

CERS Working Paper

Racialization of East and South-East Asians by White Australians, within Australian society.

Alex McHugh , 2014

Introduction

Kobayashi and Peake (2000: 393) define racialization as the process by which groups 'are negatively identified, and given stereotypical characteristics' (Dunn et al 2007:565). It is important to study racism and racialization because its roots are often found in some of the most crucial issues within 21st century society. It also helps give an understanding of the processes that shape racialization, and what effects racialization may have on society as a whole. This in turn may help decrease racialization and its negative attributes. This piece will look specifically at the negative racialization of East and South-East Asians by white Australians, within contemporary society. Importantly, for the purpose of this essay, East and South-East Asians will be defined as those from the Japanese Archipelago (Japanese), the Chinese region of East-Asia (Chinese), and Southeast Asia and the Malay Archipelago (South-East Asian) (Law 2010:40). Specific nation states that will be looked at from the perspective of racialization in Australia include The People's Republic of China, Japan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, East Timor, Thailand, and The Lao People's Democratic Republic (Laos). Four main dimensions surrounding the racialization of these peoples in Australia will be scrutinised. Firstly, 'racism as a colonial legacy' explores how the context of Anglo-Aboriginal struggles fuelled notions of non-white inferiority, and will also look at later clashes of interest between Australia and Asia during Australia's time as a British colony. 'Discourse on politics and East and South-East Asia' will then be the second dimension looked at, with an analysis of Australian views on East and South-East Asia on a macro level, and how they see themselves as culturally separate from their Asian neighbours. Thirdly, 'media depiction of East and South-East Asians and institutional racism' will be broken down and examined as stereotyping the roles that East and South-East Asians have to play in Australian society, and the dangers immigrants apparently pose. Lastly, 'racial neoliberalism in Australia' will be discussed critically, as the racializing nature of the capitalist system is uncovered in an Australian context. Australian Immigration Department showed that settlers from East and South-East Asia totalled 32,000 in one year (Teo 2000: 8). With such a large influx of people from a 'different' culture going into Australia, it is important to assess the reasons behind the racialization of a group as they will clearly have an important impact on Australian society. Furthermore, the welfare of ethnic minorities is important, as they may often be neglected by wider society.

Racism as a Colonial legacy

There are many historical examples and reasons why white Australians have chosen to racialize East and South-East Asians. What first began as the mistreatment of aborigines, laid the foundations for a pro-white Australia that exists today. Racial taxonomies of a now by-gone era created an idea that white people were superior to other 'races'. The work of 18th century scientists Carl Linnaeus, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and George Cuvier 'presented a description of a world where three major races developed in isolation from each other, resulting in a hierarchy of differences in culture and mental ability produced by natural physical characteristics' (Law 2010:30), with whites being the dominant race. This Eurocentric racial science justified conquest of non-white nations, with the extermination of 'primitive' people being seen as a natural part of modern progress (Jones 2006:68). As a consequence of this popular scientific belief, since the 'discovery' and colonisation of Australia by the British in the late 18th century, the idea of white superiority has been

enforced against Asians and Aboriginals alike. Primarily, this ideology of hierarchy led to 'colonial relations with indigenous people that involved land dispossession and genocidal extinction' (Hulme 1986) during the asymmetrical 'Black War'. Secondary to this, anti-Aboriginal ideologies based on scientific racism and competition for land resources were then transferred onto East and South-East Asians as they attempted to also settle in Australia.

