Chapter 11

Australian Racism and anti-Racism: Links to Morbidity and Belonging

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Being socially included requires two things. First, it must involve a motivation to be included in the group, as well as actions to operationalize that desire. Second, there needs to be some acceptance within the group of those who wish to be included. At the national level it is assumed that the desire to belong is in part driven by shared values and perspectives. Culturally diverse societies like those heavily influenced by immigrant settlement need to have such core values. They also need, however, to provide scope for un-reconciled cultural diversity. For example, diverse cosmologies and creation stories will need to be accommodated and respected. Similarly, the different abilities of citizens to access core services and participate in civics and the economy need to be reasonably accommodated. A culturally diverse society that deters participation, or which, for example, endorses hierarchies of respect for different faiths, fails the second requirement of social inclusion described above. Over the last decade social inclusion policy debates in many western settler nations have seemed to focus more overtly on the desires and actions of ethnic minorities. There is an inference that the motivation, actions and public statements of ethnic minorities are suggestive of separatism or an unsatisfactory performance at being participatory. There has been rather less attention to those structural settings and aspects of everyday life that may make minorities less keen on belonging, or less able to. In this chapter we interrogate the link between the experience of racism and personal and social morbidities. A key social morbidity is social exclusion and fragmentation. While there has been some excellent empirical work internationally on the costs of racism, there has been rather less examination of the links between the experience of racism and belonging-ness. This would be fundamental to social inclusion. There is an assumption, though not tested, that the experience of racism would send a message to minorities that they are not welcome or are otherwise disparaged (for example, seen as deviant or culturally inferior). In a subsequent section of this chapter we review the literature on the morbid social and personal effects of racism. Ahead of that we look at the state of racism in Australia, as revealed in various reports. Our findings on the experience of racism in Australia and its impacts, makes up the substantive empirical component of this chapter. We document the extent to which the experience of racism affects belonging, and therefore inclusion, and the varied impacts of the different types of racism.
Research on Racism in Australia

This section outlines what the literature tells us about the nature and prevalence of racism in Australia. Between 2001 and 2008 the Challenging Racism Project collected the first comprehensive national picture of racial attitudes in Australia. The national data suggests that there is broad acceptance of diversity, with 87 per cent of some 12,000 respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that it is a good thing for society to be made up of people from different cultures. In spite of this, elements of intolerance remain, and two particularly contentious issues are pertinent here. The first is the preference for assimilation over multiculturalism. Over 40 per cent of respondents to the survey agreed ‘Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic origins sticking to their old ways’. This finding indicates that some Australians are uncomfortable with the idea of cultural maintenance. The second issue of concern is the belief that there are limits to Australia’s national identity. That is, there are certain cultural or ethnic groups that it cannot encompass. Along these lines, 44 per cent of respondents nationally were willing to identify cultural or ethnic groups that do not fit into Australian society. Together these contentions suggest that there is a perception among a substantial number of Australians that common values are critical to Australia’s national identity, and that cultural diversity is inconsistent with this.

Cultural groups are unevenly targeted by racism. In Australia, evidence suggests that many cultural and migrant groups face racism, particularly those visibly marked as different (see for example, Bloch and Dreher 2009, Dreher 2006). Indigenous Australians continue to experience high levels of racism (see, for example, Gallaher et al. 2009, Mellor 2003, 2004, Paradies and Cunningham 2009). Research in urban areas of Adelaide found racism was particularly problematic for Indigenous Australians in formal settings, with almost two-thirds of participants experiencing racism in areas like the justice and education systems at least some times (Gallaher et al. 2009). In informal settings, such as the service industry, on the street or in shopping centres, 84 per cent of Indigenous Australians reported experiencing racism at least sometimes. Some 70 per cent of Indigenous Australians living in urban Darwin reported experiences of interpersonal racism, most frequently in employment, public spaces and interactions with service providers (Paradies and Cunningham 2009). Anger, annoyance and frustration were the most common reactions to racism by these research participants. There is also an extensive literature on the elevated levels of racism experienced by Muslim Australians (Dunn and Kamp 2009, Dunn et al. 2007, HREOC 2004a, 2004b, Poynting and Mason 2007, Poynting and Noble 2004).

