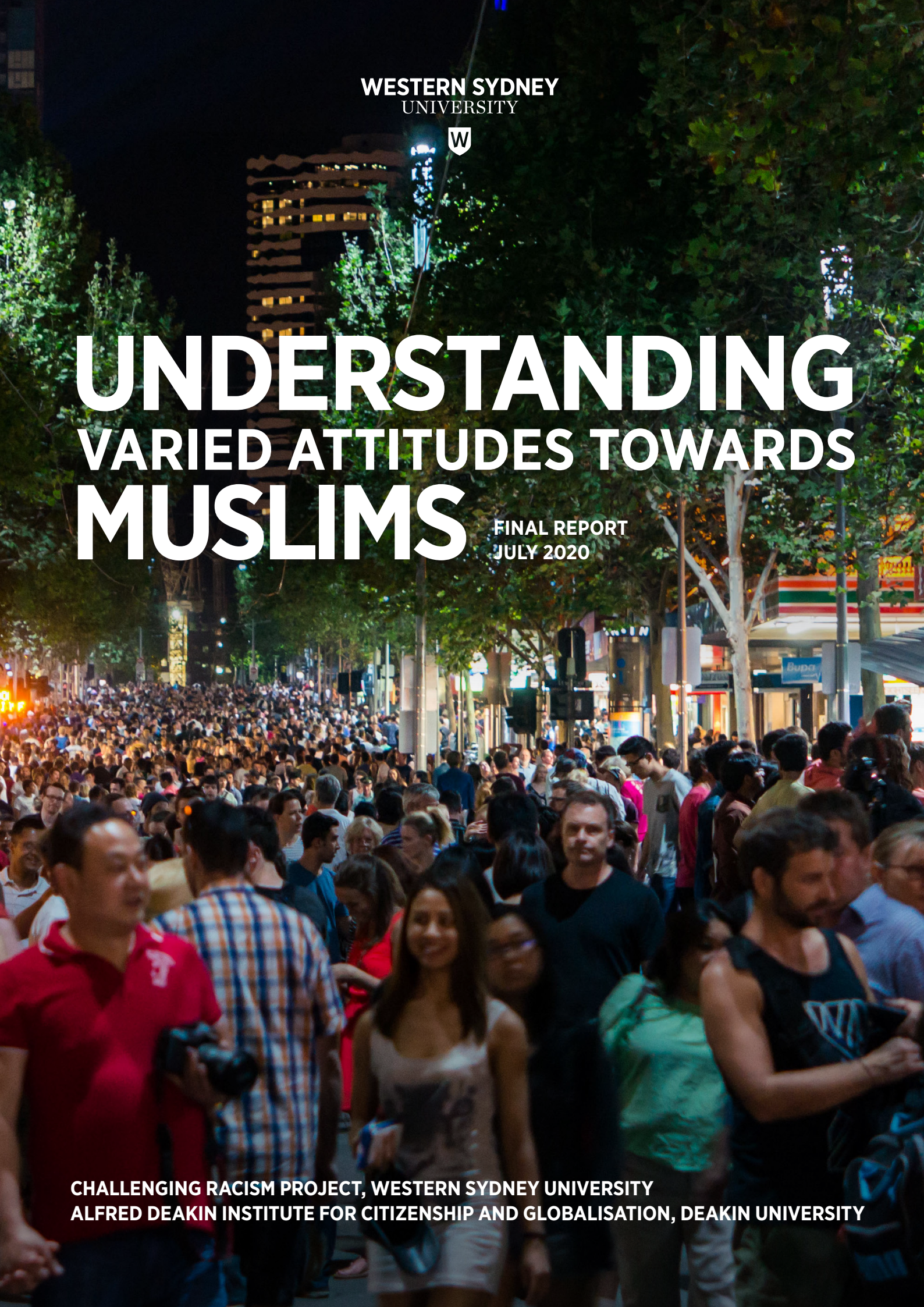

WESTERN SYDNEY
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UNDERSTANDING VARIED ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS

FINAL REPORT
JULY 2020

CHALLENGING RACISM PROJECT, WESTERN SYDNEY UNIVERSITY
ALFRED DEAKIN INSTITUTE FOR CITIZENSHIP AND GLOBALISATION, DEAKIN UNIVERSITY

THIS REPORT IS FROM THE PROJECT:

Dissecting Islamophobia: Understanding the varied racialisation of Islam using Latent Class Analysis

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT:

This research was supported by the Victorian Department of Justice and Community Safety.

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Suggested citation: Dunn, K., Sharples, R., Diallo, T., Derbas, A., Vergani, M., McGarty, C.,Mansouri, F., Paradies, Y. & Elias, A. 2020. Understanding Varied Attitudes Towards Muslims, July 2020. Sydney: Western Sydney University, https://doi.org/10.26183/bkkk-0195

doi: 10.26183/bkkk-0195

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The focus of this research was to determine the prevalence and type of Islamophobia in the Victorian population. Islamophobia sentiment feeds the actions of right-wing extremist attacks on Muslim communities. But it has also become widespread in Australian society, and normalised in everyday settings, such as our mainstream media. Islamophobia cannot be treated with a singular approach or mode of intervention. Our study comes at a critical time; it provides empirical evidence on the extent of the problem, as well as documenting the varied manifestations of Islamophobic sentiment, with the view to developing potential action points and policy.

In November 2019 we undertook a survey of 4019 Victorians. We asked questions on their attitudes towards cultural diversity, racial equality and privilege; trust and fairness; Muslims and Islam; and other ethno-cultural groups in Australian society; their experiences of racism and discrimination; their contact with Muslims and knowledge of Islam; and their political affiliation. To our knowledge, this was the largest survey undertaken in Victoria with the purpose of solely measuring Victorians perceptions of Muslims and Islam.

Based on respondents' answers, we used latent class analysis to segment the Victorian population. Five groups were generated: Islamophobic, Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies, Undecided, Progressive with concerns about Islam, and Progressive. We then distilled the demographic and attitudinal attributes of these groups, with the view to identifying roles and drivers to help guide policy and intervention. We tested this five group segmentation with community organisations in Victoria working in the broad areas of diversity and multiculturalism, and with a particular emphasis on Muslim and non-Muslim relations. The groupings made sense on-the-ground, and they provided a strong pathway forward for program and policy design.

A SUMMARY OF OUR KEY FINDINGS INCLUDE:

- Victorians showed a very strong level of support for cultural diversity, with very few (4.8%) having an anti-diversity disposition.
- Assimilationist thinking remains among over a third of the population.
- About the same proportion do not agree that there is cultural privilege in Australia.
- One in three Victorians agree that they have trust in key institutions. The least trusted being in order: political parties, media, government, courts.
- Victorians demonstrated more social distance towards Muslims than any of the other groups that were tested. 56% of respondents expressed some level of concern about Muslims.
- 15% of Victorians deny the humanity and citizenship of Muslims and argue that Muslims are not interested in integration in Australian society. Approximately the same proportion support the discriminatory treatment of Muslims and would boycott halal products.

- 50.1% of Victorians argue that Muslims fit in Australian society, and are not a threat.
- 65% of Victorians agree Muslims are the same as other citizens and 73% are comfortable speaking with Muslims.
- One-third of Victorians opposed the wearing of Islamic head covering like hijab, and worried that Australian freedoms were threatened by Muslims.
- While there was general positivity towards Muslims, the questions about Islam and compatibility with western society generated less support.
- The latent class analysis generated five meaningful segments of the Victorian sample. Those being: Progressive [19%]; Progressive with concerns about Islam [32%]; Undecided [17%]; Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies [23%]; Islamophobic [9%].
- The Progressive group was the only group untouched by Islamophobic sentiments. Islamophobia reaches through all of the other four groups, to some degree.
- Islamophobia varied in each group across the degrees of social distance, support for (un)even treatment, recognition of intrinsic rights and citizenship, and intolerance of specific Muslim performances and traits.
- The Islamophobia of the 'Progressive with concerns' group [32%] is a low level of anxiety.
- The Islamophobia of the 'Undecided' group [17%] is at risk of arousal from touchstone political issues like hijab-wearing or mosque development.
- The 'Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies' group [23%] would prefer cultural sameness based on an underlying cultural hierarchy in which the majority cultural norm would be privileged (23%).
- The 'Islamophobic' group [9%] deny citizenship and rights to Muslims, seeing little capacity for their incorporation to their preferred version of Australian society.
- There were no significant associations between gender and Islamophobia.
- Islamophobia is associated with people with lower levels of educational attainment.
- The two Islamophobic groups are more likely to support organisations that would resort to violence.
- Assimilationist thinking is associated with Islamophobia in all but the 'Progressive' group, and the 'Islamophobic' group are distinct in their ardent supremacism and hostility.
- The Islamophobic group (9%) demonstrate a consciousness and intentionality, and the management response should focus on containment and proscription.
- The 'Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies' group (23%) will be best addressed by activities and discourses that connect visions and values, and which assuage the effect of assimilationist ideology.
- The 'Undecided' group (17%) lean more towards a progressive disposition, and interventions which de-centre stereotypes and re-humanise Muslims will build resilience to the influence of Islamophobia.
- The 'Progressive with concerns about Islam' (32%) are open to be influenced, and the quickest wins will be achieved through a better and more sensible public discourse about Islam and Muslims.
- The Progressive group have a consistently positive view about Muslims, and on cultural diversity, and are an under-utilised yet influential resource for anti-racism/anti-Islamophobic action.
- Islamophobia has become a far too prevalent in Victorian society. It is legitimately a focus of major public concern. It is timely to contemplate government led initiatives that bring together the research and community insights, and which share examples of good practice and intervention.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Runnymede Trust, an independent race equality think tank in the UK, defined Islamophobia as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction towards, or preference against, Muslims (or those perceived to be Muslims) that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life" (2017). In 2018, the All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims (2018:11) accepted the recommendations of British researchers and defined Islamophobia as 'rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness'. This was a helpful characterisation in that it expressly confronted the assertion that anti-Muslim hate was not a form of racism.

The concept of Islamophobia has been debated as to its merits as a conceptual device. We acknowledge those debates (Richardson 2009; Garner and Selod 2015; Sajid 2005; Bleich 2012; Cheng 2015; Halliday 1999). The limits include its inference to an illness or disorder and exceptionalism. We affirm the benefit of conceiving Islamophobia as a social malady that effects people in nefarious ways. Unlike most psychological conditions, we assert that it is socially constructed, as inferred earlier in regard to political discourse and media. The strengths include the suggestion of anxiety, construction and contrivance, and the suggestion that it is a condition to which people are exposed. This allows us to approach Islamophobia as a social scourge for which there are a set of remedies.

While Islamophobia may be championed by racial supremacists (Peucker & Smith, 2019), our research shows that it has burgeoned well beyond that group, and is now prevalent in a cross-section of western societies, as well as being normalized in areas of mainstream media (All Together Now and UTS 2017; One Path Network 2017) and in political discourse (Briskman 2015; Soutphommasane 2018). Research reports have shown the extent of this problem in countries like Australia (Akbarzadeh et al. 2009; Barkdull et al. 2011; Johns 2015; Mansouri and Vergani 2018). Too many Australians, for example, have stated that they have negative views about Muslims (Blair et al. 2017; Dunn et al. 2004). An Australian study found that 65% of Muslims have experienced racism in the workplace and 55% in an education setting (Blair et al. 2017). The Islamophobia Registry study found that 72% of Muslim women reported experiencing racism, although this was not a random sample (Iner 2019). Muslims experience race-hate talk at rates that are three times higher than the national population (Dunn et al. 2016), 30-40% of Australians stated they had some level of negative feelings towards Muslims (Blair et al. 2017; Markus 2018) and 63% stated they would have some level of concern if a close relative were to marry a Muslim (Blair et al. 2017). These statistics suggest that Islamophobia is prevalent in the community, which has long-lasting impacts on Muslim communities and the social cohesion of our society more broadly. These statistics are concerning in and of themselves, and indicate the need to understand the varied manifestations of Islamophobia sentiment.

