University of
South Australia

Australian Muslims:
THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA
AND SOCIAL DISTANCE
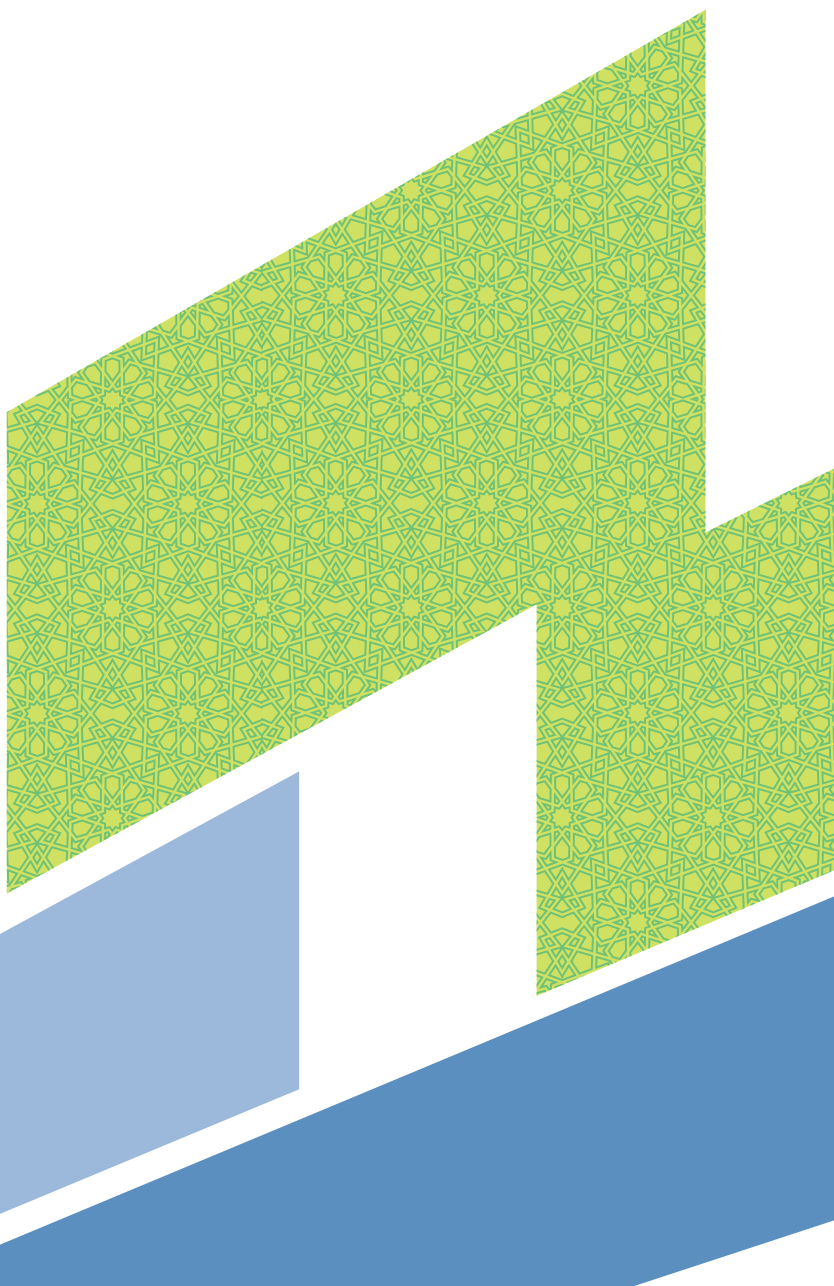## 2018

**International Centre for
Muslim and non-Muslim
Understanding**

PREFACE
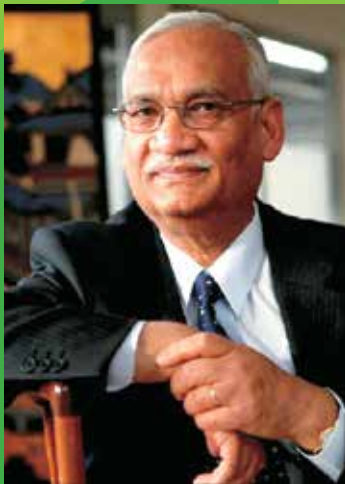
The International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding at the University of South Australia was launched by its patron, former Australian Prime Minister the Hon. Mr Bob Hawke, in 2008. It is devoted to building cross-cultural harmony and understanding. The Centre's work examines the basis of tensions between the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds, including the role of governments, local communities and the media, within a social and cultural, rather than purely religious, context. It supports critical engagement and dialogue at the local, national and global levels and works towards developing policy solutions that can be considered and implemented by governments in Australia and overseas. The Centre contributes to the University of South Australia's repository of scholarship and expresses its commitment to social justice, multiculturalism and reconciliation. It is the leading policy institution of its kind in Australia. The Centre is a unique forum where scholars can develop and share ideas within the framework of a broader social justice and social inclusion agenda. This report is a small but timely and important contribution to that objective.
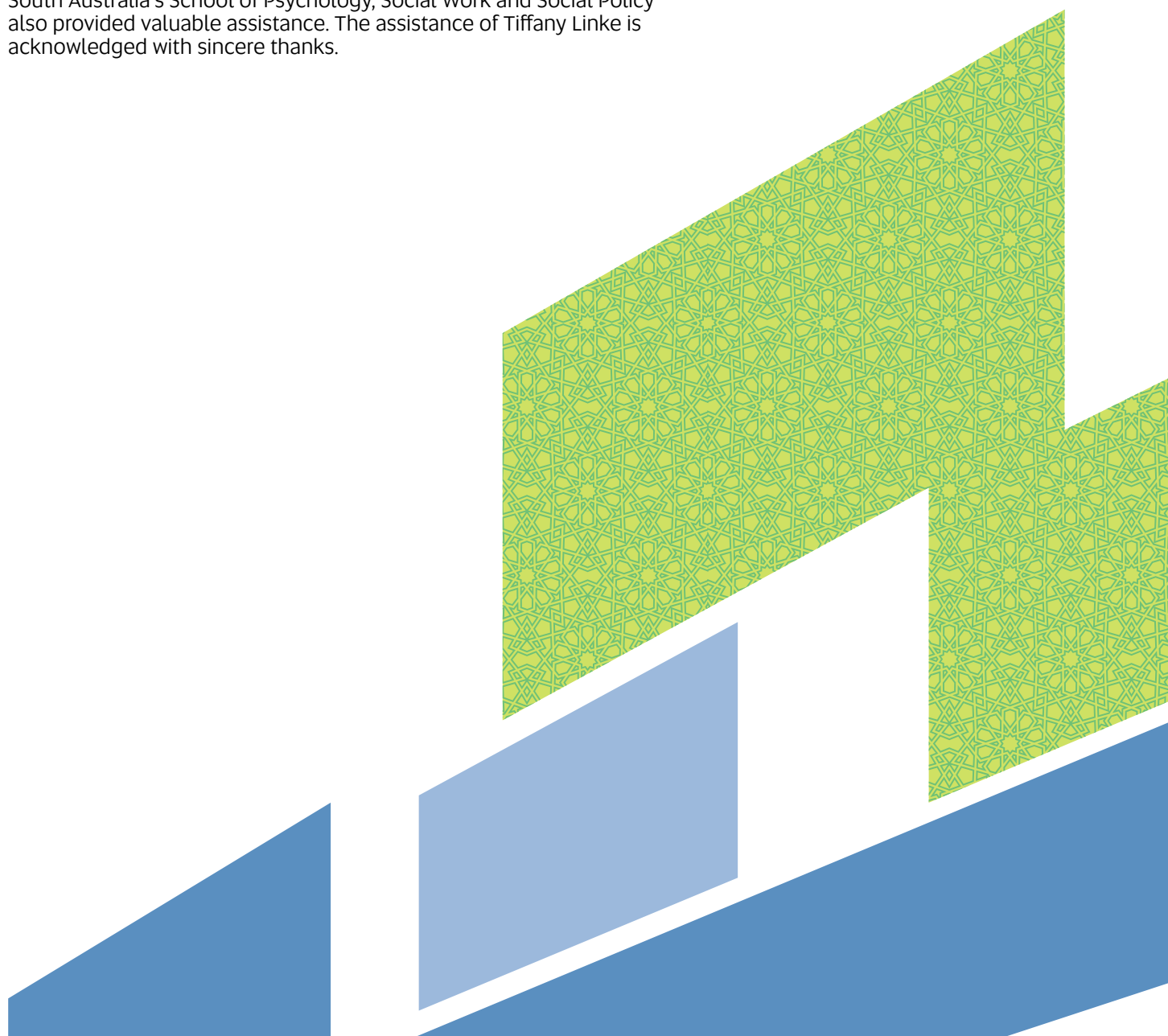
Professor Riaz Hassan AM FASSA
Director
International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding
University of South Australia

1

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

BRIEF OVERVIEW

In the 2016 Australian Census, 604,200 people self-identified as Muslims. This constituted 2.6% of the total Australian population, an increase of over 18% of its previous population share of 2.2% in the previous Census conducted in 2011. Islam is now the second largest religion in Australia. These statistics may suggest that the presence of Islam and Muslims in Australia are relatively recent phenomena. History and geography show that this is not the case.

Contact between Muslim Indonesian fishermen from Southern Sulawesi and Indigenous people in northern Australia from around the 1750s is the earliest evidence of a Muslim connection to Australia. However, it was not until the 1860s with the arrival of the Afghan cameleers that Muslims settled in greater numbers in Australia. At the peak of colonial exploration and the settlement of central Australia, around 3,000 Afghans worked as camel drivers carting water and goods over the difficult terrain. Initially they were seen as very dependable and cheap labourers, and they were employed in the public sector, as well as by pastoralists in remote sheep stations. This led to friction between the traditional European bullock teamsters, popularly known as 'bullockies', and the Afghans. There were fatal shooting incidents between the two groups and at least one anti-Afghan league was formed in the Coolgardie region.

With the end of the camel transport industry in the 1920s and the restrictive effects of the White Australia immigration policy, the number of Afghans dwindled. It was not until the policies that restricted the immigration of non-Europeans to Australia were dismantled in the late 1960s that Muslim migration resumed. In the post-war period, mainly due to migration from Turkey and Lebanon, the Muslim population increased markedly, rising to 200,885 in 1996. But Muslims still comprised only 1.1% of the total population.

The Muslim experience demonstrates the impact that political attitudes and the national policies they create can have upon people's lives. The policies arising from the Immigration Restriction Act 1901 were based on the false notion of a relationship between ethnicity and standard of living. They essentially wiped out the Australian Muslim community for nearly 70 years. It has only been since a change in national policy in the late 1960s that a Muslim community has been able to develop once more.

The increase in the Australian Muslim population is largely the result of the same forces that have contributed significantly to increases in the general Australian population: namely immigration and a natural increase. There has been a significant increase in the arrivals of Muslims over the past four decades. According to the 2016 Australian Census, around 37% of Muslims were Australian born and the rest hailed from 183 countries, making them one of the most ethnically heterogeneous religious communities in the country.

As mentioned, with 2.6% of the Australian population subscribing to Islam, the religion is now the second largest in Australia. According to demographic projections by the Pew Research Centre, by the middle of this century the number of Muslims will increase to 1.4 million, constituting 5% of the Australian population.

Immigration and the accompanying ethnic, religious and cultural heterogeneity are the building blocks of modern Australian society. Australia's democratic political system is committed to providing a vital and enduring framework for the development of a prosperous and politically inclusive society. It is also committed to freedom of association, including membership of religious, ethnic and cultural groups. But for many groups, ethnic, cultural and religious group membership has been central to the experience of disadvantage — as demonstrated in the case of Indigenous Australians. Australian Muslims also offer a particularly striking example of how a growing cultural subpopulation experiences disadvantage.

This report has twin aims. Section 3 provides an updated demographic and socio-economic profile of Australian Muslims based on the 2016 Australian Census data. Sections 4 and 5 report the findings of the Islamophobia and Social Distance surveys. These surveys investigated how a representative sample of 1,000 Australian adults perceived key religious and cultural groups, with a special focus on Muslims. It focused on their perceptions of Muslims and other religious and ethnic groups, with particular attention paid to Islamophobia and social distance, and how these phenomena vary according to key demographics, by respondents' direct experience with such groups and other variables. This report offers a new measure of social distance that can be used to investigate responses to key religious and ethnic groups. In relation to Australian Muslims, it explores patterns of Islamophobia and social distance. Sections 4 and 5 of the report offer a methodological framework for larger future studies of religious and ethnic relations in Australia, and the potential impact (in terms of social and economic disadvantage) on particular subpopulations.

FOREWORD

A subtle but often underappreciated force on history is demographics. Numbers tell. This is no more evident than the effect that demographics will have on religious affiliations, where it is estimated by 2050 that Islam will be the world's largest faith. This new reality will impact Australia, but is largely absent from consciousness. This limitation has been addressed by the distinguished Professor Riaz Hassan in his timely report entitled *Australian Muslims: the challenge of Islamophobia and social distance*. He is to be congratulated on producing an informative and scholarly report that focuses on the Australian story.

In the first section of the report, Professor Hassan synthesises the data provided by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to produce a demographic profile of Australian Muslims. The picture that emerges is one of an ethnically diverse population, a third of whom are Australia born, mostly residing in New South Wales and Victoria, with the majority embracing Australian citizenship and living in households consisting of married couples with children. The socio-educational profile of Australian Muslims also mirrors that of the broader population, with the majority possessing very high English proficiency and similar educational attainments. However — and not dissimilar to new migrant groups — they are more likely to be underemployed, and less represented in high-status professional and managerial occupations. In the second section of the report, Professor Hassan examines anti-Islamic sentiment or Islamophobia, and the attitude-to-others or social distance to Australian Muslims. In a survey involving almost 1000 respondents which was specifically designed to minimise social desirability and thus allow a more open expression of opinions, the picture that emerges is thus: while a subset is highly Islamophobic, the overwhelming majority of Australians do not share these feelings. Moreover, and whilst there are some areas of discrimination such as with employment, the majority of Australians are welcoming and accepting toward Australian Muslims.

There is a vulnerability in the human psyche to fear the other, especially when feeling threatened and insecure. Prof Hassan's positive findings on Australian attitudes to Australian Muslims are an encouraging foundation upon which to build future public policies.

Finally, a feature of demographic trends is that they move slowly, thereby allowing time to adapt. Professor Hassan is to be congratulated for bringing Australian Muslims into view, helping us better understand their journey, and foreshadowing what will be an important demographic shift in the decades to come.

Professor Kurt Lushington
Head of School
Psychology, Social Work and Social Policy
University of South Australia

While they share a common religion, Australian Muslims are a culturally and linguistically diverse group. Around two-thirds were born overseas in countries such as Lebanon, Turkey, Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Pakistan, Indonesia, Iraq, Bangladesh, Iran, Fiji, Cyprus, Somalia, Egypt and Malaysia. Despite the stereotype that all Muslims are of Arab or Middle-Eastern background, less than 20% of Australian Muslims were born in Middle Eastern or Arab countries. A significant number come from Asia, Europe and Africa. They speak a range of languages such as Arabic, Turkish, Persian (Farsi), Bosnian, Bahasa Indonesia, Begali, Malay, Dari, Albanian, Hindi, Kurdish and Pashtu. Most Australian Muslims are Sunni but there is also a significant minority of Shi'ite Muslims and smaller numbers of Bektashis, Ahmadis, Alawis and Druze.

(Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 2004)

1. INTRODUCTION

In the next four decades the demography of world religions will change significantly. The proportions of all religions in the world population will remain the same or decline, with the exception of Islam. Because Muslims have the highest rate of fertility and the youngest average age, the Muslim population is expected to increase from 1.6 billion, or 23% of the world population, to 2.76 billion or 30% of all people by 2050. This will nearly equal the percentage of Christians, the world's largest religious group, in size. By 2070, 20 years later, Islam will be largest religion in the world.

In India, while Hindus are projected to remain a majority population at 77% by 2050, the population of Muslims will increase from 14% to 18% of the population. There will be 310 million Muslims in India, making them the largest Muslim population in the world, followed by that of Pakistan. Indonesia, now the most populous Muslim country, will rank third. The proportions of Christians in the United States, Europe and Australia are projected to decline significantly.

By mid-century, several countries including Australia, Britain, France and the Netherlands will cease to be majority-Christian countries. Nearly 40% of Christians will live in sub-Saharan Africa. The proportion of the world's Christians living in Europe will decline from 26% in 2010 to 16% in 2050.

At 47%, Christianity will still comprise the largest religion in Australia, but the unaffiliated or those with no religion will make up 40% of this country's population. Islam, with 4.9% of the population, will be the second largest religious community. This means there will be almost one million more Muslims in Australia by 2050 than there were in 2010.

These changes in the demography of religions, including an increase of one billion in the Muslim population predominantly residing in South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Europe, will have significant implications for relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims nationally and globally. The changes may accentuate existing tensions and/or give rise to new challenges for promoting harmonious interreligious group relations. Against this backdrop, this report offers a grounded analysis of the Australian Muslim community. It seeks to deepen our understanding of its demographic, social and economic profiles and the sociological implications for Australian society.

1.1   Sources of data for this report

Demographic profile: The Australian Census includes questions about an individual's religious affiliation. A significant majority of Australians answer this question. This response allows for analyses of demographic, social, economic, educational and related characteristics of Australian Muslims, and these form the basis of this report.

Use of the DataLab (ABS remote access data) allowed access to the ABS Census Sample File (CSF), which is a Confidentialised Unit Record File (CURF) of Census variables. For example, the expanded 5% sample for the 2011 CSF contains data on 1,083,585 individuals and Census characteristics for person, family and dwelling variables. While the CURFs contain the most detailed information available from the ABS, specific identifying information about persons and organisations have been removed for the purposes of this report.

Most Census variables are available in the CSF; however, some classifications (e.g. birthplace, industry, occupation and qualifications) are collapsed here to less detailed levels, to protect confidentiality. Since unit records were accessible, it was possible to use the data to conduct complex empirical analyses such as regression analysis.

Complete Census data were accessed through the Bureau's TableBuilder (via an internet site). TableBuilder allows access to the full Census (the completed collection of 2016 Census data contains 23,401,891 records). TableBuilder also allows very detailed classification levels (including geography). However, an important restriction when using TableBuilder is that users may not have access to the underlying unit records: data are reported at various levels of aggregated tabulations. Since unit records cannot be accessed, TableBuilder cannot be used for regression analysis.

This means DataLab and TableBuilder are two different files accessed in different ways. The CURF is a unit record file accessed via DataLab and has limited detail to help ensure the confidentiality of the respondents. TableBuilder has more variables available and more detail, but only aggregated data is released and TableBuilder has limited functionality.

Islamophobia and social distance: The data pertaining to Islamophobia and social distance were generated from two surveys conducted by The Australian National University's Social Research Centre. The first survey was administered to a randomly selected sample of 1,000 individuals of the Australian adult population by Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI). The respondents were asked if they strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree or strongly disagree with each of the items pertaining to Islamophobia and social distance. The findings on social distance showed very favourable results with regard to Australian perceptions of other religions and ethnic groups. These findings were significantly different from the findings of similar previous Australian surveys. To ascertain that these findings were not an artefact of methodology, a second survey using Online Text and Grid methods was administered to a non-random sample of 1,000 Australian adults, with a 50/50 split between the two methods. This second survey addressed only social distance items. The Text and Grid methods used were similar to CATI, but each of its questions was administered one by one online, without the use of an interviewer. As this is similar to a self-administered method, the respondents were less likely to feel pressured to respond in a certain way. Hence this method was more conducive to respondents completing a cognitive ranking of religions and ethnicities that used a broad range of the scale. The survey results for social distance, which are presented in Section 5 of the report, closely correspond with those of similar previous Australian surveys.

2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The aim of this report is to present some of the most recent demographic and socioeconomic data on Muslims in Australia in an accessible format. The report includes information on identity, ethnicity, language, age, household type, education, income and employment. Most of the information has been taken from the 2016 Australian Census, with some comparisons made using data from the 2011 Census.

2.1 Demographic profile

Muslims constitute 2.6% of the Australian population, making Islam Australia's second largest religion. Islam is the second-fastest growing religion in Australia, after Hinduism. Thirty-seven percent of Muslims are Australian born, and the rest come from 183 different countries, making them one of Australia's most ethnically and nationally heterogeneous communities. About two fifths of Australian Muslims are of North African or Middle Eastern origin, and about one quarter are of South and Central Asian origin.

Australian Muslims are overwhelmingly urban dwellers. In fact, three quarters of them live in Sydney and Melbourne. The Muslim population is increasing more rapidly in other major Australian cities though, with the highest rate of increase in Adelaide.

Muslims are concentrated in certain state and federal electorates, giving them noticeable political influence in some parts of Australia. In some state electorates, such as in New South Wales and Victoria, a quarter of eligible voters are Muslims.

2.2 Issues of civic life

In the 2016 Census almost 70% of Australian Muslims nominated 'Australian' as their national identity. This figure would probably be higher were it not for the large number of recent migrants in the Muslim population. Muslims overwhelmingly agree that it is possible to be a good Muslim and a good Australian. Studies consistently show, though, that Australian citizenship and identifying as an Australian offer no protection from stereotypes and prejudice.

About 83% of Australian Muslims report good or very good proficiency in the English language. This is significant in light of a recent study which shows that, for the great majority of Australians, being able to speak English is a more important marker of being Australian than being born in Australia.

2.3 Muslim households and age profile

Most Muslim households consist of a married couple and their children. A relatively high proportion of Muslims are children. Muslims tend to be younger than the Australian population as a whole, meaning that a large proportion of Muslims are in the economically active age range. Muslim women also tend to have more babies than the average Australian woman.

2.4 Inequalities

Muslims are less likely to own or to be purchasing their homes than the average Australian. They are more likely to be renting privately.

There are significant differences in income between Muslim Australians and the Australian population as a whole. Muslims tend to earn significantly less, both at the household and individual levels. A quarter of all Muslim children in Australia are living in poverty, compared with 13% of all Australian children.

Muslims have higher rates of unemployment than the general population, and are less likely to be in the labour market (see Section 2.5 below).

Older Muslims are significantly more likely to be disabled or to need assistance with core activities, than Australians in general.

2.5 Education and the labour market

Australian Muslims' level of educational attainment compares favourably with the total population. They are more likely to have completed Year 12, and Muslim men are more likely to have a Bachelor or postgraduate degree. A larger proportion of Muslims are in full-time education compared with all Australians, mainly due to their younger age structure.

Muslims are less likely to be employed than Australians in general, and this labour market disadvantage is worse for younger Muslims. Muslims are also underrepresented in high-status professional occupations and overrepresented in other occupational categories, which tend to have lower status.

Muslims receive significantly less economic return for their level of education than other Australians. An econometric model shows that expected weekly income tends to be lower for Muslims and lower for migrants, and more so for Muslim migrants.

In the Australian labour market, applicants with Middle Eastern names are less likely to be given an interview than applicants with identical resumes but Anglo-Saxon names. Discrimination against those with Middle Eastern names is greater than discrimination against those with Italian or Indigenous names.

2.6 Islamophobia

The term Islamophobia denotes negative and hostile attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. The term has been used by academics for some time, and has more recently become part of political and media discourses. Islamophobia can cover hostile feelings, discrimination, exclusion, fear, suspicion or anxiety directed towards Islam or Muslims. The survey found that almost 70% of Australians have a very low level of Islamophobia, about 20% are undecided and only 10% are highly Islamophobic.

The survey found no significant differences between the Islamophobic attitudes of women and men, nor between people living in capital cities or non-capital cities. People living in Victoria were less likely to be highly Islamophobic. The survey found that people are more likely to be Islamophobic if they are older, have not completed Year 12, are not employed in a professional or managerial role, or if they belong to a non-traditional Christian denomination. People who have regular contact with Muslims are less likely to be Islamophobic, and so are people who have tolerant attitudes towards migrants or who are not very worried about terrorism.

2.7 Social distance

The concept of social distance captures the degrees and grades of affective closeness and intimacy people feel towards members of different groups in society and which characterise their personal and social relations. It indicates how much sympathy people feel for members of a particular social group and how much prejudice they feel.

The survey administered by Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) found that the great majority of Australians felt comfortable having a Muslim as a family member or close friend, although more felt social distance with regard to Muslims than with other religious groups. These findings were significantly different to those of similar previous Australian surveys. The differences may be the result of methodology. To investigate possible 'mode effects', a second survey was commissioned which did not involve interviewer-interviewee interaction in the administration of the survey instrument. Instead, the questions were administered online by 'Text' and 'Grid' methods to a non-random sample of 1,000 adult Australian respondents, with a 50/50 split between the two methods. The findings revealed significant differences in attitudes when compared to the phone survey. Respondents' acceptance of a Muslim as an 'Immediate family member' declined from 69% in the CATI survey to 48% and 22% in the Text and Grid modes respectively. The lower percentages for the Text and Grid versions are possibly due to the fact that neither of these two methods involved interviewer-interviewee interaction. In these two settings respondents were not under any pressure to express socially acceptable opinions and therefore could have been more honest in their responses.

2.8 Conclusion

The evidence presented in this report shows that Australian Muslims in general are young city dwellers who are optimistic about life in Australia. They are bringing up children, enrolling in higher education, and embracing the English language and an Australian identity. Unfortunately, though, there is still evidence of widespread discrimination against Muslims, both on an interpersonal level and through employment practices. Muslims are more likely to be unemployed and living in poverty. Despite their high levels of education, Muslims are less likely to work in the professions and less likely to be granted a job interview than the average Australian. Most Australians display low levels of Islamophobia and are welcoming of members of other religions. There are pockets of anxiety and prejudice directed towards Muslims, for example among the aged and those facing economic insecurity, but their social distance attitudes towards members of religious and ethnic groups other than their own vary significantly depending on the circumstances and conditions under which these opinions and attitudes are expressed. This is an area requiring further investigation.

3. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF AUSTRALIAN MUSLIMS

3.1 Religions in Australia

In the 2016 Census there were 604,244 Muslims in Australia. They constituted 2.4% of the Australian population. Islam was the second largest religion in Australia after Christianity.

Table 1: Religion in the 2016 Census

Religion	2016		Change 2011–2016	
	Number	%	Number	%
Christianity	12201603	52.1	-949068	-7.2
Buddhism	563675	2.4	34697	6.6
Islam	604244	2.6	127954	26.9
Hinduism	440303	1.9	164768	59.8
Judaism	91023	0.4	-6313	-6.5
Other religions	221593	0.9	53397	31.7
Secular beliefs and other spiritual beliefs and no religious affiliation (1)	7040715	30.1	2243929	46.8
Inadequately described (2)	106571	0.5	-67710	-38.9
Not stated	2132167	9.1	292518	15.9
Total	**23401891**	**100.0**	**1894172**	**8.8**

Notes: In 2011, category (1) was No Religion; (2) was Supplementary Codes. There may not be direct alignment between these particular data across the Census.

Between 2011 and 2016, Hinduism was the fastest growing religion in Australia. It increased by 59.8%, followed by Islam (26.9%) and Buddhism (6.6%). If the present trends continue, by the middle of the twenty-first century Australia will be much more religiously heterogeneous than it is today.

According to a Pew Research Center (2015) projection, by 2050 Australia will no longer be a majority Christian country. The religious composition of its population of 29 million people is predicted to be: 47% Christian, 40.4% unaffiliated, 4.9% Muslim, 3.1% Buddhist, 2.3% Hindu, 0.9% followers of folk religions, 0.5% Jewish and 1% other religions.

3.2 Ethnic diversity

In 2016, 37.2% of Muslims in Australia were Australian born. Another 43.1% were born in Lebanon, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Bangladesh, Iraq, Iran, Indonesia and India. Altogether, Australian Muslims came from 183 countries, making them one of the most ethnically and nationally heterogeneous communities in Australia.

Table 2: Country of birth of Muslim population: top 30 source countries, 2016

Country of birth	Muslims	% of Muslim population	Country of birth	Muslims	% of Muslim population
Australia	219940	37.2	Syria	5701	1.0
Pakistan	54728	9.3	Bosnia and Herzegovina	5561	0.9
Afghanistan	42705	7.2	Sudan	4066	0.7
Lebanon	34192	5.8	New Zealand	3930	0.7
Bangladesh	33506	5.7	Singapore	3751	0.6
Iraq	21137	3.6	Kuwait	3577	0.6
Turkey	20605	3.5	Myanmar	3505	0.6
Iran	18106	3.1	Sri Lanka	3198	0.5
India	15650	2.6	Jordan	3051	0.5
Indonesia	13848	2.3	Ethiopia	2879	0.5
Saudi Arabia	9841	1.7	South Africa	2593	0.4
Somalia	7161	1.2	United Arab Emirates	2584	0.4
Malaysia	7159	1.2	Cyprus	2502	0.4
Fiji	7023	1.2	FYROM	2197	0.4
Egypt	6191	1.0	Eritrea	2114	0.4

Notes: FYROM is the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Source: 2016 Census.

Between 2011 and 2016, the number of Australian Muslims born in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Iran, India and Saudi Arabia increased by 59% from 123,089 to 195,763. This increase was largely due to the arrival of new migrants from these countries under various Australian government resettlement programs. Most of the migrants were in economically active age groups.

A majority of Australians believe it is not important to have been born in Australia to "be Australian": 44 per cent say that it is important, compared to 56 per cent who say it is not. These figures have reversed since 1995, when 55 per cent said it was important and 44 per cent said it was not. Where Australians have become more likely to believe that "Australianness" requires the ability to speak English, being born overseas has become less of a barrier. (Sheppard 2015, p. 2)

3.3 Ethnicity and ancestry of Australian Muslims

The Australian Census uses geographical region as a proxy for ethnicity/ancestry, as listed in Table 3 and 4. In 2016 the largest proportion of Muslims (36.6%) was of North African and Middle Eastern origin, followed by South and Central Asia (32.2%). The Census indicated 8.8% were of European and 4.4% of Sub-Saharan African origin. Only 1.4% of Europeans were Muslim, but 39.8% of those of North African and Middle Eastern origin were Muslims, followed by 19.3% of South and Central Asians and 14.7% of Sub-Saharan Africans.

Table 3: Ethnicity/ancestry of Muslim population, 2016

Region	Muslims	% of Muslim population
Oceanian	45324	7.5
North-West European	31936	5.3
Southern and Eastern European	21120	3.5
North African and Middle Eastern	221327	36.6
South-East Asian	33605	5.6
North-East Asian	3470	0.6
Southern and Central Asian	194406	32.2
Peoples of the Americas	528	0.1
Sub-Saharan African	26742	4.4
Supplementary codes	11885	2.0
Not stated	13902	2.3
Total	**604244**	**100**

Table 4: Muslim proportion of ethnic groups, 2016

Region	Muslim	Total	Muslim proportion
Oceanian	45324	5199994	0.9
North-West European	31936	10729806	0.3
Southern and Eastern European	21120	1845515	1.1
North African and Middle Eastern	221327	556147	39.8
South-East Asian	33605	706031	4.8
North-East Asian	3470	1302497	0.3
Southern and Central Asian	194406	1005469	19.3
Peoples of the Americas	528	141534	0.4
Sub-Saharan African	26742	182499	14.7
Supplementary codes	11885	99719	11.9
Not stated	13902	1632686	0.9
Total	**604244**	**2340189**	**2.6**

If the migration trends of the past decade continue then the future face of Australian Islam is likely to be predominantly South Asian (from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Fiji and Afghanistan). Contrary to the general belief that most Arabs are Muslim, the Census ancestry data show that only 43% of Arabs are Muslims. Also, while almost 40% of the world's Muslims live in South and Central Asia, a large majority of the people in those regions are non-Muslim.

3.4 Geographical distribution

New South Wales and Victoria are home to 77% of Muslim Australians. Of these, 78.3% live in Sydney and Melbourne. Another 21% live in either Perth (8.4%), Brisbane (6.0%), Adelaide (4.8%) or Canberra (1.8%). In short, Australian Muslims are overwhelmingly urban dwellers.

Large Australian cities, especially Sydney and Melbourne, are the fabric of multicultural Australia. The ethnic diversity of Australian cities has been institutionalised in Australian cuisine and the religious landscape. Certain areas such as Auburn, Bankstown, Lakemba, Granville and Fairfield in New South Wales, and Broadmeadows, Dandenong and Thomastown in Victoria are becoming Muslim enclaves. They provide halal food, restaurants and shops, meeting the needs of the ethnically and nationally diverse Muslim Australian population.

