Australian Community Attitudes to Immigration

1. Introduction

Immigration has recently become a significant political issue in Australian politics. The purpose of this research is to better understand how Australians view that immigration.

Immigration is significant in Australia because the country runs almost the largest immigration programme in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as a percentage of population. Approximately 27% of the population is foreign born, more than twice the OECD average of 13.43%, and second only to Switzerland (27.29%) disregarding the unrepresentative outlier of Luxembourg (42%).

While Australia is a nation of immigrants, historically there have been periods when immigration has been widely viewed with antagonism.

Sometimes this has been based on race. The White Australia Policy, which prevailed from federation through to 1973, limited non-European immigration by indirect means, particularly from China and the Pacific Islands. In the 1980s, Vietnamese refugees also attracted antagonism.

The current antagonism is based on religion (although there are undoubtedly some issues regarding race as well) and centres on the role of immigration from Islamic countries. This may mean it is an ideological issue, or that religious characteristics have been substituted for racial characteristics as the markers of resistance to the outsider.

While opposition to immigration based on race is now almost taboo in polite conversation, opposition to immigration based on environmental concerns is acceptable; there is even a zero population movement that contests elections as a political party.

There is also opposition to immigration based on the costs of providing the infrastructure required to support a large influx. Between 2000 and 2015 Australia’s population grew 19%, slightly less than Ireland (22%), but more than double the OECD average. Highest growth was Israel (26%) and Luxembourg (22%). This creates a significant demand for new dwellings, and for the roads and utilities to support them.

There is also strong support for immigration within the community, including specifically the immigrant communities themselves, as well as from industries that service population growth. As well there is a significant group that would like to see Australia substantially increase its refugee intake.

The purpose of this research is to qualitatively disentangle the arguments that the community accepts as valid from those used in elite debate, and to use this as a basis for further researching attitudes specifically to immigration from Islamic countries, because this is the current ‘hot-button’ immigration issue.
1.1 Methodology

1.1.1
The survey was conducted via an online poll a link for which was emailed to members of our regular Australian politics panel.

1.1.2
There was a total of 1349 usable responses, with a significant skew towards Greens and Labor. To deal with the skew a smaller group of 985 was selected to mirror the voting intention of the population as measured by the Newspoll of November 14–16, 2014. They were not balanced for any other variables.

1.1.3
This is a qualitative poll and this level of accuracy is far superior to other forms of qualitative research, which typically use face-to-face group interviews of small numbers of people (perhaps 12 or 13 in a group). However, because of its nature the results would need to be confirmed by quantitative surveys of a randomly sampled population.

1.1.4
The results were analysed using Microsoft Excel pivot tables and the Leximancer semantic software.

1.1.5
Verbatim comments have been reproduced with typographic errors (typos) etc., exactly as entered by the respondents. We could edit them, but then it would take away some of the nuance. We treat typos, use of upper and lower case, poor spacing and spelling, and so on as akin to accents. So removing them removes clues to the personality of the respondent.
1.2 Executive summary and analysis

Immigration has become one of the defining and most polarising issues of modern Australia. While immigration has always been a very contentious issue, at the moment it seems to be more contentious than usual.

Part of this is driven by federal government policy on unauthorised boat arrivals, which intersects with concern about immigration, particularly immigration from Islamic countries.

There is a definite left–right divide on the issue with a closer alignment between the Coalition and non-Greens minor parties than you normally see. While the Greens and Labor generally have a close relationship, on this issue their views are almost identical.

This makes the issue highly likely to play a part in the next federal election. The federal government needs to maximise the flow of preferences from non-Greens minor parties, or to attract first preferences away from them.

1.2.1 UNAUTHORISED ARRIVALS

At the same time, those who disapprove of the government’s unauthorised boat arrivals policy are reluctant to engage with immigration issues outside of that particular issue. For them, immigrants claiming asylum are the only ones who count in terms of immigration. That sidelines them from debate about the way the bulk of Australia’s immigration policy is structured, and issues such as immigration from Muslim countries. These voters are a small but significant group voting almost exclusively either Greens or Labor.

1.2.2 OPPOSED CONCEPTS OF CITIZENSHIP – ‘CAMPING’ VERSUS ‘TEAM AUSTRALIA’

Another divide is between concepts of citizenship. On the left, Australian citizenship is most likely seen as something that is conferred on someone by being geographically present in Australia and choosing to call themselves a citizen. Diversity is welcomed as a good in itself, without significant concerns for coherence of the whole, with the existing coherence in the system sometimes even seen as a bad.

On the other side, Australian citizenship is seen as being something that is largely fixed and which should only change around the margins. It is something to which migrants should assent to and assimilate with.

So on two central parts of the issue we essentially have each side of the debate talking past each other.

1.2.3 HUMANITARIAN VERSUS UTILITARIAN

Another difference is how immigration is perceived. For those worried about humanitarian issues, the immigrant is valuable in themselves. For the rest immigrants are largely seen in utilitarian terms and evaluated for what they bring to the community.

1.2.4 ISLAMIC IMMIGRANTS

We specifically asked about immigration from Islamic countries, or by people of Islamic faith, because currently this seems to be an issue. The purpose of these questions was to ‘ease out’ what respondents thought about these immigrants, and what they thought the characteristics of this immigration were.

Labor and Greens voters were largely neutral on the issue, but Liberal and non-Greens minor party voters were deeply concerned. The level of concern was such that many respondents volunteered immigration from Muslim countries as being an issue in the qualitative responses to other questions that they had to answer before we asked any specific questions about Islamic immigration.

1.2.5 AGNOSTICISM VERSUS CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS

Again there were different approaches across the spectrum. A few respondents thought asking a question involving religion was improper, while many thought it irrelevant. At the other end of the spectrum there was a ‘clash of civilisations’ view that being Islamic meant that values were too different to be compatible with mainstream Australian culture, and therefore this immigration was inappropriate.

From a ‘camping’ view of citizenship, incompatibility of culture is not even a relevant question to ask. This also tended to be the view of people who saw Australian culture as being secular first and foremost. Others saw religion as just being one of a set of characteristics that could cause incompatibility, but nevertheless expressed...
concern at a perceived lack of integration. Then there were others who were concerned at lack of integration, but believed that as with earlier waves of immigrants this would happen over time.

1.2.6 FURTHER RESEARCH
The areas that warrant further consideration from this research are:

- Do immigrants from Islamic countries have a radically different view of citizenship from the bulk of the Australian population?

- Do immigrants from Islamic countries want to integrate with mainstream culture, and if not, in what ways do they differ?

- How important is Islam as a factor in the identity of immigrants from Islamic countries?
2. Specific findings

1. Our respondents were strongly in favour of continued migration with 69% favouring current or higher levels of migration versus 27% who wanted less than current levels. (Table 1)

2. Our respondents are likely to be more strongly in favour of continued migration than the bulk of the population, as the 2013 Australian Electoral Study shows 59% favouring current levels or higher, and 42% favouring lower levels. This probably reflects the fact that our surveys miss working class Australians. (Table 1)

3. Liberal Party (40%) and non-Greens minor party voters (43%) are most likely to want a decrease from current levels of immigration, but are still, on balance, in favour of current or higher levels of immigration (17% and 9% respectively, netting supporters against opponents). (Table 1)

4. A strong reason given by those Greens and Labor voters who favoured increased migration was the perceived need to take more refugees. (3.3.2–3.3.4)

5. Supporters of current or higher rates of immigration also cite:
   a. the need for more skilled migrants (3.3.3, 3.3.11)
   b. economic benefits (3.3.10–3.3.12)
   c. the benefit of a larger scale in society for economic and defence reasons (3.3.13–3.3.15)
   d. greater diversity (3.3.16–3.3.17)

6. Opponents of a continuing increase in immigration also cite:
   a. environmental issues (3.3.7–3.3.9)
   b. the cost, particularly to social security (3.3.20–3.3.22)
   c. problems in supplying housing and infrastructure (3.3.18–3.3.19)
   d. nationalism (3.3.23–3.3.25)

