CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Racism—a belief in racial hierarchy, and the enactment of such belief—is ubiquitous in historical and contemporary discourse, permeating public and academic debates. While some groups are its perpetrators, others experience it as a lived experience that they encounter in everyday activities, practices, conversations, across workplaces, schools, media, political ideologies, justice systems and even within academic settings. As a concept, whether in ordinary conversation, media or in politics, it is used mostly in attribution to people, incidents or institutions, and is usually employed to ascertain whether some person, action, organisational decision or government policy is racist or not. Yet, individuals, organisations and governments usually downplay and in many cases deny the very existence of racism, even when they themselves are involved in deliberately carrying out racist actions and agendas. Such acts of denial, however, do not make racism any less real or significant as it continues to profoundly affect people's lives and relationships with one another. Thus, while racism has been a subject of ongoing public debates, for more than a century it has also attracted substantial academic attention. Particularly, in the last five decades, scholarly interest in racism has flourished across disciplines as a result of the growing significance of racial politics in many multiracial countries (Bulmer & Solomos, 2004). This has led to the emergence of fields of research concerned with developing robust methods of measuring the prevalence of racism, accounting for

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the bias surrounding its reporting. This book seeks to contribute to this field of research through an interdisciplinary synthesis of current research evidence.

The central argument of this book is that racism as an enduring socially constructed ideology represents a mix of beliefs in racial category/hierarchy and exclusionary power relations that have corrosive and pervasive implications in any society across multiple levels and domains. While racism can manifest as a deeply embedded psychological phenomenon, its cultural, political and economic roots result in enduring structural inequalities that are difficult to eradicate. As such, racism has persisted across history and geographies, continuously evolving and adapting to global social and political situations.

DEFINING AND CONCEPTUALISING RACISM

Race and the racialisation of human relationships have long been used as the *raison d'etre* for the enduring ideology of racism.[1] Based on an assumption of race as a naturally given trait that distinguishes one's own group from other groups, on the grounds of ancestry, skin colour, facial features, etc., racism historically existed as an idea and praxis (Goldberg, 1992; Winant, 2006).[2] Prior to the Atlantic slave trade, practices and laws, which enabled the subjugation and enslavement of groups of people, did not explicitly depend on the classification of *race* as a hereditary trait (Hirschman, 2004; Painter, 2010). Thus, until the seventeenth century, race was not considered a social category. The introduction of race in common legal usage coincided with the slave trade and colonial expansion, and was largely used to distinguish Europeans from those groups considered as socio-culturally inferior *others*. The study of race

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[1] Racialisation has been defined as 'the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified social relationship, social practice or group' (Omi & Winant, 2014, p. 111).

[2] In her classic book first published in 1942, the anthropologist Ruth Benedict offers one of the earliest definitions of racism as "the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority" (Benedict, 1983, p. 97). Compare this with a more comprehensive definition by Gee et al. (2019, p. S43): "Racism is an organized and dynamic system in which the dominant racial group, based on a hierarchical ideology, develops and sustains structures and behaviors that privilege the dominant group, while simultaneously disempowering and removing resources from racial groups deemed inferior."

as a *biological* category that emerged during the Enlightenment period opened the door to the phenomenon of *scientific* racism. Consequently, beginning in eighteenth-century Europe, the idea of categorising and ranking human beings into superior and inferior races profoundly influenced Western thinking, and spread through colonial expansion justifying the discriminatory treatment of Indigenous Peoples (Graham, 1990).[3] Until the 1920s, pseudo-scientific racial theories had influenced a range of disciplines including biology, psychology and anthropology, to name but a few. Such racialised ideas and theories also informed social policies, both within Western countries and in the newly established colonial settlements. With the defeat of the Nazis in World War II and the social and political events that followed, culture rather than biology came to be seen as the basis of racial classification (Lentin, 2005). Today, the biological basis has considerably lost legitimacy although debate remains regarding the biological constructions of *race* and *ethnicity* both in academic/scientific and popular discourse (e.g. Blakey, 1999; Caspari, 2010; Tibayrenc, 2017). Racism remains a salient reality across the globe, finding expression in ways that are both overt and subtle, and affecting society through practices that drive and authenticate structural inequities. This poses a serious challenge to contemporary societies, particularly at a time when globalisation has led to a world characterised by growing international migration, *super-diversity* and increased social interactions (Doane, 2006; Vertovec, 2007). While growing levels of diversity and human mobility have engendered unprecedented space for intercultural interactions, the rise of racism in the form of xenophobia, anti-immigrant attitudes and Islamophobia, among others, is threatening progress that has been made in multicultural societies since the Civil Rights era. This has adverse human and social effects, with implications for social cohesion, human rights and democracy.

In addition to its significance in the daily life of racialised minorities, racism is a subject of heated academic debate across many disciplines,

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[3] Our use of the term Indigenous Peoples encompasses Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander Peoples. We are aware that there are a range of words and phrases used in various literatures to refer to Indigenous Peoples, among which are Aboriginal people, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, First Peoples, First Nations, and Indigenous. Given de-colonial misgivings about both the word 'nations' and 'first', we have instead used the phrase *Indigenous Peoples* throughout. The word *Aborigines* has been applied with an italics when referring to historical usage while words or phrases used in the original have been maintained with quotations.

though the discourse of racism is not new. There is an argument that holds that racism is as old as the concept of race itself, although usage of the word racism itself is relatively recent (Arendt, 1944; Benedict, 1983; Sweet, 1997). According to an entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2008 edition), the earliest recorded use of the word was in 1902, when Richard Henry Pratt was the first to coin the word in a critique of segregation (Barrows, 1902; Demby, 2014). Academic inquiry into the historical root of race and racism, as well as their significance in shaping community attitudes and public policy, has gained momentum only recently. An online search of the word using Google n-gram viewer indicates that it was not commonly used in publications until the late 1930s and more notably in mid-1940s. Its usage surged in the mid-1960s and again in the 1990s until it became ubiquitous in both online and print publications. Across the social sciences, research on racism has increased considerably, particularly over the past decade. A database search using the keyword *racism* shows that 56% of publications on racism were produced in the last nine years (Fig. 1.1). Over the 2008–2018 period, 16,296 peer-reviewed publications on racism were produced, accounting for 64.5% of those published since 1904.[4]

