

## CERS Working Paper 2016

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### Racialisation in Australia

#### Introduction

An analysis of racialisation seeks to examine the forms and manifestations of racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia as well as the limits of legislative and administrative measures which exist within Australian society focusing specifically on the impact of policies and behaviours which have contributed to the destruction of Aboriginal societies and the difficulties of reconciliation (Glèlè-Ahanhanzo, M.M. 2002). The issue of racialisation of Australian society is implicit of the very fabric of Australian society. Evident in both the institutional and systemic racism that pervades in modern day Australia; in the socio-economic differences, the residential segregation and the intermarriage rates. An analysis of racism and racial intolerance in Australia begins with a colonial/post-colonial discourse looking firstly at how white settlers have racialized aboriginal people, and in turn racialized themselves (Banton 1967: p184) through the relational of such processes.

Nayak's analysis of 'racialisation' examines the ways in which the construction of race is shaped historically and how the usage of that idea forms a basis for exclusionary practices in the development of society (Nayak, 2003). A view supported by Murji & Solomas (Murji, K. Solomons, J. 2015 :192) and Loomba examines colonial discourse and looks at the broader implication for the development of a postcolonial society (Loomba 2005). Said comments on the impact of discourse ('Orientalism') in constructing images of and distinctions between the orient and occident (Said, 2003:5), whilst in *West and Rest* (Hall, 1992 Cited in Braunmuhl, C 2012:p9), it examines the way discourse is racialized. It is possible to measure the impact of racialisation on material capital, culture and language. This is supported by Goldberg in his conception of racialized discourse. Goldberg argues that racialisation is institutionalised through racial expressions, such as 'racial origin' (Goldberg, 2009b), which both contribute to the discourse and also stem from it. The application of the concept of 'race' is in itself a racial act. Dyer identified 'whiteness' as being 'racially unmarked' (Dyer 1997:3). He argued that 'as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they/we function as a human 'norm', other people are raced, we are just people' (ibid:p1), this then explains why white intellectuals seem to speak and think for humanity. This is supported by Gramsci's theory of Hegemony (Gramsci, A 1930-1932), what is dominant is 'norm' and therefore what is in the minority is deviant and likely to be regarded with suspicion or contempt (Hanchard, M 2006:p246). This provides the perfect context for the suspicion and disregard with which aboriginals are held in Australia, as well as explaining the distrust of the new migrant. Race and racism are distinct (Goldberg, 1993, 2009b); They are both contextual therefore it is important to critically examine change over time. This view is supported by Razack in *'When place becomes race'* in which she seeks to interrogate issues of racialisation through an 'intersectional lens' (Razack, S 2002:p76). A phrase originally coined by Crenshaw argued it is necessary to study the 'multi layered and overlapping ways in which individuals experience oppression' (Crenshaw, 1991:p1244).

This study seeks to examine the overlapping layers of racialisation that seek to combine and create the racial discourse in Australia today, whilst also trying to pinpoint the difficulties experienced by those who would consider themselves members of an ethnic minority in an ethnically diverse and heterogeneous society. Interesting, methodologically, the census itself also seeks to delineate between those who are "Australian born" and those who consider themselves a member of the Aboriginal or Torres Strait

Islander population<sup>1</sup>. This supports Goldberg's view regarding racial discourse (Goldberg, D 1993). The data collected by Profile ID seemed to indicate an increase in the number of Aboriginal and Torres islanders. However, it may be possible to attribute this surge in numbers to more people being prepared to acknowledge their own ethnic heritage in a climate where there is becoming increasing pride and resilience in defending aboriginal culture. Arguably this may, be a consequence of an acceptance of the status within the national consciousness of Aboriginal or Torres Islander population; as suggested by the introduction of the continued observance of socially significant events such as National Sorry Day. Alternatively this variation in the statistical data could be to do with a difference in the nature of the structure of the questions for the census or possibly, as Diane Reay argues globalisation has caused defensive reaction with regard to ethnicity. People feel more protective of their heritage for fear that it is under threat from the hegemonic mass (Abdulsattar, T.O 2013). This view is supported by Giddens when he argued that notions of nationality would become less relevant in a globalised world (1990: Chapter 1, Cited in Marfleet, P:p188). The cultural implications of globalisation suggests that the question of racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia in Australia are worthy of examination. The debate on ethnicity and culture that globalization raises is fuelled by the pressure, whether real or apparent for cultural parity of esteem. They stem from global attitudes that are indifferent to cultural identity and national specificity.

