

Committee Secretary
Joint Standing Committee on Migration
PO Box 6021
Parliament House
Canberra ACT 2600

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am pleased to submit the attached report to the Committee's inquiry into Australia's migration system.

The report's author and credentials are:

Mr Simon Cole. Mr Cole was born and raised in Melbourne and worked at ELICOS and Migrant Ed institutions and universities in the international education sector for 30 years from 1988 to 2018 in Australia and abroad, including Thailand, England and 13 years in Japan. Since then, he has been involved in sustainability advocacy, [mutual credit systems](#)¹, [freelance journalism](#)² and community politics. He is a graduate of; Aston University (UK) - Master of Science in Education in TESOL; New England University (NSW) - Graduate Diploma in Education, TESOL; South Australia Institute of Technology's Aboriginal Task Force - Ass. Dip. Aboriginal Community Administration; La Trobe University (Vic) - Bachelor of Behavioural Science. He is currently a member of the following organizations: Royal Geographical Society of Queensland, United Nations Australia Association Queensland, Sustainable Population Australia, Oxley Creek Catchment Association, New Economy Network Australia, Brisbane Local Exchange Trading System, Southern Brisbane Suburban Forum, The Diggers Club. He maintains a website called [Equanimity](#)³ and lives in

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[Committee membership](#)

1 <https://www.communityexchange.net.au/home/>

2 <https://independentaustralia.net/profile-on/simon-cole,994>

3 <https://equanimity.blog/>

Submission to the inquiry Migration, Pathway to Nation Building

Simon D Cole, B.B.Sc., M.Sc.Ed

12th March, 2023

Submission deadline **Thursday, 16 March 2023.**

I welcome the opportunity to contribute to this review of Australia's migration system and commend the government for undertaking it. My submission is limited to the socio-cultural and political issues raised in the first two points of the Inquiry. My area of expertise lies in behavioural science (psychology, sociology, language, politics and cultural affairs). Appendix A is confidential as it includes personal contacts and pictures. The key issues I address are diversity and social cohesion.

Summary

This submission addresses the first two terms of reference;

- 1. The role of permanent migration in nation building, cultural diversity, and social cohesion.***
- 2. Immigration as a strategic enabler of vibrant economies and socially sustainable communities in our cities and regional hubs;***

It collates definitions of both *social cohesion* and *diversity* and considers their implications. It then reviews how these concepts are measured in the real world and outlines some findings. These findings are applied to national interest considerations and the refinement of the migration system.

The key findings are

- The current pace of immigration is socially unsustainable.
- The challenge of social cohesion and diversity has been underestimated.
- There is a disconnect between public opinion and government policy on immigration that undermines social cohesion around diversity, immigration and multiculturalism.

Drawing upon these insights, the key recommendations are

- Immigration should be tailored to minimize social stressors, taking local conditions into consideration until social cohesion targets are met.
- Observe a broader range of social well-being indicators and rely on the findings of several research institutes.

- Annual immigration intake should be calibrated to be consistent with a social policy objective that prioritizes individual mental well-being and a socially healthy population.
- As such, immigration should return to pre-2006 levels - a flexible annual intake target of around 70,000 NOM (aligned with public sentiment). To maintain as stable a population as possible, immigration should complement Australian fertility levels.

Full Submission

Background

In 1973, the Whitlam government introduced multiculturalism, which formalized the Holt Coalition government's renouncement of the White Australia policy. Whitlam's immigration minister brought the concept of multiculturalism to the public in a paper entitled *A multi-cultural society for the future*. He described Australia then as "an extremely diverse society largely shaped by the policies of ... the past quarter-century."ⁱ

Although most Australians appreciate the need for acceptance, tolerance and harmony, the goals of multiculturalism have never been properly defined or debated in the public arena.ⁱⁱ

The original architects of Australian multiculturalism did not envisage it in a context of the very large immigration program we have today. Growth was expected, but in moderation. Greater equality was expected and yet inequality has increased.

Over the past two decades, permanent migration has transformed Australia from a relatively culturally diverse population (compared to many countries including major nation states such as China, Russia and to a lesser extent India) of around 20 million to a populationⁱⁱⁱ of 26 million. This increase is more than twice the average for OECD countries.^{iv} We now have the greatest proportion of foreign-born residents (30% in 2019) in the world, apart from microstates and Middle East oil states.^v If we include first generation Australians, the proportion is more than 50%.