Table 5: Muslim population by state, 2016

State	Total population	Muslims	% of Muslim population	Muslim % of total
NSW	7480230	267654	44.4	3.6
VIC	5926624	197029	32.6	3.3
QLD	4703192	44881	7.4	1.0
SA	1676653	28547	4.7	1.7
WA	2474414	50650	8.4	2.0
TAS	509961	2497	0.4	0.5
NT	228838	2332	0.4	1.0
ACT	397393	9882	1.6	2.5
Total	**23397305**	**603472**	**100**	**2.6**

Table 6: Muslim population by city, 2016

City	Muslims	Total population	% of total Muslims
Sydney	253436	4823993	45.1
Melbourne	186652	4485210	33.2
Brisbane	33830	2270807	6.0
Adelaide	27125	1295712	4.8
Perth	47402	1943861	8.4
Hobart	1549	222356	0.3
Darwin	2021	136831	0.4
Canberra	9864	396853	1.8
Total Australia	**561873**	**23401891**	**100**

Table 7: Muslim population change in Australian cities, 2011–2016

City	2011	2016	% Increase
Sydney	208149	253436	21.8
Melbourne	144650	186652	29.0
Brisbane	24990	33830	35.4
Adelaide	18383	27125	47.6
Perth	36439	47402	30.1
Hobart	1158	1549	33.8
Darwin	1344	2021	50.4
Canberra	7422	9864	32.9

While Sydney and Melbourne continue to attract most Australian Muslims, between 2011 and 2016 the Muslim population in Sydney and Melbourne increased by 21.8% and 29.0% respectively. However, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth and Canberra registered increases ranging from 30.1% to 50.4%.

Darwin had the largest percentage increase between 2011 and 2016 at 50.4% (this city was not included in the previous report), which was slightly larger than that of Adelaide (47.6%). The percentage increase for Adelaide between 2011 and 2016 dropped considerably in comparison to the period between 2006 and 2011, which was 90%.

3.5 Age profile

A distinctive feature of the Australian Muslim age profile is that Muslims are significantly younger than the overall Australian population. In 2016, 82% of Muslim Australians, compared with 59% of all Australians, were below the age of 45, and only 3.7% were 65 years and older, compared with 15.7% of all Australians. This means that Australian Muslims are adding significantly to the economically active segment of the labour force in Australia, and thus are contributing to economic productivity. Outside the major metropolitan areas, the younger age structure is also contributing to the economic activities of small towns and rural areas.

Table 8: Muslim population age profile, 2016

Age range	Muslim	Total
0-4 years	11.1	6.3
5-14 years	18.3	12.4
15-24 years	16.1	12.8
25-34 years	20.8	14.4
35-44 years	15.6	13.4
45-54 years	9.2	13.3
55-64 years	5.2	11.8
65+ years	3.7	15.7
Total	100	100

Figure 1: Age profile of the total population and Muslim population, 2016
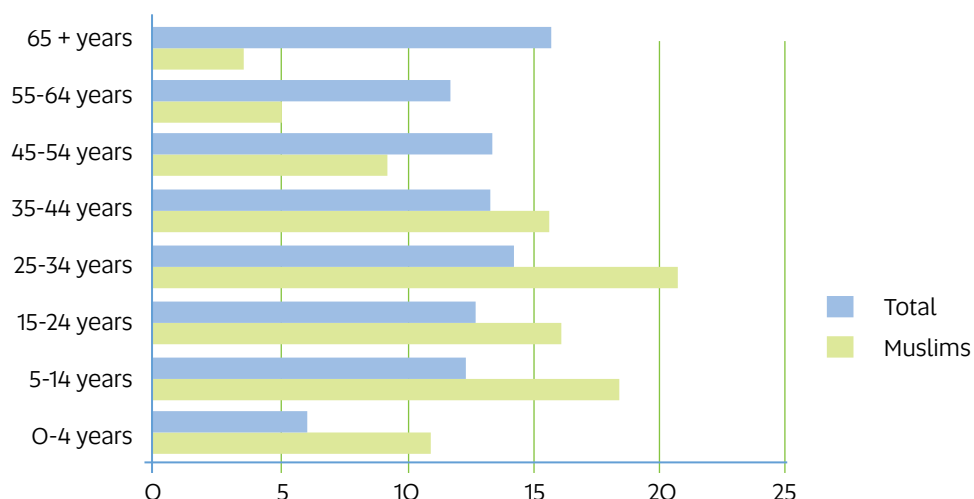
Table 9: Muslims in 55 to 74 year-old age band, 2016

Age range	Muslim	% of Muslim population
55-59 years	17976	3.0
60-64 years	13322	2.2
65-69 years	9622	1.6
70-74 years	6227	1.0

Table 10: Muslim population by city and age, 2016

City/Age	Muslims					Total				
	0−9	10−19	20−49	50−69	70+	0−9	10−19	20−49	50−69	70+
Sydney	21.6	15.6	49.0	11.6	2.3	12.8	11.8	44.2	21.6	9.5
Melbourne	21.2	15.4	50.6	10.7	2.2	12.6	11.7	44.8	21.3	9.6
Brisbane	21.8	15.4	51.5	9.6	1.6	13.3	12.7	43.5	21.6	8.8
Adelaide	21.9	15.6	53.1	8.0	1.4	11.8	11.7	40.4	24.2	11.9
Perth	21.6	15.3	51.7	9.8	1.6	13.0	12.2	43.6	21.9	9.3
Hobart	19.8	17.0	53.8	8.3	1.5	12.1	12.0	38.2	25.7	12.0
Darwin	17.6	9.6	59.8	11.1	1.6	14.2	11.5	49.9	20.2	4.3
Canberra	22.6	12.7	53.4	9.4	1.9	13.2	11.8	45.9	20.9	8.2
Total	**21.5**	**15.4**	**50.2**	**10.8**	**2.1**	**12.8**	**11.9**	**43.9**	**21.8**	**9.6**

3.6 Parliamentary constituency populations

3.6.1 State electoral divisions

The political implications of the Australian Muslim presence in New South Wales and Victoria can be seen from the fact that in 2016, over 26% of voters for four state parliamentary seats (three in NSW and one in Victoria) were Muslim. In another 12 electorates, between 10 and 20% of the constituents were Muslim, and in another 14 electorates between 6 and up to 10% of voters were Muslim.

Table 11: Muslim population by state electoral division, 2016

Division	State	Muslims	Total	Muslim %
Lakemba	NSW	35466	91625	38.7
Broadmeadows (NM)	VIC	25403	72353	35.1
Bankstown	NSW	23078	85526	27.0
Auburn	NSW	27858	103687	26.9
Dandenong (SEM)	VIC	14778	74903	19.7
Granville	NSW	17383	91055	19.1
Yuroke (NM)	VIC	12151	89166	13.6
Liverpool	NSW	12222	91134	13.4
Thomastown (NM)	VIC	8887	68630	12.9
Holsworthy	NSW	9831	84406	11.6
Tarneit (WM)	VIC	10997	96603	11.4
Mount Druitt	NSW	9719	88715	11.0
Macquarie Fields	NSW	9293	86364	10.8
Fairfield	NSW	9018	86988	10.4
Mirrabooka (EM)	WA	4661	45174	10.3
East Hills	NSW	7827	77345	10.1
Pascoe Vale (NM)	VIC	7131	74521	9.6
Narre Warren North (SEM)	VIC	6138	66219	9.3
Cannington (SM)	WA	4321	46972	9.2
Enfield	SA	3592	39361	9.1
Narre Warren South (SEM)	VIC	7401	82544	9.0
Rockdale	NSW	7531	86196	8.7
Stretton	QLD	4736	59135	8.0
Woodridge	QLD	5006	63582	7.9
Gosnells (EM)	WA	3098	41854	7.4
Canterbury	NSW	6064	88013	6.9
Kogarah	NSW	6196	91950	6.7
Kororoit (WM)	VIC	5587	83733	6.7
Preston (NM)	VIC	4481	68153	6.6
Belmont (EM)	WA	2758	42082	6.6

Notes: (1) This table shows the top 30 divisions by Muslim population in the 2016 Census. (2) SE is South-Eastern Metropolitan; EM is Eastern Metropolitan; NE is Northern Metropolitan; WM is Western Metropolitan.

3.6.2 Commonwealth parliamentary electorates

In 2016, the Commonwealth electorates of Blaxland and Watson had 20% or more Muslim residents, and another three electorates (Calwell in Victoria; Werriwa and McMahon in NSW) had between 11 and 18% Muslim residents. Another 13 Commonwealth electorates had between 5 and 10% Muslim residents.

Table 12: Muslim population by Commonwealth electoral area, 2016

Electoral area	State	Muslims	Total	Muslim %
Blaxland	NSW	50995	174633	29.2
Watson	NSW	40903	174807	23.4
Calwell	VIC	29324	165410	17.7
Werriwa	NSW	21761	170906	12.7
McMahon	NSW	19043	165697	11.5
Wills	VIC	16050	169648	9.5
Holt	VIC	18820	199865	9.4
Parramatta	NSW	17128	186324	9.2
Chifley	NSW	14172	171251	8.3
Bruce	VIC	12541	157007	8.0
Scullin	VIC	13178	167967	7.8
Barton	NSW	13184	172852	7.6
Lalor	VIC	16771	231980	7.2
Fowler	NSW	10444	164235	6.4
Macarthur	NSW	10214	162020	6.3
Swan	WA	8835	163199	5.4
Gellibrand	VIC	8609	165874	5.2
Burt	WA	8664	168783	5.1
Greenway	NSW	8306	170068	4.9
Banks	NSW	7557	155804	4.9
Rankin	QLD	8680	179171	4.8
Gorton	VIC	9430	194692	4.8
Isaacs	VIC	7577	158653	4.8
Stirling	WA	6601	147993	4.5
Moreton	QLD	6863	158070	4.3
Batman	VIC	6991	161968	4.3
Cowan	WA	6240	147537	4.2
Melbourne	VIC	8457	208588	4.1
Adelaide	SA	6072	163440	3.7
Port Adelaide	SA	5522	165088	3.3
(30 largest)		**418932**	**5143530**	**8.1**

The concentration of Muslims in a number of state and federal electorates will increase their influence, giving them the greater political visibility that comes through electoral influence and success.

3.7 Muslim fertility

According to the 2016 Census, Muslim women aged 40 to 44 years had 3.03 babies each, compared with 2.02 for all women in Australia. The average number of children to parents of other religions were as follows: Christianity 2.11; Judaism 2.17; Buddhism 1.68; Hinduism 1.81; No religion 1.84; Other religions 1.94 (Allen 2017). These averages have not been adjusted to reflect the education and employment of women to obtain a more reliable profile of fertility behaviour. These data are available for 2006 from the ABS.

After adjusting for factors including education and employment, the average number of children born to Australian Muslim women was 2.5, which was still higher than for Christian women, who had the second highest average fertility level of 2.1. Fertility behaviour is one of the most socially and culturally regulated behaviours in society. There is a general tendency towards the convergence of fertility behaviours of migrant and local populations.

Figure 2: Average number of children ever born and religious affiliation, women aged 40–44 years, 2006
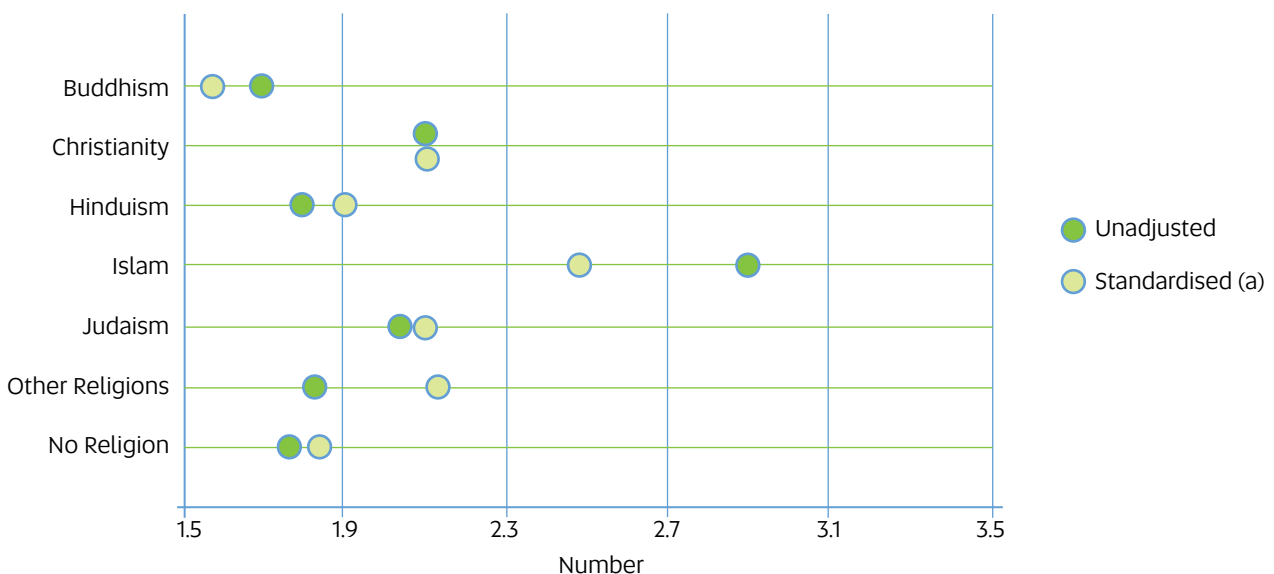
Note: Standardised to the total of 40–44 year old women's level of education and income.
Source: ABS, 2006 Census of Population and Housing

3.8 Issues of civic life

3.8.1 Muslim identity

Identity is a conception and expression of selfhood. It is a product of socialisation involving, firstly, identification with the values, goals and purposes of one's group; and secondly, internalisation of these values, goals and purposes to regulate one's behaviour. Muslim identity, thus, is the ability to imagine and express oneself in relation to the 'other'. Citizenship is an important marker of identity. It signifies identification with the values, goals and purposes of Australian society.

In the 2016 Census, when asked to nominate their national identity, 69.7% of Australian Muslims chose 'Australian' compared with 82.4% of all Australians. It should be remembered that some of these Muslims would have arrived in Australia only recently. It is likely that, after completing the residency and related requirements for becoming Australian citizens, more of these migrants would identify as Australian.

Table 13: Muslims and national identity, 2016

Identity	Muslims	%	Total	%
Australian	420872	69.7	19278832	82.4
Not Australian	172118	28.5	2507455	10.7
Not stated	11254	1.9	1615597	6.9

In a Monash University study on 'Muslim voices', the respondents were asked to rank the strength of their agreement or disagreement with the statement 'I can be a good Muslim and a good Australian'. The overwhelming majority of Muslim Australian respondents strongly agreed with the statement (Akbarzadeh et al. 2009).

Figure 3: Reponses to the statement 'I can be a good Muslim and a good Australian'
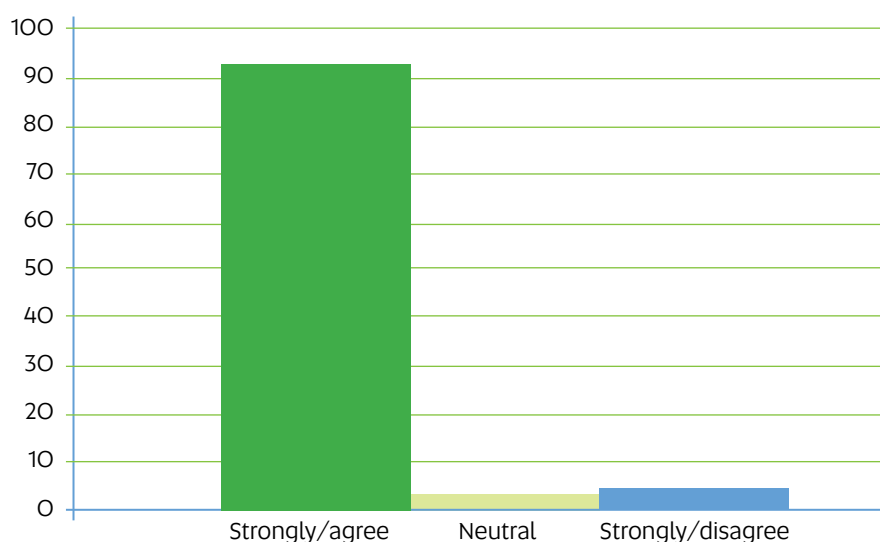
Source: Akbarzadeh et al. (2009, p. 18)

When asked to reflect on being Muslim and Australian, the theme of harmony between the two was one of the strongest to emerge, as reflected in the following responses:

> I think being an Australian Muslim is great — I love living in Australia. There are times I feel discriminated against but overall I live happily and experience positive relationships with the people around me who come from all different religions and backgrounds.

> I see no opposition between being a good loyal Australian citizen and a Muslim, since Islamic values teach me to love and work diligently towards the betterment of any community I live in.

> 'Muslim' and 'Australian' are not mutually exclusive. I can be and have happily been both since coming to Australia at the age of 9. I respect everyone, regardless of whether they're Muslim, Christian, Jew, etc. Second, I believe the core fundamental values should focus on the commonality between people, rather than highlighting our differences. I feel blessed to be Muslim and I feel blessed to be Australian. Coming to Australia has given me so much and I will always be mindful of this.

> (Akbarzadeh et al. 2009, p.19)

Being an Australian citizen does not mean that one is free from the stereotypes and prejudices that are common in broader Australian society. Many Muslims report having experienced these. In a recent report on the community backlash accompanying the fight against terrorism, the authors note that there was a strong sense among participants that Muslim communities were regarded as 'suspect', resulting from the association between Islam and terrorism. Participants spoke about a sense of being 'under constant suspicion'. Since 9/11, in particular, they had been stigmatised and labelled as a security threat. One consequence was that participants believed a form of collective attribution was being imposed on Muslim communities. Specifically, participants felt that all Muslims were tarnished as potential terrorists or sympathisers of terrorism (Murphy, Cherney and Barkworth 2015, p.11).

Participants in a Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) consultation reported on the discrimination and vilification they faced:

> The community has a fear of Muslims and Muslims have a fear of being targeted.

> After September 11, Bali and the Iraq War we are treated like terrorists ... Even Muslims who have been part of this country for many years all of a sudden were no longer treated as part of this country.

> What all Muslims get is discrimination. There's just a basic idea and a stereotype that 'They're all trouble makers' and that they just don't like you just because of your looks ... There is nowhere that you go that there is no discrimination.

> (HREOC 2004, p. 45)

3.9 English language proficiency

The proportion of Australian Muslims in 2016 reporting that they speak English only, or speak English very well or well, was 83.4%. This is higher than the 2011 figure (82.3%).

The percentage of Muslims who reported no or poor proficiency in English also remained stable during this period, slightly decreasing from 15.6% in 2011 to 15.1% in 2016, a further marginal decrease since 2006 (16.1%).

Table 14: English language proficiency of Muslims, 2011 and 2016 (%)

Proficiency	2011	2016
Speaks English only	13.0	14.5
Very well	46.5	46.3
Well	22.8	22.6
Not well	11.4	11.1
Not at all	4.2	4.0
Not stated	2.1	1.6
Total	**100**	**100**

"Australian" — and its counter, "unAustralian" — is regularly used to describe intangible qualities of members of Australian society. To understand what "Australian" really means to people in Australia, respondents were asked to rate the importance of a range of traits and behaviours. Overwhelmingly, Australians believe that the ability to speak English is important to being Australian; while 92 per cent agree that language is important, 65 per cent see it as being "very important", with only 27 per cent responding "fairly important". This represents an increase from 1995, when the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) asked identical questions. In that survey, 86 per cent responded that the ability to speak English was important, with 59 per cent responding with "very important". Since 1995, the percentage who do not believe English language skills are important to being Australian fell from 12 to eight per cent.

(Sheppard 2015, p. 2)

Table 15 shows the level of English language proficiency of Australian Muslims by country of birth. The vast majority of Muslims described speaking English 'very well' or 'well'.

Table 15: English language proficiency by country of birth, 2016 (%)

Country of birth	Very well & well	Not well	Not at all	Other
Pakistan	85.8	6.9	1.8	5.5
Afghanistan	63.1	25.6	8.3	3.0
Lebanon	70.5	21.5	3.7	4.3
Bangladesh	88.8	5.8	0.8	4.5
Iraq	67.9	23.8	5.8	2.5
Turkey	61.6	28.5	3.6	6.3
Iran	76.1	17.3	2.9	3.7
India	85.3	5.1	1.8	7.9
Indonesia	78.4	9.6	1.2	10.8
Saudi Arabia	70.7	17.7	7.8	3.8
Somalia	75.0	17.0	2.9	5.0
Fiji	84.1	2.8	0.5	12.6
Malaysia	77.6	6.7	1.2	14.6
Egypt	81.8	8.4	2.0	7.8
Syria	58.0	25.7	13.5	2.8
Bosnia & Herzegovina	69.9	20.0	3.4	6.8
Sudan	76.2	18.4	2.3	3.1
Kuwait	81.2	11.8	3.1	3.9
Myanmar	43.3	43.6	10.0	3.1
Singapore	75.6	2.2	0.2	21.9
Jordan	82.5	8.2	3.7	5.6
Ethiopia	75.6	16.2	3.0	5.2
New Zealand	64.2	2.4	0.8	32.5
Sri Lanka	70.6	3.9	0.5	25.0
Cyprus	70.1	19.6	2.0	8.3
United Arab Emirates	79.8	5.2	1.6	13.3
FYROM	69.8	20.9	2.8	6.4
Eritrea	70.9	19.7	6.5	2.8
China	66.5	24.0	5.1	4.5
Kenya	75.8	7.4	3.3	13.5
Gaza Strip & West Bank	74.3	16.9	5.6	3.2
Libya	82.3	11.2	1.8	4.8
Sierra Leone	78.6	6.6	1.3	13.6
England	97.9	1.4	0.6	0
Thailand	65.4	17.2	3.8	13.6

Notes: (1) Descending order of total count.
(2) FYROM is Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.
(3) China excludes SARs and Taiwan.
(4) Others includes 'Mostly speak English at home'.

In a 2015 Australian National University survey of Australian attitudes towards national identity, Australians overwhelmingly believed that the ability to speak English is important to being Australian (92%). Given their high level of proficiency in the English language, the majority of Australian Muslims glowingly meet this test of 'being Australian'.

3.10 Muslim households and inequalities

3.10.1 Household types

The majority of Muslim households consist of married couples and their children. The proportion of single person households (21.6%) is significantly lower than for all Australian households. The household composition has significant implications for the labour force participation rate, as well as the social welfare dependency rate.

Table 16: Muslim household composition, 2016

Household composition	Muslims	%	Total Australian	%
Never married	130681	21.6	6668916	28.5
Widowed	9386	1.6	985201	4.2
Divorced	19675	3.3	1626891	7.0
Separated	15425	2.6	608056	2.6
Married	251160	41.6	9148220	39.1
Lone parent	21478	3.6	959545	4.1
Lone person	17859	3.0	2023541	8.6
Child under 15	169296	28.0	4034736	17.2
Child non-dependent	33843	5.6	1214518	5.2
Student	43259	7.2	1095293	4.7
Group household	31241	5.2	825381	3.5

Notes: (1) Categories overlap (e.g., 'Never married' can also be 'Lone parent' or 'Lone person').
(2) 'Student' excludes dependent child.
(3) Children under 15 are dependents.

The higher proportion of dependent children compared with the rest of the population reflects the age profile of the Muslim population, as well as the high fertility rate among Muslim women. This may in turn affect the participation rates of Muslim women in the labour force. In general, Muslim household structures reflect the cultural and religious values of the community.

3.10.2 Housing tenure

Home ownership is the main vehicle for accumulating private wealth in Australia. As a result the home ownership rate in Australia is one of the highest in the world. In 2016, 68.6% of Australian households either fully owned or were owner-purchasers of their home. The corresponding figure for Muslim Australians was only 54%. The difference was particularly striking for fully owned homes where the rate was 14.5% for Muslim Australians and 27.7% for the total population. Another difference was that around one third of Muslim Australians lived in privately rented houses, compared with 22.5% of all Australians. Muslims were more likely to be in public housing.

Table 19: Housing tenure type, 2016 (%)

Tenure type	Muslim	Total
Fully owned	14.5	27.7
Being purchased	39.8	40.9
Rented: private	33.9	22.5
Rented: public	7.6	3.2
Other	0.5	0.7

Note: (1) Data are from the longitudinal 5% sample.

These differences are probably related to the fact that many Muslim Australians are recent migrants. If they experience no economic and social barriers, their home ownership rate will increase over time.

3.10.3 Household income

There are significant differences in household and personal income between Muslim Australians and all Australians. Muslim households are overrepresented in lower income categories and significantly underrepresented in higher income categories. Income inequalities are even more pronounced in individual weekly income. Almost 14% of Muslim individuals had no personal income and another 19% had a weekly income of less than $400. The corresponding figure for all Australians was 16%. The gap was the highest for individuals earning over $1000 per week: 14% for Muslim Australians and 25% for the whole population.

Table 20: Weekly household income, 2016 (%)

Income	Muslim	Total
Negative/nil income	2.5	1.3
$649 and less	15.3	11.9
$650 to $1249	28.0	21.4
$1250 to $2999	40.8	43.9
$3000 or more	13.4	21.5

Note: (1) Data are from the longitudinal 5% sample.

Table 21: Individual income (gross weekly), 2016

Income	Muslims	%	Total	%
Negative/nil income	85030	14.1	1806408	7.7
$1-$149 or $1-$199	23715	3.9	801377	3.4
$150-$399 or $200-$399	93293	15.4	2963650	12.7
$400-$649 or $400-$599	63677	10.5	2979429	12.7
$650-$999 or $600-$999	63851	10.6	2981351	12.7
$1,000-$1,999	64918	10.7	4240027	18.1
$2,000 plus	17904	3.0	1558299	6.7
NS/NA	191858	31.8	6071347	25.9
Total	**604246**	**100**	**23401888**	**100**

Note: (1) Data are from the longitudinal 5% sample.

There are significant income differences between all Australians and Muslim Australians, with Muslim Australians overrepresented in lower income brackets at both household and individual levels.

3.10.4 Children in poverty

Using household income of less than $800 per week as a benchmark, the data reveal that over one quarter of all Muslim children in Australia (25.6%) were living in poverty in 2016, compared with 12.7% of all children.

Table 22: Children in households with income less than $600 a week, 2011 (%)

	Muslim	Total
Less than $800 (in poverty)	25.6	12.7
More than $800 (not in poverty)	74.4	87.3

Note: (1) Data are from the longitudinal 5% sample.

Deprivations associated with poverty in childhood can have lifelong effects on an individual. It can lead to endemic poverty and all its economic, social and health consequences.

3.10.5 Health inequalities

Data on health and wellbeing by religious groups are available only for disability and assistance with core activities among the older population (60 years and over). The data show that the proportion of Muslims aged 60 years and older who need assistance is significantly greater than for all older Australians. The need for assistance with core activities increases at significantly higher rates among Australian Muslims.

Table 23: Disability: assistance with core activities in the older population, 2016

	Age group	Muslims	%	Total	%
Needs assistance with core activities	60-69	5901	25.7	177045	7.1
	70-79	4156	42.5	197715	12.8
	80-89	1803	66.5	245572	31.9
	90-99	259	68.9	101268	58.1
	100 plus	6	46.2	2536	71.1
Total		**12125**	**34.5**	**724136**	**15.8**
Does not need assistance with core activities	60-69	16611	7.1	2132074	85.7
	70-79	5442	12.8	1222371	79.4
	80-89	860	31.9	451855	58.7
	90-99	107	58.1	52114	29.9
	100 plus	3	71.1	523	14.7
Total		**23023**	**65.5**	**3858937**	**84.2**

Table 24: Disability in the over-65 population by gender, 2016

	Muslims				Total			
	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%
Needs assistance with core activities	5451	28.7	6681	39.7	296574	12.7	427567	16.2
Does not need assistance with core activities	13177	69.5	9841	58.4	1855161	79.4	2003770	75.9
Not stated	343	1.8	320	1.9	184990	7.9	208081	7.9
Total	**18971**	**100**	**16842**	**100**	**2336725**	**100**	**2639418**	**100**

The disability rate among Australian Muslims aged 65 and over (for both men and women) is significantly higher than for all Australians. If these trends continue, Australian Muslims will require significantly more public and private assistance in their older age.

3.11 Education and labour force status

3.11.1 Educational attainment

Australian Muslims' level of educational attainment compares favourably with the total population. In general, Australian Muslims are more likely to have completed Year 12 or attained a Bachelor Degree/postgraduate qualification than the Australian population. On the other hand, in the category of Certificate III and IV, Muslims are under-represented compared to the total Australian population.

Table 25: Highest level of qualification, 2016 (%)

Qualification	Muslim	Total
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate level	12.1	7.5
Bachelor Degree level	19.1	15.6
Advanced Diploma and Diploma level	9.2	8.8
Certificate III and IV level	9.3	24.8
Secondary education and Certificate I and II level	39.5	34.5
Secondary education - Years 9 and below	10.9	8.8

Note: Excludes Supplementary Codes, 'Not stated' and 'Not applicable'.

3.11.2 Educational attainment by gender

Table 26: Highest level of qualification by gender, 2016 (%)

Qualification	Muslim		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate level	13.4	10.6	7.4	8.4
Bachelor Degree level	18.3	19.9	15.5	19.6
Advanced Diploma and Diploma level	8.4	10.2	8.8	11.7
Certificate III and IV level	10.7	7.5	25.2	11.5
Secondary education and Certificate I and II	38.6	40.5	34.4	38.8
Secondary education - Years 9 and below	10.5	11.3	8.7	9.9

Note: Excludes Supplementary Codes, 'Not stated' and 'Not applicable'.

3.11.3 Student population

A larger proportion of Muslims – male and female – are in full-time education compared with all Australians (17% of Muslims and 10% of Australians as a whole). This is related to their age structure.

Table 27: Student population gender variation, 2016

	Muslim				Total			
	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%
Non-student	195795	32.4	166968	27.6	7998760	34.2	8191220	35.0
Full-time student	104331	17.3	95401	15.8	2292838	9.8	2319671	9.9
Part-time student	15107	2.5	17297	2.9	441128	1.9	560619	2.4
Not stated	4898	0.8	4440	0.7	813909	3.5	783740	3.3
Total	**320131**	**53.0**	**284106**	**47.0**	**11546635**	**49.3**	**11855250**	**50.7**

Note: Percent of total of males and females.

In all urban areas, a greater percentage of Australian Muslims are students compared to the Australian population in general. This trend indicates that, without taking other factors such as discrimination into account, the Muslim position in the labour market is expected to improve.

Table 28: Student population gender variation by city, 2016

	Muslims		Total	
	Students	Students as % of Muslims	Students	Students as % of total
Sydney	93893	37.0	1237986	25.7
Melbourne	71201	38.1	1140431	25.4
Brisbane	14142	41.8	572011	25.2
Adelaide	12126	44.7	314295	24.3
Perth	19357	40.8	476833	24.5
Hobart	781	50.4	52530	23.6
Darwin	655	32.4	31402	22.9
Canberra	4032	40.9	109679	27.6
Total	**216187**	**38.5**	**3935167**	**25.3**

3.11.4 Labour force status

Employment rates for Australian Muslims are significantly lower than for all Australians and unemployment rates are significantly higher. One third of Muslims were not in the labour force in 2016, compared with just over one quarter of all Australians.

Among those who were in the labour force, the employment rate for Muslims was 32.5%, compared with 45.7% for all Australians. The unemployment rate of 5.7% of Australian Muslims who were in the labour force was almost double that of all Australians. The relatively poor position of Muslims in the Australian labour market indicates one of the main reasons for the inequalities examined in the previous section.

Table 29: Labour force status, 2016 (%)

	Muslim	Total
Employed	32.5	45.7
Unemployed	5.7	3.4
NLF	31.6	26.9

Income distribution in modern societies is largely determined by each individual's position within the labour market. The low employment and high unemployment rates among Australian Muslims account for the housing and income inequalities between Australian Muslims and other Australians noted in this report.

3.11.5 Labour force participation by age

Australian Muslims are at a labour market disadvantage. Employment rates for Australian Muslims are significantly lower than for all Australians in all age brackets.

Similarly, the unemployment rate also indicates poorer labour market outcomes. Unemployment rates for the 25-44, 45-64 and 65+ age groups are almost double those of the total population.

Table 30: Labour force status by age group, 2016 (%)

Age	Muslim			All		
	Employed	Unemployed	NLF	Employed	Unemployed	NLF
15-18	14.2	8.5	77.2	34.4	9.1	56.5
19-24	42.7	13.2	44.2	66.7	9.8	23.5
25-44	56.0	8.2	35.8	78.8	4.8	16.4
45-64	48.1	6.0	45.8	71.0	3.8	25.2
65+	9.6	0.9	89.5	13.4	0.4	86.3
Total	**46.6**	**8.1**	**45.2**	**60.1**	**4.4**	**35.4**

Note: Excludes 'Not stated' and 'Not applicable'.