### **Indigenous Racism**

Racism towards the Indigenous population of Aborigines and Torres Strait islanders has its roots in the colonialism of the 18th and 19th centuries; the attitudes of imperialism and racial superiority traditionally associated with the white imperialists at this time were implicit in the approach which early colonists adopted. It was believed that indigenous people should be allowed to "die out" through a process of natural elimination (Armitage, A 2011 :p226) their aim was to "smooth the dying pillow" of the 'race' (Haebich 2000: p134). This was akin to the philosophy of manifest destiny as applied by the white settlers to the Native American Indians. Alternatively, if assimilation into the white community was desired; children would reject their heritage, recognising it as both uncultured and uncivilised and would then 'naturally' adopt the hegemonic white culture. Consequently, they were renamed, forbidden from speaking their language and, whilst a few of them were adopted by white families, the majority were placed in institutions which resulted in both social and psychological disorders (Human Rights 2012: Chapter 10). This implied that Aborigines were 'worth less' than whites in Australian society and as such, Aboriginal men and women faced greater difficulty in securing the economic or social standing that was afforded to white adults. The Native Title Act limited the claim of Aboriginals to land taken from them forcibly in the earlier part of the 20th century which economically disenfranchised Aborigines and prevented them from accessing prime real estate. Such social and economic policies left a legacy of trauma and economic deprivation which created alienation and anomie; resulting in significant social problems such as homelessness and difficulties with alcoholism which would only serve to reinforce the hegemonic view that Aborigines, particularly men, were in some way "less than" other citizens.

A report by the United Nations' Economic and Social Council entitled *Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and all Forms of Discrimination* recommended that the 'Australian government urgently needs to find a humane solution to the question of the stolen generation whose situation is psychologically and socially blocked and desperate' (Economic and Social Council 2004). The report indicates that Indigenous young people continue to be removed from their families at a higher rate than the general population. The effect of forcible removal was given status during *the inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families* (Human Rights and

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<sup>1</sup> 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population' includes all persons who answered question 7 on the Census form "Is the person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin?" with either "Yes, Aboriginal", "Yes, Torres Strait Islander" or both. It is not derived from the "Australian Aboriginal" response to the Ancestry question, and this population can have any birthplace' (Community Profile).

Equal Opportunity Commission). It documented the consequences of these policies. The report of the inquiry, *Bringing Them Home*, (1997) concluded that the policies were 'a denial of common-law rights and a serious breach of Human Rights' (Human Rights 2012: Chapter 10). The report advocated reparations, arguing there had been "a breach of Human rights amounting to genocide." *Bringing Them Home* made 83 recommendations in four categories: (a) Reparation or compensation to individuals, families, communities and descendants; (b) Acknowledgement and apology as essential components of reparation and reconciliation; (c) Provision of family reunion health, counselling and other services; and (d) Legislative change to introduce uniform policies and practices governing child removal in contemporary Australia. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission stated that the Australian Government only responded to 6 of the 83 recommendations; it agreed to fund the expansion of family reunion services, a national network of Indigenous mental health services, and record keeping. The Government questioned whether the motivation for removal was racist; further evidence of the racialisation of Australian society inasmuch as the government was unable to recognise what had become intrinsic. The government argued that the treatment of Aboriginal children was lawful and benign and wholly appropriate within the context of the time. To this end, the government rejected the call for a national apology, arguing that it was impossible to evaluate decisions that were taken in the past. This was countered by former Liberal minister Moylan whom argued:

"I think as a nation we owe an apology. We shouldn't be thinking about it as an individual apology — it's an apology that is coming from the nation state because it was governments that did these things."

(The Age News 2008).

Public support meant that, formal apologies were tabled and passed in the state parliaments of Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales and also in the parliament of the Northern Territory. The first 'National Sorry Day' took place on the 26th May 1998. Howard argued that the Stolen Generation was 'the most blemished chapter in the history of this country' (7.30 report - 3/4/2000: No stolen generation: Australian Govt, 2000). The UN argued that something had to be done to 'facilitate family reunion, and to improve counselling and family support services for the victims' (UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 2000). They recommended "that the State party [must] consider the need to address appropriately the extraordinary harm inflicted by these racially discriminatory practices"(ibid).

