

mapping social cohesion

the scanlon foundation surveys **2013**
national report

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Copies of this report can be accessed and downloaded at
www.arts.monash.edu.au/mapping-population

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Executive summary

This report presents the findings of the sixth Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion national survey, conducted in July 2013. The report builds on the knowledge gained through the five earlier Scanlon Foundation national surveys (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012) which **provide, for the first time in Australian social research, a series of detailed surveys on social cohesion, immigration and population issues.** Each of the previous five national surveys was completed by 2000 respondents, a total of 10,000, with an additional 5,300 respondents who completed the 2007, 2009 and 2012 local surveys.

Several changes were made in the conduct of the 2013 survey. For the first time, the national survey used a dual-frame sample methodology comprising both randomly generated (RDD) landline telephone numbers and randomly generated mobile phone numbers. This meant that, in keeping with contemporary best practice, the survey included the views of the estimated 19% of adults who now live in households without a landline telephone connection.

In addition to the national survey, additional surveys were conducted in 2013. **First, a series of locality based surveys:** in areas of high immigrant concentration (in Brisbane and Perth); in regional centres impacted by immigration (Shepparton and Murray Bridge); and in a region with little experience of recent immigration (Atherton Tableland in Queensland). The local area surveys were completed by 2,500 respondents. **Second, an online survey of recent immigrant arrivals** was completed by over 2,300 respondents.

This report focuses on the findings of the Scanlon Foundation national survey, with a summary of key findings from the survey of recent arrivals. The discussion of the local surveys is limited to the provision of evidence on attitudes to multiculturalism. **A full report on the local and recent arrivals surveys is planned for release in April 2014.**

A prime objective of the surveys has been to further understanding of the social impact of Australia's increasingly diverse immigration program. In the 2013 national survey there were 18 questions concerned with immigration and cultural diversity, with scope to interpret findings in the context of a questionnaire comprising 65 questions.

The Australian context

Australia has experienced significant population growth in recent years. Since 2001, Australia's population has increased by 3.5 million, from 19.4 million to an estimated 22.9 million at 31 December 2012. During 2012 the population increased by almost 400,000 persons, 40% from natural increase and 60% from net overseas migration. Annual population growth averaged 1.4% per annum from 1970 to 2010, in 2012 growth was an estimated 1.8%.

Although **the Global Financial Crisis had a relatively minor impact on the Australian economy,** at the time of the 2013 survey there was growing economic uncertainty and media attention on job losses. Unemployment increased from 5.3% of the workforce in October 2012 to 5.7% in June 2013. In 2013, 33% of respondents in the Scanlon Foundation survey identified economic issues as the most important problem facing Australia, the first ranked issue. At the time of survey administration, Australia was also only two months away from a federal election and therefore in full pre-election media mode.

The Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI)

What then is the state of social cohesion in 2013? The **Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion (SMI)** provides an overview in the five core domains of social cohesion: belonging, worth, social justice, participation, and acceptance and rejection.

The 2013 SMI registered the second largest change since the 2007 benchmark survey and was at the lowest level recorded. Between 2009-10 the index fell by 8.6 points, it then stabilised in 2011 and 2012 with marginal upward movement – and fell by 5.9 points between 2012-13.

The 2013 SMI registered **lower scores in four of the five domains of social cohesion.** The largest variation is in the domain of political participation, which fell by 15.8 points. The domain of acceptance/rejection fell by 9.8 points, in large part reflecting increased reported experience of discrimination. The domains of belonging and worth, which had recorded little change between 2009 and 2012, fell by 4.1 and 2.7 points respectively. The one domain to record an increase, that of social justice and equity, increased by 2.9 points.

All five domains of social cohesion are below the 2007 benchmark level. The low point is in the domain of acceptance/rejection, which stood at 68.8 points in 2013, down by almost one-third since 2007.

Identification with Australia

The Scanlon Foundation surveys – and other polling over the last 30 years – have consistently found that **the vast majority of Australians have a high level of identification with their country**, the fundamental prerequisite for any cohesive society. Almost unanimously, Australians express a sense of belonging (92% in 2013, 95% in 2012), indicate pride in the Australian way of life (87%) and believe that its maintenance is important (91%). There has, however, been a marked shift in the proportion indicating that they have a sense of belonging to ‘a great extent’, down from 75% to 65%, while the proportion indicating to ‘a moderate extent’ increased from 21% to 26%.

Living standards

The Global Financial crisis has had marginal impact on indicators of financial satisfaction in Australia. In 2007, 74% of respondents indicated that they were ‘very satisfied’ or ‘satisfied’ with their financial circumstances, 73% in 2010 and 71% in 2013.

Nearly nine out of ten respondents (87%) in 2013 indicate that ‘taking all things into consideration’, they are happy with their lives. There has, however, been a negative shift in the proportion indicating the strongest level of agreement: in 2007, 34% indicated that they were ‘very happy’, in 2013 a statistically significantly lower 26%.

There continues to be majority endorsement of the view that ‘Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life’. In 2007, 81% of respondents agreed, 82% in 2010 and 82% in 2013. These views are **consistent with international indicators, which rank Australia at or near the top of developed countries in terms of living standard, education, health, and quality of life.**

There is, however, also consistency in indicators of inequality in Australia. Concern is evident in the survey findings, with 73% of respondents in 2013 agreeing that ‘**the gap between those with high incomes and those with low incomes is too large**’. 48% of respondents agreed that ‘people living on low incomes in Australia receive enough financial support from the government’, while 42% disagreed.

Sense of pessimism about the future, which had increased between 2007 and 2012, showed a marginal decline in 2013. In response to the question: ‘In three or four years, do you think that your life in Australia will be improved, remain the same or worse?’, there was a statistically significant increase in the proportion answering ‘a little worse’ or ‘much worse’, from 11% in 2007 to 19% in 2012. The 2013 result, 17%, indicated a marginal (but not statistically significant) decline.

Experience of discrimination

In 2013 there was a marked increase in reported experience of discrimination. The Scanlon Foundation survey asked: ‘Have you experienced discrimination because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?’ **The 2013 survey found the highest level recorded across the six surveys (19%), an increase of seven percentage points over 2012.**

There is large variation in the experience of discrimination within sub-groups. Analysis by country of birth indicated highest experience of discrimination by respondents born in Malaysia (45%), India and Sri Lanka (42%), Singapore (41%), Indonesia (39%), and China and Hong Kong (39%).

Trust and participation

In 2013, 45% of respondents agreed that ‘most people can be trusted’, which is at the low end of the range of results obtained since 2007.

Trust in government is also at a relatively low level. In 2009, 48% of respondents indicated that the government in Canberra can be trusted ‘almost always’ or ‘most of the time’. **In one of the strongest shifts recorded in the Scanlon Foundation surveys, in 2010 only 31% indicated trust, a fall of 17 percentage points. Since that time there has been further marginal decline, so that in 2013 only 27% indicated trust (4% ‘almost always’, 23% ‘most of the time’.)**

A new question in the 2013 survey explored levels of institutional trust, with nine organisations or institutions specified. The highest level of trust was in hospitals, police, public schools and employers, followed by trust in the legal system and television news. **The lowest level of trust was in trade unions, the federal parliament and political parties. Just 7% of respondents indicated a ‘lot of trust’ in federal parliament and 3% in political parties.**

The 2013 survey registered a decline in political participation, but involvement in unpaid voluntary work has remained largely constant, indicated by 46% in 2011, 47% in 2012 and 47% in 2013.

Problems facing Australia

An open-ended question, the first question in the survey, asks respondents ‘**What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?**’ The surveys conducted since 2010 found a large measure of consistency in the indication of key issues: the economy, quality of government and politicians, the environment, asylum and immigration, and social issues, although there has been a change in the relative significance of issues.

The economy has ranked first across the four surveys, specified by 22% of respondents in 2010, 26% in 2011, 36% in 2012 and 33% in 2013.

The second ranked issue, **quality of government and politicians**, has been specified by 11%-13% across the four surveys. **Asylum** issues have risen in importance to rank third in 2013, selected by 12% of respondents, a marked increase from 6% in 2010.

Two of the top issues declined in the ranking. **Environmental issues**, which ranked second in 2010 and 2011 (selected by 15% and 18%), were ranked fifth in 2013, selected by 5%. **Immigration and population** issues ranked sixth, selected by 4% of respondents in 2013 (and 2012), down from 7% in 2010 and 2011.

Social issues, including family difficulties, child care, drug use, and lack of personal direction, were ranked fourth, selected by 7%.

Immigration

The 2013 survey found a majority of respondents in favour of the current immigration intake (38%) or of the view that it was 'too low' (13%). A large minority (42%) considered that the intake was 'too high', up from 38% in 2012.

Since 2010, the Scanlon Foundation surveys have asked respondents if their feelings were positive, negative or neutral towards immigrants from specified countries. There has been a consistency of opinion across the four surveys. **Indicative of long-term change in Australian opinion, there is now a large measure of acceptance of groups once stigmatised.** Less than 5% of respondents have indicated negative feelings towards immigrants from English-speaking countries and continental Europe, less than 15% towards immigrants from Asia. **The highest level of negative feeling, at close to 25%, is towards immigrants from the Middle East.**

In 2013, respondents were also asked for attitudes towards immigrants from Ethiopia and the Pacific Islands; 16% indicated negative feelings towards Ethiopia, 5% negative towards the Pacific Islands.

Asylum seekers

In 2013, less than one in five respondents agreed that asylum seekers arriving by boat should be eligible for permanent settlement. This finding represents an increase in negative sentiment since 2011.

In a question asked in the last four Scanlon Foundation surveys, respondents were asked for their view concerning 'policy for dealing with asylum seekers trying to reach Australia by boat'. Four options were specified, with the extremes being 'their boats should be turned back' and 'they should be allowed to apply for permanent residence'.

In 2012 there was almost equal support for the turn back and eligibility for permanent residence options: 23% and 26% respectively, a difference of 3 percentage points. **In 2013, 18% supported eligibility for permanent settlement, 33% the turn back option, a difference of 15 percentage points.** A total of 77% indicated that boats should be turned back, or arrivals should be detained and deported, or residence should be allowed, but only on a temporary basis.

Analysis of attitudes by eight variables (including gender, age, educational qualification and intended vote) with a total of 30 different categories found that in only two of the categories was support for eligibility for permanent residence above 25%: those intending to vote Greens (69%) and those with a Bachelor or higher level qualification (28%).

Multiculturalism

The 2013 Scanlon Foundation survey asked, for the first time, a series of questions on multiculturalism: whether it 'has been good for Australia', its impact on economic development, on the 'Australian way of life', on the integration of immigrants, and whether it gives immigrants 'the same or more opportunities than the Australian born'.

The findings indicate **strong levels of support for multiculturalism. Thus 84% of respondents agreed that 'multiculturalism has been good for Australia'.** More than seven out of ten respondents agreed that multiculturalism 'benefits the economic development of Australia' (75%) and 'encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society' (71%). Close to six out of ten agreed that multiculturalism strengthens the Australian way of life (60%) and gives immigrants the same opportunities as the Australian born (58%). Opinion was only close to evenly divided on the question of whether multiculturalism reduces or increases the problems faced by immigrants.

Positive responses were not restricted to those usually the most favourable to cultural diversity – urban dwellers, highly educated, and young – but were consistently high within segments of the population. The survey findings indicate that multiculturalism – an ambiguous term that individuals interpret in different ways – is established as a strong and supported 'brand', one that resonates with the Australian people.

Recent arrivals

In 2013, a survey of people who arrived between the years 1990 and 2010 and who have been resident in Australia for at least three years was undertaken for the Scanlon Foundation. Additional Australian Government funding enabled the total sample to increase to over 2,000.

The objective of the survey was to further understanding of recent arrivals, with regard to their experiences of Australia and the nature of their ongoing contacts with their former home countries.

Governments change rules of immigrant admission, which for many make the gaining of permanent residence a difficult and drawn-out process; but **immigrants change the nature of their interactions with Australian society and exercise greater freedom than past generations in determining their experience of settlement.** This is particularly evident in findings for the more recent arrivals, those who arrived between 2000-2010.

The survey found that of the more recent arrivals, some **40% indicate that they visit their home country at least once a year.** As to be expected, those whose countries of birth are closest geographically to Australia are more likely to visit at least once a year: 45% of those born in China or Hong Kong, 44% India and Sri Lanka, 40% New Zealand, compared with 16% United Kingdom and Ireland.

More than half are in contact with their overseas relatives or friends 'every day' or 'several times a week.' The most popular means of maintaining contact is through social media, such as Facebook, although Skype, mobile phones, SMS messaging and email are all used on frequently.

Close to a third watch television from their former home countries on cable or satellite at least once a week, with the highest proportions amongst immigrants from India and Sri Lanka (51%) and China and Hong Kong (46%).

In the extent of their overseas engagement, recent immigrants are differentiated from the total Australian population. Amongst recent arrivals, just one in ten (11%) indicated that they never read news reports on the internet, compared with four in ten (39%) in the national sample.

Recent arrivals were asked what they **most liked about life in Australia** and were presented with a list of ten attributes. Three attributes proved to be most popular: **lifestyle/ way of life (24%); standard of living (17%); and freedom, peace, democracy (14%).**

A finding of note is that **an attribute that Australians like to assign to themselves, a kind, caring and friendly people, was ranked last by immigrants.**

When asked 'how satisfied are you with life in Australia?', 79% of those who arrived between 2000-2010 indicated that they were 'very satisfied' or 'satisfied', 85% of those who arrived between 1990-1999. **Just 5% of both arrival cohorts indicated that they were dissatisfied.**

With regard to patterns of identification, the findings point to **significant differences across birthplace groups that defy simple generalisation.** Thus, amongst the current four largest immigrant groups, those from India and Sri Lanka indicate the highest levels of concern for personal safety and strongest engagement with overseas relatives and friends, yet also indicate the strongest levels of belonging in Australia.

Respondents were asked how they related to the world – whether they saw themselves as a world citizen, an Australian, a person who identified with his/her country of birth, part of a local community in Australia, a member of a religious group, or 'just an individual'.

The findings indicate that **immigrants are at ease with multiple identities.** While religious identity is of importance to only a minority of the recent arrivals (although a majority of some birthplace groups), **a majority indicate simultaneous identification with the land of their birth, with Australia, with their local communities, as world citizens – and as individuals.**

Stability and change

The findings of the Scanlon Foundation surveys since the 2007 benchmark arguably reflect a deteriorating rather than improving situation. This is certainly the indication provided by the Scanlon-Monash Index. Specifically, there has been:

- Some increase in pessimism about life over the next three to four years;
- A marked increase in the reported experience of discrimination, especially amongst Australians of non-English speaking background;
- Continuing decline of trust in people and government, concern about the quality of politicians, and some evidence of decline in political participation;
- Increasing concern about the economy, from one in five Australians rating it the most important problem facing Australia in 2010 to one in three in 2013;
- A hardening of attitudes towards asylum seekers arriving by boat.

Offsetting these negative trends, however, there are continued high levels of:

- Positive identification with Australia (with a marginal decline recorded in 2013);
- Agreement that in Australia there is economic opportunity and reward for hard work;
- Satisfaction with financial circumstances;
- Stability in provision of voluntary work in the community.

Given that one of the key objectives of the Scanlon Foundation social cohesion research program is to measure Australia's immigration performance, an important finding is the **continuing majority support for immigration**. There is consistent endorsement of immigration from the major source countries and for a diverse intake. Further, there are new findings in the 2013 survey of strong support for multiculturalism across the broad spectrum of Australians – and high levels of satisfaction with life in Australia indicated by recent arrivals.

The increase in reported discrimination may seem to be in contradiction with these findings, but the positive findings relate to majority opinion while discrimination stems from the actions of a minority; as the Scanlon Foundation surveying has shown, some 10% of the population harbours strong negative views towards cultural diversity, with higher proportions within specific demographics.

So, based on the six years of research, what can we say about social cohesion in 2013?

First, by Australian and international standards, **Australia remains highly cohesive**.

Second, **life in Australia continues to satisfy the new arrivals**, notwithstanding the significant changes in ethnic, cultural and skilled composition – and changes in technology which enable immigrants to maintain daily contact with their friends and relatives and to access a diverse range of media in their former home countries.

Third, the surveys **identify major issues warranting government and community attention**, notably those relating to issues of personal and institutional trust, experience of discrimination and the perception of immigrants that the Australians they encounter are not friendly and caring.

Given that a key objective of this research program is to provide early warning of threats to social cohesion, it is to be hoped that the developing knowledge provided by the Scanlon Foundation surveys will foster informed debate on the challenges necessarily accompanying the maintenance of a successful large scale immigration program.

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, over the next five decades, Australia can sustain the migration and social cohesion success story of the past five decades.**

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 benchmark survey was undertaken in June–July 2007 by the Melbourne-based research company The 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 undertaken in areas of high immigrant concentration where, it is predicted, the potential for social tension is higher.

The Foundation continues to provide significant funding towards on-going, independent, primary research which can continue the development of our knowledge about social cohesion. This made possible a replication of the 2007 survey in 2009. In 2010 it was decided to undertake annual national surveys, supplemented by local surveys every third year. This change provides the opportunity for annual tracking of Australian public opinion at a time of heightened public discussion across a range of issues related to immigration and social cohesion. National surveys have now been conducted in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013 and in 2012 the round of third local surveys was conducted.

In addition to the landmark Mapping Social Cohesion surveys, the 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 supported the establishment and on-going development of the Mapping Australia's Population internet site, based at Monash University and under the direction of Professor Markus and Mr Bruce Smith. This site 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, it also provides an inventory of other relevant surveying undertaken in Australia, with regular updates of statistical data on immigration and population sourced from government publications.¹

The Foundation continues to utilise the results of this research to initiate **on-the-ground action projects** designed to address factors which affect social cohesion in areas where the potential for tension is most evident. Details of these projects are available at the Scanlon Foundation internet site. They include:

- *Supporting Parents–Developing Children* (City of Hume, Melbourne)
- *Growing Communities Together* (City of Bankstown, Sydney)
- *'The Huddle' Learning and Life Community Centre* (North Melbourne)
- *The National Community Hubs Project*²
- *CALD Communities Family Violence and Early Intervention* (Whittlesea, Melbourne)
- *"Mamas Plus" For Migrant Mothers and their Children* (Footscray, Melbourne)
- *Promoting Cultural Inclusivity and Tolerance through the Performing Arts* (Adelaide)
- *"Meet + Eat" Documentary Series* (Hume, Melbourne and Fairfield, Sydney)
- *Strengthening Advocacy for Cultural Diversity in the Arts* (National)
- *Visible Mentoring Program Supporting Multicultural Communities through the Arts* (Victoria)³

¹ The Mapping Australia's Population website is at <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/mapping-population/>

² See <http://www.scanlonfoundation.org.au/majorcommunitydevelopment.html>.

³ See <http://www.scanlonfoundation.org.au/multiyearprojects.html>

Scope and methodology

The 2013 Scanlon Foundation national survey is the sixth in the series, following earlier surveys in 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. The first five national surveys adopted a uniform methodology and all were administered by Melbourne-based The Social Research Centre.

Several changes were made in the conduct of the 2013 survey. For the first time, the national survey used a dual-frame sample methodology comprising both randomly generated (RDD) landline telephone numbers and randomly generated mobile phone numbers. This meant that, in-line with contemporary best practice, the survey included the views of the estimated 19% of adults who live in households without a landline telephone connection on which to make and receive calls (the so-called mobile phone-only population). The sample blend used for this survey was 62.5% landline numbers and 37.5% mobile phone numbers. This blend yielded 169 interviews with the mobile phone-only population (14% of the sample) – enough to draw inferences about this group.

Previous surveys employed a sample of 2,000 respondents; in 2013, the national sample was reduced to 1,200. The larger sample in past years was designed to enable analysis of sub-groups; given that the earlier national surveys provide a database reference of 10,000 respondents, the smaller 1,200 sample is adequate for interpretation of current trends within sub-groups. This sample base is expected to yield a maximum sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Further, the saving in cost resulting from the smaller sample made possible a new experimental survey, using internet based surveying to reach the population of recent arrivals in Australia. It was planned to undertake a survey of at least 1,000 recent settlers, but additional funding from the Australian Government, on the advice of the Australian Multicultural Council, made possible the doubling of the planned sample. In addition, Australian Government funding was provided for the conduct of five local surveys in 2013.

Thus three surveys were conducted in 2013:

[1] A national survey, using a dual-frame sample methodology, with a sample size of 1,200.

[2] An internet based survey of two cohorts of immigrants, those who arrived in the years 1990-1999 and 2000-2010. The survey was completed by 2,323 respondents and was administered by Your Source (Colmar Brunton).

[3] Local surveys administered by The Social Research Centre which used a landline sample methodology identical with the 2012 Scanlon Foundation local (neighbourhood) surveys. As in 2012, a sample of 500 was employed in each of the five local areas surveyed. Areas of high immigrant concentration were surveyed in Brisbane (Logan) and Perth (Mirrabooka). In addition, two regional centres impacted by immigration, Shepparton (Victoria) and Murray Bridge (South Australia), and one region little impacted by immigration, the Atherton Tablelands (Queensland) were surveyed. 2,500 respondents completed the 2013 local surveys.

