Attitudes towards Immigration and Immigrants a) Perspectives

Findings of a survey on racist attitudes and experiences of racism in Australia

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Abstract
There is a dearth of concrete evidence as to the extent of racism in Australia. This paper reports on research into the extent and distribution of intolerant attitudes in Australia, as well as data on the reported experience of racism. A telephone survey of residents throughout the states of Queensland and NSW generated a completed sample of 5056. The constructs of racism that were tested included: tolerance of cultural difference, perceptions on the extent of racism, tolerance of specific groups, ideology of nation, perceptions of Anglo-Celt cultural privilege, and racialism, including separatism and hierarchy. Findings suggest a substantive degree of racism in Australia. Anti-Muslim sentiment is very strong. There is a persistence of intolerance against Asian-, Indigenous and Jewish Australians. Most Australians recognise the problem of racism, yet less than half recognise the cultural privileges that racism accords. Racist attitudes are positively associated with age, non-tertiary education, and to a slightly lesser extent with those who do not speak a language other than English, the Australia-born, and with males. About 15 percent of Australians have experienced racism within institutional settings like the workplace and in education. About one-quarter of Australians report the experience of 'everyday racisms'. Reporting experiences of racism was higher among indigenous Australians, those speaking a language other than English, those born overseas (excluding UK and NZ), and males. While racism is quite prevalent in Australian society its manifestation is everywhere different. Locally sensitive anti-racism initiatives are required to engage the racisms within Australian society.

Speaking of racism

This work on racism was born out of the so-called race debates in Australia of 1996 and 1997. There was a good deal of media discussion of the geography of One Nation Party supporters. Was it a bush / rural phenomeneon? The principal aim of our neophyte project was to examine the spatial variation of racism, with a particular theoretical intent to finesse a social construction approach to that topic (Dunn & McDonald 2001). However, it became clear to us that there was a dearth of recent empirical evidence as to the extent of racism in Australia. The last such academic surveys were conducted by McAllister and Moore in the late 1980s. Between 1996 and 1998, the Australian Federal Government commissioned an inquiry into racism in Australia but the results have never been publicly released (DIMA 1998: 1). Multiple freedom of information requests for access to those results have been refused. We added to our aims an intention to fill the abovementioned information gap by producing data sets on the extent and variation of racism in Australia. Our plan is to place that information in the public domain, and this article is a partial fulfillment of that new aim. The data and analysis should also add to what Jayasuriya (2002: 40) has criticised as the "paucity of thinking about race and racism in Australia".

In 1996, Pauline Hanson of the One Nation Party asked a television reporter to 'Please explain' what was meant by the term xenophobia. The broadcasting of Hanson's ignorance of the term on the national current affairs program *Sixty Minutes* was clearly intended to embarrass the leader of the Party. However, the exchange was perversely interpreted by many as an attack on an 'Aussie battler' by the cultural elites (the media, academics, community leaders, etc). Why should this 'ordinary' battler be expected to critically reflect on her opinions, many of which were plainly hostile to Asian-Australians and Aboriginal Australians? A widely held assumption is that Anglo-Celtic Australians should have an unfettered right to express hostility to non-Whites, and to make statements on who should be allowed into the national space, and who should be recognised (culturally and legally) as a citizen (Hage 1998). The *Sixty Minutes* exchange, and the Federal Government's reluctance to release its data on the extent of racism, provide examples of a reticence within Australian public life to engage with the issue of racism. This paper then reports on Australian attitudes from a sample survey undertaken in October and December 2001. To extend this segue, we provide answers to Hanson's request for explanation.

Surveying racist attitudes

A theoretical emphasis of this project has been to interrogate the differing experience of racism throughout Australia. Dunn and McDonald (2001) have recently reviewed theories that comment on such variations of racism. These theories included the thinking of the traditional urbanists (Simmel, Wirth), neo-Marxist explanations, the Chicago School, and more recently social constructivism. Each of these theories retain substantial explanatory potential, but Dunn and McDonald (2001) emphasised the power of social constructivism. A social construction approach is particularly useful for disentangling the variations in racism, and for uncovering background ideologies that sustain racist attitudes (broadly defined) as well as anti-racism. Racist and anti-racist (or non-racist) attitudes are often co-existent, and a social constructivist approach aids an understanding of that apparent contradiction. In the various sections below, studies on racism are cited by way of philosophical introductions; most of these can be described as constructivist analyses, including work on the links between racism and national ideology, the critique of sociobiological understandings of race, critical analyses of cultural privilege, and specific assessments of the disparagement and lesser regard experienced from Australians of specific cultural groups.

An attitudinal telephone survey of residents throughout the states of Queensland and NSW generated a completed sample of 5056. Sixty-four per cent of the sample was from NSW, roughly in proportion to the relative population sizes of the two states. Because of the relative sizes of the two state capitals, the sample was dominated by Sydney and Brisbane respondents. The survey was undertaken between October and December 2001, which spanned a Federal Election. The questionnaire was available in six community languages, but despite these efforts the sample is a little under-representative of those who speak a language other than English (LOTE), it also over-represents women and under-represents indigenous Australians (Table 1). Almost all respondents were gracious in stating their age, gender, educational, and cultural background (only 30 refused ton answer the education question). The likelihood of answering the substantive questions varied very little, women for example were slightly more likely to provide a not stated response to the questions on attitudes.