3.11.6 Occupation structure

Occupation is an important marker of an individual's economic and social position. Muslim Australians in 2016 were significantly underrepresented in the high-status professional and managerial category and overrepresented in all other occupational categories, which are generally considered indicative of lower socioeconomic status. One exception was sales, clerical and personal services, with Muslims slightly less represented.

Table 31: Occupation structure, 2016

Occupation category	Muslim	%	Australia	%
Professionals and managerial	57688	30.1	3761016	35.8
Skilled blue collar	48198	25.2	2117522	20.2
Sales, clerical and personal services	62160	32.5	3607634	34.4
Labourers	23411	12.2	1011520	9.6
Total	**191457**	**100**	**10497692**	**100**

Note: Excludes 'Not stated' and 'Not applicable' and 'Inadequately described'.

Until recently, Australian Muslims were largely a working-class group. In recent years, though, a significant number of professionals have migrated from Muslim countries and that, together with the relatively higher enrolment rates in institutions of higher learning, may have a significant impact on social class mobility in the future.

3.11.7 Income relative to level of education

Muslims and migrants experience a significantly different return to education compared to other Australians. Table 32 shows the predicted mean weekly income by educational attainment and gender for non-Muslim non-migrants, all migrants, all Muslims, Muslim migrants and Muslim non-migrants. It shows that, as we would expect, the average wage increases as education levels increase. However, the rate of return to education depends on gender and on migrant and Muslim status.

For any level of educational attainment the expected weekly income tends to be lower for Muslims and lower for migrants, and more so for Muslim migrants. This econometric model controls for a number of important factors such as English language ability, age and time migrants have spent in Australia (see Table 34). Therefore the lower returns to education might result from prejudice and systematic discrimination.

Table 32: Predicted mean weekly income ($) by level of education, 2016

	Non-Muslim non-migrants	Migrants	Muslims	Muslim migrants	Muslim non-migrants
Male					
Year 9 or less	684	771	721	727	557
Year 10	883	924	645	692	552
Year 11	780	913	543	512	585
Year 12	854	857	660	692	583
Certificate	1173	1145	898	848	1023
Diploma	1391	1136	909	858	1232
Bachelors	1624	1378	1115	1084	1329
Grad. Diploma	1768	1624	1153	1046	1865
Postgrad.	2009	1601	1284	1290	1077
All males	1187	1192	924	935	883
Female					
Year 9 or less	405	524	461	488	301
Year 10	601	635	460	481	438
Year 11	551	638	382	465	300
Year 12	608	627	515	523	502
Certificate	710	698	630	595	697
Diploma	870	820	661	621	770
Bachelors	1140	1019	895	878	943
Grad. Diploma	1240	1197	993	985	1015
Postgrad.	1459	1189	918	896	1113
All females	844	870	7167	722	703

Notes: (1) Econometric models use the ABS 5% Detailed Microdata via the ABS DataLab.

(2) Estimated average weekly income from econometric models for education levels for: (i) migrant: any individual not born in Australia (compared to Australian born); (ii) Muslim: any individual who identified themselves as a Muslim (compared to non-Muslims); (iii) migrant and Muslim: any individual who identified themselves as a Muslim and a migrant (compared to non-migrant non-Muslims).

(3) Econometric model controls for: age group (15–18, 19–24, 25 44, 45–64, 65 and older); English language ability; occupation; employment in public or private sector; marital status; Indigenous status; type of employment (self-employed or domestic work); length of time in Australia.

Table 33: Predicted mean weekly income as a percentage of male/female non-Muslim non-migrants

	Non-Muslim non-migrants	Migrants	Muslims	Muslim migrants	Muslim non-migrants
Male					
Year 9 or less	57.6	65.0	60.7	46.9	46.9
Year 10	74.4	77.8	54.3	58.3	46.5
Year 11	65.7	76.9	45.7	43.1	49.3
Year 12	72.0	72.2	55.6	58.3	49.1
Certificate	98.9	96.5	75.7	71.4	86.2
Diploma	117.2	95.7	76.6	72.3	103.8
Bachelors	136.8	116.1	93.9	91.4	112.0
Grad. Diploma	149.0	136.8	97.1	88.2	157.1
Post Grad.	169.2	134.9	108.2	108.7	90.7
Female					
Year 9 or less	34.1	44.1	38.8	41.1	25.3
Year 10	50.6	53.5	38.7	40.5	36.9
Year 11	46.4	53.8	32.2	39.2	25.3
Year 12	51.2	52.8	43.4	44.1	42.3
Certificate	59.8	58.8	53.1	50.1	58.7
Diploma	73.3	69.0	55.7	52.3	64.9
Bachelors	96.1	85.8	75.4	74.0	79.5
Grad. Diploma	104.4	100.8	83.7	83.0	85.5
Post Grad.	122.9	100.2	77.3	75.5	93.8

Notes: (1) Econometric models use the ABS 5% Detailed Microdata accessed via ABS DataLab.

(2) Estimated average weekly income from econometric models for education levels for: (i) migrant: any individual not born in Australia (compared to Australian born); (ii) Muslim: any individual who identified themselves as a Muslim (compared to non-Muslims); (iii) migrant and Muslim: any individual who identified themselves as a Muslim and a migrant (compared to non-migrant non-Muslims).

(3) Econometric model controls for: age group (15—18, 19—24, 25 44, 45—64, 65 and older); English language ability; occupation; employment in public or private sector; marital status; Indigenous status; type of employment (self-employed or domestic work); length of time in Australia.

Males

For Australian males who are neither migrants nor Muslims (Table 32, column 2), return to education in general increases with each step in education. For other groups of men, increased education is also associated with increased income, but the improvement in income is less than for non-migrant non-Muslims. Muslim males with education beyond Year 12 fare the worst for any level of education, and Muslim migrants fare worse than migrants in general.

Thus, there is strong evidence that income levels for males are adversely affected by both Muslim status and migrant status, and that the interaction between the two factors contributes to lesser income success.

Females

The pattern of returns to education for females is similar to those for males with some notable exceptions. Income levels for females are less than those for males for any education level and for any group of the population.

Generally, the groups with the lowest income are female Muslim non-migrants followed by female Muslims in general, followed very closely by Muslim migrant females.

As with males, income outcomes for females are affected by both Muslim status and migrant status, and the interaction of the two factors contributes to lesser income success.

Table 34: Econometric model results

	All Australians		non-Muslim non-Migrants		Muslims		Migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Edu_PostgGd	0.5023***	0.5387***	0.6477***	0.6467***	0.1222**	0.2706**	0.2646***	0.3460***
Edu_GradDip	0.4246***	0.4244***	0.5235***	0.5028***	0.0359	0.3466**	0.2183***	0.2661***
Edu_Bachelor	0.4063***	0.4084***	0.5150***	0.4879***	0.0855*	0.3020***	0.1879***	0.2489***
Edu_Diploma	0.2957***	0.2835***	0.3985***	0.3467***	-0.0327	0.1323	0.0853***	0.1461***
Edu_Cert	0.2810***	0.2029***	0.3425***	0.2631***	0.0562	0.1950*	0.1363***	0.0692***
Edu_Yr12	0.1484***	0.1953***	0.2087***	0.2524***	-0.1411***	0.1128	0.0073	0.0676***
Edu_Yr11	0.1187***	0.1461***	0.1714***	0.1990***	-0.2180***	0.0551	0.0151	0.0366
Edu_Yr10	0.1234***	0.1306***	0.1856***	0.1896***	-0.1642***	0.0427	-0.004	0.0126
AgeGp19_24	1.2321***	1.2173***	1.2192***	1.2139***	1.4815***	1.0318***	1.2245***	1.2210***
AgeGp25_44	1.8112***	1.7140***	1.7993***	1.7026***	1.8690***	1.5208***	1.8143***	1.7579***
AgeGp45_64	1.8254***	1.7900***	1.8049***	1.7857***	1.8645***	1.5725***	1.8540***	1.8178***
AgeGp65pls	1.5981***	1.6994***	1.5926***	1.7301***	1.7131***	1.7027***	1.6078***	1.6609***
Skilled	-0.2254***	-0.3052***	-0.1656***	-0.2702***	-0.3288***	-0.3745***	-0.3299***	-0.3699***
Sales	-0.4282***	-0.5091***	-0.3859***	-0.4840***	-0.5905***	-0.7739***	-0.4874***	-0.5434***
Labour	-0.4688***	-0.5534***	-0.4175***	-0.5723***	-0.5263***	-0.5192***	-0.5492***	-0.5348***
Public	0.0656***	0.1507***	0.0522***	0.1493***	0.1590***	0.1122**	0.0802***	0.1530***
EngNone	-0.4991***	-0.3023***	-0.3725	-0.2124	-0.4439***	-0.6673*	-0.5950***	-0.3995***
EngNotW	-0.3884***	-0.2148***	-0.2916***	-0.1581**	-0.2002***	-0.2523**	-0.4411***	-0.2699***
EngWell	-0.3266***	-0.1874***	-0.1391***	-0.0870**	-0.1231***	-0.1681**	-0.3370***	-0.1963***
EngVWell	-0.1488***	-0.0281***	-0.1010***	-0.0436***	-0.0282	-0.0131	-0.1657***	-0.0217***
Owner	-0.2332***	-0.2024***	-0.2242***	-0.2036***	-0.1848***	-0.0013	-0.2537***	-0.2116***
HomeWk	-1.2684***	-1.3783***	-1.3051***	-1.3957***	-1.0090***	-1.4776***	-1.1412***	-1.3544***
Marital Status	0.1826***	-0.1002***	0.1946***	-0.1125***	0.1886***	-0.0815*	0.1669***	-0.0714***
Indigenous	-0.0415***	0.0162	-0.0367***	0.0096	0.1353	-0.4251	-0.1445**	0.0944
Muslim	-0.0667***	-0.0339	na	na	na	na	-0.0839***	-0.0966***
Migrant	-0.0785***	-0.0663***	na	na	-0.1851***	-0.1822***	na	na
Migrant &Muslim	-0.0245	-0.0591*	na	na	na	na	na	na
Time in Australia	0.0142***	0.0159***	na	na	0.0321***	0.0291***	0.0091***	0.0155***
Constant	5.2020***	5.0379***	5.0944***	4.9664***	5.2760***	5.3395***	5.3856***	5.0978***
Number	248833	225422	174796	161600	5896	2883	79649	68251
Adjusted R2	0.3394	0.326	0.3617	0.3549	0.2956	0.278	0.2824	0.2538

Notes: (1) Education levels: Edu_Yr10, Edu_Yr11, Edu_Yr12, Edu_Cert, Edu_Diploma, Edu_Bachelor, Edu_PostgGd, compared to the base case of Year 8 and Year 9 combined.

(2) Occupation: data are grouped into four categories: 'Skilled blue-collar' (Skilled), 'Sales and clerical and services' (Sales) and 'Labourers' (Labour), which are compared to the base category 'Professional and managerial'.

(3) Indigenous: compared to non-Indigenous (not in migrant or Muslim models): Indig.

(4) Employment in public sector versus the base working in the private sector: Public.

(5) English language ability: EngNone, EngNotW, Engwell and EngVwell: levels of English language ability compared to Australian born (in some cases EngNone and EngNotW are combined to form EngNoNotW).

(6) Type of employment: self-employed (Owner) and domestic work (HomeWK) compared to wage employees — only those who report current positive incomes.

(7) Marital status (Marital): married, compared to the base not married.

(8) Age group: compares four age groups, 19-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65 and older, to the base 15-18 years of age.

(9) Migrant: any individual not born in Australia (compared to Australian born).

(10) Muslim: any individual who identified themselves as a Muslim (compared to non Muslims). Migrant*Muslim: any individual who identified themselves as a Muslim and a migrant (compared to non migrant non Muslims) - the 'interaction'.

(11) TimeAust: indicator of length of time since arriving in Australia (unit is five years - between each Census. When statistically significant, each five-year period absent from Australia reduces income).

(12) Econometric models use the ABS Remote Access Data Laboratory (RADL).

(13) Dependent variable is (log) average weekly income.

3.11.8 Labour market discrimination

Do all Australians applying for a job have equal chances of being employed irrespective of their ethnicity? Conventional wisdom suggests that if two applicants have the same resume they should have an equal probability of being selected for a job interview. After all, we like to believe that everyone in Australia has a fair go. Unfortunately, this is not the case according to a recent Australian study into labour market discrimination against ethnic minorities in Australia (Booth, Leigh and Varganova 2012).

The researchers used distinctively Anglo-Saxon, Indigenous, Italian, Chinese and Middle Eastern (Muslim) names on fictitious job applications to measure labour market discrimination in Australia. In all cases the researchers applied for entry-level jobs and submitted a CV indicating that the candidate had attended high school in Australia. The study found significant differences in call-back rates. Ethnic minority candidates needed to apply for more jobs to get the same number of interviews as Anglo-Saxon candidates. People with Middle Eastern/Muslim names faced the most discrimination. In another study, Australians with Middle Eastern/Muslim backgrounds were 14% less likely to be employed than those with Australian backgrounds, compared to about 12% for Chinese and 10% for Indigenous names.

After completing TAFE in 2005 I applied for many junior positions where no experience in sales was needed – even though I had worked for two years as a junior sales clerk. I didn't receive any calls and so I decided to legally change my name to Gabriella Hannah. I applied for the same jobs and got a call 30 minutes later.

(Gabriella Hannah, formally Ragda Ali, quoted in Booth et al. 2012, p. 547)

Table 35: Probability of employment by ethnicity, compared to Anglo-Saxon names

Ethnic group	Probability of employment
Indigenous	-10.2%
Italian	-5.2%
Chinese	-11.9%
Middle Eastern	-13.7%

Notes: (1) Probability of gaining employment compared to people with Australian background .
(2) Econometric model results with controls for various socioeconomic variables.
(3) Includes only results statistically significant at 5% or better level (NS represents non-significant).
Source: Booth et al. (2012, p. 552, Table 1).

The call-back rates also showed discrimination towards individuals with Middle Eastern names. Call-back discrimination against males with Middle Eastern/Muslim names was greater than for all other groups. The pattern of discrimination was consistent for all job types.

Table 36: Call-back rates by ethnicity

Ethnic group	Call-back rate %	Ratio Anglo-Saxon
Female		
Anglo-Saxon	38	Not applicable
Indigenous	31	1.23
Chinese	21	1.82
Italian	37	1.03 Non-significant
Middle Eastern	**25**	**1.52**
Male		
Anglo-Saxon	33	Not applicable
Indigenous	22	1.51
Chinese	22	1.54
Italian	28	1.21 Non-significant
Middle Eastern	**19**	**1.76**

Notes: (1) Econometric model results with controls for various socioeconomic variables. (2) Includes only results statistically significant at 5% or better level.

Source: Booth et al. (2012, p. 557, Table 3).

To get as many interviews as an Anglo applicant with an Anglo-sounding name, an Indigenous person must submit 35 per cent more applications, a Chinese person must submit 68 per cent more applications, an Italian person must submit 12 per cent more applications, and a Middle Eastern person 64 per cent more applications.

This study has implications for the individual job seeker as well as for policy. For the individual, what's the advice? Consider Anglicising your name. This is the counsel given by some immigration lawyers. They sometimes also recommend that you don't put your country of birth on your application and only mention your language skills if they're relevant.

But can policymakers also do something? Yes, and here's one suggestion. Policymakers can implement anonymous job application procedures … Is this possible? Of course it is. In Germany, in November 2010, the Federal Anti-discrimination Agency initiated a field experiment along these lines, with anonymous job applications (no name, no photograph, no ethnicity or gender). The results showed that standardised anonymous application forms were associated with equal chances of applicants of different minorities receiving a job interview. This is just as you'd expect …

Can we do this in Australia? Let's see what our policymakers have to say.

(Booth 2013)

4. ISLAMOPHOBIA

4.1 What is Islamophobia?

4.1.1 Genesis of the term Islamophobia

Islamophobia denotes negative and hostile attitudes towards Islam and Muslims. It is a manifestation of fear and ignorance of the unknown. The term has gained wide currency in recent years, taking root in public, political and academic discourses. Its recent popularity, however, belies the fact that the term has a long history in Western academic discourse. Since at least the time of the crusades, the 'West' has perpetuated a negative 'othering' discourse about Islam. Islam has been perceived as violent and perpetuated by 'perverted practices', and viewed as 'essentially untrustworthy' (Daniel 1989; Lyons 2009, 2011 cited in Bouma 2011). Like its contemporary manifestation, the discourse has been largely impervious to evidence or reason. Confrontations between the Muslim world and the West in more recent history — such as colonialism — have further served to cement negative perceptions of Muslims in the Western mind (Cesari 2011). Colonial powers have used an anti-Islam discourse to drive their project to civilise and enlighten the Muslim populations they had subdued. Key to this was positioning Islam and Muslims as irrational and backward (Zebiri 2011).

The term Islamophobia has been evident in Western academic discourses for almost a century. The word is believed to have first emerged in its French form — *Islamophobie* in 1922 (Cesari 2011). Etienne Nasreddine Dinet, a French writer and painter, who spent significant time in Algeria, denoted an 'Islamophobe' as one who makes incorrect generalisations about Muslims, misrepresents the religion of Islam or displays an unfounded hostility towards it. Dinet saw the phenomenon as either politically motivated or prompted by personal interests, and he vehemently denounced those who, from his point of view, only learnt Arabic and studied the Islamic religion for the purpose of disparaging it (Karaoglu 2018). Edward Said's seminal book *Orientalism*, published in the late 1970s, also affirms that the 'West' has long associated Islam with negative images, sentiments, and stereotypes (Said 1979).

More recently the term Islamophobia has come to refer to unfounded hostility towards Islam, and thus fear or dislike of all or most Muslims. The term was cemented in contemporary discourses by the publication of the well-cited report *Islamophobia: a challenge for us all*, authored by the British think tank the Runnymede Trust. Since then it has been used by political activists, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), public commentators and international organisations to draw attention to harmful rhetoric and actions directed towards Islam and Muslims in Western liberal democracies and to denounce such sentiments (Bleich 2011; Green 2015).

4.1.2 The 1997 Runnymede report

In the year prior to the release of its influential report, the Runnymede Trust created the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia to study the discrimination being experienced by many British Muslims and to put forward policy recommendations to the government to address this. The context at the time and the impetus for creating the Commission was one of increasing hostility between Muslims and non-Muslims in a number of Western contexts, including Britain, as well as growing tensions between Western nations and several Muslim-majority states. The ongoing conflict between Israel and Palestine and the Iranian revolution of 1979 had played a part in marshalling negative perceptions of Muslims and Islam in the West, but it was the furore surrounding the Rushdie Affair of 1988-1989 that brought the tensions between Muslims and non-Muslims in Europe to the fore. The response of some Muslims to Rushdie's book *The Satanic Verses* caused a 'backlash' against Muslims from non-Muslim communities, with many arguing that Muslims were unable to "adapt to Western standards of free speech" (Green 2015). The Runnymede report concluded, in response to growing anti-Muslim sentiments, that there was a "new reality that needed to be named". This new reality was the phenomenon of Islamophobia.

The report describes Islamophobia as a useful shorthand way of referring to dread or hatred of Islam and unfounded prejudice and hostility towards Islam and Muslims that, by implication, translates into fear or dislike of all or most Muslims. In determining what kinds of attitudes or speech constitute Islamophobia, the report differentiates between 'narrow' and 'open' views of Islam. Open views are those that can be considered legitimate criticism of Islam, while narrow or closed views are those that constitute Islamophobia. The report identifies eight 'closed' views that are typical of the phenomenon (Green 2015):

1. Islam is perceived as 'monolithic and static': all Muslims are alike, believe the same things and hold the same worldview.

2. Islam has nothing in common with other religions in terms of values. It is "separate and 'other'".

3. Muslims are 'inferior': they are uncivilised, unenlightened and hold outdated views about women and the modern world.

4. Islam is essentially "hostile, violent and aggressive". It is the 'enemy' of the West.

5. Muslims are 'devious' and 'manipulative', looking for "strategic military or political advantage".

6. It is justifiable to racially discriminate against Muslims.

7. Muslims' criticism of the West should not be paid heed to, but it is justifiable to criticise Islam or Muslims.

8. It is 'normal' and 'natural' to be prejudiced against Muslims. This is not a form of bigotry.

The report goes on to discuss the practical consequences of such hostility towards Muslims, including unfair discrimination against Muslim individuals and communities, and the exclusion of Muslims from mainstream political and social affairs. The Runnymede report provided a significant benchmark in the discourse on Islamophobia. Its definition is still one of the most frequently referred to in discussions about anti-Muslim sentiments. It also served to stimulate further study of the phenomenon.

4.1.3 Influence of Runnymede report on other scholarship

Since 1997, many scholars have used the Runnymede Trust's formulation in their conceptualisations of Islamophobia as a "fear and dread of Islam" (Abbas 2004); "a social anxiety towards Muslim cultures" (Geisser 2003); and a "fear of Muslims and Islamic faith" (Lee et al. 2009). Islamophobia has been described as a "rejection of Islam, Muslim groups and Muslim individuals on the basis of prejudice and stereotypes" (Stolz 2005). For example, Schwartz (2005) elaborates that Islamophobia involves the "condemnation of Islam in its entirety as 'extremist'", which, by its very definition, fails to acknowledge the majority of Muslims who do not take extremist positions. Similarly, Zu´Quete (2008) describes it as "a widespread mindset and fear-laden discourse in which people make blanket judgements of Islam as the enemy as the 'other' as a dangerous and unchanged, monolithic bloc that is the natural subject of well-deserved hostility from Westerners". This prejudicial mindset may have "emotional, cognitive, evaluative as well as action oriented elements" (Stolz 2005).

Other authors liken Islamophobia to other discriminative discourses such as xenophobia and racism that are similarly characterized "by fear and prejudice" (Soldatova 2007). For instance, Poynting and Mason (2007) noted that Islamophobia evolved from "anti-Asian and anti-Arab racism" to target Muslims in particular. Perhaps what unites the definitions that have emerged since the Runnymede Trust's report is the widespread acknowledgment that Islamophobia is, indeed, "a social evil" (Bleich 2011), and that a core element of the phenomenon is the emotion of fear.

4.1.4 Erik Bleich's 2011 study on Islamophobia

A comprehensive analysis of Islamophobia was presented several years later by Erik Bleich in his paper published in the American Behavioural Scientist journal entitled 'What is Islamophobia, and how much is there? Theorizing and measuring an emerging comparative concept' (Bleich 2011). Bleich defines Islamophobia as "indiscriminate negative attitudes or emotions directed at Islam or Muslims" (Bleich 2011). He identifies three distinct elements of this definition. Firstly, Islamophobia is indiscriminate. Therefore, those attitudes or views that are unselective and which do not contain sweeping generalisations about Muslims or Islam are not Islamophobia. Bleich contends that some negative attitudes or emotions may not, in fact, be Islamophobic. However, he notes that in reality there is probably a "sliding scale of differentiation", which makes it hard to conclusively determine what an indiscriminate point of view is and therefore what constitutes Islamophobia.

Secondly, negative attitudes and emotions encompass a range of evaluations and affects. Like racism and other forms of prejudice, the negative attitudes or emotions denoted by Islamophobia can take different forms and can vary in "source, type, and intensity" (Bleich 2011 citing Brewer 2007; Fiske 1998; Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn 1993; Riek, Mania and Gaertner 2006). Indeed Islamophobia can be characterised by "[a]version, jealousy, suspicion, disdain, anxiety, rejection, contempt, fear, disgust, anger, and hostility" (Bleich 2011). However, the actions that arise from such negative emotions or attitudes are not a core component of Islamophobia. They may be a direct consequence of it but cannot be included in the definition of Islamophobia itself. Finally, Islamophobia can be directed either at the religion of Islam or at its followers; i.e. Muslims. This reveals the essentially multidimensional nature of the phenomenon (Bleich 2011).

Like the Runnymede report, Bleich recognises that not all negative attitudes or emotions directed towards Islam or Muslims constitute Islamophobia. However, Bleich argues that Islamophobia is not an "an all-or-nothing proposition" (Bleich 2011 citing Zadeh, discussed in Lakoff 1987; Ragin 2000). It cannot be seen simply as an 'open' or 'closed' view. Instead, it is likely to be more 'graded' (Bleich 2011). For example a one-off negative opinion about Islam or Muslims will constitute low-level Islamophobia, especially if the opinions can be revised or altered based on new information. At the other extreme, expressions of persistent unshakable hostility are high-level Islamophobia. The more consistently an individual expresses a greater number of such intensely held biases, the more Islamophobic he or she is. The greater the prevalence, consistency and intensity of Islamophobic expressions and individuals in a given social group or society, the greater the Islamophobia.

4.1.5 Islamophobia – still a challenge for us all (20th anniversary report)

In 2017 the Runnymede Trust turned to the issue of Islamophobia again, releasing a new report on the phenomenon: *Islamophobia – still a challenge for us all.* Against the backdrop of increasing anti-Muslim hate crimes in Britain, the report conceded that Islamophobia had become more "complex and entrenched" in recent years (Elahi and Khan 2017). It acknowledged that much of the public debate surrounding Islamophobia lacked appropriate 'nuance', and that while its earlier definition of Islamophobia was an appropriate mechanism for encouraging accountability, a new definition of Islamophobia was needed. It therefore proposed that Islamophobia be defined as:

> any distinction, exclusion, or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life. (Elahi and Khan 2017)

Notably, the Trust's new definition clearly positions Islamophobia as akin to a form of racism. Like racism, the phenomenon is not simply a range of negative attitudes but has practical ramifications, "denying people dignity, rights and liberties across a range of political, economic, social and cultural institutions"(Elahi and Khan 2017). It is the widespread and structural inequalities and extensive disadvantages that Islamophobia presents for Muslims that the Runnymede Trust attempts to capture in this definition.

4.1.6 Islamophobia as a form of racism

Other authors have also reached the conclusion that racism is an intrinsic part of Islamophobia. Dunn et al. (2007) note that Islamophobia shares many elements in common with contemporary forms of racism because it depicts Muslims as 'others', characterised by "incivility, inferiority and incompatibility". Khaled Beydoun, the American author and law professor, argues that the "racial framing of Muslim identity … not only converges with the rising tide of anti-Muslim animus … but indeed [is] an integral part of it" (Beydoun 2018). Indeed, Islamophobia is an element of a greater discourse that attempts to safeguard the notion of 'European supremacy' being perpetuated by both popular opinion and state policy. Other authors such as Green (2015) have termed Islamophobia as a form of cultural racism: "where the hatred and hostility of others [is] based on religious beliefs, cultural traditions, and ethnicity". Instead of animosity stemming from racial identity, it is expressed "in terms of cultural and religious inferiority".

4.1.7 Criticisms of the term Islamophobia

While the notion of Islamophobia has cemented its place in contemporary discourses about anti-Muslim sentiments, the term itself has come under criticism in academic and broader circles. Some authors reject the term because they argue it stifles freedom of expression and peoples' right to raise legitimate concerns about Islamic beliefs and practices. Other authors have expressed reservations about the word because of its reference to *phobia,* which implies that "the object of fear is Islam as a religion" (Green 2015 citing Erdenir 2010). For these authors, phobia is a misnomer because it suggests "a mental illness or a fear", rather than a form of prejudice (Elahi and Khan 2017). Fred Halliday, a prominent protagonist of this view, argues that Islam is no longer the foe. It is no longer "threatening to win large segments of western European society to its faith, as Communism did, nor is the polemic, in press, media or political statement, against the Islamic faith … The attack now is against not *Islam* as a faith but *Muslims* as a people". He therefore argues that the term should be replaced with 'Muslimophobia' in its stead (Halliday 1999). The term has also been criticised for its polemic overtones: for being far from neutral because it imposes a moral framework over discussions about Islam that can constitute 'acceptable discourse' (Zu´Quete 2008).

Similarly, other authors raise concern about the breadth of the term, given that it is used to describe discourses that have widely different "sources, motivations, and goals". Jose´ Pedro Zu´Quete, one author who takes this position, explains:

> [there is] an urgent need to distinguish between academic discussions on the relations between Islam and modernity, public discussions on whether Islam recognizes the principle of separation of church and state, public outcries about Islam as a "backward religion" or as a "violent religion", and hate speech. (Zu´Quete 2008)

He therefore argues that 'anti-Islamic' is a more appropriate term.

One disadvantage of perceiving Islamophobia as only 'fear or dislike' of Islam or 'dread or hatred of Muslims' is that this approach only takes into account the actions and attitudes of private actors. It fails to recognise 'structural Islamophobia', such as the fear and suspicion of Muslims perpetrated by "laws, policy, programming, or formal pronouncements by state agents" (Beydoun 2018).

Despite these concerns and criticisms, no other term has yet managed to gain the level of acceptance that Islamophobia has. While it may have some shortcomings, the term continues to provide a useful starting point for studies and discussions of negative attitudes and views about Islam and Muslims (Green 2015).

4.2 Islamophobia: its international dimensions

4.2.1 United Nations

The term Islamophobia has now been adopted by various international organisations, including the United Nations (UN). Since at least 2004, various initiatives and reports have publically condemned the phenomenon, lamenting its negative impact on Muslims. In opening the conference on Confronting Islamophobia in 2004, Secretary General Kofi Annan decried, "When the world is compelled to coin a new term to take account of increasingly widespread bigotry that is a sad and troubling development. Such is the case with Islamophobia". At the same conference, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, the prominent professor of Islamic Studies from George Washington University, expressed concern that there is still a tendency to see Islam as the 'enemy', despite most people knowing very little about the religion itself (United Nations 2004).

Concerns about Islamophobia have also been taken up by the UN Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, with the mandate holder publishing reports on the "serious implications of Islamophobia" between 2007 and 2010. Following other recent scholarship, the UN appears to be approaching Islamophobia from the standpoint of it being a contemporary form of racism or xenophobia. In the Special Rapporteur's reports, Islamophobia is framed as part of the broader human rights debate on the defamation of religions and, more specifically, the extent to which freedom of expression can be exercised to criticise a religion before it constitutes incitement to racial or religious hatred. Muslim-majority states[1] have used the defamation of religions debate to express support for international legal measures to combat religious stereotyping: in particular, those statements that attack or encourage intolerance towards Muslims; stereotype, defame or portray the religion of Islam negatively; or target the sacred persons of Islam.

In his reports, the Special Rapporteur examines various cases of Islamophobia or religious discrimination concerning "(a) acts of violence or discrimination, or incitement thereto ... (b) attacks on religious sites; (c) religious and ethnic profiling; (d) religious symbols; and (e) negative stereotyping of religions, their followers and sacred persons" (Human Rights Council 2010). He concludes by expressing deep concern about religious intolerance that expresses itself as "acts of violence or acts of discrimination targeting Muslim individuals". Subsequently, the Special Rapporteur notes again the impact of Islamophobia on Muslims, in that "the fear of terrorism and racist and xenophobic speech often translate[s] into increases in hate crimes targeting Muslims, migrants, refugees and asylum seekers" (Human Rights Council 2010).

4.2.2 Europe

The term Islamophobia has also been adopted by the European Union (EU) and other European intergovernmental organisations. The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) does not mention Islamophobia in its original mandate. Instead it refers to the "phenomena of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism" (Zu´Quete 2008). Just under a decade later, its 2006 report *Muslims in the European Union - discrimination and Islamophobia* describes Islamophobia as a 'much used' term (EUMC 2006); albeit one with no consensus on its legal definition. The EU has therefore looked to the work of the UN and the Council of Europe (CoE) and their standards on racism to understand the phenomenon.

Two of the CoE's general policy recommendations are particularly relevant in this regard: Recommendation No. 5 and Recommendation No. 7. The first document, although not explicitly using the term Islamophobia, expresses the body's concern about increased religious intolerance towards Islam and Muslims in Muslim-minority states; the 'hostile stereotyping' of Islam, which makes it easily perceived as a threat; and 'deterministic' views about the Islamic religion that fail to recognise its internal diversity and prejudice towards Muslims that "may manifest itself in different guises" (ECRI 2000). The second document goes to some lengths to list relevant international and European human rights instruments and urges states to "enact legislation against racism and racial discrimination, if such legislation does not already exist" (ECRI 2002). The EUMC goes on to note that:

> Discrimination against Muslims can be attributed to Islamophobic attitudes, as much as to racist and xenophobic resentment, as these elements are in many cases inextricably intertwined. Racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia become mutually reinforcing phenomena ... (EUMC 2006)

Importantly, the Centre points out that Islamophobia should be understood in light of "a more general climate of hostility towards migrants and minorities" (EUMC 2006). This sentiment has also been echoed by academics who note that in recent years there has been a clear shift in the discourse and policies regarding immigration, where Muslim immigrants have been clearly framed as a threat to European security. Moreover, negative narratives against Muslims tend to be part of the broader anti-immigration outlook of extreme-right parties (Zu´Quete 2008).