Through the racialization of indigenous aborigines as an 'inferior' group, the racialization of the indigenous people of East and South-East Asia by white Australians was exacerbated. This is because the initial overwhelming success of the white colonialists reinforced their notions of superiority, and so the 'invasive' Asians were racialized on the same basis as the defeated Aboriginals. Australia was again to become a place between two groups making conflicting claims to the same territory (Mann 2006:390). It was the case that the majority of Asian immigrants who arrived in colonial Australia fell victim to discrimination (Kabir 2004:46). It must be noted however that anti-Asian discrimination was not carried out to anywhere near the same extent as the genocide of Aboriginals. This piece suggests that this was due to the migrants' countries of origins being either more 'advanced' or already 'advanced' through colonialism, meaning their citizens were not disrespected to the same extent. This still shows however that white Australians were willing to act territorially against other non-white groups. For example, white employers exploited Asians with lower wages and many white working-class verbally abused them and treated them violently (Kabir 2004:46). Here, a 'Territorial-political' model of racist violence arose, with 'conflicting concerns between established residents over competition and migrants over safety and security' (Law 2010:141). Again this concern over 'competition' suggests many white Australians were weary of what they saw as their land being overtaken by non-white Asians. Due to the struggle of the 'Black War', and the great lengths British people had to take in order to travel to Australia, it may be suggested that these stubborn sentiments over land were warranted on the vast amount of effort whites had given in order to settle in their new country.

British settlers were also keen to claim any economic benefits the sub-continent had to offer. This can be seen in the competition during the gold rush of the 1850s. Fearing that the Chinese would outnumber the British and so be able to profit out of the gold rush, the Victorian colonial government implemented '1855 Restriction Act', which sought to charge Chinese immigrants extortionate amounts of money for entry into Australia. These actions were racializing the Chinese as economic rivals, playing on the fears of increasing numbers and a threat to business. This led to social and political fears of a "Chinese invasion", and sparked anti-Asian immigration laws known as the White Australia policy (The Economist 2014). The year 1975 marked the end of the restrictive 'White Australia Policy', but from its introduction in 1901 and for over a century preceding it, Australia was isolated from its immediate region, keeping it tied to its British Origins (Jupp 1995:207). The policy was exclusionary on many fronts, and can again be used to explain racism against the Chinese in Australia, as it reinforced the 'othering' of the Chinese as a racial group that needed to be outcompeted in the labour market. This is why historically, like other countries bordering the Pacific and inhabited by the white race, Australia, in the economic and racial interests of her population has for many years maintained the policy of restricting the immigration of Asian labourers (Charteris 1926:517) to favour white labourers. For those Asian immigrants who did exist within Australia, a policy of 'exclusionary domination' (Esman) further existed involving 'enforcing unequal ethnic stratification of rights, status and opportunity' (Law 2010:83) for Asian immigrants, with legislation directed specifically against Chinese Australians who constituted the largest Asian component of the population from the 1850s (Jupp 1995:208). Indeed, culturally, 'white settler societies held non-Europeans to be inferior until well into the twentieth century' (Raymond 1996), as was the case in Australia. This goes back to the initial point made that East and South-East Asians were racialized on the same terms as Aboriginals, even long after primary Anglo-Aboriginal conflicts. Just as earlier

stated the notion of the 'primitive' non-white had continued to concepts of 'inferior' and dangerous Asians. This piece suggest here that it may be fairly concluded the primary racism towards aboriginals helped fuel further racism towards East and South-East Asians. The inter-war era is an important epoch in the history of race relations within the geo-political region in which Australia lies. Michael Weiner (2004:225; Law 2010:33) outlines how in 1930s Japan, 'Social Darwinism' and Western scientific racism combined with feudal ideas of a homogenous native Japanese to construct the Japanese nation as a 'collective race with superior civilised inherited qualities and capacities'. Still part of the British Empire at this time, Australia's very existence felt threatened by Japanese imperialist expansion, which was an expression of the distinctive superiority they believed they held over the region, and was seen as necessary for the survival of the Japanese race (Law 2010:33). Here, the Japanese are being racialized as a group of military threat. Conflicting ideologies of the European colonialists, and the Japanese ideas of 'Yamato minzoku', would lead to a great clash of racial ideologies of superiority in the region. Japanese saw it as dishonourable that white soldiers chose to be captured instead of taking their own lives, which lead to the maltreatment of prisoners of war, including starvation, multiple infectious diseases, inadequate shelter and clothing, severe violence, and enforced prolonged marches (Tennant et al 1993:231). From this, two important racializations would occur. Firstly, the Japanese were racialized as a military threat as they advanced across South-East Asia, with their culture becoming dangerously close to annexing the 'European' culture of Australia. Secondly, a bitterness towards East Asians by white Australians would surface in the aftermath of the atrocities, leading to whites racializing the Japanese as barbaric. Importantly for all of the above points, intergenerational racism means- even today- there are people who continue to cling tenaciously to the notion of a 'white Australia'; perhaps it is not surprising then that a poll found that Asian migrants are the least welcome by Australians (Teo 2000:9).