1. The role of permanent migration in nation building, cultural diversity, and social cohesion.

The government's definition of social cohesion is given on the Home Affairs website.^{vi} Briefly:

Our inclusive national identity is built around our shared values including democracy, freedom, equal opportunity and individual responsibility. The diversity of the population provides Australia with a variety of languages, beliefs, traditions and cultures. We celebrate this diversity and at the same time strive for a unified and harmonious nation. It is this social cohesion that underpins our prosperity.

Social Cohesion

What is social cohesion?

The government relies heavily on the findings of the Scanlon Institute, which researches and promotes social cohesion.^{vii} It suggests a definition of social cohesion is ‘strong social bonds infused with a sense of togetherness’. Conventionally, very homogeneous societies such as Japan’s, conform to this definition quite easily. However, in a highly diverse society such as Australia’s, the Scanlon Institute acknowledges that the term is ill-defined and adds to complexity. Ever optimistic, it regards this as ‘creating opportunities to shape a broad research agenda, drawing together otherwise disparate threads. Yet this can also create some difficulty when communicating research aims and outcomes.’ Other definitions include,

- ‘the bonding between people and groups or “glue” that binds people in positive relationships’^{viii}
- a society that ‘works towards the wellbeing of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility’^{ix}

How then, can social cohesion be measured?

The Scanlon Institute, among others, has been measuring what it defines as social cohesion for more than a decade, issuing annual “Mapping Social Cohesion Reports” and publishing an Australian Cohesion Index report every two years. “Each Mapping Social Cohesion national survey builds on the previous year and informs the Scanlon-Monash Index (SMI) of Social Cohesion... A prime objective of the surveys is to further understanding of the social impact of Australia’s increasingly diverse immigration program.”^x The Scanlon Institute’s Australian Cohesion Index is “based upon a broad definition of social progress, including the concept of ‘wellbeing’. Informed by a review of international indexes, the Australian Index developed for this project comprises five objective domains: the first two relate to material conditions, income and employment, together with three domains covering health, education and community participation.”^{xi} The Australian Cohesion Index’s objective data is balanced by the MSC and SMI’s emphasis on subjective perceptions: “Social cohesion is measured in five key areas:

1. **Belonging:** the sense of pride and belonging people have in Australia and in Australian life and culture, and the belonging they feel in their neighbourhoods
2. **Worth:** the degree of emotional and material wellbeing
3. **Social inclusion and justice:** perceptions of economic fairness and trust in government
4. **Participation:** involvement in political activities and participation in social, community, and civic groups
5. **Acceptance and rejection:** attitudes to immigrant diversity, support for minorities, and experience of discrimination.

While the sample sizes of these surveys compare well with others such as Finder’s [Consumer Sentiment Tracker](#)^{xii}, they include anyone in Australia regardless of residency status.^{xiii} In other

words they include temporary visa holders, non-citizens and those not eligible to vote. Asking these people about ‘Belonging’, for example, brings the efficacy of the surveys into question.

This highlights the importance of the government casting a wide net in its research, not just in this Review, but as a matter of course. There are numerous credible research institutions in Australia it can call upon.^{xiv} There are also many in countries experiencing similar demographic shifts that may yield useful data.^{xv}

[Gill Savage](#) at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI) makes a good point that, “Social cohesion combines with economic prosperity to drive a secure and resilient nation. The benefits are significant; reduced economic isolation and economic exclusion, and enhanced economic participation are just a few of them.”^{xvi}

The overall picture of social cohesion painted by these reports and others^{xvii} show Australians are doing well *materially* compared to most other OECD countries, although the gains have waned more recently.

While it is possible to be united and diverse, we all acknowledge that there are tensions between diversity and social cohesion that require work.^{xviii} This work is very worthwhile and rewarding. However, few would deny that a very diverse society is a more complex one. In our society, individuals enjoy the enriching stimulation of cultural variety. We have increasingly come to live alongside diverse and sometimes directly conflicting social norms and expectations around marriage, family, religion, race and ethnicity. We grapple with this plethora of customs, taboos, rituals, languages and religions as best we can in our daily lives. Meanwhile, even before the dismantling of the White Australia policy, relations between the sexes began changing, too, requiring greater attention and care. This occurs in a context – for most Australians – of cost of living pressures, busy work and family lives and ever more new and complex technologies. Added to this is the seemingly endless disruption of reworking and expanding our built environment – even before it has reached its use-by date – to accommodate ever more people. One result, for example is a more complex roadway system that requires ever more sophisticated navigational and technical skills. This disproportionately impacts the growing number of elderly people in our society (who have an enormous wealth of lived experience to offer) and people with disabilities. People with self-confidence issues are equally at risk of being disenfranchised from participating in society.