Australian research suggests there are close links between racism and affective belonging. Dreher (2006) explored experiences of racism in Australia after 11 September 2001 by analysing calls to a telephone hotline set up to deal with racially motivated attacks. Visible markers of difference, like turbans and the hijab, were strongly related to incidents of racism. Perpetrators of assaults often used language in a way that indicated that these individuals do not belong in Australia, suggesting
that perpetrators saw it as their right to judge who does and does not belong in Australia. Hage (1998) argues that White Australians commonly see themselves as ‘governors’ of the nation, rendering ethnic minorities objects to be governed and on whom judgements about compatibility are offered. In their report to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Poynting and Noble (2004: 9) found that many Muslim and Arab Australians who were interviewed ‘indicated that some forms of incivility or vilification, based on ethnicity or faith, were a regular part of their daily life in contemporary Australia’. In Noble’s (2005) research, social incivility and harassment emerge as methods used to regulate belonging, making some immigrants uncomfortable in Australia.

Taken together, the available quantitative and qualitative evidence indicates that much work remains in improving ethnic relations in Australia. Particularly troubling is the reluctance of many Australians to relinquish the idea of assimilation and, closely related, the strong link between racism and nationalism (see, for example, Pedersen, Attwell and Heveli 2005), whereby racism is commonly an attempt to control the national space.

The Stunted Development of Anti-Racism Policy in Australia

Despite the consistent findings of researchers and human rights agencies on racism in Australia, there has been a lacklustre policy response over recent last decades. For a large portion of the 1990s and 2000s, policy development has been stunted by official denials of racism. Prominent opinion leaders, including Prime Ministers, have denied the existence of racism in Australia. There are many discourses and tropes through which denial has operated. One argument is that contemporary intolerance and structural racism relies on a broad public conviction that racism belongs to a colonial past, and that formal inequality based on ‘racial groups’ has been largely expunged (see Fozdar 2008: 541–542, Wetherell and Potter 1992). This was a persuasive rationale for those opposed to a formal government apology to Indigenous Australians for the practices of child removal that they suffered as part of cultural assimilation and genocide (Augoustinos et al. 2002, Bulbeck 2004: 351–352). Another ambient claim is that the high level of racism present within other nations, both western and non-western, makes racism in Australia inconsequential by comparison. Following Wetherell and Potter (1992), Fozdar (2008) found there to be a strong racism discourse in New Zealand. From 22 in-depth interviews, on topics of racism and anti-racism, Fozdar found that there were four core discourses used by, principally Pakeha (white), New Zealanders to deflect racism. This would be manifest as statements that Māori had it much better than Indigenous people elsewhere in the world, including Australia, and that race relations were much better than in world trouble spots like the former Yugoslavia (Fozdar 2008: 537–539). A derivative set of claims include the arguments that there remain only issues of cross-cultural communication, and the need for harmony.
enhancement, and more celebratory events and proclamations. Other denial
discourses position racism as a deviancy associated with only a handful of
ineffectual ‘old racists’ (van Dijk 2000), which some South African scholars
have labelled as a ‘transfer’ discourse (de Wet 2001: 106). The denial discourses
therefore include: temporal deflection (minorities today experience less racism
than in the past); spatial deflection (racism is worse in other countries, including
those where immigrants come from), as well as; outright indignant dismissal
that there is racism (absence discourse). The latter is a more powerful denial
claim, as the spatial and temporal denials admit that there is some racism, and
therefore some need for action (Fozdar 2008: 537). In this context, it has been
difficult to generate official acknowledgment of the issue of racism in Australia
and to generate policy attention to anti-racism.

The official deflection of racism aligns well with the recent policy trend
towards social or community cohesion. Community cohesion policies have been
taken up with vigour in the United Kingdom (Worley 2005), and, though perhaps
less explicitly, also in Australia. Interest in community cohesion in Australia
was brought about by policy interest in social capital and ‘community’ and the
contention that these things were in crisis in highly diverse areas. Community
cohesion policies reflect a shift away from multicultural models towards more
unitary approaches to community. As such, scholars have criticised community
cohesion policies for their focus on ethnic minorities as the problem, as those
needing to cohere. The unevenness of the approach means that ethnic minorities are
depicted as the problem, and governments and policy makers are distracted from
broader issues of racism, discrimination and disadvantage. Cheong and colleagues
(2007) make the important point that racism and discrimination commonly disrupt
cross-cultural interactions, therefore:

…implementing the social capital cure may overlook the complexity of
immigration processes and context of the reception experience. The politics
and practices of racism and discrimination are often underplayed in initiatives
promoting bonding and bridging social capital. (Cheong et al. 2007: 33)

That is, simply encouraging ethnic minorities to interact more with other cultural
groups fails to recognise that they may face racism and discrimination when doing
so. More broadly then, rather than asking us to interrogate how society excludes
minorities, community cohesion policies direct us to question why different groups
are not integrating into Australian society.