Furthermore, research shows that racism has undergone substantial transformation in the way it manifests and its degree of influence on social policies (Goldberg, 1992; Mullings, 2005). The emergence of national and international organisations and the rise of anti-racism movements were instrumental in challenging overt racism. Yet, racism did not end with this, and contemporary research has shown that it has continued in both overt and more subtle forms. Whether overt or subtle, racism ultimately remains inherent to an ethos of inequity, which disproportionately affects minority groups (Jones et al., 2016). A substantial body of research has documented that racism occurring in the physical and virtual world adversely affects individuals and groups from ethnic-minority backgrounds, and is associated with mental and physical harm (Jakubowicz et al., 2017; Paradies et al., 2015).

Although a global phenomenon, racism in the West derives from a unique sociocultural history that mixes ideology, political power and

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[4] Generally, 82% of all peer-reviewed publication on racism ($N = 25,256$) were produced since 2000. This data is based on a search of unique studies on six major databases: Scopus, PsycINFO, ERIC, Political Science Complete, Historical Abstracts, and MEDLINE undertaken on July 30, 2018.

Pre 1970
1%

(1970-1979)
2%

(1980-1989)
4%

(1990-1999)
11%

(2000-2009)
26%

(2010-2018)
56%
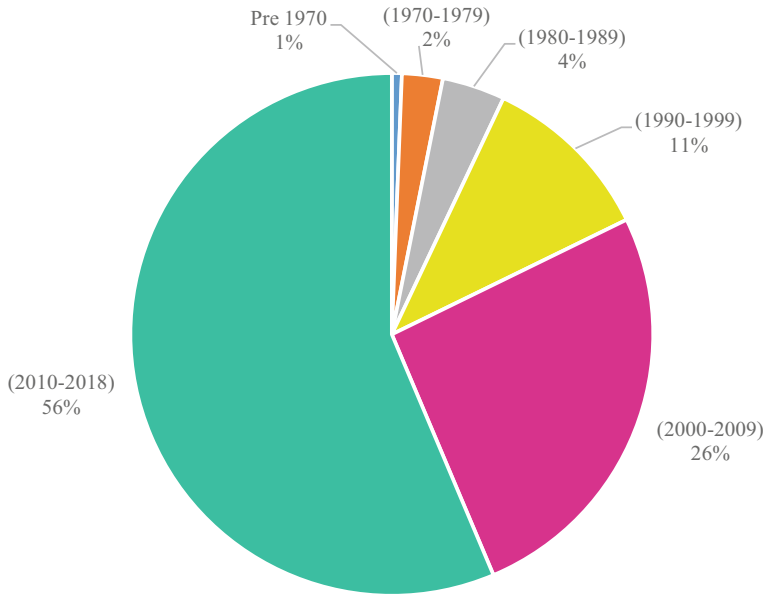
Fig. 1.1 Publications on racism since 1900

economic privilege to produce race-based structural inequalities. Australia exhibits such orientations in its unique history of race relations, in particular vis-a-vis Aboriginal communities, that involved social policies ranging from social exclusion to structural injustice (Jupp, 2007). After more than two centuries of Indigenous social exclusion, cultural oppression and white privilege (Yarwood & Knowling, 1982), Australia has occasionally been hailed as a successful multicultural society with explicit policies and practices that promote cultural diversity.[5] Yet, racism remains one of the enduring challenges, often resurfacing as an explicit issue across social and political platforms. Paradoxically, racism in Australia today exists within the context of broader community support for cultural diversity and multiculturalism (Kamp et al., 2017). It includes a strong denial and ambivalence towards the prevalence of racism, mixed with overt rejection and intolerance of certain ethno-religious groups, and strong support

[5] It is worth noting that this claim is not universally shared by all Australians, certainly not by many Indigenous Peoples (Habibis et al., 2020).

for assimilation (Dunn & Nelson, 2011; Kamp et al., 2017). Contemporary racism and the denial of its pervasiveness are conceptually different but can be equally entrenched in a system of exclusion that harms racial minorities (Augoustinos & Every, 2010; Van Dijk, 1992). In this book, we explore the conflicting lived experiences of racism within Australian society—a society characterised at once by support for cultural diversity, and pervasive expressions of racism—by focusing on race-relations as they manifest across history, contemporary discourse and everyday life.

Theoretical Framework

What is race? And what is racism? These apparently simple questions have been the subject of intellectual contestation across the humanities and social sciences for more than a century, and will remain so for the foreseeable future. Indeed, it is difficult to provide a precise definition of either race or racism, as they continue to evolve as concepts, adding dimensions with emerging new forms of intergroup and intercultural relationships (Garner, 2017; Goldberg, 1992; Tibayrenc, 2017). In sociological research, race has long been conceptualised as a *social construct* (Better, 2008; Garner, 2017), while in anthropology it has been viewed as a "cultural category of difference" (Silverstein, 2005, p. 364). Rooted in the interplay of various and complex socioeconomic and cultural factors throughout history, race has come to be a categorisation applied in the mundane affairs of citizens across different societies. Yet, racism, as a system of power and oppression, has always existed side by side with the idea of race. Recently, the conceptualisation of race as a categorical and fixed characteristic has been replaced by a dynamic, relational and multi dimensional conceptualisation embodying the intersectionality of multiple integral features ranging across individual, psychosocial, ecological and structural components (see Garcia, 2017 for detail on this).

