

The uneven experience of racism

Kevin M. Dunn
Geography Program, The University of New South Wales

Kevin M Dunn
Senior Lecturer in Geography
Faculty of the Built Environment
The University of New South Wales
K.Dunn@unsw.edu.au
www.fbe.unsw.edu.au/staff/kevin.dunn/
fax: +61 (2) 9385 4507

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Abstract

Racism may well be an affect of despair. Racism may also be a central cause of despair. A telephone survey in the states of Queensland and NSW (sample 5056) examined the extent and distribution of experiences of racism. About 15 percent of Australians have experienced racism within the workplace and in education. About one-quarter of Australians report the experience of 'everyday racisms', such as racist abuse. Reporting experiences of racism was considerably higher among indigenous Australians, those speaking a language other than English, those born overseas. Longstanding processes of cultural imperialism are reinforced through everyday racisms in the workplace, educational settings and at sporting events. The uneven geographies of hope may well be linked to the uneven geographies of racism.

Key words: Racism, belonging, hope

Background: the experience of racism in Australia

In her recent reader on hope, Mary Zournazi has indicated the links between racism and hope, or at least between racism and despair.

When public sentiment is fuelled by insecurity, the risks we take with each other, and the potential for public debate, are diminished. The anger, injustice and hopelessness we feel is vented onto 'others' who do not share our 'identity' (Zournazi, 2002:15).

Reports from anti-racism agencies and non-government organisations (NGOs) have consistently found that racism in Australia is a substantive social problem (Australian Council of Trade Unions, 1995; Jones, 1997; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1991, 2001). Reports from NGOs have included annual reports assembled by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (see Jones, 1997), the Australian Council of Trade Unions (see 1995), the state-based anti-discrimination boards (see for example Anti-Discrimination Board of NSW, 1996), as well as infrequent reports from groups like the Australian Arabic Council (2001:2) and the NSW Community Relations Commission (Browning et al., 2003).

Zournazi further suggested a research agenda into the bases of hope and despair.

We must, then, explore hope through the societies we live in: the alienations that affect us in individual and collective ways; the grief, despair and loneliness; and the new social, ethnic and class relations that come out of these alienations (Zournazi, 2002:16).

Method

Between October and December 2001 a telephone survey was commissioned of 5056 residents throughout the states of Queensland and NSW. The questionnaire was principally aimed at gathering data on 'racist attitudes', including questions that gauged: a respondents' tolerance (or comfort) for specific (out) cultural groups; their opinions on the desirability of cultural diversity; belief in racial hierarchy and separatism; belief in racial categories (racialism); their self-diagnosis as prejudiced; perceptions of Anglo-Celtic cultural privilege, and; ideologies of nation. The results from these attitudinal questions have been outlined elsewhere (Dunn, 2003; Dunn et al., forthcoming; Dunn & Geeraert, 2003).

The survey also included questions on the experience of racism. Respondents were asked how often, if ever, they had experienced discrimination because of their own ethnic origin, across nine spheres. Four of these spheres were what can be called settings for the experience of 'institutional racism' and included: the workplace; in educational settings; when seeking to rent or buy a home, or; in dealings with the police. The other five spheres embraced what have been referred to as the settings of 'everyday racism'. These included while in shops or at a restaurant, and also at sporting or other public events. Extending this latter category of everyday racism, respondents were asked how often they felt that, because of their ethnic origin, they had been treated less respectfully, not trusted, or called names or insulted.

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). This form of indicator on the extent of racism had never before been empirically applied in the Australian circumstance.

Almost all respondents were gracious in stating their age, gender, educational, and cultural background (e.g. only 30 refused to answer the education question). The likelihood of answering the substantive questions varied very little across gender, age, education or birthplace.

Take in Table 1 about here

The experience of racism in institutional settings

The data in Table 2 indicate that the experience of racism in institutional settings impacts close to one-in-six Australians. It was expected that the workplace would be one of the key spheres from which experiences of racism would be reported. Well over half of all formal complaints of racism in NSW come from incidents in the workplace (see A-DB, 1996:18-20). The UNSW/MQU survey reported sixteen per cent of respondents as having experienced racism within their workplace, whereas reports for other institutional spheres were fewer (last row in Table 1). The experience of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity was also strong within education, which includes schools, the technical training sector and higher education.