A significant threat is the increasing evidence of Islamophobia prejudices that manifest in the form of right-wing extremist action that targets Muslims (Peucker & Smith, 2019). Recent events show their catastrophic outcomes. In 2019 there were terror attacks on two Christchurch mosques by an Australian with links to right-wing extremist organisations. Fifty people were killed in these attacks, as were another six people who were killed in the 2017 attack on the City Islam Culture Centre in Quebec, Canada. There are clear links between Islamophobia sentiment and right-wing extremist action against Muslims. These events have catastrophic impacts on Muslims, and also pose a broader threat to social cohesion and community safety.

Beyond white supremacists the reality is that Islamophobia is much more prevalent within broader community attitudes. Research conducted by the Challenging Racism Project (CRP) has shown that while 80% of Australians support cultural diversity, nearly 60% of those people express some degree of concern about a relative marrying someone from a Muslim background. This would suggest that many of those who hold progressive views around cultural diversity, migration, and tolerance – also have some degree of concern toward Muslims.

This study provides the first comprehensive examination of the prevalence, form and segmentation of Islamophobia in Victoria.

2. METHODOLOGY

This report provides the findings of an online survey on Islamophobia in Victoria. The survey, which is representative of the population, asked Victorian residents their attitudes towards cultural diversity, racial equality and privilege; trust and fairness; Muslims and Islam; and other ethno-cultural groups in Australian society. The global literature was sourced for survey scales on people's knowledge of Islam, contact with Muslims, political affiliation, engagement with news media, and social class. These were deemed as useful in predicting Islamophobia in Western populations. In addition, the research showed that attitudinal measures such as right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and prejudices towards other social groups were also useful in predicting Islamophobia.

2.1 ISLAMOPHOBIA SCALES

The survey also asked respondents about their experiences of racism and discrimination; their contact with Muslims and knowledge of Islam; and their political affiliation. The survey asked 14 questions that were used as the primary indicators of Islamophobia (see Table 7). Those variables were derived using a theory-driven examination of the international research that has empirically examined Islamophobia, including whether the variables were deemed to be valid and useful. Locally appropriate scales were then deployed in our survey of Islamophobia in Victoria.

2.2 SAMPLE

The survey generated a completed sample of 4019 respondents. The survey was conducted in November 2019, and was largely representative of the Victorian population (across age, gender and location). Of the total sample, approximately 53 percent were female and 47 percent were male. Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander respondents accounted for 1.4 percent of the sample. The most common family cultural backgrounds were Australian and New Zealander (53.8%), Eastern European (4.7%), South East Asian (4%), Chinese (3.6%) and Indian (2.9%). English was the main language spoken at home by 90.5 per cent of respondents. The most common languages other than English were Cantonese (1.2%), Mandarin (0.9%), Hindi (0.7%), Tagalog/Filipino (0.6%) and Vietnamese (0.6%). The most common religious affiliations were no religion, agnostic or atheist (44.0%), Christian (40.4%), other (4.8%), Buddhist (3.0%), prefer not to say (2.4%), Hindu (2.3%), Muslim (2.2%) and Jewish (1.0%). Respondents were spread across the state of Victoria, with 66.2 percent coming from a metropolitan area and 25.4 percent from a regional or rural area. Respondents also came from 65 LGAs (out of a total of 79), the most common being Brimbank (6.4%), Melbourne (5.9%), Casey (5.3%), Greater Geelong (5.0%) and Banyule (4.3%).

2.3 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Latent Class Analysis (LCA) was employed to classify respondents into groups (or classes) based on their perceptions of Islam in Victoria (determined through their answers to a series of questions). Latent class analysis is a statistical method that reveals already existing groupings of people in a sample. The LCA sorts respondents into groups with people of similar demography, experiences or like-minded attitudes. We were interested in how Victorians might be grouped according to their views about Muslims, and how they should be treated. It is a useful tool for then distilling the demographic and attitudinal attributes of such groups, with the view to identifying roles and drivers for potential policy and practice interventions.

Fourteen questions (from a total of 82 survey questions) were identified as indicators of Islamophobia (see Table 7). A latent class analysis of these 14 questions was conducted to determine the optimal number of classes that adequately represents the perception of Islam in Victoria. Then, a series of bivariate analysis was conducted to select the covariables/predictors to include in further analysis. A common approach used in social and behavioural sciences is to examine associations between latent classes and a set of external variables (or covariates) such as demographic indicators or other attitudinal responses (Asparouhov & Muthén 2014; Bakk, Oberski & Vermunt 2014; Vermunt 2010). First, to determine which of the demographic variables and attitude or experience variables were related to the latent classes, a series of Chi-square tests were undertaken. This was followed by a multivariate analysis with the selected variables. Here, a multinomial logistic regression analysis was used to test the relations between the predictors (the demographics, the attitudes towards diversity, attitudes towards other groups, prosocial attitudes etc.) and the likelihood of latent class membership. Once again, a p-level of .05 was used to interpret significance of associations between variables. Odds ratios were used to measure the strength of associations (with 'strong' associations between variables interpreted where odds ratios > 9, (Cohen, 1988)).

To determine the optimal number of classes in this study we followed the common strategy. We estimated a series of solutions, progressively increasing the number of classes. These solutions (three groups, four groups, five groups, etc) were then compared using fit statistics and tests of significance, to test the statistical quality of the classifications. The final and most important test is for the researchers to examine the usefulness and the interpretability of different solutions. We settled on the 5-class solution as the most statistically rigorous and conceptually relevant. The use of both descriptive and inferential statistics provides both a broad snapshot as well as a more detailed analysis of the complex patterns of current views and attitudes of Victorians on a wide variety of topics related to Islamophobia and diversity as well as the ways in which they relate to each other. The results of the Latent Class Analysis are presented in Section 4 of this report.

3. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

3.1 DEMOGRAPHICS

Gender: Of the total sample, 52.9 per cent were female and 46.7 per cent were male. The sample had a slightly higher female representation but this is largely representative of the Victorian population. 0.5% of the respondents either identified as non-binary/gender fluid, or preferred not to say.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders: Of the total sample, 1.4% identified as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander.

Age: All age categories were represented in the sample. The sample was evenly distributed across the age groups, in line with state representativeness, except for the over 85 bracket where our sample was slightly under represented. This is likely attributable to a relative lesser access to technology among this age bracket.

Education: As is typical of online surveys, respondents were skewed towards the highly educated. 48.2% had a tertiary qualification, 44.5% had a TAFE or HSC qualification, and 6.1% had no formal qualifications.

Employment: The majority of respondents were in some form of paid employment (40%). There was also a high representation of retirees (20.8%), in part a reflection of those who have time to fill out surveys. Home duties accounted for 8.6% of respondents, the unemployed 6.3%, and students made up 4.4%.

Income: Over half the respondents (55.3%) earned less than the average wage in Australia (65K) (ABS 2019), while 32.5% earned above the average wage, and 12.3% did not know their income or did not wish to divulge it.

Birthplace: The majority of respondents were born in Australia (71.9%), followed by the United Kingdom (5.0%), India (2.7%), Malaysia (1.6%), New Zealand (1.3%), and the Philippines (1.0%). There were another 76 countries of birth registered in the sample. For these, the sub-sample size was <1.0%.

Language spoken: The vast majority of respondents spoke English only at home (90.5%). The most common languages other than English were Cantonese (1.2%), Mandarin (0.9%), Hindi (0.7%), Tagalog/Filipino (0.6%) and Vietnamese (0.6%).

Family background: The most common family cultural backgrounds were Australian and New Zealander (53.8%), European (12.6%), United Kingdom/Ireland (10.8%), South East Asian (4%), Chinese (3.6%) and Indian (2.9%).

Religion: The most common religious affiliations were No religion, agnostic or atheist (44.0%), Christian (40.4%), followed by Other (4.8%), Buddhist (3.0%), Hindu (2.3%), Muslim (2.2%) and Jewish (1.0%). Only 2.4% preferred not to say.

Political party affiliation: Respondents were evenly spread across the two major political parties, 28.6% would likely vote Labour, 27.9% Liberal. The Greens accounted for 9.2%, One Nation 3.4% and the National Party 3.2%. A fairly large proportion expressed no party affiliation (24.9%), this is in keeping with a growing dis-association from political parties in Australia.

Attitudes towards Australian politicians: Respondents were asked to rate politicians on a scale of 0=dislike to 5=like. One third (33.9%) of respondents disliked Pauline Hanson, followed by Peter Dutton (25.9%) and Scott Morrison (20.4%). Michael McCormack and Richard di Natale scored the highest for people not knowing them, 36.8% and 28.7% respectively. While Scott Morrison was highly disliked he also scored the highest for likes, at 12.8%.

Geographic distribution: Two thirds (66.2%) of the sample came from Victoria's metropolitan areas and 25.4% came from regional areas, and 8.4% of the sample had unknown geographic locations. In terms of LGA breakdown, 66 of the 79 LGAs in Victoria were represented. The most common LGA areas were Indigo (8.4%), Brimbank (6.6%), Benalla (5.9%), Melbourne (5.9%), Casey 5.3%, Greater Geelong (5.0%) and Banyule (4.3%).

