

Constructing Racism in Sydney, Australia's Largest EthniCity

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Summary. Contemporary Australia is in a contradictory situation as a nation where multiculturalism co-exists with various forms of what are collectively called racisms. Based on a survey of Sydney residents, this study uses a social constructivist approach to investigate the nature and sociospatial context of racist attitudes in Sydney, Australia's largest EthniCity. Results show a mix of compositional (aspatial) and contextual (spatial) associations with racisms. The former indicate a general but inconsistent relationship between socioeconomic status and tolerance, and also between cultural diversity and tolerance. The latter, however, reveal place-based cultures of tolerance and intolerance cutting across compositional relationships. A geography of racism in Sydney therefore adds a level of understanding which cannot be obtained from aspatial analysis alone. This helps to understand the complexity of local political cultures and can assist with the formulation of anti-racism interventions.

Introduction

Racism is an historical and complex societal problem among settler societies such as Australia, Canada, Israel, the US and New Zealand. All are countries where immigration has long been a significant factor in population growth and, importantly, where the wide range of national origins of more recent immigration streams has resulted in increasingly ethnically diverse populations. Yet each country is different. In the US, a dominant ethnic group phase of Americanism saw the emergence of a 'White nation' until the mid 1960s (Kaufman, 2004) and a potential future divide between 'Blacks' and 'non-Blacks' (Rose, 1997), but with the social position of Asians and Hispanics, admitted after changes to immigration laws in 1965, not yet resolved (Kivisto, 2002). In Canada, issues of a core culture and ethnic minorities assumed a particular form

of cultural pluralism prior to the 1960s with two 'charter groups'—English and French—and a more recent (post-1962 and 1967 changes to immigration laws) multicultural approach to an increasingly diverse, post-'White Canada' ethnic mosaic (Bourque and Duchastel, 1999). Canada went further than the other immigrant-receiving countries mentioned here in enshrining multiculturalism legally and constitutionally during the 1980s (Helmes-Hay and Curtis, 1998). In New Zealand, the issue is largely one of biculturalism involving the indigenous Maori and Pakeha (non-Maori, but usually seen as 'White' New Zealanders) with, as yet, little regard for the growing cultural diversity of the country's people since the ending of a 'White New Zealand' immigration policy in 1986 (Hiebert *et al.*, 2003).

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Contemporary Australian society is often characterised as increasingly multicultural, but still struggling to disengage from a legacy of Anglo privilege and cultural dominance (Forrest and Dunn, 2006a). Exclusion of non-Europeans, embodied in an Immigration Restriction Act, 1901, was one of the earliest pieces of legislation passed by the federal parliament of the new Commonwealth of Australia. What became known as the White Australia policy lasted until the early 1970s, to be replaced by policies promoting multiculturalism. Even so, the experience of post-World-War-2 non-English-speaking background immigrants, especially from eastern and southern Europe during the 1950s and 1960s—as opposed to the English-speaking background (British) immigrants who had absolutely dominated migration flows for 150 years prior to the 1950s—was frequently marked by discrimination and socioeconomic disadvantage (Vasta and Castles, 1996, p. 4). Subsequently, post-White-Australia immigrants from Asia, especially those who were Muslims, along with Indigenous Australians, came to be especially identified as key Others in the national imaginary (Hamilton, 1990; Rajkowski, 1987; Rizvi, 1996, pp. 176–177).

Australia is thus in a contradictory situation where multiculturalism co-exists with various forms of what are collectively called racisms (Vasta and Castles, 1996, p. 5). The latter include Anglo-Celtic cultural dominance, intolerance of diversity, antagonism towards some cultural groups and xenophobia. This contradiction may not be unique, but rather common among settler societies and among all those that have experienced substantial immigration in the past four decades, such as countries in western Europe. These nations have what are sometimes called ‘unsettled multiculturalisms’ (Hesse, 2000). The unsettledness relates to competing ideas about nation, including earlier more exclusive encapsulations of nationhood. These legacies persist, often in a minority context, performed in nostalgic and tragic ways but with exclusionary impacts (Dunn, 2005), or exploding sensationally in ‘race riots’ such as around Sydney’s Cronulla Beach on 11 December, 2005. But multiculturalism in Australia, as

elsewhere, is also unsettled by its dynamism and development. It remains an unfinished project, with gaps in its coverage and limits to its reach in some sections and demographics.

It is a feature of each of these major immigrant receiving countries, however, that the major focus of dominant culture–minority ethnic groups tensions is in the cities and usually in the largest cities. In New Zealand, Auckland stands out as the most culturally diverse city in the country (Johnston *et al.*, 2002, 2003). In Canada, the major immigrant-receiving cities are Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Simmons and Bourne, 2003). In the US, the focus on urban areas is more widespread, but is an urban focus nonetheless (Johnston *et al.*, 2004). In Australia, a major feature of the immigrant stream of the past 50 years has been the degree to which it has become concentrated in the major urban areas. Sydney’s population comprises some 43 per cent of immigrants from a non-English-speaking background by ancestry and Melbourne’s 41 per cent. Over the period 1996–2001, some 39 per cent of new immigrant arrivals came to Sydney, with 22 per cent going to Melbourne and 15 per cent to Perth (Forrest *et al.*, 2003).

Sydney is, therefore, Australia’s major immigrant receiving city, especially in terms of the large number of Asian immigrants coming into Australia since the early 1970s (Forrest *et al.*, 2003; Poulsen *et al.*, 2004). Here, racial tensions are most apparent (Forrest and Dunn, 2006a). Based on a survey of Sydney residents on attitudes to various aspects of racism—part of a wider study of racist attitudes in eastern Australia (Dunn *et al.*, 2004)—this study uses a social constructivist approach to investigate the nature and sociospatial context of racist attitudes in Sydney. Several questions are posed: is there a culture of racism in Sydney; if so, how is it constructed and positioned across key social factors such as ethnicity, class and age; is there any geography to that culture which might be used to tailor approaches to anti-racism initiatives?

There is a long-established tradition of examining variations in attitudes to cultural

diversity across social groups, which has been explored most fully in contemporary times by social psychologists (for example, see Pedersen *et al.*, 2000). However, scholarship on spatial variations to these attitudes has been decidedly sparse and largely non-existent in recent decades (Pettigrew, 1959; Robinson, 1987; Schaefer, 1975). Contemporary geographical scholarship has excelled at identifying how racialisation operates within place and how racialisation is placed (Bonnett, 1996; Durrheim and Dixon, 2001), but the study of spatial variation in racist attitudes and experiences, and of racialisation, has been neglected. Yet, as shown in the next section, contemporary geographical theory makes a compelling case for research on the spatially varied nature of community relations and nationalism. Furthermore, geographers have clearly advocated the importance of such spatial variations to the formulation and treatment of anti-racism. The clearest articulation of this comes from Kobayashi and Peake's (2000) programmatic statements on anti-racist geographical scholarship. Geographical variations in racism across a city mandate a geography of anti-racism. This research on the geographies of racism across Sydney is an empirical study pointing ultimately towards a geography of anti-racism for that city, using techniques that may be replicated for other, culturally diverse cities in Western-settler societies.

Theorising Racism in Australia

Among a range of views about racism, it has long been accepted that it is negatively associated with affluence and educational attainment (see Nunn *et al.*, 1978; Smith, 1981). But the negative association between racist attitudes and class (as measured through educational achievement and affluence variables) is not a straightforward indicator of a link between racism and interclass conflict. For example, educational achievement among the middle class may have a much greater impact upon the expression of racist sentiment than it does upon oppressive actions by those individuals (see Yinger, 1986, pp. 36–37).