---

[1] Primarily through their representative intergovernmental body: the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (formerly Organisation of Islamic Conference).

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the monitoring body of the CoE, also examines the phenomenon of Islamophobia in the annual report on its activities. Its 2016 report expresses alarm that fear and hostility against Islam have become such common phenomenon that "[a]nti-Muslim arguments are ... now also embraced by some mainstream politicians resulting in [a] growing xenophobic populist discourse" (ECRI 2017). Yet despite the growing concern expressed by European intergovernmental bodies, it appears that the extent of the problem of Islamophobia in Europe is not well known. Such incidents tend to be "severely ... under-documented in the EU" (EUMC 2006) by its member states. In their stead, NGOs are increasingly providing analysis on the situation of Muslims in European states. The European Islamophobia Report (EIR) is one such source of information about Islamophobia in Europe. The document contains country reports and analyses from various prominent members of civil society who are considered specialists in the field.

The EIR's 2017 report draws on the Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey's findings on Muslims, noting that 12% of Muslims report having experienced discrimination (Bayrakli and Hafez 2018). However, given that many Muslims are reluctant to report such incidents and the lack of accurate recording of anti-Muslim hate crimes (most EU states do not record such incidents as a distinct category of hate crime), this is likely to be only a small window into the issue. In fact, actual incidents may be as much as "eight times higher" (Bayrakli and Hafez 2018).

Therefore, the report describes Islamophobia as a phenomenon that has the potential to shatter Europe's democratic bedrock. It notes that one of the reasons for increasing Islamophobia is the growing influence of far right groups and the "adaptation of their discourse by mainstream parties in many European nation states" (Bayrakli and Hafez 2018). For such groups, Islam is incompatible with European values and cultures and dangerous for European states.

4.2.3 United States

Several studies suggest that Islamophobia is prevalent in America. It has a long history (Sunar 2017), similar to other Western contexts, but the events of 9/11 and the media reporting of those events caused many more Americans to fear Muslims and strengthened already existing negative attitudes (Scheufele, Nisbet and Ostman 2005 cited in Lee et al. 2009). Indeed, studies conducted by Deane and Fears (2006) and Johnston (2006) suggest that this is a common trend. Both studies indicate that Islamophobic attitudes have tended to rise in a city/country following a major terrorist incident with a 'Muslim' perpetrator (Lee et al. 2009).

In the US, opinion polls reveal that almost 50% of Americans hold a negative view of Islam (Deane and Fears 2006 cited in Lee et al 2009); people generally associate negative words with Islam, including words associated with violence and terrorism (Council on American-Islamic Relations 2006; The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2007 cited in Lee et al. 2009); and the majority of Americans are concerned about Islamic extremism (The Pew Global Attitudes Project 2006 cited in Lee et al. 2009). More recent studies suggest that the phenomenon of Islamophobia in America is increasing, evident from anti-Muslim bias and the number of hate crimes targeting Muslims. Between 2014 and 2016, for instance, the Council on American-Islamic Relations recorded a 584% increase in such crimes targeting Muslims (Sunar 2017). Sunar (2017) argues there is a general feeling among Americans that Muslim Americans are not loyal to their country, which seems to lie behind some Islamophobic sentiments. Other authors propose that Islamophobia is actively promoted by "a network of misinformation experts" with substantial funding (Ali et al. 2011 cited in Sunar 2017), operating under the auspices of a number of charitable foundations.

Is prejudice towards Muslims in the West more widespread than prejudice towards other religious or ethnic groups? Studies have revealed contradictory results. Strabac and Listhaug (2008), for instance, found that negative attitudes towards Muslims were more prevalent than negative attitudes towards the broader immigrant population (cited in Spruyt and Van der Noll 2017), while other studies have found that such attitudes were not more common than other forms of prejudice towards immigrants (Spruyt and Van der Noll 2017).

There appear to be several reasons for such differences in results. One reason, noted by Spruyt and Van der Noll (2017), is that the terms used to measure prejudice towards a particular group impact the results. For instance, "prejudice towards immigrants, foreigners, or strangers depends on the meaning people attribute to these broad categories" (Spruyt and Van der Noll 2017). By implication, it appears the specific terms used to measure Islamophobic attitudes can impact a study's outcomes.

4.3 Islamophobia: its Australian dimensions

Research on the extent of anti-Muslim sentiments in Australia has given a somewhat mixed picture to date. While Bouma (2016), for instance, suggests that "inclusion is [still] the dominant discourse in Australia", other authors argue that the presence of Muslims in Australia is increasingly being questioned (Akbarzadeh 2016). In part, this later perspective reflects the ongoing historical presence of an anti-Muslim discourse (Bouma 2016), although it appears that anti-Muslim and anti-Islam sentiments have been expressed with "greater intensity" in the past few years (Akbarzadeh 2016).

Over approximately two decades, various studies have sought to examine Australians' attitudes towards Muslims. According to Miller, opinion polls have revealed social distance between Muslim Australians and the broader population since the 1980s (McAllister and Moore 1991 cited in Miller 2017). Likewise, polls conducted in the early 2000s found that a minority of Australians perceived Muslims to be a military or cultural threat to Australia (Miller 2017). In 2001, the University of New South Wales and Macquarie University found that "white Australians would be more concerned about a relative marrying a Muslim than any other minority" (Dunn et al. 2007 cited in Miller 2017), while a 2007 study found that more than 17% of survey participants did not want Muslims in Australia (Bouma 2011). A 2016 study conducted by Deakin University found that 60% of its participants would not be comfortable if a relative married a Muslim, while almost half of the participants did not disagree with 'Islamophobic statements' such as "practicing Muslims pose a threat to Australian society" (Aston 2016).

Other studies have revealed that Muslims experience various forms of discrimination in Australia. A 2011 report by the Australian Human Rights Commission documented the negative reactions that Australian Muslim women face when wearing a veil (hijab) in employment or educational contexts, as well as hostile reactions from members of the public (Briskman 2015). Booth, Leigh and Varganova's (2012) study also found that people with Middle Eastern names were more likely to experience discrimination when applying for employment (cited in Miller 2017). Research conducted in 2015 found that Muslims living in Sydney were subject to a much higher rate of discrimination compared to other Australians (Kearney and Taha 2015 cited in Akbarzadeh 2016). Results from a 2017 study conducted by the Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilisation and Charles Sturt University indicated that Muslim women were three times as likely to face harassment when out in public, including physical assault (Charles Stuart University 2017 cited in Miller 2017).

One particularly well-cited source of data on attitudes towards Muslims in Australia are the Scanlon Foundation's Mapping Social Cohesion surveys, which have been conducted, in conjunction with Monash University, for the past decade. The survey is the largest of its kind, with the most recent involving 42,000 participants (Markus 2017). The 2016 report found that almost one quarter of Australians have "negative feelings about Muslims" (Markus 2016). The 2017 report found that "strong negative views" towards Muslims remain prevalent and, in fact, have increased since the previous year's report (Markus 2017). What has been described as 'new racism' sees Muslims as "threats to 'social cohesion' and 'national unity'" and to the "cultural values and integrity of the dominant (Anglo-Celtic) 'host' society" (Dunn et al. 2004 cited in Akbarzadeh 2016).

4.3.1 Factors leading to Islamophobia in Australia

So why are negative attitudes towards Muslims in Australia becoming more common? Some commentators suggest that prejudice towards Muslims is only the latest manifestation of racism in a country that has a long history of such attitudes (Briskman 2015). Others argue that the media has played a major role in fostering Islamophobic sentiments (Matindoost 2015); that events overseas, such as terrorist attacks and the rise of the Islamic State (IS) and the violent atrocities it has committed have tainted the perception Australians have towards all Muslims (Matindoost 2015; Woodlock 2016) or that the backlash against immigration and asylum seekers in general and against Muslim immigrants in particular (who are perceived as terrorists or violent and fanatic) has played an influential role (Dunn et al. 2007; Briskman 2015).

Other scholars believe that Australia's political environment has allowed Islamophobia to take root by deliberately taking a step back from multiculturalism (Poynting and Mason 2008) or by politicians either failing to take a public stance against Islamophobia or by explicitly making anti-Islam statements themselves (Akbarzadeh 2016). Political parties with anti-Islam platforms have also appeared in recent years, including One Nation and the Australian Liberty Alliance, which has allowed the Islamophobic discourse to become an overt part of Australian political discussions, yet without "serious scrutiny or nuanced analysis" (Briskman 2015).

4.4 Measurement of Islamophobia

As Islamophobia has increased in recent decades, so has academic interest in the phenomenon as a comparative concept in the social sciences. Like racism, xenophobia or anti-Semitism, researchers are keen to understand its dimensions, prevalence, intensity, causes and consequences so that they can answer related questions in a systematic way that is grounded in empirical evidence. For instance:

> [i]s Islamophobia becoming more or less widespread and entrenched? Is it particularly acute in some places or among some types of people? Has Islamophobia become a more important vector of intolerance than that directed at Jews, Blacks, Roma, Pakistanis, North Africans, asylum seekers, and so on? (Bleich 2011)

However, the lack of an agreed-upon definition of Islamophobia has made it a difficult phenomenon to study. Some studies to date have tended to rely on 'indirect indicators' of Islamophobia, such as the socioeconomic disadvantages Muslims experience in relation to the rest of the population (Tausch, Bischof, Kastrum and Mueller 2007 cited in Bleich 2011); or 'anecdotal or symbolic' indicators, such as violence towards Muslims (EUMC 2002; 2006 cited in Bleich 2011) or school name calling (Cole 2009 cited in Bleich 2011). Other studies fail to distinguish between Islamophobia and discrimination based on nationality or ethnicity (Stolz 2005); for instance by conflating anti-Arab prejudice with fear of Muslims, where it is clear that not only are the two conceptually different, but not all Muslims are Arabs (Lee et al. 2009).

4.4.1 The Islamophobia Scale

Like research on other forms of prejudice, studies of Islamophobia are employing measurement instruments such as 'ethnic distance scales', 'feeling thermometers' or other statements based on the Likert model to empirically measure attitudes towards Muslims (Spruyt and Van der Noll 2017). Some examples include the Attitudes Toward Muslims Scale (Altareb 1997 cited in Lee et al. 2009); the Anti-Muslim Prejudice Scale (Ernst, Bornstein and Venable cited in Park, Felix and Lee 2007); the Christian–Muslim Implicit Association Test (Rowatt, Franklin and Cotton 2005 cited in Lee et al. 2009; the Implicit Attitudes Toward Arab-Muslims Test (Park, Felix and Lee 2007); and the Anti-Muslim Prejudice Scale (Ernst, Bornstein and Venable cited in Park, Felix and Lee 2007). However, a major limitation of the instruments employed to date is that they do not specifically measure fear-related attitudes, even though Islamophobia has been defined as "the fear of Muslims and the Islamic faith" (Lee et al. 2009). In fact, "[n]o published measure ... [has] been designed to exclusively measure fear-related attitudes toward Islam and its followers (Lee et al. 2009). The Islamophobia Scale was designed to fill this gap.

According to Lee et al. (2013) and a number of other authors (Gottschalk and Greenberg 2008; Poynting and Mason 2007), a core component of Islamophobia is fear. If this is the case, it follows that an instrument measuring Islamophobia should measure and assess this construct, not other related ideas. Indeed, measuring fear, instead of things like preferences or prejudices, can provide a unique window into people's responses to Muslims and Islam, because emotions have been shown to exert specific influences on intergroup reactions (Cottrell and Neuberg 2005; Lerner et al. 2003; Mackie, Devos and Smith 2000 cited in Lee et al. 2013). Fear is also regarded as having several elements, including cognitive and reactive components, which guide behaviour towards in-groups and out groups (Smith 1993 cited in Lee et al. 2013).

The Islamophobia Scale, developed by Lee et al. (2009), is based on the psychology of fear. It is a self-reporting instrument that asks the reader to respond to 41 items using a five-point scale from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. These items are designed to capture the "affective facet of Islamophobia" and to measure "the extent to which an individual expresses attitudes consistent with fear of the religion of Islam and its followers" (Lee et al. 2009). For instance, one item states, "If I could, I would avoid contact with Muslims" (Bleich 2011). It is regarded as a 'useful' and 'powerful' instrument for measuring Islamophobia, and has demonstrated reliability as a measurement tool across time and with internal consistency (Lee et al. 2013).

4.5 This study: measuring Islamophobia in Australia

To investigate the relative prevalence of Islamophobic feelings in Australia, a slightly modified version of the Islamophobia scale developed by Lee et al. (2009) was used. The scale consisted of the following seven items/statements:

1. Just to be safe, it is important to stay away from places where Muslims could be.

2. I would feel very comfortable speaking with a Muslim.

3. I would support any policy that would stop the building of new mosques.

4. If I could, I would avoid contact with Muslims.

5. I would live in a place where there are Muslims.

6. Muslims should be allowed to work in places where many Australians gather, such as airports.

7. If possible, I would avoid going to places where Muslims would be.

This Islamophobia scale was administered in a telephone survey to a randomly selected sample of 1,000 Australians. The respondents were asked if they: 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'undecided', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with each of the scale's seven items. The following analysis is based on the data collected in this survey, which was conducted between September and October 2015 by the Social Research Centre of The Australian National University.

Table 37 gives an overview of the responses for each scale item.

Table 37: Profile of Islamophobia

Scale items	Strongly agree %	Agree %	Undecided %	Disagree %	Srongly disagree %	N
1. Just to be safe, it is important to stay away from places where Muslims could be.	4.9	12.1	14.9	41.0	27.2	996
2. I would feel comfortable speaking with a Muslim.	37.3	49.7	6.5	4.7	1.9	996
3. I would support any policy that will stop the building of a new mosque.	11.9	12.0	17.7	35.3	23.2	994
4. If I could, I would avoid contact with Muslims.	4.1	8.8	8.4	46.4	32.2	994
5. I would live in a place where there are Muslims.	19.0	46.0	15.6	13.3	6.2	992
6. Muslims should be allowed to work in places where many Australians gather, such as airports.	26.3	52.5	9.5	8.3	3.3	993
7. If possible, I would avoid going to places where Muslims would be.	3.4	10.3	11.5	46.9	27.9	989

In order to obtain a single summary score, 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'undecided', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' were given scores of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively. The scores for items 1, 3, 4 and 7 were reversed in order to compute values ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 represents low and 5 represents high levels of Islamophobia.
These findings are reported in Table 38.

Table 38: Measuring Islamophobia in Australia

Level of Islamophobia	Numbers	Percentage	Cumulative
Low 1	222	22.7	22.7
2	454	46.6	69.3
3	209	21.4	90.7
4	79	8.1	98.8
High 5	12	1.2	100.0

Almost 70% of Australians appear to have a very low level of Islamophobia and are not concerned about Islam or Muslims. Another 20% are undecided. Less than 10% fall in the highly Islamophobic category. These findings indicate that a large majority of Australians are not Islamophobic.

Further analysis was performed to ascertain levels of Islamophobia by state, capital city and respondents' gender, age, educational attainment, labour force status, occupation, political affiliation, regular contact with Muslims and religious affiliation. This analysis is reported below. Another summary measure used in the following analysis was an 'Islamophobia mean'. The mean value was calculated by aggregating the individual scores and dividing them by the total number of respondents, rounding to two significant figures. The mean score therefore will range from 1 (low) to 5 (high).

Table 39: Islamophobia by state

State	Low 1	Islamophobia Scale % 2	3	4	High 5	Total (N)	Mean
NSW	20.7	46.0	22.1	9.8	1.4	313	2.3
Vic	29.9	44.7	15.4	9.3	0.7	240	2.1
Qld	19.1	47.2	22.5	9.1	2.1	193	2.3
SA	15.9	54.5	23.1	6.6	0.0	74	2.2
WA	18.3	45.5	31.8	3.0	1.4	98	2.2
Tas	21.8	59.0	15.7	2.2	1.2	23	2.0
NT	39.0	14.7	46.3	0.0	0.0	9	2.1
ACT	48.2	39.0	6.8	5.9	0.0	16	1.7
Total	**22.7**	**46.4**	**21.4**	**8.3**	**1.2**	**966**	**2.2**

Notes: In this and the following tables:
(1) All data are weighted.
(2) Mean is the mean of the Islamophobia Scale.

The data in the table above are randomly distributed, meaning differences are not statistically significant.

In this bivariate examination, a person's state of residence does not appear to influence Islamophobia. In the multivariate analysis to follow, the apparent differences between the NT and ACT do not occur and are probably due to small numbers (i.e. total participants in the territories is N = 30.) On the other hand, in the regression model, the small proportion of residents of Victoria in the highest category of Islamophobia is statistically significant.

The effect of a person's state of residency is discussed in Section 4.5.1 with regard to the regression model, which will investigate the contribution of various variables to the levels of Islamophobia in the multivariate analysis.

Table 40: Islamophobia by capital city vs non-capital city

Location	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Non-capital city	21.6	47.5	22.0	7.9	1.0	465	2.2
Capital city	23.8	45.4	20.9	8.6	1.4	501	2.2
Total	**22.7**	**46.6**	**21.4**	**8.3**	**1.2**	**966**	**2.2**

The above distribution is random, meaning differences are due to chance and they are not statistically significant.

Australia is a highly urbanised country. Moreover, the majority of Australian Muslims live in urban areas, with two thirds living in Sydney and Melbourne. The analysis reported in Table 40 shows that there is no significant difference between capital and non-capital regions. Both have relatively low levels of Islamophobia. This result is consistent with the regression model.

Table 41: Islamophobia by gender

Gender	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Male	23.0	45.6	21.4	9.0	1.1	478	2.2
Female	22.5	47.5	21.4	7.3	1.3	497	2.2
Total	**22.7**	**46.6**	**21.4**	**8.1**	**1.2**	**975**	**2.2**

The above distribution is random, meaning it could occur by chance and therefore is statistically not significant.

Table 41 shows that the distribution of Islamophobic feelings between men and women is effectively identical. This result is also consistent with the regression model.

Table 42: Islamophobia by age group

Age group	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
18−24	35.3	37.4	22.5	4.2	0.6	124	2.0
25−34	31.1	49.4	16.5	3.0	0.0	189	1.9
35−44	20.3	50.9	22.3	6.2	0.3	171	2.2
45−54	20.1	51.5	14.4	12.9	1.2	167	2.3
55−64	20.6	46.1	20.9	11.0	1.4	146	2.2
65−74	17.4	43.6	24.1	10.1	4.7	99	2.4
75+	4.2	38.6	42.7	12.5	2.1	77	2.7
Total	**22.8**	**46.6**	**21.4**	**8.1**	**1.2**	**973**	**2.2**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore the differences are statistically significant.

The distribution of Islamophobic sentiments in Table 42 shows that age and Islamophobia are directly related. Islamophobia increases with age. The older respondents tended to be more Islamophobic, and this increase is statistically significant. This result is consistent with the regression model shown in Section 4.5.1 below, which investigates the contribution of various variables to levels of Islamophobia.

Table 43: Islamophobia by education

Education	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
University degree	27.7	52.3	15.7	3.7	0.6	385	2.2
Post-school vocational	19.2	48.5	22.9	8.6	0.8	241	2.2
Completed Year 12	28..8	39.7	23.3	6.7	1.6	173	2.1
Did not complete Year 12	11.4	35.8	30.9	19.1	2.9	169	2.7
Total	**23.0**	**46.2**	**21.5**	**8.1**	**1.2**	**968**	**2.2**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Education has a salutary effect on Islamophobia. Respondents with a university degree and/or who have completed Year 12 appear to have significantly lower Islamophobia scores than the respondents without a Year 12 education. This difference is confirmed by the regression model, where it is shown that those with the lowest level of education differ significantly from those with the highest level. Islamophobia is a type of prejudice. Psychological research shows that education is highly correlated with 'differentiated' thought processes; that is, educated people tend to make judgements based on evidence, while those with less education tend to think in 'monopolistic' terms, which are characterised by 'either/or' categories of thought.

Table 44: Islamophobia by labour force status

Labour force status	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Employed	27.3	47.7	17.5	7.0	0.6	600	2.1
Not in labour force	14.3	45.2	28.1	9.8	2.7	309	2.4
Unemployed	23.9	37.0	27.4	11.8	0.0	60	2.3
Total	**22.9**	**46.2**	**21.5**	**8.2**	**1.2**	**969**	**2.2**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Employment has a positive effect on Islamophobia. People in the labour force are less Islamophobic than those who are unemployed or not in the labour force (although in the multivariate analysis to follow, the unemployed do not appear to differ from the employed). In other words, those who are gainfully employed display significantly lower Islamophobic attitudes.

Table 45: Islamophobia by occupational status

Occupational status	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Managerial/ professional	27.9	51.4	14.0	6.0	0.8	361	2.1
Not	24.7	41.1	24.8	9.2	0.2	179	2.2
Total	**26.8**	**48.0**	**17.6**	**7.1**	**0.6**	**540**	**2.1**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Respondents in professional and managerial occupations tend to have lower Islamophobia scores than their counterparts in non-managerial and non-professional occupations. This is probably the effect of higher educational attainment and gainful employment status, as noted above in Tables 43 and 44 (as occupation status is only recorded for those who are employed, this variable is excluded from the regression model).

Table 46: Islamophobia by political affiliation

Affiliation	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Liberal	8.7	49.8	29.0	9.2	3.2	259	2.5
Labor	32.9	39.2	16.1	11.0	0.9	255	2.1
National/ Country	0.0	48.0	46.6	5.4	0.0	28	2.6
Greens	42.5	49.0	8.4	0.0	0.0	41	1.7
No party	26.5	43.1	22.8	7.2	0.4	248	2.1
Other party	29.0	55.8	11.0	4.3	0.0	81	1.9
Total	**23.4**	**45.6**	**21.7**	**8.2**	**1.3**	**911**	**2.2**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Surprisingly, political affiliations appear to be significantly related to Islamophobia scores. Respondents with political affiliations with the Liberal and Country parties have significantly higher levels of Islamophobia than those with political affiliations with the centre-left Labor Party. Greens voters tend to have the lowest Islamophobia score. Nonetheless, in the multivariate analysis to follow, these effects become less apparent.

Table 47: Islamophobia by Muslim contact (work with or come into regular contact)

Contact with Muslims	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Not the case	13.5	40.8	30.2	13.5	2.0	441	2.5
Work/regular contact	31.5	51.4	13.1	3.5	0.5	497	1.9
Total	**23.0**	**46.4**	**21.1**	**8.2**	**1.2**	**938**	**2.2**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Contact with Muslims has a positive effect on people's attitudes. Table 47 clearly shows that respondents who are in regular contact with Muslims at work or socially have significantly lower scores on the Islamophobia Scale. This finding supports the hypothesis that contact and interaction with the 'other' tends to dilute prejudicial stereotypes. This result is mirrored in the regression analysis.

Table 48: Islamophobia by religion

Religion	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Catholic	16.7	45.0	27.3	10.4	0.7	205	2.3
Anglican	26.0	48.3	19.8	4.6	1.3	80	2.1
Uniting Church	11.3	46.0	28.8	12.4	1.6	34	2.5
Presbyterian/ Reformed	0.0	34.3	38.9	23.8	3.0	19	3.0
Baptist	0.0	62.6	30.1	4.3	3.1	9	2.5
Greek Orthodox	0.0	52.5	33.5	14.0	0.0	7	2.6
Lutheran	0.0	61.2	34.0	4.7	0.0	5	2.4
Other Christian	15.3	41.3	31.4	9.2	2.7	124	2.4
Islam	71.6	28.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	26	1.3
Buddhism	25.0	12.1	49.0	13.9	0.0	20	2.5
Hinduism	16.8	40.8	30.2	9.6	2.7	16	2.4
Judaism	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2	2.0
Other	25.6	45.0	19.1	8.3	2.1	78	2.2
No religion	28.7	52.2	12.4	6.1	0.7	337	2.0
Total	**22.9**	**46.3**	**21.4**	**8.1**	**1.2**	**964**	**2.2**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

There are significant differences in Islamophobia scores among respondents with different religious affiliations. Firstly, as one would expect, Muslims have the lowest Islamophobia score: 1.3 compared with the national average of 2.2. They are followed by followers of Judaism and people with no religion, who have lower Islamophobia scores than the national average. Except for Anglicans, all Christian groups have Islamophobia scores higher than the national average of 2.2. Among Christian groups, Presbyterians have the highest score, followed by Greek Orthodox, Uniting Church, Baptists, Lutherans, Catholics and 'other Christians'. Among the followers of non-Christian religious affiliations, Buddhists and Hindus, affiliates of two of the fastest growing religions in Australia, have significantly higher Islamophobia scores.

Religion is included in the regression model, but due to small numbers, categories are combined. The result is that the group 'other Christians' (excluding Anglicans and Catholics) appear to be more Islamophobic, but as expected, Muslims are less Islamophobic.

Table 49: Islamophobia and levels of worry about terrorism

Worry about terrorism	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Not at all	49.4	37.0	12.6	1.1	0.0	191	1.7
A little	28.6	53.4	14.8	3.0	0.2	328	1.9
Moderately	10.1	59.8	20.3	9.3	0.6	265	2.3
Very much	3.6	34.9	42.6	16.8	2.1	106	2.8
Extremely	4.4	11.6	45.1	30.1	8.8	83	3.2
Total	**22.8**	**46.3**	**21.5**	**8.2**	**1.2**	**973**	**2.2**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

The respondents were asked, 'To what extent do you currently worry about terrorism in Australia?' As indicated in Table 49, they were offered five responses to choose from: 'not at all', 'a little', 'moderately', 'very much', and 'extremely'. The distributions in the table above show that the levels of worry about terrorism are positively related to Islamophobia. Respondents who worry 'very much' and 'extremely' have significantly higher levels of Islamophobia than those in other response categories. These results are consistent with the multivariate analysis to follow.

Table 50: Islamophobia and feelings about one's community

People in local community help neighbours	Islamophobia Scale %					Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5		
Strongly agree	26.3	45.1	20.7	6.5	1.3	291	2.2
Agree	20.7	51.4	20.1	6.8	1.1	488	2.2
Undecided	22.7	38.8	27.4	10.1	1.0	125	2.5
Disagree	23.7	29.9	25.1	19.6	1.8	57	2.8
Strongly disagree	17.4	43.6	12.8	26.2	0.0	13	3.2
Total	**22.7**	**46.5**	**21.4**	**8.1**	**1.2**	**974**	**2.2**

The above distribution is random, meaning it could occur by chance and therefore it is statistically not significant.

We investigated whether a primordial kind of attachment to one's neighbourhood and local community affects attitudes towards the 'others'. The findings reported in this table suggest that such attachments do not influence Islamophobia. This result is consistent with the regression model.

4.5.1 Regression model explaining correlates of Islamophobia in Australia

The Islamophobia Scale is constructed from seven questions. We added the score from each of the seven items, each comprising a Likert scale with a range from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The result was re-scaled to produce an ordinal measure with a range of 1 to 5. In the resulting scale, 1 is least Islamophobic, and 5 is most Islamophobic, but we treated the scale as an ordinal measure. We have reason to believe that the psychological distance between these points is not equal, but they are an ordinal representation of an unobserved underlying interval/ratio measure of Islamophobia.

To model the Islamophobia Scale we used an ordered logit model. The estimated coefficients were the log odds ratio. To make the model estimates more accessible, we took the exponential of the estimate, which allowed us to speak of the odds ratio: exp(coefficient) < 1 means that the outcome is less likely to occur; exp(beta) > 1 is more likely to occur; and exp(coefficient) = 1 means no difference between, for example, any two groups represented by an explanatory variable.

We investigated the impact on Islamophobia using a number of social and economic variables. Specifically: age (in 7 groups from 18−24 years to 75 plus years); gender; state and territory; capital city vs non-capital; education (in four groups: from university to did not complete high school); labour force status (employed, unemployed and not in the labour force); attitude to migrants (on a 4-point scale); Australian born vs English-speaking background (ESB) or non-ESB; religion (in seven groups); attitude to terrorism (an ordinal measure: from not worried at all to extremely worried); political affiliation (in six groups); views about the helpfulness of the local community (on a 5-point scale); whether the individual works with or has regular contact with Muslims; whether the individual would be comfortable having a person from a specific religion (Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jewish) as an immediate family member; and as a proxy for attitude towards immigrants − whether individuals agree or disagree with the view that immigrants make an important contribution to society (on a 5-point scale).

Table 51 provides a summary of the ordinal logit regression model estimates (with coefficients transformed to exponential form).

First we consider the explanatory variables that do not appear to influence Islamophobia when considered in this multivariate analysis (that is, the variable or category of the variable has a p-value of less than 10%: to be conservative we considered statistical significance up to the 10% level). These variables were gender, community attachment and capital city.

Second, we considered the multi-category explanatory variables that had just one statistically significant category.

- Those who did not complete Year 12 (the lowest level on the education scale) were 1.74 times more likely to show a higher level of Islamophobia (or we may say they were about 70% more likely to be Islamophobic). Moreover, there was a 27% probability that those with the highest level of education had an Islamophobia Score of 1, but those with the lowest level of education had less than 2% probability.

- On average, a resident of Victoria was about a third as likely to be in a high value on the Islamophobia Score (odds ratio 0.66), compared to the reference state of NSW. Other states did not differ.

- Those from English-speaking backgrounds (ESB) did not differ from the Australian-born reference group but non-ESB respondents were more than 50% more likely to be in the high Islamophobia Score level (odds ratio 1.67).

- Those not in the labour force (NLF) were also more than 50% more likely to be represented at the high Islamophobia Score level (odds ratio 1.66); the unemployed did not differ from the employed.

Third, we considered age, religion and political affiliation; the multi-category explanatory variables that had more than one category statistically significant, but not all categories.

- Compared to the reference age groups of 18−24 years, three age groups had a greater likelihood of being in the top Islamophobia Score category: 35−44, 45−54 and 55−64 were in the range of odds ratio approximately 1.8 to 1.9, i.e. close to twice as likely to be at the highest Islamophobia Score level. Those aged 75 years and above had an odds ratio of 2.66 − approaching three times more likely to be in the high Islamophobia Score group.

- Compared to the reference group of those who had 'no religion', 'other Christian' (excluding specified categories Baptist, Greek Orthodox, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Reformed and Uniting Church) are about twice as likely to be in the higher Islamophobia Score category (odds ratio 1.92). Muslims are most unlikely to be in that category (odds ratio 0.023; about 0.06 times lower than the reference group. Alternatively, we may say that there was a 73% probability that Muslims would be at the lowest Islamophobia Score level, but less than a 0.01% probability they would be at the highest level (probabilities evaluated at means).

- Compared to the reference group of political affiliation with the Liberal Party, those who associated with the Labor Party or the 'other party' (other than Liberal, Labor, National and Country Party, Greens or no party) are about half as likely to be in the higher Islamophobia Score range (odds ratio of 0.57 and 0.59 respectively).

Fourth, we considered dichotomous explanatory variables.

- Those who were comfortable with Muslim contact (i.e. the individual works with or has regular contact with Muslims) were half as likely to be at the highest Islamophobia Score level compared to those who were not (odds ratio O.5).

- For the indicators of those who would be comfortable having a person who is Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Jewish as an immediate family member, only Buddhist and Muslim were significant. Those comfortable with a Buddhist family member were over twice as likely to be in the higher Islamophobia Score level (odds ratio 2.34), but those comfortable with Muslims were very unlikely to be in the higher Islamophobia Score level (odds ratio of O.11). Alternatively we can say that those who were comfortable with a Buddhist family member were about three or more times more likely to be in the two higher Islamophobia Score levels than those comfortable with a Muslim family member (about 11% vs. 3%).

Finally, we considered two categorical variables that were active over the range of values.

- The level of worry about terrorism in Australia has a considerable influence on the Islamophobia Score. Those who were a little worried were about 1.5 times more likely to be in the high Islamophobia Score level, compared to those who were 'not worried at all'. 'Moderately worried' were about three times more likely; 'very worried' about seven times; and 'extremely worried' over 2O times more likely to be in the highest Islamophobia Score range (odds ratios 1.56; 3.O; 7.4; 21.5 respectively).

- Tolerance to immigrants strongly influenced the Islamophobia Score outcome. Compared to the base case of 'strongly agree' that immigrants make an important contribution to society, as tolerance becomes less strong, the probability of being at the highest level of Islamophobia Score increased: 'agree' is three times more likely; 'undecided' is six times more likely; 'disagree' is eight times more likely and 'strongly disagree' is about 24 times more likely.