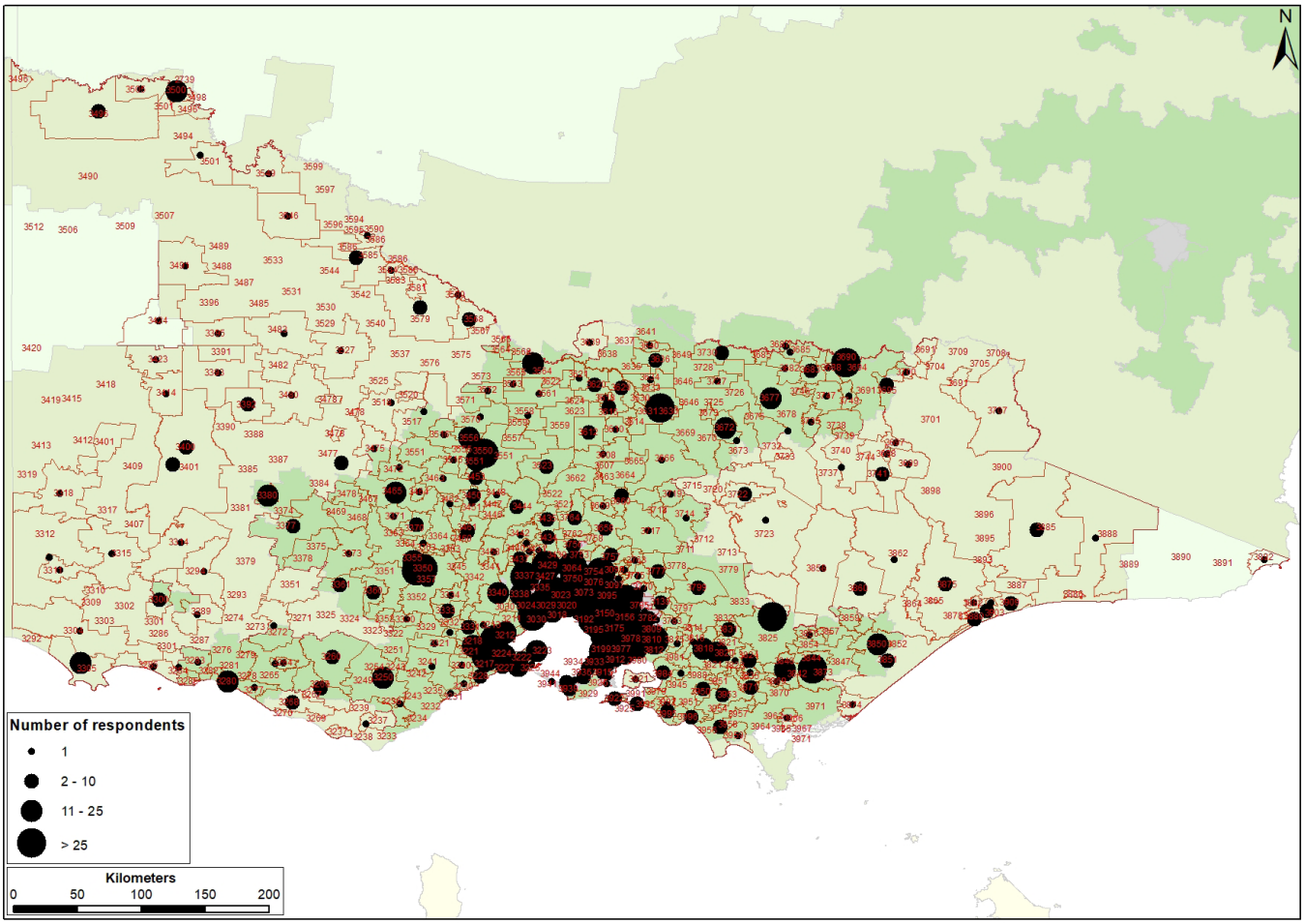

Figure 1: Geographic distribution of Islamophobia survey sample, 2019

3.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Respondents showed positive attitudes towards cultural diversity, with 78.1% of respondents agreeing that it is a good thing for society to be made up of different cultures (Table 1). A high percentage of respondents agreed there is racial prejudice in Australia (72.3%), though only 19% of respondents agreed that racism is worse in Australia than other parts of the world. This is an indicator of denial or displacement of racism, with 45.1% of respondents believing racism is not a significant concern in Australia compared to other countries. Notably, a significant number of respondents agreed that something should be done to minimise or fight racism in Australia (68.9%), showing respondents had a strong predilection for prosocial action, a resource that could be better utilised.

One-in-ten (13.6%) respondents self-identified as racist, agreeing they were prejudiced against other cultures. Over a third (37.3%) of respondents agreed that those from a British background enjoyed a privileged position in society, representing an acknowledgement of white privilege. Respondents were also asked a number of questions that

Table 1. Attitudes towards cultural diversity, racism and immigrants, Victorians, 2019

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
There is racial prejudice in Australia	19.5	52.8	19.2	6.7	1.9
On average, racism is worse in Australia than in other parts of the world	4.6	14.4	35.9	33.6	11.5
It is a good thing for a society to be made up of different cultures	34.3	43.8	17.1	3.4	1.4
I feel secure when I am with people of different ethnic backgrounds	20.6	43.0	27.1	7.1	2.3
I am prejudiced against other races	3.0	10.6	27.4	34.2	24.8
It is NOT a good idea for people of difference racial backgrounds to marry one another	3.3	6.4	18.7	32.9	38.6
Australians from a British/European background enjoy a privileged position in our society	9.9	27.4	35.3	19.4	8.1
Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic backgrounds sticking to their old ways	9.7	23.4	27.9	24.3	4.7
All races of people ARE fundamentally equal	38.3	35.6	17.0	6.1	3.0
People from racial, ethnic and religious minority groups should behave more like mainstream Australians	12.3	28.1	36.6	15.9	7.1
All migrants should be accepted regardless of where they come from	24.0	35.9	22.5	12.6	5.0
Australia should help refugees fleeing persecution in their homeland	20.6	35.3	29.0	10.1	5.1
I would stop to help someone who appeared to be sick or injured, regardless of their ethnic background	39.6	41.2	13.4	3.4	2.4
All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back	18.2	19.9	31.2	17.7	12.9
Something should be done to minimise or fight racism in Australia	28.2	40.7	24.4	4.4	2.3

Source: Islamophobia Project, Victorian sample, Online survey, November 2019

measured assimilationist attitudes. A third (33.1%) of respondents agreed that Australia is weakened by people from different ethnic backgrounds sticking to their old ways and 40.4% of respondents agreed that people from different racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds should behave more like mainstream Australians. This indicates a significant percentage of respondents have assimilationist attitudes. Respondents were also asked a number of questions relating to immigration. Well over one half (59.9%) of respondents believed immigrants should be accepted regardless of where they come from. And 55.9% of respondents believed Australia should help refugees fleeing persecution, though this support was weaker when asked about turning back asylum seeker boats (only 38.1% opposed boat turn-backs).

3.3 TRUST AND FAIRNESS

The data reveal that respondents' highest levels of distrust were directed at Australian political parties (51.5%), and the Australian media (46.9%). Only just over a third felt that the Australian government could be trusted to do the right thing by Australians (37.6%). Respondents

Table 2. Trust and fairness, Victorians, 2019

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I have trust in Australian political parties	4.3	17.8	26.5	30.6	20.9
I have trust in the Australian criminal justice system	5.1	26.1	23.7	27.9	7.2
I have trust in the Australian Family Court	5.4	25.7	33.6	22.0	13.3
I have trust in the Australian media	3.8	18.1	31.1	28.4	18.5
I have trust in the science of climate change	21.0	29.9	26.5	13.1	9.5
I have trust in the High Court of Australia	9.5	33.8	32.8	14.6	9.4
I have trust in the Police	13.1	47.1	24.2	9.7	6.0
The Australian government can be trusted to do the right thing for Australians	5.6	23.1	33.7	22.1	15.5
I am able to have a real say on issues that are important to me in my local area	6.0	29.9	36.2	19.3	8.6
The best way to govern Australia is to have experts, not politicians make decisions	14.1	37.6	36.1	8.9	3.3
Most people can be trusted	5.8	43.2	30.9	15.1	5.1
Democracy is preferable to other kinds of government	28.5	37.0	28.7	3.8	2.0
In some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferred	3.7	18.7	41.6	23.4	12.5
It doesn't matter what kind of government we have	3.7	12.6	23.8	35.5	24.4
Democratic systems are not effective at maintaining order and stability	3.2	12.8	40.7	31.0	12.4
I would continue to support an organisation that fights for my political and legal rights even if the organisation sometimes breaks the law	5.7	19.4	36.5	27.3	11.1
I would continue to support an organisation that fights for my political and legal rights even if the organisation sometimes resorts to violence	3.6	10.5	22.9	31.7	31.3

Question wording: Below are some statements regarding your level of trust in Australian institutions. Please indicate how strongly you agree/disagree with the following.
Source: Islamophobia Project, Victorian sample, Online survey, November 2019

showed higher levels of trust towards the police (60.2%), the science of climate change (50.9%) and the High Court of Australia (42.3%). Respondents' support of democratic governance was mixed. Over half (55.5%) believed democracy is preferable to other forms of government, while 22.4% agreed that under some circumstances a non-democratic form of government could be preferred and 41.6% could neither agree or disagree with this premise. Global trends show a decline in support of democratic governance. Respondents were more likely to support an organisation that breaks the law than they were to support an organisation that resorts to violence (25.1% compared to 14.1%).

3.4 ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND ISLAM

Our data suggests there is a significant level of social distance, if not antipathy, towards Muslims and Islam in Victoria. A presumed lack of cultural fit was perceived by a minority, with 14.8% of respondents disagreeing that Muslims are the same as other citizens, and 21.7% agreeing that Muslims do not fit into Australian society. However, only one in three (29.4%) of the respondents agreed that Islam is compatible with western society and 31.9% disagreed that it is compatible. A large percentage of respondents could neither agree or disagree with this statement (38.8%). About a fifth of the respondents said they would boycott the purchasing of halal products (18.4%). Respondents were asked about the level of Muslim immigration into Australia, and 53.8% stated they thought it was 'About right', while 37.3% stated it was 'Too high' or 'Much too high'.

One in five (22.1%) agreed that Muslims pose a threat to Australian society, and 63% of respondents stated they were worried about terrorism. The latter question was not specific to Islamic terrorism, but terrorism more broadly. We posed a series of questions relating to counter-terrorism and policing practices, and 19.1% of respondents agreed that Muslims should be targeted more than others at airports and

Table 3. Attitudes towards Muslims and Islam, Victorians, 2019

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I would accept living near a mosque	16.5	31.9	25.3	14.9	11.3
Muslims are the same as other citizens	23.1	42.1	20.1	9.8	5.0
Muslims do not fit into Australian society	7.7	14.0	28.1	31.4	18.7
Muslims pose a threat to Australian society	8.2	13.9	29.3	28.7	20.0
Do you agree with the practice of targeting Muslims more than others at airports and stations	6.41	2.7	26.9	29.7	24.3
Counter-terrorism policies in Australia should focus exclusively on Muslims	3.9	7.6	21.2	37.8	29.5
I would feel very comfortable speaking with a Muslim	31.3	41.5	19.4	5.0	2.8
I would boycott the purchasing of halal products	7.9	10.5	26.6	29.1	25.9
Women should not be allowed to wear head coverings like the hijab in Australia	16.5	17.2	25.8	22.4	18.1
Women should not be allowed to wear face coverings like the niqab and burqa in Australia	25.2	23.7	22.7	15.2	13.2
Islam is compatible with western society	7.9	21.5	38.8	20.4	11.5
I am worried that our rights and freedom are threatened by Muslims in Australia	11.3	20.8	27.7	24.2	16.0
I worry about terrorism in Australia	22.9	40.2	21.2	10.5	5.2
Compared to myself Muslims have a lot less power and influence	4.9	15.7	46.8	24.0	8.7
Most Muslims are interested in integrating into Australian society	11.9	36.5	33.2	11.6	6.8

Source: Islamophobia Project, Victorian sample, Online survey, November 2019

Table 4. Attitudes towards specific groups in Australian society, Victorians, 2019

	Not at all concerned	Slightly concerned	Concerned	Very concerned	Extremely concerned
Indian, Pakistani or Sri Lanka background	59.4	20.7	10.9	4.6	4.4
Other Asian backgrounds	66.3	18.4	8.9	.5	2.9
Aboriginal background	63.5	18.5	10.2	4.3	3.6
Italian background	80.8	9.3	5.9	1.8	2.2
British background	83.4	7.5	5.0	2.2	2.0
African background	53.9	20.7	12.5	6.6	6.2
Middle Eastern background	53.0	20.6	13.5	6.7	6.3
Muslim Faith	44.0	21.0	14.6	9.3	11.2
Jewish Faith	58.6	19.4	12.2	5.1	4.7
Christian Faith	74.9	12.1	7.4	2.8	2.9

Question wording: In your opinion, how concerned would you be feel if one of your closest relatives were to marry a person of ...
Source: Islamophobia Project, Victorian sample, Online survey, November 2019

stations, but only 12.5% agreed that counter-terrorism policies should focus exclusively on Muslims. Broadly speaking, 1 in 4 respondents hold negative views towards Muslims and Islam. There are also some positive indicators, in that nearly half the respondents would accept living near a mosque (48.4%) and 72.8% stated they would feel comfortable speaking with someone from a Muslim background.

