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The further development of Australian multiculturalism must squarely address racism, and a primary step must be the acknowledgement of racism. The Challenging Racism Project (2001–2008) data provide a clear picture of the acknowledgement of racism and of Anglo cultural privilege among Australians. Encouragingly, most Australians recognise that racism is a problem in Australian society. A little under half, however, deny that there is Anglo cultural privilege. Perhaps surprisingly, respondents from non-Anglo-Australian backgrounds, including those born in the Middle East and South Asia, were significantly more likely than those from Anglo backgrounds and Australian-born respondents to deny that racial prejudice exists in Australia. Cultural hierarchies of citizenship regulate the acknowledgement of racism, encouraging denial and deflection, and punishing 'complaint' from those more exposed to racism. The broader social pathology identified by this paper is an unevenness in the sense of citizenship across ethnic groups, and addressing this social weakness must be a macro-level ambition for the further development of Australian multiculturalism.

Keywords: Anglo Privilege; Australia; Belonging; Citizenship; Multiculturalism; Racism; White Privilege

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Denial of Racism in Multicultural Australia

A number of authors commenting on settler Western nations have argued for more radical forms of multiculturalism, otherwise described as a "deeper commitment to a more far-reaching multiculturalism" (Hage 1998: 26). In general, it is argued that a deeper or more radical multiculturalism needs to more squarely address structural inequality between ethnic groups, including the systemic problem of dominant ethnic groups possessing a privileged relation with, and call upon, state agencies (Castles 2000: 145–146, Anthias and Lloyd 2002, Fleras 2011: 135). Racism is a means for reinforcing division, inequality and exclusion. Oftentimes, proponents of a deeper multiculturalism champion a bolder challenge to racism as a key policy direction. They also advocate a more explicit assuaging of Anglo and White privilege (Vasta and Castles 1996). Research on the experience of racism in Australia has demonstrated that the burden of racism is unevenly distributed across cultural groups (HREOC 1991, Poynting and Noble 2004, Victorian Health Promotion Foundation 2007, Booth *et al.* 2009, Dunn *et al.* 2009). Media analyses have consistently shown that ethnic minorities are routinely misrepresented and under-represented in mainstream media (Bell 1993, Goodall *et al.* 1994, Poynting *et al.* 2004, Dreher 2010, Nolan *et al.* this issue). Analyses of minority employment in the public sector, at all levels, show the over-representation of Anglo-Australians and the under-representation of other groups. While people born in non-English-speaking countries constitute 21 per cent of the Australian population in 2006, they constituted only 6 per cent of the Australian Public Service (ABS 2007, Australian Public Service Commission 2010). The evidence for Anglo cultural privilege in Australia is clear, and the above simply highlights three examples.

It would be difficult to claim that multicultural policy has deepened in recent times, with many analysts perceiving a retreat from multiculturalism, some stating that countries like Australia are in a post-multicultural era (see Joppke 2004, Johnson 2007, Jakubowicz 2009, Nicolacopoulos and Vassilacopoulos 2011: 148–149). It has been asserted that these shifts in policy reflect public anxieties about ethnic diversity (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010), although the empirical evidence for increased public anxiety is at best contradictory (see Forrest and Dunn 2010). Some analysts have responded to the political contexts above by advocating pragmatic, or less ambitious, versions of multiculturalism that aim to manage fears and expand trust (see Lenard 2011). However, while multicultural policy may have become more anxious, or more superficial or assimilative, it may be that everyday cross-ethnic relations are generally positive. Anthropological and geographical inquiry in Australia and the UK has been uncovering strong levels of positive cross-ethnic contact (Stratton 1998, Noble 2009, Wise 2009). Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) point out that despite a turn away from multiculturalism in political discourse, much of the previously established policy frameworks in European countries remain in place (for now).

In general, most critical analysts agree that multiculturalism must engage explicitly with anti-racism and a broadening of citizenship (Castles 2000: 145–146, Anthias and

Lloyd 2002, Fleras 2011: 135). These require an a priori acknowledgement of racism and cultural privilege. Therefore, a primary and necessary step in the development of a deeper multiculturalism should include the acknowledgement of racism and privilege. As outlined earlier, a core frustration of many advocates of multiculturalism is that much of current multiculturalism policy development evades these issues, and remains focused on celebratory messages about diversity, which are in some way useful but insufficient. A deeper multiculturalism must also include a robust challenge to racism and privilege, and that requires an official acknowledgement of those social pathologies.

