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Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:

A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

FINAL REPORT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
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1. Executive summary

The growth in Australia's population from increased immigration is changing the ethnic, socio-structural and physical landscapes of urban neighbourhoods and significantly altering relationships within these areas (Australian Government, 2013; Hugo, 2008). These changes can be enormously positive, but can also pose a challenge for the development and maintenance of neighbourhood networks and social inclusion. With a sizeable number of Australians viewing immigration as a strain on economic resources and a threat to Australian identity and values (Dunn, Forrest, Burnley, & McDonald, 2004; Kamp, Alam, Blair, & Dunn, 2017), there is an urgent need to better understand the contextual dynamics that shape interethnic relationships.

Despite a long history of largely successful multicultural policies and programs, recent surveys in Australia reveal that approximately 30 per cent of Australians do not believe that immigration from diverse countries makes us stronger and, further, they consider the current intake of immigrants as 'too high' (Markus, 2018). Negative attitudes against Muslims are also increasing (Markus, 2018) and native-born Australians are more likely to report high levels of social disorder and withdrawal from some aspects of community life in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods (Wickes, Hipp, Zahnow, & Mazerolle, 2013; Wickes, Zahnow, White, & Mazerolle, 2013). These findings suggest that although immigration brings national economic, social and cultural benefits, there is growing endorsement of exclusivist attitudes towards migrants.

Countering exclusivist discourses can only succeed if initiatives address the underlying factors that allow these narratives to resonate with individuals. Evidence from other countries suggests that socially harmful exclusivism concentrates in neighbourhoods, especially segregated neighbourhoods and those with large proportions of non-White/European residents (Ramalingam, Glennie and Feve, 2012). In Australia, and specifically Victoria, we know little about the spatial concentration of socially harmful exclusivism as no large-scale Australian study examines whether these attitudes cluster in particular neighbourhoods. Furthermore, we do not know how and under what conditions these attitudes may lead to potentially harmful actions.

This report examines the individual-level drivers of social exclusivism while also considering the role of the neighbourhood context and neighbourhood cohesion. A key goal of this research was to better understand the ways in which the local context encourages or prevents the development of exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and endorsement of actions that seek to exclude migrants, especially in areas experiencing significant changes in the ethnic composition. Linked to this goal was a focus on identifying the specific characteristics of the local context that distinguish areas with higher levels of socially harmful exclusivism from those with lower levels.

1.1   Research aims

The aims of this research were to examine:

- the relationship between the neighbourhood context and socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and endorsement of actions that seek to exclude migrants;

- the changing neighbourhood characteristics and their influence on socially harmful exclusivism across Melbourne neighbourhoods; and

- the association between neighbourhood social cohesion and socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and endorsement of actions that seek to exclude migrants.

Using multiple administrative datasets, combined with the accounts of approximately 2,500 residents across 148 neighbourhoods, this study examines both the individual-level and the neighbourhood-level drivers of social exclusivism. The analyses simultaneously explore the independent impacts of threat,

contact and anticipated rejection on social exclusivism. It advances previous work by considering the context of social exclusivism and identifying the key correlates at different levels of analysis that influence harmful sentiments, attitudes and potential actions. Further, this project makes an important contribution to policy and practice by identifying the kinds of places where socially harmful exclusivism occurs, the forms it can take, the protective factors that guard against the different dimensions of social exclusivism and the possible interventions and programs that may reduce social exclusivism in urban neighbourhoods.

1.2 Key findings

Overall this study found that the majority of people had neutral or positive sentiments towards immigrant groups. However, a sizeable number of respondents felt anger and low warmth towards Muslim, African and Middle Eastern people. Those endorsing exclusivist attitudes and actions comprised a minority of the overall sample. Exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants, as measured by our survey items, were held by approximately 23 per cent to 30 per cent of the sample. One item asking participants if they agreed immigrants should conform to Australian norms received 65 per cent support (see Figure 1). Participants who intended to undertake socially exclusivist actions were in the minority, ranging from 23 to 29 per cent of the sample.

Immigrants should conform to Australian norms

Strongly Disagree	5.35%
Disagree	8.18%
Neither	20.36%
Agree	32.34%
Strongly Agree	33.77%
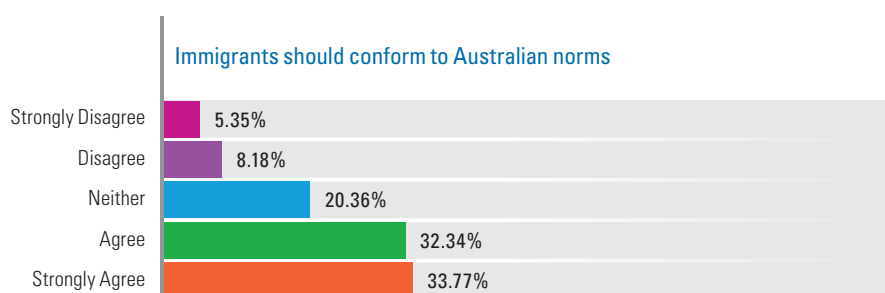
Figure 1. Immigrants should conform to Australian norms, Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS) survey 2017

Several individual demographic variables were associated with socially exclusive sentiments, attitudes and intended actions. These included age, gender, education and political orientation. The influence of age is consistent with findings from the Lowy Institute Poll that found younger people were less likely to perceive immigration as threat, when compared to older populations (Kassam, 2019). Those respondents indicating a preference for the parties of the Coalition were significantly more likely to report greater anger towards non-White/European groups than those indicating a preference for the Labor Party. This was also evident in responses about socially exclusivist attitudes and actions.

Our measures of threat and contact also influenced socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions. Perceived future interethnic conflict was associated with anger, lower warmth, stronger endorsement for socially exclusive attitudes towards immigrants and an endorsement of socially exclusive actions towards immigrants. Having close immigrant contacts was not associated with greater warmth, but individuals stating that 'most of my friends are immigrants' reported lower anger and greater warmth towards immigrants. Immigrant friendships were also a protective factor against socially exclusive attitudes and actions. Anticipating rejection from a member of another ethnic group was strongly linked to all measures of social exclusivism across all analyses.

Notably, an individual's own sense of community belonging was a strong protective factor against social exclusivism, but prior levels of neighbourhood social cohesion were not associated with exclusionary sentiments, attitudes and intended actions. Individuals living in neighbourhoods with greater concentrations of disadvantage and neighbourhoods where disadvantage increased over time displayed greater endorsement of socially exclusivist attitudes.

The highlights from the analyses are noted below and broken down by sentiments, attitudes and actions. Fuller accounts of these relationships are provided in sections 5, 6 and 7 of this report.

Elements of social exclusivism

Exclusionary Sentiments

Exclusionary Attitudes

Exclusionary Actions
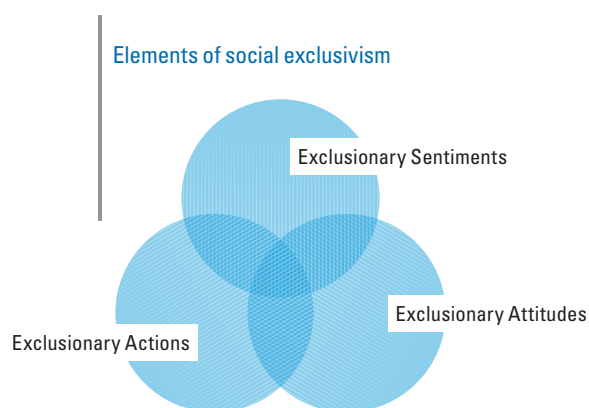
Figure 2. Elements of social exclusivism

Exclusionary sentiments: warmth and anger towards people from a non-White/European background

- There was no evidence of neighbourhood clustering of warmth for or anger towards people who identified as White/European in this sample.

- Nearly one in four participants reported feelings of low warmth towards Muslims and people of African heritage.

- Approximately one in six participants reported anger towards Muslims and people of African heritage.

- Older people, men and those with high school education (or lower) expressed lower warmth for people of a non-White/European background when compared to younger people, women and those with a university education.

- Younger people and those with lower participation in the work force reported significantly lower anger towards people of a non-White/European background.

- Those who would vote for the Coalition expressed greater anger towards people of a non-White/European background than those who would vote for the Labor Party.

- Diversity of interethnic contacts and friendships with immigrants did not lead to greater warmth for people of a non-White/European background, nor did it lead to higher anger.

- Anticipating rejection by someone different from one's own reference group significantly predicted lower warmth for, and higher anger towards, people of a non-White/European background.

- Those who see neighbourhood interethnic relationships as improving in ten years reported greater warmth for, and lower anger towards, people of a non-White/European background compared to those who predict these relationships will decline in the future.

- Individuals with immigrant friends and those reporting high levels of community belonging had significantly lower anger towards people of a non-White/European background. While having immigrant friends did not lead to greater warmth, community belonging was positively associated with warmth towards people of a non-White/European background.

- Seeing greater neighbourhood problems was significantly associated with greater anger towards people of a non-White/European background.

Exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants

- Older people, those with lower levels of education and Coalition voters expressed stronger exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants compared to younger people, those with tertiary education and those who would vote for the Labor Party and the Greens.

- Witnessing or experiencing interethnic harassment was associated with weaker endorsement for exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants.

- Perceiving neighbourhood interethnic relationships as improving in ten years was significantly associated with weaker endorsement for exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants.

- Having immigrants as friends and reporting a sense of community belonging were significantly associated with weaker endorsement of exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants.

- Reporting greater community problems and anticipating rejection by someone different from one's own ethnic group were significantly associated with stronger exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants.

- Neighbourhood disadvantage and increases in neighbourhood disadvantage over time were significantly associated with stronger exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants.

- Neighbourhood ethnic diversity and increases in neighbourhood ethnic diversity over time were significantly associated with weaker endorsement for exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants.

Exclusionary actions towards immigrants

- Political affiliation was significantly associated with exclusionary actions towards immigrants. People who would vote for the Coalition reported stronger endorsement for exclusionary actions than those who would vote for the Labor Party or the Greens.

- Those with university qualifications reported weaker endorsement for exclusionary actions towards immigrants compared to those with high school (or lower) education.

- Perceiving neighbourhood interethnic relationships as improving in ten years was associated with weaker endorsement for exclusionary actions towards immigrants.

- Those anticipating rejection from someone different from one's own ethnic group were more likely to endorse exclusionary actions towards immigrants than those who did not.

- Community belonging was significantly associated with lower endorsement of exclusionary actions.

- Although initial models revealed significant neighbourhood variation in the endorsement of exclusivist actions towards immigrants, this clustering was entirely explained by individual-level variables. This indicates that particular kinds of people are more likely to concentrate in areas where exclusivist actions are higher, not that particular areas influence these actions.

1.3 Opportunities for policy and practice

The results indicated that increasing diversity in some areas lowered exclusivist attitudes whereas economic disadvantage significantly increased these attitudes. These findings strongly emphasise the need for careful settlement planning and the importance of developing and maintaining a welcoming social infrastructure. Below we offer several strategic considerations to assist government and non-government organisations in preparing for increases in diversity in the cities and regional areas in Australia.

Strategic considerations

1. Community and government organisations need to work explicitly through policy and programming to improve positive perceptions of, and actual relationships with, Victorians of Muslim and African heritage. Among other things, this involves an explicit focus on reducing threat perceptions and cultural stereotyping. It also involves enhancing understanding of positive community contributions by people from these heritage groups. These goals may be achieved through specific information campaigns co-designed with relevant communities and promoted by government that highlight the positive contributions made by Muslim and African heritage groups in Victoria; developing stronger op-ed profiles for key government personnel through major media outlets that 'push back' against negative stereotyping and misplaced threat perceptions; and reviewing and assessing existing and future funding opportunities for Victorian Government-supported programs in the area of sport, social cohesion, community support, the arts and recreation that explicitly bring together and highlight Victorians of Muslim and African heritage with other culturally diverse groups of Victorians in both urban and regional areas of the state.

2. The intergenerational differences in warmth and anger toward non-White/European people, reflected in less anger and more warmth among younger people than older generations, is a positive sign that should continue to be reinforced through educational pathways and community-focused messaging, including social media. It also points to the need to develop targeted approaches for older Australians that encourage greater interethnic contact. Specific attention should be given to leveraging Victorian seniors' organisations and local council events and programs: these could be funded to develop or extend seniors-focused initiatives that bring together older Victorians from diverse cultural backgrounds in activities and initiatives including volunteering, adult education, career development and mentoring, health and wellbeing and leisure and recreation.

3. To counter the anticipated rejection some members of society feel when thinking about meeting people who are different from themselves, additional resources to develop strategies and programs that promote welcome and positive engagement with people from different backgrounds should be considered. The annual Victorian Mosque Open Day is an example of such practices, as are the Welcome Dinner Project that is underway across Australia and the Islamic Museum of Australia's series of exhibitions and activities in Melbourne. The Immigration Museum in central Melbourne could be funded to develop travelling exhibits in regional and rural areas that highlight positive engagement with the state's culturally diverse communities and offer opportunities for co-designed exhibitions and learning activities that will enrich knowledge and intercultural contact.

4. The findings point to the central importance of social and community belonging as a mechanism for enhancing warmth toward people from other cultures. Strengthening, through policy and evidence based programs, a sense of belonging to communities that are inclusive of a diverse range of people, should remain a priority focus for government. We would further argue that this needs to promote a strong sense of 'we' as opposed to a sense of 'us' and 'them'. In practice, this involves extending opportunities through local councils and community organisations, as well as at state policy and program level, to identify activities and initiatives that will help enhance culturally diverse Victorians' sense of belonging and contribution to the broader Victorian community. Importantly, the onus for developing these strategies and programs should not fall only on ethnic or cultural heritage organisations, although such organisations have a vital continuing role to play. Consideration should be given to developing a policy that establishes, as a funding threshold for government consideration of community-based programming, how a given program meets social belonging and inclusion objectives that are then evaluated and benchmarked as part of the funding process. These objectives and benchmarks could be developed in collaboration with a range of existing Victorian advisory and programming bodies, and include an evaluation framework that assesses the achievement of social-belonging objectives.

5. Government may consider public messaging strategies that seek to build empathy and understanding for those experiencing interethnic harassment to reduce exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants. Such messaging could include evidence-based data drawn from VicHealth, Orygen, Beyond Blue, Department of Health and Human Services, Victoria Police and others showing the health-and-wellbeing, economic and community-cohesion costs for Victoria of having to deal with higher incidences of physical and mental health issues, social violence and un- or under-employment as a direct consequence of the impact of exclusivist attitudes. Of importance here is the need to develop strategies that do not encourage dehumanising the victims (Faulkner, 2018) alongside messaging that reduces the likelihood that the racist behaviour could be interpreted as 'okay' (Faulkner & Bliuc, 2016).

6. Given the differences in social exclusivism between those with tertiary education and those without, educational mechanisms for increasing understanding of and acceptance for cultural diversity and immigration must start in primary school and be continued throughout secondary school curricular and extra-curricular programs. Schools and government agencies responsible for educational development should be encouraged to design staged curriculum and program opportunities that help reduce exclusionary actions toward immigrants, including specific initiatives that promote positive attitudes towards difference. The Respectful Relationships program in Victorian schools is a good example of a successful initiative that helps children and young people learn to develop healthy relationships around gender equality, resilience and respect for gendered differences and identities. A similar curriculum-embedded program focusing on respectful relationships related to cultural diversity could be developed and piloted in Victorian primary and secondary schools.

7. The higher prevalence of negative attitudes and feelings toward immigrants amongst Liberal–National Coalition voters suggests the need for greater bipartisan cooperation in reducing exclusionary attitudes and actions towards immigrant members of the community. A bipartisan parliamentary working group on policy and strategy development to promote Victoria as a safe, strong and inclusive community for culturally diverse Victorians, with an explicit commitment to capitalising on the assets of cultural diversity for the state, could be established. This would require clear aims and timelines for delivering new consultation and policy mechanisms that would promote this objective. In addition, a bipartisan education and training program for both Victorian parliamentary members and local government councillors about the impacts of conveying negative or exclusionary sentiments and attitudes towards diverse cultural groups of Victorians could be developed and implemented.

Strategic directions

1. Coping with significant localised socio-economic disadvantage has a negative impact on communities' ability to feel positively towards those from non-White/European backgrounds. Significant policy resources should be devoted to improving neighbourhood disadvantage both in its own right and as a means to foster greater intercultural acceptance and reduce intercultural tensions and blame.

2. The neighbourhood clustering of socio-economic differences can reinforce existing social attitudes based on other influencing variables such as political party affiliation, education level and age. Targeted messaging and programs in metropolitan, regional and rural communities should be considered by relevant local councils in areas with concentrations of older Victorians, Victorians endorsing more conservative political parties, and non-tertiary educated Victorians. In addition, programming routed through cross-community demographic-specific organisations and agencies (for example, in relation to age or education level) should be considered.

Section 2

BACKGROUND LITERATURE

2. Background literature

2.1 Defining social exclusivism

Social exclusivism has recently intensified as a compelling social challenge across a number of contemporary democratic pluralist societies, including Australia's. Social exclusivism is largely a collective or group phenomenon, predicated on two core principles:

- the belief that one's own group's identity, norms, practices, values and/or belief systems are superior to those of any other group, and,

- the belief that those in an out-group pose a material and/or existential threat to one's in-group, and/or are less valuable or worthy of respect, dignity and accommodation than those who belong to the in-group.

Social exclusivism thus encapsulates the sentiments, attitudes, practices and behaviours of people who seek to negotiate their sense of place, belonging and relationship with those who are socially and culturally different. It does this by delegitimising those 'others' as a threat or as devalued or despised 'outsiders' in various social and belief contexts (Grossman, Peucker, Smith, & Dellal, 2016). Social exclusivism is especially prevalent for people who identify with a specific religious, ethnic and cultural group. As a concept, social exclusivism is closely allied to forms of racism, tribalism and intolerance, but is distinguished by its emphasis on structural resolution of the tensions between in-groups and out-groups that arise from these. Social exclusivism, in other words, seeks to resolve its fear of, and bias against, different others by either actively excluding these others from structures of social, political and cultural power, and/or by structurally self-excluding an 'in-group' from a broader social formation characterised by ethnic, religious, cultural or social diversity.

Social exclusivism's origins as a concept derive from a broader body of scholarship on religious exclusivism (see for example Pratt, 2013; Schmidt-Leukel, 2005). Religious exclusivism derives its impetus from a belief that a given religion's principles and doctrines, whatever they may be, are not only superior to those of other religions, but they are also the only valid religious or spiritual 'truth'. In this sense, exclusivism is not merely about the denigration of or bias towards others who are different or who do not share similar beliefs and values; it is also about valorising and idealising a particular social or cultural system by delegitimising all other norms, practices and beliefs.

Social exclusivism shares many of these characteristics, especially when it arises in the context of accelerating population *super diversity* (Vertovec, 2007). Vertovec has defined super diversity as 'a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants', in which there is increasing diversity *within* as well as between new and recent immigrant populations alongside longer established religious, ethnic and cultural groups (2007, p. 1,024). The ways in which such super diversity can be perceived as a disruption or threat to the norms of existing majority but also other minority cultures are well documented, particularly in the context of the recent rise of 'threat narratives' (Vertovec, 2017) and 'politics of fear' (Massey, 2015) around transnational migration and mobility. These threat narratives are often structured using terminology more commonly associated with natural disasters, so that countries are said to be at risk of being 'flooded' or 'swamped' by an influx of socio-cultural others (Vertovec, 2017). Anchoring such narratives in this way produces a discourse of 'crisis' that demands an emergency response, which can include a raft of proposed legislative or other restrictive measures designed to exclude or forestall the perceived threats posed by super diversity.

At the same time, policy efforts to manage and normalise ethnic and cultural super diversity – a hallmark of nations such as Canada, Australia and, previously, the United States – often run parallel with narratives

of social unification through an appeal to the nation-state as a key platform of national 'belonging' and 'values', so that both homogenous and heterogeneous modes of social and political identity are simultaneously activated. At a time when the economic and social impacts of globalisation are being intensely felt and debated as a source of political and social contestation in many countries with a long history of democratic pluralism, social exclusivism is arguably gaining traction. For example, this may be expressed through a return to economic and social isolationist political platforms such as those of the United States on trade and immigration, and Britain in relation to exiting the European Union.

Accordingly, scholarly interest in the rise of new or persistent forms of social exclusivism has gathered pace over the last decade or so. Despite this interest, however, Grossman et al. (2016) note that the term 'social exclusivism' is used only rarely in analyses and discussions of social cohesion, cultural pluralism and community resilience to social harms. A 2016 systematic literature review of social cohesion, community resilience and violent extremism revealed that the concept of social exclusivism was the most effective approach to explore community resilience and social cohesion to the cross-cultural diverse nature of Australian society. Social exclusivism especially modes of exclusivism based on racial, religious, ethnic and/or cultural difference – is defined as a term that:

> Seeks to capture multi-faceted phenomena that challenge the basic principles of equity and human dignity in a pluralistic society. It is used as an umbrella term for a set of attitudes and actions that fundamentally draw on the assumption of inequality between groups and the superiority of the group that a person or collective identifies with. The group boundaries are usually defined rigidly, whether along racial, ethnic or religious lines, by drawing a falsely dichotomising 'black-and-white' image of different social groups. Hence, exclusivism refers to the process of ideologically (and sometimes also spatially) privileging one's own in-group in relation to the broader diverse society at large, while denying recognition, legitimacy and complexity to 'others' belonging to the outgroup(s). (Grossman et al., 2016, p. 19)

Grossman et al. (2016, p. 20) also argue, however, that 'not every manifestation of exclusivism may be problematic or socially harmful', citing scholars such as Pratt (2013) and Schmidt-Leukel (2013) who claim that adherence to one's own faith group as the best or only belief system does not necessarily imply intolerance of others. It is possible to hold exclusivist beliefs and still maintain a 'live and let live' stance toward religious or cultural others. It is also possible to maintain strict adherence to a religious belief system while respecting and being governed by secular norms, laws and functions, as do, for instance, many Jews and Muslims who live outside religious-majority states.

Instead, Grossman et al. (2016) turn to a focus on what they describe as **'socially harmful manifestations of exclusivism'**, including both conventional and 'new' or 'cultural' racism, intolerance and unwillingness or reluctance to engage with culturally diverse others. Broadly speaking, this encompasses:

> People, groups, or movements (for example, ideologically inspired extremists advocating or ready to use violence) who display, encourage, and/or enact cultural, religious, ethnic or racial superiority that contradicts the basic principles of equality, human rights and human dignity, often with the aim of humiliating, harming or denigrating others based on their actual or perceived membership of a particular ethnic, racial, cultural or religious group. (Grossman et al., 2016, p. 20)

Contemporary manifestations of socially harmful exclusivism: 'old' and 'new' racisms

Conventional or 'classical' forms of racism rested on beliefs in the biological superiority or inferiority of various races and ethnicities. A hallmark of European imperialist doctrine during the expansionist era of empire from the 16th century to the 19th, for example, was a firm belief in the biological inferiority of dark-skinned peoples and the inherent superiority – politically, economically, spiritually and intellectually – of those with 'white' or light skin. Biologically based racisms relied on stereotyping and denigrating entire classes (even continents) of people, and incorporating such attitudes into a wide range of structural modes of discrimination, disadvantage and destruction, producing devastating results for many peoples

across space and time that continue to resonate in the present. This reflects the ways in which the 'aggressive, violent expression of … superiority claims' such as classical racism 'in all its shapes and forms is deemed socially harmful because it undermines the key foundations of secular democratic societies: universal human rights, equal recognition and opportunities regardless of race, religion or any other (self-)ascribed characteristics or identity markers' (Grossman et al., 2016, p. 25).

Such modes of 'classical' racism continue to occupy a central area of focus for contemporary studies on race, ethnicity and social cohesion. However, alongside this has run an increasing body of work concerned with what is sometimes termed the 'new' or 'cultural' racism, which is most often synonymous with varieties of Islamophobia or anti-Muslim sentiment. Islamophobia is a relatively emergent phenomenon that deviates from 'the traditional racist doctrine of biological superiority' (Kutay, 2015, p. 2), shifting attention away from what Stuart Hall (1997, cited in Lentin, 2011) terms the 'politics … of biological race' p. 160), and toward more broadly conceived modes of race-based or culturalist forms of social exclusivism (Ekman, 2015) as a characteristic of modern Western societies (Lentin, 2011).

Key themes identified in a systematic review of social exclusivism and modes of 'new' or cultural racism (Grossman et al., 2016) included the following areas of focus within the literature:

1. Islamophobia and its interaction with racism;

2. cultural assimilation and the illiberal 'end of tolerance' discourse;

3. the denial of racism; and

4. mobilising racist exclusivist sentiments within the context of right-wing extremist movements.

Islamophobia is one instance of 'new' or cultural racism. As Ekman (2015) has observed, Islamophobia fundamentally draws its energy from 'hatred or animosity aimed at Islam and Muslims' (p. 1988), but he goes on to suggest that while Islamophobia shares some characteristics with the 'old' racism (for example, the construction of 'the Muslim' as a form of 'embodied enemy'), it is not reducible to this. Similarly, scholars such as Hussain and Bagguley (2012) posit an 'inter-meshing' of Islamophobia and racism as part of a highly complex phenomenon in which the concerns of majority cultures around security, migration and racialisation of cultural difference derive sustenance from new ways of framing old targets, drawing on a long history of Orientalist bias in the West combined with contemporary fears surrounding the impact of migration and transnational mobility on the 'integrity' of Western cultures (p. 720). European survey data from Zick, Küpper and Hövermann (2011) suggests that while there is only a weak correspondence between anti-Muslim attitudes and racism, there is a stronger correlation between anti-immigrant attitudes and Islamophobia, highlighting the resonance of anti-migration discourse as a key element of Islamophobia.

Closely allied to this is the rise of what Lindekilde (2014) terms **'liberal intolerance'**. This revolves around the emergence of using liberal values and norms as a tool of exclusion in which the demand made of cultural others – for example, Muslims or those of African descent – is either to assimilate to liberal values (for example, around gender equality) or else forfeit one's claim to belonging and recognition in a liberal democratic society, what Hervik (2012) terms a mode of 'illiberal exclusion'. The result of such manoeuvres is to shift what begins as illiberal cultural intolerance into a putative defence of the superiority of liberal values and 'reason' (Kundnani, 2012; Lindekilde, 2014).

