



Identifying and filling racism data gaps in Victoria:

A stocktake review

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CRIS
Centre for Resilient
and Inclusive Societies

This report was researched and written on unceded Country.
We pay our respect to Elders past, present and future,
and acknowledge Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander
communities' ongoing struggles for empowerment, healing and
self-determination.

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Executive summary

Background

Australia is a country settled through European colonial invasion and populated by immigrants from all over the globe. It has a history of fraught race relations and racism, enduring since the beginning of white settler colonialism in 1788. Racism in Australia has derived initially from colonial extraction, exploitation, expropriation, and competition with Indigenous peoples, and later extended into discrimination and exclusion of different immigrant populations. Recently, we have seen racism directed towards numerous ethnic, racial, national, religious, and migrant groups, while colonisation and profound structural racism towards Indigenous peoples continue to have devastating effects in all areas of life.

Victoria has increasingly recognised and condemned racism, seeking to create strategies to reduce racism and ensure justice, wellbeing and equality through anti-racism initiatives and increased funding. The Victorian Government has established an Anti-Racism Taskforce and is currently developing the state's first Anti-Racism Strategy. Meanwhile, the Yoorrook Justice Commission has commenced a formal truth-telling process and currently runs an inquiry into injustices experienced by Indigenous peoples in Victoria. Additional efforts have been made at the national level, including the current development of a new Anti-Racism Framework by the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC).

Given Australia's and Victoria's stated commitment to promoting multiculturalism and equality, and to eradicating racism, our knowledge about the nature, extent and impact of different forms of racism on diverse populations is not as well-developed as it should be. Policymakers, community organisations, researchers and other stakeholders addressing racism increasingly recognise that anti-racism initiatives must rely on robust scholarly evidence and high-quality data. Yet existing data have serious limitations, which impacts our understanding of racism nationally and in Victoria.

This report discusses a stocktake review of racism data, which organises the body of existing data, identifies gaps in data collection, analysis and uses, and recommends how to fill these gaps. The review was conducted by the Centre for Resilient

and Inclusive Societies (CRIS), and co-funded by the Victorian Government and CRIS partner institutions. We present this report as a public resource intended particularly for those who are working to better understand and address racism.

Objectives

1. Provide a comprehensive overview, summary and synthesis of quantitative data on racism in Australia, with a specific focus on Victoria. We focus on the forms, settings, targets, perpetrators, responses to and effects of racism.
2. Identify gaps in racism data collection, analysis and uses, and contexts with insufficient empirical coverage.
3. Provide recommendations on bridging those data gaps and informing anti-racism action and policy.

Methods

The review draws on two different and complementary types of data collection.

1. Survey-based, quantitative research studies, which typically use established research designs and methodologies for data collection and analysis.
2. Routine data collection initiatives and platforms by government and non-government organisations (for example, online complaint forms), critical for monitoring and acting against racism on an ongoing basis.

We focus on data elicited by participants' self-reports of racism, as it may be experienced or expressed. Overall, the review examines data collected by 42 survey-based, quantitative studies, discussed in over 120 publications and study materials, and 13 ongoing data collection initiatives, platforms and projects.



Key findings: Existing data

How many?

42

survey-based, quantitative studies collecting racism data.

There were 13 organisational initiatives that routinely collected racism data. They included initiatives by human rights commissions, settings-based initiatives focused on media, police, schools, workplace and online settings.



Settings

Experiences of racism in employment were most widely studied, followed by law enforcement and education.



Associations

Eleven studies measured self-reported behavioural, cognitive and health responses to racism, while another 11 studies reported associations between racism and mental health, and 12 studies reported associations between racism and education.



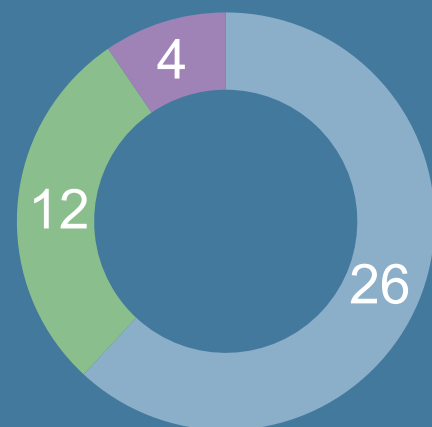
Types of racism



Interpersonal self-reported racism was the type most widely studied (30 studies), followed by vicarious racism, and by racism as existing generally in society.

Where?

Number of studies by location



Australia-wide Victoria Victoria and other states

Who?

Most studies collected data from over 1,000 participants. Nineteen studies focused on the general Australian population. The groups most frequently studied in relation to experiencing racism were Indigenous people, followed by people of Muslim, Anglo and European,¹ Asian, Middle Eastern, and African backgrounds.



1. This group was mainly studied as part of a suite of various social groups, and was often distinguished for comparison.

Key findings: Data gaps

Based on the review, we identified eight gaps to racism data collection and analysis. These include six areas where data were data collection and analysis were missing or inadequate:

1. Cohorts experiencing racism

Experiences of racism among younger people (under 18) and humanitarian migrants.

2. Perpetrator demographics

Perpetrators' racial/ethnic backgrounds and other demographics such as age, education and sex.

3. Types of racism

Vicarious racism (for example, as witnessed), the existence of structural racism in society (for example, in Australia; towards a group), and specific forms of racism such as being harassed, hassled or stopped from doing things.

4. Settings where racism is experienced

Domestic settings (for example, home), media, sports, online, and financial settings.

5. Local-level data

While data about the state where study participants reside are often collected by national studies, those studies rarely report state- and local-level data. No long term Victorian-focused studies were ongoing when we undertook this review.

6. Responses to and effects of racism

Attitudinal, cognitive, behavioural, and health-related responses to racism are scarcely studied. Relatively few studies report on associations between experiencing racism and certain health outcomes, such as physical health or substance use, and between racism and key indicators of socio-economic status or outcomes such as employment or income.

Two data gaps related to limitations to data collection methodologies:

7. Longitudinal data

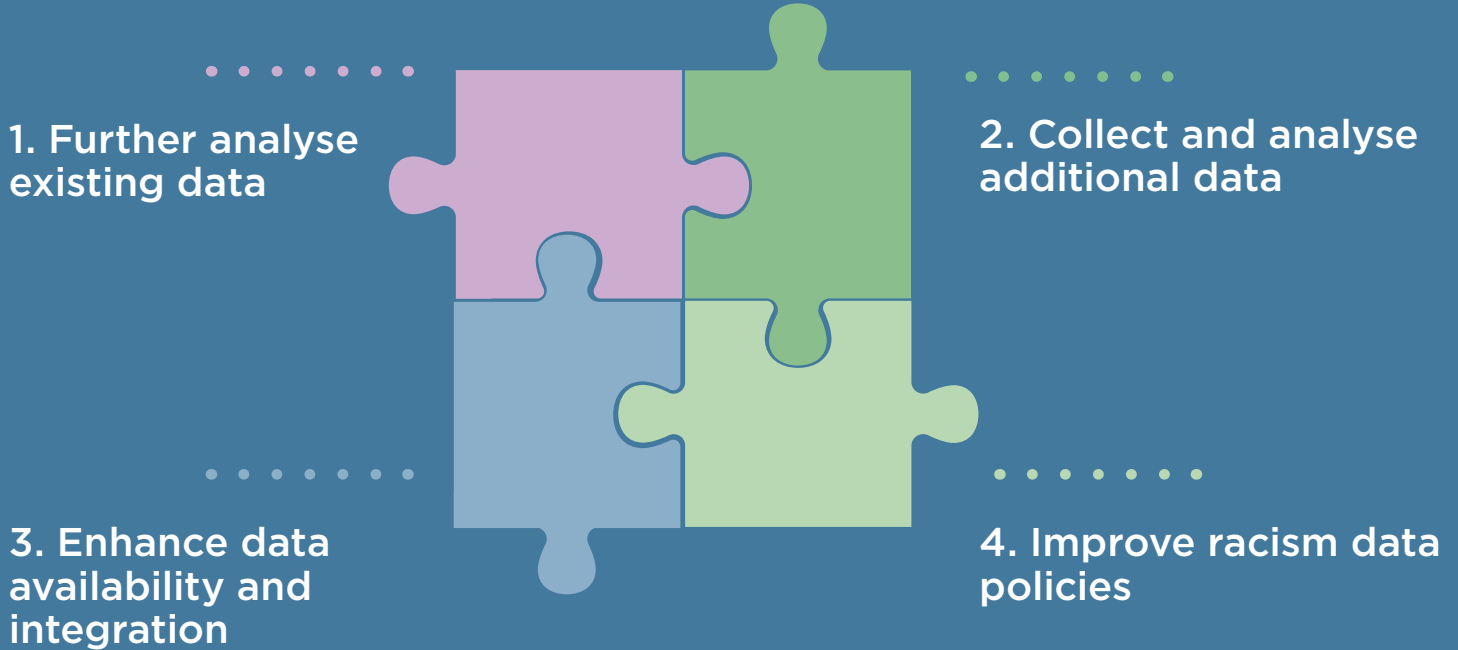
Longitudinal designs are scarce, limiting our understanding of the transformations and effects of racism over time. These include changes over the lifespan and during critical life phases, and changes in the prevalence and impact of racism on various outcomes.

8. Capacity and resourcing of routine data collection

Organisations play a critical role in the routine, ongoing collection of racism data, yet face limitations to their data collection methodologies and coordination, and challenges related to organisational resources.

Recommendations: filling racism data gaps

We recommend four interconnected ways to fill racism data gaps for researchers, organisations and policymakers working to address racism.



1. Further analyse existing data

Several important questions about racism may be addressed by analysing existing data.

1.1 Who perpetrates racism?

Analyse the intersecting demographic characteristics of those who perpetrate racism to better target anti-racism interventions. This should be accompanied by a critical and expansive understanding of what constitutes racism, and how racism is perpetrated implicitly and explicitly, particularly in institutional settings.

1.2 How does racism vary across Victoria?

Analyse racism spatially to better understand its variation across localities and address its locally-specific manifestations, prevalence and impact.

1.3 What are the effects of racism?

Determine the effects of racism on, and racial/ethnic disparities in, health and socio-economic outcomes. Analyse its effects on

areas such as physical and general health, substance use, employment and education.

1.4 What do we know? Synthesise the bigger picture

Synthesise and review cumulative evidence to improve our understanding of changes to racism over time, across localities and forms, and between groups. Conduct periodic reviews to identify further data gaps and emerging needs among anti-racism stakeholders.

2. Collect and analyse additional data

Where critical questions cannot be addressed by existing data, additional data should be collected and analysed. This must be done in discussion with groups affected by racism and in ways that minimise over-researching. Priority should be given to expanding existing surveys that already examine racism, especially longitudinally.² New data should ultimately contribute to anti-racism and social change.

2. For example, AVS, HILDA, LSAC, LSIC, MK, MSC ()

2.1. Pivot towards a structural understanding of racism

Prioritise research that contributes to a broader understanding of racism as a structural issue in Australia, and research that examines indirect exposure to racism.

2.2 Examine harassment and other under-explored forms of racism

Examine various forms of racism that aren't well understood, including vicarious racism, harassment and hassle, bullying, victimisation, and micro-aggressions, being feared, and being subject to unfair assumptions.

2.3 Focus on emerging and rapidly changing settings

Research racism in emerging settings, and in settings undergoing rapid social change where data collection remains limited, including the COVID-19 and 'post-pandemic' context. These include racism online, in the media, domestically, in financial settings and the sharing economy, and in technology.

2.4 Enhance knowledge about responses to racism

Address remaining questions about individual responses to racism, for example: the extent to which people may (un)recognise racism as affecting them; longer-term responses to discrimination (such as anticipating, avoiding or addressing prospective encounters with racism); and, how past experiences might shape intercultural connections.

2.5 Research young people's and humanitarian migrants' experiences

Study experiences of racism among people under 18 years old and among humanitarian migrants, and answer questions about racism's longer-term effects.

3. Enhance data availability and integration

Existing studies and reporting mechanisms should be made more widely available. They should also be better integrated and interlinked.

3.1 Make data open access

Enhance data availability by making data sets and sources open access via central repositories, publishing in open access journals, and through data custodians. Organisations could receive permission to share some de-identified data. The metadata should be made

externally visible to enhance knowledge about and use of data.

3.2 Improve data integration

Integrate data from different sources through data linkages. This will reduce gaps and overlaps in data collection and save resources. Explore possibilities for linking the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Multi-Agency Data Integration Project (MADIP) to available data on racism and racial/ethnic disparities.

3.3 Consult end users

We highly recommend consulting end users who plan to utilise the data, to ensure that it can inform adequate responses to ongoing and emerging issues.

4. Improve racism data policies

Improve policies that relate to the collection, analysis, reporting and overall management of racism data, to ensure the necessary data exist and are available for analysis.

4.1 Implement a national data management plan

There is a need for better coordination, direction and resourcing of the racism research effort. We recommend developing a national-level racism data management plan, which would feed into national, state and local strategies of eradicating racism.

4.2 Mandatory data collection and reporting by agencies

National and state level policies should mandate key agencies in areas such as health, education, employment and criminal justice to collect and report data on racism and inequalities based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion and related demographics.

4.3 Longer-term commitment to data collection

Commit to collecting data on racism in Victoria and other jurisdictions in the long-term through both research and routine initiatives, which are coordinated and adequately resourced.

4.4 An urgent need for analysis of COVID-19 disparities

Comprehensively analyse and report on COVID-19 racial/ethnic disparities, including the rates of testing, infections, hospitalisations and deaths.

Part 1: Introduction

1.1. Racism in Australia and Victoria

Racism is a critical phenomenon worldwide and a social force that continues to shape Australian society (Elias et al., 2021a; Lowitja Institute, 2021). We define racism as a historical and ongoing system of oppression, which creates hierarchies between social groups based on perceived differences relating to origin and cultural background (Bonilla Silva, 1997; Williams, 1997).³ It has harmful consequences across many areas of human life, spanning domains such as mental and physical health, education, justice, the economy and more (for example, Elias & Paradies, 2016; Paradies et al., 2015).

In Australia, racism is deeply embedded in the country's settler-colonial history and has fomented oppression and division since the beginning of white settler colonialism in 1788. Scholars argue that Australia's social and political structure retains its racist past in many spheres of life, such as the immigration system, the media and other institutions (De Plevitz, 2007; Every & Augoustinos, 2007; Henry et al., 2004). Historical research documents fraught race relations between settlers and Indigenous Australians, and between white Australians and non-white migrants, extending throughout the modern period (MacIntyre, 2004; Reynolds, 1996). Yet, racism in Australia is far more than the prejudice of settlers. It is characterised by wars, dispossession and colonial expansion that advanced racist violence, conceptualised in the literature as settler colonialism (Wolfe, 2006). Significantly, although not a focus of this review, there is a history of resistance to racism in Australia as well (Nelson & Dunn, 2013).

Lately, racism has drawn increasing attention worldwide, whether in relation to protests against

³ These hierarchies disadvantage some groups and advantage others, generating and exacerbating unfair and avoidable inequalities (Berman & Paradies, 2010). Racism is multi-faceted and is manifest in structural, institutional, interpersonal, and internalised forms. It is expressed and reinforced through policies, practices, media representations, stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination. Racism draws on characteristics such as 'race', ethnicity, nationality and religion, and is related to constructs such as Islamophobia, Anti-Semitism, and xenophobia (Seth, 2020).

institutional discrimination and social and health inequities affecting Black and Indigenous people, or xenophobic sentiments under COVID-19 (for example, Ho, 2021; and in Australia see, for example, Bond et al., 2020; Kamp et al., 2021). In Australia, over the past decade or so we have seen racism manifest in a variety of ways, including: violence against South Asian students; inflammatory rhetoric and inhumane policies towards asylum seekers (Klocker & Dunn 2003; McKay et al., 2011); Islamophobia and racist incidents targeting Muslim Australians (Akbarzadeh et al., 2009; Barkdull et al., 2011; Johns, 2015; Mansouri & Vergani, 2018); mediatised racialisation and episodic criminalisation of African Australians (Majavu, 2020; Weng & Mansouri, 2021); race-based hatred online (Jakubowicz et al., 2017; Faulkner & Bliuc 2016); and attacks against Asian Australians in the context of COVID-19 (Kamp et al., 2021; Elias et al., 2021b).