Take in Table 1 about here

Xenophobia is usually taken to refer to fear of outsiders. In this research, our interest extended beyond xenophobia to include intolerance of Indigenous people and other groups of Australians. The emphasis was not upon intolerance of those residing outside of Australia. We have investigated the regard of specific 'out groups', those who endure greater degrees of disparagement in media, political debates and everyday conversation. The selection of such groups was informed by earlier survey work by social scientists in the 1980s, and by the gamut of cultural and social research on tolerance, discrimination and culture in Australia. Our survey questions were adapted from existing work in this field. These included attitudinal questions that gauge a respondents' tolerance (or comfort) for specific (out) cultural groups, as well as their opinions on the desirability of cultural diversity. In so far as we tested the intolerance of 'outsiders within' xenophobia is still a usable concept for this research. However, we also examined belief in what we have called 'old racisms': belief in racial hierarchy, racial separatism, and belief in racial categories (racialism) (Jayasuriya 2002; Wieviorka 1995; Miles 1989). We developed new question formats to test the extent of belief in these concepts. We also asked respondents to self-diagnose themselves as prejudiced or not. New question formats were also introduced to operationalise issues arising within contemporary theories of racism. These included questions on perceptions of Anglo-Celtic cultural privilege and ideologies of nation. In combination, the survey questions move well beyond xenophobia. More broadly, we have examined racist attitudes in Australia.

What constitutes racism for one person can be radically different to the definition espoused by the next. The definition varies from person to person, from place to place, and overt time. We utilized seventeen separate indicators of what we have grouped under the rubric of racism. Our view is that racism is a dynamic and contested concept. Of course, all key concepts used in social research are thus. But it is noteworthy that racism is so especially contested. It is a powerful term and its deployment has a good deal of semantic power. Angst over the deployment of the term is part of a wider political contest, discussed earlier, regarding the prohibition of the term within public policy debates.

Who are the out-groups?

Contemporary racism in Australia, and intolerance of specific cultural groups, is likely linked to historic constructions of Australian national identity and who does and does not belong. Asian-Australians, Muslims, and Indigenous people have long been identified as key Others to the Australian national imaginary (Hamilton 1990; Rajkowski 1987; Rizvi 1996: 176-7). Intolerance of these groups, as stated in attitudinal surveys, had been detected in previous studies. Intolerance of Indigenous Australians has been a feature of attitude polling, with specific findings that such

intolerance is sustained by key stereotypes about indigenous people. These stereotypes surround supposed welfare dependency, drunkenness, and failure to 'assimilate' complaints (Brian Sweeney & Associates 1996a: 2-23; 1996b: 17-27; Dunn & McDonald 2001: 35; Larsen 1981: 115-7,121; Pedersen et al. 2000: 110-2). Anti-Asian sentiment, and anti-Muslim feeling, has also been strongly recorded in attitude polling in Australia (McAllister & Moore 1989: 7-11). The stereotypes that sustain such intolerance have been best outlined in qualitative work and media studies (Goodall et al. 1994: 61-5; Hage 1991; Lowe 1985; Shboul 1988). We asked two sets of questions that delivered data on who might be the current out-groups of Australian society. Firstly, we asked respondents whether they believed that there were any cultural or ethnic groups that did not fit into Australian society. Respondents could then name three such groups. Secondly, we utilized one of the Bogardus social distance instruments to measure the degree of intolerance of specific out-groups (Bogardus 1933).

Forty-five per cent of respondents (2272) were able to identify a cultural group or groups that they felt did not belong in Australia. This particular finding is interpreted in greater detail later. In all, there were 2251 specific identifications of groups that 'did not fit in Australia'. By far the most common of the groups mentioned were Muslims and people from the Middle East. At least 635 respondents said Muslims, and 641 said people from the Middle East. Cultural groups from, and those born in, Asian countries were a further source of concern for many respondents (746 mentions in all). There were 239 respondents who were unable to name the groups they thought did not belong in Australia, referring broadly and vaguely to "Foreigners" or "Ethnics". Fifty-eight people even said that Indigenous Australians did not fit into Australian society. It is deeply worrying that even one per cent of the sample (and of the Australian population) would make such an unsolicited observation, especially when one considers the implications of such a viewpoint. The results overwhelmingly indicate an outsider status of Muslims, as well as Australians of Middle-Eastern and Asian origin.

Our second indicator of the extent of 'out-groups' status were Bogardus tolerance measures. These have also been referred to as 'comfort' or distance indicators in such attitudinal survey work (see Berry & Kalin 1995: 306-7; Peach 1976). Respondents were asked for the extent of their concern, if any, if a close relative were to marry a member of seven specific groups (see groups in Table 2). Data generated from such questions have traditionally been analysed as indicators of tolerance. We are mindful of the rhetorical (and political) repercussions of using 'tolerance' as a key concept. The discussion of tolerance can have the conservative effect of awarding power to the cultural powerful in society (by asking them to be tolerant), and constructs the disparaged as a guest whom the powerful must be charitable and tolerant of. Hage (1988) outlined this critique of tolerance politics in Australia, drawing upon the philosophical work of King (1976; see also Galeotti 2002). These critiques should be bore in mind when using the data presented here on uneasiness regarding specific cultural groups. The data should be read alongside those we have collected on Anglo-Celt cultural privilege, the extent of the problem of racism, and on the background role of nationalisms. Our data are revelatory of an unevenness of esteem. The construction of 'out-groups' and 'in-groups' is a core outcome of the so-called new racism discourses (Jayasuriya 2002: 42). Furthermore, for many of the 5056 respondents being asked about their tolerance of Christian, British- and Italian-Australians had a distinctly troubling effect on their everyday assumptions of Anglo-Celtics as a non-ethnic, naturally privileged, group.

