Asian Australians' Experiences Of Racism During The COVID-19 Pandemic

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Executive Summary

On 30 January 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) Director-General declared the novel coronavirus outbreak a public health emergency of international concern, which is the highest level of alarm. Unfortunately, the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in widely reported incidents of racism and xenophobia targeting Asian communities all over the world, and Australia is no exception (Human Rights Watch 2020). On 8 April 2020, the Australian Race Discrimination Commissioner, Chin Tan, advocated for a national response to racism, which included a call for research on Asian Australians' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic.

To date, there have been early studies conducted by All Together Now (2020), the ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods (Biddle et al. 2020), the Asian Australian Alliance (Chiu & Chuang 2020), and the Lowy Institute (Kassam & Hsu 2021), which have provided insights into the nature of racism during the pandemic. However, there have been limitations associated with sample sizes, sample frames and survey designs, and knowledge gaps remain. The study presented in this report sought to provide robust empirics on Asian Australians' experiences of racism (the nature, type and frequency), changes over time (before and during the COVID-19 pandemic), the relationship between such experiences of racism and mental health, wellbeing, and belonging, and the reporting of racist incidents and the (in)actions of witnesses.

The project utilised an online national survey (N : 2,003) of self-identified 'Asian Australian' participants who were residents of Australia aged 16 years and older. The survey results show that Asian Australians reported experiencing racism in all Australian states and territories, across both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. The demographic variations showed that males, younger people, Australian-born participants, migrant participants who have been in Australia for more than 2 years, and English-speakers at home were the most likely to report experiencing racism. This pattern of results was consistent with pre-pandemic results.

Experiencing racism, interestingly, decreased nationally during the COVID-19 pandemic, as compared to the 12 months prior. Pre-pandemic, almost half of the participants (47.9%) reported having experienced racism. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic (January 2020), this number reduced to two-fifths (39.9%). Some potential explanations for the reported decrease in racism include: COVID-related restrictions (e.g., limited access to public spaces and lockdowns) limiting interactions with racist offenders, and increased avoidance of Asian Australians

Despite decreases in racist experiences during the pandemic, there was a clear pattern of results showing that those who had experienced racism had higher rates of negative mental health and wellbeing compared to those who had not experienced racism.

This relationship was consistent in that those who experienced racism reported higher levels of stress, anxiety and depression as compared to those who did not report having experienced racism. For example, those that had experienced racism during the pandemic had double the rate of often feeling that they were not worth much as a person (36%), compared to those that had not experienced racism (17%). In addition, since the begining of the pandemic, there was a decrease in participants' resilience, and an increase in the expectation that someone will say or do something racist (either intentionally or unintentionally). Asian Australians also reported trying to avoid specific situations because of racism. In terms of belonging, those who experienced racism during the pandemic reported less belonging and feeling 'less Australian' as compared to those who did not experience racism during the pandemic. This highlights how racism can undermine social cohesion

during a pandemic. For example, 57% of participants who had experienced racism felt accepted by others, as compared to 73% of participants who had not experienced racism during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In terms of witnessing racism, two-fifths (39%) of participants had witnessed racism during the pandemic, and mainly in public settings and online settings. In the majority of cases, witnesses did nothing, even though they had some level of dissatisfaction with their non-response. Similarly, targets of racism were also unlikely to formally report the racist incidents. The most common reasons for not reporting a racist incident was lack of trust in statutory agencies and their response to their report, feeling that it would not make a difference, and feeling scared to do so.

Key findings

Asian Australians' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic were nationwide, with experiences of racism reported in all Australian states and territories and in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas.

The demographic variations in experiencing racism remain consistent with the pre-COVID-19 context with males, younger age groups, Australian-born participants and migrant participants who have been in Australia for more than 2 years, and English speakers at home most likely to report an experience of racism in the COVID-19 context.

Experiences of racism decreased nationally during the COVID-19 pandemic (in comparison to the 12 months prior). The decrease in reported experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic was more substantial in Victoria (10.5% in Victoria compared to 8% nationally).

Potential reasons for decreases in experiences of racism during the pandemic include: 1) COVID related restrictions on movements/access to public spaces (including lockdowns), which removed opportunities for racist offenders for an extended period of time; and 2) increased avoidance of Asian Australians due to discourses linking 'Asians' to COVID-19.

Asian Australians reported worryingly poor mental health and wellbeing during the pandemic. There was also consistent patterns that indicated those who experienced racism also report poorer mental health outcomes.

There was a relatively strong sense of belonging across the cohort, however, 'non-belonging' (such as not feeling Australian) was associated with experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Asian Australians are overwhelmingly not reporting incidents of racism. Lack of trust in statutory agencies and their response to racism reports was among the most relevant barriers experienced by respondents. Feelings of hopelessness, shame or disempowerment was another important barrier to reporting. Lack of knowledge of reporting tools and human rights was also another important barrier to reporting.

There is an urgent need to lift the reporting rates of racism to agencies, authorities and supervisors.

Racism during the COVID-19 pandemic has had a corrosive effect on social cohesion and harmony.

Introduction

In January and February 2020, one in four people who reported racial discrimination to the Australian Human Rights Commission linked the discrimination to the COVID-19 pandemic. In February the Commission also recorded the highest monthly number of racial discrimination complaints in that financial year (Fang et al. 2020). On April 8, Race Discrimination Commissioner, Chin Tan, announced that the 'persistent reports of racist abuse and discrimination' since the beginning of the COVID-19 outbreak is 'an alarming trend that deeply affects individuals and undermines the community's ability to respond effectively to the pandemic' (Tan 2020a). Mr Tan advocated for a national response to racism arising from the pandemic including the 'comprehensive collection and evaluation of data' (Tan 2020b) and backed an open letter from prominent Chinese Australians calling for national unity and calling out racism, particularly against people of Chinese background (see Yat-Sen et al 2020). In the open letter, signatories declared that they are 'deeply concerned that the recent rise in anti-Chinese sentiment is driving a marked escalation in racial abuse towards Asian Australians. This poses a serious threat to our national unity'. The letter referred to 'footage of the vilification of Asian Australians that has circulated globally across social media' and declared that the 'disturbing trend' of Australians 'being targeted because of their Asian heritage or appearance' cannot 'continue unchallenged'. In response to a statement from China's Ministry of Education warning students to reconsider studying in Australia, alleging 'racist incidents' amid the coronavirus pandemic, Prime Minister Scott Morrison and Australian universities dismissed such claims (see Dalzell 2020 and Borys 2020).

Our previous research, conducted prior to the COVID-19 pandemic (in 2015–16), revealed that Australians born overseas, Australians' whose parents were born overseas, and those who speak a language other than English at home, were much more likely to experience racism than other Australians across a variety of settings (e.g., workplace, education, shopping centre, public space, online; see Dunn et al. 2018; Blair et al. 2017). For those participants who were born in Asia, experiences of everyday racism were twice as likely as other Australians. In fact, 84% of these Asian Australians experienced racism. For those who were born in Australia, but had both parents born in an Asian country, experiences of racism were just as high (86%). Speakers of South Asian languages and East Asian languages experienced racism at alarmingly high rates (85% and 88% respectively).

As has been widely documented, the effects of racism and stigmatisation of vulnerable groups are far reaching, and can include negative impacts on targets' health and wellbeing (Mansouri et al. 2009; Paradies et al. 2015; Priest et al. 2013); feelings of safety and mobility (Itaoui 2016; Dunn and Hopkins 2016); educational and employment outcomes (Booth et al. 2012; Hassan 2015); and access to housing (Dunn et al. 2018; MacDonald et al. 2016), healthcare (Paradies et al. 2014) and other essential services. On a broader level, racism has far reaching impacts on inter-group relations, social cohesion, multicultural agendas and international relationships.

Given the alarmingly high numbers of Asian Australians experiencing racism in the pre-COVID-19 context, reports that Asian Australians were experiencing an increase in racially motivated attacks and discrimination, due to the racialisation of the COVID-19 pandemic, was a source of concern.

This concern prompted a number of early studies. This included an Australian media analysis of the racialisation of the COVID-19 pandemic conducted by All Together Now (2020) and a survey of the impacts of COVID-19 on 3,053 adult Australians (including 334 Asian Australians) at the ANU Centre for Social Research and Methods (see Biddle et al. 2020). The Asian Australian Alliance, via an online reporting tool launched in April 2020, also documented 377 racist incidents targeting Asian Australians (Chiu & Chuang 2020). The reporting tool also importantly highlighted that the large majority (90%) did not formally report the incident to the police. Similarly, the recent findings of the Lowy Institute's survey *Being Chinese in Australia,* found that 18% of the Chinese Australian survey participants (n: 1040) had been physically threatened or attacked because of their Chinese heritage, 31% called offensive names, and 37% treated differently or less favourably. Of these participants who did experience these forms of discrimination, 66% believed the discrimination was linked to the COVID-19 pandemic (Kassam & Hsu 2021). However, these projects were not able to provide a sense of whether the prevalence had escalated during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Important information has been obtained from these studies regarding the nature and extent of racism during the pandemic.

The limitations of the existing data are associated with sample sizes, sampling frames and survey designs. The lack of procurement of rigorous empirical evidence of Asian Australians' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (the nature, type and frequency), how this has changed over time (pre- and since the pandemic), and the impacts of such experiences, present important knowledge gaps. It was also important to gather data on the (in)actions of witnesses to these racist incidents. The study presented in this report sought robust empirical evidence to gauge the extent and form of racism occurring, uncover particularly vulnerable groups within Asian Australian communities, and to inform anti-racism strategies developed and propagated by government and non-government agencies. Such evidence can also be used to develop tailored advice and resources (such as messaging and training) on pro-social action to be used by community groups.

Research aim

The aim of this project was to examine Asian Australians' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic, and the relationship between these experiences and mental health, wellbeing and feelings of belonging. It also aimed to understand responses to racist incidents/content by targets and witnesses. This included the investigation of the following:

1. The type and frequency of experiences of racism and how they may vary across the Asian Australian subgroups (and how this compares to the pre-COVID-19 context);

2. The potential impacts of these racist experiences on targets (such as on their mental health and wellbeing, sense of belonging) and social cohesion; and

3. How targets and witnesses of racism are responding to such racist incidents/experiences (e.g., official reporting, seeking information, peer or family support, and/or counselling).

This research aim and objectives were achieved via a national survey of Asian Australian adults. The methodology is detailed below.

