

Multiculturalism and Australian Identity



Edited by Justin Healey

ISSUES
IN SOCIETY

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INTRODUCTION

Multiculturalism and Australian Identity is Volume 408 in the 'Issues in Society' series of educational resource books. The aim of this series is to offer current, diverse information about important issues in our world, from an Australian perspective.

KEY ISSUES IN THIS TOPIC

Contemporary Australian society is a patchwork of cultural and ethnic diversity. Australians are largely embracing of multiculturalism and welcoming of those born overseas, however being 'Australian' can describe a broad range of characteristics, behaviours and attitudes.

National identity and pride in being Australian regularly influence public debate in Australia, but they are not always clearly defined. How do Australians living in a multicultural society identify with their national identity, and how do they view themselves as citizens?

This book examines Australia's cultural diversity and the issue of social cohesion in light of its longstanding policy of multiculturalism. It also discusses a range of symbols and attitudes which define what it means to be Australian. Are multiculturalism and nationalism necessarily at odds?

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Titles in the 'Issues in Society' series are individual resource books which provide an overview on a specific subject comprised of facts and opinions.

The information in this resource book is not from any single author, publication or organisation. The unique value of the 'Issues in Society' series lies in its diversity of content and perspectives.

The content comes from a wide variety of sources and includes:

- Newspaper reports and opinion pieces
- Website fact sheets
- Magazine and journal articles
- Statistics and surveys
- Government reports
- Literature from special interest groups

CRITICAL EVALUATION

As the information reproduced in this book is from a number of different sources, readers should always be aware of the origin of the text and whether or not the source is likely to be expressing a particular bias or agenda.

It is hoped that, as you read about the many aspects of the issues explored in this book, you will critically evaluate the information presented. In some cases, it is important that you decide whether you are being presented with facts or opinions. Does the writer give a biased or an unbiased report? If an opinion is being expressed, do you agree with the writer?

EXPLORING ISSUES

The 'Exploring issues' section at the back of this book features a range of ready-to-use worksheets relating to the articles and issues raised in this book. The activities and exercises in these worksheets are suitable for use by students at middle secondary school level and beyond.

FURTHER RESEARCH

This title offers a useful starting point for those who need convenient access to information about the issues involved. However, it is only a starting point. The 'Web links' section at the back of this book contains a list of useful websites which you can access for more reading on the topic.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AUSTRALIA

REFLECTING A NATION: STORIES FROM THE 2011 CENSUS

The following article is reproduced courtesy of the **Australian Bureau of Statistics**

The Australian Census of Population and Housing is a rich source of data about Australians and their cultural characteristics. In 2011, the Census revealed that over a quarter (26%) of Australia's population was born overseas and a further one fifth (20%) had at least one overseas-born parent. Throughout the 100 years since the first National Census in 1911, migrants have made up a large component of the Australian population. Historically, the majority of migration has come from Europe, however, there are increasingly more Australians who were born in Asia and other parts of the world. This pattern of migration is evident in the make up of the richly diverse society which has been recorded in the 2011 Census. This diversity can be seen in the variety of languages, religions, ancestries and birthplaces reported by Australians.

Although this article focuses on the overseas-born population, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples also contribute greatly to the cultural diversity of Australia. Further analysis of Census data relating to



Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia can be found in *Counts of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, 2011* (cat. no. 2075.0).

GENERATIONS IN AUSTRALIA

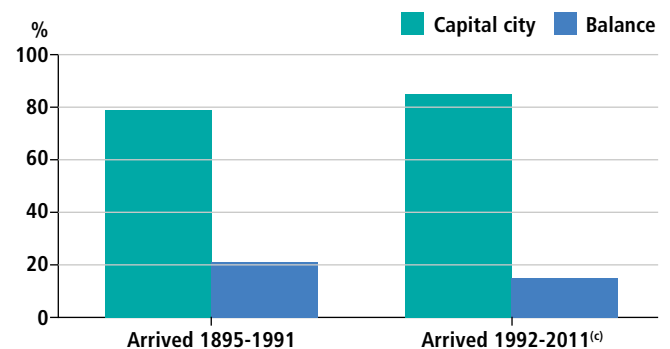
First generation Australians are people living in Australia who were born overseas. This is a diverse group of people including Australian citizens, permanent residents and long-term temporary residents. In 2011, there were 5.3 million first generation Australians (27% of the population)^(a).

Second generation Australians are Australian-born people living in Australia, with at least one overseas-born parent. In 2011, there were 4.1 million second generation Australians (20% of the population)^(a).

Third-plus generation Australians are Australian-born people whose parents were both born in Australia. One or more of their grandparents may have been born overseas or they may have several generations of ancestors born in Australia. This group also includes most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. In 2011, there were 10.6 million third-plus generation Australians (53% of the population)^(a).

(a) In the 2011 Census 1.6 million Australians did not state either their birthplace or their parents' birthplace. Therefore their generation cannot be identified from Census data. These people have been excluded prior to the calculation of percentages for generations in Australia.

CAPITAL CITY AND NON-CAPITAL CITY BALANCE FOR FIRST GENERATION (OVERSEAS-BORN) AUSTRALIANS^{(a)(b)}

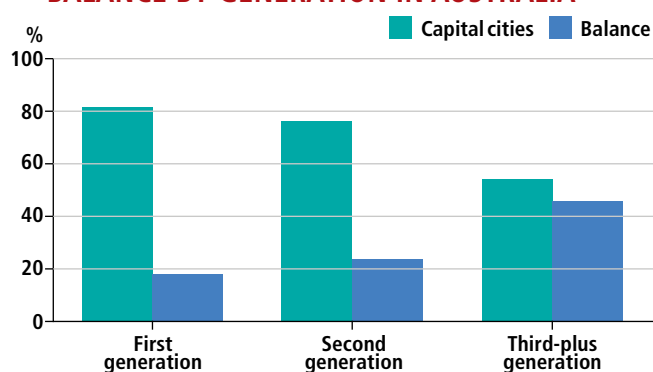


(a) Greater Capital Cities Statistical Areas as defined in the Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS). They are based on a broad economic definition of capital cities and incorporate some areas on the fringes of cities which were not included in previous classifications. Capital cities in this table may therefore be defined differently than in published data from previous Censuses.

(b) People with 'No Usual Address' were excluded prior to calculations.

(c) Includes people who arrived in Australia over the period 1992 to Census Night (9 August) 2011.

CAPITAL CITY AND NON-CAPITAL CITY BALANCE BY GENERATION IN AUSTRALIA^{(a)(b)}



(a) Greater Capital Cities Statistical Areas as defined in the Australian Statistical Geography Standard (ASGS). They are based on a broad economic definition of capital cities and incorporate some areas on the fringes of cities which were not included in previous classifications. Capital cities in this table may therefore be defined differently than in published data from previous Censuses.

(b) People with 'No Usual Address' were excluded prior to calculations.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

In 2011, 82% of the overseas-born population lived in capital cities compared with 66% of all people in Australia. Some of the factors affecting where migrants choose to live are the location of family members or people with the same ethnic background, the point of entry into the country, the economic attractiveness of the destination in terms of employment opportunities, and certain visa conditions.^{1,2}

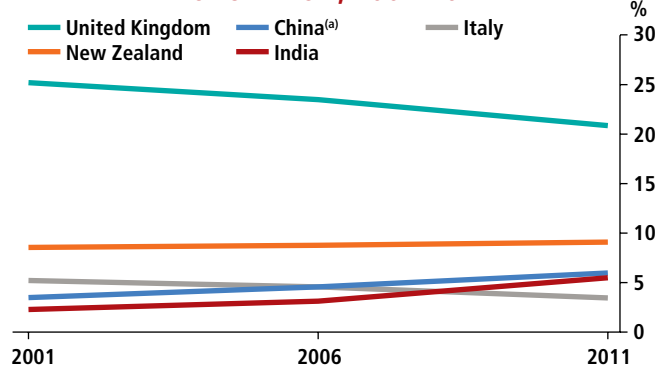
Within the overseas-born population, those who arrived in Australia in the past 20 years were more likely to live in a capital city than those who arrived before 1992 (85% compared to 79%). The likelihood of living in a capital city decreased for each successive generation; just over three-quarters of second generation Australians and just over half of the third-plus generation lived in capital cities. Perth, Sydney and Melbourne had the highest proportion of overseas-born people, over a third each. In contrast, less than 14% of people in Hobart were overseas-born, the lowest proportion for all capital cities. Although the age distribution differs between the overseas-born, second generation and third-plus generation, adjusting for this only makes a small difference to the patterns shown.

HOW THE CENSUS MEASURES CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The 2011 Census asked several questions which help to provide a picture of Australia's cultural profile. These included:

- In which country was the person born?
- Was the person's father born in Australia or overseas?
- Was the person's mother born in Australia or overseas?
- If born overseas – In what year did the person first arrive in Australia to live here for one year or more?
- What is the person's ancestry? (Provide up to two ancestries only).
- Is the person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin?
- Does the person speak a language other than English at home?
- How well does the person speak English?
- What is the person's religion?

2011 TOP 5 COUNTRIES OF BIRTH AS A PROPORTION OF TOTAL OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION, 2001-2011



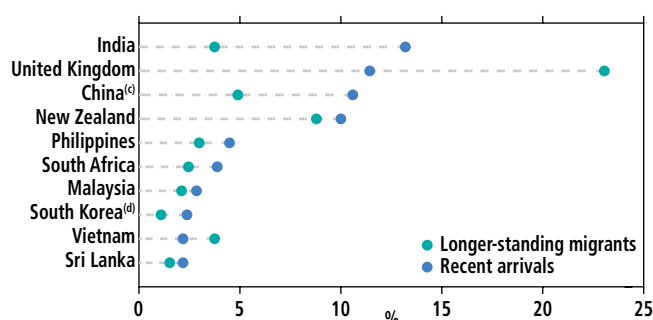
(a) Excludes Special Administrative Regions and Taiwan Province.

COUNTRY OF BIRTH

From colonial times, patterns of migration to Australia have been shaped by historical events and policies both in Australia and other parts of the world. In particular, the successive waves of migration since World War II have contributed to the make up of the overseas-born population in Australia in 2011. Initially most of these migrants were born in countries in North-West Europe and these were then followed by large numbers of migrants born in Southern and Eastern Europe.³ However, the proportion of the overseas-born population originating from Europe has been in decline in recent years, from 52% in 2001 to 40% in 2011.

In the 1970s, many migrants arrived in Australia from South-East Asia and in recent migration streams a number of Asian countries have made a large contribution.³ Reflecting this trend, the proportion of migrants born in Asia increased from 24% of the overseas-born population in 2001 to 33% in 2011. The proportion of the overseas-born population arriving from countries outside Europe and Asia has also increased.

SELECTED COUNTRIES OF BIRTH^(a), PROPORTION OF RECENT ARRIVALS AND LONGER-STANDING MIGRANTS BY BIRTH COUNTRY^(b)



(a) Top 10 countries of birth for recent arrivals.

(b) For example, people born in India accounted for 4% of longer-standing migrants and 13% of recent arrivals.

(c) Excludes Special Administrative Regions and Taiwan Province.

(d) Korea, Republic of (South).

Recent arrivals are those who arrived in Australia over the period 2007 to Census Night (9 August) 2011.

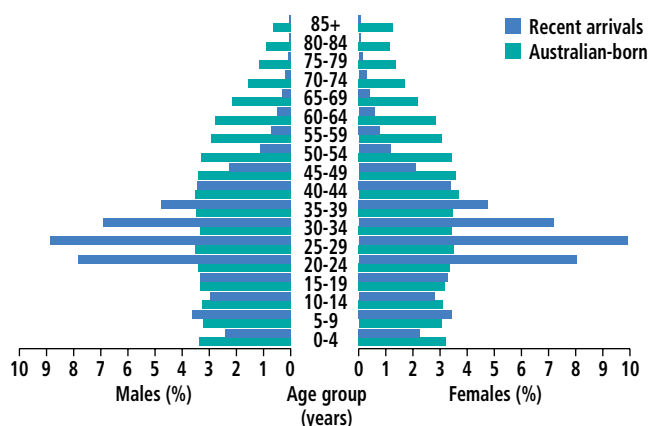
Longer-standing migrants are people who arrived in Australia before 2007.

TOP 10 COUNTRIES OF BIRTH FOR THE OVERSEAS-BORN POPULATION, SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Persons '000	Proportion of all overseas-born %	Median age years	Sex ratio ^(a)
United Kingdom	1,101.1	20.8	54	101.7
New Zealand	483.4	9.1	40	102.8
China ^(b)	319.0	6.0	35	79.8
India	295.4	5.6	31	125.2
Italy	185.4	3.5	68	104.7
Vietnam	185.0	3.5	43	84.6
Philippines	171.2	3.2	39	60.6
South Africa	145.7	2.8	39	96.9
Malaysia	116.2	2.2	39	83.5
Germany	108.0	2.0	62	90.6
Born elsewhere overseas	2,183.8	41.2	44	95.6
Total overseas-born	5,294.2	100	45	96.1

(a) Number of males per 100 females. (b) Excludes Special Administrative Regions and Taiwan Province.

2011 CENSUS AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION: RECENT ARRIVALS AND AUSTRALIAN-BORN



In 2011, the United Kingdom was the leading country of birth for the overseas-born population (21%). It was followed by New Zealand (9.1%), China (6.0%), India (5.6%) and Italy (3.5%). The most common countries of birth differed according to when migrants arrived in Australia. For longer-standing migrants (those who arrived before 2007) almost a quarter were born in the United Kingdom. The top 10 birthplaces for longer-standing migrants included four Asian and four European countries. However, the pattern differed for recent arrivals (those who arrived between 2007 and Census Night in 2011) with India being the leading birthplace for this group (13%). It was closely followed by the United Kingdom (12%), the only European country in the top 10 birthplaces for recent arrivals. Seven of the remaining countries for recent arrivals were Asian.