Another class-based explanation points to effects of affluence, and specifically resource competition, among the working class. There is a perception, that, because of a paucity of social capital—education, qualifications or non-recognition of qualifications, and also time of arrival—members of minority ethnic communities form a large proportion of the working class (Jupp, 1984, p. 11) where they are sometimes seen as an 'industrial reserve army' acting to depress all workers' incomes (Collins, 1984; Lever-Tracey and Quinlan, 1988; McAllister and Kelley, 1984, pp. 53–54). Such a competition-for-jobs basis to racism is accentuated in the current climate of economic restructuring, resulting in job displacement and marginalisation, especially in the manufacturing sector where most immigrants have traditionally been concentrated (Vasta and Castles, 1996, pp. 38–40).

Racist attitudes are also associated with a form of national ethnocentrism, in which 'Australianness' is tightly linked to Anglo (or Anglo-Celtic) culture (Dixson, 1999; Johnson, 2002). Ethnocentrism derives from an assumption of a pre-existing culture and society to which newcomers are expected to conform, although it may not be overtly proclaimed, nor even intended to be oppressive (see Kobayashi and Peake, 2000, p. 393). Nonetheless, it involves intolerance of cultural difference and of minorities and, in its more extreme forms, the superiority of one's own ethnicity: an ethnocultural or assimilationist viewpoint. Multiculturalism, or liberal egalitarianism is, of course, an alternative to this viewpoint (Kelly, 2002; Kivisto, 2002). Other scholars of racism emphasise the effect of cultural mix in an area, or the lack of it, as respectively inhibiting or promoting intolerance (Valenty and Sylvia, 2004). The combined effect of these viewpoints is a complex mix of possible outcomes, reflecting community relations likely to operate differently in various parts of the city, even, perhaps, cutting across social divides.

Contemporary logics impacting on the formation of racist attitudes (the older forms were largely sociobiological), operate through differentiation, which underpins

separation and exclusion of racialised groups on the grounds of cultural difference (Jayasuriya, 2002). This is often expressed in terms of social cohesion—failure to assimilate—and national identity (Dixon, 1999; Phillips, 1998; for survey results of such attitudes in the Australian context, see Brian Sweeney & Associates, 1996a, pp. 2–23; McAllister and Moore, 1989, pp. 7–11; Pedersen and Walker, 1997; Pedersen, Clarke *et al.*, 2005). There is, nevertheless, a body of research examining the co-existence of both old-fashioned and modern prejudice. Most of these studies find that both forms are strongly correlated and that the correlations are rising as the years go by (see McConahay, 1986). Recently, Pedersen *et al.* (2004) found that old-fashioned and modern prejudice formed a single meaningful factor.

However, because of the variety of viewpoints, touched on above, what constitutes racism for one person may be quite different for another and may vary not only from person to person, but also among people of similar social backgrounds and from place to place (Dunn and McDonald, 2001). Thus Bonnett (1996, p. 872) argued for a combined social and spatial perspective on racism and suggested the value of social constructivism as an analytical approach to understanding the processes involved. Constructivism, according to Jackson and Penrose (1993, p. 3), works by identifying the components and processes of category construction, and notions of spatial identity or culture as well as what constitutes racism itself. Recent work in cultural geography, for example, has witnessed a proliferation of studies of ‘race’ within the larger discourse of social construction (Kobayashi, 2004, p. 239).

Survey and Data

The purpose of the University of New South Wales/Macquarie University (UNSW/MQU) Racism Survey, conducted in late 2001, was to collect data on racist attitudes in the states of New South Wales and Queensland, which together approximate 50 per cent of Australia’s population. The

overall response rate was 70.3 per cent. As part of that survey, which was conducted by telephone, data from 1845 respondents in the Sydney metropolitan region were generated and used in this study. The sample was area-stratified so as to draw from within every second postcode, with the aim of including at least one postcode from every Local Government Area (LGA). Valid response sets were derived for 43 of the 45 LGAs in the Sydney region. Such a focus on LGAs is important, given that they are one of two community-based vehicles providing access to the benefits of government services for all the people of New South Wales and notably to NESB groups (the other is the network of Hospital Board Community Service areas, but these cover very much larger areas than the LGAs). They also act as a vehicle for locally based multicultural and citizenship initiatives (as exemplified in the state of Queensland’s Local Area Multicultural Programs).

Much of the methodological means of scholarship on racialisation and ethnic relations in the past three decades has been qualitative, using ethnographic and often deeply self-reflective techniques (for example, Twine and Warren, 2000). In Australia, the field has been dominated by some excellent discourse analysis, especially of media commentary, and usually of a very qualitative form. For example, Lamont *et al.* (2002, p. 395) admitted that their extensive field interviews with working-class folk in France and North America were not as qualitative as most scholarship in the field. This same period in human geography has seen a reorientation mostly towards qualitative approaches, including field interviewing and discourse analysis (Hay, 2005). There has been a clear qualitative emphasis in racism research and, relatedly, somewhat of a paucity of more quantitative approaches (the exception being the work of social psychologists). In a less apologetic mode, Modood (2000, p. 180) asserted that the *Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities in Britain* was providing empirical material that had strong policy and public

impact. We agree that survey data on racist attitudes and experiences can have robust political effects. As we indicate later, empirical material on racist attitudes has utility for framing anti-racism.

Traditional questions used in racist attitudes surveys are somewhat limited, although we have, for example, retained some Bogardus-style indicators of social distance (Table 1). Some of the survey questions are adapted from existing research in this area. These include aspects of the ‘old racism’—belief in a racial hierarchy, racial separatism and belief in racial categories (racialism)—as well as the extent of racism at both the general and individual levels. Nonetheless, in order to deploy some of the current theoretical work on racism, new questions were developed. These operationalised aspects of ‘new racism’: degree of acceptance of or opposition to cultural diversity and multicultural values, how narrow are constructions of national identity (or cultural norms), protection of cultural privilege, judgements about the presence of ‘out-groups’, ideology of nation and perceptions of Anglo-Celtic (‘host’ society or dominant culture) privilege (Dunn *et al.*, 2004).

While surveys of this magnitude have a certain quantitative punch, there are always questions regarding the fidelity of responses. Do respondents truthfully answer questions regarding their attitudes? An even broader question is whether these expressions of opinion are reflected in behaviour (in racist acts). For example, more highly educated respondents might more easily recognise a question as a test of their ‘racism’ and answer so as to conceal their own intolerances which they may intuitively perceive as reflecting tainted or less progressive attitudes. Equally, expressions of tolerance might bear little relation to continuing behaviour in everyday life, which may be marked by statements of intolerance and discriminatory acts (Yinger, 1986). Whatever the potential cause of such potential infidelity, it is likely that survey results on racism are, if anything, underestimations of the phenomenon. A judicious way to approach such data is to remember that they are indicators of societal attitudes.