Table 51. Ordinal logit regression (odds ratios) for Islamophobia

Dependent variable Islamophobia Scale	Odds ratio
Reference group age	*18−24*
25−34	1.765
35−44	1.943*
45−54	1.831*
55−64	1.765*
65−74	1.O64
75+	2.657**
Reference group gender	*Male*
Female	O.869
Reference group education	*University degree*
Post-school vocational qualification	1.382
Completed Year 12	1.214
Did not complete Year 12	1.743**
Reference group state	*NSW*
Vic	O.657**
Qld	1.OO5
SA	O.9O6
WA	O.766
Tas	O.713
NT	1.517
ACT	1.784

Dependent variable Islamophobia Scale	Odds ratio
Reference group labour force	*Employed*
Not in labour force	1.661**
Unemployed:	1.072
Reference group background	*Australian*
English-speaking	0.874
NESB	1.670**
Reference group religion	*No religion*
Catholic	0.974
Anglican	0.792
Other Christian	1.916***
Other non-Christian	2.053
Other nonspecific	1.303
Muslim	0.023***
Reference group not …	*'Would you feel completely comfortable having "religion" as an immediate family member?'*
Buddhist family	2.338**
Christian family	1.247
Hindu family	0.498*
Jewish family	0.783
Muslim family	0.105***
Reference group not …	*'Are there people you work with or you regularly come into contact with who are Muslim?'*
Muslim contact	0.497***
Reference group not …	*In state/territory capital city*
Capital City	1.33
Reference group immigrant tolerance	*Strongly agree 'Immigrants make an important contribution to society' (proxy for immigrant tolerance)*
Agree	2.941***
Undecided	5.961***
Disagree	7.836***
Strongly disagree	24.231***

Dependent variable Islamophobia Scale	Odds ratio
Reference group community	*Strongly agree 'People in my local community are willing to help their neighbours'*
Agree	1.115
Undecided	1.268
Disagree	1.423
Strongly disagree	0.345
Reference group terrorism	*Not at all 'To what extend do you currently worry about terrorism in Australia'*
A little	1.560*
Moderately	2.965***
Very much	7.389***
Extremely	21.449***
Reference political affiliation	*Vote Liberal*
Labor	0.567***
National	1.728
Greens	0.513
No party	0.879
Other party	0.585*

RELIGIOUS DEMOGRAPHY OF THE WORLD IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

By the year 2050

The religious profile of the world is changing. This is partly because of differences in fertility rates and the size of the youth population among different religions, and also because of people changing religions.

Muslims will make up **10%** of the population of Europe.

Figure 4: Projected change in global population

Number of people, 2010-2050 in billions

Christians
- 2.17
- 2.92 billion

Muslims
- 1.6
- 2.76

During the next four decades, Islam will grow faster than any other major world religion.

Unaffiliated
- 1.13
- 1.38

Hindus
- 1.03
- 1.23

The unaffiliated population will increase by nearly 10% in the decades ahead. But...

Buddhists
- 0.49
- 0.49

Folk Religions
- 0.40
- 0.45

Other Religions
- 0.06
- 0.06

Jews
- 0.01
- 0.02

2010 — 2050

% of global population, 2010-2050

Christians
- 31.4
- 31.4

Muslims
- 23.2
- 29.7

By 2050, Christians and Muslims will make up nearly equal shares in the world.

Unaffiliated
- 16..4
- 13.2

Hindus
- 15.0
- 14.9

.....from 2010 to 2050, the religiously unaffiliated will decline as a share of the global population.

Buddhists
- 7.1
- 5.2

Folk Religions
- 5.9
- 4.8

Other Religions
- 0.8
- 0.7

Jews
- 0.2
- 0.2

2010 — 2050

There will be nearly as many Muslims as Christians around the world.

People who do not have an affiliation with any religion will have a declining share of the world's total population.

India will still have a Hindu majority but will also have the largest Muslim population of any country in the world.

The Buddhist population will be about the same as in 2010, but the Hindu and Jewish populations will be larger.

Christians will be only two-thirds of the US population, and Judaism will no longer be the largest non-Christian religion.
There will be more Muslims in the US than followers of the Jewish religion.

4 out of every **10** Christians in the world will live in Sub-Saharan Africa.

(Source: Pew Research Center 2015)

Figure 5: Islam growing fastest

Estimated change in population size, 2010-2050

73% Muslims

35% Christians

Hindus **34%**

Jews **16%**

11% Folk Religions

9% Unaffiliated

Other Religions **6%**

35% Growth in overall global population

Buddhists **.3%**
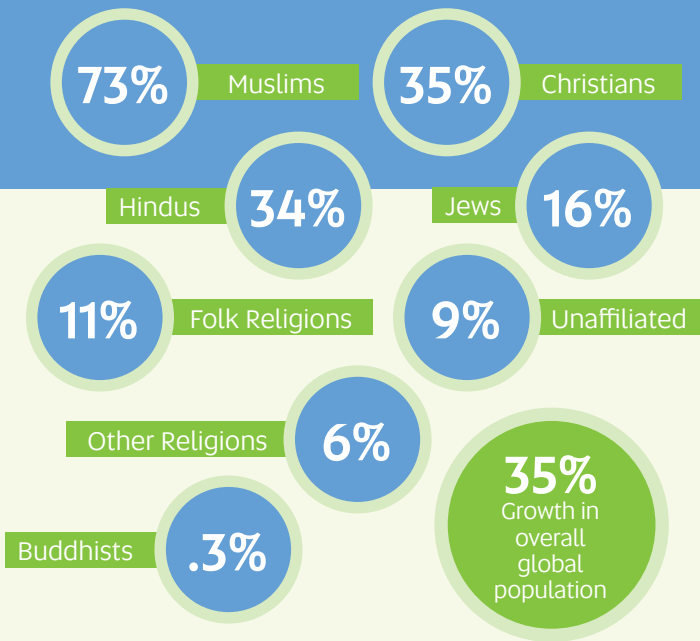
(Source: Pew Research Center 2015)

Figure 6: Long-term projections of Christian and Muslim shares of world's population

(Source: Pew Research Center 2015)

Christians

Muslims

31.4%

32.3%

34.9%

33.8%

23.2%

20

10

0

2010 — 2070 — 2100
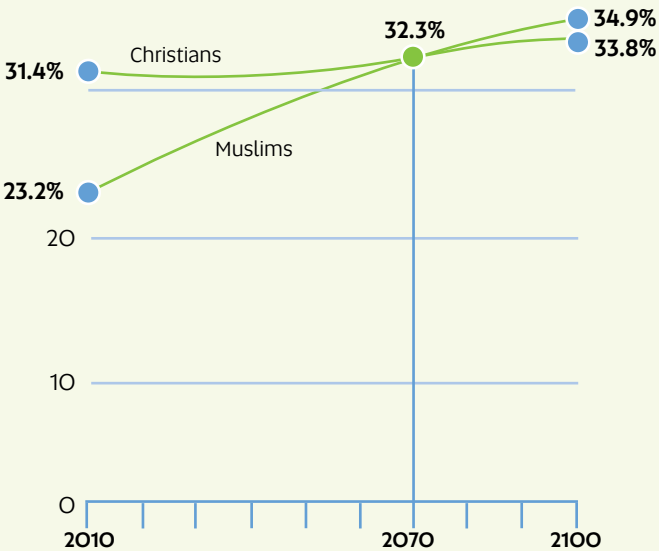
Table 52: Countries that will no longer have a Christian majority in 2050

(Source: Pew Research Center 2015)

	Majority religion 2010	% of population 2010	Majority/ largest religion 2050	% of population 2050
Australia	Christianity	67.3	Christianity	47.0
United Kingdom	Christianity	64.3	Christianity	45.4
Benin	Christianity	53.0	Christianity	48.5
France	Christianity	63.0	Unaffiliated	44.1
Republic of Macedonia	Christianity	59.3	Islam	56.2
New Zealand	Christianity	57.0	Unaffiliated	45.1
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Christianity	52.3	Islam	49.4
Netherlands	Christianity	50.6	Unaffiliated	49.1

Table 53: Projected cumulative change due to religious switching, 2010–2050

(Source: Pew Research Center 2015)

	Switching in	Switching out	Net Change
Unaffiliated	97,080,000	35,590,000	+61,490,000
Muslims	12,620,000	9,400,000	+3,220,000
Folk Religions	5,460,000	2,850,000	+2,610,000
Other Religions	3,040,000	1,160,000	+1,880,000
Hindus	260,000	250,000	+10,000
Jews	320,000	630,000	- 310,000
Buddhists	3,370,000	6,210,000	-2,850,000
Christians	40,060,000	106,110,000	-66,050,000

5. SOCIAL DISTANCE

5.1 What is social distance?

For a long time, sociologists have been interested in examining the relationships that exist between people of different ethnic, racial or religious backgrounds that coexist within the same society (Brocketta, Village and Francis 2009). In Western contexts, this has included the relationship between the majority culture and minority religious or ethnic groups. For instance, studies have examined the relationship between the majority and African-Americans in the USA (Bogardus 1928; Hughes and Tuch 2003; Johnson and Marini 1998; Westie 1953); between majority populations and immigrants in Europe (McLaren 2003; Pettigrew et al. 1997; Pettigrew and Meertens 1995; Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman 1999); and between European Christians and Jews or Muslims (Duriez and Hutsebaut 2000; Eisinga, Billiet and Felling 1999; Jacobson 1998, all cited in Brocketta, Village and Francis 2009). However, many of these studies have lacked systematic investigation or precise measurement (Siegel and Shepherd 1971).

The concept of social distance was developed to empirically study relationships between different groups in a society by measuring their 'proximity'. Social distance is essentially a phenomenon that involves the degree of intimacy or 'affective closeness' that people feel towards members of other groups in society, or that characterise their personal and social relations with those groups. The implications of social distance are important because they provide the context within which individual and group behaviour takes place.

Several different definitions of social distance have been put forward in the literature over the past 90 years or so, since the concept emerged in the early 20th century. In fact, there is currently no single accepted definition of the phenomenon (Cavan 1971). An early proponent of the concept — Robert E. Park — the influential American sociologist — noted that the idea of 'distance' in human relationships (as opposed to spatial relationships) was useful for sociologists attempting to measure "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relations generally" (Park 1924). He elaborated:

> We frequently say of A that he is very 'close' to B, but that C is distant and reserved, but that D, on the other hand, is open-minded, sympathetic, understanding, and generally 'easy to meet'. All these expressions describe and to some extent measure 'social distance'.

For Park (1924), the most important point here is that "we are clearly conscious, in all our personal relationships, of [a] degree of intimacy". Since this is the case, he concluded, such 'distance' may, in fact, be measurable.

Since Park, other scholars have defined the concept slightly differently. For instance, Komorovsky (1964) explained social distance as "reserve or constraint in social interaction between individuals belonging to groups …" (cited in Cavan 1971). Referring to the way that social distance is commonly measured, Scott (2014) states that social distance is "closeness based upon social variables measured on scales". Social distance can also be considered a measure of how much or little sympathy members of a group feel towards another group. Acknowledging this affective component of the concept, Karakayali (2009) highlights that "mutual sympathy [and] affectivity are the key elements of social distance". As such, social distance has a clear subjective element, although it is not exclusively so.

Social distance has also been linked conceptually to the underlying presence of prejudice[2] and it has a long history of being used in prejudice research (Bastian, Lusher and Ata 2012). For instance, studies of social distance have attempted to 'operationalise' concealed attitudes of "prejudice, fear or loathing" that people feel towards the 'other' in their society. Essentially, the degree of social distance or "warmth, indifference or hostility" a person feels towards another group is considered "a measure of … prejudice" (Marshall 1998, cited in Walter 2012). The underlying assumption in such studies is that prejudice governs how comfortable people feel when experiencing different "levels of proximity" with another group (Brocketta, Village and Francis 2009) because prejudice is the "more or less instinctive and spontaneous disposition to maintain social distances" (Park 1923 cited in Wark and Galliher 2007). In other words, not being willing to be in close proximity to a particular group indicates the presence of "underlying discrimination, prejudice or fear of the outgroup in question" (Brocketta, Village and Francis 2009) or social and cultural antipathy. For instance, Dunn et al., in a 2007 study, asked respondents if they would be 'disturbed' "if a relative were to marry a person of a specific ethnic or religious group" (Spruyt and Elchardus 2011), assuming that such an attitude would be an indication of implicit prejudice towards that group.

Finally, it is important to recognise that the notion of 'distance' or proximity is multidimensional. Sociologists have suggested it can mean spatial proximity, like living nearby, attending the same restaurants or encountering the 'other' in the neighbourhood; or social proximity, such as marriage or other forms of relationship (Brocketta, Village and Francis 2009). It could also be indicated by how regularly different groups interact with each other; by the extent to which differences in values exist between members of different groups (Cavan 1971); by the level of 'imitation' that occurs between

---

2 Although Bastian, Lusher and Ata (2012) argue that social distance and prejudice are not the same. While one involves 'behavioural avoidance' the other involves 'evaluation'. See Bastian, Lusher and Ata (2012, p. 102).

two groups (Karakayali 2009) or by the extent of "sympathetic understanding that exists between persons [or] between groups …" In this case, where there is "little sympathetic understanding … social farness exists" (Siegel and Shepherd 1959).

Poole (1927) was instrumental in recognising a distinction between 'social distance' and 'personal distance' (Williams 2007). While social distance occurs because of the influence of social norms, personal distance, which encompasses relationships characterised by different levels of 'closeness' — from acquaintances and friendship to love — is only limited by "the possibilities of association between individuals or individuals and groups" (Williams 2007). Both forms of distance have the potential to cause conflict or social problems.

Social distance can either be 'vertical' or 'horizontal'. Vertical social distance involves attitudes of superiority/inferiority towards another group; for instance, the extent to which a certain group is accepted "within a hierarchy of social status groups", where different groups within the hierarchy are ranked according to social status. On the other hand, horizontal social distance concerns "social interaction resulting from cultural differences without involving superiority-inferiority attitudes"; for example, differences in nationality (Cavan 1971). Thus, social distance can mean physical proximity, but it can also occur outside of the physical realm, without relying on the notion that people must be 'co-present' in the same space (Cérulo 1997; Chayko 2002; Katz and Rice 2002; Meyrowitz 1997 cited in Karakayali 2009). Szalay and Maday (1983) note that the later understanding is a new emphasis in studies of social distance and that the focus now seems to have shifted to measures of 'psychocultural distance' between groups, rather than measuring physical proximity. Without providing an exhaustive list, such studies include the measurement of social distance based on race (Bogardus 1928; Westie 1953); mental illness (Angermeyer and Matschinger 1997; Brockman and D'Arcy 1978; Corrigan et al. 2001); and religion (Brinkerhoff and Jacob 1994, all cited in Brocketta, Village and Francis 2009). However, Brocketta et al. (2009) argue that a spatial understanding of distance or proximity is still important to our understanding of social distance because it can serve as "a direct way of examining the extent of irrational fear or prejudice towards a racial or religious outgroup" (Brocketta, Village and Francis 2009).

5.1.1 The concept of social distance and Bogardus' Social Distance Scale

According to Williams (2007), the concept of social distance emerged in the literature from the work of German sociologist Georg Simmel. Simmel was interested in studying personal and social relations, particularly reoccurring forms of such interactions, and in 1923 he published his work *Soziologie*. In the book Simmel described 'the stranger' who represented a person "who is not intimately and personally concerned with the social life about him" (Levine et al. 1976, cited in Wark and Galliher 2007). The person may have encountered other groups, such as racial or cultural groups, "but is nevertheless excluded from membership" (Wark and Galliher 2007), even as he "strives for acceptance" (Williams 2007). Karakayali (2009) explains the essence of being a 'stranger':

> Strangers are not simply outsiders but are perceived as being "distant" from the rest of the group in some fundamental sense; they are, in Simmel's words, perceived as lacking a "vital substance" that others possess. Thus, although strangers can be "near" to the group in other dimensions of social distance their normative distance looms large and overshadows their nearness, leading to their identification as extraneous elements in the group. This situation might be temporary … but it might also last for generations.

According to Kadushin (1962 cited in Karakayali 2009), Simmel's work makes two important observations. Firstly, that social distance is "an objectively observable quantity …" and secondly, that social distance expresses "consciously expressed norms".[3] These norms delineate 'us' from 'them' — either through very clear divisions or in a more graded sense — and govern what kind of relations with whom are 'allowable' for a person (Karakayali 2009).

Not long after the publication of Simmel's book, Robert E. Park initiated the first empirical study of social distance. Park was a fervent advocate of Simmel's ideas, and he believed that the notion of the stranger that Simmel had described would be useful for studying the interactions between racial and ethnic groups, his specific area of research interest. In 1924 he commissioned the *Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey*, a study of Japanese Americans, employing his colleague Emory Bogardus as regional director of the study (Bogardus 1959 cited in Wark and Galliher 2007). Park asked Bogardus to create a "quantitative indicator of social distance" (Harvey 1987 cited in Wark and Galliher 2007).

---

[3] Durkheim (1964) also views social distance as an objective category (see Hammond 1983). For a comparison of Simmel's and Bogardus' conceptions of social distance, see Ethington (1997).

The measurement tool that Bogardus developed became the first version of his Social Distance Scale. It would eventually become a 'pioneering' tool in the field of race and ethnic relations and one of the landmarks in the history of attitude measurement, at a time when sociologists were striving to position their discipline academically and in the mind of the general public as a "form of scientific inquiry" (Wark and Galliher 2007).

This formative study, employing the notion of social distance, was used to study 'race consciousness'. Park (1924) reasoned that:

> Now it is not only true that we have a sense of distance toward individuals with whom we come into contact but we have much the same feeling with regard to classes and races. The terms "race consciousness" and "class consciousness," with which most of us are familiar, describe a state of mind in which we become, often suddenly and unexpectedly conscious of the distances that separate, or seem to separate us, from classes and races whom we do not fully understand.

This type of social distance, Park concluded, is not just of academic consequence. It "frequently interferes with, modifies and qualifies personal relations; relations which, under other circumstances, it seems, might become of the most intimate and understanding sort" (Park 1924).

With the assistance of staff from 25 different universities and colleges, Bogardus administered the first Social Distance Scale in 1926 (Wark and Galliher 2007). The original seven-item scale attempted to determine the social distance between a respondent and various racial or ethnic groups (Cavan 1971). A series of statements measured the "degree of warmth, intimacy, indifference or hostility to a particular social relationship" (Williams 2007). Would the respondent be willing, for instance, to admit a person from a particular ethnic group into a relationship by marriage? Or as a fellow club member? A neighbour? As an employee in the same occupation? Or as a citizen in their country? According to the scale, intimacy was indicated by a respondent's acceptance of a close relationship like marriage with a person from a different ethnic group; whereas complete rejection was indicated by a desire for the person from that ethnic group to be excluded from the country (Cavan 1971). In terms of social distance, "if a respondent … [was] happy to welcome the target group members as part of their own family" this was found to be low social distance, but "if a respondent prefers exclusion of the target group from the country", this was considered high social distance. Sociologists have now used various versions of the Bogardus Scale for almost "three-quarters of a century" and found it to be 'reliable' when studying the level of acceptance of one group by another (Schaefer 2004 cited in Williams 2007). Since its very first use, the Bogardus Social Distance Scale has been applied extensively to measure social distance among racial and ethnic groups (Jackson and Curtis 1964 cited in Cavan 1971), as well as among occupational and religious groups (Siegel and

Shepherd 1959) and between different nationalities, age groups, sexes and classes (Williams 2007). It has also been used to measure attitudes towards the disabled (Eisenman 1986; Benton et al. 1968); people afflicted by specific illnesses (Benton et al. 1968); and homosexuality (Staats 1978, all cited in Wark and Galliher 2007).

The studies cited above are only a cross section of the body of research that has employed Bogardus' Social Distance Scale to measure attitudes towards the 'other.' The scale has been translated into various languages, such as Czech (Rysavy 2003), French (Lambert 1952), Japanese (Smythe and Kono 1953), Serbo-Croatian (Culig 2005) and Spanish (Betancor et al. 2002, all cited in Wark and Galliher 2007), and it has been used in Western and Eastern contexts and developed/developing nations alike. It is also versatile enough to use across academic disciplines, with studies conducted in the fields of "political science, psychology, language studies, and education" (Wark and Galliher 2007) also utilising the scale.

Bogardus' Social Distance Scale therefore remains one of the most celebrated historical social psychological tools in American intellectual history. With the exception of the 'Harper test of liberalism—conservatism', it is the oldest attitudinal test that has been employed outside of the original research context in which it was developed (Wark and Galliher 2007). Bogardus continued to use his social distance survey each decade until 1966 (with the exception of 1936), which provided significant insight into the "evolution of America's experience with diversity and difference through four decades" (Wark and Galliher 2007).

5.1.2 Features, assumptions and weaknesses of Bogardus' Social Distance Scale

The Social Distance Scale developed by Bogardus has several different features. Firstly, it is unidimensional in the sense that the scale can only measure "a single theoretical concept" at a time (Wark and Galliher 2007). Secondly, it is also cumulative, meaning that it assumes "a respondent who expresses a given degree of intimacy will endorse items expressing less intimacy" (Wark and Galliher 2007). In other words, at the highest level of acceptance a respondent chooses for members of a particular group, all the statements below that level on the scale are also considered accepted by the respondent. For example, if a person is willing to welcome a person from a particular ethnic group into their neighbourhood, it is assumed that the person would also be willing to accept that person into the country, which requires a lower level of intimacy, according to the scale.

While the Bogardus scale is without a doubt an important and useful sociological tool, it does rely on a number of assumptions that are worth pointing out here. Firstly, the scale relies on respondents' understanding of "who does not belong to their own group" (Karakayali 2009); in other words, that there are identifiable distinctions between the respondent's group and the 'other' that the respondent is aware of, insofar as they can categorise the 'other' accordingly. Secondly, as Karakayali (2009) also points out, the scale measures a respondent's attitude towards another group they "already perceive … [to be] distant/distinct from their own group".

Other scholars have pointed out that the scale has a number of weaknesses. Firstly, according to Williams (2007), it is unclear whether the scale measures intimacy between groups or 'group status'. Secondly, it does not provide any indication as to why there is social distance between groups. For instance, why a particular group of respondents may have 'anti-foreigner' feelings or may not wish to live next door to an immigrant (Spruyt and Elchardus 2011). Williams Jr. (1964) also notes that in an interview context, "respondents in different social situations will perceive interviewers in different ways and … will react differently to these interviewers". At the same time, "interviewers with different characteristics will [also] tend to perceive respondents differently and will react to them in different ways" (Williams Jr. 1964). Both these dynamics have the potential to impact the data when the scale is administered in an interview setting.

5.1.3 Why does social distance occur?

At this point it is perhaps useful to reflect briefly on why social distance may occur. Park (1924) acknowledged that for him, it wasn't clear why the phenomenon occurred, but that "under certain circumstances reserves may be 'broken down' and that with this break-down social distances dissolve and the most intimate understandings are frequently established". Social distance is not, therefore, a permanent state between individuals and groups.

Other sociologists have since put forward several explanations as to why people feel more comfortable sharing greater intimacy with certain groups, but not with others. Hothman (1974), for instance, suggests that people tend to like or accept "those with whom they interact" (cited in Brinkerhoff and Mackie 1986). Therefore, social distance is greater with those groups an individual has limited engagement or interaction with. Other authors argue that people tend to gravitate towards those with whom they share "similar beliefs and attitudes", because "[d]issimilarity limits interaction and liking" (Brinkerhoff and Mackie 1986). This in turn causes social distance.

Research on stereotypes shows that people tend to place others in 'boxes' or categories and respond to them according to "categorical characteristics [rather] than individual characteristics" (Ehrlich 1973; Tajfel 1970, cited in Brinkerhoff and Mackie 1986). Those in 'other' categories are perceived less favourably, which in turn causes social distance. Williams (2007) argues that social distance simply arises from "lack of knowledge" about the 'other', or knowledge that the 'other' is different to your own group in "some identifiable way", which results in social distance towards that group. Another group of scholars argue that people tend to gravitate towards their own group because other groups are viewed as a threat "as they compete for economic and political advantage" (Leone 1979; Davis 1960 cited in Brinkerhoff and Mackie 1986) or due to competition over potential group members.

According to Brinkerhoff and Mackie (1986),[4] all these potential causes of social distance are linked by 'exchange theory', which posits that human behaviour is motivated by 'payoffs'. People interact with those whom they like and this, in turn, provides 'rewarding exchanges'. People also gain a renewed sense of confidence (another reward) in their own beliefs or values when they are shared with others who agree.

---

[4] Drawing on the ideas of George Caspar Homans (1974). *Social behavior: its elementary forms* (2nd ed.). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

5.1.4 Social distance between religious groups

This study is positioned within the body of research that aims to examine the social distance between different religious groups within a given society. It has long been acknowledged that negative attitudes, prejudice and social distance can exist between religious groups. The history of religious interrelations between the major world religions or their denominations has often been coloured by fears of "domination by another religion ... persecution, war and prohibition of intermarriage ..." Moreover, "[r]ecent studies support the contention that social distance still exists" (Cavan 1971).

Cavan (1971) notes that Gordon (1964) found "marked social distance" among major religious groups; while Stark (1964) identified "discriminatory feelings" between Catholics and Protestants that were an indication of social distance between members of the two traditions. Cavan goes on to point out that both 'horizonal' and 'vertical' social distance can exist between religious groups. For example, those religious groups with significant difference in social status are likely to experience greater 'vertical' social distance than those with more equivalent social status; whereas those religious groups with significant religious differences between them (in terms of values, creeds etc.) are likely to experience greater 'horizontal' social distance. Her own study on attitudes towards interreligious marriage between American Catholic, Protestant and Jewish university students found that students tended to prefer a marriage partner from their own religious tradition. Out of those students dating someone from another denomination/religious tradition in the study, Protestants and Catholics demonstrated less social distance towards each other (Cavan 1971).

In a later study, Brinkerhoff and Mackie (1986) examined the attitudes of respondents towards 19 different religious traditions/denominations by asking questions such as: "Are some religions more socially acceptable than others? How do new religions compare with ... [mainstream] religions? ... etc.". The study found that there was greater social distance towards "three new religious movements": Unificationists, Hare Krishnas and Scientologists. From this the authors concluded that social distance was greater in relation to these religions because new religions traditions (which are often perceived as 'cults') are seen as stranger or more dissimilar, and are most likely to be the faiths that people have little social contact with. As a result, they were less 'acceptable' and social distance was greater (Brinkerhoff and Mackie 1986). Similar findings were announced by Brockett, Village and Francis in 2009 when they used a social distance scale to measure attitudes towards British Muslims. The study found that social distance was "lower among those who knew Muslims or had Muslim friends". These findings are consistent with research from other countries which has found that "having contact with an outgroup reduces social distance to the group in general" (Bastian, Lusher and Ata 2012).

5.2 Australian studies on social distance between religious groups

Drawing on data from the *Issues in Multicultural Australia survey* (1988), Norton (2005) examined the social distance of respondents towards five groups: the British, Indigenous Australians, Greeks, Asians and Muslims. The study found that the respondents felt 'most distant' from Muslims. Moreover, a 'minority' expressed that Muslims should not be allowed to migrate to Australia, the furthest indicator of social distance on the scale.

Another body of Australian research has examined the issue of intermarriage as a way of studying social distance between different ethnic or religious groups. A study conducted in 1994, using the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, found that respondents were more like to consider intermarriage into another ethnic group, compared to marrying someone from another religious tradition (Australian Population Association 1994). When religious intermarriage did occur, it was more likely to occur among the dominant religious groups (Anglicans, Catholics or other Christian denominations/groups), compared to "amongst the minor religions (Greek Orthodox, Other Orthodox, Islam, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, and Other Non-Christian)", suggesting greater social distance among the minority religious traditions (Australian Population Association 1994). Two further Australian studies found that: 1) social distance was a factor in determining how likely intermarriage was between groups (Giorgas and Jones 2002); and 2) that intermarriage was a key indicator of "decreasing social distance between groups" (Tindale and Klocker 2017).

According to Bouma (2012), one of the most prominent surveys of attitudes towards other religions in Australia is the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA), a public survey that is conducted twice a year. In the survey, participants are asked to indicate the level of social distance they are comfortable with in relation to the following minority denominations/religious traditions: "Anglican, Born Again Christian, Buddhist, Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Hindu, Jehovah's Witness, Jew and Muslim". The study measures these attitudes using a variation of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, which asks respondents to indicate for each group :[5]

---

[5] See Bouma (2012) for further details.

How close are you prepared to be with [Muslims, etc]?

1. Family member

2. Close friend

3. Next-door neighbour

4. Workmate

5. Fellow Australian citizen

6. Foreign visitor only

7. Should keep out of Australia altogether

8. Don't know.

The results of the survey module Bouma examined found that respondents "wanted [the] greatest social distance from Muslims and Jehovah's Witnesses" (Bouma 2012). Concerning Muslims, the study recorded that almost 19.7% of the respondents wanted Muslims to be excluded from Australia, the highest level of social distance in the survey (Bouma 2012). The author noted that the response to other 'migrant groups' in the study was not as strong as the response to Muslims, and therefore concluded that the results were due to their religion, not just because Muslims were being perceived as a migrant group in the context of strongly held negative attitudes towards immigration in Australia at the moment. He acknowledged: "it would appear that the significantly greater negative reaction was to Muslims as a religious group rather than as a migrant group" (Bouma 2012).

As part of a wider study measuring the attitudes of young (non-Muslim or non-Jewish) Australian secondary school students, Bastian, Lusher and Ata (2012) investigated social distance towards Muslims from the perspective of the majority. The Christian or 'non-religious' students involved in the study responded to a three-item scale (based on the Bogardus model) to indicate the extent to which they would "enjoy having a close Muslim friend"; "go out with a Muslim" or "marry a Muslim" (Bastian, Lusher and Ata 2012). Students were also asked to indicate whether they had any Muslim friends. The study found that those students with Muslim friends were less socially distant from Muslims, had a greater desire to have "more contact with other Muslims" and improved their evaluation of Muslims in general (Bastian, Lusher and Ata 2012).

These studies indicate that social distance between different religious groups is a measurable phenomenon and such dynamics are not just a recent occurrence. There is also some indication that social distance seems to be greater in the case of Muslims, compared to members of other religious traditions; however, this could be mitigated, to some extent, by contact or relationships between Muslims and others.

5.3 This study: measuring social distance in Australia: Survey 1

To investigate social distance in Australia, participants were asked "Would you feel completely comfortable having a person belonging to (each of the religious and ethnic groups) as an immediate family member/a close friend/a next door neighbour/a workmate?". If they said 'no' to all these relationships, then they would be asked:

Which one of these is closest to your view?

People of the (religious group) …

1. Should be allowed to become Australian citizens

2. Should be allowed to visit Australia but not become citizens, or

3. Should not be allowed to visit Australia

4. (Can't say)

5. (Refused).

A social distance measure was constructed by assigning values of 1 to 7 to each indicator of the acceptance of immigrants (options 4 and 5 were treated as missing data). The resulting composite measure was rescaled to provide an indicator from 1 to 7, where 1 represented the lowest level of intolerance to immigrants (i.e. comfortable with a member from a particular group as a family member) and 7 the highest level of intolerance (i.e. respondents agreed that Muslims should not be allowed to visit Australia).

Tables 54 and 55 provides an overview of the responses for each religious and ethnic group to the seven questions used to construct the composite measure of social distance.

Table 54: Social distance measure for each religious group

	Buddhist %	Christian %	Hindu %	Jewish %	Muslim %
Immediate family member	87.8	95.1	86.4	88.7	69.1
Close friend	6.2	3.2	7.8	6.3	16.8
Neighbour	2.5	0.5	2.8	2.8	4.0
Workmate	1.2	0	1.1	0.5	2.9
Citizen	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.6	1.4
Visit but not citizen	0.4	0	0.8	0.5	3.1
Not allowed into Australia	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	2.4
Total N	**995**	**996**	**993**	**996**	**996**
Mean score	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.7
Range	1–7	1–7	1–7	1–7	1–7

Notes: In this and the following table: (1) All data is weighted.
(2) Mean is the mean of the social distance measure for Muslims.
(3) Totals may not add due to rounding.

For the five religious groups, most respondents (95%) felt completely comfortable having a Christian as their immediate family member, followed by a Jew (89%), Buddhist (88%), and Hindu (86%), compared to 69% for Muslims. Nevertheless, 17% felt completely comfortable having a Muslim as a close friend, indicating that when considering the combined first and second 'rung' of social distance, comfort with Muslims is not substantially different to other religions (i.e. the total was 86%, compared to about 95% for other religions). Interestingly, the mean scores also show that respondents felt more socially distant from Muslims than other groups (mean=1.69); Christian groups in particular (mean=1.08).