The 2013 surveys employed the questionnaire structure common to the 2007-2012 Scanlon Foundation surveys, with some variation in questions. The 2013 national survey included additional questions on institutional trust, media usage and multiculturalism. The local surveys in large measure repeated the questions employed in the 2012 Scanlon Foundation local surveys. The eighteen questions required for calculation of the Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion were retained in both surveys. The greatest change was in the survey of recent arrivals, which included a range of new questions on engagement with Australian society and ongoing contacts with the respondent's country of origin.

The Social Research Centre administers the national survey. Interviews are conducted by telephone (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing), utilising a list-assisted Random Digit Dialling (RDD) sampling frame with landline respondents selected using the 'next birthday' method. In addition to English, respondents have the option of completing the survey in one of eight community languages.

The 2013 national questionnaire, which is the main focus of this report, was administered from 3 July to 4 August. It comprised 65 questions (52 substantive and 13 demographic) and took on average just under 18 minutes to complete.

Full technical details of surveying procedure and the questionnaires are provided in the methodological report for each survey, available for download on the Mapping Australia's Population internet site.

This report focuses on the findings of the Scanlon Foundation national survey, with a summary of key findings from the survey of recent immigrants. The local surveys are used to provide further evidence on attitudes to multiculturalism, a key finding of the 2013 national survey. A full report on the local and recent arrival surveys is planned for release in April 2014.

Weighting of survey results

Survey data is weighted to bring the achieved respondent profile into line with Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) demographic indicators.

Rim weighting developed by The Social Research Centre was used to weight the national and local surveys. This procedure makes possible weighting of data by four variables: age, gender, educational attainment and country of birth, and, where necessary, to also adjust for disproportionate aspects of the national sample design (i.e. disproportionate geographic distribution).

Where possible, target proportions were taken from the 2011 ABS Census. The following variables were weighted: **age** (18–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55 plus); **gender** (male, female); **education** (university graduate, not university graduate); **country of birth** (Australia, overseas English-speaking country [Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States], overseas non-English-speaking).

A simpler weighting procedure was applied to the survey of recent arrivals: gender and age by two arrival cohorts (1990-1999; 2000-2010).

The impact of the mobile sample frame

Given that a dual-frame sample including both landline and mobile phone sample frames was used for the first time in the 2013 national survey, the differences in the profiles of these two groups is of particular interest. Compared to members of the landline sample frame, respondents from the mobile sample frame had a higher proportion of younger people (35.8% were aged under 35 years compared with 6.4% of the landline sample); males (55.6% versus 41.1%); overseas born (37.8% versus 24.9%); employed persons (66.0% versus 47.9%), unemployed (7.8% versus 2.9%); students (6.7% versus 1.7%); and people who did not hold Australian citizenship (14.0% versus 5.3%). **It is evident from these figures that the use of a mobile phone sample frame improved the overall representativeness of the final sample.** It needs to be noted, however, that the impact of a number of these variables is controlled by the weighting procedure.

To assess the impact of the mobile phone sample frame, the results obtained by the dual-frame sample were compared with the results obtained from the landline sample plus the dual-users⁴ from the mobile phone sample; that is, the results which would have been expected had a sample frame equivalent to that of previous Scanlon Foundation surveys been used in 2013.

The results were weighted and statistical testing was used to show where the two sets of results differ from one another for key survey questions. **While there are minor variations in the distribution of responses, no statistically significant differences were obtained.** (Details of statistical testing are included in the methodological report.)

Had there been statistically significant differences between the dual-frame results and those obtained from the sample frame equivalent to that used in previous years, it would have been necessary to consider 'breaking' the time-series results that have been reported since 2007. However, **since no statistically significant differences were obtained it is valid to compare 2013 results with those from earlier surveys.**

⁴ That is, people accessible via mobile phone and landline.

Context: Australia in 2013

Economic conditions and the labour market

The Global Financial Crisis had a relatively minor impact in Australia. In 2008-09 the Rudd Labor government introduced a fiscal stimulus package of over \$50 billion to offset the potential domestic impact of a slowing world economy. As a result of government action and continued high level of demand for commodities, particularly from China, Australia experienced only two quarters of negative growth. The economy grew by 1.5% in 2009, 2.6% in 2010, 2.4% in 2011, 3.6% in 2012, with the latest indicator for 2013 (year to September) of 2.5%. **With average Australian growth considered to be 3.25%, four of the last five years have been below average.**

Unemployment in March 2008, before the GFC, stood at 4.1%. It peaked in June 2009 at 5.8%, considerably lower than had been anticipated; by June 2010 it had fallen to 5.2% and in January-June 2011 to 5.0%. In the first half of 2012, unemployment was in the range 5.1%-5.2%. **Unemployment began to increase gradually in the second half of 2012: in October it was 5.3%, in December 5.4%, in March 2013 5.5% and in June 2013 5.7%.⁵**

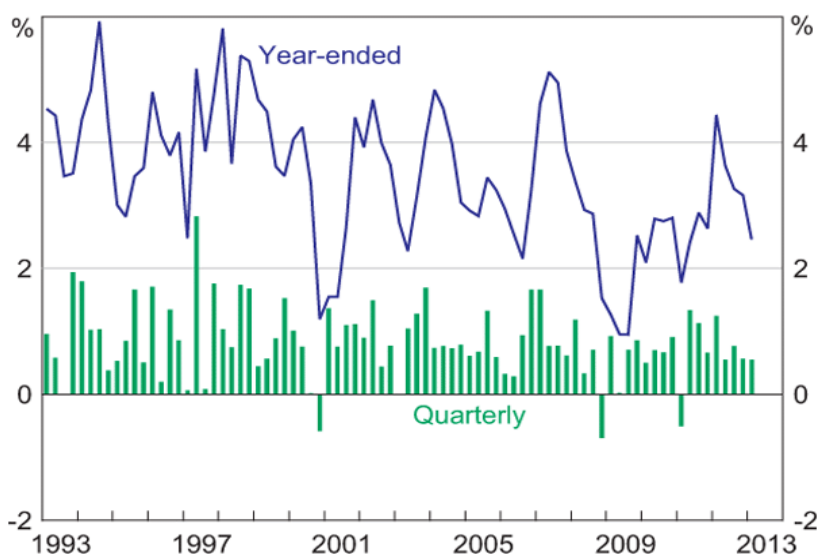
The Australian unemployment rate of 5.7% in June 2013, compared to an average of 11.0% in the 28 countries of the European Union, with a peak of 27.6% in Greece and 26.3% in Spain. Unemployment was 7.4% in the United States, 7.7% in the United Kingdom, 12% in Italy, 11% in France and 5.3% in Germany.⁶

Australian unemployment in June 2013 was lowest in Western Australia at 4.8%, highest in Tasmania at 8.2%; the level in other states was 5.5% in New South Wales, 5.7% in Victoria, 6.0% in Queensland and 6.3% in South Australia.

The labour force participation rate in June 2013 was 65.2%, the same level as in July 2012. The labour force participation rate for males in June 2013 was 71.7%, for females, 58.9%; this was little changed from the level twelve months earlier, when it was 71.8% for males, 58.9% for females.

At the time of the 2013 Scanlon Foundation surveys there was growing media discussion of economic uncertainty, focused on the ending of the mining boom, the continuing European sovereign debt crisis and uneven data concerning the Chinese economy and its potential impact on the Australian economy.

Figure 1: GDP growth, 1993-2013



Source: Reserve Bank of Australia, released 4 September 2013.

⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force Australia, cat. Number 6202.0

⁶ OECD, Short-term Labor Market Statistics, <http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=36324>

Population growth

Australia experienced above average population growth in the years 2007-2009. The rate of growth declined after reaching a peak in 2008, with the decline reversed in 2011.

Whereas annual population growth averaged 1.4% between 1970–2010, between 2006-2009 annual growth was at or above 1.6%, with a peak of 2.2% in 2008. The population grew by an estimated 1.8% in 2009, a much lower 1.4% in 2010, 1.5% in 2011, and 1.8% in 2012.

Population growth is uneven across Australia. During 2012, Western Australia's population grew by 3.5%, ACT 2.3%, Queensland 2.0%, Victoria 1.8%, Northern Territory 1.8%, New South Wales 1.2%, South Australia 0.9%, and Tasmania 0.1%.

Revised estimates based on the 2011 Census indicate an Australian population of 22,906,400 persons at 31 December 2012, an increase of 394,200 persons over the preceding twelve months. Since June 2001, when the estimated population was 19.4 million, there has been an increase of over 3.5 million.

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, net overseas migration has been the major component. NOM accounted for 67% of growth in 2008, a lower 60% in the 12 months ended 31 December 2012.

In 2008, NOM was 315,700 persons; it fell to 172,000 in 2010, a decline of 46% or 143,700 persons, then increased over the next two years. **In 2012 NOM was an estimated 235,900.**

The measure of immigration, net overseas migration, is often misunderstood in public discussion.⁷ 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.

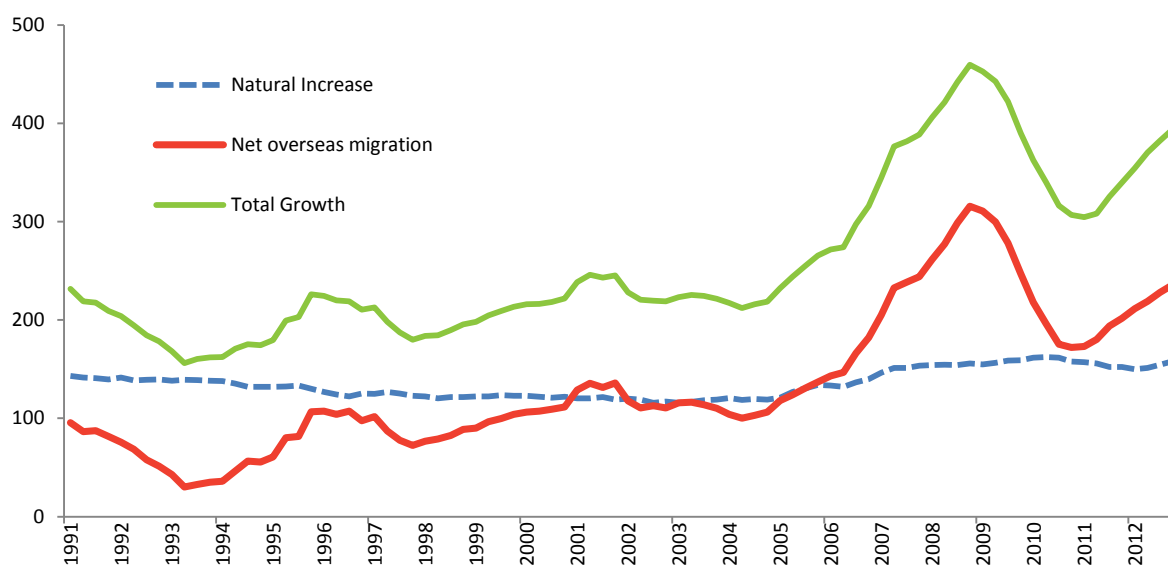
The major categories of temporary admissions are overseas students, business visa holders (primarily visa subclass 457) and working holiday makers.

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 planning level for 2012-13 provided for 129,250, 60,185 and 20,000 places respectively, following an increase in the Humanitarian category (from 13,750) announced in August 2012.⁸

⁷ For discussion of change in Australia's immigration policy, see Andrew Markus, James Jupp and Peter McDonald, *Australia's Immigration Revolution*, Allen & Unwin, 2009.

⁸ For further information, see the Fact Sheets in the Statistical Trends section of the Mapping Australia's Population internet site.

Figure 2: Components of annual population growth, 1991–2012



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Demographic Statistics*, December quarter 2012, catalogue number 3101.0 (released 20 June 2013).

Table 1: Population growth and components of growth, Australia 2006–2012

Year	Natural Increase	Net Overseas Migration	Growth on previous year	Growth on previous year
	'000	'000	'000	%
2006	139.8	182.2	316.0	1.56
2007	153.3	244.0	388.6	1.88
2008	155.8	315.7	459.5	2.19
2009	159.2	246.9	390.0	1.82
2010	158.0	172.0	306.8	1.40
2011 (estimate)	152.0	201.6	339.7	1.53
2012 (estimate)	158.3	235.9	394.2	1.75

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Demographic Statistics*, December quarter 2012, catalogue number 3101.0 (released 20 June 2013), 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).

Ethnic diversity

In 2011, an estimated 53% of the population were third-plus generation Australian, meaning that both their parents were born in Australia, 20% second generation, born in Australia with at least one overseas-born parent, and 26% first generation, born overseas. Thus, in total, 46% of the population comprised first or second generation Australians.⁹

There has been a gradual increase in the proportion overseas born, from 23% in 2001 to 24% in 2006, and 26% in 2011, an increase from 4.1 million in 2001 to 5.3 million in 2011.

The estimated 26% overseas born ranks Australia first within the OECD amongst 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 also unevenly distributed in the capital cities, with concentrations above 50% in some Local Government Areas. In Melbourne, the largest concentrations of overseas-born 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%), Vietnam and Italy (3.5%).

Table 2: Top 10 countries of birth of the overseas-born population, 2011

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, between 2007 and the 2011 the leading country of birth for immigrants was India (13%), followed by the United Kingdom (12%). Among settler arrivals in 2011-12, immigrants from New Zealand and United Kingdom ranked first and third; of the remaining seven top countries of origin, six were Asian, one was African.

Table 3: Settler arrivals by country of birth, 2011-2012

Country of birth	Arrivals
New Zealand	30,103
China*	17,462
United Kingdom	16,700
India	14,393
Philippines	6,956
South Africa	6,307
Sri Lanka	4,348
Malaysia	3,887
Vietnam	3,538

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, Settler Arrival Data. *China excludes SARs and Hong Kong.

⁹ ABS, Cultural Diversity in Australia, cat. No. 2071.0, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2071.0main+features902012-2013>.

What is social cohesion?

As a concept, social cohesion has a long tradition in academic enquiry. It is of fundamental importance when discussing the role of consensus and conflict in society. From the mid-1990s, interest in the dynamics of social cohesion grew amid concerns prompted by the impact of globalisation, economic change and fears fuelled by the 'war on terror'. There is, however, no agreed definition of social cohesion. Most current definitions dwell on intangibles, such as sense of belonging, attachment to the group, willingness to participate and to share outcomes.¹⁰ They do, however, include three common elements:

Shared vision: Most researchers maintain that social cohesion requires universal values, mutual respect and common aspirations or identity shared by their members.

A property of a group or community: Social cohesion describes a well-functioning core group or community in which there are shared goals and responsibilities and a readiness to co-operate with the other members.

A process: Social cohesion is generally viewed not simply as an outcome, but as a continuous and seemingly never-ending process of achieving social harmony.

Differences in definition concern the factors that enhance (and erode) the process of communal harmony, and the relative weight attached to the operation of specific factors. The key factors are:

Economic: Levels of unemployment and poverty, income distribution, population mobility, health, life satisfaction and sense of security, and government responsiveness to issues of poverty and disadvantage.

Political: Levels of political participation and social involvement, including the extent of voluntarism, the development of social capital, understood in terms of networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and co-operation for mutual benefit.

Socio-cultural: Levels of consensus and divergence (homogeneity and heterogeneity) on issues of local and national significance.

The Scanlon Foundation surveys adopt an eclectic, wide-ranging approach, influenced by the work of social scientists Jane Jenson and Paul Bernard, to incorporate five domains:

Belonging: Shared values, identification with Australia, trust.

Social justice and equity: Evaluation of national policies.

Participation: Voluntary work, political and co-operative involvement.

Acceptance and rejection, legitimacy: Experience of discrimination, attitudes towards minorities and newcomers.

Worth: Life satisfaction and happiness, future expectations.

¹⁰ See Andrew Markus and Liudmila Kirpitchenko, 'Conceptualising social cohesion', in James Jupp and John Nieuwenhuysen (eds), *Social Cohesion in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 21-32.

The Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) of Social Cohesion

A nominal index of social cohesion has been developed using the findings of the 2007 national survey to provide baseline data. The following questions, validated by factor analysis, were employed to construct the index for the five domains of social cohesion:

Belonging: Indication of pride in the Australian way of life and culture; sense of belonging; importance of maintaining Australian way of life and culture.

Worth: Satisfaction with present financial situation and indication of happiness over the last year.

Social justice and equity: Views on the adequacy of financial support for people on low incomes; the gap between high and low incomes; Australia as a land of economic opportunity; trust in the Australian government.

Participation (political): Voted in an election; signed a petition; contacted a Member of Parliament; participated in a boycott; attended a protest.

Acceptance and rejection, legitimacy: The scale measures rejection, indicated by a negative view of immigration from many different countries; reported experience of discrimination in the last 12 months; disagreement with government support to ethnic minorities for maintenance of customs and traditions; feeling that life in three or four years will be worse.

After trialling several models, a procedure was adopted which draws attention to minor shifts in opinion and reported experience, rather than one which compresses or diminishes the impact of change by, for example, calculating the mean score for a set of responses.¹¹ The purpose of the index is to heighten awareness of shifts in opinion which may call for closer attention and analysis.

The finding for 2013 is that the SMI **registered the second largest change since 2007 and was at the lowest level recorded**. Between 2009-10 the index fell by 8.62 points, it then stabilised in 2011 and 2012 with marginal upward movement – and fell by 5.9 points between 2012-13.

The 2013 SMI registered **lower scores in four of the five domains of social cohesion**. The largest variation is in the domain of political participation, which fell by 15.8 points. The domain of acceptance/rejection fell by 9.8 points, in large part reflecting increased reported experience of discrimination. The domains of belonging and worth, which recorded little change between 2009 and 2012, fell by 4.1 and 2.7 points respectively. The one domain to record an increase, that of social justice and equity, increased by 2.9 points.

All five domains of social cohesion are below the 2007 level. The low point is reached in the domain of acceptance/rejection, which stood at 68.8 points in 2013, down by almost one-third since 2007.

¹¹ The nominal index scores the level of agreement (or disagreement in the index of rejection). The highest level of response (for example, 'strongly agree') is scored twice the value of the second level ('agree'). Responses within four of the five indexes are equalised; within the index of participation, activities requiring greater initiative (contacting a Member of Parliament, participating in a boycott, attending a protest) are accorded double the weight of the more passive activities of voting (compulsory in Australia) and signing a petition. See Andrew Markus and Jessica Arnup, *Mapping Social Cohesion 2009: The Scanlon Foundations Surveys Full Report* (2010), section 12

Table 4: The Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) of Social Cohesion, 2007-2013

Domain	2007 ¹²	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Change 2011-13 (percentage points)
1. Sense of belonging	100	96.9	95.0	96.6	95.1	91.0	-4.1
2. Sense of worth	100	97.2	96.7	96.5	96.5	93.8	-2.7
3. Social justice and equity	100	112.4	91.9	94.4	95.1	98.0	+2.9
4. Participation	100	105.3	98.0	106.4	106.6	90.8	-15.8
5. Acceptance (rejection)	100	94.4	81.5	75.3	78.6	68.8	-9.8
Average	100	101.24	92.62	93.84	94.38	88.48	-5.90

Components of the Scanlon-Monash Index

SMI 1: Sense of belonging

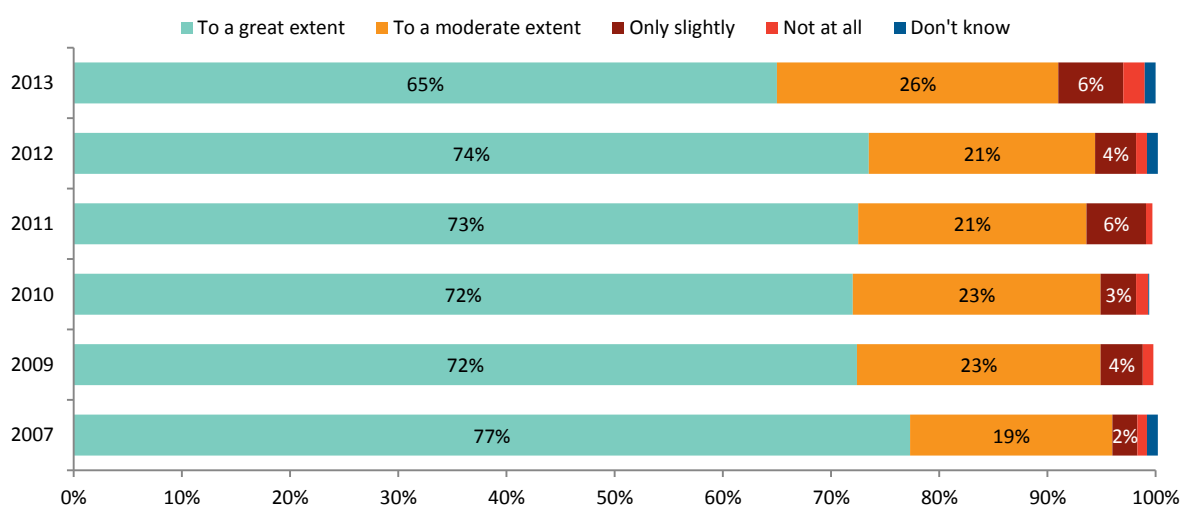
General questions relating to national life and levels of personal satisfaction continue to elicit the high levels of positive response that are evident in Australian surveys over the last 20 years. There has, however, been a small but statistically significant decline within the domain of belonging in 2013.