In 1998, The Native Title Act was amended to what is commonly referred to in Australia as the '10-point plan', and advocated economic coexistence seeking to create a degree of parity between the interests of ranchers, businesses and property owners and the dispossession of the indigenous population. However, it was not until 2008 that Kevin Rudd addressed the issue of an apology referencing the cultural impact of the stolen generations. He was supported by 70% of the Australian electorate who now began to recognise that this racialisation lay at the heart of the culture of Australia; the conflict experienced by Howard is indicative of the paradigm shift; from a period when such policies were acceptable and part of the hegemonic view of social control to a time when they had become abhorrent; society had moved on; such decisions were overturned; reflecting the dissipating nature of Australia's society indigenous racism. However, the relatively limited protection afforded to Aboriginals under the terms of the Native Title Amendment Act and the failure of 30% to support the apology suggests that this is a process; the journey towards a society which rejects this is not yet at its end.

#### Institutional Racism

It was a speech of a different nature which indicated a surge in the politicisation of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders; Stan Grant's speech in January 2016 to the National Press Club of Australia documented the political, economic and social struggle of the Aborigines. He referenced the stolen children but also the failures of education, policy, employment and social and political emancipation. This was a view supported by Tahmindjis (Tahmindjis, P 1995: p123), a leading legal authority on discrimination when he concluded 'that instances of indirect racial discrimination may be enormous, occurring in employment, education and training, health and justice' (Cunneen, C 2006). In 2015, 60% of Aboriginal children were behind non-aboriginal children by the time they started Year One (Korff, J 2015 Cited in Creative spirits) whilst only 10% of aboriginines graduate from year one. attendance of

aboriginal children is low and their grades are behind those of non aboriginal children. young aboriginals become life long under-achievers (Ibid). This under attendance is perhaps due, to the lack of teachers who come from the Aboriginal population; 0.7% of teachers are Aboriginal (Korff, J 2012: Cited in Creative spirits). This suggests that a lack of role models may feel that the pervading culture is one which would not welcome them into teaching (Perso, T. F 2012). This, has a domino effect on the experiences of Aborigines and the non aboriginal population inasmuch as they don't see people of colour in positions of responsibility and therefore don't associate them with high status jobs or achieved status. Further, The Sydney Morning Herald reported recently that whites are taking children out of public schools because of the dominance of Aboriginal children and the level of racism increasing (Korff, J 2015 Cited in Creative spirits).

However, there is evidence that social policy in regard to both employment and education is making inroads to address the disparity. It launched the Indigenous Employment Programme in May 1999. This was launched to reduce the level of unemployment among indigenous peoples (Gray, M. Hunter, B. Lahore, S 2012)<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the government also introduced a wage assistance and cadetship programme, an Indigenous small business fund and a Job Network. The Department of Education is also committed to improving the educational achievements of Aboriginal students in schools and to enhancing the knowledge and understanding of all Western Australian students about the history, heritage and cultures of Aboriginal Australians (Australian Govt: Department of education and training 2012). This is supported by the UN who recommended that government subsidies should be made available to the Alice Springs Aboriginal Development Institute so that the university can be built (Glèlè-Ahanhanzo, M.M. 2002). Improvements in higher education would not only challenge the aspirations of high school students and, perhaps impact on the number of aboriginal children graduating from Year 12 but also serve to increase the credentials of the aboriginal community in Alice Springs and increase the number of aboriginals who hold positions of social responsibility (ibid); This view is supported by the last stanza from Grant's speech:

“Two years ago I stood with this man - my father - as he received a doctorate from Charles Sturt University for teaching a language this country had once tried to silence. He has been awarded an Order of Australia medal ... that's how far we have come. That's what we can be” (Grant, S 2016).

This institutional racism has become cyclical and exists beyond the sphere of education. For example, only 20 Aborigines qualified as medics in 2014. This statistic is more alarming inasmuch as not only does it fail to advance the status of Aborigines in Australian society it may also affect the way the Aboriginal community access health services; The Aboriginal communities are particularly prone to poverty, malnutrition, overcrowding, poor hygiene, environmental contamination, and prevalent infections. Inadequate clinical care and health promotion, and poor disease prevention services aggravate this situation (Gracey, D. King, M 2009). Furthermore, Creative Spirits (Online), contributing to the National Library of Australia writes that aboriginals 'die 10 years younger than the average Australian' (Creative spirits 2015:Online), this poor health is associated with some Indigenous groups, as they move from traditional to transitional and modern lifestyles. Individuals are rapidly acquiring lifestyle diseases (Gracey, M 2009: p66). This is a view supported by Hunter when he notes that the 'number of Aboriginal deaths in custody could often be attributed to behavioral difficulties amongst the Aboriginal community' (Hunter 1993: p87, p74). Hunter argued there was a lack of adequate mental health services (Ibid). This in turn was fuelling the high levels of alcoholism which, whilst regarded by many as a stereotype associated with the aboriginal communities is, in this case, borne out by data which suggests that 60% of Aboriginal Australian drinkers experience some alcohol-related harm (Alcohol in Australia issues and strategies 2001). However, Hunter also suggests that it is difficult to assess the role link between alcoholism and mental health within the Aboriginal community as there is very little research in this area