Simultaneously, structural racism has been the subject of recent discussions, for example, through the return of race politics kindled by leading politicians (Southphomassane, 2018), on the set of TV soap *Neighbours* (see ABC, 2021a), at a Victorian school (The Age, 2021), and at the Collingwood Football Club (The Guardian, 2021; UTS, 2021). Meanwhile, colonisation and systemic racism towards Indigenous people continue to unfold, bearing devastating effects in all areas of life, including intergenerational traumas, non-recognition of Indigenous rights, health inequalities, poverty, poor education, over-incarceration and deaths in custody (AHRC, 2020a; Lowitja Institute, 2021). It is important to note that despite such discussions many Australians tend to deny racism and dismiss or minimise its pervasiveness and effects, avoid discussing racism and the ongoing significance of 'race', and conflate 'race' with racism (see, for example, Augoustinos & Every, 2007; Lentin, 2018; Nelson, 2014). Moreover, understandings of racism vary between people and have changed over time and between generations. For example, there has been a shift from focusing on interpersonal prejudice to seeing racism as systemically inherent in the wider infrastructures and operations of society (van Dijk, 2021).

Acknowledging and addressing racism through laws and policies remains patchy. Racism and its ill effects have been partially acknowledged in Australian law and policymaking, from the *Racial Discrimination Act* (RDA) to ongoing initiatives by the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), including the National Anti-Racism Strategy and the 'Racism. It Stops with Me' public awareness

campaign launched in 2012. More recently, the recognition that racism is on the rise has impelled individuals, organisations, and policymakers to take new measures. Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests have galvanised Australians to respond to histories and systems of racial injustice, including continued issues with Aboriginal deaths in custody (RCIADIC, 1991). And various community groups, policymakers, and researchers have responded to anti-Asian sentiments under COVID-19. Meanwhile, the AHRC has been developing a new National Anti-Racism Framework, which calls for 'a coordinated, shared vision to tackle racism and promote racial equality in Australia' (AHRC, 2021a: 4).

In Victoria, a state characterised by very high cultural diversity and commitment to multiculturalism, racism is nevertheless frequently reported (see, for example, Markus, 2020; Priest et al., 2020). The state has devoted resources and developed programs to address racism over the years, such as the 2017 Victoria multicultural policy statement 'Victorian and Proud of It', which builds on previous multicultural acts (2004; 2011), and the development of the Victorian Government's Anti-Racism Action Plan. More recently, the Victorian Government has established an Anti-Racism Taskforce and is currently developing the state's first Anti-Racism Strategy. It has allocated new resources to novel local anti-racism initiatives by community organisations (see State Government of Victoria, 2021a; 2021b), while local community organisations continue to be involved in other anti-racism initiatives as well (for example, Doery et al., 2020; ECAJ, 2020).

Racism has also been targeted through the work of other agencies. A parliamentary inquiry into anti-vilification protections has made several recommendations on extending policy and advised on research needed to understand and prevent vilification and prejudice (Parliament of Victoria, 2021). Similarly, the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC) received eight times more enquiries in April 2020 compared with the preceding year and has made racism reduction one of its four strategic priorities for 2021 (VEOHRC, 2020). Meanwhile, the Yoorrook Justice Commission has commenced a formal truth-telling process and currently runs an inquiry into injustices experienced by Indigenous peoples in Victoria.

Given Australia's and Victoria's commitment to promote multiculturalism and equality and to eradicate racism, our knowledge about the nature,

extent and impact of racism on their populations is not as well-developed as it should be. Research is crucial to understanding and responding to racism, and stakeholders charged with addressing racism increasingly recognise that anti-racism initiatives must rely on robust research and high-quality data. Yet despite the importance of racism data and the fact that more data are being collected, to date there has been no comprehensive review of existing data in Australia, let alone in Victoria. The next section provides more background about racism data in Australia, and key limitations to data collection and research.

1.2. Racism data in Australia

Despite race relations being the subject of heated debate, the lack of adequate data has long precluded a rigorous analysis of racial and ethnic relations. For example, while there have been ad hoc reports about attitudes among the white Australian population towards migrant minority groups (for example, Chinese, Greek, Italian, Vietnamese and Lebanese), they have rarely included statistical evidence. The gathering of systematic data on racism is relatively recent, with the earliest data collected in 1948 through an Australian Gallup Poll survey on attitudes towards Asian migrants (Lippman, 1979). Over the next four decades, between 1950 and 1990, various polling companies (Australian Gallup Poll, Roy Morgan, National Social Science Survey (NSSS)) gathered data on attitudes towards minority groups, including Indigenous peoples and migrants, but such data had various conceptual and methodological limitations (for example, using single items rather than validated scales; not collecting data on women) (Sobocinska, 2017).

Beyond these challenges, racism research and anti-racism campaigns have operated within a challenging national political climate. With an eye to avoiding social conflict, or the perception of it, policymakers have usually framed programs using terms such as 'harmony' and 'cohesion' rather than anti-racism (Harris, 2013; Nelson & Dunn, 2013). The limited data collected on racism met further political obstacles and study results were sometimes suppressed. For example, the findings of a major 1998 national research report on racism, commissioned by the Howard government, were deemed so sensitive and challenging, that the report was protected under rules of cabinet secrecy and denied publication until 2011 (Jakubowicz, 2015; see report in DIMA, 1998). In turn, however, the suppression of this report and prevention of key data from reaching the public prompted

researchers to initiate comprehensive data collection about racism, including the Challenging Racism Project (CRP) which commenced in 2000 (see below).

Advances in racism research have made possible the collection of more extensive and robust data at the national and state levels. These advances have been aided by the establishment, especially since the 2000s, of several large-scale surveys, datasets and projects, with many that have collected extensive racism data and that have been ongoing. These have included, for example, national surveys by CRP, the Scanlon Foundation's Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC) study, the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS), and the Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC). Such data sources have greatly enhanced our understanding of different facets of racism, for example, by providing population estimates of racism prevalence (Kamp et al., 2017; Markus, 2020), examining the experiences of different racial, ethnic, and national groups (Blair et al., 2017; Correa-Velez et al., 2015), and delineating causal associations between racism and health, employment, and education outcomes (Temple et al., 2021).

The accumulating research has also pointed to areas where important data remain missing. For example, some studies have noted the lack of data collection in specific settings, such as in sport (McPherson et al., 2015) online settings (Jakubowicz et al., 2017), and on the sharing economy (Piracha et al., 2019). In the era of COVID-19, the terrain of racism has seen further shifts (Elias et al., 2021b). This has resulted in new questions, priorities, and a need for additional data to understand such changes, including, for example, cyber racism, and abuse and hostility towards particular groups during the pandemic, such as people of Asian backgrounds (Kamp et al., 2021; Young et al., 2021). Data about the intersectional manifestation of racism, for example, in relation to gender, sexuality, age, ability, religion and migration status, and on racism as interconnected with other forms of discrimination and oppression, have been missing as well (Bastos et al., 2018; Blackham & Temple, 2020).

The need for further data has been similarly raised in recent discussions by key policymakers. Australia's Race Discrimination Commissioner, Mr Chin Tan, observed that, 'robust, nationally consistent data about racism and racial inequality is not available in Australia', and identified a need for such comprehensive data 'to inform,

guide and deliver effective anti-racism and racial equality initiatives' (AHRC, 2021a: 6). Likewise, the Victorian Parliament's anti-vilification inquiry report includes recommendations related to research and data collection, including on the drivers of prejudice and vilification, and improving data collection by government and community-led organisations (Parliament of Victoria, 2021). This review is a response and contribution to these recommendations.

Limitations to racism data collection are compounded by, and inseparable from, limitations to data collection on 'race'. Australian data collection at the national level lacks a standard ethnic/racial identifier, and commonly relies on country of birth and language spoken at home/preferred language to identify people from CALD backgrounds. Consequently, people from various cultural backgrounds not identified by these data are excluded from research that aims to represent the experiences of CALD populations (Federation of Ethnic Community Council in Australia (FECCA), 2020: 6, 14). The lack of a standard ethnic/racial identifier is problematic in assessing and monitoring disadvantage across CALD groups, including discrimination in access to health services (FECCA, 2020: 14), and differential outcomes in other key areas such as the labour market and the justice system.

1.3. Review objectives and scope

Despite the recent expansion in racism data collection in Victoria and Australia, and observations about the limitations of existing racism data, the overall evidence-base on racism has yet to be reviewed, and data gaps have yet to be comprehensively discussed. The collective racism research effort has been largely uncoordinated, with potential inefficiencies. It is unclear who collects what data, where empirical coverage may be more limited or missing altogether, and which questions remain to be addressed. Subsequently, resources are not being strategically allocated to plug gaps in research and data collection.

This report is a novel, first step towards identifying and bridging racism data gaps. Drawing on a stocktake review of self-reported experiences and expressions of racism, we provide a summary and synthesis of racism data collected in Australia, with a special focus on Victoria. We examine the state and limitations of existing data and research on racism in Victoria and Australia, and recommend pathways to fill racism data gaps. By identifying

and seeking to fill racism data gaps, and by organising this corpus of data into an accessible meta-narrative, this review expands knowledge about racism, enhances the usefulness of the data, and informs initiatives to address racism.⁴

The research reported here has three key objectives.

1. To provide a comprehensive overview, summary and synthesis of quantitative data on racism in Australia, with a specific focus on Victoria. We focus on the forms, settings, targets, perpetrators, responses to and effects of racism.
2. To identify gaps in racism data collection, analysis and uses, and contexts with insufficient empirical coverage.
3. To provide recommendations on bridging those data gaps and inform anti-racism action and policy.

This report is a public resource for those working to better understand and counter racism. It may be used to orient future literature reviews and research agendas, and to draw out directions for policy and practice. These directions include management, planning, implementation and evaluation of strategies which identify and seek to remedy racism (including discrimination, harassment, intimidation, prejudice, exclusion and exploitation). This work should be viewed as ongoing; indeed, new data are being constantly collected and published, and it is possible that relevant studies have been inadvertently excluded. We may update this work, and we welcome comments and suggestions from readers (please contact the corresponding author). This review will be complemented by a systematic review and meta-analysis on the prevalence and effects of racism in Australia (for a study protocol see Ben et al., 2022).

1.4. Methods

Our review focused on two kinds of data collection. First, via survey-based, quantitative research. And second, via organisational initiatives, mechanisms and platforms dedicated to routine collection. We focus on *quantitative* racism data as measured through self-reports, and on relatively large-scale studies (often consisting of thousands of participants). While we acknowledge the

⁴ Throughout this report, we understand data as information about social phenomena, produced through systematic observations that can draw on multiple human senses (e.g., sight, hearing) (Blaikie, 2003: 15-16).

importance of other forms of data, particularly qualitative data and measures of racism based on researcher reports (for example, segregation) and disparities related to ‘race’ and ethnicity (for example, in unemployment, incarceration or ill health), they are beyond the scope of this report. We discuss these further in Recommendations 1 and 2.

1.4.1. Survey-based quantitative research

To identify survey-based quantitative research on racism, we conducted a systematic review of published, peer-reviewed papers. To be included in the review, papers had to:

- report empirical, survey-based research, and self-reported quantitative data
- report one or more measures of racism prevalence (that is, of its forms, settings, targets, perpetrators and responses to racism), or measures of its association with socio-economic or health outcomes
- report Australian data.

We included both nationally representative studies and studies focused on Victoria. Additionally, we included five large, non-representative national studies: Being Muslim in Australia (BMA), Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC), the Jewish Community Survey, Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK), and a study by Cain et al. (2021). We also included two studies focused on Victoria and other states that were not nationally representative, where they reported Victorian data separately to other data: Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR), and a study by Buchanan et al. (2018).

To identify survey-based, quantitative research, we ran a search of published, peer-reviewed papers using the online databases Scopus and PubMed until April 2021 (earliest date limit unspecified).⁵ We included journal articles, books and book chapters. Theses, conference papers, presentations, and public opinion polls were excluded. Access and equity data, for example in relation to employment and housing, were excluded as well. We included only materials published in English. We included different measures of self-reported racism as long as they were consistent with our broad

⁵ While the stocktake focuses on studies that have been published by April 2021, we also discuss several papers that were published shortly afterwards, such as Kamp et al., 2021.

understanding of racism as discussed in the introduction ([page 6](#)). Studies were excluded, for example, where discrimination was broadly defined or where racism measures were mixed with measures that were irrelevant to our scope, such as discrimination based on gender or sexuality.

The database search was complemented by a desktop scan of project documents, including published reports, survey questionnaires, data dictionaries, and technical manuals. We drew on our collective knowledge of this field to identify further sources. These documents were accessed through studies' websites and major online resources, such as the Australian Data Archive (ADA) and the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Overall, the current report reviews data collected in a total of 42 studies ([see Appendix A](#)), discussed across 67 published articles and books (64 articles, two book chapters and one book), 32 reports, 21 survey forms, six data dictionaries and technical manuals, and two report summaries.

1.4.2. Routine data collection and reporting by organisations

In addition, this report discusses racism data routinely collected by organisations. We carried out a desktop scan to identify quantitative data collection through varied initiatives, platforms and projects, and consulted key government and non-government organisations and academics working in this space, starting from our professional networks, and community partners of CRIS. We contacted organisations that were identified as possibly collecting such data (both Victorian- and national-level data). We focused on data that aligned with our definition of racism, while keeping record of discrimination data more broadly, where racism/racial discrimination was a significant component. Altogether, 12 organisations were identified as collecting relevant data, using 13 ongoing data collection initiatives, platforms and projects ([see Table 8](#)).

We next move to Part 2, which discusses racism data collection through survey-based quantitative research, and Part 3 on routine data collection by organisations. Part 4 then synthesises these two parts and identifies gaps to existing data. Finally, Part 5 makes recommendations for how those gaps may be filled by future data collection effort.



Part 2: Racism research: charting survey-based quantitative data

This part reviews empirical research on racism and focuses on quantitative, survey-based, self-reported data collected nationally and in Victoria. First, we provide a brief historical overview of major studies that have collected data on racism, centring on the past two decades when collection has intensified. We then discuss the characteristics of the 42 studies identified, including study designs, participants' backgrounds, measures of racism included in each study, and association data between racism and health and socio-economic outcomes.

2.1. Historical overview

The studies we review have included measures of racism, although they vary considerably in their scope and degree to which they have centred on racism. Early studies were conducted in the 1980s and 1990s and tended to focus on attitudes towards immigrants among the Australian population. Of the studies we identified, the first and longest-running is the Australian Values Study (AVS), a component of the World Values Survey (WVS). The study commenced in 1981, and examines Australians' values and beliefs. Its racism-related items have often focused on anti-immigrant attitudes. Also in the 1980s, the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) (which was closed in 1996) conducted a string of studies on topics such as cultural diversity and equity ([Making Multicultural Australia](#), n.d.). In 1988–1989 it conducted research that measured negative perceptions of ethnic groups and intermarriage, focusing on Australian-born and immigrant participants (McAllister & Moore, 1989; 1991). Another early study was the Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA), consisting of three longitudinal surveys on immigrants' settlement experiences and outcomes (LSIA-1: arrivals in 1993–1995; LSIA-2: arrivals in 1999–2000; LSIA-3: arrivals in 2004–2005). It collected data on racial and religious discrimination both as personally experienced and more broadly in Australia. Around the same time in the 1990s, Markus and colleagues embarked on a series of smaller-scale studies of attitudes towards immigrants in Victoria (see for

example, Markus, 1999; Markus & Dharmalingham, 2007).

The 2000s saw key advancements in racism research, and the emergence of several major studies that focused on the Australian population, Indigenous peoples, and children. Several national surveys focused their data collection on racism and attitudes towards multiculturalism and immigration. The Geographies of Racism National Survey (2001–2008), conducted by the Challenging Racism Project, examined racist attitudes and experiences of racism among Australians aged 18 or over (with Victorian data collected in 2006). It included a wide range of racism measures, capturing racism as experienced directly and indirectly, as variably manifest across numerous settings, and as affecting various groups. In 2007, the Scanlon Foundation commenced its Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC) survey, a survey focused on attitudes towards social and political issues that remains presently ongoing, and whose reports contain large sections dedicated to racial, ethnic and religious discrimination, and attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism.

The Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey is a widely-used longitudinal study focused on economic and personal wellbeing, labour market dynamics and family life, which has been collecting data annually since 2001, including measures of racism in employment. Also in the early 2000s, three large-scale, nationally representative multidimensional surveys by the ABS commenced that focused on socio-economic and wellbeing indicators. All three are presently ongoing. The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS) is a six-yearly survey that commenced in 2002. It focused on areas such as health, education, employment and housing, with a wide range of items about forms and settings of racism. The National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey (NATSIHS), started in 2004 and has collected data on health-related topics, language, cultural identification, education, labour force status, income and a battery of items on experiences of discrimination because of being Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander. The Australian General Social Survey (GSS) has surveyed Australians aged 15 years and above once every four years since 2002 on various areas (for example, health, access to services, community, participation, feelings of safety and trust) and, since 2010, includes various items about discrimination due to various characteristics, including key settings

(employment and education). These time-series surveys have provided a valuable insight into racism and its consequences for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians.

Two longitudinal studies that commenced around the same time have focused on children's social, economic and wellbeing data. Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC) has been running since 2004 and focuses on the general population, while Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC) has been running since 2008 and focuses on Indigenous children and their families. LSAC racism data are limited to experiences of unfair treatment due to skin colour, cultural background, religion, language or accent. LSIC includes a much more extensive range of measures of racism, including experiences with interpersonal, vicarious, and other indirect forms (for example, towards one's group in general), and across various settings.

Key surveys of the general population were developed in the 2010s. In 2015–2016, another national survey on racism by CRP, Face Up to Racism, measured the extent and variation of racist attitudes and experiences in Australia, including attitudes to cultural diversity, discomfort/intolerance, and belief in racialism, racial separatism and racial hierarchy. Also in 2015, the Scanlon Foundation commissioned Australians Today, a large, nationally representative parallel survey of people born in Australia and immigrants. The survey asked questions related to immigration and cultural diversity, and assessed experiences with racism and negative attitudes and feelings towards different groups. Another study of the general population that collected racism data during this decade was the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA), which commenced earlier in 2003, and collected racism data during several of its waves between 2013–2018.

Other major studies that examined racism during the 2010s were setting- or group-specific. The Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR) study (2013) measured experiences of racism specifically online, and provided a more in-depth look into the authorship, platforms, responses to and effects of online racist content. The Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR) survey (2017) collected data on the attitudes and experiences of primary school students aged 10–15 years from Victoria and New South Wales. The longitudinal Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA) study (2013–2018) examined the settlement experiences

of humanitarian migrants, and included measures of discrimination due, for example, to ethnicity, religion or skin colour, across settings, as well as responses to racism. Several studies around this time focused on racism against Muslims and especially on Islamophobia, including the Being Muslim in Australia (BMA) survey, and other national surveys (Dunn et al., 2021; Ewart et al., 2021; Gravelle, 2021). Likewise, the Australian Jewish Community Survey, a large-scale survey conducted with Jews in Sydney and Melbourne in 2008 and 2017 by Markus and colleagues, included a series of items on antisemitism. Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK) (2018 onward) focuses on racism experienced by Indigenous Australians in general (across forms and settings), and pays special attention to healthcare.

There have been several large-scale surveys focused specifically on Victorians over the past decade. The Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD) program (2010–2013) surveyed racially and ethnically diverse localities where racism was a concern to local governments. It used various measures of the manifestations and settings of racism across local government areas (LGAs). The Victorian Population Health Surveys (VPHS), which collects annual data on the health and wellbeing of Victorian residents from a random sample of people aged 18 years and over, included measures of racism in 2011–2014. The 2013 Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity (VARCD) study assessed attitudes toward racial, ethnic and cultural diversity in Victoria, and asked participants attitudinal questions about racial, ethnic, cultural and religious minority groups. In 2017, the Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS) collected representative data for Melbourne and had a strong focus on exclusivist attitudes in local communities and neighbourhoods. We also identified seven publications discussing other, smaller-scale studies with Victorians ([see Table 2](#)).

Ten of the studies we discuss in the subsequent sections of the review, all collecting time-series data and focused on Australia at large, continue at present: AuSSA, AVS, GSS, HILDA, LSAC, LSIC, MK, MSC, NATSISS and NATSIHS. There are none, however, to our knowledge, that focus specifically on Victoria. Further to the recent increase in racism data collection, other new survey-based research projects on racism are currently underway, including several [CRIS projects](#).

2.2. Findings: survey-based data

2.2.1. Study and participant characteristics

We identified in total k=42 studies that have collected racism data on our areas of scope, at the national and Victorian level. These may be divided into four groups.

1. National studies measuring racism over multiple time points, using longitudinal and repeated cross-sectional study designs (k=13)
2. National studies measuring racism over a single time point (k=13)
3. Large-scale Victorian or Victorian-focused studies (over 1,000 participants), measuring racism over one or more time points (k=9)
4. Smaller-scale Victorian studies that appeared in peer-reviewed publications (k=7)

Most studies reviewed (k=26) were conducted nationally, and 16 were conducted solely in Victoria or had a Victorian focus (see [Table 1](#), [Table 2](#)). The majority of these studies (k=22) commenced data collection in the 2010s, while 12 commenced in the 2000s and seven in the 1980s or 1990s. Twenty-six studies were based on representative sampling, indicating that included studies covered a considerable scope. The remainder drew on non-representative sampling and three used both types of sampling (with different samples). The high rate of studies that had some representative aspect (29 of 42 overall, 69%) indicates methodological rigour among the studies included in this review. As to study designs, 34 studies were cross-sectional,⁶ of which 25 collected data at a single time point, and nine at multiple time points (that is, repeated cross-sectional designs). Eight other studies were longitudinal. Nine studies continued for more than a decade. Altogether 33 studies were reported in one or more peer-reviewed articles. The studies whose results were most widely reported were LSIC (appearing in six articles), followed by LEAD, Geographies of Racism and Face Up to Racism (each appearing in five articles).

⁶ Cross-sectional studies focus on a particular point in time, whereas repeated cross-sectional studies collect data over multiple time-points from different participants. Longitudinal studies, on the other hand, collect data over multiple time-points from the same participants.

Study sample sizes ranged widely, from 120 to 36,799 participants (for repeated cross-sectional studies we tallied sample sizes across time points). Sixteen of the studies collected data from more than 5,000 participants, while another 14 studies included 1,001–5,000 participants. Together, then, 30 studies (71%) included relatively large sample sizes of over 1,000 participants. In 21 studies, participants were aged 18 and over, and in another nine, participants were aged 15 and over (including three studies where participants were aged either 16 or 17 and over). In terms of national, ethnic, racial and other backgrounds, studies had different foci. The largest group, 19 studies, examined the general Australian population, followed by studies that focused their sampling and/or analysis on immigrants/overseas born groups (k=11), Indigenous peoples (k=9), and Australian Muslims (k=4). (Note that some studies of the general population also included separate analyses focused on one or more of these groups). These study foci reflect academic responses to the continuing experience of racism endured by Indigenous Australians, and the rise of Islamophobia since the 1990s.

[Table 2: Study characteristics](#)

2.2.2. Experiences of racism: types, forms and settings

[Table 3a](#) and [Table 3b](#) provide a summary of data collected on the types and forms of experiences of racism, across 34 studies. The most widely studied type was interpersonal (direct) racism (k=30), including, for example, physical attack and verbal abuse, or exclusion, disrespect and distrust based on characteristics such as ‘race’, ethnicity and religion. Eighteen studies recorded data on racism structurally, as generally existing in Australia (for example, ‘There is racial prejudice in Australia’) or as generally perpetrated towards a group (for example, ‘You have heard or read comments that are stereotypical of your cultural group’). Ten studies recorded data on vicarious experiences, where racism is interpersonal and indirect (that is, observing or knowing about racism towards another person/s). Some studies collected data on multiple types of racism.

In 29 studies, racism was broadly defined without noting further details such as specific forms; for example, asking participants whether they or others have experienced discrimination due to their ethnic background, skin colour or religion, and if racism occurred in Australia or in their neighbourhood. Specific forms of racism that were

commonly studied included verbal manifestations (for example, insults, slurs, or jokes) (k=15), physical forms (such as, attacks, being spat on, having property vandalised) (k=13), manners of exclusion (being left out, avoided) (k=12), disrespect (k=11), mistrust (k=10) and inferiorisation (k=9). Data on other forms of racism were more scarcely collected (not in tables), including being harassed, hassled, or stopped from doing things, being subject to unfair assumptions, or being feared/afraid of.

Data on the settings where experiences of racism occurred were collected in 24 studies (see [Table 4](#)). Seventeen of these studies reported on racism in multiple settings, and eight focused on a single setting. The settings most commonly studied were related to employment (k=19), law enforcement (k=15), education (k=13), and public spaces such as streets, parks, beaches, libraries and concerts (k=12).

[Table 3a: Types of racism experienced](#)
[Table 3b: Forms of racism experienced](#)
[Table 4: Settings where racism is experienced](#)

2.2.3. Racist expressions

Another set of questions about racism pertains to its interpersonal expression by study participants, including, for example, racist attitudes, discriminatory behaviours, or prejudicial beliefs (see [Table 5](#)). Twenty-four of the studies in our stocktake collected such data. Commonly studied were perceptions of immigrants as increasing social problems (for example, crime), or as a threat (k=10), followed by concerns about marriage to an out-group member (k=8), beliefs in inequality (for example, 'all races of people are [not] equal') (k=7), and forms of cultural racism (such as ideas about people from other backgrounds as 'not fitting in') (k=7), negative feelings towards out-groups (k=6), and rejection of immigrants due to racial/religious/national background (k=6).

We noted which of the 42 studies in our sample included several additional measures that related to immigration, multiculturalism, attitudes towards intercultural contact, separatism and assimilationism (not in tables). Our search strategy did not aim to cover these measures since they did not fully align with our definition of racism, though we are aware that attitudes towards immigration, multiculturalism, and cultural diversity are considered as elements of 'new racism' in some studies (Dunn et al., 2004). Participants' negative/positive views towards migration and multiculturalism were gauged in 18 studies (for

example, 'It is a good thing for a society to be made up of different cultures'), while 16 studies included measures of assimilationist attitudes linked to immigration (such as, 'Immigrants should give up their culture of origin and adopt Australia's culture'). Seven studies measured discomfort, anxiety or insecurity around diversity and intercultural contact, six asked whether participants thought the number of immigrants to Australia was 'too high', and five assessed constructs related to separatism and objection to intercultural exchange. It is no surprise, and indeed appropriate, that research on racism in a settler colonial nation like Australia has an emphasis on attitudes about immigration and migrants (Betts, 2002; McAllister, et al., 2010).

[Table 5: Racist expressions](#)

2.2.4. Targets and perpetrators

Nearly all studies (k=39) provided some information about the ethnic, racial, national, or religious background of the people targeted by racism. We coded this information both from studies that examined racism as *experienced* by study participants from these backgrounds (that is, participants as targeted by racism), and from studies that examined racism as *perpetrated* by study participants towards people/groups from these backgrounds (that is, participants as perpetrators) (see [Table 6](#)). The groups who were most frequently studied in relation to their experiences of racism were Indigenous peoples (k=19), followed by people of Anglo and European (k=16), Muslim (k=16), Asian (k=14), Middle Eastern (k=12), and African (k=10) backgrounds.

We recorded which studies provided information about perpetrators' racial, ethnic, national or religious backgrounds, and their sex, age, and education backgrounds (not in tables). Of the 24 studies that measured racist expressions by participants as perpetrators, nine studies included subgroup analyses for different racial, ethnic, national or religious backgrounds, while another six focused on a single (for example, racial, ethnic, religious) group. Most widely studied was racism as perpetrated by people who are 'Australian born' (k=5), by Indigenous peoples (studied in comparison to non-Indigenous groups) (k=4), by people from English speaking and non-English speaking (ESB/NESB) backgrounds (k=3), and by non-Muslims (against Muslims) (k=3). Just under half of the 24 studies that measured participants' expressions of racism included subgroup analysis to test the variation of racism between age groups

(k=11), education backgrounds (k=11) and sex (k=10).

[Table 6: Targets of racism – racial, ethnic, religious background](#)

2.2.5. Responses and effects

We identified 11 studies that measured responses to racism (not in tables). Ten studies included behavioural responses: ACCS, BNLA, CRaCR, Geographies of Racism Survey, Jewish Community Survey, LEAD, LSIC, MSC, NATSIHS and NATSISS. Some studies, such as CRaCR, LEAD and NATSIHS assessed a variety of behaviours (such as ‘shrug it off’, ‘make a complaint’ or ‘walk away’), whereas others, such as NATSISS, focused specifically on certain responses like avoidance. Some of these studies also included cognitive responses to racism (for example, forgetting). Seven studies included measures of self-reported health responses, such as feeling angry or upset, stressfulness, worry, and emotional responses.

Another way of assessing the impact of racism was by examining statistical associations between experiences of racism and other phenomena. We reviewed published work that reported such statistics. Fifteen studies reported associations between racism and health outcomes, while 12 studies reported associations with socio-economic outcomes ([see Table 7](#)). Associations between racism and mental health (k=11) were relatively widely reported, including outcomes such as depression, distress, and emotional symptoms. For social-economic indicators, associations between racism and education (k=12) were often reported. As we discuss below, the links between the experience of racism and ill-health are well established in the international literature, so it is of some concern that only 15 studies examined associations with health outcomes.

[Table 7: Effects of racism on health and socio-economic outcomes](#)

2.3. Key recent findings: examples

We now turn to discuss examples of key findings from several major studies that collected data nationally and in Victoria since 2015. A detailed synthesis of study findings is beyond the scope of this review and is currently underway as part of a separate study (for a study protocol, see Ben et al., 2022). These examples illustrate areas where racism remains pervasive and impactful.

At the national level:

- The MSC survey found that experiences of discrimination based on skin colour, ethnicity or religion, were reported by 18% and 13% of the Australian population, respectively, in July and November 2020 (Markus, 2020). Experiences varied considerably between groups, affecting 12% of respondents born in the United Kingdom or Ireland, 14% of those born in Australia, and 39% of those born in Asia. Among Asian participants who experienced discrimination, a further 39% indicated that experiences increased since the COVID-19 pandemic.
- The MSC survey also found negative feelings were especially common towards people from Lebanon (42–45%), China (44–47%), Iraq (49%) and Sudan (49–56%). These rates were higher compared to negative feelings towards European nationalities, and when compared to the same measures taken in 2010–2013 (Markus, 2020).
- The 2015–2016 national Face Up to Racism survey found that forms of everyday racism such as name-calling, mistrust and disrespect were reported by 34–40% of participants (Blair et al., 2017). And while 79% agreed that racial prejudice exists in Australia in general, only 11% self-identified as racist (Sharples & Blair, 2021). Participants’ concerns about their closest relative marrying a person from different out-groups varied widely depending on the out-group, and peaked at 36–63% for Indigenous, African, Jewish, and Muslim out-group members (Blair et al., 2017).
- MK data from 2018 shows that among Indigenous peoples aged 16 or older, 40.1% experienced discrimination because of being Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander. Discrimination specifically in healthcare was reported by 18.5% (Thurber et al., 2021; calculation based on Table 1).

- LSIC 2017 data about 11-14-year-old children's perceptions of racism at school, found, for example, that 44.1% agreed to at least some degree that teachers thought they knew everything about Indigenous people even though they did not. Another 34.3% agreed that teachers only noticed some students doing stuff wrong because they were Indigenous students, while 27.8% agreed that teachers did not care about the cultural needs of Indigenous students (DSS, 2020a: 95).
- Multiple studies show that racism is negatively associated with depression and distress/worry (for example, Bodkin-Andrews et al., 2017; Priest et al., 2011; 2017), and with emotional difficulties (see Moodie et al., 2019; Priest et al., 2020; and see subgroup analysis for Australian adolescents in Benner et al., 2018).