Denial of racism is seen as one of the defining aspects of contemporary racism in settler societies like Australia. It has been said that so-called 'new racism' is typified by denial politics, and discourses of deflection and absence (van Dijk 1992: 91, Henry and Tator 2002, Babacan 2008, Kobayashi 2009). Yet Aly (2009: 12–13) has argued that denial of racism is a historic tendency in Australian politics. That claim was made in reference to the denials by political leaders that racism had played a part in the physical attacks on Indian students studying in Australia (see Singh this issue). Denial was the first choice response of governments to the reports of these racist attacks (Dunn *et al.* 2011, Jakubowicz and Monani 2011). Aly positioned this political response as the latest "instance of the deflection or denial at which we have historically been so accomplished" (2009: 12). This argument would place the denial of racism by governments and the otherwise powerful (e.g. mainstream media) as 'not new' at all. What evidence is there for this historic predilection for denial of racism in Australia? In one sense, the history of the 'White Australia Policy' betrays an overt racism, to which denial is irrelevant. Yet even that policy drew upon the infamous dictation test, in an attempt to avoid more overtly exclusionary racial barriers that would have created offence within the British Empire (Cope *et al.* 1991, Kamp 2010). The dictation test could be seen as a mechanism of denial and deflection.

There has been other more recent evidence of the denial of racism in Australia. In 1996, the incoming conservative Howard government commissioned the collection of data on the experience of racism and racist attitudes across Australia but later consistently refused to release those findings (Jakubowicz and Monani 2011). One of the most audacious denials of racism was the Howard government's denial of racism at the Cronulla riots in late 2005.[1] Prime Minister John Howard denied that the riots indicated a problem with racism in Australia, asserting that he had a "more optimistic view of the character of the Australian people" (Howard quoted on *ABC Radio News* 2005, Dunn 2009). This denial was mirrored by media representations of the event. Twenty-one of the 115 headlines analysed by Quayle and Sonn (2009: 14) "related to the denial and mitigation of racism, including: individualising it, blaming it on situational factors and justifying it as inevitable". Therefore, denial has a pedigree in Australia, and this may not be unusual among settler nations. This historical context provides a sense of the actors and tactics involved in regulating the denial of racism. The rationale, poetics and success of the deflection and disguise has

altered, indicating the dynamism of denial. A more widespread acknowledgement of racism could offer political impetus for official acknowledgement, and subsequent anti-racism action.

Ethno-cultural Variations in Denial of Racism

International research on the discourses and rationales for denial of racism is underdeveloped and contradictory. Some research suggests that members of those groups who are the targets of racism will be more likely to acknowledge it. Other research, reviewed below, suggests that there are substantial penalties and personal costs associated with the acknowledgement of racism. The ambiguity of the racism people face and their levels of education will also temper acknowledgement. At a superficial level, it is assumed in the new racism literature that denial serves the purposes of the cultural elite, who are protected from the discomfort of acknowledging cultural privilege (Essed 1991). There is a somewhat simplistic binary suggested here. In the Australian setting, this would suggest that Anglo-Australians possess privilege, and therefore wish to deny racism, while other groups' experiences of racism and cultural unevenness would see them more likely to acknowledge racism. The latter makes a good deal of sense, as Australians from non-Anglo backgrounds (defined here broadly and crudely) are more likely to experience racism (Dunn *et al.* 2004), and are therefore more likely to acknowledge it. Research on the experiences and attitudes of Indigenous Australians confirms this relationship (Dunn *et al.* 2010a).

In the immigrant settlement and transnationalism literature, it has been shown that longer established 'immigrant' groups respond with some disdain and cast aspersions on recent arrivals from their own origin countries. The awkwardness and difficulties of the new immigrants are an embarrassment to the longer established cohorts (see Singh this issue). The problems of newcomers are perceived as degrading the citizenship and belonging of those who are longer established (McAuliffe 2008: 70–74). There was a sense of this annoyance and intolerance in the Indian-Australian community's initial responses to the difficulties and racism faced by Indian international students on temporary visas in Australia (Singh and Cabraal 2010, Singh this issue). More broadly, it has been asserted that as immigrant groups become established in Australia, and as their senses of citizenship expand and are officially affirmed in popular culture and political discourse, they will begin to exhibit attitudes indistinct from most other established groups. Surveys of workers on Sydney construction sites found statistically significant positive associations between acknowledgement of racism and being Australian born, second or third generation, and of Anglo-Australian background (Dunn *et al.* 2010b). An Australian study of university students found that, contrary to expectation, Asian students were less likely than Caucasian students to perceive racism after viewing a series of ambiguous role-playing scenarios (Mellor *et al.* 2001). The authors suggest that "either their general

knowledge of racism is underdeveloped or alternatively is being suppressed" (Mellor *et al.* 2001: 484).