The data indicate high levels of prejudice towards Muslim women wearing head coverings. One third (33.7%) agreed that women should not be allowed to wear the hijab in Australia, this rose to 48.9% when asked about wearing the niqab or burqa.

The data indicate that many Victorians have limited exposure to Muslims, with 39% stating they had no exposure to Muslims and 30.7% stating they know less than five Muslims. About a quarter (24.3%) stated they had never met with or interacted with Muslims while a little less than a quarter stated they interacted with Muslims weekly (23.0%) and monthly (23.5%). Over a half (58.4%) of respondents indicated they knew 'A little' about the Muslim religion and practices, while 15.3% stated they knew 'Nothing at all'.

3.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS SPECIFIC GROUPS

Respondents were asked a series of questions to test their level of comfort towards specific groups in Australian society. We used Bogardus social distance measures relating to the out-marriage of a family member to indicate perceived (in)tolerance towards specific groups of Australians. Over half (56.1%) of the respondents stated some level of concern (from slight through to extreme) if a close relative were to marry a person of Muslim faith, followed by someone from a Middle Eastern background (47.1%), African background (46%), Jewish faith (41.3%) and Indian, Pakistani or Sri Lanka background (40.6%). These findings regarding attitudes towards groups are consistent with other survey data over the last five years. It is worth noting the high levels of discomfort towards new and emerging communities such as those from an African background, but also the discomfort towards those of a Jewish faith and those from an Aboriginal background (36.6%). In comparison, only 19.2% of respondents expressed some level of concern about someone from an Italian background, 16.7% for someone from a British background and 25.2% for those of a Christian faith.

> “Our data suggests there is a significant level of social distance, if not antipathy, towards Muslims and Islam in Victoria.

4. SEGMENTING ISLAMOPHOBIA IN VICTORIA

4.1 PRIMARY INDICATORS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

From the survey questions used, we identified 14 indicators of Islamophobia (see Table 7) that had generated useful results to help segment the Victorian population on the issue of Islamophobia. These included:

1. Bogardus social distance scale that asked respondents if they would be concerned if one of their closest relatives were to marry a Muslim.
2. An inter-group threat scale that measured perceptions of outgroups to discriminatory behavior towards outgroups (Kauff et al. 2015).
3. A thermometer-type scale that measured comfort towards a specific group (Hassan 2015).
4. An Islamoprejudice scale (Imhoff and Recker 2012) that links Islamophobia to explicit and implicit prejudice, right-wing authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation.
5. Anti-Muslim prejudice and social distance scales (Mansouri and Vergani 2018; CRP 2017).

These 14 variables formed the basis of our latent content analysis. The data frequencies for the 14 variables can be found in Table 5.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics of Islamophobia indicators, Victorians, 2019

Variable	Response	n	%
I would accept living near a mosque [R] (C1_1)	Agree	1893	48.3
	Neither agree or disagree	1017	25.3
	Disagree	1055	26.2
Muslims are the same as other citizens [R] (C1_2)	Agree	2612	65.0
	Neither agree or disagree	805	20.0
	Disagree	591	14.7
Muslims do not fit into Australian society (C1_3)	Agree	873	21.7
	Neither agree or disagree	1129	28.1
	Disagree	2012	50.1
Muslims pose a threat to Australian society (C1_4)	Agree	883	21.9
	Neither agree or disagree	1175	29.2
	Disagree	1954	48.6
I agree with the practice of targeting Muslims more than at airports and stations (C1_5)	Agree	766	21.9
	Neither agree or disagree	1081	29.2
	Disagree	2167	48.6
Counter-terrorism policies in Australia should focus exclusively on Muslims (C1_6)	Agree	1893	48.3
	Neither agree or disagree	1017	25.3
	Disagree	1055	26.2
I would feel comfortable speaking with a Muslim [R] (C1_7)	Agree	2612	65.0
	Neither agree or disagree	805	20.0
	Disagree	591	14.7
I would boycott the purchasing of halal products (C1_8)	Agree	873	21.7
	Neither agree or disagree	1129	28.1
	Disagree	2012	50.1
Women should not be allowed to wear head coverings like the hijab in Australia (C1_9)	Agree	883	21.9
	Neither agree or disagree	1175	29.2
	Disagre	1954	48.6
Islam is compatible with western society [R] (C1_11)	Agree	766	21.9
	Neither agree or disagree	1081	29.2
	Disagree	2167	48.6
I am worried that our rights and freedoms are threatened by Muslims in Australia (C1_12)	Agree	1286	32.0
	Neither agree or disagree	1108	27.6
	Disagree	1613	40.1
Compared to myself Muslims have a lot less power and influence [R] (C1_14)	Agree	823	20.5
	Neither agree or disagree	1874	46.6
	Disagree	1311	32.6
Most Muslims are interested in integrating into Australian society [R] (C1_15)	Agree	1942	48.3
	Neither agree or disagree	1330	33.1
	Disagree	738	18.4
In your opinion, how concerned would you be if one of your closest relatives were to marry a person of Muslim faith (D1_8)	Not at all concerned	1761	43.8
	Some level of concern	2245	55.9

[R] Indicates a question that is a reverse proposition Where rows don't sum to 100%, this is due to missing responses, which ranged from 0.1 and 0.3 across all 14 variables.

4.2 FIVE GROUPS

Our research placed Victorians into 5 groups (classes) when it comes to Islamophobia in Victoria. Based on the interpretability and the usefulness of the groups, the five-class solution was selected as the optimal number of classes for the perception of Islamophobia. The five class solution maintained statistical strength (see Table 8) while also being conceptually reliable. Descriptive statistics of these groups can be found in Table 9.

Each respondent was coded according to their allocation to the five groups and then covariate analysis was undertaken on how group position was linked to other variables such as age, gender, employment, education, religious affiliation, voting behavior, attitudes towards diversity, prosocial action, trust in key institutions, willingness to support violence, knowledge of Islam, interaction with Muslims, and attitudes towards specific groups. The full list of covariates and the strength of these associations are presented in Table 9, but are summarised here. The findings for each group were determined in relation to the reference class, which was Group 1 ('Progressive').

Table 6. Latent Classes of Islamophobia (5-class solution names and proportions) Victorians, 2019

	Class Name*	Frequency(%)
Group 1	Progressive	773 (19%)
Group 2	Progressive with concerns about Islam	1283 (32%)w
Group 3	Undecided	688 (17%)
Group 4	Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies	932 (23%)
Group 5	Islamophobic	343 (9%)
TOTAL		4019 (100%)

4.2.1 PROGRESSIVE (GROUP 1)

Description

The Progressive group accounted for 19% of the sample. Respondents in Class 1 tended to strongly agree with questions that confirmed the belonging, fit and acceptance of Muslims. They strongly disagreed with counter terrorism policies and practices that target Muslims. They did not see Muslims as a threat, and were not at all concerned with a relative marrying someone from a Muslim background. Survey respondents in this group demonstrated a consistently positive disposition across the Islamophobia variables.

Attitudes and demographic profile – covariate analysis

The Progressive group was the only group untouched by Islamophobic sentiments. Islamophobia reaches through all of the other four groups, to some degree, except for the respondents in the Progressive group. Progressive were the reference group, but their characteristics can be in read as the reverse outcomes of the significant negative covariate results in Table 10. For example, the Progressive group were more likely not to be 35-64 middle aged category, and were more likely to be younger Australians (18-34) or those in the oldest category (65 years and over). The Progressive are generally less likely to be in the educational classes below university education, and more likely to be female (though the latter was not a statistical significant relation). The Progressive were much less likely to vote for the right of spectrum side of politics. Unlike most of the other groups the Progressive have a very positive view on diversity. They shared that positive disposition with the 'Progressive with Concerns', however, they did not share the latter's likelihood of support for assimilationist propositions. The progressive group can also be distinguished by their trust in the science of climate change. The Progressive groups were much more likely than the other groups, especially the Islamophobic and Undecided, to oppose political violence. The Progressive were more likely to report higher levels of contact with Muslims, and knowledge of Islam, compared to all other groups (except the Islamophobic group). It is noteworthy that for the Islamophobic group this distinction from the Progressive was less significant, meaning that Groups 2, 3 and 4 were more likely to admit their ignorance of Islam and lesser contact with Muslims. Unlike all of the groups, the Progressive group were less likely to show social distance towards (concern about) African-Australians.

4.2.2 PROGRESSIVE WITH CONCERNS ABOUT ISLAM (GROUP 2)

Description

The Progressive with concerns about Islam group accounted for 32% of the sample. Respondents in this group tended to agree with questions that accept Muslims and see them as equal citizens. They disagreed that Muslims do not fit with Australian society. Similar to Class 1, they disagree that counter terrorism policies and border practices should target Muslims. They did not see Muslims as a threat, and are not at all concerned with a relative marrying someone from a Muslim background. However, they were more likely to neither agree or disagree that Islam is compatible with western society.

Attitudes and demographic profile – covariate analysis

The Progressive with concerns about Islam group also follow similar demographics to the other three groups. They are more likely to be aged across a mid-section of society (35-64), identify as Christian and vote right-wing on the political spectrum. Like groups 1 and 3 they were more likely to have higher education attainment level than the Islamophobic groups, with a Trade or TAFE qualification. They are more likely to be in precarious employment (casual, part-time) or retired. This group is ambivalent or trending towards support for cultural diversity and cultural pluralism. They hold progressive positions on other diversity and inclusion criteria; for example, they agreed that Muslims are the same as other citizens, that Muslims belong in Australian society, and they are comfortable being around Muslims. They did not see Muslims as a threat, and less than a third (28%) would be slightly concerned with a relative marrying someone from a Muslim background. However, they were more likely to neither agree or disagree that Islam is compatible with western society (51% unsure on this question, and one-third agreeing there was compatibility (37%). They were ambivalent about prosocial action. They

> Survey respondents in this group [Progressive group] demonstrated a consistently positive disposition across the Islamophobia variables.

were more likely to have mixed responses to the trust questions; they are ambivalent or trending towards trusting of political parties, they trust the media and they are ambivalent or trending towards distrust of the science of climate change. They were likely to be ambivalent towards support for non-democratic government. They are more likely than the reference group (the Progressive) to have negative views towards people of an African background. They were more likely to have little to no knowledge of Islam and very limited interaction with Muslims. The latter are the key variations from the Progressive group.