Sense of belonging ('great' and 'moderate'): 92% in 2013, 95% in 2012, 94% in 2011; 95% in 2010, 95% in 2009, 96% in 2007. There was a marked shift in sense of belonging 'to a great extent', from 74% to 65%, but an increase in sense of belonging 'to a moderate extent', from 21% to 26%.

Sense of pride in the Australian way of life and culture ('great' and 'moderate'): 87% in 2013, 90% in 2012. 93% in 2011, 90% in 2010, 92% in 2009, 94% in 2007. Level of agreement 'to a great extent' fell from 56% in 2012 to 51%, while agreement 'to a moderate extent' rose from 34% to 36%.

Importance of maintaining the Australian way of life and culture ('strongly agree' and 'agree'): 91% in 2013, 91% in 2012, 92% in 2011, 91% in 2010, 93% in 2009, 95% in 2007. In response to this question there has also been a marked shift in the balance between 'strong agreement' and 'agreement', with a decline in 'strong agreement' from 65% in 2007 to 55% in 2012 and 2013, but an increase in the level of 'agreement' from 30% to 36% over this period.

Figure 3: 'To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in Australia?', 2007-2013



¹² Benchmark measure. The Scanlon Foundation survey changed from bi-annual to annual frequency in 2010.

SMI 2: Sense of worth

There has been little change in the indicators of worth. Financial satisfaction remains above 70%, while sense of happiness remains close to 90%.

Financial satisfaction ('very satisfied' and 'satisfied'): 71% in 2013, 72% in 2012, 71% in 2011, 73% in 2010, 72% in 2009, 74% in 2007.

Happiness over the last year: ('very happy' and 'happy'), 87% in 2013, 88% in 2012, 89% in 2011, 88% in 2010, 89% in 2009, 89% in 2007. There has been a negative shift in the proportion indicating the strongest level of agreement: in 2007, 34% indicated that they were 'very happy', in 2013 a statistically significantly lower 26%.

SMI 3: Social justice and equity

The most significant change between the 2009 and 2010 surveys was in the domain of social justice and equity. In 2011, 2012 and 2013 there was marginally positive movement in the domain, but the aggregated score remained significantly below the 2009 peak and was lower than 2007.

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 level of strong agreement fell from 39% in 2009 to 34% in 2010, rose to 40% in 2011, and remained close to that level in 2012 and 2013. The proportion indicating agreement ('strongly agree' or 'agree') has ranged from 80% to 82% across the six surveys, while level of disagreement ('strongly disagree' or 'disagree') has been in the range 13%-15%.

Figure 4: 'How satisfied are you with your present financial situation?', 2007-2013

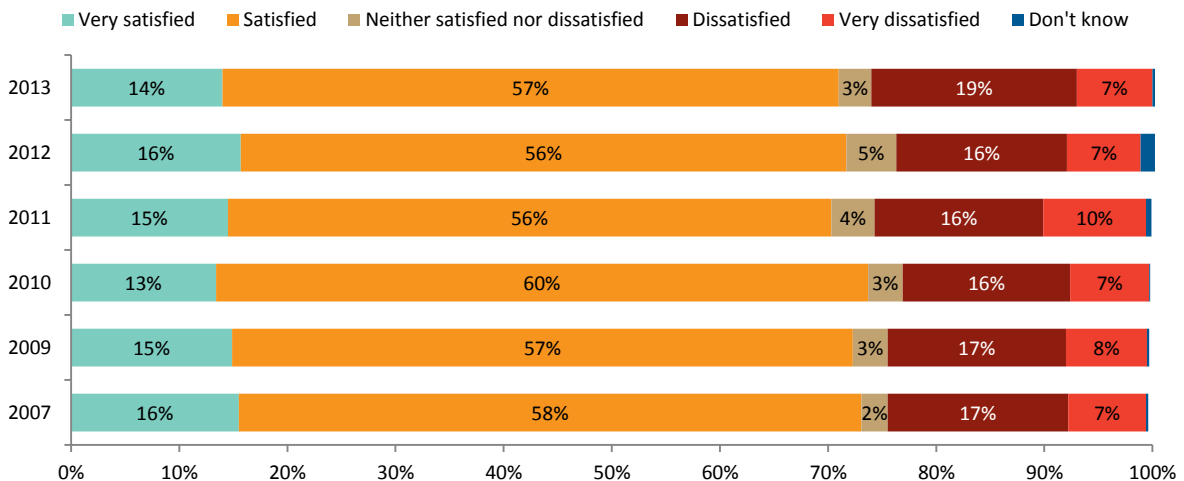
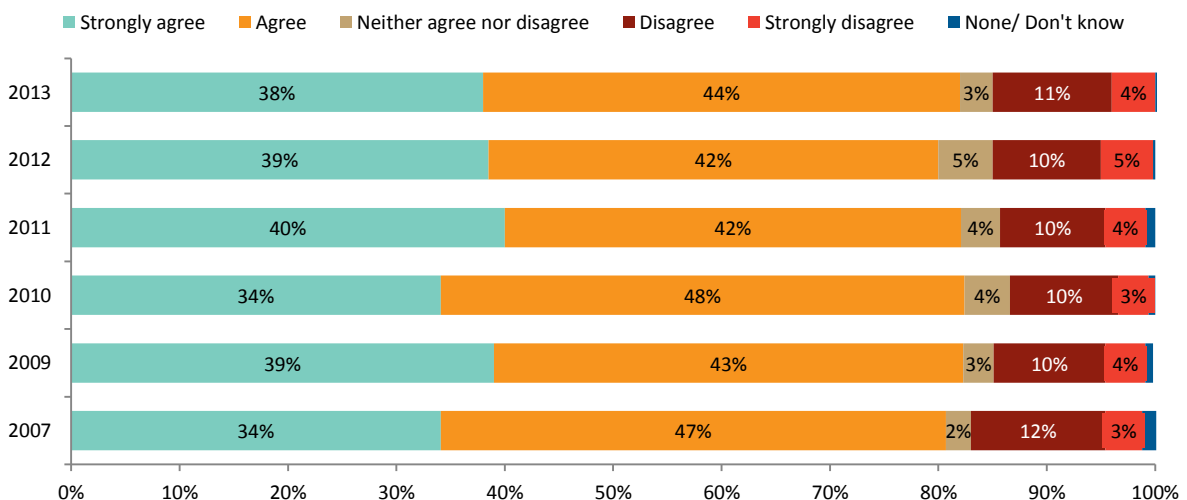


Figure 5: 'Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life', 2007-2013



In response to the proposition that ‘in Australia today, the **gap between those with high incomes and those with low incomes** is too large’, the proportion in agreement has fluctuated between 71% and 78%. In 2013, agreement was at 73%.

In response to the proposition that ‘**people living on low incomes in Australia receive enough financial support** from the government’, opinion was close to an even division over the three surveys 2010-12. In 2013, 48% were in agreement, 42% in disagreement.

Figure 6: ‘In Australia today, the gap between those with high incomes and those with low incomes is too large,’ 2007-2013

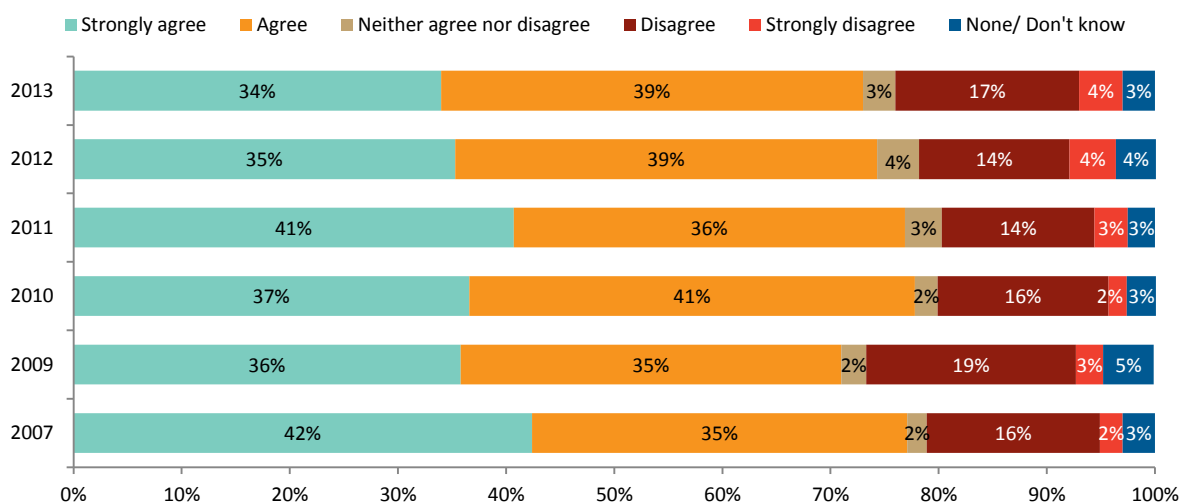
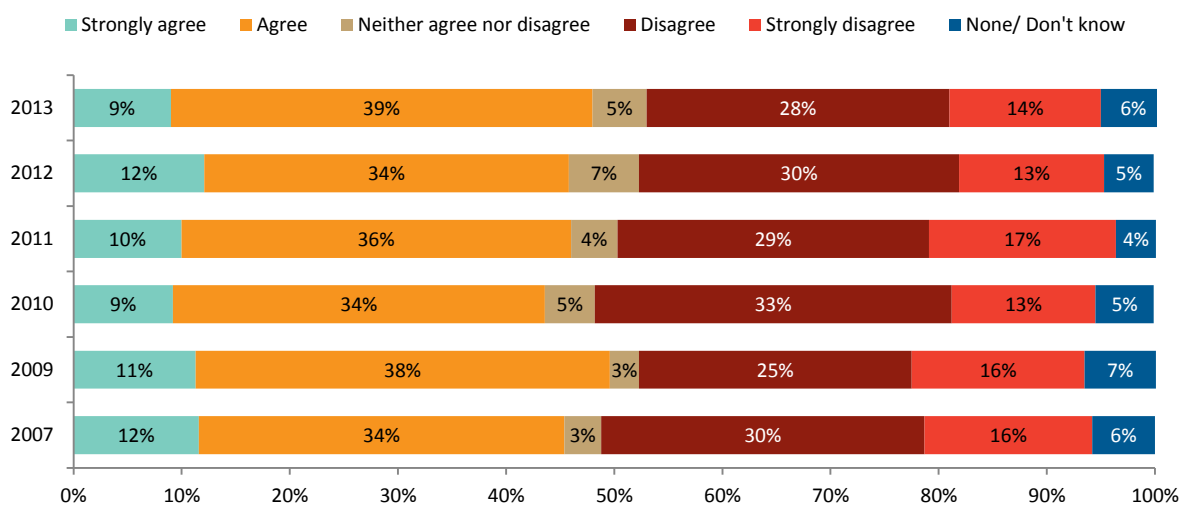


Figure 7: ‘People living on low incomes in Australia receive enough financial support from the government’, 2007-2013



In 2010 there was a sharp fall in the level of trust in the federal government ‘to do the right thing for the Australian people’.

In 2007, the last year of the Howard government, 39% of respondents indicated trust in government ‘almost always’ or ‘most of the time’.

In 2009, at a time of high support for the government of Prime Minister Rudd, trust in government rose sharply to 48%; in 2010 it fell even more sharply to 31%, with the same low result in 2011, followed by a **further statistically significant fall to 26% in 2012. In 2013 it was 27%.**

SMI 4: Participation

The 2013 survey indicated consistent decline in political participation. In part this reflected the election cycle, for the last federal election was in 2010 and there were no recent elections in several states. There was, however, a statistically significant decline in the proportion indicating that they had signed a petition, contacted a member of parliament, or attended a protest, march or demonstration.

The 2013 participation index was the lowest recorded and only the second time that the score was below 100.

SMI 5: Acceptance and rejection

The major change in the measure of acceptance and rejection, which is focused on sense of rejection, was the sharp increase in the reported experience of discrimination on the basis of ‘skin colour, ethnic origin or religion’—an increase from 12% to 19%.

Sense of pessimism about the future, which had increased between 2007 and 2012, showed a marginal decline. In response to the question: ‘In three or four years, do you think that your life in Australia will be improved, remain the same or worse?’, there was a statistically significant increase in the proportion answering ‘a little worse’ or ‘much worse’, from 11% in 2007, 12% in 2009 to 13% in 2010, 17% in 2011 and 19% in 2012. The 2013 result, at 17%, was at the 2011 level.

Table 5: ‘Which, if any, of the following have you done over the last three years or so?’, 2007-2013 (percentage)

Response	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Voted in an election	85.1	87.2	83.4	88.5	88.3	78.7*
Signed a petition	55.1	55.7	53.7	56.0	54.3	44.9*
Written or spoken to a federal or state member of parliament	23.5	27.1	25.1	25.0	27.3	23.4*
Joined a boycott of a product or company	12.4	13.9	13.5	17.9	14.5	12.6
Attended a protest, march or demonstration	12.7	12.8	9.4	11.3	13.7	10.2*
N (unweighted)	2,012	2,019	2,021	2,001	2,000	1,200

*Change between 2012 and 2013 statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Table 6: ‘In three or four years, do you think that your life in Australia will be...?’, 2007-2013 (percentage)

Response	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
‘Much improved’	24.3	21.1	18.2	17.9	16.3	18.6
‘A little improved’	25.1	28.2	26.5	27.5	28.7	29.5
<i>(‘A little improved’, ‘much improved’)</i>	49.4	49.3	44.7	45.4	45.0	48.1
‘The same as now’	35.1	32.9	37.4	33.1	32.1	31.0
‘A little worse’	8.7	10.2	9.8	12.8	14.4	12.9
‘Much worse’	2.2	2.1	2.9	4.5	4.2	4.1
<i>(‘A little worse’, ‘much worse’)</i>	10.9	12.2	12.7	17.3	18.5	17.1
N (unweighted)	2,012	2,019	2,021	2,001	2,000	1,200

Change between 2012 and 2013 is not statistically significant at $p < .05$.

In response to the proposition that ‘ethnic minorities should be given Australian government assistance to maintain their customs and traditions, there has been a **marginal increase in the level of agreement**, from 32% in 2007 to 36% in 2013.

There was a **statistically significant change in the distribution of negative responses**. Between 2007 and 2011 those who ‘disagreed’ fell from 36% to 27%, while those who indicated ‘strong disagreement’ increased by a statistically significant margin of five percentage points, from 26% to 31%. This trend has been reversed in the 2012 and 2013 surveys, with ‘strong disagreement’ at 25% in 2013.

The fourth question that contributes to the index of acceptance and rejection considers immigration in terms of broad principle. As discussed below, there has been an increase in negative views of the current level of immigration in 2013. **The proposition that ‘accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger’ registered marginal negative movement in 2013, below the level of statistical significance:** in 2012, 65% were in agreement, in 2013, 62%; those who disagreed increased marginally from 26% to 29%.

Figure 8: ‘Ethnic minorities in Australia should be given Australian government assistance to maintain their customs and traditions’, 2007-2013

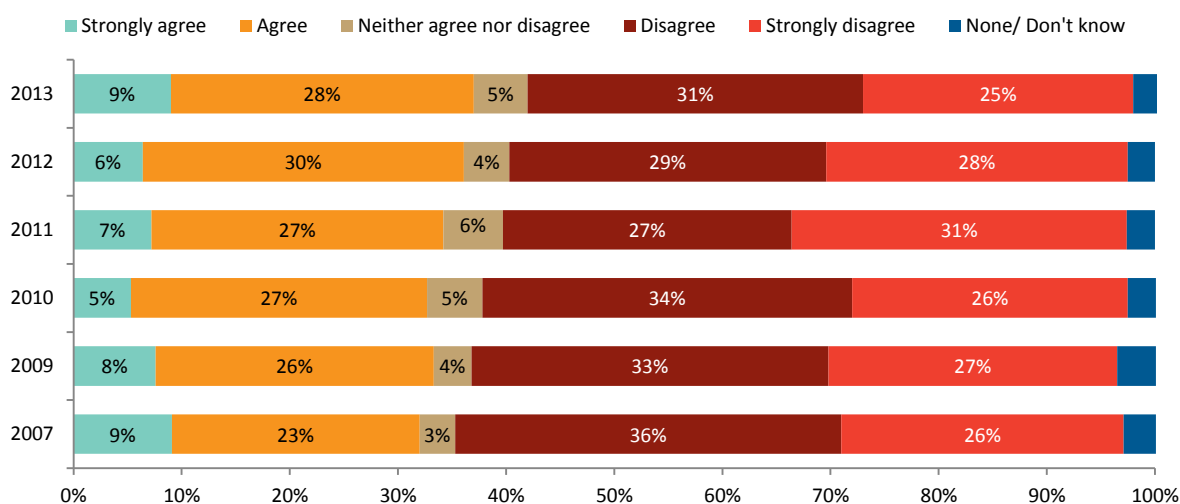


Table 7: ‘Accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger’, 2007-2013 (percentage)

Response	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
‘Strongly agree’	21.9	24.7	19.1	24.2	25.7	22.0
‘Agree’	45.1	43.2	43.3	40.1	39.4	40.1
<i>(‘Strongly agree’, ‘agree’)</i>	67.0	62.9	62.4	64.3	65.1	62.1
‘Neither agree nor disagree’	3.3	3.1	5.9	6.4	5.5	6.1
‘Disagree’	18.1	17.9	18.6	16.2	15.3	18.1
‘Strongly disagree’	7.8	8.9	10.9	10.6	10.7	10.6
<i>(‘Strongly disagree’, ‘disagree’)</i>	25.9	26.8	29.5	26.8	26.0	28.7
N (unweighted)	2,012	2,019	2,021	2,001	2,000	1,200

Change between 2012 and 2013 not statistically significant at p<.05.

Ranking of issues

The Scanlon Foundation survey seeks to determine if the extent of political and media discussion matches widely held community priorities, with particular interest in the significance accorded immigration and population issues.

The first question in the Scanlon Foundation survey is open-ended. In 2013, respondents were asked: ‘What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?’ The value of an open-ended question is that it leaves it to respondents to stipulate issues that are important to them, rather than requiring selection from a pre-determined and necessarily limited list.

In the four surveys 2010-13, respondents have consistently given first rank to issues related to the economy, unemployment and poverty. Over the three surveys, the importance of the issue increased from 22% to 26% to 36%, with a marginal decline to 33% in 2013.

The most significant change between 2012 and 2013 was the proportion of respondents who gave their first ranking to environmental issues, which has declined from 18% in 2011 to 11% in 2012 and 5% in 2013. Those who indicated scepticism and concern at over-reaction by government declined from 6% to 4% to less than one percent over the three surveys conducted between 2011-13.

Issues related to the quality of government and political leadership ranked second, indicated by 12.5% of respondents in 2013.

Asylum seeker issues rose from close to 6.6% in 2011 to 12.1% in 2012 and 12.4% 2013. Of this 12.4%, 9.8% of respondents indicated concern over the number of arrivals, while 2.6% indicated sympathy towards asylum seekers and concern over their poor treatment by government.

In 2013, 4.3% of respondents gave first ranking to immigration and population issues, down from 6.9% in 2011. Most of these respondents indicated that they were concerned by immigration and population growth, some (0.9%) were concerned that immigration was too low.

Social issues, including childcare, family breakdown, lack of direction and drug use, were specified by 6.6% of respondents and five issues were specified by between 4% and 1% of respondents. As in earlier surveys, there was almost no reference to Indigenous issues.

