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Young Australians



The Impact of Racism upon the Health and Wellbeing of Young Australians

A Research Project undertaken by Professor Fethi Mansouri,
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Professor Fethi Mansouri
Project leader
Melbourne, October 2009

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Foreword

The Foundation for Young Australians (FYA) is deeply committed to ensuring the views, experiences and insights of young people living in Australia are heard and, where possible, lead to systemic, behavioural and social change. Comprehensive research reports like this one are among several mechanisms employed by FYA to ensure that this vision is achieved.

Understanding the direct experiences of young people facing racism who are from Indigenous, migrant or refugee backgrounds is critically important as we re-imagine the roles and values placed upon all young people, in all communities across Australia.

One of the clearest messages to come from this report is a reminder of the critical role that our schools play and the core responsibility that is bestowed upon school communities to instil values and behaviours that contribute more directly to building a diverse and dynamic nation.

If this research is to be considered successful, the real challenge lies in creating a sustained platform for these experiences and insights to be shared by young people on a regular basis – and for schools to be supported, enabled and resourced adequately to create the impact that is so urgently required.

Adam Smith
Chief Executive Officer
The Foundation for Young Australians

Executive summary

The key objectives of the project were:

- to examine the experiences of racism for young people in Australia of mainstream (English-speaking background), Indigenous, migrant and refugee backgrounds;
- to investigate how young people in Australia report and respond to racism; and
- to explore the attitudes of mainstream youth in relation to key issues in contemporary race relations, such as cultural diversity, tolerance and privilege.

Summary of data collection

The data was gathered during the first half of 2009. Eighteen Australian secondary schools were involved in the study with a total of 823 student participants. Of these eighteen schools, fifteen were involved in survey and interview tasks, whilst three were involved in the interview component only. Of the 823 individual participants, 125 were interviewed on an individual basis and 698 students participated in the survey component.

Survey participants were recruited from Australian secondary schools as follows:

- Victoria (41.1%)
- New South Wales (39.4%)
- Queensland (14.3%)
- Northern Territory (5.2%).

The breakdown of survey participants was:

- 39.3% (274) males and 55.2% (385) females
- age range: 12–19 years
- average age: 15.37 years.

The majority of survey participants were classified as being in the middle years, levels 9 and 10 (48.9%), while those in the senior years, levels 11 and 12, represented 41.1% of the overall sample. Only 5.4% were from the junior years (year levels 7 and 8). In line with the study's approach and objectives, participants indicated a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, with 60 different countries being listed as a place of birth. However the majority of the survey participants were born in Australia (69.9%).

The ethnic and cultural breakdown was:

- 39.1% Anglo-Saxon Australian-born
- 27.7% second and third generation migrants

- 12.2% migrants who have been in Australia for five years or more
- 7.3% migrants who have been in Australia for less than five years
- 3.0% refugees
- 2.9% Indigenous Australians.

The data relating to religious background indicated that:

- 43.8% were Christian
- 25.6% did not identify with a religion
- 10.9% were affiliated with a religion which was not specified in the survey choices
- 8.3% were Muslim
- 5.9% were Buddhist.

These figures reflect broadly the demographic characteristics of the wider population as evidenced in the 2006 ABS census data (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006)(particularly Indigenous participants, 2.9%, a figure which reflects the Australian Indigenous population of 2.3%. Similarly, the percentage of survey participants who are of Christian religious background in this study 43.8%, is in line to some extent with the percentage of Australians who claim an affiliation with Christianity, 53%.

Summary of key findings

Quantitative data

Upon examining the participants' experiences of eleven different manifestations of racist behaviour, the research found that there were several key trends that can be summarised as follows:

- **Experience of racism:** 70.1% of participants reported experiencing at least one of the eleven racist scenarios, with the majority of the racist incidents being experienced on an occasional basis. With the exception of 'being refused entry' and 'being treated with suspicion', school was the main setting in which an overwhelming majority of participants experienced racist behaviours.
- **Reporting of racism:** When the experience of racism was reported, most students tended to do so to their teachers (52% of respondents) in comparison to 31.7% who reported this to a school counsellor, 12% to the police and 4.2% to a health professional. This occurred even when the racist experience had not occurred within a school setting. Also, for all eleven forms of racism, it was found that the majority of participants decided to take 'no action' far more so than they chose 'confrontation' or 'seeking help'. This is a significant finding that is supported by other research,

whereby victims of racism chose not to challenge existing patterns of racist behaviour be they individual or institutional.

- **Impacts of racism:** The most frequently recorded impacts resulting from the experience of racist behaviour were 'feeling angry and frustrated' and feelings of 'not belonging to the local community'. Another frequently reported impact was that of becoming a 'stronger person' as a direct result of the racist experience. This is in line with a growing literature on psychological and mental impact of racism whereby more pronounced levels of resilience are reported as a way of resisting and countering discrimination and marginalisation.
- **State by state:** A comparison amongst states in terms of experiences of racism indicated there was no significant difference.
- **Variance amongst cultural groups:** A comparative analysis of the experience of racism among cultural groups indicated that there was quite a significant difference in the percentage of Anglo-Australian (mainstream) participants, and participants of other backgrounds (migrants, refugees and indigenous). A startling majority of over 80% of participants from various non-Anglo-Australian backgrounds reported being subjected to some form of racism. This was in contrast to 54.6% of Anglo-Australians reporting they had been subjected to racism. However, it should be noted that participants were reporting on a wide range of racist experiences including incidents such as 'being called an offensive slang name for your cultural group' through to 'being refused employment because of your cultural background'. Any experience of any such scenarios was included as a racist event.

Racism, health and demographics

Correlations and cross-tabulations were run to examine the strength of the relationships between health, experience of racism, and various demographic variables. Analyses revealed:

- Students in the senior years of school (years 11 & 12) were more likely to experience racism and had lower health scores.
- Gender had a significant negative correlation with health, indicating that female students were more likely than their male counterparts to have decreased health/wellbeing.

Predictors

Predictors for a decrease of health/wellbeing

Hierarchical multiple regressions were used to assess the relationship of participants' demographic variables and the experience of racism with health and wellbeing. The

results of the final regression analysis revealed three significant predictors of a decrease in health and wellbeing score in relation to experiences of racism:

- gender (being female)
- age (being in the senior years of school)
- actual experiences of racism (having experienced racism as opposed to not having such experiences).

When participants were female, in year 11 or 12 and had experiences of racism, their health and/or wellbeing was likely to be affected in a negative manner.

Predictors of experience of racism

The strongest predictor of reported experience of racism was:

- being a migrant who has been in Australia for less than five years (six times more likely to report an experience of racism than other participants, all other variables being equal).
- being a migrant who has been in Australia for more than five years (five times more likely to report a racist incident)
- being a second- or third-generation migrant (more than four times more likely to report an experience of racism than other participants, all other variables being equal).

The overwhelming trend which emerged through this analysis was that those participants with a migrant background were far more likely to experience racism.

The final variable which significantly predicts the experience of racism was:

- the type of school young people attend.

The result in this case indicated that those students who attend a catholic school are 1.7 times LESS likely to report experiences of racism than students attending government schools.

Qualitative data

The qualitative interview data supported the majority of the findings of the quantitative data, with two major exceptions.

- The quantitative data found that Indigenous youth experience less racism than refugee and migrant youth. This may be experienced among other things by the relative geographic isolation and lack of social interaction some indigenous communities have with Australians of non-indigenous backgrounds. The qualitative data also suggested that some Indigenous youth suffer racism that impacts on their daily lives. It should be noted that these interviews do not purport to be representative

of Indigenous youth in general, as there were only nine Indigenous interviewees. The relatively small sample size warrants that this finding be taken cautiously. Yet, there was a depth of racist experiences reported in several of the interviews which indicated that Indigenous youth may suffer more debilitating forms of racism than other Australian youth and certainly more than the qualitative data suggested.

- Whilst the majority of research participants reported that racist experiences take place predominantly within the school environment, several Indigenous interview participants reported that they are subjected to racism equally at school and in community settings. This tended to take the form of:
 - being refused entry
 - being treated with suspicion in shops
 - being forced to present a student identity card while dressed in school uniform
 - having to justify their behaviour to police when engaged in harmless activities such as walking together in a group.

These variations between the quantitative and the qualitative sets of data may be accounted for by the small number of Indigenous participants, both in the survey and interview process.

Recommendations

1 Professional development for school staff

The research findings show clearly that the majority of racist incidents take place within school settings and that students are more likely to report these to school staff. Therefore, well-targeted professional development of teachers, school leaders and administrative staff regarding the effect of personal attitudes and structural racism upon the health and wellbeing of the school community is recommended. This would include:

- leadership training for principals concerning social cohesion and the engagement of CALD communities
- developing the capacity of principals and other school leaders to develop whole-school initiatives to combat racism and reduce the impact of racism on the health and wellbeing of students. This should be supported through a mentoring program to develop school leaders who can drive whole-school initiatives in relation to racism and its impact on health and wellbeing.
- ongoing targeted professional development for teachers to enable them to identify issues of racism active in the school, including those operating within their classrooms. This will empower teachers to deal with these issues more effectively and with a greater awareness of the inherently sensitive aspects of culture and race and overall inclusive educational practice.
- the provision of targeted classroom resources and pedagogical tools, including curriculum materials, that facilitate constructive engagement with the sensitive issues of culture, race and inclusive practice.
- training in diversity, inclusive practice and other cultural and intercultural issues for administrative staff.

2 Further research about migrant females in years 11 and 12

This study has indicated that there are three predictors of racism that can have a negative impact upon health and wellbeing. These are:

- gender (females experience higher levels of racism)
- age (in year 11 or 12)
- racist behaviour (having experienced racism).

Female students were identified as a group whose wellbeing appears to be most affected by racism. The Report therefore recommends that schools and communities be made aware of this so that this group can be identified and supported within these contexts. Furthermore, it is recommended that more research be carried out in this area to understand this complex gendered aspect of racism and wellbeing.

3 Structural and institutionalised racism

Structural and institutionalised racism needs to be investigated further and addressed within schools and communities that have significant Indigenous, migrant or refugee communities. This urgent research agenda should have particular reference to the medical and education professions as well as the police. It should focus on attitudinal change over time in order to address forms of racism that appear to be directed towards some Indigenous youth in particular, but also youth from migrant and refugee backgrounds.

To this extent, this report links with the 'Building on our Strengths: A Framework for reducing race-based discrimination and support diversity in Victoria' which suggests that school-based initiatives to reduce racism must engage both the individual and community, working towards both re-orientating individual attitudes as well as addressing discriminatory organisational procedures and questioning attitudes towards race and diversity in the broader school community. The Framework stresses that organisational development through implementing organisational accountability, diversity training, resource development and provision, role-modelling and promoting inter-group conduct is appropriate for the school setting. Like this report, the Framework argues for direct participation programs that are either awareness-raising programs or education programs are also effective in schools.

4 Racism in junior sport

More extensive work, in the form of ongoing education and intervention strategies, needs to be undertaken to address racism at the junior levels of community sport. It is acknowledged that work has already been undertaken to educate junior sports staff about racism and to further educate young players about the concept of racism and appropriate ways to behave. However, in addition to this, it is recommended that junior sports conveners, umpires and coaches are provided with education about the potential for racism to affect the health and wellbeing of their young players. The sporting staff should also be given measures for addressing the negative symptoms of the impact of racism upon health and wellbeing, should it occur. Additionally, sports staff should be provided with resources to support this further education.

In line with the Framework study findings, this report stresses that racism in the sport setting can be addressed through role-modelling, organisational development and by introducing pro-diversity codes of conduct. Sports groups can employ role-modelling through encouraging their teams to take pride in their diversity and commitment to reducing race-based discrimination. Initiatives that increase representation of minority groups in various sports as participants, employees and volunteers are also needed to promote inter-cultural contact and cross-cultural awareness.

5 Further research by multidisciplinary professionals

The research team suggests that further in-depth research into racism and its impact on the health and wellbeing of Australian youth be carried out by multidisciplinary teams including social scientists and medical professionals, particularly mental health professionals. This is especially the case for targeted research projects that focus on the impact of racism on vulnerable groups and its implications for educational achievements and employment outcomes.

1 Introduction

The Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation at Deakin University has worked in partnership with the Foundation for Young Australians to conduct this research project into the impact of racism upon the health and wellbeing of young Australians. The research has been carried out in eighteen Australian secondary schools in Victoria, New South Wales, Northern Territory and Queensland. Students aged 15–18 were surveyed and interviewed in both the government and Catholic education systems in order to ascertain the experience of racism and racist behaviours among Australian youth and their impact on health and wellbeing. The scope of the research brief included the nature of the racist experience, its setting, the individual and institutional responses and its reporting. The research also aimed to examine the impact of the experience of racism upon the health and wellbeing of Australian youth. A glossary of terms is included in Appendix 1 to assist with the reading of this Report.

1.1 Background to the research project

The Foundation for Young Australians is an independent national grant-making organisation committed to creating exciting opportunities and effective outcomes for Australia's young people aged 12–25. The Foundation's vision is 'communities celebrating and strengthening young people'. As part of their commitment to strengthening and celebrating young people the Foundation has identified racism as a priority issue for this focus group. This was identified through interviews with the Foundation's national volunteer youth network and consultations with young Indigenous people in the development of the Foundation's strategy. Discussions were held with the Foundation's board of directors, staff and individuals and organisations currently working in the area of addressing racism. The key outcomes of this discussion can be summarised as follow:

- There is a need for more research into the experiences of racism for young people from a range of different backgrounds, including Indigenous, migrant and refugee groups.
- There is a gap in data linking racism and health and wellbeing impacts for young people.
- There is a need for further analysis about mainstream attitudes and values around issues of cultural tolerance, identity and privilege.

This research will be used to consider how the Foundation will play a role in supporting responses to racism and in developing collaborative strategies. This may include the development of policy and projects that support young people and their communities to respond to racism and its adverse effects.

1.2 Project aims and objectives

The project aimed to investigate the experience of racism amongst young Australians who are fifteen to eighteen years of age. In particular the experience of people from Indigenous, migrant and refugee backgrounds was sought. The three key research themes were:

- Forms of racism – to investigate how experiences of racism of young people (from Indigenous, migrant and refugee backgrounds) are manifested in contemporary Australian society
- Settings where racism is experienced – to ascertain the settings where young people (from Indigenous, migrant and refugee backgrounds) experience racism, i.e. at school, at home, in the workplace, within service provision or elsewhere
- Responses to experiences of racism – to investigate how young people (from Indigenous, migrant and refugee backgrounds) respond to racism and its impact upon health and wellbeing.

1.3 Research stages

After gaining appropriate ethical clearance from various educational institutions and jurisdictions the research was conducted in the following stages:

- extensive review of relevant theoretical and empirical literature
- development and piloting of data-eliciting procedures
- identification of possible participating schools
- consent gained from participating school principals
- data collection
- data analysis
- report writing.

2 Literature review

The project investigated the impact of racism on the health and wellbeing of young Australians and was conducted by Deakin University's Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation on behalf of the Foundation for Young Australians (FYA), hereafter referred to as the 'project'. This literature review, whilst concentrating on research concerning the experience of racism for young Australians and its impact upon health and wellbeing, is contextualised further by a thematic review of mainstream attitudes. This will be augmented by a review of literature regarding racism and its impact upon the health and wellbeing of young Indigenous Australians, migrants and refugees.

2.1 What is racism?

Castles defines racism as a 'global phenomenon with a multiplicity of shifting forms' (1996:20). He further argues that contemporary forms of racism are intertwined with the realities of globalisation. Therefore, while certain ethnic and racial targets remain the same, new categories of ethnic groups have emerged to challenge the traditional white/black schema of racism. According to Castles:

Racism is not an aberration or a result of individual pathology. It is a set of practices and discourses, which are deeply rooted in the history, traditions and culture of modernity. Racism exists in a variety of forms in all modern societies, and plays a crucial role in consolidating nation-states, by providing an instrument for defining belonging or exclusion (1996:31).

The complexities are further explained by Castles, who describes racism as an accumulated and often contradictory set of assumptions by which people understand and cope with the social worlds in which they live. However, these assumptions can be deleterious and can consequently 'adversely affect ... individuals and communities of colour by impeding their optimal growth and functioning' (Constantine & Sue, 2006:3). Racism is also related to dominance and can be 'an expression of institutionalised patterns of White power and social control' (Bowser & Hunt, 1996). The intertwining of racism and dominance is compounded by the uneven distribution of resources and power as argued by researchers working within the area of critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Racism in Western émigré societies is often linked to the societal experiences of migrants and their ethnic communities. The literature concerning the social experiences of migrant groups shows how these 'mediate, in a lived tension, the experiences of separation and entanglement, of living here and remembering/desiring another place' (Clifford, 1997:255).

This phenomenon of 'double consciousness' (Gilroy, 1993:10) is exacerbated if the individual or group of displaced people is subject to violence or other forms of social exclusion.

An overarching theory that informs the migrant perspective is the notion of 'imagined communities', which constructs belonging as an imagined value that determines how a community coheres (Anderson, 1983:15). Hage suggests that in the Australian context this sense of belonging emerges as a disavowal of migrant and Indigenous presence by white Australians and is the basis for an underlying racism:

White multiculturalism cannot admit to itself that migrants and Aboriginal people are actually eroding the centrality of white people in Australia (Hage, 1998:22).

It is argued here that for those who experience such loss, they have no mainstream political language with which to express themselves, hence they project and displace their fears and anxieties onto a particular social group. As a consequence, Indigenous people, migrants and refugees become scapegoats and are thereby subject to racism and resentment by mainstream Australia. White Australia also affirms itself as the object of others' desire through the image of 'the foreigner who desires what we already have' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004:47). This notion of desire emerges in the field of discursive psychology that views racism:

as both interactive and communicative, and as located within the language practices and discourses of a society. It is through language practices, both in formal and informal talk that relations of power, dominance and exploitation become reproduced and legitimated (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001:10).

How formal and informal talk reveals the hegemonic power of a dominant group is a key element of 'Critical Race Theory', which can also be used as a lens through which to analyse the discourse of whiteness. A normalisation of race and racism has taken place because these attitudes and behaviours have become an ingrained part of social interaction (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001:7)

2.2 Racism, health and wellbeing among young Australians

The relationship between health and racism has been found 'as the cause of persistent health differences by racial or ethnic classification in the United States, the United Kingdom and New Zealand' and racism is identified as the 'root cause of the extreme socio-economic and health disadvantage experienced by Aboriginal Australians' (Larson et al., 2007:322).

A review of literature on racism and health in 2006 revealed 138 empirical quantitative population-based studies which found consistently that racism is associated with negative outcomes for mental health and health-related behaviours. Although the importance of studying the impacts of racism on children and youth has been widely recognised (Ahmed, Mohammed & Williams, 2007; Paradies 2006b; Paradies, Harris & Anderson, 2008; The Ombudsman Against Ethnic Discrimination 2007), only 38 (15%) of the 253 studies published worldwide until the end of 2007 in the field of racism and health have focused on children as opposed to adult populations (Williams & Mohammed 2009). In particular, research on racism and child health in Australia remains very limited (Refugee Health Research Centre 2007; Zubrick et al. 2005).

2.3 Mainstream attitudes

In an Australian study completed in 2000, students expressed socially progressive and liberal views about race, religion and diversity and a personal disapproval of racism. (McLeod & Yates, 2000:8). However, the study found that students 'expressed (unwittingly) racist attitudes when discussing the issue of racism at greater length' (2000:5). In one case, a student was adamant that he was against racism, but in relation to Indigenous Australians and Pauline Hanson's approach said 'it may be a small minority that she thinks about ... but most of them are fine'. The study argued that he patronises Indigenous people by describing them as a well-behaved group, 'a clearly defined "them" to whom "we" show fairness and understanding' (McLeod & Yates, 2000:5).

Dunn and Forrest found, through a phone survey of 5056 mainstream Australians, that the majority of Australians recognise there is a problem with racism. They viewed this finding as a justification to further develop anti-racist policies. Approximately 8% of people surveyed denied there was a problem with racism and about 12% identified themselves as racist, holding beliefs that are based on notions and ideas of racial supremacy (Dunn & Forrest, 2004:425). Other significant findings included: almost half of the respondents perceived cultural diversity to be deleterious to a strong and harmonious society; older respondents had more strongly formed racist attitudes and were prejudiced against particular racial groups; older people also had stronger levels of antipathy towards Muslims and Indigenous Australians; a 'substantial degree' of intolerance in relation to Muslims and Arab-Australians; and 'a persistence of intolerance against Asian, Indigenous and Jewish Australians' (Dunn, 2003:2). These findings confirmed the 'effectiveness of anti-racism initiatives and messages within the education sector' (Dunn & Forrest, 2004:426), which has led to a much lower prevalence of these attitudes among younger Australians.

The study found that

about one quarter of Australians report the experiences of 'everyday racisms' and that reporting experiences of racism was higher among Indigenous Australians, than those speaking a language other than English, those born overseas (excluding UK and NZ), and males. Of those who reported experiences of racism, about 15% reported experiencing racism within institutional settings such as the workplace and in education (Dunn, 2003:2).

The study concluded that 'the Australian national imaginary still remains very Anglo-Saxon' (Dunn & Forrest, 2004:427). Thus white Australia's subjectivity surfaces as 'worrying' about the racial mix of Australia (Hage, 1998), and the Australian government's concern about border control could be a reflection of racial and spatial anxieties (Ang, 1999). White Australia's 'white fantasy' is embedded in the discourse of whiteness, which is 'constitutive of the epistemology of the West; it is an invisible regime of power that secures hegemony through discourse and has material effects in everyday life' (Moreton-Robinson 2004:75). In so doing, whiteness positions Indigenous and migrant groups as 'perpetual foreigners within the Australian state'. This enables white Australians to legitimise their position as the dominant group through both a denial of Indigenous sovereignty and by not allowing migrants the right to belong (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004:32).

In a more recent study, Fujishiro (2009:840) found that the reporting of racial privilege and its association with more unhealthy days (physical and mental) was clear for whites, less consistent for Hispanics and Other Races and not found for Blacks. Fujishiro speculates about the possible reasons for these findings, based on work done by psychologists in relation to white privilege and its consequences (Lyer, Leach & Crosby, 2003; Lowery, Knowles & Unzueta, 2007; Powell, Branscombe & Schmitt, 2005). There are two possible frameworks for white privilege, one being 'I/we have privileges' and the second 'They have disadvantages'. Self-focused awareness of white privilege is associated with collective guilt (Lyer, Leach & Crosby 2003; Powell, Branscombe & Schmitt, 2005). In this study white privilege was framed as self-focused privilege, as opposed to non-white disadvantage.

Mainstream attitudes and perceptions of white privilege illustrate the way in which many Australians see themselves as being non-racist, but in fact hold opinions and attitudes based on notions of white privilege, hence patronising the 'other' in the community. Conversely, and as the Fujishiro study suggests, some white people, aware of their own white privilege, hold feelings of guilt about it, which are detrimental to their own health.

2.4 Racism and its impact upon the health and wellbeing of Indigenous Australians

The literature suggests that there is a clear link between racism and decreased health and wellbeing for Australian Indigenous youth. Larson et al. (2007:328) state that 'racial discrimination needs to be recognised as an upstream determinant of health'. These researchers argue that it is essential to increase our understanding of the ways that Aboriginal people experience racism, and the pathways through which those experiences have an impact on health, in order to achieve lasting improvements (328). The discourse of whiteness that is embedded in the structural racism of institutions thus delivers inequitable outcomes and services to Indigenous Australians.

Structural racism has implications for schools, hospitals, police and government agencies: not only for those who work with Indigenous communities directly, for example teachers, nurses, police officers and administrators, but for senior bureaucrats and for state and federal ministers and their advisors. Structural racism has long been identified as a barrier to good health outcomes for Indigenous people (Henry, Houston & Mooney, 2004; Mansouri & Kamp, 2007). Mansouri and Kamp (2007) in particular discuss the cultural, attitudinal and structural factors that affect the social experiences and educational achievements of Arabic-speaking background students in secondary schools. They make the case for, and then outline a multidimensional approach to, multicultural education to better integrate migrant students and their families into the schooling environment. Key strategies developed and tested to minimise exclusion and disengagement include a model of school–community partnership, online and interactive teacher support material as well as ongoing professional development workshops for teachers on reflexive approaches to cultural diversity and intercultural understanding. These strategies were seen as heuristic factors that would contribute to improved educational outcomes and social attitudes among students.

De Plevitz cites several factors as contributors to poor outcomes for Indigenous children at school including: insufficient recognition of Indigenous culture, failure to consult the community, lack of parental commitment, absenteeism and lack of money. She takes an unusual perspective refusing to blame either the victim or accuse government/educational authorities of racism. Instead, 'apparently benign and race-neutral policies and practices may unwittingly be having an adverse impact on Indigenous students' education' (de Plevitz, 2007:54). She exemplifies this citing the Australian schooling system, which assumes that all children can attend school unless they are ill. For Indigenous children this is not so as 'Indigenous people are obliged to attend the funerals not only of close family members, but also those of community members' (de Plevitz, 2007:59). Therefore, teachers need to be more aware of cultural obligations that can impinge upon daily school life for some children.

Along with structural and institutional racism, Indigenous schoolboys are the victims of a particular type of racism based on white privilege. White boys exert their white privilege by mobilising 'particular forms of power against Indigenous boys' thereby controlling how the Indigenous boys come to understand and position themselves in terms of these racialised and gendered regimes (Martino, 2003:172). The 'white' boys use racist practices, such as verbal abuse and staring, to incite anger in the Indigenous boys and thereby provoke physical and verbal confrontations. These subtle and overt forms of racist behaviour by 'white' boys towards Indigenous boys in the schoolyard are countered by recent research that found that 'overt or old-fashioned rather than subtle and modern' modes of racism were operating among Indigenous children (Mellor, 2002:474). Thus it would appear that both subtle, including cultural racism (Modood, Beishon & Virdee, 1994) and overt forms of racism, are in operation in different contexts.

A discussion paper (Paradies, Harris & Anderson, 2008) that goes some way to making the connection between racism and ill-health suggests that this can manifest through (a) reduced and unequal access to the societal resources required for health such as employment, education, housing, medical care and social support; (b) increased exposure to risk factors associated with health, for example, differential marketing of dangerous goods and exposure to toxic substances; (c) direct impacts on health via racially motivated physical assault; (d) stress and negative emotion reactions that contribute to mental health; and (e) negative responses to racism, such as smoking, alcohol and other drug use as well as disengagement from health activities such as sleep, exercise and taking medications (2008:9). The discussion paper encourages policy- and decision-makers to engage in efforts to combat racism against Indigenous people as a public health intervention.

Whilst 'racism experienced by Aboriginal people is pervasive' (Mellor, 2002:482), the perspective of Indigenous people has largely been ignored by social scientists. The 'new racism' discourse that cites cultural difference to justify a form of separate development positions Indigenous Australians as having 'no place in the culturally superior mainstream society' (Mellor, 2002:482). It is clear that 'racism still impinges on daily life in a complex manner' for Indigenous Australians' (Mellor, 2002:485) and influences their education, health and life outcomes.

