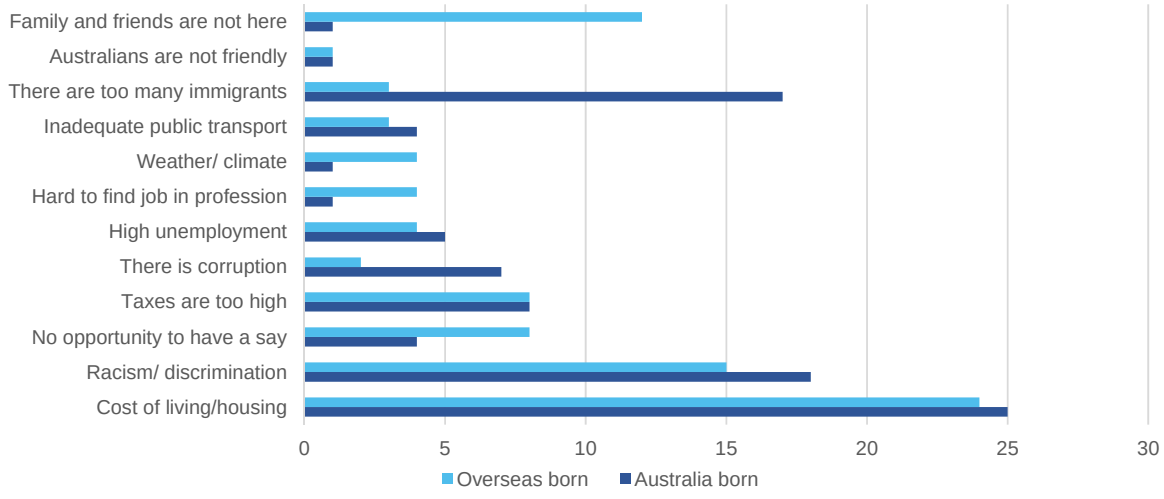
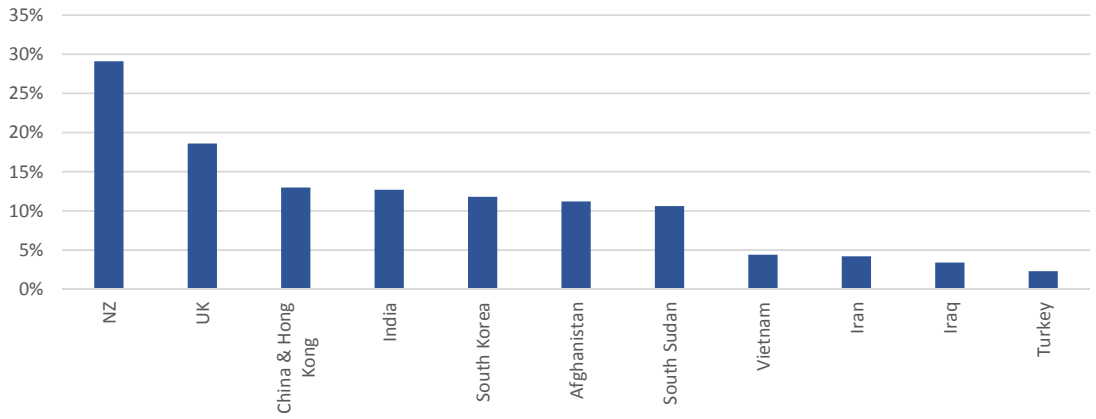


Figure 12: 'Which three things about Australia do you least like?' Response: 'racism and discrimination', Au@2015 by country of birth, arrived 2001-15

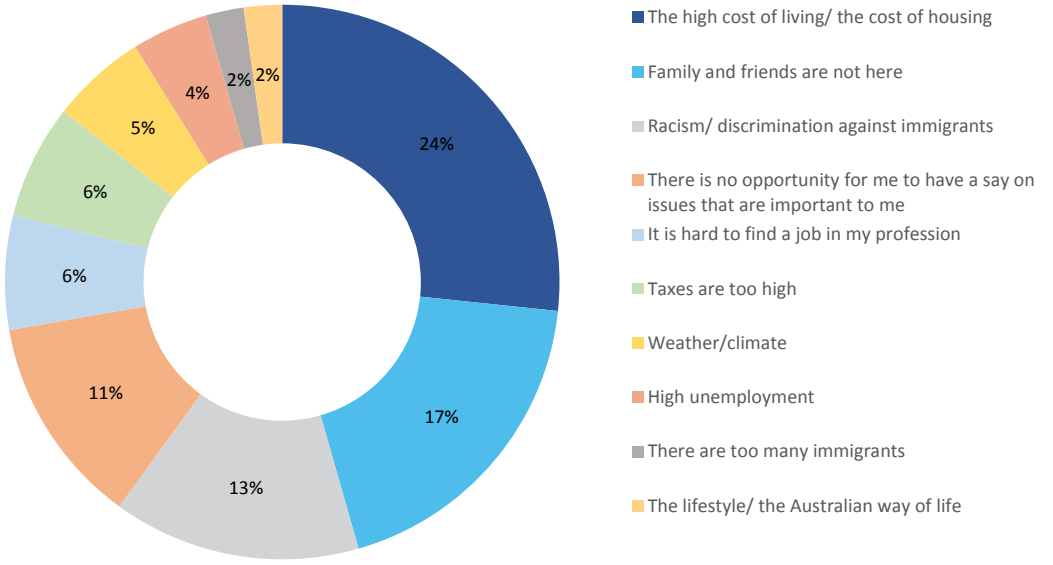


Comparing recent arrivals in the 2013 and 2015 surveys finds that similar proportions select the economic issues as 'least liked': cost of living and housing (24%, 23%), high unemployment (4%, 3%), and difficulty in finding a job in the respondent's area of qualification (6%, 7%). The main difference is that only 6% selected 'taxes are too high' in 2015, a much higher proportion of 19% in 2013. A relatively high proportion (11%) selected a new option not available in 2013, 'no opportunity to have a say on issues of importance.'

Table 26: 'Which three things about Australia do you least like?' 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 surveys, first response (%)

	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2000-10) %	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-2015) %
Cost of living/housing	23	24
Racism/ discrimination	16	13
No opportunity to have a say		11
Family and friends are not here	14	17
Taxes are too high	19	6
High unemployment	3	4
Hard to find job in profession	7	6
Weather/ climate		5
Inadequate public transport	4	2
There are too many immigrants		2
Other	8	4

Figure 13: Top Ten things least liked about Australia, first choice, overseas born arrived 2001-15



Visa categories

The large respondent base of Au@2015 makes possible further analysis by visa category and by Australian ancestry.

For most visa categories, when asked for the most liked feature of Australia the highest proportion of respondents select 'Australian way of life' and 'standard of living'; in combination they are selected by more than 50% of third generation Australian respondents; 47% Independent Skill and Business (457) visa; 42%-45% of Student visa and New Zealand SCV; but only 19% of Humanitarian entrants and still lower 11% asylum seekers.

The other highly ranked feature, Australian freedom and democracy, were selected by less than a quarter of respondents in the major visa categories, a higher 34% of Humanitarian entrants and 41% of asylum seekers.

With regard to 'least like' attributes, the high cost of living, housing and taxes was selected by 46% of Students and 41% Business (457) visa holders, but a markedly lower 12% of New Zealand SCV and 13% of asylum seekers. Racism and discrimination was the top ranked issue for New Zealand SCV, selected by 28%, but only 6% Business (457) visa holders. Concern at the level of immigration was prominent only for third generation Australians.

Table 27: 'Most like' by Australian born ancestry and main visa categories, Au@2015 (%)

	Australian way of life %	Standard of living %	Freedom/ democracy %	N (unweighted)
Au – 3rd gen	43	11	22	3,512
Family	22	11	19	1,346
Permanent – Skill	33	14	20	1,056
Business 457 visa	28	19	12	193
Student	26	17	11	623
Working Holiday Maker	31	5	8	201
New Zealand passport	24	18	5	639
Permanent - Humanitarian	14	5	34	627
Bridging – asylum seeker	8	3	41	269

Table 28: 'Least like' by Australian-born ancestry and main visa categories, Au@2015 (%)

	High cost of living/ Housing/ Taxes %	Racism/ discrimination %	Too many immigrants %
Au – 3rd gen	31	18	19
Family	37	14	4
Permanent – Skill	39	15	4
Business 457 visa	41	6	1
Student	46	11	2
Working Holiday Maker	37	12	4
New Zealand passport	12	28	2
Permanent - Humanitarian	37	11	3
Bridging – asylum seeker	13	9	2

4 TRUST

Key points

- When asked if most people can be trusted, 37% of those who arrived in Australia since 2001 answered in the positive, 43% indicated that 'you can't be too careful', while a relatively high proportion, 21%, did not know or declined to answer. This is a lower proportion indicating trust than the finding of the Scanlon Foundation national surveys, which is close to 50%.

- The highest level of trust (68%) is indicated by those who entered on a 457 business visa, followed by Independent Skill and Student visa (both 48%). The lowest level of trust is indicated by asylum seekers (35%), New Zealand passport holders (28%) and Humanitarian entrants (24%).

- Analysis by selected countries of birth finds very low level of personal trust indicated by South Sudanese (4%); trust in the range 25%-30% is indicated by those born in New Zealand, South Korea, Afghanistan, and Turkey. A relatively high level of trust, at 50% or higher, is indicated by those born in Iran, India, and China and Hong King.

- A question on institutional trust asked respondents to indicate for specified 'institutions or organisations' 'how little trust you have in them in Australia', on a scale of a 'lot of trust', 'some trust', 'a little trust', and 'no trust.' Fourteen institutions were specified.

- The highest level of institutional trust is indicated by those born in Afghanistan, the lowest level by those born in New Zealand and South Sudan. New Zealand born indicate particularly low level of trust in political parties (10%), the federal parliament (17%) and government departments and agencies; South Sudanese have the lowest level of trust – by a large margin – in the police (26%), and also indicate low level of trust in real estate agents (14%), political parties (15%), employers (20%) and trade unions (25%).

Personal Trust

Questions on personal trust have been included in Scanlon Foundation surveys since 2007. The question, which has been widely used in national and international surveys, asks respondents if they consider that 'most people can be trusted' or if 'you can't be too careful in dealing with people.'

The indication of personal trust in Au@2015 was higher for recent arrivals than in the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey, 37% compared to 31%. At 37%, however, personal trust indicated by recent arrivals is lower than for the Australian born, which averaged 48% in the Scanlon Foundation national surveys conducted between 2010 and 2015.

Table 29: 'Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?' 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 surveys (%)

	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2001-10) %	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15) %
Can be trusted	31	37
Can't be too careful	52	43
Can't choose/ Don't know	15	18
Decline to answer	2	3

Analysis of response by first visa status finds considerable variation in personal trust, with agreement that most people can be trusted in the range 24% - 68%. The highest level of trust (68%) is indicated by those who entered on a 457 business visa, followed by Independent Skill and student visa (both 48%). The lowest level of trust is indicated by asylum seekers (35%), New Zealand passport holders (28%) and Humanitarian entrants (24%).

Analysis by country of birth finds very low level of personal trust indicated by South Sudanese (4%); trust in the range 25%-30% is indicated by those born in New Zealand, South Korea, Afghanistan, and Turkey. A relatively high level of trust, at 50% or higher, is indicated by those born in Iran, India, and China and Hong King.

Table 30: Personal trust by visa status, arrived 2001-15, Au@2015 survey (%)

	Skill %	Family %	Business 457 %	Student %	NZ %	Humanitarian %	Asylum %
'Most people can be trusted'	48**	37	68***	48**	28***	24***	35
'You can't be too careful'	32**	43	21***	36*	63***	52**	28***
Can't choose/ Don't know/ decline	20	20	11	16	9***	24	37***
N (unweighted)	482	671	157	524	453	371	226

*** Significantly different for total (weighted) sample, at p < .001
** Significantly different for total (weighted) sample, at p < .01
* Significantly different for total (weighted) sample, at p < .1

Figure 14: 'Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?' by visa status, arrived 2001-15

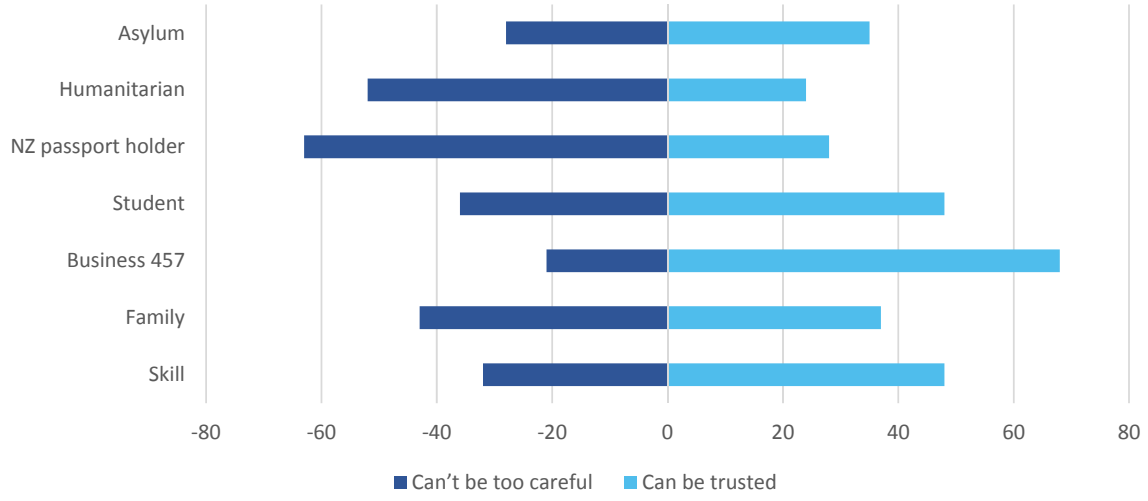


Table 31: Personal trust by country of birth, arrived 2001-15, Au@2015 (%)

	China & HK %	India %	Iran %	UK %	Iraq %	Vietnam %	Turkey %	Afghan. %	South Korea %	NZ %	South Sudan %
'Most people can be trusted'	65	51	50	47	32	32	30	29	28	25	4
'You can't be too careful'	22	29	28	47	55	48	52	22	48	66	73
Can't choose/ Don't know	13	20	23	5	13	20	18	47	24	9	23
N (unweighted)	184	152	226	86	90	144	71	171	235	384	142

Institutional trust

A question on institutional trust posed in a number of Scanlon Foundation surveys asks respondents to indicate for specified 'institutions or organisations' 'how much or how little trust you have in them in Australia', on a scale of a 'lot of trust', 'some trust', 'a little trust', and 'no trust.' Nine institutions were specified in the 2015 Scanlon Foundation national survey, 14 institutions in the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey and Au@2015.

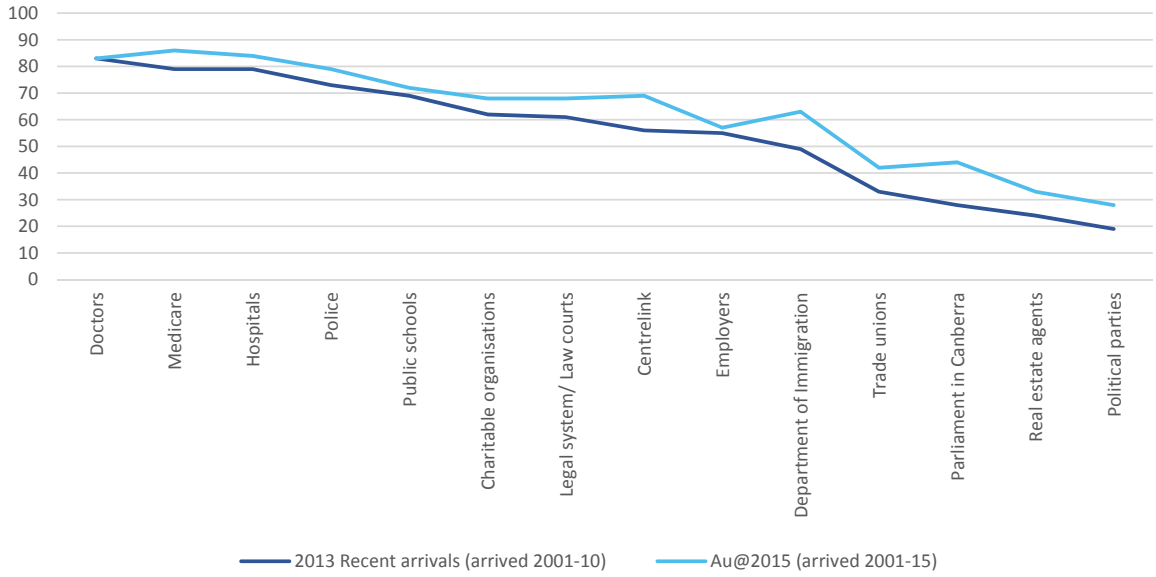
There has been a similar pattern in ranking across Scanlon Foundation surveys: highest ranking (response indicating 'a lot of trust' or 'some trust') is accorded medical care, with reference to doctors, hospitals, and the Medicare system; next follow police, public schools, charities, the legal system, government departments and employers; the consistently lowest ranked are trade unions, the federal parliament, real estate agents and political parties.

The average for institutional trust is lower among recent arrivals than within the total population as indicated by the 2015 Scanlon Foundation national survey, but above the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey (63%, 55%). With the 2013 and 2015 recent arrivals surveys compared, higher trust in 2015 is indicated in all but one institution, with largest difference in level of trust in Centrelink (69% in 2015, 56% in 2013), the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (63%, 49%) and the federal parliament (44%, 28%).

Table 32: 'Below is a list of Australian institutions and organisations. Please indicate, for each one, how much or how little trust you have in them in Australia?' Response: 'A lot of trust' and 'some trust', 2015 Scanlon Foundation national survey, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 (%)

	2015 National (3rg gen Au)	2015 National (overseas- born)	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2001-10)	Au@2015 (arrived 2001-15)
	%	%	%	%
Doctors	92	91	83	83
Medicare			79	86
Hospitals	92	90	79	84
Police	92	86	73	79
Public schools			69	72
Charitable organisations	76	70	62	68
Legal system/ Law courts	72	73	61	68
Centrelink			56	69
Employers	77	70	55	57
Department of Immigration			49	63
Trade unions	39	38	33	42
Federal parliament/ Parliament in Canberra	51	51	28	44
Real estate agents			24	33
Political parties	40	38	19	28
AVERAGE	**70**	**67**	**55**	**63**

Figure 15: Trust in organisations and institutions, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 surveys (%)



Analysis by length of residence indicates that trust in institutions is highest among the most recent arrivals (2011-2015); the lowest level is among those who have been in Australia for between ten and fourteen years; decline of trust is particularly evident in the police (85% arrived 2011-15, 69% 2001-05); Centrelink (75%, 59%), Department of Immigration and Border Protection (72%, 47%), the federal parliament (48%, 35%), real estate agents (41%, 23%), and political parties (34%, 21%).

Level of trust increases in some institutions after the low point indicated by those resident for 10-14 years (arrived 2001-05), with higher levels indicated by those resident for 20-24 years (1991-95); increase is trust is highest in public schools (72%, 82%), the legal system (61%, 74%), the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (47%, 63%), and Federal parliament (35%, 46%).

Analysis by country of birth indicates a large measure of consistency in ranking, with similar results for those born in Australia and the United Kingdom.

The highest level of trust is indicated by those born in Afghanistan, the lowest level by those born in New Zealand and South Sudan. New Zealand born indicate particularly low level of trust in political parties (10%), the federal parliament (17%) and government departments and agencies; South Sudanese have the lowest level of trust – by a large margin – in the police (26%), and also indicate low level of trust in real estate agents (14%), political parties (15%), employers (20%) and trade unions (25%).

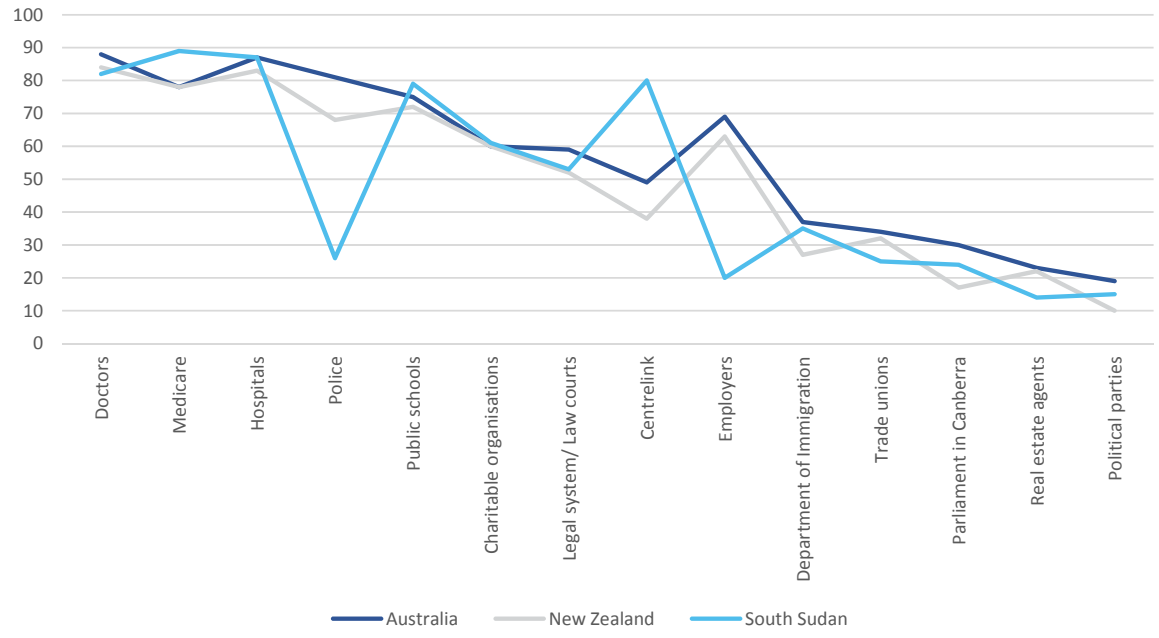
Table 33: 'Below is a list of Australian institutions and organisations. Please indicate, for each one, how much or how little trust you have in them in Australia?' Response: 'A lot of trust' and 'some trust', Au@2015 by year of arrival (%)

	2011-15 %	2006-10 %	2001-05 %	1996-2000 %	1991-95 %
Doctors	85	82	82	83	87
Medicare	87	86	87	82	91
Hospitals	84	84	85	84	86
Police	85	74	69	71	74
Public schools	71	73	72	76	82
Charitable organisations	69	67	66	68	65
Legal system/ Law courts	69	69	61	69	74
Centrelink	75	66	59	61	66
Employers	56	57	56	59	63
Department of Immigration	72	58	47	53	63
Trade unions	45	42	35	36	38
Federal parliament/ Parliament in Canberra	48	42	35	43	46
Real estate agents	41	26	23	24	25
Political parties	34	25	21	22	24
AVERAGE	**66**	**61**	**57**	**59**	**63**
N (unweighted)	1,440	1,088	713	411	301

Table 34: 'Below is a list of Australian institutions and organisations. Please indicate, for each one, how much or how little trust you have in them in Australia?' Response: 'A lot of trust' and 'some trust', Au@2015 Australian born and overseas-born that arrived 2001-2015 (%)

	Australia	United Kingdom	New Zealand	China & Hong Kong	India	Iran	Afghanistan	South Sudan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Doctors	88	95	84	80	87	81	93	82
Medicare	78	83	78	83	87	89	94	89
Hospitals	87	95	83	81	88	83	85	87
Police	81	80	68	76	87	87	90	26
Public schools	75	62	72	65	80	71	78	79
Charitable organisations	60	71	60	60	66	74	66	61
Legal system/ Law courts	59	80	52	78	79	68	81	53
Centrelink	49	49	38	73	70	85	93	80
Employers	69	73	63	49	64	41	61	20
Department of Immigration	37	41	27	72	77	70	76	35
Trade unions	34	29	32	44	49	37	49	25
Federal parliament/ Parliament in Canberra	30	29	17	50	63	39	58	24
Real estate agents	23	37	22	28	36	40	55	14
Political parties	19	21	10	19	39	28	43	15
AVERAGE	**56**	**60**	**50**	**61**	**69**	**64**	**73**	**49**
N (unweighted)	5061	86	384	184	152	226	171	142

Figure 16: Born in Australia, New Zealand and South Sudan, arrived 2001-2015 – 'A lot of trust' and 'some trust'



5 ATTITUDES TO CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Key points

- A Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance scale was developed on the basis of nine questions. Low scores on the scale indicate rejection of cultural diversity, high scores indicate positive disposition.

- Analysis by a range of demographic variables and political alignment indicate strongest correlation of scores are with intended vote and highest level of completed education. Among major parties, the highest proportion indicating strong positive attitude was among those intending to vote Greens (53%, 2% strong negative) and Labor (31%, 11% strong negative); of those with Bachelor level qualification, 29% indicate a strong positive attitude, 11% strong negative; for those with post-graduate qualification the proportions are 36% and 11%, but for those with trade or apprenticeship level qualification strong positive is 4%, strong negative 56%.

- Analysis of spatial distribution of attitudes finds 18% strong negative scores in major cities, 39% in outer regional areas; within major cities, strong negative scores range from 13% in areas of highest cultural diversity to 28% in areas of lower diversity. Analysis further narrowed to areas of high cultural diversity and relative socio-economic disadvantage finds strong negative scores among 34% of third generation Australians, a much lower 4% of overseas born of non-English speaking background.

- A prominent theme in focus group discussions was the difference between culturally diverse and homogenous areas, the multicultural and monocultural. Participants discussed environments in which they felt a sense of 'belonging', 'at home', 'comfortable', 'normal', contrasted with areas where they were 'out of place', a 'stare object', an 'alien.' Areas of diversity are seen as a separate world, one that is distinct from 'white Australia.'

Level of intolerance

The broad range of questions in the Scanlon Foundation surveys provides a number of perspectives for determining the level of intolerance in Australian society. The result obtained depends, in the first instance, on the question asked, in the second, on the interpretation of the results obtained.

While there can be no definitive measure of the level of intolerance, on the basis of Scanlon Foundation polling and a number of additional surveys conducted over the last 30 years, there is support for the conclusion that the core level of intolerance is close to 10% of the population. Using a broader definition (incorporating both the strongest negative and next negative response), levels of intolerance and rejection of cultural diversity are probably in the range 25% to 30% of the population. On a heavily politicised issue such as asylum policy, strong negative sentiment alone can reach close to 30%.

These proportions are an average for the Australian population. Within specific regions and within segments of the population, there are higher levels of intolerance.

The 2015 Scanlon Foundation national survey provided further evidence of the meaning of multiculturalism in Australia and attitudes to cultural diversity. Two questions presented juxtaposed views on the extent to which Australians and immigrants should change their behaviour. The two proposition were worded:

1. 'We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country.'

2. 'People who come to Australia should change their behaviour to be more like Australians.'

The findings was that 23% consider that it is up to immigrants to adapt to life in Australia, without change on the part of Australians (disagree that 'we should do more to learn about customs and heritage' of immigrants' and agree that immigrants should 'change their behaviour to be more like Australians'). This is close to the range of previous analysis, that at a broad level 25% to 30% of the population indicate intolerance and rejection of cultural diversity.

The large respondent base of Au@2015 provides the opportunity to further explore attitudes by ancestry of Australian born and overseas born by country of birth and visa status. A series of questions on cultural diversity were included in all versions of the survey (an additional module in the online English language version, although not in the translated and print versions to reduce the risk of survey length resulting in failure to complete) was completed by 8,501 respondents; of these, 3,442 were overseas born (2,304 in a non-English speaking country), 5,059 in Australia. This module supplemented questions in all versions of the survey in the construction of a Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance scale. After validation by Factor Analysis, 9 questions were included in the scale. A high level of reliability is indicated by a Cronbach alpha of .887 (for details of the Factor Analysis see Appendix 2). The value of a scale to explore levels of tolerance is that it reduces complex data to a manageable proportion to enable analysis of responses patterns and correlations.

Answers to questions were weighted, with the strongest level of cultural and ethnic tolerance scored 5; the second strongest scored 3; the mid-point or neutral response scored 1, and; negative answers or failure to answer scored 0. For seven of the questions, agreement indicates a positive valuation of cultural diversity; for the remaining two questions, the positive view is indicated by negation of a statement indicating difficulties associated with or rejection of cultural diversity.

High values on the scale indicate positive feelings towards cultural and ethnic diversity, low values indicate negative feelings. The highest possible value is 45 (9*5).

The following nine questions comprise the scale:

1. 'We should recognise that cultural and ethnic diversity is an important feature of Australian society' (5 = Strongly Agree … 0= Strongly Disagree)

2. 'A society that has a variety of ethnic and cultural groups is better able to tackle new problems as they occur society' (5 = Strongly Agree … 0= Strongly Disagree)

3. 'We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country' (5 = Strongly Agree … 0= Strongly Disagree)

4. 'Ethnic minorities in Australia should be given government assistance to maintain their customs and traditions' (5 = Strongly Agree … 0= Strongly Disagree)

5. 'It is best for Australia if all people forget their different ethnic and cultural backgrounds as soon as possible' (5 = Strongly Agree … 0= Strongly Disagree)

6. 'A society that has a variety of ethnic or cultural groups has more problems than societies with one or two basic cultural groups' (0 = Strongly Agree … 5= Strongly Disagree)

7. 'People who come to Australia should change their behaviour to be more like Australians' (0 = Strongly Agree … 5= Strongly Disagree)

8. 'I like meeting and getting to know people from other cultures' (5 = Strongly Agree … 0= Strongly Disagree)

9. 'Do you agree or disagree with the view that 'multiculturalism has been good for Australia?' (5 = Strongly Agree … 0= Strongly Disagree)

Analysis was undertaken by 8 variables: gender, state, region (major city, inner regional, outer regional), age, highest educational qualification, self-described financial status, intended vote, birthplace (Australia, overseas ESB and NESB). The scale was used to identify proportions with a low score (0-9) and high score (35-45). For the total sample, 22.9% of respondents gained a low score and 18.9% a high score.