Sydney Attitudes to Cultural Diversity and Racism

Cultural Diversity and Nation

Researchers have long pointed to links between racism and narrow constructions of national identity or ideology of nation (Gilroy, 1987; Hage, 1998, pp. 2–55; Goodall *et al.*, 1994, pp. 16, 188). Yet contradictions are evident in public opinion on national identity, cultural diversity and multiculturalism (cultural diversity is used throughout this study to denote the presence of a wide range of birthplace origins). Public opinion surveys in Australia in the mid 1990s showed that 60 per cent of respondents were against immigrant groups maintaining their own cultural traditions. However, only 20 per cent agreed that multicultural policies should be abolished (Dunn and McDonald, 2001, pp. 34–35). Yet cultural maintenance is a core principle of multiculturalism (Commonwealth of Australia, 1999, p. 19; Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989, p. vii). Similarly, the UNSW/MQU survey found that, while 85 per cent of respondents were favourably disposed to cultural diversity, 45 per cent were of a view that cultural diversity and multiculturalism were a threat to Australian nationhood (Dunn *et al.*, 2004).

Contradictory views on multicultural values and notions of nationhood reflect the presence of two competing discourses. The first, a pro-cultural diversity discourse, is based on liberal values of cultural equality, as presented in the official rhetoric about multiculturalism since the mid 1970s. The second relates to ‘new racism’ perspectives of culture and nation which act to mitigate the wider sense of citizenship and belonging that multiculturalism should facilitate. As to the first, multiculturalism is often interpreted as an invitation to cultural pluralism. A recent survey of 3501 Australians found that three-quarters of those who had been in the country for a generation and more (principally Anglo and Indigenous Australians) identified as ‘Australian’. Only 10 per cent of this group from non-English-speaking backgrounds so identified themselves (Ang *et al.*, 2002, p. 40). The survey also found that “mainstream definitions of Australian

Table 1. Defining the variables used in the entropy analysis

Variable number	Question wording ^a	Indicator
1	It is a good thing for a society to be made up of people from different cultures	Strongly disagree +disagree: opposition to cultural diversity
2	You feel secure when with people of different ethnic backgrounds	Strongly disagree +disagree: concern/opposition to cultural difference
3	There is racial prejudice in Australia	Strongly agree +agree: recognition of racism in society
4	You are prejudiced against other cultures	Strongly agree +agree: self-identified racism
5	It is not a good idea for people of different races to marry one another	Strongly agree +agree: belief in a need to keep 'races' separate
6	Australians from a British background enjoy a privileged position in our society	Strongly agree +agree: cultural privilege enjoyed by Anglo-Australians
7	Australia is weakened by people of different ethnic origins sticking to their old ways	Strongly agree +agree: concern/opposition to cultural difference and multicultural values
8	All races of people are equal	Strongly disagree +disagree: belief in a racial hierarchy
9	Humankind is made up of separate races	Strongly agree +agree: belief in 'natural' racial groups
10	Do you believe that there are any cultural or ethnic groups that do not fit into Australian society	Yes: suggests a right to make judgements about in-groups and out-groups
11	Age of respondents	Aged 18–34: acculturated since end of White Australia policy (in early 1970s)
12	Age of respondents	Aged 35–64: acculturated during post-WW2 period of European origin of migrants
13	Age of respondents	Aged 65 +: acculturated during pre-WW2 period of dominant British origin of migrants
14	Education of respondents	Tertiary level qualifications
15	Education of respondents	Higher School Certificate level (completed senior high school)
16	Education of respondents	School Certificate (completed high school to school-leaving age)
17	Birthplace of respondents	Born in Australia: Anglo homogeneity or cultural diversity.
18	Birthplace of respondents	Born overseas, from a non-English-speaking background: cultural diversity

^aResponse options for Questions 1–9 used a 1–5 point Likert scale.

cultural identity still tend to ignore or overlook the social diversity of the overall population”, hence adoption of assimilationist attitudes. Thus a Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission investigation found 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 marginalises 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' (HREDC, 2001, p. 19).

These two contradictory discourses, of Anglo-centrism (pro-assimilationist) and pro-diversity (pro-multiculturalism), are perceptible within the attitudes of Sydney respondents on the topic of cultural diversity.

Normalcy and Privilege

Critical social theorists have referred to the normalcy of racism: a context of White privilege associated with a way of life and thinking where racism is not consciously seen, or is considered an exceptional aberration (Bonnett, 1996; Kobayashi and Peake, 2000, pp. 393–397). Except, of course, that it is not a privilege of Whiteness (although see Hage, 1998) but of Anglo or Anglo-Celtic privilege in the Australian context (Johnson, 2002). Pedersen and Walker (1997, p. 565) have observed of contemporary Australian society that, alongside an "apparent egalitarianism", there is a strong strain of new racism aimed at "defend[ing] the privileges of the dominant culture". Most respondents to the UNSW/MQU survey (83 per cent) recognised that there is racial prejudice in Australia and this compares with 79 per cent from an earlier survey who were concerned that racism was 'rife' (Brian Sweeney and Associates, 1996a, p. 23; 1996b, pp. 11–12). Recognition of Anglo privilege was less apparent, but still a majority (57 per cent) agreed that it existed.

Out-groups

Previous discussion suggests that there is much about contemporary racism in Australia which is linked to historical constructions of the country's national identity, to questions of acceptance or otherwise of cultural diversity and of who does or does not 'belong'. Intolerance of Indigenous Australians, for example, is an enduring form of racism that is linked to stereotyping based on supposed welfare dependency, drunkenness and failure

to 'assimilate' (Brian Sweeney and Associates 1996a, 1996b; Pedersen *et al.*, 2000). Anti-Asian and anti-Muslim sentiment (the latter often manifest as anti-asylum-seeker opinion) has been found in more recent attitude polling in Australia (Klocker, 2004; Pedersen, Clarke *et al.*, 2005; see also McAllister and Moore, 1989). In the UNSW/MQU survey, 45 per cent of respondents identified a cultural group or groups that they felt did not fit into Australian society (for an expanded discussion of this issue, see Forrest and Dunn, 2006a, pp. 179–183)

Belief in the 'Old Racisms'

Arguments that 'racial groups' should be separated from each other (that intermarriage is not a good idea) or that some 'racial groups' are not equal to others (the notion of a racial hierarchy) and the related notion that there are 'natural' (and different) racial groups, are variously referred to as the 'old racisms' or as 'blatant' or 'old-fashioned' racisms (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995). Support for including such questions in the UNSW/MQU survey comes from Jayasuriya's (2002, p. 41) coupling of issues of inferiority and inequality (the 'old' racisms) with differentiation (the 'new' racisms) as the two basic logics of racism in the contemporary Australian context.

Results from the UNSW/MQU survey confirm that old racist sentiment remains part of contemporary thinking. More than one-in-eight Australians believes in some form of racial supremacy. Some 13 per cent believe that these 'races' should be kept sexually separate in terms of the undesirability of interracial marriage. Nevertheless, the proportions involved are small and are mainly older people with lower education achievement levels. On the other hand, the belief that there are natural 'racial' categories, defined as 'racialism' (Hannaford, 1997; Miles, 1989) is widespread.

Prejudice—Symbolic Racism

Respondents were asked two questions about prejudice and a related question about cultural

hegemony. One focused on recognition of racism in society generally ('There is racial prejudice in Australia?') and the other on self-identification as a racist ('You are prejudiced against other cultures?'). Some 12 per cent of respondents agreed with the proposition that they were prejudiced against other cultures according to the UNSW/MQU survey, compared with 83 per cent who recognised that there is a general problem with racism in Australia. This suggests that otherwise endemic racism is seen mainly as a problem affecting *other* people which, apart from those who self-identify as racists, tends to support Kobayashi and Peake's (2000, pp. 393–397) argument that racism is most often seen as an aberration associated with a relatively small minority. The third aspect, the privileged cultural position of Anglo-Australians, bears out notions of contemporary Australian society as, on the one hand, increasingly multicultural or at least culturally diverse, but on the other, still seen to be struggling to disengage from a legacy of Anglo privilege and cultural dominance.