7. Most humanitarians do not think there is anything good about our immigration system (4.1.2); however, there is a smaller group that thinks that by stopping the boats the government’s policy allows us to take refugees on a more orderly and deserving basis. (4.1.3)

8. When asked to name specific problems with the immigration system, ALP and Greens voters were most likely to nominate asylum seeker issues. (Figure 3)

9. The issue most likely to be mentioned as being a problem for those opposed to increasing immigration was a perceived failure of immigrants to assimilate. (Figure 3)

10. A significant number of respondents thought that multiculturalism was a problem with respect to our immigration policies. (5.8–5.8.1)

11. When asked to name problems with the immigration system, Muslim immigration was spontaneously raised by significant numbers of respondents (this came before specific questions in the questionnaire). (5.4–5.4.2)

12. Abuse of 457 visas was identified as an immigration problem, and juxtaposed with the idea that we should be training Australians to do these jobs rather than importing workers. (5.6–5.6.1)

13. Lack of infrastructure to cope with increased population was also identified as a problem with the system. (5.5–5.5.1)

14. When asked how our immigration system could be improved, the humanitarian side of the argument suggested an open-door policy. The utilitarian side of the argument suggested better targeting of source countries, concentrating on skills, and even asking people to assent to a set of prescribed values. (Figure 4)

15. 48% of respondents thought the increase in immigration from Muslim countries, or of people who were Muslim, was bad, while 8% thought it good, and 42% neither good nor bad. (Table 2)

16. On balance, Liberal and non-Greens minor party voters thought immigration from Muslim countries, or of people who were Muslim, was bad, while ALP and Greens voters thought it was good. (Table 2)

17. Our percentages are not necessarily representative of the wider community with the same question in a poll commissioned by the Q Society finding 40.8% thought it was good. This is a significant discrepancy that we cannot explain. (Table 2)
18. Opposition to Muslim immigration is driven by views that:
   a. Islam is a culture that is antagonistic to western culture (7.4–7.4.2)
   b. immigrants do not (and possibly will not) integrate (7.6–7.6.2)
   c. Islamic immigrants come from cultures (distinct from religion) that are radically different from western culture (7.8–7.8.2)
   d. people holding religious views of any sort are not desirable migrants. (7.7–7.7.4)

19. Support for Muslim immigration is driven by views that:
   a. diversity is good (7.9–7.9.2)
   b. assimilation always occurs, it just takes time (7.11–7.11.2)
   c. an immigrant's religion is no business of the government (7.12–7.12.2)
   d. the problem is a result of political manipulation (7.10–7.10.2)
   e. Islam is a religion of peace and so cannot be part of the problem (7.14–7.14.2)
   f. if there is a problem it is justified on the part of the immigrant, because their problems are a result of western aggression. (7.15–7.15.2)
3. Should there be an increase in the number of immigrants?

3.1 WE ASKED RESPONDENTS ‘DO YOU THINK THE NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ALLOWED INTO AUSTRALIA SHOULD BE REDUCED OR INCREASED?’

3.1.1 This question was deliberately chosen to mirror question F7 in the Australian Electoral Study, a survey that is carried out in conjunction with each federal election. Its results are much more quantitatively rigorous than ours, and provide a benchmark from which the representativeness of the views of our sample can be gauged.

3.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

3.2.2 Table 1 compares the quantitative results of the AES study to our results. It is clear in both surveys that the majority of Australians favour a significant increase in Australia’s immigration. As annual immigration for 2014–2015 is anticipated to be 190,000 https://www.immi.gov.au/News/Pages/migration-programme-2014-15.aspx (accessed May 18, 2015), even those who do not favour either an increase or a decrease, are in favour of substantial immigration. Even some of those who want a decrease may also favour immigration at substantial levels.

3.2.3 Our sample is strongly pro-immigration with 69% favouring current levels or higher, and only 27% wanting a decrease in the current rate.

3.2.4 The Electoral Study result is still favourable to immigration at current levels or higher, but with only 59% favouring current levels or higher versus 42% favouring lower than current levels. The difference between ALP voters in the AES sample and in our sample accounts for much of this divergence. In our survey 84% of Labor voters favour current or higher levels, while only 13% favour lower levels. In the AES sample the figures were 64% and 36% respectively. This reflects the fact that we miss out on many blue-collar, working-class voters.

3.2.5 This compares to what we know of the broad population from other surveys. The AES survey shows that last year only 24% favoured an increase in immigration, while 41% favoured a decrease; 35% favoured no change. So 59% accept current, or higher, immigration rates, a 10 percentage point difference with us, while 41% oppose, a 14 percentage point difference.

3.2.6 However, support is not uniformly strong across the sample with substantial minorities of Liberal and non-Greens minor party voters favouring a decrease in the number allowed into Australia.
3.2.7
This is different to Labor and Greens voters where a substantial majority favours increasing the number allowed into Australia — which added to those favouring maintaining the intake at current levels — gives a massive preference towards immigration.

3.3 QUALITATIVE

3.3.1
Immigration means different things to different people and this provides a prism through which they judge the issue.

3.3.2 REFUGEES

3.3.3
One of the factors that leads to an increased willingness on the left to increase the refugee intake is humanitarianism and concern for the plight of refugees. In fact, in a number of instances respondents appear to want the increase to be entirely taken-up with refugees to the exclusion of skilled and business migrants and family reunions.

3.3.4
The refugee issue also affects what comes to mind when people talk about immigration. They often seem unaware that Australia is running a substantial non-refugee immigration program amounting to hundreds of thousands each year.

3.3.5 NOT PULLING OUR WEIGHT

3.3.6
Many of those favouring an increase in immigration think that Australia takes far fewer immigrants than most other countries. (This is objectively wrong as can be seen in a comparison of net migration for all countries compiled in the CIA Factbook and available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2112rank.html).

3.3.7 ENVIRONMENT

3.3.8
What resistance there is to increased immigration on the Green–Left spectrum is primarily driven by concerns about the ‘environment’. It is very much a minority concern with only 13 mentions, or a response rate of 1.3%. Variations of sustainability are also used, but it is often unclear as to whether this refers to the environment. This occurs in 3.3% of responses.

3.3.9
The environment doesn’t necessarily conflict with a concern for refugees, and is not inconsistent with a position that advocates less immigration and more humanitarian immigration.

3.3.10 ECONOMIC NECESSITY

3.3.11
Derivatives of the word ‘economy’ feature in 10% of responses. This is the most significant driver of support for immigration and is mostly concerned with the skilled migration program. It also features in some of the arguments used by humanitarians who say that we are a rich country and can afford more immigrants.

3.3.12
However, there are also some concerns that economic growth based on migration is not real and that per capita living standards have ‘flat-lined’.

3.3.13 SCALE

3.3.14
This theme is both economic and nationalistic. Economically, respondents think that we need to scale up to be a successful economy. And in world terms other respondents think that without scale we will underperform as an international citizen.

3.3.15
‘We need economies of scale to support the infrastructure expenses we need – rail, irrigation, air services, streetscapes etc. Without immigration and 2-way movement we will atrophy and remain the insular and isolated society we have mostly been. Development and diversity.’
M, 55–64, Independent

3.3.16 DIVERSITY

3.3.17
Another argument in favour of increased immigration is that more diversity is a good in itself. There is an underlying belief that a culture which is uniform is bad, and that the reverse is good: a belief in ‘camping Australia’ rather than in ‘team Australia’.

3.3.18 STRESS
3.3.19 Those who are opposed to immigration are most likely to cite stress on infrastructure, housing, or the employment market.

3.3.20 COST

3.3.21 Another point of view aligned with those opposed to immigration is that immigrants come here to take advantage of our social security system and are an overall, and unacceptable, cost to the country.

3.3.22 Having worked as a Centrelink Employee for 15 years in the past, and being a customer service officer who assessed claims for refugees and immigrants, my experience has let me to observe that the immigrants that are pouring into Australia are doing so because of the free health care and the supported welfare system along with the subsidised housing. As you can see, the immigrants who were rich in their own country are buying up our businesses because of the incentives this government gives to the immigrants to purchase into Australia, but the government is not providing the opportunity for our own children’s future in owning a piece of real estate / property in their own country!!! F, 45–54, PUP

3.3.23 NATIONALISM

3.3.24 This is the reverse of the diversity theme, and would be seen by some as xenophobia. It stems from the idea that as a nation we are already whole, and that immigrants are something added to the nation that shouldn’t be allowed to change it. It also contains a strong sense of prioritising current inhabitants over new immigrants.