Methodology

This project utilised an online national survey of Asian Australians between 13 November 2020 and 11 February 2021. The Australia-wide online survey comprised a sample of 2,003 respondents who self-identified as 'Asian Australian', were currently residing in Australia, and were 16 years of age or older. While a national sample was targeted, a sizeable Victorian sub-sample (n:757) was prioritised. The sampling frame was provided to the online panel provider Dynata, who have a pool of approximately 300,000 Australian panellists. The survey included closed-response and open-response questions that were used to obtain up-to-date and rigorous information relating to experiences of racism (type, frequency, changes over time), actions of bystanders, responses to racist incidents and reporting, morbid effects of racism and impacts on wellbeing and resilience.

Quantitative analysis

Descriptive statistics (primarily frequencies and bivariate cross-tabulations) were used to generate an in-depth quantitative understanding of experiences of racism among Asian Australians, and the extent to which these experiences varied across a number of demographic and social groups (e.g., age groups, gender, cultural/ethnic backgrounds, geography, Australian born vs. overseas born). Cross-tabulations were also used to examine relationships between experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic and mental health and wellbeing, mobility (e.g. avoiding situations), anticipation of racism and sense of belonging. A *p*-level of 0.05 was used to interpret significance of associations between variables. By examining the descriptive statistics, the experiences of Asian Australians across various subgroups of the population were examined.

Qualitative analysis

Open-response questions in the online survey invited further detail and explanation as to whether experiences of racism had increased in the COVID context and also further information and detail regarding COVID-related incidents of racism experienced. If the setting was not already listed, open-responses in relation to the context/setting of COVID-related racism that was experienced were also invited, as well as in relation to why participants thought the experiences were COVID-related across all settings. An open-response was also offered in relation to reporting of racism that was experienced or witnessed, in cases where the reporting body or person(s) were not already listed. Similarly, if participants witnessed racism but did not report, and a relevant reason as to why they did not report was not listed, an open-response option was provided. These data were analysed in relation to the overall themes listed in the discussion section, to capture the range of different responses to each.

Survey demographics

Gender

56.7%
Female

42.7%
Male

0.4%
Non-binary/
gender fluid

Age

All age categories (16+) are represented in the survey sample, with quite high representation of Asian Australians between 25 and 44 years of age (see Table 1).

Table 1. Age distribution of survey participants, 2020-21

Age	Percent (%) of sample
16-17	1.9
18-24	15.3
25-34	29.1
35-44	29.1
45-54	13.4
55-64	6.0
65-74	3.7
75-84	1.1
85+	0.1

Education

As is typical in survey studies, there was a skew towards the more educated:

- 70.8% had a university degree or postgraduate qualification

- 14.5% had other tertiary qualifications including a trade or TAFE qualification

- 12.3% had Year 12 or equivalent as the highest level of qualification

- 1.3% had no formal qualifications

Employment

The majority of participants were employed (65.2%). The unemployed were over-represented at 7.5% compared to the January 2021 national rate of 6.4% (ABS 2021). Students (8.9%), those with caring/home duties (6.7%), and those that were retired (5.2%) were also represented.

Income

Approximately two-fifths of the survey sample earned above the average annual income of $65,000 (ABS 2019b), with 30.4% of participants earning between $80,000 and $149,999 per annum.

Country of birth

The majority (62.1%) of participants were born overseas. The most common overseas birthplaces were India (10%), Philippines (6.1%), Malaysia (6.0%), China (4.6%), Vietnam (4.3%) and Hong Kong (3.5%).

Length of residence

Of the 62.1% of participants who were born overseas, the majority (29.1%) have been residing in Australia for more than 20 years. This was followed by 25.7% who have been in Australia for 5-10 years, 22.2% for 11-20 years, 14.5% for 2-4 years, and 8.5% who have been residing in Australia for less than 2 years.

Cultural/ethnic background

The survey allowed participants to select more than one cultural/ethnic background with which they identify. This means that participants may be counted in more than one cultural/ethnic background category (e.g. Chinese AND Malaysian). The results indicated that the largest group (31.3%) of participants identify as Chinese. Other prevalent cultural/ethnic backgrounds included Indian (11.5%), Filipino (8.1%), Vietnamese (7.4%), Malaysian (7.4%), and Japanese (4.3%).

Language

The majority of participants (57.7%) primarily speak English at home. The most common non-English language spoken at home was a Chinese language (12.8%), followed by Vietnamese (4.1%), Hindi (3.0%) and Filipino (3.0%).

Religious diversity

The sample was religiously diverse, with 31.6% of participants adhering to the Christian faith, 13.4% adhering to Buddhism, 11.4% adhering to Hinduism, 6.3% to Islam, 1.6% to Sikhism, and 0.6% to Judaism. A large proportion (26.5%) indicated no religion/agnostic/atheist.

Residential status

The majority of participants were Australian Citizens (63.4%), followed by Australian Permanent Residents (20.9%). Those who hold Foreign Student/Training Visas were also represented (6.2%) as were those holding Temporary Work Visas (2.6%), Partner Visas (1.9%), Skilled Work Visas (1.0%), Family or Carer Visas (0.9%) and Refugee or Humanitarian Visas (0.2%).

State distribution

The sample included respondents from across all states and territories: VIC (37.8%); NSW (36.7%); QLD (10.6%); WA (7.8%); SA (4.4%); ACT (1.7%); TAS (0.7%) and the NT (0.2%). The sample was purposefully skewed toward Victoria. Using participants' residential postcode information, both metropolitan and non-metropolitan residential locations were represented (89.3% metropolitan[1] ; 10.7% non-metropolitan).

[1]'Metropolitan' areas are defined by the Greater Capital City Statistical Area boundary delineation (ABS 2012).

Experiences of racism

It was a priority of this study to gauge whether the frequency and characteristics of racism experienced by Asian Australians has changed in the COVID-19 context. In order to achieve quantitative insights, the online survey prompted participants to answer a range of questions relating to their experiences of racism in the 12 months prior to January 2020 (i.e. in the 12-months prior to the World Health Organisation declaring the outbreak of COVID-19 as a Public Health Emergency). These questions related to the frequency of racist experiences across a range of settings and the types of racism experienced. The same questions were asked for the period since January 2020 with additional questions asked for the latter period in relation to reporting and whether the participant believed the racism experienced was related to the COVID-19 context (see Appendix B for survey questions).

Pre COVID-19 context

Our survey affirmed the findings of previous studies that the number of Asian Australians who experienced racism was worryingly high prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Of all participants, almost half (47.9%) indicated that they had experienced racism in the 12-months prior to the COVID-19 Public Health Emergency. When cross-tabulated with various demographic indicators, the survey results indicate that male participants were more likely to experience racism than females in the pre-COVID-19 context (50.9% of males experienced racism compared to 45.3% of females). Results also show that younger age groups were more likely to experience racism than older age groups, with 52.6% of 16-17 year olds and 57.5%

of 18–24-year-olds indicating that they experienced racism compared to 24.8% of 55–64-year-olds. Other statistically significant findings included:

- Higher numbers of Australian-born participants reported having experienced racism as compared to overseas born (65.9% vs. 37.5%)

- Far fewer new migrants (those that have been in Australia for less than two years) reported that they experienced racism compared to those overseas-born who had been in Australia for more than two years (for example, 27.6% who had been in Australia for less than two years compared to 36.7% who had been in Australia for 2-4 years, and 45.8% for those who have been in Australia for 5-10 years)

- English speakers at home experienced much higher rates of racism than those who primarily speak a non-English language at home (51.7% vs. 42.7%)

These demographic findings in relation to age, gender, language spoken at home and birthplace (overseas vs. Australia) are consistent with existing research (e.g., Markus, 2019) and were similarly found at the Victorian state level. The 2019 Mapping Social Cohesion survey results showed that 18–24-year-olds (31%) experienced the highest rates of discrimination, and this proportion steadily decreased with age: 30% of 25–34-year-olds, 19% of 35-44-year-olds, 20% of 45-54-year-olds, 11% of 55-64-year-olds, 7% of 65-74-year-olds, with 3% of respondents 75-years-and-older reported having experienced discrimination (Markus, 2019). The 2019 Mapping Social Cohesion survey results also showed that males

experienced higher rates of discrimination as compared to females (20% vs. 16%). However, the survey showed a different pattern of results in relation to country of birth. Specifically, Markus (2019) found that people born in an English-speaking country (outside of Australia) reported the lowest rates of having experienced discrimination (11%), followed by 17% of people born in Australia, with people born in a non-English-speaking country having experienced the highest rates of discrimination (29%). It must be noted that the sample in the 2019 Mapping Social Cohesion survey was more representative of the Australian population at large, whereas the current study included only self-identified Asian Australians.

Statistical testing of the relationship between experiences of racism and ethnic/cultural background was not possible in this study. This was due to small sub-sample sizes of the various ethnic/cultural groups and the ability for participants to indicate multiple ethnic/cultural identities. However, it is important to highlight that experiences of racism prior to the COVID-19 public health emergency were not confined to a single ethnic/cultural group. Rather, substantial proportions of participants across all the measured ethnic/cultural groups experienced racism prior to January 2020.

The survey data indicate that in the pre-COVID-19 context, the most common settings for racism were public settings such as in shops, on the street, public spaces, and work. Again, this reiterates existing research findings (see, for example, Blair et al. 2017). If we focus on frequencies of racism occurring 'very often' and 'often', the online setting was the most prevalent (18.8% of participants indicating that racism occurred in the online space 'often/very often'), followed by when renting or buying a house (13.2% 'often/very often'), and 'in dealings with the Police' (11% 'often/very often'). The most frequent types of racism that occurred in the pre-COVID-19 context were the subtler forms of racism, such as being 'treated less respectfully'.

COVID-19 context

In contrast to media and other reports of increased racism experienced by Asian Australians due to the COVID-19 pandemic, our survey indicates that experiences of racism declined in the COVID-19 context compared to the 12-months prior to January 2020.[2] While 47.9% of participants indicated that they experienced racism prior to the COVID-19 public health emergency, this number decreased to 39.9% of participants after January 2020.[3] In Victoria, the decrease was more pronounced. In the pre-COVID-19 context, the number of Asian Australians in Victoria who experienced racism (45.7%) was on par with the national level. In the COVID-19 context, this dropped by 10.4 percentage points to 35.3%. Despite this sharp decrease in Victoria (and 8 percentage points less at the national level), the number of participants who experienced racism in the COVID-19 context remained worryingly high.

[2]The two periods of assessment (prior to and during the COVID 19 pandemic) are of differing lengths. The survey was open between November 2020 and February 2021, therefore participants' experiences (and reflections) of the COVID-19 pandemic spanned from approximately 10 months to 13 months (from January 2020).