Take in Table 2 about here

A key explanation for the higher levels of racism experienced in the workplace is the greater degree of cross-cultural contact in that sphere, compared to the other institutional settings. Our survey included three questions on the degree, if any, of cultural mixing that respondents had with members of other cultural groups. The three key settings were the workplace, social life and sporting circles. Fifty-two per cent of respondents reported cross-cultural contact in the workplace 'often' or 'very often'. Social life gave rise to lower rates of such contact (22.7%). Sport was also less likely to be a setting for frequent encounters with members of other cultural groups (only 29.5% of respondents). As the workplace is a key site of cross-cultural contact, then it would be expected that there would be greater opportunity for discrimination based upon ethnic origin. Educational institutions are also sites of compulsory cross-cultural contact. It should be noted, however, that the workplace and education, as key sites of cross-cultural contact, are also important settings for developing inter-communal understanding and anti-racism, for enhancing / building hope.

It is worth noting too that 6.4 per cent of respondents reported an experience of discrimination from their dealings with police or while seeking accommodation. These are indicators of racism within key service provision sectors. The former sector is responsible for community safety and the latter for access to urban resources. That one-in-fifteen people have experienced racism within those sectors, and the associated degradation of their citizenry, is a cause for deep concern. This must be seen as even more problematic in light of the racialisation of crime, and the culturally-uneven distribution of the fear of crime, demonstrated by Collins et al (2002).

Everyday racisms

Respondents were also asked about everyday forms of racism suffered in restaurants, at sport, in the streets and in other everyday transactions and activities. The experiences of these everyday racisms feed into the construction of fearful social environments. Threats of violence and ambient incivility can deprive people of their freedom of movement, expression and affiliation. It can fundamentally undermine citizenship and degrade belonging. "What is seen and heard in schools, neighbourhoods ... shapes understandings of self" (Amin & Thrift, 2002:292). At its worst, such incivility can become expected, unquestioned or tolerated. This is another marker of what has

become called ‘everyday racism’ (Essed 1991 cited Vasta, 1996:49,70). I refer here to sporting arenas, and other public forums, where racialised and racist discourse (as well as misogynist and homophobic discourses) are considered ‘normal’.

The reported experience of racism in settings such as shops (16.5%) and sporting events (14.8%) were about the same as for the institutional contexts of the workplace and in education. Again, sporting events and shopping centres can be places of compulsory cross-cultural contact. All four are sites in which everyday discourses of ‘race’, nation and racism are continuously repeated and reinscribed. They are contexts in which these discourses are largely peer regulated, beyond the scrutiny of any formal, regulatory or anti-racist mechanisms.

Take in Table 3 about here

The most noteworthy findings are the generally higher levels of racism experienced in the form of disrespectful treatment, lack of trust and name-calling. The former and latter forms of ‘everyday racism’ are by far the highest. Between one-in-four and one-in-five respondents from NSW and Queensland reported have experienced disrespectful treatment or abuse on the basis of their ethnicity. Extrapolating from these results almost a quarter of Australians experience these forms of ‘everyday racism’, in everyday spaces. And these, reflecting everyday alienations, despair and blame (Zournazi, 2002:14-6).

The culturally uneven experience of racism

Studies of racism in Australia indicate that the experience of racism would be culturally uneven. One set of literature, now quite substantive, regards the dominant representations of cultural groups, such as in media and other forums. These portrayals are likely linked to historic constructions of national identity, and of who is and is not an Australia. The experiences and ways of life of the dominant culture have been universalised as the national cultural norm (the Self), whereas the culture of sub-ordinate groups have been erased or constructed as nationally deviant (the Other). Australia has a still strong legacy of an Anglo-Celtic national norm, to which the Asian-Australians, Muslims, and Indigenous people are Others (Hamilton 1990; Rajkowski 1987; Rizvi 1996: 176-7).