In Victoria:

- In the ACCS, most respondents reported neutral or positive sentiments towards immigrant groups, but approximately a quarter reported feeling low warmth towards Muslim (26.5%), African (24.9%) and Middle Eastern people (23.9%). Respondents also reported the highest feelings of anger towards these three groups (Muslims: 16.9%; Africans: 16.3%; Middle Easterners: 13.8%) (Wickes et al., 2020).
- Research on Islamophobia from 2019 found that 56% of respondents expressed some concern about their closest relative marrying a Muslim, the highest rate across all out-groups (Dunn et al., 2021). Among respondents, over one-fifth agreed that Muslims pose a threat to Australian society (22.1%) and that Muslims do not fit into Australian society (21.7%). Many also agreed that women should not be allowed to wear head coverings like the hijab (33.7%), and face coverings like the niqab and burqa (48.9%) in Australia (Dunn et al., 2021).
- The SOAR study, focused on 2017 data from Victorian and New South Wales school students aged 10-15 years, showed that 41.6% of students reported experiences of direct discrimination. Direct experiences were most commonly reported by minority ethnic groups (58-67.1%), followed by Indigenous students (50.1%), while the lowest rates were reported by students from European (38.2%) and Anglo (25.1%) backgrounds. Vicarious experiences were reported by 70.2% overall,

with prevalence ranging between students from different minority ethnic groups (67.4-82.8%), Indigenous students (71.7%), and students from European (70.5%) and Anglo (68.1%) backgrounds (Priest et al., 2020).

Part 3: Data collection by organisations

The nature of organisations collecting racism data varies considerably, as do their initiatives. Initiatives could be part of the organisation's legislatively mandated operations, as in human rights commissions, in fulfillment of the mission of community organisations, or as part of special initiatives focused on particular settings, such as within the police, in the media or in schools. A few of the initiatives we discuss evolved directly in relation to changes to community relations during the COVID-19 pandemic. We briefly describe these initiatives, including their scope, settings and target groups.

3.1. Overview

We identified 12 organisations that routinely collected racism data. Data collection took place through 13 initiatives, platforms and projects, and most commonly focused on individual self-reports via online complaint forms ([see Table 8](#); note that one organisation (VEOHRC) was involved in two initiatives). We included five initiatives that collected data on discrimination and unfair treatment more generally, since they included abundant racism data. Initiatives varied in their scope and collected data on racism and related phenomena such as race- and religion-based discrimination, vilification, prejudice or abuse, hatred, victimisation, Islamophobia and antisemitism. Many initiatives encompassed both personal experiences and witnessing an incident. Other commonly collected data included details about the incident and offender, and in the case of regulatory bodies like the AHRC and VEOHRC, suggestions for how the complaint could be resolved. On reporting an incident, most initiatives required users to provide basic personal details for self-identification (while adhering to privacy and data usage protocols). We found that organisations had various approaches to data use. Some of the organisations presented findings in the form of reports, some used findings for advocacy purposes, while several used complaint

data to refer complainants to support services or reporting authorities. A few did not specify exactly how their data were used.

Of the initiatives we identified, six were setting-based, focusing on media, police, schools, workplaces, and online. Four focused on particular groups and communities, namely people from Asian, Muslim, and Jewish backgrounds, and on people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds more broadly. Several other organisations collected racism data, yet, for various reasons, remained outside our scope.⁷ Online complaint forms were the main mechanism of data collection, used in ten initiatives. Hotlines were used in two initiatives, either in conjunction with an online form or an email address. Five of the initiatives were Victoria-focused while the other eight operated nationally.

[Table 8: Data collection by organisations](#)

3.2. Organisations

3.2.1. Human rights commissions

The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) collects data on complaints made under the *Racial Discrimination Act (RDA)*. Complaints can be made through an online portal or in writing via post. The AHRC is charged with investigating, conciliating and reporting on such complaints. Complaints data are reported in the Commission's annual report, where they are divided into RDA and racial hatred complaints. Data are broken down by grounds (such as, ethnicity, race or immigrant status), areas (for example, housing, goods and services or employment), and sub-areas (including media, internet or sport) (AHRC, 2020b). The report also documents complaint outcomes. In Victoria, VEOHRC collects further data on complaints of discrimination, vilification and harassment, with race and religion as grounds for discrimination. Complaints, as with the AHRC, can be made through an online portal or in writing via post. VEOHRC can

⁷ See, for example, recent polls and one-off data collection efforts, as in relation to COVID-19 (e.g., Berg et al., 2020; Biddle et al., 2020; Doery et al., 2020; Kassam & Hsu, 2021); initiatives that are not focused on quantitative data, such as the ABC Coronavirus racism survey that shared stories online (ABC, 2020); initiatives that are more global in scope, such as the Fight Against Hate report by the [Online Hate Prevention Institute](#) (OHPI); and complaint-based data collection mechanisms in professional associations that are not specifically focused on racism.

facilitate dispute resolution. It maintains a second mechanism – a community reporting tool (CRT), which may be embedded on other organisations' websites to help VEOHRC identify the forms and localities where racism is experienced, inform its advocacy work and promote its services. The CRT does not constitute a formal complaint process but contains links to it. Other state- and territory-based anti-discrimination commissions also receive and resolve complaints in accordance with each jurisdiction's own anti-discrimination act.

3.2.2. Setting-based

Online and media

The eSafety Commissioner provides a mechanism for reporting online abuse, in particular cyberbullying, image-based abuse, and illegal and harmful content. The online reporting portal provides clear instructions on what can be investigated, how complaints are handled, and on reporting back to individuals who made the complaints. The AHRC, through its online complaint form, also collects and reports on racial discrimination in online settings. Among large social media and sharing economy platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Uber and Airbnb, reporting is regulated by the platforms themselves, with little external oversight of their practices. There is no mandate to report on outcomes from their internal processes, meaning those who complain often do not know what action has been taken by the platform or how the data are being stored and used. The platforms do not provide public reporting of the type and prevalence of these claims. To our knowledge, nothing is currently being done to consistently document or report racism on these platforms in Australia.

As to racism in the media, the non-profit organisation All Together Now (ATN) and the University of Technology Sydney (UTS) created a monitoring framework for collecting and assessing data on race-related commentary and racialised reporting. They have publicly released their findings in four public reports (All Together Now, 2017; 2020; 2021a; 2021b). ATN also works collaboratively with communities impacted by negative media coverage to identify and prototype possible community-led solutions. Another project worth noting, although it lies outside our scope, has recently examined limited cultural diversity in newsrooms (Arvanitakis et al., 2020).

Work

The Fair Work Commission (FWC) is Australia's national workplace relations tribunal and is responsible for administering the provisions of the *Fair Work Act 2009*. The Commission actively collects and records data specifically on racial discrimination only in relation to two circumstances: (1) general protections applications involving dismissals; (2) applications to deal with an unlawful termination dispute. In both cases, the application form may allege racial discrimination. A conference may then be conducted in these matters, where the Commission's case management system (CMS) will report electronically the ground/s for dismissal or termination relied on by the applicant. An optional ground for discrimination is 'discrimination involving race/colour/ethnicity' (multiple options may be selected). While racial discrimination may also be alleged in other matters pertaining to the Commission (such as anti-bullying), it is not clearly indicated as racial discrimination in a separate report in CMS.

The Fair Work Ombudsman (FWO) investigates allegations of unlawful workplace discrimination and may initiate litigation against national system employers for contravening the *Fair Work Act 2009* (except where complaints are outside its jurisdiction, where it will refer the enquiry to a relevant organisation). Under the *Fair Work Act*, it provides protection in the case of disputes relating to discrimination due to 'race', 'colour', religion' and 'national extraction' (among other attributes), which can be selected within the FWO's case management system. It also receives enquiries related to discrimination, where 'race' constitutes one of the enquiry types.

Education

With regard to education, the Victorian Government Department of Education and Training provides parents with mechanisms for reporting religious or racial discrimination or abuse witnessed by or directed towards their children at schools. Parents may report such incidents to schools directly, call a hotline for reporting racism, or email a designated 'Report Racism Line' within the Department. A formal complaint or concern about the school may also be launched online, using a general complaint form not focused on racism.

Police

Victoria Police (VicPol) collect data on prejudice-motivated crime (PMC). It relays these data

to Victoria's Crime Statistics Agency (CSA), which used to report it quarterly in the form of aggregated statistics. The CSA can manually extract limited information about offences where VicPol may record the *modus operandi* (MO) code of PMC for: (1) race and ethnicity; and (2) religion. This information is about the potential motivation for the crime and is subject to police recording practices. Critically, it is not a mandatory field thus data are often unrecorded. Until recently, the data were divided into six types of offences that were further divided and reported. However, since 2021 CSA have determined that the recording of PMC codes is not of sufficient quality for release or use, and therefore ceased from reporting this data.

Other data collected by police and legal organisations may not be shared externally. For example, data on 'far-right' ideologically motivated racist and nationalist violent extremists are collected by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) (see ASIO, 2021).

Another police-related initiative, in this instance about discrimination *by* police, is [COVIDpolicing in Australia](#), a collaborative project by legal and human rights advocacy organisations and policing academics across Australia. It uses an online complaint form focused on unfair treatment by police since COVID-19 public health orders were introduced. The data produced are intended for use in public reporting and advocacy at both the state and national level.

We were unable to find routine data collection focused on racism in several other settings, such as housing, public transport, or sport. In sport, different sporting codes have internal reporting mechanisms for making complaints at various levels (such as clubs or governing bodies), at the state and national level, including, for instance, a recent review of racial equality in Basketball Australia (AHRC, 2021b), but to our knowledge there is no routine quantitative racism data collection and reporting.

3.2.3. Community- and group- based

Several initiatives focus on specific communities and groups. These include VEOHRC's community reporting tool discussed earlier, aimed at people from CALD backgrounds, and national platforms focused on people who are targeted for their Muslim or Jewish backgrounds. The Islamophobia Register was established in 2014 as an online reporting tool of incidents of Islamophobia or anti-Muslim sentiment. It was the first platform of

its kind in Australia and has presented findings from self-reported incidents (as experienced personally or witnessed) in three published reports (Iner, 2017; 2019; 2022). The Register captures data related to online/offline settings, the nature of incident (assaults, insults), details of perpetrator and victim, and the action taken, including reporting to police or another relevant authority.

Another initiative collects data on racial discrimination against Australians of Jewish background, collected by volunteer Community Security Groups (CSGs), official Jewish state bodies, and the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ). Incidents can be reported through a telephone hotline or an online portal. The local CSG liaises with police and other government agencies and focuses its data collection on crime incidents. The ECAJ reports the findings annually and nationally, with some breakdowns per state, and tallies the number of incidents according to categories such as 'abuse, harassment, intimidation', 'graffiti' and 'email/online threat' (ECAJ, 2020: 22).

Finally, soon after COVID-19 broke out, various media reported an increase in incidents of discrimination, particularly against Asian Australians. As a result, the COVID-19 Racist Incident Report was established to measure experiences of racism among Asian Australians (Asian Australian Alliance & Chiu, 2020). Other COVID-focused initiatives include the COVIDpolicing tool noted earlier, one-off surveys (see Doery et al., 2020; Kassam & Hsu, 2021), recent reporting as part of surveys such as the MSC survey (Markus, 2020: 87-90), as well as the report by Kamp et al. (2021). Nevertheless, the Commissioner of the AHRC, Mr Chin Tan, asserted that reporting mechanisms of COVID-related racism have been ad hoc, and that the absence of data on racism during the COVID-19 pandemic illustrates the need for better data collection on racism in Australia (AHRC, 2021a). More recently, data on ethnicity and vaccination has been collected in Victoria in the second part of 2021 but not shared outside government while the Commonwealth Multi-Agency Data Integration Project (MADIP; see below) has been used to provide such a picture at the local government and national level.

3.3. Key recent findings: examples

While a detailed synthesis of report findings exceeds our current scope, we have collated key findings concerning racism in Victoria

and nationally. It is important to consider that platforms and reports vary widely in their scope, methods and purpose. We also note that several organisations do not make their findings publicly available through reports or other publications, and those that do mostly present findings nationally rather than for Victoria. Generally, recent reports point to various areas where racism has been consistent or on the increase.

At the national level:

- Mainstream media is consistently implicated in racialised reporting and stronger media regulation around race-based reporting is required (ATN, 2020).
- The number of complaints made to the AHRC under the RDA has remained consistent over the last five years, in the range of 300–500 per annum, recently rising from 332 in 2019 to 403 in 2020, and 523 in 2021 (AHRC, 2020b; 2021c).
- According to the Islamophobia Register, Islamophobia is increasingly prevalent across a wide section of Australian society. Women and children are particularly vulnerable to physical abuse and harm because of Islamophobia (Iner, 2019; 2022). Between January 2018 and December 2019, 247 verified incidents were recorded, and a considerable increase across types of Islamophobia was reported after the 2019 Christchurch attacks (Iner, 2022).
- There were 331 antisemitic incidents reported over 12 months between 2019–2020. The overall number of reported antisemitic incidents decreased compared to the previous year yet there was a marked increase in the most serious categories of incidents, such as physical assault (ECAJ, 2021).
- Online hate speech is recognised by key agencies as a problem that needs addressing (for example, e-Safety Commissioner, 2020; Parliament of Victoria, 2021). An e-Safety Commission report estimated that 14% of adults were the targets of online hate speech although only 36% of them took action against it, and lists religion (20%), race (19%), ethnicity (14%) and nationality (13%) as major reasons for online hate speech (e-Safety Commissioner, 2020: 6-9). Meanwhile, AHRC race-based online complaints have been in the range of 7-13% in recent years (AHRC, 2020b; 2021c).

In Victoria:

- Ninety-two antisemitic incidents were recorded in Victoria over a period of 12 months between 2019–2020 (ECAJ, 2021).
- The total number of complaints recorded by VEOHRC under the *Equal Opportunity Act* and *Racial and Religious Tolerance Act* for 2020–2021 was 196 for ‘race’, an increase compared to 160 in the previous year (VEOHRC, 2021), while reports grew considerably at the beginning of COVID-19 (see below).

Racism and COVID-19 (nationally and in Victoria):

Some surveys and reporting mechanisms have found widespread racial abuse and discrimination, particularly towards Asian Australians, during the first few months of the COVID-19 pandemic in Australia (Asian Australian Alliance, 2021; Markus, 2020). Meanwhile, federal and state governments have enacted a series of policies that have been criticised for discriminating against some migrant and minority groups, such as travel bans from specific countries (for example, India), exclusion of temporary migrants from social support, and targeting of housing commissions (Berg & Farbenblum, 2020). In Victoria, VEOHRC noted a worrying trend regarding racism and Islamophobia, with eight times more inquiries received about racial vilification in April 2020 than in April 2019, while common settings of discrimination shifted from work to the street, public transport and online (VEOHRC, 2020: 26–27). However, compared with previous years, in 2020 rates of people experiencing racism interpersonally either decreased (see Biddle et al., 2020; Kamp et al., 2021) or remained similar (Markus, 2020). Trends in reporting likely reflect the impact of distancing and lockdowns on reduced social (and intercultural) interaction in major settings where everyday racism occurs, and possibly avoidance of situations where Asian Australians anticipate racism (Biddle et al., 2020; Kamp et al., 2021). These studies also suggest that Asian Australians under-report racism (Kamp et al., 2021; Markus, 2020: 90) and may underestimate racism compared to the wider population (Kassam & Hsu, 2021). This points to a need to strengthen reporting mechanisms (Kamp et al., 2021).

Part 4: Racism data gaps

Parts 2 and 3 discussed survey-based research and organisational initiatives that collect data on racism. This part synthesises key findings from these sections to draw conclusions about data gaps. The discussion focuses on limitations to data collection, analysis, and utilisation. It centres on gaps that pertain to data on the targets and perpetrators of racism, the forms and settings of racism, responses to racism, and its effects, study locations and designs, and data collection methods. We define as ‘gaps’ in racism data important areas, questions and issues that have so far been inadequately addressed empirically.

4.1. Cohorts experiencing racism

Young people under 18

Our review found just a handful of studies that have focused on racism towards people under 18 (LSAC, LSIC, SOAR; see also Mansouri et al., 2009), with very few that are presently ongoing. This is similar to limitations in Australian research on this group despite the considerable effects and long-term consequences of racism on health among children and young people, and children’s heightened vulnerability to racism compared with adults (Cave et al., 2019; Priest et al., 2020; C. Shepherd et al., 2017; see also Priest et al., 2013; 2021 on limitations to research more globally). Routine data collection focused on children and young people is limited too, with the Report Racism hotline hosted by the Victorian Department of Education and Training as a notable exception (although it does rely on parents’ reports).