Take in Table 2 about here

There was a substantial level of stated concern regarding Muslim Australians. Only 46.0 per cent replied they would not be concerned at all if a relative married a Muslim (Table 2). Twenty-four per cent of respondents indicated they would be 'extremely or very concerned' if a relative were to

marry a Muslim. This constituted almost one-in-four respondents, more than three times the rates of high concern expressed in regard to any other groups. Aboriginal, Asian- and Jewish Australians are clearly significant out-groups, although not to the extent of Muslims. Anti-Aboriginal and Anti-Jewish sentiment was in evidence for only one-in-four respondents. Nonetheless, the social distance of 'out-group' status for these groups appears to have an enduring longevity. Respondents were prompted to indicate their tolerance or comfort with British-, Christian and Italian-Australians. As much as anything else these questions were intended as controls. Anti-Christian sentiment was only marginally higher than 'Anglo-phobia', this may relate to everyday discourse in parts of Australian society that associates the term 'Christians' with charismatic faiths (and not with Roman Catholicism or mainstream Protestantism). The results nonetheless indicate the culturally uneven nature of tolerance in Australia.

Female respondents were generally more relaxed about inter-marriage with the out-groups identified above. This was especially for Aboriginal Australians and Asian-Australians, although for Jews there was no gender variation (Table 3). However, female respondents were more concerned about out-marriage to a Muslim than were men (Chi Square test: p=<.000). This is evidence that Muslims suffer quite dramatically from the stereotypes of Islamic misogyny or sexism (Chafic 1985: 52; Dwyer 1993: 156). Older people had greater intolerance by this measure, especially regarding Muslims, and also Indigenous Australians. Generally the results clearly indicate an expanding Islamaphobia, no doubt linked to recent geopolitical events, media representations of Muslims, and an accumulating heritage of antipathy towards Islam in Australia (Dunn 2001; Islamic Council of NSW 1989; Said 1981). Cross-tabulations and Chi square testing demonstrate a strong positive association between age groups and the level of intolerance of Muslim Australians, Aboriginal Australians, Asian-Australians and Jewish Australians (Chi square tests: were p=<.000 for the first three, and p=<.026 for Jewish Australians). Older persons show greater intolerance, this no doubt reflects different official treatment of cultural diversity (in both schooling and public policy) and reinforces the importance of progressive educational anti-racism initiatives and inclusive government rhetoric. The latter are crucial during periods in which certain cultural groups are the focus of disparagement ion powerful media and discourses.

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Views on cultural diversity and nation

Researchers have pointed to the ideology of nationhood as important to understanding racism (Hage 1998: 27-55; Goodall et al. 1994: 16,188). Racism is likely to be linked to dominant ideas about what the nation is, where it is, and who is popularly considered to be a citizen (what is an Australian?) (Rizvi 1996: 174). The findings of public opinion polling on support for multiculturalism are varied and often quite contradictory. On the one hand respondents have tended to respond favourably to questions asking them about the desirability of cultural difference. Yet poll findings have also reported concern regarding cultural maintenance amongst migrant groups. For example, surveys in the mid-1990s would find that while 60 per cent of those polled agree that migrants should not maintain their own cultural traditions, only 20 per cent thought that multicultural policy should be abolished (see Dunn & McDonald 2001: 35). Yet, cultural maintenance is a core principal of multiculturalism (Commonwealth of Australia 1999: 19; Office of Multicultural Affairs 1989: vii). Similarly, recent work by Ang et al. (2002: 17-20) found that 60 per cent of Australians are positive about cultural diversity, although support for the policy of multiculturalism was only about 50 per cent. Clearly, there is an unresolved, and widespread, tension in attitudes towards cultural diversity in Australia.

Two questions were used to test support for cultural diversity, and also the respondents' own comfort with the experience of cultural difference. Almost 85 per cent of respondents were of the view that it is a good thing for a society to be composed of cultural diversity (Table 4). The results also indicate that very few people are anti-cultural diversity (only about seven per cent), and just over one-in-ten felt insecure when in the company of people of a different ethnicity than their own. Responses to these two questions were, as expected, strongly positively associated (Chi Square test: p=<.000). There was, however, quite strong support for the proposition that cultural diversity is a threat to nationhood in Australia. Forty-five per cent of respondents agreed that Australia was weakened by people of different ethnic origins 'sticking to their old ways'. This contradicts the pro-diversity responses just outlined. The argument that diversity weakens national ethos, community and identity was a strong line of the One Nation Party. Hanson (1996: 862) stated in her maiden speech to the Federal Parliament that "a truly multicultural country can never be strong or united". The name of the Party she co-founded draws on the same ideology.

A long-standing rhetoric of anti-multicultural politics warns of division and tribalism. This idea draws heavily on the sociobiological belief that community, even nations, can only be wrought in circumstances of cultural sameness (Ardrey 1967: 253). Since the evolution of modern nation-states a central problem has been this promotion of a single identity; composed of a culturally-uniform people, bounded within a definitive territory (Renan 1882).