A second area of study has focussed on the conceptually related issue of community perceptions and attitudes regarding cultural groups. During 1988 and 1989, AGB-McNair conducted the nationwide Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey of 4052 people. The results were analysed by McAllister and Moore (1989) who found that there were marked differences as to the degree of intolerance suffered by different cultural groups. Groups found to be the most ‘socially distant’ from those who were surveyed included Asian-Australians and Muslims (McAllister & Moore, 1989:6-9). Our findings using the attitudinal data we collected point to a widespread intolerance of Muslim Australians, and, though to a lesser extent, towards Indigenous people, Asian- and Jewish Australians (Dunn et al., forthcoming).

The construction of some groups as Other, and nefarious community perceptions of them, underpin racist acts against members of such groups. Hence, an expectation of the racism project has been that the experience of racism would be shown to be culturally uneven.

The rates of racism experienced by Indigenous Australians were generally more than double that for non-indigenous people. Experiences of racism in the workplace were reported by 28.7 per cent of indigenous respondents, the figure for education was 36 per cent, housing 21 per cent, and policing 23 per cent (Table 1). The most significant of the institutional settings was education:

where at least one-in-three indigenous respondents reported such intolerance (whereas for all non-indigenous respondents the ratio was one-in-seven). Indigenous respondents had by far the highest rates of racist experiences while seeking accommodation or in dealings with police. The reported rates of everyday racisms experienced by Indigenous Australians were also high, with forty-three per cent responding that they had been treated with disrespect on the basis of their indigeneity, and 37 per cent the recipients of racist abuse (Table 2).

Take in Table 4 about here

The experience of racism for those respondents who spoke a language other than English was dramatically higher than for those who only spoke English. For most of the spheres and forms tested the rates were almost three times higher amongst those with language other than English (LOTE). The rates experienced for LOTE respondents within the institutional settings were: workplace 36 per cent, education 30 per cent, housing 16 per cent and policing 16 per cent. The LOTE attribute provides an indicator of the experience of non-Anglo-Australia. Extrapolating our results suggests that while one-in-eight Anglo-Australians may experience racism within the workplace, the ratio among non-Anglo-Australians is more than one-in-three. LOTE respondents reported experiencing discrimination in housing and policing at almost four times the rate of non-LOTE respondents. Close to one-in-two LOTE respondents reported being treated disrespectfully or abused on the basis of their ethnicity.

Take in Table 5 about here

Those born overseas (but not in the UK and NZ) reported experiences of racism at rates similar to those who spoke a language other than English. The contrast between the overseas born and those born in Australia largely replicated that between LOTE and non-LOTE respondents. The experience of workplace-based racism was three times that of the Australia-born, in housing and policing the variation was even more extreme, and for the other spheres of racist experience the rate was double.

The experiences of the United Kingdom and New Zealand born were generally closer to those of the Australia-born than those of respondents born in other countries. For three spheres the experience of racism was slightly lower than for the Australia-born – in education, in shops and mistrustful treatment. However, in the workplace, and in regard to insults and name calling, and to lesser extent at sporting events, the rates of racist experience were significantly higher than for the Australia born. These racisms may indeed be linked to sheep shagging ‘jokes’ and references to whinging POMs (and Pommy bastards), that are given airings in the workplace and at sporting events. It is also likely that Maori people would have composed some of the 142 New Zealanders who were surveyed. Their experiences of racism would follow the pattern of other people of colour, such as indigenous Australians as discussed above.

Australians of a non-Anglo background and indigenous Australians are more likely to experience racism. The reported rates of everyday racism experienced by Indigenous Australians, those born overseas, and those who speak a LOTE were often double the non-indigenous, Australia-born and non-LOTE respondents. The variation in the experience of racism in institutional settings was even more dramatic. Generally, those who spoke a Language Other than English at home, and Indigenous Australians, experienced much higher rates of all types of racism. These findings confirm the anecdotal evidence collected by HREOC, anti-discrimination agencies, and NGOs (see for most recent data HREOC, 2001:16-18).

The gendered and aged experience of racism

Men consistently reported higher rates of the experience of racism (Tables 8 & 9). This may be revelatory of a generally greater exposure of men to the public spheres discussed here. The experience of racism was most disparate (almost double) in the workplace, at sporting events and in dealings with police. For these settings males were almost doubly more likely to report an experience of racism. This affirms the importance of these spheres as key sites for the repetition of racist discourse – key spaces in which the oppression of cultural imperialism is reproduced.

