



RACISM AND ANTI-RACISM TODAY

**PRINCIPLES, POLICIES
AND PRACTICES**

AMANUEL ELIAS

Racism and Anti-Racism Today

This page intentionally left blank

Racism and Anti-Racism Today: Principles, Policies and Practices

BY

AMANUEL ELIAS

Deakin University, Australia



United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Emerald Publishing, Floor 5, Northspring, 21-23 Wellington Street, Leeds LS1 4DL

First edition 2024

Copyright © 2024 Amanuel Elias.
Published under exclusive licence by Emerald Publishing Limited.

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: www.copyright.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-83753-513-2 (Print)

ISBN: 978-1-83753-512-5 (Online)

ISBN: 978-1-83753-514-9 (Epub)



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

Contents

List of Figures and Tables	<i>vii</i>
List of Acronyms	<i>ix</i>
About the Author	<i>xi</i>
Preface	<i>xiii</i>
Acknowledgements	<i>xvii</i>
Introduction	<i>1</i>
Part I: Racism	
Chapter 1 Brief History of Racism	<i>29</i>
Chapter 2 Understanding Racism	<i>57</i>
Chapter 3 Manifestations of Racism	<i>85</i>
Chapter 4 Racism, Class and Inequality	<i>119</i>
Chapter 5 Racism, Nationalism and Exclusion	<i>137</i>
Part II: Anti-Racism	
Chapter 6 What Is Anti-Racism?	<i>161</i>
Chapter 7 Anti-Racism Struggles	<i>179</i>

Chapter 8	Anti-Racism Approaches and Policy-Praxis	<i>201</i>
Chapter 9	Contemporary Challenges of Anti-Racism	<i>229</i>
Chapter 10	Towards an Anti-Racist Future	<i>245</i>
	Index	<i>261</i>

List of Figures and Tables

Chapter 10

Fig. 1.	Multilevel-Multi-Domain Anti-Racism Framework.	256
---------	--	-----

Chapter 1

Table 1.	Timeline of Global Racism and Anti-Racism.	35
----------	--	----

Chapter 2

Table 1.	Definitions of Racism.	65
----------	------------------------	----

Chapter 3

Table 1.	Manifestations of Racism by Country.	96
----------	--------------------------------------	----

Chapter 6

Table 1.	Definitions of Anti-Racism.	165
----------	-----------------------------	-----

Chapter 8

Table 1.	A List of Anti-Racism Approaches.	209
----------	-----------------------------------	-----

This page intentionally left blank

List of Acronyms

AFL	Australian Football League
AI	Artificial Intelligence
ANC	African National Congress
APA	American Psychological Association
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CLS	Critical Legal Studies
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CRT	Critical Race Theory
D&I	Diversity and Inclusion
EOP	Equal Opportunity Policies
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFC	Global Financial Crises
IHRA	International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
NIV	New International Version
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WHO	World Health Organization

This page intentionally left blank

About the Author

Amanuel Elias is a Research Fellow at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation (Deakin University). His research focuses on racism, ethnic inequality and intercultural relations. Dr Elias has previously published another book *Racism in Australia Today*, Palgrave Macmillan (with Mansouri and Paradies). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8871-5956>

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

The struggle against racism reached a critical juncture when 60 years ago, in 1963, Martin Luther King Jr delivered the famous ‘I have a dream’ speech. This was a period when the civil rights struggle galvanised the black community, a decade since the end of Jim Crow. Institutional racism prevailed across many regions globally, prompting blacks and other minorities worldwide to challenge oppression and discrimination. Africa was amid a decolonisation process, while Apartheid remained defiant. Yet, the civil rights movement inspired decades of global anti-racism initiatives aimed at combating interpersonal and institutional racism.

Fast forward half a century, and racism endures as we enter the third decade of the new millennium, with racist ideas continuing to divide societies worldwide. Scholars grapple with the enduring significance of racism, raising academic inquiry into the origin and causes of racism. Questions remain about whether racism stems from ideas or systems of exclusion. Some may wonder why racism endures when the biological significance of ‘race’ has been discredited. However, for racism scholars, it is not surprising that the ‘racial contract’ of modernity continues to produce racial inequities. While debates remain about the origin or causes of racism, there’s no denying regarding its profound influence on the organisation of modern society. And this is one of the reasons that inspired me to write this new book on racism and anti-racism. Across this volume, I delve into the concepts of racism and anti-racism, exploring their use in analysing racial divisions, galvanising political movements and driving reforms in social policies.