Table 55: Social distance measure for each ethnic group

	Afghan %			Greek %	Indian %	Italian %		NZ %		
Immediate family member	73.1	98.7	89.1	93.4	86.1	95.0	79.8	96.2	76.0	87.9
Close friend	12.8	1.3	7.8	4.1	7.6	2.8	10.6	3.1	13.0	7.4
Neighbour	3.9	0	1.2	1.0	3.0	1.1	3.5	0.4	4.1	2.2
Workmate	2.8	-	0.8	0.1	0.8	0.3	1.9	0	1.4	1.0
Citizen	1.1	-	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.3
Visit but not citizen	5.4	-	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.6	2.4	0.1	3.8	1.0
Not allowed into Australia	1.1	-	0	0.3	0.9	0.1	1.3	0	1.0	0.3
Mean score	1.66	1.01	1.18	1.13	1.29	1.10	1.45	1.05	1.53	1.22
Range	1–7	1–3	1–6	1–7	1–7	1–7	1–7	1–6	1–7	1–7

As for religion in the previous table, a similar pattern emerges for ethnic groups. Specifically, most respondents felt completely comfortable having an Australian (99%) as an immediate family member, followed by a New Zealander (96%), Italian (95%), Greek (93%), Chinese (89%), and Indian (86%), compared to a relatively lower percentage for Lebanese (80%), Pakistanis (76%) and Afghans (73%).

Table 56: Social distance measure for Muslims by state

State	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
NSW	67.4	19.2	1.9	3.3	1.4	2.8	4.0	316	1.8
Vic	67.8	20.1	2.5	4.7	0.8	2.4	1.7	248	1.6
Qld	71.0	14.8	5.9	2.3	0.5	3.2	2.3	196	1.7
SA	70.8	10.1	6.9	1.3	4.8	6.3	0.0	75	1.8
WA	72.4	12.5	7.5	1.9	1.2	1.7	2.9	102	1.6
Tas	63.0	20.5	12.6	0.0	1.6	1.2	1.2	23	1.7
NT	69.0	22.1	0.0	0.0	8.9	0.0	0.0	9	1.6
ACT	87.0	8.4	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	17	1.2
Total	**69.2**	**17.0**	**4.1**	**3.0**	**1.4**	**2.8**	**2.5**	**986**	**1.7**

Data in the table above distribution are randomly distributed (differences are not statistically significant), meaning the distribution could occur by chance. In this bivariate examination, state does not appear to influence social distance. The apparent differences in the ACT were probably due to small numbers (i.e. total respondents in the territories is N = 10), but interestingly, in the regression model those from Queensland scored more for social distance than others.

Table 57: Social distance measure for Muslims by capital city vs non-capital

Capital city or not	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Not capital city	71.3	14.0	4.7	2.0	1.9	3.9	2.3	471	1.7
Capital city	67.3	19.8	3.6	4.0	0.9	1.8	2.7	514	1.7
Total	**69.3**	**17.0**	**4.1**	**3.0**	**1.4**	**2.8**	**2.5**	**986**	**1.7**

The distribution above is non-random at the 8% level of statistical significance (p-value = 0.073), meaning that it would not have occurred by chance. Nonetheless, when considered in a multivariate regression model (to follow), this significance is not apparent.

Therefore, there are no significant differences between people living in capital and non-capital cities in terms of their perceived social distance to Muslims.

Table 58: Social distance measure for Muslims by gender

Gender	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Male	71.8	12.9	3.9	3.5	1.4	3.7	2.8	490	1. 7
Female	67.0	20.6	4.1	2.4	1.3	2.5	2.1	506	1.7
Total	**69.4**	**16.8**	**4.0**	**2.9**	**1.3**	**3.1**	**2.4**	**996**	**1.7**

The distribution above is random, meaning it could occur by chance and therefore is statistically not significant.

There is no significant difference between men and women on this measure, but in the regression model females were significantly less likely to be in the higher groups of social distance.

Table 59: Social distance measure for Muslims by age group

Age (Years)	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
18−24	77.6	11.8	0.9	6.5	0.0	0.0	3.3	124	1.5
25−34	84.3	10.8	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	189	1.3
35−44	71.7	14.6	6.0	1.8	1.6	4.0	0.2	177	1.6
45−54	68.2	17.5	3.5	3.8	0.6	2.6	3.9	170	1.7
55−64	64.3	20.7	3.8	3.2	1.7	4.8	1.4	146	1.8
65−74	57.0	21.6	5.8	3.9	2.9	4.1	4.8	106	2.1
75+	45.3	29.0	4.3	3.3	4.9	8.6	4.6	82	2.4
Total	**69.4**	**16.8**	**4.0**	**3.0**	**1.3**	**3.0**	**2.5**	**994**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

The distribution levels of social distance measures for Muslims in Table 59 show that age and social distance to Muslims are significantly related. For example, only 45% of people aged 75+ felt completely comfortable with the idea of having a Muslim as an immediate family member, compared to 84% of people aged between 25 and 34. Consistently, the mean score for people aged 75+ is 2.4%, compared to the lowest mean of 1.29% for the age group 25−34. Age differences were also apparent in the regression model.

Table 60: Social distance measure for Muslims by level of education

Education	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
University	74.8	16.8	2.4	2.1	0.9	2.3	0.6	388	1.5
Vocational	67.8	13.8	5.8	5.4	2.0	3.8	1.4	249	1.8
Completed Y12	73.2	16.8	3.0	1.2	0.5	2.6	2.8	181	1.6
Not completed Y12	54.0	21.8	6.3	3.5	2.4	4.4	7.7	169	2.2
Total	**69.2**	**16.9**	**4.1**	**3.0**	**1.4**	**3.1**	**2.4**	**988**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Respondents with a university degree are significantly more likely to feel comfortable having a Muslim as a family member (75%) than those who have not completed Year 12 (54%). Consistently, the mean score for people with a university degree is 1.52 compared to a mean of 2.22 for those who have not completed Year 12. Education differences are also apparent in the regression model.

Table 61: Social distance measure for Muslims by labour force status

Labour force status	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Employed	73.8	15.4	4.1	2.5	0.9	2.5	0.8	609	1.5
Not in the labour force	61.9	20.5	4.0	2.6	2.2	4.2	4.7	321	1.9
Unemployed	62.6	14.3	3.5	9.5	0.0	2.7	7.4	61	2.1
Total	**69.2**	**16.9**	**4.0**	**3.0**	**1.3**	**3.1**	**2.5**	**990**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Employment was significantly related to social distance. Employed individuals were more likely to feel comfortable having a Muslim as a family member (74%), compared with the unemployed (63%) or those not in the labour force (NLF) (62%). Similarly, the employed had a lower mean score (1.5%) than the unemployed (2.1%) and the NLF (1.9%). In the regression model, the influence of labour force status remains.

Table 62: Social distance measure for Muslims by occupational status

Occupation	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Managerial/ professional	75.1	14.3	4.4	3.6	0.5	1.8	0.3	401	1.5
Not managerial/ professional	70.7	17.6	3.6	0.5	1.6	4.0	1.9	203	1.6
Not in labour force/ unemployed	62.8	18.9	3.8	3.6	2.0	3.9	5.0	392	1.9
Total	**69.4**	**16.8**	**4.0**	**2.9**	**1.3**	**3.1**	**2.4**	**996**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Respondents in professional and managerial occupations were significantly more likely to feel completely comfortable having a Muslim as an immediate family member (75%), compared to those who were not (71%); they had a lower mean score (1.51%) than non-professionals (1.79%). As this question was not put to those not employed, this measure is not included in the regression model.

Table 63: Social distance measure for Muslims by political affiliation

Political affiliation	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Liberal	58.9	22.5	3.2	5.5	1.4	5.7	2.3	264	1.9
Labor	69.7	15.8	5.0	3.6	1.6	2.2	2.1	257	1.6
Greens	89.6	9.6	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	41	1.1
National	59.5	21.7	8.7	1.6	5.7	2.7	0.0	29	1.8
No party	74.9	12.8	3.9	1.1	0.6	2.4	4.3	257	1.6
Other party	78.8	8.6	5.5	3.0	2.6	1.5	0.0	84	1.5
Total	**69.5**	**16.1**	**4.2**	**3.2**	**1.4**	**3.1**	**2.6**	**932**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Respondents with political affiliations with the Liberal and National (including the Country) parties were significantly less likely to feel comfortable having a Muslim as an immediate family member (approximately 60%) than those with other political affiliations (range approximately 70–90%). Liberal and National party affiliates also had a higher mean score (1.9%) than others. Interestingly, these differences did not appear in the multivariate regression model.

Table 64: Social distance measure for Muslims by contact (work with or come into regular contact)

Work with Muslims	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Yes	80.8	13.7	2.1	1.5	0.4	0.9	0.7	503	1.3
No	56.8	20.3	5.7	4.7	2.5	5.4	4.6	454	2.1
Total	**69.4**	**16.8**	**3.8**	**3.0**	**1.4**	**3.0**	**2.5**	**957**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

Respondents who had some work contact or came into regular contact with Muslims were significantly more likely to feel completely comfortable having a Muslim as an immediate family member (81%) than those who had no such contact (57%); they had a lower mean score (1.39%) than those with no regular contact (2.18%). This result was mirrored in the regression model.

Table 65: Social distance measure for Muslims by religion

Religion	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Catholic	62.2	22.8	3.6	3.5	1.3	2.8	3.8	208	1.8
Anglican	72.1	17.1	4.1	0.3	1.9	3.7	0.8	80	1.6
Uniting Church	76.2	15.5	0.0	2.7	1.3	2.8	1.5	36	1.5
Presbyterian and Reformed	27.1	9.5	15.0	15.1	3.7	29.6	0.0	19	3.5
Baptist	52.2	27.6	10.3	0.0	7.1	0.0	2.7	10	1.9
Greek Orthodox	12.6	67.1	0.0	6.4	0.0	14.0	0.0	7	2.6
Lutheran	61.2	34.0	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	6	1.5
Other Christian	67.5	14.0	6.8	2.9	1.4	2.0	5.3	128	1.8
Islam	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	27	1.0
Buddhism	67.9	32.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20	1.3
Hinduism	58.0	33.2	0.0	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	21	1.6
Judaism	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2	1.0
Other	69.1	17.6	3.6	2.5	1.5	2.1	3.6	81	1.7
No religion	75.6	12.9	3.3	3.0	0.8	2.9	1.5	341	1.6
Total	**69.4**	**17.0**	**3.8**	**3.0**	**1.2**	**3.1**	**2.5**	**985**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it is unlikely to have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

There were significant differences in the social distance measure for Muslims among respondents with different religious affiliations. Firstly – as one would expect – Muslims had the lowest social distance mean score of 1.0%, which means 100% feel completely comfortable having a Muslim as an immediate family member, compared with the national norm of 1.79%. They are followed by Judaism (1.00%), Buddhism (1.33%), No religion (1.61%), the Lutheran Church (1.67%), Anglican Church (1.71%), Uniting Church (1.72%) and Catholic Church (1.75%), who have lower social distance mean scores than the national average. In contrast, people religiously affiliated with the Presbyterian and Reformed (3.36%), Greek Orthodox (2.56%) or Baptist churches (2.43%), Other religions (2.10%), Other Christian (1.94%), and Hinduism (1.83%) had higher social distance mean scores than the national average. In the regression model religion was, similarly, found to influence social distance (but due to small numbers, religious groups were combined).

Table 66: Worry about terrorism and social distance measure for Muslims

Level of worry about terrorism	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Not at all	85.5	11.8	1.4	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.2	198	1.2
A little	79.6	13.2	3.5	1.6	0.6	0.2	1.3	330	1.4
Moderately	66.9	15.2	6.1	3.3	1.4	4.4	2.8	270	1.8
Very much	41.6	28.1	7.4	8.2	2.7	11.1	0.9	110	2.4
Extremely	37.9	30.0	1.5	6.5	4.0	6.6	13.6	85	2.8
Total	**69.5**	**16.6**	**4.0**	**3.0**	**1.4**	**3.1**	**2.5**	**993**	**1.7**

The distribution is non-random, meaning it could not have occurred by chance and therefore is statistically significant.

There was a significant relationship between social distance measures for Muslims and whether the respondents worried about terrorism in Australia. The respondents who were comfortable having Muslims as immediate family members or close friends were significantly less likely to worry about terrorism in Australia than those who were not comfortable with Muslims. These results were reflected in the regression model.

Table 67: Perception of one's community by social distance measure for Muslims

People in local community help neighbours	Social distance measure %							Total (N)	Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Strongly agree	69.4	19.8	2.3	2.3	1.8	2.4	2.0	299	1.6
Agree	71.1	15.7	5.2	2.6	1.0	2.4	2.0	495	1.6
Undecided	69.5	14.6	2.9	4.7	0.8	5.0	2.5	127	1.8
Disagree	60.5	16.4	5.7	0.5	0.0	8.5	8.4	60	2.2
Strongly disagree	45.6	12.5	0.0	26.2	15.7	0.0	0.0	13	2.5
Total	**69.4**	**16.8**	**4.0**	**3.0**	**1.4**	**3.1**	**2.5**	**995**	**1.7**

The above distribution is random, meaning it could occur by chance and therefore is statistically not significant.

There was no significant relationship between the perception of one's neighbourhood and social distance measures for Muslims.

5.3.1 Regression model explaining correlates of social distance: Survey 1

To model the Social Distance (SD) Scale we use the ordered logit model, where the dependent variable is a 3-point scale representing low, medium and high social distance from Muslims by combining groups from the 7-point scale (i.e. low is 1 and 2; medium is 3 to 5; high is 6 and 7). Reducing the groups on the SD Scale does not materially alter the results of ordinal logit models, so we prefer the simpler scale.

We investigated the impact on social distance of a number of social and economic variables. Specifically: age (in seven groups, from 18–24 years to 75 plus years); gender; state and territory; capital city vs non-capital city; education (in four groups from university to did not complete high school); labour force status (employed, unemployed and not in the labour force); attitude to migrants (on a 4-point scale); Australian born vs English-speaking background (ESB) or non-ESB; religion (in seven groups); attitude to terrorism (an ordinal measure from not worried at all to extremely worried); political affiliation (in six groups); views about the helpfulness of the local community (on a 5-point scale); whether the individual works with or has regular contact with Muslims; and, as a proxy for attitude to immigrants, whether individuals agree or disagree with the view that immigrants make an important contribution to society (on a 5-point scale).

Table 68 below provides a summary of the ordinal logit regression model estimates with coefficients transformed to exponential form: a coefficient greater than 1 indicates a higher probability of being in the highest social distance group; a coefficient less than one indicates a lower probability.

First we considered the four explanatory variables that did not appear to influence social distance when considered in this multivariate analysis (that is, the variable or category of the variable has a p-value of less than 10%; to be conservative we considered statistical significance at up to the 10% level): Australian born compared to English speaking background (ESB) and non-ESB; whether in a capital city or not; education level; and political affiliation.

Second, we considered the three multi-category explanatory variables that have just one category that was statistically significant:

- Unemployed individuals were almost three times more likely to be in the higher category of SD compared to the reference group of employed (odds ratio 2.79). Those who were not in the labour force (NLF) did not differ from the employed.

- Those who agreed that in the local community people were willing to help their neighbours were almost twice as likely to be in the higher SD group as the reference group (strongly agree), but others did not appear to be different to the reference group (there were, however, relatively small numbers in the 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' groups).

- Residents of Queensland were about 70% more likely to be in the higher SD group than those of NSW (odds ratio 1.69), but other states did not differ.

Third, we considered age, religion and attitude to immigrants, the multi-category explanatory variables that had more than one category or all categories statistically significant, and which had a marked influence on SD.

- Compared to the reference age group of 18 to 24 years, those in the next age category (25 to 34) did not differ, but most other age groups were between 2.5 and 4.5 times more likely to be in the higher range of SD (odds ratios vary between 2.7 and 4.4): those aged 75 years and older had an odds ratio of approximately over 4.

- Compared to the base case of 'strongly agree' that immigrants make an important contribution to society, those who agreed did not differ; but other categories had a noticeable influence: as tolerance became less strong, the probability of being at the highest level of SD increased. 'Undecided' and 'disagree' were over four times more likely to be at the highest level of SD (odds ratio 4.35 and 4.27 respectively), but those who strongly disagreed were over 25 times more likely (odds ratio 25.15).

- Compared to the reference group of 'No religion', Catholics were about half as likely to be in the high SD group (odds ratio 0.53), but 'other Christians' (excluding Anglicans) were over 50% more likely to be in the high group (odds ratio 1.63). The categories of Anglican, 'Other non-Christian' and 'Other nonspecific' did not differ from the base case.

- The level of worry about terrorism in Australia had a considerable influence on SD. Those who were a little worried were over three times more likely to be in the high SD group (odds ratio 3.45); those who were moderately worried were over 7 times more likely to be in the high SD group (odds ratio 7.71); while those who worried very much or extremely were almost 12 times more likely; and those who were extremely worried were over 19 times more likely to be in the high SD group (odds ratios of 11.89 and 19.08 respectively).

Finally, we considered dichotomous explanatory variables.

- Those who were comfortable with contact with Muslims (i.e. the individual worked with or has had regular contact with Muslims) were about a quarter as likely to be at the highest SD level, compared to those who do not have such contact (odds ratio 0.27).

- Lastly, females were about half as likely to be in the highest SD range as males (odds ratio 0.63).

Table 68: Ordinal logit regression (odds ratios) for social distance

Dependent variable Social Distance Scale	Odds ratio
Reference group age	*18–24*
25–34	0.703
35–44	3.496***
45–54	2.694*
55–64	2.544
65–74	2.706*
75+	4.434**
Reference group gender	*Male*
Female	0.631**
Reference group education	*University degree*
Post-school vocational qualification	1.532
Completed Year 12	0.994
Did not complete Year 12	1.391
Reference group state	*NSW*
Vic	1.088
Qld	1.689*
SA	0.737
WA	0.748
Tas	2.092
NT & ACT	0.589
Reference group labour force	*Employed*
Not in labour force	1.264
Unemployed	2.788**
Reference group background	*Australian*
English-speaking	1.486
NESB	1.565
Reference group religion	*No religion*
Catholic	0.534*
Anglican	0.866
Other Christian	1.628*
Other non-Christian	0.229
Other nonspecific	1.395

Dependent variable Social Distance Scale	Odds ratio
Reference group not …	*'Are there people you work with or you regularly come into contact with who are Muslim?'*
Muslim contact	0.273***
Reference group not …	*In state/territory capital city*
Capital city	1.284
Reference group immigrant tolerance	*Strongly agree 'Immigrants make an important contribution to society' (proxy for immigrant)*
Agree	1.190
Undecided	4.347***
Disagree	4.273***
Strongly disagree	25.149***
Reference group community	*Strongly agree 'People in my local community are willing to help their neighbours'*
Agree	1.866**
Undecided	1.446
Disagree	1.820
Strongly disagree	3.811
Reference group terrorism	*Not at all 'To what extend do you currently worry about terrorism in Australia?'*
A little	3.454**
Moderately	7.706***
Very much	11.893***
Extremely	19.082***
Reference political affiliation	*Vote Liberal*
Labor	0.649
National	0.807
Greens	0.225
No party	0.754
Other party	0.930

Note: * Statistically significant relationship.

5.4 Measuring social distance in Australia: Survey 2

5.4.1 Methodological note on the second social distance survey

The findings reported in the preceding section on Australian perceptions of social distance revealed some unusual results in the social distance measures. The proportion of respondents saying they would feel 'very comfortable' with all religious and ethnic groups was significantly higher than in most other social distance surveys in Australia. Drawing from the Multicultural Australia Survey data, Norton (2005) found that the respondents felt 'most distant' from Muslims. A study based on the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA) found that only 18% of respondents felt 'completely comfortable' with Muslims, compared to 69% in our survey. According to the study's author, Gary Bouma, "... the significantly greater negative reaction was to Muslims as a religious group rather than as a migrant group" (Bouma 2102).

The AuSSA Survey is a mail back, self-completion survey. Bouma's findings were not confined to only Muslims. Only about a quarter felt comfortable having Buddhists, Jews and Hindus as a family member. The corresponding percentage expressing similar opinions in our survey is significantly higher. Similarly, a study of ethnic prejudice in Australia found that "Among the Australian-born, Asians and Middle Eastern groups stand out as having the highest level of social distance" (McAllister and Moore 1991).

In view of the contrast in findings between the present and previous surveys about Muslims and other religious groups we commissioned a second survey to investigate if there were any 'mode effects' associated with the social distance questions. As mentioned previously, the survey commissioned for this study was carried out by The Australian National University's Social Research Centre using a CATI — Commuter Assisted Telephone Interview — protocol.

This mode involved respondents being interviewed by an interviewer. In such settings, respondents may be more likely to express socially acceptable opinions and possibly feel less able to be honest about their responses because they are talking to another person.

To overcome this possible source of 'bias', the International Centre for Muslim and Non-Muslim Understanding commissioned another survey using Online Text and Grid methods. The Online Text method is similar to CATI, but the questions are administered one by one online to respondents without the use of an interviewer. This is similar to a self-administered method; thus the respondent is less likely to feel pressured to respond in a certain way. The Grid methodology is the same as the Online Text method, but respondents are given questions relating to all religious and ethnic groups simultaneously. This method is more conducive to respondents undertaking a cognitive ranking of religions and ethnicities using a broader range of the scale. The second online survey was administered to a non-random sample of 1,000 respondents with a 55/50 split for each of the two designs. Each design was weighted independently for the Australian 18+ population.

5.4.2 Comparison of social distance measures produced by three models of social distance (CATI, Text and Grid)

Table 69: Social distance measures – comparison across survey type

Data collection method	Frequency	%	Cumulative
CATI	1000	50.00	50.00
Text	500	25.00	75.00
Grid	500	25.00	100.00
Total	**2000**	**100.00**	

Table 70: Social distance measure for Buddhists

	Data collection method			
Social distance measure for Buddhists	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	873	374	166	1,413
	87.4	78.24	38.79	74.33
As a close friend	73	43	93	209
	7.34	9.00	21.73	10.99
As a next-door neighbour	24	22	50	96
	2.41	4.60	11.68	5.05
As a workmate	9	11	38	58
	0.90	2.30	8.88	3.05
As an Australian citizen	6	15	61	82
	0.60	3.14	14.25	4.31
As a visitor to Australia	6	6	16	28
	0.60	1.26	3.74	1.47
Not allowed into Australia	4	7	4	15
	0.40	1.46	0.93	0.79
Total	**995**	**478**	**428**	**1,901**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 427.4802   Pr = 0.000.

Table 71: Social distance measure for Christians

Social distance measure for Christians	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	967	431	239	1,637
	97.09	89.60	53.35	85.04
As a close friend	18	29	84	131
	1.81	6.03	18.75	6.81
As a next-door neighbour	4	9	41	54
	0.40	1.87	9.15	2.81
As a workmate	0	2	29	31
	0.00	0.42	6.47	1.61
As an Australian citizen	5	6	46	57
	0.50	1.25	10.27	2.96
As a visitor to Australia	0	3	6	9
	0.00	0.62	1.34	0.47
Not allowed into Australia	2	1	3	6
	0.20	0.21	0.67	0.31
Total	**996**	**481**	**448**	**1,925**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 494.9064   Pr = 0.000.

Table 72: Social distance measure for Hindus

Social distance measure for Hindus	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	847	335	127	1,309
	85.30	71.58	29.60	69.26
As a close friend	82	56	99	237
	8.26	11.97	23.08	12.54
As a next-door neighbour	35	27	52	114
	3.52	5.77	12.12	6.03
As a workmate	9	19	48	76
	0.91	4.06	11.19	4.02
As an Australian citizen	4	12	67	83
	0.40	2.56	15.62	4.39
As a visitor to Australia	12	11	28	51
	1.21	2.35	6.53	2.70
Not allowed into Australia	4	8	8	20
	0.40	1.71	1.86	1.06
Total	**993**	**468**	**429**	**1,890**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 505.6926   Pr = 0.000.

Table 73: Social distance measure for Jews

Social distance measure for Jews	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	896	374	137	1,407
	89.96	79.41	32.31	74.41
As a close friend	56	45	110	211
	5.62	9.55	25.94	11.16
As a next-door neighbour	27	20	54	101
	2.71	4.25	12.74	5.34
As a workmate	4	7	42	53
	0.40	1.49	9.91	2.80
As an Australian citizen	5	14	59	78
	0.50	2.97	13.92	4.12
As a visitor to Australia	6	7	14	27
	0.60	1.49	3.30	1.43
Not allowed into Australia	2	4	8	14
	0.20	0.85	1.89	0.74
Total	**996**	**471**	**424**	**1,891**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 561.9877   Pr = 0.000.

Table 74: Social distance measure for Muslims

Social distance measure for Muslims	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	658	219	100	977
	66.06	47.82	23.98	52.22
As a close friend	179	79	67	325
	17.97	17.25	16.07	17.37
As a next-door neighbour	43	23	47	113
	4.32	5.02	11.27	6.04
As a workmate	33	24	44	101
	3.31	5.24	10.55	5.40
As an Australian citizen	18	19	46	83
	1.81	4.15	11.03	4.44
As a visitor to Australia	39	29	31	99
	3.92	6.33	7.43	5.29
Not allowed into Australia	26	65	82	173
	2.61	14.19	19.66	9.25
Total	**996**	**458**	**417**	**1,871**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 328.7919   Pr = 0.000.

Table 75: Summary table for social distance measures (religious groups)

Social distance	Buddhist			Christian			Hindu			Jewish			Muslim		
	CATI	Text	Grid	CATI	Text	Grid	CATI	Text	Grid	CATI	Text	Grid	CATI	Text	Grid
Immediate family member	89	77	38	96	89	51	87	70	27	89	77	31	69	48	22
Close friend	6	9	22	3	6	21	8	12	24	6	10	27	17	17	16
Neighbour	3	5	11	1	2	10	3	6	13	3	4	13	4	5	12
Workmate	1	2	9	0	1	7	1	4	11	1	2	10	3	5	11
Citizen	1	4	16	1	1	10	0	3	17	1	3	14	1	4	12
Visitor but not citizen	1	2	4	0	1	1	1	2	6	1	2	3	3	7	8
Not allowed into Australia	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	2	2	14	20
N=1000	995	478	428	996	481	448	993	468	429	996	471	424	996	458	417

The header spanning "Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim" columns is titled **Data collection method**.

Differences in social distance across the three samples and methods are statistically significant. In other words, they reveal the 'mode effect' and show that people do express different opinions on the same issue depending on the 'mode' of data collection. Social distance measures in the Grid sample closely correspond to the findings of the other similar Australian studies mentioned above. The regression analysis between the Text and Grid samples also reveals that age and education are positively related to social distance and that older people and those without high school education are significantly more distant than those with higher education. On the other hand, Labor and Greens tend to be significantly less distant compared to their Liberal and Country Party counterparts.

Table 76: Regression model for second survey

Variable subgroup	Text	Grid	Base case
35-44	1.756*	3.506***	Age 18-24
	(0.513)	(1.046)	
45-54	1.310	1.706**	
	(0.374)	(0.446)	
55-64	1.138	1.701*	
	(0.326)	(0.504)	
65-74	2.241***	2.223**	
	(0.702)	(0.751)	
75+	0.888	40.74***	
	(0.450)	(48.64)	
Female	0.804	0.924	Male
	(0.156)	(0.175)	
Post-school vocational qualifications	1.194	1.582*	University degree
	(0.277)	(0.371)	
Completed Year 12	0.950	1.134	
	(0.261)	(0.317)	
Did not complete Year 12	3.399***	3.173***	
	(1.041)	(1.030)	
Vic	0.812	1.224	NSW
	(0.200)	(0.318)	
Qld	1.233	1.251	
	(0.316)	(0.331)	
SA	0.892	0.647	
	(0.345)	(0.268)	
WA	0.896	1.296	
	(0.306)	(0.395)	
Tas	9.614**	1.311	
	(8.895)	(0.678)	
NT/ACT	1.934	0.815	
	(1.006)	(0.539)	
EnglishSpeaking	1.914*	0.449**	Australian
	(0.635)	(0.140)	
NESB	0.986	1.075	
	(0.283)	(0.334)	

Variable subgroup	Text	Grid	Base case
Catholic	1.147	2.107***	No religion
	(0.286)	(0.539)	
Anglican	1.316	1.547	
	(0.390)	(0.492)	
Other Christian	2.033***	1.547*	
	(0.532)	(0.410)	
Other non-Christian	1.510	1.777	
	(0.773)	(0.740)	
Other nonspecific	1.623	2.351	
	(0.947)	(1.411)	
LabourGreen	0.652*	0.444***	Liberal, Country, National Party
	(0.146)	(0.100)	
NoParty	0.789	0.296***	
	(0.216)	(0.0875)	
OtherParty	0.926	1.466	
	(0.429)	(0.746)	
DK	0.966	0.342**	
	(0.395)	(0.147)	
PreferNotSay	0.460	0.448	
	(0.330)	(0.345)	
	440	397	
	0.0457	0.0649	
	*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

Notes: Model is Ordered Logit. Report Odds ratio. OR=1 no difference from base case. OR<1 less likely than base case to be in the highest classification of the SD scale. OR>1 more likely than base case to be in the highest classification of the SD scale.

5.4.3. Social distance measures for ethnic groups

Tables 77 to 86 display social distance measures for ten ethnic groups: Afghans, Australians, Chinese, Greeks, Indians, Italians, Lebanese, Pakistanis and Vietnamese by the three modes of inquiry.

Table 77: Social distance measure for Afghans

Social distance measure for Afghans	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	873	374	166	1,413
	87.4	78.24	38.79	74.33
As a close friend	73	43	93	209
	7.34	9.00	21.73	10.99
As a next-door neighbour	24	22	50	96
	2.41	4.60	11.68	5.05
As a workmate	9	11	38	58
	0.90	2.30	8.88	3.05
As an Australian citizen	6	15	61	82
	0.60	3.14	14.25	4.31
As a visitor to Australia	6	6	16	28
	0.60	1.26	3.74	1.47
Not allowed into Australia	4	7	4	15
	0.40	1.46	0.93	0.79
Total	**995**	**478**	**428**	**1,901**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 354.1855   Pr = 0.000.

Table 78: Social distance measure for Australians

Social distance measure for Australians	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	987	456	312	1,755
	98.90	95.00	68.27	90.70
As a close friend	10	22	78	110
	1.00	4.58	17.07	5.68
As a next-door neighbour	1	1	38	40
	0.10	0.21	8.32	2.07
As a workmate	0	1	29	30
	0.00	0.21	6.35	1.55
Total	**998**	**480**	**457**	**1,935**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(6) = 379.2396   Pr = 0.000.

Table 79: Social distance measure for Chinese

Social distance measure for Chinese	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	891	378	137	1,406
	89.37	78.75	30.72	73.11
As a close friend	77	54	111	242
	7.72	11.25	24.89	12.58
As a next-door neighbour	12	18	68	98
	1.20	3.75	15.25	5.10
As a workmate	5	7	47	59
	0.50	1.46	10.54	3.07
As an Australian citizen	4	7	61	72
	0.40	1.46	13.68	3.74
As a visitor to Australia	8	11	19	38
	0.80	2.29	4.26	1.98
Not allowed into Australia	0	5	3	8
	0.00	1.04	0.67	0.42
Total	**997**	**480**	**446**	**1,923**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 631.2211 Pr = 0.000.

Table 80: Social distance measure for Greeks

Social distance measure for Greeks	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	935	426	151	1,512
	93.88	88.94	33.93	78.75
As a close friend	39	27	123	189
	3.92	5.64	27.64	9.84
As a next-door neighbour	10	8	67	85
	1.00	1.67	15.06	4.43
As a workmate	1	3	41	45
	0.10	0.63	9.21	2.34
As an Australian citizen	5	8	54	67
	0.50	1.67	12.13	3.49
As a visitor to Australia	5	4	7	16
	0.5	0.84	1.57	0.83
Not allowed into Australia	1	3	2	6
	0.10	0.63	0.45	0.31
Total	**996**	**479**	**445**	**1,920**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 734.0367 Pr = 0.000.

Table 81: Social distance measure for Indians

Social distance measure for Indians	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	840	323	126	1,289
	84.42	69.61	28.83	67.99
As a close friend	86	63	102	251
	8.64	13.58	23.34	13.24
As a next-door neighbour	31	25	65	121
	3.12	5.39	14.87	6.38
As a workmate	9	17	50	76
	0.90	3.66	11.44	4.01
As an Australian citizen	9	12	61	82
	0.90	2.59	13.96	4.32
As a visitor to Australia	14	15	24	53
	1.41	3.23	5.49	2.80
Not allowed into Australia	6	9	9	24
	0.60	1.94	2.06	1.27
Total	**995**	**464**	**437**	**1,896**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 488.6573   Pr = 0.000.