I wonder if this increasingly heavy cognitive load on individuals is factored into the government’s rapid nation building program?

As Gough Whitlam said, “We can double and treble social benefits, but we can never make up through cash payments for what we take away in mental and physical well-being and social cohesion through the break-down of community life and community identity.”^{xix}

Border closures

The COVID pandemic created circumstances for a unique insight into the impact of immigration and population growth on Australian social cohesion. Border closures brought a temporary halt to immigration. The results are instructive: According to the Scanlon Institute, “the spike in social cohesion during the pandemic is wearing off. Overall social cohesion is now back to where it was before the pandemic. While this may indicate a return to a pre-COVID normal, there are clear warning signs in the data. In particular, levels of national pride, belonging, and the sense of social justice in Australia are now lower than they were before the pandemic.”^{xx} This correlates with the current government’s return to immigration levels that are higher than before COVID.

Interestingly, this contrasts markedly with happiness statistics that plummeted during lockdown periods.^{xxi} However, between lockdowns, these same statistics were higher than both before and after the pandemic.^{xxii} Backyard garden space and parks contributed to this wellbeing.^{xxiii}

Border closures produced mixed results for social cohesion. On the one hand, employment rates rose and wages strengthened. Infrastructure construction was able to catch up with demand in the early stages, eventually succumbing to supply chain disruptions.^{xxiv} People had more time for leisure and connecting to family and neighbours – lockdowns notwithstanding. However, the flood of money into the economy from the federal government had no-where to go other than domestic tourism and the property market, which pushed housing prices further out of reach for most. The former would have contributed to the sense of belonging and national pride, elements of social cohesion the Scanlon Institute points to. On the other hand, the latter would have contributed to greater economic inequality that drags down social cohesion. We need to be careful conflating social cohesion with individual happiness brought on by wealth.

The way in which the distribution of financial support exacerbated inequality was a monumental misfortune in that it skewed the potential benefits of border closures. Had the government avoided overstimulating the housing market with low interest rates, first-home-buyer grants and access to superannuation for housing deposits, property prices might have stabilized. However, at every turn, the government has acted to avoid such a stabilization and keep housing unaffordability rising, dismissive of its impacts on social cohesion.

Other indicators

According to the Scanlon Institute, “Within the Australian Government, there are two major applications of social cohesion. One is the more traditional approach, where social cohesion is a foundation for social harmony.” The Japanese call this central tenet of their culture ‘wah’.

The second application is worrying indeed. “However more recently, applying social cohesion has also been incorporated into action on curbing radical behaviour, typically called Countering Violent Extremism.” If this trend does not indicate a breakdown of social cohesion, what does? In its own words, the Scanlon Institute says, “social cohesion is not about having diversity but about how the community operates together in a diverse society”. However, the Scanlon Institute fails to encompass a wide enough view of how the community operates together.

This chart of Australian terrorist events^{xxv} (including the Russell Street bombing, Port Arthur massacre, Bourke Street car attack and Christchurch massacre)^{xxvi} confirms the upward trend (**more than doubling**). Australia’s population doubled in the same period (12,600,000 to 26,500,000).