This book is the product of more than a decade of research on racism and its many impacts. During my research, I have become aware that many books tend to focus solely on either racism or anti-racism. While a few authors (e.g., Bowser, 1995; Garland & Rowe, 2001; Hervik, 2019; Lentin, 2004) have attempted to engage with both racism and anti-racism, they often remain distinct fields of inquiry, at least in published works, both analytically and theoretically. This book emerged from a desire to bridge existing knowledge on racism and anti-racism, integrating them through critical analysis.

Primarily, this book aims to connect the racism and anti-racism scholarship, by critically examining them as interrelated rather than isolated subjects. I believe this approach offers a holistic and more comprehensive understanding of racism, acknowledging the efforts being made to dismantle it across many levels. Such a synthesis enables scholars and practitioners to engage with both topics within a single book rather than in separate documents.

In addition, this book adopts a comparative perspective, incorporating research findings and examples from different geographic contexts. While maintaining the view that racism, its distinct basis of 'race', has a western origin, I argue that it has evolved into a global phenomenon both historically and in the contemporary period. I illustrate this through global analyses and cross-national examples of racism in discourse and policy, as well as anti-racism in social policy and political action.

Methodologically, this book draws on my interdisciplinary research, extended to global audience. The conceptual framework for understanding racism as discussed across the chapters draws on a range of cross-disciplinary theories, encompassing sociology, political science, social psychology and economics. This incorporates anti-racism policy and practice at both micro and macro levels, with each chapter engaging in interdisciplinary contemporary theoretical debates.

This book is equally divided into two parts and commences with a comprehensive Introduction. Each chapter is cross-referenced with the preceding chapters to maintain a coherent narrative flow. Each chapter attempts to provide a critical analysis of the thematic topic covered, linked by introductory and concluding sections. Some chapters include tables and figures to succinctly summarise the key conceptual and analytical discussions.

The first part, consisting of five chapters, focuses on racism as the main subject. This part details the notion of 'racisms', to incorporate new manifestations of racism that have become central to contemporary research. It also engages with the intersectional nature of structural inequities involving race, gender, class hierarchies and exclusionary nationalism. Additionally, it provides a comparative analysis of how racism manifests in diverse geographic contexts, exploring its various expressions, forms and intersections.

The second part of this book, also comprising five chapters, focuses on anti-racism concepts, struggles and approaches. It engages with anti-racism as an everyday practice, strategy and policy, explores the history of anti-racism in political mobilisations and considers various anti-racism approaches including a holistic anti-racism perspective. Furthermore, this part critically evaluates the challenges confronting anti-racism efforts, and offers directions for an anti-racist future, proposing a framework for effective anti-racist policy and practice.

By synthesising existing racism and anti-racism scholarship, I hope this book will elucidate and stimulate robust debates on the complexities and enduring roles of race, racism and anti-racism in contemporary societies. This book incorporates a wide range of perspectives on the thematic topics covered, drawing from research across various ideological views. It is my hope that this volume will serve as a valuable introductory resource for anyone interested in in-depth study of such an important topic. I also aspire for this work to contribute to future research that bridges the scholarship on racism and anti-racism.

Amanuel Elias
October 2023
Melbourne, Australia

References

- Bowser, B. (Ed.). (1995). *Racism and anti-racism in world perspective* (Vol. 13). Sage.
- Garland, J., & Rowe, M. (2001). *Racism and anti-racism in football*. Palgrave.
- Lentin, A. (2004). *Racism and anti-racism in Europe*. Pluto Press.
- Hervik, P. (Ed.). (2019). *Racialization, racism, and anti-racism in the Nordic countries*. Palgrave Macmillan.

This page intentionally left blank

Acknowledgements

A book like this is an outcome of collective efforts. In writing this book, I have benefited from the generous moral and intellectual support of many friends, colleagues and my family members, to whom I owe deep debt of gratitude. It is not possible to list the numerous help I received within this brief statement. However, I would like to acknowledge those who made specific contribution to this project. First, this work would not be possible without the excellent research environment that the Alfred Deakin Institute (ADI), where I am based, provided. The deep philosophical debates and conversations I had with ADI colleagues and friends have greatly expanded my understanding of major issues including those I put forth in this book. More specifically, I would like to thank Professor Mansouri for his continuous support and mentorship as well as for an extended period of collaboration.