Table 82: Social distance measure for Italians

Social distance measure for Italians	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	956	443	178	1,577
	95.79	92.29	40.00	82.01
As a close friend	23	18	124	165
	2.30	3.75	27.87	8.58
As a next-door neighbour	10	4	57	71
	1.00	0.83	12.81	3.69
As a workmate	1	4	37	42
	0.10	0.83	8.31	2.18
As an Australian citizen	2	5	39	46
	0.20	1.04	8.76	2.39
As a visitor to Australia	5	6	7	18
	0.50	1.25	1.57	0.94
Not allowed into Australia	1	0	3	4
	0.10	0.00	0.67	0.21
Total	**998**	**480**	**445**	**1,923**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 717.4894   Pr = 0.000.

Table 83: Social distance measure for Lebanese

Social distance measure for Lebanese	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	776	283	116	1,175
	77.91	61.39	27.36	62.47
As a close friend	110	70	87	267
	11.04	15.18	20.52	14.19
As a next-door neighbour	41	16	59	116
	4.12	3.47	13.92	6.17
As a workmate	18	30	49	97
	1.81	6.51	11.56	5.16
As an Australian citizen	8	11	60	79
	0.80	2.39	14.15	4.20
As a visitor to Australia	29	25	28	82
	2.91	5.42	6.60	4.36
Not allowed into Australia	14	26	25	65
	1.41	5.64	5.90	3.46
Total	**996**	**461**	**424**	**1,881**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 419.1020   Pr = 0.000.

Table 84: Social distance measure for New Zealanders

Social distance measure for New Zealanders	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	965	438	195	1,598
	96.79	90.68	43.43	82.84
As a close friend	25	26	119	170
	2.51	5.38	26.50	8.81
As a next-door neighbour	4	5	46	55
	0.40	1.04	10.24	2.85
As a workmate	0	2	38	40
	0.00	0.41	8.46	2.07
As an Australian citizen	2	5	42	49
	0.20	1.04	9.35	2.54
As a visitor to Australia	1	3	8	12
	0.10	0.62	1.78	0.62
Not allowed into Australia	0	4	1	5
	0.00	0.83	0.22	0.26
Total	**997**	**483**	**449**	**1,929**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 680.7857   Pr = 0.000.

Table 85: Social distance measure for Pakistanis

Social distance measure for Pakistanis	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	738	271	107	1,116
	74.17	58.91	25.12	59.33
As a close friend	133	69	85	287
	13.37	15.00	19.95	15.26
As a next-door neighbour	44	31	58	133
	4.42	6.74	13.62	7.07
As a workmate	20	29	48	97
	2.01	6.30	11.27	5.16
As an Australian citizen	13	15	60	88
	1.31	3.26	14.08	4.68
As a visitor to Australia	35	23	36	94
	3.52	5.00	8.45	5.00
Not allowed into Australia	12	22	32	66
	1.21	4.78	7.51	3.51
Total	**995**	**460**	**426**	**1,881**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 374.2406   Pr = 0.000.

Table 86: Social distance measure for Vietnamese

Social distance measure for Vietnamese	Data collection method			
	CATI	Text	Grid	Total
As an immediate family member	875	354	129	1,358
	87.76	75.97	29.19	71.29
As a close friend	77	58	105	240
	7.72	12.45	23.76	12.60
As a next-door neighbour	19	19	67	105
	1.91	4.08	15.16	5.51
As a workmate	9	5	48	62
	0.90	1.07	10.86	3.25
As an Australian citizen	3	6	66	75
	0.30	1.29	14.93	3.94
As a visitor to Australia	11	15	19	45
	1.10	3.22	4.30	2.36
Not allowed into Australia	3	9	8	20
	0.30	1.93	1.81	1.05
Total	**997**	**466**	**442**	**1,905**
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Note: Pearson chi2(12) = 617.8613   Pr = 0.000.

The differences between the three measures are statistically significant for all ethnic groups. These results further confirm the 'mode effect', signifying that respondents tend to express different opinions about their 'closeness' to different ethnic groups depending on the mode of inquiry. The overall trend displayed in these tables is that Australians feel closest to European ethnic groups and relatively more distant from Asian groups. The Grid method of ascertaining social distance corresponds closely to that used for previous similar Australian studies by McAllister and Moore (1991), Norton (2005) and Bouma (2012).

6. CONCLUSIONS

6. Conclusions

The Muslim experience shows the impact of political attitudes and the resulting national policies on people's lives. The policies that arose from the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 severely curtailed Muslim presence in Australia. It was only after a change in national policy in the late 1960s that a Muslim community really began to develop.

In 1966 there were only 200,885 Muslims in Australia, but that number has grown to 604,200, according to 2016 census data, an increase of approximately 200%. Some of this growth can be attributed to the natural increase of the population, through birth rates, along with the impact of continued immigration. As of 2016, approximately 37% of Australia's Muslims were born in Australia, with the rest coming from 183 other countries, making the Muslim community one of the most nationally and ethnically heterogeneous religious communities in Australia.

In 2016, Islam was Australia's second largest religion and Australian Muslims constituted 2.6% of the country's population. Australian Muslims tend to be city dwellers, living in large urban enclaves primarily in Sydney and Melbourne, although the numbers of Muslims in other major urban centres like Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth are increasing. In fact, between 2011 and 2016, these cities had significantly higher rates of increase in their Muslim populations than Sydney and Melbourne.

A large majority of Muslims have embraced Australian citizenship; have proficiency in the English language; and are in the economically productive stage of their life cycle. They are parenting a large cohort of school-going children. Australian Muslims tend to be young and have an educational profile very similar to, or in some respects better, than the general Australian population. Yet when it comes to employment and income levels, two important markers of social and economic success in a modern society, they appear to be lagging significantly behind the rest of the population. Muslims have comparatively higher unemployment rates; lower employment rates; lower incomes relative to their educational attainment; and lower home ownership rates.

Studies have shown that Muslim Australians face discrimination in the labour market and are less likely to be granted a job interview than the average Australian. Despite their high levels of educational achievement, Muslims are less likely to work in professional fields. All these indicators suggest that a significant proportion of Muslim Australians occupy a relatively marginal position in Australian society, both socially and economically. Economic disadvantage is disempowering. It hampers an individual's ability and willingness to participate effectively in political and civic affairs. It also increases the potential for alienation from mainstream Australian society.

Islamophobia is headline news. Understandably, the media's focus is compelled by current events such as conflicts in Yemen, Syria and Iraq; terrorist attacks; and anti-Muslim immigration debates in Europe and Australia. Its coverage of such issues invariably weaves into a narrative that shapes public sentiments, but these narratives may not provide an accurate or in-depth understanding of the events. This is where empirical social scientific research can make an invaluable contribution to informed public debates on these and related issues.

The topics that are the focus of this report concern a segment of the Australian population whose numbers will grow fourfold over the next four decades. Muslim Australians are an important part of Australia's religious and ethnic landscape and they contribute to Australian society at many levels. International and Australian media narratives are replete with stories about violent extremism, the influx of immigrants and asylum seekers and reports of Islamophobia, and societal attitudes are invariably influenced by such circumstances, but they are not transforming the collective consciousness.

While one in ten Australians display strong feelings of Islamophobia, the overwhelming majority of Australians don't share these feelings. This is true irrespective of where they live, except in Victoria, where people are significantly less likely to be Islamophobic. Islamophobic attitudes and feelings are strongly connected to low educational attainment, unemployment and age. Feelings of Islamophobia tend to increase with age. They are also correlated with non-traditional Christian groups, non-English speaking backgrounds and anti-immigration views. Supporters of the Labor Party are significantly less Islamophobic, as are people who have contact with Muslims. However, unsurprisingly, fear of terrorism is strongly related to Islamophobia.

Social distance concerns the degrees and grades of affective closeness and intimacy people feel towards members of different groups in society, and it characterises peoples' personal and social relations. Australians are inclined to accept members of other religious and ethnic groups as immediate family members, but in that respect Muslims come last. Still, 70% of people are willing to accept them as family members. In contrast, Australians, in general, feel closer to Christians, followed by Jews, Buddhists and Hindus. However, contact with Muslims significantly reduces social distance and increases feelings of closeness.

As in the case of Islamophobia, age, unemployment, negative attitudes towards immigration, non-traditional Christian faiths and fear of terrorism are highly correlated with social distance. Political affiliation and ethnic background, on the other hand, have no effect on feelings of social distance towards Muslims. Attitudes and evaluative opinions about other religious and ethnic/national groups are influenced by the context(s) in which they are expressed.

This was illustrated by the findings of the second survey, which revealed a 'mode effect'. The Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) survey involved an interviewer and interviewee. In this setting, the respondent appears to have been more likely to express socially acceptable opinions and, perhaps, felt less able to be honest. However, when using the Text and Grid methods of gathering data, akin to a self-administered or mail-back mode of survey, the respondent seemed less likely to feel pressured to respond in a way that accorded with the public norms of the community. The findings of the CATI survey displayed attitudes that did not accord with previous similar Australian studies; whereas the attitudes displayed by the Text and Grid survey did, because of the similarities in the modes of data collection.

In conclusion, most Australians display low levels of Islamophobia and are welcoming of members of other religions and ethnic groups. But there are still pockets of anxiety and antipathy towards Muslims. The social distance attitudes of Australians towards other religions and ethnic groups also vary significantly depending on the circumstances and conditions under which they are expressed and solicited. This is an area requiring further investigation. The discrimination that Muslims are experiencing in the labour and employment markets, in particular, pose important public policy challenges for Australia. They require appropriate remedial policies to promote social and economic inclusion. The matter is urgent because, as highlighted by this report, by 2050 there will be one and a half million Australian Muslims, who comprise almost 5% of the Australian population. At the same time, Australia's Muslim community will provide an important bridge between Australia and the global Muslim community, which will most likely represent, by that time, the largest religion in the world.

7. REFERENCES

6. References

Abbas, Tahir (2004). 'After 9/11: British South Asian Muslims, Islamophobia, multiculturalism, and the state', *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 21(3): 26–38.

Akbarzadeh, Shahram (2016). 'The Muslim question in Australia: Islamophobia and Muslim alienation', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 36(3): 323–333.

Akbarzadeh, Shahram et al. (2009) *Muslim voices: hopes and aspirations of Muslim Australians,* Centre for Muslim Minorities and Islam Policy Studies, Monash University, Melbourne.

Allen, Liz (2017). 'FactCheck Q&A: the facts on birth rates for Muslim couples and non-Muslim couples in Australia', *The Conversation*, July 24. Available: https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/120956/1/FactCheck%20Q&A_%20the%20facts%20on%20birth%20rates_.pdf (last accessed 11 October, 2018).

Aston, Heath (2016). 'New national snapshot finds 60 per cent of Australians would be concerned if a relative married a Muslim', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 September. Available: https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/new-national-snapshot-finds-60-per-cent-of-australians-would-be-concerned-if-a-relative-married-a-muslim-20160927-grp4x0.html (last accessed 19 September, 2018).

Australian Population Association (1994). 'Australia's population towards the 21st century', *Australian Population Association Conference Paper*, No. 7.

Bastian, Brock, Dean Lusher and Abe Ata (2012). 'Contact, evaluation and social distance: differentiating majority and minority effects', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 36(1): 100–107.

Bayrakli, Enes and Farid Hafez (eds.) (2018). *European Islamophobia report 2017*, Seta Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research, Istanbul. Available: www.islamophobiaeurope.com (last accessed 6 June, 2018).

Beydoun, Khaled A. (2018). 'Rethinking Islamophobia: Islamophobia is far more than merely 'dread or hatred of Muslims', or 'fear or dislike' of the faith and its followers', *Al Jazeera*, 12 March. Available: https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/rethinking-islamophobia-180312085500278.html (last accessed 19 September 2018).

Bleich, Erik (2011). 'What is Islamophobia and how much is there? Theorizing and measuring an emerging comparative concept', *American Behavioral Scientist* 55(12): 1581–1600.

Booth, Alison (2013). 'Job hunt success is all in a name', *The Canberra Times*, 4 March. Available: http://www.canberratimes.com.au/comment/job-hunt-success-is-all-in-a-name-20130303-2feci.html (last accessed 11 October, 2018).

Booth, Alison L., Andrew Leigh and Elena Varganova (2012). 'Does ethnic discrimination vary across minority groups? Evidence from a field experiment', *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics* 74(4): 547–573.

Bouma, Gary D. (2016). 'Quest for inclusion: Australia and Islamophobia' in Douglas Pratt and Rachel Woodlock (eds.) *Fear of Muslims?: International perspectives on Islamophobia*. Switzerland: Springer.

Bouma, Gary D. (2012). 'Minority religious identity and religious social distance in Australia' in Juliet Pietsch and Haydn Aarons (eds.) *Australia: identity, fear and governance in the 21st century.* Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Bouma, Gary D. (2011). 'Islamophobia as a constraint to world peace: the case of Australia', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 22(4): 433–441.

Brinkerhoff, Merlin B. and Marlene M. Mackie (1986). 'The applicability of social distance for religious research: an exploration', *Review of Religious Research* 28(2): 151–167.

Briskman, Linda (2015). 'The creeping blight of Islamophobia in Australia', *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 4(3): 112–121.

Brocketta, Adrian, Andrew Village and Leslie J. Francis (2009). 'Internal consistency reliability and construct validity of the Attitude toward Muslim Proximity Index (AMPI): a measure of social distance', *British Journal of Religious Education* 31(3): 241–249.

Bucci, Nino and Michael Bachelard (2015). 'Men with IS links paroled despite fears', *The Age*, 4 May.

Carvalho, Patrick (2015). 'Why migrants may be our greatest economic asset', *The Drum*, 21 April. Available: http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-04-21/carvalho-why-migrants-may-be-our-greatest-economic-asset/6409042 (last accessed 11 October, 2018).

Cavan, Ruth Shonle (1971). 'A dating-marriage scale of religious social distance', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 10(2): 93–100.

Cesari, Jocelyne (2011). 'Islamophobia in the West: a comparison between Europe and the United States' in John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin (eds.) *Islamophobia: the challenge of pluralism in the 21st century*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Conway, Gordon (ed.) (1997). *Islamophobia: a challenge for us all. Report of the Runnymede Trust Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia*. Available: https://www.runnymedetrust.org/companies/17/74/Islamophobia-A-Challenge-for-Us-All.html (last accessed 19 September, 2018).

Dunn, Kevin M., Natascha Klocker and Tanya Salabay (2007). 'Contemporary racism and Islamophobia in Australia: racialising religion', *Ethnicities* 7(4): 564–589.

Elahi, Farah and Omar Khan (eds.) (2017). *Islamophobia: still a challenge for us all.* Runnymede Trust. Available: https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Islamophobia%20Report%202018%20FINAL.pdf (last accessed 19 September 2018).

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2017). *Annual report on ECRI's activities covering the period from 1 January to 31 December 2016.* Available: https://rm.coe.int/annual-report-on-ecri-s-activities-covering-the-period-from-1-january-/16808ae6d6 (last accessed 19 September, 2018).

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2002). *ECRI General Policy Recommendation N°7 (revised) on National Legislation to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.* Adopted 13 December 2002 and revised 7 December 2017. Available: https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/recommendation-no.7 (last accessed 19 September 2018).

European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (2000). *ECRI General Policy Recommendation N°5 on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination Against Muslims*. Adopted 27 April 2000. Available: https://www.coe.int/en/web/european-commission-against-racism-and-intolerance/recommendation-no.5 (last accessed 19 September 2018).

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) (2006). *Muslims in the European Union: discrimination and Islamophobia.* Available: http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2006/highlights-eumc-report-muslims-european-union-discrimination-and-islamophobia (last accessed 21 June, 2018).

Geisser, Vincent (2003). *La nouvelle Islamophobia.* Paris: La Découverte.

Giorgas, Dimitria and F.L. Jones (2002). 'Intermarriage patterns and social cohesion among first, second and later generation Australians', *Journal of Population Research* 19(1): 47–64.

Gottschalk, Peter and Gabriel Greenberg (2008). *Islamophobia: making Muslims the enemy.* Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield.

Green, Todd H. (2015). 'What Is Islamophobia?' in Todd H. Green (ed.) *The fear of Islam: an introduction to Islamophobia in the West.* Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress Publishers.

Halliday, Fred (1999). 'Islamophobia reconsidered', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(5): 892–902.

Hassan, Riaz (1991). 'The Muslim minority-majority relations in Australian society: a sociological study', *Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs Journal* 12(2): 285–306.

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) (2004). *Ismae – listen: national consultations on eliminating prejudice against Arab and Muslim Australians,* Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney.

Human Rights Council (2010). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, Githu Muigai, on the manifestations of defamation of religions, and in particular on the ongoing serious implications of Islamophobia, for the enjoyment of all rights by their followers,* UN Doc A/HRC/15/53, 12 July.

Kabir, Nahid Afrose (2005). *Muslims in Australia: immigration, race relations and cultural history.* London: Routledge.

Karakayali, Nedim (2009). 'Social distance and affective orientations', *Sociological Forum* 24(3): 538–562.

Karaoglu, Seyda Nur (2018). 'A definition of Islamophobia in Étienne Dinet's *The Pilgrimage to the Sacred House of Allah*'. Thesis submitted to The Faculty of The Columbian College of Arts and Sciences of The George Washington University, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, 20 May. Available: https://scholarspace-etds.library.gwu.edu/downloads/g445cd431?locale=en (last accessed 11 June, 2018).

Khoury, Matt (2014). 'Plan to deradicalise "at risk" NSW prisoners: deradicalisation programs are being initiated inside NSW prisons to turn "at risk" individuals away from violent extremism', *The Point Magazine*, October. Available: http://www.thepointmagazine.com.au/post.php?s=2014-10-23-plan-to-deradicalise-at-risk-nsw-prisoners (last accessed 11 October, 2018).

Lee, Sherman A., Jeffrey A. Gibbons, John M. Thompson, and Hussam S. Timani (2009). 'The Islamophobia Scale: instrument development and initial validation', *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 19(2): 92–105.

Lee, Sherman A., Chelsea A. Reid, Stephen D. Short, Jeffrey A. Gibbons, Ruth Yeh, and Matthew L. Campbell (2013). 'Fear of Muslims: psychometric evaluation of the Islamophobia Scale', *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* 5(3): 157–171.

Markus, Andrew (2016). *Mapping social cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation surveys 2016*. Available: http://scanlonfoundation.org.au/socialcohesion2017 (last accessed 19 September, 2018).

Markus, Andrew (2017). *Mapping social cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation surveys 2017*. Available: http://scanlonfoundation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/ScanlonFoundation_MappingSocialCohesion_2017.pdf (last accessed 19 September, 2018).

Matindoost, Laya (2015). 'Media representation of Muslim youth in Australia', *Media Development* 62(3): 33–36.

McAllister, Ian and Rhonda Moore (1991). 'The development of ethnic prejudice: an analysis of Australian immigrants', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24(2): 127–151.

Miller, Charles (2017). 'Australia's anti-Islam right in their own words. Text as data analysis of social media content', *Australian Journal of Political Science* 52(3): 383–401.

Murphy, Kristina, Adrian Cherney and Julie Barkworth (2015). *Avoiding community backlash in the fight against terrorism: research report*, Griffith University, Brisbane.

Norton, Andrew (2005). 'Australian attitudes toward Muslims', *Policy* 21(1): 38.

Park, Jaihyun, Karla Felix and Grace Lee (2007). 'Implicit attitudes toward Arab-Muslims and the moderating effects of social information', *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 29(1): 35–45.

Park, Robert Ezra (1924). 'The concept of social distance as applied to the study of racial attitudes and racial relations', *Journal of Applied Sociology* 8: 339–344. Available: https://brocku.ca/MeadProject/Park/Park_1924.html (last accessed 23 September, 2018).

Pew Research Center (2015.) *The future of world religions: population growth projections,* 2010–2050, Pew Research Center, Washington, DC.

Poynting, Scott and Victoria Mason (2008). 'The new integrationism, the state and Islamophobia: retreat from multiculturalism in Australia', *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 36(4): 230–246.

Poynting, Scott and Victoria Mason (2007). 'The resistible rise of Islamophobia: anti-Muslim racism in the UK and Australia before 11 September 2001', *Journal of Sociology* 43(1): 61–86.

Saeed, Abdullah and Shahram Akbarzadeh (eds.) (2001). *Muslim communities in Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Said, Edward W. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1978.)

Sayyid, Salman and AbdoolKarim Vakil (eds.) (2010). *Thinking through Islamophobia: global perspectives.* London: C. Hurst and Co.

Schwartz, Stephen (2005). 'The "Islamophobes" that aren't', *Frontpagemag*, 28 April. Available: http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/Read.aspx?GUIDD448A41BB-FCAA-4A8-A288-538DD09269EA (last accessed 2 April, 2018).

Scott, John (2014). 'Social distance' in John Scott (ed.) *A dictionary of sociology* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sheppard, Jill (2015). *Australian attitudes towards national identity: citizenship, immigration and tradition,* report no. 18, Australian National University College of Arts and Social Sciences, The Australian National University, Canberra.

Siegel, Sidney and Irma Lee Shepherd (1959). 'An ordered metric measure of social distance', *Sociometry* 22(4): 336—342.

Soldatova, Galina. (2007). 'Psychological mechanisms of xenophobia', *Social Science* 38(2): 104—120.

Spruyt, Bram and Mark Elchardus (2011). 'Are anti-Muslim feelings more widespread than antiforeigner feelings? Evidence from two split-sample experiments', *Ethnicities* 12(6): 800—820.

Spruyt, Bram and Jolanda Van der Noll (2017). 'The "Islamized stranger": on "chronic" versus "contextual" salience in the measurement of anti-Muslim prejudice', *Political Psychology* 38(6): 977—989.

Stolz, Jörg (2005). 'Explaining Islamophobia: a test of four theories based on a case of a Swiss city', *Swiss Journal of Sociology* 31(2): 547—566.

Sunar, Lutfi (2017). 'The long history of Islam as a collective "other" of the West and the rise of Islamophobia in the U.S. after Trump', *Insight Turkey* 19(3): 35—51.

Szalay, Lorand B. and Bela C. Maday (1983). 'Implicit culture and psychocultural distance', *American Anthropologist* 85(1): 110—118.

Tindale, Alexander and Natascha Klocker (2017). 'Mapping the multiple geographies of mixed-ethnicity couples in Australia', *Australian Geographer* 48(4): 473—495.

United Nations (UN) (2004). 'Seminar participants stress importance of tolerance, understanding, education in countering Islamophobia: Secretary-General says re-establishing trust among peoples of different faiths, cultures must be of highest priority', *UN Press Release,* 7 December. Available: https://www.un.org/press/en/2004/hr4801.doc.htm (last accessed 19 September, 2018).

Walter, Maggie (2012). 'Keeping our distance: non-Indigenous/Aboriginal relations in Australian society' in Juliet Pietsch and Haydn Aarons (eds.) *Australia: identity, fear and governance in the 21st century.* Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Wark, Colin and John F. Galliher (2007). 'Emory Bogardus and the origins of the Social Distance Scale', *American Sociology* 38(3): 383—395.

Williams, Joyce E. (2007). 'Social distance' in George Ritzer (ed.) *Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology.* Blackwell Publishing, Blackwell Reference Online (last accessed 14 May 2018).

Williams Jr., J. Allen (1964). 'Interviewer-respondent interaction: a study of bias in the information interview', *Sociometry* 27(3): 338—352.

Zebiri, Kate (2011). 'Orientalist themes in British Islamophobia' in John L. Esposito, and Ibrahim Kalin (eds.) *Islamophobia: the challenge of pluralism in the 21st century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zu´Quete, José´ Pedro (2008). 'The European extreme-right and Islam: new directions?', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13(3): 321—344.

8. APPENDICES

Appendix 1:
Social Distance Survey

Social Distance Survey
Draft Questionnaire V7 — 2 September 2015 — Post Day 1

Sample variables

Variable name	Variable label	Full description
SAMTYP	Sample type	Landline=1 Mobile=2
STATE	State (Landline only)	
POSTCODE	Postcode (Landline only)	
GCCSA	Region quota (Landline only)	

Call outcome codes (SMS screen — standard items)

Proceed with interview

No answer

Answering machine

Fax machine/modem

Engaged

Appointment

Stopped interview

LOTE — No follow up

Named person not known (only applies if calling back to keep an appointment and phone answerer denies knowledge of named person)

Telstra message/Disconnected

Not a residential number

Too old/deaf/disabled/health/family reasons

Claims to have done survey

Away for duration

Incoming call restrictions

Other out of scope (SUPRESS)

Terminated during screening / midway (HIDDEN CODE)

*INTRODUCTION

*TS1 (TIMESTAMP1)

*(ALL)
SAMTYP

     1. Landline

     2. Mobile

*(ALL)
Intro1   Good afternoon/evening my name is <SAY NAME> and I'm calling on behalf of the University of Queensland from the Social Research Centre. We are conducting important research about perceptions of various religious and ethnic groups around Australia.

       IF NECESSARY: This research is independent University research conducted by the University of Queensland, and has been approved by the University of Queensland Ethics Committee. The research is funded by the Australian Research Council and the University of South Australia. Your responses will be essential in understanding perceptions of various religious and ethnic groups around Australia.

S1 To help with this important study we'd like to arrange a short interview with the person aged 18 or over in your household who is going to have the next birthday.

Would that be yourself or someone else?

1. Selected respondent (GO TO S3)

2. Change respondents (GO TO S2)

3. Stop interview, make appointment (RECORD NAME AND GENDER AND ARRANGE CALL BACK)

4. Household refusal (ATTEMPT CONVERSION / RECORD REASON) (GO TO RR1)

5. Queried about how telephone number was obtained (GO TO ATELQ)

6. Wants further information about the research project (GO TO AINFO)

7. Wants further information about ethics approval (GO TO AETHICS)

8. No one in household over 18 (GO TO TERM1)

9. Back to SMS (GO BACK TO SMS)

S2 REINTRODUCE IF NECESSARY: Good afternoon/evening my name is <SAY NAME> and I'm calling on behalf of the University of Queensland from the Social Research Centre. We are conducting important research about perceptions of various religious and ethnic groups around Australia.

IF NECESSARY: This research is independent University research conducted by the University of Queensland, and has been approved by the University of Queensland Ethics Committee. The research is funded by the Australian Research Council and the University of South Australia. Your responses will be essential in understanding perceptions of various religious and ethnic groups around Australia.

1. Continue

2. Refusal (GO TO RR1)

S5 For this research project, we are interested in talking to people aged 18 or over. Can I check, are you aged 18   years or over?

1. Yes

2. No (GO TO TERM1)

3. Refused (GO TO RR1)

S6 Just so I know your time zone, can you please tell me which state or territory you're in?

1. NSW

2. VIC

3. QLD

4. SA

5. WA

6. TAS

7. NT

8. ACT

9. (Refused) (GO TO TERM2)

*PROGRAMMER NOTE: WRITE STATE / TERRITORY TO SAMPLE RECORD

S7 Could I also just check whether it is safe for you to take this call at the moment? If not, we'd be happy to call back when it is more convenient for you.

1. Safe to take call

2. Not safe to take call

3. Refusal (GO TO RR1)

S8   Do you want me to call you back on this number or would you prefer I call back on your home phone?

        1. This number (TYPE STOP, MAKE APPOINTMENT)

        2. Home phone (TYPE STOP, MAKE APPOINTMENT, RECORD HOME PHONE NUMBER)

        3. Respondent refusal (GO TO RR1)

S3   This interview should take around 10-12 minutes depending on your answers. I'll try and make it as quick as I can.

        Any information you provide will be protected by strict privacy and confidentiality rules. Your answers will be grouped with other peoples and used for statistical purposes only. You and your individual answers will not be identified. While we hope that you answer all the questions, if there are any questions you don't want to answer just tell me so I can skip over them.

        You can withdraw from the study at any point, or complete the rest of the interview at another time. If you decide to withdraw from the study during the interview, all the information I have collected from you will be destroyed.

        Would you be willing to help?

        1. Continue (GO TO S4)

        2. Stop interview, make appointment (RECORD NAME AND GENDER AND ARRANGE CALL BACK)

        3. Respondent refusal (ATTEMPT CONVERSION / RECORD REASON) (GO TO RR1)

        4. Wants further information about the research project (GO TO AINFO)

        5. Queried about how telephone number was obtained (GO TO ATELQ)

        6. Wants further information about ethics approval (GO TO AETHICS)

        7. Back to SMS (GO BACK TO SMS)

ATELQ   Your telephone number has been chosen at random from all possible telephone numbers in Australia. We find that this is the best way to obtain a representative sample and to make sure we get opinions from a wide range of people.

        1. Snap back to S1 / S3

AETHICS This study adheres to the Guidelines of the ethical review process of The University of Queensland and the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research. You are free to discuss your participation in this study with project staff an officer of the University not involved in the study. Would you like to note the contact details of a researcher with whom you can discuss your participation in the study, or an officer of the university not involved in the study?

        Prof. Bill Martin: (07) 3365 6806

        email: w.martin@uq.edu.au

        Officer not involved: (07) 3365 3924

        1. Snap back to S1 / S3

AINFO   Further information can also be found on our website www.srcentre.com.au

        I can also give you a telephone number or email so that you can talk with the researchers for this study:

        Prof. Bill Martin: (07) 3365 6806; email: w.martin@uq.edu.au

        You can also contact an officer of the university not involved in the study:

        Officer not involved: (07) 3365 3924

        1. Snap back to S1 / S3

S4   This call may be monitored for training and quality purposes. Is that OK?

        1. Monitor

        2. Do not monitor

*A   SECTION A - DEMOGRAPHICS

*(ALL)

A1 INTRO We'd like to begin with some basic questions about you.

    1. Continue

*(ALL)

A1   RECORD GENDER. CONFIRM IF NECESSARY

    1. Male

    2. Female

    3. (Can't say)

    4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

A2   How old are you?

    1. (Age) (RANGE:18 TO 120)

    2. (Refused)

*(A2=2 - REFUSED AGE)

A3   Would you mind telling me which of the following age groups you are in?

    (READ OUT)

    (SINGLE RESPONSE)

    1. 18 - 24 years

    2. 25 - 34 years

    3. 35 - 44 years

    4. 45 — 54 years

    5. 55 — 64 years

    6. 65 — 74 years, or

    7. 75 + years

    8. (Refused)

*(ALL)

A4.   Including yourself, how many people aged 18 years or older live in your household?

    1. Number given (SPECIFY _ _ _) (RANGE 1 TO 20) (DISPLAY 'UNLIKELY RESPONSE' IF GREATER THAN 10)

    2. (Can't say)

    3. (Refused)

*(ALL)

A5   In which country were you born?

1. Afghanistan	21. Malta
2. Australia	22. Netherlands (Holland)
3. Canada	23. New Zealand
4. China (excluding Taiwan)	24. Pakistan
5. Croatia	25. Philippines
6. Egypt	26. Poland
7. Fiji	27. Serbia / Montenegro
8. Germany	28. Singapore
9. Greece	29. South Africa
10. Hong Kong	30. Sri Lanka
11. Hungary	31. Sudan
12. India	32. United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Nth Ireland)
13. Indonesia	33. USA
14. Iran	34. Vietnam
15. Iraq	35. Other (SPECIFY)
16. Ireland	36. (Can't say)
17. Italy	37. (Refused)
18. Lebanon	
19. Macedonia	
20. Malaysia	

*(ALL)

A6   At home, do you normally speak English or another language?

INTERVIEWER NOTE: IF ENGLISH AND ANOTHER LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME, PROBE FOR MAIN LANGUAGE SPOKEN

1. English
2. Another language
3. (Can't say)
4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

A7   How would you describe your ancestry?

INTERVIEWER NOTE: UP TO 2 CAN BE RECORDED, FIRST 2 MENTIONS OK

PROGRAMMER NOTE: ALLOW UP TO 2 RESPONSES

(ACCEPT MULTIPLES)

1. Afghan
2. Australian
3. Chinese
4. English
5. German
6. Greek
7. Indian
8. Irish
9. Italian
10. Pakistani

11. Scottish
12. Vietnamese
13. Other (SPECIFY)
14. (Can't say) ^s
15. (Refused) ^s

*(ALL)A8 What is your religion?

(DO NOT READ OUT)

IF NECESSARY: We are asking for your religion so that we can be sure we have spoken to a broad range of people from all different backgrounds

1. Anglican
2. Baptist
3. Buddhism
4. Catholic
5. Greek Orthodox
6. Hinduism
7. Islam
8. Judaism
9. Lutheran

10. Presbyterian and Reformed
11. Uniting Church
12. Other Christian
13. Other religions (SPECIFY)
14. No religion
15. (Can't say)
16. (Refused)

*(ALL)

A10a   Do you currently have a paid job of any kind?

INTERVIEWER NOTE: A job means any type of work including full-time, casual, temporary or part-time work, if it was for one hour or more over a two-week period.

1. Yes
2. No
3. (Can't say)
4. (Refused)

*(A10a=2 — NOT EMPLOYED)

A10b   (Just to confirm) Are you currently looking for work?