Figure 9: ‘Most important problem facing Australia today’, 2010-2013

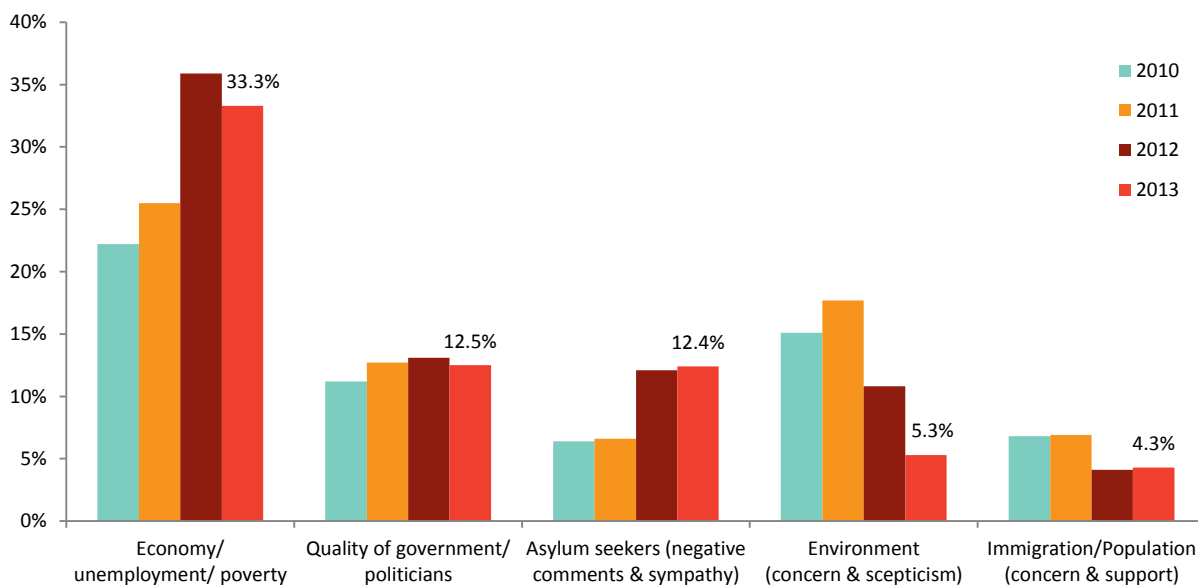


Table 8: 'What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?', 2010-2013 (percentage)

2013 rank	Issue	2010 First mention	2011 First mention		2012*		2013*	
1	Economy/ unemployment/ poverty	22.2	25.5		35.9		33.3	
2	Quality of government/ politicians	11.2	12.7		13.1		12.5	
3	Asylum seekers – too many/ refugees/ boat people/ illegal immigrants (negative comment)	6.4	4.0	6.6	8.1	12.1	9.8	12.4
	Asylum seekers – poor treatment, sympathy towards refugees/ boat people/ illegal immigrants		2.6		4.0		2.6	
4	Social issues – (family, child care, drug use, family breakdown, lack of personal direction, etc.)	6.4	6.0		4.6		6.6	
5	Environment – climate change/ water shortages (concern)	15.1	11.4	17.7	6.8	10.8	4.9	5.3
	Environment – overreaction to climate change/ carbon tax (sceptical)		6.3		4.0		0.4**	
6	Immigration/ population growth (concern)	6.8	5.2	6.9	3.6	4.1	3.4	4.3
	Immigration/population – too low/ need more people (supportive)		1.7		0.5		0.9	
7	Health/ medical/ hospitals	5.6	4.2		3.2		4.3	
8	Education/ schools	2.2	1.4		2.4		3.0	
9	Crime/ law and order	3.8	1.7		1.3		2.1	
10	Housing shortage/ affordability/ interest rates	2.1	3.1		1.7		1.9	
11	Racism	1.1	1.6		1.4		1.1	
12	Defence/ national security/ terrorism	n.a.	0.5		0.6		0.4	
13	Industrial relations/ trade unions	n.a.	0.6		0.2		0.3	
14	Indigenous issues	0.1	0.8		0.4		0.2	
15	Other/ nothing/ don't know	16.1	10.8		8.2		12.3**	
	Total	100	100		100		100	
	N (unweighted)	2,021	2,001		2,000		1,200	

*In 2011 and 2012, respondents could nominate up to two issues – this table records the issue first mentioned in those years; in 2012 and 2013 there was the option to nominate only one issue.

**Change between 2012 and 2013 statistically significant at p<.05

Experience of discrimination

A major change in the 2013 survey was the marked increase in the reported experience of discrimination. This is an issue that has received considerable attention in the print and electronic media, particularly cases of racist abuse in public places.

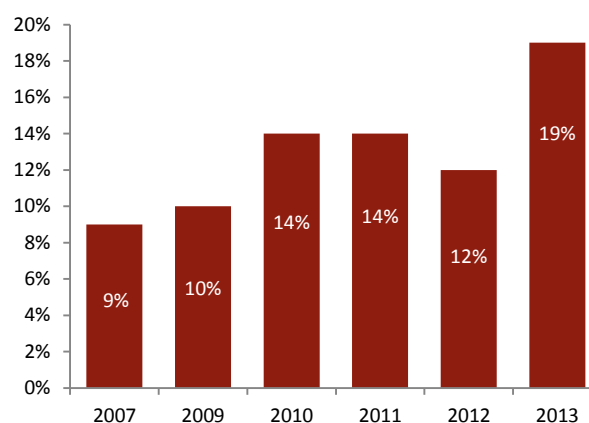
A question posed in the six Scanlon Foundation surveys asked respondents if they had experienced discrimination over the previous twelve months; the 2007 survey question was worded ‘Have you experienced discrimination because of your national, ethnic or religious background in the last twelve months?’ In 2009 and subsequently, there was a minor change of wording to specify discrimination ‘because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?’

The 2010 and 2011 surveys found relatively high levels of reported discrimination. **The 2013 survey found the highest level recorded across the six surveys (19%), an increase of five percentage points over the previous highest level and seven percentage points over 2012.** In some part this sharp increase reflects the more accurate dual-frame sampling methodology adopted in 2013. But with results recalculated to match the 2012 sample frame, the result (17%) is still the highest across the six surveys.

The five surveys conducted between 2007-2012 indicate that the experience of discrimination is uneven across the population. The key differentiating variables are age, gender, ethnicity, religion and region of residence. Thus those in the younger age groups (particularly those aged 18-24), men, those of non-English speaking backgrounds, of non-Christian faith groups, and those resident in urban centres, particularly areas of immigrant concentration, report the highest rates of discrimination.

The 2013 surveys provide the best opportunity for exploring the impact of these variables through the large sample of recently arrived settlers.

Figure 10: ‘Have you experienced discrimination in the last twelve months because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?’ Response: ‘yes’, 2007-2013

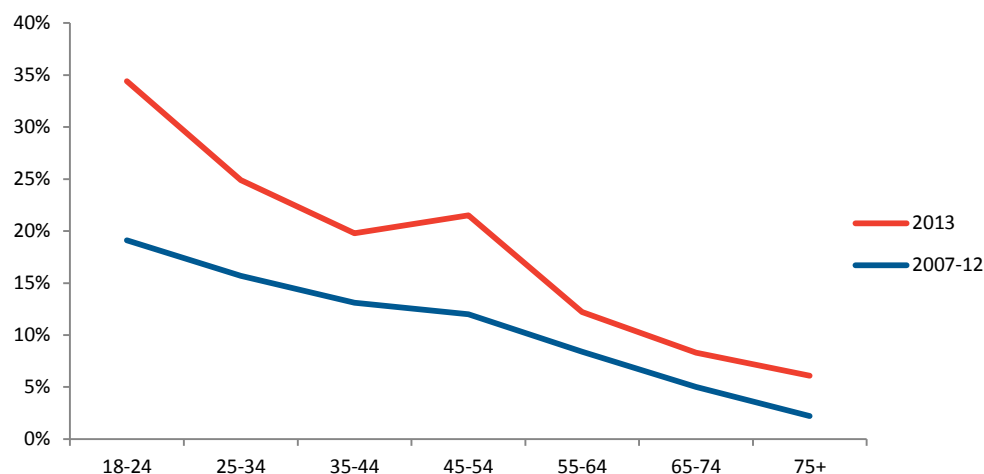


When the variable of age is considered in the 2013 national survey, there is above average reported experience of discrimination of those aged 18-24 (34%) and 25-34 (25%), close to average for those aged 35-44 (20%) and 45-54 (22%), and below average for those aged 55 and above. Comparison with aggregated data from 2007-2012 indicates a similar distribution, but with levels of reported discrimination consistently at higher levels, particularly for those aged 18-54.

Table 9: ‘Have you experienced discrimination in the last twelve months because of your skin colour, ethnic origin or religion?’ Response: ‘yes’ by age, 2013 (percentage)

Response	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75/+
‘Yes’	34.4	24.9	19.8	21.5	12.2	8.3	6.1
N (unweighted)	82	127	175	251	227	197	138

Figure 11: Reported experience of discrimination by age, 2007-12, 2013



In 2012, the Scanlon Foundation surveys in areas of high immigrant concentration in Sydney and Melbourne found that levels of reported experience of discrimination were almost double the national average. There is a similar pattern in 2013, although the differential between the national average and the two surveys in the immigrant areas of Mirrabooka (WA) and Logan (Queensland) is less than the extent of difference in 2012.

It is possible that the 2013 local surveys, administered by landline telephone, under-estimate experience of discrimination as they did not, unlike the 2013 national survey, reach the mobile telephone only (hence younger) segment of the population. This limitation was avoided by the 2013 survey of recent settlers, as it was an internet based survey.

The finding of the survey of recent settlers is that reported levels of discrimination are more than twice the national average.

Comparison across the 2013 surveys finds consistency between the national and recent arrivals data for those who arrived 1990-2000, but **higher levels of reported experience of discrimination amongst respondents who arrived more recently (2000-2010)**, particularly those of non-English speaking background.

A narrow focus which considers birthplace, finds, as expected, higher reported experience of discrimination, with 45% reported by arrivals from Malaysia, 42% from India and Sri Lanka, and 39% from China and Hong Kong.

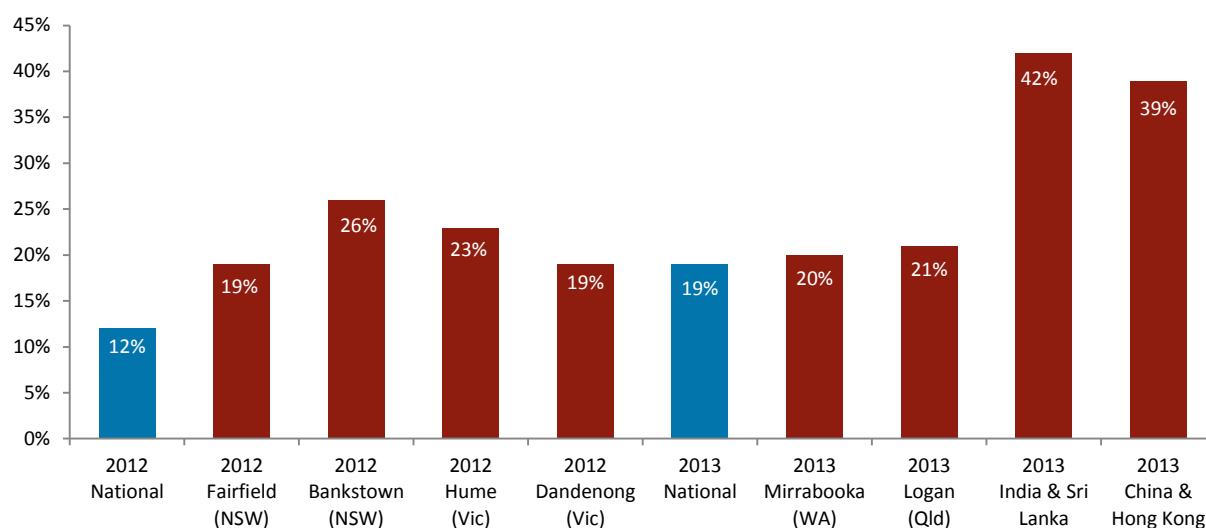
Table 10: Reported experience of discrimination by birthplace, national and recent arrivals survey, 2013 (percentage)

Birthplace	National	Arrivals 1990-1999	Arrivals 2000-2010
Australia	16.2		
English-speaking background	16.2	15.8	21.5
Non-English speaking background	29.3	29.4	41.3

Table 11: Reported experience of discrimination by county of birth, arrivals 1990-2010, recent arrivals survey, 2013 (percentage)

Response	Malaysia	India & Sri Lanka	Singapore	Indonesia	China & Hong-Kong	Other Asia	New Zealand	UK & Ireland
'Yes'	45.0	42.4	40.7	39.3	39.2	39.1	24.3	12.5
Unweighted (N)	186	222	88	118	302	155	261	330

Figure 12: Experience of discrimination by locality and country of birth, national, local and recent arrivals surveys, 2012-13



The marked increase in the level of reported discrimination in 2013 raises the question of whether this increase relates to actual changed experience, or a heightened willingness to report discrimination. This question cannot be conclusively answered from the survey data, but it is possible to explore patterns of change between 2013 and earlier surveys.

Comparison with earlier findings indicates **heightened reporting of discrimination across a broad range of variables**. The comparison between 2012 and 2013 indicates:

- Increased reporting by both men and women, but by a larger increase by men: up from 12% (2012) to 21% (2013), reporting by women increased from 11% to 18%.
- Increase across all age groups, particularly amongst those aged 18-24 (15% to 34%), 25-34 (12% to 25%), and 45-54 (13% to 22%).
- Increase by main birthplace groups, particularly amongst those of non-English speaking background, up from 12% to 29%; English speaking background increased from 10% to 16%, Australia born from 12% to 16%.
- Increase in four of the five main states: 10% to 23% in Victoria, 10% to 20% in New South Wales, 13% to 17% in Queensland, and 9% to 14% in South Australia. Western Australia, which had the highest proportion in 2012 at 22%, recorded the same level (22%) in 2013.

There is thus considerable variation, with the highest increase indicated by men; younger age groups, particularly those aged 18-24; those of non-English speaking background; and residents of Victoria and New South Wales.

Lastly, analysis was undertaken by neighbourhood.

Comparison of the national surveys conducted between 2010-2013 indicates a large measure of consistency when respondents are asked if people are willing to help their neighbours, if people from different national or ethnic groups get on well together, and if there is a sense of safety when walking alone at night.

There was no statistically significant increase in negative response in 2013. This finding indicates that **heightened discrimination is likely to occur outside the neighbourhood of residence**, for example, as indicated by cases which have received extensive media coverage concerning abuse while travelling on public transport, within the Central Business District of the major cities, and at public places such as sports venues.¹³

¹³ See, for example, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 2013 ('What if that happened to my mother'); *Herald Sun*, 12 April 2013 ('Late-night commuters unite against racist ...'); *The Age*, 25 May 2013 ('Goodes "guttled" after racial slur').

Table 12: Selected questions concerning neighbourhoods by year of national survey, 2010-2013 (percentage)

Question and response	2010	2011	2012	2013
[1] 'People in your local area are willing to help their neighbours.' 'Strongly agree', 'agree'.	82.6	84.4	84.4	84.0
[2] 'Your local area is a place where people from different national or ethnic groups get on well together.' 'Strongly agree', 'agree'.	75.1	73.7	71.6	75.8
[3] 'How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your local area?' 'Very safe', 'safe'.	65.0	64.7	64.9	64.7
Question and response	2010	2011	2012	2013
[1] 'People in your local area are willing to help their neighbours.' 'Strongly disagree', 'disagree'.	12.8	12.1	11.0	12.2
[2] 'Your local area is a place where people from different national or ethnic groups get on well together.' 'Strongly disagree', 'disagree'.	6.9	9.2	8.9	11.4
[3] 'How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your local area?' 'Very unsafe', 'unsafe'.	29.8	29.6	28.1	29.5

Trust and participation

Indicators of trust are at a relatively low level in the 2013 national survey.

A question posed in a number of Australian and international surveys asks respondents if 'most people can be trusted', or whether one 'can't be too careful' (or that it is not possible to answer).

The Scanlon Foundation national surveys have found that opinion is close to evenly divided, with the response that 'most can be trusted' favoured in the range 45%-55%. The 2013 finding is that personal trust is at the low end of the range, with 45% in agreement that most can be trusted, compared to 52% in 2012.

Trust in government is also at a relatively low level, **having recorded a 21 percentage point decline from 2009 to 2013.**

In 2009, 48% of respondents indicated that the government in Canberra can be trusted 'almost always' or 'most of the time'. **In one of the strongest shifts recorded in the Scanlon Foundation surveys, in 2010 only 31% indicated trust;** almost the same result was obtained in 2011. **There was further decline in 2012,** with 26% indicating trust. In 2013 an almost identical 27% indicated trust.

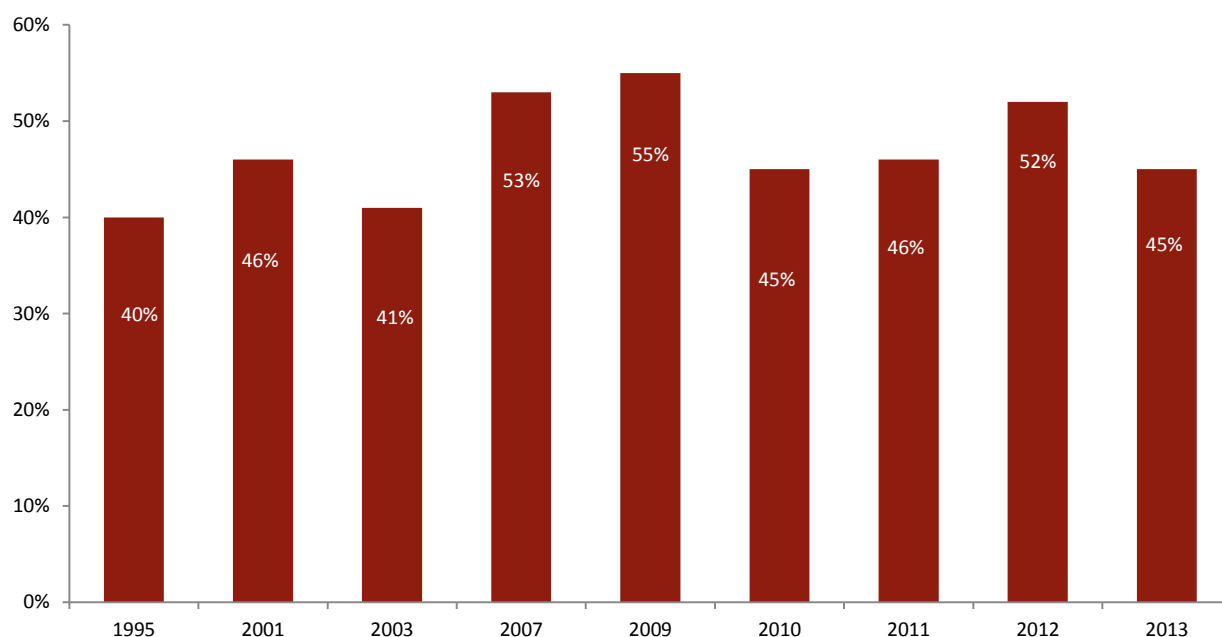
The proportion indicating that government can be trusted 'almost never' has increased from 8% in 2009 to 15% in 2010, 20% in 2011 and 24% in 2012, with a fall to 19% in 2013.

Decline of trust is a common trend across the Western world as governments struggle to develop policies to deal with difficult economic circumstances, climate change and international conflict.

Thus in November 2011 the *New York Times*/ CBS News Poll reported that 83% of Americans disapprove of 'the way Congress is handling its job' – the highest proportion recorded in 34 years of polling. In June 2013, when Americans were asked for their views of the government in a similarly worded question to the one employed in the Scanlon Foundation survey, 3% agreed that 'you can trust the government in Washington to do what it right' 'just about always' and 17% 'most of the time', a total of 20%; 70% indicated 'some of the time' and 8% 'never'.¹⁴

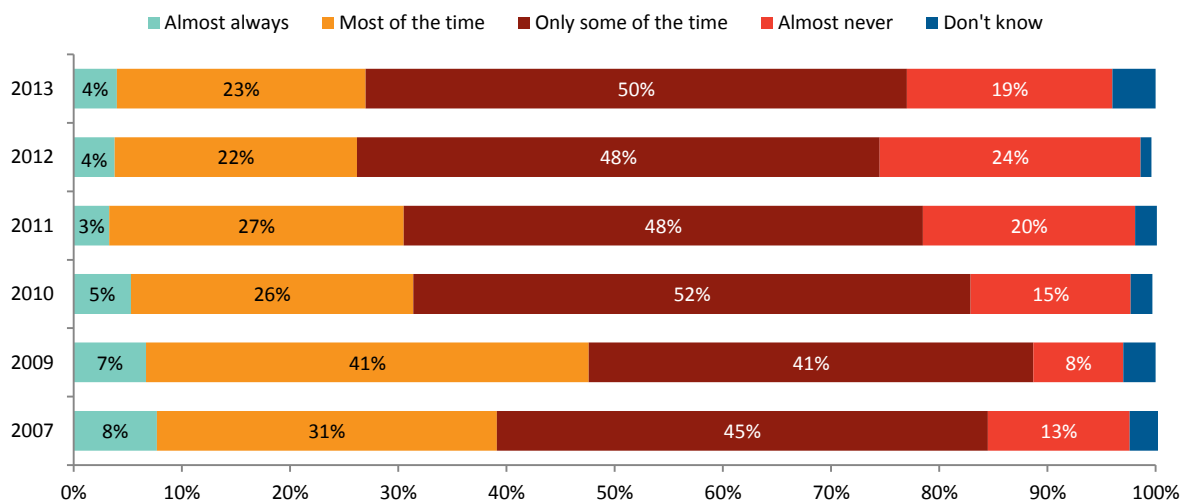
While issues of trust in Australia reflect global trends, Australia does not have the level of economic difficulties that characterise much of the developed world. **Negative factors specific to Australia** include the tone of Australian parliamentary debate, the extent of personal attacks on politicians in the media, and the fierce politicisation of climate change and asylum seeker issues.

Figure 13: 'Most people can be trusted', Scanlon Foundation surveys 2007-2013, earlier surveys 1995-2003



¹⁴ New York Times/CBS News Poll, at <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/07/19/us/nytcbspoll-results.html?ref=politics>. *New York Times*, 6 June 2013.

Figure 14: 'How often do you think the government in Canberra can be trusted to do the right thing for the Australian people?', 2007-2013



Trust in government is relatively high amongst those aged 18-24. In 2013, 40% of those aged 18-24 are of the view that the government in Canberra can be trusted 'almost always' or 'most of the time', compared to 26% aged 25-34; 26% 35-44; 28% 45-54; 27% 55-64 and 20% aged 65+. Comparing the 2011, 2012 and 2013 surveys, the proportion indicating 'almost never' increased amongst those aged 18-24 (more than doubling from 6% to 14%), but fell amongst those aged 55 and over.

A new question in the 2013 survey explored levels of institutional trust. Nine organisations or institutions were specified. The highest level of trust or confidence was in hospitals, police, public schools and employers, followed by trust in the legal system and television news.