As Grossman et al. (2016) observe in their review of the literature, this can lead to:

> The mainstreaming of anti-Muslim sentiments across the political spectrum, from radical and conservative right-wingers to the liberal left-wing … while silencing and disempowering critical or dissident voices (Hervik, 2012). The assimilationist 'end of tolerance' argument is closely related to questions of White privileges and power, since it is mainstream majority populations who define the parameters of belonging and acceptance of 'newcomers' or minorities. (Grossman et al., p. 27)

Hand in hand with such trends is that of **denialism** when it comes to the persistence of racism in any form. Such denialism may take the form of either pronouncing racism dead because of the proliferation of examples of multicultural acceptance and the prevalence of cultural diversity and tolerance reflected in various policy settings (Carlile, 2012; Gillies & Robinson, 2012; Harman & Sinha, 2014), or else the personalising of racism as a problem of individual attitude rather than as a structural phenomenon (Keskinen, 2012).

Finally, Grossman et al. (2016) draw on recent literature to comment on the **mainstreaming of anti-Muslim** and 'nationalist-exclusivist' platforms initially adopted by right-wing extremist parties or social movements. It is this element of the 'new' or cultural racism that is perhaps the most concerning, because it reflects the ways in which the views and policies of right-wing exclusivist political groups that, only a decade ago, would have been considered 'fringe' or 'extreme' are now becoming normalised within elements of major political parties. As the authors of the Stocktake Research project note:

> While numerous North American and European articles and reports address these themes, they have remained markedly under-researched in the Australian context, despite mounting evidence of the growth of right-wing exclusivist political groups in Australia, including Victoria (King, 2015). Recent research suggests right-wing extremist political movements are now seen as increasingly important amplifiers of racist or anti-Muslim prejudice with the potential to shift the boundaries of social norms and control (Blinder, Ford, & Ivarsflaten, 2013) and to mainstream and legitimise intolerance and exclusivist sentiments, especially towards Muslims (Bail, 2012; Berlet, 2012; Goodwin & Ramalingam, 2012; Green, 2012; Kassimeris, 2011; Lindekilde, 2014). This is despite their marginal political position and limited electoral success in most countries. … Moreover, 'these fringe organisations [have] not only permeated the mainstream but also forged vast social networks that [have] consolidated their capacity to create cultural change' (Bail, 2012, p. 856), contributing to the rise in negative majority public opinion of Islam. (Grossman et al., 2016, p. 27)

Anti-Islam sentiment is not the only form of social exclusivism current in Australia or in other Western democratic pluralist societies – there are other varieties of religious and supremacist fundamentalisms, from the incel movement to far-right and Islamist violent extremism, that operate across the political and ideological spectrum and that demonstrate similarly socially harmful precepts, with equally harmful potential impacts on social cohesion and attitudes towards cultural and social pluralism and human rights. However, there is comparatively little literature relating to the Australian context of how nationalist-exclusivist or other social-exclusivist trends are playing out. This is despite clear evidence of mounting concern (Duncan Lewis, Australian Security Intelligence Organisation [ASIO], cited in Molloy) with the rise of far-right extremist political agitation and the mainstreaming of anti-Muslim and anti-immigration discourse within factions of otherwise centrist political party platforms. This 'drift to the right' needs to be rigorously investigated and better understood if we are to devise strategies for addressing the complex factors that lead to socially exclusivist attitudes, beliefs, behaviours and practices.

One recent study in this context is a report funded by the Victorian Government Research Institute on Social Cohesion (RIOSC) that maps far-right extremist groups in Victoria. Peucker, Smith and Iqbal (2018) note that far right groups in Victoria are diverse and fragmented in nature. It is better characterised as comprsing different, but overlapping movements that have distinct ideologies and agendas (Peucker, Smith, & Iqbal, 2018). The authors of this report developed a three-item far-right group typology across 12 groups currently present in the far-right Victorian landscape:

- Anti-Islam groups

- Cultural superiority groups

- Racial superiority groups

This research also noted that increasing potential for radicalisation to violence was beginning to emerge and called for renewed attention to what policy and legislative changes may be needed to address this challenge.

2.2 Mitigating social exclusivism

Considering the potentially deleterious effects of social exclusivism, understanding how to mitigate negative sentiments, attitudes and actions targeted towards individuals and/or groups is a key priority for government and non-government organisations alike. A review of the scholarship highlights several important and inter-related correlates of social exclusivism. These include symbolic and realistic threat; interethnic contact and the importance of context in understanding how social exclusivism plays out in particular kinds of places. A necessarily brief overview of the key theories and the relevant empirical findings that relate to this project is provided below.

Symbolic and realistic threat

W. G. Stephan and Stephan (2000) proposed an 'integrated threat theory of prejudice' in an attempt to map the key psychosocial elements that lead to prejudice. The theory has its origins in previous intergroup anxiety models (Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999), which suggest anxiety plays a key role in mediating the effectiveness of intergroup communication interactions; when anxiety is too high, negative responses towards the out-group will emerge (Gudykunst, 1993). A later reformulation of this model (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 2000) repositioned the notion of anxiety as a correlate of threat and expanded the original conceptualisation of the theory to include three additional threats: symbolic threats, realistic threats and negative stereotypes.

Foundational works of Kinder and Sears (1981) argue symbolic racism is the conflict between beliefs and values. Symbolic threats arise because of the inherent belief of an in-group to the moral righteousness of their system and are thus more likely to lead to dehumanisation, de-legitimation, and violence towards the out-group (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009). Symbolic threats jeopardise the 'worldview', or values, of the in-group (Stephan, Stephan, & Gudykunst, 1999). They involve differences in morals, values, beliefs and attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) that are commonly expressed through shared cultural practices such as traditions, religion, local customs, and language (Atwell Seate & Mastro, 2016). Measures of symbolic threat question the alignment of cultural beliefs and whether immigration is undermining the culture of the receiving community (Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015).

Although linked to symbolic threat, the concept of realistic threat originates from realistic group conflict theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Bobo, 1988; Coser, 1956; Sherif & Sherif, 1969), and differentiates from the former through its focus on tangible elements that endanger the existence or wellbeing of the in-group. For example, when resources such as housing or employment are considered scarce, or when the presence of an out-group is positioned as a threat to safety and security, competition inevitably ensues. Measures of realistic threat include those that seek to identify links between immigration and reduced employment opportunities, housing shortages and increases in crime (Laurence, Schmid, & Hewstone, 2018) or, in other words, the extent to which the out-group takes away valued resources from the broader society (Kervyn et al., 2015). An important point to highlight is that a 'realistic' threat need not be an objective one. There is not always a strong correlation between perceived realistic threats and actual threats, suggesting that perception alone can lead to prejudice (Stephan et al., 1999).

Symbolic and realistic threats may heighten social exclusivism under particular conditions (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). For example, large status differences between groups are associated with increased threat. Those who perceive themselves as high-status in-group members may feel threatened by low-status groups' attempts (perceived or actual) to reverse the power relationship. High-status groups may also worry that their in-group will be 'contaminated' by outsider customs. Despite empirical evidence suggesting that those who are most likely to experience threats are those who are in groups with lower power (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002), it is those who are in a high-power groups who react more strongly to perceived threats. This is because high-power groups believe they have more to lose and, importantly, have the resources to push back (Stephan et al., 2009). Certain cultural dimensions may also predispose people to perceive higher levels of threat. Collectivist cultures that strongly value close in-group ties or endorse strict rules and marked social hierarchies can trigger threat

perceptions among members of more individualist cultures (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1989).

In a context of increased migration flows, the perception of threat can influence how receiving countries respond to and welcome new immigrants (Gravell, 2018; Wlodarczyk, Basabe, & Bobowik,2014). Symbolic and realistic threats can lead to stereotyping, intolerance, hatred, discrimination and violence towards the out-group (Shamir & Sagiv-Schifter, 2006; Skitka, Bauman & Mullen' 2004). In addition, threats foster cognitive biases that exacerbate the positive attributes of the in-group while downplaying the ones of the out-group (Pettigrew, 1979). Perceived threats also lead to overestimating of the size of the out-group and this overestimation tends to vary with threats to security and order (Wickes, Hipp, et al., 2013). Further, previous studies demonstrate that the perception of threat can lead to lack of empathy and even experiencing pleasure from out-group suffering (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003).

Intergroup contact

While symbolic and realistic threat consider the difference between groups, homophily refers to the preference for similarity and social connections with those 'like us' (Lambert & Griffiths, 2018; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Homophilous ties, while providing comfort and familiarity, limit people's social spheres thereby significantly influencing the 'information they receive, the attitudes they form and the interactions they experience' (McPherson et al., 2001, p. 415). One of the strongest divisions in human society is racial and ethnic homophily (McPherson et al., 2001); therefore, a key mechanism for reducing perceptions of difference, in particular prejudice, is through increased contact between different groups. As a concept and a framework, the 'contact hypothesis' was introduced by Allport in the mid 20th century. Allport (1954) argued that, under optimal conditions, contact between different groups could reduce prejudice.

The work of Allport sparked a considerable scholarship focusing on intergroup contact. Intergroup contact emerges from social identity theory and social categorisation proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). Individuals who highly identify with their cultural group are more likely to display 'ethnocentric' attitudes, whereby their own culture is viewed as 'the centre of the world' (Kim & Hubbard, 2007, p. 225). Individuals who highly identified with their own culture are also more likely to seek retribution and revenge (Bar-Tal, 2003) and to display prejudicial attitudes and discrimination towards other cultures and out-groups (Kim & Hubbard, 2007). For instance, Ward and Masgoret (2004) found that Pakeha New Zealanders view immigrants from Australia and Great Britain more positively than those from Asia, however, Māori evaluate Samoan immigrants more positively than Australian or British migrants.

Allport (1954) proposed that four conditions must be met to facilitate positive intergroup contact:

- Equal status of intergroup participants
- Common goals
- Intergroup cooperation
- Institutional support

Though studies have found that these conditions are not necessary and sufficient for positive intergroup contact, the central tenet of Allport's thesis has received significant support. Personal intergroup contact helps reduce stereotypical attitudes, perceptions of threat and, ultimately, racist prejudice (Grossman et al., 2016). Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of 713 studies on intergroup contact. They found 94 per cent of studies had a significant negative relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice, that is, when intergroup contact increases, prejudice decreases (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Looking specifically at immigrants, a cross-European representative survey on intolerance and prejudice (Zick et al., 2011) demonstrated that where there was interpersonal contact with immigrants, prejudiced attitudes were strongly reduced. Other studies find that contact reduces the degree of perceived conflict over resources (see Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2007), the perception of threat (Pettigrew, Wagner, & Christ, 2010), and increases prosocial behaviour (Labuhn, Wagner, Dick, & Christ, 2004; Malhotra & Liyanage, 2005).

There is evidence that intergroup contact functions in the Australian context. The International Centre for Muslim and non-Muslim Understanding (2015) conducted a study on Islamophobia in Australia that found participants who have regular contact in their social and professional lives with Muslims, reported significantly lower levels of Islamophobic tendencies than participants that had no contact. White, Abu-Rayya, Bliuc and Faulkner (2015) conducted an experiment in the Australian context which found prolonged interactions via the internet reduced intergroup bias between Muslims and Christians. Further evidence from McKenna and colleagues (2018) found a positive relationship between ethnic diversity and intergroup contact. Research also reveals that intergroup contact in the school environment reduces prejudice. For example, Ho (2011) argues that culturally diverse school communities are ideal sites 'for fostering a respect for the presence of Others, which can coexist with tension and conflict' (p. 603). This is largely the consequence of promoting mutual respect through regular cross-cultural exchange opportunities.

As institutional support for effective intergroup contact is considered important, most studies focused on contact that occurs within civil society initiatives (see Halafoff, 2011) and schools (Bee & Pachi, 2014; Ho, 2011; Sanderson & Thomas, 2014). However, it is important to note research has indicated effective intergroup interaction can be facilitated in a in various 'transversal spaces' (Rutter, 2015, p. 255) or 'micropublics' (Ho, 2011) including schools, workplaces, public parks and neighbourhood streets (Leitner, 2012).

The quality of contact is also of critical importance and linked to the reduction of prejudice or exclusivist attitudes towards minorities. Again, looking to Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analysis (2006), friendship is a particularly strong mediator of positive contact given that friends commonly get together repeatedly across] extended periods of time. Intergroup friendship has proven to be effective in reducing intergroup bias (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011).

Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp, (1997) examine the influence of indirect contact. They demonstrated that knowledge of a relationship between an in-group and out-group member can lead to positive attitudes towards the whole out-group. A more recent study shows the power of secondary interethnic contact and prejudice reduction: people with secondary social relationships (through another in-group member) with out-group members display positive attitudes towards the out-group (Zhou, Page-Gould, Aron, Moyer, & Hewstone, 2018). Gundelach and Freitag (2014) argue that 'honorary membership' can occur in which an out-group member can be perceived and treated as an in-group member to an extent through a process of friendship and belonging. Cross-categorisation theory (Crisp, Hewstone, & Rubin, 2001; Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006;) states that when an Other holds one identity category in common with us, he/she may be perceived as an in-group member despite not coinciding in other categories. Contact effects can therefore generalise to the entire out-group as a consequence of social categorisation processes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Further, positive contact with one out-group is also likely to increase tolerance towards other out-groups because it exposes participants to different perspectives, thus reducing their notion of cultural centrality (Pettigrew et al., 2011).

Contact theory holds promise in reducing socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and actions. Yet critics argue that initiatives aimed at enhancing contact usually attract those who are less prone to racist views. A recent Australian study based in an area with a relatively low level of cultural diversity, found participants lacked knowledge and understanding of 'others', which was driven by a reluctance to become familiar with those who were different from themselves, particularly in religious practices and beliefs. This resulted in participants reporting fear of those who were in the perceived out-group (Blair, 2015). Thus, promoting contact in these kinds of contexts may have little effect. Another challenge for contact-based approaches is the potentially counterproductive effects of such interventions. In an analysis of several Dutch interethnic contact projects, Müller (2012) found that intergroup contact has the potential to 'lead to practices that reinforce, rather than challenge, existing prejudices and misunderstandings' by concealing the 'structural causes for prejudice and discrimination' (p. 438). In alignment with this, Jung (2012) examined the US context, finding that in exclusivist Christian subgroups, such as Evangelical Protestants,

aversion towards Islam actually increased with frequent intergroup contact; demonstrating that intergroup contact's positive effects cannot be generalised to all social groups.

The role of context

Largely missing from the earlier studies of social exclusivism, intergroup contact and threat-focused theories is the consideration of the role of context. Where one lives, the neighbourhood 'cues' and the social exchanges that occur in the neighbourhood are linked to people's attitudes towards place and their community. They are also linked to their perceptions of neighbourhood problems and the perceived 'causes' of those problems.

Since the 1980s, neighbourhood dynamics and their association with a range of social and health-related outcomes have gained prominence in the social and health sciences (Sampson, 2012). A key finding in this scholarship is the strong link between ethnic segregation, in-group preferences, structural inequality and the spatial concentration of a range of problems (Hwang, 2015; Sampson & Sharkey, 2008; Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Kuha, & Jackson, 2014). In the US in particular, the residential segregation of ethnic groups is associated with increasing intergroup conflict and reduced social cohesion (Guest, Kubrin, & Cover, 2008; Strugus et al., 2014; see also Laurence & Bentley, 2016; Sampson & Sharkey, 2008). The availability of land uses that allow for interethnic exchange and build social cohesion also differs across neighbourhoods and this has consequences for social life (Wickes, Zahnow, Corcoran, & Hipp, 2019).

Following Putnam's (2007) highly cited paper on 'hunkering', a recent review finds that neighbourhood ethnic diversity negatively affects perceived social cohesion (van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Alongside this literature, scholarship also examined the strong association between the ethnic composition of a given neighbourhood and the shared perceptions relating to crime and disorder across neighbourhoods. Studies consistently report that the concentration of minorities, when combined with disadvantage, provides fertile ground for the development of shared biases (Sampson, 2009; Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004) or what Wickes, Hipp and colleagues (2013) refer to as 'minority distortion'. These distortions are more influential in predicting subjectively reported neighbourhood problems than the actual presence of minorities or the objective levels of crime (also see Chiricos, McEntire, & Gertz, 2001). Implicit bias and cultural stereotyping can be collective phenomena in particular neighbourhoods and these collectively held views are harmful for the prevention of crime and for the development of cohesive sentiments and practice.

These biases play out spatially in Australian neighbourhoods. Wickes, Hipp, et al. (2013) found that several cues of 'difference' lead residents to overestimate the presence of minorities: skin colour, language and religious beliefs, with these minority distortions significantly predicting greater levels of disorder in the neighbourhood. Yet Wickes and colleagues' findings also revealed that this relationship was not as strong in socially cohesive communities. Even when residents perceived greater numbers of minorities than what was objectively true, living in a socially cohesive neighbourhood protected against distortions developing into attitudes that could lead to socially exclusive actions.

The likelihood of interethnic connections (Hipp & Wickes, 2016) and the readiness for harmonious interethnic relationships (Guest et al., 2008) vary within and across neighbourhood contexts in important ways. Extensive research demonstrates the strong association between neighbourhoods and the social processes that enhance or threaten shared outcomes and experiences (Sharkey & Faber, 2014). Thus, this present report specifically examines how context shapes the development of socially harmful sentiments, attitudes and actions in Melbourne, Victoria.

Section 3

MULTICULTURAL MELBOURNE

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

3. Multicultural Melbourne

Melbourne is the second-largest city in Australia, with a population of over 4.4 million living in approximately 500 neighbourhoods over an area of 9,992.5 square metres, located in the State of Victoria (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS], 2017). In contrast to other major cities, it has a relatively small Indigenous population (0.5 per cent of the state's population), and is a key destination for immigrant settlement (ABS, 2018). According to the 2016 Census, 40.2 per cent of Greater Melbourne's population was born overseas (ABS, 2017). The latest reported migration trends reveal that India is the top source country for the migration program, followed by The People's Republic of China. The United Kingdom ranks third. India and China are well represented in the skilled, family and student visa streams of Australia's migration program.

3.1 Melbourne's immigration history

Melbourne's ethnic diversity is the result of successive waves of immigration over the last two centuries. The early 1850s gold rush brought immigrants from China, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States to Victoria (ABS, 2019). Following the Second World War, many immigrants displaced from European cities arrived in Australia under the 'White Australia policy', a policy that had long restricted immigration on the basis of race (ABS, 2019). In Victoria, the immigrant population almost doubled between 1947 and 1954, increasing from 8.7 to 15 per cent of the total population. Melbourne's social and cultural landscape was largely influenced by the second wave of migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe (Birrell, 2010). Melbourne, a crucial locus for non-English speaking background (NSEB) immigrants entering Australia during the post-war period, comprised over half of the city's migrants (Birrell, 2010). In the 1970s, there were large concentrations of migrant populations residing in Melbourne, including almost half of all Greek-born persons living in Australia and large portions of the Italian-born (37 per cent) and former Yugoslavian (32.5 per cent).

The change in federal government in 1972 led to the Whitlam Labor government conclusively renouncing the White Australia policy in 1973 (see: https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/end-of-the-white-australia-policy). Although the federal government continued to restrict migration through the enforcement of eligibility criteria, from the 1980s, Australia experienced a significant increase in migrants from Asia, Africa and the Pacific Islands. Many of these immigrants settled in Melbourne (Birrell, 2010) along with refugees from Lebanon, Vietnam, Cyprus and Chile. The 1990s brought even greater cultural diversity with people originating from almost 100 countries migrating to Australia. Nearly one in four Australians were born overseas.

As migration policy began to centre on economic issues, immigration based on un-met demand for skills and the education market began to increase. Chinese were granted four-year residence visas, and the Australian population born in China doubled between 1986 and 1991. In 2016, Chinese was the most common language other than English spoken at home, overtaking Italian. At the 2016 census, just under 35 per cent spoke a language other than English at home (ABS, 2016).

3.2 Immigrant settlement in contemporary Melbourne

The most recent census data reveals that out of the 4,415,404 residents living in Metropolitan Melbourne, 1,511,583 were born overseas (34.2 per cent). The top five countries of birth include India (160,658 people representing 10.6 per cent of total overseas immigration), China (155,881 people representing 10.3 per cent), England (130,837 people representing 8.7 per cent), Vietnam (78,998 people representing 5.2 per cent) and New Zealand (78,022 people representing 5.2 per cent). In the previous Census in 2011, Italy represented the fourth most common country of birth. The majority of overseas immigrants have settled in five local government areas (LGAs): Casey, Brimbank, Wyndham, Monash and Great Dandenong (see ABS, 2016). Immigrants from India tend to concentrate in the north, west and south-east of Melbourne's central business district. In contrast, immigrants born in China reside largely in the south-eastern suburbs.
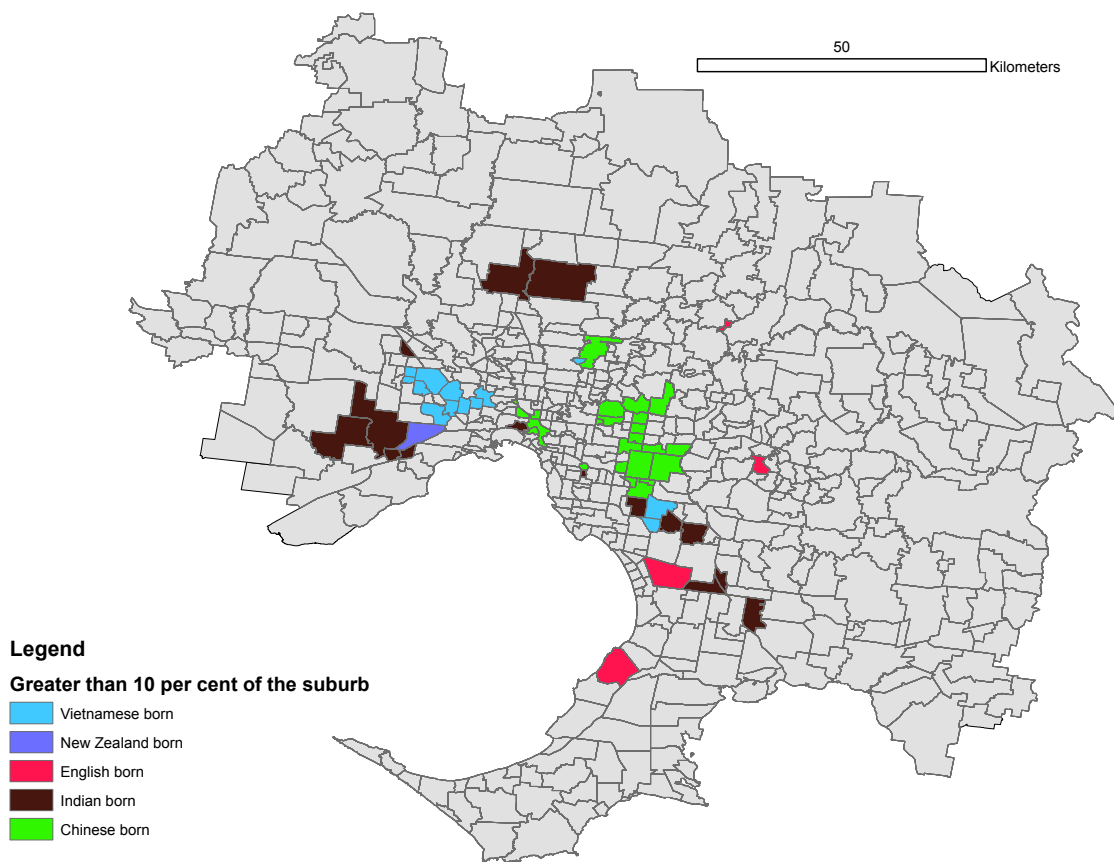
Figure 3. Top five immigrant groups in Greater Melbourne, ABS, 2016

The correlation between immigrant settlement destination (measured at the state suburb classification level) and economic disadvantage is r=0.40 indicating a moderate relationship between immigrant concentration and poverty. This is visually represented in Figure 4 below.
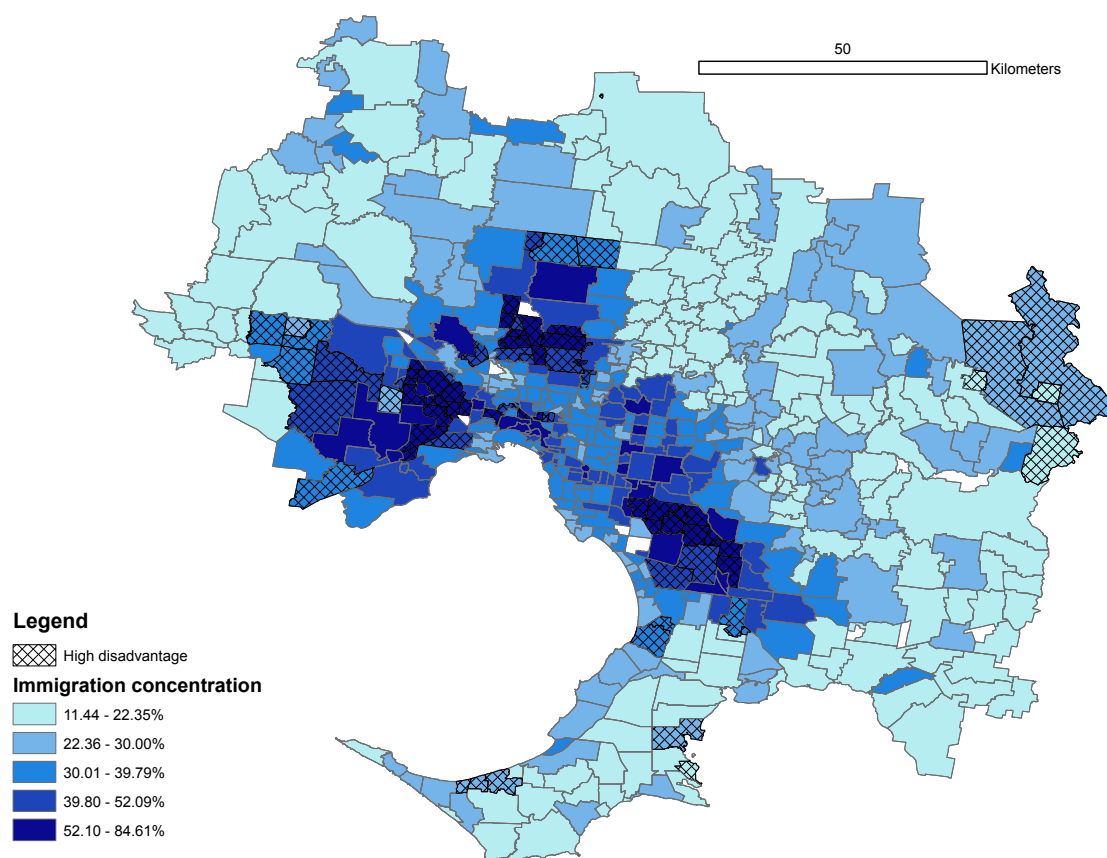
Figure 4. Residential concentration of overseas-born and low income in Greater Melbourne, ABS, 2016[1]

As at the 2016 census, 580,688 people (34.9 per cent) spoke a language other than English at home in Greater Melbourne. The most common languages other than English spoken at home were Mandarin (4.1 per cent), which has been steadily increasing since the 2006 Census, Greek (2.4 per cent), Italian (2.3 per cent), Vietnamese (2.3 per cent) and Cantonese (1.7 per cent) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Language spoken at home other than English, 2006 through 2016

	2016 (%)	2011 (%)	2006 (%)
Mandarin	4.1	2.5	2.0
Greek	2.4	2.8	3.3
Italian	2.3	2.8	3.2
Vietnamese	2.3	2.1	1.8
Cantonese	1.7	1.8	1.7

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1   In our report we are using two measures of disadvantage. We employ HIED income to measure disadvantage in order to conduct longitudinal analysis. We employ SEIFA to present the cross-sectional relationships between immigrant concentration and disadvantage.

