Racism and Intolerance in Eastern Australia: a geographic perspective

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ABSTRACT   *Racism has become a fact of life in Australia over the past decade or so, yet there are relatively few studies of its nature or extent, and still fewer on its geography. Using a social constructivist approach, this study draws on a survey of 5056 respondents to investigate attitudes to racism and cultural diversity in New South Wales and Queensland, and of perceptions of out-groups as instances of 'strangers in our midst'. On racism, results show the presence of a continuum of attitudes ranging from generally tolerant to generally intolerant, a presence which cuts across compositional (social or aspatial) characteristics to emphasise the existence of a distinctive geography, an everywhere different nature to racist and non-racist attitudes which transcends urban–rural and traditional social layers. On the other hand, perceptions of out-groups are not uniformly correlated with presence or absence of cultural diversity. In many cases, the ability to make judgements about significant 'others' or out-groups has been shown to relate more to abstract notions of self and national identity, reproduced in public by mainstream news media and political leaders. In particular, it may reflect an Anglo (or Anglo-Celtic) view on nationalism, which is a hallmark of the 'new racism': an assimilationist or ethnocultural view of Australian society which is different from the 'civic nation' ideal envisaged by multiculturalism. That the geography of attitudes and perceptions people have towards and about different cultural groups is so 'everywhere different' has important implications for attempts to address and redress issues of intolerance in Australia.*

KEY WORDS   *Racism; cultural diversity, Anglo privilege; social construction, Australia; geography matter.*

Introduction

That racism in Australia is a problem of more than passing significance has been noted by a number of anti-racism and non-government agencies over the past decade. Most notable among these have been reports by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) (HREOC 1991, 2001, 2004) and by state-based anti-discrimination boards (see, e.g., Anti-Discrimination Board of NSW [A-DB] 1996). Other studies, from non-government organisations, include those by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, as well as infrequent reports from groups like the Committee of Arab Australians, the Islamic Council of NSW

and the NSW Community Relations Commission. Researchers have also directed attention at manifestations of racist or intolerant attitudes in the Australian workplace (Collins 1988, pp. 241–242; Loosemore & Chau 2002), education (HREOC 2004, pp. 57–60), the police and criminal justice system (Office of the New South Wales Ombudsman 1994; HREOC 2004, pp. 66–67), housing markets (although this is so far little studied; see HREOC 2001, p. 15), media representations and official discourse (Goodall *et al.* 1994), as well as in everyday social life (Dunn *et al.* 2003). The main focus of these reports is on the problems faced by particular cultural groups at particular times (Lipari 2002, p. 6; New South Wales Police Service 2002).

The issue of racism in Australia re-emerged during debates associated with the rise of the Pauline Hanson One Nation Party in the later 1990s. The One Nation Party linked Asian immigration since the early 1970s with multiculturalism. They argued that Asian immigration and multiculturalism were harbingers of social conflict and division which 'if continued as is, will lead to an ethnically divided Australia' (1988 One Nation policy statement quoted in McDonald & Kippen 1999). But the evidence of such division is scant. Surprisingly, and with the exception of work by a handful of cultural anthropologists (e.g. Hage 1998), social psychologists (e.g. Pedersen *et al.* 2000) and political scientists (e.g. Johnson 2002), there has been relatively little empirical work on the nature and extent of racism in Australia. The most recent Australia-wide study of attitudes was by McAllister and Moore (1989), as well as a study commissioned by the federal government (DIMA 1998, p.1) the results of which have never been publicly released.

More recent work by human geographers (e.g. Dunn *et al.* 2004, 2005a; Forrest & Dunn 2005, 2006) has made a further contribution to addressing the 'paucity of thinking about race and racism in Australia' (Jayasuriya 2002, p. 40). Most importantly, the work by Dunn, Forrest and colleagues brings out the 'everywhere different' aspects of attitudes to race and racism (Forrest *et al*. 2003; Dunn *et al*. 2005b) and a need to address public discussion of racism and its impact on the body politic within quite varied local geographic contexts. The aim of this paper is to bring together the 'geography matters' aspect of public attitudes to cultural diversity and racism, and the identification of out-groups, in the context of testing its 'everywhere different' nature in New South Wales and Queensland. Finally, we explore some of the policy implications of our 'everywhere different' approach.

Racist and non-racist attitudes: a social construction

Until at least the 1970s racism, as an ideology, was deeply embedded in the Australian national psyche. This was linked to the official White Australia policy, dating back to Federation in 1901, and manifest in policy decisions about immigration. This racist ideology was a blunt form of sociobiology in which some 'races' were deemed inferior, and in which different 'racial groups' should be kept apart:

> In the era of European colonial expansion of the nineteenth century . . . race [was] employed to exclude or set apart racialised groups, the emphasis [was] on *inequality* (Jayasuriya 2002, p. 40).

However, this sociobiological form of racism, or 'old racism', is by no means a hegemonic ideology in contemporary Australia. The key ideological bases of racism, and exclusive nationalism now draw from so-called 'new racism' or 'cultural racism', based on the perceived incompatibility and 'insurmountablity of cultural differences' (Markus 2001).

> a new ideology of racism [based on] a racist argument [which] is expressed primarily, though not exclusively, on the grounds of 'social cohesion' and 'national unity' (Jayasuriya 2002, p. 42).

But the one has not replaced the other entirely. Rather what has emerged is a coupling of issues of inferiority and inequality (the 'old' racisms) with differentiation (the 'new' racisms), albeit with greater emphasis now on the latter. They both remain as two of the basic logics of racist attitudes in contemporary Australian social thinking (Jayasuriya 2002, p. 41).

To make matters more complex, racist and non-racist attitudes often coexist. For example, a recent *Herald Poll* (Sydney Morning Herald 2005, 20 December, p. 1) found that, while 75 per cent of respondents agreed that 'there is underlying racism in Australia', 81 per cent also stated that they 'supported a policy of multiculturalism in Australia'. Arguably, the first response identifies a condition while the other looks to a solution. Such contradictory public dispositions towards, and incorporation of, multiculturalism was also a core finding of Ang *et al.*'s (2006) work using focus groups in Sydney. But the fact is that there are a variety of viewpoints, touched on above (see also Brian Sweeney & Associates 1996a, pp. 2–23; Dixson 1999). Thus, what constitutes racism for one person may be quite different for another, and may vary not only from person to person but also among people of similar social backgrounds in different spatial contexts, hence a view that manifestation of racist and indeed anti-racist attitudes is everywhere different (Dunn & McDonald 2001).