Take in Table 6 & 7 about here

Older people were least likely to report having experienced racism. This is a surprising finding, given that older people are more likely, over the course of a longer life, to have experienced racism. The much lower rates for those aged 65 and over may also reflect the demonstratively more intolerant and racist attitude among that age group (Dunn et al., forthcoming; Geeraert, these proceedings). This was reflected in higher rates of denial of racism, and of Anglo cultural privilege, and the lower rates of reported experiences may be another part of that denial. The younger age group (18 to 34) had the highest rates of reported experiences of racism, substantially different to their middle-aged peers, especially for the everyday racisms. A result of anti-racism initiatives within schools and other educational sectors, younger people may be more adept at recognising racism, and more prepared to acknowledge it. It may also be that young people have greater levels of cross cultural contact than do older people, and that this contact is relatively novel or recent (as a consequence of taking up a new job, recent enrolment in the education sector, involvement in competition sports). Indeed, the younger age groups were found to have significantly higher rates of contact with members of other cultural groups.

Level of education and the experience of racism

Earlier analysis of our data on racist attitudes had found that the non-tertiary educated generally expressed much more intolerance and racist beliefs than those with tertiary education. However, those without higher education were not more likely to report higher levels of the experience of racism (Tables 10 and 11). The tertiary educated were more likely to report experiencing racism in all of the nine spheres examined. As for the age findings above, those with more racist attitudes may well be more disposed to deny the experience of racism. The second explanation for the age group variations is also pertinent here. Those with tertiary education are more likely to recognize and acknowledge racism.

Take in Tables 8 and 9 about here

Materials impacts

The data presented above are indicative of the extent of racist violence and vilification in Australia. An extrapolation of our results would suggest that racial insults and name-calling in public places are experienced by a quarter of all Australians, and by forty per cent of non-Anglo- and indigenous Australians. If our respondents' experiences are reflective of the general situation in Australia, then almost a quarter of Australians have personally experienced racism.

Over the last few years, reports of racist violence and ethnic discrimination in Australia have grown rather than diminished. In the immediate aftermaths of the USA September 2001 and the Bali October 2002 terror attacks reports of racist violence against Australian Muslims dramatically escalated. There was a series of attacks against mosques, including the complete destruction of a

mosque in Brisbane. There were 40 formal reports to NSW Police in the week following the Bali bombings (Lipari, 2002:6). The Commissioner noted "even more incidents are going unreported", he had instructed police to stepped up surveillance of mosques and Islamic schools across NSW (NSW Police Service, 2002). The Executive Council of Australian Jewry reported that racist violence against Jews had also increased since September 2001, with over 500 documented acts each year.

During the initial Gulf Crisis of 1990, the Anti-Discrimination Board in the State of New South Wales were made aware that Arab and Muslim Australians were being "vilified daily in our streets", and that Muslim women particularly were being harangued and verbally abused (Mark, 1990:10). The forms of violence which were reported included vandalism or threats against mosques, schools and centres, assaults of hijab-wearing women, telephone or mail threats to community leaders, and verbal abuse of children at schools (HREOC, 1991:146-59). Australian Muslims became fearful of leaving their homes (Australian Arabic Council, 2001:2). HREOC described it as "a hostile and threatening environment" for Australian Muslims (HREOC, 1991:145-53).

Following the most recent terror events, and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, a similar spike in prejudice and racist violence has been recorded. During 2003, the Racism Monitor collected data from community organisations on the experience of racism, and found that experiences of discrimination, verbal abuse and violence were commonplace for Australian Muslims (Browning et al., 2003). Such incivility was so widespread that Islamic organisations had come to see it as an 'ordinary experience' of Australian life. The Racism Monitor quoted an Islamic community representative: "it happens so often and goes unnoticed, therefore we have learnt to accept this sort of bad behaviour" (quoted in Browning *et al.*, 2003:7). Similarly, the HREOC's (2003) ongoing Isma' project has been collecting data on the range and frequency of racism experienced by Arab- and Muslim Australians. Again, women have borne the brunt of violence and intimidation in public, reflecting both their visibility as Muslims (hijab, etc), as well as the uneven gendered experience of incivility to which all women are exposed.