Statistical analysis indicates that the strength of the relationship between the variables and the scale varies from weak (Cramer's V < .2) to very strong (Cramer's V > .35). The strongest relationship is 'intended vote' (Cramer's V = .358). 'Level of education' has a Cramer's V = .185, but when recoded to a dummy variable (0 = trade/apprenticeship and 1 = BA or higher) the value of Cramer's V increases to .244, reflecting a moderately strong effect. Other moderately significant relationships are 'gender' (.144) and 'financial situation' (.155). Weak relationships are 'state' (Cramer's V = .087), 'region' (.08), 'age' (.083) and 'birthplace' (.102).[14]

Multiple linear regression demonstrates that demographic variables alone do not produce a strong explanatory model; with the addition of the attitudinal variable 'intended vote', explanatory power is doubled, with 35% of variance explained. This issue is further discussed in Appendix 2 to this report.

[14] The Ethnic and Tolerance scale and statistical testing was undertaken by Eveline Nieuwveld.

The most significant variance is by:

- **Intended vote** – among major parties, the highest level of strong positive attitude was indicated by those intending to vote Greens (53%, 2% negative) and Labor (31%, 11% negative).

- **Level of education** – a very small proportion of those with Bachelor (11%) or higher degree (7%) obtained a low score, more than a quarter obtained a high scores indicating positive attitude to cultural diversity (29%, 36%); this contrasts with those whose highest qualification is at the trade or apprentice level – 56% obtained a low score, just 4% a high score.

- **Gender** – a higher proportion of men indicate strong negative attitude (30%, 16% women).

- **Financial situation** – a relatively high proportion indicated strong negative attitudes among those who described their financial situation as 'just getting along' (28%), 'struggling to pay bills' or 'poor' (29%); a relatively high proportion (26%) indicated a strong positive attitude among those who describe their financial status as 'prosperous' or 'very comfortable.'

Other variance:

- **State of residence** – a relatively high proportion of residents in Queensland (28%) and South Australia (26%) indicate a strong negative attitude.

- **Region of residence** – of those resident in an Outer Regional area, a relatively high proportion (39%) obtained a low score, 10% a high score.

- **Birthplace** – the highest proportion indicating strong negative attitude is among Australian born (26%), more than three times the level among overseas born of non-English speaking background (8%), although there is little difference among those with the most positive attitude to cultural diversity: 18% Australian born, 20% non-English speaking background.

- **Age** – there was relatively minor variation by age, with higher proportion of positive scores among those aged 25-34 and 65+.

Table 35: Low scores (0-9), Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale – all respondents – average for the survey is 22.9 (%)

Gender	**Female**	**Male**				
	15.5	30.4				
State	**Victoria**	**NSW**	**Western Australia**	**South Australia**	**Queensland**	
	17.3	21.4	19.1	26.0	28.2	
Region	**Major city**	**Inner regional**	**Outer regional**			
	18.3	25.0	39.2			
Age	**18-24**	**25-34**	**35–44**	**45–54**	**55–64**	**65+**
	20.3	17.5	24.3	24.6	22.9	26.0
Level of completed education	**Postgraduate**	**BA**	**Diploma**	**Technical Certificate/ TAFE**	**Trade/ Apprenticeship**	
	6.6	11.0	20.8	26.1	56.3	
Financial situation	**Prosperous/ very comfortable**	**Reasonably comfortable**	**Just getting along**	**Struggling to pay bills/ poor**		
	16.5	19.2	28.2	29.0		
Intended vote	**Labor**	**Liberal/ National**	**Greens**	**Independent/ Other**		
	10.8	20.3	1.8	42.8		
Birthplace	**Australia**	**Overseas-ESB**	**Overseas-NESB**			
	25.9	19.1	7.6			

Table 36: High scores (35-45), Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale – all respondents, average for the survey is 18.9

Gender	**Female**	**Male**				
	23.5	13.8				
State	**Victoria**	**NSW**	**Western Australia**	**South Australia**	**Queensland**	
	23.3	18.2	19.1	19.6	13.2	
Region	**Major city**	**Inner regional**	Outer regional			
	21.0	17.8	9.6			
Age	**18-24**	**25-34**	**35–44**	**45–54**	**55–64**	**65+**
	21.1	24.7	19.1	17.7	17.4	26.6
Level of completed education	**Postgraduate**	**BA**	**Diploma**	**Technical Certificate/ TAFE**	**Trade/ Apprenticeship**	
	35.9	29.1	18.2	13.8	3.8	
Financial situation	**Prosperous/ very comfortable**	**Reasonably comfortable**	**Just getting along**	**Struggling to pay bills/ poor**		
	25.9	21.5	14.3	12.1		
Intended vote	**Labor**	**Liberal/ National**	**Greens**	**Independent/ Other**		
	31.2	10.9	52.8	17.4		
Birthplace	**Australia**	**Overseas-ESB**	**Overseas-NESB**			
	18.5	18.9	20.4			

Figure 17: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale, by background (Australian-born, English-speaking and non-English speaking country of birth)

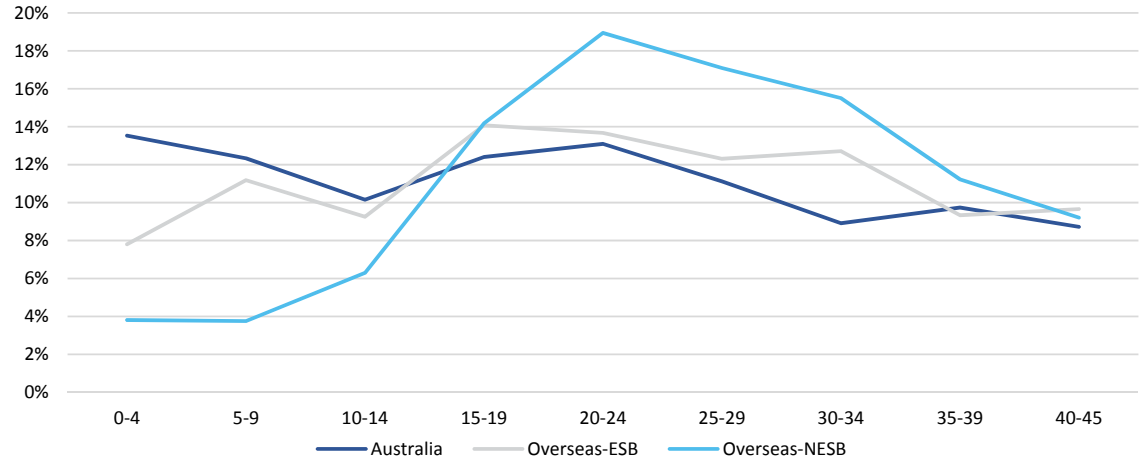


Figure 18: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by highest educational attainment

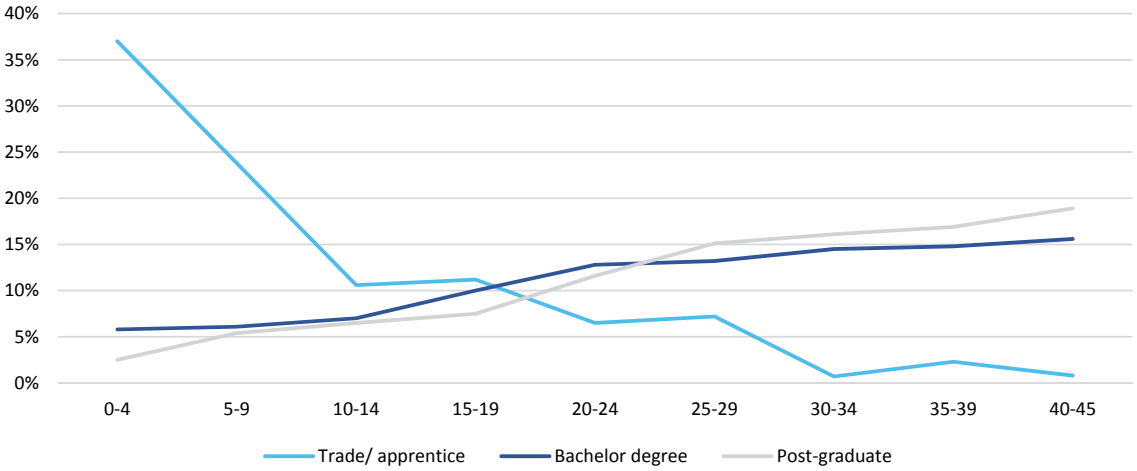
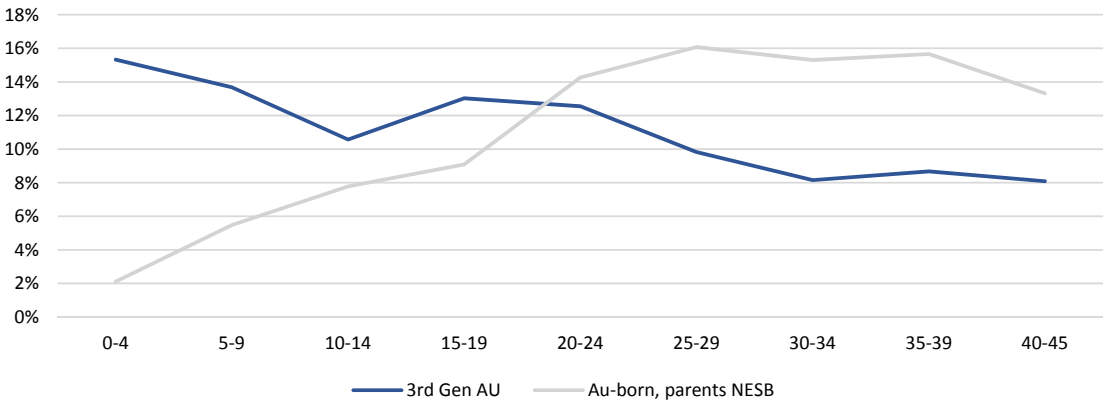


Figure 19: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by ancestry



Analysis of Australian born comparing those with both parents born in Australia (third generation) and those with both parents born in a non-English speaking country finds considerable variance; 29% of third generation Australians indicate low acceptance of cultural diversity, more than three times the level (8%) of non-English speaking background; the variation among those indicating strong positive attitude is from 17% third generation Australian to 29% non-English speaking background.

Table 37: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale, born in Australia by ancestry (%)

Score	Australian born – both parents Au born %	Australian born – both parents NESB %
0-4	15.3	2.1
5-9	13.7	5.5
Sub-total 0-9	***29.0***	***7.6***
10-14	10.6	7.8
15-19	13.0	9.1
20-24	12.5	14.3
25-29	9.8	16.1
30-34	8.1	15.3
35-39	8.7	15.7
40-45	8.1	13.3
Sub-total 35-45	***16.8***	***29.0***
TOTAL	100	100

Analysis by gender and place of birth finds that the proportion of strong negative attitudes is double the level for men among Australian born and overseas born of English speaking background, but a significantly lower proportion and only minor difference between men and women among overseas born on non-English speaking background. A higher proportion of women obtain strong positive scores among Australian born and overseas born of non-English speaking background, but there is only minor difference among overseas born of English speaking background.

Table 38: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by country of birth, ancestry and gender (%)

Score	Australian born		Overseas born – both parents ESB		Overseas born – both parents NESB	
	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %
0-4	19.3	8.1	16.3	4.0	4.8	2.4
5-9	15.8	9.0	12.8	9.5	3.1	4.5
Sub-total 0-9	***35.1***	***17.1***	***29.1***	***13.5***	***7.9***	***6.9***
10-14	11.3	9.1	9.6	10.3	6.4	6.1
15-19	12.1	12.7	13.7	14.8	13.9	14.3
20-24	11.4	14.7	11.5	14.8	18.8	20.7
25-29	9.2	12.9	10.9	12.9	19.1	14.4
30-34	8.0	9.8	9.8	14.8	16.6	14.3
35-39	6.9	12.3	4.6	10.8	9.6	12.9
40-45	5.9	11.3	10.9	7.9	7.6	10.4
Sub-total 35-45	***12.8***	***23.6***	***15.4***	***18.7***	***17.3***	***23.2***
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (unweighted)	1,499	3,521	300	656	959	1,284

Figure 20: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by country of birth, Australian born by gender

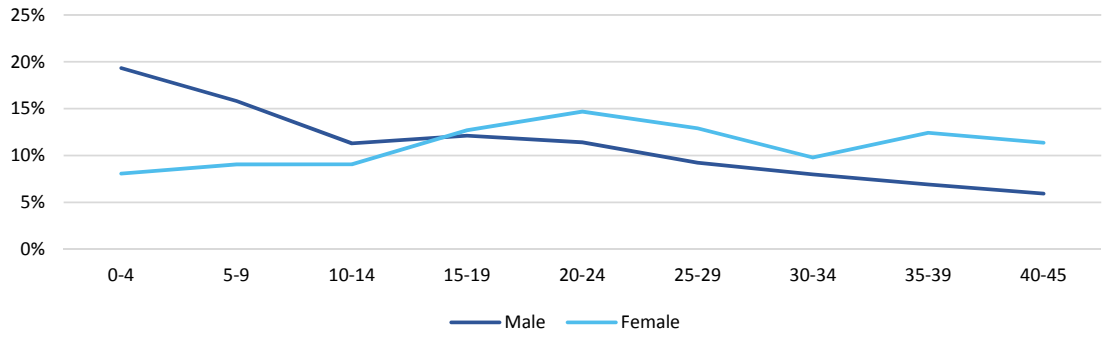
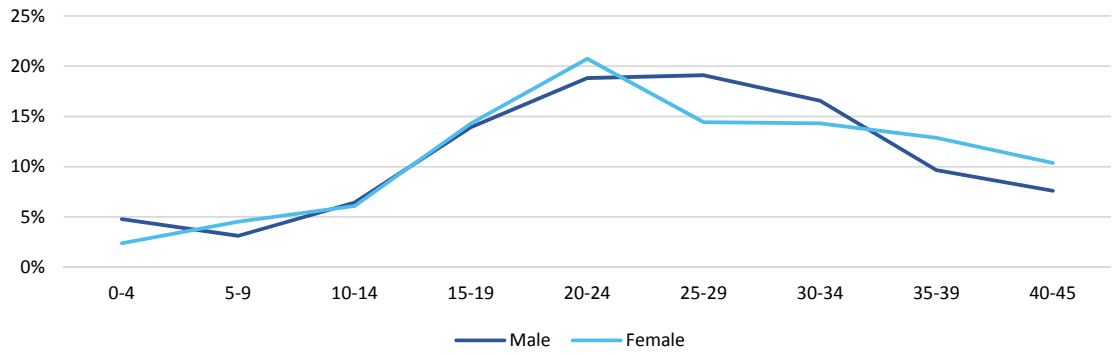


Figure 21: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by gender, overseas born of non-English speaking background



Spatial distribution of attitudes

Analysis of the spatial distribution of attitudes was undertaken using the Australian Statistical Geographic Standard (ASGS) as a measure of geographic measure of remoteness based on the physical road distance between a settlement and five classes of service centre. There were sufficient respondents to analyse by three classifications:

- Major cities, includes most capital cities; Accessibility/ Remoteness Index of Australia (ARIA) value of 0 to 0.2. Highly accessible.
- Inner Regional Australia; ARIA index value greater than 0.2 and less than or equal to 2.4. Accessible (towns such as Hobart, Launceston, Mackay and Tamworth).
- Outer Regional Australia, ARIA index value greater than 2.4 and less than or equal to 5.92. Moderately accessible (includes towns and cities such as Darwin, Whyalla, Cairns and Gunnedah)

The pattern of response indicates lowest proportion with a strong negative score in Major Cities (18%), a higher proportion in Inner Regional (25%), with a markedly higher score in Outer Regional (39%). Some 21% of Outer Regional respondents obtained a score at the lowest end of the range (0-4).

Table 39: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by region, all respondents (%)

	Major City %	Inner Regional %	Outer Regional %
Very low score 0-4	9.2	12.9	20.7
Low score 5-9	9.1	12.1	18.6
Total low score	18.3	25.0	39.3
N (unweighted)	5,654	2,317	301

Using a Diversity Index developed by Darren Pennay of the Social Research Centre, low and high diversity areas were compared. The Diversity Index measures cultural diversity present in each postal area. It is based on 2011 country of birth data derived from the 2011 Census and calculates the proportion of resident adults (aged 18 years or above) in each postal area who were born in Australia or overseas in an English-speaking country. For example, in postcode 2008 the total resident adult population according to the 2011 Census was 5,937. Of this population, 3,211 were born in Australia or overseas in an English-speaking country. Thus, the diversity index for this postcode is 0.540846 (i.e. 3,211 ÷ 5,937). English-speaking countries used in this index are UK, Ireland, USA, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa.

For the following analysis Australian postcodes were divided into quintiles, with the highest diversity quintiles (<=0.749482, n=5203) compared with the three lowest diversity quintiles (>0.855055, n=3105). Three quintiles were combined as there is relatively little difference in the Index at the low diversity levels; the combination also provides a larger sample size which can be disaggregated by Australian ancestry.

The finding indicates a higher proportion with strong negative scores in areas of low diversity – 28.4%, compared to 12.9% in ethnically diverse areas. Earlier findings point to differences in attitude between third generation Australians and those of non-English speaking background; with analysis narrowed to third generation Australians there is still marked difference between areas of high and low diversity (17.1%, 31.2%), pointing to two conclusions which receive support from the focus group discussions undertaken for this project: [a] conditions of life in culturally diverse areas leads to greater acceptance of diversity among a segment of the third generation Australian born population; [b] there remains a segment of the third generation Australian born population in areas of ethnic diversity, here indicated at 17%, that indicates strong negative attitudes towards diversity.

Table 40: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by Diversity Index (%)

	Highest diversity quintile %	Three lowest diversity quintiles %
Very low score 0-4	5.8	14.5
Low score 5-9	7.1	13.9
Total low score	12.9	28.4
N (unweighted)	5,203	3,105

Table 41: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by Diversity Index and third generation respondents (%)

	Highest diversity quintile %
Very low score 0-4	7.5
Low score 5-9	9.5
Total low score	17.0
N (unweighted)	966

A further attempt to distinguish the segment of the population with strong negative attitudes towards cultural diversity was undertaken by distinguishing high diversity areas which are also areas of socio-economic disadvantage. To this end the highest diversity quintile was further narrowed to the bottom decile of the Socio-Economic Index of Relative Socio-Economic Disadvantage – that is, to the 10% of postcodes which are classified as the most disadvantaged.

The variables used to construct this Index include income, education, employment, occupation, housing, families with children under 15 and jobless parents, one parent families with dependent children, people under 70 who need assistance with core activities, people who do not speak English well, occupied private dwellings with no car, people age 15 and over who are separated or divorced.[15]

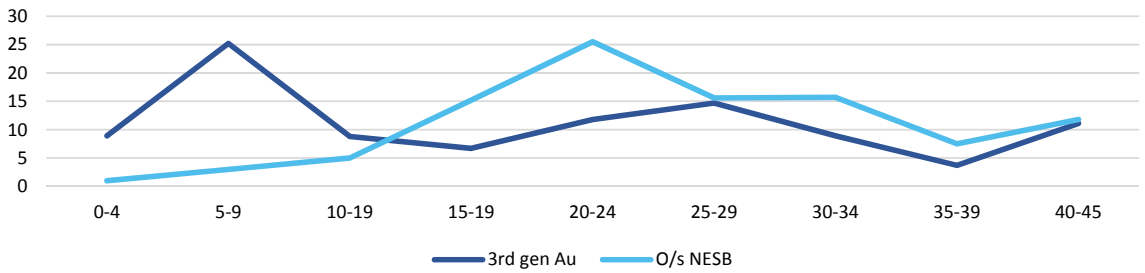
The finding can only be regarded as indicative because the further disaggregation leaves just 53 third generation Australia respondents and 228 respondents overseas born of non-English speaking background.

The indication, however, is that among third generation Australian residents in the areas of highest cultural diversity and socio-economic disadvantage, the proportion of third generation Australians with strong negative attitudes towards cultural diversity increases to 34%, while among overseas born of non-English speaking background it is close to one-eighth of that proportion at 4%. There is, however, less difference in the indication of strong positive attitudes toward ethnic diversity, indicated by 15% of third generation Australians and 19% of overseas born of non-English speaking background, with almost no differentiation at the highest level (40-45, 11%, 12%)

Table 42: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by Diversity Index and SEIFA 2, by Australian ancestry and birthplace (%)

Score	Highest diversity quintile and SEIFA 1 – Third generation Australian %	Highest diversity quintile and SEIFA 1 – Overseas born, NESB %
0-4	8.9	1.0
5-9	25.2	3.0
Sub-total 0-9	***34.1***	***4.0***
10-14	8.8	5.0
15-19	6.7	15.2
20-24	11.8	25.5
25-29	14.7	15.6
30-34	8.9	15.7
35-39	3.7	7.5
40-45	11.1	11.8
Sub-total 35-45	***14.8***	***19.3***
TOTAL	100	100
N (unweighted)	53	228

Figure 22: Ethnic and Cultural Tolerance scale by Diversity Index and SEIFA 2, by Australian ancestry and birthplace



[15] Australian Bureau of Statistics, Technical Paper, Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), 2011 (cat. no. 2033.0.55.001)

Segmentation of urban Australia

A prominent theme in focus group discussions was the difference between culturally diverse and homogenous areas, the multicultural and monocultural. Participants discussed environments in which they felt a sense of 'belonging', 'at home', 'comfortable', 'normal', contrasted with areas where they were 'out of place', a 'stare object', an 'alien.'

In Sydney there is the 'north, south, east, west', and 'you don't see the crossovers that much.' (#26). There is the 'affluent side' where those from the west don't belong:

> *I've got a lot of friends who come from the affluent side of Melbourne and they come from old Australian money and to them, I am like this foreign being because I'm half Asian, I'm half European, but born here. … When I'm in Broadmeadows I'm just normal....*(#23)

> *They look at you like you're an alien ... Everyone was just like... 'What are you doing in this area?'* (#23)

The areas of diversity are seen as a separate world; in the view of one Melbourne participant they are characterised by an extent of diversity that 'you don't get anywhere else, in any other country … You can walk down the street [and] … you've just walked past five countries.' (#10). Western Sydney residents describe a separate world, one that is distinct from 'white Australia.'

> *I used to live in …Berala. Berala's kind of Auburn City Council. In this area ... it's like very multicultural, like I could see [the] Arab base, mostly, and then like Asians, and then even Sudanese. There's a lot of Sudanese here. So it's very multicultural. I feel like I fit in here, because it's so multicultural.* (#9)

A young Australian of Muslim faith explains her experience of the region's diversity:

> *I like the cultural diversity. I like the quirkiness of places … I'm studying with an organisation called ISRA and their centre is at Auburn, and I like the fact that that's really local. I like being able to meet up with friends and family really easily, which was something that I couldn't do before.*
>
> *I like… always knowing what's going on in the community, and the sense of community here is a lot greater than the sense of community that I used to feel when I was younger. I actually really enjoy that. I like … when Ramadan is on, it's visible, when Eid is coming up, it's visible, … people aren't ashamed about it, it's loud and colourful and that's my kind of environment.* (#57)

One participant contrasted her workplace and the 'real' Australia:

> *Coming from my very white workplace, … like extremely white, … walking from the station to Bankstown library, … I saw Asians and I saw a woman in hijab and I saw someone that was an Islander and I just thought 'frigin hell, why is this not reflected in my workplace, … Like this is actually Australia, that's not Australia, that's white Australia* (#57)

Some discussed a process of self-selection and ethnic segmentation, whereby the character of a region changes as immigrants settle and established residents move away:

> *My neighbours, they change. More immigrants from Vietnam and stuff. So I noticed that a lot, and the locals, they move somewhere else. I'm close with some of the locals who have lived in my area, and they said they are moving to another area.* (#36)

Segmentation is also evident in the school system. In areas where property values have increased substantially there may remain pockets of low cost housing, in part because of the location of social housing estates constructed in an earlier time. In such areas there is evidence of the segmentation of government schools based on middle-class parental preference. One participant reflected on his experience: '*I took a university placement there when I was training as a teacher … [and found that] we're kind of segregating again. [We have a] very stratified school system … in this country now.*' (#31) A further level of segmentation occurs as children from relatively prosperous homes are enrolled in private schools, including faith based schools.

Participants from immigrant background spoke of their feeling of alienation in regions of their cities: 'it's weird … when you go to really white places.' (#31); 'if I have to go to … the city or … somewhere that is ... white, ... like white-dominated Australia.... I would feel … a bit off. I would feel like, 'Oh my god, they're looking at me. They're looking at me. What is she doing here?' (#9)

A New Zealand born participant from outer western Sydney described her recent visit to a shopping centre in an affluent suburb:

> *A few weeks ago my husband and I had the day off, we both had the day off and we decided we had to go to Castle Hill, [to the Castle Towers shopping centre]. Oh my gosh, the first time in years where I felt so – out of place, I felt like people were judging because we were brown.*

… I haven't felt like that in ages where people were judging us because of our skin colour. And then I said to my husband, 'Let's go,' like it just doesn't feel right. Yeah, it was bad…. Walked around for a little bit and we had to go into Coles. Standing in line and just, I don't know, it's that feeling that you get where you know people are looking at you, and even some of the oldies were looking at me up and down like, 'Is that from Target? Is that from K-mart?' Just judging where my outfit was from, and I'm thinking, 'Wow, they have full-on beautiful earrings, like beautiful everything.' … Oh, it was awkward. Awkward, awkward…. It's awkward knowing that people are judging you because of your race and how big you are. (#55)

Similar experiences were discussed by Sudanese born residents in the western suburbs.

Respondent: *If you go like north Sydney and stuff, there's all rich, white old men who'll just be like, 'Oh...,' they're going to look at you weird and stuff, especially if you go to the shopping centre, they're going to look at you weird.*

Respondent: *You don't belong.*

Respondent: *Like you don't belong there.*

Moderator: *I mean, do you think people are frightened of you?*

Respondent: *Yeah.*

Respondent: *They're frightened by the idea of us.*

Respondent: *They think like you're going to just... snap … Like, for example, if you're, say, at a traffic light, you're walking by, people just start locking their door. They're going to think you're just going to jump in their car, steal it….*

Respondent: *… they just see you walking by, like, minding your own business, they all click and start... And then you just look at them like, 'Are you serious? I'm not going to attack you,' something like that.*

Moderator: *And how does that make you feel?*

Respondent: *Makes it hell.* (#11)

As a consequence of segmentation, some grow up in an environment of limited cultural diversity, they mix with 'their own kind'; for others, cultural diversity is the norm: 'we all go to the same school … we're brought up together so we feel more connected to these different nationalities.' (#15)

Moderator: *What groups are predominant where you are?*

Respondent: *Lebos, Turks….*

Respondent: *There has been a lot more Indians I've noticed. It doesn't bother me so I don't really pay attention to it. I just grew up with it, it was normal….*

Respondent: *Yeah. Primary school, high school, it was all a bit of everything. …*

Respondent: *… It's just the way I grew up, … there was me, two doors down was the Greek boy, across the road was the Turks, two doors down from them was the Maoris, and yeah, around the block was the Asians, and we all, just because of the same age group, we all hung out together*. (#31)

The impact of this socialisation is that many *'learn to be tolerant. You know, you have to accept other people ...You learn to be street smart … You've got to learn to kind of adapt around here or you won't make it*.' (#23)

A young girl of Pakistani background, resident in an inner Melbourne suburb, gave a powerful illustration of the way in which the peaceful co-existence of ethnic groups has shaped her understanding of the world:

Respondent: *I had one of my proudest moments as an Australian two New Year's Eves ago. I'm in a block of five and there was a Pakistani family living at the back block… We have … illegal fireworks every year, which is great. We're all gathered at the front of the block and we were watching the illegal fireworks go off with the Italians and the Lebanese … and this little Pakistani girl was holding her dad's hand and she looked up and she was like, 'Do you know what Dad? I reckon the Lebos were better than the Wogs this year.' Her father looked at her and he was like, whispering 'No, no.' I just thought it was great. I just loved that whole multicultural, this child was an immigrant and was judging cultural groups on their firework displays and that's beautiful. That's what we should all do. We should judge people on their fireworks. I mean, if all people were like that little girl I reckon we'd be in a better place.*

Respondent: *It also indicates, like, a degree of partnership, I think. Being licensed to make that joke, it says, like, 'I'm just another one of the people that belong here,' which is awesome because otherwise there's so many horrible stories of exclusion. That's very cool.*

Respondent: *Yeah, I know. I was saying to her dad, 'No, no. She's on it. She's on the money. She knows how it works.'* (#31)

6 EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION

Key points

- In past surveys the scope to analyse experience of sub-group discrimination has been limited to a small number of countries and faith groups. There was, for example, no scope to report on the experience of African national groups, nor were there previous attempts to recruit Indigenous Australian respondents in the Scanlon Foundation surveys, which were primarily focused on the impact of immigration in urban areas. One of the objectives of Au@2015 was to obtain a sample adequate for analysis for at least one African country.

- Past surveys have found marked difference between ethnic and faith groups when data is segmented by country of birth and religion. No group reports close to zero experience of discrimination, but the lowest level, in the range 10%-15%, is reported by third generation Australians, closely approximated by overseas born of English speaking background. The highest levels have been reported by overseas born of non-English speaking background.