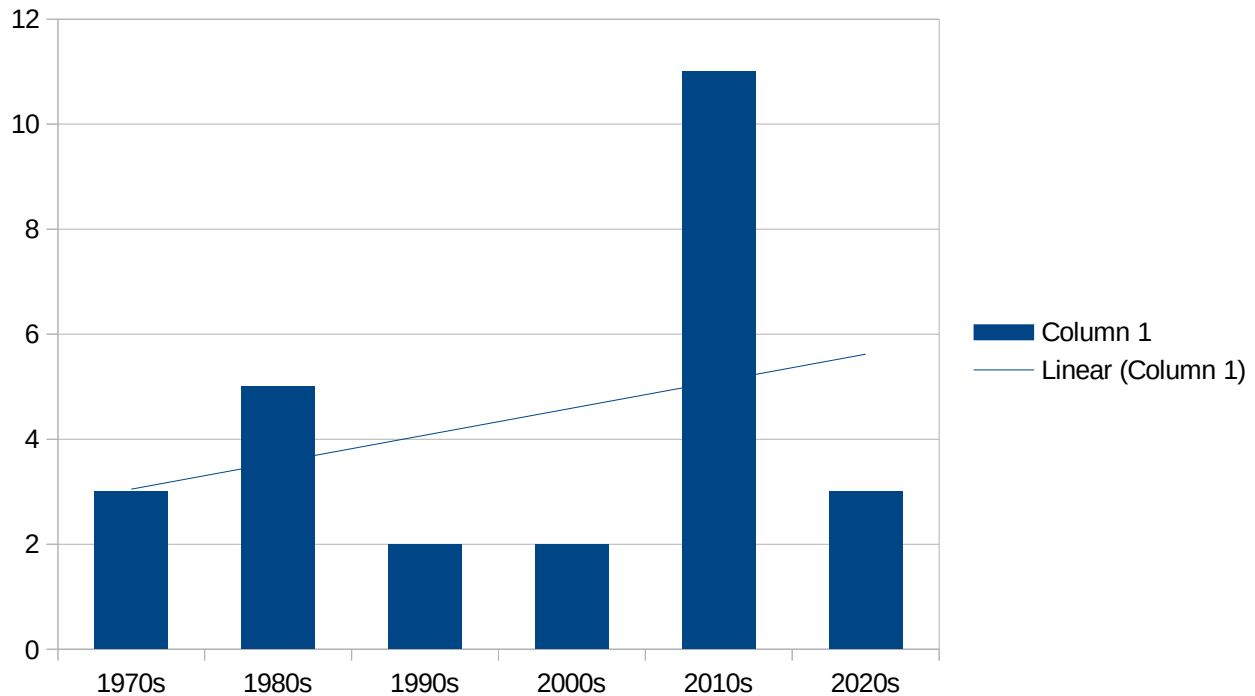


Figure 1: Figure 1: Terrorist events 1970 - 2023

Notably, the decade with the greatest number of events occurred when the scale of immigration reached unprecedented levels. “The average net immigration for the twentieth century was 52,000 per year. The average from 2006 to March 2020 (prior to the pandemic border closure) was 228,000 per year.”^{xxvii}

This trend may be attributed to some extent to our increasingly interconnected world. However, nation states exist to ensure their citizen’s security and have ample scope for doing so, especially in our case, being an island continent nation.

There are other indicators that inform us on how socially cohesive Aussies are feeling. Immigration is just one contributor to these. However, as the primary source of population growth, it impacts directly and indirectly on almost all of them.

Nation-wide, home ownership rates have fallen over the past decades, thereby disenfranchising more Australians as stakeholders in the property market. This undermines their security of tenure and certainty about the future. Homelessness is at the extreme end of this phenomenon.^{xxviii} The preoccupation of governments past and present with GDP growth, whilst neglecting per capita GDP growth, has encouraged the speculation-driven demand side of housing. Moderating the demand would allow the home ownership trend to reverse. But it’s not just housing unaffordability that’s

“dragging social cohesion down”. Scanlon’s MSC 2022 report concludes, “Economic pressures are adding to personal and community stress”. As long as federal governments continue to rely heavily on immigration to keep population and GDP growing, rather than focussing on per capita GDP, they can expect these economic pressures to continue worsening.

Happiness is a core element of social cohesion. While Aussies are doing well compared to most other countries, there is widespread agreement that we’re not getting happier.^{xxix}

Nation building

What kind of nation do Australians want to build? A bigger one? No. 70% of Australians say the country doesn’t need more people. 60% of Australians say immigration should be lower.^{xxx} This sentiment has been consistent, going back to 1997, when there was support for the existing number of people.^{xxxi} If the majority of Australians think immigration-driven population growth should continue at the current rate, all good and well. But if they think it should slow down and parliament ignores them on this enormously consequential issue, is that not evidence of a breakdown of social cohesion? The current Labor government achieved a majority with an historically low popular vote of around 32%. This breakdown in democratic responsiveness represents a deterioration of social cohesion, according to the academic definition.^{xxxii} It clearly lacks a licence to increase immigration.^{xxxiii} Economics journalist, Dr Judith Sloan says “*the lobbying behind immigration is so strong that both [political] parties have concluded the views of ordinary folk can be ignored. These forces include the bureaucracy... big business, property developers, the universities and various interest groups, some ethnically based.*”^{xxxiv}