[3]It should be noted that this includes the experiences of South Asian Australians who have arguably not been the focus of COVID-19 racialisation. When the South Asian Australian sub-sample is excluded from analyses, the decrease in experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic is slightly less pronounced (7 percentage points less —from 50% of participants who experienced racism in the 12 months prior to the COVID-19 pandemic to 43.3% who experienced racism during the pandemic). It would, however, be remiss to exclude South Asian participants' experiences of racism from the broader study as they have self-identified as 'Asian'.

The demographic variations in experiencing racism remained consistent with the pre-COVID-19 context:

- More males (46.5%) experienced racism than females (34.7%)

- The number of younger Asian Australians who experienced racism remain worryingly high: 44.7% of 16–17-year-olds and 52.9% of 18–24-year-olds indicated that they experienced racism in the COVID-19 context

- Higher numbers of Australian-born participants reported experiencing racism compared to overseas born (56.3% vs. 30.2%)

- Far fewer new migrants (those that have been in Australia for less than two years) reported that they experienced racism compared to those overseas-born who had been in Australia for more than two years (for example, 21.9% who had been in Australia for less than two years compared to 30.6% who had been in Australia for 2—4 years, and 38.2% for those who have been in Australia for 5—10 years)

- English speakers at home have much higher rates of racism than those who primarily speak a non-English language at home (42.2% vs. 36.7%)

As per the pre-COVID context data, statistical testing of the relationship between experiences of racism and ethnic/ cultural background is not possible due to the survey design (multiple identities selected) and small sub-sample sizes. However, it can be seen that experiences of racism decreased across all ethnic/ cultural groups. In Victoria, two ethnic/ cultural groups were inconsistent with this broader pattern — those of Korean and Thai cultural backgrounds. Unlike the other measured ethnic/cultural groups, the number of Korean Australians

residing in Victoria who experienced racism increased in the COVID-19 context (from 69.2% pre-COVID-19 to 76.9% during COVID-19). Similarly, the number of Thai Australians residing in Victoria who experienced racism in the COVID-19 context increased from 42.9% to 50%. It must be noted, however, that the small sub-sample sizes (n:28 'Korean' and n:14 'Thai') in Victoria, means that generalising these results for the broader Victorian population should be avoided and indicate the need for further research.

Unsurprisingly, the most common settings for racist experiences in the COVID-19 context were public settings, such as in shops and on the street. The online setting was the most frequent setting in which racism occurred, with 15.1% of partcipants that experienced racism in the pandemic period indicating that racism online was experienced 'often/very often' (see Table 2). However, this is a slight decrease from the pre-COVID-19 context (when 18.8% reported having experienced online racism 'often/very often'). There were very few differences in the demographic variations seen at the national level data and for Victoria.

As was the case prior to the COVID-19 context, the subtler forms of racism have been the most common. For example, 59.6% of participants indicated that they have been 'treated less respectfully' (hardly ever to very often), and 50.5% have been 'not trusted' (hardly ever to very often). Less frequent but significant were other forms of racism, such as being called names, physically assaulted, verbally abused, denied entry/service, and vandalised property (Table 3).

It is important to note that while our survey indicates that experiences of racism have decreased in the COVID-19 context, when asked if racist experiences that have occurred were COVID-19 related (question wording: Do you think the experience/s were COVID-19 related?), the majority of participants (approximately 70% who experienced racism across each setting) selected 'Yes' or 'Sometimes' (Table 4). When prompted to indicate why they perceived the racist incident to be COVID-19 related, participants most frequently indicated because 'COVID language was used' (see Table 5). Once again, there are very little differences between the national level and Victorian level experiences of racism in this respect.

Table 2. Settings of racism during the pandemic (%), n:798

	Work	Education	Housing	Police	Shops	Public transport	On the street	Health care	Online	Friend/ family's home	Neighbours	Uber/Taxi	Provision of services	Sport	Public space
Never	28.8	39.4	40.0	46.0	16.2	32.0	23.3	53.1	33.6	58.2	51.6	58.0	52.1	50.1	28.4
Hardly Ever	36.1	32.2	24.5	20.7	41.0	34.2	40.0	24.5	27.2	22.4	26.4	23.4	25.3	24.2	37.9
Sometimes	26.4	21.3	15.9	13.0	31.1	24.7	25.9	17.0	24.1	13.6	15.1	13.4	15.7	16.6	23.6
Often	6.0	5.2	5.9	6.8	8.1	6.5	7.4	4.2	9.1	4.5	4.8	4.1	5.2	6.1	6.8
Very Often	2.6	1.9	2.8	2.3	3.6	2.6	3.4	1.3	6.0	1.3	2.1	1.0	1.8	2.9	3.4
N/A	0	0	10.9	11.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Question wording: 'Since January 2020, how often have you experienced racism or racial discrimination…'. Response wording: Never (0 times), Hardly ever (1-2 times), Sometimes (3-7 times), Often (8-10 times), Very often (12+ times), Not Applicable (N/A).

Sample size reflects the fact that only participants who stated that they had experienced racism or racial discrimination in the COVID-19 context were asked to provide details in terms of context/settings.

Table 3. Types of racism during the pandemic (%), n:2003

	Treated less respectfully	Not trusted	Called names	Assaulted	Ignored	Treated as inferior/less intelligent	Left out	Property vandalised	Verbally abused	Denied entry/ service
Never	40.4	49.5	56.8	77.5	48.1	50.7	50.4	76.7	60.6	76.1
Hardly Ever	35.4	28.3	23.9	11.9	29.3	30.4	26.4	12.1	22.3	13.4
Sometimes	17.7	15.1	12.7	6.3	16.0	12.4	16.1	7.3	11.5	7.5
Often	4.5	5.1	4.7	3.4	4.2	3.4	4.3	2.9	3.9	2.1
Very Often	2.0	2.0	1.9	0.8	2.3	2.2	2.9	1.2	1.7	0.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Question wording: 'Since January 2020, how often do you feel that because of your cultural /ethnic background, you were…'; Response wording: Never (0 times), Hardly ever (1–2 times), Sometimes (3–7 times), Often (8–10 times), Very often (12+ times).

Table 4. Perceptions as to whether incidents were COVID- 19 related (%)

	Work	Education	Housing	Police	Shops	Public transport	On the street	Health care	Online	Friend/ family's home	Neighbours	Uber/Taxi	Provision of services	Sport	Public space
Yes	55.7	53.1	49.0	42.1	53.7	53.3	52.0	45.6	50.1	44.4	45.2	47.3	44.5	39.2	47.3
No	16.5	21.5	24.1	29.4	19.1	23.3	21.0	27.2	27.0	32.1	30.5	26.6	28.9	30.5	23.1
Sometimes	22.3	20.7	15.7	14.8	19.7	17.8	20.1	20.8	17.6	18.6	17.8	21.9	18.0	16.5	21.4
Don't know/not sure	5.4	4.8	11.3	13.7	7.5	5.5	6.9	6.4	5.3	4.8	6.5	4.2	8.6	13.8	8.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Question wording: 'Do you think the experience/s were COVID-19 related?'

Percentages relate to sub-sample per setting. That is, respondents were asked if they had experienced racism or racial discrimination during the COVID-19 context. That sub-sample was then prompted on settings. Only those that stated that they had experienced racism or racial discrimination in relation to each setting where then prompted on whether they perceived these experiences to be COVID-related.

Table 5. Reasons why incidents were considered COVID-19 related (%)

	Work	Education	Housing	Police	Shops	Public transport	On the street	Health care	Online	Friend/ family's home	Neighbours	Uber/Taxi	Provision of services	Sport	Public space
COVID language used	11.8	8.8	7.2	5.1	12.6	10.4	10.8	5.5	11.5	5.0	5.9	5.4	5.6	6.1	10.2
Not experienced racism before	3.7	3.9	3.7	3.3	5.3	4.0	4.5	3.0	3.9	2.4	2.6	3.2	2.7	2.8	4.4
Less racism experienced before	7.9	6.6	5.3	4.5	9.1	6.8	6.0	4.2	5.5	3.6	3.7	4.2	4.2	3.8	6.1
Spat/ sneezed on	3.5	3.4	2.6	2.3	4.4	4.2	4.3	2.3	0	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.3	3.3
Property vandalised	2.2	2.1	0	0	1.5	1.7	2.6	1.3	0	1.0	1.8	0	1.3	1.3	1.4
Mask	3.9	2.1	2.1	1.3	5.2	3.1	3.9	1.3	2.1	0.7	1.5	2.1	1.6	1.0	3.0
Other	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.2	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.5

Question wording: 'Why do you think the experience/s of racism were COVID-19 related? [Select all that apply]'

Percentages relate to sub-sample per setting. That is, respondents were asked if they had experienced racism or racial discrimination during the COVID-19 context. That sub-sample was then prompted on settings. Those that stated that they had experienced racism or racial discrimination in relation to each setting where then prompted on whether they perceived these experiences to be COVID-related. Only those participants who perceived the experiences to be COVID-related were then prompted on the reasons why they believed this to be the case.

Relationships between racism, mental health, wellbeing & belonging

The online survey included 14 questions that asked participants to reflect on how they have been feeling during the COVID-19 pandemic. These questions were used as indicators of participants' stress, anxiety and depression, as well as their anticipation of encountering racism. The survey also measured participants' feelings and experiences of belonging in Australia via eight questions relating to their Australian identity, maintenance of culture, social circles and sense of belonging/ acceptance. How these indicators of mental health, wellbeing and belonging were related to experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic were measured via cross-tabulations and chi-square testing. The results are provided below.

Mental health and wellbeing

Survey participants reported worryingly high rates of negative mental health and wellbeing during the COVID-19 pandemic (see Table 6). In particular, participants reported being stressed, anxious and depressed. For example, 71.6% and 71.2% of participants reported finding it hard to wind down and found it difficult to relax (sometimes – almost always), respectively. In addition, over half (57.3%) reported feeling scared without any good reason, and 70.2% reported feeling down-hearted and depressed (both ranging from sometimes – almost always). Taking one specific example, one-in-four Asian Australians often/almost always felt that they were not worth much as a person.