Humanitarian migrants

One group for whom quantitative data on racism are relatively limited are humanitarian migrants. Research suggests that substantial portions of Australians harbour negative attitudes towards refugees, and that reported experiences of discrimination tend to be high, although they vary between national and religious groups (Markus, 2016; Ziersch et al., 2020). BNLA was unique in focusing on the experiences of a large cohort of humanitarian migrants longitudinally, yet concluded in 2018, and to our knowledge there is currently no ongoing data collection in Victoria

or nationally that focuses on the experiences of humanitarian migrants.

4.2. Perpetrator demographics

We found that only nine studies examined perpetrators' racial, ethnic, national and religious backgrounds, while another six studies focused on a single group. Other studies collected data on both racist expressions and demographics, which, together, would allow examining perpetrators' backgrounds, yet did not report such analyses. Available data about perpetrator backgrounds were overwhelmingly from studies where study participants were possible perpetrators. Only rarely were perpetrator backgrounds reported *by* study participants targeted by racism (for exceptions see ACCS and LSIC). Including measures of perpetrators' backgrounds can be complex, as they may be susceptible to reporting biases, including potential misperceptions and misinterpretations. However, they are important since perpetrators' ethnic/racial background (for example, whiteness) may shape how racism impacts those being targeted as well as the range of possible effective responses to racism by targets and bystanders (Cuevas & Boen, 2021). Understanding which groups are more likely to perpetrate racism may be used in anti-racism efforts to target groups of potential perpetrators more effectively (Dunn et al., 2021).

4.3. Types of racism

Indirect experiences

The data collected in Australian research on racism often centre on direct, interpersonal racism, and less on racism as experienced vicariously or as operating structurally in society. Vicarious racism is the least studied type, covered in just nine studies, with few that are ongoing and large in scope (examples include the GSS and LSIC). This is despite the high prevalence of vicarious experiences and our increasing understanding of their adverse effects (Chae et al., 2021; Ozier et al., 2019). Vicarious racism may have serious effects, for example, at work (Dahanani & LaPalme, 2019) and among children (Heard-Garris et al., 2017). Self-reported measures of structural manifestations of racism, as expressed, for example, towards a group of people in general, in the media, or in Australia at large, are relatively under-studied. This is despite its pervasiveness according to national surveys (see, for example, racial prejudice in Australia reported by 86% of respondents in Geographies

of Racism (Habtegiorgis et al., 2014); and 79% in Facing Up to Racism (Sharples & Blair, 2021)). Other data that may indicate the presence of structural racism, such as on race- or ethnic-based disparities in health, employment and education, also seem to be rarely analysed in existing studies.

Other under-studied forms

Measures of racism, especially as experienced in interpersonal interaction, have frequently drawn on a standard, very similar batteries of items (such as items covering physical attacks, verbal abuse, exclusion or disrespect). This standardisation ensures measures' quality and makes comparison and synthesis possible. However, other ways in which racism may manifest have been under-explored, including harassment and hassle, bullying, victimisation and micro-aggressions, being feared, being subject to unfair assumptions, patronisation, and complimentary stereotypes. Other forms of racism that remain inadequately covered are associated with (hyper-) vigilance, over-policing, securitisation and counterterrorism, and their effects of criminalising particular groups, such as Muslims and humanitarian migrants. We also found minimal engagement with 'cultural racism', such as ideas about socio-cultural 'fit', for instance in relation to immigration and work.

Attitudes versus behaviours

There is a gap between studying expressions of racism and studying how it is experienced. Data collection on expressions of racism usually focuses on *perpetrators' attitudes*, for example, their concerns about inter-marriage, immigrant neighbours, or admissions of prejudice. In contrast, experiences of racism are often measured with reference to *discriminatory behaviours* as experienced by those who are *targeted* by racism (for example, in questions that ask, 'Have you been discriminated against?'). This gap means that, by design, we are limited in our ability to co-analyse reports of racism by both perpetrators and targets. One especially limited area is perpetrators' reports of their own discriminatory behaviours, and the link between those behaviours and their attitudes. Despite the long history of research on attitudes and behaviours in social psychology, the potential link between racist attitudes and behaviours has rarely been studied (Ajzen et al., 2018). Studies based on the Geographies of Racism Survey indicate a direct relationship between attitudes and behaviours (Forrest, et al., 2016; 2021; Habtegiorgis et al., 2014). The other limited area of measurement is targets' attitudes towards,

and views and understandings of, the racism perpetrated against them, including, for example, justification, downplaying and denial.

4.4. Settings where racism is experienced

We found that racism research in Australia has an appropriate emphasis on the settings where substantial disadvantage can be reproduced. The labour market, education settings, law enforcement and public spaces, were relatively better covered by research, which sits well with scholarship that found racism to be more prevalent in these settings (for example, Blair et al., 2017; Temple et al., 2019). These settings should continue to be central to anti-racism efforts as critical sites of everyday life, intercultural contact, and of inequality. There has been less focus on other sites of 'everyday racism' (Essed, 1991), where the experience of racism may be frequent. With COVID-19 lockdowns and restrictions, racism has increasingly moved into spaces that have traditionally been scarcely studied, such as the domestic sphere and online (for example, Elias et al., 2021b; Krieger, 2020). We discuss the need for more data on racism in these settings, as well as others where it has been relatively under-collected.

Domestic spaces

Domestic spaces, like home environments and neighbourhoods, have surprisingly little data collected about them (see, for example, Nelson, 2015; 2020). Only a few of the studies we identified examined racism at home (or at a relative or friend's home), or in the neighbourhood or by neighbours (examples include ACCS, BNLA, LEAD, NATSISS and Face Up to Racism). Research has shown the housing sector to be a hotspot for racial discrimination (McDonald et al., 2016; Nelson et al., 2015), but there is limited regulatory oversight or collection of data in these settings, and we rely mostly on anecdotal evidence. Likewise, we were unable to find routine racism data collection by major housing organisations.

Online and media environments

Online and social media spheres are becoming increasingly central to social life, and crucial to our understanding of racism and actions to contest it but have been scarcely studied. Several studies have measured racism in online settings (for instance, Face Up to Racism, LSIC, NATSISS), although they have typically done so using only a single item about experiences of racism online

(rather than a multi-item scale). Routine data collection by media and social media organisations, and by organisations that monitor the internet (for incident reports, for example) is fairly limited too. An exception in this area is CRaCR, which used a large representative sample to examine cyber racism in more depth, including its manifestations, specific platforms, and responses it induced (Jakubowicz et al., 2017). Still, some dimensions of online activity remain under-studied, including, for example, racism in online dating, such as pervasive 'sexual racism' in online dating sites and apps towards gay and bisexual men (Callander et al., 2015) and towards gay Indigenous men and women (Carlson, 2020). Online gaming is popular in Australia but under-explored for its links with racism (see Passmore et al. (2018) for a US-based discussion). Likewise, media outlets such as newspapers and TV shows have rarely been empirically studied with regard to racism but recent research shows that at least some key actors in this arena, such as NewsCorp publications, consistently represent some groups negatively (for example, Muslim, Chinese and Indigenous people) through racist opinion pieces (ATN, 2020; see also ongoing [ATN's media monitoring](#)).

A related area which is rarely researched despite its expanding place in everyday life are digital technologies, from everyday apps, facial recognition software to complex algorithms that have been shown to perpetuate racial bias and amplify discrimination (Achieme, 2020; Benjamin, 2019; O'Neil, 2016). These emerging technologies (such as artificial intelligence or machine learning) reinforce discrimination across many fields, including education, policing, health and employment, and are often hidden from view. Greater scrutiny and vigilance of these contemporary (and future) forms of systemic racism are needed.

Financial settings and the sharing economy

There is an urgent need for data collection on financial settings and institutions in Australia since very few studies have considered this area. The few studies that have measured racism in financial settings typically focus on experiences of racism in receiving financial assistance or services, for example from banks (see BNLA, Geographies of Racism, LEAD, NATSISS). One key area where research is missing is the sharing economy, which are growing industry platforms with substantial levels of intergroup contact - negative and positive - which potentially can create, heighten or counter racism (Edelman et al., 2017; Piracha et

al., 2019). Additional research into these settings is important given the concentration of particular ethnic and migrant groups in some industries and their vulnerability to exploitation and forms of harassment. A study by Piracha et al. (2019) presented case study evidence of the extent of racism on sharing economy platforms such as Uber and Airbnb in Australia but also highlighted the lack of empirical evidence to date in Australian settings. Studies conducted in other national contexts may be replicated in Australia (for example, Edelman et al., 2017; Ge et al., 2016).

Healthcare

Healthcare-related racism is significant for various reasons, including the existence of racial/ethnic disparities in health outcomes and in access to health services. Experiences of racism are associated with lower levels of healthcare-related trust, satisfaction and communication (Ben et al., 2017), and may help maintain culturally unsafe healthcare environments (for a recent Australian case, see Malatzky et al. (2020)). In the context of COVID-19, while healthcare settings and services play a significant role in combatting the pandemic, racism in such settings may work against equitable access and result in further disparities (Annapureddi et al., 2020; Chan & Truong, 2021). Experiences of racism and discrimination among healthcare practitioners have been reported in Australia as well (Huria et al., 2014; Rallah-Baker, 2018). Racism in healthcare settings has only been measured in nine of the studies we identified. In addition to the limits of data that are directly on racism, data on the links between health conditions and racial/ethnic background are limited as well. For example, the Australian Institute for Health and Wellbeing (AIHW) identifies important gaps in data for people with disability who are Indigenous or from CALD backgrounds (AIHW, 2020: 338, 342).

Sport settings

The under-exploration of racism in sport may seem somewhat surprising, given the attention it receives in some media reports (see for example ABC, 2019; The Guardian, 2021) and the many anti-racism initiatives that have been announced (Farquharson et al 2019; The Canberra Times, 2020). However, survey-based studies that measure racism in sport typically address it, again, via limited measures that mostly rely on a single item. Only three studies that have measured racism in sport remain ongoing, all focused on Indigenous peoples (LSIC, NATSIHS,

NATSISS), and, as we discussed earlier, we were unable to find initiatives focused on routine racism data collection and reporting.

Legal protections from racism

The need for research in the above settings, and particularly the emergence of new platforms online and in the sharing economy, and of novel technologies, may also be taken up by research that is dedicated to legal protections from racism and discrimination. There is a need to explore possible connections between areas that are not sufficiently covered through legislation, and the racism occurring in these areas (for examples of existing research see Brierley-Hay & Elphick, 2019; MacDermott, 2018).

4.5. State- and local-level data

We identified 16 studies which focused solely on Victorian data or on Victoria alongside other states. However, only four of these studies were conducted since 2015, and none continued at the time we undertook this stocktake. Additionally, we found five initiatives for routine data collection by Victorian organisations yet these were uncoordinated. While data about the state where study participants reside are often collected by national studies, reporting state-level and local-level data is rare. Without such data, our ability to identify and contest racism where it occurs in Victoria and other jurisdictions is heavily constrained, and comparisons between states, regions and municipal areas remain limited. Our team aims to address this gap, at least in part, by several Victoria-focused research [projects](#) currently underway. Still, longer-term commitment to data collection on racism through research and routine initiatives is needed.

4.6. Responses to and effects of racism

Responses

Few of the studies we have identified measure responses to racism. Of those that do so, most commonly ask about responses to racist situations. Typically, these are behavioural responses (such as avoidance) or health-related responses (such as stress, worry, feeling angry or upset). The latter are commonly measured using follow-up questions on how an experience has made participants feel. However, data are very limited

as to longer-term responses and how experiences may be associated with wider changes to patterns of behaviour and adoption of new strategies, for example in anticipating, avoiding or otherwise addressing possibilities for future encounters with discrimination. Minimal data have been gathered on targets' attitudes towards the racism they experience. Research suggests such attitudes may be fairly complex, including for instance dismissal of the significance of racism, or denial of its existence (Dunn & Nelson, 2011).

Effects

In studies that assess the impact of self-reported experiences of racism on other phenomena, the more commonly studied associations have related to participants' mental health and levels of education. Associations with poor mental health have been relatively consistent across studies, with some examples coming from Indigenous children (Bodkin-Andrews et al., 2017), and Australian school students (Priest et al., 2017). Associations with other health outcomes and socio-economic factors, including areas such as employment and health behaviours, and, to a lesser extent, physical and general health, are more rarely reported.

Two data gaps related to limitations to data collection methodologies:

4.7. Longitudinal data

We identified eight longitudinal studies, with a handful of national studies, that remain ongoing (HILDA, LSAC, LSIC and MK). These studies do not currently focus on immigrants or racial/ethnic minorities other than Indigenous peoples nor do they follow the adult Australian population beyond several measures used in HILDA. Longitudinal state-level data are also missing. The dearth of longitudinal data limits our understanding of the transformations of racism over time (for the same people), and potential fluctuations in its prevalence and impact. This impedes our ability to understand changes during critical life phases (such as childhood or adolescence), and to comprehend racism over the lifespan more broadly. It further limits our understanding of other critical events or histories, personal and collective, that may impact how racism is expressed, experienced, and responded to. An interrelated concern is that research on racism is relatively recent. Some datasets only started collecting racism measures in later or specific waves, which constrains time series data. Consequently, racism time series data

is an uneven patchwork that remains to be sewn together.

4.8. Capacity and resourcing of routine data collection

There are several limitations to organisations' routine data collection. Data may not be systematically collected, while some collection mechanisms are ad hoc in their focus and methods. Organisations are often faced with considerable resourcing challenges. Actions such as collating the vast amount of digital data entered into online portals and disseminating these in meaningful ways are often expensive and complex. These include reporting back to complainants; developing referrals and other actions, such as lobbying or developing position papers; and, reporting to authorities.

There are also considerable challenges to effectively use and disseminate the data. Whether the data is a reliable indicator of prevalence is debatable. The wide variance in prevalence rates likely reflects data quality issues and highlights the need for standard definitions and robust practices. Random, representative samples are difficult to obtain, and experiences of discrimination are under-reported, suggesting that the problem is likely more pervasive than the data indicate. These difficulties also raise important questions about thresholds above which the prevalence, incidence and intensity of racist experiences are more likely to have harmful consequences (see further discussion below). It is also unclear how complaint data can have impact on the platforms or in the settings where they occur, particularly as many of them operate outside of government regulation.

These findings on data collection in organisations are in line with a recent stocktake on efforts to tackle hate in Australia, which notes that within government agencies, different units independently collect data on racism and related phenomena, use various criteria and methods, and store data separately (Vergani & Link, 2020). Poor coordination among governmental and non-governmental organisations in collecting and acting upon data results in gaps to data collection and measurement, inefficient systems (for example, where some data may be duplicated or missing), under-reporting of racism, and limited evidence to inform responses to racism (Vergani & Link, 2020: 8).

Part 5: Recommendations: filling racism data gaps

We recommend four interconnected ways to fill racism data gaps for researchers, organisations and policymakers working to address racism.

- 1 **Further analyse existing data.**
Several important questions about racism may be addressed by analysing existing data.
- 2 **Collect and analyse additional data.**
Where critical questions cannot be addressed by existing data, additional data should be collected and analysed.
- 3 **Enhance data availability and integration.**
Existing studies and reporting mechanisms should be made more widely available. They should also be better integrated and interlinked.
- 4 **Improve racism data policies.**
Improve policies that relate to the collection, analysis, reporting and overall management of racism data, to ensure the necessary data exist and are available for analysis.

5.1. Racism data and analysis

1 Further analyse existing data to answer key outstanding questions

To address outstanding questions about racism, existing data should be analysed further. This would maximise the usefulness of the data we already have, for modest costs and without duplication of existing research efforts.

I. Who perpetrates racism?

Who are the perpetrators of racism in Australia? Further analysis of existing data could help reveal perpetrators' intersecting demographic characteristics, which will help target anti-racism interventions. Some studies have found higher support of racist and discriminatory views among, for example, older people, people with lower education, people with lower incomes (DIMA, 1998; Kamp et al., 2017; MSC, 2020), males, non-Indigenous people, people born in Australia (Kamp et al., 2017), and people living in non-Metropolitan areas (DIMA, 1998). These insights should be further tested based on existing data. This could be done by analysing the relationships between participant demographics and the racism they express, using data collected by studies such as AuSSA and AVS. Adding questions to research and routine reporting tools about perpetrators' demographics (such as sex, age or ethnic/racial background), could contribute to our understanding of who perpetrates racism and how such demographics may intersect to shape the ways in which racism is expressed. This should be accompanied by a critical and expansive understanding of what constitutes racism, and how racism is perpetrated both explicitly and implicitly, particularly in institutional settings.