Diversity and Multiculturalism

[Associate Professor Dimitria Groutsis](#)^{xxxv} stated in 2019 that ‘*After almost five decades of multiculturalism we still don’t have clarity around what cultural diversity is. That is, we don’t know the landscape of our society and what our organisations look like.*’ This is an extraordinary admission – that we have been running a huge social experiment for 50 years, in the blind. This confusion manifests in the notion of diversity. (To be clear about terms, permanent migration as currently practised, leads to *ethnic* diversity. Cultural diversity alone excludes the notion of race.)

Measuring Diversity

As mentioned previously, Australia has the greatest proportion of foreign-born residents. In 2021, more than 300 different ancestries were reported.^{xxxvi}

In 2021, 29.1% of Australia's population were born overseas. 7.5 million people resident in Australia in 2021 were born overseas. The largest group were born in England, however Indian-born was the group with the largest increase since 2011. In 2020, Australia ranked 9th internationally for the total number of migrants in its population.^{xxxvii}

The Australian Bureau of Statistics no longer collects data on race (with the exception of self-identification of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders), preferring to ask Australian residents to nominate up to two ancestries each census. According to the ASCCEG (Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups), the breakdown as clarified on Wikipedia as ethnicity^{xxxviii} is as follows:

Ethnicity	%
English	33
Australian	29.9
Irish	9.5
Scottish	8.6
Chinese	5.5
Italian	4.4
German	4
Indian	3.1
Aboriginal	2.9
Greek	1.7
Filipino	1.6
Dutch	1.5
Vietnamese	1.3
Lebanese	1
Sub-Totals	
Chinese, Indian, Filipino, Vietnamese, Lebanese	12.5
Others (non-English, non-Australian)	32.6
English & Australian	62.9

These percentages give the impression of a major Anglo-Celtic presence, but it should be noted that ancestry from a similarly diverse country such as England, does not necessarily equate to an Anglo-Celtic ancestry. Importantly, the distribution and concentration of ethnic groups impacts on diversity and multiculturalism.

Australians value multiculturalism in the original sense of us all mixing and learning from each other. The Scanlon Institute states, ‘multiculturalism is a civic project to bring people together and generate social cohesion.’^{xxxix} Its surveys show higher than ever support for multiculturalism, immigration and diversity, contrasting with increasing reports of prejudice.^{xl}

However, one of the problems of over-reliance on Scanlon surveys is that their sample includes the growing cohort of new arrivals.^{xli} In other words, parliament is receiving data that includes non-constituents. This lack of transparency is a serious flaw in the research. No consideration is given to how it skews the data.

This failing notwithstanding, the 'Mapping Social Cohesion survey has found a core understanding of Australian multiculturalism is the idea of a 'two-way street' for migrants and existing citizens.' Unfortunately, there is increasing evidence of new arrivals failing to integrate and forming large enclaves. Historically, diaspora communities have always formed enclaves in host nations where they form a minority in order to support new arrivals from their source region and to protect their cultural identity. But we live in more progressive times and a far more technologically and therefore socially interconnected world.

The largest enclaves in Australia are not from small nations like Greece who have legitimate concerns about loss of ethnic identity. It may seem quite natural that the largest cohort of immigrants are those from the largest overseas populations. However, that is entirely the choosing of the Immigration Department. If they are showing little interest in integrating, the question needs to be asked whether they subscribe to multiculturalism at all. Their growing numbers suggest there is something missing from the immigration screening process, or that the sheer number has become unmanageable for the Home Affairs Department.