> as long as the nation is built around social constructions of uniform 'people' and place, ... it will not change the intolerance of difference which leads to the marginalization of particular individuals and groups (Penrose 1993: 45).

The notion that strong societies and communities can only be constructed in circumstances of cultural sameness is a widespread belief, and continues to have everyday currency in countries that proclaim their diversity, such as Australia and the United States (Jayasuriya 2002; Stratton & Ang 1994). The contradictory views on multiculturalism among our respondents are likely to be outcomes of two powerful discourses. The first a pro-cultural diversity discourse that is based in liberal values of cultural equality and in the official rhetoric about multiculturalism that has been generated by government and non-government agencies over the last twenty years or so. The second is a much older, more pessimistic and conservative ideology that borrows from sociobiological understandings of identity and community. Clearly, the latter ideology undermines a multicultural society. This conceptual tension lies unresolved within official multiculturalism. The official rhetoric speaks of cohesion and harmony at the same time as it requests recognition of difference and the appreciation of diversity. The potential threats from the sociobiological understanding of community include: generating opposition to multiculturalism, providing an ideological base for racist politics, and undermining the citizenship of those considered to be different from an Anglo-Celtic 'norm'. The conflict, tensions and discomforts associated with cultural difference have not been sufficiently acknowledged by official multicultural policy.

Take in Table 4 about here

Ghassan Hage (1998) has persuasively suggested the utility of the binary concepts of spatial managers and the spatially managed. The spatial managers are those who feel empowered to express an opinion about the nation, and about who belongs, and who should be allowed into the national space. The spatially managed are those who have opinions expressed about them, where they should be put, what they are doing, or where they should be sent back to. As mentioned earlier, forty-five per cent of respondents (44.9%) felt able to say that some cultural groups did not belong in Australia. The percentages for indigenous people (40.4%), those born overseas (39.2%), and those who spoke a language other than English at home (37.2%) were lower (Table 5). In other

words, almost half of the respondents, and Anglo-Australians more so than others, felt able to make judgements about who does fit, and who does not, in Australia. A recent survey of 3501 Australians (of which more than half were Australians of a NESB) found that 74 per cent of long-present Australians (principally Anglo and Indigenous Australians) identified themselves as "Australian". However, only ten per cent of those of a non-English speaking background the proportion were prepared to identify as "Australian". Of the 400 Vietnamese-Australians surveyed only 3 per cent felt prepared to identify as Australian (Ang, et al. 2002: 40). The authors concluded that "mainstream definitions of Australian cultural identity still tend to ignore or overlook the social diversity of the overall population", and the national imaginary remains 'white' (Ang et al. 2002: 41). Our data support the argument of theorists like Hage (1998), and the research mentioned above, that there is a cultural uneveness of belonging (see also Butcher and Thomas 2001). Representations of the nation, of Australia and Australian-ness, remain too narrow to allow for a wide enough sense of belonging. The link between cultural background and the confidence to judge who is an outsider is through the everyday repetitions of what constitutes national identity. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's (HREOC) 'Consultations with Civil Society' (2001: 10,19-20) found consensus that:

> The White Australia Policy has had a lasting impact on the national social development of Australia. It allowed the construction of a populist national identity which excludes and marginalizes groups … . This has led to popular ideas of the need for people to conform to a set of perceived cultural and social norms if they are to be truly 'Australian' (HREOC 2001: 19).

These articulations of national identity, of Australian-ness, are repeated daily in media, by politicians, community leaders and in everyday interactions of everyday spaces.

Age was strongly and positively correlated with the ability to make a judgement about who does not belong in Australia (Chi square test: $p=<0.000$). So also was non-tertiary education ($p=<0.000$). Higher education, and more recent education (and peer learning etc), were most likely linked to the possession of less exclusionary attitudes (Table 5). Together, these two relationships both indicate the importance of educative anti-racism programs to engage this high level of exclusionist sentiment. This also confirms the arguments that the nation's media and cultural industries, and other core institutions, need to offer much more inclusive articulations of nation-ness (Goodall et al. 1994).

Take in Table 5 about here

Normalcy and privilege

Critical race theorists have commented on what they have called the normalcy of racism (Kobayashi and Peake 2000: 394-6). It has been argued there is a privilege of Whiteness, and that it is associated with a way of life and perspective from which racism is unseen or is considered an exceptional aberration (Bonnett 1997; Dyer 1988; Gabriel 1998; Kobayashi & Peake 2000: 393-7; McGuiness 2000). Two survey questions tested the extent to which respondents recognised there to be a problem of racism in Australian, and the extent to which they recognised that there was an Anglo-Celtic cultural privilege. Four-fifths of respondents (83.1%) recognised that there was a problem with racism in Australia, leaving about 8.5 per cent in denial of racism. This accords with Brian Sweeney and Associates' (1996a: 23; 1996b: 11-2) who found that 79 per cent of telephone survey respondents (sample of 1250) were concerned about the level of racism in Australia and felt that racism was "rife". There was an encouraging recognition of racism in Australia. This indicates

that at the everyday level four-fifths of the population can appreciate a need to speak about racism and for there to be anti-racism initiatives.