Social inclusion has two fundamental requirements: motivation to belong
as well as acceptance. First, it must involve a motivation to be included in the
group, as well as actions to operationalise that desire. Second, there needs to be
some acceptance within the group of those who wish to be included. Acceptance
of minorities and welcome has been less prominent in recent policy discussion.
In Australia for example, there has been a focus on the integration of Muslim
Australians (and on counter or anti-radicalisation), and rather less policy interest
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1 over the last decade in Muslims’ experiences of racism and marginalisation, which could retard a sense of national belonging and social inclusion.

In April 2010, the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council released its advisory report to the Federal Government, which included a series of recommendations on how Australia should deal with cultural diversity. The report was modest in its scope and focussed on eight recommendations intended to develop a national multicultural strategy for Australia (AMAC 2010: 17–18). The third recommendation overtly flagged the importance of an anti-racism strategy: ‘That the government establish an anti-racism strategy and adopt the recommendations of the Human Rights Consultations on a community-wide human rights campaign and an education program for all Australians, with particular reference to discrimination, prejudice and racism’ (AMAC 2010: 18). Ten months later, the Federal Government accepted that recommendation (Australian Government 2011: 5, 7–8, Evans and Lundy 2011: 2–3) and in February 2011 announced the formation of a National Anti-Racism Partnership and Strategy. The Federal Government also officially endorsed a multicultural strategy that had been developed by AMAC.

The Morbid Social and Personal Effects of Racism

International research has linked the experience of racism with poorer health (particularly mental health), restricted mobility and a degraded sense of belonging (Brondolo et al. 2009, Dunn and Kamp 2009, HREOC 1991, Paradies 2006, Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009, Williams and Mohammed 2009). Studies examining the individual morbidities that flow from racism are definitive. These include: higher rates of ill-health; reduced access to vital social resources such as employment, health services and education; unnecessary contact with the criminal justice system; and reduced workplace productivity (Paradies et al. 2009). There is a consensus in the international literature that the experience of racism is especially associated with mental health issues such depression, stress and anxiety (Paradies 2006, Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009, Williams and Mohammed 2009). This literature highlights the multiple ways racism affects health, and demonstrates the persistence of the relationship even when associated socio-demographic factors are controlled for. In their review of the literature, Williams and Mohammed (2009) describe the consistency of the relationship between experiences of discrimination and ill-health, across varied settings and contexts, using a range of measurement approaches, which is impressive. Many of the studies identified in Paradies’ (2006) review found a linear relationship between experiences of racism and the extent of ill-health: as the frequency and severity of racist experiences increases, so too does the likelihood of poorer health outcomes.

Recent research in Australia has highlighted the role of racism in the health outcomes of Indigenous Australians. A recent report fundamentally linked the regular experience of racism and poor mental health for urban Indigenous people (Gallaher et al. 2009). They argued that addressing racism was essential...
for closing the health gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Rural Indigenous Australians in Western Australia were similarly found to experience high levels of racism and associated poor health, even when other health related factors were controlled for (Larson et al. 2007). This was also the case for Indigenous children in the Northern Territory (Priest et al. in press), where child health was independently related to carer self-reported racism. Interpersonal racism experienced by Indigenous Australians living in and around Darwin was associated with depression in a study by Paradies and Cunningham (in press). Here the relationship between racism and depression was mediated by a number of factors, including feelings of stress, a lack of control, demanding or negative social relationships, and reactions to racism or shame, amusement or powerlessness (Paradies and Cunningham, in press: 1).

The literature on the economic costs of racism provides a sense of the society-wide impacts (see Alexis 1999, Becker 1957). Nicholas et al.’s Business Case for Diversity Management (2001) identified links between racism and lower productivity within workplaces. The Equal Opportunity Commission in NSW (1999) estimated that 70 per cent of workers who experienced racism would take time off work as a consequence. Inquiries in the United States have also demonstrated staff turnover issues associated with discrimination (Blank et al. 2004). There are also regulatory costs from racism, including the legal and 20 administrative costs of complaints-handling that flow from racist events. The Equal Opportunity Commission of NSW (1999) priced these complaints at 55,000 dollars per incident in the late 1990s.