2.5 Racism and young Australian migrants and refugees

Constructing a new identity for Australian migrants and refugees can involve a straddling of the gap between their parents' culture and Australian culture. A recent study (Butcher 2004) examined two groups of teenagers: the first representing an urban, upper-income Indian group with western accoutrements, and the second, consisting of a Sydney-based group of

mixed cultural backgrounds. Both groups had conflicts between their family background and the culture of the 'west'. The individual participants in these groups reported 'negotiating their identity between familial expectations ("tradition") and the expectations of a mainstream national identity ("being Australian")' (Butcher, 2004:215–16). They exemplified the process of the varied perceptions of identity and highlighted the manner in which people re-think and negotiate their identity to align it with their particular social sphere. Though some of the Sydney youth identified themselves as 'Aussie', others identified with their parents' racial heritage and some described themselves as a mix, for example, 'Lebo-Australian' (Butcher, 2004:225). A re-evaluation can take place within a particular social context, as one Indian-background student stated that whilst they are Indian at home, 'outside home we are like Westerners' (Butcher, 2004:226).

The Australian schooling system is required to acknowledge cultural and linguistic diversity and negotiate with students and families from various cultural backgrounds in order to respond to their educational needs and promote positive health and wellbeing outcomes among all groups – in particular those youth of migrant and refugee backgrounds. Some students arrive in Australia with very little or no formal schooling and schools require specialist support, for example, interpreters to assist them with their enrolment, induction and transition. Whilst there are a plethora of multicultural policies, cultural diversity plans and other guidelines aimed at operating in a culturally inclusive manner, some schools in poorer areas with a high percentage of 'ethnic' students have come under attack for these very policies and are critiqued for having produced ethnic ghettos as with the 'too-heavy concentration of Muslim students, particularly Lebanese' (Bolt, 2004).

The post 9/11 panic concerning terrorism is a reflection of the 'dynamic and socially constructed nature of intolerance' (Dunn & Forrest, 2004:426) as reflected in media representations of a public school in Melbourne being accused of 'trapping immigrant students in their own closed culture' (Bolt, 2004). Thus as the media generates a level of concern over migrants, a vulnerable and scrutinised group such as Arab-Australians are labelled as terrorists (Poynting et al., 2004). The Arab-Australian experience of greater social and cultural exclusion has affected their health, wellbeing and sense of social connectedness (Mansouri & Trembath, 2005).

In general terms, research has found that racism has a negative impact upon the settlement and transition of migrants, affecting self-esteem, self-confidence, and belonging to the broader community (Francis & Cornfoot, 2007; Mansouri & Percival Wood, 2008). Racism threatens personal and cultural identity and is often linked to psychological distress – specifically anxiety, depression, low self-esteem and anger. This research also warned that

marginalisation can result in withdrawal from active participation in mainstream life and can lead to anti-social attitudes and behaviour.

However, experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation can generate negative behavioural outcomes among minority groups. In fact, a study by Lifeline in 2000 that analysed issues and concerns facing young people from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB) revealed that young people of non-English speaking backgrounds are 40% more likely to phone about bullying than their Anglo-Australian counterparts (Kids Help Line, 2000). Bullying accounts for 6.4% of NESB calls as opposed to 4.5% of calls from Anglo callers. The qualitative data in the study suggests that much of the episodic, frequent and continual bullying is related to racial issues (Kids Help Line, 2000). The research argues that health and wellbeing can be affected negatively by bullying, suggesting a greater level of impact on health and wellbeing for migrants and refugees in Australia.

2.6 Conclusion

The relative dearth of empirical literature regarding racism and its impact upon the health and wellbeing of Australian youth indicates that urgent research is needed in this area if we are to fully account for the various manifestations of racism and its relationship to social health. In the wider field of racism, a broader range of research is accessible, both internationally and in Australia, in particular from psychological perspectives. Within this wider context, this study aims to generate benchmark data on the experience of racism and its impact upon youth health and wellbeing. The literature on racism and race relations in Australia suggests a growing mainstream concern over the more pronounced racial mix in Australia and positions mainstream Australians as having a monopoly over 'worrying' about the shape and the future of Australia' (Hage, 1998:10). It is this type of 'worrying' that contributes to moral 'panic' associated with the high number of immigrants that is detected through public discourse and in media representations.

3 Methodology

3.1 Aims and objectives of the project

The project aimed to investigate the experience of racism amongst young Australians who are fifteen to eighteen years of age. In particular the project focused on the experiences of young people from Indigenous, migrant and refugee backgrounds. Within this overall framework, the three key research themes related to:

- **forms of racism** – to investigate how young people’s experiences of racism are manifested in contemporary Australian society
- **settings where racism is experienced** – to ascertain the settings where racism is experienced by Australian youth: at school, at home, in the workplace, within service provision or elsewhere
- **responses to experiences of racism** – to investigate how young people respond to racism and its impact upon their health and wellbeing.

In addition to these key themes, other aspects of racism were explored:

- **mainstream attitudes** – to examine mainstream young people’s attitudes towards other ethnic/racial groups and the related issues of Anglo-privilege, cultural diversity and tolerance.

3.2 Approach and research methodology

The project implemented a mixed methodology approach that incorporated both quantitative and qualitative methods. Although the project originally aimed to use a random sampling methodology, the most realistic strategy was that of a purposeful approach. This approach ensures that the data was representative of the wider population, as much as possible, with the following key variables taken into consideration when finalising the selection and recruitment of participating schools and students:

- population distribution and density per state/territory
- population distribution per local government area (LGA)
- level of diversity per state
- level of diversity per LGA
- proportional representation of urban and non-urban LGAs
- weighting of the data pool in terms of the state population (this will have implications for the exact number of target schools per state and total number of students per school).

Despite these methodological considerations, the reality of the project implementation meant that factors such as the level of diversity per state or LGA became less important than the preparedness of a school to participate in this study. Schoolteachers and school administration staff are often under a great deal of time-pressure, and consequently many schools declined to take part in the study. The requirements for the school liaison officers to identify students for interviews, distribute and collect consent forms and to assist in the administration of the survey, was seen to place undue pressure on this particular individual's workload. Due to legal, privacy and duty of care issues, the Deakin research team could offer only limited compensation (often financial buy-out arrangements) to do some of the work, therefore the school in question had to be prepared to assume responsibility for some of the implementation. Hence, the full consideration of the variables was at times impractical as some schools that met the selection criteria were not able to overcome practical and logistical difficulties.

A multidisciplinary research team undertook the implementation process, which involved surveys and interviews in complex and diverse educational settings. This team had substantial experience in the epistemologies and discourses of racism, youth, education and collaborative research methodologies in an Australian and a global context.

3.2.1 Building partnerships

The building of trust and collaborative relationships with key stakeholders was identified as essential for gaining a credible sample size and for the collection of rich empirical data. Initially a dialogue was established between the research team and the participating schools to enable the dissemination and discussion of the project key aspects and objectives. If this process was successful and the school in question wished to proceed, the team then negotiated the logistics of time, place and availability. Reasons cited for schools not wishing to participate in the project were a lack of time, a history of poor return rates for letters and forms between school and parents and a sense of being over-surveyed by academics. The latter two concerns were particularly relevant for schools with large Indigenous populations.

3.2.2 Distribution and consultation

The participating schools were then sent the parental and student consent forms for distribution. The school's management of survey and interview consent forms, and their distribution and return to the school, proved to be key factors in determining the size of the data sample. Researchers found that where a researcher made a prior visit to a school, and where a school liaison teacher was effective in the distribution and follow-up of the forms, the sample size for that school was relatively high. Despite the fact that school liaison teachers were preoccupied with teaching, administration and disciplinary matters, the

researchers still noted their interest in the project. It was also noted that the presence of a researcher at the school made the project 'real' for the staff and created a rapport and trust during the implementation phase.

Whilst prior school visits in Victoria resulted in higher survey and interview responses, this consultation strategy could not be replicated nationally due to tight timeline and budgetary considerations. Thus in most cases the dialogue between researchers and schools, prior to the implementation, was limited to emails and phone conversations. It was evident, following the implementation process, that the gaining of the trust of a staff member at each school was crucial to the project's success.

3.2.3 Refugee, Indigenous and migrant voices

Researchers and school-staff also noted that it was more difficult to gain the involvement of students from refugee, Indigenous and migrant backgrounds. It is probable that parents with low levels of competency in English might have found the consent forms difficult to navigate. Whilst the schools had access to translators, at one school there were 40 languages spoken by parents, making the process of providing translations and translators impractical and beyond the project budget. Once again, the school liaison teacher had an important role to play in these situations. At the schools in which the liaison teacher made an extra effort to contact parents and ensure clear understandings, the return rate of consent forms and participation was comparatively high. This was more so for those students from refugee and migrant backgrounds, than from Indigenous backgrounds. Other difficulties with gaining access to Indigenous voices will be discussed later in this section.

3.2.4 Survey development

The survey was constructed to enable cross-tabulation of results in order to facilitate an analysis of data across various sections (occurrence; settings; response; reporting). The survey was designed to be used by students as a non-threatening and engaging tool and as such was received well. The surveys were completed by students in large groups or in classes with a researcher present to introduce the project, explain the survey and answer any queries. Often the researcher would travel between classrooms to conduct several surveys simultaneously.

3.2.5 Survey Implementation

The survey implementation process was supported by a coordinating staff member and in some cases an Auslan translator and teaching assistants. Surveys were often undertaken in English or Social Studies classes, because in most cases, staff felt that a discussion of racism would benefit students' knowledge and awareness within these areas of learning.

Researchers had limited access to year 12 students at most schools due to the pressure of study at this level and impending examinations. At some schools this meant that the research team had to contend with the participation of students from years 9–11. In a few schools where the year 12 students were unable to do the survey, the school liaison teacher was able to recruit and organise for a few year 12 students to be interviewed.

The interviews were often completed on the same day, and the sampling of interviewees took various forms; most often schools would randomly select from those surveyed and in some situations students volunteered to participate. The interviews were conducted in an office and documented on a digital recorder, thus enabling transcription and analysis.

The first round of field trips produced a good quantity of data, however, the research team identified a lack of Indigenous and refugee participants. This was remedied through a strategy that included going back to the Indigenous communities and approaching English Language Schools. Significantly, the methodologies for community engagement required rethinking, and the consequent approach to gain the Indigenous voice involved spending more time in the field. In reference to schools with a high proportion of Indigenous students this meant not just ‘dropping in’ to collect data, but visiting the sites over a week to allow participants to get to know the researcher in a non-threatening way.

3.2.6 Difficulties

The many difficulties that the research team faced included issues with the distance of many of the participating schools from the research base. Phone calls and emails to inter-state schools from Melbourne do not always give the research team an accurate picture of the school’s commitment to the project. For example:

- One school, despite indicating a willingness to participate in the project, and an interest in the work prior to the implementation, was clearly suffering survey fatigue. When the research team member arrived to implement the survey and interviews, the school did not engage fully in the project. The impact of these situations on the budget is considerable as the majority of the schools required inter-state travel.
- Staff absences at the participating schools affect communication with students concerning consent forms. At one school the liaison teacher was absent on the day of the implementation due to illness. This left another teacher, who had no prior involvement in the project, with the difficult task of trying to collect consent forms without a list of participating students. The implementation in this school, therefore, was not very successful because of this unexpected set of circumstances.

- At one site where Indigenous students studied, several staff members were suspicious of the project's motives and objectives and needed to be convinced that the research team had approval to conduct the research.
- Similarly, students at another Indigenous school appeared hesitant and suspicious of the research themes. During the week of the survey implementation there was an announcement that there would be an upgrade of twenty Indigenous Centres, with the result that the many smaller outstations would be downgraded. This announcement, in combination with the federal intervention in the NT, may have heightened some Indigenous students' level of suspicion of the research project and reinforced their unwillingness to participate.

The issues concerning fieldwork and data collection in an Indigenous context has always been seen as challenging (Denzin, Lincoln & Smith, 2008) as was experienced throughout the data collection in the Northern Territory. Whilst it is important not to assume any homogeneity in this grouping, there exist some commonalities among participants of the same language group and geographical location. The difficulties with gaining access to the Indigenous voice centred upon the general level of suspicion directed toward the researchers and the consequent reluctance to participate in the research.

The refugee voice was sought not only in the mainstream government and Catholic secondary schools, but also in language schools. These vital community language schools are attended by recently arrived refugees for six to twelve months to improve their English language skills. Issues that surfaced in the language schools were multifaceted and included:

- Many of the students lacked sufficient language skills, which restricted their ability to complete a written survey or an interview, hence reducing the number of potential participants.
- Some recently arrived refugees had experienced considerable trauma in their country of birth, and the interviewer had to be mindful of this, being careful to avoid topics that might be distressing for the student.
- The prior trauma which some participants had experienced meant that they were very reserved, shy and softly spoken. This had an adverse affect on the quality of the recording and the resulting data quality.

The refugee participants were in general very helpful and willing to discuss their experiences. Their willingness to discuss the trauma of their former lives in particular added breadth and understanding to the data materials as it placed their experiences of racism within a broader Australian context. Those who had suffered extreme forms of racist

behaviour in their country of birth were able to provide a different perspective on racism experienced in Australia.

3.3 Data-eliciting procedures

The project adopted a mixed methodology approach to data collection, involving quantitative (surveys) and qualitative (semi-structured individual interviews) data. The design of the project is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of project design

Method	Surveys	Interviews
Data sources	15 government and Catholic secondary schools	18 government and Catholic secondary schools
Total number of participants	698	125

The survey process allowed the project team to map out the experience of racism by young Australians at the national level and was structured around three key themes:

- experience of racism
- the possible link between racism and wellbeing
- the responses to key contemporary issues pertaining to race and intercultural relations.

The same research team administered all surveys and interviews across the selected schools in all participating states and territories.

3.4 Data sampling

The sample sizes per state (and for the national sample) for this age group were finalised in consultation with the FYA and the project's key partners. Additionally, the data was cross-tabulated by the available socio-demographic information where realistic (e.g. gender, education, language spoken at home, nationality). However, as explained in 3.2 Approach and Research Methodology, these considerations were not always practical because a number of identified schools were unwilling or unable to participate.

Focus was on four key states/territories, and the distribution of participating schools per state was as follows:

- Victoria – six government secondary schools and one Catholic secondary school
- New South Wales – three government secondary schools and one Catholic secondary school
- Queensland – one government secondary school and one Catholic secondary school
- Northern Territory – five government secondary schools.

Within each participating school, the aim was to have a hundred participating students per school, however this proved unachievable due to a number of factors, most notably:

- The survey and interview participation required written consent from both the participating student and the parents of all students under the age of eighteen. A number of schools had significant difficulty getting forms returned from parents, and this limited the number of students who could participate. Several schools reported that in general the return of consent forms for any activity or excursion was very difficult.
- Some schools reported that generally their parent bodies showed a lack of interest and apathy in relation to school activities. The research team was advised by some schools that many parents were not interested in their children taking part in the project. This tendency varied in relation to the demographics of each participating school.
- The project relied upon the commitment of the school liaison teacher to undertake the relevant tasks. This person was required to identify possible participants, distribute forms and manage the return of forms. On the day of the survey and interviews the school liaison teacher assisted with the coordination of the participating students.
- The number of participants increased significantly when school liaison teachers were able to commit themselves fully to the task. This included communicating regularly with students about the return of their forms, ensuring that parents understood the nature of the project and gaining the support of the principal and administration staff.

3.5 Recruitment of participants

Surveys: Two classes of students were selected at each of years 9, 10, 11 and 12. This meant that approximately 200 forms were distributed across the four levels with the anticipation of a 50% return rate. Also, a small percentage of participants (5.4%) were from years 7 and 8.

Interviews: Approximately ten interview participants were selected from either the survey participants or via the recommendation of the school liaison teacher. These students provided a representative sample of the various racial groups present within the various schools. At some schools there were less than ten participants, a reflection of the level of interest of the parents and students in question.

3.6 Distribution of participating schools

In consultation with the funding agency (FYA) and the project's steering committee it was decided that each of the four states/territories would have at least one inner urban school, one outer urban school and one Catholic school. However, this number of schools did not

result in an appropriate number of participants, so extra schools were sought. The final distribution of the eighteen inner and outer urban schools is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The final distribution of inner and outer urban schools

State	Inner urban	Outer urban	Catholic
Victoria	3	3	1
New South Wales	1	2	1
Queensland		1	1
Northern Territory	2	3	0
Total	6	9	3

3.7 Survey

The survey (see appendix 2) was designed to elicit quantitative responses in relation to occurrences of racism, its settings, its impacts and resulting responses, if any. The survey also provided the possibility for open-ended responses, which could yield some useful qualitative insights. The first part of the survey was in chart form and required the participant to respond to eleven questions regarding various racist experiences. The participant had to identify whether or not they had experienced the particular racist incident. If the response was 'no' they moved to the next question. If their answer was 'yes', they have experienced that particular racist incident, they then responded to a series of questions regarding:

- how often this racist experience happened
- where the racist experience happened
- to whom they reported the racist incident, if at all
- how they responded personally and what were the impacts of this racist experience.

The questions and answers were all designed in a cross-tabulated manner so that the connection between the racist experience and health and wellbeing could be examined and if possible correlated statistically.

The second part of the survey consisted of a six-level Likert scale that elicited responses on the participants' level of agreement with several statements regarding cultural diversity, racism and white privilege. They then had to identify their racial background and country of birth. Further questions were asked about particular types of problems pertinent to racism, types of stereotyping and possible reasons for stereotyping.

Following this was a series of open-ended questions which provided opportunities for more extended responses on particular racist incidents or related attitudes and personal accounts. Eight questions were formulated about the participant's experience of racism, what they would regard as racist behaviour, the impact of racism on schoolwork, racism and multiculturalism in the school and their goals at school.

The final section included a five-level Likert scale regarding the participant's sense of calm, level of energy and feelings of sadness. This was extended by a question regarding the sense of their general health and level of anxiety. Participants were then offered the opportunity to discuss any matter that they felt had not been covered in the survey questions. An ancillary section at the end requested information about the participant's age, year level at school, religion, country of birth and gender.

The survey generally took about 20–30 minutes to complete and was facilitated by school staff and researchers.

3.8 Interviews

The interview process required approximately ten student participants from each participating school. Interviews were individual and took approximately 30 minutes each. The interview questions had two aims: the first was to elicit information about the participant's experience of racism, their responses and feelings regarding the incident, the impact on their health and wellbeing and the implications of this for schoolwork and social relationships. The second section aimed to investigate the school experience itself, the participant's perceptions about racism within the school, the manner in which the school dealt with racism, and the participant's own suggestions about ways in which they could contribute, on a personal basis, to a harmonious multicultural school environment.

3.9 Logistics and other considerations

Prior to the commencement of the in-school fieldwork the following logistical problems were addressed. Ethics clearance was obtained from Deakin University and nine state education departments and Catholic education offices. These included:

- Queensland Department of Education Training and the Arts
- Victorian Department of Education and early Childhood Development
- New South Wales Department of Education and Training
- Northern Territory Department of Education and Training
- Catholic Education Office-Diocese of Melbourne
- Catholic Education Office-Diocese of Darwin
- Catholic Education Office-Diocese of Broken Bay

- Catholic education Office-Diocese of Brisbane.

The consent of all participating school principals was obtained and the help of a school liaison teacher was secured at each school. Consent forms were returned from all participating survey and interview students. For students under the age of eighteen years of age there was also a parental consent form.

There were some other planning matters that had to be managed:

- The venues for the surveys and interview processes were decided upon by participating schools.
- Trips were planned for project researchers to both participating Victorian schools and inter-state schools.
- Contact was made and maintained on a regular basis with the school liaison teacher prior to the in-school work. This communication aspect was a crucial part of the success of the work as it enabled the researcher to ensure that:
 - the appropriate distribution of forms had taken place
 - liaison teachers were endeavouring to collect returned forms
 - the survey and interview venues had been booked
 - an appropriate number of school staff were available to meet 'duty of care' requirements during the survey.

This type of planning was crucial, particularly when the schools were located inter-state and travel arrangements were extensive and expensive.

4 Data analysis and findings

The analysis section is comprised of two main parts: the quantitative section (4.1) and the qualitative section (4.2). The quantitative section will address the data collected through surveys from 698 participants. The qualitative section will present the analysis and findings from personal interviews conducted with 125 participants.

4.1 Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative research on racism among Australian youth is relatively rare and therefore this study is unusual in its approach, nature and scope. Given the study's aim to include mainstream youth, migrant, refugees and Indigenous youth, some results did not reach statistical significance. However, these particular findings were illustrative of the underlying experiences of racism and its impact on overall health and wellbeing in those communities.

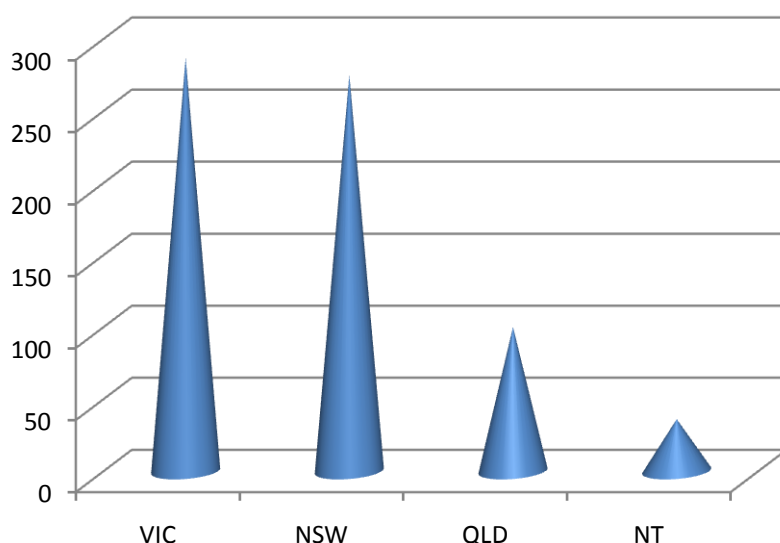
4.1.1 Demographics

A total of 698 students participated in the survey component of this study, all of whom were students in secondary schools around Australia. The following is a breakdown of the demographic characteristics of the samples. The gender breakdown of participants was 39.3% (274) males and 55.2% (385) females, their ages ranging between 12 and 19 years of age, with the average age being 15.37 years. The analysis shows that the majority of participants (about 68.2%) were aged between 14.2 and 16.5 years. This is representative of the target population (14–17 year olds). Participants were recruited from secondary schools in Victoria (41.1%), New South Wales (39.4%), Queensland (14.3%), and the Northern Territory (5.2%) (see Table 3 and Figure 1).

Table 3: Number of participants by state

		Number	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	VIC	287	41.1	41.1	41.1
	NSW	275	39.4	39.4	80.5
	QLD	100	14.3	14.3	94.8
	NT	36	5.2	5.2	100.0
	Total	698	100.0	100.0	

Figure 1: Number of participants by state



Schools can be classified into three categories:

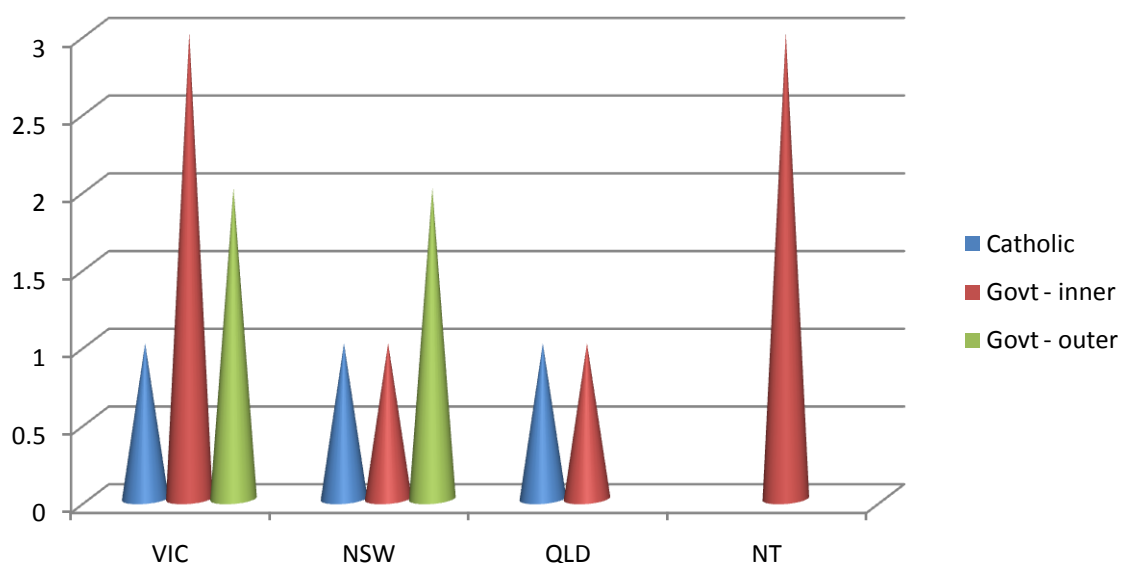
- government (inner urban)
- government (outer urban)
- Catholic schools.

The Northern Territory was included in the sample to ensure proportional representation of Indigenous youth in the overall sampling. Table 4 and Figure 2 detail the relevant distribution of school selection by state.

Table 4: Distribution and type of school by state

School Type	VIC	NSW	QLD	NT
Catholic	1	1	1	-
Government – inner urban	3	1	1	3
Government – outer urban	2	2	-	-
Number of schools within State	6	4	2	3
GRAND TOTAL for the study	15 schools (for the survey component)			

Figure 2: Distribution and type of school by state

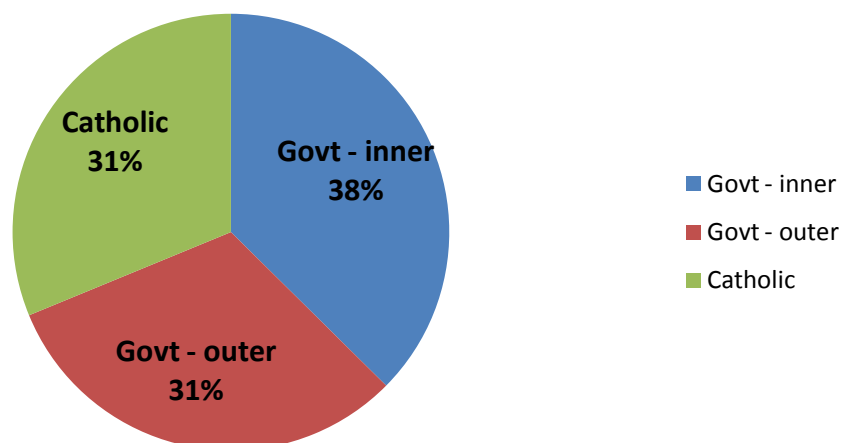


A total of fifteen schools took part in the survey component of the study, six in Victoria, four in New South Wales, two in Queensland and three in the Northern Territory (see Table 4). The nature of the research objectives and approach meant that the response rate was difficult to predict a priori, despite initial arrangements and consent being secured before researchers embarked on fieldwork. However, and as Table 5 shows, there was not a high level of variation between categories of schools in terms of overall number of participants.