Recent arrivals make up a large proportion of some population groups in Australia, reflecting the increasing number of people born in Asian countries. Recent arrivals accounted for 47% of the total Indian-born population in Australia and 35% of the total Chinese-born population. In contrast, only 11% of the total United Kingdom-born population were recent arrivals.

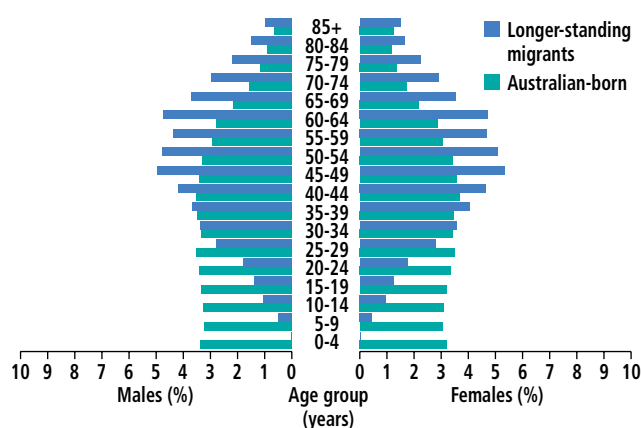
Country of birth groups which increased the most between 2001 and 2011 were India (up 200,000 people), China (176,200) and New Zealand (127,700). The largest decreases were seen in the birth countries of Italy (less 33,300 people), Greece (16,500) and Poland (9,400). These decreases can be attributed to deaths and low current migration levels replenishing these groups.

At the time of the 2011 Census, the median age for Australians counted in the Census was 37 years. Not surprisingly, longer-standing migrants had a much older age profile, with a median age of 50 years. As this group all arrived before 2007, it didn't include anyone under 5 years of age. Recent arrivals were considerably younger with a median age of 27 years. Their younger age distribution partly reflects criteria for Australian skilled migration visas which require successful applicants, in most cases, to be aged under 50 years.²

Of the leading 10 birthplaces, the oldest median ages were for people born in Italy (68 years), Germany (62 years), and the United Kingdom (54 years), reflecting earlier European migration.

In 2011, there were 98 males per 100 females in

2011 CENSUS AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION: LONGER-STANDING MIGRANTS AND AUSTRALIAN-BORN



SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF ANCESTRY GROUPS

ANCESTRY	Persons ^(a) '000	Proportion of total population %	GENERATIONS IN AUSTRALIA			Also stated another ancestry %
			First generation %	Second generation %	Third-plus generation %	
English	7,238.5	36.1	18.5	20.1	61.4	53.5
Australian	7,098.5	35.4	2.0	18.3	79.6	38.5
Irish	2,087.8	10.4	12.9	13.9	73.2	80.4
Scottish	1,792.6	8.9	17.1	19.1	63.8	78.3
Italian	916.1	4.6	24.1	41.0	34.9	44.3
German	898.7	4.5	17.3	19.8	62.9	75.4
Chinese	866.2	4.3	74.3	21.3	4.4	16.2
Indian	390.9	2.0	79.8	18.6	1.6	12.9
Greek	378.3	1.9	30.9	44.8	24.3	26.2
Dutch	335.5	1.7	32.5	43.3	24.2	55.1

(a) Table presents collective responses to ancestry question. As some people stated two ancestries, the total persons for all ancestries exceed Australia's total population.

Australia (this is known as the sex ratio). The number of males relative to females varied between birthplace groups for the overseas-born population. The groups with the highest sex ratio included Nepal (144 – that is, 144 Nepalese-born men for every 100 Nepalese-born women in Australia), Afghanistan (143) and Pakistan (143). The countries with the lowest ratio of males to females included Japan (47), Thailand (49) and the Russian Federation (60).

ANCESTRY

Ancestry is not necessarily related to a person's place of birth but is an indication of the cultural group that they most closely identify with. It gives insight into the

cultural background of both the Australian-born and overseas-born populations when ancestry differs from country of birth. The 2011 Census asked respondents to provide a maximum of two ancestries with which they most closely identify. As an example, they were asked to consider the origins of their parents and grandparents.

Over 300 ancestries were separately identified in the 2011 Census. The most commonly reported were English (36%) and Australian (35%). A further six of the leading ten ancestries reflected the European heritage in Australia with the two remaining ancestries being Chinese (4%) and Indian (2%).

Just under a third (32%) of people who responded to



RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

RELIGION	Population		Proportion born overseas ^(a)
	'000	%	%
CHRISTIAN	13,150.6	61.1	22.9
Catholic	5,439.2	25.3	24.0
Anglican	3,680.0	17.1	17.5
Uniting Church	1,065.8	5.0	11.4
Presbyterian and Reformed	599.5	2.8	26.3
Eastern Orthodox	563.1	2.6	43.6
Baptist	352.5	1.6	28.8
Lutheran	251.9	1.2	24.5
Pentecostal	238.0	1.1	32.6
Other Christian	960.7	4.5	31.0
NON-CHRISTIAN	1,546.3	7.2	67.0
Buddhism	529.0	2.5	69.4
Islam	476.3	2.2	61.5
Hinduism	275.5	1.3	84.3
Judaism	97.3	0.5	48.9
Other non-Christian	168.2	0.8	57.2
NO RELIGION	4,796.8	22.3	22.5
Total^(b)	21,507.7	100.0	26.1

(a) Proportion of people reporting this religion who were born overseas.

(b) Total includes inadequately described (supplementary codes) religions and people who did not state a religion.

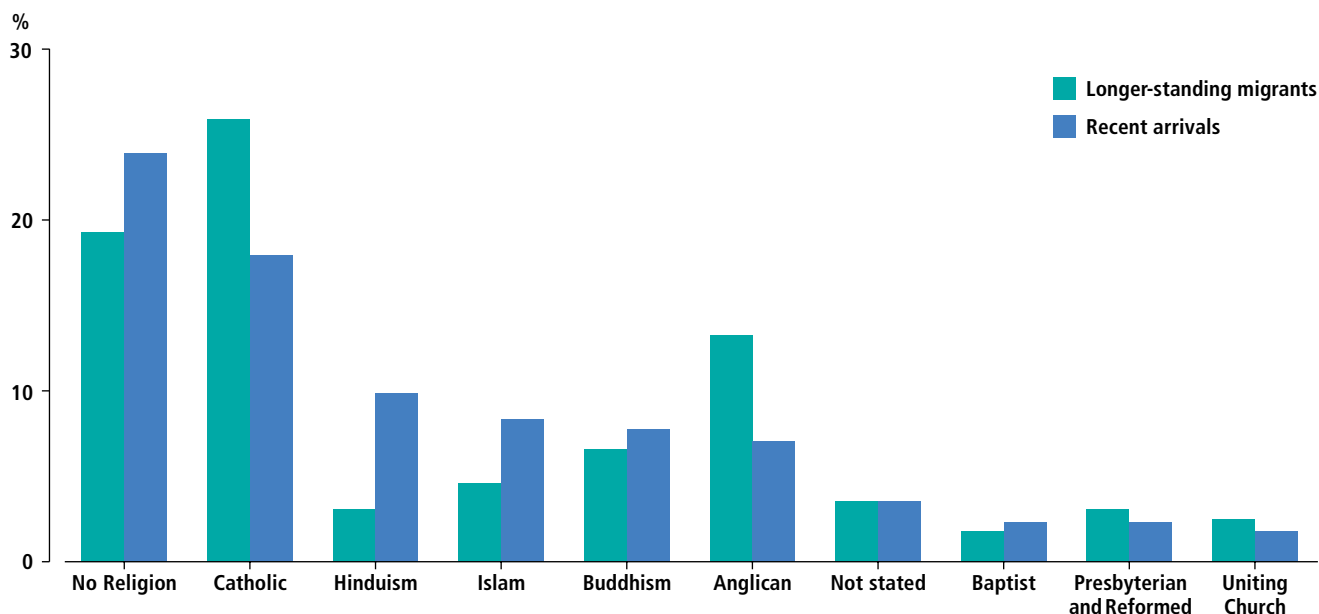
the ancestry question reported two ancestries. Second generation Australians were the generation most likely to report a second ancestry (46%). This may be due to having a strong connection to Australia and also to a parent's country of birth. Third-plus generation Australians were less likely (36%) to report a second



ancestry. As both the respondent and their parents were Australian-born, they may be less likely to have a connection to more than one country. The group least likely to report a second ancestry were first generation Australians (14%).

The vast majority of people who reported an Australian ancestry were born in Australia (98%). For most other ancestries, the majority of people were born either in Australia or the country associated with their ancestry. The European ancestries in the top 10 ancestry groups follow this pattern. For example, 83% of people who reported German ancestry were born in Australia and 10% were born in Germany. Only 7% were born in other countries. This pattern differed for the Asian countries in the top 10 ancestry groups. For example, for those who reported Chinese ancestry, 36% were born in China, 26% in Australia and 38% born in other countries. Of those who reported Indian ancestry, 61% were born in India, 20% in Australia and 19% born in other countries.

SELECTED RELIGIONS – LONGER-STANDING AND RECENTLY ARRIVED MIGRANTS^(a)



(a) Total includes inadequately described (supplementary codes) religions.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Since the first Census, the majority of Australians have reported an affiliation with a Christian religion. However, there has been a long-term decrease in affiliation to Christianity from 96% in 1911 to 61% in 2011. Conversely, although Christian religions are still predominant in Australia, there have been increases in those reporting an affiliation to non-Christian religions, and those reporting 'No Religion'.

In the past decade, the proportion of the population reporting an affiliation to a Christian religion decreased from 68% in 2001 to 61% in 2011. This trend was also seen for the two most commonly reported denominations. In 2001, 27% of the population reported an affiliation to Catholicism. This decreased to 25% of the population in 2011. There was a slightly larger decrease for Anglicans from 21% of the population in 2001 to 17% in 2011. Some of the smaller Christian denominations increased over this period – there was an increase for those identifying with Pentecostal from 1.0% of the population in 2001 to 1.1% in 2011. However, the actual number of people reporting this religion increased by one-fifth.

Between 2001 and 2011, the number of people reporting a non-Christian faith increased considerably, from around 0.9 million to 1.5 million, accounting for 7.2% of the total population in 2011 (up from 4.9% in 2001). The most common non-Christian religions in 2011 were Buddhism (accounting for 2.5% of the population), Islam (2.2%) and Hinduism (1.3%). Of these, Hinduism had experienced the fastest growth since 2001, increasing by 189% to 275,500, followed by Islam (increased by 69% to 476,300) and Buddhism (increased by 48% to 529,000 people).

The number of people reporting 'No Religion' also increased strongly, from 15% of the population in 2001 to 22% in 2011. This is most evident amongst younger people, with 28% of people aged 15-34 reporting they had no religious affiliation.

Over half of the overseas-born population (56%) reported a Christian denomination; the two most commonly reported were Catholicism (24%) and Anglicanism (12%). Non-Christian religions were reported by 19% of the overseas-born population, with Buddhism (6.8%), Islam (5.4%) and Hinduism (4.3%) being the most prevalent. The proportion of the overseas-born population who reported 'No religion' was 20%, slightly lower than the level for the Australian population as a whole (22%).

Recent arrivals were less likely than longer-standing migrants to report an affiliation to Catholicism (18% and 26% respectively) and Anglicanism (7% and 13% respectively). In contrast, a higher proportion of recent arrivals reported Hinduism (10.0% compared to 3.0%), Islam (8.4% compared to 4.7%) and Buddhism (7.7% compared to 6.6%). These differences reflect the larger number of new arrivals from non-European countries. New arrivals were also more likely than longer-standing migrants to report 'No Religion' (24% compared to 19%).

LANGUAGE

In 2011, 81% of Australians aged 5 years and over, spoke only English at home while 2% didn't speak English at all. The most common languages spoken at home (other than English) were Mandarin (1.7%), Italian (1.5%), Arabic (1.4%), Cantonese (1.3%) and Greek (1.3%).

Almost half (49%) of longer-standing migrants and 67% of recent arrivals spoke a language other than English at home. This probably reflects the main countries of birth for these two groups and also the amount of time spent in Australia. However, this doesn't provide any indication of their ability to speak English. Over half (51%) of longer-standing migrants reported speaking English very well, while 2.6% reported not speaking English at all. For recent arrivals, 43% reported speaking English very well and the proportion who reported not speaking English at all was 3.1%.

TOP 10 LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME^{(a)(b)}

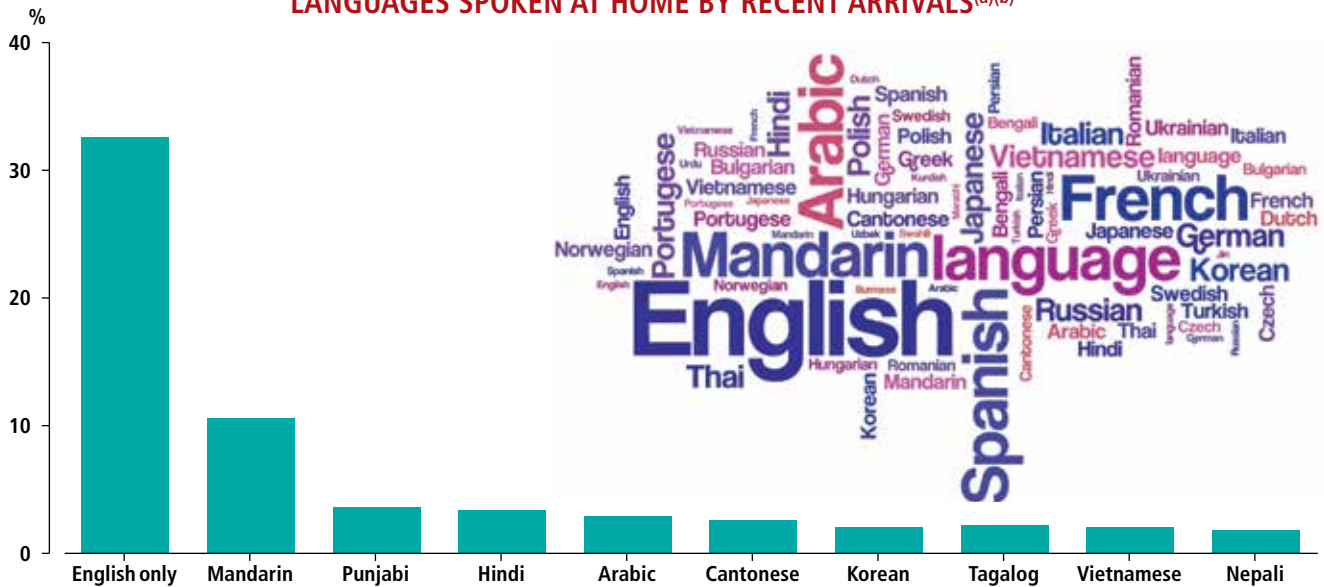
LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME	Persons '000	Proportion of total population %	Proportion who spoke English very well %	Proportion born in Australia %
English only	15,394.7	80.7	..	83.8
Mandarin	319.5	1.7	37.5	9.0
Italian	295.0	1.5	62.1	43.2
Arabic	264.4	1.4	61.9	38.5
Cantonese	254.7	1.3	46.4	19.9
Greek	243.3	1.3	65.0	54.1
Vietnamese	219.8	1.2	39.5	27.9
Spanish	111.4	0.6	62.1	21.9
Hindi	104.9	0.5	80.2	9.8
Tagalog	79.0	0.4	66.9	5.9

(a) Excludes persons aged under 5 years.