Discourse on geo-politics and East and South-East Asia

'It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic...it will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principle conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilisations.'

- Samuel P. Huntington. (Huntington 1993:22)

Geopolitically, Australia still sees itself as part of the cultural and socioeconomic 'west'. A 'civilisation' that in recent decades has come into conflict with the civilisation of Islam. Australia's contribution to this 'clash of civilisations' (Huntington 1993) is evident in their membership of the 'coalition of the willing', and their consequent involvement in the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. These contemporary anti-Muslim sentiments in Australia are reproduced through a racialization that includes well-rehearsed stereotypes of Islam, namely perceptions of threat and inferiority, as well as the idea that these 'others' do not belong (Dunn et al 2007:564). On a domestic level this can lead to racially aggravated violence, for example, 'in Australia, following terror events overseas, hijab-wearing Islamic women have reported higher rates of racist incivilities' (Dunn et al 2007:568). It is due to such 'terror events' that Muslims in Australia are being racialized and generalised into a hazardous and potentially life threatening group. Moreover, Islam is perceived as threatening the very culture of Australia through the fantasy that it is an especially violent, invasive and backwards religion. This racialization has consequences on an international level also. Although people tend to think of the middle-east when they think of Islamic dominated nations, two nations in close proximity to Australia, Malaysia and Indonesia, have a Muslim majority population. This is likely to evoke feelings within white Australians of dominance and cultural advancement over their neighbours.

This 'racialization of religion' may be a key reason for why Australia may distance themselves from their neighbours. However, there may be other reasoning behind Australia's separatism from the geopolitical area of East and South-East Asia. For example,

Australia is in relatively close proximity to a number of current and previous 'pariah states'. Both Cambodia and Vietnam have been categorised as states whose conduct have been unacceptable by the international community, with Burma continuing to be considered as such. Further to this, countries such as Thailand 'have been embroiled in anti-government protests' (BBC 2014) and have seen massive social unrest. These 'extreme', 'rogue' or unruly populations tend to be subjected to necropolitical discipline (Goldberg 2008:334). On a global level then, these areas are seen as politically backwards, meaning their citizens will be racialized as such, and consequently they will be viewed as having no appreciation for democratic processes, such as those practiced in Australia. Australia as a stable and advanced democratic nation is therefore likely to see themselves as socioeconomically and politically more advanced than their Asian neighbours. This is not just an idea held in Australia, but again is part of a globally racialized system of categorization. For example, as opposed to really being seen as part of Asia, Australia are part of the richer 'north' according to the Brandt Line (1980) (see appendix figure 1.1). Australia is being racialized globally and domestically as part of the geo-political 'west', meaning they will view themselves as a separate 'white' or 'European' culture surrounded by people of a different racial 'category', i.e. the poorer 'south' or Asians. An example of which can be seen in a lack of popular consensus to remove the union flag from the corner of the Australian flag. This idea of the 'othering' of East and South-East Asians is likely to occur therefore, as white Australians do not see the region as one harmonious culture, but rather two races and cultures side-by-side.

This idea that Australia is dominant within their geo-political region was evident in the successful succeeding of East Timor from Indonesia. After a bloody conflict between Indonesia and East Timor, the United Nations Security Council approved of an Australian led peace keeping force, the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET), commanded by a Australian Major General Peter Cosgrove, which was to enter the country in 1999 (Smith and Dee 2003:9). This move from the UN and Australia is justifiable perhaps, due to increasing pressure in Australia and across the globe for intervention, combined with the fact Australia has a very strong military force. But, however merited this response was, and although the goal was righteous and came into fruition, it again racialized the 'whites' in that region as a dominant 'policing' force. This in turn racialized those from the Indonesian archipelago as undemocratic, blood-thirsty, and barbaric. It also racializes such a group as unable to take care of their own problems, suggesting, as a race, they need white people as a kind of guiding hand.