3.3.25 …we need to start giving back the Australian jobs, study options and land back to Australians and we cant do that if our country is being flooded with immigrants looking for work and buying up our land F, 55–64, CD

3.4 LEXIMANCER

3.4.2 The Leximancer map shows the political polarisation on the issue with the ALP and the Greens at the top of the map converging on almost the same spot, and the Liberal Party and the other minor parties at the bottom also converging. It identifies ‘refugees’ as a major driver of the idea that immigration should increase. Concern about infrastructure, resources and housing are drivers of opposition to current high levels.

3.4.3 The economy is a central concern between the two extremes. Nation and country are also central.

3.4.4 VERBATIMS

3.4.5 We are driving fake economic development and growth by a lazy increase in migration numbers without devoting commensurate effort to provide the essential infrastructure needed to handle the increased population. Really high rates of population growth appear to show we have continued economic growth while simple per capita analyses show we are flat lining at best and simultaneously losing quality of life through overcrowding and insane increases in house prices M, 55–64, ALP

3.4.6 Overall I am not a big fan of dramatic population growth in Australia, on environmental grounds. I strongly advocate more humane and welcoming refugee policy for boat people, in parallel with more activist foreign policy, challenging brutal regimes, encouraging international cooperation and regional human rights improvements, and an increase in foreign aid. M, 45, 54, Grn

3.4.7 Having worked as a Centrelink Employee for 15 years in the past, and being a customer service officer who assessed claims for refugees and immigrants, my experience has let me to observe that the immigrants that are pouring into Australia are doing so because of the free health care and the supported welfare system along with the subsidised housing. As you can see, the immigrants who were rich in their own country are buying up our businesses because of the incentives this government gives to the immigrants to purchase into Australia, but the government is not providing the opportunity for our own children’s future in owning a piece of real estate / property in their own country!!! F, 45–54, PUP
3.4.8
We need a critical mass of population for our economy to work effectively and future taxpayers will not be there in sufficient numbers if immigration is not increased in the short to medium term. But we have to take environmental factors in to account also. M, 35–44, ALP

3.4.9
We need to grow and develop as a nation and we need new ideas, new settlers from many different cultures to work collectively and cohesively to build a 21st century country with progressive ideas gathered from all over the world from people who want to come and live here. M, 55–64, ALP

3.4.10
Too large an increase will put too much pressure on infrastructure, especially as most immigrants seem to want to live in Sydney or Melbourne. Unless jobs can be moved to the Regions – and people as well, the cities will become even more unmanageable (extreme house prices, transport problems) F, 65–74, ALP

3.4.11
We need to start giving back the Australian jobs, study options and land back to Australians and we cant do that if our country is being flooded with immigrants looking for work and buying up our land F, 55–64, CD
3.4.12
Whilst there is an enormous problem in the world with people moving around, they would all come to Australia if they could. Our welfare is a great enticement, we are far, far too generous to the boat people who are in the main country shoppers. F; 65–74, LP

3.4.13
I am happy to have the level of immigration as at present without the illegal immigrants involvement. I support the LNP in current actions of immigration but if immigrants come here they have to obey our Laws and customs and not use Australia as a base for launching terrorist attacks overseas. M; 65–74, Ind
4. What is good about our immigration system?

4.1 WE ASKED CORRESPONDENTS, ‘THINKING ABOUT AUSTRALIA’S CURRENT IMMIGRATION PROGRAM, IN A SHORT PARAGRAPH PLEASE SAY WHAT YOU THINK IS GOOD ABOUT IT.’

4.1.1 Two views predominate: the utilitarian and the humanitarian. Migrants are either valued for what they bring to us, or for how they get to be migrants.

4.1.2 Many of the respondents conflate immigration with the refugee issue; their comments do not add to the responses to this question, because they fail to nominate anything that is good about immigration. In fact, the government’s illegal entrant policies often lead these people to reject the immigration program as well. It is as though with one part of it being tainted in their minds, the rest is tainted as well.

4.1.3 However, there is also a strong humanitarian element in the comments made by those who agree with the government’s policy on refugees. They frequently say that now the boats have stopped coming it is possible for the government to target the immigration program at those who are genuine refugees.

4.1.4 The current immigration program is starting to head in the right direction with the stopping of the boat arrivals. I consider we are now going to get REAL genuine asylum seeker rather that opportunistic free loaders M, 55–64, LP

4.1.5 Targeting is also a strong theme with many respondents commending the scheme because they think it does target people they think are genuine refugees, or people that Australia needs for growth, or to replace skill shortages or expand the labour market.

4.1.6 The issue of people allegedly rorting the system by the use of S457 visas also comes up not infrequently. There is surprisingly little concern about skilled migrants taking jobs that Australians currently fill, but there is some.

4.1.7 Treatment of boat people breaches international refugee protocols; make Australia unpopular on the international stage. Also too many temporary visas for skilled workers instead of educating our own. M, 55–64, Grn

4.2 DIVERSITY

4.2.1 This is more than just an argument about multiculturalism and all cultures being equal. There is also a utilitarian argument that because of our geographical position we need a diverse nation, therefore immigration is a tool of defence and trade as well as something that broadens the collective mind.

4.2.2 Adds a level of diversity that we need as a country and in particular our engagement with the Asia/Pacific Region. M, 55–64, ALP

4.2.3 So many things are good, sharing of culture, food, skills, experiences through art, music, cinema. Majority of immigrants are excellent citizens. F, 65–74, ALP

4.3 SIZE OF MIGRANT INTAKE

4.3.1 There was limited awareness of the size of Australia’s migrant intake, but it was not very widespread.

4.3.2 Australia does accept almost 200,000 immigrants.’ M, 55–64, Ind

4.4 SKILLED MIGRATION

4.4.1 Those who addressed immigration rather than refugee issues were very likely to ‘fasten onto’ the benefits to the economy that migrants bring. This was a very broadly accepted position. There was also an underlying assumption that skilled migrants were more likely to fit in.

4.4.2 I like the focus on skilled migration. I also like that Australia has a generous policy in terms of its refugee intake. It is a large portion of the whole intake of migrants. M, 35–44, LP

4.4.3 It is not effectively responsive to the emerging issue of global population movement, but it does focus on skills, which is good. M, 65–74, LP
4.4.4
We are an ‘importing’ nation whether that be capital or labour and we need migration to maintain the standards of living we have become accustomed to. M, 45–54, ALP

4.5 TOTAL REJECTION BECAUSE OF ILLEGAL ENTRANT POLICIES

4.5.1
As noted above, the law and practice surrounding illegal entry, colours the issue of immigration to the point where many respondents effectively refused to engage.

4.5.2
I think it’s inhumane and absolutely disgusting. I’m ashamed of the direction in which this country is headed. F, 65–74, Grn

4.6 INCREASES WORKFORCE

4.6.1
There was also an awareness that Australia faces demographic problems in that if nothing changes the country will be relying on a smaller and smaller proportion of the population for its income.

4.6.2
It increases the proportion of the population willing to work. M, 65–74, LP

4.7 HUMANITARIAN

4.7.1
Despite the anger engendered by the illegal entrant issue, there is a recognition among some that the immigration programme does have some humanitarian aspects, and that these, as far as they went, were a good thing.

4.7.2
Our humanitarian program is good i.e. the numbers of refugees we allow in relative to other countries although it could still be increased. Our asylum seeker response is a disgrace. F, 55–64, ALP

4.7.3
We have a good balance of economic and humanitarian immigrants. M, 45–54, ALP

4.8 POPULATION GROWTH GOOD

4.8.1
Allied to the idea that we need more workers is the idea that population growth in itself is good. While economics is one area that benefits, other areas are also seen as beneficiaries.