Racism has its etymological root in the concept of *race*. Yet, its meaning goes beyond what is embodied in race as a constructed conception of identity. It does not stop in the supposedly *intrinsic* notion of race as a social or biological construct per se. Instead, racism is construed as a belief, an ideological assumption, which hierarchically categorises socially constructed groups based on race, ethnicity, skin colour, phenotype, and cultural background. It is increasingly analysed in connection to power

relations, socio-political hegemony and imperial projects.[6] Historically, race was conceived as a biological category of humankind, before this was widely critiqued as not having scientific objectivity (Tibayrenc, 2017). However, considerable debate remains as to whether the biological basis of race has validity, with one side equating race to a "biological myth" while the other maintains that the concept of race is "meaningful and informative" (Tibayrenc, 2017, p. 636). Despite the contested terrain of race as a concept, the ideology of racism still holds to the notion that race is a biological category (Hirschman, 2004; Winant, 2006). As such, race is not a *sin qua non* factor; but a theory of race—however flawed the concept of *race* might be—is essential for racism (Balibar, 2007).

The wide debunking of the biological basis of race and the discredited notion of innate natural differences among racial groups did not stop it from informing various groups across societies today (Villarosa, 2019). Goldberg (1992) argues that race and racialised discourse set the social conditions necessary for the manifestation of racist expressions. Thus, according to this view, racism "began to emerge with the appearance of the concept of race, that is, with the set of interests the concept expressed at the time of its emergence" (Goldberg, 1992, pp. 543–544). Even in otherwise secular Western states, that are organised based on egalitarian ethos—where individuals are conferred the rights of citizenship—race has long served as a criterion for the exclusion of certain racial groups such as Indigenous Peoples (Dumont, 1966/1980; Morris, 1997). In fact, Dumont (1966/1980) has argued that there is a close association between egalitarianism and racism, with the history of racial discrimination and segregation in the United States being the prime example.

More recent scholarship has focused on the notion of race as a social construct representing an essentialised concept of innate differences in relation to skin colour, ethnic ancestry, cultural heritage and religion, all of which serve as markers of identity in a social system advancing domination, oppression and privilege (Garner, 2017; Paradies, 2006; Smedley, & Smedley, 2005). Racism conceived as such maintains an ideological feature that is strictly based on the existence of unequal human races. Moreover, the practical conceptualisation of racism introduces economic and political dimensions to the ideology of racial hierarchy, as articulated

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[6]According to Hirschman (2004), the three main factors for the emergence of racism were: (1) the enslavement of millions of Africans, (2) the expansion of European colonialism and (3) the rise of Social Darwinism.

six decades ago by Hamilton and Ture (1967/2011). After examining
various definitions provided in the literature, Garner (2017, p. 21)
proposed that an accurate definition of racism must contain these three
elements: (i) a racialised historical power relationship, (ii) an ideology
and (iii) forms of discriminatory practices. These three elements approach
racism as a belief system and practice that manifests in the perpetration
of unfair inequalities within the context of hierarchically defined soci-
eties (Berman & Paradies, 2010). Yet, even with such a clearly articulated
conceptualisation, practical attributions of racism in everyday life are far
from straightforward.

At many levels, racism also remains a contested concept in social
and political discourse (Doane, 2006). Whether certain acts, events or
policies constitute acts of racism has been the subject of increasing
contestation even within supposedly socially progressive societies that
have adopted international conventions banning all forms of discrimina-
tion (see Schwelb, 1966; Nakata, 2001). While there seems to be near
consensus that certain beliefs and behaviours, such as White supremacy,
antisemitism and Apartheid policies, are racist and universally condemned,
debates persist as to whether or not anti-immigration attitudes, xeno-
phobia, Islamophobia, anti-Affirmative policies or hate speeches directed
against minority groups constitute new forms of racism (Tafira, 2011).
Some researchers have conceptualised certain exclusionary attitudes,
behaviours and policies that do not rely on group attributes such as
colour, ethnicity, nationality or religion, as a *new racism*. These forms of
racism do not rely on heredity—hence, *racism without race or racists*—but
invariably target groups that have been historically the targets of biolog-
ical racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). As Balibar (2007, p. 84) points out, such
racism replaces biology with culture as a contour of difference:

> It is a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the
> insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does
> not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to
> others but 'only' the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompati-
> bility of life-styles and traditions; in short, it is what P. A. Taguieff has
> rightly called a *differentialist racism*.

Against this changing intellectual and socio-political context, this book
seeks to contribute to the debate in racism research, providing a nuanced
review of its evolution in history and contemporary application, within

the Australian context. Building on Jones' (2000) theoretical framing that conceives racism at three different levels—institutional, personal and internalised—we conceptualise racism as a self-sustaining and complex system involving ideology, behaviour, social structures and institutions creating and sustaining unfair inequalities based on race, ethnicity, skin colour, religion and ancestry. This aligns with Balibar's (2007) conceptualisation that frames racism as an entirely *social phenomenon* engraved in practices, discourses and representations to provide the basis for the perpetration of exclusion and segregation of groups considered the *other* based on race, ethnicity, skin colour, religion, etc. In both formulations of racism, a racial hierarchy of racial communities is formed based on relative social distance and concretised through the stereotyping and stigmatisation of otherness. Like other forms of structural inequalities (based on gender, social class, etc.), a system of racism benefits certain groups that belong (with social, political and economic privileges) while adversely impacting the wellbeing of racial minorities or groups considered *other* (Gee et al., 2019).