For these six, at least 60% of respondents indicated 'a lot' or 'some' trust.

The lowest level of trust was in trade unions (49%), the federal parliament (46%) and political parties (39%).

Indication of a 'lot of trust' ranged from 53% for hospitals and the police to 7% for federal parliament and 3% for political parties. Consistent with this finding, when respondents were asked to specify the 'most important problem facing Australia today', the quality of government/ politicians was ranked second.

Table 13: 'How often do you think the government in Canberra can be trusted to do the right thing for the Australian people?' By age, 2011-2012, 2013 (percentage)

Response	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65+	
	2011-2	2013	2011-2	2013	2011-2	2013	2011-2	2013	2011-2	2013	2011-2	2013
'Almost always'	6.0	8.4	4.6	4.8	2.0	2.2	2.8	4.7	2.4	4.5	3.9	1.2
'Most of the time'	36.2	31.8	28.0	21.5	25.7	24.2	21.3	23.7	23.5	22.4	17.6	18.3
'Only some of the time'	49.3	44.2	47.8	49.8	48.0	43.5	51.9	48.8	43.3	51.3	47.7	60.6
'Almost never'	5.8	13.6	19.3	19.6	22.6	22.0	22.2	20.5	30.1	20.5	27.9	18.7
N (unweighted)	161	82	298	127	640	175	875	251	900	227	1,117	335

Table 14: 'I'm going to read out a list of Australian institutions or organisations. For each one, please tell me how much confidence or trust you have in them in Australia', 2013 (percentage)

Institution	'A lot of trust'	'Some trust'	Lot +Some	'A little trust'	'No trust'	Little + None	Don't know / Refused	Total
Hospitals	53.0	35.0	88.1	8.8	2.3	11.1	0.8	100
Police	52.9	34.0	86.9	9.6	3.1	12.7	0.4	100
Public schools	42.3	42.2	84.5	11.3	1.4	12.7	2.8	100
Employers	23.1	52.6	75.7	15.1	3.3	18.4	5.9	100
Legal system	23.2	44.2	67.4	22.4	7.3	29.7	3.0	100
TV news	11.4	49.8	61.2	29.1	8.2	37.3	1.5	100
Trade unions	8.7	39.8	48.5	25.6	18.3	43.9	7.7	100
Federal parliament	6.7	39.3	46.0	35.7	16.6	52.3	1.7	100
Political parties	2.9	35.8	38.7	39.1	19.1	58.2	3.1	100

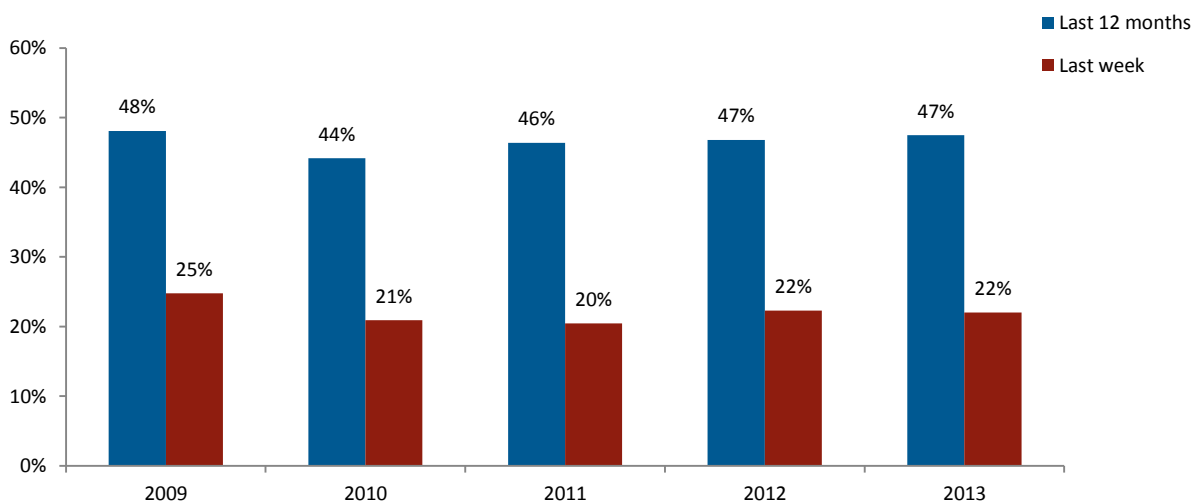
It is possible, but by no means established, that the decline in political participation which was noted in the discussion of the Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion (see above, page 18), is linked to the loss of trust or confidence in political institutions. **While in 2013 there is a decline in political participation, decline is not evident in involvement in voluntary work, which has remained at a constant level over the last four Scanlon Foundation surveys.** The survey asks respondents about their involvement in 'unpaid voluntary work', which is defined as 'any unpaid help you give to the community in which you live, or to an organisation or group to which you belong. It could be to a school, a sporting club, the elderly, a religious group or people who have recently arrived to settle in Australia.'

In 2011, 46% of respondents indicated participation in voluntary work over the last 12 months; in 2012, 47%; in 2013, 47%. A follow-up question asks respondents for frequency of participation in voluntary work. 'At least once a week' was indicated by 20% of respondents in 2011, 22% in 2012 and 22% in 2013.

Trust in people and government continues to decline, most markedly in government which has seen a decline in trust from 48% to 27% between 2009 and 2013. This is further reflected in low levels of trust in Federal parliament, political parties and trade unions.

It is notable that against this trend, participation in voluntary work remains stable.

Table 15: 'Have you done any unpaid voluntary work in the last 12 months? How often do you participate in this sort of voluntary activity?' Response, 'Yes' and 'at least once a week', 2009-2013



Immigration

Questions related to the immigration intake have been a staple of public opinion polling for over 50 years. But this polling is not systematic, nor is it taken at regular intervals. **The Scanlon Foundation surveys, for the first time, make publicly available annual detailed findings on a range of immigration issues.** In the 2013 survey there were eighteen questions concerning immigration and cultural diversity, with scope to interpret findings in the context of a comprehensive questionnaire of 65 questions.

The Scanlon Foundation surveys provide important findings on perceptions of the level of immigration, providing evidence that attitudes are not based on an accurate understanding of immigration levels.

A question on the level of immigration asked in four Scanlon Foundation surveys (2009-2012) indicates **little correlation in public perception and actual changes in the intake.** Thus, despite the sharp fall in net overseas migration between 2008 and 2010 (from 315,700 to 172,000), in 2010 only 4% of respondents perceived a decline in immigration.

In public discussion of the size of the intake there is considerable misunderstanding, a function of ignorance of the detail of policy, as well as of statistics which are difficult to interpret by casual users. One particular source of confusion in media commentary is a failure to distinguish permanent and temporary (long-term) entrants and failure to take into account the large number of Australian residents permanently departing.

Analysis of attitudes to immigration over the last 25 years indicates that it is an issue on which there is considerable volatility of opinion. Whereas in the early 1990s, a large majority (over 70% at its peak) considered the intake to be 'too high', most surveys between 2001 and 2009 indicated that opposition to the level of intake was a minority viewpoint.

For the years 2001-2009, most surveys found that the proportion who considered the intake to be 'about right' or 'too low' was in the range 54–57%.

In 2010 there was heightened public debate over immigration and the desirable future population for Australia, in the context of increased unemployment during the previous year. **In 2010 the Scanlon Foundation survey found a marked rise in the proportion of the view that the intake was 'too high': up from 37% to 47%.** This finding is almost identical to the 46% average result from five polls conducted by survey agencies in the period March–July 2010.¹⁵

In 2011 and 2012, however, the distribution of opinion in the Scanlon Foundation surveys returned to the findings of 2007 and 2009. **In 2011, the proportion who considered that the intake was 'too high' fell to 39%, while 55% considered that the intake was 'about right' or 'too low'. In 2012 the proportions were almost identical at 38% and 56%.** In 2011 and 2012 the attitude to immigration indicated stabilisation, in parallel with the state of the labour market. This finding is in keeping with the long-term pattern.

In 2013, again in the context of rising unemployment and economic concerns, negative sentiment increased marginally to 42%.

There are two key factors bearing on Australian attitudes to immigration: the state of the labour market, particularly the level of unemployment, and the political prominence of immigration issues.

¹⁵ Age (Nielsen), 31 July 2010; Roy Morgan Research Finding No. 4536; Essential Report 5 July 2010; Age (Nielsen), 19 April 2010; Roy Morgan Research Finding No. 4482.

Figure 16: 'What do you think of the number of immigrants accepted into Australia?', 2007-2013

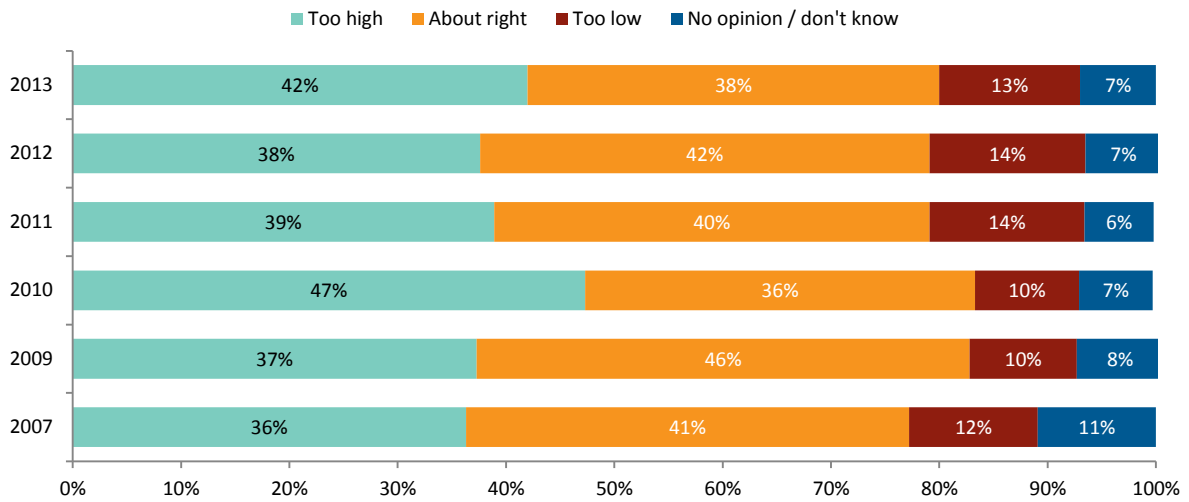
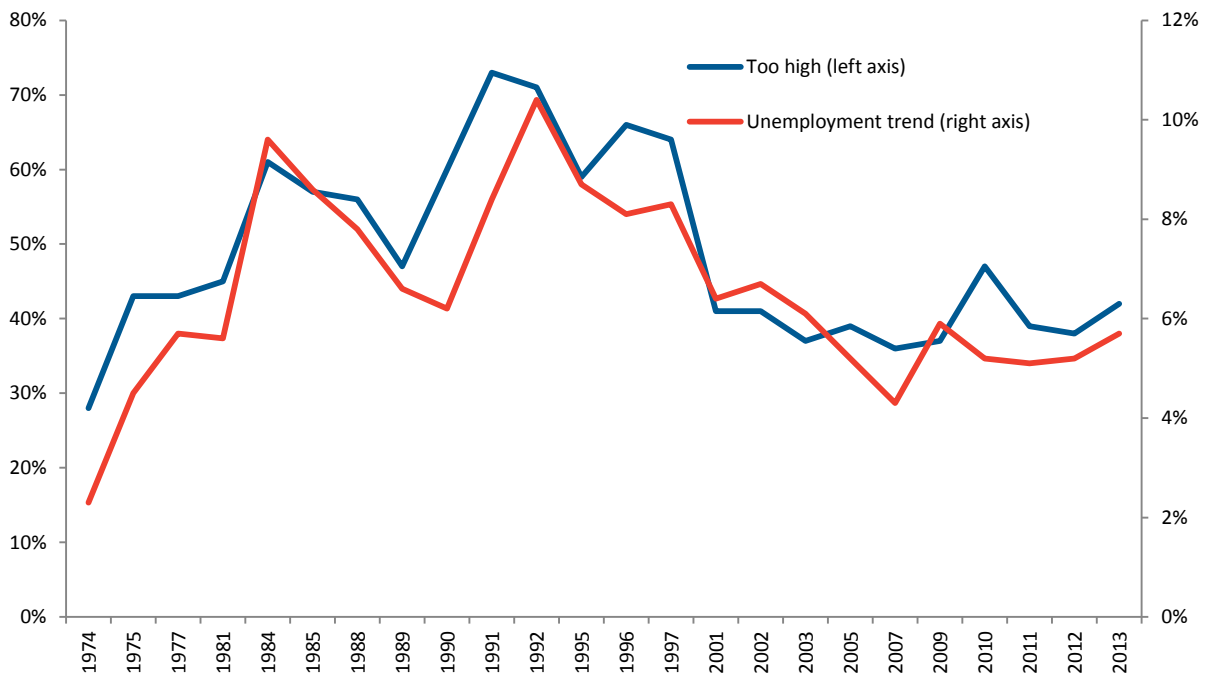


Figure 17: Correlation between unemployment and those of the view that the immigration intake is 'too high', 1974–2013



Visa categories

The Scanlon Foundation surveys have undertaken detailed exploration of attitudes to immigrant categories and national groups, to provide a fuller understanding of the extent of change in opinion over recent decades.

The 2010-2012 surveys asked for their views on the main categories of permanent and long-stay immigrants, that is, those admitted under the Skill and Family Streams of the Migration Program and overseas students, as well as their views on refugees admitted after selection overseas.

A large measure of consistency was found across the three surveys and this question was not repeated in 2013.

The most positive attitudes are towards immigrants admitted on the basis of skill. The views, however, towards the other three categories were almost as favourable, with a marked increase in the proportion positive towards refugees.

In 2012, 77% of respondents were positive towards skilled immigrants, 70% towards family reunion, 69% towards students and 75% towards refugees assessed overseas for resettlement in Australia. Those indicating they were neutral ranged from 14% to 22%, while negative responses were within a very narrow band, in the range 7%-11%.

Immigrants from specific countries

In all countries of immigration there is a hierarchy of ethnic preference, which informs attitudes to newcomers, at times determining categories of admission and exclusion. For much of the twentieth century there was a large degree of consistency in the status hierarchy within Australian society, with immigrants from the United Kingdom and other English-speaking countries ranked at the top, northern Europeans next, followed by other Europeans.

That is where the ranking ended; non-European people were denied entry for permanent residence until a process of reform between 1966 and the late 1970s brought the White Australia policy to its end.

There has been little attention in Australian opinion polling to status hierarchies since the 1980s, and even in the 1970s and 1980s, polls asked imprecise and ambiguous questions on this issue.

Since 2010 the Scanlon Foundation surveys have asked respondents if their feelings were positive, negative or neutral towards immigrants from specified national groups, using a computer-generated rotation designed to ensure that each respondent was asked for views on five nationalities, selected from the groupings of English-speaking, European, Asian, Middle East, and African countries, with Pacific Islands added in 2013.

When questioned with regard to feelings towards immigrants from specific **Middle Eastern countries** (identified in Australian public discussion as main centres of Muslim populations), negative sentiment in 2013 reached 22% for immigrants from Iraq (24% average in 2010-12) and 27% (23%) for Lebanon.

But even with regard to immigrants from Lebanon, who in 2013 attracted the highest level of negative response, those with positive or neutral feelings, a combined 68% (75%), formed a large majority.

With regard to immigrants from **Ethiopia**, in 2013 some 16% indicated negative feelings, 33% were positive and 45% neutral, with 5% with 'don't know' and declined responses.

When questioned concerning immigrants from the **Pacific Islands, defined as Fiji or Samoa**, just 5% indicated a negative response, 53% were positive and 38% neutral, with 4% with 'don't know' and declined responses.

In contrast, the level of negative sentiment towards immigrants from **English-speaking countries** (England, New Zealand) and **European countries** (Italy, Germany) averaged less than 3% (3% in 2011-12). Negative sentiment towards immigrants from **China** was 13% (11%) and **India** 15% (15%).

It is notable that more than 90% of respondents are positive or neutral towards immigrants from Italy and Germany, 84% towards China and India.

These findings point to a consistency of viewpoint and a substantial change in Australian attitudes in a relatively short period of time. Continental Europeans, who were the target of hostility in the 1950s and 1960s, and immigrants from Asia whose entry to Australia was much questioned in the 1980s, are now seen in a positive or neutral light by a large majority of Australians. While in 2013 the highest level of negative feeling was towards immigrants from Iraq and Lebanon, those with positive and neutral attitudes form a large majority.

Figure 18: 'Would you say your feelings are positive, negative or neutral towards immigrants from?', 2010-12 combined, 2013

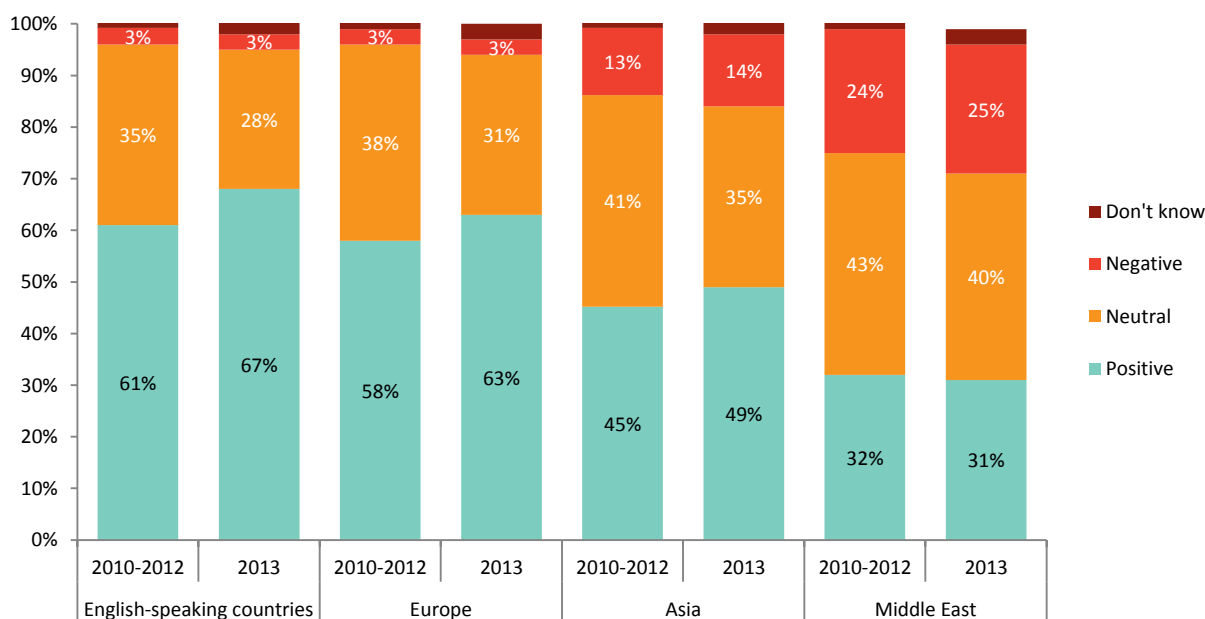


Table 15: 'Would you say your feelings are positive, negative or neutral towards immigrants from?', 2010-12 combined, 2013 (percentage)

Country	Very positive		Somewhat positive		Sub-total positive		Neutral		Somewhat negative		Very negative		Sub-total negative		Refused / don't know		Total	N (unweighted)		
	2010-2012	2013	2010-2012	2013	2010-2012	2013	2010-2012	2013	2010-2012	2013	2010-2012	2013	2010-2012	2013	2010-2012	2013		2010-2012	2013	
ENGLISH-SPEAKING																				
England	28.6	29.9	32.6	38.0	61.2	67.9	34.9	27.3	2.1	2.2	0.9	0.5	3.0	2.8	1.1	2.1	100	2075	599	
New Zealand	28.9	29.9	31.3	35.4	60.2	65.3	35.2	29.0	2.3	1.9	1.2	1.0	3.5	2.9	1.2	2.9	100	1963	601	
Average	28.8	29.9	32.0	36.7	60.7	66.6	35.1	28.2	2.2	2.1	1.1	0.8	3.3	2.9	1.1	2.5	100			
EUROPE																				
Italy	28.0	28.9	31.3	37.0	59.3	65.9	36.9	29.0	2.5	1.9	0.7	0.7	3.2	2.6	0.6	2.5	100	2059	599	
Germany	22.2	19.9	33.8	40.7	56.0	60.6	38.5	32.7	2.0	1.9	1.0	1.2	3.0	3.0	2.6	3.7	100	1922	599	
Average	25.1	24.4	32.6	38.9	57.7	63.3	37.7	30.9	2.3	1.9	0.9	1.0	3.1	2.8	1.6	3.2	100			
ASIA																				
China	15.7	13.4	31.0	39.6	46.7	53.0	41.5	30.9	7.4	10.0	3.5	2.8	10.9	12.8	1.1	3.3	100	1975	596	
India	12.2	14.3	31.3	30.6	43.5	44.8	40.2	38.8	10.4	8.4	4.1	6.2	14.5	14.6	1.7	1.7	100	2028	603	
Average	14.0	13.9	31.2	35.1	45.1	48.9	40.9	34.9	8.9	9.2	3.8	4.5	12.7	13.7	1.4	2.5	100			
MIDDLE EAST																				
Lebanon	9.2	10.9	25.2	19.9	34.4	30.8	40.2	37.5	14.4	15.4	8.4	12.0	22.8	27.4	2.6	4.3	100	2033	580	
Iraq	9.1	8.5	19.7	23.5	28.8	31.9	44.9	42.8	13.7	12.7	10.5	9.7	24.2	22.4	2.1	2.9	100	2049	620	
Average	9.2	9.7	22.5	21.7	31.6	31.4	42.6	40.2	14.1	14.1	9.5	10.9	23.5	24.9	2.4	3.6	100			
	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013		2012	2013	
OTHER																				
Ethiopia	10.8	9.4	30.1	23.9	40.9	33.3	42.3	45.4	8.2	10.0	3.9	6.1	12.1	16.1	4.7	5.2	100	725	619	
Pacific Islands		17.8		35.6		53.4		37.9		3.6		1.3		4.9		3.6	100		580	

Minor variation in some additions is the result of rounding error.