Table 6. Stress, anxiety and depression during the COVID-19 pandemic (%) n:2003

	Never	Sometimes	Often	Almost always	Total
I have found it hard to wind down (stress)	28.4	47.8	16.3	7.5	100
I have feel like I have a lot of nervous energy (stress)	34.3	38.3	18.2	9.2	100
I have found it difficult to relax (stress)	28.8	42.4	20.9	7.9	100
I have experienced breathing difficulty in the absence of physical exertion (anxiety)	58.0	24.4	13.6	4.0	100
I have felt scared without any good reason (anxiety)	42.7	33.5	17.0	6.8	100
I can't seem to experience any positive feeling at all (depression)	33.0	41.8	19.4	5.8	100
I have felt down-hearted and depressed (depression)	29.8	40.9	21.5	7.8	100
I have felt I am not worth much as a person (depression)	46.6	28.6	16.9	7.9	100
I have felt like life is meaningless (depression)	44.7	29.4	18.5	7.4	100

Question wording: 'Please read each statement below and pick the response option that indicates how you have felt during the COVID pandemic.'; Response wording: Never – Does not apply to me at all; Sometimes – Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time; Often – Applied to me a considerable degree, or a good part of time; Almost always – Applied to me very much or most of the time.

When cross-tabulated with 'Have you experienced racism during COVID? Yes/no', there was a clear pattern that showed that those who have experienced racism during the COVID-19 context have higher rates of negative mental health and wellbeing as compared to those who have not experienced racism (see Table 7). For example, only one-fifth (21.1%) of those who experienced racism said they 'never' found it hard to wind down, compared to one-third (33.2%) of those who have not experienced racism. Two-fifths (41.1%) of those who experienced racism said they 'never' have difficulty breathing, as compared to 69.3% of those who have not experienced racism. In addition, only 23.3% of those who have experienced racism said they 'never' have a lot of nervous energy, as compared to 41.6% of those who have not experienced racism.

In response to the item 'I can't seem to experience any positive feeling at all', only 22.1% of those who experienced racism reported 'never' feeling this way, as compared to 40.3% of those who have not experienced racism.

Worryingly, only 30.3% of those who have experienced racism have 'never' felt like life was meaningless, compared to 54.3% of those who have never experienced racism. Unfortunately, this pattern is statistically significant and consistent across all the stress, anxiety and depression items.

Table 7. Stress, anxiety and depression by experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (%)

		COVID racism	No COVID racism	$x^2 p$
I have found it hard to wind down (stress)	Never	21.1	33.2	73.509 <.001
	Sometimes	46.5	48.7	
	Often	20.6	13.4	
	Almost always	11.9	4.6	
	Total	100	100	
I have feel like I have a lot of nervous energy (stress)	Never	23.3	41.6	181.213 <.001
	Sometimes	34.1	41.2	
	Often	25.7	13.3	
	Almost always	17.0	3.9	
	Total	100	100	
I have found it difficult to relax (stress)	Never	19.7	34.8	173.151 <.001
	Sometimes	35.3	47.2	
	Often	32.2	13.3	
	Almost always	12.8	4.7	
	Total	100	100	
I have experienced breathing difficulty in the absence of physical exertion (anxiety)	Never	41.1	69.3	194.570 <.001
	Sometimes	29.0	21.4	
	Often	22.2	7.8	
	Almost always	7.7	1.5	
	Total	100	100	
I have felt scared without any good reason (anxiety)	Never	26.8	53.3	178.446 <.001
	Sometimes	36.7	31.4	
	Often	24.5	12.0	
	Almost always	12.1	3.3	
	Total	100	100	
I can't seem to experience any positive feeling at all (depression)	Never	22.1	40.3	112.905 <.001
	Sometimes	42.0	41.6	
	Often	26.3	14.9	
	Almost always	9.6	3.2	
	Total	100	100	
I have felt down-hearted and depressed (depression)	Never	19.4	36.6	111.357 <.001
	Sometimes	40.0	41.6	
	Often	28.0	17.2	
	Almost always	12.5	4.6	
	Total	100	100	
I have felt I am not worth much as a person (depression)	Never	33.5	55.3	115.755 <.001
	Sometimes	30.8	27.2	
	Often	23.5	12.4	
	Almost always	12.2	5.0	
	Total	100	100	
I have felt like life is meaningless (depression)	Never	30.3	54.3	152.642 <.001
	Sometimes	30.5	28.8	
	Often	27.7	12.4	
	Almost always	11.5	4.6	
	Total	100	100	

Question wording: 'Please read each statement below and pick the response option that indicates how you have felt during the COVID pandemic.' Response wording: Never – Does not apply to me at all; Sometimes – Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time; Often – Applied to me a considerable degree, or a good part of time; Almost always – Applied to me very much or most of the time.

It is also worth noting that when examining the total national survey sample (n:2003), participants found it more difficult to 'snap back' when something bad happens since the pandemic began (see Table 8).

Before COVID-19, 22.4% of participants agreed that they found it hard to snap back when something bad happens. Since COVID-19, this increased to over one-third (34.1%) of participants finding it hard to snap back. In addition, the majority of participants (82.2%) reported anticipating someone saying or doing something racist either intentionally or unintentionally when they interact with people (rarely – very often). The majority (80.1%) also worry (rarely – very often) that they will experience unfair treatment because of their race, ethnicity, or culture. More than three-quarters (77.4%) of participants reported that they try to avoid specific situations because of racism (rarely – very often).

Table 8. Resilience and anticipation of racism (%), n:2003

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
Before COVID, I found it hard to snap back when something bad happens	3.3	19.1	36.9	28.9	11.8	100
Since COVID, I have found it hard to snap back when something bad happens	6.1	28.0	32.7	24.9	8.4	100
	Very often	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Total
When you interact with people how often do you anticipate them saying or doing something racist either intentionally or unintentionally?	3.6	10.9	32.0	35.6	17.8	100
In the past 12 months, how often did you worry that you would experience unfair treatment because of your race, ethnicity or culture?	5.6	15.0	31.0	28.5	19.9	100
In your daily life, how often do you try to avoid specific situations because of racism?	7.8	15.8	27.5	26.3	22.6	100

When cross-tabulated with experiences of racism during COVID-19, 92.6% of participants who have experienced racism anticipate racism (rarely – very often): 7.3% very often; 17.8% often; 39.7% sometimes; 27.9% rarely (Table 9). This is in comparison to the 75.8% (1.3% very often, 6.5% often, 27.3% sometimes, 40.6% rarely) of those who have not experienced racism (although this is still very high). Moreover, the vast majority (95.5%) of participants who have experienced racism have worried (rarely – very often) in the past 12 months that they would experience unfair treatment because of their race, ethnicity or culture: 11.3% very often; 26.3% often; 37.7% sometimes; 20.2% rarely. This is in stark contrast to 70.3% of participants who have not experienced racism (2% very often; 7.8% often; 26.6% sometimes; 33.9% rarely) who have worried that they would experience unfair treatment because of their race, ethnicity or culture. This is also further evidenced by the 92.2% of participants who have experienced racism (rarely – very often) who avoid specific situations because of racism (14.6% very often, 25.5% often, 34.0% sometimes, 18.1% rarely). Whereas 68% of participants who have not experienced racism (rarely – very often) avoid specific situations because of racism (3.5% very often, 9.6% often, 23.5% sometimes, 31.4% rarely).

Table 9. Anticipation of racism by experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (%)

		COVID racism	No COVID racism	x^2 p
When you interact with people how often do you anticipate them saying or doing something racist either intentionally or unintentionally?	Very often	7.3	1.3	215.152 <.001
	Often	17.8	6.5	
	Sometimes	39.7	27.3	
	Rarely	27.9	40.6	
	Never	7.4	24.2	
	Total	100	100	
In the past 12 months, how often did you worry that you would experience unfair treatment because of your race, ethnicity or culture?	Very often	11.3	2.0	372.914 <.001
	Often	26.3	7.8	
	Sometimes	37.7	26.6	
	Rarely	20.2	33.9	
	Never	4.5	29.7	
	Total	100	100	
In your daily life, how often do you try to avoid specific situations because of racism?	Very often	14.6	3.5	317.428 <.001
	Often	25.5	9.6	
	Sometimes	34.0	23.5	
	Rarely	18.1	31.4	
	Never	7.8	32.0	
	Total	100	100	

Belonging

Overall, there is a relatively strong sense of belonging across the cohort (Table 10). In particular, 78.8% of participants agree that they have close bonds with family and friends, 66.6% feel accepted by others, 65.7% feel included when they are with other people, 64.3% feel connected with others, and 64% have a sense of belonging. In addition, almost three-quarters (72.4%) agree that it is important that their children are/would be fully accepted as Australians, and that it is important to continue practising their cultural heritage (72.9%). The participants also agreed, although to a lesser extent, that 'I feel I am Australian' (59.5%) and that the majority of their friends are from the same cultural background as them (57.2%).

Table 10. Feelings of belonging among survey participants (%), n:2003

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
When I am with other people, I feel included	16.0	49.7	27.0	5.6	1.7	100
I have close bonds with family and friends	31.7	47.1	15.1	4.7	1.5	100
I feel accepted by others	17.8	48.8	25.0	6.7	1.7	100
I have a sense of belonging	15.5	48.5	23.1	10.3	2.6	100
I feel connected with others	16.8	47.5	23.7	7.9	4.1	100
I feel I am Australian	21.1	38.4	22.7	12.8	5.0	100
It is important to me that my children are/would be fully accepted as Australians	36.0	36.4	21.5	3.3	2.7	100
The majority of my friends are from the same cultural background as me	17.3	39.9	22.9	15.3	4.6	100
It is important to me to continue practising my cultural heritage	25.5	47.4	20.8	3.6	2.7	100

Question wording: 'Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the following statements'.

Similar to the mental health and wellbeing indicators in the previous section, strong correlations were also found across all belonging indicators in the cross-tabulations with experiences of racism (see Table 11). Overall, the findings show that 'non-belonging' is associated with experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic. These findings were consistently and statistically significant, except for two items. Specifically, experiences of racism had no relationship with close bonds with family and friends, and the survey item 'the majority of my friends are from the same cultural background as me'.