Figure 1.2 provides a framework for understanding racism, and the way the three levels interplay to create socioeconomic, political and health inequalities. Racism embodies beliefs and ideologies of racial categorisation, usually mediated interpersonally in terms of relationships, actions, attitudes and behaviours. According to Critical Race Theory, it also exists embedded in society, manifesting "in material conditions and in access to power" (Jones, 2000, p. 1212). While often existing as inherited disadvantage, it is reinforced institutionally through codified laws, societal structures, norms and privileges (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Lopez, 2000; Paradies & Cunningham, 2009). Minority groups internalise racism when they reflexively experience it as targets in terms of rumination, self-sabotage, resentment, self-devaluation and other coping strategies (Jones, 2000; Speight, 2007).[7] The concentric framing depicts a feedback loop, whereby racism permeating institutions in society can create conditions for its manifestation in everyday relationships, and can be perceived or experienced by the target groups. Our theoretical approach thus distinguishes between racism expressed by perpetrators (interpersonal and institutional) and experiences of racism among targets

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[7] Jones (2000, p. 1213) defines internalised racism as "as acceptance by members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth."
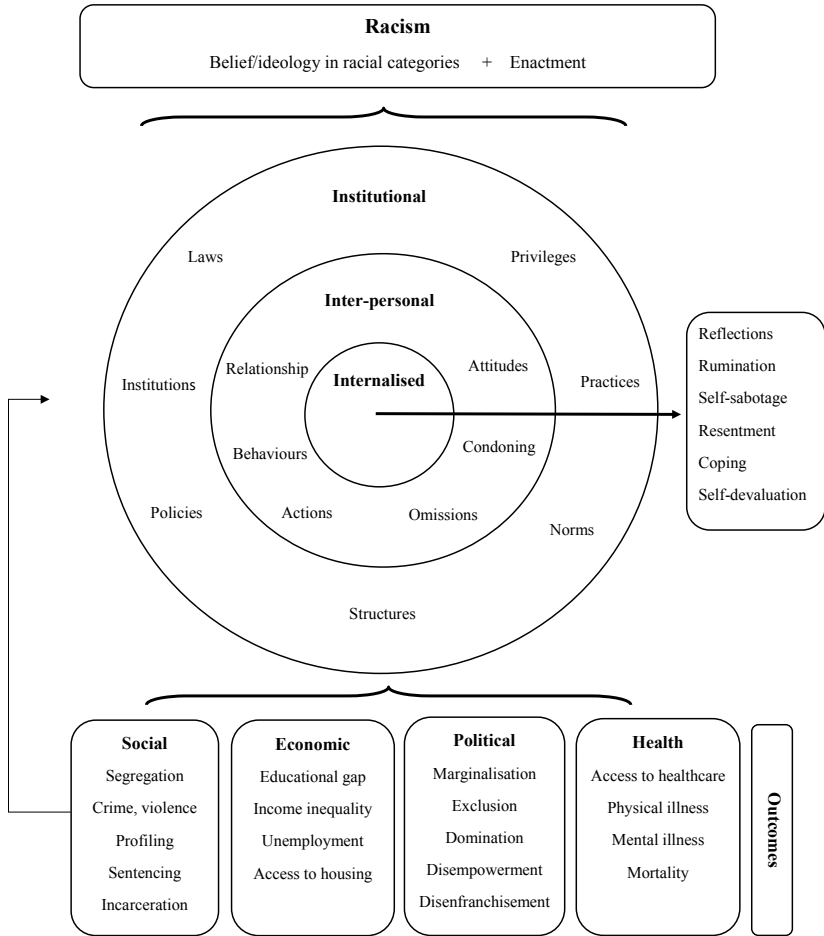
Fig. 1.2 Racism as a self-sustaining system

(actual, perceived and internalised) (Habtegiorgis et al., 2014; Paradies et al., 2015). A large body of interdisciplinary research has produced theoretical and empirical evidence of perpetrator racism (Bobo & Smith, 1998; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Sears & Henry, 2003; Van Dijk, 1987). Another body of work in social psychology, social epidemiology, economics and education has documented racism perceived and experienced by target

groups (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Codjoe, 2001; Kessler et al., 1999; Krieger, 2014; Paradies et al., 2015; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). As we show in the framework outlined above, research also indicates the importance of examining systemic forms of racism (Henricks, 2016; Henry et al., 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001).

Focus of the Book

This book examines the politics of race and race relations in contemporary Australian society, by way of critically synthesising current empirical and theoretical research. While the prevalence of racism in Australia has been well-documented historically, particularly in relation to the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act*—better known as the White Australia Policy—research on racism, and the legislations designed to address it, are relatively more contemporary (Jayasuriya, 2002). Until the mid-1990s, little had been done in Australian research in terms of the theorisation, understanding, reporting and measurement of racism (Jayasuriya, 2002). A more thorough analysis of this historical comparison will follow in the next chapter. Suffice to note though, that racism has persisted to this modern age and racial discrimination has not become obsolete as previously predicted (Balibar, 2007; Becker, 1957/1971).

Today, racism in Australia affects Indigenous Peoples, ethnic minorities, migrants and refugees among others (Elias, 2015). A wide body of research indicates the pervasiveness of racism in modern society with the prevalence extending across a range of sectors and socioeconomic dimensions, both in Australia and internationally (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Bhopal, 2007; Darity & Mason, 1998; Dunn & Nelson, 2011; Markus, 2017). However, research also indicates that most contemporary forms of racism are less overt and expressed more ambiguously from the historically violent and more aggressive behaviours of the early twentieth century (Hage 2014; McConahay, 1983).[8] For example, Ghassan Hage (2014, p. 233) argues that racism in Australia has qualitatively evolved from what he calls "existential racism" of the post-War era—based on "a sentiment of disgust from the very proximity of someone experienced to be 'from another race'"—to the contemporary "numerological racism"

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[8] Although a minority view, there are those (e.g. Leach, 2005) who disagree with the view that racism has shifted from overt to covert form, but argue that old-fashioned/overt racism still remains, including in Australia specifically (Seet & Paradies, 2018).

based on claims of "too many" immigrants from a particular geographic origin. This approach to racism reflects the more contemporary racialisation of certain ethno-religious groups who are discursively and affectively excluded from the possibility of cultural recognition, national belonging and economic justice (Honneth, 1996).