Some years ago, from a review of prejudice literature, Allbrook (2001: 12) asserted that prejudice is ‘socially disruptive, destabilises good community relations, social cohesion, and national identity…and decreases productivity’. Assertions about the effects of racism on community relations and good social order are apparent in the research that deploys qualitative data, such as that from interviews. Government reports such as those produced by the Australian Human Rights Commission similarly rely on community consultations (interviews, submissions, community forums). Those reports, and the scholarly research, make it clear that those who experience racism find it more difficult to feel included, and harder to refer to themselves as Australian (Yasmeen 2008, HREOC 2004a). Negative comments about minorities in the media, and by political leaders, enhances the sense of exclusion that minorities feel, particularly when combined with racism. This was a palpable theme in the comments of Australian Muslims in recent research on their experiences and perspectives (HREOC 2004a, IWWCV 2008, Yasmeen 2008). In summary, the experience of racism degrades belonging and generates social exclusion and community fragmentation. Ameliorating social exclusion by addressing racism should clearly improve community relations.

Our review of the effects of racism emphasise the effects on belonging and on personal wellbeing. Our data draw upon a national Challenging Racism Project survey undertaken in 2006 (n=4020). The respondents to the survey who said they had experienced racism were asked about the impacts of that experience. The
questions included whether it had weakened their sense of belonging, whether they felt they were a stronger person, and whether they were more bitter and cynical. The respondents were also asked whether they were satisfied with the actions they had taken following the incident, or whether they regretted inaction. The survey inquired into respondent experiences of different types of racism. The four main categories of racism were: racist attack; unfair treatment; exclusion, and racist talk (see Table 11.1). In this chapter we also examine how the impacts of racism vary across these different forms of racism. A common sense assumption would be that racist attack and unequal treatment (for example, discrimination) would have more morbid effects than an incident of exclusion or racist talk. Yet, the everydayness of ‘lesser’ forms of racism may be cumulatively just as injurious. Gee (2002) found that where the racism is of a more everyday and interpersonal nature the effects are even stronger than for more institutional forms. This aligns with Essed’s (1991) study on the nefarious importance of what she called ‘everyday racism’. It also reflects the arguments of Charles Taylor that the injuries that flow from the non-recognition and mis-recognition of ethnic minorities are not in-substantive: they ‘can inflict a grievous wound’ (1992: 25). This is a general assumption of a good deal of media studies and cultural studies. Further, Young’s (1990) influential social philosophy points to cultural imperialism (the stereotyping of groups and construction of cultural hierarchies) as the foundational oppression. Words and rudeness can hurt, as well as sticks and stones (Valentine 1998). But there has been little empirical investigation of the differential effect of various forms of racism. This chapter provides a first empirical insight into the effect of different forms of racism, and ends with a speculation on what this means for anti-racism in diverse countries like Australia.

Table 11.1 shows the rates at which respondents to a 2006 nationwide survey stated that they had experienced a form of racism in the four categories of: racist attack; unfair treatment; exclusion; and racist talk. The respondents were given the examples in column one to assist their thinking about their answer. The most common category of racist experience in Australia is racist talk (including for example, calling people slang names based on their cultural group) (Table 11.1). If respondents answered in the affirmative for any of the four categories of racism (racist talk, for example) they were then asked whether they had experienced the specific forms of racism from that category. For example, for the category of racist talk this included: racist verbal abuse, being called a slang name, or ridicule based on cultural background. Respondents were then asked for detail about the contexts of one of those experiences from each category, and what action if any they had taken for each incident (see Dunn et al. 2009). Respondents were asked to detail their feelings about those incidents and then they were asked a series of questions about the effect of those experiences.
### Table 11.1 Experience of Racism across Four Categories, Australia 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of racist incident</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No &amp; refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have you experienced RACIST TALK, for example, verbal abuse, name-calling, racist slur, or ridicule, based on your cultural background?</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>3261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you experienced EXCLUSION, for example, making you feel like you don’t belong or you are inferior, or people avoiding you because of your culture?</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>3582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you experienced UNFAIR TREATMENT, for example, denied service or employment, treated badly or with suspicion because of your cultural background?</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>3736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you experienced ATTACK, for example, physically attacking, abusing or threatening you or your property because of your cultural background?</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>3792</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data show that there is a good deal of stated resilience among those who experience racism in Australia. Seventy-two per cent disagreed that the experience of racism had weakened their sense of belonging in Australia. Sixty-six per cent said they were stronger from the experience and only 22 per cent said they were bitter or cynical as a result. Only 55 per cent felt regret following inaction, and 43 per cent were satisfied with the outcome. This is the positive picture emerging from the data. There are, however, areas of concern. One-fifth of those who had experienced racism agreed with the proposition that their sense of belonging to Australia had been weakened. The data in Table 11.1 (see Dunn et al. 2009) reveals that racism impinges on the lives of at least one-in-five Australians, and Table 11.2 shows that one-fifth of those had their sense of belonging-ness degraded. This cumulatively suggests that at least four percent of Australians are socially excluded through racism. This is a substantial number of people whose citizenship and inclusion is unnecessarily imperilled.
Table 11.2 Effects of the Experience of Racism, Australia 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sense of belonging weakened(^1)</th>
<th>Stronger person(^2)</th>
<th>More bitter and cynical(^3)</th>
<th>Regretted inaction(^4)</th>
<th>Satisfied with outcomes(^5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n =939</td>
<td>n=941</td>
<td>n=941</td>
<td>n=937</td>
<td>n=941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree/strongly disagree</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither agree/disagree</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree/strongly agree</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question wordings: all propositions with Likert scale response options.