The data in this paper are used to examine the asserted relation between denial/acknowledgement and immigrant status (born overseas or in Australia). Negative reinforcement of those who report an experience of racism will dissuade them from talking of it again. There may also be a lower sensitivity to racist discourse and behaviour among people who come from less tolerant societies. For example, immigrants from countries that are overall less tolerant to various types of cultural difference may not be able to recognise various 'milder' expressions of racism in Australia or may be tolerant to such incidents. A somewhat related and more strategic genesis for denial is the 'spatial denial discourse', in which racism in Australia is dismissed as being of a lesser frequency or consequence than in other places in the world (Nelson *et al.* forthcoming).

In addition to our interest in education and acknowledgement of racism and Anglo privilege, we were also interested in the acknowledgement of racism by different language and immigrant groups. Empirical explorations of perceptions of levels of racial prejudice are underdeveloped, particularly in Australia. For this reason, we turn to the social psychological literature on recognition of discrimination at a personal level. Stangor *et al.* (2003) explain how a respondent may experience an incident of discrimination, but, for various reasons, may be unwilling to publicly declare it as discrimination. A discriminatory incident could be explained as something else (e.g. poor performance or personal failure). Stangor *et al.* (2003) argue that both individual differences as well as contextual variables (citizenship, class and location) have an effect on the acknowledgement of racism.

There are personal implications from the acknowledgement of racism. Essed (2002: 203) has argued that "Inherent in the denial of everyday racism is the discrediting of the voices of discontent." The regulation of denial would involve the criticism of ethnic minorities who claim there is racism. They may be accused of being 'over-sensitive' or ungrateful (Essed 1991, Stangor *et al.* 2003). A study by Stangor, Van Allen and Swim (in Stangor *et al.* 2003) found that when an individual said they had experienced discrimination they were evaluated less warmly and seen as complainers. Kaiser *et al.* (2006) similarly found that white Americans evaluated black Americans who reported discrimination less favourably than those who attributed a negative event to some other cause (e.g. difficulty of a test, see also Kaiser and Major 2006). Stangor *et al.* (2002: 73) have argued that "stigmatized individuals are particularly aware of the social costs of reporting discrimination to high status others". The difficulties in establishing with proof and certainty that a negative encounter was born of racist intent also makes reporting more fraught (Mellor *et al.* 2001). Taken together, this suggests that individuals from minority groups commonly targeted by racism are sensitive to the costs of claiming discrimination, and particularly so in certain contexts, without certain supports. This would explain the finding of a recent review of research that reported "little evidence that stigmatised groups are

hypersensitive about the occurrence of discrimination in their environments. In contrast there appears to be evidence of insensitivity" (Stangor *et al.* 2003: 287).

Another important factor in perceiving discrimination is related to the severity of the incident. A study by Chrobot-Mason and Hepworth (2005) examined the effects of ambiguous (e.g. offensive racist jokes) and unambiguous (racist physical threats, vandalism, etc.) racism in the workplace and found that the more blatant forms of racism were widely considered severe and unacceptable. That is, they were more difficult to deny. Acts of ambiguous racism are more difficult to acknowledge, requiring considerable skills and education to recognise them as well as the confidence to name them as racist. Recognising and naming racism will rely somewhat on a person's level of education. Knowledge of what constitutes racism will allow people to perceive racist acts and speech as something more than 'ordinary incivility' or 'poor levity'; this points to the importance of education, and also the strength of personal (or group) sense of citizenship and understanding of human rights.