Table 5: Number of participants by school type

		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Government – inner urban	260	37.2	37.4	37.4
	Government – outer urban	218	31.2	31.4	68.8
	Catholic	217	31.1	31.2	100.0
	Total	695	99.6	100.0	
Missing	System	3	0.4		
Total		698	100.0		

Figure 3: Percentage of participants by school type

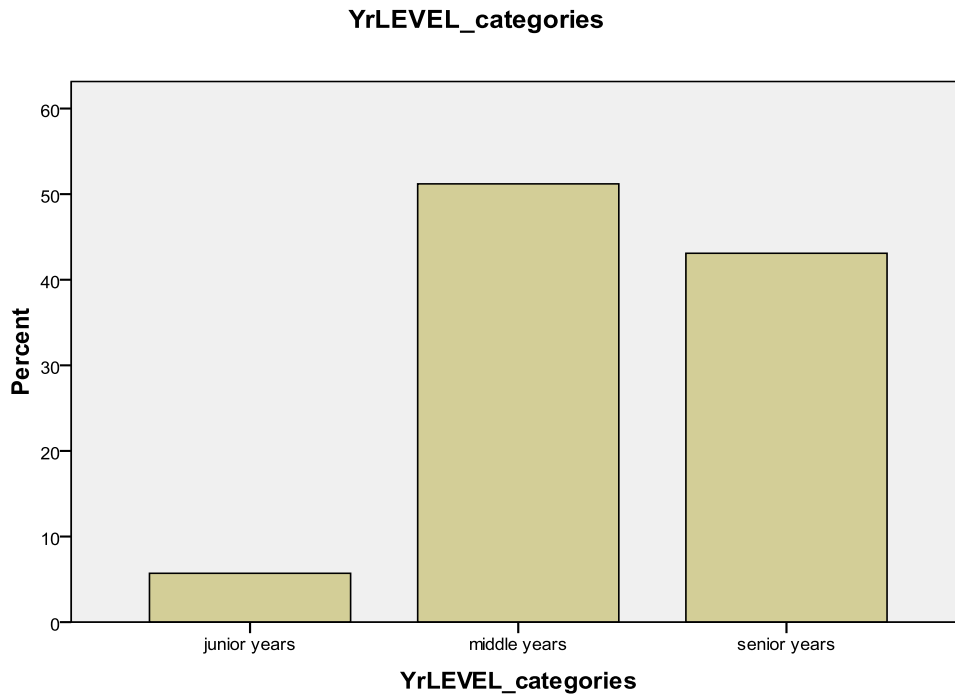


In terms of year level categories, the majority of participants were in the middle years, levels 9 and 10 (48.9%), while those in the senior years, levels 11 and 12, represented 41.1% of the overall sample. Students from the junior years, levels 7 and 8, represented only 5.4% of the overall participants.

Table 6: Frequency of participants according to year level category

		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	junior years	38	5.4	5.7	5.7
	middle years	341	48.9	51.2	56.9
	senior years	287	41.1	43.1	100.0
	Total	666	95.4	100.0	
Missing	System	32	4.6		
Total		698	100.0		

Figure 4: Percentage of participants according to year level category



In line with the study's approach and objectives, participants indicated a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds (see Table 7 and Figure 5). However the majority of the students were born in Australia (69.2%). In terms of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, 39.1% indicated they were Anglo Saxon Australian born, 27.7% were second- and third-generation migrants, 12.2% were migrants who have been in Australia for five years or more, 7.3% were migrants who have been in Australia for less than five years, 3% were refugees, and 2.9% were Indigenous Australians.

Table 7: Number of participants according to ethnic and cultural background

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Anglo	273	39.1	42.5	42.5
	2nd & 3rd gen migrant	193	27.7	30.0	72.5
	Migrant 5yrs+	85	12.2	13.2	85.7
	Migrant <5yrs	51	7.3	7.9	93.6
	Refugee	21	3.0	3.3	96.9
	Indigenous	20	2.9	3.1	100.0
	Total	643	92.1	100.0	
Missing	System	55	7.9		
Total		698	100.0		

Figure 5: Percentage of participants according to ethnic and cultural background

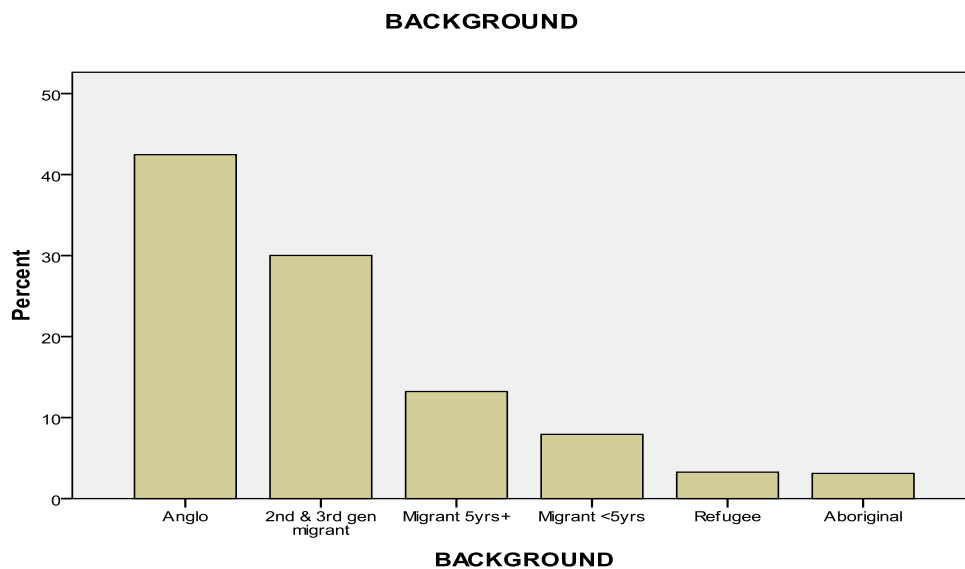


Table 8 details the most frequent countries of birth indicated by participants. It can be seen that the majority of participants were born in Australia (69.2%), 5.4% of participants did not specify a COB, 0.6% of participants preferred not to say where they were born and the remaining 24.8% of participants' COB were distributed between 59 different countries.

Table 8: Number of participants by country of birth

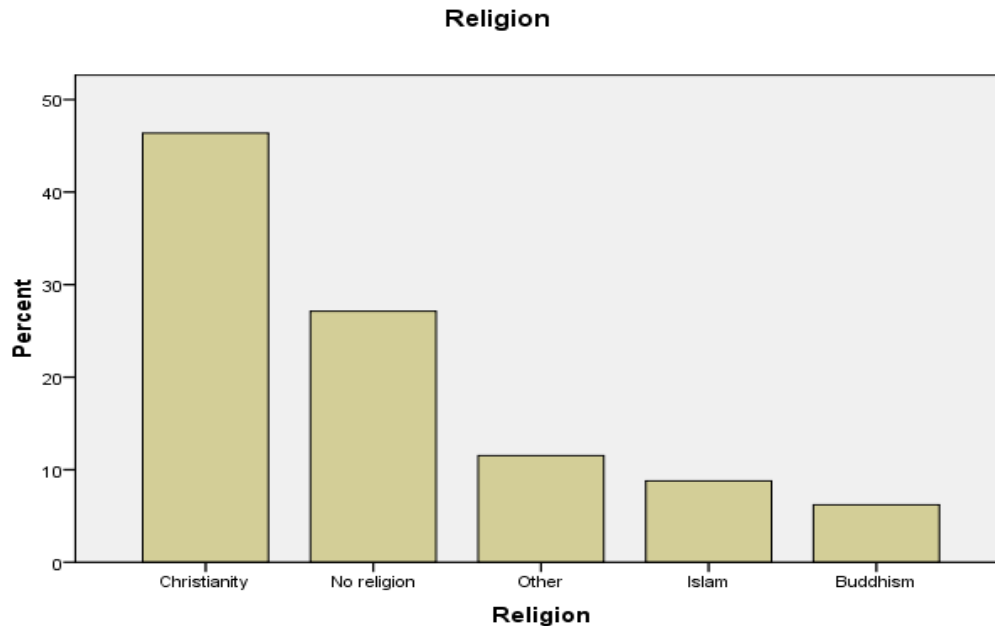
		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Aus	483	69.2	69.2	69.2
	Not specified	38	5.4	5.4	74.6
	Iraq	18	2.6	2.6	77.2
	NZ	15	2.1	2.1	79.4
	China	12	1.7	1.7	81.1
	Philippines	9	1.3	1.3	82.4
	Serbia	9	1.3	1.3	83.7
	Vietnam	9	1.3	1.3	85.0
	Lebanon	6	0.9	0.9	85.8
	Afghanistan	5	0.7	0.7	86.5
	Italy	5	0.7	0.7	87.2
	UK	5	0.7	0.7	88.0
	Korea	4	0.6	0.6	88.5
	Pref not to say	4	0.6	0.6	89.1
	Somalia	4	0.6	0.6	89.7
	Total	698	100.0	100.0	

In relation to religious affiliations, Table 9 and Figure 6 show that the majority of participants indicated they were Christian (43.8%), followed by no religion (25.6%), an unspecified religion (10.9%), Muslim (8.3%), and Buddhist (5.9%).

Table 9: Number of participants by religion

		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Christianity	306	43.8	46.4	46.4
	No religion	179	25.6	27.1	73.5
	Other	76	10.9	11.5	85.0
	Islam	58	8.3	8.8	93.8
	Buddhism	41	5.9	6.2	100.0
	Total	660	94.6	100.0	
Missing	System	38	5.4		
Total		698	100.0		

Figure 6: Percentage of participants by religion



The key demographic findings illustrate that the largest single cohort of the sample were students of Anglo-Saxon background (39.1%), with the other five backgrounds comprising 60.1%. This is a key distinction and will be explored in the following sections in order to highlight any major differences regarding the experience of racism between white Australians, and all other racial groups.

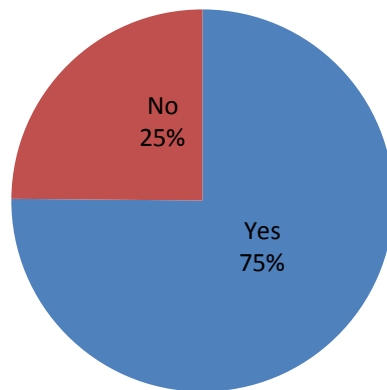
4.1.2 Frequency of racist experiences

Table 10 and Figure 7 detail the number of participants who indicated that they had experienced, witnessed or been involved in an act of racism. It is important to note that this question also encompasses those participants who were perpetrators of racism, as well as participants who have been victims of racism. Therefore this measure is looking at the overall exposure of the sample to any type of racist knowledge, behaviour or attitude.

Table 10: Number of participants who have witnessed or been involved in racism

		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Yes	399	57.2	75.1	75.1
	No	132	18.9	24.9	100.0
	Total	531	76.1	100.0	
Missing	System	167	23.9		
Total		698	100.0		

Figure 7: Percentage of participants who have witnessed or been involved in racist behaviour



There was a notable number of missing responses for this question ($n = 167$), but even with these omissions accounted for, a majority of 57.2% of participants indicated they had been exposed to racism in some way, whether as victims, perpetrators or witnesses. This is a much higher proportion than the 18.9% of participants who indicated they had not been exposed to racism. If valid responses only are included in the frequencies, it can be seen that 75% of the sample have been exposed to, or involved in, racism.

In the survey part of the study, participants were asked whether they had experienced any of eleven specific types of racist treatment. If the answer was 'yes', participants were prompted to indicate the frequency and setting of the racist behaviour, to whom they had reported it, what their response was and what impact the racist experience had on them individually. This section will explore the overall findings from these eleven questions. The eleven forms of racism were as follows:

Have you ...

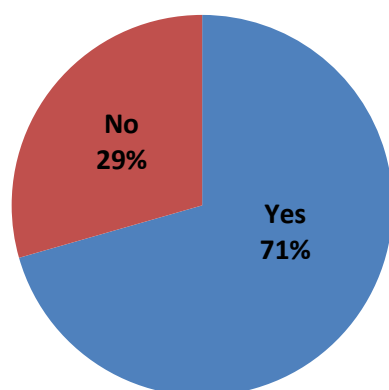
- 1 been called an offensive slang name for your cultural group?
- 2 been the target of racist jokes, songs, or teasing?
- 3 heard or read comments stereotyping your cultural group?
- 4 seen pictures that portray your cultural group in a poor light?
- 5 been verbally abused (including offensive gestures) because of your cultural background?
- 6 felt excluded or left out because of your cultural background?
- 7 felt that people avoid you because of your cultural background?
- 8 felt that people treated you as less intelligent, or inferior because of your cultural background?
- 9 been refused entry or use of a service because of your cultural background?
- 10 been refused employment because of your cultural background?
- 11 been treated with suspicion because of your cultural background?

After examining each of these eleven racist behaviours separately, a frequency count was undertaken to determine the number of participants who had experienced at least one of these racist behaviours. Table 11 reveals the number of participants who answered 'yes' to one or more of the eleven questions.

Table 11: Number of participants who have experienced racism

		Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Valid	Yes	489	70.1	70.6	70.6
	No	204	29.2	29.4	100.0
	Total	693	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	5	0.7		
Total		698	100.0		

Figure 8: Percentage of participants who have experienced racism



The key finding of this section indicates that 70.1% of participants reported experiencing at least one of these racist behaviours, whilst only 29.2% indicated they had not been subjected to any such incidents (see Figure 8). Further to this, it can be seen that the majority of the racist incidents were experienced on an occasional basis. With the exception of being refused entry and being treated with suspicion, school was the main setting in which an overwhelming majority of participants experienced the racist behaviour. Another key finding is that when students reported the experience of racism, most tended to do so to their teachers even when the racist incident had not occurred within the school setting. Also, for all eleven forms of racism, it was found that the majority of participants decided to take no action rather than choosing confrontation or seeking help. Finally, the most frequently recorded impacts resulting from the experience of these racist behaviours were 'feeling angry and frustrated', and 'feeling like they didn't belong'. Interestingly, another impact that was also frequently reported is that the racist experience made some participants feel stronger, thus engendering a sense of resilience and group-specific solidarity.

4.1.3 Comparisons across state, school type and cultural group

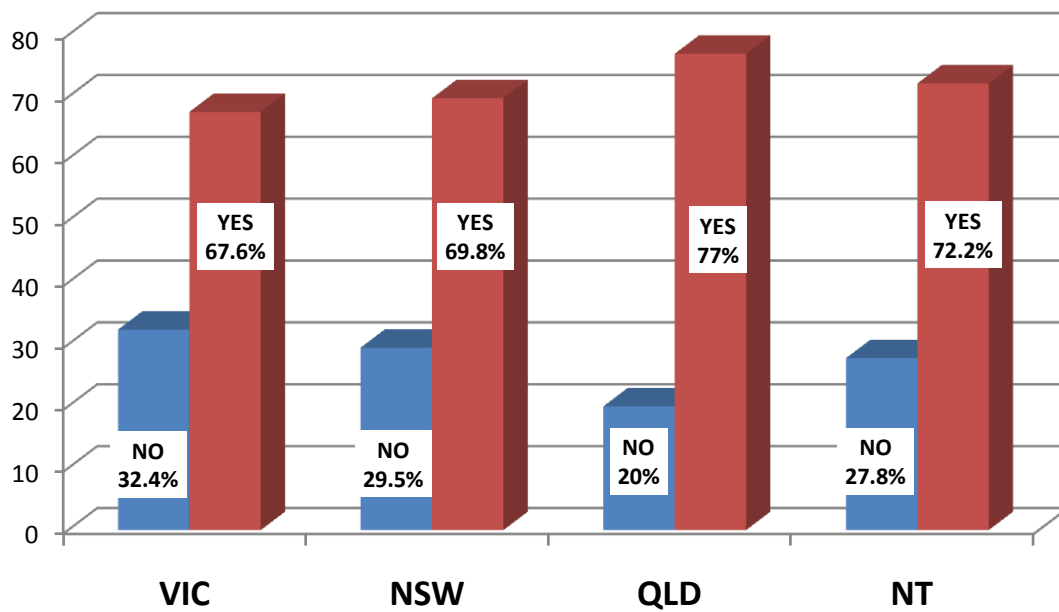
Table 12 displays the frequency of racist experiences for all schools in each surveyed Australian state. Therefore, if participants indicated that they had been subjected to at least one of the eleven racist behaviours listed, they were included in this frequency.

Table 12: Number of participants who experienced racism by state

State the school is in			Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
VIC	Valid	No	93	32.4	32.4	32.4
		Yes	194	67.6	67.6	100.0
		Total	287	100.0	100.0	
NSW	Valid	No	81	29.5	29.7	29.7
		Yes	192	69.8	70.3	100.0
		Total	273	99.3	100.0	
	Missing	System	2	0.7		
		Total	275	100.0		
QLD	Valid	No	20	20.0	20.6	20.6
		Yes	77	77.0	79.4	100.0
		Total	97	97.0	100.0	
	Missing	System	3	3.0		
	Total	100	100.0			
NT	Valid	No	10	27.8	27.8	27.8
		Yes	26	72.2	72.2	100.0
		Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Figure 9 shows that schools in Queensland appear to have the highest percentage of participants reporting that they had experienced racism (77%) (note that the percentage does not add up to 100 since 3% of respondents did not provide information for this question). Over 72.2% of participants in NT schools report that they have been subjected to at least one of the eleven types of racist treatment, followed by 69.8% of participants in NSW schools. The percentage of participants in Victorian schools who experienced racism was the lowest (67.6%), however the difference across all participating states and territories is relatively small. A comparison of the means revealed that the differences among states was not statistically significant: $F(1,691) = 3.17, p > 0.05$.

Figure 9: Percentage of participants who experienced racism by state



When looking at the percentage of participants who had experienced some form of racism, according to school type, a more measurable difference can be reported. Frequencies are listed separately for each of the three school types in Table 13.

Table 13: Number of participants who have experienced racism by school type

			Experienced ANY racism			
School Type			Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Catholic	Valid	No	97	44.7	45.3	45.3
		Yes	117	53.9	54.7	100.0
	Total		214	98.6	100.0	
	Missing	System	3	1.4		
	Total		217	100.0		
Government – inner urban	Valid	No	61	23.5	23.5	23.5
		Yes	199	76.5	76.5	100.0
	Total		260	100.0	100.0	
Government – outer urban	Valid	No	46	21.1	21.3	21.3
		Yes	170	78.0	78.7	100.0
	Total		216	99.1	100.0	
	Missing	System	2	0.9		
	Total		218	100.0		

Figure 10 shows that only 53.9% of participants from catholic secondary schools reported being subjected to racist treatment, whilst over 76% of students from both types of government schools indicated experiencing some form of racist treatment. The result of a one-way between-groups analysis of variance confirms that there is a statistically significant difference in the experience of racism across school type: Brown-F (2, 687) = 19.42, $p < 0.001$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the significant difference for experience of racism was between students at catholic school on the one hand and students at both types of government schools on the other. That is, the students at catholic schools experienced significantly less racism than students at government (inner and outer urban) schools.

Figure 10: Percentage of participants who have experienced racism by school type

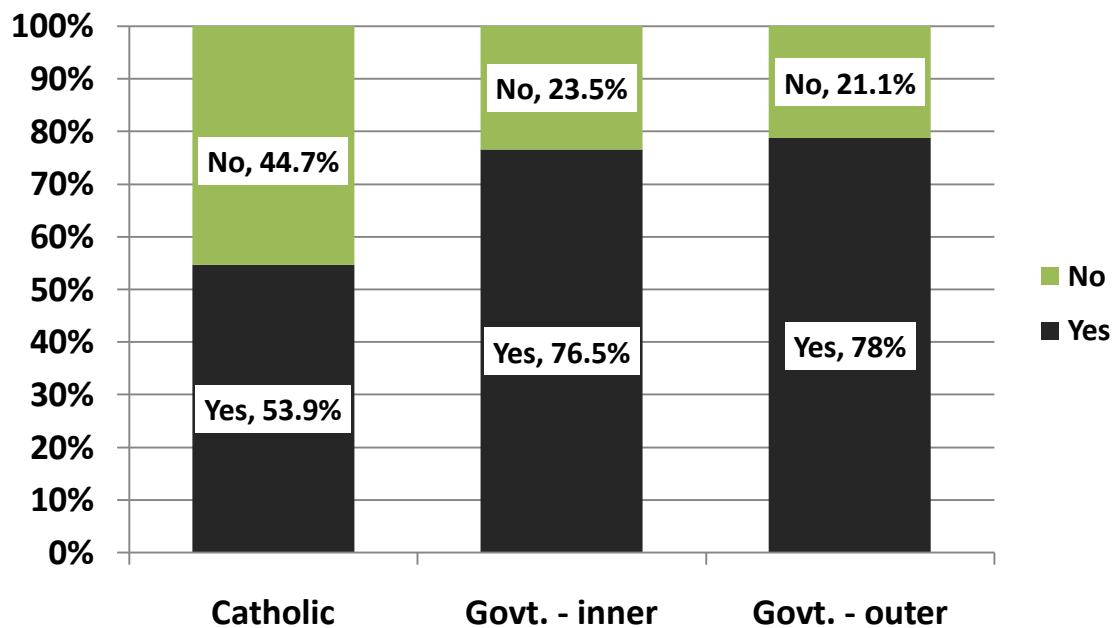
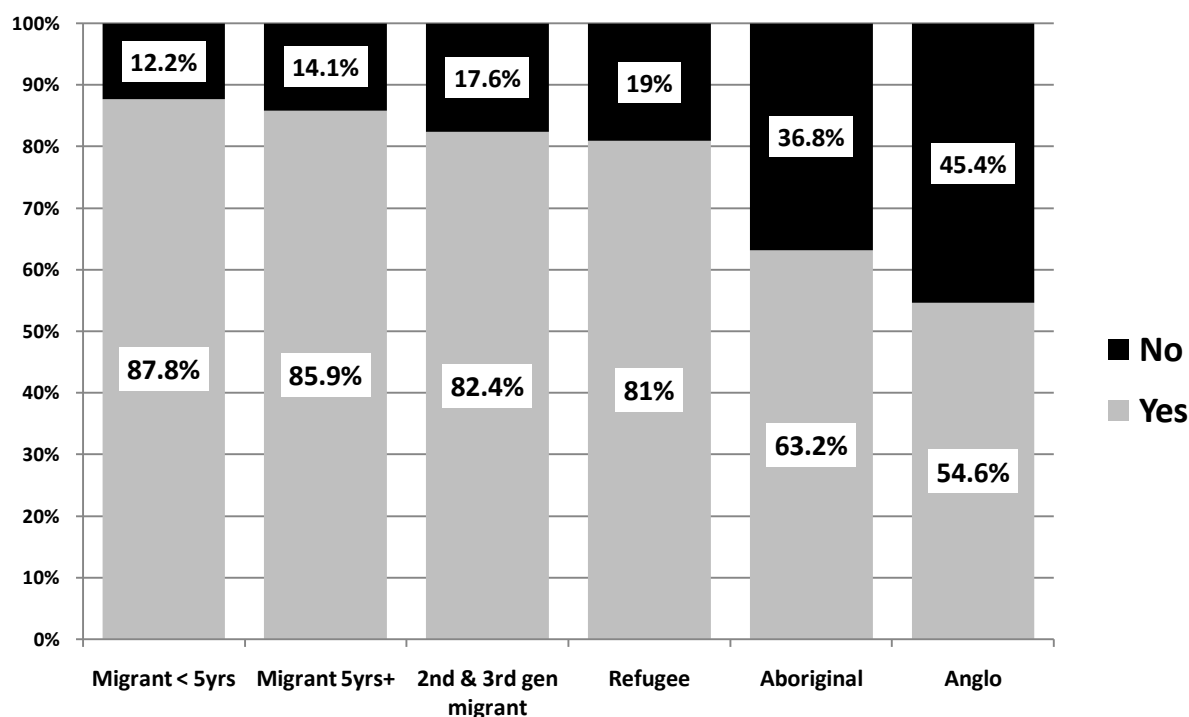


Table 14 and Figure 11 present the frequencies and percentages of participants who either have or have not experienced racism, with participants now being grouped according to their background. The results show that there is a strong similarity for the experience of racism for all migrant groups. That is, 80% of all participants from all groups of migrants reported that they had experienced racism. This level was lower for Indigenous Australians, 63.2% of whom reported racist behaviour towards them. It should however be noted that only twenty Indigenous participants completed the survey, therefore results from the qualitative interviews conducted during the study will provide a more in-depth overview for this minority group. The group who had the smallest percentage of members reporting racist treatment were Anglo-Saxon Australians (54.6%).

Table 14: Number of participants, according to background, who have experienced racism

BACKGROUND			Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Indigenous	Valid	Yes	12	60.0	63.2	63.2
		No	7	35.0	36.8	100.0
	Total		19	95.0	100.0	
	Missing	System	1	5.0		
Total			20	100.0		
2nd & 3rd gen migrant	Valid	Yes	159	82.4	82.4	82.4
		No	34	17.6	17.6	100.0
	Total		193	100.0	100.0	
Migrant 5yrs+	Valid	Yes	73	85.9	85.9	85.9
		No	12	14.1	14.1	100.0
	Total		85	100.0	100.0	
Migrant <5yrs	Valid	Yes	43	84.3	87.8	87.8
		No	6	11.8	12.2	100.0
	Total		49	96.1	100.0	
	Missing	System	2	3.9		
Total			51	100.0		
Refugee	Valid	Yes	17	81.0	81.0	81.0
		No	4	19.0	19.0	100.0
	Total		21	100.0	100.0	
Anglo	Valid	Yes	149	54.6	54.6	54.6
		No	124	45.4	45.4	100.0
	Total		273	100.0	100.0	

Figure 11: Participants, according to background, who have experienced racism



The results of a one-way between-groups analysis of variance confirms that there is a statistically significant difference in the experience of racism for participants of different backgrounds: Brown-F (5, 634) = 15.87, $p < 0.001$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the significant difference for experience of racism was between Anglo-Saxon Australians and migrants (namely, second- and third-generation migrants, migrants in Australia less than 5 years, and migrants in Australia more than 5 years). This indicates that Anglo-Saxon Australian students experienced significantly less racism than students with a migrant background.

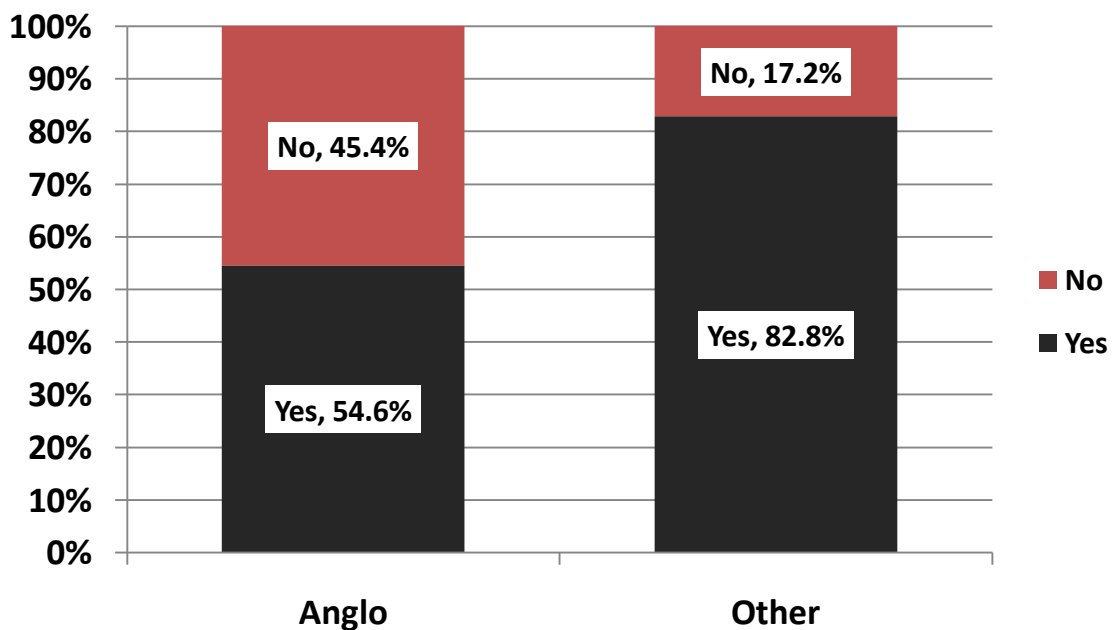
Although there is a clear difference between experience of racism for refugees and Anglo-Saxon Australians, this comparison did not exhibit statistical significance because the number of cases for this group was very small ($n = 21$). Again, the qualitative section of this report has key in-depth insights relating to both refugee and Indigenous participants. Analyses with a small number of cases rarely reach statistical significance and it is not feasible to generalise these results to a wider population. However, when the analysis for experience of racism is run again and all participants (including refugee and indigenous) are compared to Anglo-Saxon Australians, there is quite a significant difference in these percentages (see Table 15 and Figure 12). A majority of over 80% of participants from various backgrounds report being subjected to some form of racism, as opposed to 54.6% of Anglo-Saxon Australians reporting they had experienced or witnessed racism. Table 15 lists the

frequencies of racism experienced or witnessed by Anglo-Saxon Australians relative to the frequency experienced by all other background groups.