In part to address the contradictions highlighted above, Bonnett (1996, p. 872) argued for a combined social and spatial perspective on racist and non-racist attitudes, and suggested the value of social constructivism as an analytical approach to understanding the processes involved. Constructivism, according to Jackson and Penrose (1993, p. 3) operates by identifying the components and processes of category construction, in this case categories of cultural identity as well as what constitutes racism itself. Social constructivism is the analytical approach adopted for use in this study.

A key first step in constructivism is to deconstruct the key discourses, in the present case the concept of racism. Three main types of racism are recognised: 'old' and 'new' racisms, which Hall (2000, pp. 222–224) argues are strongly interdependent (see also Dunn *et al.* 2004), and what is commonly called 'symbolic racism' (Sniderman, Piazza, Tetlock, & Kendrick, 1986) which is about perceptions of personal prejudice and levels of societal prejudice generally. The 'old racism' embodies a broadly sociobiological understanding of race. It includes arguments that 'racial groups' should be kept separate from one another—for example, intermarriage should be discouraged—and a belief in racial hierarchies, that some 'racial groups' are naturally superior to others (Wieviorka 1995).

The 'new' racism may be deconstructed into three main though somewhat interrelated aspects. One of these involves the notion of *out-groups*, or intolerance towards certain cultural groups, an intolerance which is seen by many researchers as linked to

historic constructions of national identity and who does or does not 'belong'. For whatever combination of reasons, results show degrees of dissatisfaction or unease, individually or across society generally, with other cultural or ethnic groups. Out-groups are often perceived, to a greater or lesser degree, as violating cherished values of one sort or another (cf. Sniderman *et al.* 1991). Thus, Asian-Australians, Muslims—and people 'of Middle Eastern appearance' in particular—are included as key 'others' in the national imaginary (Hamilton 1990; Rajkowski 1987; Rizvi 1996). Such anti-Asian sentiment, and anti-Muslim feeling, was noted by McAllister and Moore (1989) and by Dunn *et al.* (2004). Another aspect revolves around *cultural diversity and nation*: what is an Australian (Rizvi 1996)?. Characteristically, poll respondents react positively to questions about cultural diversity, yet also negatively regarding concerns about cultural maintenance among immigrant groups. Dunn *et al.*'s (2004) survey found that while 45 per cent of respondents agreed that immigrant groups should *not* maintain their own cultural traditions, only seven percent were against cultural diversity (Dunn *et al.* 2004; see also Ang *et al.* 2002). A final aspect embraces issues of *normalcy and privilege*. This relates to the 'normalcy' of racism (Kobayashi & Peake 2000) and a privilege of Whiteness (or Anglo privilege in the Australian context: Forrest & Dunn 2006)—where racism is unnoticed or seen as an aberration (Bonnett 1996; Gabriel 1998; McGuiness 2000).

The specific recognition of racism, and also of Anglo (or Anglo-Celtic) privilege, falls into our third category of *symbolic racism*. Symbolic racism is in many ways a summation of people's attitudes to the 'old' and 'new' racisms. It identifies the assumed extent of individual prejudice against other cultures or racial groups, across Australian society generally, or specifically at the individual level. Having undertaken this conceptual dis-assembling, our intent is to identify the socially and spatially varied potency of racism. In keeping with a social construction approach, we reflect throughout on the beneficiaries and costs of racism. Finally, we explore the policy utility of our analysis.

Data collection and survey analysis

The University of New South Wales/Macquarie University (UNSW/MQU) Racism Project survey was undertaken as a telephone questionnaire among residents, aged 18 and over, of Queensland and New South Wales during October and December, 2001. The two states cover half of Australia's population, and the sample was drawn randomly from within every second postcode in the two states, including at least one postcode from every Statistical Local Area (SLA) in each state. A sample total of 5056 valid responses was generated. A general overview of the method and sample can be found in Dunn *et al.* (2004).

The survey included 10 questions about various aspects of attitudes to cultural diversity and racism. Some of these derived from existing survey instruments (Eurobarometer 1997; University of Michigan 2001); and some new question formats were developed to operationalise aspects of the 'new' racisms. The questions are set out in Table 1. Three 'old' racism themes used in the survey were belief in the need for racial separation, the equality of different 'races', and the notion of 'race' itself. Among aspects of the 'new' racisms, those on cultural diversity and nation focused on dispositions towards cultural diversity itself, and how secure or 'at ease' respondents were with those from different cultures. One question about multi-culturalism asked if Australia was weakened by 'cultural continuance' among people

TABLE 1. Defining the variables

Var. Question wording	Indicator
Old racism	
5. It is not a good idea for people of different races to marry one another?	Strongly agree+agree: belief that races should be kept separate
8. All races of people are equal?	Strongly disagree+disagree: belief in a racial hierarchy
9. Humankind is made up of separate races?	Strongly agree+agree: belief in 'natural' racial groups
New racism	
1. It is a good thing for a society to be made up of people from different cultures?	Strongly disagree+disagree: opposition to cultural diversity
2. You feel secure with people of different cultural backgrounds?	Strongly disagree+disagree: concern about cultural difference
7. Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic origins sticking to their old ways?	Strongly agree+agree: opposition to multicultural values and concern about cultural segregation
10. Do you believe there are any cultural or ethnic groups that do not fit into Australian society?	Yes: that there are socially or culturally distant groups who do not fit into Australian society
Symbolic racism	
3. There is racial prejudice in Australia?	Strongly agree+agree: recognition of racism in society.
4. You are prejudiced against other cultures?	Strongly agree+agree: self-identified racism
6. Australians from a British background have a privileged position in our society?	Strongly agree+agree: recognises Anglo-Australian cultural privilege

of different ethnic origins, while another on national identity asked about groups that did not 'fit into' Australian society. Symbolic racism was captured by three further questions, one on whether Australians generally are racist, another on a respondent's own prejudice against other cultural groups, and a question on the privileged position of Australians from a British background. Answers to the questions were sought on a five-point response ranging from 'strongly agree' through 'agree', 'neither agree nor disagree', 'disagree' to 'strongly disagree'.

To assess the geography and nature of racism that might exist in Queensland and New South Wales, a technique known as entropy analysis was used to group area profiles across the 10 attitude variables. The geographic units were the statistical divisions (SDs) in each state, except that statistical subdivisions (SSDs) were used for the State capitals of Brisbane and Sydney. The advantage of the entropy procedure is that it is not constrained by issues of normal distribution as is commonly the case with other grouping procedures. The ability to group and characterise over observation areas—the SDs and SSDs—with a minimum of information loss is set out in Johnston and Semple (1983). In summary, it groups areas with similar responses across the 10 attitude variables. The amount of within-group variance is not constrained by results from any lesser number of groupings; each higher number of groupings of areas starts anew. The number of groupings is subjectively derived based on a declining amount of variation accounted for by further increasing the number of groups. For Queensland, eight groupings accounted for 69 per cent of variation across all SDs and SSDs; for New South

Wales, 13 groupings took up 73 per cent of variation. These results testify to the complexity of attitude combinations and to the 'everywhere different' nature of their geographic expression.