Sydney as EthniCity

Sydney provides an ideal context in which to test ideas about the nature and construction of racism in Australia. Since the early 1980s, post-White-Australia settlement patterns embodying an increasingly Middle Eastern and Asian immigrant stream have focused on Sydney. In the decade to 1996, Sydney's share of Australia's total population born in Asia and the Middle East increased from 6 per cent to 13 per cent (Birrell and Rapson, 2002, p. 11). Since then, Sydney's share of new immigrants has continued to increase, with 39 per cent of total new arrivals locating there between 1996 and 2001 (pp. 11, 15). Sydney continues to dominate among arrivals of the post-White-Australia period, mainly independent (skilled) and business migrants from China, the Philippines and Hong Kong, along with smaller streams of refugee groups from Lebanon, Vietnam and now from east Africa (Forrest *et al.*, 2003, pp. 503–504).

Outwardly at least, Sydney, Australia's pre-eminent EthniCity, displays evidence of the success of multicultural policies in absorbing the diversity of post-World-War-II immigrant streams. Analysis of ancestry data from the 2001 census supports a transitory-nature view of ethnic migrant enclaves (Forrest *et al.*, 2003). This indicates a strong tendency towards spatial mixing or assimilation which places Sydney (and other Australian cities) among the least segregated of cities of developed nations in the English-speaking world (Poulsen *et al.*, 2001, 2004). In substantial part, this relates to the great diversity of national and ethnic origins among immigrants to Australia which has acted to prevent any build up of a smaller number of particular groups leading to widespread segregation such as found in many US cities.

Spatial Analysis

To test for the culture of racism in Sydney and its geography, we adopt an approach bringing together the social constructivist perspective set in a quantitative analytical approach. The latter is an entropy procedure based on information theory which groups urban sub-areas (Local Government Areas—LGAs—in this case) based on commonality of profiles across the range of attitudinal and socio-demographic variables (Table 1). The variables comprise respondents' answers to the 10 attitudinal questions asked in the UNSW/MQU Racism Survey, aggregated to the LGA level, along with aspects of ethnicity, age and education from the 2001 Census for each LGA. The advantage of this approach is that variable loadings on each group (of LGAs) profile can be related to major aspects of old, new and symbolic racisms previously discussed. The answers to the attitudinal questions were recorded on a 1–5 scale as indicated in Table 1. Among the 2001 Census data used for the socio-demographic (compositional) information for each LGA, education was preferred to occupation or income, otherwise a large number of women who work part-time or are in domestic duties

would be marginalised in the assessment of socioeconomic status.

A major attribute of the entropy procedure is that it is not constrained by issues of normal distribution. Its ability to characterise and group observation areas with a minimum of information loss is reviewed in Johnston and Semple (1983). In summary, it groups LGAs with similar responses across the attitudinal and compositional variables. Unlike other grouping procedures, the amount of within-group variance for $(1 \dots n)$ groups at each iteration is minimised by retesting all possible groupings of observations. The number of groups selected is determined subjectively based on a decreasing amount of variation accounted for by further increasing the number of groups. In the Sydney case, 14 groups of LGAs accounted for 73 per cent of variation across all 18 attitudinal and compositional variables (Table 2)—the groups are ranked here on the socioeconomic status/education variables. Four of these are single LGAs; another four comprise just two or three LGAs. The other six groups are made up of larger numbers of LGAs.

Towards a Geography of Racism in Sydney

Patterns of intolerance in Sydney are complex, in terms of both attitude mix and associated socio-demographic profiles among the 14 groups of LGAs brought out by the entropy analysis (see Tables 2 and 3). Nor is intolerance the preserve of the Australian-born alone, as highlighted by the attitudes of different birthplace groups to aspects of intolerance (Table 4). Compared with the Australian-born, the most intolerant groups are generally Asians, especially those from north-east Asia (principally China and Hong Kong); southern Europeans have quite high levels of intolerance, surprisingly, perhaps, exceeding that of Middle Eastern immigrants. More specifically, southern Europeans (mainly from Italy, Greece and the former Yugoslavia) have the highest level of intolerance towards racial intermarriage, an aspect of the 'old' racism, with those from north-east Asia not much more tolerant. Interestingly,

Middle Eastern immigrants are among the most tolerant in terms of admitted personal prejudice, rather more tolerant in fact than the Australian-born on this issue.

Among the 'new' racisms, feelings of insecurity with different cultural groups and a desire to avoid social assimilation are highest among Asians and Middle Eastern birthplace groups; again, north-east Asians have the strongest degree of intolerance on both of the 'new' racism questions. This is potentially significant, in that those opposed to multiculturalism (those who agree that Australia is weakened by immigrant groups retaining their old ways)—47 per cent of the Australian-born—are mainly concerned about cultural pluralism or cultural segregation. Finally, southern Europeans stand out as being personally prejudiced against other cultures; all other birthplace groups, including immigrants from the Middle East, are below Australian-born levels of intolerance in this attitude. Findings for this birthplace-attitude mix may well, therefore, lead to exacerbation of levels of intolerance in some culturally diverse regions of the city, as well as being present in areas dominated by people of Anglo backgrounds.

The approach used here is, first, to examine constructions of attitudes and their compositional correlates across the 14 entropy groups. Then, secondly, to aggregate the entropy results presented in Tables 2 and 3 into a comprehensive construction of the incidence of racist attitudes in Sydney. In the discussion which follows, the Local Government Areas referred to are those identified in Figure 1.

Cultural Diversity and Nation

Contradictory views about national identity, cultural diversity and multiculturalism, noted earlier, are a lasting legacy of the former White Australia policy. The relevant questions are

- opposition to cultural diversity (Qu. 1);
- concern or opposition to cultural difference (Qu. 2); and

Table 2. Entropy analysis of racist attitudes and social contextual attributes among Sydney LGAs