There is also a different, more sinister way that parts of East and South-East Asia are being racialized on a macro level. In countries such as Thailand 'sex tourism' is relatively prolific, as a combination of demand and poverty makes prostitution one avenue open to poor people in a country where it is difficult to secure a decent, stable cash income (Judd and Fainstein 199:258). It is almost like these countries are becoming 'freak shows' or party destinations, known for 'lady boys' and drug-fuelled 'full-moon parties'. This trivialises and racializes South-East Asians as entertainment, there simply to serve Australian (and people from other 'white' nations such as the UK, Canada and America) 'lad' culture and its deviant desires. Therefore, as a people and an ethnicity, South-East Asians will not and cannot be taken seriously as respectable members of a global society, as they apparently demean themselves for the amusement of white people. Furthermore, it won't only be the members of the 'underworld' of these countries, but also the governments will be looked down upon for letting this behaviour happen. For example, there is corruption and inconsistency by law enforcers surrounding the consumption of immoral and illegal goods and services, such as 'hard' drugs, by tourists in countries like Vietnam and Laos (Judd and Fainstein 199:260). What this does is racializes people there as corrupt, with the average white Australian more likely to look over all the socioeconomic complexities and hardships of these countries, and instead only concentrate on their immoralities. They are 'periphery' (Wallerstein) nations both economically and socially, and their society is viewed as a trivial environment to visit

one-of, but not a culture to desire long term. Therefore their people, in the form of immigrants moving to Australia, are also seen as undesirable.

Media Depiction of East and South-East Asians and Institutional Racism

The media can be influential in the racialization process. A study into *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph* showed how the discursive nature of two influential Australian newspapers work to obfuscate, legitimize, and naturalise the dominant criminal role of a group of Vietnamese migrants living in Sydney (Teo 2000:10). For example, *The Daily Telegraph* reported on how 'Asian youths brazenly peddle drugs' and a 'spate of violence involving Asian gang members', whereas *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported somebody witness 'an Asian gang bash a schoolboy to death' (Teo 2000:10). Explicitly using the word 'Asian' in sensationalist headlines such as the ones above will lead white Australians to see such a group as synoptic with crime. It is also generalising and racializing Asians as one large deviant group, whereas much of the reporting surrounds specifically Vietnamese gangs such as '5T' gang. This will lead to a fear of East and South-East Asians by white Australians, and a desire to distance themselves to prevent injury or loss. The Australian media here is reporting on one of van Dijk's (1993) four main topics surrounding the coverage of ethnic minorities. In this instance, 'crime with special attention given to racialized crime such as mugging, rioting, drug offences, prostitution and violent offences' (Law 2010:193) is either being reported or suggested to the Australian public. This type of reporting can have a multi-faceted effect on racism and race relations in the country. As with the reporting of Vietnamese gangs, a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' (Merton 1948) may occur within South-East Asian communities, whereby Asians are perceived and socialised as criminals and so will become criminals. Is it due to racialized reporting such as this and its consequences that many claim media 'may often be seen as responsible for shaping racism and intolerance, promoting ethnic, racial and religious hatred and inciting associated violence' (Law 2010: 192). The consequences can be brutal to this incitement of an 'us and them' mentality. For example, at Sydney's Manly Beach in 2009 thugs, many wearing Australian flags, struck out at "non-Anglo" passers-by, and smashed cars and other property (Ansley 2014). Furthermore, it is not only the members of the public who are more likely to racialize East and South-East Asian immigrants due to media influence but also the police. Institutionalised racism in the police becomes more likely as negative media treatment of East and South-East Asians is strongly linked to antipathetic government dispositions (Dunn et al 2007:564). The view of East and South-East Asians as domestic menaces increases police racial profiling, which can sometimes lead to brutality. For example, in 1992 a television documentary *Cop It Sweet* depicted police officers in New South Wales as racist and violent (Chan 1996:109). This sort of behaviour can lead to appalling incidents, such as the case involving Chinese national Gong Ling Tang, 53, who died on May 13, 2010 from police brutality (Mickelborough 2012). It would appear therefore that Asians are not only being racialized into a group to be oppressed physically and treated with disdain due to the already racialized fears of white people in Australia that they pose a threat. The asymmetrical power discourse which gives white law enforcers the upper hand on Asian law breakers (Teo 2000:7) only goes to further racialize East and South-East Asians as a minority working against the majority (the whites). This is because they are perceived to be rebelling against the laws of the much more powerful white-dominated state, and so will therefore be seen as outsiders.