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<sup>2</sup> Currently 91% of young aboriginals are unemployed compared to 61% of young non aboriginals (Gray, M. Hunter, B. Loboar, S 2012).

(Hunter 1993: p92, 168) This is due to the fact that young people who are Aboriginals or Torres Strait Islanders or from other cultural and linguistic minority groups may be even less likely to voluntarily seek professional help when needed (Rickwood, D J, Deane, F P, Wilson, C J 2007). This is in no small part due to the lack of aboriginal controlled health facilities. Whilst, 'between 1983 - 1985, the number of aboriginally controlled health units increased from 27 - 45 and government funding for these increased from \$5.4 million to \$13.4 million' (Holding, C 1985). Furthermore, 46 community controlled alcoholism projects and 9 community controlled dental projects were initiated during 1984 and 1985 (ibid). Nevertheless, despite evidence on both the prevalence of racism and its detrimental effects on Indigenous health, there is very little intervention research in either Australia or Aotearoa aimed at reducing racism or its adverse effects (Paradies, Harris, and Anderson, 2008).

This is part of a wider social agenda, The Australian Government has established organizations to protect and improve the situation of certain groups whom it considers to be in a less favourable situation than the majority of other Australians owing to the effects of past, and even current, discriminatory practices. There are organizations and institutions which devote particular attention to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. For example, the Anti-Discrimination Act 1991 which 'aims to promote equality of opportunity for everyone by protecting them from unfair discrimination in various areas of public life and from sexual harassment' (Anti Discrimination Act 1991). It runs training and education programmes designed to prevent discrimination and harassment and raise awareness of issues adversely affecting the indigenous aboriginal community (ibid). Furthermore, the Equal Opportunity Commission publishes various kinds of information material, such as a review of complaints lodged by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and a booklet on how to implement equal opportunity in organizations. It also publishes A Guide for Aboriginal People and leaflets in different languages, such as Making a complaint in Amharic, Croatian, Greek, Italian, Somali and Tigrinya (Glèlè-Ahanhanzo, M.M. 2002). However, a study has found that only eight cents of every dollar spent on 'Aboriginal affairs' has ever reached the people on the ground (Anderson, M 2015 Cited in Creative Spirits). Consequently, the phenomenon of institutional racism is much deeper than statistics reveal, although data may show important trends in access and equity institutional racism lies in the heart of the nature of professional practice whether in education or employment opportunities and still excludes too many member of the indigenous population.

### **Systemic Racism within the Criminal Justice System**

Systemic racism refers to the 'requirements, conditions, practices, policies or processes that maintain and reproduce avoidable and unfair inequalities across ethnic/racial groups' (Paradies, Harris, and Anderson, 2008). Studies found 'Aborigines are 9.2 times more likely to be arrested and 48 times more likely to be imprisoned as juveniles than non-Aborigines' (Broadhurst, 1997: p407). There have been studies that suggest indirect discrimination may impact on Aboriginal people in contact with the criminal justice system (Blagg et al. 2005). This is particularly notable with regard to decisions made in regard to the juvenile justice system (Gale et al 1990; Luke & Cunneen 1995).

Cunneen raises the question of bias and discrimination in the criminal justice system with regard to the treatment of indigenous people (Cunneen 1995). Since 1989, the imprisonment rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people has increased 12 times faster than the rate for non-Aboriginal people (Koori Mail 499: p.5, Cited in Creative Spirits). Stan Grant writes 'We are fewer than 3 per cent of the Australian population and yet we are 25 per cent, a quarter of those Australians locked up in our prisons' (Grant, S 2016). This is supported by data which suggests that in June 2015 the rate was 2,047 prisoners per 100,000 of the adult Aboriginal population, only 2 years later that rate had increased by more than 10% to 2,257 (Creative Spirits 2015: Online) Clearly, Indigenous Australians are over-represented amongst the Australian prison populations, with imprisonment rates that are approximately 12 times those of the rest of the Australian population (Australian Institute of Criminology 2015).