Racism in New South Wales and Queensland

Cultural diversity is much more pronounced in New South Wales than it is in Queensland. In New South Wales, according to the 2001 Census, some 24.3 per cent of the population speaks a language other than English (LOTE) at home, and 27.5 per cent in Sydney. This compares with 11.5 per cent in Queensland and 13 per cent in Brisbane. On the other hand, Indigenous people in New South Wales (120,047 in 2001) comprise 1.9 per cent of the total population, compared with 112,575 in Queensland, where they comprise a larger 3.2 per cent of the state's population. In the analyses which follow, each state is treated separately, that is, the regions are compared with that state's averages on each attitude question. The average rates of intolerance were generally higher for NSW than for Queensland, but not consistently so across all the indicators. Indeed, neither response levels for the various attitudes (the means) nor the range of spatial variation across the SDs and SSDs (shown in the standard deviations) are as great between the two states as the differences in population composition might suggest (Table 2).

While an overwhelming majority agree with the 'fact' that there are separate 'racial groups' (Q9), only a small minority of around 13 per cent agreed that 'races' are inherently unequal (Q8) or that there should be racial separation (Q5). The implication here is that, while most people perceive that there are different 'racial groups' (erroneously as demonstrated within recent science), this is not a matter to which many attach a particular significance regarding inter-group relations.

Among aspects of the 'new' racism, some are opposed to cultural diversity (Q1), while a larger proportion feel insecure among people of different cultural backgrounds. But the proportions involved are small. On the other hand, just under half of the respondents were concerned about multiculturalism and the potential for cultural segregation (Q7), and stated that there are groups which do not fit into their view of Australian society (Q10). It is from these indicators (especially Qs 7 and 10) that the highest levels of concern regarding racism and intolerance are manifest—reflecting an intolerance of cultural maintenance and a preparedness to identify cultural groups deemed incompatible.

TABLE 2. Attitudes to cultural diversity and racism in Queensland and New South Wales

	Old racism			New racism				Symbolic racism		
	Q5	Q8	Q9	Q1	Q2	Q7	Q10	Q3	Q4	Q6
Queensland										
Mean	14.08	11.69	83.81	5.94	11.38	45.80	44.63	87.35	10.54	39.31
SD	5.98	4.41	7.20	3.44	3.67	8.80	9.07	7.52	3.95	6.71
New South Wales										
Mean	14.49	13.60	82.21	8.11	11.43	49.75	48.92	89.63	13.66	41.92
SD	6.27	6.60	7.19	3.77	5.10	8.46	7.60	7.51	4.50	9.01

SSD and SD means for New South Wales (13.7 per cent) and Queensland (10.5 per cent) indicate that avowedly racist views (Q4) are held by about one-in-eight respondents (one-in-seven in NSW and one-in-ten in QLD). On the other hand, while an overwhelming majority recognise that racism is an issue in Australian society (Q3) when this is set against the small proportion of self-recognised racists, the implication is one of a view that 'others are racist but I am not'. Around 40 per cent of respondents did recognise that one of the cultural consequences of racism was present in Australia: Anglo privilege.

On all attitudes save one—belief in 'natural' racial groups (Q9)—attitudes are slightly more strongly held in New South Wales. Racist attitudes also seem to be more spatially concentrated in NSW than in Queensland, as shown by the higher standard deviations. However, interstate differences really only stand out on three attitudes. Levels of disagreement that all 'races' are equal and agreement with the perception of Anglo privilege are higher in New South Wales, and more spatially concentrated. Similarly, a view that some groups do not fit into Australian society is held more strongly in NSW, but there is a greater range of views across SDs and SSDs on this question in Queensland, some less tolerant, others more so.

Towards a geography of racism

Groupings brought out in the entropy analyses of Queensland and New South Wales accounted for around 70 per cent of variation among SDs and SSDs across the 10 attitude variables: eight groups accounting for 69 per cent of variation in Queensland; 13 groups accounting for 73 per cent in New South Wales. This suggests a distinctive geography of racist attitudes (areas referred to in the text are shown for Queensland and New South Wales in Figures 1 and 2). Results highlight the interdependence of all major aspects of racism—'old', 'new' and 'symbolic'. They also stress the 'everywhere different' manifestation of racist attitudes.

Queensland

From the entropy grouping of Queensland's SDs and SSDs with similar attitude profiles (Table 3), two main clusters of groups and two unique groups stand out. The first cluster includes three (groups 1–3) that are generally more tolerant (Figure 3). The most tolerant respondents (group 1) were in the three regional cities of Mackay, Townsville and Cairns, which are markedly below average on all racist attitude indicators. Far North Queensland (group 2) stands out as only a little less tolerant, except that it rates above the state average in its rejection of intermarriage among 'races', and stated feelings of insecurity when among people of different cultural backgrounds. Finally, in this cluster, group 3 areas include Brisbane city and areas to the north and west (including the city of Ipswich, birthplace to the right-wing, racist Pauline Hanson One Nation Party), as well as farming regions in southern and western Queensland. Acknowledgement of Anglo privilege among respondents in group 3 areas was a little above average, and this recognition is compatible with the generally more tolerant profile of this group.

At the other end of the tolerance scale for Queensland is an intolerant cluster (groups 4, 5 and 6). Group 4 comprises the coastal city of Bundaberg, which has above-average levels of support for 'old racisms'. Respondents from that city present a strong adherence to the belief that different 'races' should be kept
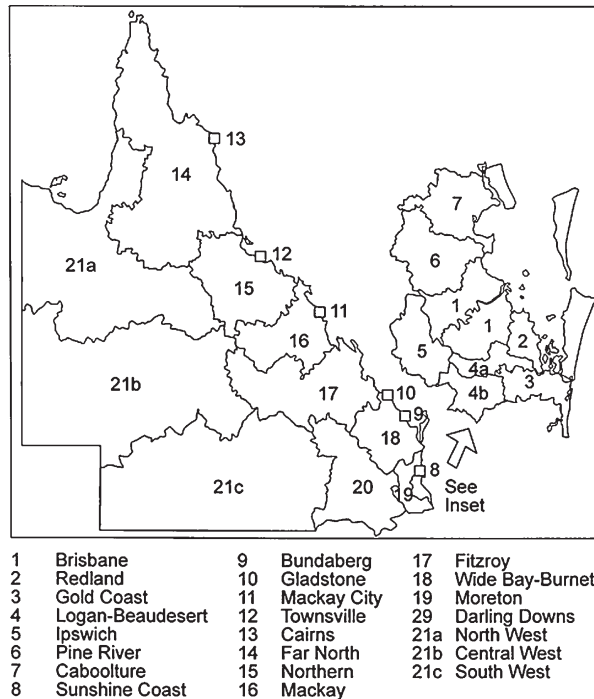
FIGURE 1. Statistical Divisions (SDs) and Statistical Subdivisions (SSDs) in Queensland.