Research in social psychology and behavioural studies on implicit prejudice particularly indicate that racism does not necessarily require animus and hatred towards racial minorities as a prerequisite, as is the case with explicit prejudice. It can unwittingly and uncontrollably occur as a result of implicit racial bias (Bertrand et al., 2005; Harding & Banaji, 2013). For example, in the labour market, employers who do not express overt animus towards racial outgroups may still make racially discriminatory labour market decisions. Research also indicates that these unwitting and uncontrollable but racially prejudiced practices and outcomes are pervasive in interpersonal life and in public policy (Harding & Banaji, 2013). Further empirical research supports this argument and contends that the impact of everyday and subtle racism affects the lives of millions around the world, despite overt racism substantially declining in the last few decades (Bobo & Charles, 2009; Codjoe, 2001; Habtegiorgis et al., 2014; Kessler et al., 1999). With this shift towards subtler discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, racism research has also shifted its focus. Whereas early research focused mainly on blatant racism, like the forms institutionally sanctioned by Nazi Germany, Jim Crow America, White Australia and Apartheid South Africa, or overtly expressed by prejudiced members of society (Fredrickson, 2002; McConahay et al., 1981), modern research mainly addresses the subtler forms of racism as the relative prevalence of old-fashioned racism began to decline (McConahay, 1986).

In the context of the growing influence of progressive social movements such as anti-racism, feminism and other human rights activism, racism has evolved to manifest differently across spatial and temporal settings. As mentioned earlier, it has persisted with *culture*, *religion* and *migration* rather than *heredity* serving as the contours of difference. Research has so far developed several theoretical constructs to explain how racism is framed within these contours of difference in contemporary societies. Some of the most widely used and adapted constructs in the literature are discussed in Chapters 5 and 7 of this book.

Racism in Australia

In Australia, racism continues to generate deep forms of social polarisation and contention in public discourse and policy. At the root of the racism debate is a pervasive discourse on the notion of Australia as a body politic founded on colonial settlement. The encounter between Indigenous Peoples and British colonists in January 1788 is the basis for the ensuing race relations in the country. Yet, race relations, particularly racism, have also evolved within other interrelated contexts such as immigration and cultural diversity. As in other settler colonial societies, preconceived ideas and assumptions about the Indigenous Peoples were crucial in solidifying racist attitudes. According to Yarwood and Knowling (1982, p. 9), the "debate over slavery, reactions to the Indian Mutiny, the vogue of Social Darwinism, and the racial tensions of post-Civil War America formed part of the context in which white Australians developed attitudes to and policies on racial questions". Thus, preconceptions of European superiority and settler capitalism provided the basis for racism as a theoretical and ideological construct for the problematic race relations in Australian history (Cope, 1987). As Rigney (1999, p. 11) puts it, "the rapid growth of imperialism including the search for wealth and profits in the 17th and 18th centuries; the spiritual drive to promote the visions of God; and the quest for power, mastery, and collective glory", represented ideological and imperialist projects that led to production and justification of racism they were invoked to justify. Claims that Indigenous Peoples lacked "recognizable societies, law, property rights or sovereignty" served as the basis for the colonisation of Indigenous lands while the notion of Australia as *terra nullius*—a phrase invented in the late nineteenth century—was later used to legitimise the European colonial project in the subcontinent (Buchan & Heath, 2006, p. 5; Fitzmaurice, 2007).[9] This historical construction of the Australian national identity also became part of Australia's legal tradition that informed the country's social policies, and in many ways has continued to do so more recently (Buchan & Heath, 2006).[10] For example, issues surrounding Indigenous rights, the recognition of Indigenous dispossession, and frontier violence against

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[9] The notion of *terra nullius* in the Australian context is discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

[10] In the landmark case *Mabo v. Queensland (2)* (1992) the Australian High Court rejected the legal basis for *terra nullius*.

Indigenous Peoples of Australia remain contentious topics in the media and public debates. While debates on Indigenous issues constitute part of the broader race relations within Australian society, racism in particular frequently surfaces around such debates.

The study of racism has undergone major theoretical and empirical transformations worldwide. Early theorisations of racism, which focused mainly on blatant and unsophisticated racism, were inadequate to explain the more subtle, unwitting and less overt manifestations of racism in Australia and elsewhere. Recognising this theoretical shift, researchers in Australia have attempted to measure both overt and subtle forms of racism within Australian society. Studies that integrate old and new forms of racism indicate that racism is very prevalent in modern multicultural Australia (Dunn & Nelson, 2011; Hage, 2014). Racism in Australia is constructed through both denial of and ambivalence towards the historical violence and enduring discrimination against Indigenous Peoples, as well as in the more contemporary discrimination against migrants of non-white descent. Today, persistent inequalities reflected in the unfair distribution of social, economic and political power, which have marginalised Indigenous Peoples, are key issues that bring racism to the fore. In addition, emerging research indicates that the prevalence of racism in Australia, as in many Western societies, is increasingly becoming subtle and insidious, although overt racism is still prevalent (Dunn & Nelson, 2011; Habtegiorgis et al., 2014; Mellor, 2003). Denial is one example of subtle racism, with research based on national surveys showing its widespread prevalence involving a common denial of Anglo-Celtic privilege and Indigenous disadvantage (Dunn et al., 2004; Johnson, 2002).[11] Thus, the nature of contemporary racism and the spectrum of its manifestations require further research, as emerging fields show that racism operates across diverse platforms, through contact in the physical space and the Internet, and across settings including public space, schools, entertainment, law enforcement, workplaces and so on (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Jakubowicz et al., 2017).