The *personal/group discrimination discrepancy* is a robust finding within the social psychological literature on the acknowledgement of racism (Taylor *et al.* 1990). That is, individuals perceive higher rates of discrimination for their group, compared to that which they report experiencing personally. Participants in North American studies have commonly been African Americans and women. Kobrynowicz and Branscombe (1997) were interested in attributions to prejudice for different groups, and concluded that it may be psychologically advantageous for those from socially and culturally disadvantaged groups to avoid perceiving discrimination: "labelling more *significant* and/or *frequently encountered* events as discrimination is much more disconcerting and would not be protective of self-esteem" (1997: 351, emphasis in original). For dominant groups, however, perceptions of discrimination may be used as a means to explain or justify declining privileges, and hence might boost self-esteem (see Major *et al.* 2002 for more on attributions to discrimination and well being).

Given the mixed findings here, and the importance of contextual variables, it was difficult to predict how participants who speak a language other than English or those born outside of Australia will perceive racism and Anglo privilege in Australia. This paper is interested in the extent to which respondents from different language backgrounds and places of birth recognise the existence of racism and Anglo privilege in Australia. Another question of interest relates to Indigenous Australians, who also experience elevated rates of racism, but clearly have experienced a distinct history and have a unique connection to Australia. Will they perceive the existence of racism and Anglo privilege in Australia in similar ways to ethnic minorities from immigrant/ refugee backgrounds?

Method

This paper draws on data from telephone surveys commissioned by the Challenging Racism Project (2001–2008). The first survey was commissioned in New South Wales

and Queensland ($n = 5,056$), and was subsequently repeated in all states and territories (2001 Victoria, $n = 4,016$; 2007 South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory, $n = 1,938$; and 2008 Tasmania, the Northern Territory and Western Australia, $n = 1,502$). Broadly, these four surveys identified the prevalence of racist attitudes, attitudes towards different cultural groups and people's experiences of racism in various social settings. Importantly these surveys included two questions on acknowledgement of racism and of Anglo-Australian privilege. The two propositions of interest were worded thus:

- There is racial prejudice in Australia.
- Australians from a British background have a privileged position in our society ('British background' assumed the inclusion of both British immigrants and their descendents in Australia, and interviewers explained this if asked).

For both statements, responses were sought on a five-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The four separate data-sets referred to above were merged into a single 'national' data-set, referred to as the 'Consolidated National Attitudes and Experiences Survey' ($n = 12,512$). This merged data-set was weighted to correspond with the national age, gender and location of the Australian population according to Census data.

Findings: Acknowledgement and Denial of Racism

There was widespread acknowledgement that racial prejudice exists in Australia, with over 85 per cent of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with this statement (see Table 1). General public acknowledgement of racism is therefore strong, yet this does not match levels of official (political) acknowledgement discussed earlier. As shown in Table 1, acknowledgement of Anglo privilege was more mixed, with respondents evenly split between contesting the existence of Anglo privilege and acknowledging it. Elsewhere we have characterised this as a situation in which people are prepared to acknowledge that there is racism 'out there in the society' but they are much less

Table 1 Survey responses

	There is racial prejudice in Australia ($N = 12,398$)	Those from a British background enjoy a privileged position ($N = 12,105$)
Disagree/strongly disagree	8.0	41.5
Neither agree nor disagree	6.8	16.2
Agree/strongly agree	85.2	42.3
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Consolidated National Attitudes and Experiences Survey, Challenging Racism Project 2001–2008.

Table 2 Acknowledgement and denial by language spoken, region of birth and Indigeneity

	Speaks language other than English	English-speaking background	Australia	UK, USA, NZ, SA, Europe	Other	South Asia	Rest of Asia	Middle East	Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander	Non-Indigenous
There is racial prejudice in Australia										
	($n=1{,}978$)	($n=10{,}410$)	($n=9{,}221$)	($n=2{,}095$)	($n=158$)	($n=158$)	($n=470$)	($n=108$)	($n=187$)	($n=12{,}189$)
Denial	13.6%	6.9%	6.6%	8.5%	14.3%	22.8%	16.4%	30.6%	4.8%	8.0%
Ambivalence	9.8%	6.2%	6.2%	7.2%	10.8%	15.2%	10.6%	6.5%	4.8%	6.9%
Acknowledgement	76.6%	86.8%	87.1%	84.2%	74.8%	62.0%	73.0%	63.0%	90.4%	85.1%
Australians from a British background enjoy a privileged position in our society										
	($n=1{,}921$)	($n=10{,}174$)	($n=9{,}012$)	($n=2{,}049$)	($n=275$)	($n=153$)	($n=451$)	($n=108$)	($n=178$)	($n=11{,}905$)
Denial	35.9%	42.6%	42.0%	43.9%	33.5%	26.1%	34.4%	38.9%	35.4%	41.6%
Ambivalence	16.3%	16.1%	16.5%	14.2%	18.2%	24.8%	15.3%	13.0%	14.6%	16.2%
Acknowledgement	47.8%	41.3%	41.5%	42.0%	48.4%	49.0%	50.3%	48.1%	50.0%	42.2%