Further, self-report data by young people at school shows an over-representation of Indigenous youth in most reported offences by a factor of 2 or less (Walker, J and McDonald, D 1995). In other words,

Indigenous young people report committing offences at around twice the rate of non-Indigenous youth, they are 15.6 times overrepresented in juvenile detention (Cunneen, C 2006). Over-representation rates are highest in juvenile detention, with a 10-17 year old Indigenous person being around 24 times more likely to be in detention than a non-Indigenous person of the same age (Australian Institute of Criminology 2015). This view is supported by Gale who looks critically at the relationship between crime and Aboriginals (Gale et al 1990: p36). Even though her study would suggest that more young aboriginals committed more crime that in itself was not evidence of inherent criminality. Theft and shoplifting were simply urban offences which were more often committed by young aboriginals as they lived in these areas. This is a view supported by Johnson when he argues that property crime committed by young aboriginals is usually because of poverty, He argues that they are stealing to buy food (Johnston, 1991: p287).

Broadhurst argues that the highest rates of indigenous imprisonment are in the frontier areas in Northern Territory and Western Australia (Broadhurst 1997, Cited in Gupta, T.D: p 269), whilst Aboriginals living in urban areas are 'four times more likely to appear in court than those living in remote areas' (Luke & Cunneen, 1998: p21). This is indicative of the poorest standard of living that aboriginals particularly in Northern urban areas experience. Whilst those living in rural communities are supported by kinship networks and experience the social control of their elders; Those who have moved to towns looking for work find themselves struggling and unemployed. Broadhurst claims that 'the disadvantaged position in which indigenous people find themselves has a direct influence on indigenous offending and over-representation in the criminal justice system' (Broadhurst, 1997: p413). They experience a sense of relative deprivation and marginalisation which makes it difficult to find work. The Economic and social situation of the Aboriginals remains dire (Beresford, Q. Partington, G. Gower, G 2012: p336).

Whilst the Australian government aims to combat racism and racial discrimination, it has been argued that programmes are insufficient by the Race Discrimination and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner (Glèlè-Ahanhanzo, 2002). However, restrictions in land rights, low levels of education and access to employment, health, housing continue to affect Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders and create circumstances in which theft is the only available option for many (ibid). Research into the apparent increase in theft amongst indigenous women from New South Wales, the Northern Territory and South Australia indicate that 'they are between nine and 16 times more likely to offend than their non-Indigenous counterparts; this is a much greater over-representation than for men (8-10 times more likely)' (Bartels, L 2010).

Arguably, systemic racism not only exists within the nature of the law but also in its enforcement, over-policing may also be examined in this context (Whisner, M 2011). For example, the number of Indigenous female arrests in Western Australia 'almost doubled from 1,381 in 1991 to 2,744 in 2005' (Bartels, L 2010). Policing patterns indicate that this group are over policed (Holdaway 1983: p66-71) and consequently a higher level of crime is detected amongst this cohort. Holdaway suggests that therefore it cannot be argued that this group are intrinsically more criminal just that this over policing in urban areas reveals a higher level of crime compared to other groups. It is the process of policing rather than the behaviour of the indigenous population itself therefore that needs to be examined in this context (ibid).

Further, it can be argued that it was the forced relocation of native Aboriginals from specific areas where they felt safe and where their behaviour of the community was subject to boundary maintenance and social control which contributed to an increase in indigenous crime (Vivian, A. Schmierer, E 2010: p18-19), This is supported by Walker who argues 'serious problems of violence and petty crime go hand in hand with serious social problems' (Walker, 1994: p13-15). The relocation of the Aboriginals which, allegedly was for their "protection" bought with it a separate set of problems. This social dislocation lead to feelings of anomie (Read, P 2008) which was compounded by the limited access to scarce resources

which drove the indigenous community into utilitarian crimes such as theft and burglary. Further, it can be argued that these crimes may be seen by some as evidence of resistance. Crimes against the property of whites such as school buildings, homes of white people or their local stores are allegedly seen by many as 'the resistance which has become part of the Aboriginal culture' (Maaka, R. Anderson, C 2006: p200). This view is supported by Gilborn who argues that this type of theft is part of a greater programme of social justice, 'writing the wrongs' of colonisation and the systemic racism that exists within society (Gilborn, D 2008). However, there is very little evidence to support this theory and more likely that thefts are borne out of economic necessity rather than ideological retribution.