1. My sense of belonging to Australia was weakened because of those racist experience(s).
2. I’m a stronger person because of my experience(s) of racism.
3. I’m a more bitter and cynical person because of my experience(s) of racism.
4. I’ve regretted those times when I didn’t do anything about it.
5. I’m satisfied with the outcomes where I did take action.

Varying Levels of Effect across Groups

Survey data was analysed to examine whether the experience of racism had differential effects for various groups. As can be seen in Table 11.3 statistical tests were carried out where appropriate to ascertain whether apparent differences between groups were statistically significant. A series of chi-squared tests were conducted to examine whether language background, Indigenous heritage or religion were associated with varied reported outcomes in terms of sense of belonging, becoming a stronger person, becoming bitter and cynical, regret of inaction after an incident of racism, and satisfaction with the outcomes of action.

Language Background

If we first look at the effect of racism on sense of belonging, we can see in Table 11.3 that those who speak a language other than English at home or in their community were more likely to agree or strongly agree that an experience of racism undermined their sense of belonging ($\chi^2(2)=23.08$, $p<.001$). Respondents...
who speak a language other than English were also, however, more likely to report that an experience of racism made them stronger (χ²(2)=11.32, p<.001). Taken together, this suggests that experiences of racism had a more detrimental effect on the citizenship and sense of belonging for those who speak a language other than English at home, but these same experiences were also perceived as making respondents stronger. The relation between these two impacts requires further analysis. We could speculate that the experience of racism is seen by many victims as an expected facet, perhaps an everyday facet, of Australian life to which they must adapt, ignore or otherwise become stronger in response to. This everyday racism, however, confounds the earlier mentioned principles of social inclusion and disrupts social cohesion despite, or perhaps because, it ‘hardens’ respondents to such experiences.

In regards to action following an incident of racism, respondents who speak a language other than English were marginally more likely to report regretting inaction following an experience of racism (χ²(3)=6.97, p=.073). This suggests the costs of not acting in response to racism may be higher for those who speak languages other than English at home or in their community.

Indigenous Heritage

Statistical tests for a relationship between Indigenous heritage and some of the outcomes (sense of belonging; becoming bitter and cynical; regret of inaction) were not appropriate given the small sample of Indigenous respondents. None of the differences tested were statistically significant. Hence findings reported here are indicative only and should be interpreted with caution and with consideration of the small number of Indigenous respondents. A higher proportion of Indigenous respondents (77 per cent) reported that the experience of racism had made them stronger than non-Indigenous respondents (65 per cent). At the same time, however, the pattern of responses shown in Table 11.3 suggests that Indigenous respondents may be more likely to report that an experience of racism resulted in them becoming bitter and cynical. This provides some affirmation of the links between racism and poor mental health for Indigenous Australians (Gallaher et al. 2009, Larson et al. 2007, Paradies et al. in press, Priest et al. in press). A larger sample would be required to determine whether the apparent difference holds up to tests of statistical significance. If this result held, it would point to the varied impacts of experiences of racism for Indigenous Australians – making those targeted stronger but also producing bitterness and cynicism. Alternatively, it may reveal varied interpretations of experiences of racism. The social psychological literature in this area suggests targets of racism may have an interest in interpreting incidents in certain ways, for example, denying racism to protect self-esteem or not reporting an incident for fear of being labelled ‘oversensitive’ (see Dunn and Nelson 2011, Kaiser et al. 2006, Stangor et al. 2002). Importantly, sense of belonging among Indigenous respondents was not especially threatened through the experience of racism. This makes sense, as the belonging-ness of Indigenous Australians would
1 be much more assured than that of other cultural groups who endure inflated levels of racism. Strong cultural identification and a less challengeable citizenship among Indigenous respondents may act as a buffer against some of the impacts of racism. As with respondents who speak a language other than English, Indigenous Australians may also be more likely than non-Indigenous respondents to regret inaction following an incident of racism. This may reflect the added cost for Indigenous Australians when racism is not recognised and addressed.