This book examines critically the nature of racism in Australia and aims to explore how racism affects Indigenous Peoples, as well as minority ethnic, racial and migrant groups. It will examine how different factors

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[11] The phrase Anglo-Celtic Australians as used in this book refers to white Australians who are the descendants of people from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland (Forrest & Dunn, 2006; Johnson, 2002).

contribute to its prevalence and effects, and explore possible complex anti-racism interventions. Beginning with an historical exploration of racism in Australia, the book examines the embeddedness of race and racial discourse in the society's national identity. In addition to the historical discussion, the book also examines the contemporary state of racism and its multifaceted impacts across diverse domains. Through synthesis of the literature and analysis of current data, it seeks to answer key research questions related to the significance of race and racism in Australian society. To do so, the book will address the following interconnected questions that reflect issues in racism research within the Australian context:

- How does current research engage with the history of race and race relations in Australia? What narratives of race relations and racism are produced and how are these accepted or contested?
- To what extent and how does race play a role in Australia's approaches to cultural and national identity?
- What role have racialised discourse and racism played in Australia's social policies, laws and institutions?
- What are the economic causes of racism? Which groups do racial hierarchies and discourses serve, both globally and within Australia?
- What is the state of race relations and the level of prevalence of racism in Australia today?
- What can explain the prevalence of racism reported in some national surveys, such as the Challenging Racism Survey and the Scanlon Mapping Social Cohesion Survey?
- How does racism affect—psychosocially, culturally and economically—both majority and minority groups in contemporary Australian society?
- What are the underlying individual, intergroup and structural forces that affect race relations in Australia?
- To what extent have current anti-racism efforts been effective in combatting racism?
- What does the future hold for race relations in Australia's multicultural society?

The book engages with the above research questions by critically examining evidence from current theoretical and empirical research findings. Although there are studies that discuss the history of race relations in

Australia, little has been done in relation to the recent and contemporary dynamics in the country (Hage, 2012; Hollinsworth, 2006; Markus, 1994, 2001; Moses, 2004; Yarwood & Knowling, 1982). The shifting dynamic in racism and race relations requires a more critical and robust analysis that incorporates recent and emerging knowledge. Advances in political theory, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, behavioural science, communication and economics have shown that the way racism is constructed is changing and adapting to new global forces. Yet, its impact on society is as, or more, significant than decades ago (Markus, 2017). However, despite research showing racism as a determinant for a range of outcomes, data limitations have long precluded the investigation of racism at a national scale (Dunn & McDonald, 2001; Nazroo, 2003). This has changed over the last two decades, with the generation of a number of relevant state and national surveys. The book takes advantage of these new data to examine the contemporary state of race relations. Deploying innovative analytical methods, based on secondary sources that include quantitative and qualitative data, it investigates the prevalence and patterns of racism in Australian society. It also employs historical and current data to synthesise generalisable research evidence on the past and current state of race relations and their implications for public policy. Combining methodological advances in public health and economics, the book analyses the evidence on the economic impact of racism in Australia and proposes innovative approaches towards tackling its local and global manifestations.

Structure of the Book

This book is organised into ten chapters, plus this introduction. Each chapter has a specific area of focus, ranging from historical narratives, to critique of social policy, analysis of current political discourse, empirical data and evaluation of public initiatives. Chapter 2 briefly surveys the history of race relations and the political implications of racism in Australia, highlighting the key moments that shaped the place of race in the country's collective national identity. This will include a discussion on how racism, both globally and in Australia's settler colonial project, evolved within the context of the capitalist demand for labour, and was used to justify the continuation of settler colonial policies. It explores the two distinct but interconnected aspects of Australian racial history, relations between settler-invaders and Indigenous Peoples, and

the White Australia Policy that racially restricted immigration, particularly from Asian countries. Australia has a history of murky race relations, beginning with colonisation and the consequent racial conflicts. The roots of racism are very much embedded in a history marked by wars, dispossession and colonial expansion that advanced racist violence, conceptualised in the literature as settler colonialism (Paradies, 2016). Such sustained racist and exclusionary colonial projects have ensured the continued dominance of Anglo-Celtic whites for more than two centuries with long-term adverse impact on Indigenous Peoples who endured violence and other racist policies that denied their dignity and rights, and forcibly removed Indigenous children. A vast body of interdisciplinary research documents the adverse impact of racism on Indigenous Peoples (Bodkin-Andrews & Carlson, 2016; Larson et al., 2007; Paradies, 2018). While colonial expansion and racist policies oppressed Indigenous Peoples for a long period, the White Australia Policy that was institutionalised in 1901 pushed against immigration, particularly Asian, countries. The rise of Chinese settlement in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century was historically received with strong hostility, arising from deep-rooted fear of demographic change. As a reaction, the White Australia Policy was introduced to ensure Australia remained exclusively Anglo-Celtic. Scholars have argued that this, and subsequent segregationist and assimilationist policies that institutionalised racism in Australia, have helped maintain Anglo-Celtic hegemony(Armillei & Mascitelli, 2017; Johnson, 2002).

Post-War skilled and unskilled labour needs played a key role in affecting immigration policy in Australia, and led to the arrival of non-British migrants from Europe. As Australia's demography kept changing as a result of the migration pattern, the racially motivated assimilationist project faltered. The White Australia Policy was abolished in the 1960s, and Indigenous Peoples were included in the census 1971. The government gradually opened up to the idea of Australia's multiracial identity when multiculturalism was officially acknowledged in 1973. Since then, Australia continued to receive migrants from across the globe, and is now one of the world's most culturally diverse countries. Yet, there is strong argument that Australian multiculturalism unequally positions different ethnic groups and privileges Anglo-Celtic heritage within the national framework, including in institutional power and in political leadership (Armillei & Mascitelli, 2017; Hage, 2002). In addition, despite the

acknowledgement of multiculturalism, studies indicate that both inter-personal and institutional racism remain entrenched, as evidenced in everyday racism, anti-migrant sentiments, high level of Indigenous incar-ceration and so on (Dunn et al., 2004; Henry et al., 2004; Mellor, 2003). Chapter 2 also discusses the social climate of Australian race relations in the context of various policies including the White Australia Policy, the Racial Discrimination Act and Australia's multicultural policies and their impact on both interpersonal and institutional racism.