The broad idea of 'whitecentrism' applies to many Australian media outlets, which are dominated by white people. For example, it is common to see a 'montage of white faces hosting television programmes, delivering the news, commenting, discussing, debating, and advising' (Abdel-Fattah 2013). This means the assessment and the portrayal of minority ethnic groups in television programmes is made of the basis of white norms which are at the centre of the analysis, and are privileged as being given and unquestioned (Law 2010:195). This may be why globally and domestically Australia is producing what amounts to anti-Asian propaganda through television programmes such as *Border Security: Australia's*

Frontline. Recurring themes in the show include East and South-East Asians regularly trying to gain illegal entrance to Australia, or attempting to bring in controlled flora and fauna, or even drugs. Van Dijk (1993) would argue that these programmes are disproportionately covering immigration and associated debates over numbers, illegal entry, and fraudulent activities, as well as negatively interpreting cultural differences (Law 2010:193). This is likely to create an emotive response within white Australians as, through illegal immigration, East and South-East Asians are racialized as a threat to Australian infrastructure. This is because they may risk overstressing public services which they themselves assumingly would not pay taxes towards as unregistered illegal immigrants. They will also be viewed as threatening the health of individuals, as well as threatening the cohesion of communities through the supply of dangerous narcotics into Australia. Furthermore, and interesting to note, such programming will not only lead to white Australians viewing South-East Asians as dangerous to their society, but also dangerous to the very ecology of the island. Australia is keen not to see another invasive species, such as the Cane Toad which caused havoc on crops, or disease enter their shores again. This is why it is almost a constant theme in these programmes that people from Asia are constantly having food such as mushroom and 'bird nests' confiscated by customs. Even the title 'Australia's Frontline' suggests an anxiety on immigration, portraying an almost militant image of resistance at border control, further playing on the fears of Australians of the spread of diseases or foreign species. This means Asians will be synoptic with such dangers and the 'cultural differences' won't be celebrated, as is the theory with multiculturalism, but instead cultural practices will not be comprehended or enjoyed by white people, and so therefore feared as a potential hazard. This increased fear of almost catastrophic consequences leads to strict rules within immigration institutions. This sort of racialization that non-whites are less 'worthy' to live in Australia can lead to tensions that sometimes boil over. For example, more than 200 rioters set fire to buildings in a bid to escape from a crowded Australian offshore detention centre in 2011 (Guardian). A vicious cycle may occur here however, as Australians will view rioting as a sign of uncivilised behaviour, only further racializing East and South-East Asians as a group to be feared and oppressed.