4.2.3 UNDECIDED (GROUP 3)

Description

The Undecided group accounted for 17% of the sample. Respondents in Group 3 tended to neither agree or disagree on all items pertaining to acceptance, belonging, compatibility, threat and support of counter terrorism policies and practices. They tended to be slightly concerned about a close relative marrying someone from a Muslim background. This group took a largely non-committal position on most items. Fortunately, their attitude profiles lean more towards the progressive disposition than an Islamophobia one. This was the case for questions on citizenship, fit and compatibility. It was especially so for the questions around equal treatment, where the Undecided group were more likely to assert the citizenship of their Muslim peers than to deny that. This was reversed for living near a mosque, hijab wearing, and perception that rights and freedoms were being eroded, on which they sided with the Islamophobic groups. Islamophobic concerns among this group are more issues based, than a broader disposition, which could manifest through local, national or geo-political issues.

Attitudes and demographic profile – covariate analysis

The Undecided group a are typified by their non-committal stance on key questions about Islam and Muslims (79% on 'Muslim fit'; 86% on 'Muslim threat'; etc). They follow the demographic trends of the previous two Islamophobic groups. They are more likely to be aged across a mid-section of society (35-64), identify as Christian and vote right-wing on the political spectrum. Like the assimilationist Islamophobic group they have a slightly higher education level than the Islamophobic group, were more likely to have a Trade or TAFE qualification as their highest education, and they were more likely to be in full-time, part-time or casual employment. They remain ambivalent on attitude questions, tending to neither agree or disagree on cultural diversity and prosocial action. There was more likely to be support among these respondents for the assimilationist assumption that cultural retention threatens the nation. They are also non-committal on the trust and fairness questions, neither agreeing or disagreeing on their trust of political parties, the media and the science of climate change. They are also more likely to be non-committal in their support of non-democratic forms of government, are also ambivalent towards support of an organisation that resorts to violence. They were also more likely to agree with violence being supportable than were the Progressive reference group. They were more likely to agree they would be concerned about people of African background. They were more likely to be either non-committal or opposed to same-sex marriage. This group were more likely to claim a high stated knowledge of Islam (this makes them different to every other group) but were more likely to have limited interaction with Muslims.

4.2.4 ISLAMOPHOBIC WITH ASSIMILATIONIST TENDENCIES (GROUP 4)

Description

The Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies group accounted for 23% of the sample. This group has a less sustained negativity towards Muslims than the Islamophobic group. Nonetheless, half (52%) would be concerned or very concerned if a close relative were to marry someone from a Muslim background. Respondents in Group 4 agreed that Muslims pose a threat to Australian society. They tended to disagree that Muslims belong in Australian society and that Islam is compatible with western society, and 60% agreed that Muslim women should not be allowed to wear head coverings like hijab, which suggests that an assimilationist position sits behind their Islamophobia. They were more likely to agree than disagree that Muslims are the same as other citizens and that most Muslims are interested in integrating into Australia (only a third disagreed with these propositions). They were not supportive of counter terrorism policies, or border controls, that targeted Muslims (only 25% and 40% agreed).

Attitudes and demographic profile – covariate analysis

The 'Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies' group shared some attributes with the Islamophobic class but also some important variations. Like the Islamophobic group, this group is more likely to be aged across a mid-section of society (35-64), are more likely to vote right-wing on the political spectrum, but they identify as Christian. Where they differ on demographics is that they are more likely to have a trade or TAFE level qualification (than the Islamophobic group) and they are less likely to be unemployed, home duties or students. They share similar attitude traits with the Islamophobic group; they do not think cultural diversity is good for Australia. They are more likely to agree that Australia is weakened by cultural pluralism and they would be unlikely to take prosocial action. But the members of this group were more likely to agree that most Muslims were interested in integrating and that Muslims are the same as other citizens, and they tended towards the middle ground (neither agree or disagree) on whether Muslims fit into Australian society and whether Muslims pose a threat. They were more likely than

the Islamophobic group to assert equality and the importance of sameness, unlike the Islamophobic group who are more likely to assert an inherent hierarchy and incompatibly. The Islamophobia of this group is linked to their assimilationist stance, that everyone should be the same, rather than a strict adherence to hierarchy and supremacism. They are more likely to be non-committal about trust in Australian political parties, to trust the Australian media, but to have distrust of the science of climate change. They are more likely to support an organisation that resorts to violence. They are more likely to have little to no knowledge of Islam and very likely to have very limited interaction with Muslims. This group is also more likely to be concerned about a relative marrying someone from an African background and they are more likely to be ambivalent towards non-acceptance of same-sex marriage.

4.2.5 ISLAMOPHOBIC (GROUP 5)

Description

The Islamophobic group accounted for 9% of the sample. Respondents in Group 5 consistently strongly disagreed that Muslims are equal citizens, that Islam is compatible with western society and that Muslims belong in Australian society. They strongly agreed that Muslims pose a threat to Australian society and were supportive of counter terrorism policies and border practices that target Muslims. They also strongly agreed that Muslim women should not be allowed to wear head coverings and would be extremely concerned if a close relative were to marry a person from a Muslim background. The Islamophobic group sees Muslims as a threat and as a touchstone for political mobilisation. The consistency of their views across these variables suggests some level of conviction, purpose and a preparedness to take action (e.g. boycott halal products) that is Islamophobic.

Attitudes and demographic profile – covariate analysis

The Islamophobic group were more likely to be aged across a mid-section of society (35-64 years). They were more likely to have lower education levels (HSC or below), to identify with a non-Christian religion, or to a lesser extent to have no religion, and to vote right-wing on the political spectrum (Liberal or One Nation). They were also more likely to be retirees, but given the middle-aged profile above, they are not necessarily more likely to be senior citizen retirees. They were more likely to be at the extreme and negative end of attitudes on diversity. They strongly disagreed that cultural diversity is good for Australia, they agreed that Australia is weakened by cultural pluralism and they stated they would be unlikely to take prosocial action to help someone who sick or injured, regardless of their ethnic background. They had higher levels of distrust of key institutions (political parties), and on the science of climate change but they had higher levels of trust in the Australian media. Significantly, they were more likely to support an organisation that resorts to violence. They were more likely to know nothing at all about Muslims, and to have sporadic or no interaction with Muslims. They would be much more likely to be concerned about a close relative marrying someone from African background.

The latent class analysis generated five meaningful segments of the Victorian sample. Table 10 reveals the very different versions of Islamophobia that pertain for four of the five groups. Islamophobia varies across degrees of social distance, support for (un)even treatment, recognition of intrinsic rights and citizenship, and intolerance of specific Muslim performances and traits.

“Respondents in Group 5 consistently strongly disagreed that Muslims are equal citizens, that Islam is compatible with western society and that Muslims belong in Australian society.

5. SUMMARY AND CONSIDERATIONS

5.1 KEY FINDINGS

The Victorian respondents in this survey showed a very strong level of support for cultural diversity (78.1%). There are those who are unsure about cultural diversity (17%), so it might be more specific to report that an anti-diversity disposition is a minority view (4.8%). Most of the sample are supportive of taking action against racism (80.2%). However, assimilationist thinking is quite strong, and influences a significant, though sub-majority, group. This is consistent with other research which has shown support for assimilation to be between 48% and 67% of the population (Blair et al. 2017; Markus 2018). There were high levels of ignorance of the Muslim religion and practices, and low levels of frequent contact with Muslims. Other research has shown that low levels of factual knowledge about Islam and Muslims, and little contact with Muslims, are predictors of prejudice towards Muslims (Mansouri & Vergani, 2018).

The latent class analysis generated five meaningful segments of the Victorian sample. Respondents from four of the groups (excluding the Progressive group) have intolerance towards those from a Muslim and African background. The Progressive group alone are untouched by Islamophobia. Islamophobia can be said to be universal if not for that group (the latter typified by age [not middle-aged], university educated; and anti-assimilationist). But Table 10 reveals the very different versions of Islamophobia that pertain within four of these five groups. Islamophobia varies across degrees of social distance, support for (un) even treatment, recognition of intrinsic rights and citizenship, and intolerance of specific Muslim performances and traits. Islamophobia is inflected differently across these four groups. It moves from a low level of anxiety ('Progressive with concerns' 32%), through a group whose latent Islamophobia can be aroused through touchstone political issues like hijab-wearing or mosque development (17%), to a group who would prefer cultural sameness based on an underlying cultural hierarchy in which the majority cultural norm is privileged (23%), and finally an Islamophobic group who deny citizenship and rights to Muslims (9%), seeing little capacity for their incorporation to their preferred version of Australian society.

The most Islamophobic group demonstrate a supremacist hostile disposition towards Islam and Muslims. The first of the two most Islamophobic groups were consistently negative, and would not recognise the rights and citizenship of Australian Muslims. There is a sociobiological-like ideology that drives this group. But both Islamophobic groups have anti-diversity dispositions, unlike the other three groups. They also had strong agreement with the assimilationist proposition that cultural retention weakens Australia, but this was also shared somewhat with the Undecided group and the 'Progressive with concerns'. Only the Progressive group eschewed this assimilationist proposition. The Islamophobic groups, and the Undecided group were unsure if they would take prosocial action to help someone from another ethnic group.

The 'Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies' group do not hold with any lack of innate equivalence between Muslims and non-Muslims. But they are associated with a desire for Muslims to be culturally the same. They perceive a threat from the unreconciled difference that would follow from the retention of specifically Muslim cultural traits (e.g. hijab-wearing). Therefore, this group sees Islam as culturally inferior. Assimilationist thinking drives the Islamophobia in this group. This is demonstrated in their perception of Muslims and Islam along a cultural hierarchy, and aligns with the so-called 'new racism'. Among this group many are more likely to disagree that Muslims are equivalent as citizens.

The 'Undecided' group are committed to the universality of citizenship, but influenced by assimilationism and by some 'issues based forms of Islamophobia'. If not undecided, then they were more likely to agree that Muslims do fit in to Australia, are compatible, and that they ought to

enjoy equal citizenship. Issues of concern were specific matters like hijab wearing and living near a mosque.

The largest group were the 'Progressive with concerns' group (32%). In this group there were low levels of concern about Muslims on the social distance measures. This fed into half of this group being undecided as to whether Islam was compatible with a western society like Australia. Generally, they agreed with Muslim fit, lack of threat, and the need for even treatment. They differed mostly from the Progressive group (9%) in the extent to which they agreed with these views. The latter were more ardent, tending to strongly agree on these matters, they strongly disagreed with negative characterisations, and also rejected the uneven treatment of Muslims. The Progressive group were typified by their age (not middle aged), university level educational attainment, and an anti-assimilationist disposition. They are remarkable in their critical position on assimilationist ideology, their trust of climate change science, and their opposition to political violence.

The placement of Victorians into these five groups was not strongly influenced by gender. The influence of age is significant, with all but the Progressive group associated with the middle aged. Educational attainment has an influence in sorting this Victorian sample. The Islamophobic groups were more associated with HSC or lesser education, Trade and TAFE was associated with the middle groups (especially the Undecided group), and university education with the Progressive group. The Islamophobic groups were more likely associated with retirees, but not with people aged over 65.

There was a significant association between voting for political parties and the five groups. All four groups (except the Progressive group) were associated with right wing voting (Liberal and One Nation Party), and the Islamophobic group were also associated with other parties and no party affiliation. Greens and the ALP voting was associated with the Progressive group. Political ideology is associated with whether Victorians are at either pole of the five groups, or in the centre three. The two Islamophobic groups, and the Undecided group, are associated with continued support of organisations that resort to violence. Trust in institutions (media and politics) was not a strongly associated with any of the groups. However, only the Progressive group were trusting of the science of climate change, the members of the other four groups being distrustful or unsure. The Islamophobic group were more distrustful than unsure, and the other two groups were more associated with being unsure than distrustful.