(b) Proportion of people reporting this language who were born in Australia.

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LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME BY RECENT ARRIVALS^{(a)(b)}



(a) Excludes those aged under 5 years.

(b) Arrived between 2007 and Census Night (9 August) 2011.

First generation Australians had the highest proportion of people who spoke a language other than English at home (53%). It was much lower for second generation Australians (20%) and the third-plus generation (1.6%). The most commonly spoken languages for longer-standing migrants, who spoke a language other than English at home, were Mandarin (4.3%), Cantonese (4.2%), Italian (3.7%) and Vietnamese (3.2%). For recent arrivals, the languages spoken at home varied from those for longer-standing migrants and the overseas-born population as a whole. Just under a third (32.6%) of newly arrived migrants aged 5 years and over spoke only English at home. This was followed by Mandarin (10.8%), Punjabi (3.7%), Hindi (3.3%) and Arabic (3.0%).

ENDNOTES

1. Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004, 'Where do the Overseas-born population live?' in *Australian Social Trends*, cat. no. 4102.0, viewed: 18 May 2012, www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/mf/4102.0
2. Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Booklet 6, General Skilled Migration*, viewed: 24 April 2012, www.immi.gov.au
3. Australian Bureau of Statistics 2010, *Migration, Australia, 2009-10*, cat. no. 3412.0, viewed: 18 May 2012, www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/3412.0Main+Features12009-10

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Australian Bureau of Statistics (21 June 2012). *2071.0 – Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012-2013*. Retrieved from www.abs.gov.au on 12 November 2015.

WHAT IS MULTICULTURALISM?

THE COMMONWEALTH DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES DEFINES THE MEANING OF MULTICULTURALISM AS A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT POLICY

In a descriptive sense multicultural is simply a term which describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia. We are, and will remain, a multicultural society.

As a public policy multiculturalism encompasses government measures designed to respond to that diversity. It plays no part in migrant selection. It is a policy for managing the consequences of cultural diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole.

The Commonwealth Government has identified three dimensions of multicultural policy:

- **Cultural identity:** the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion
- **Social justice:** the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or

place of birth, and

- **Economic efficiency:** the need to maintain, develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.

These dimensions of multiculturalism are expressed in the eight goals articulated in the National Agenda. They apply equally to all Australians, whether Aboriginal, Anglo-Celtic or non-English speaking background; and whether they were born in Australia or overseas.

There are also limits to Australian multiculturalism. These may be summarised as follows:

- Multicultural policies are based upon the premises that all Australians should have an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future first and foremost
- Multicultural policies require all Australians to accept the basic structures and principles

of Australian society – the Constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality, Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes, and

- Multicultural policies impose obligations as well as conferring rights: the right to express one's own culture and beliefs involves a reciprocal responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values.

As a necessary response to the reality of Australia's cultural diversity, multicultural policies aim to realise a better Australia characterised by an enhanced degree of social justice and economic efficiency.

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Department of Social Services
(7 November 2014). *What is multiculturalism?* Retrieved from www.dss.gov.au on 10 November 2015.



VALUING MULTICULTURALISM

Almost half of all Australians were either born overseas or had a parent born in another country, according to this **Australian Human Rights Commission** fact sheet

Australia is home to people who identify with more than 270 ancestries from all over the world. This rich, cultural diversity is one of our greatest strengths as a nation and is something that should be celebrated.

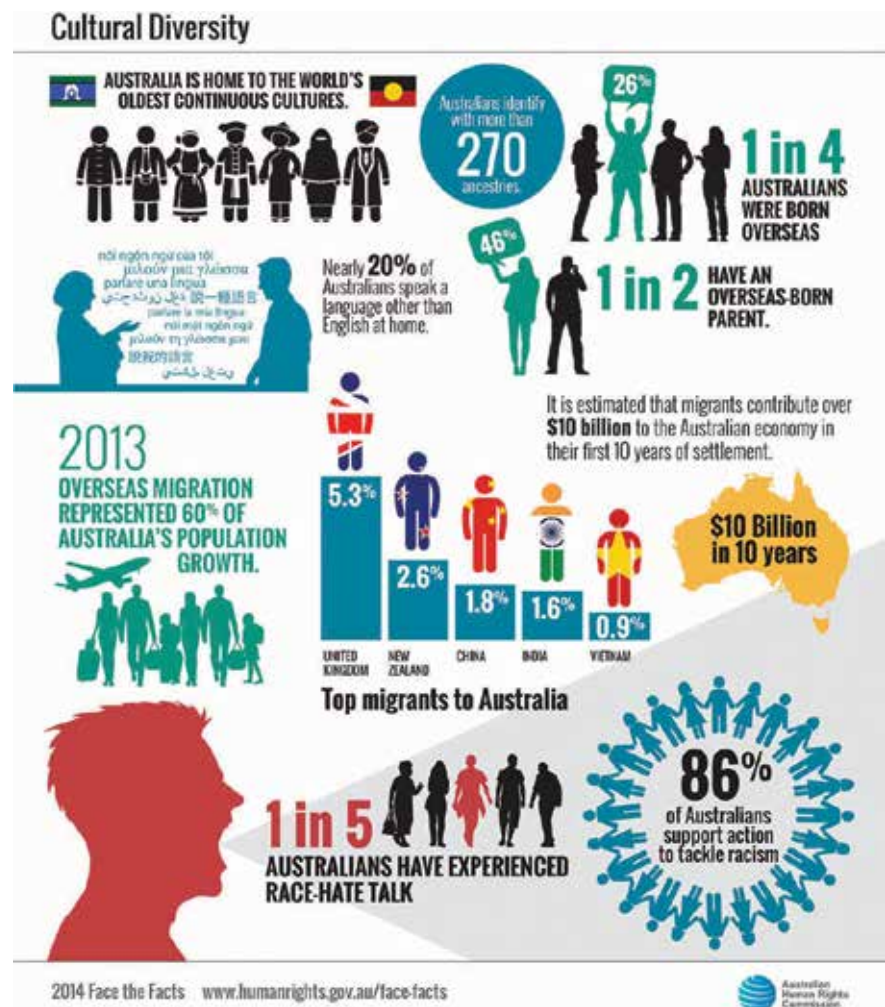
87% of Australians think that it is good that our community is made up of people from different cultures. It allows us to enjoy new traditions, a more diverse public discourse, and delicious food.

Despite this, many individuals experience unfair treatment and racism because of how they look or where they come from. Racism means that people of all backgrounds are not treated equally and do not have the same opportunities.

For instance, did you know that Australians without Anglo-Saxon names have to send up to two-thirds more applications to get a job interview?

All people in Australia – no matter what their national, cultural or religious background – have a right to feel safe, respected and part of the community in which they live. This is the way to ensuring a stronger Australia as a whole.

Australian Human Rights Commission (2014). *Valuing multiculturalism*. Retrieved from <https://somethingincommon.humanrights.gov.au> on 11 November 2015.



Australia is home to people who identify with more than 270 ancestries from all over the world. This rich, cultural diversity is one of our greatest strengths as a nation and is something that should be celebrated.

AUSTRALIA'S MULTICULTURAL POLICY

FACT SHEET INFORMATION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

Australia's approach to multicultural policy embraces our shared values and cultural traditions and recognises that Australia's multicultural character gives us a competitive edge in an increasingly globalised world. The approach articulates the rights and responsibilities that are fundamental to living in Australia and supports the rights of all to celebrate, practise and maintain their cultural traditions within the law and free from discrimination. It also aims to strengthen social cohesion through promoting belonging, respecting diversity and fostering engagement with Australian values, identity and citizenship, within the framework of Australian law.

Parliamentary statement on racial tolerance

In October 1996, the government formally reaffirmed its commitment to racial respect. The Prime Minister moved a statement on racial tolerance in the Australian Parliament's House of Representatives.

The statement read:
'That this House:

- Reaffirms its commitment to the right of all Australians to enjoy equal rights and be treated with equal respect regardless of race, colour, creed or origin
- Reaffirms its commitment to maintaining an immigration policy wholly non-discriminatory on grounds of race, colour, creed or origin
- Reaffirms its commitment to the process of reconciliation with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, in the context of redressing their profound social and economic disadvantage
- Reaffirms its commitment to maintain Australia as a culturally diverse, tolerant and open society, united by an overriding commitment to our nation, and its democratic institutions and values, and
- Denounces racial intolerance in any form as incompatible with the kind of society we are and want to be.'

The statement was supported by the Opposition Leader and carried unanimously.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA'S MULTICULTURAL POLICIES

Background

Australia's approach to immigration from federation until the latter part of the 20th century, in effect, excluded non-European immigration. The 'White Australia' policy as it was commonly described was progressively dismantled by the Australian Government after World War II.

The prevailing attitude to migrant settlement up until this time was based on the expectation of assimilation – that is, that migrants should shed their cultures and languages and rapidly become indistinguishable from the host population.

From the mid-1960s until 1973, when the final vestiges of the 'White Australia' policy were removed, policies started to examine assumptions about assimilation. They recognised that large numbers of migrants, especially those whose first language was not English, experienced hardships as they settled in Australia, and required more direct assistance.

They also recognised the importance of ethnic organisations in helping with migrant settlement.

Expenditure on migrant assistance and welfare increased in the early 1970s in response to these needs.

Multiculturalism

By 1973, the term 'multiculturalism' had been introduced and migrant groups were forming state and national associations to maintain their cultures, and promote the survival of their languages and heritages within mainstream institutions.

Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki pursued multiculturalism as a social policy while chair of the Social Patterns Committee of the Immigration Advisory Council to the Whitlam Labor Government.

- 1973 – Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam Government issued a reference paper entitled *A multi-cultural society for the future*.
- 1975 – At a ceremony proclaiming the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, the Prime Minister referred to Australia as a 'multicultural nation'. The Prime Minister, and Leader of the Opposition, made speeches demonstrating for the first time that multiculturalism was becoming a major political priority on both sides of politics.
- 1977 – the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, appointed to advise the Fraser Liberal-Country



Party Government, recommended a public policy of multiculturalism in its report *Australia as a multicultural society*.

- 1978 – the first official national multicultural policies were implemented by the Fraser Government, in accord with recommendations of the *Galbally Report* in the context of government programs and services for migrants.
- 1979 – an Act of parliament established the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), whose objectives included raising awareness of cultural diversity and promoting social cohesion, understanding and tolerance.
- 1986 – the AIMA Act was repealed by the Hawke Government, which, in 1987, created the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.
- 1989 – following community consultations and drawing on the advice of the Advisory Council for Multicultural Affairs, the Hawke Government produced the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, which had bipartisan political support.
- 1994 – a National Multicultural Advisory Council was established to review and update the national agenda. Its report, launched in June 1995, found that much had been achieved and recommended further initiatives.
- 1996 – following the election of the Howard Government in March 1996, OMA was absorbed into the then Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs.
- 1996 – parliament endorsed the *Parliamentary Statement on Racial Tolerance*.
- 1997 – the Government announced a new National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC).
- 1999 – the Prime Minister launched NMAC's report, *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*.
- December 1999 – in response to the NMAC report, the government issued its multicultural policy, *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*, and NMAC was wound up.
- May 2003 – the government released its multicultural policy statement, *Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity*. It updated the 1999 new agenda, set strategic directions for 2003-06, and included a commitment to the Council for Multicultural Australia.
- December 2008 – the Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (AMAC) was officially launched.
- April 2010 – AMAC presented its advice and recommendations on cultural diversity policy to government in a statement titled *The People of Australia*.
- February 2011 – *The People of Australia – Australia's Multicultural Policy* was launched.



- August 2011 – the Australian Multicultural Council was officially launched.
- March 2013 – the government announced its response to the recommendations of the Access and Equity Inquiry Panel.
- September 2013 – under new Administrative Arrangements Order, the Prime Minister transferred multicultural affairs from the Immigration portfolio into the new Department of Social Services.

© Commonwealth of Australia 2007.

Department of Social Services (2007). *Fact Sheet – Australia's Multicultural Policy*, Last updated 20 May 2014. Retrieved from www.dss.gov.au on 10 November 2015.

NATIONAL SOCIAL COHESION REPORT REFLECTS COMPLEX CHANGE

*Australians are accepting of cultural diversity and immigration, but concerned about changes impacting on social justice, according to new social cohesion research by the **Scanlon Foundation***

Produced in partnership with Monash University and the Australian Multicultural Foundation, the 2015 *Mapping Social Cohesion* report tracks public attitudes on issues including immigration, multiculturalism, discrimination, and belonging, and maps our national mood via the Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion.