Racial Neoliberalism in Australia

As with many other more economically developed countries (MEDCs), Australia a capitalist state has dismantled or seriously weakened labour market insurance programmes and job protection legislation in the name of greater neoliberal market flexibility (Roberts and Mahtani 2008:249). As a result of this there has been an emergence of an informal economy of day labourers who are largely comprised of "illegal immigrants", and exploitative labour which is paramount to slavery (Roberts and Mahtani 2008:249). These 'day workers' do not have access to the same rights as the citizens of Australia do and so are vulnerable to being taken advantage of as a source of cheap labour. This piece suggests that, within Australia, East and South-East Asian immigrants have been racialized into a group where it is perceived that 'it is in their nature to do menial labour' and to be exploited (Maldonado 2006:1026). Within racial neoliberalism's exploitative framework it is theorised that 'racialization of labour' takes place. This is where ethnicity limits an individual's employment agency and mobility through a racialized hierarchical system, and where segregation and appointment of people to jobs is done on ethnic lines and ethnic stereotypes (Maldonado 2009:1020). This is partly why, although there has been a shift from 'populate or perish' policies directed to white Australians, to 'economic rationalism' (Jupp 2002:3), racism still exists. Neoliberalism's rationale means theoretically employers do not concern themselves with what ethnicity a workforce may be, leading some commentators to suggest there is a degree of 'colour-blindness'. Instead, how efficiently that workforce can make a profit is the key interest. On the face of it, that would suggest that neoliberalism as a concept would not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity. However, in practice the system in Australia is discriminatory against East and South-East Asian immigrants. This is because racial meanings inform and affect employers' perceptions and evaluations of workers, their judgement regarding which workers are fit for different jobs, their assessments of who are

good and bad workers, the production of notions of skill, the connection of skills to specific jobs and the production of meanings about jobs themselves (Walingder et al 2003). In the case of Australians, white employers regard ethnic groups in East and South-East Asians for specific jobs. For example, people from Vietnam, Malaysia, and the Philippines are regarded by tourism operators for "menial and dirty work" that Australians don't want to do (Suarine 2012). This shows how immigrants from these countries are being racialized as a group to do the least desirable groups, and so are unlikely to be respected by white Australians higher up the economic 'ladder'. These assessments will be made on the perception that educational standards abroad may not be up to Australian standards (Evans and Kelley 1986: 189). This means immigrants may not have the same skills as white Australians with equal formal qualifications. Furthermore, 'labour force experience abroad may not be readily transferable to Australia' (Evans and Kelley 1986:189). This means, as a labour force, some East and South-East Asian groups are being racialized further as an incompetent and uneducated group that would likely lead to malpractice in skilled jobs.

Furthermore, it is essential to 'understand neoliberalism as a facet of a racist society that works to both reinforce the racial structure of society, while also modifying the processes of racialization' (Roberts and Mahtani 2008:250). In other words, not only is the economic structure and culture of neoliberalism keeping the historic racisms intact but it is also creating new forms of racism. For example, Australia, like other developed countries, has an ageing population meaning 'the age structure of the population is likely to stabilise with a far higher proportion of older Australians' (Australian Government: The Treasury 2009). The solution to this pressing socio-economic concern for many is immigration. Racism and its accompanying stereotypes associated with immigrants- high fertility, non-professional aspirations- are effectively mobilized as desirable whereas historically these were seen as negative attributes of immigrants (Roberts and Mahtani 2008:251). It is the case here that immigrants are being used as a way to boost the size of the population of younger people in Australia, and as a base for unskilled service sector employees. Neoliberalism is therefore creating a society in which immigrants seem nothing more than a commodity that can be manipulated at will in order to remedy social problems. Furthermore, East and South-East Asian immigrants are there on the premise of filling in unskilled working class jobs and so therefore are not expected to be aspirational; poor levels of social mobility ensure this is an intergenerational pattern. The very nature of Australian governments' successive policies on the basis of socio-economic or political ends therefore racializes East and South-East Asians as a trivial group that can be manipulated in order to be exploited. The reason they are trivial is because they are seen as a tool for economic gain, and so can be dismissed as a means of production necessary to support the white upper and middle classes.

Exploitative socialisation of a racialized group can have insidious consequences. For example, Australia has become a destination for female victims of sex trafficking from East Asia and South-East Asia, particularly from the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and South Korea, who voluntarily migrate at first but are then coerced into exploitative conditions (Law 2010:112). For Australians who are involved in either the supply or consumption of the sex trade it may be assumed that, for them, East and South-East Asian migrants are racialized on the basis of objectification. It would be naïve also to overlook how it may be 'common knowledge' that a large proportion of the sex industry in Australia is made up of East and South-East Asian immigrants. An intersectional racialization is likely to occur here therefore working on the basis of age, gender and ethnicity, as young women from the noted countries are racialized as an object for Australian men's sexual gratification. John Rex's application of a Weberian 'understanding of class to race relations, situations and markets' (Law 2010:68) may be of use here as it seems the white ruling classes reap the benefits of capitalism whilst new proletariat ghettos and ethnic suburbs (Jupp 2002:34) are filled with Asian immigrants. It would seem then that South-East Asian immigrants are in a position to be discriminated against on the basis of class as well as race. Marxist views of the hegemony of the bourgeoisie may be applicable on a basis of race in Australia, as white