INTERVIEWER NOTE: IF RETIRED, CONFIRM IF CURRENTLY LOOKING FOR WORK. SOME RETIREES MAY STILL BE LOOKING FOR WORK.

1. Yes
2. No
3. (Can't say)
4. (Refused)

PROGRAMMER NOTE: CREATE LABOUR FORCE DUMMY VARIABLE:

1. Employed (IF A1Oa=1)

2. Not in the labour force (IF A1Ob=2)

3. Unemployed (IF A1Ob=1)

4. All others

*(A1Oa=1 – EMPLOYED)

A11   And is that in a managerial or professional position?

IF UNSURE, READ OUT: Managerial and professional positions usually require a bachelor degree or higher qualification, or at least five years of relevant experience

1. Yes, managerial/professional

2. No, not managerial/professional

3. (Can't say)

4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

A12   What is the level of the highest educational qualification you have completed?

1. University degree (including postgraduate)

2. Post-school vocational qualification (Diploma, Certificate, etc.)

3. Completed Year 12

4. Did not complete Year 12

5. (Can't say)

6. (Refused)

*(ALL)

A13   Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National or some other party?

1. Liberal

2. Labor

3. National (Country Party)

4. DISPLAY IF STATE=QLD OR S6=3: Liberal National

5. DISPLAY IF STATE=NT or S6=7: Country Liberal

6. Greens

7. No party

8. Other party

9. (Can't say)

1O. (Refused)

*TS3 (TIMESTAMP3)

*B   SECTION B – RELIGIOUS GROUPS

*(ALL)

B1INTRO Now I am going to mention various RELIGIOUS GROUPS to you. For each group I mention I would like you to tell me if you would be COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a member of this group as an immediate family member, a close friend, a next door neighbour or a work mate?

There are no right or wrong answers, we just want to know how comfortable you would feel with different groups of people.

PROGRAMMER: LOOP TO THE NEXT RELIGIOUS GROUP AFTER THE FIRST 'YES' RESPONSE. ORDER STATEMENTS AS FOLLOWS: BUDDHIST, HINDU, MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN, JEWISH

ASK B1 AND B2 TOGETHER FOR EACH RELIGIOUS GROUP IF B1=2-4 FOR STATEMENTS A-D

*(ALL)

B1   PROGRAMMER: RELIGIOUS GROUPS ARE: BUDDHIST, HINDU, MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN, JEWISH

Would you feel COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a person belonging to the (DISPLAY RELIGIOUS GROUP) faith …

IF CONDITIONAL RESPONSE PROVIDED, SAY: With that in mind, would you … (READ OUT QUESTION AGAIN)

STATEMENTS

A) As an immediate family member

B) A close friend

C) A next door neighbour

D) A workmate

RESPONSE FRAME

1. Yes

2. No

3. (Can't say)

4. (Refused)

*(IF B1=2-4 FOR STATEMENTS A-D)

B2   PROGRAMMER RELIGIOUS GROUPS ARE: BUDDHIST, HINDU, MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN, JEWISH. ASK B2 AFTER B1 FOR EACH RELIGIOUS GROUP.

Which one of these is closest to your view?

People of the (DISPLAY RELIGIOUS GROUP) faith …

1. Should be allowed to become Australian citizens

2. Should be allowed to visit Australia but not become citizens, or

3. Should not be allowed to visit Australia

4. (Can't say)

5. (Refused)

*TS4 (TIMESTAMP4)

*C   SECTION C – CONTACT

*(ALL)

C1a   Do you have close friends or family members who are members of the following religious groups?

PROGRAMMER: RANDOMIZE GROUPS

STATEMENTS

A) Christians

B) Muslims

C) Buddhists

D) Hindus

E) Jewish people

RESPONSE FRAME

1. Yes

2. No

3. (Can't say)

4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

C1b   Do you have close friends or family members who are members of the following ethnic groups?

PROGRAMMER: RANDOMIZE GROUPS

F) Pakistanis   K) Afghans

G) Chinese   L) Vietnamese

H) Italians   M) New Zealanders

I) Lebanese   N) Greeks

J) Indians

RESPONSE FRAME

1. Yes
2. No
3. (Can't say)
4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

C2a   Are there people you work with or people you regularly come into contact with in the community who are members of each of these religious groups?

PROGRAMMER: RANDOMIZE GROUPS

A) Christians

B) Muslims

C) Buddhists

D) Hindus

E) Jewish people

RESPONSE FRAME

1. Yes
2. No
3. (Can't say)
4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

C2b   Are there people you work with or people you regularly come into contact with in the community who are members of each of these ethnic groups?

PROGRAMMER: RANDOMIZE GROUPS

F) Pakistanis	K) Afghans
G) Chinese	L) Vietnamese
H) Italians	M) New Zealanders
I) Lebanese	N) Greeks
J) Indians	

RESPONSE FRAME

1. Yes
2. No
3. (Can't say)
4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

C3   Thinking about the community you live in, how strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statement:

People in my local community are willing to help their neighbours.

(READ OUT)

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Undecided
4. Disagree
5. Strongly disagree
6. (Refused)

*(ALL)

C4   Now, thinking about immigrants to Australia, how strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements:

(READ OUT RESPONSE FRAME)

STATEMENTS

A) Too many recent immigrants just don't want to fit into Australian society

B) Immigrants take jobs away from people who are born in Australia

C) Immigrants make an important contribution to society

RESPONSE FRAME

Would you say ...

1. Strongly agree

2. Agree

3. Undecided

4. Disagree, or

5. Strongly disagree

6. (Refused)

*TS5 (TIMESTAMP5)

*D   SECTION D – MULTICULTURAL GROUPS

*(ALL)

D1 INTRO   Now I am going to mention various ETHNIC GROUPS to you. For each group I mention I would like you to tell me if you would be COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a member of this group as an immediate family member, a close friend, a next door neighbour or a work mate?

There are no right or wrong answers, we just want to know how comfortable you would feel with different groups of people.

PROGRAMMER: LOOP TO THE NEXT GROUP AFTER THE FIRST 'YES' RESPONSE. RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ETHNIC GROUPS

ASK D1 AND D2 TOGETHER FOR EACH ETHNIC GROUP (EXCEPT 'AUSTRALIAN') IF D1=2-4 FOR STATEMENTS A-D

*(ALL)

D1   PROGRAMMER: ETHNIC GROUPS ARE: AN INDIAN, A PAKISTANI, A CHINESE, AN ITALIAN, A LEBANESE, AN AFGHAN, A VIETNAMESE, A NEW ZEALANDER, A GREEK, AN AUSTRALIAN

Would you feel COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having [PROGAMMER NOTE: FOR A NEW ZEALANDER, DISPLAY: A New Zealander; ALL OTHERS: (DISPLAY ETHNIC GROUP) person ...

IF CONDITIONAL RESPONSE PROVIDED, SAY: With that in mind, would you ... (READ OUT QUESTION AGAIN)

STATEMENTS

a) As an immediate family member

b) A close friend

c) A next door neighbour

d) A workmate

RESPONSE FRAME

1. Yes

2. No

3. (Can't say)

4. (Refused)

*(ALL)

D2   PROGRAMMER ETHNIC GROUPS ARE: INDIAN, PAKISTANI, CHINESE, ITALIAN, LEBANESE, AFGHAN, VIETNAMESE, NEW ZEALANDER, GREEK DO NOT ASK FOR AUSTRALIAN

Which one of these is closest to your view?

PROGAMMER NOTE: FOR NEW ZEALANDER, DISPLAY: New Zealanders

ALL OTHERS: (DISPLAY ETHNIC GROUP) people...

1.Should be allowed to become Australian citizens

2. Should be allowed to visit Australia but not become citizens, or

3. Should not be allowed to visit Australia

4. (Can't say)

5. (Refused)

*TS6 (TIMESTAMP6)

*E   SECTION E – OTHER ITEMS

E1 INTRO For the following questions, there are no right or wrong answers. If there are any questions you don't want to answer just tell me so I can skip over them.

    1. Continue

*(ALL)

E2   To what extent do you currently worry about terrorism in Australia? Would you say …

    (READ OUT)

    1. Not at all

    2. A little

    3. Moderately

    4. Very much, or

    5. Extremely

    6. (Can't say)

    7. (Refused)

*(ALL)

E3   Can you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

    (READ OUT FRAME AS APPROPRIATE)

    A) Just to be safe, it is important to stay away from places where Muslims could be

    B) I would feel very comfortable speaking with a Muslim

    C) I would support any policy that would STOP the building of new mosques (Muslim place of worship) in my local area

    D) If I could, I would avoid contact with Muslims

    E) I would live in a place where there are Muslims

    F) Muslims should be allowed to work in places where many Australians gather, such as airports

    G) If possible, I would avoid going to places where Muslims would be

    RESPONSE FRAME

    Would you say …

    1. Strongly agree

    2. Agree

    3. Undecided

    4 Disagree, or

    5. Strongly disagree

    6. (Refused)

*TS7 (TIMESTAMP7)

*W   SECTION W – DUAL FRAME WEIGHTING ITEMS

*(ALL)

W1   Now just a few questions about your use of telephone services.

    1. Continue

*(SAMTYP=2 – MOBILE SAMPLE)

W2   Is there at least one working fixed line telephone inside your home that is used for making and receiving calls?

    1. Yes

    2. No

    3. (Can't say)

    4. (Refused)

*(SAMTYP=1 — LANDLINE SAMPLE)

W4   Do you also have a working mobile phone?

        1. Yes

        2. No

        3. (Can't say)

        4. (Refused)

*(SAMTYP=2 OR W4=1 — MOBILE SAMPLE OR LL WITH A MOBILE)

W5   How many mobile phones, in total, do you have that you receive calls on?

        1. Specify number (RANGE 1 TO 9)

        2. (Can't say)

        3. (Refused)

*(SAMTYP=2 OR W4=1 — MOBILE SAMPLE OR LL WITH A MOBILE)

W6   Does anybody else share this/these mobile phone(s) with you?

        1. Yes

        2. No

        3. (Can't say)

        4. (Refused)

*(W6=1 — SHARE THEIR MOBILE PHONE)

W7   Approximately what percentage of calls made to this/these mobile phone(s) do you answer?

        1. Specify percentage (RANGE 1 TO 1OO)

        2. (Can't say)

        3. (Refused)

*(ALL)

W8   And, can I please have your postcode?

        IF SAMTYP=1, DISPLAY POSTCODE FROM SAMPLE

        IF SAMTYP=2, DISPLAY STATE FROM S6

        (EXPLAIN IF NECESSARY: It is important that we collect this information so we can analyse the results at a local level)

        (SINGLE RESPONSE)

        1. Record postcode

        2. (Can't say)

        3. (Refused)

*TS8 (TIMESTAMP8)

*Z   SECTION Z — END OF SURVEY, ETHICS AND THANK YOU

*(ALL)

CLOSE1   This research is carried out in compliance with the Privacy Act and the Australian Privacy Principles, and the information you have provided will only be used for research purposes. Our Privacy Policy is available via our website www.srcentre.com.au

        Thank you for taking the time to complete this interview. Just in case you missed it, my name is (…) and this research project was conducted by the Social Research Centre on behalf of the University of Queensland. Are you interested in the results of this research project?

        IF NECESSARY: CLOSE SUITABLY

        1. Yes (GO TO CLOSE 2)

        2. No (GO TO END SURVEY)

*(CLOSE1=1 − INTERESTED IN RESULTS)

CLOSE 2 ```The results of the survey are expected to be available on the website of the Centre for Muslim and non-
```Muslim Understanding at the University of South Australia and the website of the Institute for Social Science
```Research at the University of Queensland by the end of 2O15. You might like to check one of those websites
```to read about the results.

```ONLY IF SPECIFICALLY ASK FOR IT:

```Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding: Google terms: "Muslim and non-Muslim"
Institute for Social Science Research: Google search term: "ISSR"


*TS9  (TIMESTAMP9)

*TERMINATION SCRIPT

TERM1    Thanks anyway, but for this research project we need to speak to people aged 18 or more.  Thanks
for being prepared to help.


TERM2    Thanks anyway, but to participate in this study I need to confirm which state / territory you are in


*(ALLTERM − SUMMARY OF TERMINATIONS AND RESULTING OUTCOMES)

| | Detailed outcome | Summary outcome/SUR category |
|---|---|---|
| S1=4 | Household refusal | Refusal |
| S1=8 | No one aged 18 over in household | Screen outs |
| S2=2 | Respondent refusal | Refusal |
| S5=2 | Aged under 18 | Screen outs |
| S5=3 | Refused age | Refusal |
| S6=9 | Mobile sample refused state | Refusal |
| S7=3 | Respondent refusal | Refusal |
| S8=3 | Mobile sample refused alternative number | Refusal |
| S3=3 | Respondent refusal | Refusal |


*(REFUSED)

RR1    OK, that's fine, no problem, but could you just tell me the main reason you do not want to participate,
because that's important information for us?

1. No comment/just hung up

2. Too busy

3. Not interested

4. Too personal/intrusive

5. Don't like subject matter

6. Don't believe surveys are confidential/privacy concerns

7. Silent number

8. Don't trust surveys/government

9. Never do surveys

1O. Survey too long

11. Get too many calls for surveys / telemarketing

12. Too old / frail / deaf / unable to do survey

13. Not a residential number (business, etc)

14. Language difficulty

15. Going away/moving house

16. Asked to be taken off list (add to do not call register)

17. No one 18 plus in household

18. Objected to being called on their mobile phone

19. Respondent unreliable/drunk

2O. Other (SPECIFY)

**\*(RECODING NON-REFUSALS)**

| Code | Detailed outcome | Summary outcome/SUR category |
|------|------------------|------------------------------|
|      | 12 Too old / frail / ill-health | Other contacts |
|      | 13 Not a residential number | Unusable |
|      | 14 Away duration | Other contacts |
|      | 15 Away duration | Other contacts |
|      | 17 No-one 18 plus in household | Screen outs |
|      | 19 Unreliable respondent | Other contacts |
|      | *(REFUSED) | |
| RR2  | RECORD RE-CONTACT TYPE | |
|      | 1. Definitely don't call back | |
|      | 2. Possible conversion | |

# Appendix 2:
## Sample Description

**State (N = 990)**

| | |
|---|---|
| NSW | 30.0% |
| Vic | 26.8% |
| Qld | 19.2% |
| SA | 8.0% |
| WA | 10.3% |
| Tas | 2.7% |
| NT | 1.0% |
| ACT | 2.0% |

**Capital city (N = 990)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Not capital city | 49.3% |
| Capital city | 50.7% |

**Sex (N = 1000)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Male | 44.5% |
| Female | 55.5% |

**Age group (N = 998)**

| | |
|---|---|
| 18–24 | 6.8% |
| 25–34 | 8.3% |
| 35–44 | 12.7% |
| 45–54 | 20.5% |
| 55–64 | 23.0% |
| 65–74 | 18.8% |
| 75+ | 9.7% |

**Education (N = 992)**

| | |
|---|---|
| University | 36.5% |
| Post-school vocational | 25.1% |
| Completed Y12 | 16.5% |
| Did not complete Y12 | 21.9% |

**Labour force status (N = 994)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Employed | 55.4% |
| Not in labour force | 39.6% |
| Unemployed | 4.9% |

**Professional (N = 549)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Managerial/professional | 68.5% |
| Not managerial/professional | 31.5% |

**Muslim contact (N = 960)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Not the case | 50.9% |
| Work or regular contact | 49.1% |

**Attitude towards migrants (N = 989)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Very high tolerance | 13.8% |
| High tolerance | 39.2% |
| Average tolerance | 34.1% |
| Low & very low tolerance | 12.9% |

**English-speaking background (N = 998)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Australian | 71.0% |
| ESB | 13.0% |
| NESB | 14.9% |

**Religion (N = 988)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Anglican | 10.4% |
| Baptist | 1.4% |
| Buddhism | 1.2% |
| Catholic | 21.6% |
| Greek Orthodox | 0.9% |
| Hinduism | 1.2% |
| Islam | 1.5% |
| Judaism | 0.3% |
| Lutheran | 0.9% |
| Presbyterian | 2.5% |
| Uniting Church | 4.8% |
| Other Christian | 11.7% |
| Other | 8.6% |
| No religion | 32.9% |

**Community attachment (N = 999)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 32.5% |
| Agree | 49.8% |
| Undecided | 11.4% |
| Disagree | 5.3% |
| Strongly disagree | 0.9% |

**Worry about terrorism (N = 996)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Not at all | 18.3% |
| A little | 31.1% |
| Moderately | 27.5% |
| Very much | 13.9% |
| Extremely | 9.2% |

**Politics (N = 935)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Liberal | 32.0% |
| Labor | 31.1% |
| National | 3.0% |
| Greens | 4.1% |
| No party | 21.4% |
| Other party | 8.4% |

**Buddhist family member (N = 980)**

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 10.9% |
| Yes | 89.1% |

**Christian family member (N = 995)**

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 2.8% |
| Yes | 97.2% |

**Hindu family member (N = 967)**

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 12.4% |
| Yes | 87.6% |

**Jewish family member (N = 982)**

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 8.8% |
| Yes | 91.2% |

**Muslim family member (N = 965)**

| | |
|---|---|
| No | 31.8% |
| Yes | 68.2% |

**Islamophobia Scale (N = 975)**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 (low) | 21.6% |
| 2 | 46.4% |
| 3 | 20.7% |
| 4 | 9.1% |
| 5 (high) | 2.2% |

# Appendix 3.
# Social distance comparison survey

**Questionnaire V8 – 1 December 2015**

In-scope population
· Australian residents aged 18 year and over

Total sample size
· n = 1000
· Option 1 & 2 of Social Distance items to be assigned based on whichever option has the least number of completes at the time of the interview.

Soft quotas (quota priorities are: 1 – Age, 2 – Gender, 3 – Location)

Education will fall out naturally and we will adjust in the weighting

|  | n= |
|---|---|
| **Age** | |
| 18-34 years | 314 |
| 35-54 years | 348 |
| 55 years and over | 338 |
| **Gender** | |
| Males | 500 |
| Females | 500 |
|  | n= |

| **Location** | |
|---|---|
| Sydney | 205 |
| Rest of NSW | 117 |
| Melbourne | 189 |
| Rest of VIC | 63 |
| Brisbane | 95 |
| Rest of QLD | 103 |
| Adelaide | 58 |
| Rest of SA | 17 |
| Perth | 81 |
| Rest of WA | 23 |
| Hobart | 10 |
| Rest of TAS | 13 |
| Darwin | 5 |
| Rest of NT | 4 |
| ACT | 17 |

\*PROGRAMMER NOTE: SHOW ONE QUESTION PER SCREEN, UNLESS STATED OTHERWISE
\*PROGRAMMER NOTE: ALL QUESTIONS ARE SINGLE RESPONSE & MANDATORY, UNLESS STATED OTHERWISE

\*(ALL)
Intro1    Hello and welcome to the survey!

This survey will take less than 10 minutes to complete and is about perceptions of various religious and ethnic groups around Australia.

This research is independent University research conducted by the University of Queensland, and has been approved by the University of Queensland Ethics Committee. The research is funded by the Australian Research Council and the University of South Australia.

Any information you provide will be protected by strict privacy and confidentiality rules. Your answers will be grouped with other peoples' and used for statistical purposes only. You and your individual answers will not be identified.

How to answer this survey:
· Please read each question and follow the instructions carefully.
· To navigate through the survey, please use the 'Next' and 'Back' buttons provided at the bottom of the screen. DO NOT use your browser's back or forward navigation buttons.

If you are unable to finish the survey in one sitting, please click on the 'Pause' button to save your answers, you will be able to re-enter and complete the survey at a time that is more convenient. Once you have completed the survey, your answers will be automatically recorded.

This study adheres to the Guidelines of the ethical review process of The University of Queensland and the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research. You are free to discuss your participation in this study with the researchers for this study or the Ethics Officer of the University (not involved in the study.)

Prof. Bill Martin:  (O7) 3365 68O6; email: w.martin@uq.edu.au
Ethics Officer:    (O7) 3365 3924

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any point before completion by simply leaving this website.

## *A. DEMOGRAPHICS

*(ALL)
A1 INTRO     We'd like to begin with some basic questions about you.

*(ALL)
A1.     Are you:

1.     Male
2.     Female

PROGRAMMER CHECK GENDER QUOTA

*(ALL)
**A2.     How old are you?**

*Record in years*

1.  (ENTER NUMBER) (RANGE:18 TO 12O)

PROGRAMMER CHECK AGE QUOTA

*(ALL)
A4.     What is your postcode?

        1  (ENTER NUMBER) (ALLOWABLE RANGE = VALID POSTCODES)

PROGRAMMER NOTE: USE POSTCODE LOOKUP LIST TO CHECK AREA QUOTA

*(ALL)

A5      In which country were you born?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Afghanistan | 20. | Malaysia |
| 2. | Australia | 21. | Malta |
| 3. | Canada | 22. | Netherlands (Holland) |
| 4. | China (excluding Taiwan) | 23. | New Zealand |
| 5. | Croatia | 24. | Pakistan |
| 6. | Egypt | 25. | Philippines |
| 7. | Fiji | 26. | Poland |
| 8. | Germany | 27. | Serbia / Montenegro |
| 9. | Greece | 28. | Singapore |
| 10. | Hong Kong | 29. | South Africa |
| 11. | Hungary | 30. | Sri Lanka |
| 12. | India | 31. | Sudan |
| 13. | Indonesia | 32. | United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, Nth Ireland) |
| 14. | Iran | 33. | USA |
| 15. | Iraq | 34. | Vietnam |
| 16. | Ireland | 35. | Other (please specify) |
| 17. | Italy | 36. | Don't know |
| 18. | Lebanon | 37. | Prefer not to say |
| 19. | Macedonia | | |

*(ALL)

A8      What is your religion?

We are asking for your religion so that we can be sure we have
spoken to a broad range of people from all different backgrounds

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Anglican | 9. | Lutheran |
| 2. | Baptist | 10. | Presbyterian and Reformed |
| 3. | Buddhism | 11. | Uniting Church |
| 4. | Catholic | 12. | Other Christian |
| 5. | Greek Orthodox | 13. | Other religions (SPECIFY) |
| 6. | Hinduism | 14. | No religion |
| 7. | Islam | 15. | Don't know |
| 8. | Judaism | 16. | Prefer not to say |

*(ALL)

A12     What is the level of the highest educational qualification you have completed?

1.      University degree (including postgraduate)
2.      Post-school vocational qualification (Diploma, Certificate, etc.)
3.      Completed Year 12
4.      Did not complete Year 12

A13    Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Liberal, Labor, National or some other party?

1.     Liberal
2.     Labor
3.     National (Country Party)
4.     DISPLAY IF STATE FROM A4 POSTCODE=QLD : Liberal National
5.     DISPLAY IF STATE=NT A4 POSTCODE : Country Liberal
6.     Greens
7.     No party
8.     Other party
9.     Don't know
1O.    Prefer not to say

PROGRAMMER: ALLOCATE EACH RESPONDENT TO QUESTIONNAIRE OPTION 1 OR 2 BASED ON OPTION WITH LEAST NUMBER OF COMPLETES. EACH RESPONDENT CAN ONLY COMPLETE OPTION 1 RELIGION & OPTION 1 ETHNICITIES OR OPTION 2 RELIGION & OPTION 2 ETHNICITIES. DO NOT PRESENT A MIX OF THE TWO OPTIONS.
*(ALL)
AXDUM. PROGRAMMER RECORD OPTION
1.  OPTION 1
2. OPTION 2

## *B. OPTION 1 – RELIGIOUS GROUPS

*(OPTION 1)
B1 INTRO    You will now be shown various RELIGIOUS GROUPS. For each group please indicate if you would be COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a member of this group as an immediate family member, a close friend, a next door neighbour or a work mate?

There are no right or wrong answers, we just want to know how comfortable you would feel with different groups of people.

PROGRAMMER: LOOP TO THE NEXT RELIGIOUS GROUP AFTER THE FIRST 'YES' RESPONSE. ORDER STATEMENTS AS FOLLOWS: BUDDHIST, HINDU, MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN, JEWISH

ASK B2 IMMEDIATELY AFTER B1 ON NEXT SCREEN FOR EACH RELIGIOUS GROUP IF B1=2-4 FOR STATEMENTS A-D

*(OPTION 1)
B1
PROGRAMMER NOTE: RELIGIOUS GROUPS ARE: BUDDHIST, HINDU, MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN, JEWISH

Would you feel COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a person belonging to the (DISPLAY RELIGIOUS GROUP IN CAPITAL LETTERS) faith...

DISPLAY STATEMENTS ONE STATEMENT PER SCREEN, DISPLAY NEXT STATEMENT ON NEXT SCREEN, KEEP QUESTION TEXT ON SCREEN:

FOR EXAMPLE:

Would you feel COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a person belonging to the BUDDHIST faith...

As an immediate family member

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS NO, NEW SCREEN:

Would you feel COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a person belonging to the BUDDHIST faith...

As a close friend

A)        As an immediate family member
B)        As a close friend
C)        As a next door neighbour
D)        As a  workmate

SHOW RESPONSE FRAME BELOW EACH STATEMENT
1.        Yes
2.        No
3.        Don't know
4.        Prefer not to say


*(IF B1=2-4 FOR STATEMENTS A-D)

B2
PROGRAMMER NOTE: RELIGIOUS GROUPS ARE: BUDDHIST, HINDU, MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN, JEWISH. ASK B2 AFTER B1 FOR EACH RELIGIOUS GROUP.

Which one of these is closest to your view?

People of the (DISPLAY RELIGIOUS GROUP) faith …
1.        Should be allowed to become Australian citizens
2.        Should be allowed to visit Australia but not become citizens, or
3.        Should not be allowed into Australia
4.        Don't know
5.        Prefer not to say

*

## X. OPTION 2 – RELIGIOUS GROUPS

*(OPTION 2)

X1        For each religious group in the table below, please indicate the closest relationship you could have with a member of that religion while feeling COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE. The options range from being completely comfortable with having someone of a particular religion as an immediate family member to being completely comfortable with not allowing someone from that religion into Australia.

There are no right or wrong answers, we just want to know how comfortable you would feel with different groups of people.

Please select ONE response for each row.

PROGRAMMER: LAYOUT GRID AS PER BELOW ON THE SAME SCREEN AS THE QUESTION TEXT (IGNORE ROW/ COLUMN LABELS, IMAGE IS FOR LAYOUT ONLY)

DATA VALIDATION: MUST ANSWER 1 RESPONSE FOR EACH ROW

ROWS LABELS:

ORDER ROWS TOP TO BOTTOM IN THIS ORDER:  BUDDHIST, HINDU, MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN, JEWISH

COLUMN LABELS (LEFT TO RIGHT):
    As an immediate family member
    As a close friend
    As a next door neighbour
    As a workmate
    As an Australian citizen
    As a visitor to Australia but not a citizen
    Not allowed into Australia
    Don't know
    Prefer not to say

*(ALL)
C2a    Are there people you work with or people you regularly come into contact with in the community who are members of each of these religious groups?

PROGRAMMER: RANDOMIZE GROUPS, AND RECORD THE ORDER PRESENTED IN THE DATA FILE

ROWS:
A)    Christians
B)    Muslims
C)    Buddhists
D)    Hindus
E)    Jewish people

COLUMNS:
1.    Yes
2.    No
3.    Don't know
4.    Prefer not to say

*(ALL)
C2b    Are there people you work with or people you regularly come into contact with in the community who are members of each of these ethnic groups?

PROGRAMMER: RANDOMIZE GROUPS, AND RECORD THE ORDER PRESENTED IN THE DATA FILE

ROWS:
F)    Pakistanis
G)    Chinese
H)    Italians
I)    Lebanese
J)    Indians
K)    Afghans
L)    Vietnamese
M)    New Zealanders
N)    Greeks

COLUMNS:
1.    Yes
2.    No
3.    Don't know
4.    Prefer not to say

*(OPTION 1)

D1INTRO        You will now be shown various ETHNIC GROUPS. For each group please indicate if you would be COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having a member of this group as an immediate family member, a close friend, a next door neighbour or a work mate?

Again, there are no right or wrong answers, we just want to know how comfortable you would feel with different groups of people.

PROGRAMMER NOTE: LOOP TO THE NEXT GROUP AFTER THE FIRST 'YES' RESPONSE. RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ETHNIC GROUPS

ASK D2 IMMEDIATELY AFTER D1 FOR EACH ETHNIC GROUP (EXCEPT 'AUSTRALIAN')
IF D1=2-4 FOR STATEMENTS A-D
RECORD THE ORDER OF ETHNIC GROUPS PRESENTED TO RESPONDENT IN DATA

*(OPTION 1)
**D1**
PROGRAMMER NOTE: ETHNIC GROUPS ARE: AN INDIAN, A PAKISTANI, A CHINESE, AN ITALIAN, A LEBANESE, AN AFGHAN, A VIETNAMESE, A NEW ZEALANDER, A GREEK, AN AUSTRALIAN

Would you feel COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE having [PROGAMMER NOTE: FOR A NEW ZEALANDER, DISPLAY: A New Zealander; ALL OTHERS: (DISPLAY ETHNIC GROUP) person...

QUESTION DISPLAY FORMAT IS THE SAME AS B1
A)        As an immediate family member
B)        As a close friend
C)        As a next door neighbour
D)        As a  workmate

SHOW RESPONSE FRAME BELOW EACH STATEMENT
6.        Yes
7.        No
8.        Don't know
9.        Prefer not to say

*(IF D1=2-4 FOR STATEMENTS A-D, EXCEPT AUSTRALIAN)
**D2**
PROGRAMMER NOTE: ETHNIC GROUPS ARE: INDIAN, PAKISTANI, CHINESE, ITALIAN, LEBANESE, AFGHAN, VIETNAMESE, NEW ZEALANDER, GREEK. DO NOT ASK FOR AUSTRALIAN

Which one of these is closest to your view?

PROGAMMER NOTE: FOR NEW ZEALANDER, DISPLAY: New Zealanders
ALL OTHERS: (DISPLAY ETHNIC GROUP) people...

1.        Should be allowed to become Australian citizens
2.        Should be allowed to visit Australia but not become citizens, or
3.        Should not be allowed into Australia
4.        Don't know
5.        Prefer not to say

\*(OPTION 2)

Y1.     For each ethnic group in the table below, please indicate the closest relationship you could have with a member of that ethnic group while feeling COMPLETELY COMFORTABLE. **The options range from being completely comfortable with having someone of a particular ethnic group as an immediate family member to being completely comfortable with not allowing someone from that ethnic group into Australia.**

There are no right or wrong answers, we just want to know how comfortable you would feel with different groups of people.

**Please select ONE response for each row.**

DATA VALIDATION: MUST ANSWER 1 RESPONSE FOR EACH ROW

RANDOMIZE ROWS LABELS:

**INDIAN, PAKISTANI, CHINESE, ITALIAN, LEBANESE, AFGHAN, VIETNAMESE, NEW ZEALANDER, GREEK, AUSTRALIAN**

RECORD ORDER OF ETHNICITIES PRESENTED IN DATA FILE

COLUMN LABELS: SAME AS SECTION X

FOR "AUSTRALIAN" REMOVE RADIO BUTTONS / SHADE IN FOR: As an Australian citizen
As a visitor to Australia but not a citizen; Not allowed into Australia; Not allowed into Australia

As an immediate family member
As a close friend
As a next door neighbour
As a workmate
As an Australian citizen
As a visitor to Australia but not a citizen
Not allowed into Australia
Don't know
Pefer not to say

\*(ALL)

W1      Now just a final couple of questions about your use of telephone services.  These will help us analyse the research findings.

1.      Continue

\*(ALL)

W2      Is there at least one working fixed line telephone inside your home that is used for making and receiving calls?

1.      Yes
2.      No
3.      Don't know
4.      Prefer not to say

\*(ALL)

W4      Do you also have a working mobile phone?

1.      Yes
2.      No
3.      Don't know
4.      Prefer not to say

**\*Z. SECTION Z — END OF SURVEY, ETHICS AND THANK YOU**

\*(ALL)

CLOSE1   Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey.

The results of the survey are expected to be available on the website of the Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding at the University of South Australia and the website of the Institute for Social Science Research at the University of Queensland in early 2016. You might like to check one of those websites to read about the results.

This research was conducted by the Social Research Centre on behalf of the University of Queensland, and was carried out in compliance with the Privacy Act and the Australian Privacy Principles. The information you have provided in this survey will only be used for research purposes. The Social Research Centre's Privacy Policy is available on our website www.srcentre.com.au

Please click 'Next' to submit your answers and be re-directed to your home page

TERMINATION SCRIPTS

QUOTA FULL:   Thanks anyway, but for the purpose of this research we need to speak to people with certain characteristics. Thank you for your time.

**University of
South Australia**