Table 11. Feelings of belonging by experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (%)

		COVID racism	No COVID racism	X² p
When I am with other people, I feel included	Strongly agree	21.5	12.6	44.449 <.001
	Agree	42.6	54.6	
	Neither	27.4	26.6	
	Disagree	6.2	5.2	
	Strongly disagree	2.7	1.0	
	Total	100	100	
I have close bonds with family and friends	Strongly agree	28.8	33.6	8.708 .069
	Agree	48.2	46.3	
	Neither	16.0	14.6	
	Disagree	4.8	4.5	
	Strongly disagree	2.2	1.0	
	Total	100	100	
I feel accepted by others	Strongly agree	14.8	19.8	63.798 <.001
	Agree	42.0	53.2	
	Neither	31.2	20.9	
	Disagree	9.0	5.2	
	Strongly disagree	3.0	0.8	
	Total	100	100	
I have a sense of belonging	Strongly agree	11.8	18.0	63.001 <.001
	Agree	44.6	51.2	
	Neither	24.1	22.4	
	Disagree	15.9	6.6	
	Strongly disagree	3.7	1.9	
	Total	100	100	
I feel connected with others	Strongly agree	13.9	18.7	78.338 <.001
	Agree	42.5	50.9	
	Neither	25.2	22.6	
	Disagree	10.0	6.5	
	Strongly disagree	8.4	1.3	
	Total	100	100	
I feel I am Australian	Strongly agree	18.6	22.8	37.602 <.001
	Agree	36.1	39.9	
	Neither	21.2	23.6	
	Disagree	16.8	10.2	
	Strongly disagree	7.4	3.5	
	Total	100	100	
It is important to me that my children are/would be fully accepted as Australians	Strongly agree	32.4	38.5	28.024 <.001
	Agree	34.1	37.9	
	Neither	26.0	18.4	
	Disagree	3.4	3.3	
	Strongly disagree	4.0	1.9	
	Total	100	100	
The majority of my friends are from the same cultural background as me	Strongly agree	17.8	17.0	2.932 .569
	Agree	41.1	39.1	
	Neither	22.9	22.9	
	Disagree	13.7	16.3	
	Strongly disagree	4.6	4.7	
	Total	100	100	
It is important to me to continue practising my cultural heritage	Strongly agree	27.4	24.3	10.471 .033
	Agree	45.8	48.5	
	Neither	19.2	21.8	
	Disagree	3.8	3.5	
	Strongly disagree	3.8	1.9	
		100	100	

Question wording: 'Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the following statements'.

When cross-tabulated with experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic, only 56.8% of participants who have experienced racism feel accepted by others (14.8% strongly agree, 42.0% agree) as compared to 73.0% of participants who have not experienced racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (19.8% strongly agree, 53.2% agree). Similarly, 56.4% of participants who have experienced racism have a sense of belonging (11.8% strongly agree, 44.6% agree). This is in contrast to 69.2% who have not experienced racism during the COVID-19 pandemic (18.0% strongly agree, 51.2% agree).

Unfortunately, experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic appear to have had an adverse effect on whether the participants feel Australian or not.

In particular, a little over half (54.7%) of the participants who have experienced racism in the COVID-19 context agree that they feel they are Australian (18.6% strongly agree, 36.1% agree), compared to 62.7% of participants who have not experienced racism (22.8% strongly agree, 39.9% agree). Interestingly, experiences of racism in the COVID-19 context also appeared to have an impact on the importance to participants that their children are/would be fully accepted as Australians. Specifically, two-thirds (66.5%) of those who experienced racism strongly agreed/ agreed that it is important that their children are/would be fully accepted as Australians compared to 76.4% of participants that did not experience racism. This is a statistically significant finding.

Witnessing & reporting racism during the COVID-19 pandemic

In addition to obtaining information regarding targets' experiences of racism, it was important to gather data on the experiences of those who have witnessed racism during the COVID-19 pandemic. This information is pivotal for gaining a more nuanced understanding of the extent and form of racism that has been occurring, and gaining insights into how witnesses respond to racism, and their (in)actions and reasons for (in)action. When examined alongside data on targets' reporting (or non-reporting) of racist incidents, a picture of pro-social action and need for further intervention is uncovered.

Witnessing racism

The survey data indicates that 39% of participants have witnessed racism since the COVID-19 pandemic was declared a public health emergency. The most frequent settings were in shops (17.3%), on the street (15.3%), on public transport (14.1%) and online (12.8%; see Table 12). The most frequent types of racism witnessed were targets being treated less respectfully (19.9%); called names (16%); and verbally abused (13.9%; see Table 13). Marginalisation, in the form of being left out or ignored, comprised 15.9% of the manifestations of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 12. Settings where racism was witnessed during the pandemic, n:779

	n	%
Work	179	8.9
Education	146	7.3
Housing	75	3.7
Police	62	3.1
Shops	347	17.3
Public transport	283	14.1
On the street	306	15.3
Health care	49	2.4
Online	257	12.8
Friend's/family's home	31	1.5
Provision of services	48	2.4
Neighbours	65	3.2
Taxi/Uber	41	2.0
Sport	31	1.5
Public spaces	126	6.3

Question wording: 'Where did these incidents occur?'

Sample size reflects the fact that only participants who stated that they had witnessed incidents of racism during COVID were asked to provide details in terms of context/settings.

Table 13. Types of racism witnessed during the pandemic, n:779

	n	%
Treated less respectfully	399	19.9
Not trusted	173	8.6
Called names	321	16.0
Assaulted	119	5.9
Ignored	190	9.5
Treated as inferior/ Less intelligent	143	7.1
Left out	128	6.4
Property vandalised	46	2.3
Verbally abused	279	13.9
Denied entry/ service	66	3.3

Question wording: 'What form did the racist incident take?'

Sample size reflects the fact that only participants who stated that they had witnessed incidents of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic were asked to provide details in terms of the types of racism witnessed.

The most frequent way in which witnesses responded to incidents of racism were to 'do nothing' (12.2%), followed by 'made a comment or discussed the incident with friends, passer-by or colleagues' (9.5%). Only 3.8% reported the incident to the police and the same proportion reported to an anti-discrimination authority (see Table 14). When asked how satisfied they were with the way they responded to the incidents of racism witnessed, only 19% were satisfied (satisfied/very satisfied). In contrast, 37% had some level of dissatisfaction (dissatisfied/very dissatisfied; see Table 15). Data pertaining to witnessing racism was similar for the Victorian sub-sample and provides strong grounding for further bystander action education and training in Australia.

Table 14. Response to racism witnessed during the pandemic, n:779

	n	%
Reported to someone in a position of authority	106	5.3
Reported it to police	77	3.8
Reported it to anti-discrimination authority	77	3.8
Sought or accepted help from friends, passersby or colleagues	104	5.2
Challenges the perpetrator/ spoke up	112	5.6
Assisted or supported the person targeted	130	6.5
Distracted the perpetrator	38	1.9
Used humour or made fun of the perpetrator	54	2.7
Laughed it off	42	2.1
Did nothing	244	12.2
Made a comment or discussed with friends, passersby or colleagues	190	9.5
Other	28	1.4

Question wording: 'How did you respond to the incidents?'

Sample size reflects the fact that only participants who stated that they had witnessed incidents of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic were asked to provide details in terms of how they responded.

Table 15. Satisfaction with outcome of response to witnessed racism during the pandemic, n:779

	n	%
Very dissatisfied	89	12.3
Dissatisfied	181	25.0
Neutral	318	43.9
Satisfied	98	13.5
Very satisfied	38	5.2
Total	724	100

Question wording: 'Thinking about how you responded to the incidents, how satisfied were you with the outcome?'

Sample size reflects the fact that only participants who stated that they had witnessed incidents of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic were asked to provide details in terms of their satisfaction with the outcome of their response.

Targets reporting racism

Just as witnesses of racism are unlikely to formally report racist incidents, data obtained from participants who have experienced racism during the COVID-19 pandemic confirms that Australians are overwhelmingly not reporting incidents of racism.

When targets were asked 'Did you report any of these incidents?', the most frequent response across each setting in which incidents of racism occurred, was 'never reported' (30.4-52.3%).

Exceptions were when racism occurred in the healthcare setting, where the most frequent response was 'rarely' (32.4%), friend/family home which was 'occasionally' (31%), and in an Uber/Taxi (33.7%). Across all settings, only between 1.9% (public space) and 7.6% (friend/family home) of participants who experienced racism indicated that they reported 'all the time' (Table 16).

Table 16. Frequency of reporting experiences of racism during the pandemic (%)

	Work	Education	Housing	Police	Shops	Public transport	On the street	Health care	Online	Friend/ family's home	Neighbours	Uber/Taxi	Provision of services	Sport	Public space
Never reported	42.6	34.0	41.5	38.2	52.3	43.5	50.4	26.9	38.8	23.1	30.7	19.0	30.4	37.7	49.7
Rarely	27.3	31.7	28.8	25.8	21.7	23.5	22.3	32.4	24.1	28.3	29.5	29.6	29.3	27.9	20.1
Occasionally	19.5	21.9	19.8	23.3	17.7	23.9	18.0	25.7	22.9	31.0	25.1	33.7	26.3	23.3	21.0
Most of the time	7.0	8.2	6.5	9.3	6.1	6.9	7.0	11.9	10.7	10.0	10.0	11.6	9.0	7.7	7.3
All of the time	3.6	4.1	3.5	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.5	7.6	4.7	6.1	5.1	3.3	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Question wording: 'Did you report any of these incidents?'

Percentages relate to sub-sample per setting. That is, respondents were asked if they had experienced racism or racial discrimination during the COVID-19 context. That sub-sample was then prompted on settings. Those that stated that they had experienced racism or racial discrimination in relation to each setting where then prompted on whether they reported the incident(s).

The most frequent recipients of reports of racism (that were experienced or witnessed) were by far friends/family (21.6%). This was followed by reporting to the police (12.4%).

Only 2.9% reported racism (experienced or witnessed) to the Australian Human Rights Commission.

This suggests that the record number of complaints submitted to the commission in February 2020 is an underrepresentation.

The preference to report racism to friends/family aligns with responses to witnessing racism which also favoured talking to friends/family (9.5%). It also aligns with data on who participants primarily went to for support after a racist incident, which was most frequently friends (24.8%) and family (21.7%) (see Table 17).

Table 17. Recipients of reports, n:2003

	n	%
Police	249	12.4
Local council	154	7.7
Local MP	81	4.0
Boss/supervisor	147	7.3
Colleagues	178	8.9
Friends/family	433	21.6
Teachers/educator	123	6.1
Media	132	6.6
Owner/manager of business	84	4.2
Australian Human Rights Commission	59	2.9
Social media platforms	166	8.3
Other	23	1.1
I have not reported some experiences	222	11.1
I have not reported any experiences	399	19.9
I have not witnessed any racism	656	32.8
I have not experienced any racism	474	23.7

Question wording: 'Have you reported any recent incidents of racism (that you experienced or witnessed) to any of the following? (Tick all that apply)'.

Participants who experienced and/or witnessed racism but did not report it (n:621) were prompted with a follow-up question asking them what the reasons for non-reporting were. Using a five-point Likert-scale measure (strongly agree – strongly disagree), participants responded to 11 potential reasons (see Table 18). If relevant reasons were not provided, participants were able to provide other reasons why they did not report the incident using an open-ended qualitative comment box. Of the 621 participants, 576 indicated at least one of the 11 potential reasons for non-reporting.