Those speaking a language other than English are concentrated in particular regions of the city. Many of these same regions experienced significant changes in those speaking a language other than English between the 2011 and 2016 census (see Figure 5). This is particularly notable in the west and south-western regions of Melbourne. A two sample t-test examining the difference in means between 2011 and 2016 census (N=515) for language spoken at home revealed a significant increase in non-English speaking households over time (t = -8.12, p<0.001; 2011 $\bar{x}$ = 20.70; 2016 $\bar{x}$ = 21.23).
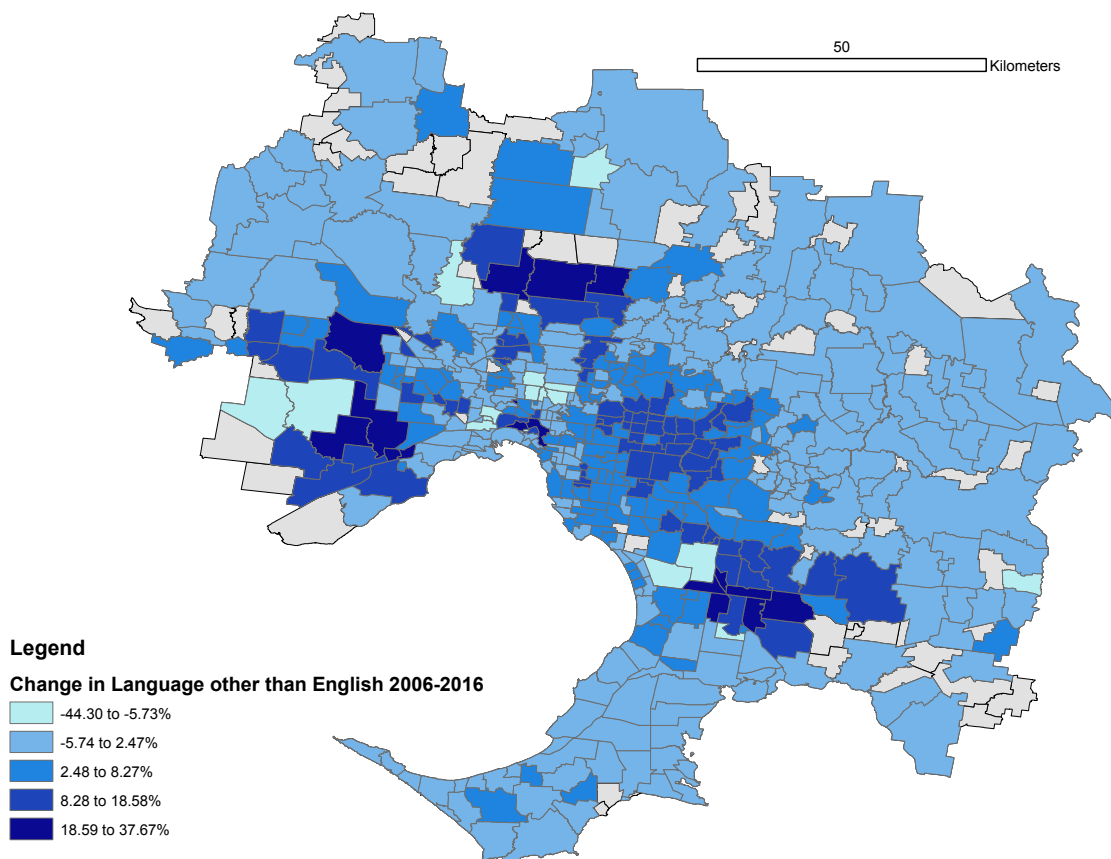
Figure 5. Changes in residential concentration of persons who speak a language other than English between 2006 and 2016, ABS, 2006–2016

In 2016, Australia's migration program consisted of permanent (19.6 per cent) and temporary visas (58.5 per cent). Permanent visas include family (5.5 per cent), skilled (8.5 per cent), humanitarian (4.4 per cent) and other visas (1.1 per cent). Temporary visas include student visas (27.9 per cent), temporary skilled visas – subclass 457 (6 per cent), visitor (13.3 per cent), working holiday (9.3 per cent) and other (2 per cent) (ABS 2018).

Table 2. Top five countries for skilled visa Australia

Country of birth	Per cent of total skilled visas in 2016
India	18.51
England	12.68
China (excludes SARs and Taiwan)	11.59
South Africa	6.21
Philippines	5.72

Those from non-English speaking backgrounds have increased in the skilled visa categories (Table 2). Immigrants on skilled visas and immigrants on humanitarian visas are settling in different regions (see Figure 6). Immigrants on humanitarian visas, often coming from war-torn countries (see Table 3) appear to be more concentrated in socio-economically disadvantaged locations (see Figure 7). This uneven settlement is linked to increasing inequality, the casualisation of the workforce and a polarised housing market (Hebbani, Colic-Peisker & Mackinnon, 2018; Fozdar & Hartley, 2013). The diverse context in which people arrive and settle in Melbourne is important to consider when exploring the spatially bound elements of social cohesion and exclusivism.
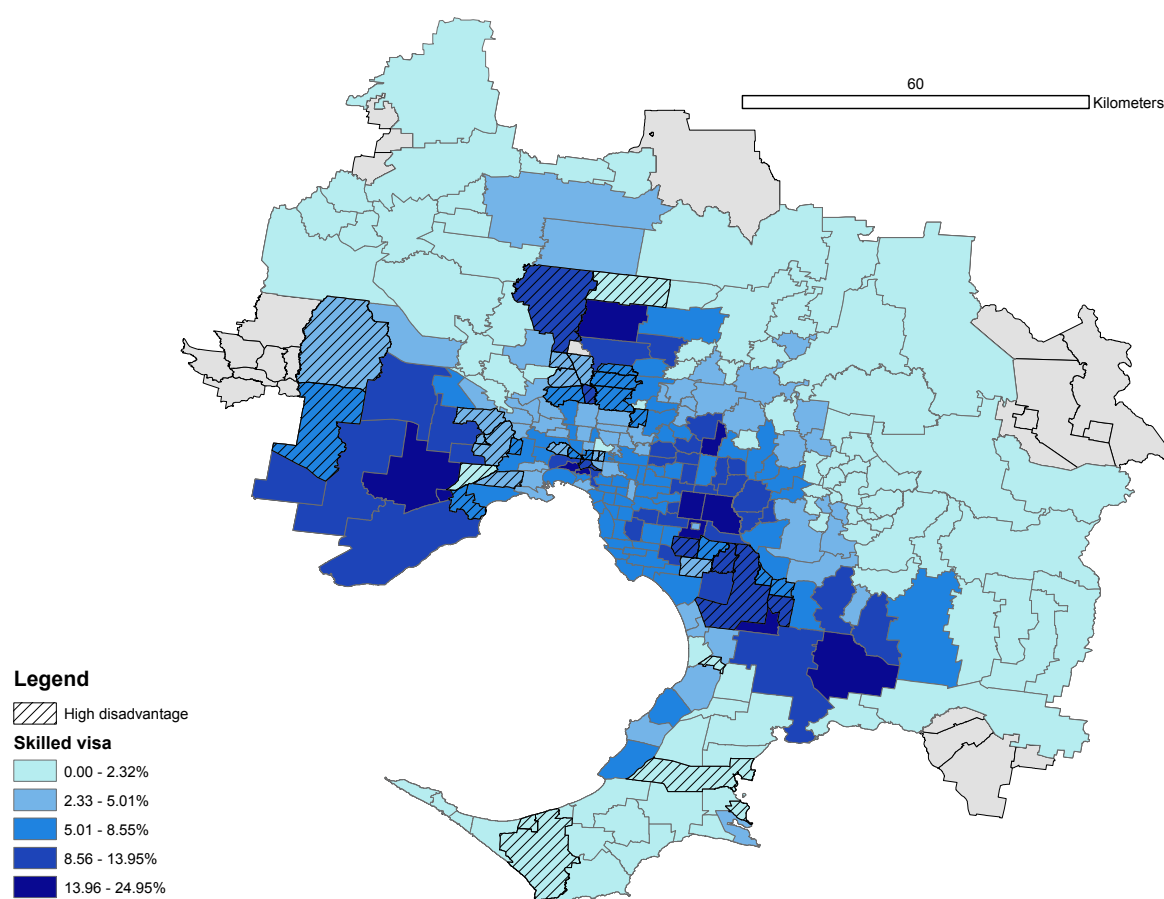
Figure 6. Residential concentration of skilled visas and disadvantage in Greater Melbourne, ABS, 2016[2]

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2   ACMID does not provide data at state suburb level; for this reason we have used postcode as the measurement unit in maps pertaining to settlement by visa status.

Table 3. Top five countries for humanitarian visas

Country of birth	Per cent of total humanitarian visas in 2016
Iraq	17.59
Afghanistan	11.85
Myanmar	8.07
Iran	6.69
Sudan	5.99

Legend

High disadvantage

Humanitarian visa

0.00 - 0.32%
0.33 - 1.01%
1.02 - 2.26%
2.27 - 5.41%
5.42 - 12.20%
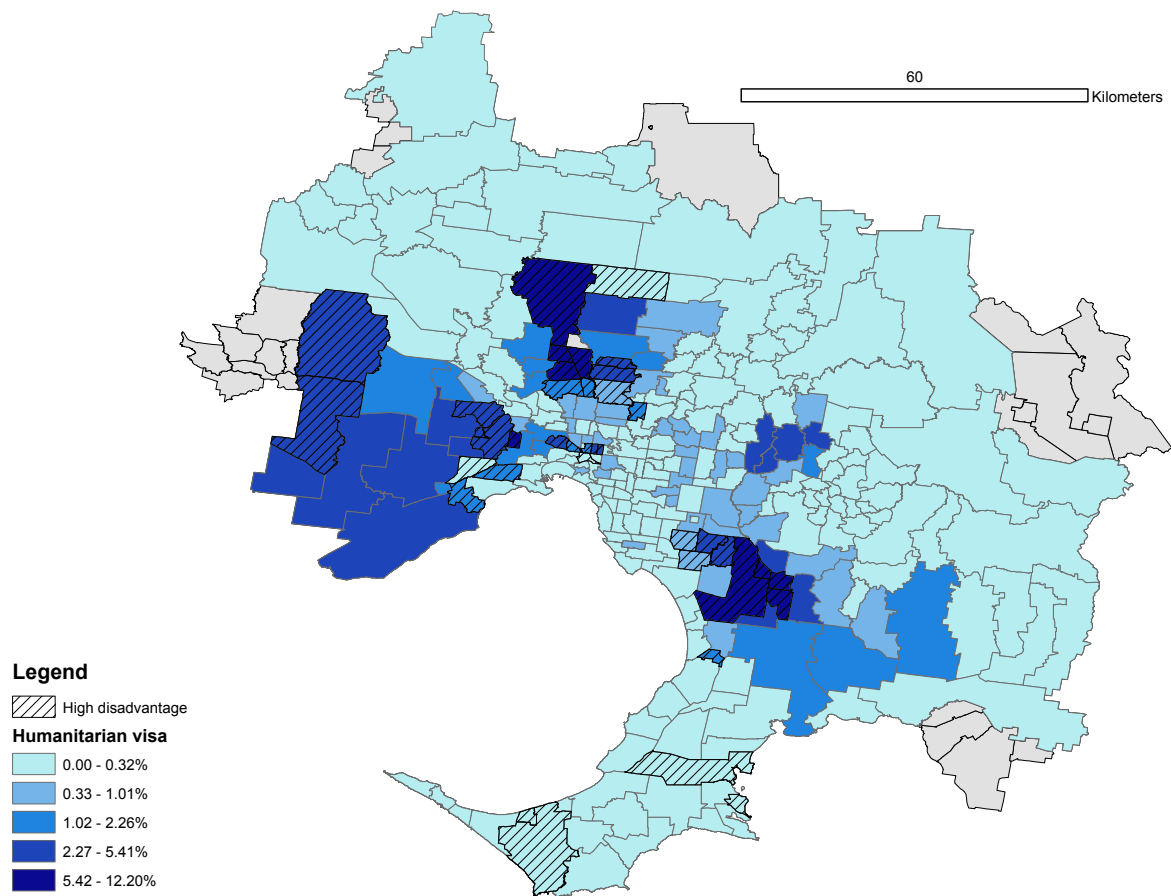
Figure 7. Residential concentration of humanitarian visas and disadvantage in Greater Melbourne, ABS, 2016

Those on student visas also display settlement concentration. The largest source countries of international student visas in Australia are China, India, Brazil, Colombia and South Korea (Table 4).

Table 4. Top five countries for international student visa, Department of Home Affairs, 2018

Country of birth	Per cent of total international student visas granted 2017–2018
China	23.2
India	13.1
Brazil	7.0
Colombia	5.7
South Korea	3.2

While ACMID data does not provide information on international students, looking to the concentration of young Chinese- and Indian-born immigrants, we see different patterns of residential clustering.
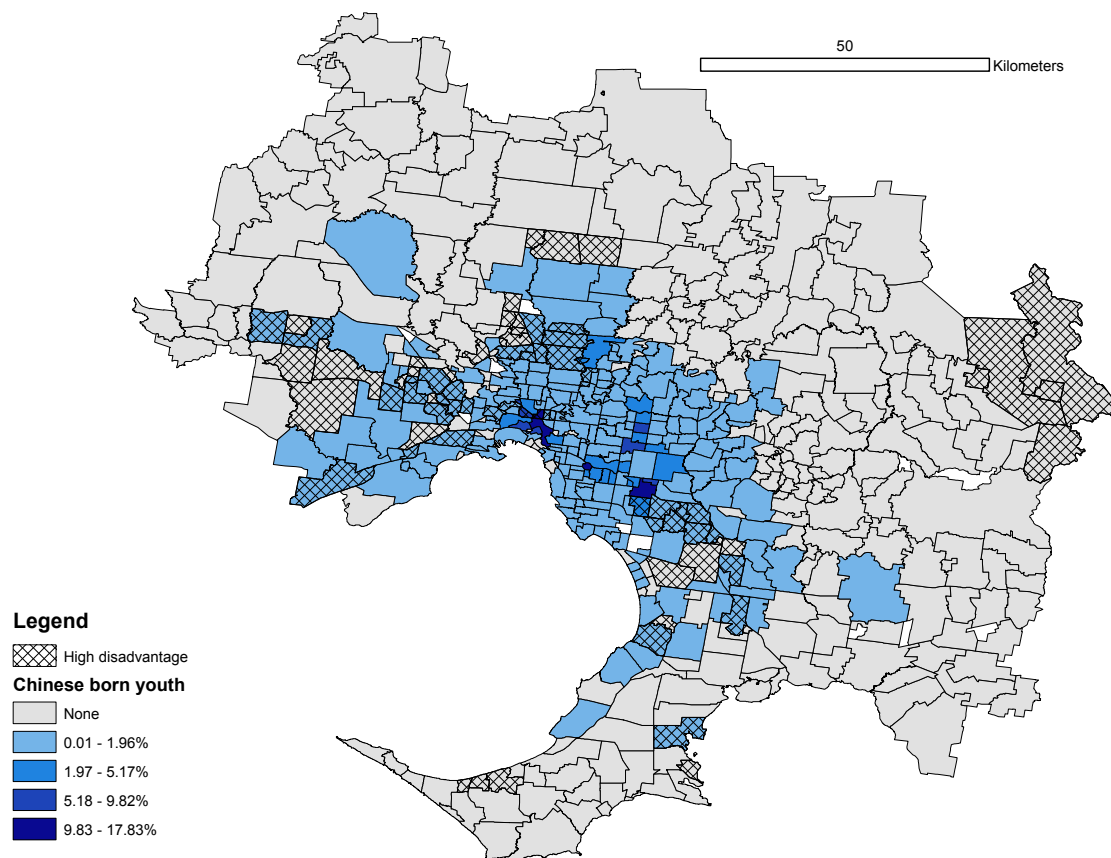
Figure 8. Residential concentration of Chinese immigrants aged between 18 and 25 years and low income in Melbourne state suburbs, ABS, 2016

Indian immigrants between 18 and 25 years old are settling in more disadvantaged residential areas than those from China (Forbes-Mewett & Wickes, 2017). Drawing on 2016 ABS census data and using the state suburb classification, we correlated the percentage of immigrants aged between 18 and 25 from India and China, with low equivalised total household income (HIED) in Greater Melbourne. There is a significant correlation between residential correlation of Indian immigrants aged 18 to 25 and low HIED ($r=0.36$, $p<0.001$). The relationship between Chinese immigrants aged 18 to 25 and HIED is still significant, although it has a lower correlation ($r=0.19$, $p<0.001$).
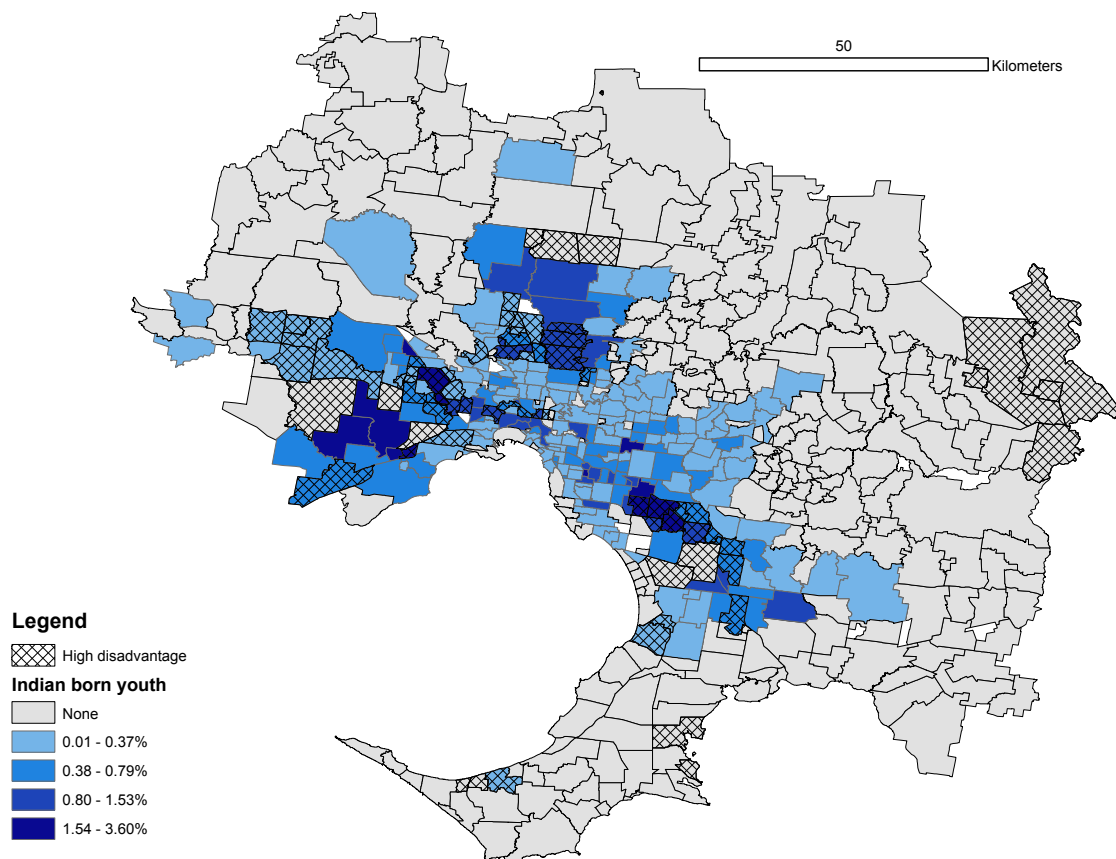
Figure 9. Residential concentration of Indian immigrants aged between 18 and 25 years and low income in Melbourne state suburbs, ABS, 2016

Section 4

PROJECT METHODOLOGY

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

4. Project methodology

4.1 The Australian Community Capacity Study, Melbourne

Very few studies in the world are prospectively designed to longitudinally examine neighbourhood processes and crime and disorder. The Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS) is one of these unique studies with the capacity to investigate changes in residents' perceptions and interactions. With a focus on urban neighbourhoods, the ACCS represents what is referred to as the 'process turn' in the study of neighbourhood effects (Sampson, 2012, p. 47). It is a multi-million dollar, multi-site project funded exclusively by the Australian Research Council (ARC). As at the commencement of the current project, the ACCS included four waves of data collection in Brisbane (see Mazerolle et al., 2007; Mazerolle et al., 2012; Wickes, Homel, McBroom, Sargeant, & Zahnow, 2011; Wickes Zahnow, White, & Mazerolle, 2014), one wave of data collection in Melbourne (see Mazerolle et al., 2012), seven in-depth case studies of Brisbane neighbourhoods (see Sargeant, Wickes, & Mazerolle, 2013; Wickes, 2010; Wickes et al., 2014) and an ethnic community sample of residents from Indian, Vietnamese and Arabic speaking backgrounds in both Brisbane and Melbourne (see Mazerolle et al., 2012).

While the ACCS was originally focused on changes in suburbs located in Brisbane, in 2010 it extended its scope to include suburbs in what was then classified as the Major Statistical Region of Melbourne (MSRM) in Victoria. It was at this point that the ACCS began to look more closely at the relationship between ethnic diversity, social cohesion and perceptions of community problems. The ACCS Wave 1 Melbourne Survey comprised a survey of 5,000 residents living in 150 Melbourne suburbs (see Appendix 5 for suburb list). These suburbs were randomly selected from a list of 352 eligible suburbs in the MSRM. Of the 502 total suburbs in the MSRM in 2010, 150 were ineligible for selection. Four criteria determined ineligibility:

1. Suburbs for which there was no available census data;

2. Suburbs which scored in the top decile for per cent coefficient of variation[3] (i.e. these suburbs were too heterogeneous);

3. Suburbs which scored in the top decile for population size (i.e. these suburbs were too variable due to such a large population);

4. Suburbs which scored in the bottom decile for population size (i.e. these suburbs had populations too small to allow for reliable estimates of key concepts).

A quota scheme was used to determine the number of respondents required per suburb for the 150 MSRM suburbs selected. To calculate quotas, the added per cent coefficient of variation was used to generate the sample size for the MSRM. Each suburb was assigned a quintile score by population size (score of 1–5 from low population size to large population size) and a quartile score by added per cent coefficient of variation (score of 1–4 for the added per cent coefficient of variation from low variation to high variation). The scores were added together to give a distribution of scores from 2 to 9. Suburbs with a score of 2 or 3 were allocated a quota of 20. Suburbs with a score of 4, 5, or 6 were allocated a quota of 33 and suburbs given a score of 7, 8, or 9 were allocated a quota of 42.

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3   The means and standard deviations were calculated for the population and socioeconomic variables including population size, SEIFA indexes, ethnicity (such as born overseas), population density (population/hectares), mobility (such as different address 5 years ago), fully owned and rented dwellings. The variation of these were then calculated.

At the completion of the ACCS Wave 1 Survey, respondents were asked if they would be willing to participate in future research. A total of 3,145 participants agreed to do so and provided their full names and contact details. Of these 675 also provided mobile phone numbers, allowing us another avenue for direct contact.

In 2017, we followed up these ACCS Wave 1 survey respondents and conducted a one-off, mail-based survey. In addition, to ensure a sufficient sample size to generate ecologically reliable indicators of community processes, we also pursued a 'top up' sample. Working on an estimated response rate of 30 per cent, a total of 9,381 new participants were also contacted. This top-up sample was randomly selected from a database of all valid residential addresses for the ACCS suburb sample provided by a commercial organisation, Sensis.

Follow-up mail-out surveys were sent to a total 12,471 addresses of residents living across 150 suburbs within 37 council areas across Greater Melbourne. These target suburbs represent those from the Melbourne site of the Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS) and include areas adjacent to the city centre and those located in peri-urban areas that have experienced rapid population growth.

4.2 Survey process

After seeking advice from our Steering Committee (see Appendix 1), we followed best practice for community focused mail-out surveys in Australia as informed by the Australian Habitat Study (Burton et al., 2009), and guided by mail-out survey research (Dillman, 2011; Dillman, Smyth & Christian, 2009; Koloski, et al. 2013). We offered prospective participants two methods to complete the survey: online and hard copy. We discuss the survey process for both options below.

Online survey: The survey was available to all participants via a temporary online platform. In the event that a respondent lost their unique identifier – or simply chose not to enter this identifier when accessing the online version – we were also able to match their address details or name in order to maintain the integrity of the sample.

To attract the highest possible response rate from our targeted sample, efforts were made to create an accessible, easy-to-use online experience, with inclusive options for those participants who may have had difficulties completing the hard-copy document. The online survey featured accessibility options for the visually impaired, as well as options to complete the survey in the top five languages spoken in Melbourne (Simplified Chinese as well as Traditional Chinese, Greek, Italian, Arabic and Vietnamese).

Hard-copy survey: The hard-copy option followed several stages as we discuss below.

Stage 1: An introductory letter was mailed out to prospective participants containing relevant information on the survey and the ACCS (see Appendix 2). This letter highlighted the importance of completing and returning the questionnaire, and explained the value of the survey and social research more broadly. Participants were given the option to complete the survey online and a unique identifier code was provided to do so.

Stage 2: After three weeks, a second introductory letter and a hard copy of the survey instrument (see Appendix 3) were sent to potential participants who had not yet completed the survey online. This survey again contained the participant's unique identifier code on the letter, in case they chose to complete the survey online. We allowed three weeks between the introduction letter and the follow up survey to give as much time as possible for participants to complete the survey online.

Stage 3: Five weeks after the mail out of the first survey, we sent a reminder letter and another copy of the survey instrument to all participants who had not completed the survey.

To incentivise participation, we conducted a random prize draw of ten $100 gift cards for participants who successfully completed the survey questionnaire and provided their contact details for follow-up. On January 25th, 2018, ten valid responses were selected using a random number generation procedure in Microsoft Excel. These individuals were then notified (by email, telephone and mail) and their addresses confirmed; on February 5th the ten gift cards were sent out by registered post and were received by all prize winners.