Report author, Professor Andrew Markus said while the overall shift in the Scanlon-Monash Index of Social Cohesion was positive, the domain of Social Justice and Equity had slipped. And, in 2015, the index sits at the third lowest point since 2007.

“The upward trend in the social cohesion index shows that overall, Australia remains a stable and highly cohesive society. It shows experience of discrimination based on ethnic background and religion has lessened from 18% to 15% since last year, and there continues to be a high level of acceptance of immigration and cultural diversity.

“Most people (86%) agree that multiculturalism has been good for Australia – almost the same proportion as in 2013 and 2014.

“However, in the domain of social justice, there has been a decline in satisfaction since the election of the Coalition government. This reflects concern over lack of support for those on low incomes, the increasing gap between rich and poor, and continuing low trust in government,” said Professor Markus.

Trust in government has been down since 2009. Just 16% of respondents agreed that the system of government we have in Australia works fine as it is, and only 30% agree that government can be trusted to do the right thing for Australian people ‘almost always’ or ‘most of the time’.

Key findings also show that in 2015, economic concerns remain on top in the ranking of the most important issue facing Australia today, with national security, terrorism, and social issues ranking second.

“Economic issues have ranked first as a major problem facing Australia in the last four surveys, but concern is not increasing. In 2015, 24% of people have indicated dissatisfaction with their present financial situation – this was the same last year.

“The most significant change has been in concern for national security and terrorism, which has increased from less than one per cent in 2014, to 10% in 2015,” said Professor Markus.

Social issues including childcare, family breakdown and drug use also ranked higher. The proportion of respondents who see this as the top issue facing Australia has doubled since 2012. Concern over the

Summary of findings by state and region

- Residents in regional Australia have lower support for immigration, cultural diversity and the resettlement of asylum seekers arriving by boat in Australia than respondents living in capital cities.
- Residents in regional areas are more likely to consider Australia’s immigration intake to be too high with 44% of people holding this view, compared to 36% in capital cities – but in both areas, this is a minority view.
- Residents in Melbourne and Canberra have the highest level of support for cultural diversity, compared with those in Brisbane and Perth who are most negative.
- The lowest level of trust in the federal government was in Victoria, the highest level in Queensland and Western Australia.

affordability of housing also registered an increase.

The level of concern about immigration remains at the lowest point recorded by the Scanlon Foundation surveys – just 35% of respondents consider that the intake is too high. Since 2014, there has been little change in attitudes toward asylum seekers arriving by boat – just one in four people consider that they should be eligible for permanent settlement in Australia.

In response to questions on integration, two thirds of respondents agreed that Australians should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of immigrants, while a similar proportion agreed that immigrants should change their behaviour to be more like Australians.

Professor Markus says that, “the survey found considerable support for the idea that both people born in Australia and immigrants needed to adapt to life in a changing Australia”.

Scanlon Foundation CEO, Anthea Hancocks said the *Mapping Social Cohesion* report provided valuable insight for government, business and the community.

“Australia’s diverse culture is one of its most defining characteristics. Understanding public attitudes through this report, is one way to ensure we address issues that are crucial to sustaining social cohesion,” said Ms Hancocks.

The 2015 survey was conducted in June and July and employed a national representative sample of 1,500 respondents. Its findings build on the data collected from thirteen earlier *Mapping Social Cohesion* reports, surveying a collective sample of more than 25,000 people since 2007.

Scanlon Foundation (29 October 2015). *National social cohesion report reflects complex change* (Media release). Retrieved from <http://scanlonfoundation.org.au> on 8 December 2015.

Multiculturalism and social cohesion

Scanlon Foundation surveys have found a consistently high level of endorsement of multiculturalism, according to this latest report extract

The 2013, 2014 and 2015 Scanlon Foundation surveys asked for response to the proposition that 'multiculturalism has been good for Australia'. Agreement has been consistent, in the range 84-86%, while the proportion indicating 'strong agreement' has shown statistically significant increase, from 32% in 2013 to 43% in 2015. However, the meaning of multiculturalism in the Australian context is open to interpretation.

TABLE 25: 'MULTICULTURALISM HAS BEEN GOOD FOR AUSTRALIA', 2013-2015 (PERCENTAGE)

	2013	2014	2015
Strongly agree	32.2	37.1	43.3*
Agree	52.2	47.7	42.4*
Sub-total: agree	84.4	84.8	85.7

* Change between 2014 and 2015 statistically significant at $p < .05$.

The 2013 survey asked respondents to indicate level of agreement with five statements concerning multiculturalism, presented in both positive and negative terms:

- Benefits/does not benefit the economic development of Australia.
- Encourages/discourages immigrants to become part of Australian society.
- Strengthens/weakens the Australian way of life.
- Gives immigrants the same/more opportunities than the Australian born.
- Reduces/increases the problems immigrants face in Australia.

The strongest positive association of multiculturalism was with its contribution to economic



The strongest positive association of multiculturalism was with its contribution to economic development (75% agree) and its encouragement of immigrants to become part of Australian society (71%).

development (75% agree) and its encouragement of immigrants to become part of Australian society (71%).

FIGURE 21: 'MULTICULTURALISM HAS BEEN GOOD FOR AUSTRALIA', 2013-2015

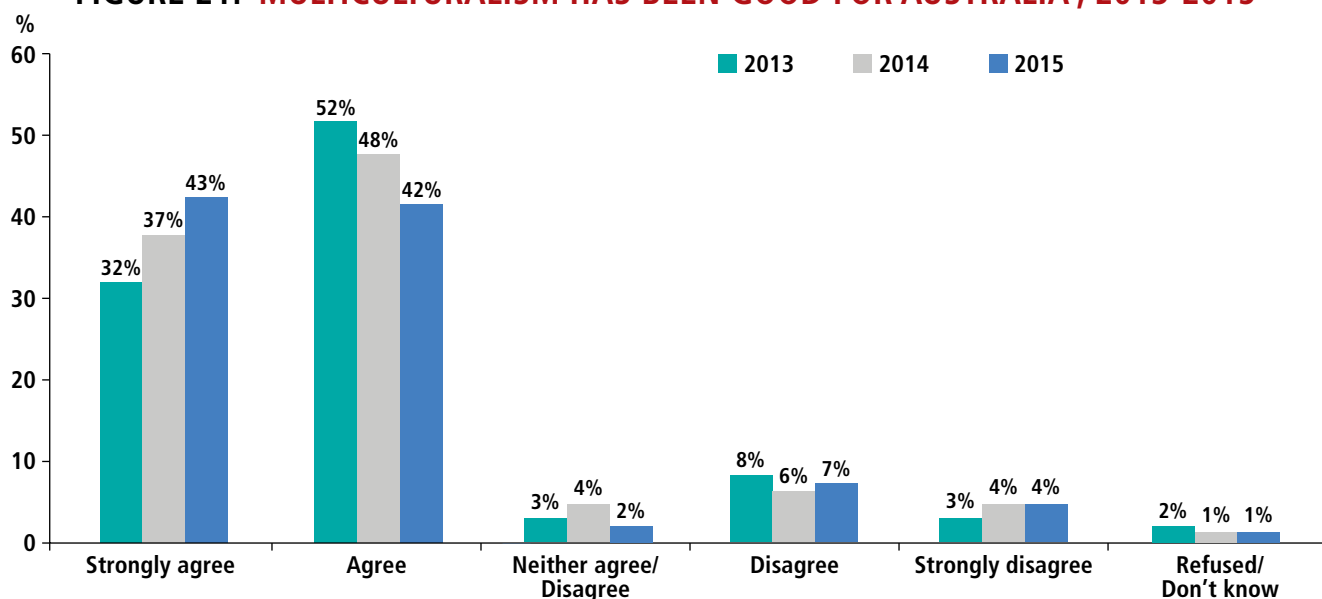


TABLE 26: RESPONSE TO CULTURAL DIVERSITY, SELECTED QUESTIONS, 2015 (PERCENTAGE)

	Learn more about customs	Be more like Australians
Strongly agree	25.0	26.8
Agree	43.3	38.1
Sub-total: agree	68.3	64.9

A minority, close to one in four of respondents, consider that it is up to immigrants to accommodate themselves to life in Australia, without change on the part of Australians.

Two new questions asked in different sections of the 2015 survey presented juxtaposed views on the extent to which Australians and immigrants should change their behaviour in the context of immigration. The two propositions were worded:

1. 'We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups in this country.' (C4_2)
2. 'People who come to Australia should change their behaviour to be more like Australians.' (F2_5)

The two propositions elicited a similar pattern of response: 25-27% were in strong agreement, 38-43% agreement, a combined 65-68%.

The connection between answers to the two propositions are open to a range of interpretations: if 'people who come to Australia' change their behaviour then there may be less or no need for Australian residents to learn about their customs and heritage; or if Australian residents learn about the different cultural groups there may be less need for immigrants to 'change their behaviour to be more like Australians'.

On the other hand, the propositions may be seen as compatible and complementary: both Australian residents and immigrants may learn about each other, and both change their behaviour.

To further understanding of the connection between responses, analysis was undertaken of the pattern of bivariate correlation. This analysis indicates that:

- The largest proportion, 39%, see multiculturalism

as a two-way process in which Australians and immigrants both play an active role in changing their behaviour (agree that 'we should do more to learn about customs and heritage' of immigrants and agree that immigrants should 'change their behaviour to be more like Australians')²⁶

- 23% consider that it should be Australians who change their behaviour, not immigrants (agree that 'we should do more to learn about customs and heritage' of immigrants and disagree that immigrants should 'change their behaviour to be more like Australians')
- 23% consider that it is up to immigrants to adapt to life in Australia, without change on the part of Australians (disagree that 'we should do more to learn about customs and heritage' of immigrants and agree that immigrants should 'change their behaviour to be more like Australians')
- 3% consider that neither Australians nor immigrants should change (disagree that 'we should do more to learn about customs and heritage' of immigrants and disagree that immigrants should 'change their behaviour to be more like Australians').

The 2015 survey thus provides further evidence of the meaning of multiculturalism in the Australian context. In Australia, multiculturalism is seen by close to 85% of respondents as a positive contributor to economic development and a success in facilitating integration. Bivariate analysis finds close to two-thirds of respondents in support of both Australian residents and immigrants adapting to a changing Australian society, or of Australians 'do[ing] more to learn about the customs and heritage of ethnic and cultural groups in this country'. A minority, close to one in four of respondents, consider that it is up to immigrants to accommodate themselves to life in Australia, without change on the part of Australians.

ENDNOTE

26. This result is obtained by the following calculation: those who agree that 'people who come to Australia should change their behaviour to be more like Australians' and also agree that 'we should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups' (590 respondents) as a percentage of all respondents (1,501).

Markus, A (2015). *Mapping Social Cohesion The Scanlon Foundation surveys 2015*, pp. 41-43. Retrieved from <http://monash.edu> on 11 November 2015.

TABLE 27: 'We should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different ethnic and cultural groups' correlated with 'People who come to Australia should change their behaviour'. Response options by proportion of respondents, 2015 (percentage)

RESPONSE OPTION	PERCENTAGE
One-way change: Australians learn customs and traditions	22.9
Two-way change: Australians learn, immigrants learn	39.3
One-way change: immigrants adapt to be more like Australians	23.0
Status quo: neither Australian nor immigrants change	3.0
Neither agree or disagree / Don't know / Refused	11.8

BUILDING SOCIAL COHESION

The following speech was first presented by Race Discrimination Commissioner, **Tim Soutphommasane** from the Australian Human Rights Commission

I'd like to begin by acknowledging the Darug people, the traditional owners of the land on which we meet and pay my respects to elders past and present. I also acknowledge the fine work of the University of Western Sydney, particularly Dr Sev Ozdowski, in putting together this conference. It's most timely; it concerns a very important national conversation that we should be having right now.

I'd like to focus my remarks on on three set of issues. One concerns our record of social cohesion and the reasons for Australia's success in that area. The second set of issues concerns how we best combat racism, especially the role of legislative protections against discrimination. The third set of issues concerns that of values and leadership.

Two incidents of racism

I'll begin, however, by reflecting on two incidents last week. The first incident, which many of you will be familiar with, concerned Dawn Fraser and her comments about tennis player Nick Kyrgios. Dawn Fraser said that Nick Kyrgios should go back to where his parents came from; those remarks were directed also at a fellow tennis player Bernard Tomic.

In the response to those remarks, we saw a number of things. One was perhaps the reflection of generational attitudes concerning immigration or the place of migrants in our society. That was certainly my first response in hearing of Dawn Fraser's comments. I didn't think we should presume in the first instance that they were a reflection of some deep-seated personal racist animus against migrants. They probably just reflected a generational attitude that people had in how you might respond to people with certain backgrounds.

But we also saw with that incident an overwhelming response. There was a public outcry. Very shortly after Dawn Fraser made those remarks, she offered an unreserved apology to Nick Kyrgios and his family. That is a reflection of the progress that we've made as a society. Ten, twenty, thirty years ago you may not have seen such a public outcry; you may not have seen such a public apology. The fact that that was offered, it shows that the vast majority of Australians don't believe that it's appropriate to tell people that they should go back to to where they're from.

The second incident concerns something that happened last Friday night. It was brought to my attention by a staff member at the Australian Human Rights Commission. This staff member is blind. Last Friday night she took a taxi ride home; at night she generally finds it a challenge to navigate her way back into her apartment. On this occasion last Friday night, the taxi driver was kind enough to get out of the taxi and to escort her back to the apartment.

About ten minutes later, this staff member's brother entered the apartment in a flustered and agitated state. What had happened was that the taxi driver had parked in another resident's car spot. According to her brother, the resident who owned the spot had gone down and tried physically to remove this taxi driver from his seat – and the actions were accompanied by all sorts of racial epithets. There was some property damage done to the taxi. The windows were damaged, glass was smashed. The staff member's brother told the neighbour that he was going to call the police, which ended the situation.