Culturally diverse or simply, *diverse* is a popular euphemism used to refer to non-white people.^{xlii} If diversity is an admirable ideal, not including people of Anglo-Celtic origin is problematic. [*Professor Duncan Ivison*](#)^{xliii} offers a very open-ended definition of multiculturalism as '*a deep commitment to equality and respect for human dignity*.' If this is the model for Australia and 'non-white' people are to be treated with genuine equality and dignity, European-descent Australians should not be set apart from others. An analogous lesson from feminist social history is that you can't liberate women without liberating men as well. Placing them outside the 'ideal' is alienating and compounds the notion that they 'lack culture'. To encourage and enable positive engagement between all groups, there must be a healthy awareness of each and every individual's values and history. Anglo-Celtic Australians cannot participate in this process if they lack appreciation of their own culture beyond superficial flag-waving.

The evidence that multiculturalism is failing is readily available. One stark example is of new arrivals importing sectarian violence. In *The Australian Dec 6/22*, appears the article: '*India warns Albanese of Sikh separatists and terrorism link*'.^{xliv} Perhaps groups like these regard multicultural values as applying to those other than themselves.

The confusion and lack of consensus around diversity results in a *laisse faire* approach. There appears to be no consideration of what constitutes excessive diversity.

Are there limits to diversity?

If diversity is in fact being diminished by Australia's immigration program, surely it has reached its limit. How is this possible? The current immigration program taken as a whole has a large Indian and Chinese component. Given that these hugely populated countries are quite homogeneous in nature, their increased presence in Australia diminishes regional and global diversity. As a European outpost, Australia adds to the diversity of the region. This is hardly problematic in a global demographic sense, as the (already diverse) populations of Europe and the Americas combined make up less than a quarter of the world's population.^{xlv}

The challenge of ensuring multiculturalism and unity in diversity succeeds is not to be underestimated. It is complex and requires a nuanced approach. This may require tailoring the migrant intake to account for potential imbalances and unduly conflicting values. It should also be at a pace that allows all involved to develop the capacity to participate. This requires a clear understanding of what the social covenant is and what it entails.

2. Immigration as a strategic enabler of vibrant economies and socially sustainable communities in our cities and regional hubs;

I contend that socially sustainable communities are those with adequate levels of cohesion, which I have already addressed. I have also alluded to the existing distribution of new arrivals causing an increase in urbanization. Studies show that "A high level of urbanisation is associated with increased risk of psychosis and depression for both women and men."^{xlvi} There is broad consensus that greater dispersal is beneficial to regional communities. Therefore, in this section, I address the somewhat nebulous notion of 'immigration as a strategic enabler of vibrant economies'.

Firstly, vibrant economies have a great diversity of industries that support each other. They provide the population a broad range of career options and tap into the talent and passions of its population. An economy like this relies not so much on immigration, but federal government policies that create an environment in which innovation thrives. This naturally leads to a certain degree of national self-sufficiency. Interestingly, national self-sufficiency is not straight forward. For example, the most self-sufficient country in the world is Sudan and the fourth most self-sufficient country is the United States.^{xlvii} Sudan ranks first because its economy is mostly subsistence farming. The USA ranks fourth because it has both a very competitive and technologically developed economy and a large natural resource base. Australia on the other hand is a middle sized economy with substantial natural resources and a highly educated and skilled workforce. The reason we don't have local manufacturing industries (such as automobiles) and Germany and South Korea do, is because of government policy priorities.

The vibrancy of economies cannot be measured by GDP growth alone, either. The contraction of some GDP indicators translate into healthier, happier and safer societies, such as when privately run prisons go out of business due to a drop in crime. Another example is when populations fall and disperse allowing more space for garden yards – this contributes to mental health.^{xlviii}

Studies of socio-cultural evolution and history inform us that the great cradles of civilization appeared at the cross-roads of human movement that intersected with natural environments that

were readily amenable to agriculture. It is known that even in modern businesses, a diverse employee base stimulates innovation through the cross-pollination of ideas. At the same time, less diverse employee cohorts work together more efficiently. Similarly, at the service/client interface, it is known that in doctor-patient relations, clients seek out practitioners from the same background because they feel more comfortable and trusting.