4.3 Survey response rates

Of the 12,471 unique addresses for this mail out, 1,286 were reclassified as invalid or undeliverable, leaving a total of 11,185 viable addresses. From this, we received 2,570 completed surveys (2,245 hard copy; 325 online) producing an overall response rate of 23 per cent.

Participants overwhelmingly chose to complete and return physical copies of the survey, rather than utilise the online version available to them. Of the 2,570 completed surveys, 325 were completed online while 2,245 respondents chose to mail their surveys back in the reply-paid envelopes provided. A further 122 surveys were completed in the non-probability sample of voluntary online participants, although these have not been included in any analyses at this stage. Of the valid probability sample responses received, 12 recorded cases were manually dropped due to incompletion, bringing the full valid sample used in the analyses in this report to 2,558.

Of the 150 suburbs contacted, only one – Flinders – produced no responses; however, the quota of respondents required was not reached for any of the suburbs (see Appendix 5). This insufficient response means that ecologically reliability measures could not be developed from this survey wave. In the analyses detailed in this report, we employ a previous measure of neighbourhood social cohesion from the Wave 1 survey, however, it is not possible to assess whether social cohesion has changed in these suburbs over time.

For the hard copy survey, a team of 27 interns (advanced-level students in the social sciences at Monash University) were recruited to complete the data entry over two weeks in late November 2017. A random selection (roughly 10 per cent) of each intern's completed surveys were checked for accuracy by members of the research team. The averaged error rate for data entry was 0.04 per cent. One intern among the group was found to have a higher than average error rate, this individual's completed work (334 surveys) was re-checked in full, and all errors manually corrected, in order to give the highest level of accuracy possible in our final dataset.

4.4 Sample statistics and weights

Once the data were entered and cleaned, we examined the data for representativeness. As indicated in Table 5, our final sample was skewed towards women, older people (aged 45–64), Australian-born and university-educated residents. We therefore created a series of weights to use in all analyses to bring the achieved respondent profile into line with ABS demographic indicators for the general population of the Melbourne Greater Capital City Statistical Area (GCCSA). Weighting was calculated to account for four factors: age, gender, country of birth and education. We have included a full explanation of the weighting process in Appendix 4 of this report.

Table 5. Demographics of survey participants for completed surveys [unweighted]

Variable	Total	Per cent of sample	Per cent of Greater Melbourne population
Gender (n=2,524)			
Male	969	38.39	49.0
Female	1,555	61.61	51.0
Age (n=2,446)			
18–29	127	5.19	23.11
30–44	444	18.15	28.67
45–64	1,014	41.46	30.30
65+	861	35.20	17.92
Country of birth (n=2,517)			
Born in Australia	1,816	72.15	59.8
Born overseas	701	27.85	40.2
Year of arrival (n=655)			
1999 or before	509	77.71	47.67
2000–2010	91	13.89	28.07
2011 onwards	55	8.40	24.26
Employment (n=2,526)			
Employed full-time	809	32.03	39.35
Employed part-time	521	20.63	20.79
Not in the labour force	736	29.14	35.27
Unemployed[4]	44	1.74	4.59
Language/s other than English (n=2,225)			
Speaks English only	1,840	82.70	62.0
Speaks other language/s	385	17.30	38.0
Education (n=2,509)			
Did not complete high school	183	7.29	9.28
Completed high school	426	16.98	33.80
A trade, technical certificate or diploma	560	22.32	25.52
A university or college degree	680	27.10	24.11
Postgraduate qualifications	680	26.31	7.31
Voting preference (n=2,480)[5]			
Coalition	614	24.76	n.a.
Labor Party	595	23.99	n.a.

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4   Survey participants who reported receiving a pension have been combined with those who were unemployed for the purposes of analysis (n=416, 16.47 per cent).

5   Voting preferences for the Greater Melbourne region are not available in the 2016 ABS Census.

Variable	Total	Per cent of sample	Per cent of Greater Melbourne population
Greens	314	12.66	n.a.
Other	957	38.59	n.a.

4.5 Administrative data

Longitudinal crime incident data from the Victoria Police and the ABS census data were integrated with the survey data for the analyses conducted in this report. All data were aggregated to the state suburb classification. The Victoria Police data represent an average crime rate for the total crime in a particular suburb for a three-year period ranging from 2015 to 2017. The 2016 ABS census data were collated using Table Builder. The 2011 and 2006 census data were purchased from the ABS and concorded to the 2016 state suburb boundaries. Please refer to Appendix 6 for descriptive statistics for the key variables from ABS and Crime Statistics Agency (CSA).

4.6 Survey items

The survey drew heavily on the ACCS survey and the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS). There were also items (for example, exclusionary actions) modelled on Zick et al.'s (2011) Group-focused Enmity (GFE) Europe survey. The ACCS and NZAVS sources provided relevant items that were pilot tested and formally trialled in the Australia and New Zealand settings respectively. Further details on the operationalisation of the key variables that inform the analyses are provided in forthcoming sections. Univariate analyses of the survey, census and police data are located in Appendix 6 along with specific detail on the scales employed in the analyses in this report.

4.7 Analytic approach

A mixture of analytic techniques – chi square, regression and multi-level regression along with descriptive statistics are used in this report. For all analyses apart from the multi-level analyses, we use weighted data.

For chi square and regression analyses, we use the full sample with all respondents. For multi-level analyses where we employ neighbourhood level data , we use a data file that removes participants that have not been geo-coded to a particular state suburb in addition to respondents living in state suburbs with fewer than five participants.

In all regression analyses, we control for key individual-level variables that are associated with social exclusivism or related concepts of prejudice and racism. These include age (treated as a continuous variable), gender (dichotomous: male = 0, female = 1), country of birth (dichotomous: Australia = 0, overseas = 1), language spoken at home (dichotomous: English = 0, Language other than English = 1), education (categorical: high school or below = 1 trade, technical certificate or diploma = 2, university qualifications = 3), employment status (categorical: employed full time = 1, employed part time = 2, not in the labour force = 3, pension/unemployed = 4), religion (dichotomous: not religious = 0, religious = 1), and political preference (categorical: Coalition = 1, Labor = 2, Greens = 3, other = 4).

Section 5

SOCIAL EXCLUSIVISM

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

5. Social exclusivism

Grossman and colleagues (2016) define exclusivism as a term referring to a wide set of actions and attitudes 'informed by the assumption of inequality between groups and especially the superiority of one's own group' (p. 4). These exclusivist attitudes and actions can function to create divisions between groups and, while not in every instance, they can be harmful to both in-groups and out-groups. The use of exclusivism as a concept has benefits over other concepts including racism, prejudice, liberal intolerance or bias as it provides an umbrella under which to explore the variety of sentiments, attitudes and actions that can cause harmful exclusivism. This research involves a focus on three indicators of social exclusivism: sentiments towards others, attitudes towards immigrants and intended actions to exclude immigrants. Each concept is explained in greater depth below[6].

5.1 Socially exclusive sentiments

To capture socially exclusive sentiments, several item banks were included in the survey instrument. The first captured warmth towards people of an Anglo Celtic-Saxon background and towards those from a non-White/European background. Respondents were asked to indicate how warmly they felt towards eight different groups. As evidenced in Figure 10, respondents felt the warmest towards whites, followed by Asian people. Middle Easterners, Africans and Muslim people were regarded lower in terms of warmth than the other groups. Response categories and participant responses ranged from 1 (least warmth) to 7 (most warmth).

Using non-White/European ancestry group items, we constructed a *feeling of warmth towards non-White/ European people scale.* All items loaded heavily on one factor (Eigenvalue = 3.27) with factor loadings between 0.69 and 0.81. The scale was very reliable at α = 0.89. The mean of this scale was 4.68, with a standard deviation of 1.18 and a range of 1 to 7. The scale was treated as continuous in the analyses.
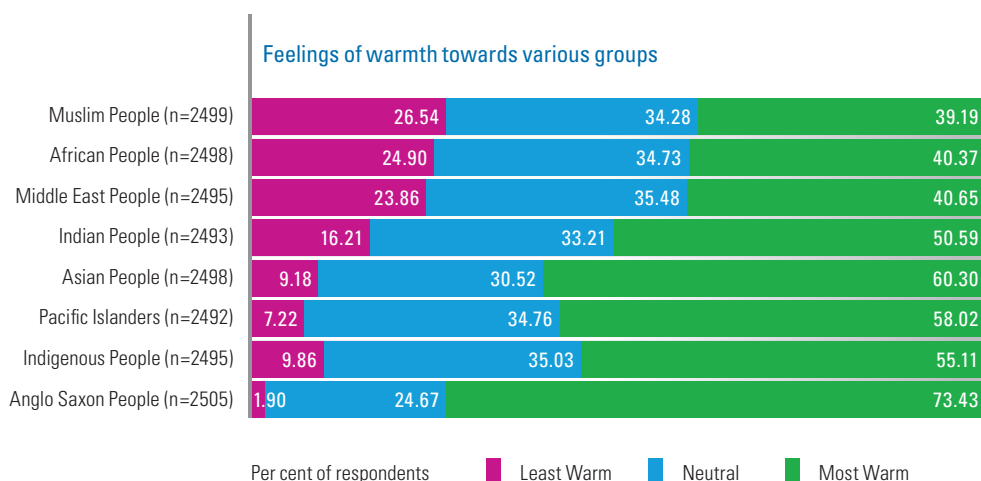
Figure 10. Feelings of warmth towards various groups[7]

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6   We have summarised the results for the initial models, however full results are available upon request.

7   The responses were group low warmth (1 to 3), neutral (4) and most warm (5 to 7).

We then examined feelings of anger towards various groups. We asked respondents to rate their feelings of anger towards the same ancestry groups as shown in Figure 10. As Figure 11 reveals, people were more likely to feel high anger towards Middle Eastern, African and Muslim people. Again, using all non-White/European ancestry groups, we constructed a *feelings of anger towards non-White/European people scale.* All items loaded heavily on one factor (Eigenvalue = 4.58) with factor loadings between 0.83 and 0.92. Response categories and participant responses ranged from 1 (no anger) to 7 (anger). The scale was exceptionally reliable at α = 0.95. The mean of this scale was 2.38 with a standard deviation of 1.43 and a range of 1 to 7. The scale is treated as continuous in the analyses.

Feelings of anger towards various groups

Group	Low Anger	Neutral	High Anger
Muslim People (n=2376)	55.04	25.11	16.85
African People (n=2385)	58.33	25.37	16.31
Middle East People (n=2385)	60.74	25.49	13.76
Indian People (n=2379)	66.22	26.11	7.67
Asian People (n=2387)	68.49	25.37	6.14
Pacific Islanders (n=2382)	69.54	26.52	3.94
Indigenous People (n=2388)	71.44	25.07	3.49
Anglo Saxon People (n=2489)	69.59	23.23	7.14

Per cent of respondents ■ Low Anger ■ Neutral ■ High Anger

Figure 11. Feelings of anger towards various groups[8]

To further interrogate these feelings of anger and warmth towards different groups, we considered a number of bivariate relationships. Table 6 provides percentages of those who felt low warmth and high anger by age and gender. Males and older individuals typically felt more anger towards non-White/European groups, with the exception of Asians and Indians. Low warmth for Muslims was particularly pronounced in men.

Table 6. Low warmth and high anger by age and gender

	(%)	<30	30–44	45–64	65+	Male	Female
Pacific islanders	Low warmth	5.04	5.51	7.80	11.79	7.34	7.10
	High anger	2.98	2.77	4.75	5.74	4.16	3.72
Indigenous	Low warmth	12.19	9.73	8.79	8.52	12.47	7.27
	High anger	3.11	1.81	5.00	4.15	3.12	3.85
African	Low warmth	14.67	27.80	26.38	32.21	28.00	21.82
	High anger	10.79	18.23	17.86	18.62	18.32	14.31

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8   The responses were group low anger (1 to 3), neutral (4) and high anger (5 to 7).

(%)	<30	30–44	45–64	65+	Male	Female
Muslim Low warmth	21.99	26.22	25.51	34.74	31.24	21.88
Muslim High anger	9.65	18.08	18.77	21.96	18.07	15.63
Asian Low warmth	12.53	10.01	7.08	6.64	9.62	8.74
Asian High anger	6.99	5.96	6.44	4.79	5.29	6.99
Indian Low warmth	19.67	16.42	15.27	12.66	18.11	14.32
Indian High anger	9.36	7.17	8.27	5.21	7.06	8.29
Middle Eastern Low warmth	18.19	24.77	24.01	30.01	26.73	21.01
Middle Eastern High anger	11.29	13.96	15.25	14.56	13.79	13.7

Those who had a high school level qualification or below tended to report lower warmth towards non-White/Europeans and higher anger (see Table 7).

Table 7. Low warmth and high anger by education

(%)	High school or below	Trade, technical certificate or diploma	University qualifications
Pacific Islanders Low warmth	10.71	5.30	6.02
Pacific Islanders High anger	5.40	2.95	3.63
Indigenous Low warmth	13.18	8.65	7.97
Indigenous High anger	3.61	2.82	4.13
African Low warmth	29.39	28.44	16.51
African High anger	20.57	17.88	10.37
Muslim Low warmth	31.84	30.23	17.17
Muslim High anger	20.37	18.80	11.23
Asian Low warmth	11.98	9.48	6.10
Asian High anger	4.37	6.72	7.20
Indian Low warmth	17.38	19.66	11.18
Indian High anger	6.55	9.40	6.81
Middle Eastern Low warmth	28.26	25.84	16.77
Middle Eastern High anger	16.54	15.41	9.17

Feelings of warmth and anger were particularly interesting when examining political affiliation as demonstrated in Table 8. Levels of low warmth and high anger towards African and Muslim people were pronounced among those who voted for the Coalition, or a party other than the coalition parties, Labor Party, or Australian Greens.

Table 8. Low warmth and high anger by political affiliation

%		Coalition	Labor Party	Greens	Other party
Pacific Islanders	Low warmth	8.66	4.48	5.73	8.51
	High anger	3.15	4.68	4.40	3.86
Indigenous	Low warmth	9.71	11.33	2.86	11.46
	High anger	3.73	3.74	2.21	3.64
African	Low warmth	32.54	17.76	6.07	29.66
	High anger	19.66	12.60	5.35	19.75
Muslim	Low warmth	32.37	21.02	6.20	31.96
	High anger	22.64	12.87	4.11	19.77
Asian	Low warmth	6.41	4.31	11.59	12.12
	High anger	5.69	3.39	7.73	7.52
Indian	Low warmth	14.21	10.84	15.48	20.14
	High anger	8.64	5.73	4.53	9.26
Middle Eastern	Low warmth	29.71	19.25	8.95	27.34
	High anger	15.73	9.44	7.02	17.16

These findings highlight some of the nuances in relationships between sentiments towards non-White/Europeans. This is pronounced in attitudes towards African, Middle Eastern and Muslims, which is not particularly surprising results given contemporary public discourses and political rhetoric surrounding these specific groups (Benier, Blaustein, Johns, & Maher, 2018; Dunn et al., 2004; Hussain & Bagguley, 2012).

5.2 Exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants

To examine socially exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants, the survey included a number of items that comprised one scale:

- The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding family issues and socialising children are not similar to those of most Australians.[9]

- The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with those of most Australians.

- Immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of Australian society as soon as they arrive.

- Immigrants get special treatment and privileges over ordinary Australians.

- Immigrants are displacing Australian workers from their jobs.

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9   This question has been recoded for consistency of scale; in the survey it appeared as 'The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding family issues and socialising children are similar to those of most Australians'.

Response categories and participant responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Some of the items used in this scale are used in other studies as indicators of symbolic and/or realistic threat. However, given the breadth of items in this scale, it is argued that collectively these items capture 'difference' and attitudes associated with the 'othering' of immigrants as a social group. This scale therefore captures the exclusionary nature of attitudes held towards immigrants, which is the focus of this research.

Attitudes towards immigrants

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Displacing Australian workers (n=2479)	9.20	13.40	22.24	26.74	28.42
Immigrants get special treatment (n=2484)	14.60	15.48	21.13	25.00	23.79
Immigrants should conform to Australian norms (n=2505)	34.90	29.85	18.90	9.17	7.18
Not compatible values and beliefs (n=2489)	10.04	13.03	32.09	25.59	19.24
Not similar values regarding family issues (n=2486)	5.66	18.17	40.56	26.95	8.66

Per cent of respondents

Figure 12. Attitudes towards immigrants scale

Figure 12 shows respondents were more likely to have views that immigrants should assimilate and conform to Australian values with 64.75 per cent either agreeing or strongly agreeing. A significant number of people were neutral in their responses to statements such as 'migrants have incompatible values and beliefs' and 'migrants do not have similar values regarding family issues. This suggests a sizeable portion of our sample are undecided on these issues.

These items loaded on one factor (Eigenvalue = 2.11) with factor loadings between 0.39 and 0.78. The scale was strongly reliable, α = 0.76. The scale mean was 2.91 with a standard deviation of 0.89 and a range from 1 to 5. The scale is treated as continuous in the analyses.

The relationship between attitudes towards immigrants and individual level demographics were examined. Younger respondents, particularly those under 30 years old, reported more accepting attitudes than older respondents did towards immigrants (chi2=1.5, p<0.001). Those with university qualifications reported accepting attitudes towards immigrants (68.67 per cent) when compared with those who completed high school or below (38.65 per cent) and trade or technical certification (46.90 per cent).

Political affiliation was significantly associated with socially exclusivist attitudes. In contrast, 38.75 per cent of those who aligned with the Coalition, 60.72 per cent of Labor Party voters and 43.69 per cent of those who supported with 'other' political parties disagreed with socially exclusivist attitudes towards immigrants.

5.3 Socially exclusivist actions against immigrants

In addition to socially exclusive attitudes, we included three items capturing socially exclusive actions. In line with the overarching definition of social exclusivism, these items capture those intended actions that would limit the economic, social and cultural inclusion of immigrants.

Three questions asked participants to indicate what they would do when faced with increased diversity as follows:

- If I had children, I would be reluctant to send my children to a school where the majority of students are new immigrants. (school)

- I would be reluctant to move into a neighbourhood where many new immigrants are living. (neighbourhood)

- In the next election, I will vote for parties that want to reduce further immigration. (election)
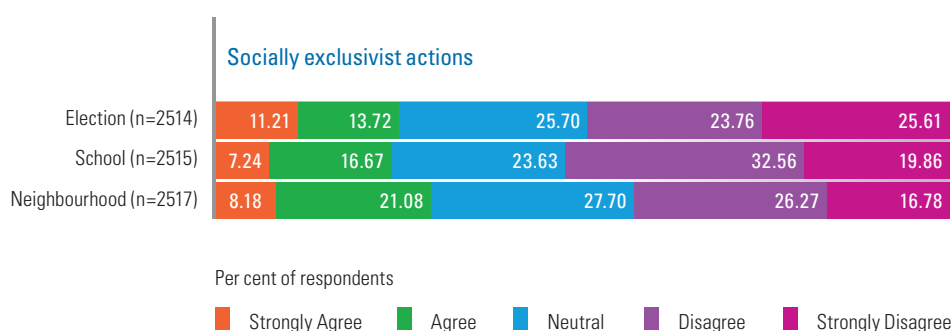
Figure 13. Exclusivist actions scale

As shown in Figure 13, 29.26 per cent of respondents would be reluctant to move to a neighbourhood where many new immigrants are living. Almost a quarter would be reluctant to send their children to a school where the majority of students were new immigrants (23.91 per cent) and indicated an intention to vote against increased immigration if an election was called (24.93 per cent). As per our other measures of social exclusivism, roughly a quarter of respondents indicated a neutral response on these items. Response categories and participant responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Using these items, we created the socially exclusive actions scale. All items loaded on one factor (Eigenvalue = 1.78) with item loadings between 0.63 and 0.84. The scale was strongly reliable with $\alpha = 0.82$. The mean of the scale was 2.66 with a standard deviation of 1.06 and a range of 1 to 5. The scale is treated as continuous in the analyses.

As with exclusivist attitudes, exclusivist actions were significantly associated with age (chi2=435.85, p<0.001). Those younger than 30 years of age reported lower agreement with exclusivist actions than other age groups. Those with university qualifications (22 per cent) had lower endorsement of intended exclusivist actions than those with either a high school or below (33.12 per cent) or a trade/technical certificate (35.65 per cent). Those who affiliated with the Coalition (40.51 per cent) or 'other' parties (35.24 per cent) were more likely to report agreement with exclusivist actions than individuals who would vote for the Labor Party (22.88 per cent) and the Greens (8.24 per cent).

5.4 Individual socio-demographic correlates of socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions

The next stage of the analyses involved multivariate regression to identify the most salient individual demographic correlates of exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions. In all models we examine gender, age, speaking a language other than English, education, employment status, income, religion and political affiliation. Table 9 presents these results.

Education and political affiliation were key correlates of socially exclusive sentiments, attitudes and intended actions. Compared to those with high school education, people with tertiary qualifications reported significantly greater warmth, less anger, weaker exclusivist attitudes and endorsed fewer exclusivist actions. Those who supported the Coalition did not differ in reported sentiments towards minorities when compared to those who supported Labor, Greens, or other parties. However, those indicating a preference for Labor and the Greens both reported weaker exclusivist attitudes and endorsed fewer exclusivist actions than those inclined to vote for the Coalition.

Age was also consistently associated with increased social exclusivism. After controlling for other factors, older participants reported greater anger towards people from non-White/European backgrounds, held more negative attitudes towards immigrants and more strongly endorsed exclusivist actions.

Table 9. Regression of demographic correlates of social exclusivism

	Feelings of warmth towards immigrants B (t-value)	Feelings of anger towards immigrants B (t-value)	Attitudes towards immigrants B (t-value)	Exclusivist actions B (t-value)
Age	-0.01 (-1.58)	0.011*** (3.29)	0.01*** (3.34)	0.01* (2.30)
Gender				
Female	0.22* (2.27)	0.04 (0.40)	-0.00 (-0.04)	-0.03 (-0.30)
Language				
Language other than English	-0.01 (-0.10)	-0.10 (-0.98)	-0.07 (-0.92)	-0.22** (-2.62)
Education (ref: high school or below)				
Technical certificate or diploma	0.21 (1.83)	-0.16 (-1.23)	-0.10 (-1.03)	-0.00 (-0.01)
University qualifications	0.39*** (3.90)	-0.31* (-2.55)	-0.42*** (-4.81)	-0.26** (-3.01)
Employment (ref: employed full time)				
Employed part time	0.13 (0.90)	-0.24 (-1.61)	-0.05 (-0.44)	-0.11 (-0.91)
Not in the labour force	0.12 (1.19)	-0.48*** (-4.03)	-0.20* (-2.19)	-0.20* (-2.08)
Pension/unemployed	0.18 (1.33)	-0.73*** (-5.21)	-0.08 (-0.81)	-0.23* (-2.12)
Religion				
Religious	0.11 (1.15)	-0.15 (-1.54)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.04 (-0.50)
Political preference (ref: Coalition)				
Labor Party	0.05 (0.46)	-0.16 (-1.21)	-0.42*** (-4.60)	-0.53*** (-4.77)
Greens	0.22 (1.75)	-0.35* (-2.22)	-0.69*** (-7.34)	-0.87*** (-8.16)
Other political party	-0.20 (-1.80)	0.15 (1.23)	-0.05 (-0.62)	0.00 (0.04)
N	2,287	2,277	2,292	2,311
R–squared	0.06	0.07	0.23	0.16

Coefficients highlighted with asterisks indicate statistical significance (*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001).

The R-squared value represents the coefficient of determination. In the socially exclusivist attitudes and actions models, 6 per cent of the variation in feelings of warmth towards immigrants can be explained by demographic factors. In the attitudes towards immigrants scale, 23 per cent of variation is explained by the demographic factors.

Section 6

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CORRELATES OF SOCIAL EXCLUSIVISM

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

6. Individual-level correlates of social exclusivism

In the literature review section of this report, we highlighted two individual-level processes that may exacerbate or reduce social exclusivism. The first of these was threat (symbolic and realistic) and the second of these was contact. Below we provide a description of the key variables we used to measure these concepts along with results from our bivariate and multivariate analyses.[10]

6.1 Threat

Our survey was conducted approximately one year after a significant event in Melbourne, referred to in the media as the Moomba riot. This event, which involved a number of significant and criminal incidents, resulted in ongoing political rhetoric and media coverage of 'Apex' and 'African gangs'. Racialised media coverage depicted particular immigrant groups as a significant cultural and physical threat to society (Benier et al., 2018). A goal for our research team was to include a number of key items that would capture the perceived threat immigrants posed to safety and wellbeing in Melbourne communities. Not all communities experience significant problems, yet residents from a range of communities a) express concern about what might happen in the future (Hipp, 2010); and b) experience interethnic disharmony. Therefore, one question to capture symbolic threat and two questions to capture realistic threat were included in the survey as discussed below.

Future neighbourhood composition: To capture the symbolic threat that immigrants may pose, participants were asked to predict the immigrant composition of their neighbourhood in ten years. Hypothetically, those who see greater immigration concentration may be more likely to report negative sentiments, attitudes and actions (Wickes, Hipp et al., 2013). Response categories ranged from 0 per cent to 100 per cent immigrant concentration in intervals of 10 percentage points.

What percentage of community will be immigrants in 10 years?

Up to 20% (n=284)	12.62%
Up to 40% (n=647)	29%
Up to 60% (n=626)	28.74%
Up to 70% (n=603)	29.64%

Per cent of respondents
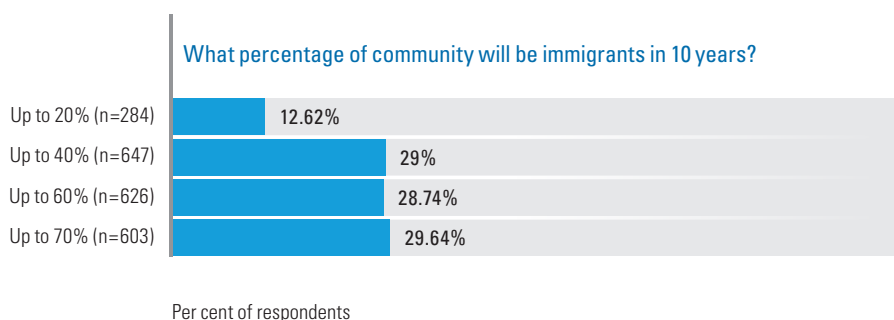
Figure 14. Concentration of immigrants in the community in the future

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10 We have summarised the results for the initial models, however full results are available upon request.

Over half of the respondents (58.38 per cent) estimated their community would have higher concentration of immigrants in the next ten years (see Figure 14). A respondent's religion had the most pronounced influence with 38.98 per cent of those who identified as religious (compared with 25.61 per cent of non-religious respondents) predicting over 70 per cent of their community would be made up of immigrants.