Table 15: Number of participants who have experienced racism – Anglo-Saxon and Other

Cultural background			Frequency	Per cent	Valid Per cent	Cumulative Per cent
Other cultural background	Valid	Yes	304	82.2	82.8	82.8
		No	63	17.0	17.2	100.0
		Total	367	99.2	100.0	
	Missing	System	3	0.8		
	Total		370	100.0		
Anglo Saxon	Valid	Yes	149	54.6	54.6	54.6
		No	124	45.4	45.4	100.0
	Total	273	100.0	100.0		

Figure 12: Percentage of participants who have experienced racism – Anglo-Saxon and Other



The difference between experiences of racism for Anglo-Saxon Australians and those of all other backgrounds does reach statistical significance: $F(1, 638) = 66.52, p < 0.001$. A clear pattern emerges which reveals that participants who were not born in Australia and do not have an Australian background have experienced more incidents of racism than those participants who are of Anglo-Saxon Australian descent.

4.1.4 Correlations for health, experience of racism, and demographics

Correlations were run to examine the strength of the relationships between health, experience of racism, and various demographic variables. Since a pre-existing measure of health/wellbeing was not included in the survey, four individual items assessing these constructs were combined in order to give an overall indication of a participant's health/wellbeing. An assessment of the internal reliability of this scale revealed a Cronbach's alpha of 0.67, indicating a satisfactory level of internal reliability (see Table 16). Scores on this scale could range from 4 to 20, with higher scores indicating better health/wellbeing outcomes. Results for correlations are presented in Table 17.

Table 16: Reliability analysis of health scale

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardised Items	No. of Items
0.671	0.671	4

Table 17: Correlation between health, experience of racism and various demographic variables

			HEALTH	Experience of Racism
Spearman's rho	HEALTH	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	
		N	635	
Gender		Correlation Coefficient	−0.137**	
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.001	
		N	624	
Experience of Racism		Correlation Coefficient	−0.118**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.008	.
		N	512	531
Middle years		Correlation Coefficient	0.142**	−0.107*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.015
		N	628	517
Senior years		Correlation Coefficient	−.0170**	0.127**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.004
		N	628	517

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The correlation between health/wellbeing scores and the experiences of racism (includes witnessing/being involved in) is statistically significant, and negative in direction ($r = -0.12$, $n = 512$, $p = 0.008$). This indicates that witnessing/being involved in racism is significantly related to DECREASED health/wellbeing. This means that 11.8% of the variability in health outcomes is explained when we know if a person has had an experience with racism.

The correlation between health/wellbeing scores and gender is also statistically significant, and negative in direction ($r = -0.14$, $n = 624$, $p = 0.001$). Due to the way gender was coded in this study (one representing female), this correlation indicates that being female is significantly related to DECREASED health/wellbeing outcomes. This means that 13.7% of the variability in health is linked to gender (i.e. being female).

The correlation between health/wellbeing scores and being in the middle years at school is also statistically significant, and positive in direction ($r = 0.14$, $n = 628$, $p = 0.000$). This correlation indicates that participants in the middle years of school (years 9 and 10) had

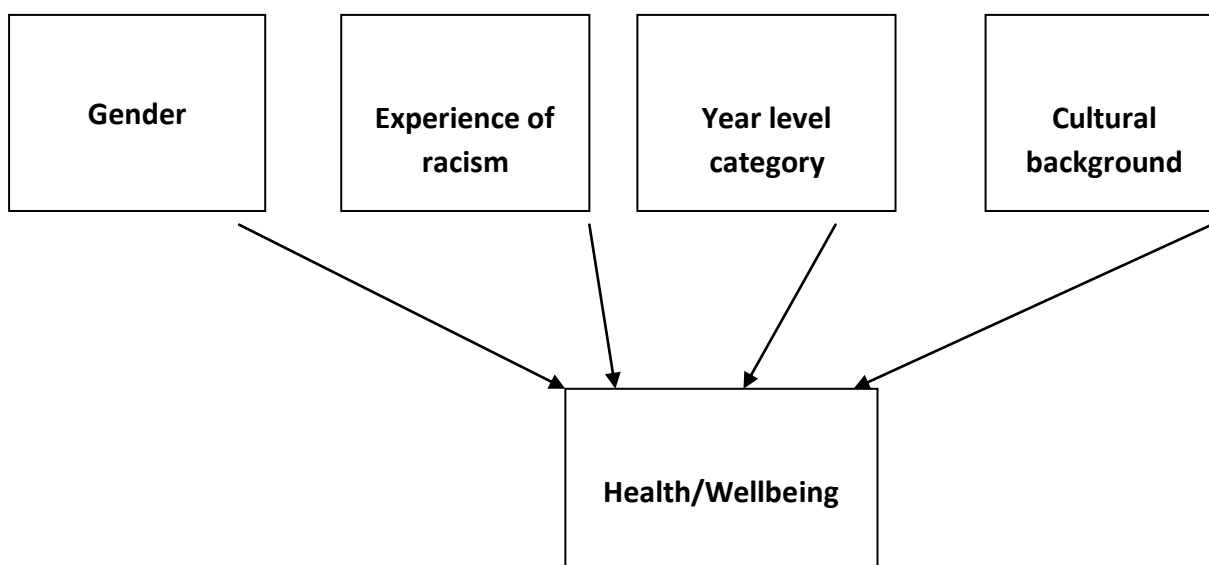
significantly higher health/wellbeing scores. In other words, 14.2% of the variability in health is explained when we know a person is in the middle years of school. This finding is very much in line with, and may be explained by, the significant correlation which was also observed between the experience of racism and being in the middle years ($r = -0.11$, $n = 517$, $p = 0.015$). The direction of the correlation was negative, indicating that those participants in years 9 and 10 were less likely to have experienced racism.

Finally, the correlation between health/wellbeing scores and being in the senior years at school is statistically significant, and negative in direction ($r = -0.17$, $n = 628$, $p = 0.000$). This correlation indicates that participants in the senior years of school (years 11 and 12) had significantly lower health/wellbeing. This indicates that 17% of the variability in health is explained when we know if a person is in the senior years of school. This finding is very much in line with, and may be explained by the significant correlation which was also observed between the experience of racism and being in the senior years ($r = 0.13$, $n = 517$, $p = 0.004$). The direction of the correlation was positive, indicating that those participants in years 11 and 12 were more likely to experience racism.

4.1.5 Factors affecting health outcomes: hierarchical multiple regression

Hierarchical multiple regressions were used to assess the relationship of participants' demographic variables and the experience of racism with health/wellbeing. The assumptions of sample size, multicollinearity, outliers, normality, linearity and homoscedasticity were accounted for. All assumptions were met, indicating that there were no statistical violations (reliability of statistics) and the hierarchical regression was feasible. The participants' demographic variables of gender, year level category, ethnic background, and experience of racism were the independent variables. The total health/wellbeing score was the dependent variable in the regression analyses. Year level category was coded into junior years (years 7 & 8), middle years (years 9 & 10), and senior years (years 11 & 12). The junior years variable was left out of the regression as a reference point. Ethnic background was analysed as a dichotomous variable where 1 represented Anglo-Saxon Australians, and 0 represented all other ethnic groups. The aim of the regression is to assess which factors can significantly predict variation in the health/wellbeing of participants. Figure 13 provides a diagrammatic representation of the regression.

Figure 13: Examination of variables that significantly affect health/wellbeing



The results of the final regression analysis (see Table 18) revealed three significant predictors of a decrease in health/wellbeing score. These three predictors are being female, being in the senior years of school, and experiencing racism. Regression analyses were run which included other predictor variables, but since these were not statistically significant predictors of health outcomes they were not included in the final regression. The factors which did NOT appear to have any statistically significant relationship with health outcomes of participants were: the state where the school is located, the type of school attended, the religious affiliation, and the cultural background of the students.

Table 18: Hierarchical multiple regression with health/wellbeing as dependent variable

		Progressive R ² adj (%)	B	Beta	Sig.
Step 1	Gender	3.4%***	-1.10	-0.207	0.000
Step 2	Racism	4.6%**	-0.54	-0.09	0.042
Step 3	Middle		-0.70	-0.137	0.192
	Senior	9.1%***	-1.74	-0.339	0.001
Step 4	Culture	9.5%	-0.42	-0.082	0.066

* $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

The regression analysis was significant at Step 1 (gender), $F(1,466) = 17.45$, $p < 0.001$, accounting for 3.4% of the variance. This means that gender can significantly predict their health/wellbeing than if this information was not known. The negative direction of this relationship indicates that female health/wellbeing is significantly lower than that of males. Step 2 (gender and experience of racism) was also significant, $F(2,465) = 12.22$, $p < 0.001$, accounting for 4.6% of the variance. The negative direction here reveals that participants who had experienced or been involved in racism had significantly lower health/wellbeing outcomes than participants who had not experienced or been involved in racism. Step 3 (gender, experience of racism, and year level category) was statistically significant $F(4,463) = 12.65$, $p < 0.001$, accounting for 9.1% of the variance, although only senior years was a significant predictor of health/wellbeing. The negative relationship between health and senior years indicates that those in senior years of school have significantly worse health/wellbeing outcomes. The final step, which added cultural background to the equation, was not statistically significant, meaning that being Anglo-Saxon Australian or not has no significant impact on health/wellbeing score. The adjusted R square value for the overall model explained 9.5% of the variance. This means that 9.5% of the variability in health/wellbeing can be explained depending on whether or not a person is a female, in a senior year of school or has experienced racism.

4.1.6 Factors affecting the experience of racism

Direct logistic regression was performed to assess the impact of a number of factors on the likelihood that respondents would report that they had experienced racism. The model contained five types of independent variables (gender, year level category, school type, religion and cultural background). The results for chi-squared statistical analysis reveal that the full model containing all predictors was statistically significant: $p < 0.001$. This indicates that the model was able to distinguish between participants who reported and did not report experiencing racism. The model as a whole was able to explain between 14% (Cox and Snell R square) and 19.8% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variation in the experience of racism status, and correctly classified 75.3% of such cases. Four of the independent variables yielded statistically significant results to the model (attending a Catholic school, second- and third-generation migrant, migrant in Australia more than 5 years, migrant in Australia less than 5 years) (see Table 19).

Table 19: Logistic regression predicting likelihood of reporting experience of racism

	B	Wald	Sig.	Odds Ratio	95% C.I. for Odds ratio	
					Lower	Upper
Step 1						
Catholic school	-0.523	3.971	0.046	1.686	1.009	2.825
Government – outer urban	0.252	0.964	0.326	1.286	0.778	2.125
Gender – female	0.027	0.018	0.893	1.027	0.692	1.526
2 nd & 3 rd gen Migrant	1.430	4.648	0.031	4.177	1.139	15.323
Migrant > 5 years	1.631	5.198	0.023	5.110	1.257	20.771
Migrant < 5 years	1.827	5.662	0.017	6.212	1.380	27.965
Anglo-Saxon	0.220	0.119	0.730	1.246	0.357	4.354
Refugee	1.081	1.556	0.212	2.948	0.539	16.121
Middle years	0.298	0.468	0.494	1.347	0.574	3.163
Senior years	0.679	2.360	0.124	1.973	0.829	4.694
Buddhist	0.075	0.018	0.893	1.078	0.359	3.239
Christian	-0.243	0.504	0.478	0.784	0.401	1.534
Muslim	0.467	0.653	0.419	1.595	0.514	4.950
No religion	-0.136	0.155	0.693	0.872	0.443	1.720
Constant	-0.188	0.053	0.818	0.829		

The strongest predictor of reporting an experience of racism was being a migrant to Australia for less than 5 years, with a probability ratio of 6.21. This means that participants who were migrants to Australia for less than 5 years were over 6 times more likely to report an experience of racism than other participants. Similarly, migrants who had been in Australia for more than 5 years had a probability ratio of 5.11, which means that they were over 5 times more likely to report a racist experience. In line with this was the significant probability ratio recorded for second- and third-generation migrants, who were more than 4 times more likely to report an experience of racism. The overwhelming trend that emerges through this analysis is that those participants with a migrant background are far more likely to experience racism. The final variable that significantly predicts the experience of racism is the type of school attended by the participant. The result in this case was negative, which means that those students who attend a Catholic school are 1.7 times LESS likely to report experiences of racism than students attending government schools.

4.1.7 Summary of quantitative data

The overall results of the quantitative survey analyses reveal a number of significant trends and findings. One of these is that the experience of racism has a negative impact on health/wellbeing. Equally significant is the finding that over 80% of participants from various

backgrounds report being subjected to some form of racism, which is significantly higher than the percentage of racism reported by Anglo-Australian participants (54.6%). Data analyses also suggest that students in Catholic schools have had significantly fewer racist experiences than students at government schools.

4.2 Qualitative data

4.2.1 Experiences of racism

The qualitative data indicated that racist behaviour is reasonably prevalent among young Australians and is manifested through various verbal and non-verbal means. Whilst all racial and cultural groups reported experiences of racism, the interviews suggested that the experience of racism is more likely to occur if the student is from a non-Anglo-Saxon background. However, racism is still experienced by Anglo-Saxon youth. This qualitative finding aligns with the quantitative data, which found that 54.6% of Anglo-Saxon participants had experienced racism and 82.8% of non-Anglo-Saxon participants had experienced racism. One of the most extreme manifestations of racism in Australia was seen recently in the spate of racist attacks on Indian students, attacks which exposed resentments that are not unlike some of the racist attitudes unearthed by Hansonism in the mid-1990s (Stratton, 1998). The tendency to demonise asylum seekers (Marr & Wilkinson, 2003), the events of 9/11, the Cronulla riots and the so-called 'war on terror' have contributed to a newer racism that now effects people in Australia of 'Middle Eastern appearance' or with very dark skin.

The study identified an underlying racism among white Anglo-Saxon Australians that emerged in their language, for example, the use of the word 'them' to describe students from non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds as opposed to the use of the word 'us' when describing themselves and others of Anglo-Saxon background. This 'othering' was also detected in a tendency by this dominant group to view some other particular groups as homogenous, for example, categorising all people from China, Japan, Korea and other Asian countries as 'Asians', which in effect views them all as the same, by disregarding their country of origin. However, it was clear that this 'othering' was not a behaviour peculiar to white Anglo-Saxon Australians. Some participants from non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds described students with lighter coloured skin as 'Aussie' or 'white', as if they too were a homogenous group. It was ascertained in the interview process that at times these 'white' students were in fact lighter skinned Lebanese students or students from other culturally diverse backgrounds; not necessarily Australian born Anglo-Saxon students (Aussies) as was suggested by the interview participants. The study found that the experiences of racism among Australian youth can be viewed in terms of verbal and non-verbal incidents. The wide range of documented verbal and non-verbal exchanges, identified as racist in nature, included name

calling, 'sledging', racist jokes and other verbal taunts, 'put-downs', staring, bumping, punching, kicking, bullying and exclusion.

Racist name-calling was found throughout the qualitative data to be prevalent in youth culture, and this was supported by the quantitative data, which found that 38.7% of survey participants had been called an offensive name for their cultural group. The occurrence of this name-calling varied from being called a racist name rarely or occasionally (23.6%) to being called offensive racist names daily (5.3%). Sara describes name-calling as occurring 'In school, name calling, yelling in the playground and rumours that get out of hand'. The taunt 'wog', which white Australians once used against post-war Italian and Greek migrants, is now applied to Indigenous, Afghani and Lebanese people. It is also used amongst migrant and Indigenous groups about each other, as a form of subversion of racist codes and solidarity. The food favoured by migrants is also appropriated into the lexicon of racist terminology and used as a basis for insults, for example, 'mousakka', 'souvlakis', 'kebabs', 'curry-muncher' and 'curry-fucks'. Given the prevalence of so-called ethnic food in Australia, it is telling that although these racist taunts signify exclusion, their disavowal is somewhat paradoxically coupled with food, an element of desire (Hage, 1998).

In general terms, anyone who has a 'middle eastern appearance' or dark skin could be called a terrorist. Shakrokh, an Afghani refugee boy, explained 'They say oh you terrorist, you bloody Afghans, you terrorist, go back to your own country'. Muslims wearing a *hijab* or *shamise* are particularly visible and consequently at greater risk of being abused or having their scarves pulled off. Mariluz recalled 'I was once at a rally for Gaza and this guy pulled off my scarf from the back. I really got scared, that was so scary'.

Refugees are abused because they don't speak English, and their accents are also ridiculed. Shakrokh was abused by fellow students about his manner of speech, 'Obviously my accent, not really good, people make fun of me'.

Black African students are called 'nigger', 'black', 'African' and 'coon', and their background is often linked to poverty, for example, 'starvin' marvin' for Ethiopian people. So-called 'Asian' students are called 'gook', 'slanty eyes', 'ching-chong', 'nips' and 'yellow people'. Ironically, the racist stereotyping concerning 'Asians' who can't speak English are countered by references to 'Asians' as 'nerds', since 'they think they are smart'.

Pacific Islander people are called 'creamy' 'fob' (fresh off the boat) and 'coconut'. Whilst it would appear that 'fob' could be correctly applied to any new migrant group, its derogatory connotation in this context draws on the boat or canoe as a primitive form of transport for Islanders.

White Australians were not exempt from the experience of racial name-calling. They are called 'crackers' (an anti-white slur used by African-Americans), 'white chocolate', which has connotations of desire, 'bogans' (lower-class whites in disadvantaged suburbs) and 'convicts'. Whereas the term 'cracker' is derived from the American experience, the term 'bogan' is firmly grounded in Australian suburbs and shopping malls.

Lebanese are referred to as 'lebos', 'loosernons' and 'show-offs'. This latter term refers to what was described by participants in the survey data as the perceived 'showy' nature of Lebanese youth, who 'think they are cool'. The events of 9/11 and Cronulla riots have resulted in a new range of racist abuse, as mentioned earlier, that has affected anyone of 'Middle Eastern appearance' or with dark skin. Abusive names include 'sand-niggers', 'nappy heads', 'towel heads' and 'terrorist'. Ardita recounts her upsetting experience that conflates being a Muslim with being a terrorist:

I got called a terrorist. In history it makes me nervous, everyone thinks it's about Muslims ... Somebody will bring up Muslim ... I'd get too nervous and anxious ... the students in the class ... they have their own private jokes. I don't want us to discuss it in class as I know I will get a hard time over it.

Ardita's reference to her fellow students' private jokes indicates an underlying attitude towards Muslims as a terrorist 'other'. She also goes on to explain about peoples' responses on realising that she is Muslim and attitudes towards hijabs:

Also when you tell people that you're Muslim they go 'oh!' ... Just now — said something about a Muslim like 'why don't you go blow something up?'. It's a routine thing. When they see a person with a hijab they think they are going to blow someone up.

Indigenous youth are also the targets of racist taunts: 'nigger', 'abo' and 'coon' are commonly used. The word 'nigger' has a long history and is acknowledged as one of the most hurtful of insults, as it invokes the discourse of slavery. Black American comedians, such as Richard Prior and Dave Chappelle, gangster rappers and hip-hop artists understand the complexities of who can call someone a 'nigger' or 'nigga' and who shouldn't say it (Asim, 2007). In a different context this word may be considered to be acceptable as Akoch, a Sudanese refugee, confirmed: 'they [his friends] say "what's up Nigger" and I call them the "n" word too showing friendship'.

An Indigenous participant, Sam, relates his experience of racist sledging: 'I was playing footy in Canberra, this random person started calling me a coon and a nigger that kind of stuff, dumb black person and stuff'. Whilst racism has been countered at the elite levels of sport,

Sam's story, coupled with Jack's observation that 'the umpires in town are racist', suggest that at the junior levels of the game racism remains an issue.

As indicated by a large number of interview participants, racist name-calling is an overt way for a person, or a dominant group, to belittle a person from a migrant, Indigenous or refugee background. However, Sara reports that white Australians are stereotyped on racial grounds as well, 'We get stereotyped as bogan Aussies, ignorant and intolerant Aussies, and we're not all like that. People whisper everywhere in shopping centres, all cultures are doing this'.

Sara's comment that 'people whisper everywhere' has an element of the 'white paranoia' identified by Hage (1998), and has resonance with the experiences of participants from other racial backgrounds. Tabia, a Burundian girl, reflects a similar paranoia as she describes her experience of walking past a group of Asian boys near the school oval, 'I just look at them with my left eye and I can see that they're looking at me and they're talking about me'. This feeling of paranoia is reiterated by Akoch, a Sudanese boy, who discussed the impact of rumour, 'They don't say to my face but a friend might say, oh man I heard this person say something about you'. Matt elaborates further on this when he says about Asian students 'in the school and out of school.... [we] just talking about them, never really [talk to them] face to face'. It seems that this paranoia extends to all cultural groups.

Racist name-calling was also identified as occurring between different ethnic and Indigenous groups who use racist vernacular to counter racism. Thus the appropriation of the word 'nigger' by Indigenous youth, and other black groups, could be seen as a complex process whereby they subvert the dominant codes of racism so that the negative connotations of 'nigger' are extinguished. Indeed, this term of abuse is then owned and celebrated as a form of resistance and solidarity. Akoch described this, 'People think we're racist because we might use the 'n' word to each other but that's just like saying "hey man". You might like say "hey, what's up nigger" that's like in a good way'.

However, this act of resistance and solidarity can be misunderstood as Akoch explains:

One time I was saying it to my brother at school and I came up to him and said 'what's up nigger' and I got into trouble and he got into trouble and they said 'there's no using the 'n' word and we're like 'it's okay we know what we're doing' but they still say 'no'.

In this particular scenario, the school decided that no use of the word 'nigger' would be allowed, despite Akoch's assurance that it was okay for them to use it among themselves. For the school, implementing a policy whereby the use of the word was allowable under certain circumstances may have been deemed too fraught with difficulty and a policy open to abuse.

Whilst the discourse of humour and particularly racist jokes is embedded in the vernacular culture of Australian youth, it is a mode of behaviour that has the potential to offend. This is despite the use of the qualifying expression that accompanies much of the delivery of racist humour, 'only joking'. Many participants spoke about how racist humour was used on a regular basis at school, but that it was okay because it was 'only a joke.' Akoch's joke typified the irony that can accompany such jokes when he recounted a commonly used joke about blacks, 'What do you say when you see a TV floating down the stairs at night? Drop it Nigger!' This joke is typical of many such jokes related throughout the interview process. It is ironic because it is critical of mainstream attitudes that link the discourses of race and crime to read 'black youth equals crime'. Ironically and sadly though, this attitude had directly affected Akoch in a negative manner:

If something is stolen [at school] they will look at you straightaway and you'll be like 'oh that's sad and stuff'. I get angry a bit and that's happened a couple of times when something's been taken, something's missing.

The complexities of racist joke telling, and the 'unwritten rules' for who can tell the jokes, is reflected in Tim's observation that his Indigenous friend 'doesn't tell stories of racism but merely tells funny jokes'. Tim's friend makes jokes about his own culture, which amuses others, but there is a certain discomfort in Tim's statement that:

My friend is Aboriginal and he tells the funniest stories about his own race – that's not really racist because he knows it's OK. He tells things about his own people and his own colour.

Tim's saying 'that's not really racist because he knows it's OK' suggests that Tim feels the need to justify his own amusement at his Indigenous friend's jokes. His claim that it is merely joke telling is questionable in the light of Akoch's story about jokes connecting theft with blacks, and how this attitude has actually played out in Akoch's life.

Racist humour can be hurtful and fraught with danger depending on how it is interpreted and the extent to which it is taken. Callum expresses ambivalence concerning these types of racist jokes:

A lot of it going around. Whenever people are in the midst of a joke, race is brought in but if someone took it seriously we wouldn't do it. Sometimes the jokes are funny but sometimes they go over the top a bit. We are the majority so we pick on other races.

While racist jokes are prevalent in all racial groups Callum's statement 'We are the majority so we pick on other races' is significant, because it possibly demonstrates an awareness of

the privilege of his racial group (white Australian born) and the potential for the power inherent within this dominant group, or any dominant racial group, to cause distress via racist humour.

When discussing racism and International students, Matt's language shows some 'slippage', or conflation of the terms 'international' and 'Asian':

You always see a bit of racism from the local to the international students, in the school and out of school. Just talking about them, never really face to face. It's like people would be talking about how they don't like the Asian kids.

The use of the word 'them' perhaps suggests a sense of 'othering' of the international students. Whilst Matt starts talking about international students, he then refers to them as 'Asian', as if they are one and the same racial group. This conflation of terms arguably points to a possible racism against Asian migrants in Australia.

Thus whilst racist name-calling, talking, yelling and whispering occupy a particular place in the discourse of racism, Australian youth experience racism in many non-verbal forms.

Ali, an Iraqi refugee describes his experience of living in regional Victoria

I was in a village three hours out of Melbourne. There were a lot of Italians, Aussies, which I had a lot of problems with, these racist guys. They were chasing every single Iraqi ... and when they would get them by themselves they would jump on them, ten, twelve jumping on them.

This experience of racism demonstrates an overt example of physical abuse that Ali suggests was because of the Iraqis' religious and cultural difference. This can be contextualised within the current climate of racism towards refugees and migrants in light of the 'war on terror'. A feature of this response is resentment towards the newest wave of migrants because they are seen to be the beneficiaries of special treatment in relation to housing and 'hand-outs'. New migrants may be resented by previous migrant groups, in this case white Australians and Italians. This resentment is often greater in times of high unemployment and can be fuelled by the politicians and media 'shock-jocks' (Adams & Burton, 1997). Interestingly, mainstream resentment over 'hand-outs' forms part of the racism that effects Indigenous people in particular (Hanson, 1996). The resentment against the newest wave of refugees and migrants was clearly identified through interviews with several African girls and Afghani boys, the results of which will be discussed further later in the report.

Spatial contestation at an NT school was played out through the act of defecation and urination in the areas normally occupied by Asian students. Liam describes the disgusting behaviour of an Australian white student in the Asian students' sitting area:

There's only one racial group, I don't mean to sound racist but it's the Asians that sit near the canteen ... There have been a couple of incidents over the years. Two years ago one dude left faeces on their sitting area. This was also done again about a month ago ... There are some people who have grudges against them ... They all see maybe it's safety in numbers they [the Asians] stick to themselves.