- Au@2015 finds reported experience of discrimination by Indigenous Australia respondents at a very high level, 59%.

- For African countries reported discrimination averages 54%, the highest of any region, with a range from 19% to 77%. The variation evident in these findings reflects lived experience of life in Australia, but may also indicate the impact of cultural factors and visa status in willingness to report experience of discrimination in a survey. There is indication in response to a number of the survey questions that asylum seekers and Humanitarian entrants are diffident or guarded when answering questions that may be seen as critical of Australian society.

- The highest level of discrimination, at 77%, is reported by the South Sudanese, 166 of whom completed the survey. The South Sudanese stand alone in terms of reported discrimination. For example, 3% of third generation Australians report unfair treatment at work, compared to 32% South Sudanese; 3% of third generation Australians indicate that they were not offered a job, compared to 55% of South Sudanese. There is also a marked difference in the reporting of property damage and physical attack, which is indicated by 6% of third generation Australians and 43% of South Sudanese.

Scanlon Foundation surveys

A question on the experience of discrimination over the previous twelve months on the basis of 'skin colour, ethnic origin or religion' has been included in the Scanlon Foundation surveys since 2007 and has provided data to track change over time.

Past surveys have found marked difference between ethnic and faith groups when data is segmented by country of birth and of religion.

No group reports close to zero experience of discrimination, but the lowest level, in the range 10%-15%, is reported by third generation Australians, closely approximated by overseas born of English speaking background. The highest levels have been reported by overseas born of non-English speaking background. The 2013 Scanlon Foundation national survey found reported experience of discrimination by Australian born and overseas born of English speaking background at 16%; overseas born of non-English speaking background was 29%. The 2013 Recent Arrivals survey found higher levels of reported discrimination among the most recent arrivals (2000-2010) – 22% among English speaking background and 41% among non-English speaking background.

Table 43: 'Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion over the last 12 months?' Response: 'yes', Recent Arrivals and Scanlon Foundation national survey, 2013. Arrived 1990-2010 (%)

Birthplace	2013 Scanlon Foundation National survey	2013 Recent Arrivals	
		Arrived 1990-99	Arrived 2000-10
	%	%	%
Australia	16		
English-speaking background	16	16	22
Non-English speaking background	29	29	41

In the 2013 Scanlon Foundation Recent Arrivals survey, the highest reported experience of discrimination over the last 12 months was indicated in the aggregated results for those born in Malaysia (45%), India and Sri Lanka (42%), Indonesia and China and Hong Kong (39%).

The 2012 Scanlon Foundation local area survey analysed responses by religion; it found that experience of discrimination over the last 12 months was indicated by 34% of Muslims, 22% Buddhist, 20% Roman Catholic, and 19% of those who indicated that their faith was Christian, without indicating a denomination.

A comparison of Au@2015 with the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey finds substantial consistency for six national groups and variation for three: the reported experience of those born in Indonesia is markedly lower, while the proportion for New Zealand is markedly higher. This variation may in part reflect a lowering of tensions between Australia and Indonesia, while the increase for New Zealand may indicate heightened concern over the status of New Zealanders without permanent residence in Australia, a level of concern that is evident in response to a range of questions in Au@2015.

Table 44: Reported experience of discrimination by selected country of birth, arrived from 1990/1991, 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 surveys (%)

	2013 Recent Arrivals survey (arrived 1990+) %	Au@2015 (arrived 1991+) %
UK & Ireland	12	17
France*	27	24
New Zealand	24	60
Vietnam*	40	40
China & Hong Kong	39	42
India	42	43
Indonesia	39	19
Korea*	57	55
Malaysia	45	53
AVERAGE	36	39

*Small number of 2013 respondents for France (21 respondents), Malaysia (22) and Vietnam (35)

In past surveys the scope to analyse experience of sub-group discrimination has been limited to a small number of countries and faith groups. There was, for example, no scope to report on the experience of African national groups, nor were there previous attempts to recruit Indigenous Australian respondents in the Scanlon Foundation surveys, which were primarily focused on the impact of immigration in urban areas.

One of the objectives of Au@2015 was to obtain a sample adequate for analysis for at least one African country. Through the assistance of community organisations, notably the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, contact was established with African groups and print versions of the survey were distributed to encourage participation. The largest number of completed surveys (166) were obtained from South Sudanese, who are of Christian faith. In total, close to 500 surveys were completed by respondents born in African countries.

The findings of the Au@2015 survey are presented for six country, regional and Australian ancestry groupings.

First, of those born in Australia and of Australian born parentage, analysed by those who live in the 20% most disadvantaged postcodes [16] (SEIFA 1-2) and those resident in the 20% least disadvantaged (SEIFA 9-10), reported experience of discrimination ranges from 14% to 31%; for those born in Australia with both parents born overseas of non-English speaking background, there is higher reported experience of discrimination, but with little differentiation by local area, with a range from 33% to 35%.

The Au@2015 survey was completed by 122 persons who indicated that they were of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin. Of these, 40% were residents of Victoria and 30% of New South Wales; 54% were resident in major cities and 35% in inner regional centres. The reported experience of discrimination by Indigenous Australia respondents was at a very high level, 59%.

[16] As indicated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics' Index of Relative Socio-Economic Disadvantage.

Table 45: Reported experience of discrimination, Australian born by ancestry and local area (Socio-Economic Index for Area - Index of Relative Socio-Economic Disadvantage) (%)

	Au-born - both parents Au born %	Au-born - both parents overseas born, NESB %
SEIFA 9-10	14	33
SEIFA 1-2	31	35
Indigenous	59	

Second, consistent with earlier survey findings, the reported experience of discrimination for European countries with sufficient number of respondents for analysis was relatively low, in the range 11% to 22%.

Third, for respondents from the United States and Canada it was a higher 32% (range 31%-33%), marginally lower for respondents from South America at 27% (range 12%-29%).

Fourth, the relatively large number of respondents from Asian countries finds a large variation, from 15% to 55%, in the reported experience of discrimination.

Fifth, among those born in New Zealand reported experience of discrimination is 50%.

Sixth, for African countries reported discrimination averages 54%, the highest of any region, with a range from 19% to 77%. There is considerable variation, with reported experience of discrimination above 50% for Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Sudan.

The variation evident in these findings reflects lived experience of life in Australia, but may also indicate the impact of cultural factors and visa status in willingness to report experience of discrimination in a survey. There is indication in response to a number of the survey questions that asylum seekers and Humanitarian entrants are diffident or guarded when answering questions that may be seen as critical of Australian society. For example, the survey was completed by a relatively large number of Afghan respondents (n=199); 72% of these respondents came to Australia on Humanitarian visas or as asylum seekers, and a further 15% on the family reunion program; 93% indicate that they are Muslim. Among these respondents there is a very low reported experience of discrimination at 15%

The highest level of discrimination, at 77%, is reported by the South Sudanese, 166 of whom completed the survey. Of these, more than 90% (153) live in Victoria.

The Sudanese are a relatively new immigrant group in Australia, with the peak of arrivals between1996-2005 through the Humanitarian program. Of Au@2015 respondents, 52% of South Sudanese arrived between 2001-2005, 31% between 2006-2010.

Table 46: 'Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion over the last 12 months?', Response: 'Yes', by country of birth, Au@2015 (%)

Europe	%	Asia	%	Other	%
UK	11	Afghanistan	15	USA and Canada	32
Netherlands	12	Iran	23	South American	27
Italy	13	Iraq	24	New Zealand	50
Greece	14	Vietnam	24		
Turkey	15	Indonesia	27		
Germany	15	Philippines	30		
France	22	Malaysia	37		
		India	39		
		China	39		
		Thailand	50		
		Korea, South	55		

Table 47: Reported experience of discrimination

	Africa* %	N (unweighted)
Eritrea	19	54
Sudan	32	69
Egypt	53	34
Kenya	67	15
Ethiopia	60	28
Zimbabwe	75	30
South Sudan	77	166
TOTAL	54	474

* A smaller number of surveys were completed by those born in Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, Mauritius, Nigeria, Somalia, Zambia.

Analysis of South Sudanese respondents by sub-group (gender, age, region of residence and faith) finds the lowest reported experience of discrimination at 58%. By gender, reported experience ranged from 75% of men, 79% of women; by age, with reference to age groups with the largest number of respondents, the range was from 84% to 94%; by regions of Victoria, from 58% in the western suburbs of Melbourne to 96% in regional centres, and by faith group, from 64% of Roman Catholics to 100% of Baptists. For no other birthplace group with at least 50 respondents does experience of discrimination reach the level reported by South Sudanese.

Table 48: Experience of discrimination; country of birth South Sudan, respondents by four variables, minimum 20 respondents per sub-category, respondent number in brackets

Gender	**Male**	**Female**		
	75% (n=111)	79% (54)		
Age	**35-39**	**40-44**	**45-49**	
	94% (34)	84% (32)	92% (39)	
Region (Victoria)*	**Western suburbs, Melbourne**	**Eastern, south eastern suburbs, Melbourne**	**Regional centres, Victoria**	
	58% (38)	84% (76)	96% (40)	
Faith group	**Roman Catholic**	**Anglican**	**Presbyterian**	**Baptist**
	64% (25)	68% (24)	80% (48)	100% (21)

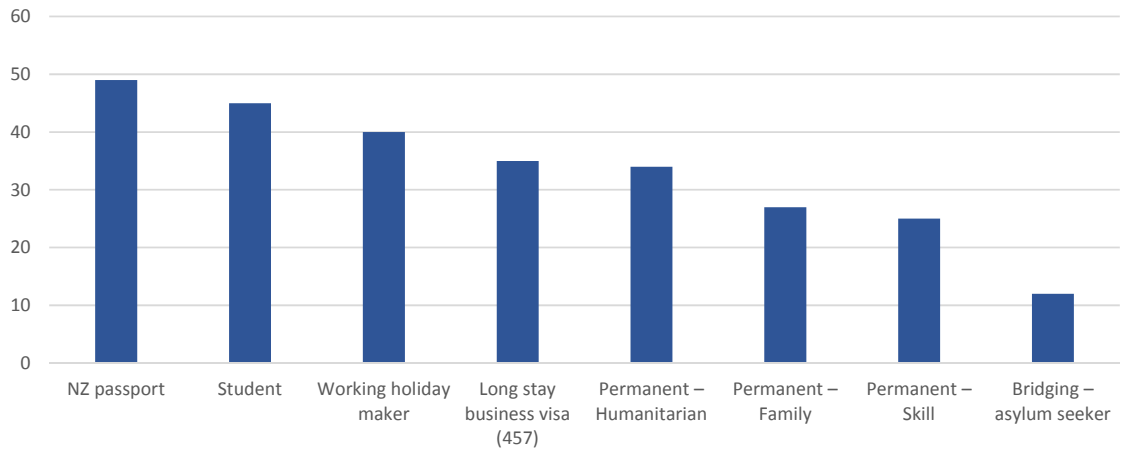
*Main suburbs (postcodes) of respondents: western Melbourne: Deer Park, Pt. Cook, Sunshine, St. Albans, Geelong; east, south-east Melbourne: Cranbourne, Dandenong, Pakenham, Narre Warren, Doveton, Noble Park, Springvale, Mulgrave, Chadstone; regional Victoria: Colac, Morwell, Traralgon, Ballarat

Analysis by first visa category indicates the lowest level at 12% reported by asylum seekers; a second level, 25%-27%, reported by Skill and Family reunion categories; at 34%-35% by Humanitarian and Business (457) visa holders; and 40% and above by Working holiday makers, Student and New Zealand SCV.

Table 49: 'Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion over the last 12 months?', Response: 'yes', Au@2015 by visa category (%)

Visa category	%	N (unweighted)
Bridging – asylum seeker	12	269
Permanent – Skill	25	1,056
Permanent – Family	27	1,346
Permanent – Humanitarian	34	627
Long stay business visa (457)	35	193
Working holiday maker	40	201
Student	45	623
NZ passport	49	639

Figure 23: Experience of discrimination by visa category, Au@2015 (%)



Forms of discrimination

The most common forms of discrimination are verbal abuse and actions that make people feel that they do not belong; the next level is workplace discrimination; least common, but with the potential for greatest impact, are physical acts involving property damage and physical assault.

Analysis by country of birth and Australian ancestry finds that among third generation Australians and those born in the United Kingdom discriminatory actions primarily involve verbal abuse and actions that make the respondent feel that they do not belong.

Among Australian born of non-English speaking background higher frequency of discriminatory actions are reported, and also involve workplace discrimination.

The pattern is similar for those born in New Zealand, India, China and Hong Kong, and Africa (excluding South Sudan), but with higher reported experience of discriminatory acts. While New Zealand born report a high level of discrimination, it does not extend to property damage, and physical assault is no higher than for Australian born.

Respondents from South Korea of whom a relatively large percentage are on Student (34%) and Working Holiday Maker visas (39%) report the second highest rates of verbal abuse, property damage and physical attack.

Those born in South Sudan stand alone in terms of reported discrimination, at least double the rate for South Korean born in four of the six categories, and at least five times the rate for all six categories when compared to third generation Australians; for example, 3% of third generation Australians report unfair treatment at work, compared to 32% South Sudanese; 3% of third generation Australians indicate that they were not offered a job, compared to 55% of South Sudanese; there is also a marked difference in the reporting of property damage and physical attack, which is indicated by 6% of third generation Australians and 43% of South Sudanese.

Table 50: 'What form did the discrimination take?' Au@2015 survey, by Australian ancestry and overseas born by country of birth, multiple response question (%)

	3rd gen Au	Au-NESB	United Kingdom	New Zealand	India	China & Hong Kong	South Korea	Africa (excluding South Sudan)	South Sudan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Made to feel like don't belong	13	32	10	43	38	36	30	40	68
Verbal abuse	13	22	6	22	26	30	43	28	71
Not offered a job	3	9	1	13	12	12	11	19	55
Not treated fairly at work	3	10	2	12	17	16	13	13	32
Property damage	3	3	1	4	3	6	8	5	26
Physical attack	3	6	1	1	4	4	11	4	17
Sub-total – property damage and assault	*6*	*9*	*2*	*5*	*7*	*10*	*19*	*9*	*43*

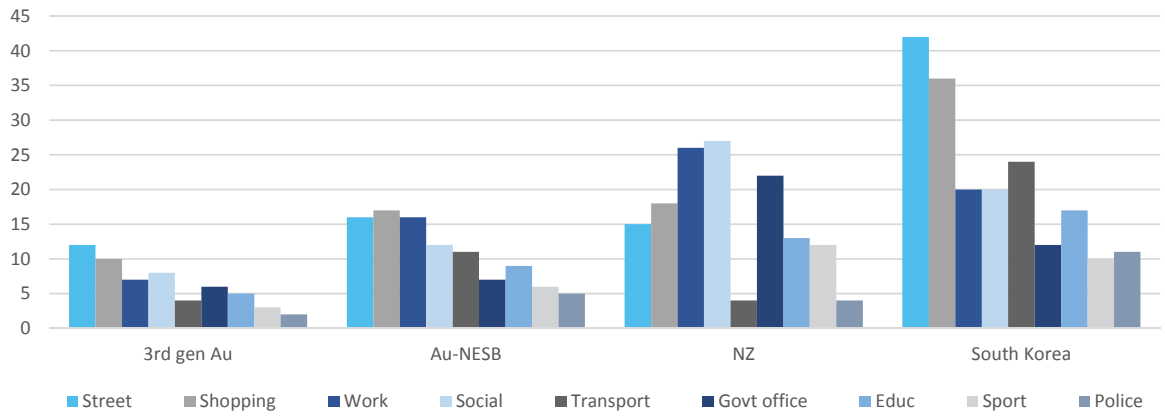
Location of discriminatory acts

Occurrence of discrimination acts is most frequently reported in public places – on the street, in shopping centres – and places of work, with relatively high levels of discrimination on public transport reported by those born in India, China, Hong Kong, South Korea and African countries. The lowest reported incidence occurs when in contact with police – 4% or lower for the overseas born national groups examined – except for 5% reported by those born in China and Hong Kong, 10% South Korea, 21% all Africa except South Sudan, and 59% South Sudan.

Table 51: Where have you experienced discrimination? AU@2015 survey, by Australian ancestry and overseas born by country of birth, multiple response (%)

	3rd gen Au	Au-NESB	United Kingdom	New Zealand	India	China & Hong Kong	South Korea	Africa (excluding South Sudan)	South Sudan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
On the street	12	16	5	15	22	29	42	31	59
When shopping	10	17	4	18	15	25	36	28	59
At work	7	16	5	26	19	19	20	22	61
At a social gathering	8	12	5	27	12	11	18	13	16
On public transport	4	11	3	4	13	15	23	29	68
In a government office	6	7	2	22	7	12	13	9	16
At an educational institution	5	9	2	13	6	7	16	12	20
At a sporting event	3	6	1	12	5	2	9	8	36
When in contact with the police	2	5	1	4	5	5	10	21	59

Figure 24: 'Where have you experienced discrimination in the last year?' Au@2015 survey (%)



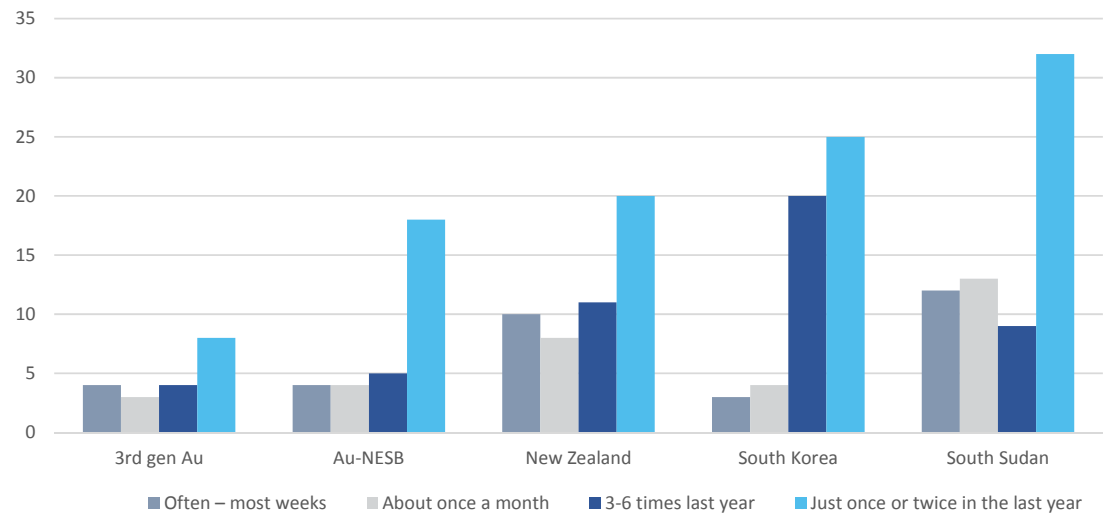
Frequency of discrimination

Incidents of discrimination at least once a month are reported at a relatively low level of 5% to 7% by those born in Australia, UK, China and Hong Kong and South Korea; 10% India; 10% all Africa except South Sudan; 18% New Zealand; and 25% South Sudan. A relatively high proportion (14%-15%) of African respondents did not respond when asked to indicate the frequency of discrimination.

Table 52: 'How often did you experience discrimination?' Au@2015 by Australian ancestry and overseas born by country of birth (%)

	3rd gen Au	Au-NESB	United Kingdom	New Zealand	India	China & Hong Kong	South Korea	Africa (excluding South Sudan)	South Sudan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Often – most weeks	4	4	4	10	6	3	3	7	12
About once a month	3	4	1	8	3	2	4	4	13
Sub-total: at least once a month	*7*	*8*	*5*	*18*	*9*	*5*	*7*	*11*	*25*
3-6 times last year	4	5	2	11	10	8	20	10	9
Just once or twice in the last year	8	18	5	20	21	28	25	20	32
Don't Know/ Decline	3	3	1	3	7	8	4	14	15

Figure 25: 'How often did you experience discrimination?' Au@2015 by country of birth (%)



Gender and faith groups

Marginally higher rates of discrimination are reported by women than men, except among third generation Australians (26% men, 16% women). Among those born overseas who have arrived in Australia since 2000, discrimination is reported by 39% of women and 35% of men.

Analysis of overseas born by faith group finds the highest level of discrimination reported by those who indicate that they are of Christian faith (41%), without specification of denomination; Buddhist, Roman Catholic and Hindu at 32%-33%; and lowest among Anglican, Muslim and Jewish respondents at 22%-25%. For four of the seven faith groups women report higher incidence of discrimination than men, with the highest difference between the rate for men and women among Muslims, reported by 19% of men and 29% of women. Reported experiences of discrimination by those of the Muslim faith is discussed further in the Muslim Australian section of this report.

Table 53: 'Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion over the last 12 months?' Au@2015, 3rd gen Au by gender (%)

	Male %	Female %
Yes	26	16
No	73	83
Decline to answer	2	2
Total	100	100
N (unweighted)	1,064	2,430

Table 54: Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion over the last 12 months? Au@2015, overseas-born, arrived 2001-2005 by gender (%)

	Male %	Female %
Yes	35	39
No	62	58
Decline to answer	3	3
Total	100	100
N (unweighted)	1,320	1,912

Table 55: 'Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion over the last 12 months?' Response: 'Yes', Au@2015 total overseas-born by religion and gender (%)

Religion	Male %	Female %	Total %	Female as % of Male	N (unweighted)
Christian (no further description)	43	40	41	93	529
Buddhist	32	33	33	103	388
Catholic	30	33	32	110	896
Hindu	35	27	32	77	182
No religion	27	30	28	111	1,172
Anglican	22	26	25	118	253
Muslim	19	29	23	153	815
Jewish	23	21	22	91	286
Total	29	32	31	110	5,487

Talking about discrimination

A deeper and more personal insight into the way discrimination is manifested in everyday life is provided by focus group discussions, a context that gives respondents the opportunity to explain their experiences in their own words.

Covert

Covert experience of discrimination can occur in a range of contexts, with nothing directly offensive being said, no directly hostile actions, but at the same time the person is not treated as an equal. As one participant observed, you may encounter a person whose job is to provide a service, but the person does not provide truthful and full answers; you in the position of not understanding the system and the service provider is '*not showing it to you*.' (#12)

The most frequently cited example of covert discrimination occurs in the context of job applications, where applications which on the surface meet all the job requirements do not receive even the courtesy of a response; other examples relate to the workplace, where a person fails to obtain a merited promotion, or is not invited to social gatherings, is made to feel an outsider, is made redundant only to find that their former jobs are filled by a friend of the manager or employer.

> *One of my friends, his name is Mohammed, like he's obviously Lebanese. Because his name was Mohammed he didn't get a job on his resume, but when he changed his name to Michael he was [called for an interview]. ..As you can see, he's stereotyped straightaway*. (#11)

> *My dad … was head of department for chemistry in Pakistan so that's the sort of level that he likes to teach ... He applied to around 40 different Australian colleges to teach VCE level chemistry and you know how your resume have your picture on it, he didn't get any interviews …. And then … [he said], I'll just give it another shot and I'll remove my picture from it. And he got interviews for [the next three applications] ….* (#18)

A Perth participant observed:

> *It's really hard to get the job related to our former profession, because as my friend said, everything requires local experience and local education. Even though if you go to local education, it's still difficult to find job. We always apply online and seek and go to talk to people, and it's very hard to get local experience.*
>
> *...Sometimes we try to work for [an] organisation as a volunteer, [but] even … if you want to work as a volunteer you cannot find [the required] insurance … They're not going to give you a chance, … it's very hard to get job here in Australia. ... I can take my own experience, I have got Master's degree in city planning and I have eight years' experience back home, and I have submitted all my documents for government assessment and I was given [recognition] … Then I went to TAFE and I took some courses. It's still hard to find job. I haven't been able to find a job for 15 months ... and I've applied for 30 jobs a month*. (#44)

In the view of one participant Australia is like a third world country where bribery and nepotism (the favouring of family and friend) is the only way to get a job, not on the basis of qualifications and abilities. The participant was much surprised, not expecting that the Australian job market would work in such a way.

> *My family … say that in … countries [such as] Pakistan [and] Afghanistan usually bribery and things like that will get you into a good job … I remember telling my husband that this is Australia, it doesn't work that way, …bribery, that's illegal. And when he came here he had done medicine and he was applying for jobs … He [had] done all the qualifications …all the exams and everything, he passed everything. When he was applying for jobs … [they] never called him back … He would call them and ask them, have you guys seen my resume? They'd be like, we've already filled the job. And then because my brother's also a doctor, he works at the Royal Melbourne and he had connections … He doesn't look like a Muslim, they all have a beard, he doesn't look like that, he's straight up Aussie who has grown up here … and he's got that perfect Aussie accent, you wouldn't guess anything, so he gets a lot of jobs…. [He said to his contacts,] I've got a brother-in-law who's also done medicine, can you give him a call … On the basis that people knew him they actually found my husband a job very easily …*
>
> [Second participant] *… It's not what you know, it's who you know.*
>
> [First participant] *… It's who you know … even though in Afghanistan, in those countries, we look down upon people who bribe, or it's not fair that the person knows this other person, that's why they get a job. It's the same thing here. Like I didn't expect that … Growing up here I was, like, no way, it isn't like that.* (#18)

Overt

The most frequent form of overt hostility is verbal abuse in public places; there is a much repeated refrain, 'Go back to where you came from.' 'Go back to your country.'

Brisbane: *They keep yelling 'Get back to your country. Why you come here for? You steal my job' … That's a bit scary when I first been here.* (#40)

Sydney: *I remember walking down Main Street. This guy just looked at me like, 'Go back to your country.*' (#9)

Sydney: *And the lady was screaming on this guy in front of his family, in front of his kids, 'Don't care, you bloody stupid people, you don't understand. This is Australia, if you don't like it, if you don't understand, go back!*' (#17)

Sydney: *'Go away, this is my country and my land. Go away. … Catch the lift, … inside is the man, he said 'Go away, you are Chinese.'* (#19)

Melbourne: *We went across the road and there was this car going past and this bogan guy teenager, not teenager, but he was like 20 I guess, he goes, 'Go back to where you came from.'* (#8)

Aggressive physical behaviour was rarely discussed in focus groups; when mentioned, it often involved neighbourhood disputes, as in a Melbourne incident involving an immigrant from India:

> *We parked in a driveway, the car got reversed and [the man] started abusing, like, 'You people, why are you here? Go back to your countries.' And it was pretty much to that level, the police had to be called … The car was bashed and things went out of hand... We moved [away from that house] … because there were other people … who didn't support us, so we were isolated … There was only one family that supported us, who witnessed it ….* (#1)

Contexts of incidents of overt discrimination

Incidents of overt discrimination were experienced in a number of different contexts in which people of different backgrounds are brought into direct contact. Locations include schools, government agencies, shops and shopping centres, public transport, and train stations.

Schools

There were many accounts of new arrivals being subjected to abuse and physical attack in schools, with focus group participants discussing conflict among students as of frequent occurrence. Racist incidents were also experienced by some students and parents when interacting with teachers.

> *When I first came here I was six or something like that and I went to an all, no offence, all white primary school, and I experienced racism strongly; strongly from my principal, from my teacher, from the students in the school… Me and my brother were the only black people in the school. They used to write on the walls, 'This school is for white people only', and stuff like that, … It was so bad, …I experienced racism strongly when I first came and I was really young, so I didn't understand why they were being so mean, because I've never experienced that when I was in Egypt*. (#8)

> *In high school I thought, because we were the new culture that we had to get bullied and we had to suck it up. It's either you stand up for yourself or let it happen, because we stood up for ourselves it kind of changed slowly. And then we were kind of accepted*. (#10)

Government agencies, service providers

There are stressful situations for both staff and immigrants in contexts in which there is understaffing and staff are hard pressed to cope with the number of customers needing attention, with difficulties compounded where there are language barriers and lack of understanding of institutional requirements. The perspective of a newly arrived customer, overwhelmed by challenges of communication, was summed up in the statement that there were '*too many difficulties*' (#17)

An incident involving an acquaintance in a Centrelink office was described by a focus group participant:

> *He went to Job Network and the [receptionist] … just [gives him a form and tells him] … 'Take, sit there, fill it out and bring it back.' And the guy took [it], stood there, doesn't understand anything, he didn't write anything. After two minutes he [came] … back, he said, 'I don't know how to write.' And the girl said, 'Okay, I don't have much time to sit down with you.' And the guy was looking to find another person there to help him, and he saw another Afghani guy down there, he went there asking, 'Do you know how to fill these forms'? And the guy said, 'Yes, I can help you.' So he filled out his form, he gives it to him and he took to reception, and reception say, 'You bloody lie, you say you don't know how to fill up, now you filled everything.' And the guy said, 'Look, I don't know. I didn't fill this. This guy has filled up this for me.' She say, 'Oh, you stupid.'* (#17)

Another participant commented on the behaviour of waiters and shop assistants when serving customers without knowledge of English:

> *That's pretty sad, you know. Not everyone has learned English, let alone broken English. I know a lot of people are from different cultures, especially from overseas, and they come just to have a decent meal, or just to go and ask a question, and then obviously they give them some attitude and they go away and laugh off. I observe that too, especially when I walk around….That's where you … think to yourself, imagine if you were in that position?* (#36)

Abuse from passengers on public transport has received considerable media attention and was discussed in several focus groups.