### **Cultural Racism in Media and Sport**

Systemic racism exists particularly prolific within the mainstream media in Australia (Kroff, J 2016: online cited in Creative Spirits). A systematic discourse analysis in 1992, which included television, news, and radio revealed a lack of diversity across all forms of media. Whilst there were images of Aboriginal and Torres Islanders which were often stereotypical and derisive. For example, there was a discussion on a news programme about Aboriginal land rights which were presented as 'problems for the majority culture' (Korff, J 2016 Cited in Creative Spirits online). There was an inference that these land rights were potentially a threat to the property of the population as a whole. This could be seen as an attempt to mobilise anti-Aboriginal sentiment in defence to the property of the white community. Unfortunately, this mindset is particularly prevalent amongst many older Australians. This type of reporting seeks to consolidate long held views on the differences between the lifestyles and beliefs of the whites and the Aboriginals in Australia. Whilst, in 1994 a study found that most newspaper editors saw their readership as white, and some conceded that this perception did affect their news coverage (ibid). With most stories directed at white audiences, papers established a clear sense of conflict between 'us' (non-Aboriginal Australians) and 'them'. In the 1990s 'only one quarter of newspaper articles contained quotation and citations from aboriginal sources' (ibid). The ownership of Australian media, and in particular the print media is concentrated in the hands of just three corporations. This limits the variety of news and opinion average Australians consume and limits in particular how much and in what tone Australians hear about Aboriginal people. Often times, Aboriginal issues only make the front page when the Aboriginal community are being shown negatively, for example drunk, disorderly or criminal, or perhaps when they can be blamed for the mistakes of the government or government departments (Ray Jackson 2013: President for the Indigenous Social Justice System, Cited in Creative Spirits 2016). Brooke Boney argues that 'Indigenous Australia has long had a troubled relationship with the mainstream media,' (Brooke Boney on SBS News, Cited in Creative Spirits 2016). Boney goes on to cite Aboriginal radio host, Tiga Bayles as saying that media 'put a slant on it to make [Aboriginal people] look bad'" (Cited in Creative Spirits 2016).

With regard to television, in 2007 the National Indigenous Television Network (NITV) estimated that 'less than 2 hours per week or around 1.2% were dedicated to Aboriginal-produced content' (Australian Government 2016). This is a view supported by Turner (Inaugural CEO of National Indigenous Television) when he argues that 'Indigenous Australia does not have a high profile on Australian television' (Pat Turner 2015, Koori Mail 396: p5). Again, supported by Hayward who argues Aboriginals 'are not very visible in the media, unless its via the allegation that the person suspected of a crime was Aboriginal' (Nyongar Prof Colleen Hayward, Cited in Creative Spirits 2016). Conversely, the 1983 documentary 'Lousy Little Sixpence was the first film to deal with the Stolen Generations' (Creative Spirits 2016), and was highly influential on the Australian Prime Minister's apology to the Stolen Generations.

McMullen, a foreign correspondent and strongly pro Aboriginal journalist argues 'the media has a responsibility to tell the country what is happening in a way that connects Australians. If you see that people are not listening to the truth, find another way to tell the story' (McMullen, J Koori Mail 435 p.7 Cited in Creative Spirits). Evidence of cultural racism is, perhaps, most significant and certainly highly visible in sport.

On January 26 2014, Adam Goode was named 'Australian of the Year' for his contribution to sport and his work with indigenous young people; supporting 'Aboriginal children in detention centers and promoting education and healthy lifestyles as co-founder of the Go-Foundation' (HeraldSun 2015). Goode experienced significant racism on the pitch notably from fans who took offence after Goode had a 13 year old girls removed from the stands after she called him an 'ape' (Bloomberg, J.S 2015). A subsequent tribal war dance he performed also agitated fans and led to him considering retirement from the sport.

Indigenous people have long achieved in sport, for example Patty Mills, Evonne Goolagong Cawley, Cathy Freeman (ibid); suggesting that whilst still subject to racist taunts from the fans it is possible for Aboriginals to achieve success in this sphere, although arguably this is limited to a small number of high profile athletes which could be argued it tantamount to tokenism in order to appease a hegemonic society in need of examples to support the view that Aboriginal can attain status in Australian society.