Multiculturalism

There has been little research in recent years into attitudes to multiculturalism. The few surveys conducted have found that when the issue of multiculturalism is raised in general terms there are high levels of endorsement. In 1997 a survey posed the question of whether ‘multiculturalism has been good or bad for Australia?’ and found that 78% agreed that it had been good. In 2005 the same question found 70% in agreement. A second survey in 2005 asked respondents if they supported or opposed ‘a policy of multiculturalism in Australia’: 80% were in support.¹⁶

When questions about multiculturalism are asked in more specific terms or more detail, there is less surety of response and lower levels of support; this is especially the case if there is an implication of government funding. The logic of survey questions is that when the issue of funding to benefit minorities is raised, it is usually the case that a majority of respondents will not be in agreement. This is the finding of the Scanlon Foundation surveys when funding to ethnic minorities for cultural maintenance is raised, although there has been some increase in the level of support since 2007 (see above, page 19).

The 2013 Scanlon Foundation survey asked, for the first time, six questions on multiculturalism. First, it asked for response to the proposition that ‘multiculturalism has been good for Australia’. Later in the survey, responses were requested to five statements presented in both positive and negative terms. Respondents were asked to indicate strong agreement or agreement with the propositions.

Multiculturalism:

- Benefits/ does not benefit the economic development of Australia;
- Encourages/ discourages immigrants to become part of Australian society;
- Strengthens/ weakens the Australian way of life;
- Gives immigrants the same/ more opportunities than the Australian born;
- Reduces/ increases the problems immigrants face in Australia.

The findings indicate strong levels of support. Thus 84% of respondents agreed that ‘multiculturalism has been good for Australia’, a higher level than obtained by the 1997 and 2005 surveys.

More than seven out of ten respondents agreed that multiculturalism ‘benefits the economic development of Australia’ (75%) and ‘encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society’ (71%). Close to six out of ten respondents agreed that multiculturalism strengthens the Australian way of life (60%) and gives immigrants the same opportunities as the Australian born (58%).

Only one of the six questions divided opinion (45%: 40%) – whether multiculturalism reduces or increases the problems immigrants face in Australia. There was a relatively high level of uncertainty (16%), indicating that many respondents felt that they did not have enough knowledge to answer the question, which may have been interpreted as being more about ‘the problems immigrants face’ than about multiculturalism. As noted below, this question also divided opinion amongst immigrants.

Table 16: Attitudes towards multiculturalism, national survey, 2013 (n=1200, percentage)

Question	Strong positive	Positive	Negative	Strong negative	Neither/ Unsure/ Don't know	Total
'Has been good for Australia'	Strongly agree 32.2	Agree 52.2	Disagree 8.0	Strongly disagree 2.9	4.7	100
'Benefits/ does not benefit economic development'	Benefits 30.3	Benefits 44.9	Not benefits 10.2	Not benefits 8.6	5.9	100
'Encourages/ does not encourage immigrants to become part of society'	Encourages 20.2	Encourages 50.3	Discourages 13.9	Discourages 8.7	6.9	100
'Strengthens/ weakens the Australian way of life'	Strengthens 21.2	Strengthens 39.2	Weakens 17.2	Weakens 15.3	7.1	100
'Gives immigrants same/ more opportunities than Australian born'	Same 14.4	Same 43.6	More 18.2	More 15.9	7.9	100
'Reduces/ increases the problems immigrants face'	Reduces 9.7	Reduces 34.8	Increases 24.2	Increases 15.4	16.0	100

¹⁶ See Andrew Markus. ‘Attitudes to Multiculturalism and Cultural Diversity, in Michael Clyne and James Jupp (eds), *Multiculturalism and Integration*, ANU E Press, 2011, pp. 89-100.

A second important finding is that positive responses are not restricted to those usually the most favourable to cultural diversity – urban, highly educated, and young – but are at a consistently high level across demographics.

This finding is supported by consideration of responses in a locality which represents traditional, non-urban Australia, the communities of the Atherton Tableland to the hinterland of Cairns. In this region there are very few recent immigrants: over 80% of the population is born in Australia, less than 5% arrived from overseas since 1990, and less than 2% follow a non-Christian religion.

Responses from this region indicate relatively low levels of support for immigration and cultural diversity. Thus 59% consider that the immigration intake is too high (national 42%), 48% disagree with the proposition that ‘accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger’ (national 29%), and 43% ‘strongly disagree’ that ‘ethnic minorities should receive government assistance for cultural maintenance (national 25%).

Yet there is a high level of support for multiculturalism, with the average level of agreement for the six questions at 58%, compared with 66% in the national survey.

75% agree that multiculturalism has been good for Australia; 67% that it encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society; 62% that it benefits the economic development of Australia.

Only a minority considers that multiculturalism weakens the Australian way of life (40%); that it gives immigrants more opportunities than the Australian born (40%); and that it increases the problems that immigrants face (41%).

Table 17: Attitudes towards multiculturalism, Atherton Tableland survey, 2013 (n=500, percentage)

Question	Strong positive	Positive	Negative	Strong negative	Neither/ Unsure/ Don't know	Total
'Has been good for Australia'	Strongly agree 25.7	Agree 49.3	Disagree 11.1	Strongly disagree 10.1	3.7	100
'Benefits/ does not benefit economic development'	Benefits 17.7	Benefits 43.8	Not benefits 18.2	Not benefits 12.8	7.4	100
'Encourages/ does not encourage immigrants to become part of society'	Encourages 15.6	Encourages 51.6	Discourages 15.1	Discourages 9.3	8.3	100
'Strengthens/ weakens the Australian way of life'	Strengthens 16.8	Strengthens 34.0	Weakens 21.1	Weakens 18.6	9.5	100
'Gives immigrants same/ more opportunities than Australian born'	Same 10.2	Same 43.1	More 21.3	More 18.2	7.2	100
'Reduces/ increases the problems immigrants face'	Reduces 8.2	Reduces 37.7	Increases 28.4	Increases 13.0	12.6	100

Attitudes to multiculturalism in the national survey were further analysed by a range of variables: first, the Australian born with both parents born in Australia (the 3rd plus generation), all Australia born, and the overseas born of English speaking and non-English speaking background. There was little difference across the four groupings, with average level of agreement for the six questions within four percentage points: 63.5% to 67.3%.

Amongst the 3rd plus generation Australians, 85% were in agreement that multiculturalism has been good for Australia, 72% that it benefits Australia's economic development, 67% that it encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society, and 55% that it strengthens the Australian way of life. The overseas born of non-English speaking background in the national survey are more likely to agree that multiculturalism encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society (77% compared to 67% amongst the 3rd plus generation), but are less certain that it reduces the problems faced by immigrants. The level of support for multiculturalism amongst the non-English speaking background in areas of immigrant concentration (Mirrabooka and Logan) is an average six percentage points higher than the same group in the national survey.

Table 18: Attitudes towards multiculturalism, selected demographics, national and local surveys (Logan and Mirrabooka), 2013 (percentage)

Question	3 rd plus generation Australian (national)	All Australia born (national)	Overseas born – English speaking background (national)	Overseas born – non-English speaking background (national)	Non-English speaking background, Logan and Mirrabooka
'Has been good for Australia'	85.1	85.5	83.1	83.4	87.9
'Benefits the economic development'	72.0	73.6	75.4	79.2	86.6
'Encourages immigrants to become part of society'	66.7	68.2	69.0	76.8	78.2
'Strengthens the Australian way of life'	55.4	58.9	63.4	63.1	74.9
'Gives immigrants the same opportunities as the Australian born'	52.6	55.6	66.2	61.2	63.2
'Reduces the problems immigrants face'	48.9	47.8	37.8	40.0	49.9
Average	63.5	64.9	65.8	67.3	73.5
N (unweighted)	606	843	165	188	208

Responses to the proposition that multiculturalism benefits the economic development of Australia were undertaken by eight variables: gender; state of residence; region of residence; age; highest completed education; financial situation; intended vote; and birthplace.

Of the 30 categories considered, in only one case was level of agreement below 66%: amongst those who indicated that they were ‘struggling to pay bills’ or were ‘poor’ (56%). Strongest support was amongst residents of Victoria, those aged 18-24, those with a Bachelor degree or higher, those who described their financial position as comfortable or prosperous, and those who indicated that they intended to vote for the Greens or Labor.

How is support for multiculturalism to be explained?

The high level of discrimination reported by recent immigrants may seem to be in contradiction with the finding. But support for multiculturalism relates to majority opinion, discrimination stems from the actions of a minority.

As the Scanlon Foundation surveys have shown, some 10% of the population harbours strong negative views towards cultural diversity, with higher proportions within specific demographics, so experience of discrimination does not surprise.

Within majority opinion there is acceptance of Australia as a country of immigration and of a non-discriminatory, diverse immigration intake. Thus in 2013, 62% agreed that accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger. Acceptance of immigrants from a range of non-English speaking countries was at a higher level.

Multiculturalism has been established as a strong and supported ‘brand’, it resonates with the Australian population. To take one example, amongst the third plus generation of Australians, 72% at the national level and 58% in the Atherton Tableland agree that multiculturalism benefits the economic development of Australia.

Table 19: ‘Multiculturalism benefits the economic development of Australia’, ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’, selected demographics national survey, 2013 (n=1200, percentage)

Gender	Female	Male				
	75.5	74.8				
State	Victoria	NSW	Western Australia	South Australia	Queensland	
	81.8	74.6	73.6	71.5	71.4	
Region	Capital	Rest of state				
	75.3	74.8				
Age	18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+
	82.5	79.4	74.3	78.0	73.9	66.4
Highest completed education	BA or higher	Diploma/ Technical Certificate	Trade/ Apprenticeship	Year 12	Year 11 or below	
	87.4	78.6	68.5	72.8	66.1	
Financial situation	Prosperous / very comfortable	Reasonably comfortable	Just getting along	Struggling to pay bills / poor		
	79.2	80.5	66.6	56.3		
Intended vote	Greens	Labor	Liberal/ National			
	81.5	80.7	66.7			
Birthplace	Overseas-NESB	Overseas-ESB	Australia			
	79.2	75.4	73.6			

Multicultural policy is a direct consequence of immigration, developed to accommodate diversity and to ensure mutual benefit to Australia and the immigrant. Yet **the level of support for multiculturalism is considerably higher than for a diverse immigration intake.**

As noted, the national survey found agreement at 84% that ‘multiculturalism has been good for Australia’; 75% that multiculturalism ‘benefits the economic development of Australia’; 71% that it ‘encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society’. Depending on which question is taken, the support is in the range 9 to 22 percentage points higher than for a diverse intake of immigrants.

In the Atherton Tableland, the same pattern of response is evident, but from a lower base of support, with 46% in agreement with a diverse intake. 75% agree that multiculturalism has been good for Australia; 67% that it encourages immigrants to become part of Australian society; 62% that it benefits the economic development of Australia. Thus, depending on the question taken for comparison, support is higher in the range 16 to 29 percentage points.

While there is majority support for multiculturalism across demographics, as noted it is **higher amongst those with university level education and those of non-English speaking background.**

The significance of educational attainment is evident in comparison of the national and Atherton Tableland surveys, although the second variable cannot be evaluated as there are too few respondents of non-English speaking background in the Atherton Tableland survey.

In the Atherton survey, of those with education only to Year 12 level, 56% agree that multiculturalism benefits economic development; 43% agree with a diverse immigration intake; and just 27% agree with the current level of immigration or support an increase in the intake. Amongst Atherton respondents with education to Diploma or Degree level, the proportions are 74%, 59% and 50% respectively.

In the years ahead it is likely that support for multiculturalism will further increase as a higher proportion of the population gains post-school qualifications and as immigration from non-English speaking countries continues.

Indicative of the pace of change, amongst people aged 25-34, the proportion with a Bachelor degree or above increased from 25% to 37% between 2002 and 2012, an increase of almost 50%. Immigration is contributing to this change. In 2012, 56% of adult migrants had a university degree, almost twice the proportion for the total population.

Table 20: Selected questions by educational attainment, national and Atherton Tableland (in brackets) surveys, 2013 (percentage)

Question and response	Education to Year 12	Trade/ Certificate/ Apprentice	Diploma or Degree	Total
'Multicultural benefits economic development' Response: 'strongly agree', 'agree'	69.6 (56.2)	74.6 (66.7)	84.1 (73.7)	75.2 (61.9)
'Accepting immigrants from many diverse countries makes Australia stronger' Response: 'strongly agree', 'agree'	52.8 (42.7)	65.4 (41.7)	72.7 (59.0)	62.9 (46.0)
'The number of immigrants accepted into Australia at present is...' Response: 'about right', 'too low'	41.5 (27.3)	52.3 (35.3)	62.9 (50.0)	50.9 (34.0)
N (unweighted)	464 (274)	217 (96)	511 (126)	1200 (500)

Figure 19: 'Multiculturalism benefits economic development', agreement by educational attainment, national and Atherton Tableland surveys, 2013

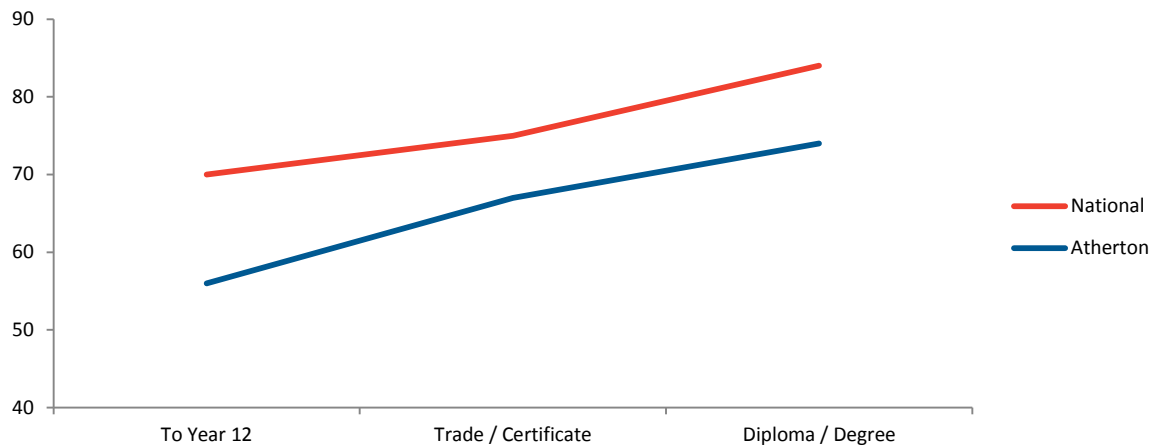


Figure 20: 'Accepting immigrants from many diverse countries makes Australia stronger', agreement by educational attainment, national and Atherton Tableland surveys, 2013

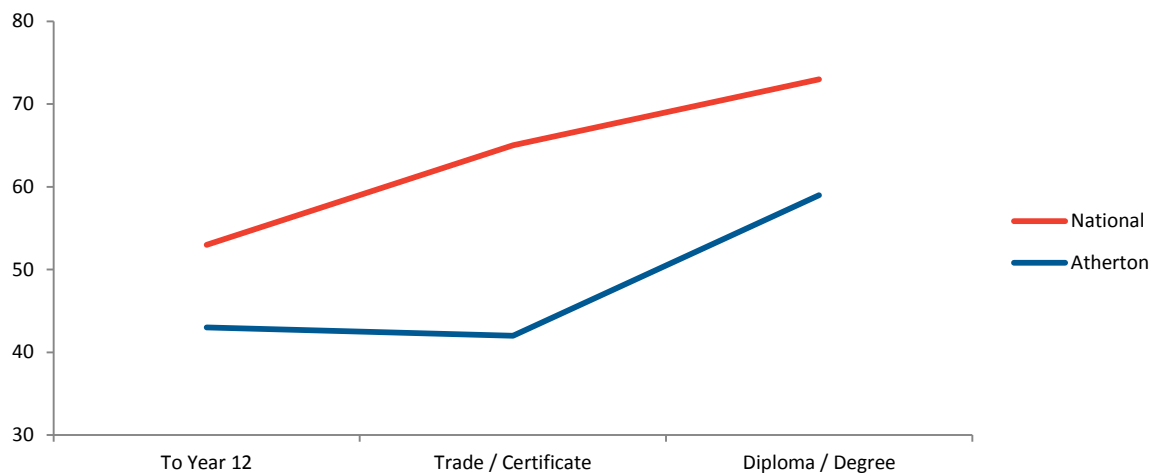
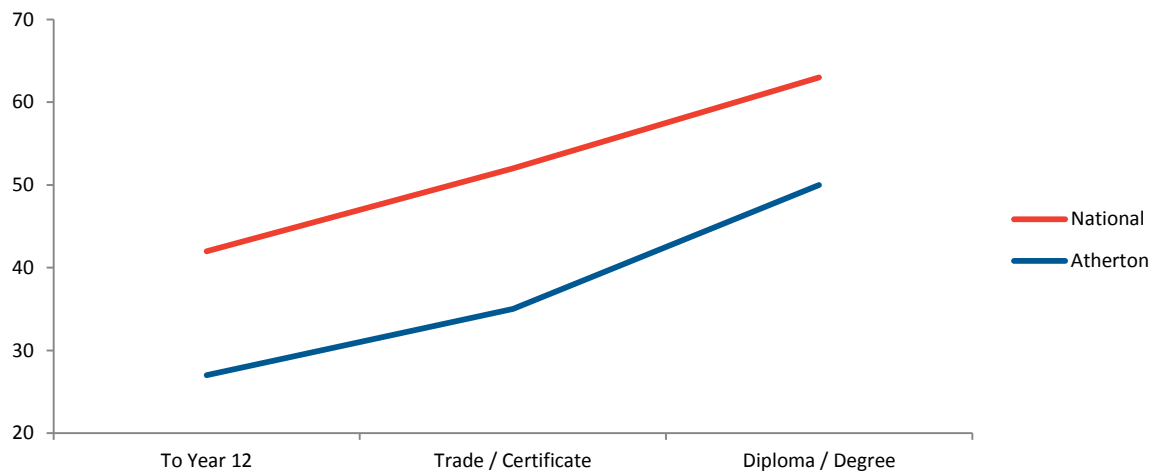


Figure 21: Immigration intake is 'about right' or 'too low', agreement by educational attainment, national and Atherton Tableland surveys, 2013



Asylum seekers

Since late 2009 there has been a polarised and emotional debate in Australia over government policy towards **asylum seekers arriving by boat**. **This debate has been fuelled by the increasing arrivals** by boat since 2008. In 2009-2010 4,579 arrived, in 2010-2011 5,174, in 2011-12 7,379, and in 2012-13 close to 25,000.

There has been on-going front-page newspaper coverage of this issue, with ever more stringent policies to halt arrivals being adopted by the Labor government and advocated by the Liberal /National Opposition. In August 2012 the government reintroduced offshore processing in New Guinea and Nauru.

The prominence of the issue prompted a number of news agencies to commission opinion polls. A main focus for polls was perception of government policy and a **consistent finding was the high level of support for policy to limit arrivals**. When polls asked for the best party to handle the asylum issue, the Liberal Party was consistently preferred by a large margin until August 2013, when Prime Minister Rudd announced a change of policy which denied the right of settlement to any asylum seeker reaching Australia by boat.

A number of polls indicated that those who hold strong negative views towards continuing boat arrivals outnumber strong positive by at least two to one, with a third segment of the population, close to 20%, indicating uncertainty in some surveys.¹⁷

In July 2012 Essential Research asked: 'Do you think the Federal Labor Government is too tough or too soft on asylum seekers or is it taking the right approach?' 12% answered 'too tough', 11% 'right approach', while 60% indicated 'too soft'.

In August 2012 the Nielsen Poll asked 'Do you support or oppose the decision to resume offshore processing of asylum seekers in Papua New Guinea and Nauru?' 67% indicated support, 27% opposition. A similarly worded Essential Research survey conducted at the same time found 67% indicating approval and a smaller 18% disapproval.¹⁸

In July 2013 a Fairfax Nielsen poll asked which of the major parties 'would be best for handling asylum seekers?' Despite Labor's reintroduction of offshore processing, 53% indicated the Coalition with its promise to 'halt the boats', while support for Labor was at 34%.

The Scanlon Foundation surveys conducted in 2010-2013 explored attitudes to asylum seekers and refugees at a deeper level through a series of four questions.