Regression was used to test the demographic variables that explained higher predictions of immigration concentration in their community. Only religion had a statistically significant relationship with projected perceived immigrant concentration. Compared to those who were not religious, religious respondents predicted greater future immigrant concentrations in their community (b = 0.27, p<0.05).

Future neighbourhood conflict: Participants were asked to comment on the quality of relationships between Australian-born residents and immigrants over this same time period. This provided a proxy measure of realistic threat. Response categories ranged from 1 (much worse) to 7 (much better). The majority of participants felt relations between Australians and immigrants would be the same or better in the next ten years (see Figure 15).
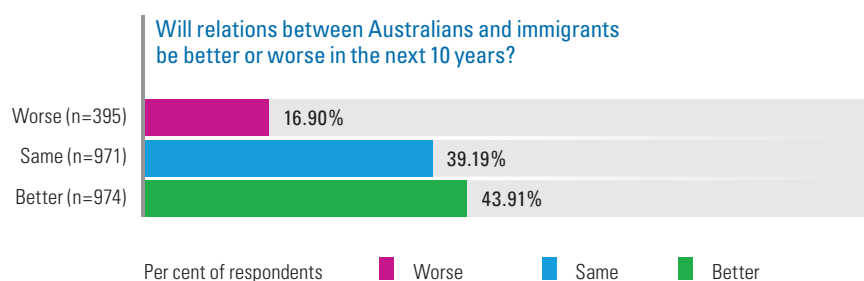
Figure 15. Relations between Australians and immigrants in the future

Two-way tables examining age and future relationships revealed a significant chi square for age (chi2=610.46, p<0.001). Respondents under 30 years old reported expecting better future relations with immigrants (55.49 per cent) than older participants across the age categories (see Figure 16).
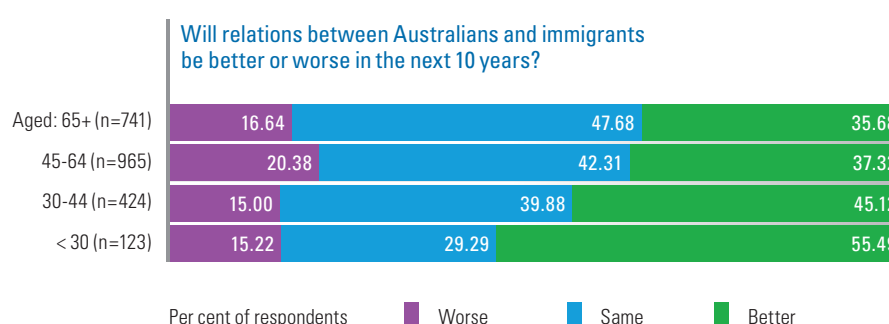
Figure 16. Future Australian–immigrant relations by age

Political affiliation and education were associated with projections of future relationships with immigrants. Approximately 62 per cent of Greens voters reported that relationships would improve in the future, compared to 45.74 per cent for Coalition voters and 44.39 per cent for Labor Party voters. For those in the 'other' category, only 37.59 per cent reported that relationships with immigrants in their community would be better. Approximately 50 per cent of university-educated respondents predicted better relations with immigrants in ten years compared to 40.37 per cent of those with a trade or technical certificate and 41.88 per cent of those with a high school certificate or below.

An additional measure of realistic threat asked participants whether they had witnessed or heard about people being harassed or attacked because of their skin colour, ethnicity, race and/or religion. Of the respondents to the survey who answered this question (n=2,494), 13.66 per cent reported experiencing or witnessing harassment based on race/ethnicity. Respondents under 30 years old had the highest reports of witnessing or experiencing racially or ethnically motivated harassment (see Figure 17).

Figure 17. Realistic threat by age

Controlling for all demographic variables, a logistic regression showed a significant relationship between age, political preference and witnessing harassment. Older people were significantly less likely to report witnessing or experiencing harassment based on ethnicity, race or religion. However, compared to those voting Coalition, respondents who voted Labor were 3.8 times more likely, Greens were 3 times more likely and those endorsing 'other' political parties were 2.5 times more likely to have experienced or witnessed racially or ethnically motivated harassment.

6.2 Contact hypothesis

Allport (1954) argued in his intergroup contact theory that in optimal conditions, contact between groups had the potential to reduce prejudice. These four conditions for optimal contact include: common goals, intergroup cooperation, equal status between groups and the support of authorities, law or customs. While casual and initial perceptions of contact with out-group members can evoke anxiety and hesitation (Putnam, 2007), contact theories propose that repeated and continuous encounters with out-group members across various settings reduce prejudice and negative stereotypes of the out-group.

Respondents in the survey were asked to indicate whether or not they had contact with various groups. In line with the survey questions on ethnic group sentiment, participants reported 'no contact' (0) or 'contact' (1) with the following ethnic groups: White/European people; Indigenous Australians; Pacific Islanders; Asian people; Indian people; Arab/Middle Eastern people; African people; and Muslim people. Of the participants in our survey, 4.68 per cent (n=133) had no contact with White/Europeans. Two-way tables examining demographic variables and no contact with non-White/Europeans revealed a significant chi square for age (chi2=544.24, p<0.001), gender (chi2=139.44, p<0.001), educational attainment

(chi2=544.24, p<0.001) and employment (chi2=1.20, p<0.001). As shown in Table 10, 10.84 per cent of participants aged over 65 reported no contact with non-white groups. Females reported greater levels of no contact than men (6.28 per cent and 3.05 per cent respectively). There was a higher reporting of no contact amongst respondents who had only completed high school or below (9.30 per cent) and respondents who were on the pension or unemployed (14.62 per cent).

Table 10. No contact with people from a non-White/European background by demographics

	Demographic	Percentage of no contact with non-White/European people
	Under 30 (n=127)	3.85
Age	30−44 (n=441)	1.43
	45−64 (n=1,000)	4.47
	Over 65 (n=842)	10.84
Gender	Male (n=956)	3.05
	Female (n=1,530)	6.28
	High school (n=596)	9.30
Educational attainment	Trade, technical certificate (n=553)	3.25
	University qualification (n=1,325)	1.76
	Employed full time (n=801)	0.95
Employment	Employed part time (n=516)	2.55
	Not in the labour force (n=727)	6.95
	Pension/unemployed (n=446)	14.62

Of those who did have contact with people from non-White/European backgrounds, contact was concentrated in particular groups. As Figure 18 indicates, approximately a third of respondents had no contact with Indigenous people, Pacific Islanders or African people. Additionally, just over a quarter of the respondents had no contact with Muslim people or Middle Eastern people. This suggests that the exclusivist attitudes explored in the previous section are not necessarily shaped by negative contact with different groups.

Percentage of respondents reporting no contact with stated ethnic groups

Muslim People (n=2501)	27.40%
African People (n=2504)	33.52%
Middle East People (n=2502)	26.42%
Indian People (n=2491)	10.04%
Asian People (n=2495)	6.76%
Pacific Islanders (n=2486)	32.28%
Indigenous People (n=2500)	36.08%
Anglo Saxon People (n=2496)	3.25%
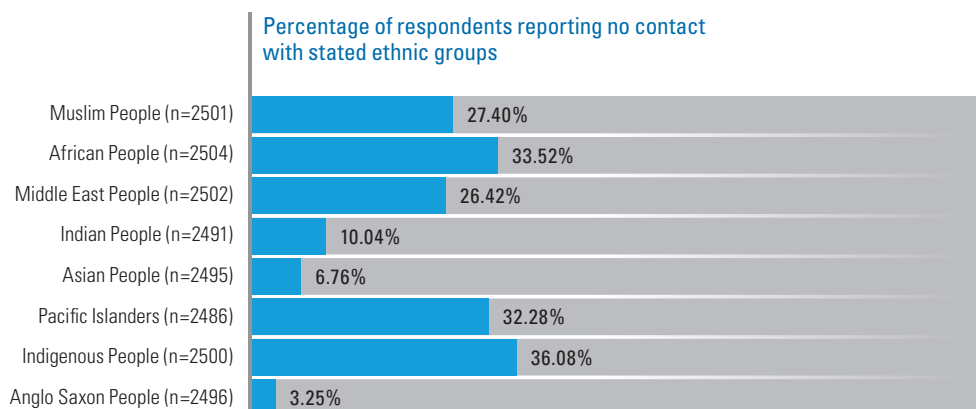
Figure 18. 'No contact' by ethnic groups

Diversity of contact

The next step was to consider the diversity of respondents' contacts. Three contact diversity groups were created as follows: low diversity (contact with 0 to 2 groups); medium diversity (contact with 3 to 5 groups); and high diversity (contact with 6 to 8 groups).

Most respondents reported high diversity (69.69 per cent) of contact. Just over a fifth of respondents reported medium diversity (22.17 per cent) and only 8.14 per cent reported low diversity. Those with a high school qualification or below reported lower diversity of contact than the participants with trade certificates or university qualifications (chi2=1.2, p<0.001; see Figure 19), with 15.80 per cent reporting low diversity (contact with 0 to 2 groups), 27.39 per cent medium diversity (contact with 3 to 5 groups) and 56.81 per cent high diversity (contact with 6 to 8 groups).

Diversity of contacts by educational attainment

	Low Diversity	Medium Diversity	High Diversity
University (n=1282)	2.97	21.96	75.07
Trade/Technical (n=530)	6.02	17.72	76.25
High School or below (n=574)	15.80	27.39	56.81

Per cent of respondents ▪ Low Diversity ▪ Medium Diversity ▪ High Diversity

Figure 19. Diversity of contacts by educational attainment

In terms of age (see Figure 20), younger respondents reported higher diversity of contact (chi2=1.6, p<0.001) than older participants.
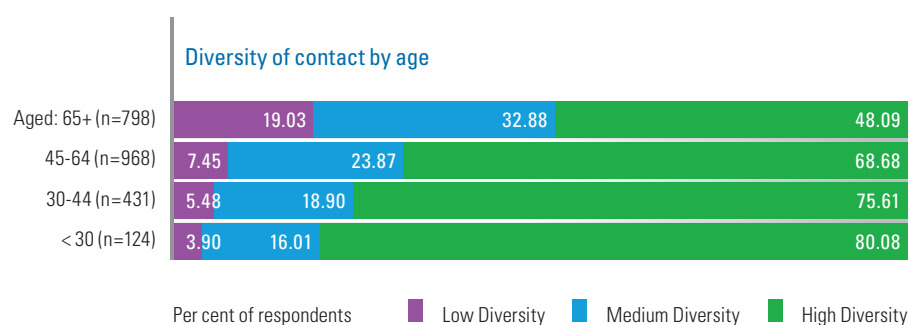
Figure 20. Diversity of contact by age

The cross-tabulation of demographic variables also showed distinct differences in reporting based on employment status (chi2=2.1, p<0.001). Those who were employed full time or part time reported higher diversity than the wider survey population. While those who were not in the labour force and on a pension or unemployed reported lower diversity of contact.

To further investigate these relationships, an ordinal regression analysis with diversity of contact as the outcome variable was conducted. Age, gender, English language, educational attainment, employment status, income, religious views and political party preference were all included in the regression model. In this analysis, age had a significant relationship to diversity of contacts. Older people had slightly lower odds of reporting diverse friendship groups (odds ratio was 0.98). Females were 35 per cent less likely to have high diversity of contact than males, and those who were religious were 1.4 times more likely to have high diversity of contacts compared to non-religious respondents. Educational attainment was also a significant correlate of higher diversity of contact, as those with a trade were 2.14 times more likely and those with a university qualification were 1.94 times more lik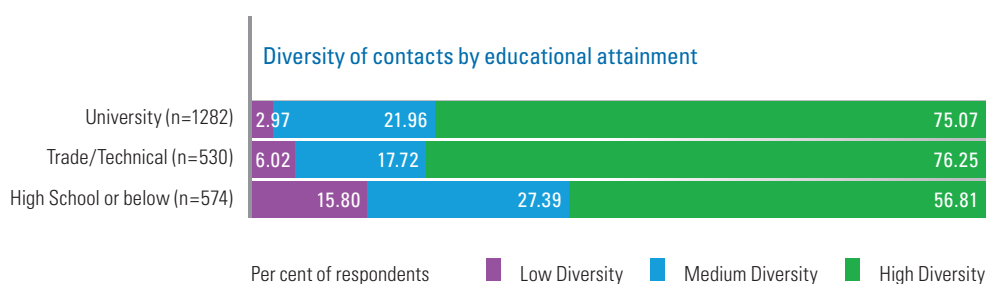ely to have diverse contacts than those who had completed high school. Respondents not in the labour force and those on the pension or unemployed were, respectively, 48 per cent and 59 per cent less likely to report higher diversity contacts than those who were employed full time.

Quality of contact

The survey also captured data about the quality of contact participants had with various groups. Participants were asked to rate the quality of their experience with the eight ethnic groups noted previously. Responses ranged from extremely negative (1) to extremely positive (7). As shown in Figure 21, most of those who had contact with these different groups reported either positive or neutral experiences. The most frequently reported positive experiences were with Anglo Celtic people (76.12 per cent), followed by Pacific Islanders (63.38 per cent) and Asians (63.12 per cent). Consistent with our previous findings, there was higher reporting of negative experiences with Africans (47.86 per cent), Muslims (47.62 per cent) and people from the Middle East (47.25 per cent).
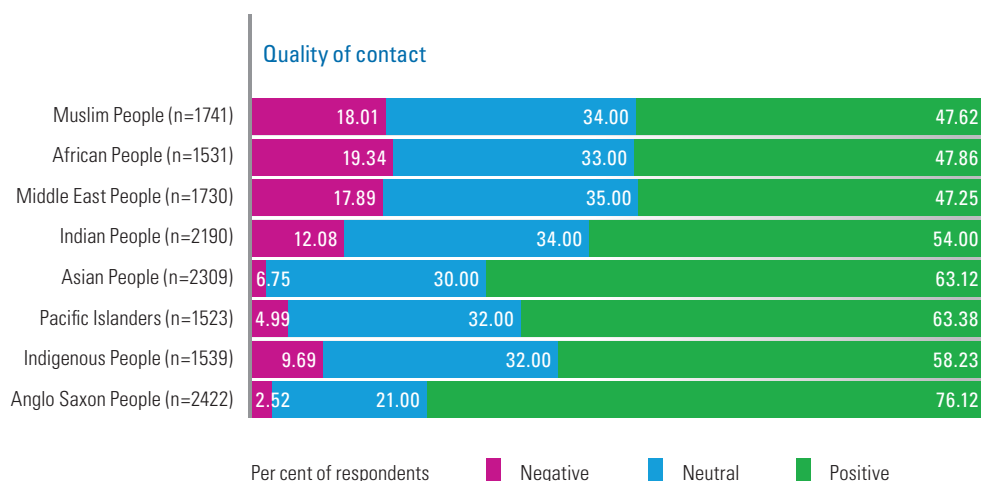
Figure 21. Quality of contact by ethnic group

Using the six non-White/European ancestry items, we constructed a *quality of contact with non-White/ Europeans* scale.[11] Response categories and participant responses ranged from 1 (extremely negative) to 7 (extremely positive). All items loaded heavily on one factor (Eigenvalue = 3.70) with factor loadings between 0.73 and 0.85. The scale was reliable at $\alpha = 0.91$. The mean of this scale was 4.80, with a standard deviation of 1.13. The scale is treated as continuous in the analyses.

We ran a regression on this scale with demographic variables and found one significant correlate of quality of contact with people from a non-White/European background. Respondents on a pension or unemployed reported higher quality contacts than full-time workers ($p<0.05$, B=0.28). This is an interesting finding as the former group also reported lower diversity of contacts. This indicates that although this group may have had fewer diverse ties than those in the labour force, the ties they had were of higher quality.

Intergroup friendship

Linked to quality of contact is intergroup friendship. While the presence of interethnic diversity in a community may result in reduced social trust and increased social exclusivism, and contact may mediate this relationship, few studies distinguish between quality interethnic contact and close, interpersonal interethnic contact. Thus, while someone may encounter someone from a different ethnic group in a positive setting and thus report a quality exchange, this says little about the nature of the relationship between the two parties. Scholarship strongly demonstrates that intergroup friendship is highly effective in reducing intergroup bias (Pettigrew et al., 2011). When individuals from an in-group have close relationship with out-group members, attitudes towards the broader out-group significantly improves (Wright et al., 1997).

Participants were therefore asked to indicate how many of their friends were immigrants to Australia. Responses ranged from 'none of my friends', 'a few of my friends', 'many of my friends' to 'most of my friends'. The majority of respondents (58.82 per cent) indicated that a few of their friends were immigrants to Australia, with only 16.66 per cent reporting they had no immigrant friends (see Figure 22).

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11   We exclude quality of contact with Muslims as this is a religious group first and can be from a diverse ancestry.

How many of your friends are immigrants to Australia?

None (n=382)   16.66%
A few (n=1562)   58.52%
Many (n=468)   19.93%
Most (n=106)   4.88%

Per cent of respondents

Figure 22. Friends as immigrants

An ordered regression analysis was conducted to identify the most salient individual-level variables that increased the likelihood of individuals having more friends that were immigrants. Compared to those who spoke English, those who did not speak English were 2.64 times more likely to have friends who were immigrants ($p<0.001$). This result is not surprising given linguistic diversity is an indicator of cultural diversity. Compared to those who were not religious, respondents who were religious were 1.7 times more likely to have immigrant friends ($p<0.001$). No other variables significantly predicted migrant friendships.

Anticipated rejection

Meeting individuals who differ in their ethnic/racial background can cause anxiety for some individuals and this anxiety can act as a barrier to interethnic contact. Thus, contact is seen as risky and is therefore avoided (Gudykunst, 2005). Avoiding people from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds has negative consequences, not least through encouraging the development of negative stereotypes or characterisations of the 'other'. Interethnic avoidance can also develop into feelings of aggression and cultural polarisation (Schaefer, 2012). Gudykunst (2005) argues that people seek to reduce the anxiety of interethnic contact and if anxiety can be reduced, interethnic contact and communication is likely to be enhanced.

Given the importance of anticipated rejection for socially exclusive sentiments, attitudes and actions, one item from the NZAVS was included in the ACCS Wave 2 survey. This item asked participants whether they expected to be rejected by immigrants in their local community on the basis of their race and/or ethnicity. Responses categories ranged from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). Approximately 12 per cent of the sample agreed or strongly agreed that they expected to be rejected; 23 per cent neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement; and the majority of the sample (65 per cent) disagreed or strongly disagreed (see Figure 23).

Anticipated rejection

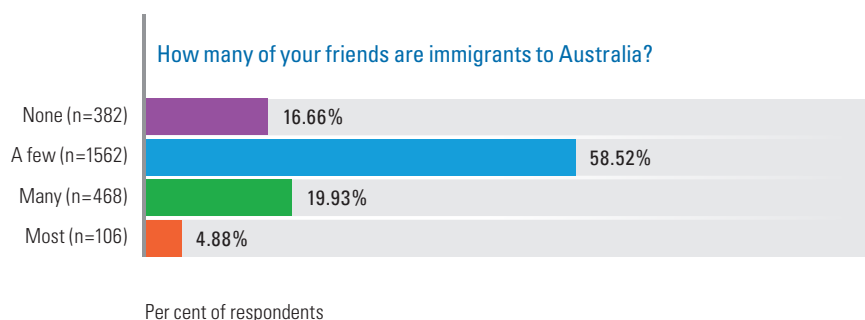|	
Strongly Disagree	33.89%
Disagree	29.12%
Neither	23.92%
Agree	8.4%
Strongly Agree	4.67%

Per cent of respondents
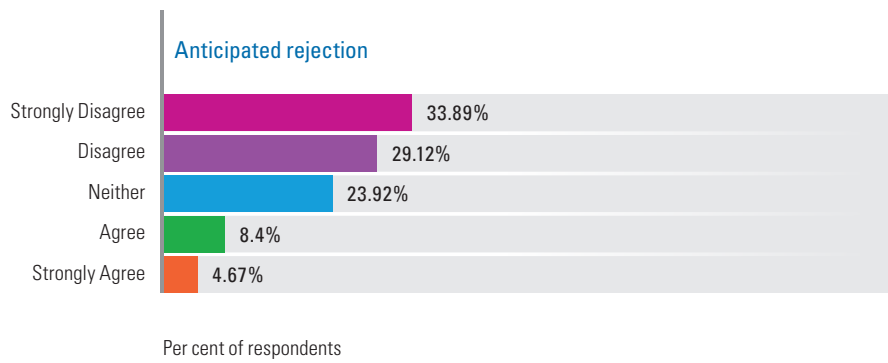
Figure 23. Anticipated rejection

An ordered regression analysis was conducted to identify the most salient individual-level variables that increased the anticipation of rejection. Education was significantly associated with anticipated rejection. Those with university qualifications were less likely than those with a high school qualification to anticipate rejection. Furthermore, those who voted for the Greens were less likely to anticipate rejection by immigrants in their local community based on their race and/or ethnicity than those who had voted for the Coalition.

Section 7

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD CONTEXT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSIVISM

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

7. The neighbourhood context of social exclusivism

One of the key objectives of this research was to examine the individual-level drivers of socially harmful exclusivism in the context of urban neighbourhoods in Melbourne. Of particular interest was whether and how the local context encourages or prevents the development of exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions and if this differed in areas experiencing significant changes in the ethnic composition. This project also sought to identify the specific characteristics of the local context that distinguish areas with higher levels of socially harmful exclusivism from those with lower levels.

The analyses in this section bring together crime data, census data and survey data to examine these relationships. It begins by examining whether socially exclusive sentiments, attitudes and actions vary as a function of neighbourhood context. Next, the individual processes that may act as protective or risk factors (as identified and discussed in previous sections) are considered in the context of neighbourhood social cohesion, and neighbourhood demographic change.

7.1 Neighbourhood variation

The first step in the neighbourhood analyses was to examine if socially exclusive sentiments, attitudes and actions varied as a function of living in particular neighbourhoods. Multi-level models with each of our three outcomes variables were employed to assess the intraclass correlation for each (see Table 11). The intraclass correlation (ICC) assesses the correlations among observations in the same cluster, providing an estimate of the similarity of participants' responses within a given community.

The results indicate that the variation in the three measures of social exclusivism attributable to the community context is only significant for attitudes and intended actions. Nearly all the variation in warmth and anger towards people from a non-White/European background is between individuals. This suggests that the neighbourhood context is not significantly associated with sentiments and further, that sentiments of warmth and anger do not cluster in particular communities in Melbourne. Given the lack of clustering found in sentiments, ordinary least squares regression is used to examine the relationship between individual-level control variables, threat, contact, and warmth and anger towards people from a non-White/European background.

Socially exclusive attitudes and intended actions vary quite significantly across communities. For the former, the ICC is 0.088, indicating that approximately 9 per cent of an individual's socially exclusive attitudes towards immigrants is attributable to the neighbourhood in which participants live. For the latter, the ICC is 0.042, indicating just over 4 per cent of the variation in socially exclusive actions is attributable to the community area. These results suggest that although the majority of the variation is between individuals, there is significant clustering in attitudes and actions in the neighbourhoods in this sample. For socially exclusive attitudes and intended actions, multi-level regression analyses are employed to partition the variation attributable to the suburb-level characteristics in predicting these dependent variables. Warmth and anger sentiments in addition to the other variables of interest discussed previously are also included in these analyses. Please see Appendix 6 for further information on the variables employed in these analyses.

Table 11. Intraclass correlations for social exclusivism

	ICC (standard error)
Warmth	0.006 (0.007)
Anger	0.006 (0.007)
Attitudes towards immigrants	0.088*** (0.016)
Actions towards immigrants	0.042*** (0.011)

*Coefficients highlighted with asterisks indicate statistical significance (*p <0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001).*

7.2   Capturing the neighbourhood context

A number of scales derived from the survey in addition to information obtained from the ABS Census and CSA Victoria, were employed to measure important aspects of the neighbourhood that might lead to social exclusivism. We briefly describe each of these variables in further detail below. Univariate statistics are located in Appendix 6.

Perceptions of the neighbourhood

From the broader literature on neighbourhood effects, individual perceptions of community are significantly linked to social cohesion and social exclusion (Brunton-Smith, Sturgis & Leckie, 2018; Sturgis et al., 2014). Items that captured perceived neighbourhood problems and residents' reports of community belonging were therefore entered into the models. As mentioned earlier in the report, ecologically reliable estimates of the neighbourhood could not be generated due to lower than anticipated response rates in some communities. To this end, individual-level perceptions of community problems and community belonging are used.

In addition to data from the 2017 survey, neighbourhood social cohesion measures from the first ACCS survey in Melbourne (conducted in 2010) was included in the models. The 2010 social cohesion measure is ecologically reliable and able to capture between-neighbourhood differences. It provides an estimate of the previous level of neighbourhood social cohesion.

Community problems: In the ACCS Melbourne Wave 2 study, participants were asked to comment on a range of community problems in their area, including new items that measured concerns with youth-focused problems in Melbourne neighbourhoods (Centre for Multicultural Youth, 2014). These problems were:

• Drugs

• Public drinking

• People loitering or hanging out

• People being harassed because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion

• People being attacked because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion

- Vandalism and/or graffiti

- Traffic problems like speeding or hooning

- Young people getting into trouble

- Young people from new immigrant groups getting into trouble

For each problem, participants were asked whether the stated issue was no problem (receiving a score of 1), somewhat of a problem (receiving a score of 2) or a big problem (receiving a score of 3). These items strongly loaded on one factor (Eigenvalue = 4.65) with loadings between 0.58 and 0.78. The scale was very reliable at α = 0.90. The *community problems* scale is treated as a continuous variable in the analyses.

Community belonging: While perceptions of community problems provide an indication of the potential neighbourhood problems associated with increases in social exclusivism, protective features of communities that might lead to decreases in social exclusivism were also a focus of this research. Drawing on the Melbourne ACCS Wave 1 survey, in Wave 2 community belonging was measured using six items (see below). The first three items were derived from the Melbourne ACCS Wave 1 survey. The other three items were developed by the project team to capture belonging in diverse settings. These items were as follows:

- I feel that I belong to this local community.

- I would like to be living in this local community in 3 years' time.

- I am proud to live in this local community.

- There are places in my community where people might say hello and chat informally.

- I feel comfortable with the different languages and styles of dress around my community.

- People in this community are comfortable with the current levels of ethnic diversity here.

Response categories for these items ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). All items loaded predominantly on one factor (Eigenvalue = 3.88) with loadings between 0.54 and 0.80. The scale was strongly reliable at α = 0.85. The mean of the scale was 2.74, with a standard deviation of 0.74 and a range of 4. The *community belonging* scale is treated as continuous in the analyses.

Neighbourhood social cohesion: Social cohesion is considered a protective factor against socially exclusive sentiments, attitudes and actions (Grossman et al., 2016). To capture neighbourhood social cohesion, we developed a neighbourhood *social cohesion* scale (α = 0.671) comprising four items from the Wave 1 ACCS:

- People in this community are willing to help their neighbours.