II. How does racism vary across Victoria?

We need further spatial analysis of racism to better understand its variation across localities and to address its specific manifestations, prevalence and impact in given localities with variable infrastructures and support services. Participants' postcode and other geographic data are often collected by surveys but in-depth spatial analysis is rare (for exceptions see Forrest & Dunn (2006; 2007) and Habtegiorgis et al. (2014)). Such analysis could be complemented by case study analyses of specific regions and municipalities. In the Victorian context, the lack of ongoing Victorian-focused research highlights the need to further analyse existing Victorian data and disaggregate them from national datasets.

III. What are the effects of racism?

Analysis should further interrogate the effects of racism on health outcomes, such as physical health, general health and substance use, and on socio-economic outcomes related to employment and education. Several surveys collect such data but these relationships are under-analysed. Examples of datasets to explore include NATSIHS for racism and health outcomes, and HILDA for racism and outcomes relating to the labour market. Moreover, existing studies that have examined these associations should be expanded. One such example is SOAR, where follow-up research, including longitudinal studies over the life course, may investigate the association between experiences of racism and cardiometabolic risk markers, sleep problems, and other biological processes and physiological regulatory processes.

Research should ask additional questions about education and employment. For example, how does racism and stereotyping in education, such as the model minority myth, impact on students' self-esteem and academic achievement? How does the model minority myth affect employment outcomes such as promotion into leadership roles? How do minority students' experiences of racism in schools shape their senses of belonging and employment and career pathways? And how may racialised workplaces and organisations contribute to perpetrating socio-economic inequity?

Research should also gauge possible disparities between racial, ethnic, national and other groups in areas such as poverty, homelessness, incarceration, mental illness and disabilities. Where findings show an over-representation of minority groups affected by adverse conditions (for example, in Booth et al. (2012) and Hugo (2014)), they should orient further exploration into structural racism as a possible determinant of such outcomes. Researchers ought to be well-versed in the methodological challenges inherent in such research, such as needing to control for confounding variables, and be conscious of the potential risks that publication may pose to affected minority groups.

IV. What do we know? Synthesise the bigger picture

We should improve our understanding of racism through further reviews and syntheses of the cumulative evidence (quantitative and qualitative). While several small-scale reviews and meta-analyses have focused on specific groups in Australia (Benner et al., 2018; Kairuz et al., 2020; Moodie et al., 2019), a more comprehensive study has yet to be undertaken. Our team is currently working to address this gap through a systematic review and meta-analysis (Ben et al., 2022). Additionally, the picture of racism research in Australia and Victoria remains incomplete without a review of the considerable qualitative research and data collection carried out to date, which has been beyond our scope in this review and remains for future research. We also join other researchers in calling for periodic reviews of specific themes and geographical locations to continue identifying research gaps and emerging needs (Vergani & Link, 2020: 7).

2 Collect and analyse additional data to answer key outstanding questions

Where critical questions about racism *cannot* be addressed based on existing data, additional data might be collected and analysed. This should be done after consulting existing data () to avoid duplication and in discussion with groups affected by racism, while considering the need to avoid over-researching and 'research fatigue' among participants (for example, Patel et al., 2020). Given the pressing need for action against racism, new data should ultimately contribute to anti-racism and social change. For efficiency, rather than developing new surveys or databases, priority should be given to expanding existing ones that already examine racism, especially longitudinally (such as AVS, HILDA, LSAC, LSIC, MK and MSC). This recommendation aligns with a Parliament of Victoria recommendation to fund ongoing research on the drivers and prevention of prejudice and vilification (Parliament of Victoria, 2021; see Recommendation 3).

I. Pivot towards a structural understanding of racism

It is time that research efforts prioritise a broader, more structural understanding of racism in Australia, and ways of measuring exposure to racism indirectly. A review of researcher-reported measures of racism – such as measures of segregation and disparities affecting different groups, and of issues of access and equity – is needed (see Ben et al., 2022). To our knowledge there are at the moment only few such studies conducted in Australia (for example, Booth et al., 2012; Burnley, 1992; 1994; Dunn, 1993; Forrest et al., 2006; Hugo, 2014). Meanwhile, self-reported measures focus heavily on direct experiences of racism and should give more attention to exposure to racism indirectly (such as through media and knowing about or witnessing discrimination).

A more structural understanding of racism can be associated with support for action against discriminatory laws and policies (Rucker & Richeson, 2021). As an approach, it requires honesty and transparency about how power and privilege operate, and how inequalities are created and sustained across systems, sectors, and institutions, without losing sight of the role of individuals. It also requires methodological innovation and can draw on nascent research from the US (see for example Groos et al. (2018), and Rucker and Richeson (2021)). For instance, incarceration research (Henricks & Harvey, 2017) could provide new leads on links between racism, imprisonment, and Indigenous deaths in custody. Other research may prompt us to ask novel questions such as how, and at what phase in life, people may develop views about racism as a structural phenomenon; or to explore how interpersonal and structural experiences may shape each other (Rucker & Richeson, 2021).

II. Examine harassment and other under-explored forms of racism

We call on future research to explore experiences with racism that have hitherto been under-studied. As to indirect exposure to racism, research should also provide more attention to vicarious racism, including its forms, settings, targets, and long-term effects. Other under-explored forms of racism include subjection to unfair assumptions; patronisation and positive stereotypes (for example, compliments); (hyper-)vigilance, over-policing and securitisation; being feared; harassment and hassle; bullying, victimisation and micro-aggressions; and 'cultural racism'. Racist harassment has received surprisingly little attention despite being the subject of ongoing debates, including in legislation. One area that remains under-developed is our understanding of how racism may intersect with gender, for example, in underpinning sexual harassment against black and Asian women, or over-policing black and Middle Eastern men. How pervasive is harassment? How may racist

harassment link with other forms of harassment and oppression? And how may it vary based on race or ethnicity, gender, and other demographics?

III. Focus on emerging and rapidly changing settings

We need to ask new questions about racism occurring in emerging settings, and in settings undergoing rapid social change where data collection nevertheless remains limited – including in the context of COVID-19. These include racism online and in the media, domestically, in financial environments and the sharing economy, and in technology. Some outstanding questions about these settings include: to what extent have the prevalence, frequency and adverse consequences of racism in domestic and online settings increased over time, and especially during the pandemic? How may racism in financial settings affect outcomes such as loans and contribute to phenomena like residential segregation? How pervasive is racism in the sharing economy? Which groups are most strongly affected, and what mechanisms (in and outside of platforms) are utilised to perpetuate racism? What is the incidence of racism in online gaming and dating? What are its types and locations (for example, in-app or in associated chat forums)? What steps do respective platforms take to curb it? What can research tell us about racism occurring in areas that are not sufficiently covered through legislation? How is racial bias coded in artificial intelligence technologies such as machine learning and predictive analytics across different industries and sectors (such as education, health, justice or employment)? Finally, established settings that relate to sports, where routine data collection is limited, and healthcare, which has been directly affected under COVID-19, may require greater research attention as well.

IV. Enhance knowledge about responses to racism

Future research should enhance the limited data on individual responses to racism by addressing remaining questions. For example, how do people view the racism directed towards them and the people who perpetrate it? To what extent do they qualify certain actions (or non-actions, such as exclusions) as racist? Research suggests that racism may be denied, downplayed or minimised, but can these responses be quantified? To what extent are people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds, migration circumstances and other social groups likely to (un) recognise racism as affecting them? What are the longer-term, more strategic responses to discrimination, including, for example, in anticipating, avoiding or otherwise addressing prospective encounters with racism in different situations and settings? How might past experiences shape readiness and action to create new intercultural connections, including more intimate ones such as friendships and romantic relationships? Answering these questions will have important implications for understanding patterns of reporting racism and for undertaking anti-racism initiatives.

V. Research young people's and humanitarian migrants' experiences

Additional data may be collected about the experiences of two under-studied groups: young people under 18 years old and humanitarian migrants. Research with young people, and particularly with children, should give more attention to several questions. How does exposure to and the impact of racism fluctuate during the life span? What are the health, educational and social effects, particularly on children? What are the long-term effects into adolescence and adulthood as well as intergenerational impacts? How does racial/ethnic background intersect with class and gender, over time or age, to affect how racism is experienced and its health and socio-economic effects? This includes the impact of vicarious racism (that is, indirect exposure to racism experienced by family, friends and strangers) on child health.

As for humanitarian migrants, at the time of writing, there was no ongoing large-scale study that follows humanitarian migrants over time, while past research often focused on racism experienced in the first years after arrival in Australia. We should be asking new questions and seeking new data for this cohort. How is racism experienced and responded to over time and into the longer-term, after the initial resettlement period? How are such experiences shaped by early experiences with and views on racism from before migrating to Australia? What new, and possibly hitherto unrecognisable, forms of racism may migrants encounter in Australia? What impact do they have on migrants' settlement, belonging, social cohesion, health and wellbeing? Given the absence of current data collection on migrant groups also more broadly, building on aspects of past projects that focused on migrants (such as BNLA and LSIA) would be useful. Extending an existing study such as HILDA, by recruiting a cohort of migrant respondents, could generate broader data for comparing migrant and non-migrant groups in the critical area of the labour market. Finally, further insight is needed on the experiences of people from CALD backgrounds with racism during the pandemic and on differential access and outcomes in critical areas.

5.2. Using racism data

To improve the utility and impact of racism data, this section makes recommendations to enhance data availability, the integration of different data sources, and policies concerning racism data.

3

Enhance data availability and integration

To enhance the utility and relevance of racism data, existing studies and reporting mechanisms should be made more widely available. They should also be better integrated and interlinked.

I. Make data open access

Data availability should be enhanced, for example, by making more data sets and sources open access via central repositories such as the Australia Data Archive (ADA). Additionally, where possible, researchers should aim to make the data they collect open access, whether by publishing in open access journals and providing links to the data, or making the data available directly from the data custodians who collect and hold them. Organisations involved in routine data collection may enhance data availability, for example, by providing respondents with the option to share some of the data they provide in de-identified forms. It is also important that the metadata (that is, information describing available data sources), are made externally visible via a central repository in order for the data to be better known and more likely to be requested and used.

II. Improve data integration

Further integration of data from different sources through data linkages will reduce gaps and overlaps in data collection and save resources. It will expand the evidence base on racism and enhance the scope and quality of racism research while advancing multi-agency collaboration. To do so, we recommend closely liaising with government and other organisations that keep and use data, and which are already involved in linkage and integration initiatives, to better understand their shifting priorities, and to clearly communicate the benefits of proposed linkages.

The ABS is a key actor to liaise with, devoting extensive resources to data integration across different surveys. It maintains several integrated 'data assets' for research deemed to be in the public's interest (ABS, 2020), and integrates the Commonwealth Multi-Agency Data

Integration Project (MADIP), a secure data asset that combines key information from leading government agencies including various departments, on areas such as health, education, income, employment, and population demographics over time. Tying MADIP's data sources to other data on racism may be particularly valuable. It would allow analysing it in relation to experiences and expressions of racism reported by study participants as well as to further examine racial/ethnic disparities.

Examples of individual ABS surveys that collect racism data and foster such linkages include the GSS and NATSISS. Other key studies that include racism measures are longitudinal. Several of them are run through the National Centre for Longitudinal Data (NCLD) (see BNLA, HILDA, LSAC and LSIC) and are linked to additional data sources. For example, LSAC is linked to the National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), the Australian Early Development Census (AEDC), and to administrative data sources (DSS, 2017a). At the state level, one agency that may be able to contribute to such linkages is the Centre for Victorian Data Linkage (CVDL), which aims to develop linkage capacity and to facilitate and create opportunities for Victorian researchers to use existing linkable data.

Routine data collected by organisations (governmental and non-governmental) should be better integrated as well. The routine collection and reporting of discrimination data by human rights commissions discussed earlier may be more strongly integrated with other routine data collection mechanisms at the national level (for example, the eSafety Commission and the FWC), state level (for example, Victoria Police and Victorian Government Department of Education and Training), and local level. Similarly, we concur with recommendations made by the recent Victorian anti-vilification inquiry on the need for State Government to consolidate links and sharing between different governmental and non-governmental organisations (Parliament of Victoria, 2021; see Recommendation 30).

These efforts should build on effective, cooperative practices among community organisations that are already reporting on racism, without reinventing the wheel. Emphasis should be given to better resourcing these organisations, financially and in terms of infrastructure. Additional actors to collaborate with to establish new linkages include government organisations and researchers with experience in cross-agency partnerships, including research programs focused on countering racism, such as the [Challenging Racism Project](#), and initiatives to create central repositories, such as [Tackling Hate](#).

III. Consult end users

We highly recommend consulting end users who plan to utilise new data, to ensure that data can inform adequate responses to ongoing and emerging issues. This may entail bringing together stakeholders (such as government and community organisations or researchers) working on racism within the same settings (for example, online, in healthcare or in the media), or as affecting particular groups (for example, Indigenous peoples or Muslim Australians). Another approach would be to engage within platforms and settings to develop more comprehensive in-platform documentation, policy and action mechanisms to counter racism. To maximise its effectiveness, such collaborative work should be better coordinated across different areas, from data collection to victim support (see also Vergani & Link 2020: 7).

4 Improve data policies to ensure the necessary data exist and are available for analysis

Our final recommendation is on improving policies that relate to the collection, analysis, reporting and overall management of racism data.

I. Implement a national data management plan

Given the growth and acceleration in racism research and data collection, and the urgency to do much more to tackle racism, there is a need for better coordination, direction and resourcing of the racism research effort. We recommend developing a national-level racism data management plan, which would feed into national, state and local strategies for eradicating racism. Given the responsibility of government organisations for tackling racism in Australia, and the quality infrastructures for data collection and integration that already exist nationally (for example, MADIP), a national plan may be most appropriate. Such a plan should be sought out in close collaboration with state, local and community organisations that are already involved in related initiatives (as discussed earlier) to learn from and implement best practices in managing racism data. Moreover, it should consider related state-level policies and policymaking efforts. For example, in Victoria, a multi-agency strategy for collecting, monitoring and regularly reporting data on vilification and prejudice motivated crime has recently been called for (Parliament of Victoria, 2021; see Recommendations 34–35). As a first step, we recommend discussing these ideas with the AHRC, ABS, the Australian Hate Crime Network (AHCN) and lawmakers working to address racism.

II. Mandatory data collection and reporting by agencies

We recommend that national and state level policies mandate key agencies in areas such as health, education, employment and justice to collect, report, monitor and address data on racism and inequalities based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion and related demographics. Agencies should commit to routinely monitoring differential outcomes in these areas and address them where they arise (see AIHW (2020: 334 – 347) on addressing data gaps in relation to disability). In Victoria, an agency that may be well placed to support these efforts is the CVDL.

III. Longer-term commitment to data collection

There should be longer-term commitment to data collection on racism in Victoria and other jurisdictions through both research and routine initiatives, which are coordinated and adequately resourced. In research, this may be done by committing to analysing data currently collected as part of ongoing national-level studies; or by reviving, and possibly expanding, one or more of the studies that have focused on state- or local- level data previously (such as ACCS, SOAR or VPHS). As to routine data collection in organisations, Victorian policymakers may review the current data collection effort () and discuss with the organisations involved how to optimise it going forward. Policymakers may further discuss possibilities for implementing community-led reporting in other trusted organisations as well (Parliament of Victoria, 2021; see Recommendation 33).

IV. An urgent need for analysis of COVID-19 disparities

There is an urgent need for more comprehensive data on disparities (for example racial, ethnic or national) in relation to COVID-19. The government's approach to collecting data on racial disparities has been haphazard, and data analysis and reporting are missing on COVID-19 disparities relating to the rates of testing,

infections, hospitalisations and deaths, as well as on the relationship between racial/ethnic backgrounds and COVID-related challenges to housing, income and employment (Ben & Paradies, 2020; Jakubowicz, 2021a; SBS, 2020).

Some national data do exist. For example, there are data about vaccination rates among Indigenous Australians, which are significantly lower compared to the general population (ABC, 2022), while MADIP links vaccination data with various government databases. There are also data about COVID-19 infections among Indigenous peoples (ABC, 2021b). Recently, approximately two years after the start of the pandemic, national data about country of birth and COVID-19 death rates have shown that people born overseas are three times more likely to die from the disease compared with people born in Australia, the UK and Ireland, and that death rates were 10 times higher among those born in North Africa and the Middle East (ABC, 2022).