Respondents from the two Islamophobic groups were more likely to say they knew nothing at all about the Muslim religion and practices. And the 'Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies' group were unlikely to have contact with Muslims. The Undecided group were interesting in being more likely associated with the stated claim that knew a great deal or quite a bit about the Muslim religion and practices. Otherwise it was the Progressive group that were likely to claim knowledge of Islam. The Undecided and Progressive with concerns groups were more likely to report a low frequency of contact with Muslims.

5.2 AREAS OF CONSIDERATION FOR COUNTERING ISLAMOPHOBIA

Community and government stakeholders endorsed our segmentation of the Victorian public, and commented on how the of the classes made sense as groups. They further commented that these groups provided justification for a multi-pronged approach to countering Islamophobia. Furthermore, a multi-pronged approach would lend itself to building coalitions for intervention, as directed at the different groups. It was also suggested that the groups, the specific manifestation of Islamophobia, and their characteristics of the groups, would provide strong pathways for program and policy designers.

The 'Islamophobic' (9%) group have a consistently and strongly Islamophobic stance. The members of this group have a consciousness and intentionality that is revealed in their attitude profile of blatant supremacism and hostility. This is a minority group for whom it would be difficult to easily change hearts and minds, and they should more likely to be a focus of containment and proscription. Messaging from public authorities that constructs the members of this group as a deviant threat to good public order would make theoretical sense. And, it would be appropriate to construct 'participation' with members of this group as dangerous and risky. The key is to make it more difficult for them to make Islamophobic statements, to vilify Victorian Muslims, rally anti-Muslim politics and inflame issues. Safe responsibility for intervening with and disputing organised members of this group would largely sit with state agencies (law, policing, security).

The 'Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies' (23%) group have a disposition towards Muslims that is very close to the Islamophobic class. However, the ideological underpinning of this group is assimilationism, and their perception of a cultural hierarchy into which Australian Muslims can fit if they adapt their 'cultural ways'. This is a priority group for maintaining social cohesion and public order. Local action and pre-preparation for disputes (e.g. place-based initiatives to assuage debates about mosque) will limit the extent to which the members of this group rally to the intentional politics of the Islamophobes. Together, the two groups are a formidable minority that can be rallied to cause public disturbance. Interfaith events, statements and representations will provide an opportunity for religious rivalries to be assuaged. This group are more likely to be Christian, and if people of faith can connect their visions and values, then this will assuage the effect of assimilationist ideology. Buy-in and advocacy from key influencers (organisations and

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> Islamophobia has become far too prevalent in Victorian society. It is legitimately a focus of major public concern.

individuals) will also have reach and impact (social media, storytelling) with this group.

The 'Undecided' group (17%) have an unpredictability, and ought to be a focus of more research, so that we can better determine their attitudes and help predict and avoid triggering Islamophobia. Like the previous group, anything that confronts assimilationist assumptions will prove effective. Education that de-centres stereotypes and re-humanises Muslims will also build resilience to the influence of Islamophobia in this group. Stories and representations that demonstrate the ordinary hopes (family, education and work) and civic participation (volunteering, donating [drought / bushfires and local charity work – homelessness]) of Muslims would have positive effects by leveraging the strongly universalist position on rights in this group. Also, the profiling of celebrity (Australian Muslim) journeys, such as Muslim sports or media stars, will allow members of this group to find local affiliation and human association. Work at the level of locality (sports and community groups), and in schools, will have enduring benefit and virtue, and the latter can be an effective means to reach parents.

The 'Progressive with concerns about Islam' (32%) group are generally assured about cultural diversity in Victoria but have some level concerns about Islam. They are a group where there can be optimism about the prospects of assuaging anxieties. The residues of assimilationist thinking need to be exorcised in this group. But they are a group open to be influenced and they will attend local initiatives such as mosque Open Days and other interfaith events. However, the quickest wins with this group will be achieved through a better and more sensible public discourse about Islam and Muslims. This requires political restraint, and better media practice, which together would substantially contain the spread of Islamophobia.

The 'Progressives' (19%) are very positive about Muslims and Islam in Australia, and they have a clear political position on cultural diversity that is critical of assimilationist thinking. This group are a strong counter to the discourses of the Islamophobic group. They are a somewhat neglected group in terms of policy action, and could be better utilised for anti-racism work. Policy, and political messaging, could better enhance and legitimise the challenge that the members of this group present to cultural supremacism and privilege. The Progressive group are key influencers whose work could be accelerated through their networks and other capacities.

Islamophobia has become a far too prevalent in Victorian society. It is legitimately a focus of major public concern. Fortunately, there is general agreement among Australian researchers and community representatives on the use of the concept to explore and challenge anti-Muslim attitudes. It is timely to contemplate government led initiatives that bring together the research and community insights, and which share examples of good practice and intervention. The report of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on British Muslims (2018) shows that this can be done. Our segmentation shows that the tasks at hand can be categorised and the action shared.

5.3.FURTHER RESEARCH

Our study has uncovered areas in which further research is recommended:

1. We recommend qualitative research that would identify the disruptors that could successfully prevent the Undecided group from leaning towards the Islamophobic groups. The concern is that this substantive group of undecided may be recruited to Islamophobic action. As yet, it is unclear what some of the triggers might be for this group, and a better understanding of motivations and drivers would assist in developing interventions that direct this group towards progressive standpoints rather than Islamophobic ones.

2. We recommend qualitative research on the mechanisms and discourses that can shift the Islamophobic category into the 'Islamophobic with assimilation' category. Typical anti-racist assumptions would be to challenge the supremacism / hostility of the Islamophobic groups, by challenging their assimilationist thinking. Assimilationist thinking might facilitate a shift from supremacism, with the attendant benefits around a more universalist perspective – in which there was acceptance of Muslim's human rights and citizenship. They would still be exposed to the issues associated with the assumptions of cultural hierarchy, but this may be preferred to a white supremacist outlook. The value of this approach would need to be evaluated.

3. We recommend consultations with Progressive group on how they can be better enabled to counter Islamophobia themselves. This group are too often ignored as they hold attitudes and support behaviours that are not a threat to good public order. But they are an invaluable resource for anti-racist action, and this has been under-utilised. Consultation that examines capacities, limits, resourcing and structural support is recommended.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A – VALUES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Question	Response Options				
A1. There is racial prejudice in Australia	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A2. On average, racism is worse in Australia than in other parts of the world	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A3. It is a good thing for a society to be made up of different cultures	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A4. I feel secure when I am with people of different ethnic backgrounds	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A5. I am prejudiced against other races	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A6. It is NOT a good idea for people of different racial backgrounds to marry one another	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A7. Australians from a British background enjoy a privileged position in our society	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A8. Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic backgrounds sticking to their old ways	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A9. All races of people ARE fundamentally equal	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A10. People from racial, ethnic and religious minority backgrounds should behave more like mainstream Australians	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A11. All migrants should be accepted regardless of where they come from	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A12. Australia should help refugees fleeing persecution in their homeland	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A13. I would stop to help someone who appeared to be sick or injured, regardless of their ethnic background	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A14. All boats carrying asylum seekers should be turned back	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A15. Something should be done to minimise or fight racism in Australia	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

SECTION B – TRUST AND FAIRNESS

Below are some statements regarding your level of trust in Australian institutions. For each of them, please indicate how strongly you agree with them.

Question	Response Options				
B1. I have trust in Australian political parties	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B2. I have trust in the Australian criminal justice system	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B3. I have trust in the Australian Family Court	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B4. I have trust in the Australian media	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B5. I have trust in the science of climate change	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B6. I have trust in the High Court of Australia	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B7. I have trust in the Police	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B8. The Australian government can be trusted to do the right thing for Australians	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B9. I am able to have a real say on issues that are important to me in my local area	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B10. The best way to govern Australia is to have experts, not politicians make decisions	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B11. Most people can be trusted	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B12. Democracy is preferable to other kinds of government.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B13. In some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferred	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B14. It doesn't matter what kind of government we have	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B15. Democratic systems are not effective at maintaining order and stability	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B16. I would continue to support an organisation that fights for my political and legal rights even if the organisation sometimes breaks the law	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
B17. I would continue to support an organisation that fights for my political and legal rights even if the organisation sometimes resorts to violence	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

SECTION C – ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND ISLAM

Question	Response Options				
C1. I would accept living near a mosque	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C2. Muslims are the same as other citizens	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C3. Muslims do not fit into Australian society	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C4. Muslims pose a threat to Australian society	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C5. Do you agree with the practice of targeting Muslims more than others at airports and stations	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C6. Counter-terrorism policies in Australia should focus exclusively on Muslims	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C7. I would feel very comfortable speaking with a Muslim	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C8. I would boycott the purchasing of halal products	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C9. Women should not be allowed to wear head coverings like the hijab in Australia	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C10. Women should not be allowed to wear face coverings like the niqab and burqa in Australia	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C11. Islam is compatible with western society	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C12. How much would you say you know about the Muslim religion and its practices	A great deal	Quite a bit	A little	Nothing at all	Don't know
C13. Please think about your relatives, your friends, your neighbours, your schoolmates and/or your colleagues. How many of them are Muslims?	None	Less than 5	Between 5 and 10	More than 10	Don't know
C14. The number of Muslim immigrants accepted into Australia is	Much too high	Too high	About right	Too low	Much too low
C15. How often do you meet with, or interact with, Muslim Australians in general? (1 = never to 5 = once a day)	1	2	3	4	5
C16. I am worried that our rights and freedom are threatened by Muslims in Australia.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C17. I worry about terrorism in Australia	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C18. Compared to myself Muslims have a lot less power and influence	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
C19. Most Muslims are interested in integrating into Australian society	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

SECTION C – ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND ISLAM continued

The respondents are given three options in response to each question, where only one option is correct.

Question	Response Options
C20. What is the main religious text for Muslims?	• The Qur'an • The Torah • Dharma
C21. What does the word Ramadan mean?	• A holy month of fasting, prayer and reflection for Muslims worldwide • The holiest place in Islam, where an annual pilgrimage occurs • The collection of laws by which Muslims must abide
C22. Which of the following is a revered Prophet in Islam?	• Jesus • Mahmoud • Gabriel
C23. Which of the following is not an Abrahamic faith?	• Islam • Christianity • Buddhism
C24. The majority of Muslims are:	• Shia • Sunni • Sufi

SECTION D – ATTITUDES TOWARDS OUTGROUPS

Question	Response Options				
D1. In your opinion, how concerned would you feel if one of your closest relatives were to marry a person of...					
Indian, Pakistani or Sri Lanka background	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
Other Asian backgrounds	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
Aboriginal background	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
Italian background	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
British background	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
African background	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
Middle Eastern background	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
Muslim Faith	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
Jewish Faith	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned
Christian Faith	Not at all concerned	Slightly Concerned	Concerned	Very Concerned	Extremely concerned

SECTION D – ATTITUDES TOWARDS OUTGROUPS continued

Please indicate how strongly you agree with the following:

D2. I try to persuade others that women deserve equal opportunities to men	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
D3. I support the setting of targets for women in senior positions of employment	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
D4. People with disability receive too many benefits	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
D5. Marriages between two women or two men should be permitted	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
D6. It would not upset me if I learned that a close friend was LGBTIQ	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

SECTION E - DISCRIMINATION

E1. Have you experienced discrimination in the last 12 months?	YES	NO
E2. What was the reason for this?	Race, Skin colour, Ethnicity, Country of origin Religion Gender Sexuality Disability If more than one, specify	

E3. How often have you experienced discrimination in the following situations?