9 Religious Background

Religious background was very broadly operationalised here, comparing respondents who identified to non-Christian religions with those who identified as Christian or to no religion. When looking at religious background, the only marginally significant relationship was between religious background and impact of racism on sense of belonging ($\chi^2(2)=5.01, p=.082$). It appears that respondents who identify as non-Christian were more likely to say that the experience of racism had detrimental effects on belonging.

20 Varying Levels of Effect from Different Forms of Racism

Not all respondents had experienced a form of racism from every one of the four categories. We were therefore able to examine the differing levels of effect across various categories of racism. As noted earlier, it was anticipated that racist attack and discrimination would have the strongest effects. There is a strain of theory and qualitative scholarship, however, which contends that ‘lower level’ racism in the form of racist talk and ‘lack of respect’ can have profound effects upon the members of minority groups which experience these in an everyday fashion (Essed 1991, Gee 2002). All the experiences of racism examined through this survey – racist talk, exclusion, unfair treatment and attack – have detrimental effects, especially in terms of sense of belonging. But the strength of the effect of these experiences was somewhat different.

Table 11.4 illustrates the proportion of survey respondents who report a particular outcome of racism, across the four different forms of racism. Chi-squared tests of significance were carried out to compare those who had experienced one form of racism (racist talk, for example) to those who had experienced one or more of the other forms of racism. Taking the top left hand cell as an example, the test of significance looks at whether those who experienced racist talk were more or less likely than those who experienced other forms of racism to report a weakened sense of belonging in Australia. In this case there was no statistically significant difference between these groups. The discussion below focuses on comparisons that were statistically significant. It is important to note that experiences of racism were not mutually exclusive – those who had experienced racist talk may have
Table 11.3  Effects of Experience of Racism across Cultural Groups, Australia 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Axes</th>
<th>Sense of belonging weakened 1</th>
<th>Stronger person 2</th>
<th>More bitter and cynical 3</th>
<th>Regretted inaction 4</th>
<th>(Dis)satisfied with outcomes 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% disagree + strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaks language other than English (n=351)</td>
<td>28.9”</td>
<td>71.8”</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>33.2’</td>
<td>19.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not speak language other than English (n=591)</td>
<td>16.8”</td>
<td>61.7”</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>25.9’</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Heritage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Australian (n=39)</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Indigenous Australian (n=902)</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Christian (n=81)</td>
<td>30.0’</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian and no religion (n=846)</td>
<td>20.3’</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at the α=.1 level ** Significant at the α=.05 level

1 My sense of belonging to Australia was weakened because of those racist experience(s).
2 I’m a stronger person because of my experience(s) of racism.
3 I’m a more bitter and cynical person because of my experience(s) of racism.
4 I’ve regretted those times when I didn’t do anything about it.
5 I’m satisfied with the outcomes where I did take action.
1 also experienced one or more of the other forms of racism. Also, we do not here analyse the frequency of these experiences, which could clearly influence the morbidities with which they are associated (Paradies 2006).

### Table 11.4 Effects of the Experience of Racism across Different Categories of Racism, Australia 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural axes</th>
<th>Sense of belonging weakened</th>
<th>Stronger person</th>
<th>More bitter and cynical</th>
<th>Regretted inaction</th>
<th>(Dis) satisfaction with outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% agree + strongly agree</td>
<td>% disagree + strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racist talk (n=738)</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>21.4**</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusion (n=410)</td>
<td>28.0**</td>
<td>72.0**</td>
<td>24.6*</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfair treatment (n=266)</td>
<td>33.1**</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>31.0**</td>
<td>41.0**</td>
<td>22.8**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack (n=217)</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>31.7**</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>22.1**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any of the above (n=941)</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at the α=.1 level ** Significant at the α=.05 level

1 My sense of belonging to Australia was weakened because of those racist experience(s).

2 I’m a stronger person because of my experience(s) of racism.

3 I’m a more bitter and cynical person because of my experience(s) of racism.

4 I’ve regretted those times when I didn’t do anything about it.

5 I’m satisfied with the outcomes where I did take action.

### Racist Talk

There were no significant links between racist talk and the outcomes shown in Table 11.4, with the exception of becoming bitter and cynical. This does not mean that the experience of racist talk had no impact on respondents. Indeed, some 20 per cent reported that their sense of belonging in Australia was jeopardised as a result of experiences of racism. This finding simply means that the experience...
of racist talk did not differ in terms of outcomes compared to other experienced forms of racism. In terms of becoming bitter and cynical, those who experienced racist talk were less likely than those who had experienced other forms of racism to report that the experience made them bitter and cynical ($\chi^2(2)=9.33, p=.009$). Again, it is important to remember that the point of comparison is those who did not experience racist talk but experienced one of the arguably more severe forms of racism – exclusion, unfair treatment or attack.