The most frequent 'strongly agree[d]' reason why participants did not report a racist incident of which they were the target or witnessed was 'I didn't think it would be properly dealt with' (21.4%).

This was followed by, 'I didn't think it would help' (21.3%); 'I didn't think it would be taken seriously' (21.2%), and 'I was scared' (18.6%). These reasons are even more pronounced when we include 'agree' frequencies (see Table 18).

Table 18. Reasons for not reporting (%), n: 576

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
I was scared	18.6	32.6	24.1	17.5	7.1	100
Uncomfortable/ embarrassed	14.7	39.1	24.4	15.5	6.3	100
Not worth it	14.6	31.9	28.6	17.0	7.8	100
Wouldn't help	21.3	41.5	21.6	11.3	4.2	100
Unsure who to report to/how	16.0	40.2	24.0	14.3	5.4	100
Wanted to forget incident	14.2	35.7	29.7	14.9	5.6	100
Didn't know I could	14.1	34.2	25.3	20.8	506	100
Don't trust recipients of report	11.0	29.0	32.0	20.0	8.0	100
Barriers e.g. language or physical	6.6	18.3	24.6	32.6	17.8	100
Didn't think it would be taken seriously	21.2	41.6	21.7	11.5	4.0	100
Didn't think it would be dealt with properly	21.4	38.2	27.0	9.3	4.2	100

Question wording: 'If you did experience or witness racism but did not report it, what were the reasons why?'

Sample excludes those that had neither witnessed nor experienced racism, those that provided a qualitative response, and those participants who did not answer the question.

Discussion

The geography of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic

Geographically, Asian Australians' experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic has been far reaching with experiences of racism reported in all Australian states and territories and in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. As mentioned previously, the decrease in experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic was greater in Victoria (10.5% decrease compared to 8% decrease at the national level). Interesting insights into the geography of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic can also be seen when examining the responses from Greater Melbourne (n:592, 29.6% of total sample) and comparing them to the rest of Australia (n:1049, 52.4% of total sample[4]). For example, if we look at the responses of participants who live in Greater Melbourne, only 43.3% of participants reported experiencing racism prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. This compares to 45% of participants in the rest of Australia (although this is not a statistically significant difference). Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, the proportion of participants residing in Greater Melbourne that experienced racism dropped to 30.4%, compared to 38.5% of participants in the rest of Australia (see Figure 1). This means that the decrease in experiences of racism in Greater Melbourne was twice as large (12.9% decrease) as the rest of Australia (6.5% decrease). Chi-square testing indicates that the difference between experiences of racism during the pandemic in the two geographical locations is statistically significant (X^2=10.697, p=0.01). When comparing Greater Melbourne to Greater Sydney, similar differences are found (see Figure 1).

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[4]The sum of the Greater Melbourne sub-sample and rest of Australia does not equal 100% due to missing values (i.e. participants were not required to provide their residential postcode information).

% of participants who declared to have experienced racism

- Greater Melbourne: 43.4%, 30.4%
- Rest of Australia (including Greater Sydney): 45%, 38.5%
- Greater Sydney: 44.1%, 37.5%

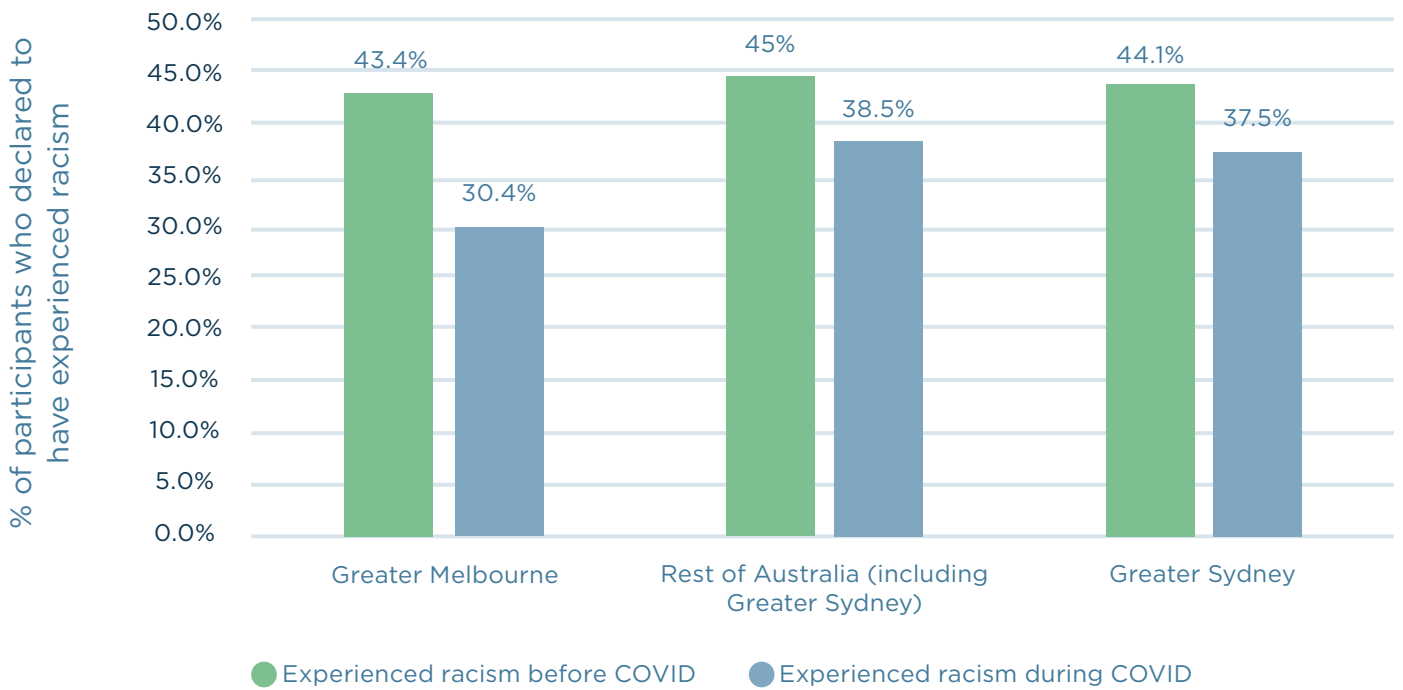● Experienced racism before COVID   ● Experienced racism during COVID

Figure 1. Percentage of participants in Greater Melbourne vs other areas of the country who reported having experienced racism or racial discrimination in the 12 months before January 2020, and after January 2020 (n:1641).

Greater Melbourne experienced the longest lockdown in Australia in 2020, with various levels of restrictions on movements beyond households in most postcode areas beginning at 11.59pm on 8 July 2020 (a second lockdown of 112 days). The length of these restrictive measures was unparalleled in the rest of Australia. The extended lockdown measures, which affected Greater Melbourne more than other geographical areas, can perhaps partially explain the sharp decrease in experiences of racism during COVID-19 reported by Greater Melbourne residents. That is, lockdown and restrictions on movements/access to public spaces removed opportunities for racist offenders for an extended period of time. The impacts of lockdown and restricted mobility on participants' experiences of racism were noted in many qualitative responses from participants, some of which are provided below:

During the covid [sic] people were more interacting online than in public so the likelihood of racism happening was significantly reduced.

I stayed home since the March lockdown till November. I only went out a few times for school assessments. If I went out during those few months when the COVID situation was severe, there could be a chance that I would experience racism.

After COVID-19 outbreak people started staying more indoors, hence there were less public interactions.

It is hard to quantify because COVID has reduced the interactions we have with people. So I haven't been out as much, or seen many people, especially strangers. I have also avoided situations where there are lots of people or where I would have to interact with people I don't know...

Being in lockdown it's hard to gauge how people have reacted to this issue

Due to lockdown I haven't been out as much so my answer may have been different otherwise

Since COVID we all are mostly working from home, so no use of public transport. The lockdowns restricted the movements and hence public interaction. So naturally any experiences I had before have gone down.

These reflections were not, however, confined to participants residing in Melbourne and therefore lockdown and movement/access restrictions to public places may also be a reason for reduced experiences of racism during the COVID-19 pandemic in other cities and regions. While lockdown and other mobility restrictions were the primary reason provided by participants in their qualitative reflections for decreased experiences of racism, some other potential reasons were also provided which are important to note. This included perceptions that perpetrators of racism were avoiding 'Asian' individuals and communities: 'avoiding communities where there is [an] Asian population'; 'After covid, I have seen Chinese people are avoided more'; 'avoiding me'; 'Because of where the virus may of come from people are scared of people from that country'. In only two cases did participants point to increased anti-racism in the broader population: 'As I live in a community that does not tolerate racism'; 'Because of protest such as the Black Lives Matter, people are aware of respecting other races as well such as Indians, and other people of colour'.

Impacts of racism on everyday life

In order to identify the potential impacts of racism on Asian Australians' lives during the COVID-19 pandemic, some questions relating to mental health (those that relate to anticipation of racism, worry about racism, and avoidance of situations due to racism; see Table 19) were cross-tabulated with experiences of racism (across settings) before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. This analysis found that the relationship between 'experiences of racism' (across settings) and potential mental health 'impacts' do not greatly differ during the two timeframes. This is an important finding as experiences of racism have decreased during the COVID-19 pandemic in the tested settings, yet respondents were just as likely (reporting 'very often') to worry about unfair treatment because of their race, ethnicity or culture, avoid specific situations because of racism, and in their interactions with people anticipate them saying or doing something racist either intentionally or unintentionally. These experiences of worry, anticipation of racism and avoidance of situations remained at worryingly high levels and were fairly consistent across all settings (see Table 19). This was the case even when participants reported 'never' or low levels ('hardly ever' and 'sometimes') of experienced racism.

There are however, some specific differences in the pre-COVID-19 and COVID-19 pandemic settings that are worth noting.

The proportion of respondents that indicated that they 'never' experienced racism on the street in the pre-COVID-19 context and 'very often' avoid specific situations because of racism since COVID-19 was 7.1%. In contrast, the proportion of respondents that indicated that they 'never' experienced racism on the street *during* the COVID-19 pandemic yet also 'very often' avoid specific situations because of racism was 17.1%.

This is a more than doubling of participants in the COVID-19 context that avoid situations because of racism yet have not experienced racism in the street setting.