4.8.2
Population growth in Aus has been in decline until recently so immigration helps boost the number of people contributing to many areas of life here, not just economically. There are processes for a variety of immigration to take place from many countries. F, 55–64, ALP

4.9 FAMILY REUNIONS

4.9.1
The ability for families in Australia to bring over other family members was seen by some as a benefit.

4.9.2
generally controls the population numbers and provides some opportunity for families to be reunited. M, 65–75, LP

4.10 NON-DISCRIMINATORY

4.10.1
There was a reasonably common belief that our refugee intake is non-discriminatory. Australians, by and large, do not see themselves as practising racism.

4.10.2
It doesn’t discriminate on race, ethnicity, religion or culture, rather on marketable skills to fill the void left due to lack of training and education in those fields. M, 55–64, ALP

4.10.3
It is well targeted and non-discriminatory M, 55–64, ALP

4.11 CONTROLLED

4.11.1
In contrast to the open-arms position of those sympathetic to illegal entrants was a more popular view, which was that it is important that the immigration programme is highly controlled and targeted.
4.11.2
Controlled program M, 55–64, LP

4.11.3
Fair and equitable M, 25–34, ALP

4.12 ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION STOPPED

4.12.1
Also in distinction to the humanitarian position were those who saw the stopping of the boats as being a positive for the immigration programme.

4.12.2
Illegal immigrants has been stopped the government just keep the policies you have. F, 65–74, LP

4.12.3
Australia is in control of its own borders M, 65–74, CD

4.13 GIVES IMMIGRANTS OPPORTUNITIES

4.13.1
Occasionally respondents thought of the benefits for new immigrants.

4.13.2
It provides refugees with a new-start opportunity. M, 65–74, CD

4.14 LEXIMANCER

4.14.1
The Leximancer map doesn’t pick up all of these themes, but it does show how the major themes are distributed between the various voting intentions, and the centrality of illegal immigration to both sides of the argument. These are also present in the verbatims after the map, which are selected by Leximancer as being representative.

Figure 2: ‘Thinking about Australia’s current immigration program, in a short paragraph please say what you think is good about it.’

4.15 VERBATIMS

4.15.1
Treatment of boat people breaches international refugee protocols; make Australia unpopular on the international stage. Also too many temporary visas for skilled workers instead of educating our own. M, 45–54, ALP

4.15.2
The current immigration program is starting to head in the right direction with the stopping of the boat arrivals. I consider we are now going to get REAL genuine asylum seeker rather that opportunistic free loaders F, 65–74, LP

4.15.3
The refugee program should be expanded. More attention should be paid to what can be done for those from Pacific Island Forum countries with regard to seasonal work and the like and what can be done in the near future for those who will become climate change refugees when their islands become unliveable. F, 55–64, ALP

4.15.4
immigration made this nation, and continues to strengthen it through understanding, listening and friendship. when i have 3 neighbours, I who is argentinian (skilled migrant), nepalese (family reunion migrant) and sudanese (refugee) it shows how variety has made modern australia what it is. M, 35–44, ALP

4.15.5
Australia has been built on migration and succeeded in integrating people from every nation on earth into a harmonious people. We have benefited from the skills that many immigrants bring M, 75+, LP

4.15.6
Border protection is under control. Australia seeking skilled migrants to fill areas of skills shortages and is willing to take an increase in genuine refugees from Christian parts of the Middle East F, 75+, LP

4.15.7
Hopefully we can bring in genuine refugees from some of the existing camps now the boats have stopped and these people will assimilate and become part of our nation. F, 65–74, LP

4.15.8
Again, I do not think that I can give an informed comment in this area, however I do believe that with our current refugee processing showing 90% of refugees seeking asylum are eligible for refugee status, then I think we should be processing these poor people faster and bringing them into our community. F, 45–54, ALP
4.15.9
Population growth in Aus has been in decline until recently so immigration helps boost the number of people contributing to many areas of life here, not just economically. There are processes for a variety of immigration to take place from many countries. F, 55–64, ALP

4.15.10
we always need people who will introduce new ideas and innovation. also, young immigrants with a working life ahead of them would be good for the economy.
M, 65–74, ALP

4.15.11
As stated earlier, and relating to P 12 as well, the immigration intake must be carefully monitored to prevent a mass number of people depending on the social welfare system through unemployment etc. M, 75+, LP
5. What problems are there with our immigration system?

5.1 WE ASKED RESPONDENTS: ‘THINKING ABOUT AUSTRALIA'S CURRENT IMMIGRATION PROGRAM, IN A SHORT PARAGRAPH PLEASE TELL US WHAT PROBLEMS YOU BELIEVE IT TO HAVE.’

5.1.1 While those concerned about asylum seeker policy tended to repeat what they had already said, the other side moved on to a number of themes. These included a perceived failure of new migrants to integrate, employment implications, specific concerns about Islamic immigration, and opposition to multiculturalism.

5.1.2 A small minority are also concerned that there is not enough infrastructure to cope with the increase in population.

5.1.3 Some significant themes are:

5.2 ASYLUM SEEKERS ARE POORLY TREATED

5.2.1 I think we treat asylum seekers who have arrived by boats like criminals we put too much emphasis on the levels of wealth of prospective immigrants not their willingness to live in outlaying areas etc’d F, 65–74, ALP

5.2.2 It breaches international law, ignores the needs of genuinely displaced people, operates in a cruel and inhumane way and, in any event, is ridiculously wasteful of financial and human resources. F, 65–74, ALP

5.2.3 Our treatment of the boat people is abhorrent. Many of them would make great citizens. Give them a chance. Australia would not suffer. (I have noticed on talk back programs that most of the people vigorously opposing the boat people speak with an accent.) M, 65–74, LP

5.3 EMPLOYMENT

5.3.1 See above. I’m not happy about bringing people into do jobs that can be done by unemployed Australians. And there is not enough supervision of the employers of these temporary immigrants—too many cases where the are not paid proper wages or have poor c M, 65–74, ALP

5.4 MUSLIM IMMIGRATION

5.4.1 The problems with groups such as the Muslims who seem to have their own agenda and want to change our terrific culture. It is crazy as they come here because we are so prosperous and then they try to change it to their own which has never worked for them F, 65–74, LP

5.4.2 ‘Too many unskilled people from the Muslim world have been brought in. This is a personal security and national security problem. M, 45–54, LP

5.5 INFRASTRUCTURE

5.5.1 INSUFFICIENT PROVISION FOR PLANNING, INFRASTRUCTURE ETC M, 45–54, Ind

5.6 457 VISAS

5.6.1 The immigration program just seems to flood the country with sham 457 visas, sham ‘student’ visas and sham backpacker visas. Apart from this we have a flood of High rolling real estate investors getting through the back door. There is a trickle of humanitarian M, 65–74, ALP

5.7 GHETTOS

5.7.1 Immigrants tend to cluster themselves in the major cities. Regional towns cry out for skilled and professionals to enjoy the great lifestyle that can be provided. Governments do not understand the simple things they can do to encourage broader settlement F, 65–74, LP

5.7.2 Danger of ghetto-isation as we bring in whole ethnic/religious groups and then dump them with no back up support to help them assimilate, educate or innovate new ideas in their new homeland. M, 45–54, ALP

5.7.3 I am concerned that large parts of the outer suburbs in melbourne and sydney are becoming ethnic ghettos – high crime, high unemployment & no english. M, 35–34, LP
5.8 MULTICULTURALISM

5.8.1
I am opposed to multiculturalism. This is causing many problems for the Australian way of life. We can no longer celebrate Christmas and Easter in our schools yet its ok to dress up as a murderer for Halloween. Political correctness is stifling us. Islam a F, 55–64, CD

5.9 LEXIMANCER

Figure 3: 'Thinking about Australia’s current immigration program, in a short paragraph please tell us what problems you believe it to have.'

5.9.1
Leximancer makes it very clear how the concerns divide.

5.9.2
At the top are those favouring increased migration and the key concepts are words like ‘asylum’, ‘seekers’, human’, ‘detention’, ‘refugees’ and ‘boats’. All these concepts are strongly correlated with an intention to vote Greens or Labor.