Exclusion

There was a significant relationship between exclusion and sense of belonging ($\chi^2(2)=19.78, p<.001$). The experience of exclusion, for example, being made to feel as though you are inferior, don’t belong, or people avoid you because of your culture, has particularly detrimental effects on respondents’ sense of belonging in Australia. This is perhaps unsurprising considering that exclusion was partly operationalised using the idea of belonging. Twenty-eight per cent of those who experienced exclusion, compared to 16 per cent of those who experienced only the other types of racism, reported a reduced sense of belonging. The detrimental effects of exclusion were also evident in reports of becoming bitter and cynical (significant at the $\alpha=.1$ level, $\chi^2(2)=4.82, p=.090$). In spite of this, there was also a significant relationship between the experience of exclusion and becoming a stronger person ($\chi^2(2)=14.06, p=.001$). Those who experienced exclusion were more likely than those who had experienced only the other forms of racism to report that their experience made them a stronger person.

Unfair Treatment

Experiences of unfair treatment strongly impact on sense of belonging ($\chi^2(2)=30.97, p<.001$). Respondents who reported unfair treatment were twice as likely as those reporting other forms of racism to indicate that their experience had deleterious effects on belonging. Unfair treatment included, for example, being denied service or employment, and being treated badly or with suspicion because of your cultural background. The experience of unfair treatment was also related to likelihood of becoming bitter and cynical ($\chi^2(2)=16.98, p<.001$). Of the experiences examined here, experiences of unfair treatment are most likely to be directly related to material outcomes. It may be that being denied access to key institutions may result in bitterness and cynicism; almost one-third of those that report unfair treatment said that their experiences of racism resulted in them becoming bitter and cynical; compared to only 19 per cent of those who experienced other forms of racism.

There was a link between the experience of unfair treatment and regret of inaction ($\chi^2(3)=28.31, p<.001$). Respondents who reported experiencing this institutional form of racism were more likely to regret inaction (41 per cent) than those who had not experienced this form of racism (24 per cent). There was also a significant association between unfair treatment and dissatisfaction with outcome.
of action ($\chi^2(3)=8.63, p=.035$); 23 per cent of those who had experienced unfair treatment disagreed or strongly disagreed that their outcome was satisfactory, compared to 16 per cent of those who had experienced other forms of racism.

The experience of attack, someone physically attacking, abusing, or threatening you or your property because of your cultural background, was statistically related to becoming bitter and cynical ($\chi^2(2)=15.56, p<.001$); respondents who reported that they had experienced an attack were more likely than others to report that this experience resulted in them becoming bitter and cynical. There was also a significant relationship between the experience of attack and satisfaction with outcomes ($\chi^2(3)=12.06, p=.007$). The key difference here, however, appears to be in the responses of ‘not applicable’. A higher proportion of respondents who had not experienced attack did not take any action (27 per cent), compared to those who had experienced attack (17 per cent), hence responded ‘not applicable’ when asked about satisfaction with outcomes. The relatively high proportion of respondents who took action after experiencing racial attack is indicative of the perceived severity of this form of racism.