Question number	Identify out-groups	Cultural diversity and nation			Self as racist	Recognise racism and privilege		Old racisms: separation, hierarchy and racialism			Ethnicity		Age			Education		
	(10)	(1)	(2)	(7)	(4)	(3)	(6)	(5)	(8)	(9)	Australian-born	NESB	18–34	35–64	65 +	Year 10	Year 12	Tertiary
Average	45.96	8.75	10.97	44.34	14.61	11.07	40.84	12.55	11.39	76.98	71.96	18.39	37.37	47.26	15.37	31.27	46.03	22.70
Standard deviation	11.81	6.23	8.59	12.29	9.33	7.87	12.98	6.14	6.14	7.69	10.29	11.99	4.70	3.02	3.76	13.32	6.47	7.22
<i>Group</i>																		
1	-23.74	-8.74	0.14	-33.23	7.61	0.04	36.94	-1.44	-0.28	-10.31	-21.50	16.04	12.90	-6.50	-6.40	-20.17	9.98	10.19
2	2.54	-8.74	-2.87	6.58	-4.66	-7.37	1.39	-0.75	6.67	-4.99	2.25	-9.27	-2.41	0.43	1.98	-20.15	8.75	11.40
3	-14.92	-3.24	-9.97	-13.76	-7.84	-2.16	8.02	-3.53	-4.50	-1.86	-1.50	-3.04	3.21	-2.13	-1.09	-14.91	6.57	8.34
4	24.04	1.25	-10.96	5.66	-14.60	8.93	19.14	-12.54	8.61	3.02	7.26	-7.28	-6.09	-0.19	6.28	-10.86	3.43	7.43
5	-0.50	0.34	-10.96	-26.16	-5.52	-11.06	-22.66	-3.46	6.80	-4.25	2.68	-11.72	-1.37	-0.95	2.33	-12.33	5.32	7.01
6	-8.46	-8.74	1.53	-19.34	-14.60	13.93	-15.86	-12.54	-11.38	-1.98	-11.53	12.84	-0.92	-1.61	2.53	-6.40	2.20	4.20
7	2.14	3.83	0.15	0.65	0.71	-3.99	3.58	-1.20	0.10	2.87	4.84	-5.88	-3.67	3.12	0.55	-3.28	1.16	2.02
8	-3.77	-6.01	-6.02	2.56	-6.62	16.92	9.54	2.00	-5.90	2.64	-8.92	10.57	1.32	-2.32	0.99	-2.19	2.49	-0.30
9	12.22	13.76	2.09	4.47	12.83	-2.78	-8.60	1.75	4.06	10.04	-8.67	12.52	-0.26	-0.88	1.15	-0.48	1.24	-0.76
10	1.60	4.53	15.49	6.42	5.43	8.82	-0.89	7.07	3.99	-9.51	-8.93	13.48	0.82	0.31	-1.13	4.04	-0.06	-3.97
11	1.50	-2.02	0.63	0.44	4.14	-2.58	-1.12	5.21	-2.03	-4.03	-7.58	11.62	-1.10	-1.24	2.34	5.96	-1.40	-4.56
12	10.52	-1.79	0.68	13.22	-2.06	-2.97	0.86	-2.15	2.58	7.96	15.98	-15.66	-5.55	1.90	3.64	14.72	-9.00	-5.72
13	11.84	0.50	13.87	13.66	21.98	-4.53	-23.71	5.74	0.57	7.01	15.82	-14.27	0.10	4.39	-4.48	21.04	-12.17	-8.87
14	-1.91	2.95	1.06	5.95	-2.26	-1.49	-11.01	-1.59	0.52	-0.90	8.94	-7.95	4.30	1.46	-5.77	17.99	-8.58	-9.41

Note: All values in the table are percentages and expressed above or below (-) Sydney means. Question numbers are shown in parenthesis.

Table 3. LGAs in each entropy group

<i>Group 1</i> Sydney	<i>Group 6</i> Ashfield	<i>Group 10</i> Concord Fairfield Liverpool Strathfield	<i>Group 14</i> Blacktown Camden Campbelltown Penrith
<i>Group 2</i> Mosman Woolahra	<i>Group 7</i> Baulkham Hills Drummoyne Hornsby Pittwater Warringah	<i>Group 11</i> Bankstown Canterbury Hurstville Parramatta Rockdale	
<i>Group 3</i> Ku-ring-gai Leichhardt Marrickville North Sydney South Sydney Waverley Willoughby	<i>Group 8</i> Botany Burwood Randwick	<i>Group 12</i> Blue Mountains Gosford Sutherland Wyong	
<i>Group 4</i> Hunters Hill	<i>Group 9</i> Auburn Kogarah Ryde	<i>Group 13</i> Hawkesbury Wollongdilly	
<i>Group 5</i> Manly			

—concern or opposition to multicultural values (Qu. 7).

Inner western and south-western districts of Sydney (groups 9 and 10), strongly support all three of these viewpoints. LGAs in these groups have high levels of cultural diversity. They also span a wide range of socio-demographic characteristics, but with an above-average proportion of people with lower educational achievements—low to low-middle socioeconomic status (SES)—as well as above-average proportions of immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds. This is a region where working-class Anglo-Celtic-Australians and non-English-speaking background immigrant community groups are intermixed, but where cross-cultural contact and developing familiarity have not yet generated acceptance of cultural diversity. Chicago School suggestions of ‘contact’-generated tolerance are clearly tempered by local and social circumstances, and the relatively recent—only over the past two to three decades—presence of large numbers of culturally diverse groups. Both Paradies (2005) and Pedersen, Walker *et al.* (2005) have recently

reminded scholars of Allport’s (1954) four conditions necessary for contact to have a beneficial, rather than negative impact, on community relations. These comprise equality among groups, a sense that wider goals are being pursued, an absence of intergroup competition (such as competition for jobs) and some sense of official sanction promoting contact and the wider endeavour.

Sydney’s higher SES areas (completed high school and tertiary education) largely reject the viewpoints enshrined in each of the three questions. Areas involved include northern parts of the city (group 3 in particular) and the gentrifying inner city (group 1). There is very strong support for multicultural values (Qu. 7) here, although some disagreement on the other two questions; the northern beachside suburb of Manly (group 5) is more ambivalent about support for cultural diversity. Yet in terms of cultural diversity, the two main entropy groups here (groups 1 and 3) are very different. Levels of cultural diversity in the inner city are markedly above-average, but in the northern city areas they are below average; younger working-age (18–34) populations are a common factor here.

Table 4. Aspects of tolerance and intolerance in Sydney

	Birthplace groups						Total
	Australia	New Zealand/UK/North America	South and south-east Asia	North-east Asia	Southern Europe	Middle East	
<i>Q2 Feeling secure with different cultural groups</i>							
Not secure	10.3	11.4	16.4	19.6	12.5	17.2	11.0
Ambivalent	13.1	13.9	16.4	13.0	12.5	6.9	13.2
<i>Q7 Australia is weakened by groups retaining old ways</i>							
Disagree	35.9	37.3	39.3	50.0	41.7	43.1	37.4
Agree	47.3	18.1	16.4	34.8	43.8	39.7	45.6
<i>Q5 Not good for people of different races to intermarry</i>							
Agree	11.9	10.9	13.9	17.4	20.8	12.1	12.7
Disagree	76.7	80.3	76.2	71.7	79.2	77.6	76.8
<i>Q4 Personal prejudice against other cultures</i>							
Agree	14.8	12.4	12.3	15.2	18.7	10.3	14.3
Disagree	75.9	80.3	77.0	69.6	75.0	79.3	76.8

Note: All values are percentages of each birthplace group.

Source: UNSW/MQU Racism Survey (2001).