5.9.3
At the bottom, the concerns for Liberal and non-Greens minor parties are to do with ‘assimilate’, ‘Muslims’, ‘welfare’, ‘society’, ‘culture’, and ‘work’.

5.9.4
It might look different if asylum seeker issues were less of a diversion, because we lack effective comments from the Green left about most of the immigration program.
5.9.5
The most significant concept in the space between the two polarised positions is 'visas', which relates to the Section 457 visas. The other shared concepts are words that are more or less necessary to discuss immigration policy.

5.10 VERBATIMS

5.10.1
While the policy of "turning back the boats" has virtually eliminated the trade in inappropriate arrivals by boat the problem of international population shift has not been addressed. Denying all people who arrive inappropriately by boat the opportunity to resettle in Australia represents a failure on the part of government agencies to screen 'refugees' in a humanitarian manner. M, 65–74, LP

5.10.2
Too many people become Australian citizens without actually living full-time in Australia! We have managed to create an immigration system which makes it hard for genuine immigrants but which is subject to wanton abuse by "passport collectors" who grab our citizenship then disappear to a tax haven for the rest of their working life. M, 25–34, ALP

5.10.3
'We have allowed the imbalance of Muslims into this country some of them refuse to assimilate within society, some also choose to not learn to speak English which makes general communication more difficult and the ones coming over are not educated therefore find it difficult to find work and hence join our welfare system which we can longer afford. I'm also concerned for the next generational Muslims, will they turn on us?' F, 45–54, LP

5.10.4
'Asylum seekers should be processed more speedily and those who are successful be allowed to live in the community to eventually become citizens after a determined set amount of time to become people who appreciate a chance for a better future as did immigrants after the 2nd world war & Vietnam.' F, 65–74, ALP

5.10.5
Not only do many of the current immigrants just live on welfare, they are not loyal to Australia. It beats me why people are considered refugees, get permanent citizenship & welfare including many thousands of dollars for each baby born, & then return to their country of origin every year. F, 65–74, LP

5.10.6
Taking in thousands of uneducated people with very different cultures will change the Australian lifestyle and in some cases cause conflict and lower standards of living for all Australians. It is important to determine which refugees come into Australia, but the way current refugees are being detained is inhuman. F, 65–74, Grn

5.10.7
I think taking mainly rich people just increases the problems we already have with materialism and over-consumption. Also with average age 33, current migrants are going to leave the tax system and hit the welfare system before long. F, 65–74, ALP

5.10.8
Australia does not promote a multiracial monocultural society (when in Australia do as the Australians do), but rather prefers promoting a multicultural society (when in Australia, no need to do as Australians do, but bring to Australia the ways of your mother country) M, 55–64, LP

5.10.9
'There seems to have been an influx of people who have chosen to come to this country but are not willing to assimilate, they feel that the rest of Australia must bend to their culture & unfortunately the powers that be are unable to communicate to these people that if they find our way of life not to their liking they should go where they can find it else were M, 65–74, ALP

5.10.10
'There is a risk that the number of refugees coming to Australia will skew the overall numbers allowing fewer regular arrivals to acquire entry. Regular arrivals are more likely to adapt to the Australian way of life F, 65–74, LP
5.10.11
Most people who remain in Australia arrive by air. We are spending enormous amounts of time stopping boats that would be better used resourcing the policing of visa requirements M, 55–64, ALP

5.10.12
Too many people are being brought is who do not wish to adjust to our way of life, the Greeks, Italians and Vietnamese all became good citizens whilst retaining their cultural diversity, the current crop want Australia to change for them, and my parents were immigrants so I do know what I am taling about. M, 35–44, Other

5.10.13
Immigrants need to fit in with Australian culture, laws and values. In the past, most have done this – but Muslim immigrants and people from war-torn areas sometimes bring their inter-racial and religious hatreds with them, with disastrous results. M, 55–64, FF

5.10.14
Appalling treatment of refugees including children in offshore camps, immigration rorts re student entry and under 457 visa category to supply emloers with cheap labor, easy7 entry of skilled migrants at a time of high unemployment and closure of TAFES F, 55–64, ALP

5.10.15
A world problem that Australian government is not handling well. Should be quicker assessment of refugees & only minimum time for checks not more than 3 months in detention F, 75+, ALP

5.10.16
Immigrants from non-western, non christian countries. Lack of English language skills. Refusal to adapt to our way of life, refuse to respect our culture and traditions, want to impose their way of life on us and live as if they never left their own country, over populationg out country and bring with them their intolerance, bigotries, hatreds and corruption. M, 45–54, LP

5.10.17
Unfortunately Labor’s sheer brazen denial of the problems their policies caused have left us with a lot of contention and too many people in detention. The Howard government made it a non-issue so we could focus on the positives of an orderly migration program. M, 25–34, NP

5.10.18
Reduce all immigration on professional visas and 457 Visas. most Australians presently do not have permanent work most people are employed as a casuals at the present time. F, 55–64, ALP

5.10.19
Problem is a lot of migrants are economic refugees, wanting to take advantage of Australian opportunities without being willing or able to shed the beliefs and culture that lead to poverty or warfare in the countries they want to leave. M, 45–54, LP

5.10.20
I think we need younger people – particularly many more asylum seekers and their families. Research has shown that they are net contributors to the economy (comparing with locally born people), especially in the case of ‘boat people’, being less risk averse. F, 65–74, ALP
6. How could our immigration system be improved?

6.1 WE ASKED RESPONDENTS: 'THINKING ABOUT AUSTRALIA’S CURRENT IMMIGRATION PROGRAM, IN A SHORT PARAGRAPH PLEASE SAY WHAT YOU THINK COULD BE DONE TO MAKE IT WORK BETTER.'

6.1.2 There were relatively few themes here. Predictably those who did not like the refugee policies of the current government recommended that they be rolled back. Those who were worried about a perceived failure to integrate demanded that integration and adherence to Australian laws and culture be somehow incorporated into entry requirements. Respondents also thought there needed to be better targeting of countries of origin to give a better chance of compatibility.

6.2 LOOSE RESTRICTIONS ON REFUGEES

6.2.1 drastically increase refugee intake and match it with major increases to services for them; manage 457 visas via a panel that includes union representatives; return to a humane bipartisanship; fewer restrictions on family reunions.

M, 55–64, ALP

6.2.2 Increase our humanitarian numbers, be more proactive in relation to ensuring that people fleeing terror can get passports and not have to come by boat. Be more humanitarian in our approach generally e.g. babies born on boats should be allowed to stay.

F, 55–64, ALP

6.3 FAVOUR COMPATIBLE MIGRANTS

6.3.1 Give preference people with English Language skills and with any reasonable qualifications. Discourage Muslims they are bringing their social problems with their religion. Make the bar much higher for them. e.g. they have to have at least a degree in an English M, 65–74, LP

6.3.2 ‘Much more effort to target desirable immigrants and more effort and less political correctness to prohibit others.

M, 45–54, LP

6.4 MANDATE ASSIMILATION

6.4.1 A signed contract of the applicant’s agreement that they are coming to a secular liberal western democracy where they have responsibilities as well as privilidges...the children are to attend public preschools and public schools...If criminal ofte F, 65–74, ALP

6.5 LEXIMANCER

Figure 4: ‘Thinking about Australia’s current immigration program, in a short paragraph please say what you think could be done to make it work better.’

6.5.1 The map lays out the alignments of both positions. From those who are concerned about asylum seekers, most suggestions for improvement are to do with processing and getting people out of custody quickly, as well as providing some support for them in the community after they are released from detention.

6.5.2 For those who are looking at what immigrants bring to Australia, most of the issues are about assimilation, including a rather significant reference to mastering the English language. Language is seen by many as the key to being a good immigrant. Having useful skills is the other requirement.
7. Islamic immigration

7.1 WE ASKED RESPONDENTS: ‘IN RECENT YEARS THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF AUSTRALIANS WHO FOLLOW ISLAM OR WHO IMMIGRATED FROM AN ISLAMIC COUNTRY. IN GENERAL DO YOU FEEL THIS IS GOOD OR BAD FOR AUSTRALIA?’