Similarly, respondents that indicated that they 'never' experienced racism in a shop or shopping centre and 'very often' anticipate someone saying or doing something racist, more than doubled when comparing pre-pandemic and during-pandemic experiences in that setting (7.1% to 16.4%). Again, this was similar in sporting settings (23.2% to 43.4%). This suggests that 'never' experiencing racism in particular public settings (such as on the street, in shopping centres or at sporting

activities) does not necessarily reduce Asian Australians' fears and vulnerabilities of being targeted in public spaces. It also indicates that in the COVID-19 context, there was an approximate doubling of participants that indicated fear of and/or anticipation of being targeted, despite not having experienced racism in those public settings since the pandemic began.

This finding is also evident when comparing public space settings (e.g. on the street, on public transport, etc.) with institutional settings (e.g. workplace, healthcare, police, etc.). The proportion of participants that 'never' experience racism in institutional settings and 'never' avoid situations because of racism was much higher than the proportion of participants that 'never' experience racism in public settings and 'never' avoid situations because of racism (the proportion increases by one-third to double in most institutional settings; see Table 19). This is consistent across pre-COVID-19 and since-COVID-19 timeframes and when measuring participants' anticipation and worry of encountering racism (see Table 19). The difference between the cross-tabulations for the public and institutional settings may be partially attributable to slightly higher reporting of experiences of racism in public settings (Blair et al. 2017). In other words, the proportion of Asian Australians who anticipate and worry about encountering racism is higher in public settings as compared to institutional settings overall. However, the setting 'At home or a friend's/family's home' is an exception, as the results follow similar patterns to the institutional settings.

Table 19. Avoidance of situations because of racism, by racism settings (%)

How often have you experienced racism or racial discrimination in the following situations?	In your daily life, how often do you avoid specific situations because of racism?					x^2p
	Very often	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Street Never (pre-COVID)	7.1	10.1	14.1	21.1	34.2	69.771 <.001
Never (during-COVID)	17.1	16.1	23.3	31.2	52.5	89.725 <.001
Shops Never (pre-COVID)	7.0	9.6	11.4	18.3	32.9	87.674 <.001
Never (during-COVID)	4.5	10.9	16.7	27.0	39.0	85.698 <.001
Sports Never (pre-COVID)	35.6	31.8	36.3	53.1	77.3	90.710 <.001
Never (during-COVID)	43.4	46.7	51.1	61.5	80.4	48.523 <.001
Workplace Never (pre-COVID)	16.7	14.5	18.3	28.9	39.7	64.213 <.001
Never (during-COVID)	18.9	20.3	28.7	43.5	61.0	86.068 <.001
Health care Never (pre-COVID)	44.7	38.6	42.1	65.9	87.7	111.568 <.001
Never (during-COVID)	42.3	45.8	54.3	70.8	84.7	69.003 <.001
Police Never (pre-COVID)	38.0	38.8	41.6	56.1	83.6	66.320 <.001
Never (during-COVID)	40.5	43.5	46.5	54.0	72.4	54.262 <.001

Sample includes those that had experienced racism either before or during the COVID-19 pandemic, and responded to the question on whether they avoid situations because of racism. This table presents only responses for participants who 'never' experienced racism in the defined settings and their frequency of avoiding situations because of racism.

As Itaoui (2016) and Dunn and Hopkins (2016) have found, experiences and anticipation of racism has profound impacts on individuals' mobility and feelings of safety. This may in turn negatively impact individuals' access to essential services such as healthcare, employment, housing and education.

The findings from our research that anxiety, worry and avoidance of racism remain high despite decreasing experiences of racism in public settings remains a significant concern.

It is also important to note the strong positive correlations between 'never' experiencing racism and 'never' having to avoid, anticipate or receive unfair treatment because of racism (see Table 19). While obvious, it is important to reiterate that those who do not experience racism have more positive outcomes in their everyday lives, including wellbeing and inclusion, indicating an anti-racism position to strive towards.

We suggest that the high rates of concern about the relationship between racism and poor mental health/wellbeing, despite lower levels of experienced racism during the COVID-19 pandemic can be attributed to a number of factors. This may include the racialisation of the pandemic in the media and public discourses, particularly the reporting of anti-Asian sentiment (AHRC 2020, ATN 2020) and previous

experience of racism and discrimination. For example, we know that prior to the COVID-19 pandemic Asian Australians were twice as likely as other Australians to experience racism and discrimination (Dunn et al. 2018). The effect of global and national events and discourses on localised settings (Itaoui & Dunn 2017; Sharples & Colic-Peisker 2020) may also be attributing to the poor mental health and wellbeing of Asian Australians. A prime example of this are the global representations that vilified Chinese as the cause of the coronavirus pandemic, which may have impacted behaviour and sentiment at the local level. This is an important assertion, as it highlights the pervasive negative impacts of racism, beyond a particular geographical context and experience of racism. It also shows how during a time of global crisis, media and popular discourses can have a negative effect on people's sense of safety, wellbeing and belonging.

Barriers to reporting racism

As presented earlier in this report, 31% (n:621) of the respondents declared that they have not reported either some or all incidents of racism that they have experienced or witnessed. Of these, 576 respondents specified the reasons why they did not report the incidents. The barriers identified in this study broadly mirror the barriers to reporting found in recent research conducted in Victoria (Vergani & Navarro 2020).

Lack of trust in statutory agencies and their response to racism reports was among the most relevant barriers for the respondents, with 62.8% agreeing or strongly agreeing that the report would not be taken seriously, 59.6% agreeing or strongly agreeing that the incident would not be dealt with properly, and 40% not trusting the recipients of the report. As one participant noted:

> To be honest, I don't think the police would do much, they are always saying they are under-resourced so why would they spend time and resource trying to locate some hooligan who was being racist.

Another participant voiced a more strident distrust of reporting bodies:

> If there is a white person and an Asian person in Australia they always side with the white person even if the Asian is the victim.

Lack of trust in the recipients of the report is the most common barrier to reporting hate crime identified in numerous empirical studies across the world, and it is generally related to the relationship between the community of the hate crime target (or the witness) and the police (e.g., Cuerden & Blakemore 2019; Mason & Moran 2019; Wickes et al. 2016). This barrier can also be explained by previous personal reporting experiences of the target (or the target's community), and it may be attributable to the perception that police officers will not trust the target, will not take the incident seriously, or will be unwilling to act upon the report (Sin et al. 2009; Wickes et al. 2016).

Feelings of hopelessness, shame or disempowerment were other important barriers to reporting among the respondents, with 62.8% of participants agreeing or strongly agreeing that reporting would not help, 53.8% feeling uncomfortable or embarrassed, and 49.9% wanting to forget about the incident (see Table 15). As one participant qualitatively noted:

> I can't know what I have to say because really that makes me cry when I remember.

These findings are consistent with previous research that found that feelings of powerlessness and shame are associated with individuals' self-recognition as a target of racism, as well as being expressed via social values, beliefs and ideologies that perpetuate historical trauma and marginalisation of some groups (Swadling et al. 2015). These feelings are also associated with the perception that some members of society experience racism and this cannot be changed, but rather requires targets to put up with it (Chakraborti & Hardy 2015). Consistently, 46.5% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the incident was not worth reporting.

Lack of knowledge of reporting tools and human rights was also another important barrier to reporting: 56.2% of the respondents did not know who to report to and how to report, and 48.3% did not know that they could report the incident. Some participants provided the following qualitative explanations:

> I would not know how to report a person whose name I do not know

> No direct proof of who did the damage of my brickwork mail box in front

> I don't know who they were and how to report. Wherever this happened there was not security camera so that police could trace the person.

This is consistent with numerous studies that found that there is a widespread lack of clarity about the meaning and definitions of terms such as hate crime, racism, prejudice, discrimination and harassment (Chakraborti & Hardy 2015; Swadling et al. 2015; Wickes et al. 2016), as well as lack of familiarity with reporting processes and tools, including ways to report to police, human rights commissions or civil society organisations (Chakraborti 2018).

Being scared of the consequences of reporting was another important barrier, with 51.2% of the respondents being scared of what would happen if they reported the incident. This fear is usually associated with fear of retaliation by the offender or the offender's group (which can be a family, a political group or a community). This was further indicated in participants' qualitative statements such as 'Fear of retaliation' and 'Fear for my own safety'. One participant provided a specific instance in which they not only did not trust the reporting body to take action, but also feared personal repercussions if they reported the racist incident:

> The perpetrator of the incident was a client of the company I am working for. I'm sure that if I reported the incident, it would have been ignored. Even worse, I feared that I would have to face ramifications for reporting the incident.

Recent research has also provided evidence that migrants, in particular, often fear compromising their migration status if they report an incident to the police (Fathi 2014). Retaliation can take the form of violence and re-offending, but can also take subtler forms, such as the withdrawal of benefits, services, rights, care or supporting assistance in the case of dependent people (Chakraborti 2018).

Finally, 24.9% of the sample agreed or strongly agreed that there are barriers (like language or physical barriers) that prevented them from reporting. Sometimes victims might have special needs in terms of language (for example, some ethnic communities might have low levels of English proficiency; Chakraborti 2018; Swadling et al. 2015). Physical barriers, including poor wheelchair access at police stations, can affect the possibility of a person in a wheelchair reporting an incident to police (Sin et al. 2009).

Conclusions

The COVID-19 pandemic is reported to have resulted in an increase in incidents of racism and xenophobia towards Asians (particularly from Chinese backgrounds) worldwide. Thus, the impetus for this project was to examine Asian Australians' experiences of racism (the nature, type and frequency), changes over time (pre- and since COVID-19), the potential impacts of such experiences (e.g., on mental health, wellbeing, and belonging), and the reporting of racist incidents and the (in)actions of witnesses in Australia. This project utilised an online national survey of over 2000 self-identified Asian Australian residents aged 16 years or older.

Consistent with previous research in pre-COVID-19 times, higher rates of racism were reported by males, younger people, Australian-born participants, migrants who have been in Australia for more than two years, and English-speakers at home. The main manifestations of racism were disrespectful treatment, being called names, abuse, physical assault and being left out and ignored. Interestingly, the reported experiences of racism decreased nationally during the COVID-19 pandemic (39.9%), as compared to the 12 months prior (47.9%). This decrease in racism is likely due (at least in part) to: the COVID-19-related restrictions (such as the severe lockdown in Melbourne) limiting the opportunities for racist offenders to harass Asians, and increased avoidance of Asian Australians due to racist discourses linking 'Asians' to COVID-19.

Despite this decrease in reported experiences of racism, more than 4 in 5 Asian Australians (82.2%) anticipate someone saying or doing something racist (intentionally or unintentionally) when they interact with people, and 4 in 5 Asian Australians also worry that they will experience unfair treatment because of their race, ethnicity, or culture. Over three-quarters (77.4%) reported avoiding specific situations because of racism. It was clear that Asian Australians who experienced racism report poorer mental health and wellbeing compared to those who experienced no racism. This suggests that the experience of racism during COVID-19 has had a degrading effect upon senses of self and national belonging.