separate and belief in a hierarchy of 'races'—along with some of the 'new racisms'—opposition to cultural diversity. The group 5 areas in this cluster include southern (Logan City and Redland Shire) and northern Brisbane, along with the immediately surrounding regional areas of Fitzroy and Wide Bay. Elsewhere, group 6 (the rural SD surrounding Townsville) stands out, especially on the 'new racisms': opposition to cultural diversity, concern about cultural difference, opposition to multicultural values and recognition of out-groups, as well as an undercurrent of belief in the inherent inequality of 'races'. In this cluster (groups 4–6), there were strong levels of concern, by Queensland averages, about cultural groups who do not fit into Australian society (Q10). Interestingly, in all three groups, the recognition of racism (Q3) and privilege (Q6) was above average, indicating some basis of popular support for anti-racism. In other words, intolerance is not reflected in a denial of racism.

While we were generally able to identify clusters of groups, there are still others not easily categorised as intolerant or tolerant (groups 7 and 8). Finally, the discussion above reveals that even the two clusters contain groups of areas with racism profiles that differ somewhat from each other.

New South Wales

The 13 entropy groupings of SDs and SSDs in New South Wales can also, as in Queensland, be generalised into two main clusters with broadly similar, though in detail somewhat different, attitude profiles, and one unique SSD (Table 4). However, as demonstrated in the greater number of groups generated, the geography
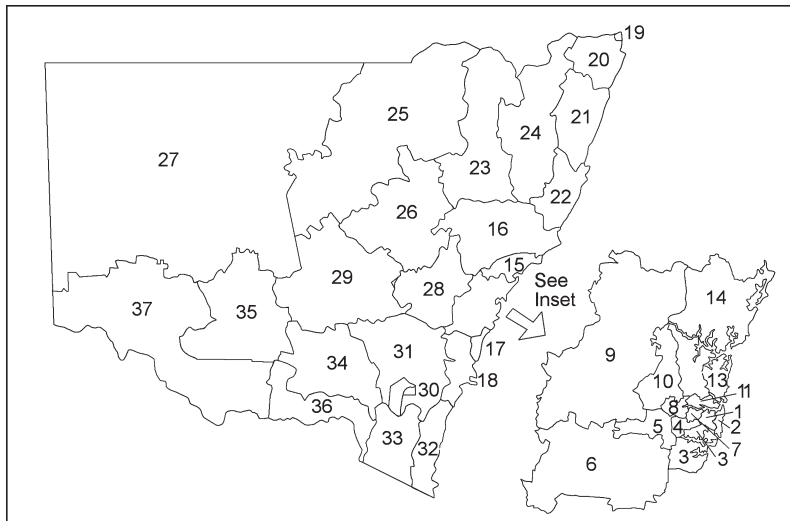
New South Wales Statistical Subdivisions

1	Inner Sydney
2	Eastern Suburbs
3	St George-Sutherland
4	Canterbury-Bankstown
5	Fairfield-Liverpool
6	Outer Southwestern Sydney
7	Inner Western Sydney
8	Centeral Western Sydney
9	Outer Western Sydney
10	Blacktown-Baulkham Hills
11	Lower Morthern Sydney
12	Hornsby-Ku-ring-gai
13	Northern Beaches
14	Gosford-Wyong
15	Newcastle
16	Hunter
17	Wollongong
18	Illawarra
19	Tweed Heads
20	Richmond-Tweed
21	Clarence
22	Hastings
23	Northern Slopes
24	Northern Tablelands
25	Barwon-North Central Plain
26	Central Macquarie
27	Far West and Upper Darling
28	Bathurst-Orange
29	Lachlan
30	Queanbeyan
31	Southern Tablelands
32	South Coast
33	Snowy
34	Murrumbidigee
35	Lower Murrumbidigee
36	Murray-Albury
37	Murray-Darling

FIGURE 2. Statistical Divisions (SDs) and Statistical Subdivisions (SSDs) in New South Wales.

is more complex (Figure 4). Groups 1–5 are broadly tolerant in their attitudes with some specific deviations. For example, Sydney's inner city and eastern suburbs (group 1), while having the strongest below-average responses on most attitude questions, were nevertheless very much above average in their feelings of insecurity in the presence of people of different cultural backgrounds (Q2). The extent of recognition of Anglo privilege (Q8) and of racism (Q3) were quite mixed throughout these more tolerant areas (groups 1–5). Other evidence (Forrest and Dunn 2006) indicates that recognition of privilege relates to degrees of affluence and perceptions of cultural segregation, as well as the ethnic background of respondents. This may explain why recognition varies across groups within the tolerant cluster.

Another very tolerant group of areas (group 2) is from Sydney's northern suburbs and southeastern New South Wales. Respondents in these areas expressed a mildly higher belief in 'natural' racial groups (above the state average), which may be linked to their more strongly held view that there are cultural groups who do not fit into Australian society (Q10) where their thinking is above the state average.

TABLE 3. Entropy groups for 21 SDs and SSDs in Queensland

Group	Old racisms			New racisms				Symbolic racisms		
	Q5	Q8	Q9	Q1	Q2	Q7	Q10	Q3	Q4	Q6
Average	14.1	11.7	83.8	5.9	11.4	45.8	44.6	87.4	10.5	39.3
1	−10.5	−9.8	−2.8	−8.8	−1.0	−9.0	9.8	−8.5	10.8	−6.6
2	24.2	−3.4	−14.4	−11.3	13.5	37.0	−8.7	7.6	−6.0	−9.9
3	−2.0	−7.5	3.9	1.1	−7.8	−6.6	5.4	3.8	0.5	6.4
4	23.1	10.7	2.0	6.6	−4.2	9.4	19.5	10.3	−10.1	19.5
5	−0.1	5.0	1.4	8.5	5.4	5.8	7.0	1.5	1.7	4.0
6	−1.0	21.4	9.1	17.3	16.2	0.4	4.7	24.5	2.5	4.5
7	3.7	−1.2	2.0	−12.2	−11.2	6.7	11.5	10.3	8.8	6.4
8	−69.0	17.6	−23.8	15.1	14.4	7.9	−9.4	12.7	15.5	−4.8

Note: All figures are presented as above (positive) or below (negative) state averages for each question.