- This is a close-knit community.

- People in this community can be trusted.

- People in this community do not share the same values.

Approximately 12 per cent of the variation in this scale is attributable to differences across neighbourhoods.

To create a latent neighbourhood variable that could reliably account for compositional effects, we first estimated fixed effects models that included indicator variables for all neighbourhoods in Melbourne in addition to individual characteristics that might systematically bias perceptions of social cohesion in the neighbourhood.[12] The estimated coefficients for each of the neighbourhoods from these analyses

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12 The following individual-level characteristics were included in the model: household-income, education level, length of residence in the neighborhood, female, age, homeowner, marital status (indicators for single, widowed, and divorced with married as the reference category), presence of children, and speaking only English in the home.

were used as unbiased estimates of the amount of social cohesion in the neighbourhood in 2010.[13] As discussed earlier, constructing an ecologically reliable measure of social cohesion from the 2017 survey was not possible. Although it is possible that neighbourhood social cohesion may change over time, research using the ACCS Brisbane data shows significant stability of social processes over time, even in the face of significant shocks (Wickes, Britt & Broidy, 2017).

Neighbourhood socio-demographic variables

A substantial body of research demonstrates the significant impact of socio-demographic variables on a range of social problems. Of these variables, neighbourhood disadvantage, home ownership, ethnic diversity and crime are directly and indirectly related to the clustering of social problems (Sturgis et al., 2014; Brunton-Smith & Sturgis, 2011; Sampson, Morenoff, & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). The final analytic models examine the relationship between the current levels of these variables, the percentage change in these variables from 2006 to 2016, and socially exclusive attitudes and actions. For full details on the operationalisation of these variables, please see Appendix 6.

7.3   Socially exclusive sentiments

Ordinary least squares regression was used to identify the most salient correlates of warmth and anger towards non-White/European people. Model 1 tested individual demographic variables and threat variables, model 2 included contact variables. Model 3 tested all individual-level demographic and individual perception variables including group threat, intergroup contact and community problems (see Table 12 and Table 13).

Key individual demographic indicators of socially exclusivist sentiments were age, gender, education, employment, religious affiliation and political preference. Age was significantly associated with greater anger in all three models and less warmth in models 2 and 3. Older participants reported greater anger and less warmth towards those from non-White/European backgrounds. Women reported greater warmth towards those from non-White/European backgrounds than men, but there was no difference in levels of anger.

Findings suggest those with higher educational attainment had greater understanding of difference, and greater opportunities through education for contact with diverse groups in positive settings, as those with a university education reported greater warmth when than those in other educational attainment groups.

Participants who were unemployed or on the pension reported lower anger, compared to those in the labour force. This relationship did not emerge, however, for warmth. Religion appeared to be a protective factor against anger towards people from non-White/European backgrounds. Compared to those without religious affiliations, those with religious affiliations reported lower anger. Individuals indicating support for the Labor Party reported significantly less anger than those who supported the Coalition.

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13   A previous study found very many similarities whether constructing measures using a frequentist approach, as we do here in this article, or using a Bayesian approach (see Steenbeek & Hipp, 2011, footnote 12 on page 846).

Table 12. Correlates of warmth towards people from a non-White/European background

	Model 1 – threat	Model 2 – threat and contact	Model 3 – full model
	B (t-value)	**B (t-value)**	**B (t-value)**
Age	-0.00 (-1.34)	-0.01* (-2.14)	-0.01*** (-3.41)
Gender			
Female	0.22* (2.34)	0.24** (2.72)	0.27** (2.87)
Place of birth			
Born overseas	-0.11 (-1.15)	-0.14 (-1.65)	-0.14 (-1.51)
Language			
Language other than English	0.00 (0.02)	-0.06 (-0.68)	-0.09 (-0.93)
Education (ref: high school or below)			
Technical certificate or diploma	0.29 (2.46)	0.21 (1.99)	0.23 (1.91)
University qualifications	0.42*** (3.81)	0.30** (2.96)	0.23* (2.22)
Employment (ref: employed full time)			
Employed part time	0.05 (0.37)	0.04 (0.35)	0.02 (0.16)
Not in the labour force	0.08 (0.73)	0.08 (0.73)	0.07 (0.65)
Pension/unemployed	0.07 (0.47)	0.12 (0.86)	0.32* (2.17)
Income (ref: nil income)			
700–999	-0.00 (-0.00)	0.06 (0.38)	0.13 (0.70)
1,000–1,399	0.01 (0.10)	-0.01 (-0.10)	0.02 (0.12)
1,400–1,799	0.13 (0.66)	0.10 (0.61)	0.18 (0.96)
1,800–2,199	-0.01 (-0.08)	-0.14 (-0.83)	-0.09 (-0.50)
2,200–2,599	-0.30 (-1.53)	-0.24 (-1.31)	-0.22 (-1.18)
2,600 and above	-0.02 (-0.19)	-0.14 (-1.01)	-0.07 (-0.46)
Not stated or refused	-0.11 (-0.84)	-0.16 (-1.23)	-0.04 (-0.32)

	Model 1 – threat B (t-value)	Model 2 – threat and contact B (t-value)	Model 3 – full model B (t-value)
Religion			
Religious	0.16 (1.82)	0.16 (1.95)	0.10 (1.13)
Political preference (ref: Coalition)			
Labor Party	0.69 (0.62)	0.04 (0.42)	0.13 (1.14)
Greens	0.18 (1.31)	0.08 (0.63)	0.08 (0.66)
Other political party	-0.15 (-1.36)	-0.12 (-1.33)	-0.03 (-0.29)
Experienced or witnessed harassment based on race or ethnicity			
Yes	-0.24 (-1.86)	-0.23 (-1.76)	-0.23 (-1.47)
Neighbourhood immigration concentration in 10 years (ref: up to 20%)			
Up to 40%	-0.00 (-0.04)	0.02 (0.15)	-0.03 (-0.26)
Up to 60%	0.11 (0.74)	0.07 (0.52)	0.07 (0.49)
Over 70%	-0.01 (-0.10)	-0.03 (-0.22)	0.04 (0.30)
Relations with immigrants in 10 years (ref: worse)			
Same	0.64*** (5.29)	0.50*** (4.51)	0.49*** (3.81)
Better	0.87*** (7.22)	0.68*** (6.07)	0.67*** (5.98)
Diversity of contacts		0.12 (1.86)	0.08 (1.10)
Friends who are immigrants to Australia (ref: none of my friends)			
A few of my friends		0.23* (2.13)	0.18 (1.46)
Many of my friends		0.30* (2.20)	0.22 (1.48)
Most of my friends		0.31 (1.52)	0.28 (1.28)
Expect to be rejected		-0.28*** (-6.73)	-0.23*** (-4.80)
Community problems scale			-0.19 (-1.92)

	Model 1 – threat B (t-value)	Model 2 – threat and contact B (t-value)	Model 3 – full model B (t-value)
Community belonging			0.20* (2.02)
Intercept			
N	1,925	1,850	1,555
R-squared	0.14	0.22	0.24

Asterisks indicate statistical significance (*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001).

Individual correlates of social exclusivism were then included in the models: realistic threat, intergroup contact and individual perceptions of the neighbourhood.

Participants who experienced or witnessed interethnic harassment reported higher levels of anger, however, this became non-significant in the final models. The prediction of migrant neighbourhood composition was not associated with socially exclusivist sentiments. Those who predicted relationships with immigrants would be the same or improved in the coming ten years reported lower anger and greater warmth than those who thought relations would get worse (see model 1 in Tables 12 and 13).

Table 13. Correlates of anger towards people from a non-White/European background

	Model 1 – threat B (t-value)	Model 2 – threat and contact B (t-value)	Model 3 – full model B (t-value)
Age	0.01*** (3.48)	0.01*** (4.19)	0.02*** (5.27)
Gender			
Female	0.12 (1.22)	0.14 (1.46)	0.13 (1.44)
Place of birth			
Born overseas	-0.15 (-1.57)	-0.10 (-1.01)	-0.12 (-1.07)
Language			
Language other than English	-0.04 (-0.35)	0.05 (0.52)	0.08 (0.73)
Education (ref: high school or below)			
Technical certificate or diploma	-0.15 (-1.21)	-0.10 (-0.60)	-0.14 (-1.10)
University qualifications	-0.26* (-2.26)	-0.19 (-1.73)	-0.13 (-1.14)
Employment (ref: employed full time)			

	Model 1 – threat	Model 2 – threat and contact	Model 3 – full model
	B (t-value)	B (t-value)	B (t-value)
Employed part time	-0.24 (-1.85)	-0.24* (-1.98)	-0.26* (-2.21)
Not in the labour force	-0.44*** (-3.55)	-0.41*** (-3.50)	-0.40*** (-3.23)
Pension/unemployed	-0.57*** (-4.06)	-0.55*** (-3.79)	-0.47** (-3.10)
Income (ref: nil income)			
700–999	-0.35 (-1.69)	-0.41* (-2.16)	-0.33 (-1.58)
1,000–1,399	-0.16 (-0.73)	-0.17 (-0.79)	0.02 (0.08)
1,400–1,799	-0.29 (-1.23)	-0.30 (-1.32)	-0.14 (-0.59)
1,800–2,199	-0.42 (-1.75)	-0.32 (-1.44)	-0.10 (-0.39)
2,200–2,599	-0.15 (-0.59)	-0.27 (1.19)	-0.07 (-0.31)
2,600 and above	-0.47* (-2.27)	-0.35 (-1.82)	-0.23 (-1.12)
Not stated or refused	-0.26 (-1.39)	-0.25 (-1.40)	-0.16 (-0.83)
Religion			
Religious	-0.25** (-2.57)	-0.28** (-2.82)	-0.24* (-2.40)
Political preference (ref: Coalition)			
Labor Party	-0.24* (-1.96)	-0.27* (-2.28)	-0.25* (-1.99)
Greens	-0.33* (-2.21)	-0.25 (-1.70)	-0.16 (-1.01)
Other political party	0.08 (0.67)	0.06 (0.52)	0.03 (0.27)
Experienced or witnessed harassment based on race or ethnicity			
Yes	0.37** (2.79)	0.32** (2.62)	0.18 (1.36)
Neighbourhood immigration concentration in 10 years (ref: up to 20%)			
Up to 40%	0.22 (1.46)	0.18 (1.25)	0.14 (0.94)
Up to 60%	0.09 (0.64)	0.10 (0.68)	-0.01 (-0.07)

	Model 1 – threat B (t-value)	Model 2 – threat and contact B (t-value)	Model 3 – full model B (t-value)
Over 70%	0.13 (0.88)	0.09 (0.62)	-0.12 (-0.77)
Relations with immigrants in 10 years (ref: worse)			
Same	-0.65*** (-4.70)	-0.48*** (-3.48)	-0.36* (-2.27)
Better	-1.02*** (-7.57)	-0.85*** (-6.21)	-0.75*** (-4.92)
Diversity of contacts		0.10 (1.31)	0.14 (1.74)
Friends who are immigrants to Australia (ref: none of my friends)			
A few of my friends		-0.15 (-1.09)	-0.23 (-1.56)
Many of my friends		-0.25 (-1.57)	-0.24 (-1.38)
Most of my friends		-0.51* (-2.34)	-0.51* (-2.10)
Expect to be rejected		0.26*** (5.74)	0.22*** (4.54)
Community problems scale			0.45*** (3.75)
Community belonging			-0.24** (-2.70)
Intercept			
N	1,928	1,854	1,556
R-squared	0.15	0.21	0.25

*Coefficients highlighted with asterisks indicate statistical significance (*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001).*

Diversity of contact has little effect on warmth or anger (see model 2 in Tables 12 and 13). Those who have immigrant friends do report significantly less anger than those who have no immigrant friends. The most salient correlate of exclusivist sentiment is fear of rejection. Those who expect to be rejected by people different from them report greater anger and lower warmth.

Individual perceptions of the community are also associated with socially exclusivist sentiments. Participants who perceived greater community problems reported greater anger than those who perceive fewer community problems. Participants who felt as though they belonged to their community reported significantly lower anger and greater warmth than those who did not feel they belonged (see model 3 in Tables 12 and 13).

7.4 Socially exclusionary attitudes

The next models examined socially exclusivist attitudes (see Table 14). In model 1, age, educational attainment and religious affiliation were all associated with socially exclusivist attitudes. Older participants reported significantly higher exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants than younger participants. Those with only high school qualifications also reported significantly higher exclusionary attitudes than those with university qualifications. Participants with higher warmth towards non-White/European people reported lower exclusionary attitudes and those reporting greater anger towards non-White/European people endorsed significantly higher exclusionary attitudes. Individuals that witnessed or experienced ethnically motivated harassment indicated less endorsement for exclusionary attitudes than those who did not. The predicted immigrant concentration of a neighbourhood was significantly associated with greater endorsement of exclusionary attitudes. Participants who expected increases in immigrant concentration (up to 60 per cent and over 70 per cent) in their neighbourhood, were more likely to endorse exclusivist attitudes compared to those who see a limited migration concentration change (20 per cent). Participants who see future relationships with immigrants as being the same or better in next ten years were less likely to endorse exclusionary attitudes than those who think these relationships will be worse.

In model 2, having immigrant friends protected against socially exclusivist attitudes. Those who expect to be rejected by people who are different from them reported significantly stronger endorsement of exclusionary attitudes.

In model 3, individuals who see more problems in their neighbourhood, reported stronger socially exclusive attitudes towards immigrants than those who did not. A feeling of belonging to the community was not associated with socially exclusive attitudes. Interestingly, the level of prior neighbourhood social cohesion was not a significant protective factor against the development of those attitudes. In neighbourhoods with greater concentrations of poverty, negative attitudes were higher. On average, participants living in communities with greater home ownership reported significantly higher socially exclusivist attitudes than those living in areas with more renters. Residents living in more linguistically diverse areas reported significantly lower exclusionary attitudes, suggesting that neighbourhood diversity acts a protective factor against the development of potentially harmful attitudes against immigrants.

Table 14. Correlates of socially exclusionary attitudes

	Model 1 – threat	Model 2 – threat and contact	Model 3 – full model
	B (z-score)	B (z-score)	B (z-score)
Age	0.00** (2.58)	0.00*** (3.89)	0.00** (2.93)
Gender			
Female	-0.06 (-1.66)	-0.05 (-1.43)	-0.03 (-1.01)
Place of birth			
Born overseas	-0.09* (-2.47)	-0.05 (-1.56)	-0.04 (-1.10)
Language			
Language other than English	-0.06 (-1.61)	-0.02 (-0.70)	0.00 (0.12)

	Model 1 – threat	Model 2 – threat and contact	Model 3 – full model
	B (z-score)	B (z-score)	B (z-score)
Education (ref: high school or below)			
Technical certificate or diploma	-0.04 (-0.96)	-0.07 (-1.70)	-0.10* (-2.14)
University qualifications	-0.28*** (-6.85)	-0.26*** (-6.81)	-0.26*** (-6.27)
Employment (ref: employed full time)			
Employed part time	-0.03 (-0.79)	-0.04 (-0.94)	-0.06 (-1.46)
Not in the labour force	-0.05 (-1.20)	-0.07 (-1.65)	-0.05 (-1.20)
Pension/unemployed	0.16** (2.73)	0.11* (2.11)	0.14* (2.40)
Income (ref: nil income)			
700–999	-0.04 (-0.52)	-0.04 (-0.53)	-0.01 (-0.08)
1,000–1,399	-0.04 (-0.61)	-0.04 (-0.62)	-0.03 (-0.45)
1,400–1,799	-0.07 (-1.02)	-0.09 (-1.35)	-0.07 (-0.99)
1,800–2,199	-0.11 (-1.52)	-0.10 (-1.44)	-0.16 (-1.54)
2,200–2,599	0.01 (0.17)	-0.02 (-0.20)	-0.01 (-1.16)
2,600 and above	-0.14* (-2.20)	-0.13* (-2.04)	-0.11 (-1.64)
Not stated or refused	0.04 (0.70)	0.03 (0.61)	0.03 (0.54)
Religion			
Religious	0.08* (2.52)	0.08** (2.58)	0.08* (2.25)
Political preference (ref: Coalition)			
Labor Party	-0.38*** (-8.73)	-0.36*** (-8.72)	-0.34*** (-7.76)
Greens	-0.61*** (-11.37)	-0.55*** (-10.86)	-0.53*** (-9.74)
Other political party	-0.08 (-1.92)	-0.08* (-2.09)	-0.07 (-1.84)
Feelings of warmth scale	-0.13*** (-8.12)	-0.09*** (-6.22)	-0.09*** (-5.88)
Feelings of anger scale	0.11*** (8.64)	0.08*** (6.87)	0.08*** (5.82)

	Model 1 – threat	Model 2 – threat and contact	Model 3 – full model
	B (z-score)	B (z-score)	B (z-score)
Experienced or witnessed harassment based on race or ethnicity			
Yes	-0.12* (-2.55)	-0.16*** (-3.67)	-0.23*** (-4.74)
Neighbourhood immigration concentration in 10 years (ref: up to 20%)			
Up to 40%	0.09 (1.78)	0.09 (1.81)	0.09 (1.75)
Up to 60%	0.12* (2.31)	0.14** (2.95)	0.14** (2.26)
Over 70%	0.18*** (3.39)	0.19*** (3.71)	0.16** (2.84)
Relations with immigrants in 10 years (ref: worse)			
Same	-0.32*** (-7.01)	-0.24*** (-5.66)	-0.24*** (-5.12)
Better	-0.44*** (-9.43)	-0.35*** (-8.01)	-0.35*** (-7.39)
Friends who are immigrants to Australia (ref: none of my friends)			
A few of my friends		-0.15*** (-3.66)	-0.14** (-3.12)
Many of my friends		-0.24*** (-4.59)	-0.23*** (-3.99)
Most of my friends		-0.16 (-1.87)	-0.18 (-1.93)
Expect to be rejected		0.21*** (15.09)	0.21** (-3.12)
Community problems scale			0.16*** (4.05)
Community belonging			-0.04 (-1.35)
Neighbourhood social cohesion			0.14 (1.15)
Low HIED			0.01*** (3.27)
Home ownership			0.00** (2.89)
Blau language index			-1.59*** (-4.09)
Crime			3.64 (0.05)

	Model 1 – threat B (z-score)	Model 2 – threat and contact B (z-score)	Model 3 – full model B (z-score)
Intercept			
N (groups)	1,922 (148)	1,906 (148)	1,601 (147)
Likelihood log	-1,896.38	-1,755.40	-1,453.93

Coefficients highlighted with asterisks indicate statistical significance (*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001).

The last analysis examining socially exclusivist attitudes considered the impact of changing neighbourhood demographics. These analyses replaced the 2016 ABS measures of neighbourhood composition with the percentage change in these variables between 2006 and 2016.[14] Results indicated that increasing disadvantage was associated with greater endorsement of socially exclusivist attitudes (B = 0.012, z = 2.00, p<0.05) and increasing ethnic diversity was associated with a weaker endorsement of these attitudes (B = -2.53, t = -2.70, p<0.01).

7.5   Socially exclusionary actions

The next analyses examined the individual- and neighbourhood-level variables associated with socially exclusive actions, such as those intended actions that would limit the full economic, social and cultural inclusion of immigrants (see Table 15).

In contrast to socially exclusive sentiments and attitudes, few individual characteristics explained participants' endorsement of exclusionary actions. As noted in model 1, of the individual/household variables, only political preference was associated with intended actions. In particular, those who would vote for the Coalition were significantly more likely to endorse socially exclusionary actions than those individuals who would vote for Labor or the Greens. This suggests that the kinds of actions that would restrict immigrants from full participation in Australian life are at least in part a function of politics. This is not surprising given that conservative rhetoric in Australia has positioned increased immigration and, indeed, the migration of particular ethnic groups, as harmful to the Australian way of life.

Looking to the other individual-level variables in model 1, feelings of warmth and anger respectively decrease and increase endorsement of exclusionary actions. Individuals who foresee greater conflict between immigrants and Australian-born people more strongly endorse exclusionary actions when compared to those who see relationships with immigrants staying the same or getting better.

Contact had a particularly powerful relationship to actions (see model 2). Those with immigrant friends are less likely to endorse exclusionary actions than those without immigrant friends. Those who anticipated rejection when encountering others on the basis of their ethnic identity were also more likely to endorse exclusionary actions than those who did not foresee rejection.

14   Full analysis not reported herewith but are available upon request.

In model 3, perceptions of neighbourhood problems did not lead to a stronger endorsement of exclusivist actions but community belonging was a protective factor such that those who reported higher community belonging also reported lower socially exclusivist actions. Neighbourhood demographics were not significantly associated with the endorsement of socially exclusivist actions.

Table 15. Correlates of socially exclusive actions endorsed by participants

	Model 1 – threat B (z-score)	Model 2 – threat and contact B (z-score)	Model 3 – full model B (z-score)
Age	-0.00 (-0.54)	0.00 (0.35)	-0.00 (-1.05)
Gender			
Female	-0.00 (-0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	0.01 (0.12)
Place of birth			
Born overseas	0.02 (0.36)	0.05 (1.08)	0.07 (1.32)
Language			
Language other than English	-0.14** (-3.06)	-0.11* (-2.46)	-0.11* (-2.32)
Education (ref: high school or below)			
Technical certificate or diploma	0.09 (1.63)	0.08 (1.35)	0.05 (0.79)
University qualifications	-0.11* (-2.20)	-0.08 (-1.70)	-0.09 (-1.68)
Employment (ref: employed full time)			
Employed part time	0.08 (1.46)	0.07 (1.41)	0.09 (1.58)
Not in the labour force	0.05 (0.93)	0.04 (0.78)	0.07 (1.14)
Pension/unemployed	0.10 (1.46)	0.08 (1.09)	0.14 (1.81)
Income (ref: nil income)			
700–999	-0.08 (-0.88)	-0.08 (-0.93)	-0.04 (-0.40)
1,000–1,399	-0.07 (-0.86)	-0.07 (-0.88)	-0.06 (-0.61)
1,400–1,799	-0.09 (-1.07)	-0.11 (-1.27)	-0.14 (-1.52)
1,800–2,199	-0.12 (-1.33)	-0.11 (-1.18)	-0.17 (-1.70)
2,200–2,599	-0.03 (-0.30)	-0.05 (-0.46)	-0.05 (-0.44)

	Model 1 – threat	Model 2 – threat and contact	Model 3 – full model
	B (z-score)	B (z-score)	B (z-score)
2,600 and above	-0.09 (-1.05)	-0.06 (-0.78)	-0.07 (-0.83)
Not stated or refused	0.02 (0.31)	0.03 (0.36)	-0.02 (-0.19)
Religion			
Religious	0.01 (0.27)	0.02 (0.50)	0.05 (1.10)
Political preference (ref: Coalition)			
Labor Party	-0.50*** (-9.13)	-0.48*** (-9.02)	-0.45*** (7.81)
Greens	-0.70*** (-10.48)	-0.66*** (-9.96)	-0.67*** (-9.44)
Other political party	-0.11* (-2.27)	-0.11* (-2.34)	-0.09 (-1.65)
Feelings of warmth scale	-0.23*** (-11.71)	-0.20*** (-10.32)	-0.21*** (-10.05)
Feelings of anger scale	0.09*** (5.68)	0.07*** (4.32)	0.06*** (3.23)
Experienced or witnessed harassment based on race or ethnicity			
Yes	-0.07 (-1.24)	-0.10 (-1.68)	-0.10 (-1.48)
Neighbourhood immigration concentration in 10 years (ref: up to 20%)			
Up to 40%	0.02 (0.38)	0.03 (0.55)	0.05 (0.76)
Up to 60%	-0.02 (-0.27)	0.02 (0.33)	0.03 (0.50)
Over 70%	-0.03 (-0.46)	-0.01 (-0.18)	0.05 (0.73)
Relations with immigrants in 10 years (ref: worse)			
Same	-0.46*** (-8.10)	-0.40*** (-7.04)	-0.40*** (-6.47)
Better	-0.74*** (-12.73)	-0.67*** (-11.73)	-0.65*** (10.38)
Friends who are immigrants to Australia (ref: none of my friends)			
A few of my friends		-0.21*** (-3.84)	-0.19*** (-3.19)

	Model 1 – threat	Model 2 – threat and contact	Model 3 – full model
	B (z-score)	B (z-score)	B (z-score)
Many of my friends		-0.31*** (-4.47)	-0.29*** (-3.89)
Most of my friends		-0.22* (-1.98)	-0.35** (-2.82)
Expect to be rejected		0.15*** (8.08)	0.16*** (7.87)
Community problems scale			-0.05 (-1.06)
Community belonging			-0.11** (-3.00)
Neighbourhood social cohesion			0.14 (1.23)
Low HIED			-0.00 (-0.89)
Home ownership			0.00 (1.72)
Blau language index			-0.78 (-1.54)
Crime			-2.16 (-0.23)
Intercept			
N (groups)	1,918 (148)	1,901 (148)	1,597 (147)
R-squared	-2325.23	-2258.66	-1883.06

Coefficients highlighted with asterisks indicate statistical significance (*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001).

Changes in neighbourhood demographic composition were not significantly related to endorsements of socially exclusive actions.

7.6 Clustering of exclusionary attitudes and endorsements of exclusionary actions

The final aim of this project was to examine the spatial concentration of socially exclusivist attitudes and intended actions. To do this, attitudes and intended actions were categorised as high if they were more than one standard deviation above the mean and low if they were more than one standard deviation below the mean. Any attitudes or intended actions falling in between were considered average. Weighted summary statistics were used to determine the mean and standard deviation for each scale. The data set was then aggregated to the suburb level. Suburb counts were used to create percentages of respondents for each suburb (see Table 16). Suburbs with the highest and lowest levels of exclusivist attitudes and intended actions were then mapped (see Figure 26). Those areas with higher exclusionary attitudes and intended actions are not always concentrated in areas with a significant immigrant population. Indeed, none of the communities with high exclusionary attitudes and intended actions had more than 20 per cent of the population speaking a language other than English. In contrast, half of the communities with low exclusionary attitudes and intended actions had 20 per cent or more residents speaking a language other than English.