7.2 QUANTITATIVE

7.2.1 The sample is fairly evenly-divided on this question: 8% think it is good, while 42% are neutral, leaving 50% who are not unhappy. However, 48% think it is bad.

7.2.2 This question was chosen so it could be compared to the Q Society survey conducted by Morgan. This survey is more decisive on the question with 40.8% who think it is good, 37.4% who think it is bad, and 20.8% who can’t say.

7.2.3 The divergence from the Q Society survey is significant, and hard to explain. While we used a five-point Likert scale and they used a three-point scale that shouldn’t have affected it too much. And, as noted in the immigration question, our sample is more pro-immigration than the community appears to be.

7.2.4 Liberal and non-Greens minor party voters are adamantly opposed, with the majority on the extremity. This suggests it is a hot-button issue with these respondents. The largest category for both is ‘Very bad’ representing more than 50% of the sample. Labor and Greens voters conform to a normal distribution, suggesting it is not a hot-button issue for them, and 63% are parked in the neutral position.

7.2.5 One of the values of our survey is that it taps into people who think about the issues. It seems this might be one of those times when that is obvious; otherwise, the divergence from general opinion is hard to explain.

7.2.6 It is interesting to note that reading the responses of those who were non-committal, a large number seemed to be offended by the question and thought we had no business asking about religion, either in the survey, or in real life.

7.3 QUALITATIVE

7.4 CULTURE W AR

7.4.1 There is a very strong feeling that immigrants from Islamic countries are part of a culture war pitting their way of life and beliefs against ours. So, in a sense, opposition on this ground is not personal but one system against another. Migrants are not seen as individuals, but representatives. They are seen as agents of another place (using this word to indicate something not a nation, but at the same time geographically circumscribed).

7.4.2 In every muslim majority country inn the world, in one form or another non-muslims overwhelming Christians face one or more or all of the following: persecution, oppression, discrimination, violence, death, violation of their human rights. In countries where there is a sizable growing muslim population they increasingly impose their barbaric, primitive and discriminatory religious cultural beliefs on to the non-muslim majority as we see in Europe especially Britain and Sweden where Western Judeo/Christian culture, democratic beliefs and laws that uphold those values are compromised and come second to Islamic law.

M, 45–54, LP

Table 2: ‘In recent years there has been an increase in the number of Australians who follow Islam or who immigrated from an Islamic country. In general do you feel this is good or bad for Australia?’ Our results...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ALP%</th>
<th>Green%</th>
<th>LP%</th>
<th>Minor%</th>
<th>Total%</th>
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<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>63</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very bad</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Grand total</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total good</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total bad</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net good</td>
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<td>-2</td>
<td>-73</td>
<td>-66</td>
<td>-40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: due to rounding some columns may appear to sum to more or less than 100.
Table 3: ‘In recent years there has been an increase in the number of Australians who follow Islam or
who immigrated from an Islamic country. In general do you feel this is good or bad for Australia?’

Q Society results...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOTING INTENTION: 2 PARTY PREFERRED</th>
<th>FEDERAL VOTING INTENTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FEELING ABOUT INCREASE IN AUSTRALIANS WHO FOLLOW ISLAM / CAME FROM ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

| Good for Australia | uc    | 221    | 207 | 70  | 73   | 3   | 77 | 57 | 39 | 12 | 1 | 5 | 17 |
| Bad for Australia  | wc    | 7365   | 6845 | 2334 | 2332 | 100 | 2432 | 1987 | 1312 | 494 | 31 | 150 | 612 |
| v%                 |       | 40.8%  | 40.8% | 45.0% | 31.9% | 42.8% | 32.3% | 54.6% | 70.7% | 38.4% | 17.3% | 46.8% | 36.3% |

| Can’t say | uc    | 244 | 227 | 61 | 129 | 4 | 133 | 29 | 6 | 15 | 3 | 5 | 21 |
| v%       |       | 38.4% | 38.3% | 32.4% | 49.8% | 45.7% | 45.6% | 25.3% | 9.6% | 37.5% | 67.8% | 43.3% | 35.4% |

7.5 TREATMENT OF WOMEN (AND GAYS)

7.5.1 While this is part of culture it deserves a separate classification as it tends to cut across left and right and drives a lot of emotional resentment. This manifests itself not just in discussions about the veil, but in discussions about child brides and female genital mutilation, as well as risks to women from assault when out in public.

7.5.2 People from Islamic countries generally do not respect Australian laws and customs. In Australia all people are equal whereas in Islamic countries women are treated as second class citizens M, 45–54, PUP

7.5.3 Its not Islam, its the anti-women, anti-gay, tribalistic culture of some groups that causes problems/ M, 45–54, Ind

7.6 FAILURE TO ASSIMILATE

7.6.1 This is another variation on a culture ‘war’; it is a more common concern that migrants will fail to assimilate, with assimilation being seen as a good thing.

7.6.2 They do not try to assimilate and want to change our way of life and our laws. M, 65–74, LP

7.7 RELIGION

7.7.1 This is again a broadly cultural concern, affecting those on the left and the right. On the right, the problem is that the immigrants’ religion threatens Christianity, or at least our way of life; and on the left it is that any religion is a bad thing. And sometimes it is that religion doesn’t matter.

7.7.2 Islamic people, like everybody else are fundamentally good people. A diversity of religions is to be applauded. F, 55–64, ALP

7.7.3 All religions bring problems to society however singling out one religion has the potential to alienate a significant group in Australia. AS practised by many Muslims the religion is a danger to womens status and participation in this country. F, 65–74, ALP
7.7.4 I’m not impressed with religion. either Christian, Islam or any other. Don’t like the radical terrorist element of Islam, but don’t judge the religion as a whole. F, 65–74, ALP

7.8 CULTURE, BUT NOT RELIGION

7.8.1 Some respondents see Islam as being incidental and less significant, while the country and background of immigrants is the most significant. As many Islamic countries are in the developing world, it is inescapable that these immigrants will be more likely to be Islamic, but that doesn’t convict Islam because many Islamic people from developed countries hold western values.

7.8.2 Its not Islam, its the anti-women, anti-gay, tribalistic culture of some groups that causes problems/ M, 45–54, Ind

7.9 DIVERSITY

7.9.1 Any change is for the good, and the more diverse our society, the better it is. Islamic immigrants are just another form of diversity.

7.9.2 It creates better diversity and tolerance. It creates intolerance in some sections of the community. There are religious matters in all faiths what is the difference if they believe follow Mohamed or Jesus or Buddha. M, 65–74, AD

7.10 POLITICAL MANIPULATION

7.10.1 There is an idea that the threat from Islam is manufactured by domestic authorities to keep Australians under control. It’s the new communism.

7.10.2 Anti-Islam is just another media/Government beat-up. Since the Cold War ended Terrorism is the new Communism. It’s being used to whip up fear in the wider community, because when people are fearful they are more likely to believe Government spin. M, 35–44, Grn

7.11 TAKES TIME

7.11.1 There is also the belief that in a couple of generations, assimilation will occur.

7.11.2 As we invaded Afghanistan and Iraq we owe help to those who flee. As we have seen many times before after a couple of generations of integration, other cultures and religions enrich australia. F, 65–74, ALP

7.12 SECULAR STATE, NO RIGHT TO INQUIRE

7.12.1 A somewhat nonsensical idea is that as we are a secular state, so we have no reason to consider the religion of immigrants.

7.12.2 It’s a secular country. Religion is a private matter. F, 65–74, ALP

7.13 ISOLATED INCIDENTS

7.13.1 All groups have aberrant members, and Islamic immigration is no different.

7.13.2 I am not so much an atheist as an anti-theist – Islam is as dopey as christianity and judaism; “islamist” terrorists are just criminals and unrepresentative of the religion in the same way as the Provisional IRA didn’t speak for catholics, the lords army doesn’t speak for christians etc M, 55–64, ALP

7.14 ISLAM IS A RELIGION OF PEACE

7.14.1 Not only is the immigrants’ religion not a problem, but it actively acts to suppress bad behaviour.

7.14.2 As Australian’s we enjoy the freedom to practice any religion of choice. The Islamic faith is a peaceful one and can find a place in Australia. Every religion has radicals and it is those individuals who need to be brought to account. M, 65–74, LP

7.15 IF THERE’S A PROBLEM IT’S CAUSED BY WESTERN AGGRESSION
7.15.1
If the West had not gone to war in Iraq or Afghanistan there wouldn’t be a problem with Islam, and this means the question of Islamic immigration is a side issue.