Several colleagues reviewed draft manuscripts of this book and offered valuable feedback, significantly enhancing the strength of my arguments. I am specifically indebted to Leanne Kelly who generously copy-edited several chapters of this book. My colleagues Enqi Weng, Mandy Truong, Ayuba Issaka, Jehonathan Ben, Kim Lam and Greg Barton read chapter manuscripts and provided thorough reviews, which greatly improved the respective chapters. I am grateful to Kiros Hiruy with whom I had fruitful discussions that gave me insight to generate a comprehensive anti-racism framework. As anyone with family responsibility would appreciate, this work would not be completed without my family's unwavering support. They endured countless nights and weekends as I delved into researching and writing this book. I am deeply grateful to my wife Natsinet Ghebretinsae and my children Senay, Lwam and Simret. Finally, I would like to thank the publishing team at Emerald for their efforts in bringing this book to publication.

Amanuel Elias
October 2023
Melbourne, Australia

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

Racism is a blight on the human conscience. The idea that any people can be inferior to another, to the point where those who consider themselves superior define and treat the rest as subhuman, denies the humanity even of those who elevate themselves to the status of gods.

– Nelson Mandela.¹

The word ‘racism’ is a politically loaded word. For many people, it often raises discomfort because it signifies ongoing controversies and negative meanings associated with historical injustices. Its everyday use in public discourse elicits defensive reaction, heated argument and emotional outburst (Miles & Brown, 2004). Phrases such as ‘this is racist ...’, ‘I am not racist ...’, ‘don’t use the race card’, ‘we do not tolerate racism!’ ... are uttered casually when accusations of racism are made by members of racialised groups.² Although similar statements are commonly heard in mainstream media, social media and in political debates, there are often disagreements about what people mean when referring to racism. For some, the word ‘racism’ may be a descriptor of irrational bigotry and prejudice, or bias and injustice, but for others it may connote a serious moral defect. Like many sociological concepts, such diversity and disparity in everyday discourse renders the scientific and analytical use of the concept of racism problematic. However, this does not reduce its significance as a social issue and as a field of inquiry and debate.

Racism can be defined as beliefs and ideologies of racial hierarchy and behaviours or policies that enact them (Elias et al., 2021a).³ Considerable research has shown that racism is pervasive both as a phenomenon and as a topic of social and

¹This quote is taken from President Mandela’s speech delivered to the UK Parliament at the Palace of Westminster. <https://www.parliament.uk/globalassets/documents/news/2013/Nelson-Mandela-speech-Parliament-1996.pdf>. Accessed on 11th July 1996.

²In this book, I use the phrase ‘racialised groups’ to refer to minoritised groups that are usually socially categorised based on their race, ethnicity, colour, phenotype, place of birth, religious and cultural backgrounds.

³More detailed discussion about the conceptual understanding of racism is provided in subsequent sections and in Chapter 2 of this book.

political discourse (Andrews, 2021; Human Rights Watch, 2022). It is a regular feature in news media, online platforms, sport and cultural events, political campaigns, workplaces and in the public arena. Thus, it has long attracted academic debate across social science and humanities disciplines including sociology, psychology, legal studies, political science and anthropology. Scholars have analysed how ideas related to race have indelibly shaped post-colonial societies worldwide (Williams & Mohammed, 2013; Mahmud, 1998). Such scholarship has engaged with debates about continued western domination of global political, cultural and economic affairs through institutions that have colonial legacies. A substantial body of research has also been produced documenting ongoing settler colonialism affecting Indigenous peoples across the world, including North America, Latin America and Australia (Wolfe, 2006). Added to this, there is a long history of research focused on the prevalence of xenophobic racism towards foreigners, ethnic minorities, migrants and refugees (Roemer et al., 2007; Wimmer, 1997).