Liam connected the activities of the white students to the behaviour of the Asian students who 'stick to themselves'. It is arguable as to whether or not he is attempting to justify the white students' behaviour; it could be that he is saying the Asians stick together as a safety matter; understandable if they are the victims of disgusting behaviour such as that described in Liam's story. This extreme behaviour from the white students could reflect some racial and spatial anxieties in relation to Asians in their school (Ang, 1999).

This resentment towards Asian students is further illustrated by Melissa's story:

It's basically targeted on Asians. A lot of people have done really mean things to them, because of their backgrounds, they don't really socialise with other people. It's like peeing on their seats where they sit, calling them names etc., and picking fights with them because of their backgrounds.

Melissa's statement that 'they [Asians at school] don't really socialise with other people' reiterates Liam's assertion that Asians 'stick together', an attitude furthered by Anglo-Saxon student Jane who expresses a fear of Asians:

They're the Asians, who are like Vietnamese that sit in a group together and they don't let other people walk close to them or else they look at you 'evilly'. I feel uncomfortable and scared. I feel excluded from their group. They might want to be near the people of the same race. I think they speak their language.

Jane's feelings reiterate the racial and spatial anxieties expressed by Liam and Melissa and found among white Australian youth.

Matt's resentment differs from Liam, Melissa and Jane as he explained:

A lot of the Asian kids don't interact apart from with their own countries, which is pretty understandable but we just think they come here and just do whatever they want. People think they get treated a little bit different, they get

to easier classes, a lot of them fall asleep in class so they think they just get to bludge on work.

The comments concerning special treatment reveal the sense of resentment held against international students who might be older than local students and live together in apartments in the city. Matt shows a possible resentment of what he perceives to be Asian privilege, demonstrated by his comment 'we think they come here and just do whatever they want'.

The interview data indicated that racism against African-Australian students is of great concern due to the widespread tendency for these students to be verbally abused, excluded at school and patronised. For example, Tabia, a girl from Burundi, tells this troubling story:

This girl she comes to me and looks at my hair and says, how do you do your hair? And I told her I can't explain it, then she's touching it as if it's something disgusting to touch. She goes, oh do you wash it every single day and I told her, 'oh if I wash it every single day it would be really, really short.' She tells me 'oh you should wash your hair every day otherwise it becomes stinky' and I just keep quiet I don't want to start any trouble ... and then I tell her if you are going to touch my hair like that you may as well stop touching it because you are making me feel bad.

The girl's undisguised disgust when touching Tabia's hair supports several female African participants' comments about the perceptions of their personal hygiene and their economic status. Wesal's comment epitomised this attitude, 'People call us black and say we are Africans and we are poor'.

The Anglo-Australian girl may be making a correlation between the African students being poor and therefore their hair is dirty, whereas for the African girl her hair is a signifier of her cultural identity and pride. The unwelcomed touching of hair combined with the patronising questions concerning hairstyle and grooming amount to a fake interest which partially resonates with the notion of seeking to quantify and construct an 'exotic other' in order to control it (Said, 1995). Whilst the young girl's response to Tabia was not as complex as this theory, there was perhaps a sense of the young girl attempting to control Tabia's behaviour in relation to her hair.

Significantly, Indigenous youth appear to suffer structural exclusion through institutional racism. This racism seems to take place predominantly when Indigenous youth are in contact with police, on public transport, at the shopping mall, during sport and at school. Whilst there were only a small number of Indigenous interviewees, the stories that the students told suggested that racism is a part of everyday life for some Indigenous youth.

The manner in which Indigenous youth can be socially excluded is demonstrated in Maxi's antagonistic relationship with the police regarding the curfew introduced two years ago:

I've got loads of issues with the police. They just come up to you and ask you 'what's your name?'. Say 'who's your family' and say 'he's a smartarse', that kind of stuff. They give you a sheet if you come into town – 24hrs of community service. We are not allowed to walk around up town. If they caught you walking around town at 8pm they'll give you a sheet ... They don't usually pull up white kids ... If they catch you they'll arrest you.

This reference to 'sheets' describes the community service order given to Indigenous youth caught in the CBD after 8.00pm. This curfew appears discriminatory in nature, as Maxi says 'they don't usually pull up white kids'. Maxi's comment that she has 'loads of issues with police' indicates the complexity and breadth of the racism that she perceives as being meted out to her, and possibly other Indigenous youth, by police.

In relation to the curfew Amos says:

If you walk out with white kids you'll be all right as the cops won't worry about you. When you walk out with black kids the cops will be chasing you around town and all that. Yes there is lots of problems with the police, they think that we [Indigenous youth] walk around smashing things, like all the Indigenous kids.

His comment indicates that he believes the response of the police is influenced by the company that Indigenous youth keep. His final comment 'like all the Indigenous kids' seems to suggest that he believes there is some substance to the police response to Indigenous youth because they do actually cause trouble.

The federal government's intervention in the Northern Territory, now entering its third year, has provided police with extra powers to stop and search cars for alcohol, other drugs and prohibited materials (pornography). Susie describes how cars coming into town from remote areas are easily identified as Indigenous cars since they have a layer of red dust:

Police is the big one, our family are from Utopia, they come in ... Sometimes I'm in the car like when we come in from bush, they see our car they search it and everything ... The dirty car [red dust] is suspicious if black people own it, the police are looking for grog in there or something. The police are like bossy, a bit aggressive.

Several Indigenous interview participants commented that they are treated with suspicion in certain circumstances. The quantitative data revealed that 12.1% of participants had been

treated with suspicion because of their cultural background. Of those who indicated the frequency of this, 17.0% indicated that it occurred daily, which amounts to 1.8% of the overall sample. For 50% of the respondents this treatment was meted out in public. The Indigenous youth who reported this experience in the interview process indicated that people had been suspicious of them in public spheres, particularly in relation to the possibility of them stealing. Amos stated:

As I'm walking around people stare at me and I feel a bit nervous. White people stare because they think I might steal from a shop.

The scrutiny fed Amos's and other participants' anxiety and it could be surmised that these attitudes entrench the attitudes of white Australians who may view Indigenous youth as delinquent. Even compliance with the curfew may still lead to trouble, as Sam states:

I wouldn't go to the shops with my friends at night because the security guards – most of them here are racists. I wouldn't wait outside either because they yell at you and stuff when you're just waiting for someone inside.

The security guards who 'yell at you and stuff when you're just waiting' could serve as an everyday reminder to Indigenous youth that they are unwelcome. Clare expresses anger at the constant surveillance she endures whilst at the shops: 'They have to watch the black people, just watching. It shocks me every day, routine.'

In addition to this type of scrutiny from security guards the Indigenous participants discussed racist attitudes as reflected by teachers. Susie felt that 'the few racist teachers don't really care about our school work', and Indigenous students are unfairly discriminated against:

In school the teacher would just pick out the black group if they are talking and not a white group of girls. Half the teachers are good and growl both but some just pick on the black kids.

The Indigenous youth reported incidents of racism that took place both within the school and out in the community, infiltrating much of their daily life. It should be emphasised that the limited number of interviews means that the qualitative data concerning Indigenous youth, while compelling, needs to be viewed as indicative rather than representative.

4.2.2 Settings for racism: the school

By far the majority of interview participants reported that racist experiences took place predominantly in school. The quantitative data found this to be overwhelmingly so, with 66.7% saying that racist experiences take place in school, 5.9% at work, 20.9% in the media and 0.3% in government agencies. Only one interview participant reported a racist

experience that had occurred in a government agency, which supports the very low level of occurrence reported in the quantitative data.

In school, racist incidents take place in the classroom, throughout the schoolyard or during school sport. A minority of participants identified the community as a setting where they witness or experience racism. However, Indigenous students were an exception to this general experience, because several reported that they are subjected to a considerable amount of racist behaviour, equally within the school setting and out in the community.

Racism in the school setting was reported as being perpetrated by teachers, fellow students or administration staff. It was particularly interesting that some teachers were possibly complicit in this behaviour either through their tolerance of racist behaviour in the classroom, or via the perpetration of it themselves. For example an Indigenous girl, Becky, observed that 'dark kids' are unfairly treated by some teachers:

When dark kids would be noisy, you'd get sent out straight away – you wouldn't get any warning. When the white kids talked in class they'd get a warning so it wasn't fair.

A Sudanese girl, Sumaiah, felt that the teacher deliberately ignored her and humiliated her in class through exclusion:

There was this Asian teacher last year, he was Vietnamese, all the other students in his class were Vietnamese except me and he would always pass on the papers and he starts talking in his language to the students and I would just sit there like an idiot watching. And he would sometimes pass the papers around and he would miss me and I would have to go to him and say 'sir you didn't give me a paper' and he goes 'oh I didn't see you' ... I felt left out and like I wasn't even there. I felt angry ...

Exclusion seems to be a common tool in racist behaviour as exemplified in the quantitative data. Of the overall participants 15.7% reported being left out or excluded because of their cultural background. Of those who indicated the frequency of this experience, 56.4% had been excluded rarely and 17% had experienced it daily. Tabia, a Burundian girl, recounted the silent complicity of a teacher in her racially based humiliation and exclusion. The class was reading a book about America in a time when it was illegal for blacks and white to have intimate relations; a black American man and a white American woman fell in love:

And then they kissed and people wanted to kill Sam because he's black and he broke the law. When everyone else in class heard that they killed Sam because he's black they started laughing at me and I felt distressed,

depressed and everyone was looking at me ... the teacher was laughing along with them ... I felt like if I told her she wouldn't really understand.

Tabia's distress and humiliation was compounded by what she perceived as inaction on the part of her teacher. This was particularly so as, according to Tabia, the teacher had not only failed to stop the laughing, but had participated in it herself. The 'impact of teachers in schools with culturally diverse student populations is significant' and was identified by Mansouri, Jenkins and Leach (2009:111) as one of three main issues upon which the management of cultural diversity in education is centered. Within the Mansouri, Jenkins and Leach research, teacher behaviour and attitude and 'an understanding and acceptance of student cultural diversity' (2009:111) are pinpointed as significant factors in the creation of a safe school environment. Becky's, Sumaiah's and Tabia's teachers, as described above, appear to fall short of providing this 'safe environment', indicating a further need for more professional development for teachers in relation to diversity in schools.

Some participants observed that teachers could be racist outside of the classroom. A Serbian boy, Dimitar, complained that his teacher was overtly racist towards him, treating him differently from other students. He suggested that the teacher was Croatian and that this explained why he behaved unfairly towards him. It was not established in the interview whether or not the teacher was Croatian – this was the student's conjecture. Dimitar explained:

Everyone's lining up and I'm just like coming around the corner and still able to catch up with the group, and as I am behind them and walking normally with the group he just comes up and closes the door in front of my face and makes me wait for 15/20 minutes. Then he opens the door and he's like 'why are you late? 'go get a late note' and I'm like 'sir I can't get a late note, it's past twenty minutes I've been waiting for you outside'. He's like 'that's bad luck you'll have to make up for the time at recess or lunch', so he puts me on detention.

In an effort to improve his relationship with this particular teacher, Dimitar had taken the advice of a school counsellor and made an effort to 'be polite and say hi to him and do everything they ask me to'. For a while this seemed to reap rewards, but Dimitar reported that 'one day he will change but the other day he will be like the same like, "oh detention, detention" or strict for no reason'.

It cannot of course be substantiated that the teacher's behaviour was motivated by racism; Dimitar's behaviour may have been inappropriate or disruptive, and the teacher's response to him may have been based on this rather than race. However, Dimitar's perception that it

was racist is in itself a challenging issue for both students and teachers, as it demonstrates the potential for misunderstandings between these two groups. These misunderstandings may lead to racial and cultural challenges such as that exemplified above.

Teachers having different expectations of students may be based on the racist notion that particular races are more intelligent than other races. The quantitative data supported the notion that youth may be treated as less intelligent based on their cultural background, as 16.4% of the overall participants reported this experience. A small sample (2.5%) of the overall participants felt they were treated as less intelligent on a daily basis because of their cultural background. However, students in the survey were not asked whether or not they were treated as more intelligent because of their cultural background. Several interview participants discussed teachers assuming they were more intelligent, based on their race. A young Asian girl, Echo, expressed her resentment of her teacher assuming that Asians are smart:

Because some people say Asians are really smart so they expect more out of you ... In class my friend [non-Asian] wasn't doing really good and the teacher was helping her out more than helping me because she thinks I'm smarter ... sometimes they would ignore me, if they think it's really simple work.

Echo's experience frustrated her and she complained that 'if you've done really good, it's not good enough for them'. The perception of a racist attitude led to Echo feeling not only that she did not get attention in class but that nothing she did would ever be good enough. Echo's story illustrates how the myth of the 'smart Asian' may be inadvertently perpetuated and supported through teacher behaviours.

Many participants reported some racist behaviour in the classroom, but it was significant that racism was also reported as occurring in the school office. Frustration with the complicity of administration staff in racist and disrespectful behaviour towards students of diverse backgrounds was reflected in the following story, as told by an Albanian girl, Ardita:

Sometimes the names of students are hard and the office staff stop and stutter over them. One time we heard them laugh over the Tannoy system, you could hear them laugh in the background a bit, they can't pronounce them [the names of students]. Then people in the class start laughing about it too, the names. It happens all the time.

In the school setting students also displayed racist behaviour towards other students, including both verbal and physical attack. All physical racism reported by interview

participants in school was perpetrated by fellow students – no participant reported that a teacher or member of the administration staff had ever been physically violent.

As previously identified, the wide range of verbal exchanges, identified as racist in nature, includes racist jokes, name-calling, and other verbal behaviour aimed at excluding a particular group as 'other'. Given that 38.7% of survey participants had been called an offensive name for their cultural group, the consistent reporting of name-calling and verbal abuse described by interview participants was not surprising. The tendency to name-call both in the classroom setting and out in the school grounds aimed to make the victim feel embarrassed and humiliated.

A Polynesian boy described the type of general verbal racial abuse that takes place in the school setting, both within and out of the classroom. While the example given below relates to the types of verbal abuse meted out to students from a Pacific Islander background, racial taunts relating to all racial groups are heard throughout the whole school:

Polynesian kids, the main kind of threat they give you is kinda 'slaves' or coconut, anything to do with our culture.

Dragoslavia, a Serbian girl, is distressed by the racial taunting she suffers constantly both in the classroom and in the schoolyard: 'they go Italy's better than Serbia ... oh Serbia, Serbia, Serbia sucks.' In the survey 5.3% of participants said that they are called an offensive racist name on a daily basis, as is Dragoslavia. The setting for Dragoslavia's abuse was generally the classroom, but at times it was 'when you're walking around the schoolyard or something ... and you've got no-one else with you ... out of nowhere they could just come and harass you ... it makes you feel scared'.

Due to the racism taking place both within and out of the classroom, Dragoslavia doesn't feel completely safe anywhere while at school. However, she does specify that the racist behaviour is restricted in some classes, depending upon the particular teacher's willingness, or ability, to deal with and control the situation:

If a teacher says 'stop, it's inappropriate or something, one warning and stuff, if they do it again they are sent out of the class. So I reckon that's pretty good, but then in the next class it will start again with a different teacher. It all depends on the teacher. We have a few teachers that are really strict, but a few are like they can't really be bothered to deal with them.

In this way the teachers who are competent in dealing with the racism are providing Dragoslavia with a reprieve from the almost relentless attack. The impact of teachers, both

positive and negative, upon the classroom is highlighted in this story and once again aligns with the Mansouri, Jenkins and Leach (2009) research about teacher impact.

Ironically though, Emily suggests that some students will deliberately behave inappropriately in class and call people names because 'they get kicked out of class and it's a reward for the boys, they get out of work.' The management of students who behave in a racist manner in class, and the consequences they suffer, are beyond the scope of this research project. Emily's comment highlights the difficulties and complexities of dealing effectively with the perpetrators of racism in the school setting.

Racism was reported as occurring reasonably regularly in school sporting activities and, as the following story illustrates, can result from wounded egos. Zemar, an Afghani boy, reflected:

... in this school we were playing soccer with another team. We always used to play, slowly tension grew up ... then one day the other guys came ... after the match when they lost they started to call us names and resulted in a fight.

The Australian students attempted to regain 'face' after their loss to the Afghani boys by insulting them with further racist insults such as 'go back to your country. You don't know how to play soccer'. There was a certain irony in such an insult given that the Anglo-Australian boys had lost the soccer match.

Zalmai, another Afghani boy, who was involved in the same fight as Zemar, gave a greater insight into the territorial issues that can be connected with the setting of school sport:

As soon as I got into class I was too scared if I went outside. They [the boys with whom they had a fight] might be racist to me again. We couldn't get onto the oval to play soccer with the other kids ... we couldn't go to the oval to play soccer because we were scared ... we couldn't walk around the school, we didn't have much freedom. We couldn't play at recess or lunchtime soccer. We used to play after school.

The racist issues can be played out in the setting of school sport, fuelled by the energy and competitiveness of the activity in which the students are involved. The power the white boys wielded in excluding the Afghani boys from the oval is an example of mainstream Anglo-Australian dominance, as exemplified by Martino's story:

the ways in which certain white boys mobilize particular forms of power against Indigenous boys and how the latter come to understand and position themselves in terms of these racialised and gendered regimes' (Martino, 2003:172).

Whilst Martino's reference is to the interaction of white and Indigenous boys, it is interesting to note that the Anglo-Australian boys' racist attacks were motivated by feelings of inadequacy and used as a means to belittle the Afghani boys, who they clearly viewed as a threat. Their attacks were multipronged and included verbal abuse, physical assault and exclusion from the soccer playing territory.

4.2.3 Settings for racism: the community

Outside of the school, the settings for the racist behaviour include:

- public transport – buses, trams, trains, stations
- shops and shopping centres
- on the street
- city/town centre.

Several participants reported racist behaviour on a train or bus, or at the station. These incidents can range from reasonably minor incidents to more serious assaults.

Habimana, a Rwandan boy, spoke in detail about the manner in which he is treated on public transport. He believed the reaction of his fellow commuters indicated he is considered to be physically repulsive and not a person one would wish to sit next to. Habimana thought this was due to the colour of his skin.

When you sit next to someone who may be a different colour, you may feel you don't want to sit together. So what I did I just decided to stand because I saw her reaction towards me. I may be causing something which may make her react.

Habimana discusses this further in his description of what some people do when he goes to sit next to them, or when they approach a seat that is near to him:

They don't want to sit with you, you just seeing their physical reaction, how she feels or he feels ... on their face and body actually, trying to squeeze backwards on the seat ... also on a train you may be sitting on a seat and there are three seats here [gesticulating that the seats are next to him] and they come and look at you and they move away to other seats.

These types of incidents had emotional repercussions for Habimana:

I feel bad because I don't think there is very much difference between a human being. I felt sad because it reflect [sic] me back to what happened in Rwanda.

This type of post-traumatic syndrome is discussed further in 4.2.5 Impact of racism on health and wellbeing. Stories such as Habimana's, which point to a deep and debilitating impact of racism, should be of interest and concern to mental health professionals. The quantitative data found that 9.9% of participants thought that people avoided them because of their cultural background, with only 0.9% reporting this as a daily occurrence and 5.3% occasionally/rarely. Habimana's experience and the quantitative findings do not signify that migrants/refugees are avoided regularly and constantly; however, Habimana's occasional experience of this type of reaction has a harmful effect on his health and wellbeing.

Not only were some of the participants victims of racist behaviour in public transport settings, one participant, David, was an unwilling witness to a tragic racist incident while using public transport. David's disturbing story of the incident at the train station extends our understanding of the types of racist incidents to which Australian youth may be subjected:

Just the other day some kid got stabbed ... I was on the train. This kid got off the train and another kid stabbed him. It was based on something that had happened the week before ... to do with like cultural groups. A Samoan boy got stabbed by an Asian boy. We were just sitting on this train and then this train stopped at Springvale. The Samoan boy got off and then there was this guy who they had an altercation with the week before, they started a fight and yer, he got stabbed.

David was sitting on the train watching the incident through the window, and stated:

it's not like a ... taboo or something that's really rare ... but when it happens in front of you it's a bit different.

Despite saying that he was not shocked by the incident he admits that he 'kept looking at it' and that he 'read about it in the paper the next day'. The interview situation did not allow for an extensive discussion of whether or not David was as unaffected by the incident as he suggested, nor was the interviewer qualified to pursue this matter with him. David's story exemplified the need for the further assistance of a health profession, possibly a psychologist or counsellor, in such severe situations. It is quite probable that the stabbing had affected David a lot more than he was willing to admit. This particular incident exemplified the manner in which a young person can inadvertently become the victim of a racist incident without being directly involved.

The settings for racist experiences for Indigenous youth differ from that of most other participants. The qualitative data, whilst very limited, indicated that the level of racism that Indigenous youth suffer outside of school is comparable to that which they suffer inside the school setting. Interestingly the quantitative data did not necessarily support this finding, as

Indigenous youth (63.2%) were found to experience far less racism than migrants and refugees (80%). As discussed previously, the limited number of participants could account for this anomaly. Also, the interview situation allowed for the participants to speak in detail about the racist experiences, which may have encouraged a fuller disclosure than the survey. Arguably, the Indigenous students who were willing to participate in the interviews may have done so because they had stories to tell and were looking for a vehicle to do so. However, whilst Indigenous youth may regularly suffer racism out in the community, a few participants reported incidents in which Indigenous youth had been the perpetrators of racist abuse as well. Shelley, an Anglo-Australian girl, described an incident in which she and her sister were abused as they passed a group of Indigenous girls on the street saying 'you're a fucking white cunt'. At a later date Shelley and her friends were stalked by a group of Indigenous girls:

They had followed us to the markets. Later on two of them approached us and accused two of us of calling their little cousin a slut. When we asked for proof, it was us they said, it was two white girls, and she recognised them as you two.

Shelley denied the abuse, to which the Indigenous girls responded that 'they would bash our white asses if we didn't admit to it.' Eventually this situation turned into a fight. Shelley commented that as a result of this incident:

I will look at a darker skinned person and think, are they gonna bash me? – I don't trust anyone that has a dark skin. I became anxious and had eating problems and saw a psychiatrist.

Racism is also reported as occurring on the street, randomly in the city or at sporting areas, such as a community oval or skating rink. This out-of-school racism is experienced by youth from different cultural backgrounds, as Anne, an Asian girl, exemplifies in her story of her visits to the city with friends:

When I was out with one of my friends and a couple of times we passed groups of people and they rolled their eyes at us and go 'oh Asians', so it's not like we're welcomed there or anything.

The perpetrators of these racist responses were white Australian girls, about the same age as Anne. This racist response heightened Anne's determination to keep going, particularly as she saw it as a territorial issue 'they want to state a claim on their country. We are supposed to stick to our own area ... they think it [the city] is just for them'.

Several participants told stories of incidents that happened out on the streets. Farid said that strangers on the street have called him 'a raper' because he is Lebanese, and told him 'Islam ... [means] you're allowed to rape girls'. Tek, a Cambodian boy, who has been in Australia for two years, said that when he is out on the streets sometimes he hears someone say to a dark-skinned person 'oh black guy, I hate black guy.' David, an Anglo-Saxon Australian-born boy, described how when he is walking down the street 'They give you a bit of flack ... because I am Australian, you Bogan or whatever, give you a fair bit of flack ... calling you stupid Aussie.' Racism against mainstream Australians was reported in both the school and community setting, although it did not have as great a preponderance as racism against minority groups. The quantitative data supported this with 54.6% of Anglo-Australians reporting a racist experience. Rachael, an Anglo-Australian girl, said:

I think it gives me a sense of security [being white]. I hear about and see the horrible things that happen to other people and how it has affected them and I think I am lucky enough to not have to deal with that.

Some Anglo-Australian participants reported that the geography of the area, urban, outer-urban, regional or remote, influenced the amount of racism that takes place. Rachel felt that living in a regional area did not lend itself to her experiencing much racism because 'we're all white. The ——— Coast is mostly white, and people would say it's more ——— [a major city] where you get the cultural differences'. Despite this statement though, Rachel did illustrate racist name-calling against whites that she has experienced personally: 'red heads actually, people call them rangers'. Conversely, Mariluz felt a certain fear of living in a regional area. As a Muslim girl who wears the hijab, she believed she would be the victim of narrow-minded attitudes. The propensity of regional areas to be less culturally diverse and more Anglo-Saxon supports both views.

Even the setting of one's home is not exempt from racist attacks, as illustrated by Adil, a Turkish boy, who lives in an outer-urban area:

It started over a rubbish bin ... it was a housing commission house. Firstly they started breaking my dad's truck window, singing the national anthem outside. Being racist comments for our religion, I'm Muslim. They say 'pigs', basically swearing at us and attack us.

The climax to this racism was the attack upon Adil's family by a man with a cricket bat. Mariluz's, and Adil's accounts support the notion that the further a person with a culturally diverse background lives from the major cities, the more likely it is that racist behaviour may occur. However, this project did not explore this question in sufficient detail to provide any definitive statements regarding this matter.

Only one interview participant reported a racist incident experienced in a government agency setting. The story evolved from Habimana's discussion of how one can never be sure what a person is thinking; outwardly they may be displaying good body language and a happy face, but inwardly they may have different emotions. Habimana's brother told the story of how he had attended a government employment agency:

Because one of my brothers was in ——. He was given a form to fill out. After filling out he was talking to the person who was working, nicely, physically happy. But afterwards ... when he left he looked back, the person teared [sic] the form and rubbish it with anger. Physically they are happy but not emotionally.

Whilst it is possible that the government worker was tearing up another form or piece of paper, Habimana's brother believed it was his form and perceived the behaviour to be racially based. If this was a form of racism it is more likely to go undetected than an overtly verbal or physical assault. There is an unequal power relationship between a customer at a government agency and the employee; the government employee can influence the success of the customer's application or, as was suggested in this story, make sure that the application is never processed.

Generally for Australian youth racism occurs within the school setting. However, for the small group of Indigenous youth interviewed, racism seems to occur equally in the school and out in the community. For migrants, Anglo-Saxon Australian-born youth and refugees, racism occurs most often within the school setting. It is important to note though, that the data indicated that all cultural groups experience some level of racism outside of the school.

4.2.4 Responses to racism

The qualitative interview data indicates that generally the responses to racist incidents were of a non-violent nature. The participants reported:

- feeling bad
- crying
- asserting their rights by telling the perpetrator to stop
- using humour to fight back
- feeling angry and frustrated
- feeling stronger
- alerting a teacher
- not doing anything and not having the power to do anything, and thereafter avoiding certain situations.

'Not doing anything', apart from walking away, was a very common response and was reflected in the quantitative data. For example, of the survey participants who answered the question, 52.7% reported that in response to being the target of racist jokes they 'took no action'. Similarly, when survey participants responded to seeing their 'culture portrayed in a poor light', 75.8% 'took no action'.

In school

This non-violent response to racism of 'doing nothing' was found to be prevalent among the refugee participants, as Shakrokh, an Afghani boy, explains:

I felt really bad, awkward. You can't really react to them, some people are aggressive ... you just have to put your head down, don't react.

Shakrokh has learnt that saying nothing is the best strategy, since 'if you say anything they reply with nasty things and you'll be in all sorts of trouble'. Bethram, another Afghani refugee, responds to racism in a similar way, but for different reasons:

When I came to Australia my brother tells me they are good people. So when someone throws something at me I wasn't doing anything because I thought they would get better. But they keep doing it.