Source: Consolidated National Attitudes and Experiences Survey, Challenging Racism Project 2001–2008.

ready to acknowledge that there are winners and losers from this racism, and they are especially reluctant to acknowledge cultural privilege (Dunn *et al.* 2004).

Language Background

Australians from minority groups, particularly Middle Eastern and South Asian backgrounds, experience racism at higher rates than do the rest of the population (Dunn *et al.* 2009). High rates of personal experience of racism may mean that a higher proportion of these respondents recognise the existence of racial prejudice in Australia. On the other hand, as some literature suggested, minority groups may be less likely to recognise racism in Australia for at least two reasons. First, they might have an interest in avoiding recognition of racism in order to avoid being labelled complainers, or avoiding the social costs associated with stating that racism exists in Australia. Second, respondents from minority backgrounds may not recognise racism as a problem in Australia as a self-protective measure. It is also conceivable that some minority groups have such a limited interaction with Australians from other backgrounds that they are less exposed to racism. Segregation or 'parallel lives', to use the British expression, may mean that minorities encounter less racism. The relative absence of ethnic segregation in Australia (Poulsen *et al.* 2004) means that this would be unlikely to explain why ethnic minorities 'see' less racism. Interestingly, those who speak a language other than English (LOTE) at home were more likely than those from English-speaking backgrounds to disagree or strongly disagree that there is racial prejudice in Australia ($\chi^2(2) = 142.24$, $p < 0.001$). The proportions of deniers in both groups were small, but 14 per cent of participants from non-English-speaking backgrounds deny the existence of racial prejudice, whereas only 7 per cent of those of English-speaking background did so (Table 2). There was also greater ambivalence among respondents who spoke a LOTE (9.8 per cent).

There were also significant differences in recognition of Anglo privilege by language background ($\chi^2(2) = 34.00$, $p < 0.001$). In contrast to the above, those who speak a LOTE at home are *more* likely to acknowledge the existence of Anglo privilege in Australia. Table 2 also indicates that ambivalence narrows to be the same for non-English- and English-speaking respondents. Opinions between the questions (racism and Anglo privilege) varied more for Anglo-Australians than for non-Anglo respondents. About 45 per cent of the Anglo respondents denied privilege while acknowledging racism, the variation among the non-Anglo respondents was smaller with only 29 per cent acknowledging racism but not privilege. In other words, opinion on these two questions varied much more dramatically for the Anglo respondents, almost half of which acknowledge racism but also deny Anglo privilege.

Region of Birth

Table 2 includes data based on the region of birth of respondents. It is important to note that this is not a direct measure of ethnicity. For example, this indicator does not capture the second generation of immigrants to Australia. As seen in Table 2 there are

significant differences in the extent to which respondents from various regions acknowledged the existence of racial prejudice in Australia ($\chi^2(10) = 261.86$, $p < 0.001$). Acknowledgement of racial prejudice was highest among respondents born in Australia (87.1 per cent), followed by those born in other Western, mainly English-speaking countries (84.2 per cent). Respondents born in the Middle East and South Asia were the most likely to deny the existence of racial prejudice. Almost one-third of those born in the Middle East (30.6 per cent) contested that there is racial prejudice in Australia, along with almost one-quarter (22.8 per cent) of those born in South Asia. This is despite documented elevated experiences of racism among these two groups (Dunn *et al.* 2009).

When it comes to Anglo privilege, the patterns are different. Once again, there were significant differences by region of birth ($\chi^2(10) = 49.68$, $p < 0.001$), but here it is respondents born in Australia and other mostly white, English-speaking countries that are more likely to contest the idea of Anglo privilege. Differences between respondents born in different regions were not as marked as above, but there was a trend for respondents born in mostly non-Western countries to be more likely to acknowledge the existence of Anglo privilege.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders

As shown in Table 2, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were more likely than non-Indigenous respondents to acknowledge that there is racial prejudice in Australia. This difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2(2) = 4.12$, $p = 0.127$) however. This may reflect the relatively small sample of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders who participated in the survey ($n = 187$). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents were slightly more likely to acknowledge that Australians from a British background enjoy a privileged position in our society (see Table 2). Once again, however, this difference was not statistically significant ($\chi^2(2) = 4.41$, $p = 0.110$).