Among the key preoccupations of the scholarship on race has been the debate in relation to 'race' and 'racism' as social and analytical concepts. Such debates have evolved, and contemporary conceptions and understanding of race and racism qualitatively differ from how they were understood and debated historically. Pseudo-scientific racism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries conceptualised ideas that racial groups had natural differences and argued that distinct races of human beings existed (Dennis, 1995; Graham, 1990). Until the 1920s, the categorisation and ranking of the human species into superior and inferior races had profound influence on western thinking. Through colonial expansion, this racial ideology has spread, justifying the discrimination and atrocity which targeted the treatment of Indigenous and other racialised groups (Elias et al., 2021a; see also Barkan, 1992; Dennis, 1995). Research today has debunked the pseudo-scientific racist ideas, and it has become evident that there are no separate races (Barkan, 1992; Templeton, 2013). Today, there is wide understanding regarding 'race' as a 'social' rather than 'biological' construction (Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Templeton, 2013).⁴

However, race as a social category and as an analytical concept remains important (Lopez, 1994, 1997; Omi & Winant, 2014). Across many societies, there exist clear differences in power, income, wealth, resources and health outcomes that can be explained by race and ethnicity. These entail an underlying issue of racism which has continuously evolved in its manifestation and impact on racialised groups. Owing to this, the ways in which racism is understood and informs socio-political debates across societies have varied accordingly. However, at its basic structure, racism is the same system of oppression. Its constitution as a socially constructed system of hierarchy, oppression and bias expressed in discrimination, exclusion, hatred, violence and prejudice remains very relevant today (Feagin, 2013; Roberts & Rizzo, 2021). Critical and post-colonial/ decolonial research emphasises the structural basis of racial inequities and their rootedness as colonial legacies. This tradition has significantly influenced current debates about racism.

⁴For a detailed treatment of the 'social construction of race,' see Lopez (1994, 1997).

In contemporary societies, when race and racism occur or are mentioned in social discourse, they often raise political controversy. This often makes it difficult to engage in dispassionate debate in high-stake settings such as political campaigns, media panels, legal deliberations and law enforcement. The intense mixed reactions the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement received before and during the summer of 2020 is a typical example. While there has been widespread condemnation of racism, there have also been counter-movements by groups retorting that All Lives Matter and those claiming support for law enforcement officers and their safety (Gallagher et al., 2018; Giorgi et al., 2020). Such divergent discourses compete for media representation and may ultimately drive public opinion regarding racism, which could have policy implications.

In addition to being a controversial and divisive issue, racism simultaneously continues to affect public trust in society and institutions (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Rothwell, 2012). There is ample evidence that public trust across many spheres (trust in people, institutions, government, etc.) is negatively associated with experiences of racism (Armstrong et al., 2013; Ziller, 2017) and racist attitudes (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Filindra et al., 2022). This link between racism and depletion of public trust has adverse implications for social cohesion and intergroup relations. Research indicates that racial injustice and disparities in many societies exacerbate social distrust and political polarisation globally (Olsen, 2008).

While it is widely recognised that racism can threaten to social cohesion, it primarily affects ethno-racial minorities, causing them harm, distress and multi-dimensional disadvantages (Paradies et al., 2015; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Research across disciplines (such as psychology, public health, sociology and economics) indicate that racism leads to poor physical and mental health (Paradies et al., 2015), low socio-economic status (Williams & Mohammed, 2013), poor educational outcomes (Benner et al., 2018) and intergenerational trauma and disadvantages (Kirkinis et al., 2021).

Across western societies, there have always been groups who challenged the injustice of racism although powerful forces have continuously resisted and undermined efforts to ensure racial equity (Adams & Rameau, 2016). After decades of struggle to tackle its prevalence and impact in multiracial societies, it remains endemic, and structurally elusive for anti-racism policy and praxis. Partly, controversy over racial ideologies and political backlash towards anti-racism policies and practices contributes to the difficulty surrounding efforts to tackle racism. Racism thus continues to shape political and civic discourses and remains a matter of social division across these spaces, with many anti-racism initiatives drawing significant controversy in public debate (Bonnett, 2000).

The main aims of this book are to examine closely racism and anti-racism scholarship and to discuss critically the multidimensional nature of racism, its various manifestations and its diverse impacts in society. The chapters are thematically organised, with each chapter addressing a specific topic, focusing on definitions and concepts, intersections, comparative discussion, policy-praxis and examples related to racism and anti-racism. This introductory chapter provides a background and context to ongoing issues and debates about racism and

4 *Racism and Anti-Racism Today*

anti-racism which have engaged scholars, activists and policymakers. The key research questions, central themes and substantive issues outlined here are unpacked across ten chapters. Racism and anti-racism being the main subjects, they are discussed throughout this book as parallel and integrated topics. Since the beginning, i.e., since racism emerged as belief and ideas ingrained in oppressive social systems, it has faced active or passive resistance. Anti-racist ideas always existed side by side with racism. In a sense, racism begat anti-racism. Thus, both racism and anti-racism have concurrently evolved over centuries, shaping multiracial societies, transforming interracial relations, and influencing social and political life. This introductory chapter brings together both aspects in a unified analysis accentuating that discussions of racism should lead to concrete anti-racist actions.