Bethram's experience highlights the dilemma that may affect other refugees who have fled war zones to seek a better life in Australia. Once here, they are optimistic about their future, however, there may be a disappointment that racism continues to infiltrate their lives. Bethram's brother, who sponsored him to come to Australia, encourages him constantly and has often told Bethram how good the Australian people are. Unfortunately Bethram has quickly discovered that some Australians do not meet his definition of 'good' and that the perpetrators of racist behaviour can be cowards: 'when there's a few of them they don't do it, but when there's a lot of them they do it.' Under these circumstances, when the number of perpetrators is large, Bethram's response of saying nothing seems sensible. Despite the cowardly disposition of the perpetrators, he wishes to avoid physical conflict.

Dragoslavia, a Serbian girl, discusses feelings of exclusion, a common theme among refugees, and the difficulty of knowing how to respond. Dragoslavia suffers racist abuse several times a week:

It makes me feel excluded a little bit because when they are saying that I feel that I should just look away and ignore it, but I can't ignore it because they are still saying it, I can still hear it, it is still going through my head. I get a headache after that ... I can't explain how it makes me feel. I don't like it and I really want it to stop, because it's not nice.

Thus 'doing nothing' has not solved the problem for Dragoslavia, as the racist attacks are still causing her some distress. Her response leaves her feeling hurt and frustrated that she is unable to respond violently, even though she acknowledges that to do so would be 'wrong'.

The distress at being the victim of racism sometimes displays itself through crying; Ardita was called a terrorist and 'cried the whole afternoon. We don't wear the *shamise*, and blowing stuff up. Most Muslims aren't like that'. These attitudes are reflected in the quantitative data in which 48.9% of participants indicated that they had heard or read comments stereotyping their cultural group. The teacher appears to be no help to Ardita even though she is aware of her discomfort. According to Ardita the teacher merely says 'be quiet' to offending students. Ardita believes she is in no position to discuss this issue openly with the class since she fears she will 'get a hard time over it'. As she further explains:

I'd get too nervous and anxious as especially with the students in the class as they have their own private jokes. I don't want us to discuss it in class as I know I will get a hard time over it.

Thus it would appear that Ardita is anxious and nervous in the history class because the teacher does not have an effective strategy or the resources and tools to counter the undercurrent of racism against Muslim youth. The quantitative data found that only 4% of respondents reported the racist behaviour to someone when they heard or read stereotyping comments about their cultural group, and if they did the majority had reported it to a teacher. There is a certain irony in this quantitative finding given Ardita's description of a teacher who seemed incapable of dealing with racist behaviour. Yet the importance of the teacher is confirmed by Ekta, who states in relation to racism in the classroom, 'it depends on the teacher'.

In contrast to Ardita's story, Melissa, who is being called an 'Asian' and 'oriental' in a history class, complains that her 'teacher will stop and not go on with what he was explaining about making the connection between Asia and Australia, because he thinks this will offend me'. This action of blocking debate seems an inappropriate way for the teacher to proceed since it doesn't address the underlying issues out of fear that the situation could be exacerbated:

I felt pinpointed and targeted, every time he talks about it, everyone looks at me, personally. Some students don't want to go on talking about it just in case they will offend me. I get angry and embarrassed that they don't want to go on and talk about it.

Her response is to assert her rights and tell a perpetrator who calls her 'Asian' and 'oriental' to explain his actions to the class:

The teacher asked what was wrong? I looked at him [the guy who called me these names] I said all right, 'you can tell the whole class what you just called me'. He doesn't say it out loud to the teacher he just says it to me personally, and all the other friends around him heard. It's a putdown and he thinks it's a joke.

Thus Melissa not only has to bear the brunt of racial abuse and innuendo, but also feels she is being held partially responsible for what the teacher might or might not teach. By confronting the perpetrator in front of the whole class she is taking the risk that the teacher will deal with the situation competently and appropriately and not exacerbate Melissa's distress or embarrassment. From this perspective it is quite a courageous response, but it has an element of foolhardiness because of the unknown consequences.

Sam, an Indigenous student, recalled being the only black person in the class and the effect this had upon his response to a teacher he believed was being racist, 'At St — I was the only black person in the class and she'd yell at me for no reason so I didn't want to go to English.' Sam responded by avoiding the situation rather than confronting it like Melissa. Liam, another Indigenous student, reiterated Sam's view that 'Some of the teachers are racist. Like if you're sitting down they will pick on you'. These boys felt that no matter what Indigenous students do in class they will get 'picked on' by the teacher.

Some Indigenous students, feeling that the teacher is being racist and unfair, respond verbally. Carrie describes this resistance:

Some sort of get smart back to the teachers and all that. They [the teachers] don't want them there. Couple of kids [were] acting naughty, swearing around.

Name-calling, teasing and racist jokes were cited frequently in the interviews as experiences of racism, and the victims of these jokes were often co-opted into this very discourse. Humour is a constant theme in the racist behaviour, both in the experience and response. In the survey, 29% of respondents said that they had been the victim of racist jokes, songs or teasing, and the majority of interview participants spoke of racist joking in particular, and its regular occurrence at school. Akoch, a Sudanese refugee, said that he responded to racist behaviour in school with jokes. He talked about how through living in Australia he has grown accustomed to this type of racist joking:

What we do in school if someone is making racist jokes to you, you try to come back at them. As I've been in Australia I've grown to that. I take it as a joke but my cousins ... others take it seriously; I just take it as a joke with friends and stuff like that.

The humour helps to defuse and distract the situation thereby avoiding a physical conflict. In this context the humour has a positive role to play, despite it often being used as a weapon in the racist battle.

However, later in the interview Akoch reveals that he sometimes wishes he could respond in a more physical manner:

We had an argument with some other boys and when we walked out of the swimming pool they come past the car and they started throwing stuff at us and they called us the 'n' word and said to 'get out of our country' ... I was thinking if the car broke down in front of us I could get them.

Tabia, a Burundian girl, who often responds to racist behaviour by ignoring it, can clearly be pushed too far, particularly if the racism involves unwarranted and unwanted touching. She is fed up with the patronising way a student examines her hair and asks her to stop 'because you are making me feel bad'. Like Melissa, Tabia chose an assertive response, although Tabia's many stories of constant racism suggest that this moment of assertiveness did not affect the overall level of racism she was subjected to thereafter.

Out of school

The chasing game between police and Indigenous youth described by Marie has an element of performance (Bakhtin, 1941):

Some Indigenous kids tease the cops, like tease them and run. When you walk around you must get bored and then tease the coppers or tease someone to chase to make it a bit fun.

Thus the response to the racism by school, police and in the wider community by some youth may be to 'tease someone to chase to make it a bit fun'. Youth are well aware that the implications can be serious, according to Amos: 'When I get stopped by the police I feel nervous as you might think they're gonna send you straight to jail or somewhere.'

When not engaged in a performance style of resistance, many of the participants choose a more passive stance. Indeed, it is arguable that passive resistance is *active*, in the sense that it is a strategy aimed at survival. Marie's words, 'my parents are over it ... I feel annoyed but you can't really do anything because you're Indigenous', suggest a resignation designed to aid survival.

Another response to the curfew and being watched by security guards is to simply avoid the situation as Sam has mentioned earlier 'I wouldn't go for a soft drink, I wouldn't wait outside either'.

Sam responds at one stage to racial vilification by fighting back:

I was angry, it came out of nowhere and I punched him in the mouth and was sent off. I told the ref about it [the racist sledging] because he didn't see it. I don't deserve to be treated because of my skin colour ... I don't see myself as a lesser person, I just get angry about it. If I'm too angry I'll retaliate violently or just walk away.

In this case the participant responded to racist taunts with violence and was further angered when the umpire did not take seriously his allegations of racism.

Another example of a violent response to racism was described by an Iraqi boy Ali, who was attacked in regional Victoria: 'After that, a couple of days, I got my mates, we went to their houses we smashed them, every single one of them, we got them back. They told the police'.

Ali felt that given the relentless racism he and his friends had endured their violent response was justified. When interviewed he showed no signs of remorse nor was he particularly emotional about it. He did not even seem too perturbed that the victims told the police – in fact this seemed to have been an assumed outcome.

Sumaiah, a Sudanese girl, discusses the treatment of her cousin at the hands of two boys and their consequent response:

My friend was walking with my cousin. They were holding chocolates, selling chocolates, I was in year 7 and this boy just called out like 'hey Africans, I want to buy chocolates'. They were really angry they just walked off.

When asked what was it that offended them so much she replied:

He didn't call them like any others, like they call others, they say 'hello' or 'excuse me I want to buy a chocolate' but he was 'hey Africans I want to buy a chocolate'.

The girls responded with anger at the manner in which they were called 'African' as if they were being classified and were not deserving of any individual acknowledgment. It was interesting that Sumaiah expressed particular disgust at their lack of manners too, something which she felt signifies respect towards another human being. Similarly, the quantitative data showed that when respondents heard or read stereotyped comments about them, 47.7% felt angry and frustrated. Anger and frustration were common responses to racist behaviour.

Finally, a young Serbian/Bosnian girl, Jasna, responds to constant racist attack with the phrase 'no I'm not racist'. Jasna is bombarded with the accusation that because she is

Serbian she hates Croatians and Albanians. In response she admonishes the attackers by pointing out that not only are they being racist, but that what they are accusing her of is racist. She also responds by pointing out the absurdity of a question such as ‘do you hate Albanians?’ with the retort ‘I don’t know, I don’t know any Albanians’. Whilst Jasna finds these sorts of retorts reasonably satisfying she also exclaims about her assumed hatred of Croatians ‘I ... don’t really know who started the war’. Jasna’s unembarrassed admission about her ignorance about the Serbian and Croatian history highlights the ridiculous nature of the racist taunts about her hatred of Croatians and Albanians.

4.2.5 Impact of racism on health and wellbeing

The interview participants reported various issues relating to health and wellbeing, ranging from minor and passing impacts to more serious and long-term effects.

Minor impacts include:

- sweaty palms
- increased heart rate
- passing or brief feelings of anger or sadness
- feeling shaky or trembling
- tense muscles.

Moderate impacts include:

- headaches
- feeling angry or sad for one day
- reduced ability to concentrate or complete homework on the same day of the incident
- inability to complete class work immediately following the incident
- wanting to physically attack the perpetrator.

Major impacts include

- ongoing feelings of sadness, anger, not belonging and resentment
- a constant sense that they are excluded
- headaches
- long-term effects upon schoolwork
- pervading fear of being attacked verbally or physically, paranoia
- feeling scared at school, or reluctant to go to school
- not trusting anybody
- desire to return to country of birth
- post-traumatic stress – flashbacks on previous traumatic events or reflections on past troubles.

The quantitative data found that generally the majority participants who were victims of racist incidents responded by taking no action, but this depended on the type of racism. For example, when they had 'heard or read comments stereotyping their cultural group', 71.4% of participants 'took no action'. However, when they were the victim of verbal abuse, 45.8% of participants 'took no action', but 40% confronted the perpetrator. The context is important, as it is easier to confront someone who is verbally abusing you than to confront someone who has perhaps drawn a racist cartoon in a newspaper.

Many participants cited minor impacts, such as Robert, a boy from Montenegro, who described an incident that he witnessed at the beach after the Cronulla riots:

The Lebo was swimming and he came out just to dry himself off. Apparently the Lebo touched one of the Aussie's girlfriends, but he wasn't, he was just swimming, so the three of them hit him.

When Robert was asked about the impact he said:

my heart beating faster because I felt sorry for him, because three on one you couldn't defend yourself ... sweaty palms and heart beating faster and tensed in the arms.

This incident had a short-term impact on him, but he described another incident which had a more significant impact on his health and wellbeing and for a much longer period of time:

Out in the community ... I went to the skate park with some of my friends [who] are Aboriginal, one of the Aussies called me a wog and I hit him. I got really angry and I couldn't control myself. I hit him ...

Robert not only talks about the immediate responses – the adrenaline rush, the anger and frustration – but also the longer term impact: 'I just regretted hitting him because I lashed out at him, I couldn't think straight but then I relaxed after two days.' He goes on to discuss the impact on his sense of safety and security:

All I know is I don't trust no-one, even if you're my closest friend, I trust my dad and my mum and my two sisters, but I don't trust no-one. Cause everyone can do the dirty on you, so I don't trust no-one.

It seems that this racist experience has reduced Robert's sense of trust in people and further, created a wellbeing issue at school. Robert believes that several teachers are racist towards him and other students:

There's a couple of teachers that I think are racist. They don't get along with students if you're like Arabic, Lebanese, Serbian. Even if you don't do anything, even if you just say one word they put you on detention.

Robert's perception of racist behaviour by teachers, impacted upon his enjoyment of school 'I don't feel like going into classes but I have to or I will get into trouble. I just try to be quiet and don't say anything, but even if you don't say anything you will get into trouble'.

Robert's ability to do work in two classes was affected 'because I hate the teacher' and because of his feelings of anger and frustration. His manner of dealing with this was to 'just try not to do anything. I just walk out of the class and just keep it to myself'.

A challenging part of this impact upon Robert's health and wellbeing was that he found himself wanting to lash out at people who call him a wog despite saying, in relation to involvement in physical violence, 'I would prefer not to be'. This urge to be violent worries Robert.

Encouragingly, Robert had a means to resolve his anger 'if I am in a crappy mood I go to work and all my friends are there ... there's one good Australian guy who I am friends with, he's really good'. Friends are crucial in the maintenance of Robert's health and wellbeing. This was something referred to by Ekta, who told a story about friendship and racism.

One of Ekta's friends was being abused at school on a constant basis and this was impacting upon the health and wellbeing of their friendship group. The response by Ekta's friendship group was 'look we're hanging around with someone who is just being bullied all the time, always getting racial comments. Why should we hang around her now when no-one likes her?'

When asked what the group decided to do, Ekta responded:

We made a decision that if we did leave her who would she be with? ... and if we didn't leave her she would actually have someone to talk to it if happened again, rather than just teachers. She would feel more comfortable talking to her friends.

The group's decision affected the health and wellbeing of both the girl who was being abused and the friendship group as a whole. Ekta said 'we are all much closer now than we were before, we've got to know each other better'. The girl who was being abused is now equipped to ignore the racist comments, and Ekta stated 'she doesn't care anymore. She knows we are here for her.' The girl has a safety net upon which she can rely and despite still being the victim of racism she now has a resilience that she did not have previously.

A type of self-blame is reflected in Susie's account of her feelings about the constant police scrutiny when she and her family come into town in their car, as reported in 4.2.1 Experiences of racism. Whilst she does not blame herself she is resigned to being subjected to this type of racist behaviour: 'I feel annoyed but you can't really do anything in Alice Springs because you're Indigenous.'

Whilst several participants cited friendships as being important in managing the impacts of racism, Naradha, a Sri Lankan boy, describes a different way in which he copes with the potential impact of racism upon his health and wellbeing:

Sometimes I feel distressed, I lose my concentration, but then the teachers try to cheer me up ... I just get maybe time out, sit by myself ... I have a mission in my life and that was to come to this school and set myself some goals and achieve it and I won't be sidetracked just because some students behave towards me like this.

Naradha uses the empowerment of his self-belief and his motivation to achieve his goals as a management technique for dealing with the racism, thereby reducing the negative impact upon his health and wellbeing. He stated that 'I have the power to cope with the situation that has been thrown at me. I am flexible to change according to the situations.' In Naradha's case, despite reasonably consistent exposure to verbal racism, the way he thinks about his situation and focuses upon his goals enables him to see the racist experience in perspective.

The racist experiences affect the health and wellbeing of young Australians in many ways and this can include a negative impact on schoolwork. Alison, an Anglo-Australian girl, said that after a racist incident it 'might distract me temporarily [from schoolwork], I might be a bit fidgety'. This was only a minor impact, but Alison explained how some racist incidents affect her in a more serious way:

It takes its toll. There are people from a different culture in my group and sure it gets in the way of our relationship. You tend to isolate yourself socially, it affects trust. I have a Lebanese friend and he tried to explain why a terrorist attack happens, he said it was part of his culture. I didn't talk to him for over a month.

Not only does the racism affect Alison's friendship group and their interactions, the experience of having a friend who either supports or justifies terrorism was upsetting for Alison. This affected Alison so much she found herself incapable of communicating with her friend, therefore affecting her emotional wellbeing, for a month. The interview did not allow for a discussion of how this conversation affected her Lebanese friend.

Emily, whose mother is Australian-born Anglo-Saxon and father is Manx, describes how the racist bullying affects confidence:

*Like when you are being bullied about racism you do feel less self-confident.
But in a way if you do tell yourself you know, I am all these things that are bad
and don't look at the good ... if you look at the good you are more confident.*

Carly, who has an Indigenous mother and Romanian father, talks about how racism has affected her wellbeing, because it has detracted from her general comfort in social situations 'If it's new people I feel like I have to start the same arguments all over again. It's really hard.' Carly is here referring to negative conversations that new acquaintances tend to have with her about Indigenous people. She is distressed that she hears negative things about Indigenous people on a daily basis and states 'I have to stop and think about things before I react'.

Of the survey participants, 48.9% reported hearing or reading comments stereotyping their cultural group. When reporting on how this made them feel, 47.7% said they felt angry and frustrated, emotions also reported by Carly, who described the manner in which her friends deliberately discuss Aboriginal hand-outs because they 'realise they will get a rise out of me'. This situation affects her relationships with her friends and lessens the sense of trust amongst them 'they can take it as an insult if I stop them making a joke ... It might make it harder for me to open up to them. I don't always trust their judgment'.

Trust is an issue that the participants discussed frequently. Carly discussed her loss of trust in other people, while conversely Mariluz discussed other people not trusting her. Mariluz, a Muslim girl who wears her *hijab* daily in public, hates the constant accusations that she is a terrorist and the fear that every non-Muslim she sees assumes that she is a terrorist:

*Like it's not true. You wish you could tell them that, it's not true ... it's like not
us ... the majority of us are not like that it really gets me annoyed because it's
not true, you know it's not true ... because people look at you weirdly, you
know that they think, they're not saying it but the way they look at you, you
know.*

On a longer term basis Mariluz discusses how this affects her self-confidence 'you get down, you're not really confident out there anymore because people just see you as what the media says'. Mariluz goes on to explain that the way Muslims are portrayed in the media makes her feel insecure. This is similar to 13.8% of survey participants who stated that in response to hearing or reading comments stereotyping their culture they felt like 'they didn't belong'. This sense of not belonging is exacerbated because she believes that maybe 20–30% of people are looking at her and thinking she is a terrorist, not trusting her intentions.

George, a boy from a Mediterranean background, discusses the impact of racist bullying on the health and wellbeing of a member of his soccer team:

I've seen people in my soccer team being bullied to the point where they left ... I don't know how they were going through it because they pretty much kept to themselves. Once a couple of the kids starting doing it [being racist], they [the victims of the racism] were very self-conscious. They were just standing there and doing what the coach told them to do.

George goes on to discuss one particular boy in the soccer team who suffered constant racial abuse:

They just stereotyped him pretty much. I think he was Lebanese so they just started stirring him up about his religion and just said stuff that really wasn't true because a very small majority of that religion that do stuff and they think everyone does it now. He just went into his own little bubble and just took it and then left at the end of the year.

Whilst the impact of this racial abuse on the young Lebanese boy's health and wellbeing cannot be assessed it is reasonable to assume that his mental health was affected. This is suggested by his leaving the soccer team and by the quantitative data, which indicated that 38.8% of victims of racial abuse agreed that they felt 'angry and frustrated' and 18.4% felt that 'they didn't belong'. The racial abuse could have made the boy feel unwelcome in the soccer team. That he did not report the incident to the coach fits with only 5.6% of survey participants reporting when they had been verbally abused. George, too, was upset by the incident, and it is clear that it had affected his emotional wellbeing to a degree.

Many of the participants cited exclusion as a racist behaviour that impacted greatly upon health and wellbeing. Tabia, a Burundian girl, elucidated the way racism contributes to feelings of exclusion, which then affect emotional health and wellbeing. At one stage a boy was constantly harassing her at school:

Once he saw me and I was going to roll call and he was like 'oh would you go on a date with that girl?' he was just making it up ... so I felt really left out. I felt like I don't belong in this school because he is saying no one will go out on a date with me, no one will like me at all.

This boy's behaviour exacerbates Tabia's sense of exclusion, as she is experiencing verbal abuse regularly at school. However, Tabia shows an understanding of the boy's motivation 'he was just trying to make me feel like no one will ever want to go out on a date with me'. Unlike Ekta, Tabia was not blaming herself for the perpetrator's behaviour.

Wesal, a Sudanese girl, confirmed this feeling of exclusion: 'sometimes I feel like I don't want to go to school anymore. I feel like I want to go back to my country'. She then explained the effect of this on her schoolwork: '[We would] get better marks at school if they're be like not teasing us, if they like be making us the same as them'. Like Wesal, Sumaiah had been excluded and felt the full impact of social rejection. Sumaiah was distressed throughout the interview and at one point had to be given a few minutes to manage the effects of her tears. She said:

I feel left out. They don't care how you feel after they call you black ... through year 7. I didn't have friends for the whole year. I didn't have friends, in class I sat alone until year 8 when my African friends came.

Sumaiah spent all her recesses and lunchtimes alone during year 7 but in year 8 some more African girls came. Later she became friends with another girl who is not African. However, even this has not stopped the students from harassing her; they now pick on both Sumaiah and her friend, who is a young Muslim girl:

When we walk together coming in [to school] and people will be like 'hey look at the black girl walking with the Lebanese girl'. She is like tiny and short and they tease her about that, and they'll tease her about being Muslim.

Sumaiah went on to say that 'when she goes home she thinks about it a lot' and she feels 'left out', 'depressed' and 'isolated' when she is racially abused at school. Once again, friends became a crucial part of the management technique; Sumaiah relies on her friend to talk to about the abuse, and her friend relies on her in return. This resonates with other participants, who discussed the importance of friends in dealing with the impact of racism.

Sumaiah also talks to her mother, who tells her 'this is a racist country, or she tells me to tell the teacher'. Unfortunately Sumaiah says talking to the teacher doesn't really help. She has also spoken several times to the principal, but was dejected by these conversations as she felt they achieved nothing: 'they don't deal with it, they don't do anything about it ... the principal just says she's disciplined students and they wouldn't do this and she's going to talk to them.' Sumaiah's experience of reporting to the principal is ironic in the light of the majority of survey participants who said they reported incidents of racism to their teachers. This approach may not necessarily provide a solution.

Tabia further illustrated the impact of racism upon health and wellbeing when she explained how it affects her schoolwork:

If someone said something bad to me in recess or lunch I would start daydreaming about maybe tomorrow they're going to say the same thing

again, may tomorrow they'll say something worse. Imagine if say I have a test at period 3, at recess a girl came to me and swore [sic] to me, call me black, insulted me for my cultural background so going in to class instead of thinking about what was said, sometimes I even feel like crying, I cry my tears and I feel upset ... if I tell anybody at school they wouldn't care and it just makes me feel sad. If it happens to me again and I have a test I wouldn't be concentrating I would just be thinking about that, I would have no marks for my test because I wouldn't be concentrating on my test.

The racism has made Tabia feel distressed and unwelcome in Australia, but even more worrying was her comment in relation to a girl who questioned the cleanliness of her hair, as described previously:

I felt like 'wo' I don't' belong here, everybody is the same except for me I'm different. It just hurts my feelings and puts me down. I wouldn't even eat at home because I start to think about what happened at school.

The experience upset her so much it affected her ability to eat at home, a troubling response for a young teenage girl. Issues with eating are compounded by Tabia's anger that she feels she is almost being sexually assaulted by boys at school:

We were just walking and one of those boys came behind us and then they just touched our shoulders, then they were touching us by the tip of the hand as if you know, we're, I don't know how to say it, as if we are disgusting things to touch ... they think because I'm black I can't do anything about it ... I feel like I'm scared ... sometimes it feels like it's sexual assault 'cause he sometimes comes to us and touches us on our backs and maybe next time he does something even worse ... because they say at this school if a boy touches you, if you don't want them to touch you, even if they do it for fun and you're not a person who likes that just tell the teacher.

The equating of the 'touching' to sexual assault emphasises the impact of this inappropriate behaviour upon Tabia. It was unwanted and unwelcome and made her feel as if she did not have control of what happened to her body. Her emotional wellbeing is being affected by these incidents.

Along these same lines, Zemar, an Afghani refugee, illustrates the potential of racism to affect a student's general mental health. He says that he feels 'depressed, very unhappy, broken and you don't feel like continuing on, want to give up'. This was in response to a particular incident at soccer in which he was unable to express himself properly because of language issues 'it made me feel really low, I cannot speak properly, I was not happy about

it'. He explained that after this particular incident he 'didn't have energy in me'. Not only did Zemar have to endure racist ridicule he also had to endure the loss of a friend through racism:

Yer, one of my friends, his friend was racist to me and he had to choose between him and me. I didn't put no pressure on him and I just left so he could get on with his life ... I felt really bad because he was the only friend of mine at that school.

Fortunately, Zemar was able to make new friends and there were other Afghani students in the school, so he was not completely abandoned, but the event was traumatic and significantly affected Zemar's health and wellbeing.

Dinnah, a Serbian girl, exemplifies the confusion that can arise from the impact of racism upon health and wellbeing. Initially, she describes her response to the constant verbal racism she is experiencing at school thus:

they just say stuff like 'you're Serbian go back to Serbia', they always say that stuff to you. They always bag me that I'm Serbian. I don't mind, I ignore it, it doesn't really affect me.

Later in the interview, however, she says this about the verbal racism:

I show them that I don't care but it affects me. I just want to get out of the school because I don't like it. They think it's fun but it isn't. If I say something back to them they'll get offended and then I'll get blamed for it.

Dinnah provides two conflicting accounts of how the racism affects her. In the first she claims it 'doesn't really affect me', but in the second she says 'I don't like it'. It could be that Dinnah attempts to deter the perpetrators by pretending not to care, despite the fact that it does hurt her and affects her wellbeing. Several participants state that one method of dealing with perpetrators is to give them the impression the abuse has not really affected them. In some cases this was reasonably effective, but in others it did not work as effectively as hoped.

Adil's story, cited previously, of being attacked verbally and physically when living in a regional area, cries out for the support, involvement and availability of mental health professionals. Adil says:

I've seen a psychologist, I couldn't go home for days. I had to stay at my cousin's house. I was too scared and afraid even to go outside to throw out rubbish or even in my own backyard.

The impact of racism on Adil's mental health escalated to the point where he and his family had to move from the area, as he 'was slowly getting sick'. He talks of how he started to think differently about Australia and developed the constant feeling that he was unsafe. This affected his schoolwork too: 'I couldn't do work for days, even if I came to school'.

Mannheim's story reflects the collision of the past and the present and the effect this can have on health and wellbeing. His tragic story of his previous experiences in Sudan, and the struggle he now faces trying to cope with the pressures of a new country and the expectations of his culture, elucidate very clearly how much refugee youth may be forced to endure and survive. Mannheim grew up in Sudan and left with his family after his father, who 'was really a soldier', was killed as he was trying to protect Mannheim and his family. This was the result of a religious fight between Muslims and Christians. Mannheim is now living in Australia, but in addition to recovering from his father's death, which happened in front of Mannheim, he is also constantly worried about his mother:

It is really an effort to me because my mother is struggling to look after us ... she try her best to bring us to Australia.

Mannheim now feels enormous pressure as 'the elder boy in his family, according to the age, at my age I really have to do something for my family'. When asked if this changed now that he is in Australia, he replied 'no it doesn't change ... I am still a Sudanese'. Mannheim experienced racism in Sudan, and it was this that drove the family out of Africa. Now in Australia he feels a sense of hope 'so in Australia maybe our life will be good because the government is giving us money and we are studying for free'. For youth like Mannheim, to escape racism only to come to a place where they are further racially abused is a tragic and troubling collision of past and present, which inevitably affects health and wellbeing.