Now, I tell you this story as well just to remind all of us that such a violent incidence of racism still occur. While there is a new generational form of racial



prejudice and discrimination today embodied by that category of so called casual racism, this shouldn't leave us under any apprehension that more extreme and violent forms of racism still occur.

Building social cohesion

On combating racism, it is essential that we think about the challenge of building social cohesion. They're like two opposite sides of the coin. Quite often, we think of racism as something that inflicts harm on individuals personal health or wellbeing. There's also, of course, an important and profound social cost when it concerns racism. Whenever there is an act, whether it's covert or overt, whether it's to do with prejudice or attitudes or physical violence, an act of racism undermines the sense of assurance that all members of our society should have. Assurance about their freedom to live their lives with decency and with equality.

We have many threats today when it concerns race and social cohesion. Many of them Deputy Commissioner Nick Kaldas has already catalogued. We are seeing – based on the community response that I get through my work – a rise in the abuse and harassment of Muslim and Arab Australians. This is particularly so amid rising community anxiety about national security. We see as well reports of rising anti-Semitism. We see a concerning rise in anti-Chinese sentiment.

And we see extremist organisations being active in ways that we haven't seen for a very long time. While these groups have only marginal public support, it is concerning is that they are coming out in public and not confining their activities underground.

But let me turn those to some of the good news – because there is good news to be told. Australia's history as a nation of immigration, particularly since the end of the Second World War, is a genuine national success story. Very few countries have been able to conduct programs of mass immigration and not encounter significant social discord or fragmentation. In every decade since the end of the Second World War, Australia has taken more than 1 million migrants. Look at the results: a widespread acceptance of multiculturalism; a celebration to multiculturalism.

We do not have periodic outbursts or outbreaks of civil unrest or rioting, whereas that is quite common in many other liberal democracies. The children of migrants outperform the children of native-born Australians when it concerns education and employment. Eighty per cent of those who arrive in Australia as migrants become Australian citizens within a decade. These are all signs of the success that we have had in maintaining social cohesion.

There are a number of reasons that we can pinpoint for why this success has occurred. The first concerns the nation building character of our immigration program and our multiculturalism. In the years immediately following the Second World War, this was articulated very explicitly in terms of 'populate or perish'. Over time, the rationale has changed; nonetheless, that nation-building

dynamic has always been there. Immigration is there to strengthen our economy. It's there to enrich our country. It's something that is about building Australia into a bigger and better country.

There's the nature of our migration intake as well. Since the late '70s, there has been an emphasis on skilled migration and English proficiency among migrants. This goes some way to explaining why migrants have generally, on average, enjoyed very good labour market outcomes.

And there has been political leadership on all this. Traditionally matters of migration and matters of multiculturalism have not been the subject of political contest. There has been agreement that too much has been at stake to subject these matters to the usual rough and tumble of partisan politics.

Multiculturalism and racial discrimination legislation

There is another reason for our success, namely, concerning multicultural policy. All of the success that I've mentioned happened by accident or happened organically. It's been a matter of design in part.

This goes to some of the conversations that have been occurring at this conference about the exceptional character of Australian multiculturalism. Indeed, what multiculturalism has meant here in the Australian experience is very different to the multiculturalism that is referred to in Europe or elsewhere. Multicultural policy is not merely symbolic, but also muscular and practical in nature.

I'll give you a quick illustration. I spent some years in England conducting research in political philosophy. When I explained to my English counterparts that multiculturalism as policy in Australia meant very practical things – having migrant resource centres where new migrants can get information about how to get a Medicare card, how to enrol their children in school or get information about how rubbish is collected in their local neighbourhood – they were surprised. They didn't have anything equivalent in the UK, notwithstanding an ostensible British commitment to multiculturalism. Those very basic things that we take for granted as part of the multicultural experience are not necessarily things that occur in other national contexts – underlining just again how unique and peculiar our experience of multiculturalism has been.

The legislative backbone to this multiculturalism has taken the form of the *Racial Discrimination Act*. This Act this year celebrates its 40th Anniversary. It was passed in 1975 by the Parliament as the first federal piece of legislation concerning human rights and discrimination.

It's interesting to reflect on the peculiar history of this legislation. In America the idea of racial equality was one that came about because of a concerted civil movement, because of a result of a comprehensive struggle, because of voices like Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King. It was accompanied by a grandeur of rhetoric: the notion of a nation coming to fulfil a certain dream.

In Australia, we did not have such momentum behind

the passage of racial discrimination laws. Yes, there was a Freedom Ride in 1965 that was instigated by Charles Perkins, which revealed for the first time in many respects the kind of segregation that existed in many towns. We had a boycott of the touring Springbok party in 1971, and in response Joh Bjelke-Petersen in fact declared a six-week long period of state emergency in Queensland. But for the most part there wasn't just kind of broad civil movement.

Nonetheless, the law has had profound effects. Before 1975, if you went to a bar and you weren't served because you were black or because someone did not like the colour of your skin; if you were denied a room in a hotel because you were Chinese – there was nothing that you could do. You could not claim that the law was even on your side. The *Racial Discrimination Act* changed this.

Over time there were additions made to the law. The most profound addition was made in 1995 when racial vilification provisions were introduced to the law. These provisions made it unlawful to do an act that offends, insults, humiliates or intimidates another person or group of people because of their race. This is the provision of Section 18C of the Act, which has been the subject of much debate in recent times. The effect of having such provisions in our discrimination legislation, though, is this; it says to people that you cannot inflict mental harm on others and believe that you can get away without some consequences. It says that you should be able to hold others to account if you have been subjected to discrimination or vilification.

Contrary to what some people say, you can't be prosecuted and you can't be convicted under the *Racial Discrimination Act*. That's because the law is a civil law. It means only that someone can make a complaint to the Australian Human Rights Commission which then attempts to conciliate the matter. To give you a sense of how the law works, the vast majority of cases never reach court. Less than 3 per cent of cases last year, for example, reached court. The majority of more than 60 per cent of complaints are successfully conciliated by the Commission, reflecting the educative and civil nature of the legislation we have against racial discrimination.

Values and leadership

Having a law in place isn't, of course, sufficient to combat racism. Here's where values and leadership enter the picture.

Not least, the value of citizenship has been central to our success in maintaining cohesion. Citizenship is a relatively new concept in the Australian political and legal culture. Prior to 1948, there was in fact no category for citizenship in Australia. Those who were members of Australian society were subjects of the British crown; they were not citizens.

We have here a clear reflection of how central citizenship is for the Australian national story when it concerns immigration. In a country where we have cultural and ethnic diversity, it is in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship that we find our common ground. As Professor Andrew Markus and Professor Peter

Shergold have said, multiculturalism has been articulated expressly in terms of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

We are, at the moment, having a debate about citizenship – about whether citizenship should be revoked in some circumstances. We should have a very sober and calm deliberation about any changes to our citizenship regime. Currently, one can have citizenship ceased or revoked if one fights with the armed forces of a foreign country that is at war with Australia. If there is going to be an expansion of the categories of conduct which enliven a cessation of citizenship, it should be confined to those forms of criminal conduct that are commensurate with serving with the armed forces of a country at war with Australia. If there is to be an expansion of the circumstances in which citizenship can be revoked, it has to be accompanied by safeguards as to due process for Australian citizens.

Let me make two other points very quickly about values and leadership values. Leadership is connected with the language that we use in our political debates about counter-violent extremism, community harmony, social cohesion, multiculturalism. We need to be very careful about how we use these terms, because the last thing we would want to do is to pathologise multiculturalism: to think of multiculturalism only as a response to violent extremism and forget that there is in fact a positive aspiration of nation-building that is at the essence at our multiculturalism.

In talking about national security, let's also remember that we are best placed to fight any threat through national unity as opposed to social division. We also need to ensure that the leadership that we have on such matters is expressed at all levels of our society. Yes, through our political leaders and our elected representatives; but also at the grassroots levels of our communities.

I want to conclude on this note about the response of communities to questions of race and social cohesion. Last week I had the pleasure of catching up with two individuals who had stood up to racism in public places. One, Stacey Clark, responded in a Sydney train carriage to a woman who was abusing a Muslim couple. Another, Jason Cias, intervened on a Melbourne train carriage after a group of tradesmen began vilifying (again) a group of Muslim passengers. Jason would end up being punched in the face, and getting injured. But when asked would he do it again, he answered the only thing he would change was to have said something earlier.

In the examples of Stacey Clark and Jason Cias, we have demonstrations of the goodwill in our community and people's increased willingness to confront racism. That, for all of us, should be a source of some cautious optimism as we navigate what will be very tricky waters ahead on matters of social cohesion.

Soutphommasane, T (16 July 2015).
Building social cohesion. Retrieved from
www.humanrights.gov.au on 11 November 2015.

'Securitisation' presents challenges for migrant settlement and integration

The implications of recent and proposed policy changes for new immigrants and potential citizens are still uncertain, writes **Caitlin Nunn**

The recent integration of the Australian Customs and Border Protection Service into the Department of Immigration – and the creation within it of the Australian Border Force (ABF) – is the latest in a series of changes to the department that reflect the increasing securitisation of immigration policies, processes and language.

In the 70 years since its creation, the department has undergone multiple changes in both name and purview to reflect social and political demands. Notably this saw the inclusion of Ethnic Affairs from 1976, and of Multicultural Affairs from 1996. There have also been brief dalliances with Labour (1974–75), Local Government (1987–93)

and Indigenous Affairs (2001–06).

But, in many respects, the 2013 shift to Immigration and Border Protection – and the creation of the ABF – is the most profound change in the department's history. It signifies a reorientation from building Australia to protecting it.

What the changes mean

One potentially productive aspect of this shift is the divorcing of settlement and multicultural affairs from immigration and their relocation to the Department of Social Services.

While such significant changes always risk losing in transition some of the knowledge and expertise embedded in a department, this shift aligns settlement and

multiculturalism with other areas of policy and service provision that address issues of inclusion, equity and wellbeing.

It is also symbolically important in its separation, for the first time, of multiculturalism from immigration. It locates multiculturalism firmly within the nation, reflecting its intergenerational and community-wide relevance.

However, the removal of settlement and multiculturalism responsibilities clears the way for the department to focus its attention more sharply on the border: both Australia's physical border and the threshold for formal membership within it.

At the same time, departmental and ministerial power is expanding in both of these domains, along with decreasing opportunities for external scrutiny and oversight.

And while the department no longer has responsibility for settlement and multiculturalism, its actions – and particularly its words – continue to cast a long shadow over those from migrant backgrounds.

In positioning migrants and their descendants – be they asylum seekers arriving by boat or second-generation Muslim Australians – as a security risk, the department contributes to negatively shaping public opinion and community reception of people from particular migrant backgrounds.

Implications for citizenship

With the exception of unauthorised maritime arrivals, whose – lack of – avenues for entry and inclusion have been made abundantly clear, the implications of recent and proposed policy changes for new immigrants and potential citizens are still uncertain.

However, a discussion paper on Australian citizenship suggests that

In positioning migrants and their descendants – be they asylum seekers arriving by boat or second-generation Muslim Australians – as a security risk, the department contributes to negatively shaping public opinion and community reception of people from particular migrant backgrounds.





in the context of an increased focus on the risk of terrorism, greater demonstrations of allegiance will likely be required.

Among the possibilities for 'strengthening the citizenship framework' proposed in the discussion paper are limits to the number of times the citizenship test can be taken before a candidate is rejected, and an increased emphasis on loyalty to Australia in both the test and the Pledge of Commitment.

Such proposals are, for the most part, extensions of amendments to the *Australian Citizenship Act* introduced in the 1990s and 2000s. Yet they also reflect a wider ideological shift in immigrant-receiving countries away from viewing citizenship as a foundation for migrant integration and toward regarding it as a reward granted to those who can demonstrate, via such mechanisms as duration of residence and linguistic and cultural competency, that they are already successfully integrating.

In addition, the focus of proposed terrorism-related citizenship reforms on dual citizens highlights the different rights and value attached to different modes of acquiring and holding Australian citizenship.

While it has long been the case that dual nationals could have their citizenship revoked in a few, limited circumstances, the proposals to strip those involved in terrorism of their citizenship draw public attention to a rarely acknowledged

The perpetuation of a public discourse that frames particular migrants and their descendants as a security risk – and thereby cultivates suspicion and exclusion – in turn poses a risk to members of targeted communities.

hierarchy. They also reflect an implicit assumption that conferred citizens and those with multiple allegiances are a possible threat to the nation.

There are suggestions that these different modes of citizenship could have a practical effect on the consequences meted out for forms of political action and expression that fall well short of direct engagement in terrorism. The potential for proposed legislation to be applied or extended in ways that reinforce an inequitable citizenship structure with different levels of opportunity and constraints is troubling.

Implications for settlement

Even without this, changes to policy and discourse have potential implications for the settlement and integration of migrants. A 2011 study commissioned by the department into the settlement outcomes of newly arrived refugees found that being treated well by the local community was one of four key indicators of successful settlement.

A number of studies have also demonstrated the detrimental effects of discrimination and exclusion on wellbeing. The perpetuation of a public discourse that frames

particular migrants and their descendants as a security risk – and thereby cultivates suspicion and exclusion – in turn poses a risk to members of targeted communities.

The securitisation of the department, and of immigration and citizenship more generally, is reshaping the relationship between Australia and its recent and future migrants. While the allegiances of some migrants and their descendants may present a challenge for Australia, it is also worth considering what is at stake if Australia decreases its allegiance to migrants.

Caitlin Nunn is Researcher, Department of Social Inquiry, La Trobe University.

THE CONVERSATION

Nunn, C (16 July 2015). 'Securitisation' presents challenges for migrant settlement and integration. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com> on 10 November 2015.