Table 16. Exclusionary attitudes and actions

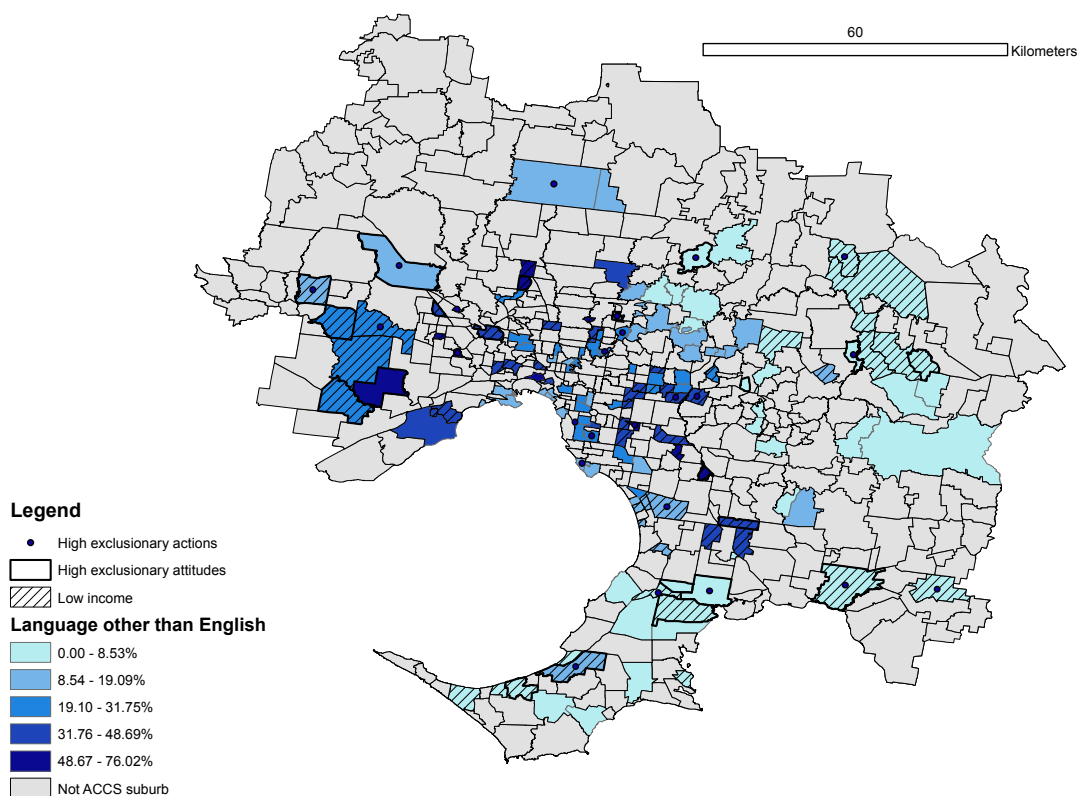|	Low exclusionary attitudes	High exclusionary attitudes
Low exclusionary actions	Clifton Hill Elwood West Footscray Footscray Brunswick East North Melbourne St Andrews (Vic.) Ripponlea Carlton North Abbotsford (Vic.) St Kilda West Caulfield North	No suburbs fell into this quadrant
High exclusionary actions	No suburbs fell into this quadrant	Watsonia Cottles Bridge Diggers Rest Seville East Dromana Pearcedale Koo Wee Rup Melton West

Figure 24. High exclusionary attitudes and intended exclusionary actions with LOTE and low income.

Section 8

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

8. Concluding comments

In the last three decades, Australia's immigration intake has changed considerably, with increases in non-English speaking immigrants and those seeking asylum. The majority of these immigrants have settled in Australia's capital cities, with Sydney and Melbourne receiving a significant share of the immigrant population. For the most part, immigration has enriched social, cultural and economic life in these cities and across the country more broadly. Australia is often viewed as a successful multicultural nation and there is evidence that people who have migrated to Australia report higher wellbeing and better health than those moving to other countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2017). A recent report by Goldin, Pitt, Nabarro and Boyle (2018) finds that economic migrants (for example, those who relocate for employment) have a significant and positive effect on the gross domestic product of many receiving nations. This is a consequence of the relatively younger age profile of migrants when compared to the age profile of receiving countries, and the increase in overall labour force participation by immigrants and native-born residents.

Despite growing evidence of the significant benefits of immigration, anti-immigrant sentiment is on the rise in many advanced Western countries (Hogan & Haltinner, 2015; Portelinha & Elcheroth, 2016). Some scholarship suggests that white nationalism is increasing in Australia and elsewhere. Considering the Christchurch mosque shooting, and far-right rallies in Australia, it is imperative to look closely at the factors that lead to the social exclusion and othering of immigrants, in particular, those coming from non-White/European and/or non-English speaking backgrounds.

This research focused on the social exclusion of immigrants in Melbourne, Australia. Melbourne is one of the most culturally diverse cities in the world and was also voted the most liveable city in the world for seven years running by the Economist Intelligence Unit (as reported by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2018). Despite the successful integration of many different immigrant groups in Melbourne, between 2016 and 2018 there was a racialised crime panic, with a sharp focus on the actions of South Sudanese Australians. This is a relatively new immigrant community to Australia, yet one of the largest diaspora group in the world (Robinson, 2013). In the 2018 Victorian election, the opposition focused extensively on law and order, with a campaign that attempted to capitalise on the immigration–crime association that was increasingly prevalent in media and right-wing political rhetoric.

It was against this backdrop that this research was undertaken. Given the significant backlash against a number of immigrant groups after the Moomba riot (Benier et al., 2018), the goal of this research was to examine socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions across a random sample of participants living in urban neighbourhoods in Melbourne, Victoria. Employing a survey of over 2,500 residents living across 148 state suburbs, the project aims were to examine:

- the relationship between the neighbourhood context and socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions;

- the changing neighbourhood characteristics and their influence on socially harmful exclusivism across Melbourne neighbourhoods; and

- the link between neighbourhood social cohesion and socially exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions.

Focusing on the individual-level drivers of intended exclusivist actions while also considering the role of neighbourhood context and neighbourhood cohesion, this study set out to better understand the ways in which the local context encourages or prevents the development of exclusivist sentiments, attitudes and intended actions, especially in areas experiencing significant changes in ethnic compositions.

8.1 Key findings

Results from the survey revealed that the majority of people had neutral or positive sentiments towards immigrant groups. Those endorsing exclusivist attitudes and actions also comprised a minority of the overall sample. However, a sizeable number of respondents felt anger and low warmth towards Muslim, African and Middle Eastern people.

Several individual demographic variables were associated with all three measures of social exclusivism. These included age, gender, education and political orientation. It was revealed that those respondents indicating a preference for the Coalition were significantly more likely to report higher feelings of anger towards non-White/European ethnic groups than those indicating a preference for the Labor Party. This was also the case for socially exclusivist attitudes and actions.

Our measures of threat and contact differed in their influence on social exclusivism. Perceived future interethnic conflict was associated with greater anger, lower warmth, stronger endorsement for socially exclusive attitudes towards immigrants and an endorsement of socially exclusive actions towards immigrants. Having close immigrant contacts was not associated with greater warmth, but those reporting 'most of my friends are immigrants' reported lower anger and greater warmth towards immigrants. Immigrant friendships also served as a protective factor against socially exclusive attitudes and actions. Anticipating rejection by a member of another ethnic group was strongly linked to all measures of social exclusivism across all analyses.

Notably, an individual's own sense of community belonging was a strong protective factor against social exclusivism, but the previous level of neighbourhood social cohesion had no effect on sentiments, attitudes and intended actions. Individuals living in neighbourhoods with greater concentrations of disadvantage and neighbourhoods where disadvantage increased over time displayed greater endorsement of socially exclusivist attitudes.

8.2 Opportunities for policy and practice

The results of this study strongly emphasise the need for careful planning regarding immigrant settlement and associated social infrastructure needed to ensure an inclusive Australia. As government and non-government organisations prepare for increasing diversity in the cities and regional areas of Australia, a consistent focus on creating a culture of welcome is needed. Preparing for diversity and inclusion must be viewed as a community project. Successful settlement, therefore, requires the commitment and buy-in of the receiving community, informed by welcoming attitudes, cultural awareness and a well-developed understanding of settlement dynamics.

As the social and economic characteristics of local communities in both the cities and regions differ greatly, the context of receiving neighbourhoods must also be considered. Existing inequalities and problems with crime and disorder create the conditions for a more hostile reception of immigrants. Importantly, the anti-immigrant sentiment present in some political rhetoric erodes a socially inclusive approach to welcoming new Australians. The strong relationship between political preference and socially exclusivist attitudes and actions found in this research points to the harm created by the politicisation of difference. The higher prevalence of social negative attitudes and feelings toward immigrants amongst Coalition voters suggests the need for greater bipartisan cooperation in reducing exclusionary attitudes and actions towards immigrant members of the community.

To create the conditions for socially cohesive and inclusive communities, both community and government organisations need to work explicitly through policy and programming on improving positive perceptions of, and actual relationships with, Victorians of Muslim and African heritage. Among other things, this involves an explicit focus on reducing threat perceptions and cultural stereotyping and enhancing understanding of positive community contributions by people from these heritage groups.

This is particularly salient for older Australians and people with limited education – targeted approaches that encourage greater interethnic contact are needed in order to combat social exclusivism found in these groups.

Importantly, policies and programs need to consider specific strategies to counter the anticipated rejection some members of society expect when thinking about meeting people who are different from themselves. Strengthening a sense of community belonging and reducing the anxieties associated with interethnic exchange should remain a priority focus for government.

The results of this study also demonstrate that coping with significant localised socio-economic disadvantage has a negative impact on communities' ability to feel positive toward those from non-White/ European backgrounds. The findings suggest that neighbourhood disadvantage must be addressed both in its own right and as a means to foster greater intercultural acceptance and reduce intercultural tensions and blame. The continued clustering of particular immigrant groups into already disadvantaged communities will likely result in increases in social exclusivism.

Section 9

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Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

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Section 10

APPENDICES

Understanding the context of racial and cultural exclusivism:
A study of Melbourne neighbourhoods

Appendix 1:
Steering Committee and Research Team

Steering Committee:

Dr B Hass Dellal AO is the Executive Director of the Australian Multicultural Foundation (AMF) and the Director and Chairman of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). He is the recipient of the Medal of the Order of Australia (1997) for his support of multicultural affairs, the arts and the community. In 2003 he was awarded the Centenary of Federation Medal for his contribution to Australian society.

Isabel Fitzgerald was the Policy Officer in the Community Resilience Unit, Department of Premier and Cabinet. In this role, she supports the development of policy, research and initiatives relating to social cohesion, community resilience and the prevention of violent extremism. She previously worked as a Senior Producer – Strategic Initiatives for Footscray Community Arts Centre, working on strategic program development and partnerships, project management and community engagement.

Professor Andrew Markus holds the Pratt Foundation Research Chair of Jewish Civilisation. He is a Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia and is a past Head of Monash University's School of Historical Studies. He has published extensively in the field of Australian race relations and immigration history. His publications include *Australia's Immigration Revolution* (co-authored, 2009); *Race: John Howard and the Remaking of Australia* (Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2001); *Building a New Community. Immigration and the Victorian Economy* (editor, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2001) and *Australian Race Relations 1788–1993* (Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994).

Professor Gavin Turrell is Principal Investigator on the NHMRC-funded HABITAT study. HABITAT is examining age-related change in health behaviours, risk factors, and physical and mental health between 2007 and 2018, and assesses the relative contribution of environmental, social, psychological, and socio-demographic factors to these changes. Professor Turrell is also a Chief Investigator on the NHMRC *Centre of Research Excellence in Healthy, Liveable, and Equitable Communities,* where he is leading a research program examining whether the neighbourhood built environment is causally related to health and wellbeing. Professor Turrell was appointed as an NHMRC Research Fellow (1999–2015) in the School of Public Health and Social Work at Queensland University of Technology in Brisbane, where he is currently an Adjunct Research Professor. Professor Turrell is also an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Melbourne.

Research Team:

Associate Professor Rebecca Wickes, of Monash Criminology, is the Director of the Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre (MMIC) at the School of Social Sciences (SoSS), Monash University. Her research focuses on demographic changes in urban communities and their influence on social cohesion and the concentration of social problems. Associate Professor Wickes is the lead investigator of the Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), a multi-million, multi-site, longitudinal study of urban neighbourhoods.

Professor Michele Grossman is Research Chair in Diversity and Community Resilience at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation of Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia, where she serves as Director of the Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies (CRIS) (www.crisconsortium.org) and Convenor of the AVERT Research Network (www.avert.net.au). She holds a PhD in Cultural Studies from Monash University. Michele's research focuses on understanding and mitigating the social and community harms caused by violent extremism and radicalisation to violence. Recent and current projects include research funded by Dept. of Home Affairs, Public Safety Canada, National Institute of Justice (USA), Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST) (UK) and the Horizon 2020 GREASE project (EU) (www.grease.eui.eu), for which she holds a Robert Schuman Distinguished Scholar Fellow appointment at the European University Institute in Florence. She is also a Visiting Professor at the UK's University of Huddersfield (2018-2022). Michele has published widely in her field and serves on a number of national and international advisory boards and expert panels.

Dr Helen Forbes-Mewett, Dr Helen Forbes-Mewett is Discipline Head of Sociology and Deputy Director of the Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre. Her work focuses on culturally diverse populations and established community responses to new immigrant groups including international students. In 2014, Dr Forbes-Mewett was awarded the Monash University Vice-Chancellor's Social Inclusion Award as acknowledgement for her significant contribution to social justice and inclusion. Dr Forbes-Mewett is internationally known for her work on social inclusion and is widely published in her field. She has long-standing expertise in identifying issues of importance and working with government and industry stakeholders.

Associate Professor Dharma Arunachalam is the Head of the School of Social Sciences at Monash University. Associate Professor Arunachalam is a social demographer. His current research on international migration includes cultural diversity, identity and social cohesion, ethnic intermarriage, ethnic demography, and Indian/South Asian migration to Australia. He also specialises in family formation and population dynamics in Australia and India.

Dr Jonathan Smith is a Research Fellow in National School of Arts at Australian Catholic University. He is also an Adjunct Research Fellow at Monash University. He coordinates the 'Social Futures and Life Pathways of Young People ('Our Lives') Project, which is a longitudinal ARC Discovery Project tracking the emerging values and life pathways of young Australians. Jonathan's research explores the impact of globalisation and social change in key domains of young people's lives, including their attitudes towards diversity and social institutions; their engagement with digital media; psychosocial wellbeing; and broader inequalities in their career and housing pathways.

Dr B Hass Dellal AO Dr Bulent (Hass) Dellal AO is the Executive Director of the Australian Multicultural Foundation, an organisation established in 1989 to promote a strong commitment to Australia as one people drawn from many cultures. He has over 30 years of experience in multicultural affairs and serves on a number of committees and boards which include: Chair of the Board of Directors of SBS Television and Radio, Chair of the Centre for Multicultural Youth, Former Chair, currently Emeritus Patron of the Islamic Museum of Australia, Co-Chair of the Victoria Police Multi-faith Council, Member of the Australian Multicultural Council, a Fellow of the Williamson Leadership Program, and an Australia Day Ambassador. He was awarded the Medal of the Order of Australia

in the General Division for services to Multicultural Organisations, the Arts, and the Community on the Queen's Birthday Honours list 1997 and awarded the Centenary of Federation Medal in 2003. He was conferred with an Honorary Doctorate in Social Sciences by RMIT University on the 13 December 2006. In 2015, he was appointed an Officer of the Order of Australia for distinguished service to the multicultural community through leadership and advisory roles, to the advancement of inclusiveness and social harmony, to youth, and to the broadcast media.

Professor Zlatko Skrbiš As Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Education and Innovation) at Australian Catholic University, Professor Zlatko Skrbis provides leadership for the distinctive ACU academic experience by drawing on the university's mission and the enduring tradition of Catholic higher education. He is also responsible for planning and overseeing programs of innovation across the university in order to drive transformational change. Professor Skrbis is internationally recognised for his extensive experience in graduate research training and educational leadership. Professor Skrbis has a distinguished and current international research profile in sociology. He is the author of several books and has been widely published in a number of scholarly journals. He is also the Principal Chief Investigator on the multi-wave, multi-method research project titled 'Social Futures and Life Pathways of Young People in Queensland'.

Chloe Keel is a Doctoral Candidate and Research Assistant at the Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre, in addition to a Teaching Associate in the School of Social and Political Science, at Monash University. Her research focuses on ecology of fear of crime, risk of victimisation, and perceptions of place. She has an interest in spatial analysis, quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

Appendix 2:
Introductory Letter – New Participants

MONASH University
Arts

21 August 2017

Dear Resident,

In partnership with Deakin University, we are conducting a study about life in Melbourne communities. Our forthcoming survey 'Social Inclusion in Melbourne Communities' seeks the views of community residents regarding neighbourly relationships, interactions with organisations, and the challenges and problems that might exist in <label one>.

Your household was randomly selected from a list of valid residential addresses in <label one>to participate in our study. The strength of a random design is that every member of the community has an equal chance to be selected to participate in the research. This allows us to be more confident in our findings and helps to identify ways to increase social inclusion, cohesion and community safety. In a nutshell, your attitudes, perceptions and experiences are meaningful and critical to developing good policies and practices that benefit <label one>.

In about two weeks, we will send you a survey about life in <label one>. The survey contains nearly all close-ended questions, asking you to select the best response to each question. It should take about 20 minutes to complete. We will include a self-addressed, stamped envelope with the survey to make it easy for you to return to us. You can also complete the survey online at www.accsvic.com. Just enter this unique identifier <XXXXXX> and you can easily complete the survey on your desktop, tablet or phone. We also have on-line survey options for those who may be visually impaired or who feel more comfortable participating in a survey in a language other than English.

As a thank you for your participation, once we receive your completed survey, your household will go into a draw to win one of ten $100 Coles/Myer gift cards.

Please visit our website at www.accsvic.com where you can learn more about our project and project team, in addition to important information on voluntary participation and confidentiality. To keep up to date with the progress of our research, please follow us on twitter at Migration@Monash.

Should you have any questions or queries regarding this survey or the research project, please contact me directly on Arts-ACCSVIC@monash.edu or 0432 111 786.

We sincerely hope that you will complete the survey when it arrives as you will be making a valued contribution to this important research. We thank you in advance for your time and perspectives.

Kind regards,

Rebecca Wickes
Associate Professor, Criminology
Program Leader for the Population, Migration and Social Inclusion Focus Program

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

Appendix 3:
Survey Instrument (including example cover letter new participants)

Participant Address

Information Here

MONASH University
Arts

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

ADI
ALFRED DEAKIN INSTITUTE FOR
CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBALISATION

DEAKIN
UNIVERSITY

AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY CAPACITY STUDY:

Social Inclusion in Melbourne Communities

Monash University

Clayton Campus, VIC 3800

Arts-ACCSVIC@monash.edu

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

11 September 2017

Dear Resident,

Further to our recent letter, please find enclosed our survey that seeks to better understand residents' experiences and perspectives relating to everyday life in Melbourne communities. This survey focuses on relationships with fellow residents, interactions with neighbours and organisations, and the challenges and problems that might exist in 'SUBURB NAME'. It was designed by experienced researchers from the School of Social Sciences at Monash University, in collaboration with Deakin University, and is conducted **solely** for research purposes. Your participation is voluntary and your responses will be **completely confidential.** The results of our research will be used to improve the quality of social cohesion in Melbourne communities.

Your address was randomly selected from a list of valid residential addresses in 'SUBURB NAME' to participate in this research. The strength of this approach is that every member of the community has an equal chance to be selected to participate in the research, which allows us to be more confident in the findings from this study and the strategies that could increase social inclusion, cohesion and safety in 'SUBURB NAME'.

The survey contains nearly all close-ended questions, asking you to indicate the best response to each question. It should take about 20 minutes to complete. A self-addressed, stamped envelope is provided to make it easy for you to return your survey to us. You can also complete the survey online at www.accsvic.com – just enter this unique identifier XXXXXX and you can easily complete the survey on your desktop, tablet or phone. We have on-line options for visually impaired or non-English speaking participants. If you do not wish to participate in this survey, please return the survey to us in the reply paid envelope and we will not contact you further.

As a token of our appreciation, by completing the survey you will be entered into a prize draw to win one of ten $100 Coles/Myer gift cards.

Our full explanatory statement, which provides further details on the project and the project team in addition to important information on voluntary participation, confidentiality, data analysis/management and data storage, is located on our website www.accsvic.com. For more information on the Australian Community Capacity Study, please see accs.project.uq.edu.au/ You can also follow us on twitter at Migration@Monash.

Should you have any further questions or queries regarding this survey or the research project, please contact me directly by email at Arts-ACCSVIC@monash.edu

Thanks in advance for your time and sharing your perspectives.

Kind regards,

Rebecca Wickes
Associate Professor, Criminology
Program Leader for the Population, Migration and Social Inclusion Focus Program

POPULATION, MIGRATION AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY CAPACITY STUDY:

Social Inclusion in <Suburb Name>

SECTION ONE: SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU

1.1   Could you please confirm your suburb and post code?

1.2   What is your age?

1.3   What is your gender?   ☐ Male   ☐ Female   ☐ Other

1.4   In what country were you born?

        If not born in Australia, what year did you arrive in Australia?

1.5   What is your self-identified ancestry?
        e.g. Aboriginal, Irish, English, Chinese, Indian, etc.

SECTION TWO: LIFE IN 'SUBURB NAME'

2.1   Below are some statements about what people in your community might do if there was a problem.
        For each of the following statements, please choose the response that best represents your view.

	Very Likely	Likely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Unlikely	Very Unlikely	Don't Know
a) If a group of community children were skipping school and hanging around on a street corner, how likely is it that people in your community would do something about it?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) If some children were spray-painting graffiti on a local building, how likely is it that people in your community would do something about it?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) If there was a fight in front of your house and someone was being beaten or threatened, how likely is it that people in your community would break it up?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) If a child was showing disrespect to an adult, how likely is it that people in your community would scold that child?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.2   Below are statements about how you feel about your community. For each of the following statements, please choose the response that best represents your view.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a) I feel that I belong to this local community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) I would like to be living in this local community in 3 years' time.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) I am proud to live in this local community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) There are shops, cafes or services within walkable distance in my community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) There are places in my community where people might say hello and chat informally.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) I see and speak to other people when I am walking in my community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) I feel comfortable with the different languages and styles of dress around my community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) There are parks or spaces nearby that I can use for sport, leisure or social gatherings.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) I feel safe walking down the street after dark.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
j) People in this community are comfortable with the current levels of ethnic diversity here.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.3   Apart from the people that you live with, how many relatives and friends live in your community?

None ☐   1 or 2 ☐   3 or 4 ☐   5 or 6 ☐   7 or 8 ☐   9 or 10 ☐   More than 10 ☐

2.4   In your local community, would you say that you know:

None ☐   1 or 2 ☐   3 or 4 ☐   5 or 6 ☐   7 or 8 ☐   9 or 10 ☐   More than 10 ☐

2.5   Of the people you know in your local community, how many are Anglo Celtic-Saxon?

None of the people ☐   A few of them ☐   Many of them ☐   Most of the people ☐

2.6   How many of your friends are immigrants to Australia?

None of my friends ☐   A few of my friends ☐   Many of my friends ☐   Most of my friends ☐

2.7   How many of your friends have friends who are immigrants?

None of my friends ☐   A few of my friends ☐   Many of my friends ☐   Most of my friends ☐

2.8   What per centage (out of 100%) of your community is made up of immigrants now?   _____ %

What per centage of your community do you think will be made up of immigrants in:

5 years	0 ☐	10 ☐	20 ☐	30 ☐	40 ☐	50 ☐	60 ☐	70 ☐	80 ☐	90 ☐	100 ☐
10 years	0 ☐	10 ☐	20 ☐	30 ☐	40 ☐	50 ☐	60 ☐	70 ☐	80 ☐	90 ☐	100 ☐
20 years	0 ☐	10 ☐	20 ☐	30 ☐	40 ☐	50 ☐	60 ☐	70 ☐	80 ☐	90 ☐	100 ☐
50 years	0 ☐	10 ☐	20 ☐	30 ☐	40 ☐	50 ☐	60 ☐	70 ☐	80 ☐	90 ☐	100 ☐

2.9   Relative to how things are now in your community, do you think relations between Australians and immigrants will be better or worse in the next:

	Much better			Same			Much worse
5 years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10 years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20 years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50 years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2.10   How many times have you had contact with a neighbour in the previous week?

No contact ☐   Had contact once ☐   Had contact twice ☐   Had contact three times or more ☐

2.11   During the last 12 months, without being paid, have you:

a) Signed a petition?	Yes ☐	No ☐
b) Attended a public meeting?	Yes ☐	No ☐
c) Joined with people to resolve a local or community problem?	Yes ☐	No ☐

2.12   Below are questions about your experience with neighbourly behaviour in your community. Based on your experiences please indicate how often each of the following occurs.

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Don't know
a) How often do you and people in your community do favours for each other?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Visit in each other's homes or on the street?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) When a neighbour is not home, how often do you and other neighbours watch over their property?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) When new neighbours move to your street, how often do you introduce yourself to them?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) When new neighbours move to your street, how often do you introduce them to others who live on the same block?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

SECTION THREE: POLICING IN 'SUBURB NAME'

3.1 The following questions ask about your views of policing and police in your community. Based on your experiences or perceptions please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a) Overall, I think that police are doing a good job in my community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) I trust the police in my community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Police treat everyone fairly.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3.2 If the situation arose, would you be likely or unlikely to do the following:

	Very Likely	Likely	Neither Likely nor Unlikely	Unlikely	Very Unlikely	Don't Know
a) Call police to report a crime?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Help police find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Willingly assist police if asked?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3.3 In the last 12 months, how many times have you had personal contact with police (excluding any social or work contact)?

Never ☐   Once ☐   Twice ☐   Three times or more ☐

3.4 If you did have contact with police in the past 12 months, who made the most recent personal contact you have had with police?

You ☐   Police ☐

SECTION FOUR: IDENTITY AND BELONGING

We now want to ask you some questions about identity and belonging in Australia.

4.1 Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a) Within Australia, I see myself first and mainly as a member of my racial/ethnic group.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) I am proud to be a member of my racial/ethnic group.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Within Australia, I see myself first and mainly as a member of the Australian community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) Immigrants should maintain their own culture and also adapt to Australia's culture.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
e) I am proud to be an Australian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) Immigrants should give up their culture of origin and adopt Australia's culture.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) If I had children, I would be reluctant to send my children to a school where the majority of students are new migrants.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) I would be reluctant to move into a neighbourhood where many new migrants are living.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
i) In the next election, I will vote for parties that want to reduce further immigration.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
j) Immigrants who have been living in Australia for some time should easily be granted Australian citizenship.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

SECTION FIVE: COMMUNITY PROBLEMS IN 'SUBURB NAME'

We would like to know about problems in your community.

5.1 Based on your experiences or perceptions can you indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a) Some people in this community believe their culture justifies the use of violence to fix problems.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Some people in this community believe the only way many disadvantaged people can change their conditions is to use violence.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) Some people in this community believe the use of violence is justified depending on the context in which it is used.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5.2 Please tell me how much of a concern the following problems are in your community. Please tick only one response per item.