It would appear, therefore, that a balance of innovation and efficiency is optimal. In other words, a balance of diversity and homogeneity is ideal. This echoes the findings of what creates social cohesion. Shared values around 'equal opportunity, individual responsibility, diversity, unity and harmony' are laudable and I believe Australians have proven they are up to the challenge. However, the difficulties and complexities of very high levels of ethnic diversity must not be underestimated. White-washing our failings (ignoring evidence such as I have presented here) must also come to an end. A perfect example of this failing is the ample evidence of growing discord around Australia Day, our 'day of national unity'.^{xlix} The Australia Day website provides laudable sentiments about diversity, unity and respect, but the arguments continue and are not being addressed adequately.^l

Conclusion, Questions and Recommendations

Slowing down the rate of immigration to a level most Australians agree with will build social cohesion. It will also make planning in all areas more manageable. Australia need not fear population contraction and turn to immigration. "Several countries have declining population levels, *including* Croatia, Japan, Portugal, Poland, South Korea, and Lithuania."^{li} Each of these nations is seeing stable or rising wages and historic lows in unemployment". (Richard Heinberg, 2018)^{lii}

The challenge of ensuring multiculturalism and cohesion in diversity succeeds is not to be underestimated. It is complex and requires a nuanced approach. This may require tailoring the migrant intake to account for potential imbalances and at a pace that allows all involved to develop a clear understanding and capacity to participate. Difficult as it may be to do, applicants from regions where reputational issues exist need to be more carefully screened. Reputational issues include starkly conflicting social values, enclavist tendencies and fraudulent behaviour on visa applications.

In monitoring and measuring social cohesion and diversity, the government will be better informed by listening to a broader range of research institutions on a regular basis.

Greater emphasis on national unity should be incorporated into our immigration program. Prioritising the unfinished and challenging task of reconciliation between the existing Anglo-Celtic and Indigenous population should take precedence over increasing diversity further than it already is. The culture of acceptance and embracing diversity will facilitate reconciliation, but from an indigenous perspective, high levels of immigration is a form of neo-colonization.

Federation was achieved when Australia's population was much smaller and less culturally diverse, without advanced information technology. By comparison, even minor reforms attract little consensus today. It might not be popular to make comparisons with the past, but this proves that

embracing greater diversity increases the complexity of a society and the challenge of finding agreement on issues that affect us all.

Home Affairs Minister Hon Claire O’Neil stated recently, “Speaking to the "eight big changes" being looked at, that the first was the "need to articulate a clear definition of why our migration system exists, and what problems we want it to solve, so we can design a program where the structure, rules and administration meet those objectives".^{liii} I hope that this submission contributes to that commendable sentiment with respect to the diversity and social cohesion objectives of our nation.