Respondents from group 3, comprising the city of Newcastle and the Hunter Valley, along with the northern slopes and tablelands, are noticeably above state-average thinking in their belief that people of different 'races' should not be encouraged to marry one another (Q5), but were generally below average on the other attitudes. Another generally tolerant collection of areas (group 2) comprises Sydney's southern and northwestern suburbs, along with Bathurst-Orange and the
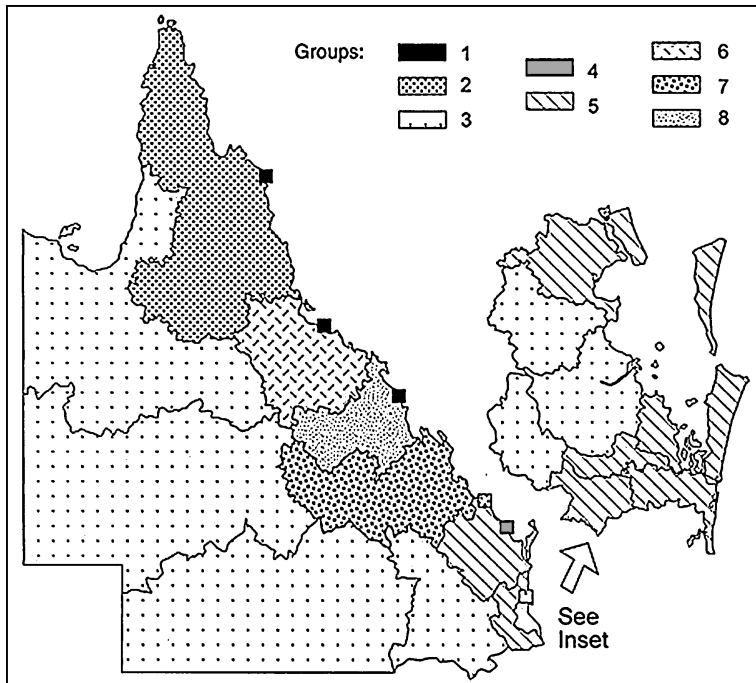

FIGURE 3. Entropy groups for attitudes to racism in Queensland. The numbers in the key refer to the group numbers in Table 3.

TABLE 4. Entropy groups for 37 SDs and SSDs in New South Wales

	Old racisms			New racisms				Symbolic racisms		
Group	Q5	Q8	Q9	Q1	Q2	Q7	Q10	Q3	Q4	Q6
Average	14.5	13.6	82.2	8.1	11.4	49.8	48.9	89.6	13.7	41.9
1	−4.0	−7.8	−4.4	−10.1	13.0	−17.1	−17.4	5.4	−8.6	17.7
2	−6.5	−5.7	3.8	−3.3	−13.3	−6.5	−0.2	−4.3	−5.2	−3.2
3	7.8	−3.2	−1.5	0.1	−1.7	2.0	−1.0	−4.4	−6.4	1.2
4	−6.9	−0.1	−4.7	−1.9	0.0	−3.5	2.3	1.9	7.0	−3.2
5	−10.4	−7.8	−2.1	0.2	−6.4	−0.7	−13.3	17.6	−2.5	16.4
6	−13.4	43.7	−4.8	2.6	−4.6	2.1	−0.6	−2.3	16.8	10.7
7	14.7	−4.2	−8.1	12.7	8.1	3.1	3.3	1.8	13.9	−13.7
8	−4.3	11.0	3.2	13.5	20.7	−5.7	−0.7	12.0	14.4	−6.2
9	−9.0	6.2	−19.4	−17.2	5.9	0.1	−12.1	5.8	−3.5	−1.1
10	−0.2	−1.1	12.8	1.9	2.2	13.3	11.5	0.2	−2.4	−6.5
11	2.5	−1.8	−7.0	10.6	16.2	−1.4	−1.1	−21.5	0.2	3.4
12	7.5	−0.4	16.6	−16.0	−4.4	−10.5	10.2	13.3	6.7	12.7
13	19.1	19.5	8.4	9.7	−5.1	24.6	−2.5	6.0	21.9	−0.8

Note: All figures are presented as above (positive) or below (negative) state averages for each question.

north coast. While generally tolerant, they have a high proportion who self-identify as racists in the sense that they are prejudiced against other cultures (Q4). Finally in this generally tolerant cluster of regions is group 5 on the far north coast and in the southeast (the Snowy region). In these areas, there is also a strong acknowledgement of the existence of Anglo-Celtic privilege (Q6) and that there is racial prejudice in Australian society (Q3).

Seven groups exhibit levels of intolerance to a greater or lesser degree, but in each case the issue is one of strength of intolerance on just certain aspects of the various
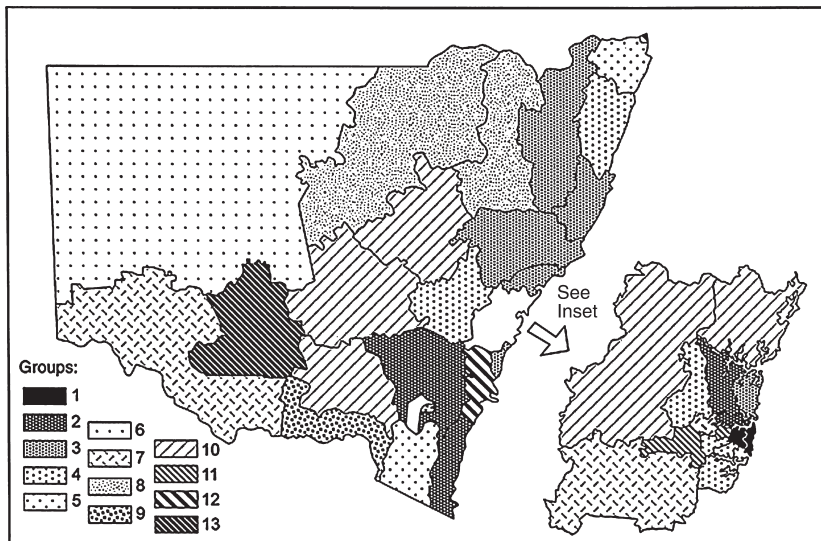

FIGURE 4. Entropy groups for attitudes to racism in New South Wales. The numbers in the key refer to the group numbers in Table 4.

racist attitude questions (groups 7–11 and 13). The most intolerant part of the state is a rural region in the southwest (group 13), where views are dominated by the 'old racism, along with opposition to cultural diversity and a very strong opposition to multicultural values and any form of cultural pluralism. Two groups (groups 7 and 8) arguably can lay claim to being the next least tolerant collection of areas in NSW. Group 7 includes Sydney's central west and outer southwest, and the Murray-Darling region in the southwest of the state. The other is group 8, which includes the rural regions of central northern and northern slopes of NSW. These two groups share a strong opposition to cultural diversity and concern about cultural difference (Qs 1 and 2). They each have an above-average belief in an aspect of the 'old racism', keeping races separate (group 7) and belief in a racial hierarchy (group 8). Respondents in these areas were also above average in their self-identified racism (Q4).