Racism: An Ongoing Global Problem

Racism is an enduring legacy of colonialism. In many societies, it not only reflects past injustice but continues to be an ongoing sociopolitical problem, varying in degrees, according to demographic composition and organisation of power, resources and privileges. Particularly, in the last half century, racism has become a salient issue, shaping social and political discourse across the West. While contemporary racialised issues (e.g., immigration and asylum policies) drive public discourse in the United Kingdom and Europe, the historical legacy of racism is a subject of heated and passionate debate in settler colonial societies such as the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil and South Africa. In these societies, racial tensions regularly flare up in varied contexts where racialised majorities and minorities encounter each other and are required to share space, power and resources.⁵

Often, it is during high profile incidents (e.g., police shootings or custodial deaths of unarmed Black and Indigenous men and women) that the issue of racism gets wider visibility, attracts public attention and generates political debates (Lee, 2020). However, most racial oppression and inequity occurs off the radar, overtly or subtly without gaining the attention of society. Indeed, protests in reaction to such incidents do have social value because they create awareness and bring racism as an agenda for political debate. For example, the BLM movement has brought to international attention the persistent reality and injustice of racism in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and Europe. Today, racism has become a social and political issue that mobilises human rights groups, activists and other civil society organisations seeking greater racial equity and justice. Decades of civil rights and political campaigns and

⁵Of course, racism is not confined to western societies. In many non-western societies, racism manifesting in xenophobia, exclusionary nationalism, ethnic and religious prejudice, and discrimination is prevalent and sometimes triggers ethno-religious conflicts (Baber, 2022). This book, however, focuses mainly on racism in western societies because of its unique legacy in the history of modernity, and its ongoing impact in the global distinction of power, resource and privilege.

anti-racism struggles have pushed for greater racial equity, socio-economic inclusion and political rights for racial minorities (Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2004).

Parallel to this, research over the last five decades theorising and analysing racism has abounded both qualitatively and quantitatively. Particularly in the last 20 years, there has been an explosion of books, articles and reports debating, analysing and explaining racial issues across spheres of society (e.g., Bonnett, 2005; Feagin et al., 2020; Fredrickson, 2015; Lentin, 2004; Miles & Brown, 2004; Wilson, 2012). This vast body of research has produced mounting evidence showing the continuing significance, pervasiveness and harmful effects of racism across the life course (Chatters et al., 2021; Gee et al., 2019). The study of race, ethnicity and racism has also expanded globally over the past decades, with important research emerging from beyond the United States and United Kingdom to inform race relations, immigration and diversity debates and policies (Solomos, 2014, 2022). This recent development has helped the production of ‘bodies of scholarly research that take us beyond the confines of the global north’ (Solomos, 2022, p. 40).

The combination of academic work and civil rights campaigns has produced greater awareness and knowledge about racism than ever before. Today, racism is understood as being rooted in and emanating from western societies, embedded across social, economic and political structures (Andrews, 2021; Elias & Paradies, 2021). Racism combines attitudes, prejudice, discrimination, privilege, inequities and injustice, which are expressed in segregation, exclusion, exploitation, oppression and violence (Feagin et al., 2020). These attitudes and behaviours manifest at interpersonal, structural and institutional levels, and are often internalised by minority groups (Jones, 2000). Thus, racism is an ongoing social problem, which affects minority groups’ health, imposing costs on the entire society, depleting trust and diminishing social cohesion (Darity et al., 2022; Elias & Paradies, 2016). Societies, academic institutions, governments and businesses can no longer ignore that racism is an important social reality, requiring urgent action. Awareness and knowledge of these cumulative harms is vital for social impact and change while more concrete political mobilisation and action is needed to generate concrete structural transformation that ensures greater equity and inclusion.