However, the recognition of cultural 'winners' from racism was much lesser. The denial of Anglo-Celtic privilege was about 42.6 per cent. Pedersen and Walker (1997: 565) observed that in the contemporary era alongside an "apparent egalitarianism" there was a strong strain of 'new racism' (see below) that operated to "defend the privileges of the dominant culture". This is a portent of the strategic sensitivities that the politics of anti-racism must negotiate.

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Older people and men were more likely than younger respondents and women, to deny racism and privilege. Fewer than five per cent of indigenous respondents denied there was racism, and only a third denied there was Anglo privilege. Of those born overseas (excluding UK and NZ) only 15 per cent did not see racism as a contemporary problem in Australia and one-third denied that British-Australians enjoyed a cultural privilege. Similarly, 35.7 per cent of respondents who spoke a language other than English denied there was a cultural privilege for Anglo-Celtic Australians. Thus recognition of racism and privilege was stronger among indigenous Australians and those of a non-Anglo-Celtic background. The recognition of a problem, and of cultural privilege, were both significantly associated with those possessing a LOTE background and with the overseas born (Chi Squares all exceeding p=<.001). However, the statistical associations with indigeneity were not significant.

Belief in racial hierarchy, racial separatism and 'race'

Arguments that 'racial groups' should be separated from one another, or that some 'racial groups' are naturally superior to others have been referred to as 'old racisms', sometimes 'blatant' or 'old fashioned' racisms (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995). New racisms operate more through stereotypes regarding cultural traits of groups, or on notions of 'self' and 'other' to the national space (Cole 1997; Hall 1992: 256-8; Parekh 1987). The latter are reproduced in media and in political debates (Barker, 1981; Goodall et al. 1994; van Dijk, 1991). They are clearly important to the intolerances of specific cultural groups outlined earlier, and to views regarding cultural diversity and privilege. We developed some questions to test for 'old racist' sentiment. What we have called 'old racisms' include belief in racial hierarchy and racial separatism (see Jayasuriya, 2002; Wieviorka 1995). Respondents were asked whether they agreed that all 'races' of people are equal. Disagreement to that proposition was operationalised as an indicator of support for racial hierarchy. Almost 12 per cent of respondents believed there was a natural racial hierarchy of some form. This indicates that more than one-in-ten Australians hold beliefs akin to racial supremacy (Table 7). Stated belief in the need to keep 'races' sexually separate was a little stronger. Just over 13 per cent were racial separatists, as indicated by the stated undesirability of inter-marriage between 'racial groups' (Table 7). Belief in the 'old racisms' is clearly now confined to a minority of Australians, as anticipated by Jayasuriya (2002: 41-2).

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Older people and those without tertiary qualifications were much more likely to disagree that 'races' were equal. By these measures, belief in racial hierarchy is positively associated with age and negatively associated with education. These associations were highly statistically significant (p=<.000 and p=<.001 respectively). The associations with age and education were even stronger for the proposition regarding racial inter-marriage. For example, 23.5 per cent of those aged 65 and

over thought it a bad idea for people of different 'races' to marry one another, while only 6.9 per cent of those aged 18 to 34 had the same view (Table 8). Males were slightly more likely to oppose racial inter-marriage than were females. These data again point to the importance of anti-racist initiatives within schools, and to the legacies of sociobiology and white Australia ideology, to any explanation of demographic variations in racist attitudes in Australia.

Links between ethnicity and old racisms are unclear. The birthplace, language and indigeneity cross tabulations indicated that non-Anglo-Celtic Australians were slightly more likely to believe in racial hierarchy and separation. It may be that the question on racial hierarchy was mis-interpreted as a question regarding political fact (is there a racial hierarchy in operation?) rather than as a biological proposition (are some races naturally superior to others?). The other interpretation is that old racisms retain a stronger hold among non-Anglo-Celtic-Australians (admittedly a broad and very diverse category). However, only the opposition to racial inter-marriage had any form of statistically significant relationship with ethnicity (p=<.004 for LOTE; & p=<.040 for overseas born). In the absence of robust statistical associations, and given the slightly greater acceptance of old racisms among those of LOTE background, there are no grounds for assuming that belief in old racisms is a characteristic of Anglo-Celtic-Australians.

Take in Table 8 about here

A core ideological basis of old racisms is the belief that there are natural 'racial' categories of humankind. This belief has been defined as racialism (Miles 1989). Racialism is linked to discourses of nature, such as taxonomic division and natural orders (Anderson 1998: 125-7; Hannaford 1997). UNESCO (1983) in the 1950s and 1960s roundly condemned the sociobiological premise that humankind can be sorted by a biological category called 'race'. Recent work within genetics has again defeated any substantive or meaningful biological category called 'race' (Human Genome Diversity Committee 1993). Racialism was a core component of our racist attitudes survey. About 78 per cent of respondents to the survey believed that human kind could be sorted by natural categories called 'races'. The belief was prevalent. The demographic variables most strongly associated with this belief were older age (p=<.000), followed by birthplace (Australia or UK/NZ rather than elsewhere overseas, p=<.000), and those without a language other than English (p=<.000) (Table 8). Level of education was negatively associated, but at a less significant level, with this belief (p=<.042).