Finally, some participants reported that the racism actually affected their wellbeing in a positive manner. Anne reported that racism

made me feel stronger about my culture, I embrace my culture. It makes me want to stick up for myself, I shouldn't hide my culture because people are going to tease me about it ... embrace your Asianism!

Naradha stated:

I stand up for students who don't feel comfortable ... and speak on behalf of them ... this year I am on the run to be selected school captain, I believe I have leadership qualities and I will stand up for my students.

Mariluz supports this view that racism has the potential to make victims more determined to be more proud of their culture and religion, and visibly portray this attitude. After

experiencing comments such as ‘why are you wearing cloths on your head, why are you wearing cloths?’ Mariluz says:

It gives me confidence, like you know who cares? They don't understand. You stand up more, your head's up and that, it's like you're showing it off in a way.

As Mariluz said this she put her head back and demonstrated how it makes her walk with a raised head. The observer was left in no doubt that whilst the racist incidents negatively affected Mariluz's health and wellbeing, she was determined to take a positive out of it and use the experience to develop her resilience. This type of response was reflected in the quantitative data, particularly in relation to verbal abuse. When asked what the impact of verbal abuse was, 13.8% said that the experience ‘made them feel like a stronger person’. This is in line with a growing literature on the psychological and mental impact of racism, whereby stronger and more pronounced levels of resilience are reported as a way of resisting and countering discrimination and marginalisation.

4.3 Four Case Studies

Four case studies will be presented. These case studies will provide in-depth context and will also broaden the understanding of the experience of racism for some Australian youth, but it is not suggested that these are representative of the interviews as a whole. The interviews ranged from students who were experiencing no racism to students who were experiencing racism on a daily basis, to the detriment of their health and wellbeing. Three of the case studies presented are at the more extreme end of reported experiences. However, they are still representative of the experience of some students in the Australian secondary schooling system.

It is sensible to caution that anecdotal evidence is

based on haphazardly selected individual cases, which often come to our attention because they are striking in some way ... these cases may not be representative of a larger group of cases (Augustinos & Reynolds, 2001:53).

Some of the interviews are indeed ‘striking in some way’ because of the relentlessness of the racist behaviour the participants were experiencing and the troubling effect this had upon their health and wellbeing. As the caution suggests, this does indeed mean that the most compelling interviews are not necessarily representative of the 125 project interviews in general, but they do give us a glimpse of the severity of some of the racist experiences and the broad range of these experiences which occur within the school setting.

4.3.1 Naradha

Naradha is an 18-year-old male who attends a secondary school in a lower socio-economic area. He was born in Sri-Lanka and has lived in Australia for less than five years.

Naradha is a highly articulate young man who is self-confident and mature beyond his years. He reported that when he first migrated from Sri-Lanka and began attending school he 'got a generous welcome ... they were very kind to me ... always by my side asking me and advising me'. The teachers and principal made a positive impression upon Naradha and he described his school as one that is continually striving to 'create a multicultural environment'. Both Naradha and his parents feel comfortable in the school and throughout the conversation Naradha spoke highly of his school and teachers.

Unfortunately the attitude of the school and its staff did not necessarily reflect the attitude of many of the students. Upon arrival at the school Naradha reported that he suffered a considerable amount of daily racial abuse. Underpinning this racist behaviour appeared to be a cultural issue regarding education, which Naradha explained 'during my first weeks of school ... some students ... didn't want me in the class, they were jealous of me, maybe it was because of the way I study'. Naradha is a very dedicated student and has embraced the opportunity to learn: 'I feel this country has given me the opportunity to come here and study'. However, he believes that this approach has motivated some of the racial abuse, 'but the other students don't make use of it [the opportunity to study] and then they get jealous.' Education is a major priority for Naradha, however he has the intelligence to recognise that this is not the same for all students, 'I see that they don't understand what the school is really providing you with. They don't make use of it, when we make use of it they get jealous.' Naradha suggested that cultural difference accounted for the other students' attitude towards study: 'our culture is different. We study hard in our country, here it is nothing for us. It is easy. I make use of every opportunity I get.' The teachers at Naradha's school seem to value Naradha and he claimed to have good relationships with them all. This, he believes, is partly due to the fact that he keeps 'up to date with all my work and speak to them [the teachers] often'.

The perceived jealousy that Naradha describes manifests itself in put-downs and students who 'cut me off at every opportunity they get'. When asked what that meant he replied 'Look down at me or try to say "he's like trying to be smart, he's a dickhead", something like that, bad language'. Naradha believes that the nasty behaviour directed towards him is racist and reports that it occurs every day. His response is to 'just keep my mouth shut ... I just don't want to make the problem more intense.'

Naradha's responses were not limited to keeping his mouth shut and ignoring the abusers. He explained that he relies on the support of a particular teacher and stated 'I feel comfortable sitting down with him and opening myself up'. Naradha opened up to the teacher and shared his experience, but did so with a secondary purpose of assuring the students were reprimanded. This teacher 'gave him strategies for dealing with the racist students' and furthered the assistance by speaking to the offending students. According to Naradha 'the problem has been resolved [with this particular group of students] ... they just lay off, they don't bother me anymore'. Naradha's strategy seemed to have worked.

The effect of the racist behaviour upon both Naradha's health and wellbeing and schoolwork was evident, 'sometimes I feel distressed, I lose my concentration'. However, this was partially counteracted by the response of the teachers who 'try to cheer me up'. When asked about violence Naradha said

If the students don't like me I just stay away from them, or they try to argue with me, I still go to speak to them without using violence. If that doesn't work I see my teachers.

The racism made Naradha feel emotional and distressed, but he reported that he had 'the school community behind' him 'supporting him every step of the way.' Sadly, he had questioned his presence at the school and in Australia 'maybe I just feel do I really belong here or something like that, is this where I should be at this moment?' At times like these Naradha's maturity comes to the fore and it is this maturity and sense of direction that enables him to overcome the racist taunts and abuse. He says 'I have the power to cope with this situation that has been thrown at me. I am flexible to change according to the situations.'

The most compelling aspect of this young man's approach to overcoming racism is his aspiration to help other students. He is in the running to be school captain in the coming year and in this role he wants to 'stand up for those students who don't feel comfortable ... and speak on behalf of them'. He spoke of a desire to

create a better understanding between students, try to teach them what it feels like to be from a different culture ... I feel I have the responsibility to clear the misconceptions [about stereotypes] and tell them the facts.

This sense of responsibility is a driving force behind Naradha's determination not to be, as he said, 'sidetracked' by racist behaviour.

4.3.2 Ekta

Ekta is a 15-year-old female who was born in India. She describes herself as Indian-Australian. She attends a secondary school in a lower socio-economic area.

Ekta is troubled by racism on a daily basis and because of this she does not enjoy school. Ekta is teased daily about her cultural background 'because I am Indian they tease me by the term "curry"'. A particular group of students at school are constantly telling her to 'go back to your own country' and put her down verbally. They also make Ekta feel excluded. She explains that she will go to put her name down for an activity only to be yelled at by these students 'go away you curry-muncher, you are not supposed to be doing this, why are you doing it?'. The perpetrators are Anglo-Australians, but Ekta reported that students from Bosnian and Serbian backgrounds also abuse her.

Ekta described sadness and frustration in relation to the verbal abuse. She also discussed a sense of dread about seeing the abusers again at school after an incident:

It's just that if I see them next time will this happen to me again. I can't do anything about it or they'll call me names again. If I do something about it they will call me a 'dibby-dober' or something.

Ekta feels it has affected her mental health 'not being able to concentrate at school anymore, not wanting to do things anymore, because I just feel that I don't belong here, I don't belong anymore.' She is aware of this and says 'I try to keep my confidence up, I don't want to lose my confidence.'

Ekta is starting to get headaches once or twice a week. This is due to her worrying about the abuse and dreading more abuse in the future. She has also developed a sense of insecurity about being alone and always seeks to be with friends at school:

I just don't like to be alone. I like to be with people because I know they're here for me and they're here to comfort me just in case something happens. Whereas if I am alone I will just break down, I won't be able to do anything.

Her concern about being alone at school is well founded, as the perpetrators of the abuse are cowards and attack Ekta only when she is by herself. Ekta relies on a solid friendship group to see her through difficult situations and experiences at school, and uses this group as a tool to deal with the racist abuse. Ekta's friends provide her with a sense of security and have helped her with her dwindling sense of trust in people. She says 'you can't trust everyone, but as long as you have your friends, you know they are always there for you'. Her friends try to 'jolly' her along and implore her to stop worrying 'don't be tense because we're here for you, they can't say anything as long as we're here.'

Ekta, like Naradha, finds that the racist abuse affects her concentration in class. This is furthered by her concerns that:

if I wasn't being tormented, if I wasn't being pressured, if I wasn't hearing bad things about myself, I wouldn't think 'oh, I'm a bad person, I can't do this, I am not going to do it. Whereas if no one said anything bad about me I would push myself harder into doing things and knowing that I can do it, no matter what happens I will do it, but I just can't ...

An interesting aspect of Ekta's experience is her reporting that the racism has made her relationships with her teachers stronger, because 'then I have someone to talk to about it, if I can't talk to my friends about it I can talk to the teacher'.

Sadly the racism has negatively affected Ekta's relationship with her parents, because of Ekta's reluctance to speak to them about her experience:

If I am going home and I am feeling upset and I don't want to talk to anyone ... and they [parents] come up to me and say 'do you want to talk about it' and if I don't feel comfortable and I say no, they will know something's wrong and then they will feel that I am not letting them know what is wrong. It kind of decreases my relationship with them.

Adding to this stress for Ekta is her deteriorating self-image. When asked whether these racist experiences had affected the way she feels about herself she replied:

Yes, definitely ... it's about my image, how I look, what colour I am. Everyone has to be proud of what colour they are but it makes me feel that I wish I wasn't this colour I wouldn't be having all these put-downs on me.

She describes her level of self-confidence as 'not good anymore' and her self-esteem as 'it's got a bit low, but it's still there'. The most troubling aspect of Ekta's response to the racist experiences is her admittance that she gets annoyed with herself and questions 'why am I letting this happen to myself?' as if she is responsible for the racist behaviour of others.

When asked if she felt she was responsible for the racism directed at her she replied 'kind of, maybe if I stayed away, maybe if I didn't come here.'

Like Naradha, Ekta's experience of racism has made her determined to help others: 'I would try to make friends with everyone I could. If I see something wrong happening I would go comfort them'.

4.3.3 Susie

Susie is a fourteen-year-old Indigenous girl who lives in the Northern Territory. Her experiences differ somewhat from those of Naradha and Ekta, because she experiences

racism both at school and out in the community. It is emphasised that Susie's experiences are not reflected in the majority of interviews with Australian youth, but her experiences are reasonably representative of the small selection of Indigenous interviews conducted throughout the project.

Susie experiences significant racism when she is out in the community and describes her unsettling experiences on public transport:

On the town buses, when Indigenous kids walk on, they have to pay \$2 or they get asked for student ID with their uniform on. When the white kids come on, the bus driver just sits down and lets anybody on. Even when they have the uniform on they get asked for ID or they have to pay \$2. I had to pay \$2 but it was really only 50c. They didn't believe I was going to school and I had my uniform on.

Susie appears to have experienced blatant prejudice against Indigenous students. The manner in which this affects Susie is evident when she states 'I felt disgusted, I had proof but they didn't take the proof. I was angry.' The use of the word 'disgust' suggests a depth of emotion in Susie, but there is no discussion on her part of any verbal or physical reaction, other than submitting to the unfair treatment.

Susie elaborates on her submissive behaviour in her more detailed account of how Indigenous students behave on public transport, 'On the bus you just sit down quietly, otherwise you'll get growled because you're Indigenous, you just sit down.' These constant attacks have affected Susie's self-esteem, however, she appears to have built coping mechanisms that help her to be pragmatic about white Australians and their treatment of her. She discusses her views of white Australians in relation to playing netball:

All the people at netball they just think they are really good and they just look at you. They think they're better. Heaps of Indigenous kids play netball but most of us play basketball and hockey and stuff. Mainly white kids, they just think they're better than us, play netball and we don't even bother going there.

Susie too feels that she and other Indigenous youth are targeted at school: 'in school the teacher will just pick out the black group if they are talking and not the white group of girls.' She does, however, give the impression that there is some balance in teachers' behaviour 'half the teachers are good, but some will growl at both [black and white students]'.

The racist abuse and attitude are not limited to school, sport and public transport. It seems that everywhere Susie goes, she is subjected to suspicion or blatant racism. Susie lives out

of town and explains how when she comes into town she can be subjected to a police search:

The police, like if they see a dirty car driving along they think it's a black person so they start staring at it and picking on it ... they see our car they search it and everything.

Susie does not give much detail about how these experiences affect the way she feels about herself or how it affects her schoolwork, relationships or aspirations. Despite this, there is a sense of her being resigned to the racism and unsettled by her experiences. In reference to the police searches, she says 'I feel annoyed, but you can't really do anything in Alice Springs because you're Indigenous.' An element of fear is also a part of Susie's life as she explains that the police scrutiny 'kinda makes me scared, not that we are doing anything wrong'.

Susie suffers racism on public transport, at school and while playing community sport. She is also subjected to police scrutiny when she comes into town. Racism seems to pervade Susie's everyday life and unsettles her sense of self and safety.

4.3.4 Zalmi

Zalmi is a teenage boy who is unsure about his age. He was born in Afghanistan, where he said they did not keep track of his age. He was very young when he left Afghanistan and went initially to Indonesia. He has lived in Australia since 2003.

Zalmi came to Australia on a fishing boat, spending five nights on board 'just sitting on the boat' without enough food or sleep. He described it as very squishy as there were a lot of people. Whilst they had water, it was only just enough to keep them alive.

He describes his arrival in Australia:

When we arrived here the Australian boat came and took the boat ... they brought us to interview us ... then they took us to the detention centre and went through the interview process.

Zalmi was in Woomera for three or four months and said of this 'small groups that went to school ... they educated us, we had a lot of fun activities ... they treated us pretty good.' Following this he went to a language centre in Adelaide and then came to Melbourne and went to primary school and then secondary school.

Zalmi experienced racism soon after his arrival in the second Melbourne suburb in which he lived. This suburb was 'a pretty multicultural community, people from all parts of the world.' When first at school in Australia, Zalmi was ostracised 'I used to stand there and no-one wanted to talk to me because I was the only Afghani. People used to sit away from me,

no-one wanted to be with me.’ This experience had a profound effect on Zalmai: ‘personally it affected me a lot. I felt really bad about myself. I felt like doing something about it but I couldn’t.’ He pleaded with his mother to go back to his old school but she said ‘that school’s too far ... she said to stick with it.’ Zalmai did not tell his mother about the racism despite the fact that he felt a sense of isolation at school and was forced to ‘do stuff on [his] own’.

Zalmai explained that there were only a few people from Afghanistan in that community, ‘they called us terrorist, go back to your country’. This type of abuse was a daily event for Zalmai and other Afghani students at school: ‘two girls ... who are from Afghanistan who wore the hijab, and girls used to tease them as well.’ According to Zalmai this teasing of the girls and other Afghani and CALD students was so concerning that one of the teachers ‘opened a small room at lunchtime so we could go there, people from different backgrounds ... we could go and sit and do out homework.’

This allocation of a lunchtime room for students from CALD backgrounds was a response to general racist behaviour towards students like Zalmai. Zalmai and his friends were prevented from going to the oval to play soccer because they were scared of the boys who would abuse them, ‘we couldn’t walk around the school, we didn’t have much freedom. We couldn’t play at recess and lunchtime soccer, we used to play after school.’

Zalmai reported that the racism ‘continued for one year and a half until they [the Aussie boys] started getting physical with us, they pushed us around and that’s when we tried to fight back with them.’ This physical response culminated one day when Zalmai and his friends, who regularly played soccer, were playing a game against the Aussie students at school. Prior to this if the Afghani students won the match the Aussies became angry. Zalmai describes how one day this anger escalated:

One day they decided to bring their friends ... and then we won the game. They called us names, they pushed us around until they got one of my friends and they tried to hit him and we went to fight him for self-defence. Then all of them tried to fight us and all the teachers came and stopped us.

This fight had a positive outcome as Zalmai explained, ‘the teachers talked to the students and said, if you do this again we might kick you out of the school.’ This had the desired effect and since then ‘nothing’s been going on.’

Zalmai spoke quite openly about the effect of all this racism upon his health and wellbeing: ‘I feel put down ... I want to get away from that place, I want nothing to do with it.’ When asked if he had any physical responses to the racism he responded ‘more emotion from the inside.’ His sense of safety was compromised because he ‘was too scared if I went outside they

might be racist to me again ... we couldn't go to the oval to play soccer because we were scared.'

Zalmai's current experience is a positive one and he reports that 'nowadays we can pretty much do what we want'. The racism seems to have dissipated and the Afghani boys are comfortable in the school. Zalmai still mixes generally with Afghani Muslim boys at school despite the racism having ceased. On a positive note Zalmai says that his health and wellbeing is now 'good, it's improved heaps!'

5 Discussion

5.1 Experiences

As discussed in 4.2.1 Experiences of Racism, the qualitative data revealed that racist behaviour is reasonably prevalent amongst Australian youth and is experienced, to a greater or lesser degree, by all cultural groups. Migrants, refugees and Indigenous people are more likely to experience racism, manifest through racist jokes, 'sledging', name-calling, exclusion, physical abuse and negative attitudes. In the survey, 82.8% of participants from non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds reported experiencing racism. Despite this, Anglo-Australian youth reported that they too experience racist behaviour, both verbal and physical (54.6%).

Language practices such as racist name-calling and 'sledging' of people from migrant, Indigenous and refugee backgrounds are a feature of discursive psychology (Augoustinos & Reynolds 2001), which encourages the notion held by some white Australians that people from migrant, Indigenous and refugee backgrounds do not belong in Australia. This denial positions migrants and Indigenous people as 'perpetual outsiders' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2004) and emerges as a form of 'worrying' and 'white fantasy' (Hage, 1998) over 'Asians' ('them') in 'our' midst. This racial and spatial threat (Ang, 1999) is manifest in the territorial battle over the beach (Cronulla), a 'sacred site' for white Australians. This form of contestation was manifest in one participating school through the defecation on seating used by 'Asians'.

Racist name-calling is an overt way that migrants, refugees and Indigenous people are 'othered' and hence excluded from a sense of belonging at school, in public, on the sporting field and in the wider community. This name-calling was reflected in both the quantitative and qualitative data, with 38.4% of survey participants reporting that they have been called an offensive racist name. Much of the discussion in the interviews centred upon racist name-calling and racist joking, which occur both within friendship groups and more generally amongst students in the schoolyard and classrooms. The variety and inventiveness of racist abuse is notable, and a hitherto under-researched area. The 'older' names such as 'nigger', 'bogan' and 'wog' have their own histories in the discourse of racism and have endured, whilst the newer names contain an element of desire that complements its disavowal in the use of food e.g. 'mousakka', 'curry-fuck' and 'white chocolate'. This notion of desire that white Australia projects on the groups it 'others' is in alignment with 'the foreigner who desires what we already have' (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2004:47) and resonates with Hage's (1998) theory of 'white fantasy'.

Thus white Australians are in a 'panic' (Hage, 1998) over Muslim women who wear a *hijab*, and anyone who wears any form of middle-eastern attire, however chic, is called a terrorist. As detailed in the qualitative analysis, Mariluz describes the experience of having her *hijab* pulled off in a street parade by a stranger, and the fear that this created for her. She went on to describe how she assumes that everyone she sees on the street is thinking she is a terrorist, being shocked and appalled at the way in which people view her.

Ethnic and Indigenous groups appropriate the vernacular language of racism to counter it, and use it among themselves as a form of mimicry, a highly inventive form of resistance. The 'vernacular is invoked due to the insufficiency of existing ideological frameworks' (Farred, 2003:17). In other words, racist language, when used in the context of group ribaldry, is a form of political protest against racism since they have no other voice. In Naradha's words, 'they make fun of the fact that racism exists'.

The language practices that harness the vernacular mode and which are exhibited by a subaltern group are a feature of the discursive psychology (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001). Also manifest in the language of white Australian youth, especially in the 'top end' of Australia, is the 'othering' of 'Asians'. Often there is 'slippage' between 'other' terms, such as Asians and international students, thereby making the two terms equivalent.

Racist jokes are perhaps a most fertile site of underlying racism – they are at once funny, political and critical of the society from which they emerge. They use mainstream resentments, stereotypes and bigotry to construct links between race and sexuality, crime and stupidity. White people laughing at black people has a rich history, and stereotypes of black 'Tom foolery' became embedded in the popular imagination through the black and white minstrels and American films. Indeed the psychological impact of such representations of 'blackness' on black performers who had to 'black up' and wear ill-fitting and ridiculously exaggerated clothes in order to work as entertainers on Broadway was devastating (Phillips, 2005).

Concern about the constant racism being directed towards students with dark skin was a pervading theme throughout the qualitative data. Youth from many differing cultural and racial backgrounds expressed worry, concern and a fear for the 'black' students, their description of 'black' revealing their misunderstanding of the varying racial backgrounds of the darker skinned students. Hence, the Afghani, African, Pacific Islanders and Indian youth are described in the same manner, 'black'. When asked initially in the interview if they had witnessed any racist behaviour, many of the participants began by citing the name-calling and general abuse of the 'black' students as their main experience of racism. Some cited incidents in which they had attempted to defend and protect some of these students, whilst

others spoke of their distress at the behaviour of others. This level of distress and disgust at the racist behaviour towards dark-skinned students was reflected amongst nearly all the interview participants, regardless of their racial background.

The racist jokes are invariably and inevitably at the expense of 'other' races, as Ali describes: 'we are the majority so we pick on other races'. In the Northern Territory, Melissa commented about racist behaviour in school: 'It's basically targeted on Asians' since they 'stick to themselves'. There was found to be a mutual stand-off between 'Asians' and Aussies, both groups suspicious of each other.

Racism towards Indigenous people can be quite relentless, as reported by several interviewees. The curfew in the Alice Springs CBD is a site for a 'performance of racism' bordering on the 'carnavalesque', as Indigenous youth and police play out a game of chase. Participants reported that police powers extended by the federal government's intervention have worsened already strained relations between Indigenous youth and police in the Centre, as police stop cars and search for alcohol (Marie). Marie says the Indigenous youth face racism on the town buses and in the classroom; Amos suggested that 'the few racist teachers don't care about our schoolwork' and Jen claimed that 'when dark kids would be noisy, you'd get sent out straight away'. The level of suspicion directed at Indigenous youth was lamented by Amos, who was watched by security guards when he was in a shop, 'because I might steal'. Susie discussed how, on the sporting field, 'mainly white kids, they think they're better than us, play netball and we don't even bother going there' and Amos described how there is 'sledging' on the footy field. Clare epitomises the way this suspicion of Indigenous youth takes its toll on her health and wellbeing, saying that when she is walking around 'people stare and I feel nervous'.

5.2 Settings for racism

Formal education is compulsory for all Australian children up to the age of fifteen or sixteen. This compulsory education system has an obligation to provide an environment in which students can learn in a safe and comfortable manner, free of fear of verbal or physical attack. School is also a place where students should expect to be able to learn from teachers who are educated about racial and cultural issues. Mansouri, Jenkins and Leach (2009:109) remind us of the importance of school:

Schools are places of great influence, both on individuals and the community in general. As a partial reflection of society, schools contribute to an overall understanding of social structure, attitudes and changes.

The influence of the learning environment upon students' sense of self and identity is significant (2009:109) and this is a vital part of the maturation process of young Australians. 'Schools establish the conditions under which some individuals and groups define the terms by which others live, resist, affirm, and participate in the construction of their own identities and subjectivities' (Giroux, 1988:88). This development of identity requires a supportive and harmonious environment.

With this acknowledgment of the significance of schools in the development of identity, coupled with the many years Australian youth spend working within a school environment, the findings about the settings for racist experiences are particularly relevant. The majority of participants reported via interviews and surveys that the bulk of their racist experiences occur in the school classroom, grounds, oval or sporting areas. As stated in the analysis, the quantitative data found this overwhelmingly so, with 66.7% reporting that racist experiences take place in school, 5.9% at work, 20.9% in the media and 0.3% in government agencies. This indicates that schools are currently not providing an environment free from the fear of verbal and physical attack. Nor, it seems, are schools providing an environment in which the establishment of identity for students from all backgrounds is being supported by a harmonious multicultural community.

Becky's observation that 'dark kids' are unfairly treated by some teachers, and Tabia's story of her teacher's silent complicity in her racially based humiliation, are indicative of the lack of understanding and empathy that teachers may demonstrate in the school classroom setting. In Australia, 'official support for multicultural education has centred on the aims of encouraging civic duty, cultural respect, equity and productive diversity for all students' (Mansouri, Jenkins & Leach, 2009:107). The behaviour of these teachers is at odds with these aims and indicates that there is an urgent need to instigate more professional development for teachers in relation to cultural diversity and identity development.

The effect and impact of the teacher on the multicultural classroom is reiterated throughout the literature (den Brok & Levy, 2005; Ndura, 2006). Teacher behaviour and attitude, and an understanding and acceptance of cultural diversity, are crucial in the creation of a safe environment within which students can explore and discuss racial identity. Dimitar's teacher, who Dimitar perceived as being overtly racist towards him, and Sumaiah's teacher, who spoke Vietnamese in the classroom thus excluding her, exemplified how a teacher can have a negative impact upon a classroom. Neither teacher demonstrated any understanding or sensitivity about culturally diverse classrooms and the issues that are inherent within this. The teachers of Becky, Tabia, Dimitar and Sumaiah reflect the communication deficit that den Brok and Levy describe as a need for 'a higher level of communication competence than is usually found with teachers' (2005:73).

Despite the examples of teachers behaving in a racially insensitive manner, the quantitative and qualitative data showed that if a student is moved to report a racist incident to an adult, teachers are often the person of choice. For example, when called an offensive slang name, 73.7% of the 57 respondents in the survey said that they reported it to a teacher. Of the 39 respondents who reported racist jokes and songs, 64.1% reported it to a teacher, whilst 23.1% of respondents reported it to a school counsellor and 12.8% to police. Many interviewees cited a teacher 'who they trust' as the first choice if they deemed it necessary or appropriate to report a racist incident. However, equally as many interviewees reported that they would 'tell a friend' about the incident, not a teacher. This latter finding will be discussed further in 5.3 Responses to Racism. The findings support the need for more professional development for teachers to enable them to appropriately respond to students' concerns. Also, the findings indicate the significance of teachers as drivers of systematic change within the school system, because of their 'on the ground' experience in responding to racism.

The research indicates that it is not only teachers who require further professional development in multiculturalism and diversity, but all school staff. Ardita's recounting of the rude and disrespectful behaviour of the office staff when announcing names over the Tannoy system points to a systemic and institutionalised racism that requires a process of collaborative transformation. Schools such as that attended by Ardita, which allow disrespectful behaviour towards students from diverse backgrounds, exemplify a need for 'a focus on the whole school environment and policy changes', which will encourage and engage with this collaborative transformation. The employment of a positive multicultural education model would allow for the school to 'reflect and encourage cultural diversity' (Mansouri, Jenkins & Leach, 2009:115).