7.15.2
Because I have worked with them and have no problems with them we are just reaping what we sowed in IRAQ
M, 65–74, ALP

7.16 LEXIMANCER
Figure 5: 'In recent years there has been an increase in the number of Australians who follow Islam or who immigrated from an Islamic country. In general do you feel this is good or bad for Australia?'

7.16.1
The Leximancer map shows that 'assimilate', 'integrate', 'culture', 'change', 'law', 'values', 'Christian' and 'Muslim' are strongly associated with those who want to see Islamic immigration and immigration from Islamic countries reduced. For those who want to see it increased the key terms are 'religion', 'different', 'freedom', 'society', 'Christians' and 'Islam'. The use of 'religion' supports the interpretation that those on the left are more prone to see all religions as either equal in terms of what they represent and deliver, or equally deserving of being ignored. There also appears to be preference in one group for talking about Islam, as opposed to Muslim and vice-versa.

7.16.2
Therefore, at either end of the spectrum religion appears to be the major issue, but for different reasons.
7.16.3
In the middle, the words used are less about religion and more about 'country' and 'culture'.

7.17 VERBATIMS

7.17.1
In every muslim majority country in the world, in one form or another non-muslims overwhelming Christians face one or more or all of the following: persecution, oppression, discrimination, violence, death, violation of their human rights. In countries where there is a sizable growing muslim population they increasingly impose their barbaric, primitive and discriminatory religious cultural beliefs on to the non-muslim majority as we see in Europe especially Britain and Sweden where Western Judeo/Christian culture, democratic beliefs and laws that uphold those values are compromised and come second to Islamic law.

M, 45–54, LP

7.17.2
There’s a part of our society with some Muslims choosing to stay apart from mainstream society – in effect marginalised by choice, with incompatible values towards women, gays, people of different/no religious beliefs. The minority of Islamist fanatics are the only people threatening terrorist acts in this country and conducting terrorist acts in other countries. F, 45–54, LP

7.17.3
I have lots of Muslim friends, however why Australians want to convert to a foreign religion is beyond me. I have no issue with Muslims moving here if they speak English and integrate into the tax paying way of Aussie life as I support religious freedom. F, 35–44, Ind

7.17.4
All religions bring problems to society however singling out one religion has the potential to alienate a significant group in Australia. As practised by many Muslims the religion is a danger to womens’ status and participation in this country.

F, 65–74, ALP

7.17.5
a lot of the world problems related to Islam, they refuse to assimilate with Australian born, want everything free and populate the country and although they take a oath of citizenship snub their noses at our customs etc

M, 65–74, PUP

7.17.6
Bad idea if immigrants from Islamic countries are not prepared to accept our Australian way of life. Why leave their birth country for whatever reason, usually war Muslim v Muslim, but then create the same bad atmosphere in Aust and expect the rest of the country to accept their poor/bad behaviour.

M, 65–74, LP

7.17.7
Muslims choose not to fit into Australia & adopt Australian cultural values. There is now a significant Islamic grievance industry operating in Australia – playing on our tolerance – trying to change our way of life.

M, 25–34, LP

7.17.8
I’m interested in people rather than beliefs. There are appalling human beings who call themselves Christians, such as Morrison who I would happily help to find another home away from Australia, and some beautiful people who call themselves Muslim, who would be an amazing asset to this country.

M, 55–64, Other

7.17.9
I hate to tar groups of very disparate communities with the same brush, but Islam, as it is followed by many of its adherents, is a poison to society. Any criticism of their actions is automatically called racist, and I hate their hypocrisy in calling the rest of us that when they are some of the most bigoted people in the world against their own sects let alone the kufr/kafir.

M, 35–44, Other

7.17.10
Islam is a political and legal culture as well as a religion, and its values and loyalties place Islam above national laws and culture. This is not beneficial to a broad community like Australia.

F, 55–64, LP

7.17.11
Fundamentalist extremists of ANY religion are bad for a society. I don’t believe all Muslims are bad, just as I don’t believe all Catholics are paedophiles, all evangelical Christians hold the same opinions as the Reverend Fred Phelps or all Jews hate Palestinians.

M, 45–54, Grn
7.17.12
They have the idea that Islam has to take over the world and it is not voluntarily it is by force. Once the ratio of Muslims in a locality reaches a certain percentage a bit like 'critical mass' then demands start to be forced onto the community for their ways/standards with the objective of Sharia law. M, 55-64, LP

7.17.13
Especially in the areas of freedom of speech where even here in Australia, Tony Abbott backed downs on abolishing 18c to appease the Muslims. In history no country that has become a Muslim majority state has ever gone back to a non-Muslim majority as they exterminate or force conversion onto non-Muslims as we have seen in the middle East that use to be Christian and where Christians will soon be extinct due to this barbaric Islamic cult. M, 45-54, LP

7.17.14
However many of this current wave of immigrants from Islamic countries seem unwilling to accept the values and freedoms of Australian society. We do not need a large section of the population who want to bring their hatreds and grievances to Australia and then try to change our way of life to theirs. F, 55-64, LP

7.17.15
'It oppresses women, gay people, Christians, Atheists, even other Muslims. Terrorism, the burqa, hijab, wife beating, polygony, death threats, no-go zones, child grooming, slavery, rape gangs, pedophilia, beheadings, ISIS, halal slaughter, telling us what to do, inciting hatred, rewriting out children's textbooks, affirmative action, insanity, ingratitude, political correctness gone mad, mosque-building, Islamic schools, etc. M, 35-44, Other

7.17.16
And unfortunately Islam is a religion at war with itself in a sectarian, political and theological sense as people try to reconcile a prescriptive and archaic totalitarian political-religious system of living (Islam means submission) with modern democratic freedoms. It's impossible to follow all the dictates of the Prophet so the radicals have fertile ground to take guilty consciences and persuade them that they must do more for Allah. M, 25-34, NP

7.17.17
Australia's history of immigration shows that people of different ethnic backgrounds have resettled in Australia without long-term detriment to our social cohesion. At different times immigrants from Mediterranean and Asian countries have immigrated en-mass and formed closed communities before gradually commingling with the wider community. M, 65-74, LP

7.17.18
Australia should invite people from all religions who are happy to live in a secular society that allows religious freedom to all but gives favour to none in particular. The first loyalty of Australians should be to Australia and this includes those on the left of politics who see the U.N. F, 65-74, LP

7.17.19
We need to reign in Muslim religion and constantly remind all these people that we live in a Christian country and they will not change us F, 45-54, LP

7.17.20
Why are we allowing uneducated groups to foster child brides (ie akin to slavery) as being acceptable? Since I have a lot of contact with educated Islamic people who are indistinguishable from any other civilised member of society it is not the religion that is the problem but an uneducated subclass, with more arriving than is wanted and certainly not needed. M, 55-64, ALP
8. Survey instrument

8.1 ON LINE OPINION RESEARCH ON AUSTRALIAN POLITICS, NOVEMBER 2014

Hi,

This poll is our regular omnibus survey of Australian attitudes to politics and our politicians.

This time we’re also looking at immigration issues.

The survey will be open until midnight Wednesday November 12, 2014.

Can I suggest that you save the questionnaire as you complete each group (or more frequently)? Sometimes I get complaints about the software misfiring, and there is little that I can do, and your work is lost. If your response is saved, then you can retrieve your work and continue.

The Internet is not 100% reliable, so taking precautions like this is a good idea.

Like all of our questionnaires this survey asks a combination of quantitative and qualitative questions. It is the unscripted responses that tell us what you really think and make us different from most of the other polls taken in Australia.