How national multicultural legislation would strengthen Australian society

*Recent federal governments have not had the courage to draft, debate, test and pass legislation asserting and implementing Australian multiculturalism, observes **Andrew Jakubowicz***

Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull has made much of the strength of Australian multiculturalism in shaping his government's response to violent extremism. This flies in the face of governments of both stripes endeavouring for the past 30 years to ensure that as little backbone as possible is put into Commonwealth multiculturalism policy. This is a problem when extremist groups like Hizb ut-Tahrir continue to make claims based on their definition of multiculturalism. Meanwhile, mainstream Australia isn't allowed to define multicultural priorities, as the policy has no legislative legitimacy.

Shirking the issue

States have had legislation for nearly 40 years that not only asserts the values of multiculturalism (equity, access, participation, engagement) but also mandates the principles' systematic application in public services.

It has not led to local ethnic Armageddon. Despite the depths of the moral panic over Islam, the 2015 Scanlon survey found that 86% of those interviewed believe multiculturalism is good for Australia.

Since the Hawke government first floated the idea in a 1989 discussion paper, no government has had the courage to draft, debate, test and pass legislation asserting and implementing Australian multiculturalism.

The situation has been even more dramatic than the pre-emptive buckle to multiculturalism's opponents would suggest. Government inquiry after inquiry has refused to even recognise that such an issue exists. They have declined to take note of any submission or component of submission that proposes federal legislation in any area of multiculturalism.

A 1999 Howard-era report made no reference to a legislative model for multiculturalism. In doing so it specifically avoided the proposals made under Bob Hawke.

The 2010 advice from the Multicultural Advisory Council to the Rudd government avoided any mention of legislation, despite submissions. The 2012 review of access and equity specifically discussed the question of legislation in its meetings, but then made no mention of these discussions in its report.

The most notorious case must be the joint parliament committee report in 2013, brought down unanimously (but toothlessly) under the second Rudd government. I, and others, made specific submissions that proposed a version of the Canadian legislative model. But in discussions with committee members at a public hearing it was clear to me that both sides of politics would do anything to avoid having to mention legislation.

And indeed that's what happened. The report's logic pointed towards the necessity of a legislative base. The

report's politics steered it towards denial.

Parallel to the withdrawal from any fashion of legislation, governments slung the multiculturalism portfolio further and further down the ministerial food chain. Hawke had kept it close to him, but Paul Keating preferred indigenous issues.

John Howard disliked both and demoted the idea, the policies, and the management. He ejected Multicultural Affairs from his department, and then grudgingly allocated it to the lowest end of the ministerial outriders. It has remained there since.

Multiculturalism only resurfaced as a significant issue when Attorney-General George Brandis in 2014 sought to amend Section 18C of the *Racial Discrimination Act*. He managed to galvanise a dormant coalition of opponents that brought together Chinese, Jewish, indigenous, Greek, and Arab (but not Muslim) leaders in a sustained defence of this one area of legislated civility.

Why it matters

Australians in general like the idea of a culturally diverse society. This is not surprising, given the high proportion of overseas-born Australians and their immediate descendants. They recognise the creativity that comes from the interaction of different ideas and viewpoints. They are happy with individual cultural traditions being retained so long as the consequences do not breach social harmony. They really do not like inter-group vilification, though they want to affirm a common bond of fairness and respect – words Turnbull uses repeatedly.

When multiculturalism and these principles are marginalised as they were during the Howard, Abbott and Rudd years, social cohesion unwinds. When the allocated political champion of multiculturalism of the day has no legislative lever from which to shift prejudice and encourage engagement, society suffers.

Given the sustained avoidance of legislated multicultural goals and practices by governments and the evident consequences in pockets of alienation and fragmentation, it should be time for a debate on what form of legislative framework Australians would like to see in support of their desires for a fair and multicultural public sphere.

This means an Australian Multiculturalism Act, and a ministerial remit for the whole of government.

Andrew Jakubowicz is Professor of Sociology and Co-director of the Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Research Centre, University of Technology Sydney.

Jakubowicz, A (5 November 2015). 'How national multicultural legislation would strengthen Australian society', *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com> on 10 November 2015.

Multiculturalism and Australian Identity

An historically relevant speech given by former Shadow Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, **Jim Short**, at a conference hosted by the Australian Government in conjunction with the NSW Government and Australian Multicultural Foundation

Before getting into the subject matter of my remarks, let me say how much I regret that the Australian Government has chosen to play domestic party politics in its choice of Australian-speaking participants at this important conference attended by so many distinguished visitors from overseas. Even before the recent defeat of the Coalition State Government in NSW I was one of, I think, only three non-Labor politicians invited to participate in the deliberations of the conference in a speaking or chairing capacity.

Now I think I may be the only one. That contrasts with a minimum of 15 such appearances by Labor Party politicians or ex-politicians. It is ironic, and sad, that this has occurred with a conference that is billed as the Australian Government's centrepiece contribution to the UN International Year of Tolerance, a word that, in Australian idiom, is roughly translated as a fair and equal go for all.

The irony becomes even greater when I remind you that it was a non-Labor Government, the Coalition Government of 1975, 1983, that introduced most of the post-arrival, or settlement programs that still today underpin Australia's multicultural policies, programs, that have made the actual operation of Australia's cultural diversity the envy of most other nations.

Such partisan actions by government run the considerable risk of causing a backlash in the Australian community against the very cultural diversity within the framework of a cohesive, unified Australia, that the existing government professes to espouse and which has always been at the heart of the policies of the Liberal Party.

This conference is being held at a time which many Australians feel is one of uncertainty and confusion

about where Australia is heading as a nation.

Many commentators take this one step further and assert that Australia has a national identity crisis, and that somehow that is the result of what is called multiculturalism, which in turn they equate with what we call cultural diversity. Many Australians feel this means a loss of what they have seen traditionally as a recognisable Australian identity. For example, in his last public speech that great Australian the late Sir Paul Hasluck said, "Personally, I can scarcely recognise in Australia today the characteristics which I thought were native to Australia in 1950".

I want to test some of these assertions today and put forward a couple of my own. To do so we need to define some of the terms we use, in particular 'multiculturalism', 'cultural diversity', and 'national identity'.

This is a very sensitive area of public policy. It rouses the

passions, and widely-differing views. I think part of the reason for this is that these terms mean different things to different people. Some people don't think that matters. I do, because discussions on these matters frequently get derailed through the participants being on different definitional trains.

No more so is this the case than with the word multiculturalism. Professor John Hirst has talked about soft multiculturalism and hard multiculturalism. By 'soft' multiculturalism he means a word descriptive of the attitudes long displayed in Australia towards migrants, tolerance, and a satisfaction and acceptance in seeing migrants participate fully in Australian life. By 'hard' multiculturalism he means a view which insists there are grave shortcomings in Australian society which can only be corrected by government support for migrant cultures.

Former NSW Premier Nick Greiner defines multiculturalism

Many commentators assert that Australia has a national identity crisis, and that somehow that is the result of what is called multiculturalism, which in turn they equate with what we call cultural diversity. Many Australians feel this means a loss of what they have seen traditionally as a recognisable Australian identity.



as “the capacity to accept difference, to tolerate difference and uncertainty.”

I note also the view of the distinguished scholar John Gray in his Latham Memorial Lecture that “multiculturalism is in truth the negation of cultural diversity ... because it... aims to embalm the dead or dying vestiges of overwhelmed or occluded traditions and preserve their remains as public spectacles.”

Depending on which of these descriptions of multiculturalism you choose, your attitude towards the concept will be very different indeed. And to confuse the issue even more, no less a person than Professor Zubrzycki, arguably the father of multiculturalism in Australia, has told us the word ‘multiculturalism’ has passed its use-by date.

Similarly, confusion can exist with the term ‘cultural diversity’. It is becoming increasingly common to equate, almost automatically, ‘cultural diversity’ with ‘ethnic diversity’. The Australian Minister for Ethnic Affairs did so consciously, publicly, at a function I attended just the other evening. He is by no means alone in so doing. But again, of course, there can be a world of difference between the two, depending on your definition.

And so too does the term ‘national identity’ provoke differing interpretations. Indeed, is there such a thing as national identity, or are we so different in so many ways that the concept is meaningless?

I guess we would all have different views, some widely different, on what goes to make up our national identity. The noted Australian author, David Malouf, for example, believes “we should for a time suspend the attempt to define our Australianness in terms of qualities or national characteristics, which are notoriously difficult to identify ... and try describing it instead in terms of experience: that part of our experience that as Australians we hold in common.”, that it is community of experience that holds us together. That “we are capable of living with multiple and contradictory views, which does not limit our

capacity to speak of our experiences as communal and shared.”

I mention these different views because we can all too easily assume that we are all on the same wavelength on concepts such as this when in fact not always is this the case by any means.

Having said that, I would like now to put forward how I interpret and understand these terms and concepts. Let me start with ‘national identity’.

I think there are certain characteristics about Australia, and certain institutions which, taken together, do enable us to discern an Australianness, an identity if you like, that distinguishes Australia as a nation and its inhabitants as Australians, despite our different backgrounds, including ethnic racial or religious backgrounds, different tastes and beliefs. It is the combination, the mix, that is the distinguishing feature, rather than the existence of any of the particular components of the mix.

The elements I would identify include:

- An egalitarianism, with no discernible class structure
- An essentially non-discriminatory attitude towards one another so far as racial, ethnic, national or religious differences are concerned
- A strong belief in fair play and a fair go
- A basic friendliness and outward-goingness (not to be confused with extroversion, which is not a characteristic)
- Tolerance
- A dislike of pretence and arrogance
- A healthy scepticism of authority
- A self-deprecating sense of humour
- Despite our appearance of political apathy, a strong belief in liberal democratic political traditions (ours is, after all, one of the longest unbroken democratically elected parliaments in the world)
- A basic stability and security in our major institutions

- A concern for a total quality of life rather than measuring standard of living solely in material terms.

We often forget that the Australia of 100 years ago was a world leader in several important respects. Australians then enjoyed the highest material living standards in the world. We had adult suffrage. Our concept of democratic governance and the elected parliamentary process was already deeply ingrained.

It is because of this commonality of underpinning, characteristics that virtually all Australians exhibit, whatever their racial, ethnic or other backgrounds may be, that we are able to sustain the extraordinary degree of cultural diversity we enjoy.

Some of these characteristics have endured throughout our history. Others have developed over time. Some of this has occurred as a result of a natural evolution. Nothing remains static and totally unchanged in life. Some of the development has been the inevitable result of successive waves of immigrants throughout our history, including in particular the last 50 years.

We have seen an inevitable, and very beneficial, interaction between newcomers to Australia and the more established Australians. The newcomers have impacted on the Australia they have joined, whilst they have in turn been influenced by those existing Australians with their institutions, values, and practices.

John F. Kennedy, in his book *A Nation of Immigrants*, said “The interaction of disparate cultures, the vehemence of the ideals that lead the immigrants here, the opportunity offered by a new life, all gave America a flavour and a character that made it unmistakable. There is no part of our nation that has not been touched by our immigrant background. Each wave of immigrants has left its own distinctive contribution to the building of the nation and the evolution of American life.” I think Kennedy’s words have real relevance to Australia.

The bottom line of this interaction

and reaction is the progressive development of a way of life, a set of values, and an institutional base that are uniquely Australian. They are not static. They will continue to change, to develop, to evolve, to be shaped, as circumstances change, as time goes by, as the new communities become older established communities, as still newer communities emerge.

This is the essence of cultural diversity in the fullest meaning of the term. Cultural diversity goes beyond ethnic diversity, important though the latter is. The overall culture of any nation, or community, is shaped by more than its ethnic composition. Other factors play profound roles too. I refer in particular to the enormous changes in family structures, in the role of women in society and, in particular, in the workplace in the nature of work and job security, in attitudes towards sexuality and the stability of marriage, to name just a few of the more obvious.

Over the past 20 to 30 years these factors arguably have had a more significant impact on the nature and character of Australia than has the immigrant intake, important though that intake undoubtedly has been.

These are the main reasons the noted Australian social researcher Hugh McKay, has identified what he calls our existing Age of Anxiety. McKay adds another factor, and that

is multiculturalism. As he correctly says, Australia has always been a multiracial nation, and Australians have seen and understood Australia as multiracial. The term 'multicultural Australia' has developed only in the last 20 years or so, even though governments in the 1950s and 1960s pursued many policies which in today's terminology unquestionably would be considered to be multicultural policies.

McKay says many Australians have difficulty in coming to grips with multiculturalism. They are confused about what it actually means. They are concerned that it will lead to the loss of values, institutions, processes that are the pillars on which their lives are built. The heading of an article contributed recently to one of our newspapers summed up this concern succinctly. The article was entitled "Feeling Strange in a Familiar Land".

If we do not understand such feelings and address them squarely, we risk a backlash against further immigration, which could have profound and damaging long-term consequences.

The overwhelming majority of new Australians who chose to come here to live did so because they felt that Australia would allow them the opportunity to be free, to fulfil their potential as individuals, as families,

as members of society, devoid of the oppression, prejudice, bigotry, constraints, lack of opportunity and hope that beset many of their home countries and that caused them to take the huge step of uprooting themselves and moving to a new life on the other side of the world.

These people want an Australia that glories in the freedom and diversity it affords its residents, but which at the same time respects the core values and the basic institutions that attracted them to Australia in the first place.

We must ensure that the practice of multiculturalism in Australia is directed to the pursuit of the maintenance of those values that have made Australia the envy of most other nations and people: tolerance; a fair go; non-discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, religion; the opportunity to fulfil one's potential; freedom from oppressive or undue government interference; and to provide security and hope for a better future for our families and their families.

The truly endearing quality of Australia to all Australians, but especially to immigrants, is our liberal political traditions which enable individuals to live their lives in freedom and with choice, without fear or government interference.

So, in conclusion, what of multiculturalism and the Australian identity. Surely there can be no doubt that Australia is a richly culturally diverse nation, and that a major contribution to this has been the encouragement by successive governments over the past half century to newcomers to Australia to participate fully in the life of their new nation, respecting the values and the institutions of their new nation whilst at the same time leavening those values and institutions with some of the attitudes and practices of their countries of origin, and by preserving, celebrating, and disseminating the values and traditions of their homelands.