In conclusion, it can be argued that the 'widespread nature of racism in domains such as national politics (Augoustinos, Tuffin & Rapley 1999), media (Cunneen 2001), education (Sonn, Bishop & Humphries 2000) and the welfare system (Sanders 1999), as well as in the provision of public housing (Equal Opportunity Commission of Western Australia 2004) continues to proliferate in Australian society' (Paradies, Harris, and Anderson, 2008). It dominates political as well as social life; 'one in five Indigenous Australians have been a victim of racist verbal abuse (All together now: How does racism affect us video), one Aboriginal man noted that a white man 'threw a newspaper' and said 'go back to your own country' (ibid: video). Despite inroads in social policy, the national 'sorry' day, inroads into eradicating racism from sport and local policies such as an intervention aimed to reduce negative stereotypes about indigenous Australians. They included a two-week television campaign funded by the Western Australian Equal Opportunity Commission focusing on 'Aboriginal employment week' in Bunbury, Western Australia to demonstrate a willingness, on behalf of the dominant white community to at least begin to address the systemic racism that exists within Australian society. However, statistics suggest that progress in this regard is slow particularly with regard to social inequality, education, health care and the over representation of Aborigines facing homelessness, domestic abuse and incarceration (Social Justice Report). Arguably, this is the legacy of a history of economic poverty and neglect since British settlement in 1788: 'Indigenous people are eight times more likely to be victims of child abuse and neglect; about a third less likely to complete school and half as likely to own their own home'. On average they die about a decade before other Australians' (Bloomberg, J.S 2015).

Goode wrote in response to his verbal abuse, 'there are always two ways we can look at a situation. We can choose to get angry, or not. We can choose to help others, or not. Or choose to be offended, or not. We can keep our silos, or educate ourselves and others about racism and minority populations' (Goode's speech cited in Anthony Sharwood 2015). Grant concurred writing "It means treating people the way you want to be treated' (ibid).

Moving forward, it seems evident from this analysis that there needs to be an exploration of the

Benefits of 'racial socialisation' (i.e. learning about the nature of racism in society) and to find effective ways to combat both interpersonal and systemic racism against indigenous people. A review of state agencies, policies and procedures in consultation with all indigenous communities would seek to ensure a mandate for the Twenty First century to facilitate equality and rights of access for all indigenous people (UN: Jose Antonio Ocampo 2007). The impact of which could lead to a progressive stance on the process of de-racialisation through socialisation so that in generations time the indigenous population have a similar and equal experience of living in modern day Australia.

Appendix:

A) Table on the total population in Australia (Community profile)

<b>Culture and ethnicity</b>							
<b>Australia - Total persons (Usual residence)</b>	<b>2011</b>			<b>2006</b>			<b>Change</b>
<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Greater Capital Cities %</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Greater Capital Cities %</b>	<b>2006 to 2011</b>
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population	548,126	3	1	455,024	2	1	93,102
Australian born	15,020,078	70	64	14,046,070	71	65	974,008
Speaks a language other than English at home	3,911,720	18	25	3,146,180	16	22	765,540

B) Kevin Rudd: Prime Minister of Australia (2008) apology speech

*“That today we honour the Indigenous peoples of this land, the oldest continuing cultures in human history. We reflect on their past mistreatment. We reflect in particular on the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations—this blemished chapter in our nation's history. The time has now come for the nation to turn a new page in Australia's history by righting the wrongs of the past and so moving forward with confidence to the future. We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians. We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country. For the pain, suffering, and hurt of these Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry. To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry. And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry. We the Parliament of Australia respectfully request*

*that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered as part of the healing of the nation. For the future we take heart; resolving that this new page in the history of our great continent can now be written. We today take this first step by acknowledging the past and laying claim to a future that embraces all Australians. A future where this Parliament resolves that the injustices of the past must never, never happen again. A future where we harness the determination of all Australians, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to close the gap that lies between us in life expectancy, educational achievement, and economic opportunity. A future where we embrace the possibility of new solutions to enduring problems where old approaches have failed.*

*A future based on mutual respect, mutual resolve and mutual responsibility. A future where all Australians, whatever their origins, are truly equal partners, with equal opportunities and with an equal stake in shaping the next chapter in the history of this great country, Australia''*

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