> *We went on a tram from Richmond to Burwood. At that time I used to live in Burwood. And this guy got on making really bad comments about brown people and black people, and the tram driver stopped the tram, the passengers put him off the tram. The passengers got up and said 'get off the tram mate, this is not a place for you.' And seriously …this sweet old lady, she'd be about this tall, she comes to us and says, 'Please don't make a judgement on that, we are all not like that.'* (#4)

> *Once my father in the train, …he knows English but … not very well….He just sat down in the seat and… suddenly, like a very old man come and then just shout at him very rudely. …My dad doesn't know what it means but …but he knows it's discrimination and … and then after a while somebody just ask my dad to go to another … another [carriage].* (#19)

Incidents on public transport also involved bus drivers; participants discussed drivers who failed to stop to let passengers board or failed to stop when requested to do so, did not provide assistance to disabled passengers, and started the bus before elderly passengers had time to sit down.

> Moderator: *The bus drivers don't stop*?
>
> Respondent: *I saw one like [dark] skin colour come to bus, African, [but] bus, they don't open the door … And I was in the bus and I told him stop and he was like … too late. So, yeah, I told, look, I want to get off, and he still didn't stop.* (#46)

A Muslim woman recounted a distressing incident with a tram driver in Melbourne:

> *I really had a bad experience when I was seven months pregnant … and I use to live in Brunswick and … catch the tram and go to the Royal Women's Hospital. I was waiting on the signal for the tram and the tram driver was stopping … I walked [and] he shut the door and he just he moved. And the people sitting inside they started laughing, I could see them laughing at me, and I was pregnant and I felt so bad. Then I almost started crying and I went back home, I didn't go to the hospital that day. … He saw me that I'm waiting there and he just moved on.* (#18)

A further context of concern related to train stations at night, seen by many as a site of danger, a view shared by immigrant and Australian born focus group participants.

Heightened experience of discrimination

Heightened experienced of discrimination was indicated by three groups of focus group participants: Indigenous Australian, Muslim women and South Sudanese.

Indigenous participants who participated in two focus groups in Perth discussed discrimination in a number of contexts; one participant commented that '*we are classed with the fauna and flora … We're the bottom of the colour spectrum.*' (#47) Another participant recalled that

> *We had an Aboriginal girl come [back] from America. She lived over there. She lived in China. She went around the world. When she came back to WA, she said, 'This is the most racist country I've set foot into and I've been all around the world …*' (#47)

Participants noted violent actions of police (#56) and racist behaviour of elderly people and neighbours

> *It seems to be more the old people. I'm surprised how many times that I can be ignored standing in line in a shop. People calling me black. Older people.* (#47)

Hostile behaviour to Muslim women wearing head covering was raised in a number of focus groups. Women were spat upon, subject to shouting, denied jobs: '*getting job, it's like really difficult … Like nobody accepts you like you are. I went at many places, and people use to say, 'Oh we have like the scarf problem, if you remove it then you can work with us.'* (#18)

I have one friend she's also Muslim and once a lady came in for the prescription and then she was like very rude when talking to her, because she's a Muslim. … Why you wear this when you came to Australia. So you shouldn't wear like that … (#1)

Someone spat at her in the shop. She has a daughter who studies in a Bendigo pharmacy and she is constantly facing that kind of racism from teenagers. (#16)

I saw an old, I'd say Italian or Greek woman, I feel like she was Italian, yelling at a girl in a headscarf yesterday who looked young and trendy and she was just walking down the street. I saw her take her headphones out of her ears because she thought the lady was going to talk to her, and then the woman was quite visibly angered and screaming at this girl, and I felt immensely frustrated and shamed. (#31)

My mum went to like grocery shopping and someone pulled her scarf, like someone pulled it off and ran away with it… I was [in a] shopping mall, there was a man, he start swearing and saying things and saying names, and then third time I was at a mall and then again it was really old lady, I was at Safeway picking up some juice or something, reading ingredients, and she just looked at me… and she was saying something I didn't hear. I was thinking, what have I done to her? I haven't talked or anything. And just yesterday… I was crossing the road, I was standing, [wearing a scarf]… I was waiting for the walking signal and there was car passing by, just honked so badly… I don't know for what reason, was I looking like an alien? What did I do? (#18)

Experience of discrimination was most often mentioned in the six focus groups conducted with South Sudanese participants. It seems that differences of skin colour are a significant issue for many Australians, for whom there has been little interaction with very dark skinned people. Dark-skinned African immigrants are a pioneer group, involved in a transition and adjustment process. One participant observed:

It's kind of understandable to an extent, because if they are old people and maybe … most of them haven't seen a black person who is really tall and has cuts [on their skin]. I would be scared if [in] … my entire life I never saw someone who was white and then one white person came … (#8)

An early arrival in a south-eastern Melbourne suburb commented:

At the start … when they see a black person for the first time … I guess … people are surprised. And then once the community started building up it was a norm, so you didn't get that much behaviour. … But living in Noble Park I've just seen a change, I've seen the wave of changes from no Sudanese, not a lot of Sudanese people, to having Sudanese people … running a few businesses in the area. (#10)

The first South Sudanese working as a real estate agent in a capital city drew a contrast with expectations in the United States and Australia: *'they see dark skinned guy working in such a job, such a profession, it's a surprise, it's different. If I was in America it's a norm, but here it's different, it's like, oh, you people do these type of jobs? I don't take it as racial or anything, but it's still a taboo to get those type of professions.*' (#10)

The degree of distancing and hostility was well captured in an exchange among young South Sudanese focus group participants in Sydney.

Moderator: *have you ever felt unwelcome in Australia?*

Respondent: *Yeah.*

Respondent: [Mocking tone] *Australia? No.* [Laughter]

Moderator: *Can you give examples of when you felt unwelcome?*

Respondent: *I've never felt welcome…..*
Respondent: *Yeah, white Australians... hate us*.

Moderator: *All of them?*

Respondent: *The majority--it's mostly old people*.

Moderator: *The older...*

Respondent: *Red necks, like the Bogans, like really - Bogans.* (#11)

The distancing that many face was expressed in terms of 'we are like aliens to them.' They encounter little to no understanding of where they are from, no understanding that there are different African national groups and African languages; it seems that some Australians think that Africa is one country and that all the immigrants speak the one language, 'African.'

Respondent: *Most people don't know what Sudanese people do, or like they don't know what Sudanese is or where Sudan is, you know? So they're like, 'Oh, where is Sudan in the map? Is it in Africa?'*

Respondent: *Sometimes I don't even feel like they characterise me as Sudanese, but I feel like 'African.'*

Respondent: *Because not all of them know there's different countries in Africa. Somebody's like, 'Oh, you're from Africa, so you speak African.'* [Laughter] (#9)

South Sudanese participants reported experience of discrimination from an early age, in preschool, in primary school, unwittingly from young children. Schools give the appearance of not having thought through the challenges that would be faced and appropriate response strategies.

Experience of a South Sudanese mother at a child care centre and in primary school describes an incident sparked by the behaviour of children:

> *'Why is the baby black? And why is her hair like this like big? And why are you black?' And I didn't even know what to say, she was under five. And I just stood there and this kid, I don't think he was purely a white kid, but he was still white compared to me. And he came up and he goes to her, they're in the same class, and he turned and said, 'Why are you white?' And she goes, 'Because my mum is white, my dad is white, and my grandma is white.' And the kid goes that the baby is black because the mum is black and [father] is black … And I'm just like, ok. And there was this other lady standing and she didn't even know what to do, she was shocked, she was just standing there with me and she's one of the educators I guess. And I was just like, oh, my god, that's so full on and I came in my car and I sat there and then one thing just got into my head, I think it's just education, the way we're raised.* (#8)

A similar experience in a primary school was recounted by a second participant:

> *Like six month ago, my cousin, she has two twin boys. They [are] in primary school. One boy from Australia -- I don't want to say white or black … said [to] those boys, you look like … the gorilla … The boys said. 'What do you say?' He said, yeah, you look like gorilla. The boy, he cried. He start crying. After, the other twin tell him don't worry. We're going to tell the teacher. Maybe the teacher fix it. They went to the teacher. Teacher said what is happen? They explain to the teacher. Teacher do nothing. He did nothing. The boy is still crying until he went home*. (#12)

Racist behaviour is often experienced when walking along streets – and in shops.

> *When you walk to the bus station, some of the drivers … young Australian … they just … put the window down and just tell bad thing to you. Like, 'Monkey, go to your country…'* (#8)

> *I've seen a lot of teenagers ranting and raving about colour…the typical bogan people.* (#9)

> *Oh my gosh, this thing happened to me three weeks ago and it was like at a make-up store. I wasn't buying make-up, I was just looking at something else. And the lady that worked there came up to me and she's like, 'We don't have foundations your colour' … [and] I wasn't even looking at foundations … And I don't know, it was just such a shock to me, I didn't even realise, I was just like, what the hell just happened?* (#8)

When applying for employment, even for low skilled jobs, skin colour can lead to rejection. One participant described an incident in an old age home.

> *My sister work at an aged care centre and she was telling me a story not even long ago. She and one other Sudanese male, they were sent through an agency to go and work in one aged care facility. The Sudanese guy she went with, I think he was from the Dinka tribe or the Nuer, … was very tall, very dark and has the cuts on the face, [he belonged to a tribe] that cuts .. their face. As soon as they get into the aged care facility all the older people start standing up, running to their rooms. And some of them start falling down. …. 'Get away from him, get away from him, he'll kill you too, he'll kill you too,' they were saying that to my sister ... And my sister is like, she didn't even know what to say, she was shocked. And they couldn't take the guy on, they had to send him back*. (#8)

Such experiences leave some Sudanese with very negative views of Australia: *'the cops are racist', 'taxi drivers are racist', 'everybody's racist.' In shops 'they follow you around .. they think you're going to steal … even though you're about to pay.' 'We go down the shopping centre to get some food, we get harassed, like telling us to move on.'*(#11)

For some, the experience of life in Australia becomes almost unbearable. A lady from Nigeria, resettled from a refugee camp, recalled incidents on buses, injury to her mother, abuse on the street, neighbours who throw rubbish into her property, cars parked in her unit in such a way that makes it difficult to open the front door.

Several participants spoke of their resignation: '*you just get mad but then we can't do anything about it so we just, like, let it be, because it is what it is*.' (#11)

> *Respondent: Some parents when they experience racism they don't want to do anything about it or say anything about it, because they think it's normal.*
>
> *Respondent: Yeah, they think it's normal.*
>
> *Respondent: I think they just adapt to it and they shouldn't have to adapt to it, but they do.* (#8)

Minority groups and initiation of discrimination

The focus group discussions make clear that it is a mistake to understand discrimination and racism solely as initiated by members of mainstream Australia – and solely by men. One participant observed:

> *It's funny though, like you know, we're Australian, sometimes Australians can be racist towards other cultures, but then you've got those cultures that are coming here that are racist towards us*.(#23)

Some immigrants are from societies structured along racial lines in which discrimination against ethnic and religious groups is the norm; such immigrants arrive with attitudes which may impede adjustment to life in a democratic and multicultural society. A participant of Chinese background commented concerning attitudes of older family members:

> *My grandparents I think they're pretty racist towards pretty much everyone except for their culture, so they don't really accept anyone outside their culture, they don't understand any other cultures. They're always warning the grandchildren about white people, but they live here [and] they still don't accept. ... In Cantonese it's white ghosts, white man ghost or something. ... Yeah, they just say in their language, they'd never say in the language that the other person understands....They don't like Vietnamese either*. (#24)

Other dimensions impacting on behaviour are traumatic experiences prior to arrival in Australia, compounded by difficulties of settlement. The logic of the housing market means that to obtain affordable housing many immigrants settle in conflicted environments, including regions noted for tensions between different national and religious groups. Focus group participants noted the range of attitudes and behaviours that they have encountered:

> *Some people that just come here and they have nothing to give but love …; other people come here and they just want to start fights ... Conflict. They carry their conflict with them ... they just want to fight everyone along the way.* (#24)

> *[On the train] last evening … there was this guy, probably, no offence, but a black guy, he was telling comments to this white girl in the train. Everybody was there, but this guy was too drunk, too pissed,… you know, and the good thing was this girl she turned her face and she never actually answered him back. So that was probably a smart move, because you don't want to have a fight with this sort of person. He kept on, he kept on saying a few things, but then his stop came and he just left. So it's just people, you know, it's just people. (#3)*

Negative attitudes between different immigrants groups were noted by a number of focus group participants: between, for example, Chinese from the mainland and from Hong Kong (#24), between Greeks and Chinese, between Indians and Africans. One person noted: *'I think some of the most racist people are migrants actually*.' (#27)

Several participants in areas of Muslim settlement discussed offensive behaviour towards women of non-Muslim groups, and attempts to enforce a code of behaviour which participants saw as an attack on their personal freedom.

A woman in a south-eastern Melbourne suburb discussed her experiences:

> *I found it quite confronting [when I was] pregnant. I had three Muslim [men] … in summer … come and attack me and say 'You should cover up' and they had they had multiple women following them so I made the assumption which I probably shouldn't that it was multiple wives, but one man was quite aggressive.... I had a baby, I had an 18-month old with me and very heavily pregnant, like probably seven-and-a-half months or so … I had three men in a row within six weeks, and different men. And their wives were fully, completely fully covered, but it was very confronting because I've never ever experienced that before.... Having grown up here, I never expected a man to accost me and start yelling at me and telling me to cover up … I wasn't wearing a shoe string singlet, it was just a really wide… shoulder one.* (#24)

Similar experiences were noted in Perth:

> *At the shops down there, there is a … high base of Africans… Their culture is where women are covered and all that sort of thing and I was walking down there one day and I had an African man look me up and down and turned to me and called me a slut ... You have it quite a bit and I'm not sure if that's them trying to bring in that we should all be [like their women] ...Yeah, the chicks have to be covered from head to toe but the guys can walk around like they're a pimp ... But the fact is we are in Australia, it is stinking hot and we should not have to cover from head to toe ... You can tell on their faces they're looking at you, like, 'why aren't you covered.' And this is Australia, it's hot.* (#45)

A western Sydney resident talked of the pressure she felt to conform to a conservative dress code: 'I've got that pressure on me, do you know what I mean?'

Moderator: *Is that right to feel like that*?

Respondent: *I don't think it's right, but I do have that pressure. I really do. I can honestly say. And it came from once being looked at in a certain way by one of the wives that was there at the time and I got really paranoid about that. But then I thought I'm not going to be wearing a robe or completely covered … Say 35 degrees … just walking to my home. There's that situation for me…. Like you don't want to dress normally, or you just don't go out around here. It's a bit odd. Like, you don't want to wear pants and some sort of thing…. I would never have experienced that really in the city, you know. I wear whatever I wear, I don't care…. I think to myself, why should I have to? Like why should I have to?* (#25)

There was also discussion of relations with Indigenous people. Indigenous participants in Perth expressed the view they have nothing against immigrants. One commented: '*I understand where they're coming from, what they're coming from. We're a lucky country; let them come. Let them come. It doesn't bother me*.' (#47) Immigrants are not seen as the major cause of problems that Aboriginal people face: *'As Aboriginal people, we are welcoming. We're caring. We will help each other. That's just a part of our nature.*' (#47)

There is, however, resentment at the lack of respect shown by recent arrivals. Indigenous participants commented that the '*Maori brothers don't respect us … They [think they are] better than us*.' '*Immigrants are seen as willing to accommodate themselves to Australian culture, but they don't embrace our culture*.' (#47)

Indigenous participants were also concerned that the state gave preference to immigrants in the provision of services such as housing, while Indigenous people were moved to make way.

The other cultures got treated differently. They got more opportunities than us. (#47)

Our cries for our homeless people weren't getting answered. But then all of a sudden, we had an influx of other nationalities and they were getting houses where we didn't… How come that some of our people here are still homeless when you're giving houses which you said you didn't have [to] …other people [that] are coming? (#47)

Rudd said sorry; that was fantastic. We thought everything was going to go – but that went nowhere. It was only just words. There were no actions coming after that. … Our people are still not free and our people are still dying young. (#47)

Some immigrants arrive in this context of historical disadvantage and some find themselves subject to hostile behaviour and intimidation from the Indigenous.

It's basically both young and old ones. Old ones because they ask you for smokes, money, and when you don't give them they get angry. Young ones, they just have this attitude of you got to give me this, because I am here. ... This is our land. ... and you took it from us … and you got to … now give us everything. … This is the mentality … Sometimes if they find that you're not from this country, [then they will say], 'Go back to your country.' (#46)

A female Chinese participant explained through an interpreter:

Once this lady has been followed by an Aboriginal Australian woman with no reason. She'd just followed her and say some rude words without informing her any reasonable reason. Yeah, so it's…this kind of awful experience happens quite frequently. From their point of view, is maybe because, from maybe the Australian people will think you have violated my country, my land. You all keep claiming the land, yeah, you work here and you violated, you stealing some resources … which should … belong to our own. So…yeah. They always have some people saying 'Go back to your country, it's my land.' (#19)

Frequency of incidents

A range of differing views were expressed in the focus groups concerning the frequency of incidents. Some participants indicated that they had not encountered hostile acts, or very few. A female Muslim participant from a northern Melbourne suburb commented:

I've been living here for nearly 19 years. I did most of my studies in this city and I have never faced any discrimination, any assaults or anything. My main transport was public transport. (#16)

A number of Indian respondents similarly indicated little difficulty. One person could recall only one incident, *'apart from that nothing, not even in the uni. It was all good.*' (#1). In a discussion concerned with the extent of racism in Australia, an Indian born respondent from south-east of Melbourne commented on the basis of his experience:

> *One thing I will tell to my people back in India [is] that there is no racism here. [T]here is so much of what's happening on the TV and on the media saying somebody and some student has been stabbed there [because of the person's] colour or race. [I say] no, no, no, I didn't see any, not even one particular incident of racism. I told my family and my friends clearly, there is no racism in Australia. There may be one or two incidents somewhere happening here within the student community, it might not be racism but it might be branded as racism, so I really think that it's a wrong word and it's a very misused word.* (#4)

Other participants born in India indicated that there had been incidents, but stated that only a '*minority people …have issues, not majority of them*' (#1); '*like anywhere else in the world there are good people and there are better people'* (#38); 'f*or me, I don't think [about] racism. One or two events we shouldn't consider as a whole … because it happens everywhere*.' (#38) But another participant indicated frequent difficulties: '*I have actually experienced personally first hand racism, not once, twice or thrice, but on a quite regular basis*.' (#38)

Some South Sudanese saw discrimination in mixed terms: '*there is good people always and bad people in the community always in – you're not going to find everyone is good*' (#12); '*some Australians are really, really accepting, they understand your background and stuff and some are racist, but mostly I don't really experience that much, I experience more of the accepting side. That's for me*.' (#8) Another person experienced welcome from some, but hostility from others: '*I think there is half-half*.' (#8)

At the other extreme, a Sudanese person indicated feeling '*a little bit tense every time I walk out in the street …*' (#10) An Australian born participant commented concerning the strong negative experiences that were told to him by school and university friends:

> *One of the reasons I don't see discrimination is because … I'm obviously Caucasian. But I went to school with a lot of first gen. African immigrants …and I'm still pretty tight with a couple of people. I'm going to …Melbourne Uni. I have a lot of migrant friends … If I ask any of them straight out, they're like, 'This is so racist around here. Like I get so much discrimination,' … I don't see it because I don't cop it, and I think people are more prone to do that when they see somebody alone. You're not going to walk up to somebody who's having a chat with a friend and say something really racist to them because …they've got an ally. But I've had a lot of conversations with non-Caucasian friends who are like, 'It's rough, like daily.'* (#31)

Are things getting better or worse?

There are different perspectives regarding changing attitudes, whether or not things are improving. Some perceive improvement as the Australian born get used to new cultural and national groups.

But in the view of others, there are signs of deterioration, often explained in terms of the political environment. There were two factors cited: first, the impact of the boat arrivals, with a sense that the increasing numbers and public debate had created a less welcoming environment for all immigrants, and second, the issue of terrorist incidents in Australia and overseas that have created a situation in which all Muslims are blamed for the actions of a very small minority.

A focus group of women in western Sydney discussed perceptions of the changing environment and the impact of asylum seeker arrivals:

> Respondent: *Before it was so different, like it was so much different. Oh my god. Now it's like, 'Why are you here?'*
>
> Respondent: *And people are like, 'Oh my god, there's too much of you already.' …*
>
> Moderator: *Do you feel like you get more grief now from Australia than you did when you arrived?*
>
> Respondent: *Definitely.*
>
> Respondent: *Yeah….*
>
> Respondent: *I feel rejected.*
>
> Respondent: *Even though I came the right way*.
>
> Respondent: *I … feel like this is my home … so I feel like they're kicking me out of my home, and just because – it's like all of a sudden they're like, 'Oh, you're different. Get out' kind of thing. Like before it's like, 'Oh, welcome, you're part of us now.' … I don't see myself as different anymore. Like we're all the same. Then all of a sudden … because of all these things in the media, they start to look at you differently … So it's like now you're being treated differently in your own home, because now we see Australia as our home*. (#9)

A male Muslim participant in Melbourne commented in similar terms that '*the negativity is more now, it's higher now.*' (#15)

Others, however, were of the view that the change across generations was creating greater acceptance of diversity.

Male 1: *I think the third generation, I think they've tried to breed out a lot of that bad thing … Like [in] school we've been taught not to say… And I'm sure if you said a racist comment in my dad's generation that would be fine, but nowadays, I remember I was in primary school, someone mimicked an Asian guy and the teacher roared, like, 'No, I will not tolerate that, any racism,' and that was in primary school, so I think we've been raised with better ideas, more enlightened, sort of racially accepting ideas. I think that's good, this generation's been better, and I'm sure the next generation even better than that, so it's progress of time.*

Moderator: *Do you think Australia's got more tolerant, more comfortable with its diversity?*

Male 2: *Well, I think I agree with [name] in that I think that the young generation, like your Gen Ys and the like, they're more amenable to the ideas of migrants coming here. [But] I think that there is still a reasonable amount of resistance probably across the community, for instance, you point to, again, the 'Stop the Boats' campaign was a really popular policy from both sides of politics, so yeah, I think that among the community there is a fear, I suppose, that migrants are going to come and steal our jobs and that sort of thing*. (#27)

Impact of discrimination

The impact that experiences of discrimination have on an individual cannot be judged simply by counting the number of incidents – impact varies by individual. In the case of verbal abuse, some self-confident and well connected individuals are better able to dismiss an incident and not let it influence their view of Australia. This was indicated by some church members in Brisbane; one person commented that '*it's better to ignore …There's a way of answering it and there's a way of ignoring it*.' (#1) A common terminology employed by participants was 'brushing it off': '*she just brushes off it, it doesn't affect her at all*' (#40); '*we sort of just brush it off, like it's just something that we don't really dwell on*' (#20).

I've never come across anything where I've been offended … I think it's best just to show who you are as a person and try and live your life, and when you go to work you have these standards that you stick to and people can see that in you … I've experienced a lot especially, [especially in] sport … It's just banter … you choose not to let it get to you. (#22)

For others, however, even just one incident which may seem relatively minor can entrench a feelings of isolation and insecurity.

A South Sudanese participant recalled an incident in which police mocked his countrymen by using an image of mudfish on their drink holders[17] the incident occurred more than three years in the past and still rankled with him.

Respondent: *Do you think some of us will forget that description? No. It's not going to get out of us.*

Respondent: *They remember.*

Respondent: *Because if something hurt you, you will remember that thing until the last minute that you leave the world, before you die. And if you see it you can even tell the younger one that this is what we were described*. (#13).

A Muslim focus group participant from a northern Melbourne suburb indicated that she rarely went out, in response to abuse by passers-by in cars. (#16) A second participant indicated that she was thinking of leaving Australia.

I don't think I'm going to stay here for too long, for too many years … I think we will migrate again to somewhere else actually, to a Muslim country, because I don't want my kids to be exposed to all this racism and going to airports and being questioned. Where are you going? Just for a small vacation … And schools, like checking on them when they're going to pray and stuff, I just want to them to live in a free country, which Australia was a few years back. (#18)

[17] *Herald Sun*, 3 June 2013; *The Age*, 5 March 2014

7 MUSLIM AUSTRALIANS

Key points

This section considers attitudes towards Muslim Australians discussed in focus groups and the extent of diversity within the Muslim population. A substantial majority of Muslims have a high level of identification with Australia; 72% indicated that they had a sense of belonging in Australia to a 'great' or 'moderate' extent; 75% indicated that they were satisfied with their life in Australia. Negative aspects include experience of discrimination, perceived media bias and the divisive character of Australian politics.

Attitudes towards Muslims

Negativity towards Muslims is relatively high in Australia. Attitudes towards Muslims were explored in the six Scanlon Foundation national surveys conducted between 2010 and 2015, and other surveying, such as a 2013 VicHealth survey.

The Scanlon Foundation national surveys have asked respondents if their attitudes are positive, negative or neutral towards three faith groups: Christian, Buddhist and Muslim. The consistent finding is that close to 5% of respondents are negative towards Christians and Buddhists, but almost five times that proportion, 24% are negative towards Muslims.

Table 56: 'Is your personal attitude positive, negative or neutral towards …', Scanlon Foundation national surveys, 2010-2015 (%)

	Very negative %	Somewhat negative %	Combined negative %
Christians	1.4	2.7	4.1
Buddhists	2.1	2.5	4.6
Muslims	12.2	11.9	24.1

The Scanlon Foundation surveys obtained a similar negative result when respondents were asked concerning attitudes towards immigrants from the Middle East, with 24% negative towards immigrants from Iraq and Lebanon, 11% from China, 8% from Vietnam, and 3% from England.

A 2013 VicHealth survey, also conducted by telephone, found that when presented with nine groups of specified 'racial or ethnic background,' 22% of respondents indicated a negative view ('very cold' or 'cold') towards Muslims, 14% negative towards those of Middle Eastern background, 11% African, 11% 'refugee', 6% Asian, 4% Jewish, 3% Aboriginal, 2% 'Mediterranean European,' and 2% Anglo-Australian.[18]

Table 57: 'Would you say your feelings are positive, negative, or neutral towards immigrants from …' Scanlon Foundation national surveys, 2010-2013 (%)

	Very negative %	Somewhat negative %	Combined negative %
England	0.6	2.1	2.7
Vietnam*	2.7	5.5	8.2
China	3.3	8.0	11.3
Iraq	10.3	13.5	23.8
Lebanon	9.2	14.6	23.8

*Figures for Vietnam are for the years 2010 to 2012

The finding of negative attitudes in the range 22%-24% may, however, not be a true reflection of public opinion, as some respondents may not disclose their feelings when asked by an interviewer because of the operation of social desirability bias, as discussed in the Introduction to this report. In 2014 the Scanlon Foundation conducted an online survey of third generation Australians; it found that 44% of third generation respondents were negative towards Muslims, compared to 28% of the third generation in the interviewer administered Scanlon Foundation national survey conducted at the same time.

In focus group discussions with Australian born respondents, negative views towards Muslim Australians were explained in terms of perceived differences in values, for example concerning women's rights.

> *I think there's some gender issues that I definitely worry about, particularly within, how do I say this without sounding racist, which is not what I mean. I think that there's increasingly a great deal of migrants from communities that, in their local countries, don't have the idea of gender equality that Australia has.* (#31)

A second focus group discussed perceived failure to accept 'our values', to 'our ways':

[18] Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, 'Findings from the 2013 Survey of Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity,' Melbourne 2014, p.22

Respondent 1: *I think they should tone down some of the unpalatable aspects of their culture … If we were going to their culture we would follow their rules, … Like … non-Muslims, … aren't allowed in Mecca …; and there's all sorts of rules we have to follow when we go [to a Muslim country] … Then when they come here I think they should just [follow our ways] …*

Respondent 2: Y*eah, I think we go a fair way to accommodate the needs of migrants such as like setting up communal areas that are racially sensitive, such as women-only swimming pools for maybe Islamic groups, and that type of thing. But yeah, I do … have concerns that it's not always reciprocated. I do get the impression that some could do more to assimilate and to adopt our values, and … I really find it offensive when some are speaking against our way of life. Fortunately, it's only very much a minority.*

Moderator: *Are there particular things you're thinking of when you're talking about that? …*

Respondent: 2: *Well yeah, things like adopting a caliphate, and … we are infidels, and that type of thing. Now, as I said, it's only very much a minority of people that would sort of have and express those views, but yeah, the prime minister recently came out and said that they're more than welcome to resettle elsewhere if they don't like our values, and I tend to agree with that.* (#27)

For some respondents, attitudes are influenced by the threat of terrorism. One respondent commented that '*everyone's paranoid, … my brother just goes on and on and on … ISIS is going to come over and bomb us, and … the whole world's going to end tomorrow.' (#30)*

Concerns were expressed not only by Australian born, but also by members of immigrant groups. A focus group of participants born in China discussed fears in the western suburbs of Sydney: '*I think most of the Chinese, most Chinese people, they will choose to stay away from the community [where] … most Middle Eastern people live … I heard, like, the reputation is really bad.'* (#19)

Another respondent in western Sydney commented on what he saw as community pressure on Muslim immigrants to reject secular values:

One … the Sri Lankan family I met … speak Tamil but they're Islamic people ... They said they came from Kandy ... [The woman] studied in a big convent school and she [wore] … normal dress when I met them ... And after some time ... she was wearing this whole thing, …. full hijab.

So I was very surprised. I know the husband ... I talked to them because we lived in [the same area] ... [He said], in Sri Lanka nobody inform us or impose [that] … you have to wear like this. But here people are putting pressure on them to wear ... The husband told me if I don't do like that, I won't get work and I won't be able to survive. (#50)

The focus group discussions also documented views of Muslim Australians. One issue concerned the level of diversity within the Muslim community, a complexity not recognised in much public discussion. One participant commented: '*we are lumped as one by the media or some politician, while in reality we are not as one, we are extremely diverse*.' (#54) There are divisions between the secular and the religious; among the religious, between the different streams of Islam; across the generations, between young, middle aged and elderly; and between national and ethnic groups. Participants commented on the '*massive generation gap in thinking and behaviour between people, parents, our elders who came here from overseas and settled and their kids and grandkids.*' (#57) The reality is that '*Islam doesn't erase culture … every group of Muslims maintains its cultural identity*.' (#57) Australia's Muslims are as diverse as the rest of the Australian population.