It has been argued that belief in natural categories of humankind, called 'races', is a core ideology on which racism draws (Anderson 1998: 125-7; Bonnett 1996; Kobayashi & Peake 2000: 393; Miles 1989). Without the notion of separate and distinct 'races', racial discrimination would lack an ideological basis. Our findings could suggest that the prevalence of racialism may provide a fecund circumstance for old racisms. The majority (over four-fifths) of those who believed in racial separation and hierarchy also accepted the notion of racial categories. Indeed, correlations between these three variables generated significant Pearson Chi Square results (p=<.000 for all three associations). Clearly, belief in the category 'race' may be a foundation of the blatant racist beliefs in racial hierarchy and the need for racial separatism. However, the statistical relations of racialism with the forms of racism outlined earlier were much weaker. This suggests that racialism in Australia has a much more limited impact upon the so-called 'new racisms'. Indeed, the influence upon the new racisms, and the supposed role of racialism as a core ideology for racisms, is not supported in these findings. The new racisms are more likely linked to recent constructions of nation, and to contemporary flows of meaning regarding specific cultural groups.

Self-identification as racist

Respondents were asked if they themselves were prejudiced against other cultures. This was an indicator of the respondents' preparedness to self-identify as racist. About 12 per cent of respondents self diagnosed their own racism (Table 9). In common with most of the racism indicators discussed above, older people, males and those without tertiary education were more likely to indicate that they were prejudiced against other cultures (Table 9). The statistical associations with self-identification were significant, most particularly by gender. While Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders were less likely to state that they were prejudiced, there was little substantive difference between those who spoke a language other than English, and those who did not. The overseas born were similar to the Australia-born, although the UK and New Zealand born were less likely to report being prejudiced. None of these ethnicity indicators were associated in a statistically significant way with self-identified prejudice (Table 9). Nonetheless, the 12 per cent of respondents who self-identified are a reflection of a 'hard-core' body of racists. They were racist by their own admission and often stated this to the interviewers with pride. Those who self diagnosed their own racism were also those most likely to believe in the old racisms of racial hierarchy (p=<.000) and racial separatism (p=<.000). Extrapolating from our results, we are talking about just over one-in-ten Australians. While a small proportion, this finding is nonetheless indicative of dramatic scope for inter-communal relations tensions within Australian society.

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Eighty per cent of respondents disagreed with the proposition that they were prejudiced against other cultures, which is in contradiction with the finding that 83 per cent of respondents recognized that there was a problem with racism (Table 6). Clearly, the problem of racism was well recognised by respondents, yet it was seen as a problem that afflicted other people. This is revelatory of a widely held assumption that racism is a spatial and temporal aberration, expressed infrequently by a deviant minority (Kobayashi & Peake 2000: 393-7). Again, this provides further clues to the negotiations required in anti-racism interventions.

The experience of racism in Australia

Collection of data on the experience of discrimination is the most innovative approach to developing indicators on the extent of racism. This approach has been developed and applied by a research team based at the University of Michigan, USA (The University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 2001 and in the Eurobarometer). This form of indicator on the extent of racism has not yet been systematically applied in the Australian circumstance. We tested a handful of such questions in institutional circumstances (workplace, education, housing and policing), and in everyday settings (shops, restaurants, sport, etc).

The experience of racism in institutional settings

Sixteen per cent of respondents reported having experienced racism within their workplace, and the reports for other institutional spheres were lesser. This indicates that the experience of racism impacts upon almost one-in-five Australians. The rates of racism experienced by Indigenous Australians were much higher (Workplace 29%; Education 36%; Housing 21%; Policing 23%), and also for those respondents who speak a language other than English (Workplace 36%; Education 30%; Housing 16%; Policing 16%). Those born overseas (excluding UK and NZ) and those who speak a LOTE at home reported the highest rates of workplace racism, whereas Indigenous Australians reported the highest rates of in the other institutional spheres. Men consistently reported higher rates of racism.

We also asked respondents to tell us about everyday forms of racism, suffered in restaurants at sport, in the streets and in other everyday transactions and activities. The frequencies of these racisms were higher than for the institutional forms. The experience of racism at shops and sporting events is higher than for the institutional contexts. But most noteworthy are the generally higher levels of racism experienced in the form of dis-respectful treatment, lack of trust and name-calling. Extrapolating from these results almost a quarter of Australians experience everyday racisms.

The reported rates of these racisms experienced by Indigenous Australians, those born overseas, and those who speak a LOTE are often double the non-indigenous, Australia-born and non-LOTE respondents. Generally, those who spoke a Language Other than English at home, and Indigenous Australians, experienced much higher rates of all types of racism. Those findings support the anecdotal evidence collected by the HREOC's 'Consultations with Civil Society' (2001:16-8). These findings have demonstrated the fecundity of research on the experience of racism, and our intention in the next three years is to undertake a national, comprehensive and subtle analysis of the experience of racism across Australia.

Further work and other analyses

While racism is everywhere, it is also likely that it is 'everywhere different' (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; Vasta & Castles, 1996:14). This variation is likely to be related to the different cultural make-up of each and every region of Australia, to the different needs and resources of the cultural groups in each place, and to the different problems and tensions in each locality (Dunn & McDonald, 2001). There is little substantive evidence of a straightforward urban/rural differentiation of racist attitudes. This finding corresponds with the conclusions of recent geographical research in Australia that has questioned the simplistic notion of a 'city – bush dichotomy' which is often prevalent in media and political discussions (Davis and Stimson, 1998; Dunn and McDonald, 2001; McManus and Pritchard, 2000). Many rural areas are less racist than parts of the metropolitan centers. Some of the most 'racist regions' are located within Sydney and Brisbane, especially in more working class districts. Finally, there is considerable variation among rural regions, as well as across the major cities.