You will notice that some of the questions, specifically those about voting and demographic information, tend to remain the same. That is because each survey is discrete so we need you to re-enter that information each time. If you are interested in the results of previous research you can see them at our site What the People Want - http://whatthepeoplewant.net.

If you have any problems with the survey please email me at graham.young@onlineopinion.com.au.

Regards,

Graham Young
Chief Editor and Founder
On Line Opinion

There are 35 questions in this survey.

8.2 1. POLITICAL

8.2.1

P1. Thinking about Australia would you agree or disagree that the country is heading in the right direction?*

Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Unsure
- I do not wish to answer

8.2.2

P2. Thinking about your answer to the previous question, in a short paragraph please give us your reasons for that answer. If you do not wish to answer this question please write N/A in the field provided. *

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________
8.2.3
P3. Thinking about Australia again, in a short paragraph please tell us what is the most important issue facing the country? If you do not wish to answer this question please write N/A in the field.* Please write your answer here:

8.2.4
P4. If an Australian federal election were to be held next weekend, in a short paragraph please tell us what issue would affect your voting intention the most. If your answer is the same as for 3 above, please just write in same.* Please write your answer here:

8.2.5
P5. If an Australian federal election were to be held next weekend, which of the following parties would receive your first preference?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:

- Liberal
- Liberal National
- Labor
- Greens
- Bob Katter’s Australian
- Palmer’s United
- Nationals
- Australian Democrats
- Family First
- Christian Democrats
- Democratic Labor
- One Nation
- Independent
- Other
- Informal
- I haven’t decided
- I do not wish to answer

8.2.6
If your answer to the previous question was ‘Other’ can you please specify below the name of the party?
Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was ‘Other’ at question 5 (q005)’
(P5. If an Australian federal election were to be held next weekend, which of the following parties would receive your first preference?)
Please write your answer here:

8.2.7
P6. Thinking about your answer to the previous question, in a short paragraph please give us your reasons for that answer? If you don’t want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.* Please write your answer here:
8.2.8
P7. If an Australian federal election were to be held next weekend and your first preference did not win which group, Labor or Coalition, would you direct your preferences to favour – that is, which would you prefer to form the government. In an Australian federal election it is compulsory to give preferences. *

Only answer this question if the following conditions are met:
Answer was NOT ‘Labor’ or ‘Liberal National’ or ‘Liberal’ at question ‘5 [q005]’ (P5. If an Australian federal election were to be held next weekend, which of the following parties would receive your first preference?)
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Labor
☐ Coalition
☐ I haven’t decided
☐ I do not wish to answer

8.2.9
P8. Thinking about the last Australian federal election, to which party did you give your first preference? (If you can’t remember, just select that option). *

Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Liberal
☐ Liberal National
☐ Labor
☐ National
☐ Greens

☐ Palmer’s United
☐ Bob Katter’s Australia
☐ Democrats
☐ Family First
☐ Christian Democrats
☐ Democratic Labor
☐ One Nation
☐ Independent
☐ Other
☐ I don’t recall
☐ I voted informal last election
☐ I did not vote last election
☐ I do not wish to answer

8.2.10
P9. Thinking about federal elections in general, for which party do you normally vote? Please note that neither PUP nor BKAP are options here because they have only been active for one election. (If you don’t normally vote for any particular party, just select that option.) *

Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Liberal
☐ Liberal National
☐ Labor
☐ National
☐ Greens
☐ Democrats
☐ Family First
☐ Christian Democrats
☐ Democratic Labor
☐ One Nation
☐ Independent
☐ Other
☐ I normally vote informal
☐ I don’t normally vote for any particular party
☐ I do not wish to answer

8.2.11
P10. Thinking about Tony Abbott as Prime Minister, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the job that he is doing? *

Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Strongly approve
☐ Approve
☐ Neither approve nor disapprove
☐ Disapprove
☐ Strongly disapprove
☐ Unsure
☐ I do not wish to answer this question

8.2.12
P11. Thinking about your answer to the previous question, in a short paragraph please give us your reasons for that answer? If you don’t want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided. * Please write your answer here:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
8.2.13
P12. Thinking about Bill Shorten as Leader of the Opposition, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of the job that he is doing?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:

- Strongly approve
- Approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Unsure
- I do not wish to answer this question

8.2.14
P13. Thinking about your answer to the previous question, in a short paragraph please give us your reasons for that answer? If you don’t want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.*
Please write your answer here:

8.2.15
P14. Who is your preferred Prime Minister? *
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:

- Tony Abbott
- Bill Shorten
- Unsure
- I do not wish to answer this question

8.2.16
P15. Thinking about your answer to the previous question, in a short paragraph please give us your reasons for that answer? If you don’t want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.*
Please write your answer here:

8.3 2. IMMIGRATION

8.3.1
I1. Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia should be reduced or increased?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:

- Increased a lot
- Increased a little
- Remain about the same as it is
- Reduced a little
- Reduced a lot
- Unsure
- I do not wish to answer this question

8.3.2

12. Thinking about your answer to the previous question, in a short paragraph please say why you answered that way. If you do not want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.*
Please write your answer here:

8.3.3

13. Thinking about Australia’s current immigration program, in a short paragraph please say what you think is good about it. If you do not want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.*
Please write your answer here:
8.3.4
14. Thinking about Australia’s current immigration program, in a short paragraph please tell us what problems you believe it to have. If you do not want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.* Please write your answer here:

8.3.5
15. Thinking about Australia’s current immigration program, in a short paragraph please say what you think could be done to make it work better. If you do not want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.* Please write your answer here:

8.3.6
16. In recent years there has been an increase in the number of Australians who follow Islam or who immigrated from an Islamic country. In general do you feel this is good or bad for Australia?*

Please tick (✓) only one of the following:

- Very good
- Good
- Neither good nor bad
- Bad
- Very bad
- Unsure
- I do not wish to answer this question

8.3.7
17. Thinking about your answer to the previous question, in a short paragraph please say why you answered that way. If you do not want to answer, please just write N/A in the space provided.* Please write your answer here:

8.4 3. DEMOGRAPHIC

This section asks questions so that we can place you in context with other respondents. Your personal details are confidential and will not be revealed to anyone.

8.4.1
D1. Your name*

This is only so I can write back to you politely. If you’re uncomfortable with me having your real name, nicknames are fine.

Please write your answer here:

8.4.2
D2. Your age*

Please tick (✓) only one of the following:

- 0–14
- 15–24
- 25–34
- 35–44
- 45–54
- 55–64
- 65–74
- 75+
- I do not wish to answer
8.4.3
D3. Your gender*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Male
☐ Female
☐ Other
☐ I do not wish to answer

8.4.4
D4. Your residential postcode*
Please check the format of your answer. Please write your answer here:

8.4.5
D5. Your email address*
Only required to validate this questionnaire. Please check the format of your answer. Please write your answer here:

8.4.6
D6. What is your country of birth?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Australia
☐ New Zealand
☐ United Kingdom
☐ Republic of Ireland
☐ Italy
☐ Germany
☐ Greece
☐ China
☐ Netherlands
☐ Vietnam
☐ Yugoslavia (former)
☐ Other (please specify)

8.4.7
D6a. Please say in which country you were born in the space provided.
Only answer this question if the following conditions are met: Answer was 'Other (please specify)' at question '29 [D6]' (D6. What is your country of birth?)
Please write your answer here:

8.4.8
D7. Are you an Australian citizen?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Unsure
☐ I do not wish to answer this question

8.4.9
D8. What is your religion or faith?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Christian (Catholic)
☐ Christian (Anglican)
☐ Christian (Uniting Church)
☐ Christian (Orthodox)
☐ Christian (Presbyterian)
☐ Christian (Other protestant)
☐ Muslim
☐ Buddhist
☐ Atheist
☐ Agnostic
☐ Other

8.4.10
D9. Do you wish to receive a report on this survey?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Yes
☐ No

8.4.11
D10. Are you prepared to be involved in follow-up research?*
Please tick (✓) only one of the following:
☐ Yes
☐ No

8.4.12
D11. Do you have any comments to add? Please write your answer here:

Please fax your completed survey to: 07 3852 2139
Submit your survey.
Thank you for completing this survey.
The future does not look after itself.