There is one large birthplace group among Muslim Australians – those born in Australia, numbering close to 180,000 at the 2011 census. The next five groups number in the range 23,700-33,600, followed by groups numbering below 13,000.

Table 58: Country of birth of Muslim population: top 10 source countries, 2011

Country of birth	Muslim population
Australia	179,080
Lebanon	33,560
Pakistan	26,446
Afghanistan	26,043
Turkey	25,311
Bangladesh	23,665
Iraq	15,395
Iran	12,686
Indonesia	12,240
Saudi Arabia	10,125
Total population	476,290

Source: Census of Australia, 2011

When Muslim respondents were asked concerning their level of religiosity, a relatively high proportion – 59% – indicated that they were 'very' or 'somewhat' religious: this compares to 29% of all Australian born respondents who indicated that they were 'very' or 'somewhat' religious, and 40% of all overseas born. But there was considerable variation within the Muslim population, from close to 80% of those born in Cyprus or Australia to under 20% of those born in Iran.

Table 59: 'Do you consider yourself to be very religious, somewhat religious, not very religious, or not at all religious?' Au@2015, respondents of the Islamic faith

Country of birth	'Very religious' %	'Somewhat religious' %	Total %
Cyprus	3	78	81
Australia	11	66	77
Pakistan	19	50	69
Afghanistan	4	50	55
Eritrea	10	43	53
Turkey	5	44	49
Iraq	3	24	26
Iran	0	14	14
All Muslim	12	47	59
[All Australian-born]	7	22	29
[All overseas- born]	13	27	40

As a general survey, Au@2015 was promoted across the Australian population and yielded findings enabling comparison across groups. To achieve a deeper level of understanding a different approach is needed, one that conducts a survey within the community of interest, with the support of the community, and with questions tailored to that community.

Such a survey was conducted in two phases in the Sydney Muslim community by researchers at Islamic Sciences and Research Academy and Western Sydney University. The first phase, in 2011, involved face-to-face interviews in Sydney mosques, Islamic centres and Eid festivals and achieved a sample of 345. The second phase, in 2013, involved telephone interviewing of respondents with Muslim names randomly selected from the telephone directory and a sample of 245.[19]

While the questions were not identical, the Sydney survey appears to have reached a more religious section of the community; compared to the 59% of Au@2015 respondents who indicated that they were 'very' or 'somewhat' religious, 79% of the Sydney survey respondents indicated that religion was 'very important' in their lives.

Both surveys found a high level of identification with Australia: 72% of Muslim respondents to Au@2015 indicated that they had a sense of belonging in Australia to a 'great' or 'moderate' extent; the Sydney survey found agreement with the statement that 'I feel I am an Australian' at 74% in the first phase and 98% in the second phase, an average of 84% of the survey participants.

The Sydney survey identified a minority of the Muslim community who indicated reserve with regard to secular Australia. When asked if 'Islam is consistent with Australian norms and society', the first phase found agreement at 64%, the second phase at 83%, averaged at 72%. Close to one in six respondents disagreed, an average of 15%, with a further 14% who neither agreed nor disagreed.

The Sydney survey was limited in the number of questions that explored the extent of value divergence. A more probing questionnaire was employed by a 2015 British survey which achieved a sample of 1,081 Muslims and a control group of 1,008 non-Muslims.[20]

With over five million Muslims, Britain has a much larger Muslim population than Australia and nearly half live in areas where at least 20% of the residents are Muslim. The survey was conducted in these areas of relatively high Muslim concentration. Its findings cannot be projected to Australia, but the survey does provide a model of questions that can be used to further understanding of value divergence. These include questions on the schooling of children; the position of women; homosexuality and same sex marriage; freedom of expression; forms of political violence; attitudes to other religions; and the introduction of Sharia law.

[19] Kevin Dunn, Rosalie Atie, Virginia Mapedzahama, Mehmet Ozalp, Adem Aydogan, 'Resilience and Ordinariness of Australian Muslims,' 2015
[20] Gatestone Institute, UK: What British Muslims Really Think', https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/7861/british-muslims-survey

The British survey asked: 'would you support or oppose there being areas of Britain in which Sharia law is introduced instead of British law.' It found that 7% of the respondents indicated strong support for such areas and a further 17% support, a total of nearly one in four respondents. The proportion with similar views in Australia is not known, but on the available evidence is likely to be smaller.

Au@2015 found that a large majority of Muslim focus group participants were positive in their views of Australia, but concerned over a deterioration in relations, with particular reference to segments of the media and politicians. Muslim participants expressed appreciation of their opportunities, freedom, and security. In the words of participants born in Afghanistan:

> *There's no single Hazara who are unhappy about Australia. I know even those people [who] have some challenges in Australia … [concerning] the cost of living and the lack of attention from agencies and governments, especially immigration … are happy [with the] freedom and security … We consider ourselves as very proud Australian citizens*.(#17)

> *I say to everyone Australia is a land of opportunity … You can do … anything [here] … If you want to go work, you can work, if you want to study, you can study… Any activities you want to do here you can do.*(#17)

> *All the windows are open for me, all the doors are open for me, opportunities … If I struggle I can go anywhere .. [Here] I can even criticise government policies, … I was not given this right at my home … I was persecuted there, I was tortured, traumatised…[The] multicultural society [is] designed … [in] a way that everybody is living peacefully and [there is] respect for each other … We are thankful to God that we are here …* (#17)

Others spoke of their 'love [for] this country'; *'for me it's a wonderful country … I'm very happy with … equal opportunity for everyone, I love it.*' (#52). Australia was seen as offering security and freedom to live the life of their choosing, where they could live their culture, speak their language and practice their religion. All spoke in positive terms of Australian multiculturalism:

> *Talking about multicultural policies, … everyone is treated equal … regardless if you are actually born here, coming from overseas ... Regardless of your background, your nationality and language, you'll be treated equally under the law and you'll be [given] … opportunity to excel.*

> *And everyone is [free to be] himself or herself and they don't have to actually let go of their way, their eating, their habits, their culture, and they [are] … still … as Australian as anyone else.* (#54)

A female participant rejoiced that '*I'm able to work. I know that in a lot of countries … women tend to not work, they stay at home. I think that's the biggest thing, I can practice my love of teaching.*' (#57)

Participants were, however, critical of the frequent failure to understand or acknowledge the difference between mainstream Islam and extremists: '*you have one bad [person in the Muslim community] and now all, everyone [is regarded as] bad*.' (#54) One person commented that '*we also don't want extremism to happen, you know, we're all the same, we're all fighting the same war*' (#18), a second that '*we long for peace and we're not all about beheading and that kind of stuff.'* (#15)

Muslim Hazara participants from Afghanistan expressed fear for their children. Prior to arrival in Australia they had seen recruitment for the war in Syria and they were concerned that the same thing was happening in Sydney: '*that's the thing, it's getting very, very [bad], people are very scared and … are starting to move … People are very scared, especially for Hazara and Shia Muslims*.' (#17)

> *… Dangerous elements are going on …some sort of preachings are there … There are those indications which … alarm us … because we have seen so many bloodsheds, discriminations, massacres …* (#17)

The negatives mentioned were often the same as those discussed among the Australian born and members of other immigrant faith groups:

- The difficulty of obtaining employment, of finding a job that matched their qualifications and training;
- Problems with the health system, such as difficulties in accessing outpatient services in hospitals, the waiting list for elective surgery;
- The increasing density of suburbs, high rise developments, urban congestion;
- The high cost of housing;
- The pace of life, the demands of the workplace;
- Perceived inequities of Australian divorce laws and property settlements.

One participant commented on the problem of sexism in the workplace, which she saw as '*more of a problem for a female …[than] racism … regardless of what cultural background or heritage you have*.' (#57)

Specific negative issues relating to the experience of Muslim Australians included discrimination, an issue discussed earlier in section 7 of this report:

> *Probably amongst the rest of society [Muslims have] … the highest experience of racism right now, especially the female in our community … The female just being covered and having hijab or different clothing, that will attract, unfortunately, ill-informed people in society to tackle them.* (#54)

Another participant commented:

> *There is racism, we do face racism every day … Australia isn't a racist country, but we still face racism on a daily basis, even living in an area, working in an area like Auburn*.' (#57)

As noted in the previous section, Au@2015 found that a relatively low proportion of Muslims indicated that they had experienced discrimination because of their 'skin colour, ethnic origin or religion' over the last 12 months: 23%, compared to 33% Buddhist, 32% Roman Catholic, 32% Hindu, 25% Anglican and 23% Jewish.

This is a surprising finding, given the discussion in focus groups – and the findings of other surveys. The Sydney survey found that 41% of Muslim respondents indicated experience of discrimination when renting or buying a house, 55% in an educational context including school, 62% in the workplace or when seeking employment.

Closer examination of Au@2015, however, points further to the significance of diversity within the Muslim community. The low average of reported discrimination by Muslim respondents appears to be explained by two factors: relatively high number of respondents over the age of 45 among Turks and Cypriots – survey findings show that the highest proportion reporting discrimination are in the younger age groups; and the relatively high number of asylum seekers who, as noted in other sections of this report, are reluctant to criticise Australian society.

Analysis of Muslim responses by birthplace finds that 51% of Australian born reported discrimination, 46% Iraq born, 27% Iran born, and lower proportions among other birthplace groups. Of the 75 Australian born respondents, the main birthplace of parents was Turkey (19%), Australia (18%) and Lebanon (12%).

Analysis by visa category finds 47% reported discrimination among students, with the lowest proportion at 8% among asylum seekers.

Table 60: 'Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion over the last 12 months?' Response: 'Yes', Au@2015, Muslim respondents by country of birth and by visa category

Country of birth	Experienced discrimination %	N (unweighted)	Visa category	Experienced discrimination %	N (unweighted)
Australia	51	75	Student	47	57
Iraq	46	38	Humanitarian	32	155
Iran	27	107	Skill Independent	25	128
Turkey	13	117	Family	23	233
Afghanistan	14	186	Asylum seeker	8	141
Cyprus	3	43			

There is a second Au@2015 finding on experience of discrimination. Again consistent with the tenor of focus group discussions, a relatively high proportion of Muslim women report discrimination; analysis of overseas born by all faith groups finds that 10% more women than men reported discrimination, but among Muslim respondents 50% more women than men report discrimination (29%, 19%).

Other issues discussed include the media and Australian politics. There was frequently expressed concern at negative stereotyping of Muslim Australians, the extent of 'inaccurate reporting or misleading information.' (#57) Sydney participants commented:

> *We had a healthy respect for western media as being impartial and presenting facts, but … recently we found that there has been a change and it's much more biased*. (#54)

> *The last couple of years there has been noticeable bias [in] media reporting against Islam and Muslims in general. And there is a lack of understanding ... [of] our community … The sense is they will always report front page about the negative and always report page 70 about the positive. … I think it's impacting negatively on people's quality of life … Everyone likes SBS because it's … unbiased.* (#54)

> *It seems journalists who talk about [Islam] … don't have a very good understanding of the religion…. It is irresponsible to publish something when you've got it so wrong or when there's a basic lack of understanding… They speak about people, they speak for people, [but] they don't speak to people from the community*. (#57)

> *I think Australian society kind of sees Australian Lebanese Muslim men as like [a] masculine lawless group and I think they see Australian Muslim women or African or all jumbled up whatever as kind of oppressed females because of our religion, that we [supposedly] have no choice … to wear a hijab'* (#57)

With regard to Australia politics, respondents were critical of politicians who they saw as fanning hostility and sowing division with the object of political gain:

> *Right wing politics [is] … rising, … Islamophobia is on the rise right now. … Politicians, they have the tactic of divide and … conquer and create a fear, … just mainly to generate some votes for themselves. And that is a new phenomenon*. (#54).

Critical views of Australian politicians, with the exception of Malcolm Turnbull, were voiced in Sydney and Melbourne.

> *The rhetoric of the previous prime minister and his actions … [were] detrimental and … biased against us. [The] … current prime minister… visited the Muslim Museum and when he … said … the Muslim community is best ally in terms of combating radicalisation and terrorism, he's right. So the turn in the whole of government under Turnbull has changed dramatically … When the prime minister speaks, [it] is the country [that] speaks.* (#54)

> *With Malcolm Turnbull … he's like empathised with us. He said we're a multicultural country, we're accepting of everyone, but because we have these security risks we're going to have to do this, which is fine, and we're like, yeah, that's fine, if you have to do that you do that – but as long as you know you are … not thinking that everyone … that's Muslim is a terrorist. … [Previously] we felt victimised, whereas Malcolm Turnbull, he has been like … I understand … your religion, I accept your religion …*
>
> [Second respondent] *He shows what [a] true leader is, … he's made us feel at home.* (#18)

8 Areas of immigrant concentration

Key points

- A total of 2,287 respondents completed Au@2015 in the eleven local areas of immigrant concentration which were the focus of this project. Three areas with low sample size were combined, providing eight areas for analysis, four in Melbourne, two in Sydney, and one each in Brisbane and Perth. A number of suburbs within the areas analysed are characterised by socio-economic disadvantage and ethnic diversity.

- Results for twenty-one survey questions, grouped in six thematic areas, were aggregated to provide an index of social cohesion.

- Two different approaches were taken to weight the survey results. While there is some difference in the score obtained with the two weights, both indicate consistency in the relatively high negative result for Auburn-Bankstown, Hume and Logan-Inala. While caution is necessary in interpreting this result given the small sample and the non-probability survey methodology, there is consistency in the finding with the 2012 and 2013 Scanlon Foundation local area surveys; in 2012 the strongest negative was obtained in Hume, in 2013 in Logan.

- While the survey results are relatively negative, there were a number of positive comments in focus group concerning community involvement of local Councils, the extent of volunteer work, and the transformative impact of school Principals.

Local area surveys

Scanlon Foundation surveys have been conducted in areas of high immigrant concentration in the capital cities of four states: NSW, Victoria, Queensland, and Western Australia, as indicated in the table below. Prior to 2015 these surveys were conducted in 2007, 2009, 2012 and 2013. Surveys have also been conducted in three regional centres: Shepparton (Victoria), Murray Bridge (South Australia), and the Atherton Tableland (Queensland).

The local area surveys in areas of immigration concentration were conducted using probability samples, with sample sizes of 300 in 2007 and 2009, and 500 in 2012 and 2013. The total sample in areas of immigrant concentration was 1,500 in 2007; 1,800 in 2009; 2,000 in 2012; and 1,000 in 2013.

Table 61: Scanlon Foundation Local surveys in areas of immigrant concentration 2007-2015

State	LGA	2007	2009	2012	2013	2015
VIC	Greater Dandenong	X	X	X		X
	Hume	X	X	X		X
	Brimbank					X
	Moreland					X
NSW	Auburn	X				X
	Bankstown		X	X		X
	Fairfield	X	X	X		X
	Liverpool					X
QLD	Logan				X	X
	Inala	X				X
WA	Stirling (Mirrabooka)				X	X

Au@2015 differed in that it was a multipurpose survey and employed a non-probability sample. It was widely promoted in four states, as discussed in the first section of this report, with special attention to areas of immigrant concentration previously surveyed in the four states. It was also promoted in three additional urban areas – Brimbank and Moreland in Melbourne and Liverpool in Sydney, and 50 focus groups were conducted in the localities previously surveyed and the three additional localities.

A total of 2,287 respondents completed Au@2015 in the eleven local areas. The low number of respondents in Inala (30), Liverpool (36), Fairfield (82) and Auburn (118) led to combination of the several contiguous areas, leaving eight local areas to be included in the analysis. For the eight areas analysed the average number of respondents was 286, with a range from 118 to 493.

Table 62: Local area respondents

LGA	N (unweighted)
Greater Dandenong	493
Hume	175
Brimbank	416
Moreland	371
Auburn-Bankstown	321
Fairfield-Liverpool	118
Logan-Inala	225
Stirling	168
TOTAL	2,287
AVERAGE	286

Table 63: Suburbs with 20 or more respondents

Suburbs	20 or more respondents in suburbs
Greater Dandenong	Clayton, Springvale, Keysborough, Noble Park, Dandenong, Cranbourne,
Hume	Craigieburn/ Roxburgh Park
Brimbank	Footscray, Sunshine, St Albins, Caroline Springs/ Deer Park, Hoppers Crossing/Tarneit, Werribee, Taylors Lakes/Keilor Downs
Moreland	Pascoe Vale
Auburn-Bankstown	Lansvale/Canley Vale/Cabramatta, Liverpool, Bankstown/Manaham
Fairfield-Liverpool	Wentworthville, Miller, Wakeley/Busley Park, Raby, Camden,
Logan-Inala	Inala, Runcorn, Woodridge, Forestdale, Daisy Hill, Eagleby, Tambrookum/Tabragalba, Gailes, Whiterock
Stirling	Innaloo, Greenwood/Warwick, Nollamara, Noranda, Koondoola

Of the eleven local areas involved the local analysis, the proportion born in Australia exceeded 60% in only three; in four of the localities, English as the only spoken language in the home did not reach 40%, and in three others it was in the range 40%-60%.

The Local Government Areas in this study, however, have populations in excess of 130,000 (with the exception of Auburn), and statistics covering the total population do not capture the extent of diversity within their borders. At the level of suburb, low socio-economic and high diversity areas are typical: for example, the suburb of Dandenong at the 2011 census was within the 10% of most disadvantaged postcodes, only a minority (37.6%) was born in Australia and a similar minority (35.1%) spoke only English in the home; the Sydney suburb of Auburn was also in the 10% of most disadvantaged postcodes, a minority (31.9%) was born in Australia and a smaller segment (13.5%) spoke only English in the home, indicating a relatively large number of residents who were born in Australia but spoke a language other than English with their family.

Table 64: Selected demographic characteristics, Local Government Areas, 2011

State	LGA	Population	SEIFA Decile	% Born in Australia	% English Only Spoken In The Home	Unemployment March Quarter 2016
VIC	Greater Dandenong	135,605	2	38.1	33.7%	12.3%
	Hume	167,562	4	62.1	54.2%	9.1%
	Brimbank	182,735	2	46.9	37.9%	9.9%
	Moreland	147,241	7	60.1	55.2%	6.6%
NSW	Auburn	73,738	2	35.9	20.5%	7.2%
	Bankstown	182,352	3	56.2	39.7%	8..7%
	Fairfield	187,766	1	42.4	25.9%	8.4%
	Liverpool	180,143	4	53.8%	44.4%	5.1%
QLD	Logan	278,050	5	68.2%	82.0%	7.2%
WA	Stirling (Mirrabooka)	195,702	9	57.7%	69.7%	6.9%

Table 65: Selected demographic characteristics, Suburbs, 2011

State	LGA	Suburb	Population	SEIFA Decile	% Born in Aust.	% English Only Spoken in the Home	Unemployed 2015
VIC	Hume	Broadmeadows (Hume)	19,001	1	47.1	32.4	13.5
	Greater Dandenong	Noble Park	35,768	1	39.4	38.0	9.1
		Dandenong	47,993	1	37.6	35.1	9.4
	Brimbank	Sunshine	40,552	1	41.7	32.5	10.2
		St Albins, Kealba, Albanvale, Kingspark	51,783	1	38.1	27.8	10.8
		Moreland					
NSW	Auburn	Auburn	33,122	1	31.9	13.5	10.7
	Bankstown	Bankstown, Manahan, Condell Park	40,612	1	42.2	20.4	10.2
		Cabramatta, Canley Vale, Lansvale	49,724	1	35.6	16.5	12.4
	Fairfield	Busby, Heckenberg Greenvalley,	41,912	1	52.3	38.2	9.7
	Liverpool	St Andrews/ Minto/Bow Bowing/Varroville	24,045	4	64.3	66.2	6.5
QLD	Logan	Woodridge, Logan Central, Kingston	33,201	1	56.3	65.6	13.2
	Inala	Inala, Durack	25,157	1	53.6	52.4	10.4
WA	Stirling	Nollamara, Balga, Mirrabooka	33,695	2	47.6	52.6	7.4

The Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion

The Scanlon-Monash Index provides a measure of social cohesion relative to the 2007 benchmark survey. The national Index has indicated a decline in social cohesion since its peak of 101.2 in 2009, and in 2015 was 92.5.

The Index score for local areas surveyed has been consistently lower than the national average – for urban localities it was at 82.9 in 2012 and 76.9 in 2013. The lowest score in 2012 was recorded in Hume (15 points below the national average) and in 2013 in Logan (16 points below).

Au@2015 did not include all questions used to calculate the Scanlon-Monash Index, but as the survey instrument was constructed to provide deeper insight into the experience of immigrants who have settled in Australia over the last 20 years it included additional questions of relevance to cultural diversity. To develop an Index of Social Cohesion for Au@2015, 21 questions were selected by Factor Analysis, grouped within six factors or thematic areas. These question were aggregated to provide the Index for the eight local areas. The questions comprising the Index are:

Belonging; life satisfaction

> Satisfaction with life; happiness over the last year; sense of belonging in Australia.

Financial satisfaction; social justice.

> Satisfaction with present financial situation; in Australia hard work brings a better life; those on low incomes receive enough financial support from government.

Institutional trust.

> Trust in parliament in Canberra; political parties; law courts; Department of Immigration; Centrelink.

Personal trust, discrimination, safety concerns.

> Most people can be trusted; safe walking alone at night; worried about becoming a victim of crime.

Neighbourhood.

> Able to have a say on issues; people of different backgrounds get on well together; people willing to help their neighbours; people treated fairly by police.

Cross-cultural friendship.

> Ease of mixing with people of different ethnic or cultural groups; like getting to know people of different ethnic or cultural groups; number of friends from different ethnic groups.

The method of scoring employed in the calculation of the Scanlon-Monash Index was replicated for Au@2015; this entails adding the strongest negative response at double its value (for example 6.2 is counted as 12.4) and the next negative response (counted at its own value, for example 6.2). For each question the average for the eight areas was calculated, with a second calculation of percentage variation (positive or negative) from the average for each local area. A high score (above average) indicates negative response, a low score (below average) indicates positive response.

The summary results are presented using two separate weights: the total sample weight that was developed for the survey, and a second weight developed to more closely align the achieved respondent profile with each local area. The variables employed for this second weight were gender, age, education and country of birth. The effect of the weighting formula reduced the effective sample size to less than 100 for some local areas (Fairfield-Liverpool (67), Inala-Logan (86), Hume (66), and Stirling (85)) and the results discussed below need to be treated with caution. The parallel use of the general survey weight provides a partial cross-check.

While there is some difference in the score obtained with the two different weights, notably for Fairfield-Liverpool which has the smallest number of respondents (118 unweighted), both weights indicate consistency in the relatively high negative result obtained by Auburn-Bankstown, Hume and Logan-Inala. This finding is consistent with the 2012 and 2013 Scanlon Foundation local area surveys; as noted, in 2012 the strongest negative response was obtained in Hume, in 2013 in Logan.

Table 66: LGA Index of Social Cohesion

Local area	LGA weight	Total sample weight
Hume	116	115
Auburn/Bankstown	115	112
Logan/ Inala	111	117
Brimbank	93	89
Fairfield/ Liverpool	93	103
Greater Dandenong	90	86
Stirling	89	82
Moreland	88	84

Table 67: LGA Index of Social Cohesion by factors, LGA weight (index scores 10% above average are highlighted)

	Auburn/ Bankstown	Fairfield/ Liverpool	Logan/ Inala	Brimbank	Greater Dandenong	Hume	Moreland	Stirling
Belonging/ life satisfaction	121	121	123	101	58	94	62	68
Social justice/ financial	116	63	121	81	86	106	131	116
Institutional trust	95	85	115	100	86	121	110	96
Acceptance/ trust, crime	96	96	103	109	97	138	78	89
Neighbourhood	160	91	70	88	116	136	56	89
Friendship	95	107	148	79	93	91	88	70
Average	115	93	111	93	90	116	88	89

Table 68: LGA Index of Social Cohesion, number of factors 10% above average, LGA weight

	Auburn/ Bankstown	Fairfield/ Liverpool	Logan/ Inala	Brimbank	Greater Dandenong	Hume	Moreland	Striling
10%/+ above average	3	1	4	0	1	3	2	1

Variance by individual questions

Analysis by individual questions finds that the highest proportion of negative scores are obtained in response to questions that relate to crime and safety, which reach a peak of 50% or higher in two LGAs. The Hume LGA consistently registers a high negative. Thus 50% of respondents in Hume indicate that they are 'fairly worried' or 'very worried' about becoming a victim of crime, followed by 46% in Brimbank and 44% in Greater Dandenong.

When asked concerning sense of safety on the streets at night, 36% in Hume, 33% in Logan-Inala, 32% Auburn-Bankstown, and 30% in Brimbank indicate that they feel 'a bit unsafe' or 'very unsafe.' Combining agreement with the statement that 'I never walk alone at night', the proportion indicating concern for safety on streets at night reaches 56% in Hume, 51% in Logan-Inala, 47% in Brimbank, and 41% in Auburn-Bankstown.

Table 69: 'Thinking about all types of crime, how worried are you about becoming a victim of crime in your local area?', by LGA, AU@2015 (%)

LGA	'Fairly worried' %	'Very worried' %	Total %	Score
Hume	27	23	50	72
Brimbank	34	12	46	57
Greater Dandenong	32	12	44	56
Fairfield/ Liverpool	24	12	36	49
Auburn/ Bankstown	24	12	36	48
Moreland	24	8	32	41
Stirling	28	6	34	39
Logan/ Inala	22	8	30	38

Table 70: 'How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your local area?' by LGA, Au@2015 (%)

LGA	'A bit unsafe' %	'Very unsafe' %	'I never walk alone at night' %	Total %	Score ('very unsafe *2) %
Hume	24	12	19	56***	68
Logan/ Inala	27	6	18	51***	57
Brimbank	21	9	17	47***	56
Auburn/ Bankstown	25	7	9	41	47
Stirling	23	5	11	39	44
Greater Dandenong	19	7	10	36	43
Moreland	20	7	8	35	42
Fairfield/ Liverpool	14	0	12	26***	27

*** Sense of unsafety differs significantly to the total (weighted) sample, at $p < .001$

Agreement that life in their local area is getting 'worse' or 'much worse' is indicated by a minority, above 20% of respondents in just three LGAs. The highest level at 37% is indicated in Hume, 25% in Auburn-Bankstown, and 22% in Logan-Inala.

Table 71: 'Would you say that living in your local area is becoming better or worse or is it unchanged?' by LGA, Au@2015 (%)

LGA	'Worse' %	'Much worse' %	Total %	Score
Hume	33	4	37	40
Auburn/ Bankstown	15	10	25	36
Logan/ Inala	12	10	22	32
Greater Dandenong	12	4	16	20
Fairfield/ Liverpool	15	2	17	19
Brimbank	11	4	15	18
Moreland	14	0	14	14
Stirling	8	1	8	9

Figure 26: 'Would you say that living in your local area is becoming better or worse or is it unchanged?', Response: 'Worse' and 'Much worse', by LGA

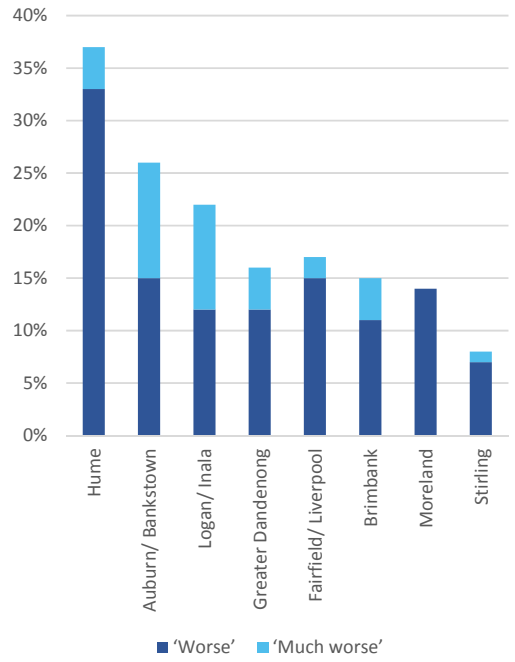
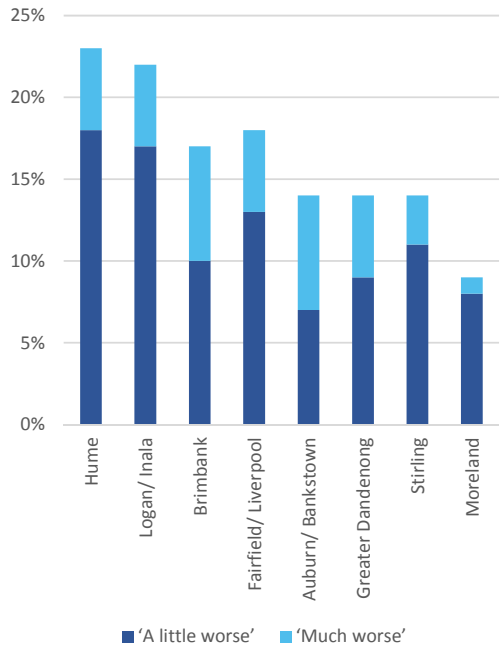


Figure 27: 'In three or four years, do you think that your life in Australia will be …?, Response: 'A little worse' and 'much worse', by LGA



Agreement that life in three or four years will be 'a little worse' or 'much worse' also finds agreement among a minority, with a peak of 23% in Hume and 22% in Logan-Inala.