Understanding Racism

Racism manifests in all aspects of life, primarily impacting racialised minorities across generations. The impact of racism also manifests in the way it shapes social and political structures and in the significant costs it imposes on society in general.⁶ To effectively address and reduce racism and its impact, it is important to understand what racism is and how it works. Social scientists have widely

⁶For more detailed discussion of the definitions and conceptualisation of racism, see Chapter 2. The reader is also referred to Elias, Mansouri, and Paradies (2021) as well as sources cited in this book.

debated these questions, with various definitions of racism produced in the race and ethnicity scholarship (Garner, 2017; Gee et al., 2019; Jones, 2000; Paradies, 2006). These scholarly definitions broadly agree that racism embodies ideas, institutions/structures and practices/processes. They conceptualise racism as a belief, an ideology, an attitude in racial hierarchy and as laws, institutions, actions and processes that systematically oppress, exploit, subjugate and disadvantage racialised groups (Garner, 2017; Gee et al., 2019; Jones, 2000; Paradies, 2006). In Chapter 2, I discuss more definitions of racism, and provide a working definition for the discussions in this book.

Racism has also been expressed in the form of contempt, disrespect, disregard, prejudice, intolerance, hatred, discrimination, violence, injustice, exclusion and exploitation of racial, ethnic, cultural and religious ‘outgroups’ (Glasgow, 2009; Shelby, 2014).⁷ Scholars have long understood the connection between multiple aspects of societal prejudices, ideologies and structures of inequalities in power and privilege. For example, Balibar (2007) has argued that a combination of discriminatory laws, structures and practices, as well as exclusionary discourses and stereotypical representations of marginalised groups have often served as the basis for the formation of racist communities. In such societies, the social construction of racial categories ascribes meanings and representations to race and associated stereotypes while determining social, economic and political outcomes based on racially organised institutions and structures (Omi & Winant, 2014).

In its attitudinal dimension, racism is not restricted to overtly expressed slurs, stereotypes, biases, prejudices and violence; it can occur in subtle, covert and unwitting biases as theorised across the social sciences and humanities (Paradies, 2006). Racism is more than the disliking and mistreatment of racialised groups (Roberts & Rizzo, 2021). It involves systems of inequity, disadvantage and injustice based on racialised categories. Thus, while there are interpersonal aspects of racism, it also has structural manifestations. Racism occurs in diverse ways and has evolved over decades, changing and adapting to new circumstances. As such, there are old-fashioned forms of racism, and there are new racisms which manifest in subtle, indirect and ambiguous ways through unconscious bias (Bonilla-Silva, 2013). At a deeper insidious level, racism also manifests through neglect and denial (Elias, 2023; Forman & Lewis, 2006). Roberts and Rizzo (2021) identify seven factors contributing to the organisation and maintenance of a racial system: categories, factions, segregation, hierarchy, power, media and passivism. Racism depends on the social categorisation of people into distinct groups. These categories are essentialised as fixed, immutable markers of identity and reinforced through normative reasoning (Kurzman et al., 2001). As mentioned above, the markers can be physical features, e.g., skin colour, phenotype, hair texture, cultural/social attributes, such as: race, ethnicity, religion or geographic origin, e.g., birthplace, nationality, migration status.

⁷An ‘outgroup’ in psychology is an ascriptive concept which refers to any group one does not belong or identify with (see APA Dictionary of Psychology, <https://dictionary.apa.org/outgroup>). It signifies an othering category where socially ascribed markers are used to exclude groups.

Second, racialisation fosters factional division by promoting in-group loyalty and intergroup conflict and competition (Garner, 2017). The us and them division and social cognition fostered by racialised identity formation is a powerful force for intergroup hostility and conflict (Brewer & Kramer, 1985). In combination, out-group hostility and in-group favouritism can reinforce racial/ethnic inequities (Kurzban et al., 2001).

Third, racist ideologies, biases and stereotypes are hardened through segregation, exclusion and the banning or rejection of intergroup contact. In this way, racism erects structures and institutions that can lead to permanent disparities occurring in intergenerational racial gaps. As segregation becomes deeply entrenched in social and cultural life, it perpetuates both interpersonal and institutional racism, which feed each other in a vicious cycle (Williams & Mohammed, 2013).