people generally own the means of production, and immigrants are racialized into and as part of the proletariat. What is happening could be referred to as a 'racialization of class'. It would seem racialization along class lines doesn't only discriminate working-class South-East Asians, but may be 'positively discriminating' a new Chinese middle-class in Australia. Just as such and such are racialized as unskilled labourers, the Chinese are racialized as skilled workers. For example, 'in the fiscal year 2011-12, more than 25,000 Chinese people obtained permanent residence in Australia' (The Economist 2014). Most of these immigrants were from the new middle-classes, with Australia also launching a "significant investor" visa in late 2012, aimed at China's super-rich (The Economist 2014). This means there is more pressure perhaps for them to contribute and achieve, but also tension within the middle-class on resources, like private and higher education and higher-income jobs. The same can also be seen with a white working-class backlash against competition of jobs for unskilled workers against Asian immigrants. This has always been the case; 30 years ago 21 per cent of the population were foreign-born, and a further 18 percent were the children of foreign-born parents. Australia's immigrants are thus of unusual economic importance, but also numerous enough to lend weight to workers' traditional fears about immigrants taking jobs from natives (Evans and Kelley 1986:188).

Conclusion

This piece has covered four important topics, and in doing has hopefully outlined the reasons for the negative racialization of East and South-East immigrants in contemporary Australian society. To begin with, the idea that Australia's colonial history has seen many incidences of racialization of East and South-East Asian immigrants was explored, and was contextualised in struggles over land, resources, economics, and ideology. Secondly, it is clear that Australia, although geographically near South-East Asia, is not always keen to be viewed culturally as part of that region as it sees itself politically and socioeconomically more advanced. It is also the case that media depictions of East and South-East Asian immigrants in modern Australia may lead to discriminatory institutional practices and a stereotyping of said group by white Australians. Lastly, the neoliberal framework under which Australia runs is racializing East and South-East Asians in labour and the class system. What each of these four dimensions contribute to is a racialization in which East and South-East Asians are categorised negatively. Namely, they are seen as unskilled, non-aspirational, backwards, poor, uneducated, threatening, barbaric, deviant, criminogenic and so forth. Unfortunately, a combination of the four explored dimensions may lead white Australians to apply these fantasized generalisations to all East and South-East Asian people. Looking forward to the future however, there have been considerable moves by Australia to become more part of Asia. James Jupp and his work 'From Australia to Part of Asia' (1995), is just one of many commentators who suggest a shift away from Australian separatism in the region, due to increased immigration and improved relations. Economically, Australia's biggest trading partner is now China and culturally the Australian football team now play in the Asia Cup and world cup qualifying groups, which is cause for some optimism on race relations in the area. However, it is adamantly clear from this piece there is a long way to go in Australian society when it comes to the racialization of East and South-East Asians. Not only are they racialized on the basis of their culture domestically and globally by Australians, but also on economic, social, and political terms, which- to many- is depressing and immoral.