Table 72: 'In three or four years, do you think that your life in Australia will be …?', by LGA (%)

LGA	'A little worse'	'Much worse'	Total	Score
	%	%	%	
Hume	18	5	23	28
Logan/ Inala	17	5	22	27
Brimbank	10	7	17	24
Fairfield/ Liverpool	13	5	18	24
Auburn/ Bankstown	7	7	14	21
Greater Dandenong	9	5	14	19
Stirling	11	3	14	18
Moreland	8	1	9	10

Logan-Inala

The 2013 Scanlon Foundation local areas survey found relatively high negative indicators in the Logan area, a finding in part replicated in Au@2015. To further understanding of the region six focus groups were conducted in Logan City and a further three in the south-western Brisbane suburb of Inala and adjoining areas. There were a total of 49 participants (21 male, 28 female), the largest proportion aged 18-34. Of participants who indicated their country of birth, 10 were born in Australia, 15 in New Zealand, 13 in the Pacific Islands of Samoa, Tonga or Fiji, and 4 in Vietnam. Of those born overseas, the highest proportion, 16 participants, arrived in the 1990s, 12 between 2000 and 2004.

Participants spoke of a number of positives in the area, an improving trend; aspects highlighted included community involvement and initiatives of the local council, the work of voluntary agencies, some improvements in schools, and the talent of young people.

Council

Logan City Council was seen as highly supportive of the community, working to create harmony and supporting a range of initiatives, effectively marketing events and services through the local newspaper, mail, and Facebook.

Events discussed included a family day in the park; free activities for the kids; Get to Know Your Neighbours events; Christmas Carols; and Christmas in the Park. There was also discussion of upgraded facilities in parks.

One participant observed that '*the mayor's awesome*' (#20), advertising availability for a ten minute chat and cup of tea to discuss resident concerns. Following the tragic loss of life in a house fire, '*the council and the mayor just embraced the needs of the community to come together.*'

> *[The mayor was] amazing … She sort of understood that the community needed to grieve and how they specifically needed to do that. She made that happen for them. Arranged transport, had a venue. A huge venue. Put it out there for everyone to attend. She's genuinely concerned and had compassion for the people.* (#20)

Voluntary organisations, community spirit

Participants discussed a range of activities supported by voluntary organisations, including community centres, a community theatre, childcare, a Women's Centre and Women's Refuge, an art project, a community garden ('a massive farm'), food vans, a food bank, church run Fishes and Loaves, and sporting activities.

In the words of one participant, '*… there's a lot of community outreach … a lot of lovely people … The community aspect of around where I live, everyone's involved with everyone, everyone wants to help everyone*' (#43). One participant observed that he never saw such a level of involvement and support in Sydney, where he had previously lived. A resident in Inala commented on the community spirit:

> *Everywhere there's always forever people doing donations for hospitals, even the ones that are struggling or on the streets. That's what I've noticed that has never changed in Inala since I've moved here. … Everywhere, every week, if I go shopping, there's always people helping out other people, probably people they don't even know, strangers*. (#39)

Creativity and talent

Participants described dynamic, creative talent: '*the culture is creative, [there is a] lot of talent in Logan. We have a lot of events … that express people's talent, like dancing, singing, acting, which I think brings the community together.'* (#20) Observations were made concerning the changing character of the region, the positive impact of new cultures introduced by immigrants, one indication being the range of new cuisines and restaurants.

Growth, development

Housing in the Logan region is relatively cheap, and there are new housing developments and some improvements in infrastructure. One family that recently moved to the area observed that '*we did a lot of research … This looks like an area where there's room for more subdivisions and expansion … The presence of a Bunnings nearby is a good indicator. You follow the Bunnings*.' (#30)

Schools

Participants stressed that education is the key for youth – a good education provides the pathway to jobs and the effective functioning of schools is vital for harmonious community relations.

In the past, conflict in school was widespread, discussed by several focus group participants.

> *I think … it would begin in school and then they would go home to their family and then … at one point … it was Tongans versus Samoans and … the Pacific Islanders against the Indigenous and … the Asians against whoever. There's always been [conflict between] the cultures. But I guess … the biggest help is within the schools … Once the schools educate that it's all right to understand each other, … like getting to know multi-cultures are implemented in schools, … they … learn to respect each others' cultures*. (#42)

> *From years ago, when at high school, man it was almost every week. There was a high school here, the Aboriginals or the Tongans, even the Tongans and Samoans, even all the [other groups] … There was always cops there … kids that died in our school through drugs … They were bringing guns and parents coming in to fight for their kids. It was very bad back then. But I know it's better now.* (#39)

Participants spoke of lessened conflict and significant improvement in at least one of the major schools, but also argued that more needed to be done.

One of the major high schools, which also had a record of conflict ('*when I was in school it was just fight every day, lock downs, like shootings*') (#42), experienced 'massive change' (#39) following reforms implemented by a new Principal. The change required enforced wearing of uniforms and new teaching practices and the standard established at the senior level set the tone for the younger grades. Cultural sensitivity was one element, including greater involvement of parents: '*they brought culture into the schools, like in teaching the children the dance, the traditional dances … they get to perform in front of the parents.*' (#42).

Liaison staff were employed from the major cultural groups. Knowledge of the cultural background of the students was seen as leading to a significant improvement, both in terms of communication with students and their parents, highlighting *'the importance of having a multicultural workforce*.' (#39)

An example concerned the approach to truancy: the liaison officer from the cultural group of the student would make contact with the family, a phone call to a mother would produce as immediate result: '*All it takes is one phone call – and Don't call my mum.*' (#42)

Participants also discussed the use of liaison officers in the police force and the local hospital in terms of an initiative that should be further extended. Where a person deals with a service provider from their own culture there is trust, enhanced understanding of specific needs and problems: '*you walk in, … okay, he knows what I'm talking about … because I can talk in my language and he can … understand what's up … Plus I find with our elders, they tend to open up and trust more.'* (#42)

Participants noted that improvement in the schools led to positive change in the wider community:

> *I think the school plays a key role as well in terms of bringing the community together and [fostering] togetherness and unity … When there was a lot of fighting in the schools, that was also translating into the homes. But when the school is really strong [it] builds that community.* (#42)

In the perception of some New Zealand born participants, one problem that was not addressed was the failure to foster understanding of the culture of Indigenous Australians:

> *In New Zealand, growing up, … Maori indigenous culture was part of normal school and so we feel kind of part Maori. … It is part of our New Zealand culture. Whereas here I think [knowledge of Aboriginal culture] is not inbuilt as much into the Australian culture … I found that growing up in New Zealand with the Maori kids, the ones that weren't identified with their culture … were the ones that were hanging around the streets and had no direction. … They had nothing to be proud of and they had a chip on their shoulder about what the white people have done to them … [Others] were richly involved in their culture, … proud of their culture … [In New Zealand] the government values the [Maori] language, acknowledges the Maori, the people of the land. When the government values it then it's a … domino effect, the young will learn it and its embraced … In order to embrace other cultures you've got to know what your culture is.... [I attended] primary school and parts of high school here. Not once do I remember learning anything about the Aboriginal culture. I've got four children that have been through school. None of them are aware of anything. It's so sad.*
>
> [Second participant] *I experienced Sydney in my teenage years coming over, and all I knew about Aboriginal people, all I was given was that they were alcoholics and would…*[Third participant] *Avoid them …* [Second participant] *Yeah, and were criminals and they'd try and get money off you, so watch out.* (#22)

Reputation

Participants discussed the negative reputation of the region, captured in the terminology of 'Logan Bogans' (#43)

> *Every time when you mention, 'I'm from Logan,' … people, they just look at you,…they're shocked, they say, 'Are you serious? Do you seriously live in Logan?'* (#20)

> *Before I moved there everyone was, like, oh my god, why are you going to Eagleby? It's like the same rep. as Woodridge.* (#43)

It was acknowledged that there were problems, but many were of the view that the media distorted its extent and focused solely on negative stories. Journalists failed to research stories to get a balanced account, rather they were content to fuel negative stereotypes: '*they play the race card … it's always [the] Pacific Islander or the Samoan boy*.' (#39); '*It's totally overhyped*.' (#43); '*whenever something happens in this area you always hear the word Logan, Logan, Logan, or Woodridge, whatever, but … when it happens … in Brisbane South or some[where else] … they don't specify …'*(#22); '*It isn't the most perfect area, but neither is any other area, except that we're always highlighted.*' (#22) '*You get the druggos, you get the weirdos, but you get them everywhere. But it's not like that walking down the street every day, it's comfortable, people are nice.'* (#43)

An example that was discussed involved a confrontation between Aboriginal and Pacific Islanders, which sections of the media presented as a race riot, but then gave little coverage to the aftermath, the role of elders from the two groups who co-operated to defuse tensions. [21]

Respondents who had lived in Sydney, Darwin, and Katherine, stated that they felt much safer in Logan: *'I've been here for about a year, year and a half, and it's definitely not what they portrayed on the news*.' (#43); '*there is absolutely no remote way you would walk around on the streets at night in the areas that I grew up [in]*. (#43)

Negatives

While there were many positive comments, there was also discussion of significant problems: the pace of change, extent of poverty, difficulty finding jobs, theft, drugs, insecurity, and the segmentation of groups.

There was discussion of the level of intolerance, the so-called Bogan attitudes evident in some quarters: '*they act it. They really embrace it*'; '*when you have a majority of one race which might be white Bogans, that's when the racism starts to leech out and you can see it.*' (#34)

Intolerance was explained by some in terms of a reaction to the pace of change: '*Just because there is so many new cultures. I think that has created a big issue*.' (#34)

> *I don't class myself as racist, but there's a term I'm starting to use in our area, it's called 'spot the Aussie.' Because there is lots and lots of coloured skin people, like, especially a lot of Africans, they're just – oh, they're coming in everywhere, nearly every day you see someone new.* (#43)

One Australian born participant, when asked if Australia is a welcoming country, responded with an unequivocal negative: *'We don't like difference. We don't like people that are different to us.*' (#34)

Experience of discrimination

Immigrants who settled in the region discussed their experience of discrimination. Stereotypical labelling was often encountered, terms such as 'Brownies,' 'typical Islander,' 'Kiwis.' (#22). People were subjected to racist comments in shopping centres.(#30)

Schooling in the area was difficult. One participant recalled that his sister was 16 when the family moved to Australia and she dropped out of school because of the racism she encountered. (#22)

An Australian born participant of Vietnamese background commented that:

> *Sometimes you'll hear a really racist word to Vietnamese culture or Vietnamese people. I'm not too sure if there's still now, but back in my days when I'm in high school there was kids calling me … Kite. You know, eastern culture used to fly kites and stuff. People would call me Charlie, because of what they used to call [people in the war] … They just call kids 'Charlie, Charlie.' … Then there's with the Asian culture, they kind of bunch us all into one and they call us Chinese. So they call us Chinks and all that kind of stuff.* (#40)

[21] See, for example, 7News, Race riots continue in Logan, 15 Jan. 2013, 'Race riots highlight multicultural failure', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 Jan. 2013

Recent immigrants reported the need to anglicise their names when submitting job applications (#43). One participant discussed an unpleasant work environment; the two non-European employees, he and his friend, had little interaction with the Australian born. They had their lunch on their own, felt under observation to see if they were stealing or leaving work early, simply because of their 'skin colour … because we are brown.' (#20)

When asked if discrimination had lessened, the view of Vietnamese born participants was that there was some improvement: 'there's still racism but there's not as strong as what it used to be' (#40), but the pace of change was at best slow. (Vietnamese, #40)

> Moderator: *So do you think in your age group, you're all probably a similar age, do you think generally your age group are pretty accepting? Or do you come across people who are not accepting?*
>
> Respondent: *Like half-half.* (#34)

A New Zealand born respondent observed that '*there are really good people that are Australian [who] we have as friends, but there is the minority*.' (#22)

Housing and location

While housing costs are relatively low in the region, housing remained difficult for those without jobs and the supply of government housing did not meet the need. For those without a car public transport was 'terrible'; buses were often late and there were limited services on the weekend. The Logan Motorway provided access to central Brisbane, but as a toll road it was an expensive option.

Crime, drugs, violence

Not everyone agreed that the extent of crime and violence is overplayed by the media. One participant referred to high crime statistics and insurance costs. A number discussed personal experience of property theft. One commented that *'I was broken into four times over two weeks. So there is definitely that side*' (#43); another that his family's property was broken into at night when people were at home: '*when I was young … we all had knives because we were scared*' (#40).

There were several comments concerning the drug problem in the area, impacting on both Australian born and immigrant. In one participant's neighbourhood '*they're just Bogan, I guess, …and they think the world owes them everything, and they're on the street and they're like 'effin c's and you know. And you can tell they're high as kites, but they're Australian*' (#43)

Other views were that drug use impacted the schools – the difference between private schools and government schools was said to be not the presence of drugs, but the quality of drugs. (#43) One respondent talked of '*parents walking around at night with their prams, and … there's only one reason they're out at 12, one o'clock in the morning, and that's to score*.' (#43)

A female Vietnamese respondent noted that '*when you come back from overseas if you say you will live in Inala or Darra … normally the Custom ask you more question or keep you…*' [Second respondent] '*Keep you back longer*.' [First respondent]: '*Yeah, [check your] bags because the bad reputation.*'(#32)

Lack of safety

Most participants did not feel safe on the streets at night. Specific localities were mentioned, including railway stations, and the threatening behaviour of beggars at night. Young Vietnamese born respondents indicated a high level of concern. One, who studied at university, had no option but to catch the train at night after classes. She commented that when she got off the train she would run all the way home: '*I just run, run, run … from the station. Just five minute from the train to go home, so I just run.*' (#40)

Others, however, made the point that the level of concern for safety at night is something that is common to many parts of Australia, it is not restricted to the Logan area: *'I reckon every community has places where you shouldn't go but the people here are easy to get along with … It's just stay out of the wrong places*.' (#41)

Inter-group conflict, family breakdown

Incidents of inter-group conflict were noted, including conflict between those born in Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga (#22), between Indigenous and Pacific Islanders, (#20, #39) and between different African born groups. (#22)

Tension within families is common in many immigrant groups, one of the by-products of settlement. Problems were noted in the context of difficulties of adjustment to Australian society, finding jobs and meeting financial needs, and challenges to traditional patterns of authority in the relations between husband and wife and parents and children. (#20)

Some Australian born participants discussed their perception that in some immigrant communities there were incidents of domestic violence, although this issue was not raised in focus groups comprising immigrants.

I have seen it because I used to live in townhouses in [a Logan suburb] … and just behind us there was an African family … and they'd be up all hours, you could hear the kids, …[I] just wondered what was going on there. And also a friend of mine, she's studying in child services, and … part of her studies she had to go interview the African families, and … ask about their roles in their family …; and they basically said … [that] women don't have any rights [and] the children generally have nothing … You can beat them to the end of the earth because you're the man of the house. So it's quite disturbing … (#43)

This was a view shared by a participant with a close relative employed in service delivery. The acronym 'DV' (domestic violence) was used without perceived need for explanation or elaboration, understood without question by focus group participants. (#52)

One additional issue that emerged in the Logan-Inala focus groups was the position of New Zealand Special Category Visa holders, of whom there are a relatively large number in the area. New Zealand SCV entrants indicated that they were not getting 'a fair go.' (#55) They were eligible for a range of government benefits, including family assistance and Medicare, but not assistance from Centrelink to find employment or receive unemployment benefits and housing assistance.

A major concern was that many children were ineligible for HECS higher education loans, which was seen to impact on the future prospects of talented youth 'who could make a great big difference to the community.' (#39)

Denial of opportunity was seen as 'continuing the cycle of poverty' (#39), although it was noted that some parents were willing to make the sacrifice to fund their children's tertiary education, while some youth worked part-time to pay their fees. (#41)

New Zealand citizens not being able to access HECS help has been a massive issue in terms of just a form of discrimination which has been really burdensome to a lot of our young people who are trying to go to university, that's been a real barrier … The young teenagers, … they're always getting … knocked back … Very smart kids but … they can't go for it which is very sad. (#42)

The issue of relative disadvantage, evident to those living alongside Indigenous and Humanitarian entrants, was also discussed by several participants who entered Australia on New Zealand Special Category visas.

One comment was that Aboriginal people received '*so much assistance … [that] they don't really care about it because they know it's all going to be there for them*', in contrast with New Zealand arrivals, who would appreciate a similar level of support. (#42) Several comments were made concerning Humanitarian entrants.

My parents, they've worked their whole lives, like my dad has even taken up three jobs at once and my mum too at the same time and like it's still a struggle, like they're still struggling, do you get me? … I see Pacific Islanders living in Inala for a good 20 years, they used to live in the same house, they're still trying, they're still struggling, they're still trying to buy a new car, pay off new debts, everything. They're doing everything on their own. And then you have refugees that come in their new cars and have new houses and then we're just like, 'Oh, wow …' [#42]

I get so annoyed when I watch the news, all these people on the boat come in to Australia, all refugees, and then you see them tomorrow … [Second respondent] *They jump the queue. …* [First respondent] *But us who have worked hard to ... earn money to apply for permanent residence, they just get it easy. So I'm jealous. … The kind of support that's offered to refugees … we don't have …. but we probably need it just as much.* (#42)

I have a friend, she's African. I moved here way back then … She just moved here three years ago. She has six kids and I have six kids too. I went over to her house and I fully looked in the house and I'm like wow, flash, and asking where do you get your money from? … Like they get more money from the government, they have a special Centrelink thing where they get more money than us. (#42)

A New Zealand Special Category Visa holder in a western Sydney focus group raised the same issue, commenting:

I understand they escaped a country of war and poverty, but I still don't understand why like they've been given the foot in the country; let them live like everyone that's come into the country … Yeah, sort it out themselves … Struggle is real everywhere. … No matter where you go, everyone's struggling. Why do you get a six month package when you can try and get a job on your own, try and learn those skills on your own without being dished out?' (#55)

Another participant commented that relatively generous assistance on arrival bred a sense of arrogance and entitlement, rather than one of gratitude. (#55)

Comparing areas of immigrant settlement

A number of commonalities were evident in the focus group discussions held in areas of immigrant concentration in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and Perth, also some issues prominent in Logan-Inala but not in some other areas.

Impact of socio-economic disadvantage

Issues related to relative socio-economic disadvantage were raised in a number of focus groups. These included negative reputation, relatively high levels of crime and drug use, and the character of some lower cost housing areas where the logic of the housing market dictates that many immigrants obtain their first rentals.

Residents of outer western regions of Sydney discussed suburbs in which there were areas of social housing. One participant employed in the welfare field described a locality with a high number of studio apartments in which there were tenants with '*mental health issues, schizophrenia, on either DSP, Disability Services Pension, or Newstart*'; she was '*not comfortable at all*' when in the area, which in her experience had declined over a period of 10-15 years. (#55) Similar comments were echoed in other locations. Hence in a Melbourne suburb: '*we don't feel as safe walking on the streets alone at night now as we used to do ten years back … That is a major concern … In the evenings or in the night it's not safe anymore*.' (#38) '*I wouldn't be walking around the streets anywhere at night after a certain time….*'; '*I've got a dog, so it's okay now. But I wouldn't go without the dog*' (#25).

The increased impact of drugs, '*meths and ice and all that kind of stuff*' (#56), was also a common theme. There was comment on bizarre behaviour and incidents, '*one guy that stopped in the middle of the road, got out, took his shirt off and went all crazy*.' There were loud parties, drunken behaviour, V8 cars. Having good neighbours was a lottery, 'it can be hit and miss.' One person indicated his resignation: *'I've had probably two shootings in my street in the past. But what can you do? You can either go crazy, the way I see it, or you've just got to keep going …*' (#25)

Differentiating factors

One differentiating factor is the demographic character of regions. Two of the areas in which focus groups were conducted had relatively large Indigenous populations; some had relatively large New Zealand and Pacific Islander populations, and there were different settlement patterns of immigrants from the Middle East, Asian and African countries. Distinctive demographic and immigration histories impact on regions.

For example, as has been discussed, regions with relatively high numbers from New Zealand and the Pacific have issues related to educational opportunities and levels of welfare entitlement. There have been recent reforms, such as the opening of a pathway to citizenship, but the unintended consequence of reforms which advantage only a minority is that grievances may be heightened: some members of a group are advantaged, others are not, including the ones who may be most in need. One Sydney focus group participant commented:

> *Me and my husband are frustrated because we can't get Australian citizenship as easy as other nationalities … When that pathway to citizenship for Kiwis came out, like we were all excited up until I actually jumped online and had a read to see what the criteria was and it's pretty much put us back in the same spot where we were before the pathway was even put out*. (#55)

Focus groups highlighted two factors that have positive impact in Logan-Inala, but not all of the areas in which focus groups were conducted. The first relates to the energy and commitment of the local Council and the extent of voluntary work in the region.

Local participants commented positively concerning the Moreland council:

> *There's a lot of programs that Moreland Council's trying to help us with, to get the community together. There's a place called 'Open Table,' where every first week on a Saturday the community comes together to have lunch. …You get youth and all the people … together. They used to have a lot of soccer programs here as well for youth. Just pretty good community over here*. (#15)

But positive comments were not consistent. In another Melbourne region there was little knowledge of Council initiatives, in a Sydney area the response to a question concerning Council involvement was '*not that I know … we never see them.*' (#55)

The second differentiating factor concerns the performance of schools, highlighting the important role of Principals. There was agreement that '*school is important, education is key*' (#56), but disappointment at the quality of government schools. Structured learning was seen to be lacking, '*some teachers … just do whatever*' (#55); the teachers '*treat it as just another job … They don't even care about the students. … Because they don't get paid nothing much, so they're … like, just another job, just turn up*.' (#56)

> *We got a Principal, he stayed there for about a year, he was really good, had a structure and everything. Now that he left, it's gone back to nobody, so it's … on and off.* (#55)

9 IDENTIFICATION WITH AUSTRALIA

Key points

- The strength of identification with Australia remains at a high level among immigrants; 64% of recent arrivals (2001-15) indicate sense of belonging to a 'great' or 'moderate extent', compared to 63% of respondents to the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey.

- Sense of being an Australian takes longer to develop; of recent arrivals, 55% 'strongly agree' or 'agree' with the statement that 'I see myself as an Australian.'

- With length of residence there is a significant increase in identification. This is explored by a number of questions and an Australian Identity Scale comprising nine questions. Strong sense of belonging is indicated by 82% of respondents who arrived in the 1990s, while 82% of respondents indicate that have taken up Australian citizenship by that decade.

- There is considerable variation in identification by country of birth. Of the four largest source countries of Australia's immigrants, 17% of recent arrivals from India indicate sense of belonging 'only slightly' or 'not at all', 29% from China and Hong Kong, 33% from the United Kingdom, and a much higher 62% from New Zealand.

- Indications of a weak level of Australian identification were obtained by a relatively high proportion of respondents born in South Korea, New Zealand, Malaysia, Vietnam, United Kingdom and Indonesia.

- Multiple identities are the norm in the contemporary world. Thus of all overseas born who arrived in Australia since 2001 and who identify as an Australian, 86% also identify with their local community in Australia, 70% agree that 'I see myself as a world citizen', 68% identify with their country of birth, and 67% agree with the proposition that 'I just see myself as an individual.'

- The impact of the communication revolution on adoption of Australian identity by immigrants – and on the identity of the Australian born – is yet to be determined. Au@2015 provides some evidence of what may be a delayed identification among arrivals during their first fifteen years in Australia. There is inadequate evidence to determine if this is a new development or has always been a feature of the immigrant experience. Au@2015 does, however, provide evidence of a high level of contact by immigrants with former home countries, consistent with the findings of the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey. During their first ten years in Australia, over 70% of immigrants indicate that they maintain contact with friends and relatives from their former home country every day or several times a week by SMS and social media.

Context

Au@2015 included a broad range of questions on identity. Respondents were asked 'To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?' They were also presented with a number of statements requiring indication of agreement or disagreement, prefaced by the statement that 'People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself?':

I see myself as…

- an Australian
- a person who identifies with my country of birth
- part of my local community
- a member of my religious group
- a world citizen
- an individual

Respondents were also asked to indicate their extent and ease of contact with people from ethnic and cultural groups other than their own. Information on citizenship status was obtained at the outset of the survey, and a series of questions explored frequency and means of contact with their former home country, including by means of mobile telephone and the internet.

Sense of belonging in Australia

In response to the question on sense of belonging in Australia, 64% of recent arrivals indicate sense to a 'great' or 'moderate extent'; 29% that their sense of belong was 'only slight' or 'not at all.' The result for Au@2015 was almost identical with the 2013 survey, when 63% indicated belonging to a 'great' or 'moderate extent.'

Table 73: 'To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?' 2013 Recent Arrivals and Au@2015 surveys (%)

	2013 Recent Arrivals (arrived 2000-10)	Au@2015 (arrived 2000-15)
	%	%
Great extent	29	27
Moderate extent	34	37
Sub-total	*63*	*64*
Only slightly	20	20
Not at all	7	9
Sub-total	*27*	*29*

Identification as an Australian

When asked if they identified as an Australian, a lower proportion indicated agreement – 55%, compared to 64% who indicated sense of belonging.

Table 74: 'To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia? And 'I see myself as an Australian', Au@2015 survey, overseas-born arrived 2000-2015 (%)

Sense of belonging in Australia		See myself as an Australian	
'Great extent'	27	'Strongly agree'	24
'Moderate extent'	37	'Agree'	32
Sub-total	*64*	*Sub-total*	*55*

Length of residence in Australia

There is strong and consistent evidence of increased identification with length of residence over a period of decades, but also some indication in Au@2015 of little change in identification during the initial period of settlement.

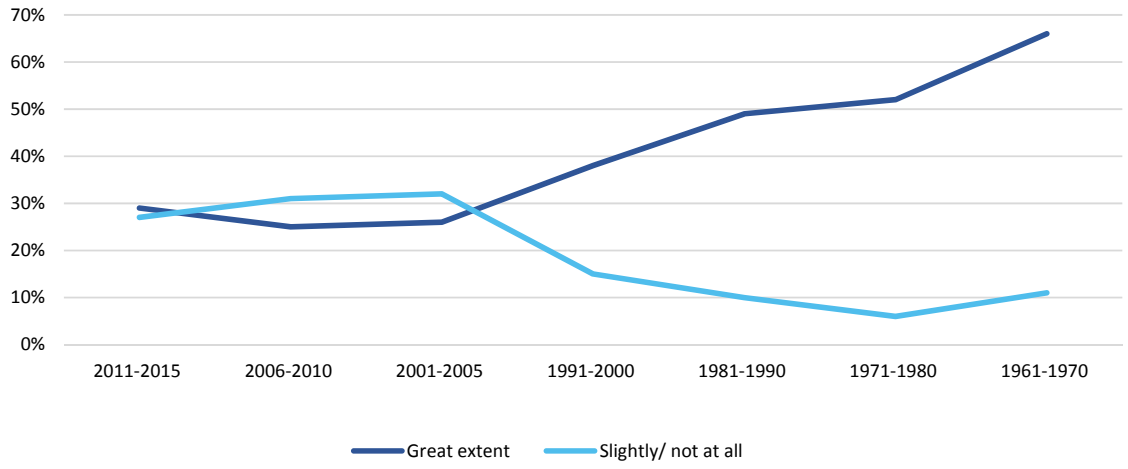
Sense of belonging is indicated by 63% of respondents who arrived between 2011-15, only a marginally higher 65% by arrivals between 2001-05, followed by a statistically significant increase by decade to 82%, 88% and 91%.

Table 75: 'To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?' Au@2015 overseas born by year of arrival (%)

	2011-2015	2006-2010	2001-2005	1991-2000	1981-1990	1971-1980	1961-1970
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Great extent	29	25	26	38	49	52	66
Moderate extent	34	40	39	45	39	39	23
Sub-total	*63*	*66*	*65*	*82***	*88****	*91****	*89****
Only slightly	20	21	21	10	9	4	7
Not at all	7	10	11	4	1	2	4
Sub-total	*27*	*31***	*32***	*15****	*10****	*6****	*11****
Don't know/ decline	10	3	2	3	2	4	1
N (unweighted)	1,440	1,088	713	712	566	389	278

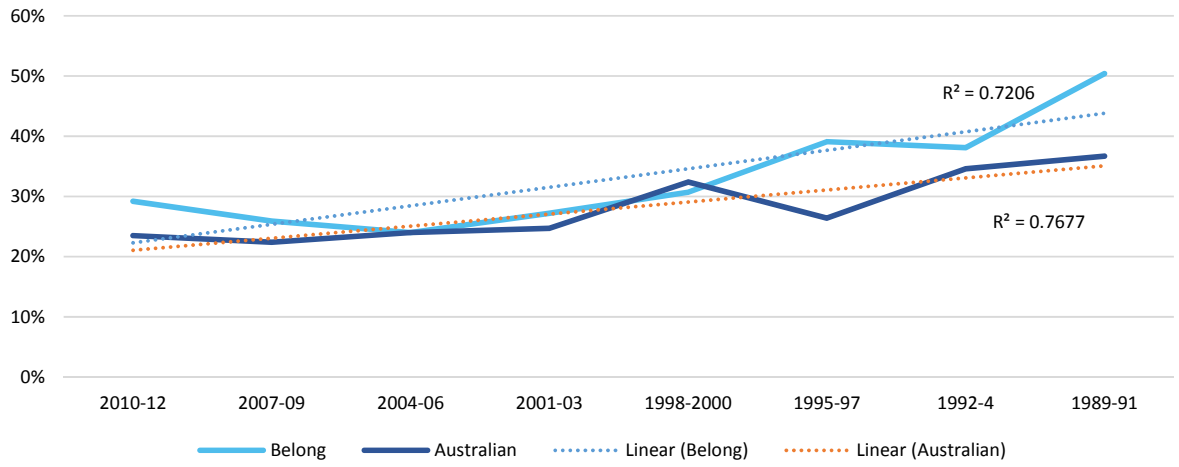
*** Significantly different compared to arrivals between 2011-2015, at p < .001
** Significantly different compared to arrivals between 2011-2015, at p < .01

Figure 28: 'To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?' by year of arrival



Increased 'sense of belonging' and identification 'as an Australian' is indicated in Figure 29, which plots annual level of agreement for both questions against year of arrival. Correlation of year of arrival with 'sense of belonging' and 'identification as an Australian' is close to 0.75 for both questions, a very strong level (0 indicates no correlation, 1.0 indicates a perfect correlation). This is marginally lower than the correlation obtained in analysis of the 2013 survey, where the R^2 result was close to 0.8.