In your workplace	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
At school, university or other educational institution	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
When renting or buying a house	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
In any dealings with the police or the court system	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
At a shop or shopping centre	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
On public transport	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
In seeking health care	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Online or in social media	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
At home or a friend's/family's home	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never

SECTION E - DISCRIMINATION continued

E4. In reference to discrimination you may have faced in the last 12 months, how often do you feel that

You are treated less respectfully	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
People act as if you are not to be trusted	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
You are called names or similarly insulted	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
You have been physically assaulted	All the time	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Never

SECTION F - DEMOGRAPHICS

Question	Response Options
F1. What is your age?	18 - 24 25 - 34 35 - 44 45 – 54 55 - 64 65 - 74 75 - 84 85 or older
F2. Are you Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander?	No Yes, Aboriginal Yes, Torres Strait Islander Yes, both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
F3. Which of the following best describes your gender identity?	Male Female Non-Binary/Gender fluid Other Prefer not to say
F4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?	Postgraduate qualification University degree Other tertiary qualification Trade or TAFE qualification Higher School Certificate (year 12) or equivalent No formal qualifications Other
F5. Which of the following best describes your employment status?	Employed Full-time Employed Part-time/Casual Unemployed Self-employed Retired Caring/Home duties Student Other

SECTION F - DEMOGRAPHICS continued

Question	Response Options
F6. What is your personal annual income, before tax?	Under $20,000 $20,000 – $29,999 $30,000 – $39,999 $40,000 – $49,999 $50,000 – $59,999 $60,000 – $79,999 $80,000 – $99,999 $100,000 - $149,999 $150,000 or more Don't know/Don't wish to divulge
F7. In which country were you born?	
F8. Was your mother born in Australia?	Yes No (please specify)
F9. Was your father born in Australia?	Yes No (please specify)
F10. What is the main language spoken at your home?	English Mandarin Arabic Cantonese Vietnamese Italian Greek Tagalog/Filipino Hindi Spanish Punjabi Other
F11. What best describes your family background?	Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Australian or New Zealander Caribbean Central American Central Asian Chinese Eastern European Indian Japanese Korean Middle Eastern North African North American Northern European Oceania (Melanesian, Micronesian, Polynesian) Pacific Islander South East Asian South American Sub Saharan African United Kingdom/Ireland Western European Any others? (please specify) Prefer not to say

SECTION F - DEMOGRAPHICS continued

Question	Response Options
F12. What is your religion?	No religion, agnostic or atheist Buddhist Christian Hindu Jewish Muslim Other (please specify) Prefer not to say
F13. Which political party are you most likely to vote for?	Labor Party (ALP) Liberal Party National (Country) Party Greens No party affiliation Other
F14. Using a scale from 0 to 10, please show how much you like or dislike the following politicians. If you don't know much about them, you should give them a rating of 5.	Pauline Hanson 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Scott Morrison 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Peter Dutton 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Richard Di Natale 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Anthony Albanese 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Michael McCormack 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
F15. In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
F16. What is your postcode?	

APPENDIX 2
PRIMARY INDICATORS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

TABLE 7. PRIMARY INDICATORS OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

Question	Response Options	Question sourse
I would accept living near a mosque (C1_1)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Mansouri & Vergani 2018
Muslims are the same as other citizens (C1_2)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Mansouri & Vergani 2018
Muslims do not fit into Australian society (C1_3)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Mansouri & Vergani 2018
Muslims pose a threat to Australian society (C1_4)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Mansouri & Vergani 2018
I agree with the practice of targeting Muslims more than others at airports and stations (C1_5)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Adapted from Mansouri & Vergani 2018
Counter-terrorism policies in Australia should focus exclusively on Muslims (C1_6)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Mansouri & Vergani 2018
I would feel comfortable speaking with a Muslim (C1_7)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Hassan 2015
I would boycott the purchasing of halal products (C1_8)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	CRP 2017
Women should not be allowed to wear head coverings like the hijab in Australia (C1_9)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	CRP 2017
Islam is compatible with western society (C1_11)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	CRP 2017
I am worried that our rights and freedoms are threatened by Muslims in Australia (C1_12)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Uenal 2016
Compared to myself Muslims have a lot less power and influence (C1_14)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Imhoff and Rekker 2012
Most Muslims are interested in integrating into Australian society (C1_15)	Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree or disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree	Kauff et al 2015, using Leibold & Kühnel, 2006
In your opinion, how concerned would you be if one of your closest relatives were to marry a person of ... *Second prompt:* Muslim faith (D1_8)	Not at all concerned; Slightly concerned; Concerned; Very concerned; Extremely concerned	Traditional Bogardus social distance measure

APPENDIX 3
LATENT CLASS MODELLING

In this study, we relied on the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1987), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; Schwartz, 1978), sample size adjusted BIC (SBIC; Sclove, 1987), and the Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test (LMR; Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001). For the AIC, BIC and the SBIC, a lower value indicates a better model. For the LRT, a significant p-value for a model with k classes followed by a non-significant p-value for a model with k + 1 classes indicates that the k class model is the best fitting model. The indices BIC, SBIC and LMR have been shown to identify the appropriate number of groups in finite mixture models (e.g, Nylund et al., 2007; Tofighi & Enders, 2007; Diallo, Morin & Lu (2016a, 2016b, 2017). Further, the entropy criterion was used to examine the quality of classification across models. The normalized entropy values ranged from 0 to 1 with values greater than .80 representing a clear assignment of individuals to latent classes (Muthén & Muthén, 2007). All LCA models with fewer than eight classes converged to a solution. The results also showed that the log-likelihood increased while no minimum was found for the AIC, BIC and SBIC as their values decreased across the range of models considered (see Table 8 below). Similarly, the LRT did not pick an optimal solution. The Entropy was high across models ranging from 0.902 to 0.933.

TABLE 8. FIT STATISTICS FOR LATENT CLASS MODEL SPECIFICATIONS

Number of Latent Class	Loglikelihood	# Free Parameters	AIC	BIC	SBIC	LMR LRT	Entropy
1	-82096.556	56	164305.113	164657.845	164479.902	NA	NA
2	-72696.05	113	145618.101	146329.864	145970.8	p <.000	0.919
3	-67486.35	170	135312.7	136383.494	135843.31	p <.000	0.933
4	-64686.361	227	129826.722	131256.547	130535.242	p <.000	0.922
5	-63408.573	284	127385.146	129174.002	128271.576	p <.000	0.917
6	-62712.929	341	126107.858	128255.745	127172.198	p <.000	0.902
7	-62052.879	398	124901.759	127408.677	126144.009	p <.000	0.907

Note. # = number; AIC = Akaike Information Criterion; BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; SBIC = Sample Size Adjusted BIC; p LMR = *p-values* for the Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood ratio test for *k* versus *k+1* classes.

APPENDIX 4

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS ACROSS THE FIVE GROUPS

TABLE 9. ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS, ACROSS THE FIVE GROUPS, VICTORIA, 2019

Variables	Responses	Descriptive statistics (%)					
		Groups					
		Sample TOT	Progressive	Prog. w. conc.	Undecided	Islam. w Assim.	Islamophobic
I would accept living near a mosque (C1_1)	Strongly agree	16.5	65.8	5.0	0	5.9	10.2
	Agree	32.0	25.1	60.0	13.0	23.8	3.7
	Neither agree or disagree	25.3	5.2	25.4	65.0	20.7	3.8
	Disagree	14.9	1.7	9.0	18.9	32.9	10.1
	Strongly disagree	11.3	2.2	7.0	3.1	16.7	72.2
Muslims are the same as other citizens (C1_2)	Strongly agree	23.1	87.5	11.5	1.2	5.3	13.1
	Agree	42.1	10.9	80.4	34.4	35.7	3.9
	Neither agree or disagree	20.0	1.2	6.0	59.0	30.2	9.4
	Disagree	9.8	0.1	2.1	5.3	26.5	23.3
	Strongly disagree	5.0	0.3	0	0.1	2.3	50.3
Muslims do not fit into Australian society (C1_3)	Strongly agree	7.7	0.3	0	0.2	7.1	69.3
	Agree	14.0	1.0	1.5	6.5	46.1	17.5
	Neither agree or disagree	28.2	1.3	18.4	79.4	34.5	4.6
	Disagree	31.4	15.7	73.7	13.6	0.9	1.8
	Strongly disagree	18.7	81.7	6.4	0.3	1.4	6.8
Muslims pose a threat to Australian society (C1_4)	Strongly agree	8.2	0.3	0.1	0	8.4	70.8
	Agree	13.8	0.1	0.9	6.0	47.6	16.6
	Neither agree or disagree	29.3	1.2	20.0	85.5	33.1	4.7
	Disagree	28.7	10.8	71.4	8.3	10.4	1.7
	Strongly disagree	20.0	87.6	7.6	0.2	0.5	6.2
I agree with the practice of targeting Muslims more than at airports and stations (C1_5)	Strongly agree	6.1	1.0	0.2	0.3	6.4	53.8
	Agree	6.3	1.0	3.9	6.6	36.8	17.4
	Neither agree or disagree	20.9	3.2	17.8	74.1	29.9	11.6
	Disagree	37.5	9.6	60.5	18.1	22.2	4.9
	Strongly disagree	29.2	85.2	17.6	0.9	4.7	12.3
Counter-terrorism policies in Australia should focus exclusively on Muslims (C1_6)	Strongly agree	3.9	0.3	0.2	0	4.6	30.9
	Agree	7.6	0	1.1	2.2	21.3	22.8
	Neither agree or disagree	21.2	2.5	7.0	63.9	25.4	18.9
	Disagree	37.8	9.4	63.2	22.0	28.8	15.0
	Strongly disagree	29.5	87.8	28.5	10.0	9.8	12.4
I would feel comfortable speaking with a Muslim (C1_7)	Strongly agree	31.3	90.6	27.5	1.6	13.9	19.0
	Agree	41.5	6.5	65.4	38.6	49.1	17.2
	Neither agree or disagree	19.4	0.5	4.7	54.8	26.7	25.3
	Disagree	5.0	0	1.7	4.4	9.3	18.1
	Strongly disagree	2.8	2.4	0.7	0.6	1.0	20.4
I would boycott the purchasing of halal products (C1_8)	Strongly agree	7.9	1.0	1.1	0.9	11.1	53.6
	Agree	10.5	0.1	2.9	7.3	29.6	17.0
	Neither agree or disagree	26.6	5.5	17.6	68.3	30.8	12.6
	Disagree	29.1	7.5	57.0	22.0	23.1	4.9
	Strongly disagree	25.9	85.8	21.4	1.5	5.4	11.9
Women should not be allowed to wear head coverings like the hijab in Australia (C1_9)	Strongly agree	16.5	3.6	4.0	7.9	28.2	76.3
	Agree	17.2	2.5	14.9	21.6	33.8	5.0
	Neither agree or disagree	25.8	9.0	28.7	58.5	19.7	5.1
	Disagree	22.4	19.8	40.6	10.9	14.8	5.3
	Strongly disagree	18.1	65.2	11.8	1.1	3.5	8.3
Islam is compatible with western society (C1_11)	Strongly agree	7.9	28.5	7.0	0.3	4.8	10.9
	Agree	21.5	38.1	29.6	4.2	16.0	3.8
	Neither agree or disagree	38.7	24.4	51.2	72.1	21.0	7.1
	Disagree	20.4	6.2	17.1	21.6	39.8	9.3
	Strongly disagree	11.5	2.8	1.3	1.8	18.4	69.0
I am worried that our rights and freedoms are threatened by Muslims in Australia (C1_12)	Strongly agree	11.3	0.9	0.3	1.2	18.2	76.1
	Agree	20.8	1.9	9.3	20.3	56.5	9.9
	Neither agree or disagree	27.7	4.7	30.5	72.8	17.4	6.2
	Disagree	24.2	19.8	56.1	5.3	7.1	0.9
	Strongly disagree	16.0	72.7	3.8	0.4	0.8	6.9
Compared to myself Muslims have a lot less power and influence (C1_14)	Strongly agree	4.9	14.0	0.3	0	4.1	12.8
	Agree	15.7	26.0	15.2	3.6	20.3	5.7
	Neither agree or disagree	46.7	35.4	53.2	81.7	32.2	18.5
	Disagree	24.0	12.4	28.4	13.9	35.2	24.1
	Strongly disagree	8.7	12.3	2.8	0.8	8.2	39.0
Most Muslims are interested in integrating into Australian society (C1_15)	Strongly agree	11.9	38.7	5.5	0	6.1	15.1
	Agree	36.5	40.6	57.2	18.2	29.8	6.1
	Neither agree or disagree	33.2	17.4	29.8	72.5	30.1	11.1
	Disagree	11.6	1.5	7.3	8.7	26.7	15.2
	Strongly disagree	6.8	1.8	0.3	0.5	7.3	52.5
In your opinion, how concerned would you be if one of your closes relatives were to marry a person of Muslim faith (D1_8)	Not at all concerned	44.0	86.3	59.0	32.0	11.0	6.5
	Slightly concerned	21.0	9.2	28.1	32.8	18.7	3.9
	Concerned	14.5	2.7	8.9	23.5	27.6	9.9
	Very concerned	9.3	0.3	2.6	8.7	24.8	13.4
	Strongly disagree	11.2	1.5	1.4	3.0	18.0	66.3