International research has indicated the importance of locally developed and locally owned anti-racism initiatives (Pedersen et al., 2000:116; Vasta & Castles 1996: 15-6). Kobayashi (1994:78) advocated the need to confront the discourses of racism "on the very sites where they are produced and nourished". These variations have been largely ignored by the 'anti-racism project' in Australia. Our research interest is premised, therefore, on the conviction that locally sensitive anti-racism initiatives are required to engage everyday racisms within Australian society. Local organisations that develop anti-racism initiatives (such as local government, lands councils, and grass roots organisations) depend largely upon anecdotal evidence on the nature and extent of local racisms. Our current project is overtly aimed at generating decision making support tools for central and local government agencies, as well as community groups, to aid their development of anti-racism strategies.

Finally, in two neophyte research projects (experience of racism, transnationalism among migrants) it is my intention to investigate the asserted links between belonging (to the nation, or to the locality) and the experience of racism. This forms part of my on-going interest in the culturally and spatially uneven nature of citizenship in Australia. Citizenship is socially constructed. Like culture, citizenship is not naturally accorded to all, and neither is it evenly distributed. The possession and deployment of citizenship rights and duties are uneven. Belonging is a core component of citizenship. An emergent key concept of the social sciences in the 1990s was that of "belonging". In Australia, theorists like Ghassan Hage (1998) have explained the cultural uneveness of

belonging (see also Butcher and Thomas, 2001). A recent survey of 3501 Australians (of which more than half were Australians of a non-English speaking background) found that only 60 per cent of respondents identified themselves as "Australians". For long-present Australians (principally Anglo and Indigenous Australians) the proportion was 74 per cent, while for those of a non-English speaking background the proportion was only 10 per cent. Of the 400 Vietnamese-Australians surveyed only 3 per cent felt prepared to identify as 'Australian' (Ang, et al., 2002:40). In geographical terms, this proscribes a sense of place. The research question to empirically test, is whether and how the experience of racism (in its multiple and dynamic forms) corrupts belonging and ultimately citizenship.

Tables

Table 1: Characteristics of the telephone survey sample, compared to ABS Census 2001.

		Racist attitudes survey, October-Dec 2001	**ABS Census, mid-June 2001**
Total persons		n: 5056	n: 9,896,807
Gender*	Male	41.3%	49.4%
	Female	58.7%	50.6%
Ethnicity indicators*	Aboriginal or TSI	1.9%	2.4%
	Australia-born	76.5%	73.1%
	English only at home	85.8%	80.3%
Age	18-34	25.6%	31.7%
	35-64	54.8%	51.1%
	65 +	17.2%	19.6%

* These ABS Census figures refer to all people enumerated, whereas the Survey excluded people aged under 18 years.
Sources: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census, 2003

Table 2: Levels of concern regarding out-marriage of a relative, to specific groups

Level of concern*	Muslim %	Aboriginal %	Asian %	Jewish %	Italian %	Christian %	British %
Not at all	46.0	70.5	71.8	74.9	87.3	90.7	91.8
Slightly	16.1	13.8	13.0	12.0	7.2	4.6	4.6
Somewhat	12.3	7.7	7.9	6.5	3.3	2.3	1.9
Very	9.7	3.5	3.3	3.0	0.9	0.8	0.7
Extremely	14.7	3.9	3.2	2.5	0.8	1.2	0.7
Don't know	1.2	0.7	0.8	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Question wording: In your opinion how concerned would you feel if one of your close relatives were to marry a person of …
Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 3: Any stated concern regarding inter-marriage, to selected 'out-groups', by gender and age

Would be concerned if a relative were to marry a person of …		Muslim faith %	Aboriginal background %	Asian background %	Jewish faith %
Age	18 to 34	44.9	20.3	21.0	22.3
	35 to 64	52.7	28.7	27.2	24.0
	65 +	63.7	40.6	36.7	26.7
Gender	Male	48.9	30.7	28.5	24.1
	Female	55.6	27.6	26.8	24.1
All		52.8	28.9	27.5	24.1

*Question wording: In your opinion how concerned would you feel if one of your close relatives were to marry a person of …
Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 4: Support for diversity, and concern with difference

	Cultural diversity is good* %	Feel secure with ethnic difference** %	Ethnic diversity weakens nation*** %
Disagree	**7.3**	**10.7**	37.8
Neither disagree/agree	7.7	13.6	16.4
Agree	84.6	74.5	**44.8**
Don't know / Not sure	0.4	1.2	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Question wording: It is a good thing for a society to be made up of people from different cultures?
**Question wording: You feel secure when you are with people of different ethnic backgrounds?
***Question wording: Australia is weakened by different ethnicities sticking to their old ways?
Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 5: Preparedness to identify groups that do not belong in Australian society, by ethnicity, gender, age and education.