Figure 29: Indication of belonging to a 'great extent' and 'strong agreement' with identification as an Australian with trendline, by year of arrival



Country of birth

Analysis of identity by country of birth shows significant variation among recent arrivals. Of the four largest source countries of immigrants the strongest sense of belonging in Australia was indicated by 80% of recent arrivals from India, 68% from the United Kingdom, 66% from China and Hong Kong, and lower 37% from New Zealand.

Table 76: 'To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?', by country of birth, arrived 2001-2015

	UK %	India %	China & Hong Kong %	New Zealand %
Great extent	28	41	18	8
Moderate extent	40	39	48	29
Sub-total	***68***	***80****	***66***	***37****
Only slightly	28	16	20	35
Not at all	5	1	9	27
Sub-total	***33***	***17****	***29***	***62****
N (unweighted)	86	152	184	384

*** Significantly different compared to total (weighted) sample, at p < .001
** Significantly different compared to total (weighted) sample, at p < .01
* Significantly different compared to total (weighted) sample, at p < .1

Multiple identities

Indicative of the complex nature of identity in the modern world, which is not characterised by exclusive, either/or identification, respondents indicated that they embraced multiple identities. Thus of all overseas born who arrived in Australia since 2001 and who identify as an Australian, 86% also identify with their local community in Australia, 70% agree that 'I see myself as a world citizen', 68% identify with their country of birth, and 67% agree with the proposition that 'I just see myself as an individual.'

In their first period of residence in Australia, analysis of countries of birth finds a higher proportion of respondents who indicate stronger identification with their country of birth than Australia for five countries: South Korea (by a margin of 61%), New Zealand (51%), China and Hong Kong (33%), France (30%), and the United Kingdom (18%). The finding for South Korea may in part be explained by the first visa status of the sample, which for 35% was Working Holiday Maker and for 33% Student visa, with only 23% having come as permanent residents.

A higher level of identification with Australia over country of birth was indicated by respondents form Iraq (36%), Afghanistan (25%), India (13%), Iran (6%) and Vietnam (5%).

Table 77: 'People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself?' Response: 'strongly agree' or 'agree', by country of birth, arrived 2001-2015 (%)

	'an Australian'	'my country of birth'	Difference: Australia– my country	'As a world citizen'	'as part of my local community in Australia'	'as a member of my religious group'	'as an individual'	N (unwtd)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Iraq	92	56	**+36**	73	79	65	52	90
Afghanistan	83	58	**+24**	60	85	30	79	171
India	79	66	**+13**	78	73	45	68	152
Iran	68	62	**+6**	76	70	17	46	226
Vietnam	55	50	**+4**	54	65	38	45	144
United Kingdom	48	66	**-18**	59	71	7	83	86
France	44	74	**-30**	80	54	3	71	129
China & HK	34	67	**-33**	56	63	18	56	184
New Zealand	30	81	**-51**	47	70	13	74	384
South Korea	13	74	**-61**	51	47	29	61	235

Citizenship

Evidence of commitment to Australia is provided by the take-up of citizenship. Permanent settlers are eligible to apply for Australian citizenship after 3 years of residence. Respondents to Au@2015 indicated that 50% of those who had been resident for between 5 and 9 years had become citizens, 59% of residents for between 10 and 14 years, and 82% between 15 and 24 years.

Analysis of survey respondents by country of birth indicates that of those resident for between 5 and 9 years, the highest take-up of citizenship was by settlers from South Sudan (91%), Iraq (89%) and the Philippines (83%). After residence of between 15 and 24 years, over 90% had taken up citizenship, with the exception of settlers from India (87%), the United Kingdom (72%), South Korea (71%), and New Zealand (38%).

Table 78: 'Are you an Australian citizen?' Response: 'Yes' by selected countries of birth and year of arrival, Au@2015 (%)

Country of Birth	Arrived 2006-10 %	Arrived 1991-2000 %
South Sudan	91	100
Iraq	89	100
Philippines	83	100
India	79	87
Afghanistan	71	100
Turkey	67	92
Vietnam	65	100
UK	52	72
China & Hong Kong	39	95
South Korea	19	71
New Zealand	6	38

Table 79: 'Are you an Australian citizen?' By year of arrival, Au@2015 (%)

	2011-2015 %	2006-2010 %	2001-2005 %	1991-2000 %	1981-1990 %	1971-1980 %	1961-1970 %
Yes	7	50	59	82	89	87	94
No	91	49	40	17	11	13	6
Decline to answer	1	2	1	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (unweighted)	1,440	1,088	713	712	566	389	278

Australian Identity Scale

To further explore identity change, Factor Analysis identified nine questions that were used to develop an Australian Identity scale. The questions comprising the scale are:

- To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?
- I see myself as an Australian
- I see myself as part of my local community in Australia
- I feel as if I belong to Australia
- When I discuss Australia I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'
- I identify with Australians
- I feel I am committed to Australia
- I feel a bond with Australians
- I see myself as Australian

The Cronbach's alpha for the scale is 0.89, which is close to the highest level of reliability.

The strongest level of sense of belonging in Australia was weighted 5; the second level was weighted 3; the mid-point or neutral response was weighted 1, and negative answers or failure to answer were weighted 0. The maximum score for the scale is 45 (9*5). Low scores on the scale (0-19) indicate weak levels of identification, high scores (30-45) indicate strong identification.

To provide a reference point for consideration of scores obtained by national groups among new arrivals, the responses of third generation Australians, all Australian born, and all overseas born arrivals between 2001 and 2015 were considered. Low scores were obtained by 6% of third generation Australians, 7% of all Australian born, and 26% of recent arrivals. Conversely, 75% of third generation Australians obtained high scores, 70% of all Australian born, and 27% of new arrivals. The mean score for the third generation was 36 and for all Australian born 35, both in the high range; the mean score for new arrivals was 24, in the mid-range.

Table 80: Australian Identity Scale, distribution of scores, overseas born, arrived 2001-15 (%)

Score	3rd gen Au	Au born	Overseas born – arrived 2001-15
	%	%	%
0-19	5.9	7.1	25.7
20-29	19.6	22.3	47.4
30-39	23.6	23.8	17.3
40-45	50.9	46.8	9.7
TOTAL	100	100	100
Mean	36.33	35.32	23.81
N (unweighted)	3,512	5,061	1,803

The largest proportion of low scores were obtained by those born in South Korea (91%), New Zealand (56%), Malaysia (50%), Vietnam (43%), the United Kingdom (43%) and Indonesia (42%). The highest proportion with strong Australian identification was among those born in Iraq (59%) and Afghanistan (56%).

Analysis by visa category found the highest proportion with strong Australian identification among Humanitarian entrants (50%), asylum seekers (42%) and Independent Skill entrants (31%).

Table 81: Australian Identity Scale by country of birth, arrived 2001-2015 (%)

Country of birth	Low score (0-19)	High Score (30/+)
	%	%
South Korea	90.9	0
New Zealand	55.8	12.2
Malaysia	50.0	20.0
Vietnam	43.3	16.7
UK	42.4	25.4
Indonesia	41.7	16.7
China & Hong Kong	30.0	25.0
India	20.4	32.7
Iran	22.4	18.4
Iraq	17.2	58.6
Philippines	11.8	23.5
Afghanistan	9.1	56.3

Table 82: Australian Identity Scale by visa category, arrived 2001-15 (%)

Visa category	Low score (0-19) %	High Score (30/+) %
NZ passport	53.3	13.5
Student	44.0	21.1
457 visa	36.0	24.0
Permanent Family	24.1	27.6
Permanent – Skill	27.8	30.8
Permanent - Humanitarian	11.8	50.0
Bridging – asylum seeker	9.7	42.3

The impact of length of residence on identity was analysed by calculating the mean score on the Australian Identity Scale by year of arrival. Results were grouped by three year intervals to lessen the impact of sampling error. The result supports the earlier findings on strengthened identity over time, with the linear trendline indicating a correlation of 0.86. An almost identical score was obtained for a scale developed in 2013 to analyse the recent arrivals survey.

Figure 30: Australian Identity Scale, low scores by country of origin, arrived 2001-2015

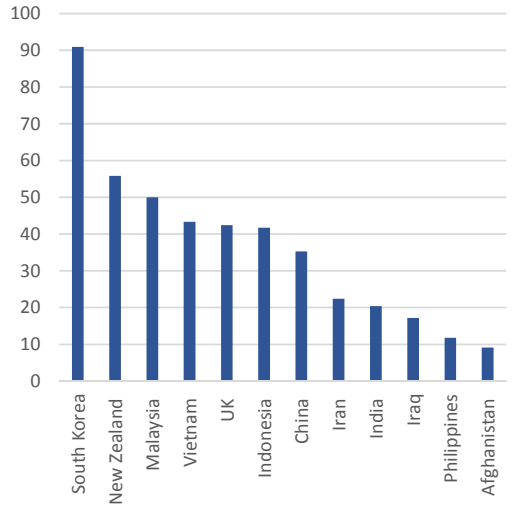


Figure 31: Australian Identity Scale, high scores by country of birth, arrived 2001-2015

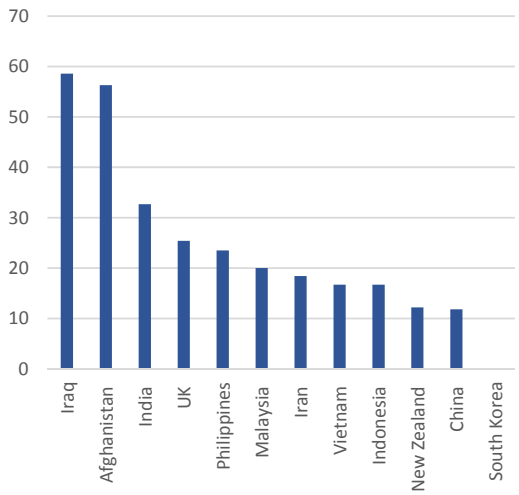


Figure 32: Recent arrivals survey 2013: Australian Identity Scale, score by three year arrival intervals with trendline

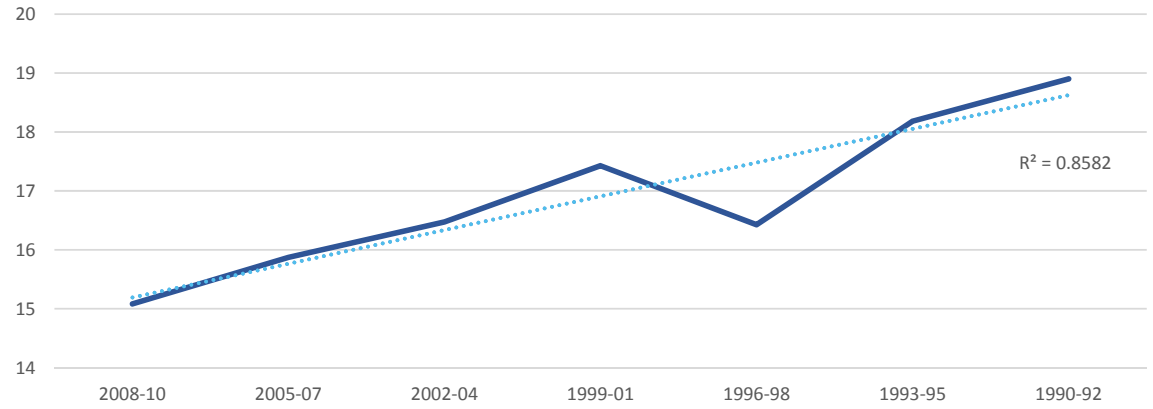
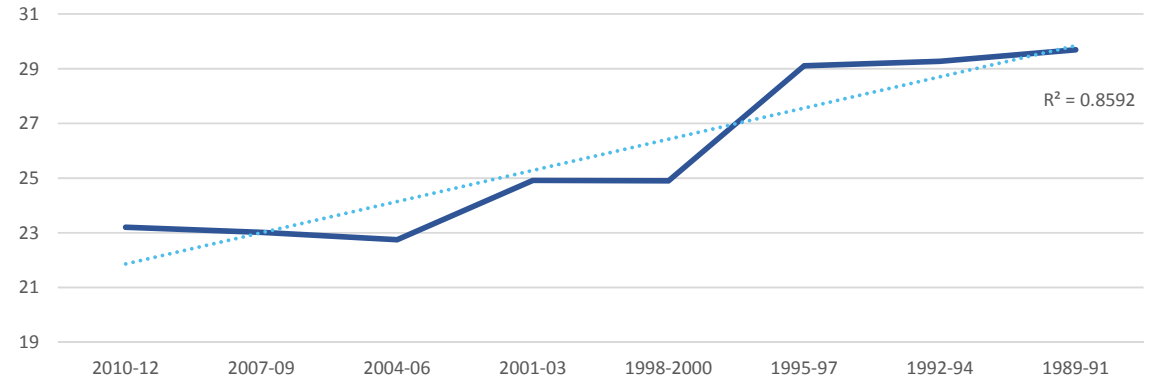


Figure 33: Au@2015 survey: Australian Identity Scale, score by three year arrival intervals with trendline



Contact with former home country

The impact of the communication revolution on adoption of Australian identity by immigrants – and on the identity of the Australian born – is yet to be determined. Au@2015 provides some evidence of what may be a delayed identification among arrivals during their first fifteen years in Australia. There is inadequate evidence to determine if this is a new development or has always been a feature of the immigrant experience. Au@2015 does, however, provide evidence of a high level of contact by immigrants with former home countries, consistent with the findings of the 2013 Recent Arrivals survey.

During their first ten years in Australia, over 70% of immigrants indicate that they maintain contact with friends and relatives from their former home country every day or several times a week by SMS and social media. Close to the same proportion read news reports on the internet every day or several times a week, while one-third of respondents watch television and other media from their former home country every day or several times a week, with little change in the proportion indicated by those most recently arrived (2011-15) and those who arrived in the 1990s.

Table 83: 'How often do you keep in contact with friends and relatives from your former home country?', by SMS and social media, by year of arrival (%)

	2011-15 %	2006-10 %	2001-05 %	1991-2000 %	1981-1990 %
Every day	43	44	36	32	25
Several times a week	28	31	29	27	28
TOTAL	71	75	65	59	53

Table 84: 'How often do you read news reports on the internet from your former home country?', by year of arrival (%)

	2011-15 %	2006-10 %	2001-05 %	1991-2000 %	1981-1990 %
Every day	39	48	38	36	31
Several times a week	27	23	25	22	22
TOTAL	66	71	63	59	53

Table 85: 'How often do you watch television on cable or satellite from your former home country', by year of arrival (%)

	2011-15 %	2006-10 %	2001-05 %	1991-2000 %	1981-1990 %
Every day	17	19	19	21	13
Several times a week	15	16	13	12	13
TOTAL	32	35	32	32	26

Acknowledgements

This project has been made possible with the financial support and vision of the Scanlon Foundation. The author is particularly grateful to Mr Peter Scanlon, Chairman, and Ms Anthea Hancocks, Chief Executive Officer of the Scanlon Foundation, for the support provided. The support of Mr Tony Fry, past Chief Executive Officer of the Scanlon Foundation, is also gratefully acknowledged. Additional funding or the local areas component of this project was provided by the Australian Government.

In the initial planning and implementation of this project during 2006-07, Professor John Nieuwenhuysen, then of Monash University, and Dr Hass Dellal, Executive Director, Australian Multicultural Foundation, played key roles.

Mr Bruce Smith of the Scanlon Foundation has been involved in the project from its inception and has provided sound advice and support at all stages of the project implementation, data analysis and interpretation.

Mr Bruce Smith, Professor John Nieuwenhuysen and Adjunct Professor Darren Pennay provided comment on the draft of this report.

Dr Miriam Munz was responsible for implementation of survey and maintained contact with partner organisations. ThinkHQ developed marketing concepts and implemented the Facebook campaign. Dr Ran Porat assisted with survey promotion and coded data from the print questionnaires. Dr Margaret Taft assisted with research over a twelve month period.

Ms Tanya Munz undertook data analysis and designed and formatted this publication.

Ms Eveline Nieuwveld undertook statistical analysis of survey data and wrote the statistical report published in the Appendix.

Au@2015 was widely promoted over a period of more than five months. Promotion included SBS radio programs and internet platforms and a number of other organisations, notably the Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, Multicultural NSW, the Scanlon Foundation, Monash University, the Australian Multicultural Council, Australian Multicultural Foundation, the Centre for Multicultural Youth (Melbourne), Afghan Australian Initiative (Melbourne), Settlement Services International (SSI, Sydney), MDA (Brisbane), Access Community Services (Logan, Brisbane), Cultural Diversity (City of Stirling, Perth).

Assistance in promotion of the survey was provided by local government and community organisations, notably in Bendigo and Logan, Department of Social Services, Office of Multicultural Interests (Perth), other state and local government departments. Other service and community organisations were contacted and a Facebook promotion was undertaken.

Survey programming and hosting of Au@2015 was provided by Research Now and the focus group component of the project by the Qualitative Research Unit of the Social Research Centre Mr David Blackmore of the Social Research Centre developed and applied the survey weighting.

Credits

Professor Andrew Markus is the Pratt Foundation Research Professor in the School of Historical, International and Philosophical Studies, Monash University, and a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia. He has published extensively in the field of Australian indigenous and immigration history. His publications include the annual Scanlon Foundation social cohesion reports and *Australia's Immigration Revolution* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney 2009), co-authored with James Jupp and Peter McDonald.

The Scanlon Foundation is a member of Philanthropy Australia, the national membership organisation for grant-making trusts and foundations. Established in June 2001, the Foundation's mission to support 'the advance of Australia as a welcoming, prosperous and cohesive nation' has led to the support of a number of social cohesion research projects.

The Australian Multicultural Foundation was established in 1989 as a legacy of Australia's Bicentenary, to promote an awareness among the people of Australia of the diversity of cultures, and the contributions made by those from different backgrounds to the development of Australia's social, cultural and economic wellbeing.

APPENDICES

1. Respondent profile

2. Cultural and ethnic tolerance further explored

3. List of focus groups by reference number

4. Scanlon Foundation surveys

Appendix 1 - Respondent profile

Table A1.1: Year of arrival

Year	Number	Percentage
<1960	141	2.6
1961-70	278	5.2
1971-80	389	7.3
1981-90	566	10.6
1991-95	301	5.7
1996-2000	411	7.7
2001-05	713	13.4
2006-10	1088	20.4
2011-15	1440	27.0
TOTAL	5327	100

Table A1.2: Age (overseas born)

Age	Arrived 1996-2005		Arrived 2006-15		Total (arrived 1960-2015)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	%	Number	%
18-24	56	5.0	283	11.2	346	6.6
25-29	60	5.3	445	17.6	539	10.3
30-34	108	9.6	524	20.7	697	13.4
35-39	199	17.7	498	19.7	776	14.6
40-44	237	21.1	321	12.7	686	13.2
45-49	188	16.7	225	8.9	575	11.0
50-54	136	12.1	111	4.4	486	9.3
55-59	76	6.8	55	2.2	406	7.8
60-64	35	3.1	40	1.6	290	5.6
65-69	16	1.4	13	0.5	210	4.0
70-74	4	0.4	8	0.3	125	2.4
75+	6	0.5	2	0.1	66	1.3
TOTAL	1,675	100	2,528	100	5,210	100

Table A1.3: Gender (overseas born)

Gender	Arrived 1996-2005		Arrived 2006-15		Total (arrived 1960-2015)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	%	Number	%
Male	433	38.5	1046	41.4	2037	39.1
Female	686	61.0	1476	58.4	3155	60.6
Decline	5	0.4	6	0.2	18	0.3
TOTAL	1,124	100	2,528	2,528	5,210	100

Table A1.4: Visa category on arrival in Australia

Category	Arrived 1996-2005		Arrived 2006-15		Total (arrived 1960-2015)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	%	Number	%
Permanent settler - skill stream	180	16.0	372	14.7	1011	19.4
Family	254	22.6	531	21.0	1274	24.5
Permanent – Humanitarian	187	16.6	245	9.7	602	11.6
Long-stay – student	137	12.2	425	16.8	606	11.6
Long-stay – 457 visa	42	3.7	134	5.3	197	3.6
Working holiday maker	28	2.5	152	6.0	197	3.8
New Zealand passport holder	204	18.1	307	12.1	626	12.0
Asylum seeker	22	2.0	222	8.8	254	4.9
Other/ Refused/ Don't know	70	6.2	140	5.6	454	8.7
TOTAL	1,124	100	2,528	100	5,210	100

Table A1.5: Country of birth by year of arrival (number)

Category	1996-2005	2006-2015	Number (arrived 1960-2015)	%
Australia			5061	49.9%
(Australia – Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander)			(122)	(1.2%)
New Zealand	178	253	557	5.5%
United Kingdom	33	68	360	3.5%
South Korea	71	193	290	2.9%
Vietnam	36	125	267	2.6%
Iran	10	219	238	2.3%
India	43	123	208	2.0%
Israel	62	123	211	2.1%
China	37	134	196	1.9%
Afghanistan	27	158	192	1.9%
France	30	109	164	1.6%
Turkey	36	53	166	1.6%
South Sudan	105	56	165	1.6%
Philippines	21	35	117	1.2%
Iraq	26	72	109	1.1%
Sri Lanka	15	44	92	0.9%
Thailand	20	44	76	0.7%
Germany	13	14	59	0.6%
Hong Kong	17	19	73	0.7%
Malaysia	10	22	72	0.7%
Sudan	29	33	66	0.7%
USA	14	15	66	0.7%
Pakistan	11	47	62	0.6%
South Africa	13	18	60	0.6%
Eritrea	13	12	42	0.4%
Indonesia	15	21	47	0.5%
Cyprus	2	0	49	0.5%
Other/ Decline to answer	237	518	1,206	11.9%
TOTAL	1,124	2,528	10,548	100.0%

Table A1.6: Country of birth by visa category on entry, (number)

Category	Skill	Family	Business 457	Student	Working holiday maker	NZ	Humanitarian	Asylum	Other	Total
New Zealand	4	3	0	0	1	544	0	0	15	567
UK	133	103	14	4	26	23	2	0	91	396
South Korea	35	43	10	102	87	8	0	0	16	301
Vietnam	20	111	2	57	0	1	67	4	13	275
Iran	57	33	4	32	3	1	34	64	22	250
India	81	63	9	48	0	9	0	0	7	217
Israel	77	52	35	18	5	3	0	0	23	213
China	45	76	7	45	3	5	6	1	22	210
Afghanistan	14	37	1	5	0	0	61	64	17	199
France	24	44	34	15	31	0	1	0	20	169
Turkey	34	81	10	11	0	0	5	6	21	168
South Sudan	1	12	1	0	0	0	147	1	4	166
Philippines	21	75	5	6	0	3	1	1	7	119
Iraq	8	12	0	2	0	4	56	20	10	112
Sri Lanka	33	18	2	7	0	3	1	25	6	95
Thailand	4	39	1	23	2	0	4	0	10	83
Germany	17	25	4	1	2	0	6	2	22	79
Hong Kong	36	23	0	6	2	2	0	0	8	77
Malaysia	33	18	2	17	2	1	0	0	4	77
Sudan	1	7	0	1	0	1	47	9	3	69

Table A1.7: Language

Language	First language		Language of survey completion	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
English	6344	60.1	9027	85.6
Korean	299	2.8	251	2.4
Arabic	262	2.5	138	1.3
Vietnamese	258	2.4	151	1.4
Persian (Farsi)	228	2.2	170	1.6
Spanish	226	2.1	135	1.3
Turkish	224	2.1	87	0.8
Hebrew	215	2.0		
French	206	2.0	130	1.2
Mandarin	186	1.8	134	1.3
Dinka	166	1.6	2	0
Cantonese	155	1.5	88	0.8
Dari	147	1.4	61	0.6
Thai	76	0.7	57	0.5
Hindi	69	0.7	11	0.1
Hazaragi	69	0.7		
Filipino	67	0.6		
Tamil	64	0.6		
German	61	0.6		
Punjabi	57	0.5	26	0.2
Italian	53	0.5		
Portuguese	53	0.5	31	0.3
Japanese	29	0.3	21	0.2
Indonesian	37	0.4	17	0.2
Malayalam	27	0.3	6	0.1
Tigrinya	32	0.3	5	0
Other/ Decline/	938	8.8		
TOTAL	**10,548**	**100%**	**10,548 (1,521 LOTE)**	**100% (14.4% LOTE)**

Table A1.8: Religion

Status	Australian born		Overseas born		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Roman Catholic	1075	21.2	896	16.3	1971	18.7
Anglican	664	13.1	253	4.6	917	8.7
Uniting Church	291	5.7	38	0.7	329	3.1
Presbyterian	105	2.1	167	3.0	272	2.6
Baptist	49	1.0	98	1.8	147	1.4
Lutheran	42	0.8	67	1.2	109	1.0
Greek Orthodox	63	1.2	56	1.0	119	1.1
Christian (not further defined)	417	8.2	529	9.6	946	9.0
Islam	75	1.5	815	14.9	890	8.4
Buddhist	76	1.5	388	7.1	464	4.4
Jewish	94	1.9	286	5.2	380	3.6
Hindu	5	0.1	182	3.3	187	1.8
Other	235	4.6	320	5.8	555	5.3
No religion	1757	34.7	1172	21.4	2929	27.8
Don't know/ decline	113	2.2	220	4.0	333	3.2
TOTAL	5,061	100	5,487	100	10,548	100

Table A1.9: Highest completed educational qualification

Status	Total	
	Number	Percentage
To Year 11	745	7.0
Year 12	832	7.9
Trade/apprenticeship	197	1.9
Other TAFE/ Technical Certificate	850	8.1
Diploma	1,493	14.2
Bachelor Degree	3,134	29.7
Post-Graduate Degree	2,868	27.2
Other/ Decline	429	4.1
TOTAL	10,548	100

Appendix 2: Cultural and ethnic tolerance further explored

Appendix 2 was prepared by Eveline Nieuwveld

The analyses performed in the section 5 of the report, *Attitudes to cultural diversity,* indicated that there is a relationship between the Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance (CET) scale and the following variables; gender, state, region (major city, inner regional, outer regional), age, highest educational qualification, self-described financial status, intended vote and birthplace (Australia, overseas ESB and NESB). Statistical analysis further indicates that intended vote and education have a strong relationship with the CET scale while a moderately strong relationship was calculated for gender and financial situation.

Multiple linear regression was undertaken[22] in order to measure the *explanatory power* of the variables on levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance. Multiple linear regression accounts for the effect of *all* other variables in the model and thus calculates the *net* explanatory power of the individual variables on the CET scale. Multiple linear regression is therefore interpreted differently from previous testings in this report.

For instance, while age in a simple linear regression has a significant effect on levels of CET, in the multiple linear regression the net effect of age is rendered insignificant after accounting for the other variables. The strength of multiple linear regression is to assess what the influence of one variable is after the influence of other variables has been accounted for. This can also be explained in the following manner: linear regression estimates a line between variable A and B by taking B (the independent variable) as explaining or predicting A (the dependent variable); A = c + sB (with c = the constant and s = the slope/regression coefficient). In multiple linear regression the formula is extended by adding more independent variables. This section will present a combination of independent variables that explain the variance of the CET scale. Three models were tested. The first model contains only demographic variables (age, gender, birthplace, financial situation, education, state and region), the second model adds an attitudinal variable (intended vote), and the third model is extended with complex attitudinal scales (Friendly Neighbourhood scale, Belonging in Australia scale and Trust in Australian Institutions).