Clearly, oppressions manifest themselves through certain spheres of life, more so than in others. The workplace in Australia, educational contexts and sporting venues, are key sites. In these places the incivilities and vilification of everyday racism work to disempower those deemed to be the Other. Each such repetition is a re-inscription to a longstanding process of cultural imperialism.

Violence and the fear of it, reinforced through differentiation and disparagement, fundamentally degrades mobility, cultural expression and affiliation, citizenship, and hope. Participation, or citizenship, requires mechanisms (laws and institutions) that "promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression" (Young, 1990:47). For example, state protection from violence and intimidation, such as racist or gender violence, is essential for citizenship. The everyday, lived knowledge of a threat of violence restricts mobility and dignity. Violence against a particular group, or the fear of it, occurs because the powerful in society have decided to tolerate this violence.

Critical researchers in Australia have focused a good deal of attention to constructions of norms and Others, and to the oppressive results of those ideologies. There are numerous examples of such scholarship, but it includes work on representations of national identity, landscape and people in a range of cultural products. These products make announcements on what Australia is, and who is an Australian. Research on constructions of ethnicity in the redevelopment of 'ethnic precincts' in Australia has revealed processes through which spaces are (re)racialised (Anderson, 1990; Dunn & Roberts, 2004; Shaw, 2000; Thomas, 1999:86-114). Recognising cultural diversity is a first and

fundamental step towards recognising the varied needs and expectations residents, and for involving as many residents as possible in the processes of local governance (Dunn *et al.*, 2001). In this manner, representation is linked to 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 unevenness of belonging (see also Butcher and Thomas, 2001). Anglo-Celtic-Australians are often positioned as the confident hosts. Australians of a non-English speaking background are constructed as the guest, or worse still as some burden or source of deviance (Gunew, 1993:42-50; Hage, 1998:35-46). The absence of non-Anglo-Australians from representations of Australian-ness, in cultural products such as those mentioned above, undermines national belonging. 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 “Australians”, 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). 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). In other words, representations of the nation, of Australia and Australian-ness, remain too narrow to allow for a wide sense of belonging. My geographic argument is that a sense of place, in this case at the national scale, is also central to citizenship. I might add that geographers have an exceptional heritage in examining ‘sense of place’. The current social science of belonging would benefit enormously from the insights of geographical analysis.

Hope is emerging as a frontiers concept of social science (Zournazi, 2002). There is a politics of hope, and there is an uneven distribution of the condition of hopefulness. There are those in our society who are hope-ful, and there are those who are hope-less. The hope-less are likely to lack opportunity and participation, they may be symbolically excluded, lack a sense of belonging, spatial ownership and voice. On top of all that, they see little scope or opportunity for those circumstances to change. In large part, social scientists have examined the class variations, and to a lesser extent the ethnicity variations, in hope. But as any geographer intuitively knows, there is also a geography to hope. Residential differentiation has long been recognised by urban geographers as a means of class learning (Badcock, 1984; Bassett & Short, 1980; Harvey, 1973; Smith, 1994). But it has clearly also been a means for allocating hope. Alongside hope rides aspiration. The decline of welfare capitalism, and the rise of individualism, is generating new and complicated geographies of hope. Gleeson and Randolph (2002:21-5) have recently commented on how neo-liberalist state policy is exacerbating the polarization of aspiration.

But we have to move beyond a politics of blame to one of compassion – a political activity that gives us hope and understands how hope and despair emerge in contemporary life, because when people have no hope to give they also have little space to reflect and engage with others” (Zournazi, 2002:16).

To better understand how hope and despair manifest in everyday life.

An important research question regards the linkage(s) between the uneven geographies of hope and the uneven geographies of racism.

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

		Racist attitudes survey, October-Dec 2001	ABS Census, mid-June 2001
		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/MQU Racism Survey, telephone survey, Oct-Dec 2001; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002.