[1] The 2011 survey found that **a large majority of Australians have little understanding of the number of asylum seekers who reach the country by boat**.

[2] A second finding, consistent across the 2010-12 Scanlon surveys, was that the most common view of asylum seekers arriving by boat was that they are **illegal immigrants**.

Respondents were asked, in an open-ended question to which they could give more than one answer, what they thought was 'the main reason asylum seekers attempt to reach Australia by boat.' **The most common response, by a large margin, was that those arriving by boat were coming 'for a better life' – 54% in 2010, 48% in 2011 and 46% in 2012.**

[3] The Scanlon Foundation surveys established that Australians draw a sharp distinction between refugees assessed overseas and admitted for resettlement under the Humanitarian Program – and those arriving by boat.

Thus, in the context of adverse political and media discussion of boat arrivals, **the refugee resettlement program recorded increased support between 2010 and 2012 (from 67% to 75%)**.

[4] In a question across the four surveys, respondents were asked for their view concerning 'policy for dealing with asylum seekers trying to reach Australia by boat' from the following four options:

1. They should be allowed to apply for permanent residence;
2. They should be allowed to apply for temporary residence only;
3. They should be kept in detention until they can be sent back;
4. Their boats should be turned back.

¹⁷ See the Inventory of Surveying at the Mapping Australia's Population internet site, <http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/mapping-population/>

¹⁸ Essential Research, Essential Report, 9 July 2012, 20 August 2012; Nielsen, National Report, 26 August 2012.

Focusing on the two extreme positions, in 2010 19% favoured eligibility for permanent residence and 27% favoured turning back of boats, a differential of 8 percentage points.

In 2011 and 2012 there was almost equal support for the two extremes: in 2011, 22% (permanent) and 23% (turn back), a differential of one percentage point; in 2012, 23% (permanent) and 26% (turn back), a differential of 3 percentage points.

A more polarised result and the strongest negative to date was obtained in 2013: 18% (permanent) and 33% (turn back), a differential of 15 percentage points. In 2013, less than one-in-five respondents favoured eligibility for permanent residence.

Analysis of attitudes in 2013 was undertaken using eight variables: gender, state, region of residence, age, educational qualification, financial situation, intended vote and birthplace. The result points to a high level of consistency across the variables. The eight variables yield 30 different categories – in only two of the categories was support for turning back of boats below 25%: among those who indicate that they intend voting for the Greens (9%) and those with Bachelor or higher level of educational qualification (21%). Other relatively low proportions were obtained for those born overseas (26%, 27%); with a Diploma or Technical Certificate qualification(26%); and residents of Victoria (27%).

The highest level of support for turning back boats was amongst those whose highest completed educational level was Year 11 or below (49%), intending to vote Liberal/National (46%), whose indicated financial situation was struggling to pay bills or poor (43%), who were resident outside a capital city (42%), and who were aged 55-64 (42%).

When attention is directed to those who support eligibility for permanent residence, support above (25%) is indicated only by those intending to vote Greens (69%) and those with BA or higher level qualification (28%).

Within this highly charged environment, attitudes have hardened over the years, with 33% of Australians now supporting the ‘turn back the boats’ option, an increase of 10 percentage points since 2011.

Figure 22: ‘Which of the following four statements comes closest to your view about the best policy for dealing with asylum seekers trying to reach Australia by boat?’, 2010-2013

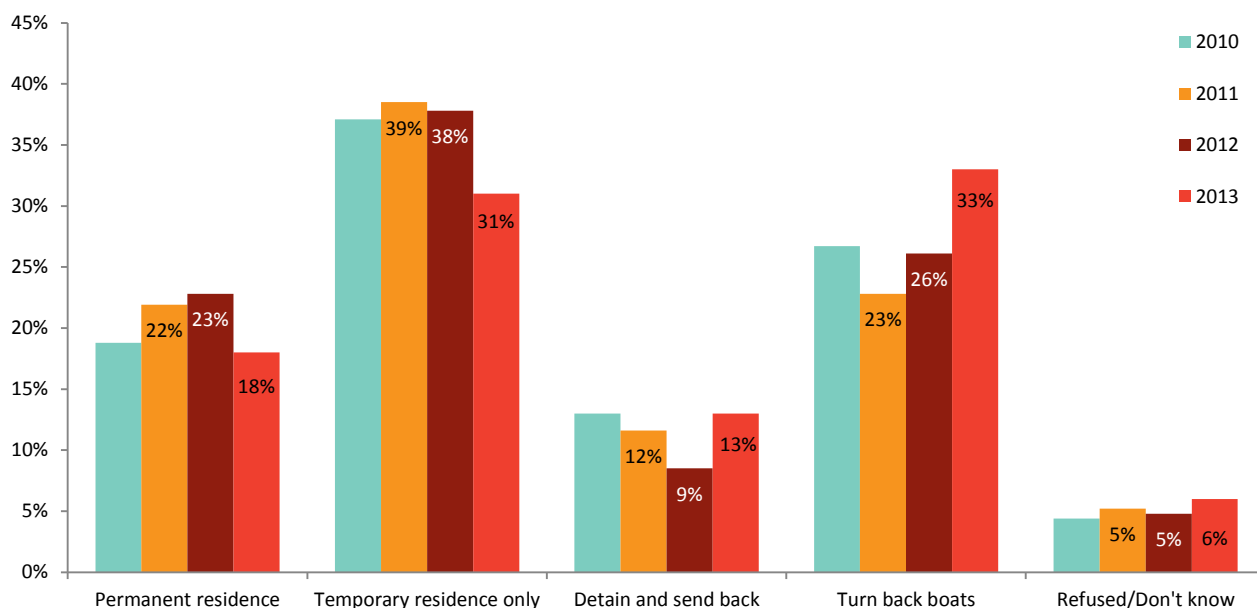


Table 21: 'Which of the following four statements comes closest to your view about the best policy for dealing with asylum seekers trying to reach Australia by boat?' Response: 'Their boats should be turned back.' National survey, 2013 (n=1200, percentage)

Gender	Male	Female				
	34.1	31.9				
State	Victoria	NSW	Western Australia	South Australia	Queensland	
	27.2	34.5	36.8	30.8	36.8	
Region	Capital	Rest of state				
	30.0	42.0				
Age	18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+
	29.4	31.4	30.2	34.1	41.8	32.6
Level of completed education	BA or higher	Diploma/ Technical	Trade/ Apprenticeship	Year 12	Year 11 or below	
	20.8	26.0	38.0	35.0	48.6	
Financial situation	Prosperous / very comfortable	Reasonably comfortable	Just getting along	Struggling to pay bills / poor		
	31.5	30.5	36.7	43.3		
Intended vote	Greens	Labor	Liberal/National			
	9.2	29.3	46.2			
Birthplace	Overseas-NESB	Overseas-ESB	Australia			
	26.9	25.9	36.8			

Table 22: 'Which of the following four statements comes closest to your view about the best policy for dealing with asylum seekers trying to reach Australia by boat?' Response: 'They should be allowed to apply for permanent residence.' National survey, 2013 (n=1200, percentage)

Gender	Male	Female				
	16.3	20.1				
State	Victoria	NSW	Western Australia	South Australia	Queensland	
	21.3	17.6	16.0	22.0	13.4	
Region	Capital	Rest of state				
	19.6	13.9				
Age	18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+
	24.2	22.7	13.5	18.7	19.0	13.6
Level of completed education	BA or higher	Diploma/ Technical	Trade/ Apprenticeship	Year 12	Year 11 or below	
	27.5	18.9	19.6	16.9	9.7	
Financial situation	Prosperous / very comfortable	Reasonably comfortable	Just getting along	Struggling to pay bills / poor		
	23.8	18.7	14.0	17.3		
Intended vote	Greens	Labor	Liberal/National			
	69.2	22.0	8.9			
Birthplace	Overseas-NESB	Overseas-ESB	Australia			
	15.3	18.9	19.2			

Extent of intolerance

An issue which from time to time engages public debate in Australia centres on the question ‘**is Australia a racist nation?**’ Discussion at the level of generality of the ‘Australian people’ and ‘the Australian nation’ is largely meaningless. All populations are made up of diverse personality types, ranging, for example, from the tolerant to the intolerant – from those who celebrate cultural diversity to those who are comfortable only with what they perceive to be Australian culture.

Research undertaken in 2000 by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia indicated that the proportion of the intolerant within the countries of the European Union ranges from a low of 4% of the population to a high of 27%.¹⁹

The intolerant are characterised by unease when in the presence of members of minority groups, their belief that multiculturalism does not enrich Australia, their demand that immigrants should assimilate to what they see as the Australian way of life (or go back to their countries of origin), and their opposition to policies designed to promote harmony, including understanding of other cultures.

The broad range of questions in the Scanlon Foundation surveys provides a number of perspectives for determining the level of intolerance or racism 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.

There are six relevant questions in the 2013 survey, each of which provided two negative response options. **For five of the six questions, the level of negative response is higher in 2013 than in 2012** (see Table 24).

The highest strong negative, at 33%, was in response to a question on policy towards asylum seekers reaching Australia by boat. But caution needs to be taken in interpreting this result, which may in part reflect concern over border control and a polarisation of opinion which does not reflect underlying attitudes towards cultural diversity. Such an interpretation is supported by the low level of opposition which was obtained in earlier surveys when respondents were asked for their view on the Humanitarian Program, which elicited a largely positive result, with negative views expressed by just 10% of respondents.

A large strongly negative response, at 25%, was obtained in response to a question on provision of government assistance to ethnic minorities to maintain their customs and traditions. This finding may, however, reflect the view of the majority in response to a question which concerns funding to minorities, so the question may have more to do with perception of equity than rejection of cultural diversity.

A general question posed across the six Scanlon Foundation surveys asked respondents if ‘accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger’. In 2013, 11% indicated ‘strong disagreement’ and 18% ‘disagreement’.

As noted earlier in this report, respondents were asked for their attitude to immigrants from fifteen specified countries. The highest level of negative sentiment was towards immigrants from Middle East. In 2013, 12% of respondents indicated that they were ‘very negative’ and 15% ‘negative’ towards immigrants from Lebanon. Thus, in response to questions on immigration from Lebanon and the benefit to Australia from a diverse immigration intake, 27% to 29% of respondents gave a negative response, with 11% to 12% selecting the strongest negative.

Two additional questions are considered. With regard to immigration from a specified African country, Ethiopia, just 6% indicated that they were very negative and 10% somewhat negative.

When respondents were asked whether ‘people of different national or ethnic backgrounds get on well together’ in their local area, 3% ‘strongly disagreed’ and 9% ‘disagreed’, a total of 12%.

¹⁹ E. Thalhammer et al., *Attitudes toward Minority Groups in the European Union*, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, Vienna 2001.

Table 23: 'Accepting immigrants from many different countries makes Australia stronger', national survey, 2007-2013

Response	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
'Strongly disagree'	7.8	8.9	10.9	10.6	10.7	10.6
'Disagree'	18.1	17.9	18.6	16.2	15.3	18.1
<i>Sub-total disagree</i>	25.9	26.8	29.5	26.8	26.0	28.7
N (unweighted)	2,012	2,019	2,021	2,001	2,001	1,200

*The full range of responses to this question is presented on page 20, above.

Table 24: Negative responses by selected question, national survey, 2012-2013

Question and response	Strongest negative		Negative		Total	
	2012	2013	2012	2013	2012	2013
'Ethnic minorities in Australia should be given Australian government assistance to maintain their customs and traditions' Response: 'strongly disagree', 'disagree'	27.9	24.6	29.3	31.1	57.2	55.7
Asylum seeker policy. Response: 'turn back boats', 'keep in detention until they can be sent back'	26.1	33.0	8.5	12.5	34.6	45.5
Attitude towards immigrants from Lebanon Response: 'very negative', 'somewhat negative'	8.5	12.0	13.3	15.4	21.8	27.4
'Immigration from many different countries makes Australia stronger'. Response: 'strongly disagree', 'disagree'	10.7	10.6	15.3	18.1	26.0	28.7
Attitude towards immigrants from Ethiopia. Response: 'very negative', 'somewhat negative'	3.9	6.1	8.2	10.0	12.1	16.1
'Local area is a place where people of different national or ethnic backgrounds get on well together' Response: 'strongly disagree', 'disagree'*	2.1	3.0	8.2	9.4	10.3	12.4

*Excludes those who responded that they live in an area with insufficient immigrants to have an impact.

While there can be no definitive measure of the level of intolerance in Australian society, 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 in Australia 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 35%.**

These proportions are an average for the Australian population. **Within specific regions and within segments of the population, there are higher levels of intolerance**, an issue discussed at length in the 2012 Scanlon Foundation national and neighbourhood social cohesion reports.

Recent arrivals

The recent arrivals survey was completed by 2,324 respondents. Participation in the survey required residence in Australia for at least three years, with arrival in the period 1990-May 2010. Respondents were resident in the mainland capital cities of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth, and Adelaide. 44% of respondents gained residence in Australia under the skill category; 19% under family reunion; and 11% were New Zealand passport holders.

Comparison of the achieved sample profile with census data on arrivals in the period 1990-2010 is presented in Table 25. There is a close match between the sample and the recently arrived immigrant population. Thus 33% of the sample arrived in Australia between 1990-1999, 67% arrived 2000-10; of the immigrant population who arrived in this period and were resident at the time of the 2011 census, 34% arrived in the years 1990-1999, 66% in the years 2000-10.

The sample population is relatively young, as is the recent immigrant population; thus, 34% are aged 25-34, 28% aged 35-44; of the recent immigrant population, the respective proportions are 30% and 25%. The main difference is that there is an under-representation in the survey of those aged 18-24.

With regard to countries of origin, while not all countries of birth are adequately represented in the sample, the four main countries of origin (which are analysed in the following discussion) are well matched: 14% of the sample was born in the UK and Ireland, 15% of the recent immigrant population; for China the respective proportions are 13% and 13%, for New Zealand 11% and 12%, for India and Sri Lanka 10% and 13%.

Of the sample, 46% are from English speaking countries, 41% of the immigrant population speaks English in the home.

The religious distribution of the sample is also well matched to the immigrant population, with the exception of Islam, which is under-represented in the survey (3%, compared with 8% in the immigrant population); 44% of the sample indicates that they are of the Christian faith, 44% of the immigrant population; 27% (23% immigrant) indicate that they have no religion, 8% (9%) are Buddhist and 7% (8%) Hindu.

Sample respondents are highly educated, as is the recent immigrant population, but with a higher proportion of university graduates: 29% (21%) have a post-graduate degree, 46% (40%) a Bachelor degree.

The workforce status of the sample respondents matches the recent immigrant population: 66% are in employment and 7% are unemployed, compared with 66% and 5% of recent immigrants.

Table 25: Survey respondent profile and census

Respondent profile	SURVEY (unweighted)	CENSUS-arrivals 1990-2010 (aged 15-84)
Year of arrival		
1990-1999	33.3	33.7
2000-2010	66.7	66.3
Age		
18-24	7.6	19.3*
25-34	33.6	29.9
35-44	27.9	24.7
45-54	17.7	16.0
55-64	9.4	5.2
65+	3.7	3.9
Countries of origin – main		
UK & Ireland	14.2	15.4
China & Hong Kong	13.0	12.8
New Zealand	11.2	11.8
India & Sri Lanka	9.6	13.0
Religion		
Christian	43.5	44.1
No religion	26.8	23.4
Buddhist	7.7	9.1
Islam	3.4	7.8
Hinduism	7.1	7.8
Judaism	1.4	0.8
Post-school qualification – diploma or higher		
Certificate	11.6	20.3
Diploma	13.9	18.7
Bachelor Degree	45.7	40.3
Post-graduate Degree	28.7	20.6
Workforce status		
Employed	66.2	65.7
Unemployed	6.5	5.2
Other	27.1	29.1
N (unweighted)	2,324	2,242,237

* The census age group is 15-24.

The objective of the survey is to further understanding of recent arrivals, with regard to their experiences of Australia and the nature of their ongoing contacts with their former home countries. The survey explores the enhanced ability to maintain contact on a daily basis with relatives and friends in their home country through the internet and telephone communication. A further change in recent decades is the enhanced ability to visit former home countries because of cheaper air fares, also because the origin of a large proportion of recent immigrants, the Asia-Pacific, is within relatively close proximity to Australia, in contrast with the earlier preponderance of immigration from the United Kingdom, Ireland and continental Europe.

Selected findings of the recent arrivals survey are reported below; a full report, together with the report of the local area surveys, is planned for release in April 2014.

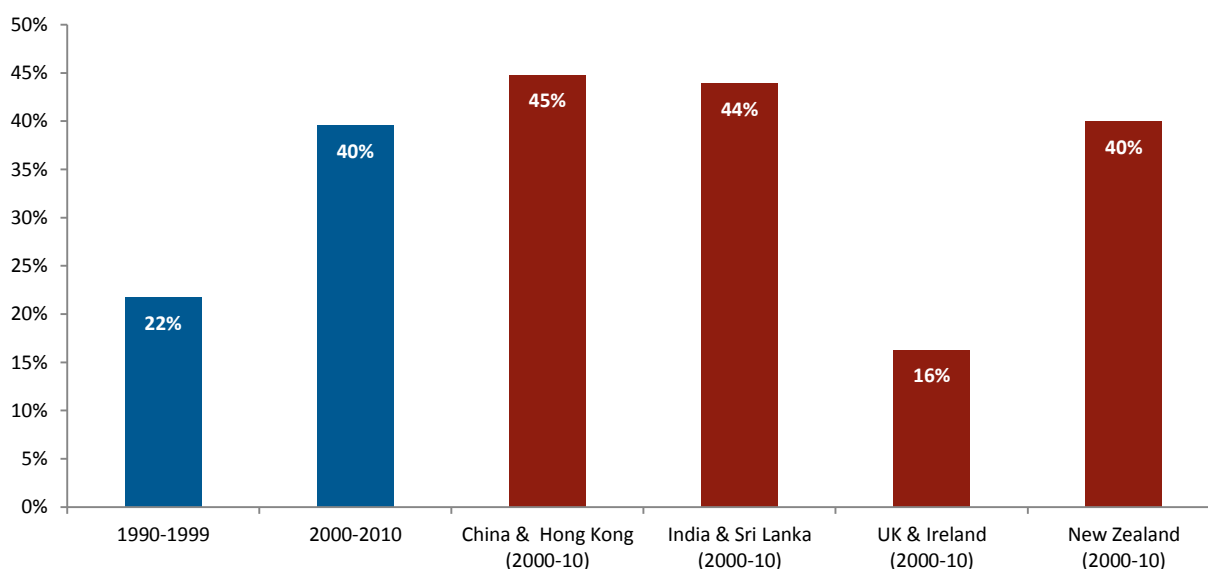
Frequency and nature of contacts

Of the more recent arrivals (2000-10), some 40% indicate that they visit their home country at least once a year; amongst those who arrived in the 1990s, just half this proportion (22%) visit at least once a year. As to be expected, those whose countries of birth are closest geographically to Australia are more likely to visit at least once a year: 45% of those born in China or Hong Kong, 44% India and Sri Lanka, 40% New Zealand, compared with 16% United Kingdom and Ireland. Of the more recent arrivals, over 40% send goods or products to their former home countries and close to 30% send money to their family or friends at least once a year, with lower proportions for those who arrived in the 1990s.

Table 26: Contact with former home country by year of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013 (percentage)

Frequency: 'more than once in a year', 'every year'	Arrived 1990-1999	Arrived 2000-2010	China & Hong Kong (2000-10)	India & Sri Lanka (2000-10)	UK & Ireland (2000-10)	New Zealand (2000-10)
Visit home country	21.7	39.5	44.8	43.9	16.3	40.0
Send goods or products to family/friends	28.5	43.7	40.7	50.7	58.2	51.7
Send money to family or friends	17.7	31.3	29.9	51.7	21.5	25.3
N (unweighted)	775	1549	177	184	207	165

Figure 23: Visit former home country 'more than once in a year' or 'every year', by year of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013



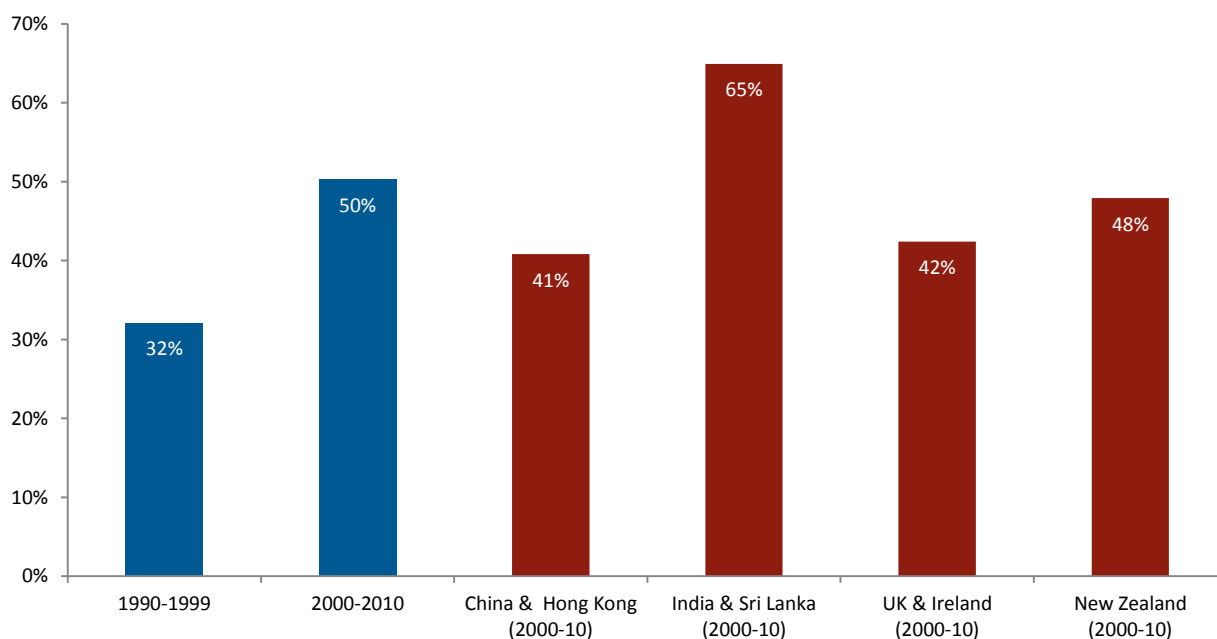
More than half of the recent arrivals (2000-10) are in contact with their overseas relatives or friends 'every day' or 'several times a week', while of those who arrived in the 1990s the proportion is close to one-third. The most popular means of maintaining contact is through social media, such a Facebook, although Skype, mobile phones, SMS messaging and email are all used at least several times a week by over a third of recent arrivals, and close to one in four of those who arrived in the 1990s.