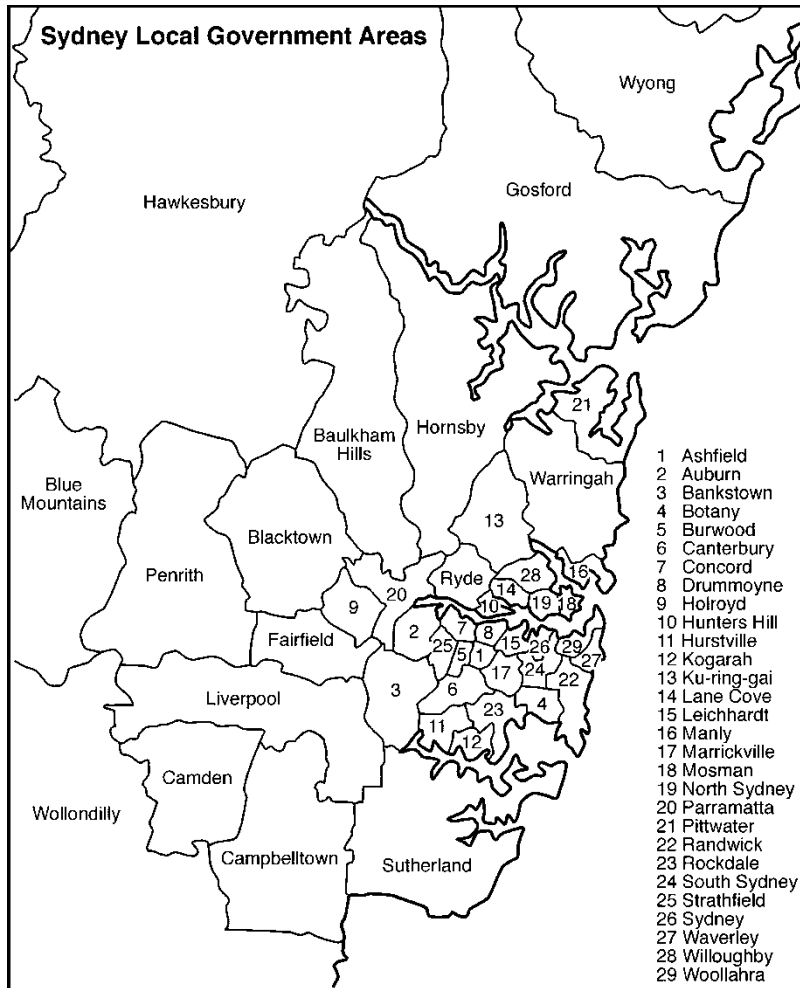


Figure 1. Local Government Areas in Sydney. Scale: 1 cm = 6.5 km.

In between these two attitudinal positions is a group of areas where respondents have mixed views, some agreeing, some disagreeing on all three questions, and with noticeable variations to the strength of views held. Two outer, rural-urban fringe districts (group 13) are strongly opposed to cultural difference and to multicultural values, but only mildly against cultural diversity. A group of outer western and south-western suburbs (group 14) is opposed to both multicultural values and to cultural diversity, but has few concerns about cultural difference. Both groups of areas are dominated by the Australian-born and by lower SES (mainly year 10 schooling)

populations. These outer-suburban areas are where local conflicts over non-Christian places of worship have been prominent in recent times (Dunn, 2004). Respondents from Sydney's north-western and northern beach suburbs (group 7), while opposed to cultural diversity, are only mildly concerned about cultural difference and multicultural values. Like the other two groups, these areas are mainly Australian-born, but of middle to higher SES; while this may help to account for greater ambivalence on two of the questions, respondents from the areas in this group are clearly closer to those from the working-class suburbs in their

concern over—disagreement with—cultural diversity.

Normalcy of Racism and Anglo Privilege: Symbolic Racisms

The survey results for Sydney confirm Kobayashi and Peake's (2000) view that racism is seen by most people as an aberration of a relatively small minority. The questions are

- recognition of racism in society (Qu. 3);
- self-identification as racist (Qu. 4); and
- that cultural privilege is enjoyed by Anglo-Australians (Qu. 6).

Socioeconomic status is the major differentiating element in area responses to these questions; the impact of age and cultural diversity is less apparent.

One of the major issues here is the distinction between a potentially endemic form of racism in Australia, based on recognition of racial prejudice in society generally (Qu. 3)—*others* are racially prejudicial—and self-identification as prejudiced against other cultures (Qu. 4)—*I* am racially prejudiced—on the part of a relatively small minority. Results can be discussed in terms of a four-way classification from 'others are not racist and neither am I' through 'others are racist but I am not', 'others are not racist but I am' to 'others are racist and so am I'. Interestingly, privilege, associated as it is with an assimilationist or ethnocultural perspective on the treatment of non-Anglo ethnic immigrant groups, is less obviously linked to overtly racist attitudes. And whereas with the two questions on endemic and personal racism there is a general (although not always consistent) negative relationship with socioeconomic status, this does not apply to recognition of Anglo privilege, where both lower and higher SES respondents recognise that Australians of a British background enjoy a privileged social position in this country.

High SES LGAs on Sydney's northern districts, inner Sydney and the largely gentrified inner city (groups 1, 3, 7) are strongly of the

'others are not racist and neither am I' persuasion. Most are above-average in the presence of Australian-born residents and include a wide range of age-groups. But while rejecting racist attitudes, they agree with the existence of privilege. This latter response suggests a strong recognition of a form of the 'new racism' whereby ethnic minorities are culturally disadvantaged by the dominant cultural group's understanding of national culture and identity (see Forrest and Dunn, 2006a).

The notion that 'others are racist but I am not', accompanied by a strong sense of privilege among Anglo-Australians, is prevalent in a small number of LGAs mainly in Sydney's eastern and inner western districts (groups 6, 8). Most here have above-average levels of cultural diversity, are mainly middle-aged to older and of generally middle to higher SES. The exception in compositional terms is the inner city, which is generally younger to middle-aged, associated with extensive gentrification. It is as though there is a culture of the inner-city region which transcends compositional characteristics—such a feature is also found in aspects of political behaviour (Forrest *et al.*, 1984).

Strong levels of self-identification as racists—LGAs where 'others are not racist but I am'—are found in two outer, rural-urban fringe areas (group 13), strongly working-class, middle-aged and dominantly Australian-born with lower levels of cultural diversity. There is a low awareness of racist attitudes in society generally or of Anglo privilege, which suggests that they are comfortable in their particular attitudinal niche.

Highest levels of racism by Sydney standards *and* recognition of Anglo privilege occur in several inner western and south-western LGAs of lower SES but with high levels of cultural diversity (group 10); an above-average number of respondents say that 'others are racist and so am I'. Significantly, perhaps, these are areas with the highest numbers of recently arrived immigrants from Asian and Middle Eastern

countries where contact has not yet led to intergroup social acceptance and where, on the evidence presented in Table 4, ethnic groups are as intolerant as the Australian-born.

Belief in the 'Old Racisms'

Variation in belief in the perceived inferiority of some groups and associated notions of 'racial' inequality ('old racisms') are associated most strongly with lower levels of education, but not generally with age or levels of cultural diversity. The relevant questions were

- belief in a need to keep races separate (intermarriage) (Qu. 5);
- belief in a hierarchy of races (Qu. 8); and
- belief in 'natural' racial groups (Qu. 9).

The 'old racisms' are largely a feature of areas with higher proportions of lower SES groups. However, 'old racisms' are also a feature of some more affluent, inner northern LGAs, with older age profiles, such as Manly, Mosman and Hunters Hill. One explanation of the inclusion of this affluent group of LGAs may be their older age structure, which contrasts with the younger age structure of the outer, lower SES areas. Conversely, areas with negative—agree to strongly agree with—responses to all three 'old racism' questions (group 3) are also higher SES LGAs, in northern and north-western Sydney. The most tolerant—disagree to strongly disagree with—groups (groups 6 and 1) are in parts of inner western Sydney and inner Sydney respectively. The latter can be described as places of long-established cultural and social (in terms of both age and class) diversity. Long-standing cross-cultural contact, in cosmopolitan inner Sydney especially, has resulted in stronger levels of cultural acceptance.

A widespread acceptance of 'racialism', of natural racial categories, is reflected in the high average incidence and relatively low standard deviation on this question (Qu. 9). This attitude was prevalent across 6 of the 14 groups of LGAs (groups 9, 12, 8, 4, 13

and 7). No common socio-demographic characteristics stand out and there are no particular spatial patterns.