Respondents from group 11 SSDs, in inner western Sydney and the Liverpool-Fairfield region in the city's southwest, strongly oppose cultural diversity, and have marked concerns about cultural differences (Q1 and Q2), as well as a strong denial that there is a prejudice in Australian society. Yet these are among the most culturally diverse areas in Sydney, if not Australia. In group 10 areas—Sydney's outer western and northern suburbs and rural–urban fringe areas—and the central west and southern part of the state, the attitudinal emphasis is on opposition to multicultural values and concern about cultural segregation (Q7) as well as identification of culturally distant groups who are not seen to fit into Australian society (Q10). In addition, there is a strong emphasis on belief in the existence of natural 'racial' groups (Q9) which, in the context of the other two attitudes, emphasises the issue of groups who do not fit in. The interdependence of the three broad areas of racist attitude is also apparent in group 9: Queanbeyan and the Murray-Albury region.

Finally, in between these two main clusters of relatively tolerant and relatively intolerant regions are two very mixed groups (6 and 12). Group 12 embraces two widely separated areas: the Illawarra region (excluding Wollongong) and Tweed Heads on the far northeastern tip of the state. Two of the 'old racisms' are apparent here, including the belief that 'races' should be kept separate and a very strong belief in 'natural' racial groups. There was also a strong concern that some cultural groups do not fit into Australian society. Yet the other 'new racisms' had a weaker hold here, with below average concerns on cultural diversity per se. Furthermore, the 'symbolic racism' results were strongly held, equating with a view about the existence of Anglo privilege. It is possible that, given the 'old racism' and specific concerns about certain cultural groups, respondents in these areas were not just recognising but *affirming* privilege and prejudice. Group 6, which includes the far northwest of the state, stands out as a separate entity. It has the second highest ranking on self-identified racism in the state, a very strong belief in a hierarchy of 'races', and a strong recognition of Anglo privilege (again implying perhaps a desire to retain such privilege).

In summary, then, the number of groups identified in Queensland and New South Wales, though, with some exceptions, capable of generalisation into the broadly tolerant or intolerant, indicate an 'everywhere different' pattern of respondent attitudes to 'race' and racism. Who, then, are the ethnic groups which are the least accepted, or which inspire the various attitudinal responses identified in the preceding discussion?

Strangers in our midst?

The construction of out-groups *vs* in-groups, carrying with it an assumed right to make judgments about cultural compatibility, is a core aspect of 'new racism'. Here, contemporary logics impacting on the formation of racist attitudes operate through differentiation, which underpins separation and exclusion of racialised groups on the grounds of cultural difference (Jayasuriya 2002). Thus, 'new racism' is associated with contested discourses of nation and national identity. Such contestation is evident, for example, in the contrast between Australia as multicultural, in the official rhetoric of the Office for Multicultural Affairs, now the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA 2003), or as Anglo (or Anglo-Celtic), in political debate and in the media (Marden & Mercer 1998; Johnson 2002; Forrest & Dunn 2006). Within the logic of differentiation, out-groups are implicitly created through cultural subordination as non-host (non-Anglo-Celtic in Australia) or culturally inferior or incompatible (see, e.g., Scott 1995, pp. 6–7). Intolerance of Indigenous Australians, for example, is linked to negative stereotyping based on perceptions of welfare dependency, drunkenness and failure to 'assimilate' (Brian Sweeney & Associates 1996a,b; Pedersen *et al.* 2000). Anti-Asian and anti-Muslim sentiment are important contemporary phenomena although the out-group status of the former is noticeably less than that of the latter (McAllister & Moore 1989; Dunn *et al.* 2004). Anti-asylum-seeker intolerance, and related anti-Muslim sentiment, also exceeds anti-Indigenous prejudice (Pedersen *et al.* 2005).

Constructions of out-groups were operationalised in Q10: 'Do you believe there are any cultural of ethnic groups that do not fit into Australian society?' (Table 1). Respondents were given the opportunity to nominate up to three such groups. Responses have been summed in Table 5, an added feature of which is the cross-tabulation against birthplace regions. Results are, perhaps, unexpected in several important respects. First, there is a strong consensus about the ranking of those identified as out-groups even among major birthplace regions, some of whom are themselves regarded as out-groups. Most commonly mentioned groups were Asians, identified by 13 per cent of respondents, followed by Muslims and those from the Middle East, each being identified by 11 per cent of respondents. It should be noted that the Asian category comprises a substantial number of countries and cultural groups, whereas Muslims and persons from the Middle East refer to a somewhat more confined set of cultural backgrounds and countries. Much lesser mentioned were a general group identified only as 'foreigners' or 'ethnics' (4%), southern and eastern Europeans (just 2 per cent), and Indigenous Australians who received a 1 per cent identification as an out-group. This general consensus on out-groups, across birthplace regions, points to shared sources of stereotyping, such as carried within mass media and other pubic opinion-making (for example, the comments of political leaders).

However, of equal importance was the strong level of rejection of this aspect of the 'new racism' by nearly half of all respondents. Care should be taken in placing too much emphasis on the absolute importance of the identification of out-groups in Australian society. Notably, two-thirds of Asian-Australians did not identify any out-groups, making them the most tolerant birthplace category from this survey. On the other hand, respondents born in the Middle East themselves were nearly twice as inclined to identify 'Muslims' as a significant out-group as any other group

TABLE 5. Out-groups as identified by major birthplace groups (percentages of New SouthWales plus Queensland

	Birthplaces					
Outgroups	Australia	New Zealand/ UK/North America	Asia	Northern Europe	Southern/ Eastern Europe	Middle East	Total
None identified	47.5	49.9	66.6	46.1	46.5	42.7	48.4
Asians	13.6	12.2	6.8	14.9	14.6	9.3	13.2
Southern/ Eastern Europeans	2.3	1.9	0.4	4.3	1.3	2.7	2.2
Middle East	11.4	10.8	8.9	12.1	11.5	10.7	11.2
Aborigines	1.0	0.9	1.3	0.7	1.3	0.0	1.0
Muslims	11.5	9.8	6.8	8.5	12.1	21.3	11.2
Foreigners/ ethnics	4.2	5.2	2.6	4.3	3.2	2.7	4.2
Don't know/ refused	8.6	9.3	7.2	9.2	9.6	10.7	8.7
Total in sample	4402	581	235	141	157	75	591

Note: Percentage values are of column totals; the absolute total embodies multiple responses.
Source: UNSW/MQU Racism Survey (2001).