Of those who use social media every day or several times a week, a majority also regularly use email, other internet based communication such as Skype, FaceTime and VoIP, and mobile phones. Landline telephones and mail are now amongst the least used forms of communication.

Table 27: Contact with former home country by year of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013 (percentage)

Frequency: 'every day', 'several times a week'	Arrived 1990-1999	Arrived 2000-2010	China & Hong Kong (2000-10)	India & Sri Lanka (2000-10)	UK & Ireland (2000-10)	New Zealand (2000-10)
Email	23.0	35.6	22.2	47.1	33.3	33.1
Mobile phone/SMS	15.8	37.6	34.5	59.6	18.5	31.7
Skype, FaceTime, VoIP	17.3	38.3	38.9	57.1	16.3	21.4
Social media – Facebook + other	31.9	50.3	40.8	64.9	42.4	47.9
N (unweighted)	775	1549	177	184	207	165

Figure 24: Contact with former home country using social media 'every day' or 'several times a week', by year of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013



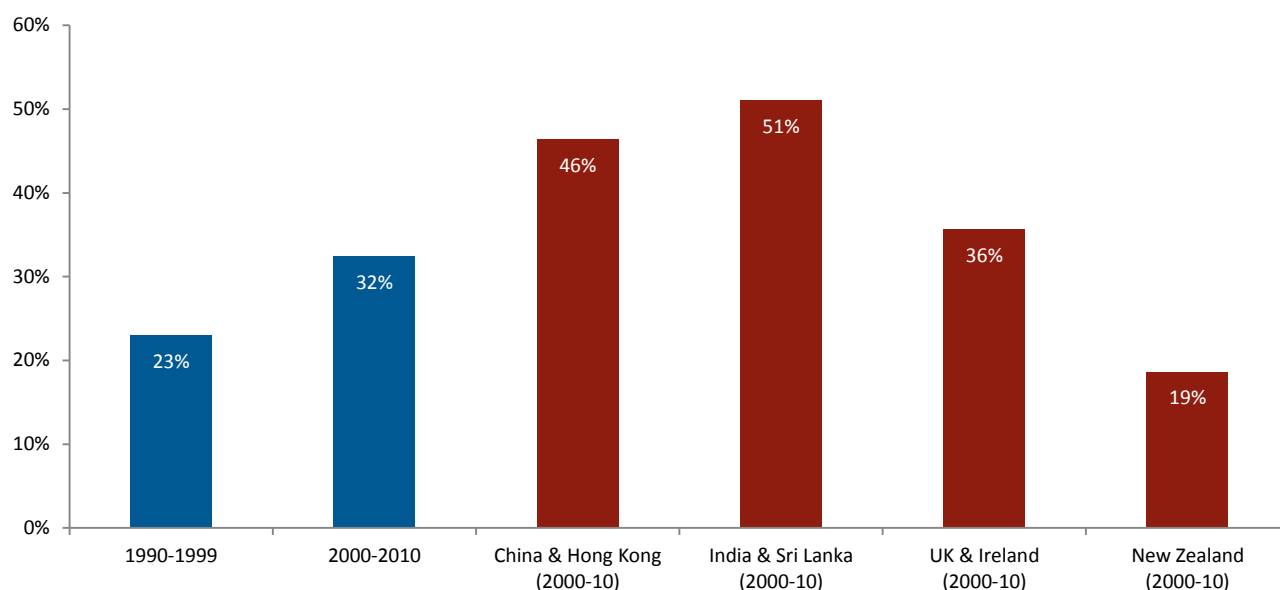
Close to a third of the recent arrivals watch television from their former home countries on cable or satellite 'every day' or 'several times a week', with the highest proportions amongst immigrants from India and Sri Lanka (51%) and China and Hong Kong (46%). Of those who arrived in the 1990s, a lower proportion, close to one in four (23%), watch television from their former home countries at least once a week.

A higher proportion read news reports on the internet 'every day' or 'several times a week' from their former home countries: over half of the more recent arrivals (54%) and close to four in ten (38%) of arrivals in the 1990s. Again, the highest proportions are amongst immigrants from India and Sri Lanka (73%) and China and Hong Kong (64%).

Table 28: Contact with former home country by year of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013 (percentage)

Frequency: 'every day', 'several times a week'	Arrived 1990-1999	Arrived 2000-2010	China & Hong Kong (2000-10)	India & Sri Lanka (2000-10)	UK & Ireland (2000-10)	New Zealand (2000-10)
Watch television on cable or satellite	23.0	32.4	46.4	51.0	35.6	18.6
Read news reports on the internet	38.2	54.0	64.2	72.7	53.4	43.8
N (unweighted)	775	1549	177	184	207	165

Figure 25: Watch television from former home country 'every day' or 'several times a week', by year of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013



In their engagement with developments overseas, recent immigrants are differentiated from the total Australian population. Both the recent arrivals and national surveys included a question on frequency of reading news reports on the internet. While amongst the arrivals in the period 2000-10, 54% read such reports 'every day' or 'several times a week', in the national survey the proportion was 35%. Amongst recent arrivals, just one in ten (11%) indicated that they never read news reports on the internet, compared with four in ten (39%) in the national sample.

Views of life in Australia

Recent arrivals **were asked what they most liked about life in Australia** and were presented with a list of ten attributes. The attributes were taken from the findings of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA), conducted by the former Department of Immigration and Citizenship, the most comprehensive survey of its type undertaken in Australia. The attributes specified related to 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.

Three attributes proved to be most popular, with only minor difference between the two immigrant cohorts: lifestyle/ way of life (24%); standard of living (17%); and freedom, peace, democracy (14%).

A finding of note is that an attribute that Australians like to assign to themselves, a kind, caring and friendly people, was ranked last by immigrants. In the first response to 'what do you most like about Australia?', amongst the more recent arrivals this attribute was consistently ranked last, selected by 4.1% of arrivals from India and Sri Lanka, 3.7% from China and Hong Kong, 2.0% from the United Kingdom and Ireland, and 1.6% New Zealand. In contrast, the earlier LSIA survey (conducted with immigrants who arrived or were granted permanent residence in 1993-95, 1999-2000 and 2004-05) found that the friendly character of the Australian people was ranked first.²⁰

A second question concerned attributes least liked about life in Australia. The ten attributes specified were weather/climate; way of life; 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.

As with the positive attributes, there was little differentiation between the two immigrant cohorts. **The top three negative factors related to cost of living (23%), high taxes (19%) and racism and discrimination (17%).** The highest proportion specifying racism and discrimination were immigrants from India and Sri Lanka, for whom it was the first ranked factor.

Discrimination experienced by immigrants is discussed in another section of this report (see p. 23). The survey of recent arrivals included questions concerning neighbourhood and sense of safety. Amongst the more recent arrivals (2000-10), 28% indicated disagreement with the proposition that 'my local area is a place where people from different national or ethnic backgrounds get on well together', with a high 37% disagreement amongst arrivals from China and Hong Kong. In response to a question on level of 'concern about becoming a victim of crime in your local area', 42% of the more recent cohort indicated that they were 'very worried' or 'fairly worried', with significant variation by country of birth: 28% of those born in the United Kingdom or Ireland, 37% born in China or Hong Kong, 39% in New Zealand, and 59% born in India or Sri Lanka.

Common questions in the national and recent arrivals surveys considered levels of personal and institutional trust. The indication of personal trust showed almost no difference between 1990-1999 and 2000-10 arrivals: 31% agreed that most people could be trusted, 54% (1990-1999) and 51% (2000-10) agreed that in dealing with people 'you can't be too careful'. A relatively high proportion, close to 15%, indicated that they could not choose. **The 31% indicating that people could be trusted were significantly lower than the proportion in the national survey (45%).**

The question on institutional trust found a similar pattern of ranking amongst recent arrivals and respondents in the national survey. There was little difference between the two immigrant cohorts, although **in general terms trust was lower amongst immigrants who arrived in the 1990s and hence had longer experience of Australia.** Trust was also lower amongst both immigrant cohorts than the level indicated by the national survey.

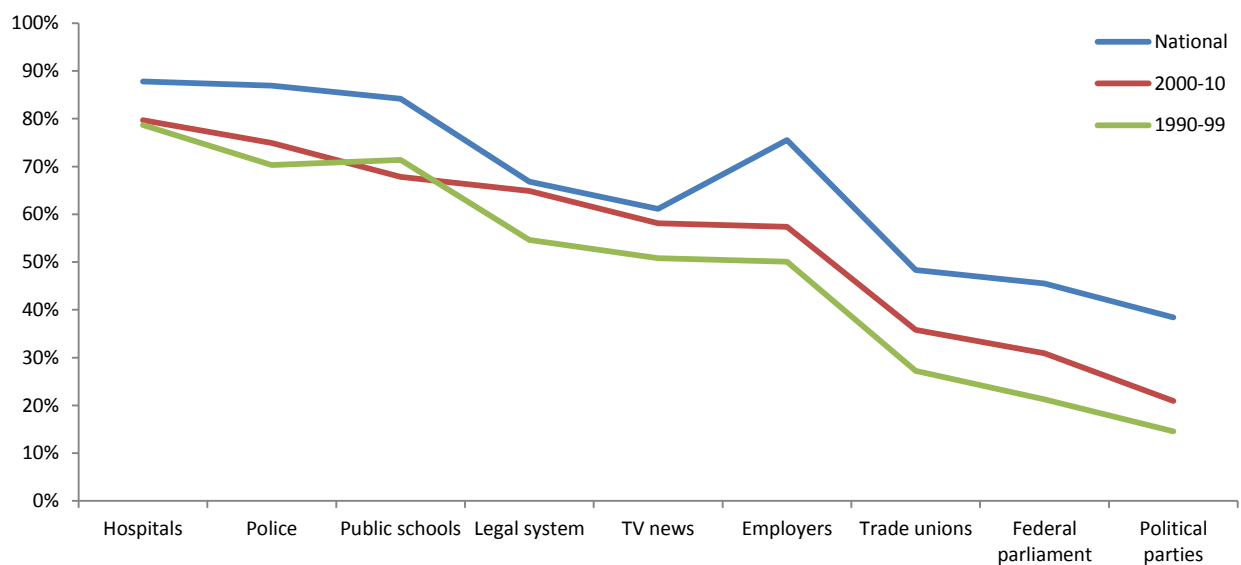
Providers of medical care (Doctors, Hospitals, the Medicare system) ranked highest (above 70% indicating a 'lot' or 'some' trust), followed by police, public schools, charities and the legal system. The four lowest rankings, amongst arrivals between 2000-2010 were for trade unions (36%), the federal parliament (31%), real estate agents (25%) and political parties (21%).

²⁰ See Sample Reports from LSIA at <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/research/lisia/>

Table 29: '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?', by recent arrivals and national surveys, 2013 (percentage)

Institution	Arrived 1990-1999			Arrived 2000-2010			National
	A Lot	Some	A lot + Some	A Lot	Some	A lot + Some	
Doctors	38.3	46.7	85.0	33.0	48.4	81.4	
Medicare	27.7	52.2	79.9	30.0	47.8	77.8	
Hospitals	28.0	50.7	78.7	29.7	50.0	79.7	88.1
Police	26.4	43.9	70.3	27.6	47.3	74.9	86.9
Public schools	14.0	57.4	71.4	15.5	52.3	67.8	84.5
Charitable organisations	12.4	50.6	63.0	13.9	48.0	61.9	
Legal system	13.0	41.6	54.6	17.8	47.1	64.9	67.4
Centrelink	12.2	39.6	51.8	15.4	43.4	58.8	
TV news	5.3	45.5	50.8	9.7	48.4	58.1	61.2
Employers	4.8	45.3	50.1	7.1	50.3	57.4	75.7
Department of Immigration	6.9	32.2	39.1	11.8	41.7	53.5	
Business groups	3.3	33.5	36.8	4.9	36.3	41.2	
Trade unions	3.3	23.9	27.2	4.8	31.0	35.8	48.5
Federal parliament	2.5	18.8	21.3	4.4	26.5	30.9	46.0
Real estate agents	1.8	18.9	20.7	2.2	22.8	25.0	
Political parties	1.0	13.6	14.6	2.9	18.0	20.9	38.7

Figure 26: Trust in institutions and organisations, recent arrival and national surveys, 2013



Immigrants indicated relatively low trust in employers (57%, 2000-10, 50%, 1990-1999, compared with 76% in the national survey). Of the two government agencies specified, Centrelink and the former Department of Immigration, the older immigrant cohort indicated a lower level of trust than the more recent arrivals.

Life satisfaction and identification with Australia

A last issue concerns life satisfaction and identification with Australia. **A question on satisfaction with life in Australia found greater satisfaction with length of residence: 85% of arrivals in the 1990s and 79% of more recent arrivals indicated satisfaction.**

Three questions common to the immigrant and national surveys indicate substantially lower levels of satisfaction amongst immigrants, with little difference between the two immigrant cohorts.

There is, however, a degree of ambiguity in the findings, as a relatively high proportion of the recent arrivals opted for a mid-point response, indicating neither agreement nor disagreement. With regard to specific indication of dissatisfaction, close to 30% of recent arrivals indicated dissatisfaction with their financial situation, but this was little different from the 25% who indicated dissatisfaction in the national survey.

There was also little difference in response to the proposition that Australia is ‘a land of economic opportunity’ where hard work is rewarded: 12% of those who arrived between 1990-1999 disagreed, 11% of arrivals between 2000-10, and 14% of respondents to the national survey. When asked if they had been unhappy over the last year, 11% of both arrival cohorts indicated that they had, compared with 9% of national survey respondents. **Thus, at a broad level which considers all recent arrivals, there is little difference in a number of indicators of dissatisfaction amongst recent arrivals and respondents to the national survey, although some responses are ambiguous.**

Table 30: Selected life satisfaction indicators by year of arrival, recent arrival and national surveys, 2013 (percentage)

Question and response	Arrived 1990-1999	Arrived 2000-2010	National
‘How satisfied are you with life in Australia?’ Response: ‘Very satisfied’, ‘satisfied’; in brackets, ‘very dissatisfied’, ‘dissatisfied’	84.6 (4.9)	78.7 (5.4)	
‘Australia is a land of economic opportunity where in the long run, hard work brings a better life’. Response: ‘Strongly agree’, ‘agree’; in brackets, ‘strongly disagree’, ‘disagree’	70.3 (12.1)	69.9 (10.9)	81.9 (14.2)
‘Would you say that over the last year you have been ... ?’ Response: ‘Very happy’, ‘happy’; in brackets, ‘very unhappy’, ‘unhappy’	63.5 (11.4)	64.5 (10.5)	86.8 (9.4)
‘How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your present financial situation?’ Response: ‘Very satisfied’, ‘satisfied’; ; in brackets, ‘very dissatisfied’, ‘dissatisfied’	43.1 (30.5)	43.7 (28.5)	70.9 (25.3)

One possible indication of lack of engagement with Australian society is lack of interest in various forms of Australian media. Lack of interest is indicated by responses of ‘never’ or ‘several times a year’, the two lowest response options on a five point scale (every day, several times a week, several times a month, several times a year, never).

The proportion disengaged from these forms of media ranges from an average close to 10% for Australian television news or current affairs programs to over 30% for radio news or talkback. The average score shows little difference between the two immigrant cohorts, with a range from a low point for new arrivals from India and Sri Lanka (12%) to a high for arrivals from the United Kingdom and Ireland (23%) and New Zealand (24%).

Table 31: Engagement with Australian media by year of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013 (percentage)

Frequency : 'several times a year', 'never'	Arrived 1990-1999	Arrived 2000-2010	China & Hong Kong (2000-10)	India & Sri Lanka (2000-10)	UK & Ireland (2000-10)	New Zealand (2000-10)
Watch Australian news or current affairs programs on television	8.8	11.1	12.3	4.9	10.7	11.6
Read Australian newspapers print or internet	17.0	16.1	11.8	6.8	22.9	22.7
Watch Australian entertainment or sport on television	17.5	19.2	25.4	8.8	18.2	14.9
News or talk-back programs on radio	31.9	32.3	24.5	25.4	41.0	46.2
Average	18.8	19.7	18.5	11.5	23.2	23.9

The recent arrivals survey points to the complexity of the immigrant experience. Governments change rules of immigrant admission, which for many make the gaining of permanent residence a difficult and long process; but immigrants change the nature of their interactions with Australian society and **exercise greater freedom than past generations in shaping the nature of their interactions.**

There is indication of significant difference across birthplace groups and patterns of identification defy simple generalisation. Thus, amongst the four largest immigrant groups considered, those from India and Sri Lanka indicate the highest levels of concern for personal safety and strongest engagement with overseas relatives and friends, yet also indicate the strongest levels of belonging in Australia.

Respondents to the new arrivals survey were asked how they related to the world – whether they saw themselves as a world citizen, an Australian, a person who identified with his/her country of birth, part of a local community in Australia, a member of a religious group, or 'just an individual'.

For five of the six options, at least half of the respondents indicated that they saw themselves in terms of the identification indicated – identification with a religious group is the exception.

Table 32: '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 ...', by time of arrival and country of birth, recent arrivals survey, 2013 (percentage)

Response: 'strongly agree', 'agree'	Arrived 1990-1999	Arrived 2000-2010	China & Hong Kong (2000-10)	India & Sri Lanka (2000-10)	UK & Ireland (2000-10)	New Zealand (2000-10)
'I see myself as a world citizen'	54.0	55.4	47.7	65.2	59.3	49.0
'I see myself as an Australian'	73.5	51.5	48.2	75.1	50.3	32.2
'I see myself as a person who identifies with my country of birth'	56.7	63.6	58.5	74.5	75.7	75.2
'I see myself as part of my local community in Australia'	64.3	61.9	50.5	74.8	64.6	65.5
'I see myself as a member of my religious group'	27.4	30.2	24.6	50.5	9.6	17.9
'I just see myself as an individual'	73.4	66.8	56.2	74.6	69.3	69.2
N (unweighted)	775	1549	177	184	207	165

There was little difference in responses by arrival cohort amongst those who saw themselves in terms of being 'a world citizen' and membership of their 'local community in Australia'. **A significantly higher proportion of arrivals who have been in Australia longer see themselves 'as an Australian'**, by a smaller margin there is decline in the proportion who identify with their country of birth. There is, however, amongst those who have been in Australia **longer also an increase in the proportion who see themselves in terms of their individuality.**

Analysis by country of birth reinforces the earlier finding of relatively high identification with Australia amongst those born in India or Sri Lanka. The New Zealand born amongst the more recent arrivals indicate the lowest proportion who see themselves as an Australian, likely the result of their terms of entry, which for many provides an easy path to permanent residence but not to full citizenship. A relatively low proportion of those from China or Hong Kong indicate that they see themselves as an Australian, but they also indicate relatively low identification with their land of birth.

It is a characteristic of the modern world that individuals simultaneously adopt multiple identities. While religious identity is of major importance to only a minority of recent arrivals (but a majority of some birthplace groups), a majority indicate identification with the land of their birth, the land in which they have chosen to settle, with their local communities, as world citizens – and as individuals.

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In the initial planning and implementation of the project, 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.

Ms Tanya Munz designed this publication.

Survey administration for the national survey was undertaken by The Social Research Centre. Mr Darren Pennay (Managing Director) and Mr David Blackmore (Research Director) provided expert advice, including advice on questionnaire design and aspects of data analysis, and developed and applied the survey weighting.

Monash University provided the research environment that sustained the project.

Credits

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 *Australia's Immigration Revolution* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney 2009), co-authored with James Jupp and Peter McDonald; *Race: John Howard and the Remaking of Australia* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2001) and *Building a New Community: Immigration and the Victorian Economy* (editor, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2001).

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 is 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, including this sixth survey of social cohesion in Australia.

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, by adopting issues of national significance and initiating projects in any worthwhile field or activity to the benefit of the community.