	No Problem	Some Problem	Big Problem	Don't Know
a) Drugs	☐	☐	☐	☐
b) Public drinking	☐	☐	☐	☐
c) People loitering or hanging out	☐	☐	☐	☐
d) People being harassed because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion	☐	☐	☐	☐
e) People being attacked because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion	☐	☐	☐	☐
f) Vandalism and/or graffiti	☐	☐	☐	☐
g) Traffic problems like speeding or hooning	☐	☐	☐	☐
h) Young people getting into trouble	☐	☐	☐	☐

	No Problem	Some Problem	Big Problem	Don't Know
i) Young people from new immigrant groups getting into trouble	☐	☐	☐	☐

SECTION SIX: COMMUNITY SERVICES IN 'SUBURB NAME'

6.1   We would like to know about local services that might be available in your community. Please indicate if any of the following programs or services exist in your community. Please tick only one response per item.

	Yes	No	Don't Know
a) Community newsletter or bulletin	☐	☐	☐
b) Neighbourhood/Community Houses	☐	☐	☐
c) Neighbourhood Watch	☐	☐	☐
d) Religious organisations	☐	☐	☐
e) Ethnic or nationality clubs	☐	☐	☐
f) Business or civic groups	☐	☐	☐
g) Neighbourhood Facebook group	☐	☐	☐

SECTION SEVEN: ATTITUDES AND CONNECTIONS

The following questions measure intergroup emotions. Please rate your feelings toward the following groups using the 'feeling thermometer scale' for each group. Please tick only one response.

7.1   This scale measures your WARMTH toward different groups in Australia.

	Least Warm			Neutral			Most Warm
a) White/European people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b) Indigenous Australians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c) Pacific Islanders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d) Asian people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e) Indian people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f) Arab/Middle Eastern people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g) African people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h) Muslim people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.2   Please rate your feelings of ANGER toward these same groups in Australia.

	No Anger			Neutral			Anger
a) White/European people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b) Indigenous Australians	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c) Pacific Islanders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d) Asian people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e) Indian people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	No Anger			Neutral			Anger
f) Arab/Middle Eastern people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g) African people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h) Muslim people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.3   How would you rate the quality of your experiences with the following groups? If you do not have any contact with these groups, please select 'No Contact.'

	No Contact	Extremely Negative			Neutral		Extremely Positive	
a) White/European people	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b) Indigenous Australians	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c) Pacific Islanders	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d) Asian people	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e) Indian people	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f) Arab/Middle Eastern people	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g) African people	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h) Muslim people	☐	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.4   To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
a) Immigrants should learn to conform to the rules and norms of Australian society as soon as possible after they arrive.	1	2	3	4	5
b) The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of most Australians.	1	2	3	4	5
c) The values and beliefs of immigrants regarding family issues and socialising children are basically quite similar to those of most Australians.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Immigrants get special treatment and privileges over ordinary Australians.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Immigrants are displacing Australian workers from their jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
f) I expect to be rejected by immigrants in my local community on the basis of my race and/or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
g) I do not think immigrants in my local community want to be friends with me, because of my race and/or ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION EIGHT: VICTIMISATION IN 'SUBURB NAME'

The next section asks about victimisation that may have occurred in your community, to yourself or to members of your household.

8.1   Has anyone ever used violence against YOU anywhere in your community?

	Yes	No
If yes, was this in the past 12 months?	☐	☐
Do you feel that this incident occurred because of your skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐
Was this incident reported to police?	☐	☐

8.2   While you have lived in this community, has anyone ever used violence against ANY OTHER MEMBER OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD anywhere in your community?

	Yes	No
If yes, was this in the past 12 months?	☐	☐
Do you feel that this incident occurred because of your skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐
Was this incident reported to police?	☐	☐

8.3   While you have lived in this community, have YOU had property damaged, including damage to a vehicle parked in the street, to the outside of your home, or to other personal property?

	Yes	No
If yes, was this in the past 12 months?	☐	☐
Do you feel that this incident occurred because of your skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐
Was this incident reported to police?	☐	☐

8.4   While you have lived in this community, has ANY OTHER MEMBER OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD had property damaged, including damage to a vehicle parked in the street, to the outside of your home, or to other personal property?

	Yes	No
If yes, was this in the past 12 months?	☐	☐
Do you feel that this incident occurred because of your skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐
Was this incident reported to police?	☐	☐

8.5   In your local community (i.e. your local suburb), have you ever:

	Yes	No	Don't Know
a) Been harassed because of your skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐	☐
Was the perpetrator from your own ethnic background?	☐	☐	☐

	Yes	No	Don't Know
b) Witnessed people being harassed because of their skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐	☐
Was the perpetrator from the same ethnic background to the victim?	☐	☐	☐
c) Witnessed people being attacked because of their skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐	☐
Was the perpetrator from the same ethnic background to the victim?	☐	☐	☐
d) Heard of others being harassed because of their skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐	☐
Were the perpetrators from the same ethnic background to the victim?	☐	☐	☐
e) Heard of others being attacked because of their skin colour, ethnicity, race or religion?	☐	☐	☐
Were the perpetrators from the same ethnic background to the victim?	☐	☐	☐

SECTION NINE: JUST A FEW MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU

9.1   Please select the response that best represents your employment status:

☐ Working full-time	☐ Working part-time	☐ Student
☐ On a sick or disability pension	☐ On an aged pension	☐ Other pension
☐ Retired/Self-Supporting	☐ Unemployed and seeking work	☐ Home duties
☐ Other (please specify):		

9.2   Do you usually speak English at home?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

9.3   Apart from English, what other language/s do you speak at home?

9.4   Do you identify yourself as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No

9.5   Please select the response that best describes your marital status?

☐ Never married	☐ Married	☐ Divorced
☐ Other 'live-in' relationship (de facto)	☐ Separated but not divorced	☐ Widowed

9.6   How many dependent children under the age of 18 live at your address?

9.7　What is your highest educational achievement?

☐ Post graduate qualifications	☐ A university or college degree	☐ A trade, certificate or diploma
☐ Completed senior high school	☐ Completed junior high school	☐ Completed primary school
☐ No schooling	☐　Other (please specify):	

9.8　What was the approximate household weekly income including pensions, income from investments and family allowances for the last 12 months before any tax (gross income) was taken out?

☐ Nil income	☐ $1,000–1,399	☐ $2,600–2,999
☐ $1–399	☐ $1,400–1,799	☐ $3,000 or more
☐ $400–699	☐ $1,800–2,199	☐ Would prefer not to answer
☐ $700–999	☐ $2,200–2,599	

9.9　Do you consider yourself religious?　　　　　　　　☐ Yes　　☐ No

9.10　If so, what is your religion? (Please leave blank if you do not wish to answer):

9.11　On a scale from 0 to 10, how important is religion in your life? The more important it is, the higher the number you answer.

Not at all important in my life							Most important thing in my life		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

9.12　If there was a Federal election held today, for which party would you probably vote?

☐ Labor Party	☐ Liberal Party	☐ National Party
☐ Greens	☐ One Nation	☐ Nick Xenophon Team
☐ Liberal National Party (LNP)	☐ Family First	☐ Independents
☐ Don't know	☐　Other (please specify):	

9.13　The place where you live MOST OFTEN is (please select one only):

☐ A place I own outright	☐ A place I am buying (e.g. making mortgage repayments)
☐ A place I am renting from a private landlord	☐ A place I am renting from a public housing authority
☐ Other (Please specify):	

9.14   How long have you lived at this address?

☐ Less than 6 months	☐ 5 years to less than 10 years
☐ 6 months to less than 12 months	☐ 10 years to less than 20 years
☐ 12 months to less than 2 years	☐ 20 years or more
☐ 2 years to less than 5 years	

9.15   We would like to use your street address to allow us to calculate distances between where people live and amenities like bus stops, shopping centres, and schools. Your address will be converted to a map reference, kept in a secure, password protected file, and will not be made available to anyone outside of the research team. Can we please confirm the street number and street name of your residence?

9.16   In the future, we would like to contact you again to further discuss community life in your suburb. If this is acceptable to you, could you please provide your full name, phone number and email address?

Thank you very much for your time and assistance!

If you have any queries or concerns regarding this research you can contact the lead investigator, Rebecca Wickes, on 0432 111 786

Or email us at Arts-ACCSVIC@monash.edu

For a full copy of our explanatory statement and confidentiality information, please visit www.accsvic.com

That concludes the survey.

Appendix 4:
Technical Memo – Weighting

In order to account for the differences between the general population of the Melbourne Greater Capital City Statistical Area (GCCSA) and our final sample of survey participants, weighting was calculated for four factors: age, gender, country of birth and education. As the sample size was not large, we decided to first calculate a weight that accounted for three factors: age, gender and country of birth.

To do this we:

1. Extracted from the ABS Census of Population and Housing 2016, for the Melbourne Greater Capital City Statistical Area (GCCSA), a crosstabulation of people by: age (18–30, 30–44, 45–64, 65 plus), gender (male, female) and country of birth (born in Australia, born overseas).

2. Using Microsoft Excel, per centages for each of the cells out of the overall total number of people were calculated (c38/f44, and so on).

3. We repeated the process outlined in steps 1 and 2 for the survey sample, again creating a cross tabulation of people by gender, age and country of birth expressed as a proportion of the total number of people in this sample.

4. Then the weight for each subgroup (e.g. male, under 30 years old, born in Australia) was calculated by dividing the per centage calculation from step 2, by the corresponding per centage from step 3 (e.g. g38/g48). We labelled these values 'Weights 1.'

5. Using Stata, we then imputed these weights into the survey sample for each case.

6. Then we applied these in an Excel crosstab for age (under 45, 45 and over) by gender (male, female) by education (less than a Bachelor's degree, Bachelor's degree of higher).

7. We then extracted a similar cross tabulation from the 2016 Census.

8. We repeated the procedures outlined in steps 2 and 4 to create a new weight that factored in age, gender and education compositional differences between the 2016 Census and the survey data. The resulting values are labelled 'Weights 2.'

9. We then multiplied Weights 1 and 2 to calculate 'Weights 3.' These weights, when applied to the sample data, will adjust for the differences in the composition by age, gender, country of birth and education.

Weights 3 can be used as probability weights (or pweights). Given the limitations of Stata, wherever we are required to use frequency weights (fweights) instead, we multiply the pweight by 10 and round it to the closest integer. Throughout our analyses it will be necessary to use both, although probability weighting is the preferred option.

Appendix 5:
Full ACCS Suburb List – Quotas and Response Rates

Suburb	Original Quota	Ongoing Participants	Top-Up	Actual Response*	No. of surveys below quota
Abbotsford	33	24	56	17	-16
Albanvale	33	22	59	11	-22
Albert Park	42	24	83	20	-22
Altona Meadows	42	29	74	25	-17
Ardeer	20	15	33	8	-12
Armadale	42	21	88	15	-27
Ashburton	42	20	90	20	-22
Ashwood	42	16	97	23	-19
Aspendale Gardens	33	17	86	26	-7
Balnarring	20	12	38	15	-5
Bangholme	20	14	35	8	-12
Baxter	20	13	37	8	-12
Beaconsfield	33	22	59	22	-11
Beaumaris	42	25	81	35	-7
Belgrave South	20	13	37	14	-6
Bellfield (Greater Melbourne)	20	13	37	11	-9
Bentleigh	33	18	67	16	-17
Beveridge	20	10	42	5	-15
Black Rock	33	24	56	15	-18
Blackburn	42	18	94	23	-19
Blackburn North	33	21	61	21	-12
Blackburn South	42	26	79	27	-15
Box Hill South	33	21	61	16	-17
Briar Hill	20	14	35	12	-8
Brighton East	42	29	74	23	-19
Brunswick East	33	19	65	20	-13
Burwood	42	25	81	23	-19
Capel Sound	42	29	74	12	-30
Carlton North	42	30	72	31	-11
Carrum	33	18	67	13	-20
Catani	20	12	38	5	-15
Caulfield North	42	24	83	16	-26
Caulfield South	33	17	68	13	-20

Suburb	Original Quota	Ongoing Participants	Top-Up	Actual Response*	No. of surveys below quota
Chelsea	33	21	61	26	-7
Chelsea Heights	33	19	65	16	-17
Chirnside Park	42	27	77	26	-16
Chum Creek	20	14	35	15	-5
Clifton Hill	33	24	56	23	-10
Coburg North	33	15	72	16	-17
Cockatoo	33	19	65	13	-20
Cottles Bridge	20	11	40	9	-11
Cranbourne East	33	22	59	16	-17
Cranbourne North	42	31	70	22	-20
Cranbourne West	33	20	63	8	-25
Crib Point	33	27	50	21	-12
Croydon Hills	33	20	63	24	-9
Croydon North	42	25	81	22	-20
Diamond Creek	42	29	74	29	-13
Diggers Rest	33	17	68	16	-17
Dingley Village	33	21	61	17	-16
Docklands	42	26	79	9	-33
Doveton	33	23	58	14	-19
Dromana	33	20	63	14	-19
Eden Park	20	12	38	9	-11
Edithvale	33	23	58	15	-18
Eltham	42	27	77	32	-10
Elwood	33	24	56	16	-17
Essendon	42	26	79	17	-25
Fairfield	33	19	65	12	-21
Ferny Creek	33	25	54	29	-4
Flinders	20	10	42	-	-
Footscray	42	28	76	18	-24
Forest Hill	42	18	94	25	-17
Frankston North	33	22	59	15	-18
Gardenvale	20	12	38	8	-12
Gembrook	20	13	37	11	-9
Gladysdale	20	16	31	8	-12
Healesville	33	18	67	23	-10
Heatherton	33	21	61	18	-15

Suburb	Original Quota	Ongoing Participants	Top-Up	Actual Response*	No. of surveys below quota
Heidelberg Heights	33	23	58	12	-21
Heidelberg West	42	38	58	20	-22
Hoddles Creek	20	17	29	10	-10
Ivanhoe	33	22	59	22	-11
Ivanhoe East	33	24	56	29	-4
Junction Village	20	16	31	5	-15
Kangaroo Ground	33	22	59	6	-27
Keilor East	42	23	85	20	-22
Keilor Lodge	33	23	57	19	-14
Kilsyth South	33	28	49	17	-16
Kingsbury	33	24	56	15	-18
Koo Wee Rup	33	21	61	11	-22
Langwarrin South	20	12	38	13	-7
Launching Place	33	22	59	20	-13
Lilydale	42	26	79	22	-20
Little River	20	16	31	10	-10
Lower Plenty	42	29	74	20	-22
Main Ridge	20	14	35	12	-8
Malvern	33	20	63	19	-14
Meadow Heights	33	25	54	11	-22
Melton South	33	23	58	9	-24
Melton West	42	23	85	19	-23
Middle Park	33	20	63	25	-8
Mitcham	42	26	79	28	-14
Mont Albert North	33	23	58	24	-9
Montrose	33	25	54	19	-14
Moonee Ponds	42	27	77	21	-21
Moorooduc	20	14	35	8	-12
Mount Cottrell	20	8	46	7	-13
Mount Eliza	42	25	81	27	-15
Mulgrave	42	28	76	23	-19
Newport	42	25	81	18	-24
Noble Park North	33	21	61	13	-20
North Melbourne	42	23	85	16	-26
North Warrandyte	20	12	38	17	-3
Oakleigh	42	27	77	17	-25

Suburb	Original Quota	Ongoing Participants	Top-Up	Actual Response*	No. of surveys below quota
Oakleigh East	33	15	72	20	-13
Oakleigh South	42	20	90	22	-20
Officer	33	23	58	15	-18
Ormond	42	27	77	24	-18
Park Orchards	20	13	37	16	-4
Pearcedale	33	20	63	15	-18
Plenty	20	13	37	10	-10
Point Cook	42	25	81	21	-21
Ringwood East	42	30	72	17	-25
Ripponlea	20	11	40	9	-11
Rockbank	33	23	58	6	-27
Rosebud	42	24	83	12	-30
Roxburgh Park	42	23	85	9	-33
Rye	42	23	85	22	-20
Safety Beach	33	19	65	16	-17
St Helena	33	23	58	21	-12
Seabrook	33	20	63	15	-18
Seaholme	20	13	37	13	-7
Seville East	20	15	33	6	-14
Shoreham	33	19	65	12	-21
Somerville	42	28	76	19	-23
South Morang	42	23	85	14	-28
South Yarra	42	26	79	13	-29
Southbank	42	33	67	6	-36
St Andrews	20	15	33	20	0
St Kilda West	20	12	38	13	-7
Sydenham	42	21	88	7	-35
Tarneit	33	20	63	15	-18
Tyabb	33	16	70	16	-17
Upwey	33	21	61	24	-9
Vermont	42	29	74	26	-16
Vermont South	42	19	92	30	-12
Viewbank	33	22	59	22	-11
Wandin East	20	8	46	9	-11
Wantirna	42	26	79	25	-17
Warrandyte	33	20	63	23	-10

Suburb	Original Quota	Ongoing Participants	Top-Up	Actual Response*	No. of surveys below quota
Warranwood	42	26	79	20	-22
Watsonia	42	30	72	27	-15
Wattle Glen	20	14	35	13	-7
West Footscray	42	33	67	16	-26
Westmeadows	33	21	61	13	-20
Williamstown	42	21	88	28	-14
Woori Yallock	33	20	63	19	-14
Wyndham Vale	42	27	77	14	-28
Yarra Junction	33	20	63	18	-15
Total	**5007**	**3145**	**9381**	**2536**	**-2471**

*22 further responses from unconfirmed suburbs.

Appendix 6:
Technical Memo – Variable Summaries

2017 Australian Community Capacity Survey	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Feelings of Warmth Variables					
Warmth toward: White/European people	2,505	5.65	1.26	1	7
Warmth toward: Indigenous Australians	2,495	4.91	1.38	1	7
Warmth toward: Pacific Islanders	2,492	4.99	1.29	1	7
Warmth toward: Asian people	2,498	4.98	1.28	1	7
Warmth toward: Indian people	2,493	4.66	1.42	1	7
Warmth toward: Arab/Middle Eastern people	2,495	4.27	1.57	1	7
Warmth toward: African people	2,498	4.28	1.65	1	7
Warmth toward: Muslim people	2,499	4.18	1.69	1	7
Warmth Toward Non-White/Europeans Scale includes warmth towards Indigenous, Pacific Islanders, Asians, Indians, Middle Eastern and African	2,502	4.68	1.18	1	7
Feelings of Anger Variables					
Anger toward: White/European people	2,489	2.18	1.53	1	7
Anger toward: Indigenous Australians	2,484	2.13	1.43	1	7
Anger toward: Pacific Islanders	2,477	2.17	1.46	1	7
Anger toward: Asian people	2,483	2.26	1.50	1	7
Anger toward: Indian people	2,476	2.36	1.57	1	7
Anger toward: Arab/Middle Eastern people	2,482	2.65	1.80	1	7
Anger toward: African people	2,482	2.74	1.87	1	7
Anger toward: Muslim people	2,473	2.78	1.92	1	7
Anger Toward Non-White/Europeans Scale includes anger towards Indigenous, Pacific Islanders, Asians, Indians, Middle Eastern and African	2,486	2.38	1.43	1	7
Attitudes Towards Diversity Variables					
Attitudes toward immigrants. Should learn to conform to rules and norms ASAP.	2,505	3.76	1.22	1	5
Attitudes toward immigrants. Values and beliefs regarding moral and religious	2,489	2.69	1.21	1	5
Attitudes toward immigrants. Values and beliefs regarding family issues are similar (recoded)	2,486	2.85	1.00	1	5
Attitudes toward immigrants. Get special treatment and privileges	2,484	2.72	1.36	1	5
Attitudes toward immigrants. Displacing Australian workers from their jobs	2,479	2.48	1.28	1	5

2017 Australian Community Capacity Survey	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Socially exclusivist attitudes, includes all attitude towards diversity items above	2,506	2.91	0.89	1	5
Actions Towards Diversity Variables					
Reluctant to send my children to a school where the majority of students are new migrants	2,515	2.59	1.19	1	5
Reluctant to move into a new neighbourhood where many new immigrants are living.	2,517	2.78	1.19	1	5
In the next election, I will vote for parties that want to reduce further immigration	2,514	2.61	1.30	1	5
Socially exclusivist actions, includes all action towards diversity items above	2,530	2.66	1.06	1	5
Neighbourhood Immigration Concentration Variable					
What per centage of your community do you think will be made up of immigrants in: 10 years	2,207	5.40	2.39	1	11
Future Neighbourhood Relations Variable					
Relative to how things are now in your community, do you think relations between immigrants will be in: 10 years	2,340	4.43	1.30	1	7
Realistic Threat Variable					
Experienced and/or witnessed harassment based on race/ethnicity	2,494	0.14	0.34	0	1
Contact Variables					
Has had no contact with white people	2,496	0.97	0.18	0	1
Has had no contact with Pacific Islanders	2,486	0.68	0.47	0	1
Has had no contact with Indigenous Australians	2,500	0.64	0.48	0	1
Has had no contact with Asian people	2,495	0.93	0.25	0	1
Has had no contact with Indian people	2,491	0.90	0.30	0	1
Has had no contact with Arab/Middle Eastern people	2,502	0.74	0.44	0	1
Has had no contact with African people	2,504	0.66	0.47	0	1
Has had no contact with Muslim people	2,501	0.73	0.45	0	1
No contact with non-White/Europeans scale, includes no contact with Indigenous, Pacific Islanders, Asians, Indians, Middle Eastern and African	2,509	0.95	0.21	0	1
Diversity of contacts: low diversity (contact with 0 to 2 groups); medium diversity (contact with 3 to 5 groups); and high diversity (contact with 6 to 8 groups)	2,419	2.62	0.63	1	3
Quality Contact Variables					
Quality of contact with white people	2,422	5.50	1.13	1	7
Quality of contact with Indigenous Australians	1,539	4.91	1.37	1	7
Quality of contact with Pacific Islanders	1,523	5.12	1.27	1	7

2017 Australian Community Capacity Survey	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Quality of contact with Asian people	2,309	5.05	1.22	1	7
Quality of contact with Indian people	2,190	4.77	1.35	1	7
Quality of contact with Arab/Middle Eastern people	1,730	4.51	1.49	1	7
Quality of contact with African people	1,531	4.53	1.60	1	7
Quality of contact with Muslim people	1,741	4.54	1.59	1	7
Quality of contact with non-White/Europeans, includes quality of contact with Indigenous, Pacific Islanders, Asians, Indians, Middle Eastern and African	1,626	4.74	1.16	1	7
Immigrants as friends: How many of your friends are immigrants to Australia?	2,518	2.13	0.74	1	4
Community Problems Variables					
Community problems. Drugs. How much of a concern?	2,042	2.05	0.70	1	3
Community problems. Public drinking. How much of a concern?	2,162	1.63	0.64	1	3
Community problems. People loitering/hanging out. How much of a concern?	2,199	1.61	0.67	1	3
Community problems. People being harassed because of skin colour, ethnic origin	1,843	1.39	0.62	1	3
Community problems. People being attacked because of skin colour, ethnic origin	1,844	1.30	0.58	1	3
Community problems. Vandalism and/or graffiti. How much of a concern?	2,393	2.03	0.60	1	3
Community problems. Traffic: speeding/hooning. How much of a concern?	2,392	2.08	0.67	1	3
Community problems. Young people into trouble. How much of a concern?	1,867	1.82	0.66	1	3
Community problems. Young people from new immigrant groups getting into trouble	2,265	1.61	0.72	1	3
Community Problem Scale includes community problem items above	2,106	1.74	0.48	1	3
Community Inclusion Variables					
Place attachment. I feel that I belong to this local community	2,520	3.78	0.87	1	5
Place attachment. I would like to be living here in three years' time	2,508	3.98	1.03	1	5
Place attachment. I am proud to live in this local community	2,500	4.02	0.86	1	5
Place attachment. There are places in my community where people might say hello	2,515	3.97	0.93	1	5
Place attachment. I feel comfortable with the different languages and styles of dress	2,512	4.08	0.87	1	5

2017 Australian Community Capacity Survey	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Place attachment. People in this community are comfortable with the current level	2,503	3.72	0.86	1	5
Community inclusion scale includes all community inclusion items above	2,524	3.90	0.62	1.43	5
Anticipated Rejection Variable					
Anticipated rejection: Expect to be rejected on the basis of my race and/or ethnicity	2,484	2.21	1.14	1	5
Individual Variables					
Weighted age brackets – 4 categories	2,446	2.42	1.06	1	4
Gender	2,524	0.50	0.50	0	1
Educational attainment	2,509	2.00	0.80	1	3
What was the approximate household weekly income including pensions	2,421	7.47	2.84	1	11
Current employment status	2,526	2.12	1.11	1	4
Language recode combined	2,225	0.23	0.42	0	1
Born in Australia or elsewhere	2,517	1.37	0.48	1	2
Do you consider yourself religious?	2,507	0.32	0.47	0	1
Political Preference	2,480	2.78	1.21	1	4
Current address: home ownership (residential recode) dichotomous	2,514	0.70	0.46	0	1

2010 Australian Community Capacity Survey	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
People in this community are willing to help their neighbours	4,937	4.03	0.80	1	5
This is a close-knit community	4,922	3.60	1.02	1	5
People in this community can be trusted	4,910	3.77	0.85	1	5
People in this community do not share the same values	4,884	3.12	1.05	1	5
Latent SCT Score	147	0.12	0.24	-0.56	0.73

2016 ABS Variables	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Latent SCT Score	147	0.12	0.24	-0.56	0.73
Blau Language Index 2016	148	0.02	0.05	8.23	0.51
Equivalised total household income (HIED)(Low) 2016	148	23.25	7.05	12.90	49.55

Crime Variables, Crime Statistics Agency, Victoria.	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Total Crime per 100,000 av 2015–2017	148	4772.02	3143.69	402.56	33194.65

Variables for Mapping Visualisation	Observations	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
ABS by State Suburb					
Country of Birth 2016: Vietnamese	545	1.13	2.88	0.00	25.84
Country of Birth 2016: New Zealand	545	1.51	1.16	0.00	19.44
Country of Birth 2016: Indian	545	2.08	3.01	0.00	20.13
Country of Birth 2016: Indian, between 18-25 years old	545	0.22	0.42	0.00	3.60
Country of Birth 2016: Chinese	545	2.09	3.74	0.00	27.59
Country of Birth 2016: Chinese, between 18-25 years old	545	0.50	1.78	0.00	17.83
Country of Birth 2016: English	545	3.57	2.14	0.00	20.00
Overseas born 2016	545	33.12	13.84	11.45	84.62
Language other than English 2016	545	21.23	18.79	0.00	76.02
Change in Language other than English 2006–2016	545	3.81	7.03	-44.30	37.68
ACMID map variables by Postcode					
Skilled visa holders	694	2.58	3.65	0.00	24.95
Humanitarian visa holders	694	0.38	1.22	0.00	12.21
SEIFA	694	1007.24	61.66	610.00	1174.00