(21 per cent against 7–12%). This is suggestive of some cross-faith rivalries and antagonism within Middle Eastern communities in Australia.

Spatial distribution of out-group attributions

The general consensus about people's perceptions of out-groups brought out above suggests that the spatial distribution of out-groups may help to inform patterns of racist attitudes of the total population. In fact, this turns out to be only partly true.

Queensland

A characteristic of people's perceptions of out-groups in Queensland is the range of views from identification of a number of out-groups (generally groups 1–3) through to a lack of recognition of out-groups (groups 5–7). This pattern, set out in Table 6 and displayed in Figure 5, accounts for 68 per cent of variation among respondents in Queensland's SDs and SSDs. Areas in group 1 embrace the northern half of the state's coastal region. Respondents from these areas had the highest level of identification of Asians as out-groups, as well as people from the Middle East, but not Muslims. Yet in terms of racist attitudes, the Far North is among the most tolerant, although the other two SDs (Northern and Mackay) were among the least tolerant. Antipathy towards Middle Easterners *and* Muslims shows up in responses from areas in groups 2 and 3, which are the urban (and retirement/ resort) areas of Sunshine Coast and Gold Coast along with the working class

TABLE 6. Entropy analysis of out-groups in Queensland

Group	None	Asia	Southern/ Eastern Europe	Middle East	Aborigine	Muslim	'Foreign'	Don't know
Average	76.1	7.0	1.1	3.6	0.8	4.5	2.7	4.3
1	−6.7	3.9	0.4	1.2	0.2	−1.5	−0.1	2.5
2	−4.2	0.8	0.5	1.3	−0.3	2.3	−0.9	0.5
3	−9.1	2.3	1.1	0.4	1.0	1.8	2.4	−0.1
4	2.8	−1.1	−0.9	0.5	−0.8	−1.1	1.4	−1.0
5	7.3	−1.0	−1.1	−2.1	1.3	−2.6	0.6	−2.4
6	7.3	−2.9	−1.1	0.6	0.6	0.5	−2.1	−1.6
7	3.9	−1.4	0.2	−1.0	−0.7	−0.8	−0.9	0.8

Note: All figures are presented as above (positive) or below (negative) the state averages for each out-group.

district of eastern Brisbane (Redlands) as well as outer northern Brisbane and the cities of Bundaberg and Gladstone. These areas were in the moderate range in terms of racist attitudes. Group 3 further stands out in its distrust of 'foreigners' generally, as well as Indigenous Australians.

Respondents from the other groups were generally less inclined to identify out-groups (groups 5–7). However, in group 5 areas, on the north side of Brisbane and in the Fitzroy SD, there was above-average antipathy towards Indigenous Australians (as with those respondents from areas in group 3 above). This suggests that anti-Indigenous sentiment is much stronger in the southeast of Queensland,
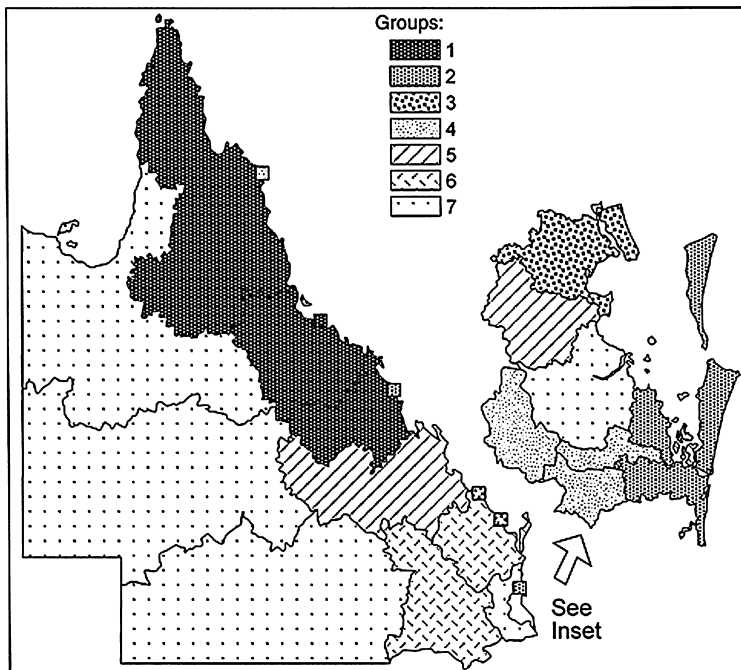

FIGURE 5. Entropy groups for out-groups in Queensland. The numbers in the key refer to the group numbers in Table 6.

rather than in the north and northwest where Indigenous people comprise larger proportions of the resident populations. Generally these areas were earlier judged to be moderately tolerant in terms of racist attitudes, indicating a degree of correlation between identification of out-groups and racist attitudes generally. Finally, respondents from areas in groups 6 and 7 expressed generally lesser levels of antipathy to those identified as out-groups, and are generally very tolerant. Apart from people of Italian ancestry in the northern coastal region, and Indigenous Australians elsewhere in the state, cultural diversity in Queensland is among the lowest of all Australian states (Burnley 2001). This suggests that indirectly acquired knowledge, such as through media, is critical to the construction and reproduction of out-groups and of racist attitudes generally in Queensland.