Table 2: The experience of racism in institutions (work, education, housing & policing), all respondents, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism*	In the workplace	In education	In housing	In policing
Never	81.0	82.8	92.6	92.9
Yes	16.2	14.9	6.4	6.4
Don't know	2.9	2.3	0.9	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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

Table 3: The experience of 'everyday racisms', all respondents, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism	In a shop or a restaurant*	At sport or other public event*	You are treated with disrespect**	People treat you with mistrust**	You are called names or insulted**
Never	83.4	84.5	77.9	85.8	75.3
Yes	16.5	14.8	22.1	14.0	24.7
Don't know	0.1	0.7	0.0	0.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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

** Question wording: How often do you feel that because of your own ETHNIC ORIGIN...?

Table 4: Experience of racism in institutional settings (work, education, housing & policing), by ethnicity, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism*		In the workplace	In education	In housing	In policing
ATSI	Yes (n:94)	28.7	36.2	21.3	23.4
	No (n:4957)	15.9	14.5	6.1	6.1
LOTE	Yes (n:718)	35.7	29.8	16.3	15.9
	No (n:4338)	12.9	12.5	4.8	4.9
Birthplace	Overseas (n:701)	35.1	24.5	16.0	15.0
	UK/NZ (n:474)	21.7	10.8	6.3	5.7
	Australia (n:3869)	11.9	13.6	4.6	4.9
All (n: 5056)		16.2	14.9	6.4	6.4

Notes: LOTE (Language Other Than English). ATSI (Aboriginal n:84 and Torres Strait Islander n:10). UK (United Kingdom n:352) / NZ (New Zealand n:142)

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

Table 5: Experience of everyday racisms, by ethnicity, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism		In a shop or a restaurant *	At sport or other public event*	You are treated with disrespect**	People treat you with mistrust**	You are called names or insulted**
ATSI	Yes (n:94)	33.0	31.9	42.6	30.9	37.2
	No (n:4957)	16.2	14.4	21.6	13.7	24.4
LOTE	Yes (n:718)	30.9	27.7	42.5	32.9	44.3
	No (n:4338)	14.1	12.7	18.7	10.9	21.5
Birthplace	Overseas (n:701)	29.4	26.1	39.1	29.1	41.5
	UK/NZ (n:474)	11.4	15.6	20.5	9.3	30.4
	Australia (n:3869)	14.7	12.6	19.1	11.8	20.9
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?

** Question wording: How often do you feel that because of your own ETHNIC ORIGIN...?

Table 6: Experience of racism in institutional settings (work, education, housing & policing), by gender and age, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism*		In the workplace	In education	In housing	In policing
Gender	Males	20.8	17.1	7.4	8.8
	Females	12.9	13.4	5.8	4.8
Age	65 +	8.4	4.9	2.2	2.4
	35 to 64	17.8	14.2	7.2	6.4
	18 to 34	18.5	24.2	8.0	9.5
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?

Table 7: Experience of everyday racisms, by gender and age, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism		In a shop or a restaurant*	At sport or other public event*	You are treated with disrespect**	People treat you with mistrust**	You are called names or insulted**
Gender	Males	19.0	20.2	26.1	17.9	29.3
	Females	14.8	11.0	19.3	11.2	21.5
Age	65 +	7.5	6.6	12.1	17.9	14.0
	35 to 64	17.3	14.4	22.8	13.9	24.9
	18 to 34	21.8	21.9	28.2	19.4	32.4
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?

** Question wording: How often do you feel that because of your own ETHNIC ORIGIN...?

Table 8: Experience of racism in institutional settings (work, education, housing & policing), by education, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism*		In the workplace	In education	In housing	In policing
Education	Non-tertiary	14.6	14.4	5.9	6.1
	Tertiary	20.2	16.4	7.7	7.3
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?

Table 9: Experience of everyday racisms, by ethnicity & gender, NSW and Queensland, 2001

Experience of racism		In a shop or a restaurant*	At sport or other public event*	You are treated with disrespect**	People treat you with mistrust**	You are called names or insulted**
Education	Non-tertiary	15.2	14.3	20.6	12.9	23.4
	Tertiary	19.5	16.3	26.0	16.8	28.1
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?

** Question wording: How often do you feel that because of your own ETHNIC ORIGIN...?

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