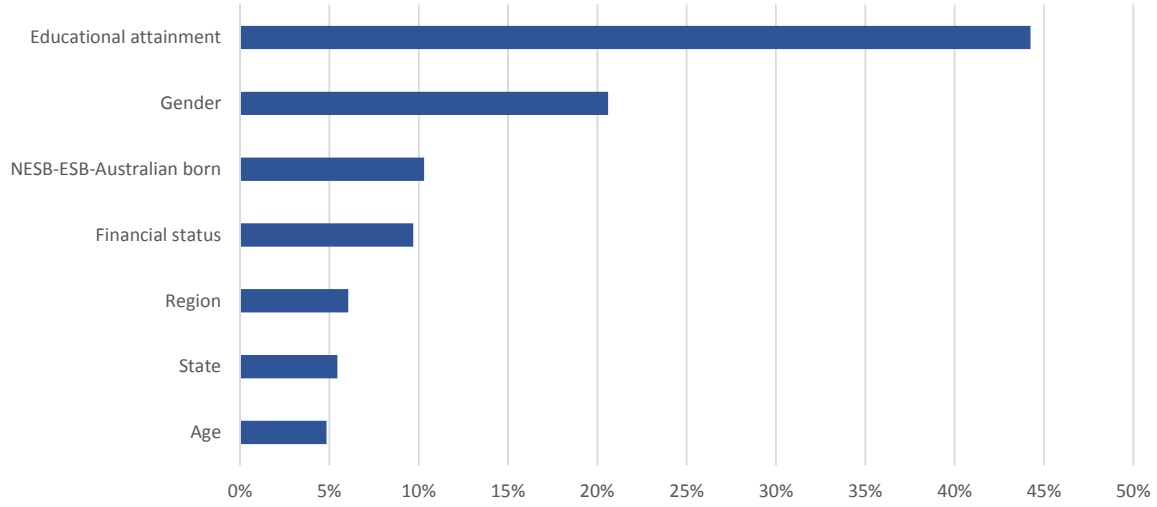
1.1 Net explanatory power of demographic variables on levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance

1.1.1 Model 1: demographic variables

For the first model, only demographic variables were included in the regression: age, gender, financial status, region, state and whether the individuals were born in Australia or overseas from an English (ESB) or non-English speaking (NESB) background. Apart from age and state of residence, all of the independent variables significantly predict scores on the Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance scale ($F(21, 8912) = 85.138$, $p < .001$) after accounting for other variables. Age and state of residence are the two variables that explain the smallest proportion of variance of all variables in the regression. The regression indicates a moderate linear association (R = .409) between the demographic variables and the CET scale. All variables together explain 16.7% ($R^2 = .167$ and Adj. $R^2 = .165$) of the variance of the CET scale. This means that tolerant attitudes towards different cultures and ethnic groups can be partly predicted by educational attainment (explanatory power of 7.3%), gender (3.4%), Australian born, NESB or ESB (1.7%), self acclaimed financial status (1.6%), region of residence (1.0%), state of residence (0.9%) and age (0.8%). For the variance of the CET scale explained by this model, education and gender have the strongest influence. In figure 1, the contribution of all demographic variables explaining the variance of CET scores is presented.

[22] The cases were weighted for the total population. Independence of errors was assumed as the regression is undertaken on survey data. A scatterplot of the unstandardized predicted values and studentized residuals suggest a linear relationship and homoscedasticity between the independent variables and levels of Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance (CET) scale. Additionally, collinearity statistics show optimal Tolerance and VIF scores, which means that there is no issue of multicollinearity between the independent variables. Seven cases were considered as outliers (standardized residual >3 standard deviations) and therefore excluded from the analyses. No leverage points or values above one for Cook's distance were found in the data set. A histogram and the Normal PP plot both indicated that the standardized residuals are approximately normally distributed. Therefore, all assumptions for multiple linear regression have been met.

Figure A2.1: The explanatory power of the demographic variables on levels of Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance (in % of the total variance explained by model 1 that includes the variables gender, age, state, region, education, financial status and NESB-ESB or Australian born)



The overall model, with all demographic variables included does not have a strong explanatory power, as 83.5% of the variance remains unexplained. It is possible that some demographic variables have a strong effect only for certain groups in the population. This will be tested in the next sub-section wherein three groups will be compared: Australian born, overseas born ESB and overseas born NESB.

1.1.1.1 Comparison of the Australian and overseas born population (NESB and ESB)

A second multiple regression analysis was performed by looking at the results for three groups separately, Australian born, overseas born of English speaking background (ESB), and overseas born of non-English speaking background (NESB).

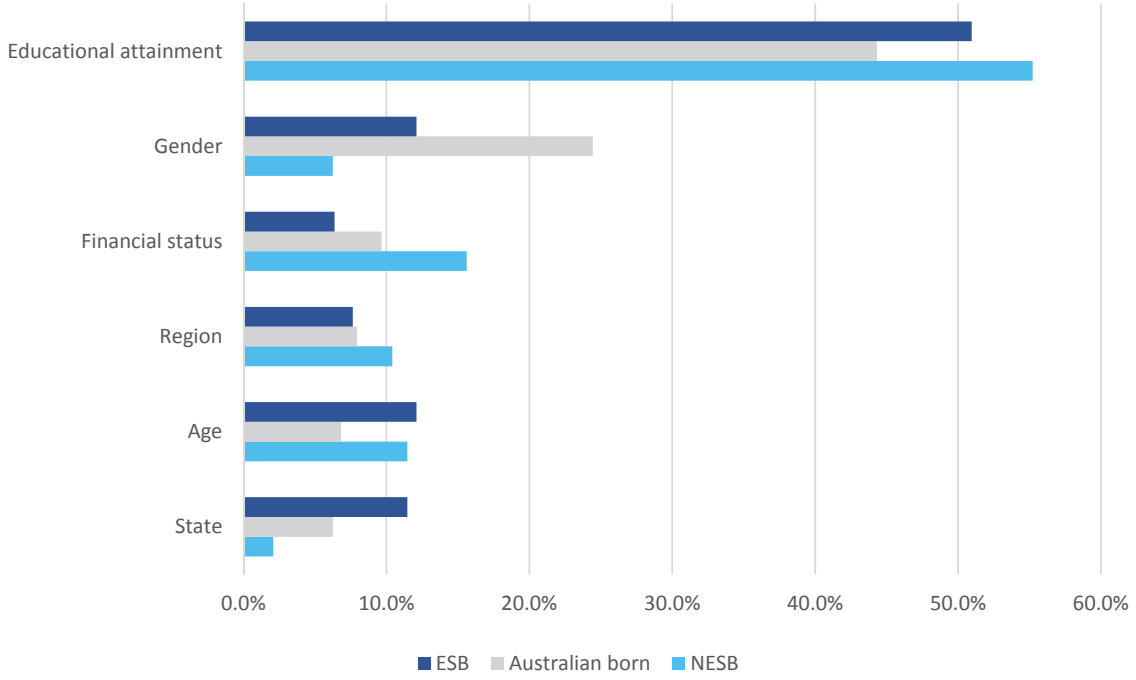
When only testing for the Australian born population, the explanatory power of the demographic variables increased by 1 percent compared to the multiple linear regression performed on the full sample (weighted for the full population). With a moderate linear association (R=.420), the demographic variables together explain 17.6% of the variance (R^2 = .176 and Adj. R^2 = .174) of the CET scale. Only age was not significant, while most of the states of residence did significantly predict cultural and ethnic tolerance (except the ACT and Northern Territory).

For the NESB population, the previously tested demographic variables had a reduced explanatory power for levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance. Only 9.6% (R^2 = .096 and Adj. R^2 = .082) of the variance of the CET scale could be explained and the linear association was weak to moderate (R = .310). Age, financial status and state of residence did not significantly explain the CET scores.

The ESB population is between the Australian born and NESB, with a weak to moderate linear association (R= .396). However, the explanatory power of the demographic variables for this population is stronger than the NESB, with 15.7 percent of the variance explained. Similar to the NESB population, age, financial status and state of residence were not significant predictors.

As shown in figure 2, educational attainment - Bachelor degree or higher - had the strongest explanatory power on levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance for all three populations. While for the Australian born gender is the second strongest predictor for the CET scores, for the NESB and the ESB population age is second strongest predictor.

Figure A2.2: Explanatory power of demographic variables on levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance for the Australian born and overseas born population (ESB or NESB)



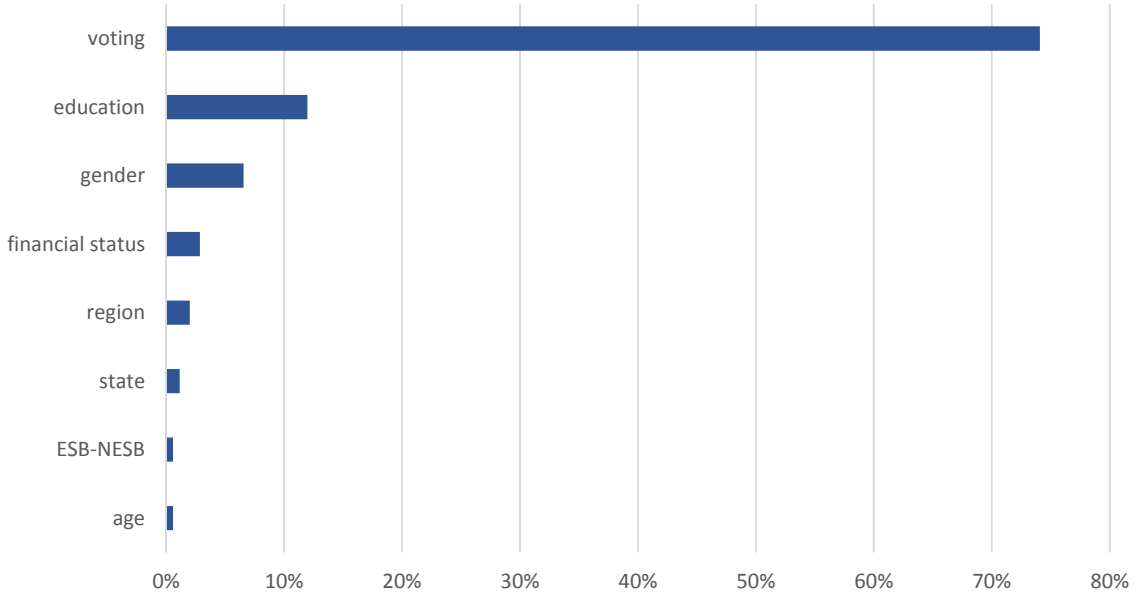
Although the demographic variables have more explanatory power for the Australian population, the variance explained is still marginal. This demonstrates that levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance cannot be explained by demographic characteristics only. Cultural and ethnic tolerance is an intricate phenomenon that cannot be understood by demographic characteristics alone. In the next two sections the model will be extended by adding attitudinal and behavioural variables to the regression.

1.1.2 Model 2: demographic variables and intended vote

By including the variable of intended vote at the next election, the variance explained doubled with 35.3% (R^2=.353 Adj. R^2=.350) of the total variance explained. Additionally, the analysis indicates a strong linear association (R = .594) of the demographic variables with the CET scale. Apart from age and state of residence, all of the independent variables significantly predict scores on the Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance scale (F(15, 6249) = 224.655, p <.001) after accounting for the other variables.

Figure 3 indicates that the variable contributing the most to explaning the variance of the CET scale is the newly added attitudinal variable, 'voting' (74%), Additionally, education (12%), gender (7%) and financial status (3%) contribute to explaining CET. Demographic characteristics such as age and brithpalce did not have a strong explanatory power (< 3%) after controling for voting, education, gender, region and state.

Figure A2.3: The explanatory power of the demographic variables on levels of Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance (in % of the total variance explained by model 2 that includes the variables gender, age, state, region, education, financial situation, intended vote and ESB or NESB background)



The regression predicts the level of cultural and ethnic tolerance of a person according to demographic information (all other things being equal). For instance, the model predicts that on average, compared to a person voting Liberal/National[23], a person voting Labor will score 8.3 points higher on the CET scale, a person voting Greens will score 12.5 points higher and voting Independent/Other will result in a score 4.9 lower than a person voting Liberal/National.

In the *simple* linear regression, the effect of voting Independent/Other resulted in a standardised coefficient of -0.259, this is considered the gross effect of voting Independent/Other. The standardised coefficient from the multiple linear regression however is much lower, namely -0.141. The decreasing influence of voting Independent/Other, as expressed through the standardised coefficient, represents the net effect of voting Independent/Other after accounting for all other variables in the multiple linear regression model. Comparing the unstandardized and standardised coefficients explains the extent to which the individual variables have an influence on the CET scale.

Table 1 shows the coefficients for all variables in the model. As shown in table 1 as the 'constant', the reference category of all variables together, score on average 25 on the CET scale. The reference category is the constant in the linear equation

[23] Because the categorical variables were transformed into dummy variables for the purpose of a multiple linear regression, all variables have one reference category that is excluded from the regression (degrees of freedom), usually this is the category with the biggest n.

and in this analysis represents a 65+ year old male, living in a Victorian city, who did not obtain a Bachelor degree, votes Liberal/National and considers himself to be prosperous. If the person with the same variables is a female, the model predicts a score of some 5 points higher, approximately 30 (25.076 + 4.776).

Table A2.1: Level of influence of the demographic variables on the Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance scale expressed in regression coefficients

	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
(Constant)	25.076**		38.696	.000
Age 18-24	.033	.001	.047	.962
Age 25-34	2.276**	.057	4.335	.000
Age 35-44	-.277	-.007	-.544	.587
Age 45-54	.717	.019	1.432	.152
Age 55-64	.181	.005	.360	.719
Region Inner regional	-2.474**	-.074	-6.377	.000
Region Outer regional/Remote/Very remote	-3.524**	-.062	-5.510	.000
State NSW	-1.170**	-.038	-2.786	.005
State QLD	-2.505**	-.064	-4.935	.000
State SA	1.593	.023	2.013	.044
State WA	-2.682**	-.056	-4.500	.000
State TAS	2.501	.023	2.118	.034
State NT	-.082	.000	-.043	.966
State ACT	1.560	.021	1.863	.062
Financial status poor	-4.885**	-.095	-7.513	.000
Financial status just getting along	-4.810**	-.141	-9.458	.000
Financial status reasonably comfortable	-2.437**	-.082	-5.456	.000
Voting Labor	8.318**	.250	21.027	.000
Voting Greens	12.484**	.289	24.705	.000
Voting Indep/Other	-4.888**	-.141	-11.694	.000
Background OESB	1.235	.019	1.815	.070
Background ONESB	1.651**	.035	3.240	.001
Gender Female	4.776**	.160	14.999	.000
Education BA or higher	4.904**	.152	13.911	.000

Compared to people living in the city, living inner or outer regional has a negative effect on the levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance. Likewise, compared to a person defining him or herself as prosperous, people defining themselves financially poor, just getting along or comfortable will have lower scores on the CET scale, indicated by negative regression coefficients. Compared to people born in Australia, people born overseas have a higher level of cultural and ethnic tolerance.

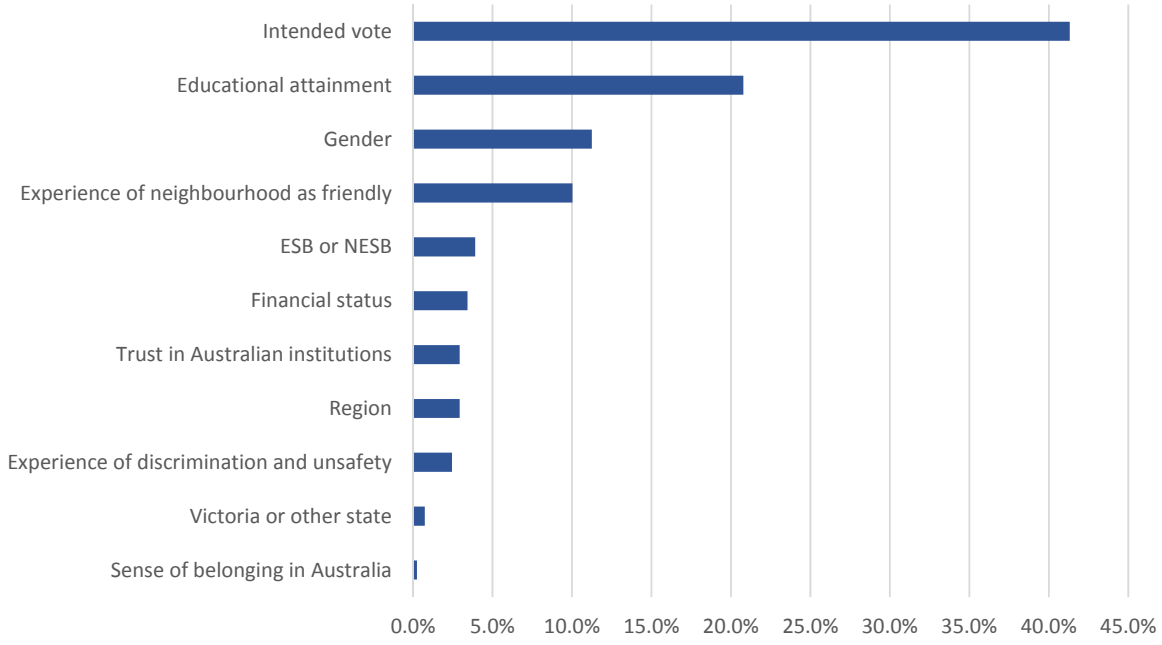
As can be interpreted from the standardised coefficients, variables with the biggest positive influence on the slope of the linear regression, and therefore on the CET score are respectively voting Greens (.289), Labor (.250), female (.160), have a BA degree or higher (.152) and born overseas from a non-English speaking background (.035). Opposite, the influential variables on low levels of cultural and ethnic tolerance are voting independent/other (-.141), financial status other than prosperous (-.095, -.141 or -.082) and region (-.074 or-.062).

1.1.3 Model 3: demographic and attitudinal variables

In this section four attitudinal variables are included in the regression. For the data analysis in this report, apart from the CET scale, four additional scales were developed by using Factor Analysis. The Friendly Neighbourhood (FN) scale measures attitude to neighbours and satisfaction with neighbourhood. The Trust in Australian Institutions (TAI) scale measures trust in Australian institutions such as Medicare, Centrelink, and the Police. The higher an individual scores on the TAI scale, the higher their trust in institutions. The Sense of Belonging in Australia (SBA) scale measures how strongly individuals identify with Australia and if they are satisfied with the Australian life. The Discrimination and Safety (DS) scale measures if individuals feel discriminated against in different social situations (when encountering police, when applying for a job, on the street, etc.) and the extent to which they feel safe or unsafe, for example when on the street at night. The higher the score on the DS scale, the higher the sense of discrimination and lack of safety.

For all three scales, intended vote and the demographic variables were included in the model. A multiple linear regression was performed and indicated a strong linear association of the variables with the CET scale (R=.640). All variables together explain 40.9 percent variance of the CET scale (R^2 = .409 and Adj. R^2 = .408). Intended vote remained the strongest predictor for cultural and ethnic tolerance levels (16.9%), followed by educational attainment (8.5%) and gender (4.6%). Individuals experiencing their neighbourhood as friendly (FN scale) tend to also have a higher level of cultural and ethnic tolerance. The FN scale explains 4.1 percent of the total variance of the CET scale, which is about 10 percent of the total variance explained. This indicates that the people who consider their neighbourhood as friendly usually have more tolerant attitudes towards different cultural and ethnic groups. Figure 4 below provides an overview of the explanatory power of the variables in model 3.

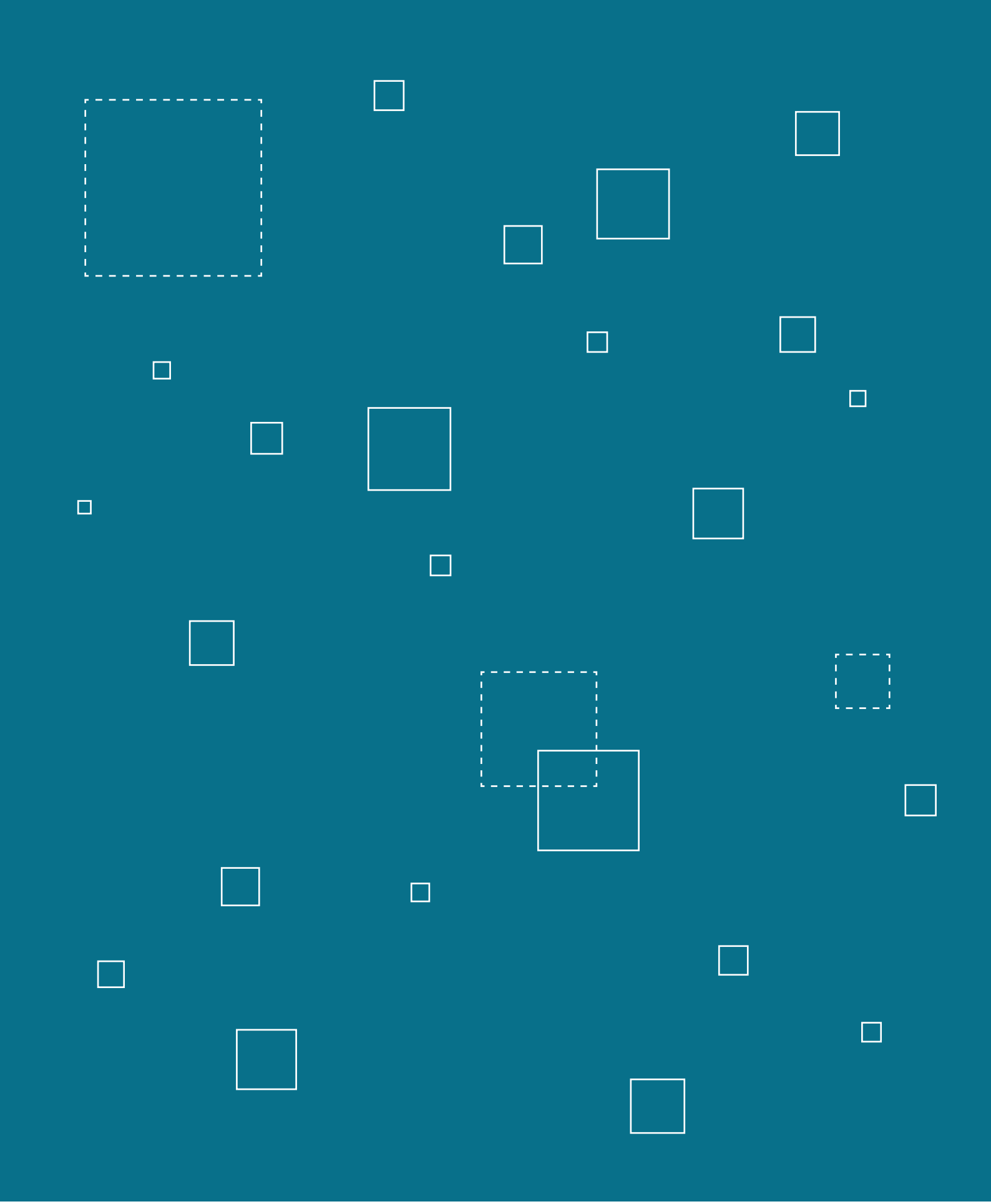
Figure A2.4: The explanatory power of the demographic, attitudinal and behavioural variables on levels of Cultural and Ethnic Tolerance (in % of the total variance explained by model 3)



Appendix 3: List of focus groups by reference number

Group No.	Type	Age	Gender	State
1	Indian	18-29	Female	VIC
2	Indian	18-29	Mixed	NSW
3	Indian	18-29	Male	VIC
4	Indian	30-45	Mixed	VIC
5	Chinese	Mixed	Female	NSW
6	Chinese	18-29	Male	NSW
7	Chinese	Mixed	Mixed	NSW
8	Sudanese	18-29	Female	VIC
9	Sudanese	18-29	Female	NSW
10	Sudanese	18-29	Male	VIC
11	Sudanese	18-29	Male	NSW
12	Sudanese	30-45	Female	VIC
13	Sudanese	30-45	Male	VIC
14	Muslim faith	18-29	Female	VIC
15	Muslim faith	18-29	Male	VIC
16	Muslim faith	30-45	Female	VIC
17	Muslim faith	30-45	Male	NSW
18	Muslim faith	18-30	Female	VIC
19	Chinese	Mixed	Female	NSW
20	New Zealander / Pacific Islander	18-30	Male	QLD
21	Indian	30-45	Female	VIC
22	New Zealander. Pacific Islander	30-45	Female	QLD
23	Australian third generation	30-45	Mixed	VIC
24	Australian third generation	18-45	Mixed	VIC
25	Australian third generation	18-30	Mixed	NSW
26	Australian third generation	30-45	Mixed	NSW
27	Australian third generation	30-45	Mixed	VIC
28	Australian third generation	18-30	Mixed	NSW
29	Australian third generation	30-45	Mixed	NSW
30	Australian third generation	30-45	Mixed	QLD
31	Australian third generation	18-29	Mixed	VIC
32	Australian third generation (Turkish)	18-29	Mixed	NSW
33	Australian third generation	18-29	Mixed	NSW
34	Australian third generation	18-30	Mixed	QLD
35	Australian second generation (Vietnamese)	18-29	Mixed	VIC
36	Australian third generation	18-45	Mixed	VIC
37	Chinese	18-45	Mixed	VIC
38	Indian	30-45	Mixed	VIC
39	New Zealander/ Pacific Islander	18-29	Female	QLD
40	Vietnamese	18-45	Mixed	QLD

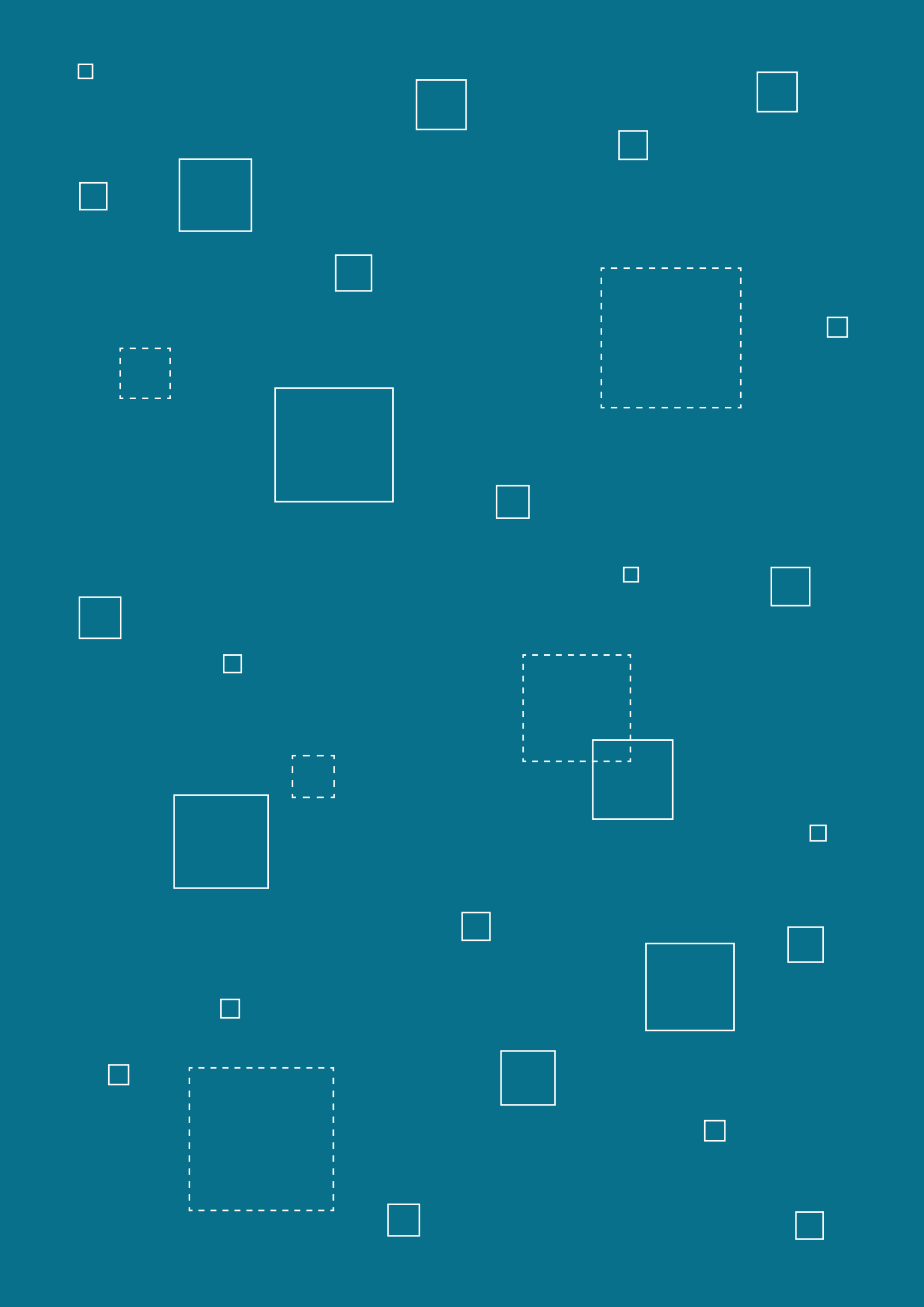
41	New Zealander/ Pacific Islander	30-45	Male	QLD
42	New Zealander/ Pacific Islander	30-45	Female	QLD
43	Australian third generation	18-45	Mixed	QLD
44	Overseas and Australian born	Mixed	Mixed	WA
45	Australian third generation	Mixed	Mixed	WA
46	Overseas and Australian born	Mixed	Mixed	WA
47	Australian third generation	Mixed	Mixed	WA
48	Chinese (interview)	Mixed	Female	NSW
49	Iranian (interview)	Mixed	Female	NSW
50	Sri Lankan (interview)	Mixed	Male	NSW
51	Iraqi (interview)	Mixed	Female	NSW
52	Muslim faith	30-45	Mixed	NSW
53	Muslim faith (interview)	30-45	Male	NSW
54	New Zealander/ Pacific Islander	Mixed	Female	NSW
55	New Zealander/ Pacific Islander	Mixed	Male	NSW
56	Muslim faith	18-24	Female	NSW
57	Muslim faith (interview)	18-24	Female	NSW



scanlon foundation

AUSTRALIAN multicultural foundation

MONASH University



Appendix 4: List of Scanlon Foundation surveys

Number	Year	**Survey** - interviewer administered probability sample unless otherwise indicated
1	2007	National
2	2007	Local area
3	2009	National
4	2009	Local area
5	2010	National
6	2011	National
7	2012	National
8	2012	Local area
9	2013	National
10	2013	Local area
11	2013	Recent arrivals (online, panel)
12	2014	National
13	2014	Snap poll
14	2014	Third generation Australians (online, panel)
15	2015	National
16	2015-16	Au@2015 (online, open access)