A much smaller number who believe in the separation of the 'races' (no intermarriage) stand out in a few LGAs (groups 10, 13 and 11). All are lower SES areas in western Sydney. This is a little surprising in terms of theories about frequency of contact associated with social acceptance because, in many of these districts—although not all—cultural diversity is strong. However, it is consistent with findings noted above for these areas in terms of symbolic racism and attitudes brought out among the Australian-born and other immigrant groups in Table 4. Rather more believe in the notion of a hierarchy of 'races', again mainly in lower SES LGAs in outer, inner western and south-western districts (groups 9, 12 and 10), but also in some higher SES areas in the mainly inner city, culturally diverse region of LGAs. Some areas of higher relative diversity, such as in groups 8 and 11, have stronger levels of disagreement with the notion of 'racial' hierarchy, yet there is an above-average agreement with the need for 'racial' separation. It is of some concern that residents of some of these culturally diverse areas, cognisant of the fallacy of 'racial hierarchy', nonetheless express some preference for 'racial' separation. Other culturally diverse areas show higher levels of opposition to both forms of 'old racism', such as those in groups 3 and 6.

Cultural Diversity and Out-groups

Attitudes to cultural diversity and to the existence of out-groups in Sydney as a whole can be summarised as moderately tolerant. This discussion focuses on two questions

- opposition to cultural diversity (Qu. 1); and
- judgements about in-groups and out-groups (Qu. 10).

In general, higher levels of education and inner-city location combine to typify areas which are least antagonistic towards other cultural groups. Thus acceptance of cultural diversity and absence of any recognition of out-groups is a feature of four groups of

LGAs: in the inner city (group 1); in the generally middle-status inner west and eastern suburbs (groups 6 and 8); and in Sydney's higher-status northern suburbs (group 3). Three of these groups have above-average levels of cultural diversity, but the fourth—the northern suburbs—lacks cultural diversity but has high educational levels. Again, we point to a contextual effect of inner-city cosmopolitanism. At the other end of the scale, opposition to cultural diversity and identification of out-groups are strong characteristics of inner western and outer south-western LGAs (groups 9 and 10), all with high levels of cultural diversity and of middle to lower social status. More weakly held opposition is a feature of the northern beaches and north-western Sydney LGAs (groups 4 and 7); these have low levels of cultural diversity (a dominance of Australian-born) and are mainly of higher social status. In between, only a few groups of LGAs stand out, while some others are close to the city average on both questions.

Constructing a Geography of Racism in Sydney

From the previous discussion, there is evidence of a distinctive geography of racial intolerance in Sydney that transcends aspatial (compositional) relationships. Such compositional relationships do occur, but are strongest, in the case of socioeconomic status, only at the higher and lower ends of the range and then with variations, especially among the 'new racism' dimensions. Rather, in various groups of LGAs, there is evidence of a particular combination of attitudes such that a geography of racist attitudes can be constructed using all the attitude variables from the entropy analysis (Figure 2)

Respondents from higher SES, generally older LGAs on Sydney's north side and eastern suburbs (Region I) are more accepting of cultural diversity at the national level and of multiculturalism; there is lesser acknowledgement of personal racism and greater denial that racism is general in Australian society. There is, however, recognition of

Anglo privilege, arguably among the 'new racisms', but lesser identification of out-groups. In this region, these attitudes are common to all age-groups, in spite of marked variation in levels of cultural diversity. Respondents from upper-middle status, largely middle-aged LGAs on Sydney's upper north shore (Region II), on the other hand, are generally opposed to cultural diversity, although this varies across the region, and people there are more prepared to identify out-groups. However, like the higher-status LGAs in Region I, rejection of racism in society generally is accompanied by recognition of Anglo privilege. There is, however, greater acknowledgement of personal racism in this region, although people are, on the whole, neutral on 'old racist' attitudes. Both of these regions have relatively low levels of cultural diversity.

The inner city (Region III) has previously been identified as having an interesting mix of cultures, classes and age-groups alongside particularly tolerant and pro-diversity attitudes. It stands out on its own in this regard. Other parts of inner to middle suburbia, on the other hand, exhibit a wide range of attitudes, some very tolerant, some not. Thus respondents in Region IV, a combination of eastern and inner-middle LGAs, are generally accepting of cultural diversity, recognise that others are racist and that Anglo privilege exists, yet support 'old racist' attitudes, but do not identify any out-groups. Closer in to the inner city, Region V shares many of the characteristics of Region IV, but respondents are more likely to deny that racism exists in any form and are generally tolerant. That this is an area long identified with Italian and Greek immigrants who began settling there in the 1950s and 1960s may suggest acceptance of diversity based on a long period of mutual contact, as opposed to the more recent immigrant streams in major parts of Region IV, which includes many non-Christian immigrants.

To the south and west of these regions, respondents in Region VI hold neutral views on issues of cultural diversity at the national level and on multiculturalism; they are mildly

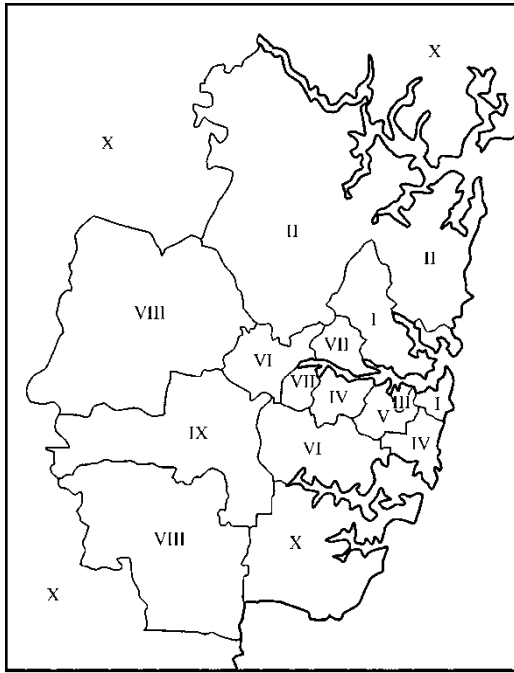


Figure 2. Geography of racist attitudes in Sydney.
Scale: 1 cm = 3.5 km.

concerned about racism generally and Anglo privilege. There is, however, an above-average presence (albeit the overall average is low) of those who are personally racist, while there is a strong rejection of values associated with the 'old racisms'. Respondents in Region VII, still part of the inner western LGAs, oppose cultural diversity and multiculturalism, but exhibit little evidence of racism in either its general or personal forms. However, there was a strong attachment to the 'old racisms' and agreement that there are cultural groups that do not belong in Australia. Parts of Region VII have Muslim immigrant populations and this is the location of one of Sydney's major mosques; other parts have a strong Asian (Chinese and Korean) presence—both groups are among those commonly identified as out-groups (Dunn *et al.*, 2004; Pedersen *et al.*, 2005).

Sydney's western and south-western LGAs divide into two main regions. In Region VIII, attitudes to cultural diversity and to multiculturalism vary, but around a middle position, from generally unconcerned about

diversity or multiculturalism to mildly opposed; they are mildly aware of racism generally and of Anglo privilege; they reject racism in themselves and in others while sharing some aspects of 'old racisms'. Region IX, covering south-western Sydney, on the other hand, is the least tolerant part of Sydney. Here, there is opposition to cultural diversity and to multiculturalism; personal and general racism is admitted and recognised; cultural privilege is seen to be strongly present; however, respondents are less likely to identify out-groups. There is a younger to middle-aged complexion to this region and it is home to a very wide range of immigrant groups and nationalities, European, Middle Eastern and Asian, including a number of refugee groups. It is also an area of high unemployment and strong competition for employment opportunities.