Discussion

As outlined above, the justifications for the acknowledgement of racism are numerous. There are social costs of racism including lost civic participation, poor labour force effects and disruptive social conflagrations (Allbrook 2001). The individual costs from the experience of racism are also well established (Victorian Health Promotion Foundation 2007: 19, 27–29, 52). The morbidity of racism may be more potent where victims feel the need to deny the racism (Paradies 2006: 893–895). A deeper multiculturalism must challenge racism, and also the regulatory framework that dissuades victims of racism from acknowledging it. By 'regulatory framework' we refer to the dominant discourses that attempt to proscribe and prescribe what is said about racism and privilege, following the concept of regulation of gender

performance (Butler 1993: 224–232). Through this regulatory framework, references to racism may be condemned and the speakers punished.

The data presented above suggest that denial of racism is not generally widespread. Indeed only 8 per cent of the 12,517 respondents disagreed that there was racial prejudice in Australia. However, public attitudes on the cultural outcomes and bases of racism are not as clear. Denial of Anglo cultural privilege is quite strong (41.5 per cent) and is almost matched by those who acknowledge this privilege (42.3 per cent). Therefore, attitudes are split down the middle, with a further 16 per cent unable to agree or disagree. Some of the literature we identified earlier suggests that denial serves the purposes of the cultural elite, and therefore those with privilege would be expected to have higher rates of denial. This helps account for the denial of cultural privilege. It does not, however, help us to understand denial of racism, as Anglo-Australians have higher rates of acknowledgement than non-Anglo Australians.

We outlined some social psychological literature that suggests there are negative consequences for those who talk about racism: for those who expose it, critique it and especially those who report experiencing it. It may be that some Australians are more vulnerable to this regulation. A common-sense assumption is that acknowledgement of racism is higher among those groups who are the targets of racism. However, the data do not conform to that assumption, with non-Anglo-Australians less likely to acknowledge racism than those born in Australia. In addition, the rates of denial among those who were born in countries in South Asia or the Middle East were even higher than the rates of denial by respondents born in other parts of the world. Immigrants from those countries are known from other research to be targets of racism in Australia, yet this enhanced exposure to racism is matched by higher rates of denial. Mellor *et al.* argued that the failure to recognise racism either reflects a lack of knowledge of what constitutes racism or indicates that recognition of racism is inhibited. Both of these explanations may be pertinent here. The motivation to ignore racism, or re-cast it as something else, may reflect a desire, whether conscious or not, to avoid the personal costs associated with becoming a victim (Stangor *et al.* 2003, Chrobot-Mason and Hepworth 2005, Paradies 2006). The perverse effect is that ethnic groups with higher rates of experience of racism could therefore be expected to have higher rates of denial of racism. These findings point to the background importance of cultural hierarchies, uneven constructions of belonging and an unequal power to complain. Again, a core business for a deeper multiculturalism is revealed here: the need to confront structural hierarchies of belonging and citizenship.

Those who complain about racism and privilege can easily be characterised as ungrateful if they are immigrants or religious minorities (especially if they are refugees). This suggests a social weakness, in which some ethnic groups perceive a lesser claim to citizenship, especially manifest as a reticence to state that there is racism in Australian society. The reporting of the experience of racism is contained by this regulatory prohibition, and this undermines the case for public action. A deeper multiculturalism must confront these prohibitions on the official and public

acknowledgement of racism. Policy and programmes should also take steps to address the bifurcated public opinion on Anglo privilege, specifically the 40 per cent who deny this privilege.

An exception to the positive association between the experience of racism and its denial is our finding concerning Indigenous Australians, who were more likely than non-Indigenous respondents to acknowledge racism and Anglo privilege. The public regulation of acknowledgement has less effect on Indigenous Australians than upon non-Anglo immigrants because their belonging is less contestable, and therefore their right to make claims and sense of entitlement is stronger. It may also be the case that the racism experienced by Indigenous Australians is less ambiguous, whereas the racist experiences of immigrants can oftentimes be excused as cultural misunderstandings, cultural lacks or religious incompatibility.