Unquestionably, therefore, multiculturalism in this sense has had a defining impact on the Australian identity. Thus this has not been

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just since the term multiculturalism became the vogue word in the 1970s. It has been the case ever since European settlement commenced in 1788.

The former Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, established by the Coalition Government of Malcolm Fraser in 1979, but regrettably abolished by the existing Government in the mid-1980s, defined multiculturalism as follows:

Multiculturalism recognises the ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity of Australian society and actively pursues equality of opportunity for all Australians to participate in the life of the nation and the right to maintain ethnic and cultural heritages within the law and the political framework.

It is clear from this concept of multiculturalism, with which I agree, that multiculturalism and an evolving national identity, I stress the word “evolving”, can go hand in hand. It not only recognises the legitimacy of cultural diversity. It also welcomes the enriching role it can play within an overall unifying commitment to Australia and to shared common values. One

Australia, many cultures. At the same time, it encompasses the ‘cement’ or ‘glue’ of our basic institutional framework, including in particular our common language.

It is perhaps more difficult to be definitive as to whether, in Australia, with its history of progressive social policy and egalitarianism, multiculturalism is, to use Stepan Kerkyasharian’s phrase, “an expression or an agent of social change”.

It is certainly true that we live in a world of often bewildering change, and of change at a bewildering pace. Sometimes the rate of change is too much for us, and we get confused and concerned and insecure.

In recent years we have seen a major resurgence in support for Anzac Day and its national significance for a growing number of Australians, particularly the young, and regardless of their origins. It may well be that this resurgence owes much to our fear of losing our national identity in the face of such rapid, and often unpredictable, cultural and other changes that so impact on all our lives.

The challenge for us is to build on the past, to nurture and cherish the best elements of the past, evolved, heritages and to use them as a base

for incorporation in a new emerging identity that has equal regard and relevance for all Australians. In doing so we must take care to ensure that our encouragement of cultural diversity, in its full sense, is not achieved at the expense of shared values.

Senator Jim Short was Shadow Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and Assisting the Leader on Multicultural Affairs, Australia.

This speech was given by Senator Short at the 1995 Global Cultural Diversity Conference Proceedings, Sydney.

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Department of Social Services.

Short, J (1995). *Multiculturalism and Australian Identity*, Last updated 7 November 2014. Retrieved from www.dss.gov.au on 10 November 2015.

AUSTRALIA'S MULTICULTURAL FUTURE IS A STORY IN THREE PARTS

What distinguishes Australia is the extraordinary extent to which people of different cultural backgrounds work, play and form families together, notes **Peter Shergold**

I was recently asked by the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia to contribute my thoughts on “the narrative of multiculturalism”.

I pondered awhile. What could make the account provocative but persuasive, gripping but reassuring, honest yet celebratory? How could I persuade those who fear that a commitment to ethnic or religious diversity might undermine social cohesion?

I decided that Australia's multicultural future would require three major chapters.

Say what you mean to say

In Australia's story, the noun – multiculturalism – should be used infrequently. Any ‘-ism’ has ideological undertones. It suggests social engineering: a political philosophy being foisted on an unwilling public. We need to treat people with emotional intelligence.

The adjective – multicultural – is both more neutral and more compelling. Multicultural Australia is a powerful description of the evolution of the national identity to which we are all contributing in our everyday lives.

We need to be clear on our message. What distinguishes Australia is not just our ethnic diversity but the extraordinary extent to which people of different cultural backgrounds work, play and form families together. Multicultural policies simply frame the process by which our cultural roots intertwine.

One can also talk meaningfully of multicultural policies. Government interventions are necessary to the extent that they ensure that barriers to equality of opportunity are removed and that migrants' skills, ambitions and entrepreneurial drive can be harnessed for everyone's benefit.

Strike a delicate balance

It's important to ensure that Australia's narrative doesn't lose direction. Pride in multicultural diversity must not slide down the slippery path of cultural relativism. We should not feel that we have to accept inappropriate behaviours for fear that criticism might cause cultural offence – or, worse still, turn a blind eye to them.

We need instead to proclaim that our commitment to a multicultural future is firmly founded on distinctive liberal values and a framework of universal rights.

Those principles include:

- Freedoms of speech and assembly
- Respect for dissent and for the views of others
- Equality of the sexes and before the law, and
- Acknowledgement of individual property rights.

These are the hallmarks of a secular society that extols a free press, an independent judiciary, democratic politics and voluntary philanthropy.

These are the values of reason not dogmatism. They liberate knowledge. They are the foundation of human freedom, personal liberty and political pluralism.

Australia hasn't always lived up to those standards, but these are the aspirations against which we measure our success. They underpin rule of law and representative government.

Australia's narrative should affirm that these values lie at the heart of our multicultural ethos. We need to emphasise that the right to express one's own cultural perspectives and beliefs imposes a reciprocal responsibility to accept the rights of others to express different views. That does not mean that we cannot argue about them.

Multicultural policies do not require us always to hold back our criticisms for fear that they will be perceived as culturally insensitive or politically incorrect. Open but polite public discourse should be the hallmark of civic engagement in a multicultural Australia.

What distinguishes Australia is not just our ethnic diversity but the extraordinary extent to which people of different cultural backgrounds work, play and form families together. Multicultural policies simply frame the process by which our cultural roots intertwine.



AUSTRALIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIONAL IDENTITY

ANUpoll findings conducted by Dr Jill Sheppard from the Social Research Centre at the **Australian National University**

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE 'AUSTRALIAN'

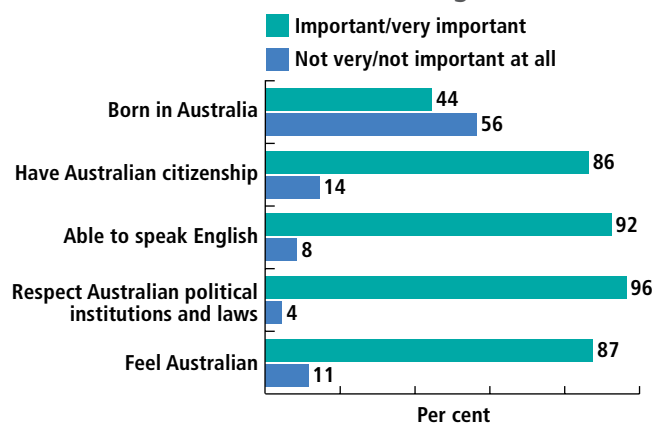
KEY POINTS

- An ability to speak English and to respect political institutions and laws are considered to be the most important factors in 'being Australian'.
- Being born in Australia is the least important factor, with more than half of Australians describing it as not important.
- Since 1995, fewer Australians believe that being born outside of Australia is a barrier to 'being Australian', although speaking English is considered more important than previously.

Australian' – and its counter, 'unAustralian' – is regularly used to describe intangible qualities of members of Australian society. To understand what 'Australian' really means to people in Australia, respondents were asked to rate the importance of a range of traits and behaviours.

Overwhelmingly, Australians believe that the ability to speak English is important to being Australian; while 92 per cent agree that language is important, 65 per cent see it as being 'very important', with only 27 per

"Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Australian. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is ..."



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

cent responding 'fairly important'. This represents an increase from 1995, when the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) asked identical questions. In that survey, 86 per cent responded that the ability to speak English was important, with 59 per cent responding with 'very important'. Since 1995, the percentage who do not believe English language skills are important to being Australian fell from 12 to eight per cent.

By contrast, a majority of Australians believe it is not important to have been born in Australia to 'be Australian': 44 per cent say that it is important, compared to 56 per cent who say it is not. These figures have reversed since 1995, when 55 per cent said it was important and 44 per cent said it was not. Where Australians have become more likely to believe that 'Australianness' requires the ability to speak English, being born overseas has become less of a barrier.

Other measures of 'Australianness' – citizenship, respect for political institutions and laws, and that individuals feel Australian – are overwhelmingly considered important. Furthermore, the strong agreement on the importance of these measures has been consistent since 1995, suggesting that they are not easily shifted by external factors and are central to somebody being described as 'Australian'.



PRIDE IN AUSTRALIA

KEY POINTS

- Australians are overwhelmingly proud of their country across a range of dimensions.
- Sporting and scientific achievements evoke the most pride among Australians, compared with the country's social security system and fair and equal treatment of all groups in society.
- Pride in most areas of Australian society has largely increased since 1995, with greater numbers expressing the strongest levels of pride.

Pride in one's country is inextricably linked with a sense of national identity. If someone expresses a strong sense of national identity, it tends to follow that they are proud of that nation. To this end, Australians report high levels of pride across a range of dimensions of Australian society. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Australians are most proud of the country's achievement in sports, and science and technology with 90 per cent of respondents, in both cases, reporting they were proud. Moreover, this pride is deep-seated: in 1995, 93 per cent of ISSP respondents reported being proud of Australian scientific achievements, and 91 per cent were proud of national sporting achievements.

More central to Australia's political system, 82 per cent of respondents are proud of the way democracy works in Australia. Only 32 per cent are 'very proud', while 49 per cent are only 'somewhat proud'. However, this represents a substantial increase from previous studies: the 2003 ISSP study found that 25 per cent of respondents were 'very proud' and 53 per cent 'somewhat proud', while the 1995 ISSP study found only 16 per cent of respondents were 'very proud' and 64 per cent 'somewhat proud'. The data here suggest that pride in Australia's democracy has not necessarily become more widespread over the past

20 years, but has become stronger.

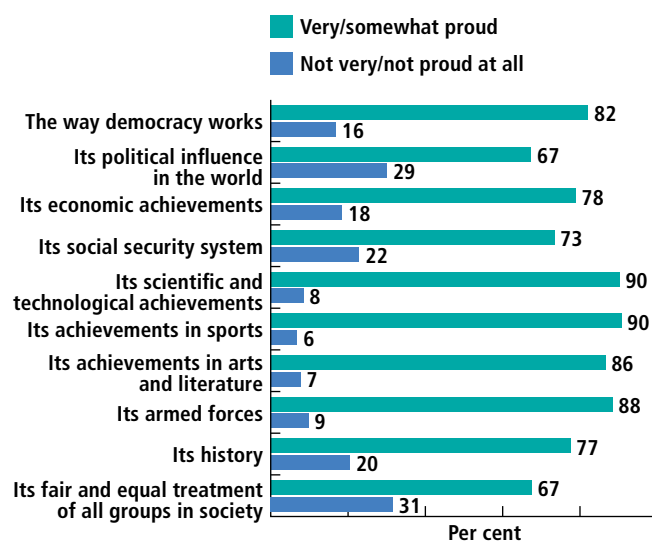
While Australians report high levels of pride across most of the dimensions, in some areas they are notably less proud: Australia's political influence in the world, its social security system and its fair and equal treatment of all groups. Pride in Australia's political influence in the world has increased dramatically over time, from total support of 50 per cent of Australians in 1995, a low of 24 per cent of Australians in 2003, and subsequent 43 point increase to 2015. This may be attributable to Australia's temporary membership of the United Nations Security Council in 2013-2014, or it may represent a more permanent shift in Australians' perceptions of the country's role in global affairs.

Opinion on Australia's social security system and fair and equal treatment of all groups in society has improved since 1995. Pride in the social security system has increased from 52 per cent in 1995 and 57 per cent in 2003, while pride in the country's fair and equal treatment of all groups has risen from 56 per cent in 1995 and 58 per cent in 2003.

The similar trends across these various measures suggest the existence of genuine shifts towards greater national pride among Australians. Even where some factors of Australian life evoke less pride than the 'high watermarks' of sport and scientific achievements, Australians are reporting greater pride over time.

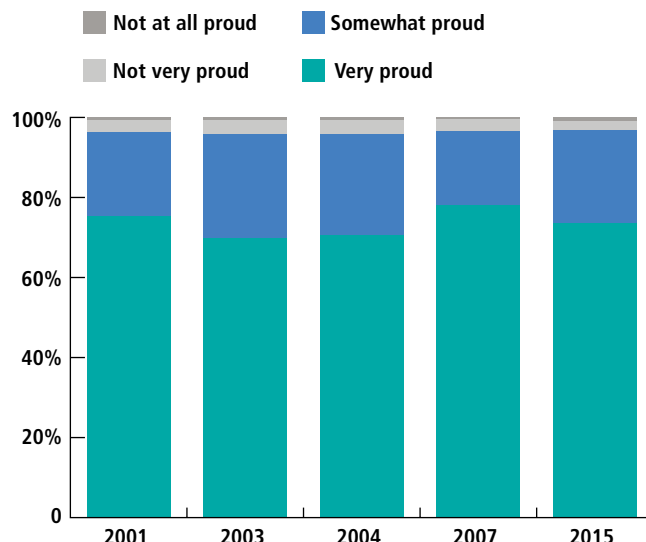
When asked whether they are proud of being Australian, respondents are even more forthright. In 2015, 70 per cent report being 'very proud', 22 per cent 'somewhat proud', with only three per cent either 'not very' or 'not at all proud'. This continues a trend in very high levels of pride among Australians: since being asked in the 2001 Australian Election Study (AES), no fewer than 93 per cent of respondents have reported being either very or somewhat proud of being Australian. In fact, 2015 represents the lowest level of pride in recent years, although percentages have remained consistently above 90 per cent.

"How proud are you of Australia in each of the following ...?"



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

"How proud are you of being Australian? Would you say ..."



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

LOCAL VERSUS NATIONAL IDENTITY

KEY POINTS

- Australians are most likely to identify with their country, followed closely by their town or city, and their state.
- Only 48 per cent of respondents feel either 'close' or 'very close' to the Asia-Oceania continent.
- Since 1995 the percentage of Australians who feel close to Asia-Oceania has increased by 15 points, likely reflecting the 'Asian Century' phenomenon.