Each group has been assigned a colour: Progressive (dark blue); Progressive with concerns about Islam (light blue); Undecided (green); Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies (yellow); Islamophobic (orange).
The coloured boxes indicate where the prevalence of the group lies in terms of their responses to the questions.

APPENDIX 5

MULTINOMINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION ESTIMATES

Table 10: MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION ESTIMATES AND ODDS RATIOS
FOR DEMOGRAPHICS, ATTITUDES TOWARDS CULTURAL DIVERSITY, TRUST AND FAIRNESS, ATTITUDES TOWARDS MUSLIMS AND ISLAM, AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SPECIFIC VARIABLES

	Islamophobic (n=343, 8.5%)		Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies (n=932, 23.2%)		Undecided (n=688, 17.1%)		Progressive with concerns about Islam (n-1283, 31.9%)	
	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR	B (SE	OR
Age								
35 -64 years	0a		0a		0a		0a	
18-34 years	-0.711* (0.278)	0.491	-0.514** (0.194)	0.598	-0.47* (0.201)	0.625	-0.568***(0.141)	0.566
65+ years	-1.19** (0.393)	0.304	-0.508 (0.297)	0.602	-0.381 (0.358)*	0.683	-0.072 (0.231)	0.931
Gender								
Male	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Female	-0.253 (0.237)	0.776	-0.202 (0.168)	0.817	-0.184 (0.183)	0.832	-0.154 (0.129)	0.857
Education								
University educated	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Trade or TAFE	0.139 (0.3)	1.15	0.518* (0.211)	1.679	0.716**(0.222)	2.047	0.338* (0.16)	1.403
HSC or below	0.568* (0.268)	1.765	0.284 (0.201)	1.329	0.429 (0.219)	1.535	-0.02 (0.157)	0.981
Employment								
Full-time and Self-employed	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Part-time/Casual	-0.225 (0.323)	0.799	0.145 (0.22)	1.156	0.045(0.233)	1.046	0.217 (0.166)	1.242
Retired	0.768* (0.384)	2.155	0.45 (0.311)	1.568	-0.134 (0.374)	0.875	0.256 (0.243)	1.292
Other (Unemployed, Caring/Home duties, Student, other)	-0.156 (0.321)	0.856	-0.482* (0.221)	0.618	-0.388(0.234)	0.679	-0.249 (0.167)	0.78
Religion								
Christian	0a		0a		0a		0a	
No religion, agnostic or atheist	0.072 (0.255)	1.074	-0.005 (0.189)	1.005	-0.053 (0.202)	0.948	-0.249 (0.143)	0.78
Other religions (Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, other)	1.239*** (0.352)	0.29	-0.684** (0.239)	0.505	-0.588* (0.256)	0.555	-0.546** (0.181)	0.569
Which political party are you most likely to vote for?								
Left (ALP and Greens)	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Right (LIB and One Nation)	1.509*** (0.295)	4.521	0.71** (0.212)	2.033	0.741** (0.231)	2.099	0.64*** (0.17)	1.897
Other parties (National Party, No Party affiliation, Other)	0.844** (0.288)	2.325	0.191 (0.196)	1.21	-0.243 (0.204)	1.275	0.239 (0.141)	1.27
It is a good thing for a society to be made up of different cultures								
Agree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/ disagree	2.822*** (0.439)	16.802	2.211*** (0.396)	9.122	2.241*** (0.4)	9.401	0.632 (0.398)	1.881
Disagree	2.827*** (0.64)	16.888	1.581* (0.622)	4.859	0.487 (0.72)	1.627	0.248 (0.728)	1.281
Australia is weakened by people from different ethnic backgrounds sticking to their old ways								
Agree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	-1.414*** (0.324)	0.243	-1.112*** (0.228)	0.329	0.108 (0.241)	1.114	0.2 (0.202)	1.222
Disagree	-2.052*** (0.282)	0.128	-2.408*** (0.212)	0.09	-1.53*** (0.237)	0.217	-0.707*** (0.174)	0.493

	Islamophobic (n=343, 8.5%)		Islamophobic with assimilationist tendencies (n=932, 23.2%)		Undecided (n=688, 17.1%)		Progressive with concerns about Islam (n-1283, 31.9%)	
	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR	B (SE)	OR	B (SE	OR
I would stop to help someone who appeared to be sick or injured, regardless of their ethnic background								
Agree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	0.802* (0.404)	2.23	0.952** (0.325)	2.595	1.121** (0.325)	3.068	0.378 (0.298)	1.459
Disagree	0.81 (0.452)	2.247	0.188 (0.393)	1.207	0.385 (0.397)	1.469	-0.113 (0.333)	0.893
I have trust in Australian political parties								
Agree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	0.186 (0.388)	1.204	0.068 (0.262)	1.07	0.346 (0.267)	1.413	0.012 (0.207)	1.012
Disagree	0.367 (0.337)	1.443	-0.097 (0.248)	0.907	0.003 (0.267)	1.003	-0.115 (0.196)	0.891
I have trust in the Australian media								
Agree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	-0.7 (0.36)	0.497	-0.361 (0.257)	0.697	0.169 (0.265)	1.184	-0.035 (0.192)	0.966
Disagree	-0.351 (0.331)	0.704	-0.241 (0.248)	0.786	-0.436 (0.27)	0.647	-0.02 (0.188)	0.98
I have trust in the science of climate change								
Agree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	0.622 (0.322)	1.862	1.263*** (0.244)	3.536	1.117*** (0.227)	3.057	0.619** (0.178)	1.858
Disagree	1.306*** (0.308)	3.691	1.259*** (0.246)	3.522	1.28*** (0.262)	3.595	0.498* (0.198)	1.646
In some circumstances a non-democratic government can be preferred								
Disagree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	-0.089 (0.291)	0.915	-0.165 (0.198)	0.848	0.635** (0.21)	1.886	0.428** (0.141)	1.534
Agree	-0.119 (0.279)	0.888	0.184 (0.22)	1.203	0.117 (0.254)	1.124	0.119 (0.171)	1.127
I would continue to support an organisation that fights for my political and legal rights even if the organisation sometimes resorts to violence								
Disagree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	0.646* (0.291)	1.908	0.242 (0.208)	1.273	0.729** (0.21)	2.073	-0.104 (0.164)	0.901
Agree	1.992*** (0.335)	7.331	1.324*** (0.271)	3.76	0.843** (0.308)	2.324	0.293 (0.23)	1.34
How much would you say you know about the Muslim religion and practices								
Nothing at all/Don't know	0a		0a		0a		0a	
A great deal/Quite a bit	-0.055 (0.43)	0.947	-0.688* (0.311)	0.502	1.737*** (0.328)	0.176	-1.410*** (0.258)	0.244
A little	-0.766 (0.409)	0.465	-0.68* (0.281)	0.507	-0.881** (0.274)	0.414	-0.631** (0.231)	0.532
How often do you meet with, or interact with, Muslim Australians in general								
Daily	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Sometimes (Weekly or Monthly)	0.004 (0.281)	1.004	0.655** (0.22)	1.926	0.94** (0.286)	2.56	0.379* (0.162)	1.46
Yearly or Never	0.57 (0.345)	1.769	0.95*** (0.265)	2.586	1.498*** (0.32)	4.471	0.697** (0.202)	2.009
In your opinion, how concerned would you feel if one of your closest relatives were to marry a person of African background								
Not at all concerned	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Some level of concern	2.928*** (0.271)	18.697	2.711*** (0.192)	15.042	1.830***(0.207)	6.232	1.026*** (0.162)	2.789
Marriages between two women and two men should be permitted								
Agree	0a		0a		0a		0a	
Neither agree/disagree	0.431 (0.341)	1.539	0.647** (0.244)	1.911	1.596***(0.246)	4.931	0.363 (0.209)	1.438
Disagree	0.488 (0.292)	1.629	0.343 (0.232)	1.41	0.632** (0.258)	1.881	0.048 (0.191)	1.049

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001
Parameter estimates (B) for each latent class are relative to the reference latent class (Progressive (n=773, 19.2%), adjusted for all other variables in the model.
SE: standard error of the estimates.
OR: Odd Ratio. Odd-ratios are exponentiated parameter estimates.
Oa: reference category.
The coefficients and OR reflects the effects of the predictors on the likelihood of membership in the listed latent class relative to the reference class.

APPENDIX 6

With assistance from staff at the Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies (CRIS) and the Community Reference Group, we undertook a series of community consultations with the following aims:

- To test our groups (classes) for validity and relevance.
- To develop ideas for interventions that could target each group.

Groups consulted included:

1. **Centre for Multicultural Youth**
   CEO, Minh Nguyen
   Consultation: 27 April 2020

2. **The Huddle**
   CEO, Cameron McLeod
   Consultation: 29 April 2020

3. **Islamic Council of Victoria (ICV)**
   Jamal Mohammed
   Consultation: 30 April 2020

4. **Bachar Houli Foundation**
   Ali Fahour
   Consultation: 18 May 2020

5. **Department of Justice and Community Safety, Victorian Government**
   Masoud Navvabi, Connor Flanagan, Antonia Kent
   Consultation: 26 May 2020

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