- i Al Grassby, 1973. http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/grassby_1.pdf, page 1.
- ii Ibid, page 21.
- iii Census 2021, ABS.
- iv 2022, Dr Paul Collins, How Many Australians? <https://population.org.au/discussion-papers/how-many-australians-the-need-for-earth-centric-ethics/>
- v <https://population.org.au/about-population/australias-population/>
- vi <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/about-us/our-portfolios/social-cohesion/about-social-cohesion>
- vii Mapping Social Cohesion 2022_Report_Scanlon.pdf page 91
- viii <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/what-does-social-cohesion-mean-in-australia/>
- ix <https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/race-discrimination/publications/building-social-cohesion-our-communities-2015>
- x <https://scanloninstitute.org.au/research/mapping-social-cohesion>
- xi <https://scanloninstitute.org.au/australian-cohesion-index-2021/>
- xii <https://www.finder.com.au/happiness-statistics>
- xiii Mapping Social Cohesion 2022_Report_Scanlon.pdf page 91
- xiv <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/>, <https://tapri.org.au/>
- xv <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042814054937>
- xvi <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/what-does-social-cohesion-mean-in-australia/>
- xvii <https://neomam.com/blog/australia-the-happiest-place-on-earth>
- xviii <https://scanloninstitute.org.au/research/mapping-social-cohesion/what-social-cohesion>
- xix ditto
- xx <https://scanloninstitute.org.au/mapping-social-cohesion-2022>
- xxi <https://www.finder.com.au/happiness-statistics>
- xxii Mapping Social Cohesion 2022_Report_Scanlon.pdf, page 25
- xxiii Nature experience from yards provide an important space for mental health during Covid-19, <https://www.nature.com/articles/s42949-023-00094-0>
- xxiv <https://www2.deloitte.com/au/en/pages/covid-19/articles/covid-19-impact-on-engineering-construction-sector.html>
- xxv https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_terrorist_incidents_in_Australia
- xxvi Coroner Michael Barnes found The Linkt Cafe was ‘a terrorist incident’, not mental illness; <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-05-24/sydney-lindt-cafe-siege-coroner-inquest-findings-live-blog/8552668>
- xxvii <https://population.org.au/about-population/australias-population/>
- xxviii See Appendix A
- xxix <https://www.finder.com.au/happiness-statistics>, <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/insight/article/australians-are-becoming-increasingly-unhappy-why/13d8ima0p>, <https://theconversation.com/why-happiness-is-becoming-more-expensive-and-out-of-reach-for-many-australians-170877>
- xxx The Australian Population Research Institute, Katherine Betts, November, 2021. <https://tapri.org.au/blog/>
- xxxi How Many Australians? (2022), Dr Paul Collins, on Australia’s carrying capacity... “the only official attempt to tackle this question was the 1994 Parliamentary Committee Report Australia’s Population Carrying Capacity: One Nation – Two Ecologies. This largely resulted from the influence of Barry Jones who, together with former federal Labor member for Wills, Kelvin Thomson, are two of the few politicians who have taken the population question seriously. As we saw, the committee concluded that the scenario of stabilising population at 17 to 23 million people was a figure with “strong community support.” page 11.
- xxxii <https://scanloninstitute.org.au/research/mapping-social-cohesion/what-social-cohesion>
- xxxiii Tapri-2022-survey-March-2023-Final-V6
- xxxiv Judith Sloan, ‘Pollies ignore us on migrants,’ The Australian, August 6, 2019.
- xxxv Associate Professor Dimitria Groutsis (2019), <https://business.sydney.edu.au/staff/dimitria.groutsis>
- xxxvi 2021 Census, ABS
- xxxvii <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/australias-population-country-birth/2021>, <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/people/population/australias-population-country-birth/2021>, <https://www.abs.gov.au/statistics/classifications/australian-standard-classification-cultural-and-ethnic-groups-ascecg/latest-release>
- xxxviii https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Australia#Ancestry
- xxxix <https://scanloninstitute.org.au/research/mapping-social-cohesion/what-social-cohesion>
- xl Mapping Social Cohesion 2022_Report_Scanlon.pdf, page 8
- xli ditto, Appendix A page 91
- xlii What role does cultural background play in loans from the bank of mum and dad? (15 Dec 2022), Dr Julia Cook for [RN Top 5 ABC News](https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-12-15/cultural-background-family-assistance-first-home-buyers/101688394), <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-12-15/cultural-background-family-assistance-first-home-buyers/101688394>
- xliii Professor Duncan Ivison (2019), <https://www.sydney.edu.au/news-opinion/news/2019/03/21/what-is-needed-to-improve-diversity-and-inclusion-in-australia.html>
- xliv <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/india-warns-anthony-albanese-over-sikh-separatists-and-terror-links>
- xlv Population Pyramid <https://www.populationpyramid.net/population-size-per-country/2020/>

xlvi Kristina Sundquist's 2018 study published in the British Journal of Psychiatry.

<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/15056572/>

xlviia <https://247wallst.com/special-report/2022/02/15/most-self-sufficient-economies-in-the-world/>

xlviib Nature experience from yards provide an important space for mental health during Covid-19

<https://www.nature.com/articles/s42949-023-00094-0>

xlviic Genevieve Jacobs, 24 January 2023, [Probing the polls: population growing pains and public holiday choices](#). The Riotact.

l See Appendix A

li <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/countries-with-declining-population>

lii [https://www.cell.com/trends/ecology-evolution/fulltext/S0169-5347\(18\)30208-8?_returnURL=https%3A%2F%2Flinkinghub.elsevier.com%2Fretrieve%2Fpii%2FS0169534718302088%3Fshowall%3Dtrue](https://www.cell.com/trends/ecology-evolution/fulltext/S0169-5347(18)30208-8?_returnURL=https%3A%2F%2Flinkinghub.elsevier.com%2Fretrieve%2Fpii%2FS0169534718302088%3Fshowall%3Dtrue)

liii <https://www.skynews.com.au/australia-news/politics/the-eight-big-changes-the-albanese-government-is-looking-to-make-to-fix-australias-broken-migration-system/news-story/4a373370ed428c758a390e2ffdf153d>

liv <https://equanimity.blog/2023/01/27/talking-about-australia-day-2023/>