Chapter 3 focuses on the contemporary institutional aspect of racism, examining the systemic structures that perpetuate exclusion and racial inequality, and critically interrogates the policy environment that has shaped the discourse of race relations in Australia. Coined in 1960 by Hamilton and Ture (1967/2011), institutional racism refers to racism perpetrated through "the apparatuses of the state and the structures of society" (Bourne, 2001, p. 9). The purpose of this chapter is to investi-gate whether and to what extent there are structural and systemic barriers in Australia that preclude racial and ethnic minorities from attaining racial equality across multiple domains (e.g. law, political representation, educa-tion, employment, health and business). We look at this in light of the historical interplay between the politics of identity and racial socioeco-nomic and political reality in Australia. On the surface, institutional racism officially ended in Australia in the late 1960s, with the abolition of the laws that promulgated a White Australia Policy. Ever since, particularly since the late 1970s, the majority of Australians have come to recog-nise Australia as a multicultural society. The Racial Discrimination Act of 1975 affirms the equal rights of racial, ethnic and religious minori-ties, prohibiting racial discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, ethnicity, religion, and national origin. Despite this, Australian society remains largely dominated by the Anglo-Celtic population with minori-ties frequently experiencing disadvantage, discrimination, social exclusion and less representation socially, politically and economically. A widely held view among researchers and social policy practitioners postulates that the socioeconomic circumstances and political underrepresentation of minority groups point to ongoing systematic and structural racial inequality and injustice. To what extent these are indicative of an under-lying institutional racism, with race/ethnicity still determining one's place in Australian society, is a heavily debated issue across public policy spheres and academic discourse. Therefore, in addition to depicting the structural processes that perpetuate unequal and disparate outcomes for minority

racial/ethnic groups, this chapter discusses the ethical dimension of institutional racism to provide a more nuanced perspective to this ongoing discourse that sometimes tends to be simplistic and polarised.

Chapter 4 discusses the economic causes of racism. Building on the summary of the historical roots of racism provided in the previous chapter, this chapter looks at the traditional rational theory explanations of racism, and the interpretation of racial discrimination as a cost minimising and profit maximising choice of economic agents that result in unfair inequalities. This conception differs from the psychological *prejudice-based* or unconscious bias interpretation of racism, and explains racism as an economic phenomenon. Economic theorisation of racism has primarily focused on *taste-discrimination* (Becker, 1957/1971), *statistical discrimination* (Arrow, 1971) and *occupational segregation* (Bergmann, 1974). Yet, other than documenting statistical evidences of discrimination, racism research in economics has not adequately explained why racism continues to be pervasive and engrained in the societal system, as is argued by critical race scholarship (Reich, 2017; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Within structural inequality research, social stratification and intersectionality provide analytical tools to understand the relationship among different contours of inequalities (race, gender and class) and locate the economic dynamics of racism (Browne & Misra, 2003; Darity, 2005; Walby et al., 2012). Elsewhere, Fraser and Honneth (2003) have argued that, given contemporary racism has both class and status dimensions, "overcoming the injustices of racism, in sum, requires both redistribution and recognition" (p. 23). In this chapter, we explore the racism and structural inequalities literature, to examine how race, gender, and class interplay, and understand the extent to which particular groups in society stand to benefit from continued prevalence of racial discrimination and consequent inequalities. We explore any causal links between racial discrimination and socioeconomic outcomes, by examining current evidence from cross-disciplinary research.

Chapter 5 analyses and reviews existing cross-sectional and longitudinal data in light of theoretical discussions and empirical research that map the state of racism in contemporary Australian society. Our aim is to resolve actual or perceived gaps between research evidence on racism and race relations and the ongoing narrative that informs public policy in the country. A commonly held view in Australia, and one that has some validity, is the notion that the majority of Australians detest racism. Yet, they also have a very specific view of what constitutes racism and, tied

to such conceptualisation, reject the notion that they themselves may be racist. This assertion is usually supported with the claim that there are no state sanctioned laws that discriminate against racial minorities and that overtly racist violence is absent or infrequent (Dunn & Nelson, 2011). The claim rests on the notion that racism must be overt or legally coded to have adverse impact on racial/ethnic minorities. However, research widely indicates that new forms of racism prevail today that are unwitting and covert (Dunn & Nelson, 2011; Habtegiorgis et al., 2014; Mellor, 2003). Research also indicates alarming levels of racism in schools, with young people from minority racial backgrounds facing increasing exposure to unfair discrimination (Aveling, 2007; Priest et al., 2019). The chapter, therefore, examines the two conflicting narratives regarding racism in contemporary Australia and attempts to present a more balanced picture of ongoing race relations.

Media plays central role in modern society by setting agenda for public discourse and disseminating information across time and space. It is vital for the protection of modern democracy and regulating state power and holding it to account. Yet, like any other public institution, media can also be used and abused for various purposes that promote unfair inequalities. Racism is one such negative social outcome that is widely perpetrated in media with significant adverse effects on racial minorities (Nairn et al., 2006; Simmons & Lecouteur, 2008; Van Dijk, 1989). At the beginning of the twentieth century, racist tropes in the media (e.g. Associated Press) and the film industry encouraged racist hatred against African Americans. Similarly, the media was instrumental in carrying racial propaganda for White Australia. Throughout the 1960s and beyond, media was at the heart of racial polarisation that continues to this day (Titley, 2019; Van Dijk, 1993). The recent spike in anti-Asian racism on social media during the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic further indicates the role of media in perpetuating institutional racism (Ziems et al., 2020). Chapter 6 examines the role of Australian media in the production, propagation and enactment of racism. It discusses how media racialises particular groups and influences political discourse around immigration policy, diversity and national identity issues.

Chapter 7 offers a synthesis of empirical findings from cross-disciplinary research on the effects of racism. Drawing on current national and local empirical research, it discusses the socioeconomic impact of racism on Australian society. It shows how racism results in avoidable inequalities that affect minority racial groups disproportionately. A wide

body of research across disciplines and geographic jurisdictions has documented such inequalities with multiple factors exacerbating the problem. Research also shows that exposure to racism is a stressor for racial minorities (Clark et al., 1999; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Experiences of racism have strong associations with mental and physical health, labour market and educational outcomes, socioeconomic status and economic inequalities (Paradies et al., 2015; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Exposure to racism, in combination with other adverse factors including poverty, joblessness and unstable residential accommodation, can also increase the likelihood of committing violent crimes (Cunneen, 2005). The chapter reviews some of these associations in the Australian context, focusing on the experiences of ethnic minorities including migrants from non-Anglo-Celtic backgrounds and the Indigenous population. The empirical findings reviewed in the chapter corroborate the arguments advanced in relation to the structural processes that constitute institutional racism, as detailed in Chapter 3.