The impact of teachers in the school setting cannot be overstated, as Dragoslavia's observations exemplify. Dragoslavia doesn't feel completely safe anywhere at school, and the teacher does not instil her with certainty that safety and security will be provided in the classroom. As Dragoslavia explains, her level of safety is dependent upon the particular teacher's willingness or ability to deal with, and control, the situation. The taunts of 'Serb, Serb, Serb' and 'Serbia sucks' stop when the teacher is in charge, reflecting Ndura's assertion that teachers 'perform a social function that is never innocent' (Ndura, 2006:2). The teacher's response to the racist attacks in the classroom set an example for the whole class, enforcing boundaries and disallowing unacceptable behaviour.

The finding that Indigenous youth suffer equal amounts of racism both in the classroom and out in the community leaves us in no doubt as to the existence of systematic and institutionalised racism towards Indigenous youth, particularly in the 'top end' of Australia. As discussed in the analysis, this finding was not reflected in the quantitative data, but it was an

overwhelming finding in the qualitative data. Incidents such as those described by Susie in which Indigenous youth in school uniform are asked to buy a bus ticket if they do not have their ID, whilst conversely white students in school uniform are not questioned, suggest attitudes such as the disavowal of Indigenous presence by white Australians (Hage, 1998).

The research found that it is not only Indigenous youth who are victimised in the community and on public transport. Habimana, a recent refugee from Rwanda, believes that the reaction of his fellow commuters indicates they consider him to be physically repulsive and not a person one would wish to sit with. This resonates with the notion of white decline which creates grievance and resentment (Hall, 1988) in this particular case manifesting as rejection of Habimana. In this way the fears and anxieties may be projected onto Habimana as a representative of the minority group (Proctor, 2004:85).

Other settings for racism outside of the school include random acts of racism on the street. Anne's story of the senseless racism directed towards her and her friends when they go to the city resonates with notions of white panic and fear (Hall, 1988). The research found there was a high propensity for people to have anti-Asian attitudes in the 'top end' of Australia and for these to be represented at times in the school setting through degrading and debasing acts such as those described in the analysis. Anne's experience took place in the southern part of Australia though, indicating that an anti-Asian attitude may be widespread.

Other racist incidents on the street reiterated the need for comprehensive programs in schools that address culture, race and diversity. Farid said that he has been called 'a raper' because he is Lebanese; Tek, a Cambodian boy, hears someone say to a dark skinned person 'oh black guy, I hate black guy'; and David, an Anglo-Saxon Australian-born boy, describes the flack that white Australians can be subjected to when walking down the street. Adil's tale of being physically attacked when at home with his family suggest that there is almost nowhere that is sacrosanct and free from the possibility of racist attack. The wide range of settings for racism speaks volumes about the results of the previously cited Kids Help Line study (2000), which found that young people of non-English-speaking backgrounds are 40% more likely to phone about bullying than their Anglo-Australian counterparts. If racist bullying and attacks occur at school, on public transport, at the shops, on the street, in government agencies and even at home, racism is indeed a 'pernicious problem with serious health, social and economic consequences for both affected individuals and society as a whole' (Paradies et al., 2009:207).

5.3 Responses to racism

The manner in which youth respond to incidents of racism reflects a lack of reliance upon professional people, particularly health professionals, as a means of gaining assistance for

mental, emotional or physical impacts. Most interview participants said that they do not report racist incidents, or if they talk to someone it is often a friend. Some reported not doing anything in response other than putting their head down and walking away. When deciding to speak to an adult at school about a racist incident, students in the interviews most commonly sought help from a teacher; health professionals were cited by only one qualitative participant as a person from whom they had sought help.

Quantitative data showed that the most common person to whom students reported racist behaviour was a teacher. This occurred even when the racist experience had not occurred in school. Also, for all eleven forms of racism, it was found that the majority of participants decided to take 'no action' far more so than they chose 'confrontation' or 'seeking help'. This is a significant finding that is supported by other research, whereby victims of racism chose not to challenge existing patterns of racist behaviour be they individual or institutional.

In the survey school counsellors were cited as a person from whom they sought help to a much lesser degree, as were health professionals. From an overall perspective, the survey showed ten positive responses to the question 'Did you report this to a health professional?'. It should be noted that this does not necessarily mean that ten different respondents sought the help of a health professional, but rather that ten incidents of racism experienced by the participants overall were reported to health professionals. Given the level of distress conveyed by various participants about racism, and the constant use of terms such as sad, angry, depressed and frustrated, it is of concern that so few victims are seeking professional help. Adil's admission that he had to eventually seek the help of a psychologist stood alone in the qualitative data, and no other interview participants said that they had sought the help of a mental health professional at all. This was despite the following range of responses:

- feeling bad, sad, angry, upset
- crying
- asserting their rights – telling the perpetrator to stop, alerting a teacher
- using humour as a form of resistance and to fight back,
- not doing anything and not feeling like they had the power to do anything – ignoring the attack, putting head down and walking off
- avoiding certain situations and places after the attack/s.

In rare circumstances the participants reported that they responded in a violent manner, for example:

- spitting on the face of the perpetrator
- hitting, punching, kicking the perpetrator
- going to the perpetrator's house as a group and attacking the perpetrator/s.

Many interview participants reported that they sought help from friends and explained how friends were a constant source of comfort to them and helped them to feel good about themselves. This was perturbing though as the wide range of reported responses suggested that many participants would have benefitted from further help to aid in the rebuilding of their self-esteem and confidence. Educational and health professionals would also be able to assist with strategies to deal with the perpetrators of racism and provide suggestions for more effective responses. Whilst it is not questioned that the friends of the victims can provide comfort and a particular 'safety in numbers' style of protection around the school ground, they are not mature, experienced and educated enough to provide more extensive and structured assistance. The role of education departments and health professionals will be discussed further in the following discussion about health and wellbeing.

5.4 Impact upon health and wellbeing

All Australian youth, no matter what their linguistic, religious, cultural or socioeconomic background have a crucial part to play in the future of Australia. To enable youth to have a positive and valuable participation in the economy and the broader community they need to be given not only a broad and culturally inclusive education but to have access to a lifestyle which encourages and maintains good health and wellbeing. However, as the data has indicated, good health and wellbeing for some young Australians can be difficult to attain, particularly if their normal navigation of daily life includes being subjected to intermittent, regular or relentless racist attacks. This should be of concern to government health and education bodies, as without a healthy and stable youth we cannot expect a healthy and stable Australian future.

Given the importance of young Australians' health and wellbeing it is surprising that there has not been more research directed specifically at the connection between health and wellbeing and racism amongst young people. It has been recognised as an important issue (Ahmed, Mohammed & Williams, 2007; Paradies, 2006a and b; Paradies, Harris & Anderson, 2008; Ombudsman Against Ethnic Discrimination, 2007), but as prior research found, of the 138 studies of self-reported racism and health, only a small percentage (15%) have involved children (Paradies, 2006b; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). It is of concern that research which investigates the connections between racism and child health has not been more of a priority, particularly as connections between racism and physical and mental health have been documented for young refugees in Australia (Refugee Health Research Centre, 2007). However, the current research does add to the limited range of work in this field.

The dearth of research that investigates the impact of racism upon the health and wellbeing of young Australians lends import and immediate relevance to the current research. The research findings support the notion that racism does have negative outcomes for the mental health and wellbeing of young Australians (Paradies, 2006b), and further finds that it is a particular factor in the health and wellbeing of young Australian girls in years 11 and 12. In the light of the current research findings this summation is not surprising.

The participants reported various issues relating to health and wellbeing, ranging from minor and passing impacts to more serious and long-term effects. Minor impacts include the victim's or witness's heart beating faster and passing or brief feelings of anger or sadness. Moderate impacts include more troubling physical and emotional aspects such as the inability to complete class work following the incident and the desire to physically attack the perpetrator.

The health and wellbeing impacts that are of most concern are those which imply serious emotional damage such as:

- ongoing feelings of sadness, anger, depression and exclusion
- feeling like one does not belong in Australia
- a constant fear of being attacked verbally and physically
- not wanting to attend school
- having little or no trust in anybody apart from family members
- flashbacks to traumatic events which had occurred in the country of the victim's birth.

Flashbacks to traumatic events are particularly troubling, as this must inevitably impede the emotional recovery from tragic past events. Indeed, the more serious impacts reported by the research participants should confirm that racist experiences may have a deleterious effect upon psychological health. Ekta despaired of ever being free of the constant verbal abuse and the nasty and vicious attacks that plague her constantly at school. The name-calling, the exclusion, the effect upon her relationship with her parents and the final admission that she felt she was somehow to blame, all indicate a disintegration of her sense of self and level of comfort in her school environment. She uses phrases such as 'oh I'm a bad person' and 'why am I letting this happen to myself' and describes herself as being 'tormented'. The racism affected her schoolwork and made her feel unsafe at school.

This manner in which racism can erode the victim's belief that they are safe and secure is a perturbing finding. Reasonably constant racist attacks, even if these are non-violent, detract from the individual's sense of security, as Mariluz explained. Mariluz felt that nearly everyone she passed on the street assumed she was a terrorist and this made her feel insecure. This fear and sense of being unsafe can also be accompanied by anxiety, as Michelle confirmed

when she described how she was anxious that she was going to be cornered at school and something was going to happen. Despite the racism coming from only two boys in the school, and it being limited to verbal taunts of 'terrorist' whenever she passed them, Michelle had distressing thoughts that these boys may physically attack her when she was in a vulnerable part of the school, being 'cornered' and powerless. This type of marginalisation and anxiety can lead to anti-social behaviour (Frances & Cornfoot, 2007:25) or a defensive response, such as that reported by Robert. The impact of racism can be increased by the unexpected wish to carry out anti-social behaviour, for example, Robert felt bad about wanting to physically assault the perpetrators of racism. The impact of racism upon his health and wellbeing was therefore three-fold. He suffered the experience of racism, the development of a desire to assault people in retaliation and then the guilt and horror at his own thoughts and feelings. Like Ekta, who blamed herself for the poor behaviour of others, Robert too suffered a side-effect of his racist experience – disliking himself for wishing to respond violently.

Not only should Australian education departments be aware of stories such as these, mental health professionals should also be reminded of the extent to which racism can affect a young person's confidence, self-esteem and sense of belonging. The Frances and Cornfoot (2007) study found that racism affects self-esteem, self-confidence, and a sense of connection and belonging to the broader community. The psychological distress cited in their study can be aligned with Ekta's psychological distress, particularly as it specifies associated symptoms such as anxiety, depression, low self-esteem and anger. It also relates racism to marginalisation and the social exclusion of young people, something that Ekta describes as 'being tormented'. She is told not to participate in school activities because she is a 'curry-muncher' and the activities are not for 'curry-munchers'. Whilst Ekta at this stage has not withdrawn from mainstream society, the study's finding that this may happen to students like Ekta is enough reason to further research the connection between health and wellbeing, and racism.

Other participants spoke of the impact of racism upon their mental health: Adil's experiences of being attacked at home affected him so much he was unable to navigate everyday life without the intervention of a mental health professional – 'I've seen a psychologist'.

Dragoslavia was distressed and hurt about the relentless attacks on her at school about her Serbian background, which made her feel excluded and gave her headaches – the impact is both mental and physical for Dragoslavia. To ensure that students like Ekta, Robert, Adil and Dragoslavia do not withdraw from society because they are unable to withstand the pressure of racism (Francis & Cornfoot, 2007:25), research is needed to inform and stimulate school programs and professional development for teachers. This will develop and support

harmonious multicultural school environments and nurture the health and wellbeing of all students.

The research finding that some Indigenous Australian youth suffer racism both at school and out in the community is a major health and wellbeing issue. Larson's recommendation that we need to understand the ways that Indigenous people experience racism, and the pathways through which those experiences have an impact on health (Larson et al., 2007:328), supports and validates the current project work. The detail with which a few Indigenous participants described the racism they experience furthered our understanding of the experience, the setting, the response and the impact of racism on health and wellbeing. These findings go a long way to informing what Larson describes as possible 'lasting improvements' (2007:328) for Indigenous youth. White privilege and the discourse of whiteness play a part in the solution to this problem, as it is the dominant Australian culture. The way the dominant culture treats Indigenous people in relation to health services, education and employment will affect the health and wellbeing of Indigenous Australians to the greatest extent (Larson et al., 2007). Several Indigenous participants cited examples of situations in which they were treated differently from 'white' youth and recounted many stories of what appeared to be overt racism; the perpetrators of this racism seeming to pay no heed to how blatant their behaviour was to either the victim or any onlookers. There was no attempt on the part of many of the perpetrators to make the racism subtle or to try to obfuscate it in any way. The starkness of the stories suggests a need for systematic work to be done in relation to the Indigenous youth experience to ameliorate and respond to the concerns of Mellor that the perspective of Indigenous people is being ignored by social scientists (2002:485).

Victims of racist experiences report that there are various ways of coping to ensure ongoing good health and wellbeing. Friends were identified as a significant factor in the healthy recovery from racist incidents. Some participants state that friends are crucial to their ability to endure racism and are a vital part of the debriefing process after a racist incident. As discussed in 5.3 Responses to Racism, this is a positive approach, but not necessarily the most effective way of seeking support and appropriate help.

On a positive and encouraging note, the participants did indicate that whilst racism is a negative experience in itself, it is not inevitable that it will have a deleterious effect on the victim's health and wellbeing. Several participants discussed the way in which racist incidents:

- encouraged them to hold their heads higher

- stimulated them to tell the aggressor that this behaviour needed to stop, thereby developing their sense of self-worth
- gave them the motivation to take on leadership roles in a bid to reduce further racist incidents at the school.

These qualitative findings were reflected in the quantitative data as discussed in

4.1 Quantitative Data Analysis: 13.8% of respondents said that being verbally abused 'made them feel like a stronger person', reflecting current literature on the psychological impact of racism.

6 Conclusions

As stated in sections 4 and 5, it was found that racist behaviour is prevalent amongst Australian youth from all cultural backgrounds to differing degrees. The quantitative and qualitative data found that youth from migrant, Indigenous and refugee backgrounds are more likely to experience racism than Anglo-Australian youth. There are also varying levels of resentment from mainstream Australians towards migrants, refugees and Indigenous people. However, whilst this mainstream racism was clearly present there were also complexities with this general finding as outlined below:

- Despite the underlying mainstream prejudice as outlined above, there is a definite prevalence of concern amongst mainstream Australian youth about the racism they observe being displayed towards students from other cultural backgrounds, particularly African and dark-skinned students. Students from other cultural and racial backgrounds also expressed concern about these attitudes, which pervade the schoolyard, manifesting themselves in rude, verbally abusive, patronising and derogatory behaviour towards these African and dark-skinned students.
- There is also clear evidence that despite the definite mainstream prejudice outlined throughout the report, racism is inter-cultural and occurs amongst various racial groups. It is not limited to racist behaviour by mainstream white Australians towards other cultural groups, or vice versa. Many participants discussed stories of racism in which youth of various non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds directed racism towards other youth of non-Anglo-Saxon backgrounds.
- The attitudes which participants displayed often reflected the attention given to cultural and racial education within the school. Schools which had a compulsory in-classroom program about racism, stereotyping and cultural issues were less likely to have participants in the research who displayed ignorance about cultural issues or racist attitudes towards people from diverse backgrounds.
- The qualitative data indicated a simplistic approach amongst youth regarding the perception of race or background, which manifested itself in descriptions of others as black or Aussie. Hence, Albanians, Lebanese, Serbian, Croatians and Anglo-Saxon Australians were often lumped together in descriptions as 'white' or 'Aussie', and dark-skinned students as 'black', whether they were African, Afghani, Indian or Pacific Islanders. It was only when the researchers asked for a more clear identification of the race of the students under discussion that it became clear they were not necessarily 'Aussies' or Anglo-Saxons whom the students were describing, but rather lighter-skinned students. Exceptions to this 'black' or 'white' division were students from Asian

backgrounds; they were all lumped together as 'Asian', regardless of their particular Asian culture.

- At the 'top end' of Australia there is a preponderance of anti-Asian attitudes, which are revealed through the anti-social, and at times, abhorrent behaviour directed at Asian students in the schoolyard.
- Joking is a common way to present racist ideas and attitudes in a form that is sometimes acceptable amongst youth. This is, however, dependent upon the relationship between the person receiving the racist joke and the person telling the joke. For some students any types of racist jokes are offensive and hurtful. Some students use humour as a means to defuse a racist situation.
- A general sense of fear, distrust and suspicion is prevalent in the Australian community. This is relevant to all racial groups, including mainstream Australians. It ranges from the belief that one is being talked about when out in the community, through to a fear of going certain places for fear of attack and a general distrust of some people.
- The quantitative data found that being female, in years 11 and 12 and being exposed to racism are indicators for a decrease in health and wellbeing. These findings are reflected in the qualitative data, which found that several girls were struggling with constant racism, to the detriment of their health, for example, Sumaiah, Tabia, Jasna, Dragoslavia and Ekta.
- The study found that there is a statistically significant correlation between health/wellbeing and the experience and witnessing of racism, indicating that being exposed to racism decreases health and wellbeing.

As the policy recommendations show a lot needs to be done to effect a positive change to this situation. The Frameworks (Paradis et al, 2009) findings point out, discriminatory attitudes can be addressed through altering and encouraging the media and popular and popular culture to represent and promote diversity and build positive social norms. The Framework suggests that discriminatory attitudes are an important individual factor contributing to race-based discrimination that must be addressed in all settings and with many a wide range of methods and initiatives. Policy reform provides the social foundations for altering deep-seated stereotypes, prejudices and discriminatory practices. This study as does the Framework suggests that policy reforms should ideally be implemented alongside other strategies that aim to reduce race-based discrimination in all forms and in all settings.

7 References

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Glossary of terms

Indigenous

The term Indigenous is used to refer to both Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander peoples who are the descendants of those peoples who were inhabitants of Australia at the time of British colonisation in 1788. Torres Strait Islanders are those who come from (or have ancestors who come from) the Torres Strait Islands, which lie between the northern tip of Cape York in Queensland and the south west coast of Papua New Guinea. All other Indigenous Australians are Aboriginal.

The Commonwealth working definition states that an Indigenous person is:

- a descendant of an Indigenous inhabitant of Australia
- identifies as Indigenous
- is recognised as Indigenous by members of the community in which she or he lives. (Gardiner-Garden, 2004).

Mainstream

The term 'mainstream' is a somewhat euphemistic reference to those identified as White, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Celtic or Anglo-Australian. These terms seek to capture those who belong to an ethnic/racial group that is relatively privileged in relation to Indigenous and CALD Australians. White Australians continue to enjoy social and economic advantage (i.e. higher average income, employment and education) as well as greater representation in cultural and political life (e.g. disproportional representation in Parliament). They are also less likely to be the targets of racism and other forms of discrimination.

Migrant

Migrants leave their country for a range of personal, social and economic reasons. They have usually been able to prepare for their departure and are able to return to their country of origin. However, young people who migrate with families may have had little choice in the decision to migrate. Further, distinctions between 'migrant' and 'refugee' may be blurred as many migrants have had similar experiences to refugees but accessed other migration processes.

‘Multicultural’ or CALD

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) is now a commonly used acronym in Australia. It is also abbreviated as CLD or CLDB. This term includes those born overseas (refugees or migrants) and second (or later) generations. ‘Multicultural’ similarly covers this range of people, and will be used in this way for this paper. In some cases ‘multicultural’ includes Indigenous Australians; however that is not the intention within this report (Francis & Cornfoot, 2007).

Refugee

The United Nations 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, to which Australia is a signatory, defines refugees as those who are ‘outside their country of nationality or their usual country of residence; and are unable or unwilling to return or to seek the protection of that country due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion ...’. Throughout this report ‘refugees’ refers to those with ‘refugee-like experiences’ regardless of visa classification.

Youth

Youth is defined by various age criteria in different contexts: services commonly use 12–25, 12–18 or 12–21; academic studies, statistics and international policy often use 15–24; Department of Immigration & Citizenship statistics use ‘under 30’; and the legal sector commonly uses 18–24 (Francis & Cornfoot, 2007). As per the definition used by the FYA, this report defines youth as 12–25 years of age (unless otherwise noted).

Appendix 2: Survey

Racism, Health and Wellbeing among Young Australians

Thank you for agreeing to complete this survey which may take about 30 minutes. The purpose of this project is to gain a greater understanding of the experiences and impact of racism on the health and wellbeing of young Australians. Your opinions and views will help us understand these experiences and the impacts that follow from them.

We will not ask for your name on the survey form and it will not be used in any reports. Nothing will be reproduced in any way by the Deakin research team that can identify individuals. You do not have to answer any question with which you are uncomfortable.



1. FORMS OF RACISM: This section asks you about the frequency and setting of racism.

Have you

Frequency

Setting where this occurred

	Yes	No	Daily	Fortnightly	Monthly	Rarely	In School	At work	In public	In the media internet tv newspapers	Dealing with Govt. agencies
Been called an offensive slang name for your cultural group?											
Been the target of racist jokes, songs, or teasing?											
Heard or read comments stereotyping your cultural group?											
Seen pictures that portray your cultural group in a poor light?											
Been verbally abused (including offensive gestures) because of your cultural background?											
Felt excluded or left out because of your cultural background?											
Felt that people avoid you because of your cultural background?											
Felt that people treated you as less intelligent, or inferior because of your cultural background.											
Been refused entry or use of a service because of your cultural background?											
Been refused employment because of your cultural background?											
Been treated with suspicion because of your cultural background?											

2. RESPONSES TO, AND IMPACT OF RACISM: *This section asks you about the reporting, response and impact of racism.*

Have you			Did you report the incident to				How did you respond to racism?			Impact of racism				
	Yes	No	School Counsellor	Teacher	Health professional	Police	Sought help from friends/relative/s/community	Confronted perpetrator (person who was racist)		No action taken	Made me feel I didn't belong	Made me feel angry and frustrated	Made me feel stressed and anxious	Made me feel depressed and sad
							Violent	Non-violent						
Been called an offensive slang name for your cultural group?														
Been the target of racist jokes, songs, or teasing?														
Heard or read comments stereotyping your cultural group?														
Seen pictures that portray your cultural group in a poor light														

Have you			Did you report the incident to			How did you respond to racism?			Impact of racism				
	Yes	No	School Counsellor	Teacher	Health professional	P O L I C E	Sought help from friends/Relatives/community	Confronted perpetrator (person who was racist)	No action taken	Made me feel I didn't belong	Made me feel angry and frustrated	Made me feel stressed and anxious	Made me feel depressed and sad
							Violent	Non-violent					
Been verbally abused (including offensive gestures) because of your cultural background?													
Felt excluded or left out because of your cultural background?													
Felt that people avoid you because of your cultural background?													
Felt that people treated you as less intelligent, or inferior because of your cultural background?													

Have You	Did you report the incident to		How did you respond to racism?				Impact of racism								
	Yes	No	School Counsellor	Teacher	Health professional	Police	Sought help from friends/ Relatives/ community	Confronted perpetrator (person who was racist)		No action taken	Made me feel I didn't belong	Made me feel angry and frustrated	Made me feel stressed and anxious	Made me feel depressed and sad	Made me feel like a stronger person
							Violent	Non-violent							
Been refused entry or use of a service because of your cultural background?															
Been refused employment because of your cultural background?															
Been treated with suspicion because of your cultural background?															

3. ATTITUDES TOWARDS RACE RELATIONS AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

On a scale of 0 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), can you please rate your agreement with the following statements regarding diversity:
(please circle one number for each statement)

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Can't Answer
Having people from many different cultures, religions and countries of birth has had a positive effect on the Australian community	1	2	3	4	5	
Students from diverse ethnic backgrounds feel welcome in my school	1	2	3	4	5	
Racism is a problem in my school	1	2	3	4	5	
Racism is a problem in Australian society	1	2	3	4	5	
Anglo-Saxon (White) people have more opportunities in Australian society than other cultural groups	1	2	3	4	5	

How do you describe your background? *Please tick as appropriate.*

Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander	Second generation migrant (born in Australia to migrant parents)	Migrant (not born in Australia but lived here for more than 5 years)	Migrant (not born in Australia and lived here for less than 5 years)	Refugee background	Anglo-Saxon Australian born
--	--	--	--	--------------------	-----------------------------

4. Further questions that ask your experiences about racism

a) Do you think that there are problems between cultural groups within your school? *Circle* Yes or No

b) What types of problems have you witnessed? *Please circle as appropriate.* Examples of the types of behaviour are included in brackets)

stereotypes (making assumptions or judging people based on their ethnic/cultural background)

physical violence (hitting, kicking, pushing, shoving)

verbal abuse and teasing (ridiculing someone's accent, name calling, making fun of someone's clothes or food)

bullying (regularly threatening, intimidating, stealing, spitting, excluding students from play based on ethnicity)

c) Which particular cultural groups have you seen being stereotyped in school? *Circle as appropriate and write beside it the name(s) you might use to describe this group.*

Anglo-Saxon Australians -----

Asians-----

Croatian-----

Ethiopian-----

Greeks-----

Indigenous Australians (Aboriginals)-----

Italians-----

Lebanese-----

Pacific Islander-----

Somalian-----

Sudanese-----

Turkish-----

Other (please name)

d) Why do you think that people stereotype each other? *Circle as many as appropriate*

Ignorance (no knowledge or understanding)

Prejudice (an opinion or feeling formed beforehand or without knowledge, thought or reason)

To feel powerful

Peer pressure (to think or do as your friends think or do)

Arrogance (taking a superior view, attitude or opinion)

e) Tell us about a personal experience of being stereotyped because of your cultural background?

f) What behaviour (or behaviours) would you call racist?

g) Have you ever experienced, witnessed or been involved in an act of racism? If so, please tell us about your personal experiences.

How did you feel? and, what was your reaction?

h) How does the experience of racism affect the way you approach your school work?

i) Is your school a multicultural school? In other words, how does your school deal with students of different cultural groups?

j) How does your school deal with racism throughout the school i.e. in the classroom, at recess/lunch and in the office area?

k) Have you avoided a situation because you anticipate racist behaviour may occur?

l) What are your goals at school?

m) These next questions are about how you feel and how things have been with you during the last 4 weeks. For each question, please give one answer that comes closest to the way you are feeling. How much of the time during the last 4 weeks...

	All of the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	A little of the time	None of the time
Have you felt calm and peaceful?					
Did you have a lot of energy?					
Have you felt downhearted or sad?					

n) In general, would you say your health is: *Please circle one*

Excellent Very good Good Fair Poor

o) Are you anxious or worried? *Circle one* Not at all Quite a lot Very

5. To help us understand the information you have provided please fill in the following details:

Q1 What year are you in?

Circle One:

8

9

10

11

12

Q2 What is your religion?

Circle One:

Buddhism

Judaism

Christianity

No religion

Hinduism

Other

Islam

Q3 How old are you?:

Circle One:

15

16

17

18

19

Other

Q4 What is your country of birth?

Circle One:

- AUSTRALIA
- CHINA
- GREECE
- IRAQ
- ITALY
- LEBANON
- NEW ZEALAND
- SAMOA
- SOMALIA
- SUDAN
- TONGA
- UK
- VIETNAM
- PREFER NOT TO SAY
- OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)

Q5 What is your gender?

Male

Female

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study.

You can contact Prof. Fethi Mansouri, Deakin University (03) 9244 3914 if you have any comments or queries.

Professor Fethi Mansouri, Dr Louise Jenkins, Dr Michael Leach and Dr Les Morgan are conducting this research on behalf of the Foundation for Young Australians.



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