Bibliography:

- Abdel-Fattah, R (2013). I see White People! The Racial Politics of Australian Television. *ABC News*. 21st October 2013.
- Ansely, G (2014). Drunk, flag-draped youths turning celebration of nationhood into affirmation of white power. *The New Zealand Herald*, January 25th 2014.
- Associated Press (2011). Christmas Island Detention Centre hit by Riots. *The Guardian*. 18th march 2011. [Accessed 26th April 2014]. Available Online: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/mar/18/christmas-island-detention-centre-riots>

- Australia's Demographic Challenges* [online]. (2009). [Accessed Thursday 1st May 2014]. [Available online] http://demographics.treasury.gov.au/content/download/australias_demographic_challenge/s/html/adc-04.asp.
- Chan, J. (1996). Changing Police Culture. *British Journal of Criminology*. 36 (4) 109-134.
- Charteris, A. (1926). Australian Immigration policy. *International Conciliation*. 11 (9) 517-530.
- Dunn, K, Klocker, N, and Salabay, T. (2007) Contemporary racism and Islamophobia in Australia: Racializing religion. *Ethnicities*. 7 (4) 564-589.
- Evans, M and Kelley, J. (1986) Immigrants' Work: Equality and Discrimination in the Australian Labour Market. *Journal of Sociology*. 22 (2) 187-207.
- Goldberg, J. (2000). Sporting diplomacy: Boosting the size of the diplomatic corps. *The Washington Quarterly* [online]. 23 (4), p.63-70. Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1162/016366000561358#U2fBA IdWLE>. [Accessed 27th April 2014]
- Head, J. (2014). Thailand police and protesters clash fatally in Bangkok. *BBC*. 18th February 2014. [Accessed on 12th April 2014]. Available online: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-26224510>
- Huntington, S. (1993). The Clash of Civilisations? *Foreign Affairs*. 72 (3) 22-
- Mickelborough, P. (2012). Claims of police violence and corruption on the rise. *Herald Sun*. July 9th 2012.
- Jones, A. (2006) *Genocide: a comprehensive introduction*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Judd, R and Fainstein, S. (1999). *The Tourist City*. Yale University Press.
- Jupp, J. International Migration Review, Vol. 29, No. 1, Special Issue: Diversity and Comparability: International Migrants in Host Countries on Four Continents (Spring, 1995) From 'White Australia' to 'Part of Asia': Recent Shifts in Australian Immigration Policy towards the Region pp. 207-228.
- Kabir, N. (2004). *Muslims in Australia: Immigration, Race Relations and Cultural History*. London: Routledge.
- Law, I. (2010) *Racism and Ethnicity: Global Debates, Dilemmas, Directions*. Pearson: Edinburgh
- Maldonado, M. (2009). 'It is their nature to do menial labour': the racialization of 'Latino/a workers' by agricultural employers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 32 (6) 1017-1036
- Mann, M (2006) 'Debate On Michael Mann's The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing', *Nations and Nationalism* , 12(3), pp. 389-411.
- Roberts, J and Mahtani, M. (2008) *Neoliberalizing Race, Racing Neoliberalism: Placing "Race" in Neoliberal Discourses*. University of Toronto: Toronto.
- Saurine, A. (2012). With 36,000 job vacancies Australians aren't interested in, tourism wants Asian workers. *Herald Sun*. September 18th 2012.
- Smith, M and Dee, M. (2003). *Peacekeeping in East Timor: The Path to Independence*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Tennant, C. (1993). Medical and Psychiatric Consequences of Being a Prisoner of War of the Japanese. *The International Handbook of Traumatic Stress Syndromes*. 231-239.
- Teo, (2000). Racism in the News: A Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reporting in Two Australian Newspapers. *Discourse and Society*[online]. 11, p.7-49. Available from: <http://das.sagepub.com/content/11/1/7.full.pdfhtml?hwshib2=authn:1398710586:20140427%3Ac7d8eab6-abfe-46c8-bc32-c08d145a7ebe:0:0:0:utl/+M1dhUpKag4qSjQ+9w==>>. [Accessed 27th April 2014].
- The Economist (2014). Migrants in Australia: The Promised Land. *The Economist*. April 26th 2014. [Accessed 2nd May 2014]. Available Online: <http://www.economist.com/news/china/21601301-chinese-immigrants-are-remaking-entire-suburbs-australias-biggest-city-promised-land>
- Waldinger, Michael L. (2003). *How the Other Half Works: Immigration and the Social Organization of Labour*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press

Appendix.

Figure 1.1: Brandt line as according to the Brandt Report 1980 (with added annotations).