At the state-level, governments have varied considerably in data collection practices, with minimal to no reporting of data on ethnicity and cultural background to the public. In August 2021, Victorian state-run vaccination centres (but *not* other providers such as general practitioners or pharmacies) were recording data on ethnicity, country of birth and language spoken, while New South Wales, the Australian Capital Territory, Queensland and South Australia were collecting data on country of birth and preferred language (ABC, 2021b). Still, other states recorded no data on cultural background and vaccination, and it was also generally unclear which agency was responsible for data collection (ABC, 2021b). Moreover, Commonwealth health centres may collect ethnicity data on COVID-19 testing, and from people who are infected, yet they do not have standard shared procedures for doing so nor do they share further analysis of such data (Andrew Jakubowicz, personal communication). The lack of data in New South Wales has been referred to as 'data hesitancy' which has the effect of disguising the social and geographical unevenness of COVID-19 pandemic (Jakubowicz, 2021b). Several calls have been made for policymakers to close such data gaps (for example, Ben & Paradies, 2020; Jakubowicz, 2020; SBS, 2020). Thus far, the pandemic has revealed inadequate government infrastructures for collecting, reporting and responding to data about racial/ethnic health disparities, which possibly reflect wider structural discrimination against CALD communities in areas such as resourcing and service allocation.

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An asterisk (*) denotes inclusion in the stocktake review.

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Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: Summary of quantitative studies measuring racism

Descriptive	Category	Number of studies reporting	% of studies reporting (k=42)
Source type	National studies: multiple time points	13	31%
	National studies: single time point	13	31%
	Victorian studies: single/multiple time point/s	9	21%
	Additional Victorian-focused publications	7	17%
Years racism data collection commenced	Before 2000	7	17%
	2001-2005	7	17%
	2006-2010	5	12%
	2011-2015	15	36%
	2016-2019	7	17%
	Not reported	1	2%
Number of time points of racism data collection	1	24	57%
	2-3	6	14%
	4-5	6	14%
	6 or more	5	12%
	Not reported	1	2%
Data presently collected?	Yes	10	24%
	No	32	76%
Design	Cross-sectional - single time point	25	60%
	Cross-sectional - multiple time points (repeated cross-sectional)	9	21%
	Longitudinal	8	19%
Study location	National level	26	62%
	Victoria only	12	29%
	Victoria and other states	4	10%
Sampling	Representative	26	62%
	Non-representative	13	31%
	Mixed (representative and non-representative)	3	7%
Sample size reporting racism data	Up to 1000	12	29%
	1001-5000	14	33%
	Over 5000	16	38%
Participant ages	15+	9	21%
	18+	21	50%
	Under 18	4	10%
	Mixed	7	17%
	Not reported	1	2%
Participant backgrounds (racial, national, religious)	Australian population	19	45%
	Immigrants/overseas born	11	26%
	Indigenous people	9	21%
	Muslim people	4	10%
	Humanitarian migrants/refugees	3	7%
Experiences of racism: types	Not specified	3	7%
	Any type of experiences	34	81%
	Interpersonal	30	71%
	Structural	18	43%
	Vicarious	10	24%
Experiences of racism: forms	Unspecified/ general	29	69%
	Insults	15	36%
	Physical	13	31%
	Exclusion	12	29%
	Disrespect	11	26%
	Mistrust	10	24%
	Inferiorisation	9	21%
Setting- specific	24	57%	

Descriptive	Category	Number of studies reporting	% of studies reporting (k=42)
Experiences of racism: settings	At work or getting work	19	45%
	In contact with the police, courts, or legal system otherwise	15	36%
	In education, training, studying	13	31%
	In public spaces like streets	12	29%
	At a shop or restaurant	11	26%
	In getting housing, renting	11	26%
	In contact with government and its representatives	11	26%
	In sport, recreation, leisure	10	24%
	In public transport and other transport	9	21%
	In health or healthcare, or by health professionals	9	21%
	In the neighbourhood or by neighbours	9	21%
	In online settings	9	21%
	At home or at a relative's or friend's home	7	17%
	In other services or in services generally (e.g., poor service, refused entry)	7	17%
In financial settings, such as banks	5	12%	
Number of settings studied	Multiple settings	17	40%
	One setting	8	19%
Racist expressions: forms	Any expressions	24	57%
	Minority crime	10	24%
	Marriage concerns	8	19%
	Inequality beliefs	7	17%
	Cultural racism and 'fit'	7	17%
	Negative feelings/ attitudes	6	14%
	Immigrant rejection	6	14%
	Neighbour concerns	5	12%
	Self-reported prejudice	5	12%
	Support discrimination	5	12%
Other attitudes/ behaviours	13	31%	
Targets	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander	19	45%
	Muslim	16	38%
	Anglo/ European background	16	38%
	Asian	14	33%
	Middle Eastern	12	29%
	African	10	24%
	Jewish	9	21%
	Christian	8	19%
	"Australian-born"	7	17%
	Humanitarian migrants	7	17%
	Buddhist	6	14%
	Hindu	6	14%
Other/ unspecified migrant or minority groups	20	48%	
Effects: health	Any	23	55%
	Mental health	11	26%
	Physical health	8	19%
	General health	6	14%
	Conduct/ emotional difficulties	3	7%
	Substance use	2	5%
Effects: socio-economic	Education	12	29%
	Income, finances	6	14%
	Employment	5	12%

*Some categories may not add up to 100% due to rounding or where a study reports more than one measure of racism.

Table 2: Study characteristics

Source	#	Study name / lead author name	Papers reporting racism data (examples) / data sources	Years racism data collected (1) [# time points]	Data presently collected/ Accessible	Study design	Study location	Sampling procedure	Sample size reporting racism data (2)	Participant ages	Participant ethnic, racial, national, backgrounds
National studies: multiple time points	1	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)	Mansouri & Vergani 2018 (3)	2013, 2015, 2016, 2018 [4]	Yes / Yes	Repeated cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	5,401	18+	Australian population
	2	Australian Values Study (AVS)	Shin & Dovidio, 2018	1981-1984, 1994-1998, 2005-2009, 2010-2014, 2017-2019 [5]	Yes / Yes	Repeated cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	7,987	18+	Australian population
	3	Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA)	BNLA, 2020	2013-2018 [5]	No / Yes	Longitudinal	National level	Representative (nationally)	1,881-2,399 per wave	15+ (4)	Humanitarian migrants
	4	Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC)	Cave et al. 2019a; 2019b; Macedo et al. 2019a; 2019b	2008- [13]	Yes / Yes	Longitudinal	National level	Non-representative	1,239-1,671 per wave	Under 18	Indigenous people
	5	General Social Survey (GSS)	Bastos et al. 2018; Blackham & Temple 2020	2010, 2014, 2019, 2020 [4]	Yes / Yes	Repeated cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	36,799	15+	Australian population
	6	Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC)	Priest et al. 2016; 2019	2004- [9]	Yes / Yes	Longitudinal	National level	Representative (nationally)	6,164-10,090 per wave	Under 18	Australian population
	7	Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA)	Duncan et al. 2019; Hahn & Wilkins 2013;	2001- [19]	Yes / Yes	Longitudinal	National level	Representative (nationally)	8,151-11,169 per wave (5)	15+	Australian population
	8	Jewish Community Survey	Markus et al., 2020	2008-2009 [2]	No / No	Repeated cross-sectional	National level	Non-representative	14,461	18+	Jewish
	9	Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA)	Forrest et al. 2014	1994-2006 [7]	No / Yes	Longitudinal	National level	Representative (nationally)	18,181	15+	Immigrants
	10	Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK)	Thurber et al., 2021	2018- [1]	Yes / Yes	Longitudinal	National level	Non-representative	6,168	16+	Indigenous people
	11	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey (NATSIHS)	Cave et al 2020	2004-2005; 2012-2013; 2018-2019 [3]	Yes / Yes	Repeated cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	29,994	Mixed	Indigenous people
	12	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS)	Cunningham & Paradies 2013; Temple et al. 2021	2002-2003, 2008-2009, 2014-2015 (6) [3]	Yes / Yes	Repeated cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	33,885	Mixed	Indigenous people
	13	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC) surveys	Elias & Paradies 2016 (3); Markus 2020	2007- [14]	Yes / No	Repeated cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	31,192	18+	Australian population

Source	#	Study name / lead author name	Papers reporting racism data (examples) / data sources	Years racism data collected (1) [# time points]	Data presently collected/ Accessible	Study design	Study location	Sampling procedure	Sample size reporting racism data (2)	Participant ages	Participant ethnic, racial, national, backgrounds
National studies: single time point	14	Australians Today	Markus 2016	2015-2016	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	10,548	18+	Australian-born and immigrants
	15	Carey et al 2021	By the authors	2017-2018	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Mixed (non-representative and representative)	541	18+	Immigrants
	16	Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR)	Jakubowicz et al. 2017	2013	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	2,141	15+	Australian population
	17	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) Anti-Racism Campaign 1998	By the authors	1998	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	2,000	16+	Australian population
	18	Ewart et al 2021	By the authors	2017	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	1,250	18+	Non-Muslims
	19	Face Up to Racism National Survey	Dunn et al. 2018; Kamp et al. 2017	2015-2016	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	6,001	18+	Australian population
	20	Geographies of Racism National Survey	Dunn et al. 2010; Habtegiorgis et al. 2014	2001-2008	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	12,512	18+	Australian population
	21	Gravelle 2021	By the author	2015	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	1,000	18+	Non-Muslims
	22	Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey	McAllister & Moore 1991	1988-1989	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	2,706	Not reported	Australian-born and immigrants
	23	Living Diversity Report	Ang et al. 2002	2002	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	3,501	15+	Australian population; Aboriginal people and immigrants
	24	Markus 2019	By the author	2015-2017	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Mixed (non-representative and representative)	524	18+	NS
	25	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey (NDTIS)	Haag et al 2020; Schuch et al 2021	2013	No / Yes	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	2,798	18+	Australian population
26	Nelson et al 2018	By the authors	2014	No / No	Cross-sectional	National level	Representative (nationally)	834	18+	Australian population	

Source	#	Study name / lead author name	Papers reporting racism data (examples) / data sources	Years racism data collected (1) [# time points]	Data presently collected/ Accessible	Study design	Study location	Sampling procedure	Sample size reporting racism data (2)	Participant ages	Participant ethnic, racial, national, backgrounds
Victorian / Victorian-focused studies	27	Attitudes towards Immigration and National Identity surveys	Markus, 1994; 1999; Markus & Dharmalingham 2007	1992; 1993-1994; 1998; 2006 [4]	No / No	Repeated cross-sectional	Victoria	Non-representative	3,134	Mixed	Australian population; Australia-born and Vietnam-born
	28	Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), Melbourne	Benier et al., 2020; Wickes et al., 2020	2017	No / No	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Representative (for Melbourne)	2,558	18+	Australian population
	29	Being Muslim in Australia (BMA) Survey	Murphy et al 2020; Williamson et al 2020	2014	No / No	Cross-sectional	Victoria and other states	Non-representative	800	17+	Muslims
	30	Cain et al 2021	By the authors	2015-2017	No / No	Cross-sectional	Victoria and other states	Mixed (non-representative and representative)	3227	18+	Australian-born and immigrants
	31	Dissecting Islamophobia Report	Dunn et al., 2021	2019	No / No	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Representative (for Victoria)	4,019	18+	Australian population
	32	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD)	Ferdinand et al. 2015; Kelaher et al. 2014	2010-2011; 2013 [2]	No / No	Cross-sectional, including one longitudinal (pre-post) design	Victoria	Non-representative	2,281	Mixed	Australian population; Indigenous people;
	33	Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR)	Priest et al. 2020	2017	No / No	Cross-sectional	Victoria and other states	Representative (for Victoria and NSW)	2,583	Under 18	Australia-born and overseas-born
	34	Victorian Population Health Surveys (VPHS)	Markwick et al. 2019a/2019b	2011-2014 [3]	No / Yes	Repeated cross-sectional	Victoria	Representative (for Victoria)	33,833	18+	Australian population
35	Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity (VARCD)	VicHealth, 2014	2013	No / No	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Representative (for Victoria)	1,250	18+	Australian population	

Source	#	Study name / lead author name	Papers reporting racism data (examples) / data sources	Years racism data collected (1) [# time points]	Data presently collected/ Accessible	Study design	Study location	Sampling procedure	Sample size reporting racism data (2)	Participant ages	Participant ethnic, racial, national, backgrounds
Victorian Studies additional publications (7)	36	Buchanan et al 2018	By the authors; International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY)	NR	NA	Cross-sectional	Victoria and other states	Non-representative	329	Mixed	Refugee and non-refugee immigrants
	37	Colic-Peisker et al 2019 ; Dekker 2020	By the authors	2016	NA	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Non-representative	301	18+	Muslims and non-Muslims
	38	Correa-Velez et al 2015	By the authors	2004-2008, 2012-2013 [5]	NA	Longitudinal	Victoria	Non-representative	120 per wave	Mixed	Refugees
	39	Fraser & Islam 2000	By the authors	1997-1998	NA	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Non-representative	352	18+	NS
	40	Grigg & Manderson 2014	By the authors	2012	NA	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Non-representative	296	Under 18	NS
	41	Priest et al 2011	Victorian Aboriginal Health Service (VAHS), Young People's Project (YPP)	1997-1998	NA	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Non-representative	172	Mixed	Indigenous people
	42	Shepherd et al 2017	By authors	2012	NA	Cross-sectional	Victoria	Non-representative	122	18+	Indigenous people

(1) In some cases, racism data are only collected during part of the study. The period of racism data collection may therefore be different to (i.e., shorter than) the overall study period.

(2) The sample sizes for which racism data are reported, which may be smaller than the overall study sample size. For repeated cross-sectional studies, this was calculated as the sum of samples sizes across time points. For longitudinal studies, a range is provided per wave.

(3) These studies include additional racism data: Elias and Paradies (2016) used data from MSC, Geographies of Racism, and the Dual Frame Omnibus (DFO) study (no further details reported); Mansouri and Vergani (2018) included items based on Dunn (2004) and Ford (2008).

(4) 15-83 for the main sample. Wave 3 included an additional child module, with participants aged 11-17.

(5) N is for the most frequently reported items used in HILDA waves 8,10,14,18. For an item used in all 18 waves N ranged between 471-950 per wave.

(6) NATSISS is presently ongoing although date for the next survey was unknown at the time of writing.

(7) We only included in this section papers that report prevalence or/and association data. Where only psychometric scale data were reported (e.g., Grigg & Manderson, 2015), the paper was excluded.