Demographic characteristics & Chi Square test		Are there groups that do not belong in Australian society?* % Yes
LOTE (p=<.000)	Yes	37.2
	No	46.2
Birthplace (p=<.003)	Overseas	39.2
	UK/NZ	45.1
	Australia	46.0
ATSI (p=<.404)**	Yes	40.4
	No	45.0
Gender (p=<.129)	Female	43.4
	Male	47.1
Age (p=<.000)	18 to 34	30.6
	35 to 64	44.4
	65 +	65.4
Education (p=<.000)	Tertiary	34.1
	Non-tertiary	49.3
ALL		44.9

*Question wording: Do you believe that there are any cultural or ethnic groups that do NOT fit into Australian society?

** Data set for ATSI (n 94) was too small for meaningful Chi Square testing.

Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 6: Recognition of racial prejudice and Anglo-Celtic privilege in Australia

	There is racial prejudice in Australia?* %	British Australians enjoy a privileged position?** %
Disagree	**8.5**	**42.6**
Neither disagree or agree	7.7	16.0
Agree	83.2	38.9
Don't know / Not sure	0.6	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0

*Question wording: There is racial prejudice in Australia?
**Question wording: Australians from a British background enjoy a privileged position in our
  society?
Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 7: Belief in racial hierarchy, racial separatism, and racialism.

	Do NOT believe in racial equality* %	Belief in sexual separation** %	Belief in 'races'*** %
Disagree	**11.7**	75.5	15.1
Neither disagree / agree	4.8	10.6	6.2
Agree	83.1	**13.2**	**77.6**
Don't know / Not sure	0.4	0.7	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Question wording: All races of people are equal?
** Question wording: It is not a good idea for people of different races to marry one another?
*** Question wording: Humankind is made up of separate races?
Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 8: Belief in racial hierarchy, racial separatism, and racialism, by ethnicity, gender, age and education.

Demographic characteristics		Do NOT believe in racial equality* %	Belief in sexual separation** %	Belief in 'races'*** %
LOTE	Yes	13.4	15.6	70.2
	No	11.4	12.8	78.9
Birthplace	Overseas	12.7	15.3	68.5
	UK/NZ	13.9	12.2	78.1
	Australia	11.2	12.9	79.2
ATSI	Yes	9.6	12.8	71.3
	No	11.7	13.2	77.7
Gender	Female	10.9	12.1	76.3
	Male	12.8	14.9	79.6
Age	18 to 34	8.7	6.9	72.7
	35 to 64	11.3	12.6	77.6
	65 +	16.6	23.5	84.2
Education	Tertiary	9.8	10.2	75.6
	Non-tertiary	12.5	14.4	78.4
ALL		11.7	13.2	77.6

* Question wording: All races of people are equal?
**Question wording: It is not a good idea for people of different races to marry one another?
*** Question wording: Humankind is made up of separate races?
Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 9: Self-identification as a racist, by ethnicity, gender, age and education.

Demographic characteristics & Chi Square test		I am prejudiced* % Yes
LOTE (p=<.858)	Yes	12.0
	No	12.0
Birthplace (p=<.201)	Overseas	12.1
	UK/NZ	10.8
	Australia	12.0
ATSI (p=<.731)**	Yes	9.6
	No	12.0
Gender (p=<.000)	Female	9.6
	Male	15.2
Age (p=<.006)	18 to 34	9.1
	35 to 64	12.8
	65 +	13.2
Education (p=<.003)	Tertiary	9.5
	Non-tertiary	12.9
ALL		12.0

*Question wording: You are prejudiced against other cultures?

** Data set for ATSI (n 94) was too small for meaningful Chi Square testing.

Source: The UNSW Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001

Table 10: Experience of racism in institutional settings (work, education, housing & policing), by ethnicity & gender

Experience of racism*		In the workplace	In education	In housing	In policing
LOTE	Yes	35.7	29.8	16.3	15.9
	No	12.9	12.5	4.8	4.9
Birthplace	Overseas	35.1	24.5	16.0	15.0
	UK/NZ	21.7	10.8	6.3	5.7
	Australia	11.9	13.6	4.6	4.9
ATSI	Yes	28.7	36.2	21.3	23.4
	No	15.9	14.5	6.1	6.1
Gender	Male	20.8	17.1	7.4	8.8
	Female	12.9	13.4	5.8	4.8
All (n: 5056)		16.2	14.9	6.4	6.4

*Question wording: How often have YOU experienced discrimination because of your OWN ETHNIC ORIGIN in the following situations? LOTE (Language Other Than English) ATSI (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander)

Table 11: Experience of everyday racisms, by ethnicity & gender

Experience of racism*		In Shop or restaurant	At Sport or public event	By way of Disrespect	By way of Mistrust	By Insults & name calling
LOTE	Yes	30.9	27.7	42.5	32.9	44.3
	No	14.1	12.7	18.7	10.9	21.5
Birthplace	Overseas	29.4	26.1	39.1	29.1	41.5
	UK/NZ	11.4	15.6	20.5	9.3	30.4
	Australia	14.7	12.6	19.1	11.8	20.9
ATSI	Yes	33.0	31.9	42.6	30.9	37.2
	No	16.2	14.4	21.6	13.7	24.4
Gender	Male	19.0	20.2	26.1	17.9	29.3
	Female	14.8	11.0	19.3	11.2	21.5
All (n: 5056)		16.5	14.8	22.1	14.0	24.7

*Question wording: How often have YOU experienced discrimination because of your OWN ETHNIC ORIGIN in the following situations?

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