Finally, Sydney's outer commuter and rural-urban fringe districts combine into Region X. Younger to middle-aged, with pockets of older people, this region is more culturally homogeneous, dominated by Australian-born residents. Attitudes on issues of cultural diversity, and on multiculturalism, range from mildly to strongly opposed. However, there is little recognition of endemic racism, or of Anglo privilege, but there is strong support for 'old racism' attitudes. This region is like Region IX, therefore, in being among the least tolerant areas in Sydney, although the dimensions that are relevant in each of these regions vary.

There are parallels in the above patterns of tolerance and intolerance with local political cultures, exemplified by recently formed minor political parties (Smith, 2005). Thus the Unity Party was formed in 1998 to mobilise support for multiculturalism (Healy, 1999; Money, 1999; State Electoral Office, 2003c). Its main support base has been in inner-city to middle-ring suburban districts. The party has also attracted significant support in the south-western suburbs (Region IX), the least tolerant of the Sydney regions. Among two right-wing minor parties—Australians Against Further Immigration (Newman, 1995), formed in 1989,

and the One Nation Party (Johnson, 1998), formed in 1997—on the other hand, Australians Against Further Immigration presents an anti-immigration, anti-multiculturalism platform, arguing that “the people have never been consulted on, or given their consent to, the interwoven policies of immigration and multiculturalism” (State Electoral Office, 2003a). Their support is strongest in outer suburban (lower to middle class) and some middle suburban regions, such as Region X and western Sydney generally. Relatedly, One Nation argues that “the cultural, ethnic and racist makeup of Australia must not be radically altered through immigration without the express consent of the Australian people” (State Electoral Office, 2003b). Its support base focuses on outer suburban areas, especially in western and south-western Sydney (Regions VI, VIII, IX and X).

Such a geography of political cultures across Sydney, like the geography of attitudes, reflects historical demographic and urban trends. For example, the inner city is the home of Hage’s (1998) cosmo-multiculturalists (younger, sometimes affluent, often although not necessarily tertiary educated, and culturally diverse) and an emergent political culture that Young (1990) might have called a politics of difference. Some recent scholarship has suggested that the inner city holds significant emancipatory potential (Lees, 2004). Others have gone so far as to suggest that inner cities are places where poorer communities retain a grasp on their neighbourhoods and where intolerance and ‘race’ are not as significant as previously asserted (see Maginn, 2004). Within Sydney, the areas adjacent to and within the inner-city gentrification belt are areas of greater tolerance. It may also be that inner-city living in Australia is driven in part by a cultural preference for cosmopolitanism (including the experience of cultural diversity), such that anti-racists self-select into these areas of tolerance. Research into the geography of attitudes can add substantial value to the emergent scholarship on the cultures of urbanism (Zukin, 1986).

Conclusions

This construction of racism in Australia’s largest EthniCity indicates a mix of compositional (aspatial) and spatial (contextual) associations, but with the latter standing out sufficiently to emphasise the importance of an ‘everywhere different’ conclusion. The social construction approach we have been guided by eschews any fixation upon a single social variable (such as class, or cross-cultural contact/diversity) and has allowed us to weave through the analysis, our interest in contextual variables. Evidence from discussion of the major dimensions of prejudice suggests a relationship between socioeconomic status and tolerance, such that class-based cultures underpin racist attitudes—although this is most clear only at the upper-middle SES (non-racist) and lower SES (racist) ends of the scale, and even here not consistently so. In some cases, attitudinal variation can be linked with a stronger or lesser level of LGA cultural diversity, but in other cases it cannot.

Age structure emerges as a relatively unimportant variable. There are glimpses but no body of evidence in the geography of racial prejudice in Sydney to suggest any uniformity of generational differences in attitudes, not even in the prevalence of ‘old’ *versus* ‘new racisms’. This interpretation, based on the *geography* of attitudes, also contrasts with non-geographical analyses, where older people, taken as a whole, have been found to be more inclined to ‘old racist’ attitudes and identification of out-groups (Dunn *et al.*, 2004). A wider reconstruction of all the attitudinal dispositions discussed here indicates that a geography of racism adds a level of understanding of racism in Sydney and is a basis for future work; findings presented here could not have been obtained from aspatial analysis alone. From the evidence of variations in attitudes across the city, even among people of otherwise similar social backgrounds, it is apparent that spatial context is important: place matters.

Consistent with results from earlier research, the range and mix of attitudes

revealed here, and the contradictions, within and among the regions, indicate a diversity of racist attitudes in Sydney. Variations among LGAs with the same level of cultural diversity bear out these contradictions, as do variations among the dimensions discussed during the earlier deconstruction—the five dimensions—phase of this study. These are consistent with contradictions between social contact and social conflict theories of acceptance and friction respectively (see Valenty and Sylvia, 2004), but with the added suggestion that local attitudes may relate to the presence of certain immigrant groups rather than others—those that are still regarded as ‘Other’ (see Dunn *et al.*, 2004, p. 414; Forrest and Dunn, 2006a, pp. 179–183). That a fuller understanding of racist attitudes is also linked to understanding cultural or dominant group (Anglo) privilege is another area which remains to be analysed and one which leads ultimately into issues of national identity, citizenship and related issues of the supposed social compatibility of immigrant groups, of those who may be seen to ‘fit in’ and those who may not. One thing in particular which does come out of this study is the importance of incorporating both compositional (social and demographic) and contextual (place-specific) characteristics into future analysis of attitudes to racism.

In terms of future applied work, findings from this study are potentially important in policy terms, specifically regarding community relations (anti-racism) initiatives. There is a range of means by which anti-racism can be advanced (see categories and reviews in Paradies, 2005; Pedersen, Walker *et al.*, 2005). Many such initiatives are delivered at the community (LGA) level, rather than through one-on-one workshops with individuals. Group-level initiatives need to be sensitive to the contexts of racism within a specific community (Dunn and McDonald, 2001, pp. 38–41; Paradies, 2005, pp. 14, 23; Pedersen, Walker *et al.*, 2005, pp. 26–28). Thus our discussion of the geography of racism in Sydney brought out in Figure 2, for example, identifies the need for at least four types of regionalised response to racism. There are those localities

that are already culturally diverse and where people are currently making decisions about racism and about community relations, other cultural groups they have contact with and on national identity (Regions VI and VII). Anti-racism initiatives in those areas should be different from those where diversity is a much more recent phenomenon and where the ‘issues’ are becoming more palpable and perhaps problematic (Regions VIII and IX). In other regions, cultural diversity is low and the issues are still being considered, or an *a priori* stance of intolerance has become apparent (Regions X and II respectively). In still other areas, there is both a strong diversity and a robust basis for harmonious community relations. The geographically informed analysis outlined in this study provides anti-racism campaigners with the means to prepare regionally sensitive programmes that would address ‘unsettled multiculturalisms’ across a major immigrant-receiving metropolis like Sydney.

Part of this situation of ‘unsettled multiculturalisms’ is the recent emergence of minority political parties of the left and right respectively and avowedly pro- and anti-multiculturalism, where previously the structural assimilation of NESB immigrant groups occurred through membership of one or other of the major political parties, the left-leaning Labor or right-leaning Liberal parties. While far from representing any fundamental change to the nature of politics in New South Wales brought about by the new politics of immigration and multiculturalism, as claimed for English politics by the British National Party after recent (May 2006) Council elections there, the sentiments echoed by each of the Australian minor parties do suggest a geographical base to increasing polarisation of political responses which relates to the geography of tolerance and intolerance found in this study that also deserves further attention.

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