Asian Australians (both as targets and witnesses) overwhelmingly do not report incidents of racism, due to lack of trust, feeling scared, and believing that it will not make any difference or have any impact or outcomes.

Lifting the confidence of people to report racism remains an urgent task. In March 2021, the Australian Human Rights Commission published a *Concept Paper for a National Anti-Racism Framework.* Clearly, racism is, and continues to be, an issue of importance in Australia as in the rest of the world.

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Appendix A: Research Team

ALANNA KAMP

Dr Alanna Kamp is Lecturer in Geography and Urban Studies in the School of Social Sciences, Western Sydney University. Dr Kamp's research contributions lie in the areas of Australian multiculturalism and cultural diversity, experiences of migration and migrant settlement, racism and anti-racism, national identity, citizenship and intersectional experiences of belonging/exclusion. Her work utilises national-level quantitative methods (n:6000) as well as smaller-scale qualitative techniques that are influenced by multi-disciplinary research (post-colonialism, feminism, history, diaspora etc). She has published pioneering and award winning work on Chinese Australian women's experiences of national and cultural identity, participation and contribution, racism and belonging. She has also published in the areas of Indigenous Studies, Asian Australian Studies, and Islamophobia.

NIDA DENSON

Associate Professor Nida Denson is an Associate Professor in the School of Psychology, Western Sydney University. Her research aims to combat racism and discrimination, with the aim of improving the health and wellbeing of various marginalised groups (e.g., people of colour, people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, people who are gender and sexuality diverse). Her research expertise is mainly in the areas of education and psychology. She has been a Chief Investigator on ARC Discovery and Linkage projects and other nationally-competitive grants, projects and tenders. Her 2015 systematic review and meta-analysis which examined the effects of racism on health has been cited over 846 times (Google Scholar, 28 March 2021). She is also internationally-recognised for her anti-racism work in higher education. For example, her research was included in the Amicus Brief as evidence supporting race-conscious admissions practices in the 2013 U.S. Supreme Court case of Fisher v. University of Texas.

KEVIN DUNN

Professor Kevin Dunn is a human geographer from the Western Sydney University and conducts research highlighting the culturally spatially uneven distribution of citizenship in Australia. He has worked in the field of cross-cultural relations for over two-decades. He is globally recognised for his work on anti-racism, and he steers the leading national research project on racism and anti-racism in Australia - The Challenging Racism Project. In this field he has successfully lead numerous large and ground-breaking projects, including one on multicultural policy within local government, the second on the nature and frequency of racism in Australian society, and the third on transnational identities and linkages of Australians. As leader on the Challenging Racism Project, Dunn has developed and lead multiple successful ARC Projects. The comprehensive databases generated in these surveys (racist attitudes n: 12517, racist experiences n:4020) have filled important gaps in Australian scholarship. The surveys also operationalised novel concepts, such as Anglo-privilege, and belief in 'race'. An influential finding from the CRP is that while racism is quite

prevalent in Australian society its occurrences varies across space and different spheres of life. ARC Linkage funded research on cultural diversity on major construction sites is revealing the unique circumstances of cross-cultural relations among construction workers. Racism is expressed in each region and sphere of life in highly specific ways, and anti-racism should reflect the variation. The works produced from those projects are now benchmark publications, cited by peers, and applied by policy-makers.

RACHEL SHARPLES

Dr Sharples is a senior researcher in the Challenging Racism Project. Rachel's research work includes refugee and migrant community dynamics, the constructs of ethnic and cultural identity, and spaces of solidarity and resistance. Rachel plays a key research role in the development and dissemination of research material relating to a number of CRP projects, including racism and anti-racism, bystander anti-racism, Islamophobia, racism in digital platforms such as social media and sharing economy services, and refugee and asylum seeker experiences. She has published in a number of scholarly journals, most recently, Geofurm, Journal of Borderlands Studies, and Asian Ethnicity. Dr Sharples has extensive experience in working with both qualitative and quantitative methods, including interviews, content and textual analysis as well as large survey datasets. In these projects she has been responsible for coding frameworks, running frequencies and cross-tab tests, and developing findings analysis (based on textual content).

MATTEO VERGANI

Dr Matteo Vergani is Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Senior Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation. Matteo's main area of expertise is the study of political violence and hate, with a main focus on the empirical evaluation of prevention and reduction programs in Australia and South East Asia. Matteo is leading a research agenda on the relationships between different forms of hate, including terrorism, hate crime and hate speech. He recently launched the collaborative website www.tacklinghate. org and published over 30 peer-reviewed articles and book chapters on violent extremism and hate.

SUSAN SISKO

Dr Susan Sisko is a Lecturer in Arts Therapy and Counselling. Dr Sisko holds a PhD in Counsellor Education and has published in relation to multicultural responsiveness in counselling in psychology. Amongst other publications, Dr Sisko is the co-editor of Cultural Responsiveness in Counselling and Psychology (Palgrave). The book focuses on Australian populations and systemic structures with a social justice framework. Susan is passionate about changing the debate in the field by moving away from cultural competence from a Eurocentric position and focus on social justice and systemic issues – ultimately shifting blame from vulnerable and non-dominant groups to exploring systemics issues as related to quality of care and in the inequity gap in accessing mental health services.

JESSICA WALTON

Dr Walton is an ARC DECRA Senior Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation at Deakin University (Melbourne, Australia). Her research agenda focuses on identity and belonging, intercultural relations and racism, especially in South Korea and Australia, and its relevance to educational and multiculturalism policies. She draws on ethnographic and qualitative methods to analyse people's sense of self and belonging in relation to issues of citizenship and migration. She is Associate Editor (Culture, Power and Education) for the Journal of Intercultural Studies and convenor of the Oceania Ethnography & Education Network.

ROSALIE ATIE

Rosalie Atie is a PhD candidate and has been a research assistant with the Challenging Racism Project at Western Sydney University since 2011. Rosalie has collaborated on research projects relating to Islamophobia, bystander anti-racism, racial discrimination in the housing marking, cyber racism, and racial discrimination in primary and secondary schools. As part of the CRP team, Rosalie has helped to develop anti-racism campaigns that have been used for anti-racism training in schools, as well as government and community organisations. Rosalie was also part of the team that developed the Everyday Racism App, the first Australia anti-racism app designed in partnership with Australian anti-racism NGO All Together Now, and has been a research consultant on two SBS documentaries, 'Cronulla riots: the day that shocked the nation' and 'Is Australia Racist?'. Rosalie's PhD research is on racial inequality in the creative arts, as it pertains to national belonging.

Appendix B: Survey items - sources

Survey Item/Questions	Source
Settings In your workplace At school, university or other educational institution When renting or buying a house In any dealings with the police or the court system (Experiences of Discrimination Scale; Krieger et al. 2005) At a shop or shopping centre On public transport On the street (Scanlon Foundation Survey; Markus 2007) In seeking health care Online or on social media At home or a friend's/family's home In a taxi/rideshare (e.g. Uber) In the provision of services e.g. at the bank, Centrelink, mechanic In dealings with neighbours When participating in a sporting activity In other public spaces	Challenging Racism Project (CRP) National Survey unless noted otherwise

Types of experiences	CRP National Survey
You were treated less respectfully	
People acted as if you are not to be trusted	
You were called names, ridiculed or similarly insulted	
You were physically assaulted	
You were ignored or avoided	
You were treated as less intelligent or inferior	
You were left out	
Your property was vandalised e.g. graffitied or damaged (CRP; adapted from Scanlon Foundation Survey; Markus 2007)	
You were sworn at/verbally abused	
You were denied service or denied entry (venue, transport)	

Responses	CRP National Survey
How did you *respond* to the incident/s? (select all that apply)	
Reported it to someone in a position of authority (e.g. teacher, supervisor, referee)	
Reported it to police	
Reported it to anti-discrimination agency/ authority	
Sought or accepted the help of friends, passersby or colleagues	
Challenged the perpetrator or spoke up	
Assisted or supported the person targeted	
Distracted the perpetrator	
Used humour or made fun of the perpetrator	
Laughed it off	
Ignored or did nothing	
Made a comment or discussed the incident with friends, passersby or colleagues	
Other	

Non-reporting	Original
I was scared of what would happen if I reported it	
I felt uncomfortable or embarrassed	
I didn't think the incident was worth reporting	
I didn't think it would help	
I didn't know who to report to or how to report	
I wanted to forget the incident	
I didn't know it was a crime and that I could report it	
I don't trust the recipients of the report (e.g. police or other authority)	
There are barriers (e.g language or physical barriers) that prevented me from reporting	
I didn't think my report would be taken seriously	
I didn't think the incident would be dealt with properly	
Other reason (please provide detail)	
How many times did you report?	

I found it hard to wind down I can't seem to experience any positive feeling at all I have experienced breathing difficulty (eg., excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness) in the absence of physical exertion I have feel like I have a lot of nervous energy I have found it difficult to relax I have felt down-hearted and depressed I have felt I am not worth much as a person I have felt scared without any good reason I have felt like life is meaningless	Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale (Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995)
I have a hard time dealing with stressful events It does not take me long to recover from a stressful event	Adapted from Brief Resilience Scale (Smith, 2008)
When you interact with people how often do you anticipate them saying or doing something racist either intentionally or unintentionally?	Index of Race-Related Stress (Utsey & Ponterotto 1996) adapted in LEAD Experiences of Racism Survey (Ferdinand, Paradies, Kelaher, 2012).
In the past 12 months, how often did you worry that you would experience unfair treatment because of your race, ethnicity or culture?	Experiences of Discrimination Scale (Krieger et al. 2005); LEAD Experiences of Racism Survey (Ferdinand, Paradies, Kelaher, 2012).
In your daily life, how often do you try to avoid specific situations because of racism?	Williams unpublished racism-related vigilance scale (reproduced in Clark et al. 2003) adapted in LEAD Experiences of Racism Survey (Ferdinand, Paradies, Kelaher, 2012).

When I am with other people, I feel included I have close bonds with family and friends I feel accepted by others I have a sense of belonging I feel connected with others	General Belongingness Scale - acceptance/inclusion subscale (Malone, Pillow, & Osman, 2012)
I feel I am Australian It is important to me that my children are/would be fully accepted as Australians The majority of my friends are from the same cultural background as me It is important to me to continue practising my cultural heritage	CRP National Survey

Survey Source References

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