While racism affects all genders and age groups among Indigenous people, ethnic minorities, and migrants, young people within these groups are more likely to be exposed to both online and face-to-face racism (Ahmed et al., 2007; Gee et al., 2012; Priest et al., 2011). This arises from their exposure to intercultural environments such as schools, community, sports and entertainment settings, as well as their hyperactive engagement in social media. It is therefore worth closely examining these groups, to understand how young people in Australia are impacted by racism and to what extent they engage in its production and dissemination. Thus, Chapter 8 draws on a mixed methods study that investigated the impact of racism on the health and wellbeing of young people in Australia. It also contextualises this within current research on the state of race relations within this important demographic group.

Today, fast Internet-based communication facilitates the temporal and spatial spread of racism, with its occurrence in one country quickly reported globally resulting in both condemnation and solidarity. Chapter 9 looks at these global dynamics in relation to racism, and discusses whether and how global forces affect and shape race relations in Australia. In postcolonial research, global racism has been conceptualised and understood in connection with capitalism and colonial expansion (Batur-Vanderlippe, 1999; Cox, 1948/1959). Yet, racism in post-World War II Western societies has largely been localised, usually

reflecting internal national structures of racial and ethnic inequalities. Country-specific socioeconomic, cultural and political factors have largely determined prevailing intergroup dynamics. In Australia, racism was as much a colonial legacy as it was an outcome of the country's institutional structures, which systematically excluded and disenfranchised Indigenous Peoples and minority ethnic groups. International race relations can have direct influence on Australian race relations. Historically, high-profile global anti-racism episodes such as the US Civil Rights movement and anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa reverberated across the world, affecting global race relations, including in Australia. The recent Black Lives Matter movement have similarly affected race discourse in Australia and beyond. Yet, race relations in every country remained inward looking and locally specific. This changed with the advent of the Internet over the last three decades, with cyberspace becoming an ever-growing domain of intercultural encounter. Racism has now intensified as a global phenomenon, with racially conscious groups (for example, White supremacists) gaining access to global audience. Racism today is no longer perpetrated by mere physical proximity; the culprit is not necessarily one sharing the same jurisdiction with the target. In addition, racism is not necessarily an immediate outcome of the local episodes or circumstances that have allegedly disenfranchised the perpetrators. Groups and individuals with racist ideologies may vicariously import racist hatred, targeting local minorities. The chapter, therefore, explores how international forces influence race relations in the contemporary Australian nation state. It examines the role of an evolving global security environment on local racial discourse, analysing how episodes of racial strife abroad can have a snowball effect on local racial politics.

Chapter 10 focuses mainly on anti-racism strategies and interventions. The chapter discusses the key challenges and progress in tackling racism, evaluates some of the major strategies that have been formulated to date, and proposes additional potentially effective strategies. The relative global decline of overtly blatant racism over the last five decades is an outcome of a long history of anti-racism efforts. Enlightenment thoughts and concepts of liberty and equality provided the seeds that inspired the struggles against various injustices. This was evident in the abolitionist anti-slavery campaigns. Later, anticolonial struggles, the widespread repugnance over the gross historical injustices of different social policies (Jim Crow laws, the Holocaust, Apartheid, the White Australia Policy, etc.), the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and

the triumph of liberal democracy in Western countries have rendered racism and ethnic segregation unsustainable (Mullings, 2005). These global pro-equality social movements put pressure on nation states and culminated in legislative sanctions against racism and racial discrimination. In Australia, the 1975 Racial Discrimination Act offered a legislative framework for anti-racism efforts and the Race Discrimination Commissioner has overseen national efforts that countered racism and racial discrimination over the last three decades. Over this period, Australian society has shown growing support for a multicultural identity, although some monocultural sentiment remains. Although anti-racism efforts have targeted everyday racism in a range of settings, including in schools, public spaces, sports settings and workplaces, structural inequalities that are construed as manifestations of underlying institutional racism have persisted. To what extent anti-racism strategies can be deployed to address these structural inequalities is an empirical, as well as practical, question. So far, a wide body of research has documented the effectiveness, or lack thereof, of different anti-racism strategies (Aveling, 2007; Ben et al., 2020; Howarth & Andreouli, 2015; Kowal et al., 2013; Pedersen et al., 2005). This chapter synthesises current anti-racism research, summarising the theories, empirics and strategies that have been proposed to address racism and discrimination. Chapter 10 also reviews existing and potential anti-racism strategies that could mitigate the adverse impact of various forms of racism. It examines how these different strategies have been implemented in Australia, the progress that has been made in reducing racism, and what the main challenges are to achieving a racism-free society.

Finally, Chapter 11 provides a reflective post-script as a conclusion that connects the various elements of contestation discussed throughout this book. Like many socially constructed beliefs, racism is a potent force with a far-reaching adverse impact on a culturally and racially diverse society. In Australia, the impact of racism goes back to the country's colonial invasion, with race and racial discourse embedded in the colonist's national identity since the late eighteenth century. Although Australia today is a longway from its historical racial past, and the majority of the population currently sees it as a successful multicultural state, racial justice and equality remains an enduring issue with unwitting racism prevalent, alongside unsanctioned institutional racism that limits the human rights of racial minorities. This book provides a unique contribution to the contemporary state of racism and its multifaceted impacts across diverse

domains. Through the synthesis of the literature and analysis of current data, it analyses afresh the evidence on the prevalence as well as the socioeconomic and health burdens of racism on racial minorities in Australia. The book also reviews and examines dominant and emerging anti-racism strategies, drawing on national and international evidence and practice. Finally, the book concludes with a reflective discussion on the emerging frontiers in racism research, highlighting possible directions for future research agendas.

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