NA - Not applicable; NR - Not reported; NS - Not specified

Table 3a: Types of racism experienced

Datasets/publications	#	Study name	Types		
			1. Interpersonal	2. Vicarious	3. Structural
National studies: multiple time-points studies	1	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)	X		
	2	Australian Values Study (AVS)			X
	3	Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA)	X		
	4	Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC)	X	X	X
	5	General Social Survey (GSS)	X	X	
	6	Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC)	X		
	7	Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA)	X		
	8	Jewish Community Survey	X	X	X
	9	Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA)	X		X
	10	Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK)	X		X
	11	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey (NATSIHS)	X		
	12	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS)	X		
	13	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC)	X	X	X
National studies: single time-point	14	Australians Today	X		
	15	Carey et al 2021	X		
	16	Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR)	X	X	X
	17	Face Up to Racism National Survey	X		X
	18	Geographies of Racism National Survey	X		X
	19	Living Diversity Report			X
	20	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey (NDTIS)	X		X
21	Nelson et al 2018	X	X	X	
Victorian/Victorian-focused studies	22	Attitudes towards Immigration and National Identity surveys			X
	23	Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), Melbourne	X	X	X
	24	Being Muslim in Australia (BMA) Survey	X	X	X
	25	Cain et al 2021	X		
	26	Dissecting Islamophobia Report	X		X
	27	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD)	X	X	X
	28	Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR)	X	X	
	29	Victorian Population Health Surveys (VPHS)	X		
	30	Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity (VARCD)			X
Victorian studies - additional publications	31	Buchanan et al 2018	X		
	32	Correa-Velez et al 2015	X		
	33	Priest et al 2011	X		
	34	Shepherd et al 2017	X		

Table 3b: Forms of racism experienced

Datasets/ publications	#	Study name	Form							
			1. Unspecified/ general	2. Physical	3. Insults	4. Exclusion	5. Mistrust	6. Inferiorisation	7. Disrespect	8. Setting- specific (see Table 3)
National studies: multiple time-points	1	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)								X
	2	Australian Values Study (AVS)	X							X
	3	Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA)	X					X		X
	4	Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC)	X			X		X	X	X
	5	General Social Survey (GSS)	X							X
	6	Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC)	X							X
	7	Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA)								X
	8	Jewish Community Survey	X	X	X					X
	9	Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA)	X							X
	10	Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK)	X		X		X	X	X	X
	11	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey (NATSIHS)	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
	12	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	13	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC)	X	X	X	X				X
National studies: single time-point	14	Australians Today	X	X	X	X				X
	15	Carey et al 2021	X							X
	16	Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR)	X	X	X	X				X
	17	Face Up to Racism National Survey	X		X		X		X	X
	18	Geographies of Racism National Survey	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	19	Living Diversity Report	X							
	20	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey (NDTIS)	X		X			X	X	X
Victorian/ Victorian- focused studies	21	Nelson et al 2018	X	X	X	X				
	22	Attitudes towards Immigration and National Identity surveys						X		
	23	Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), Melbourne		X						X
	24	Being Muslim in Australia (BMA) Survey					X			X
	25	Cain et al 2021	X							X
	26	Dissecting Islamophobia Report	X	X	X		X		X	
	27	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	28	Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	29	Victorian Population Health Surveys (VPHS)	X							
	30	Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity (VARCD)	X							
Victorian studies - additional publications	31	Buchanan et al 2018	X	X	X	X			X	
	32	Correa-Velez et al 2015	X							
	33	Priest et al 2011	X							
	34	Shepherd et al 2017	X							X

Index: 1) Form unspecified or discussed in general; 2) Physically attacked, spat on, property vandalised, threatened; 3) Insulted, called names, been the target of slurs, jokes; 4) Excluded, told does not belong, avoided, left out; 5) Not trusted, suspected; 6) Treated as inferior (e.g., less intelligent); 7) Disrespected, ignored, experienced rudeness; 8) Form that is specific to a certain setting/s (e.g., in relation to work, education, housing).

Table 4: Settings where racism is experienced

Datasets/ publications	#	Study name	Setting														
			1. Work	2. Educ.	3. Home	4. Neighb.	5. Hous.	6. Shop.	7. Trans.	8. Public	9. Law	10. Health	11. Finance	12. Sport	13. Gov.	14. Online	15. Servic.
National studies: multiple time -points	1	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)	X														
	2	Australian Values Study (AVS)				X											
	3	Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA)	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		
	4	Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC)	X	X						X	X	X		X	X	X	
	5	General Social Survey (GSS)	X	X	X		X				X	X	X		X	X	
	6	Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC)	X														
	7	Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA)	X														
	8	Jewish Community Survey	X	X			X	X			X			X	X	X	
	9	Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA)	X				X										
	10	Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK)				X	X	X			X	X				X	
	11	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey (NATSIHS)	X	X	X	X					X	X	X	X	X	X	
	12	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	13	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC)	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	
National studies: single time point	14	Australians Today	X	X				X	X	X	X		X	X			
	15	Carey et al 2021	X														
	16	Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR)													X		
	17	Face Up to Racism National Survey	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		
	18	Geographies of Racism National Survey	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
	19	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey (NDTIS)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
Victorian / Victorian-focused studies	20	Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), Melbourne	X			X											
	21	Being Muslim in Australia (BMA) Survey									X						
	22	Cain et al 2021	X														
	23	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
24	Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR)		X				X			X							
Victorian studies - additional publications	25	Shepherd et al 2017								X							

Index: 1) Work - At work or getting work; 2) Educ. - In education, training, studying; 3) Home - At home or at a relative's or friend's home; 4) Neighb. - In the neighbourhood or by neighbours; 5) Hous. - In getting housing, renting; 6) Shop. - At a shop or restaurant; 7) Trans. - In public transport and other transport; 8) Public - In public spaces like streets; 9) Law - In contact with the police, courts, or legal system otherwise; 10) Health - In health or healthcare, or by health professionals; 11) Finance - In financial settings, such as banks; 12) Sport - In sport, recreation, leisure; 13) Gov. - In contact with government and its representatives; 14) Online - In online settings; 15) Servic. - In other services or in services generally (e.g., poor service, refused entry)

Table 5: Racist expressions

Datasets/ publications	#	Study name	1. Negative feelings	2. Marriage concerns	3. Neighbour concerns	4. Immigrant rejection	5. Minority crime	6. Inequality beliefs	7. Self-reported prejudice	8. Support discrimination	9. Cultural racism and 'fit'	10. Other attitudes/behaviours
National studies: multiple time-points	1	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)		X	X		X	X		X	X	X
	2	Australian Values Study (AVS)			X		X			X		X
	3	Jewish Community Survey		X								
	4	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC)	X			X	X					X
National surveys: single time-point	5	Australians Today	X									X
	6	Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR)						X	X			X
	7	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) Anti-Racism Campaign 1998					X				X	X
	8	Ewart et al 2021	X								X	
	9	Face Up to Racism National Survey	X	X		X	X	X	X			X
	10	Geographies of Racism National Survey		X				X	X		X	
	11	Gravelle 2021			X	X	X			X		
	12	Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey		X			X					
	13	Markus 2019				X						X
	14	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey (NDTIS)								X		
	15	Nelson et al 2018		X					X	X		
Victorian / Victorian-focused studies	16	Attitudes towards Immigration and National Identity surveys			X	X	X					
	17	Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), Melbourne	X		X						X	X
	18	Dissecting Islamophobia Report		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	19	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD)										X
	20	Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR)										X
21	Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity (VARCD)	X								X	X	
Victorian studies - additional publications	22	Colic-Peisker et al 2019; Dekker 2020					X					X
	23	Fraser & Islam 2000						X				X
	24	Grigg & Manderson 2014										X

Index - Racist expressions: 1. Negative feelings/attitudes towards certain outgroups; 2. Concerns about marriage to a person from an outgroup; 3. Concerns about neighbours from an outgroup; 4. Rejection of immigrants due to racial, religious, national background; 5. Negative view towards Minority groups as increasing crime or other problems, and as a threat; 6. Beliefs that groups are NOT equal (e.g., inferior /superior); 7. Self-reported prejudice (e.g., 'I am prejudiced'); 8. Support for discrimination in general; 9. Expressions of cultural racism and ideas of other groups as not 'fitting in' culturally, socially; 10. Other discriminatory or prejudiced attitudes and behaviours.

Table 6: Targets of racism – racial, ethnic, religious background

X – Racism experienced by study participants from these backgrounds.

O – Racism perpetrated by study participants towards people/groups from these backgrounds.

Datasets/ publications	#	Study name	1. Indigenous	2. Muslim	3. Christian	4. Buddhist	5. Hindu	6. Jewish	7. African	8. Asian	9. Human migrants	10. Middle Eastern	11. Anglo/ European	12. “Australian -born” (1)	13. Other/ unspecified migrant or minority groups
National studies: multiple time-points	1	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)		O	O	O	O	O							
	2	Australian Values Study (AVS)													O
	3	Building a New Life in Australia (BNLA)									X				
	4	Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC)	X												
	5	Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC)	X										X	X	X
	6	Jewish Community Survey						X							
	7	Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia (LSIA)													X
	8	Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK)	X												
	9	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey (NATSIHS)	X												
	10	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS)	X												
	11	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC)		XO	XO	XO	XO	O	O	O	XO	O	XO	X	XO
National studies: single time point	12	Australians Today		XO	XO	XO	X	X	X	XO	X	XO	XO		X
	13	Carey et al 2021													X
	14	Cyber Racism and Community Resilience (CRaCR)	XO	X	X	X	X	X	XO	XO		XO	XO	XO	XO
	15	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) Anti-Racism Campaign 1998	O	O							O	O	O		O
	16	Ewart et al 2021		O											
	17	Face Up to Racism National Survey	XO	XO	XO	X	X	XO	XO	XO	O	XO	O	X	X
	18	Geographies of Racism National Survey	XO	XO	O			O	O	XO		XO	XO	X	XO
	19	Gravelle 2021		O											
	20	Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey									O	O	O	O	O
	21	Living Diversity Report	X							X	X	X	X		
	22	Markus 2019		O											
	23	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey (NDTIS)													X
	24	Nelson et al 2018											X		

Datasets/ publications	#	Study name	1. Indigenous	2. Muslim	3. Christian	4. Buddhist	5. Hindu	6. Jewish	7. African	8. Asian	9. Human. migrants	10. Middle Eastern	11. Anglo/ European	12. "Australian -born" (1)	13. Other/ unspecified migrant or minority groups	
Victorian / Victorian- focused studies	25	Attitudes towards Immigration and National Identity surveys			X	X	X						X			
	26	Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), Melbourne	O	O					O	O		O	O		O	
	27	Being Muslim in Australia (BMA) Survey		X												
	28	Cain et al 2021								X	X			X	X	
	29	Dissecting Islamophobia Report	O	O	O			O	O	O		O				
	30	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD)	X													X
	31	Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR)	XO	X	X	X	X		XO	XO		XO	XO	XO		X
	32	Victorian Population Health Surveys (VPHS)	X											X		
33	Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity (VARCD)	O	O					O	O	O	O	O	O			
Victorian studies - additional publications	34	Buchanan et al 2018									X				X	
	35	Colic-Peisker et al 2019; Dekker 2020		O												
	36	Correa-Velez et al 2015									X					
	37	Fraser & Islam 2000	O													
	38	Priest et al 2011	X													
39	Shepherd et al 2017	X														

(1) Based on terms used by studies, and overlaps with other groups.

Table 7: Effects of racism on health and socio-economic outcomes

Datasets/ publications	#	Study name	Publications reporting	1. Mental health	2. Physical health	3. Conduct/ emotional difficulties	4. General health	5. Substance use	6. Education	7. Employment	8. Income, finances
National studies: multiple time-points	1	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes (AuSSA)	Mansouri & Vergani 2018						X		
	2	Australian Values Study (AVS)	Shin & Dovidio 2018						X		X
	3	Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children (LSIC)	Bodkin-Andrews et al 2017; Cave et al 2019a; 2019b; Macedo et al 2019a; 2019b; Shepherd et al 2017	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	4	General Social Survey (GSS)	Blackham & Temple 2020; Temple et al 2021; 2020b	X			X				
	5	Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC)	Priest et al 2019a	X	X						
	6	Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing (MK)	Thurber et al., 2021	X							
	7	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey (NATSIHS)	Cave et al 2020		X						
	8	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS)	Cunningham & Paradies 2013; Temple et al 2020a	X	X		X		X	X	X
	9	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion (MSC)	Markus, 2020						X		X
National surveys: single time-point	10	Face Up to Racism National Survey	Blair et al 2017						X		
	11	Geographies of Racism National Survey	Forrest et al 2016						X		
	12	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey (NDTIS)	Shucsh et al 2021		X						
Victorian/ Victorian- focused studies	13	Australian Community Capacity Study (ACCS), Melbourne	Wickes et al 2020						X	X	
	14	Being Muslim in Australia (BMA) Survey	Murphy et al 2021; Williamson 2021						X		
	15	Dissecting Islamophobia Report	Dunn et al 2021						X	X	
	16	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity (LEAD)	Ferdinand et al 2015; Priest et al 2014; 2017	X							
	17	Speak Out Against Racism (SOAR)	Priest et al 2020	X	X	X					
	18	Victorian Population Health Surveys (VPHS)	Markwick et al 2019a; 2019b		X		X	X	X	X	
Victorian studies: Additional publications	19	Buchanan et al 2018	-	X							
	20	Correa-Velez et al 2015	-	X			X				
	21	Grigg & Manderson 2014	-	X		X					
	22	Priest et al 2011	-	X			X		X		X
	23	Shepherd et al 2017	-		X						

Table 8: Data collection by organisations

#	Organisation name	Initiative name	Collection method	Geographic scope	Scope - racism	Settings of racism	Target group ethnic, racial, religious background
1	All Together Now (ATN)	Media monitoring project	Review of newspaper and video pieces	National	Racism, including racialised reporting and race-related commentary	Media	NS
2	Asian Australian Alliance; Being Asian Australian	COVID-19 Coronavirus Racism Incident Report	Online complaint form	National	Racism against Asian Australians	NS	Asian backgrounds
3	Australian Human Right Commission (AHRC)	Reports of discrimination and human rights breaches	Online complaint form	National	Discrimination based on race (including colour, national origin, descent, ethnicity and immigrant status); Discrimination based on religion (in employment); Racial hatred; Victimization due to complaints about discrimination	NS	NS
4	Covid Policing in Australia	Reports of COVID-19 policing incidents	Online complaint form	National	Unfair treatment in general	Police	NS
5	eSafety Commissioner	Reports of online abuse	Online complaint form	National	Cyberbullying; Illegal and harmful content	Online	NS
6	Fair Work Commission (FWC)	Online Lodgement Service	Online complaint form	National	Bullying; Unfair dismissals in general	Workplaces	NS
7	Fair Work Ombudsman (FWO)	Online enquiry	Online complaint form	National	Disputes relating to discrimination due to 'race', 'colour', religion' and 'national extraction'	Workplaces	NS
8	Islamophobia Register Australia	Islamophobia Register Australia	Online complaint form	National	Islamophobia	NS	Muslim backgrounds
9	Jewish Community Security Group (CSG)	Reports of antisemitic incidents	Online complaint form; hotline	Victoria	Antisemitism	NS	Jewish backgrounds
10	Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC, 1)	Online complaint form	Online complaint form	Victoria	Unfair treatment and discrimination of any kind; racial and religious vilification; victimisation	NS	NS
11	Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC, 2)	Community Reporting tool	Online complaint form	Victoria	Unfair treatment and discrimination of any kind, including racism	NS	Culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds
12	Victorian Government Department of Education and Training	Report Racism line	Email, hotline and online complaint	Victoria	Religious or racial discrimination and abuse	Schools	NS
13	Victoria Police	Prejudice-motivated crime (PMC) data collection	Various methods	Victoria	Prejudice motivated crime based on race/ ethnicity or religion	NS	NS

*NS - Not specified

Appendix B: Acronyms

The symbol * denotes study names.

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
*ACCS	Australian Community Capacity Study
ADA	Australia Data Archive
AEDC	Australian Early Development Census
AHCN	Australian Hate Crime Network
AHRC	Australian Human Rights Commission
AIHW	Australian Institute for Health and Wellbeing
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
ATN	All Together Now
*AuSSA	Australian Survey of Social Attitudes
*AVS	Australian Values Study
BLM	Black Lives Matter
BMA	Being Muslim in Australia
*BNLA	Building a New Life in Australia
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
*CRaCR	Cyber Racism and Community Resilience
CRIS	Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies
CRP	Challenging Racism Project
CSA	Crime Statistics Agency
CVDL	Centre for Victorian Data Linkage
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs
DSS	Department of Social Services
ECAJ	Executive Council of Australian Jewry
ESB	English Speaking Background
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Community Council in Australia
FWC	Fair Work Commission
FWO	Fair Work Ombudsman
*GSS	General Social Survey
*HILDA	Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia
*LEAD	Localities Embracing and Accepting Diversity
LGA	Local Government Area
*LSAC	Growing Up in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children
*LSIA	Longitudinal Study of Immigrants in Australia
*LSIC	Footprints in Time: The Longitudinal Study of Indigenous Children
MADIP	Multi-Agency Data Integration Project
*MK	Mayi Kuwayu: The National Study of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Wellbeing
*MSC	Scanlon Foundation Mapping Social Cohesion
NAPLAN	National Assessment Program Literacy and Numeracy
*NATSISS	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey
*NATSIHS	National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey
NCLD	National Centre for Longitudinal Data
*NDTIS	National Dental Telephone Interview Survey
NESB	Non-English Speaking Background
NSSS	National Social Science Survey
OMA	Office of Multicultural Affairs
RCIADIC	Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody
RDA	Racial Discrimination Act
SBS	Special Broadcasting Services
*SOAR	Speak Out Against Racism
*VARCD	Victorians' Attitudes to Race and Cultural Diversity
VEOHRC	Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission
VicPol	Victoria Police
*VPHS	Victorian Population Health Surveys
*WVS	World Values Survey

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