New South Wales

As with Queensland, entropy analysis of perceptions of out-groups among SDs and SSDs in New South Wales indicates a range of views, but views which are rather more strongly held and regionally differentiated than in Queensland. Resulting patterns (Table 7), shown in Figure 6, account for 70 per cent of variation among respondents in the various SDs and SSDs. Groups 1–4 all have above-average concerns about out-groups. Group 1 identifies a combination of Middle Easterners *and* Muslims as out-groups, but with the emphasis on Muslims. Areas concerned include St George-Sutherland and western Sydney, both moderate in terms of racist attitudes. Both have had recent (in the last two decades) settlement of Muslim immigrants, including Turkish Sunnis around Auburn and Parramatta, and Lebanese Shia in the St George area. Other regions are in country areas, and span a range of racist attitudes from tolerant to somewhat intolerant; there is no consistent correlation between attitudes and identification of out-groups there. Respondents from areas in group 2, while still expressing anti-Muslim sentiment (but not against people from the Middle East) focused more on southern and eastern Europeans as significant out-groups, and also on Asians. This involves just one region, the Murray-Darling in southwestern New South Wales, generally moderate in their racist attitudes but where there has in the past been a strong One Nation presence (Forrest *et al.* 2001). Group 3 emphasises

TABLE 7. Entropy analysis of out-groups in New South Wales

Group	None	Asia	Southern/ Eastern Europe	Middle East	Aborigine	Muslim	'Foreign'	Don't know
Average	72.1	6.7	1.3	6.2	0.6	5.9	−1.8	5.5
1	−4.3	−0.1	0.6	1.8	0.4	3.8	−0.1	0.1
2	−17.7	2.4	7.8	−6.1	0.5	3.2	−1.7	12.7
3	−6.6	5.4	1.0	4.3	0.5	2.1	−1.8	−0.6
4	−4.7	1.7	0.0	2.2	0.1	0.2	1.9	−1.0
5	1.4	1.3	0.4	4.4	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.9
6	1.5	−1.3	0.3	1.4	0.2	−0.3	0.2	−1.0
7	9.2	−1.9	0.1	−1.8	0.5	−3.3	−0.1	−2.7

Note: All figures are presented as above (positive) or below (negative) the state averages for each out-group.
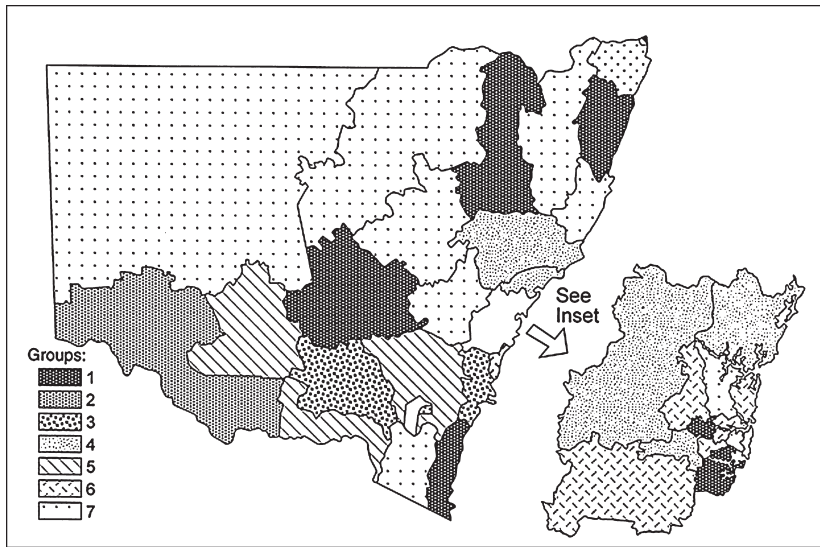
FIGURE 6. Entropy groups for out-groups in New South Wales. The numbers in the key refer to the group numbers in Table 7.

Asians as a significant out-group, along with Middle Easterners. Again, these are respondents in country areas in southern and south coastal areas and, in this case, both strongly intolerant. Finally, group 4 has a significant out-group sentiment, identifying Asians, Middle Easterners and 'foreigners' generally. These were respondents principally in Sydney's southwest and outer northwest and north, as well as Newcastle and the Hunter region. Interestingly, these are areas that are relatively less touched by the cultural diversity generated by recent immigration flows. They are areas of Anglo dominance and lower-to-middle average incomes. This profile matches well with a generally stronger identification of out-groups, but without that antipathy having a specific target.

The NSW areas where respondents were generally least inclined to nominate out-groups were included in groups 5, 6 and 7, especially so for those in group 7, and less so for those in group 5. Respondents in the latter group, for example, especially identified Asians. This group principally comprised areas of south-central New South Wales, a region ranked as intolerant on the earlier attitude responses. Added to that is a rather mild intolerance of Muslims and 'foreigners'. Middle Easterners were a target in group 6 areas, in Sydney's outer southwest, northwestern Sydney and the northern beach suburbs, as well as inner western districts. These areas span a range of attitudes from moderately to highly intolerant. Finally, respondents from group 7 had a markedly above-average propensity not to nominate any out-groups. These are inner Sydney areas previously identified as the most tolerant and cosmopolitan in the state. Thus, in the main, while there is some correlation between identification of out-groups, cultural diversity and intolerance, it is not consistent and, as in Queensland, this suggests the importance of indirectly (non-contact) acquired knowledge. However, it is also clear that while cross cultural contact can lead to acceptance (non-identification of out-groups) in *some* parts of Sydney, in other parts it has the opposite effect.

Conclusion

With one in eight respondents to the UNSW/MQU Racism survey in Queensland and New South Wales adopting an avowedly racist stance (Dunn *et al.* 2004), compared with one in three in European Union countries (Eurobarometer 1997) Australians are a relatively tolerant people. Nevertheless, what has emerged from this study is the presence of a continuum of attitudes ranging from generally tolerant to generally intolerant, a presence which cuts across compositional (social or aspatial) characteristics to emphasise the existence of a distinctive geography, an everywhere different nature of racist and non-racist attitudes which transcends urban–rural and traditional social layers. In part, variations may be associated with the presence of cultural diversity and acceptance of or antipathy towards different cultural groups. But perceptions of out-groups have not been found to be uniformly correlated with presence or absence of cultural diversity. In many cases, the ability to make judgments about significant 'others' or out-groups has been shown to relate more to abstract notions of self and national identity, reproduced in public by such as mainstream news media. In particular, it may reflect an Anglo (or Anglo-Celtic) view on nationalism, a hallmark of the 'new racism', an assimilationist or ethnocultural view of Australian society which is different from the 'civic nation' ideal envisaged by multiculturalism (Forrest & Dunn 2006).

From a policy perspective, the 'everywhere different' findings reached in this study have important implications for attempts to address intolerance. These implications stress the need for educational 'solutions' to vary from region to region, and even among socially similar kinds of people in the various regions. This social construction of tolerance and intolerance in two Australian states, comprising about half of Australia's population, shows that attitudes to cultural diversity and racism vary markedly in both degree and mix of viewpoints. Public policy initiatives aimed at addressing more intolerant sections of our society have to take into account the fact that 'geography matters'.

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