Fourth, social hierarchies are applied to rank the racialised groups into superior and inferior groups. These in turn stimulate and encourage racist ideas, feelings, attitudes and behaviours. Racial hierarchy creates symbolic social infrastructures that erect artificial boundaries which serve as exclusionary cues reinforced through habitual interactions and practices (Tourse et al., 2018). Thus, racism is sustained through interplays between prejudiced ideas and behaviours (Quillian, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Fifth, social and political power structures promote racism by encoding it in policies and legislations at the micro and macro levels. Many racial sociopolitical systems in history which I call ‘raciarhies’, such as the slavery regimes, apartheid, Jim Crow America and White Australia, have had the support of national laws and policies.⁸ Today, racist policies may be enacted in the form of discriminatory, anti-immigration, anti-asylum, anti-diversity and anti-affirmative action laws (Armenta, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2022).

Sixth, the media legitimises racist ideas and stereotypes through biased representations and the marginalisation of minoritised groups. In the name of freedom of expression, news media sometimes report racist content or content that vilifies and misrepresents ethnic/racial minorities. The misinformation and biased reporting during the COVID-19 outbreak is a typical example of media-tised racism (Cho et al., 2021; Elias, Ben, et al., 2021; Ziems et al., 2020).⁹ By racialising minoritised groups and misrepresenting them in sensational reports, the media can harden racist sentiments (van Dijk, 2015).

Finally, denial and neglect reinforce racism by encouraging passivism. Denial and neglect often manifest through silence, disregard and the evasion of responsibility, and sustain racism at interpersonal and institutional levels (I will return to this later in this chapter). The indifference with which racism is omitted and dismissed, or the silence and passive relegation it registers in discourses and

⁸A wide body of research has documented the long list of racist policies that have existed across many societies. For a start, see the Wikipedia entry ‘Institutional Racism’. See also Human Rights Watch (2022).

⁹See Amin-Khan (2012) for more on the media’s role in the racialisation of groups, in this case Muslims, through what Amin-Khan calls ‘incendiary racism.’

policymaking is an important aspect of modern racism (Lentin, 2014). The overlooking and denial of racism obscures its occurrence and enables it to fester and persist by creating a culture of silence, apathy and indifference (Johnson et al., 2021).

The above seven processes are not necessarily different stages of racism, but they overlap and collectively work to create and reinforce racist systems and structures. Both historical and contemporary racism have been constructed through a combination of these dynamic social relations, processes and patterns. For example, migrants are often racialised; they are considered out-groups, and policies are enacted to exclude them while the media sometimes engages in biased reporting that implicates them in criminal activities, terrorist plots and illiberal practices, thereby legitimising racist and exclusionary policies (Majavu, 2020; Menjivar et al., 2018; Nguyen, 2019).

In addition, while racialisation everywhere may exhibit the above-mentioned basic patterns, its manifestation usually varies from place to place, and goes beyond the Black and white binary (Garner, 2017; Gonzalez-Sobrinho & Ross, 2018). Depending on the context and multiplicity of social identities, the ways in which racism is conceived, expressed, structured and enacted can take many forms. It often embodies biases that includes and excludes groups based on racialised identities. Its exclusionary manifestations depend on political contexts cutting across complex relationships and intersecting identities (Quillian, 2006). Thus, different social groups can experience qualitatively different kinds of prejudice, discrimination, exclusion and oppression. The types of racism Black people, various Indigenous communities, migrants, Jews, Romani Gypsy and Muslims experience vary because of their unique and/or intersecting social and cultural identities (Garner, 2017).

The complexity of racism is also visible in its multidimensional nature and in its occurrence at various societal levels and settings. It can occur in daily interactions among individuals and groups, yet institutions and different structures can also perpetrate racial inequities. In this book, the multilevel dimensions of racism and its diverse manifestations across multiracial societies are analysed critically. Specifically, Chapter 3 discusses how racism is mediated interpersonally, and how it is embedded in institutions, social structures and processes that perpetuate racial inequities in power, resources and lived experiences. Based on their multiple social and cultural identities, the impact of racism on different groups can vary because of intersecting dimensions of oppression. For example, Black women, migrant youth and Indigenous children may be impacted very differently compared to adult men in their communities (Dominelli, 2018). Thus, to understand racism and its impact, it is important to consider the nuances and intersecting aspects of racial injustice and inequities (see Chapters 4 and 5 for more detail).

The Denial and Neglect of Racism

Among key features of contemporary racism are the denial and neglect of its existence/prevalence. While racist ideas, actions and policies directly affect, harm