The Importance of Anti-Racism to Managing Diversity: Belonging and Integration

Racism remains an issue in Australia, and the associated health and economic consequences are well documented (see for example, Alexis 1999, Becker 1957, Paradies 2009). This chapter has examined the social impacts of racism, and finds the effects of racism are not uniform across cultural groups. Particular groups are more susceptible than others to the adverse effects of racism. This chapter provides evidence that racism affects sense of belonging, particularly for those who speak a language other than English at home or in their community, and those from non-Christian backgrounds, but less so for Indigenous Australians. It may be that the belonging-ness of the former groups is more unsure and contestable, and therefore more at risk from an experience of racism. At the same time, however, many respondents from these groups reported a ‘positive outcome’ of racism – that the experience made them a stronger person. Developing strength and resilience as a result of racism is a documented coping strategy and one that may buffer a target against some of the negative outcomes of racism examined here (Luthar and Cicchetti 2000). Nonetheless, personal strengthening does not protect against feelings of exclusion, cynicism or bitterness. There is also some suggestion that not acting in response to incidents of racism, differentially affected respondents; those who speak a language other than English, non-Christians and perhaps Indigenous Australians are more likely than other respondents to regret inaction after an experience of racism.
All the forms of racism explored in this paper had negative social outcomes. For example, across the four forms of racism over 20 per cent of respondents felt their sense of belonging in Australia was harmed as a result of racism. Our conservative calculations are that the sense of belonging and inclusion of at least four percent of Australians is curtailed by their experiences of racism. This is an unnecessarily substantial population of disaffection. The experience of racist talk could be considered a baseline for exploring the relative impacts of different forms of racism. Although the data suggests that racist talk had the least morbid effects, the frequency of the different forms of racism must be borne in mind. The category of racist talk covers the hassles and incivilities many cultural groups report having to deal with on a daily basis (Poynting and Noble 2004). Due to its frequency people may learn to deal with this form of racism (to some extent) because they have to. Clark (2004) refers to this phenomenon as people being 'habituated' to racism. Frequency of experience of racism, even if of a more everyday and interpersonal nature, has been linked with increased morbidity (Paradies 2006). The combination of frequency and denial, from these everyday racisms, may have morbid effects that are not well detected through the methods described in this chapter. The everyday racisms may have lesser apparent morbid effects, but they have strong impacts nonetheless. So the arguments of Essed, and those from cultural studies, on the importance of (mis)representation and (mis)recognition, are by no means nullified.

Over and above the effects of racist talk, experiencing unfair treatment, such as being denied service or employment, had particularly adverse effects for our survey respondents. Respondents who reported unfair treatment said their sense of belonging in Australia was weakened and that they were more bitter and cynical as a result of their experiences. They were much more likely to regret inaction, and also more likely to be dissatisfied with the outcome of a complaint or action. This reflects the material impact of unfair treatment, whereby someone’s ability to participate in civic, economic or community life is compromised, affecting one’s ability to gain employment or simply browse in a shop. The effects of unfair treatment are not just material, however, they are accompanied by damage to citizenship and psychological wellbeing. Looking next to exclusion, the effects of this form of racism seem to be primarily psychological, undermining citizenship and wellbeing. Yet for some who experienced exclusion, they report that rather than being psychologically injurious, it made them stronger. As discussed earlier, there may be benefits to interpreting incidents of racism in ways that are protective to self-esteem. Those who report that experiences of exclusion made them stronger may fall into this category. Experiences of racial attack were associated with people becoming bitter and cynical. It is interesting that this is coupled with relatively high levels of dissatisfaction with outcomes. Becoming bitter and cynical may be an inevitable response, if an injustice, such as a racial attack, is not appropriately addressed and dealt with.

Experiences of racism lead to social, economic and health detriment for targets. Different forms of anti-racism are needed to address the varied forms of racism,
with their varied impact (Paradies et al. 2009, Pedersen et al. 2011). Robust legislative and regulatory initiatives for responding to incidents of racial attack and unfair treatment are required. This chapter has shown that addressing these high-end forms of racism in an appropriate manner is vital. Additional morbidity or psychological cost is likely when a target is dissatisfied with the response. This extends to the more everyday forms of racism as well. Everyday anti-racism is important for the more common (if less dramatically morbid) forms of racism.

Anti-racism by ordinary citizens, or bystanders, is something that governments could encourage in response to these mundane occurrences of racism (Nelson et al. 2010). Some of the Muslim Australians who participated in the National Consultations on Eliminating Prejudice against Arab and Muslim Australians by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2004a) stated that a lack of action from bystanders in an instance of racism was as hurtful as the experience of racism itself. Being un-defended gives targets the sense that public peers do not consider them a citizen worthy of defence. This abandonment undermines their sense of citizenship and corrupts belonging (Dunn and Kamp 2009).

Policies for managing cultural diversity need to leverage from community positivity towards diversity, while challenging the assimilationist thinking that is a foundational premise of much of the popular critique of ethnic minorities. Conceptualising community relations in terms of social inclusion must entail a serious challenge to racism and its socially morbid effects. Community cohesion policies and community relations programs more broadly cannot afford to ignore the ‘reception experience’. The reception and welcome that minority groups encounter can have an influential role on sense of belonging and on integration. A critical approach to social inclusion is required. This approach must conceive of social inclusion in ways that challenge structures and everyday behaviour that inhibit full participation and degrades citizenship among Indigenous Australians, non-Christians and those who speak a language other than English at home or in their community.