While non-Anglo-Australians had weaker levels of acknowledgement of racism, they nonetheless had stronger levels of recognition of Anglo privilege. There appears to be a lack of acknowledgement among Anglo-Australians of their own cultural privilege. This is a sort of inverse of the personal/group discrepancy that Taylor *et al.* (1990) used to explain why victims acknowledge that their own group experiences racism but are reluctant to acknowledge their personal experience of racism. In this inverse version Anglo-Australians perceive that the racism is 'out there' in Australian society, but they as Anglos are not personally attached to the privilege that underpins and flows from that racism. It is worth remembering that while 87 per cent of non-Anglo-Australians acknowledge there is racism only 41 per cent were prepared to acknowledge Anglo privilege. Again, this provides an insight into the strategic sensitivities required in the fraught politics of anti-racism and further development of Australian multiculturalism. However, encouraging a broader acknowledgement of cultural privilege may become increasingly important in the context of an emerging sense of Anglo resentment towards the improving citizenship status of non-Anglo-Australians. The expansion of access and equity programmes, and the popularity of 'ethnic events' and multiculturalism, are sources of resentment among some Anglo-Australians (Bulbeck 2004, Bloch and Dreher 2009: 197–204). Expanding the acknowledgement of privilege might be essential to confronting these discourses of Anglo loss, victimhood and grievance under multiculturalism.

In Australia, there have been recent calls to enliven multicultural policy, and this has seen a declarative re-commitment to multiculturalism. This was impressive in that it followed in the wake of prominent criticisms of multiculturalism by the political leadership of the UK and Germany. The Australian Federal Government re-proclaimed multiculturalism as official policy in February 2011 and announced there would be the development of a National Anti-racism Partnership and Strategy (AMAC 2010, FECCA 2010, Evans and Lundy 2011: 2–3, see also the introduction to this issue). In countries like Australia, there is an opportunity to advocate for deeper multicultural policy – one which acknowledges racism as well as cultural privilege and the hierarchies of citizenship.

The headline datum is that 85 per cent of Australians agree that there is racial prejudice in Australia. These high levels of acknowledgement do not align with the position of many Australian political leaders, where denial of racism is favoured. Given this disparity, a first-order task of policy in this area must be to establish anti-racism as a legitimate, necessary action for a new era in Australian multiculturalism. Scholarship around further development of multiculturalism as ideology and policy must contemplate the best means for confronting the public denial of racism. The acknowledgement of racism in public policy should empower victims to name the racism they experience, and should better empower third parties to name the racism that they witness. This should enhance the everyday challenge to everyday racism. Encouraging bystanders to act when witnessing racism has the potential to affirm citizenship and build social norms that are intolerant of racism (Nelson *et al.* 2010). However, underlying the issue of acknowledgement is a cultural hierarchy of citizenship that needs to be confronted through a definitive commitment to the diversity of the Australian polity, and through the public presentation and visibility of cultural difference. The political leadership, and other elites, need to be a reflection of the diverse citizenry. The latter requires 'old fashioned' access and equity policy.

A careful balance must be sought between acknowledging racism and avoiding the perception that racism is normal and natural. There are dangers in spreading the opprobrium of racism too widely – it should be characterised as a deviance and threat to public order, not as normative. Anti-racism programmes and campaigns that draw attention to Anglo privilege will be more confronting, and the reception of that message will be split. The critique of Anglo privilege, and the use of critical whiteness studies as a policy tool at this inchoate stage of its policy conversion, could have the unfortunate effect of reinforcing a normative status for racism. The political merits of multicultural programmes that encourage public acknowledgement of Anglo cultural privilege are not so empirically clear. The potential of these types of programmes in the further development of Australian multiculturalism remains an urgent area for further critical research.

Note

[1] In December 2005 as many as 5,000 people, mostly white youths of an Anglo background, assembled near Cronulla Beach in Sydney's southern suburbs (Hazzard Report, Strike Force Neil 2006). They were protesting the presence and behaviour of Lebanese-Australians in the area. The crowd chanted slogans, but also sang national anthems (Dunn 2009). Later in the day, sections of the crowd began assaulting people of 'Middle Eastern' appearance.

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