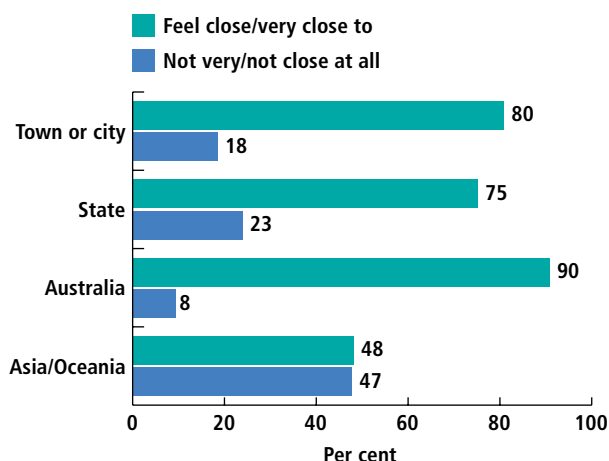
Citizens belong not only to a country, but also a neighbourhood, town, state and continent. To compare the strength of identification between citizens and levels of geographic region, respondents are asked how close they feel to their town or city, state, country and the Asia-Oceania region.

Reflecting the levels of pride in being Australian, 90 per cent of Australians feel either close or very close to their country. Responses are split quite evenly between those who feel 'very close' (48 per cent) and those who feel 'close' only (42 per cent).

Fewer Australians identify closely with their town or state, although they overwhelmingly feel at least 'close' to them. While rates of identification with the continental region – Asia/Oceania – are notably lower than for the smaller regions, the 48 per cent of Australians who feel either 'close' or 'very close' represent an increase of 15 points since the 1995 ISSP.

This has corresponded with continuing immigration from Asian nations and an emphasis on the 'Asian Century' as both a demographic phenomenon and a foreign policy priority for countries, including Australia. Internationally, Australia's rate of identification with the continental region is slightly above average. For example, in the 2011 ISSP study 22 per cent of British citizens and 51 per cent of French citizens felt 'close' or 'very close' to Europe.

"Thinking now about where you live in Australia, how close do you feel to your ..."



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

AUSTRALIA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

KEY POINTS

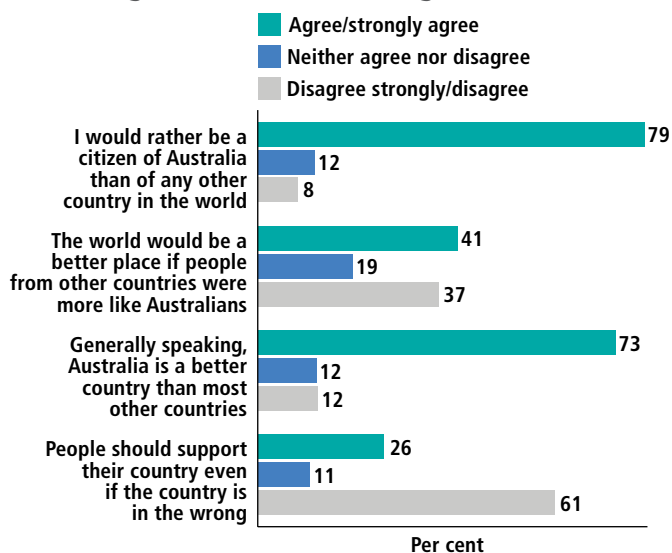
- Australians overwhelmingly believe that it is better to be a citizen of Australia than of anywhere else in the world.
- However, over time fewer Australians believe that the world would be a better place if other countries' citizens were more like us, and that people should support their country even when it is wrong.
- As they become more outward-looking with regard to Australia's place in the region and the world, Australians have become more critical of aspects of Australian citizenship.

As Australians increasingly identify with the Asia-Oceania region, they are also less likely to want to be a citizen of Australia than of any other country in the world. While a vast majority of respondents (79 per cent) agree that Australian citizenship is preferable to that of any other country, the percentage has fallen by eight points since 1995 and five points since 2003. At the same time, the percentage who agree that, generally speaking, Australia is a better country than most others has fallen by 10 points since 2003, from 83 to 73 per cent.

This trend extends to opinion on whether the world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Australians. While more respondents agree than disagree, the percentage who either 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' has increased by 17 points since 2003. Interestingly, the percentage who agree have remained stable over the 20 year period: 39 per cent in 1995 and 42 per cent in 2003, compared with 41 per cent in 2015. It appears that Australians have shifted from neither agreeing nor disagreeing to firmly disagreeing.

Similarly, more people oppose the suggestion that they should support their country even if it is wrong.

"How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

The percentage who disagree has grown to 61 per cent in 2015 from 55 per cent in 1995 and 47 per cent in 2003. The percentage who agree – 26 per cent in 2015 – has remained stable over the same period while those without an opinion have more than halved. As Australians become more outward-looking in other ways – for example identifying with Asia-Oceania and disagreeing that being born in Australia is important to being Australian – they are less likely to believe that citizens of other countries should be more like Australians, and that patriotic duty should persist even when a country errs.

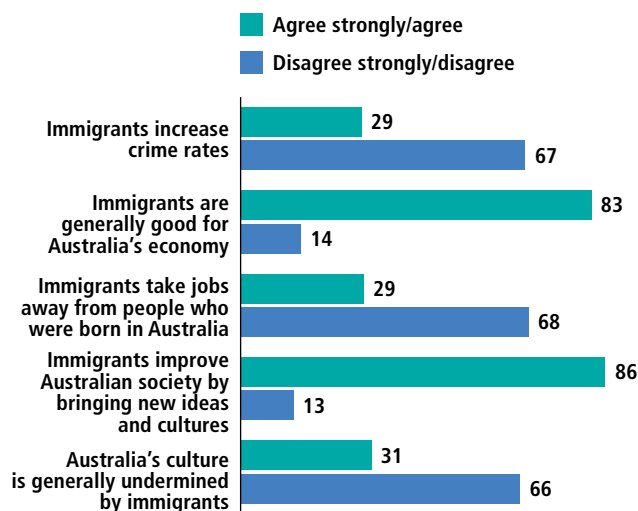
IMMIGRATION AND AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

KEY POINTS

- Australians overwhelmingly believe immigrants make positive contributions to the economic and cultural life of the country.
- Since 2003, the percentage of Australians who believe the immigration rate should be reduced has fallen from 61 to 28 per cent.
- Support for tougher measures to exclude illegal immigrants is both widespread (65 per cent of respondents) and stable over time.

As an increasing number of immigrants make Australia their home, public opinion has remained generally favourable toward immigrants' contribution to Australian society. Two thirds of respondents disagree with the statement that immigrants increase crime rates, 83 per cent believe immigrants are good for the country and only 29 per cent believe immigrants take jobs away from native-born Australians. In regard to culture, 86 per cent of Australians agree that immigrants improve Australian society by bringing new ideas and cultures with them, although 31 per cent agree that Australian culture is undermined in the process.

"How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?"



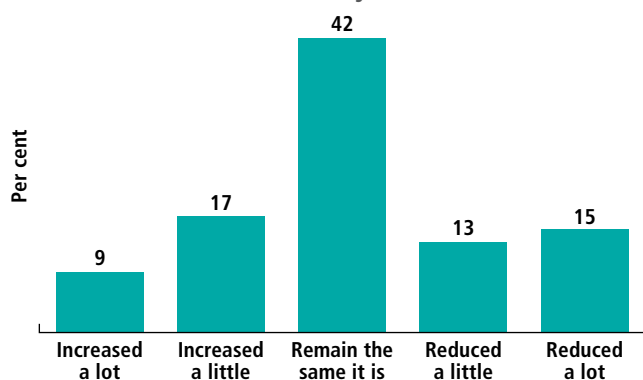
Source: ANUPoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

With the caveat that previous studies gave respondents the option of 'neither agreeing nor disagreeing', support for immigration has been largely stable since 1995. The percentage of respondents who believe that immigrants increase crime rates has fallen by five points since 1995. However, the percentage who disagree has increased dramatically, from 35 per cent in 1995 and 42 per cent in 2003 to 67 per cent in 2015.

Similar patterns hold for questions on whether immigrants are generally good for the economy and whether immigrants take jobs away from people born in Australia. In 1995, 70 per cent of respondents agreed that immigrants are good for the economy, with only eight per cent disagreeing. Likewise, only 25 per cent of respondents in 1995 believed that immigrants took jobs from people born in Australia, increasing to 36 per cent in 2003 before falling to 29 per cent in 2015. Following earlier trends from this study, it might be expected that Australians who responded 'neither agreed nor disagreed' previously would be more likely to agree with pro-immigrant statements in 2015.



"Do you think the number of immigrants to Australian nowadays should be ...?"



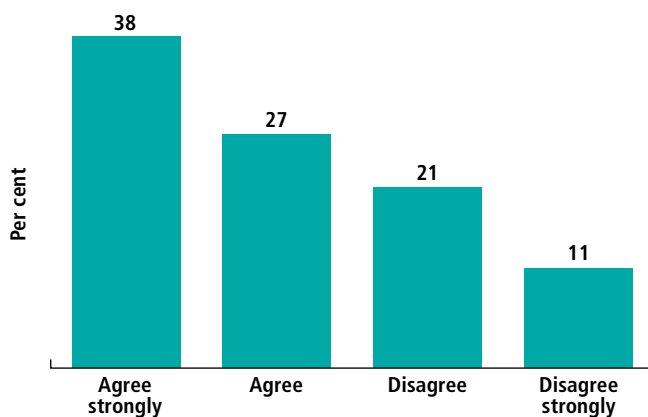
Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

When asked directly whether the number of immigrants coming to Australia should increase, respondents are more circumspect. Almost half – 42 per cent – believe the number should remain as it is currently. Just more than one quarter – 26 per cent – believe it should be increased, while 28 per cent believe it should be reduced. The distribution of opinions on this question suggests that governments are currently in line with public beliefs on the rate of immigration into Australia.

These figures represent a sizable shift over the past 20 years. In 1995, 39 per cent of respondents felt the number of immigrants coming to Australia should be reduced, with only eight per cent responding that it should be increased (and 38 per cent that it should not change). In 2003, 61 per cent believed that the number should be reduced, 11 per cent that it should be increased and 28 per cent that it should stay the same. In 2015, Australians appear much more comfortable with immigration – even as the rate of immigration has increased as a proportion of total population growth – than in previous years.

While public opinion appears to support a relatively expansive immigration policy and is positive towards immigrants' contribution to Australian life, Australians overwhelmingly believe stronger measures should be taken to exclude illegal immigrants. A total of 65 per cent of respondents either 'agree' or 'strongly agree'

"How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? Australia should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants."



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

that current measures do not go far enough in stopping illegal immigration. Moreover, these figures closely reflect those from the 2003 ISSP study, when 43 per cent of Australians agreed strongly that Australia should take stronger measures and 30 per cent agreed, even with the additional response option of 'neither agree nor disagree'. It appears support for Australia's border protection policies of recent years is both widespread and resilient.

MONARCHY, SYMBOLISM AND IDENTITY

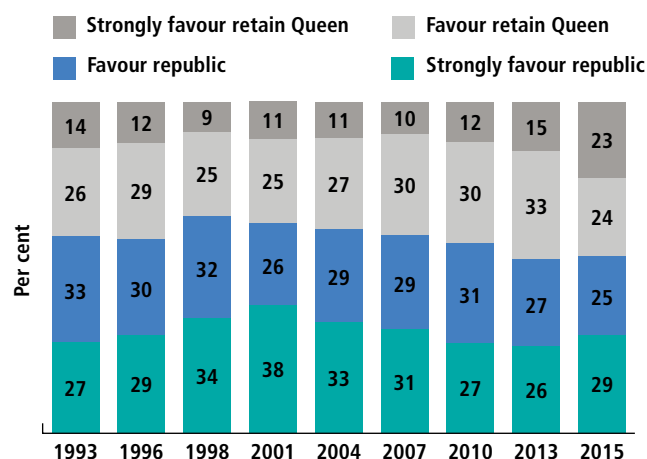
KEY POINTS

- Support for Australia becoming a republic has fallen consistently since the 1999 referendum, although a majority still support change.
- The number of Australians who believe the Queen and royal family are important to Australia has increased since the referendum, but they remain a minority.
- A strong majority of Australians disapprove of the decision to reintroduce 'Knights' and 'Dames' to official Australian honours.

Since the republic referendum in 1999, Australian public opinion has become more favourable towards the royal family and the monarchy generally. When asked whether they believe that Australia should become a republic or retain the Queen as head of state, 54 per cent favour a republic. However, those who 'strongly favour' retaining the Queen as head of state – that is, remaining a constitutional monarchy – has increased from 15 per cent in the 2013 Australian Election Study (AES) to 23 per cent just two years later. Overall, support for a republic has fallen consistently from 66 per cent in the 1998 AES conducted in the months preceding the referendum.

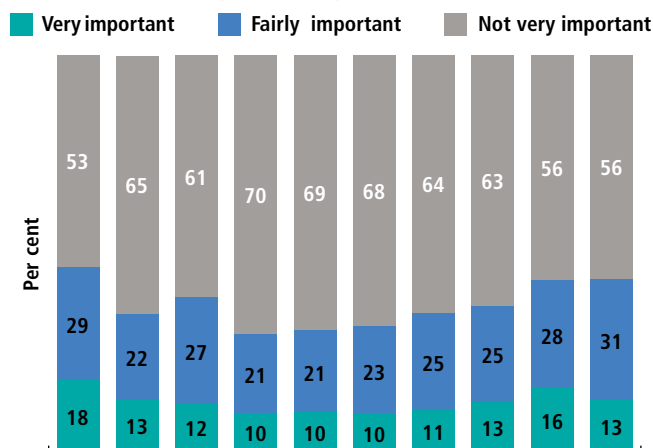
Likewise, the opinion that the Queen and royal family are either 'very' or 'fairly important' to Australia has become more prevalent since 1998. While a strong

"Do you think that Australia should become a republic with an Australian head of state, or should the Queen be retained as head of state?"



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015; Australian Election Studies 1993-2013.

"How important do you feel the Queen and the Royal Family are to Australia?"



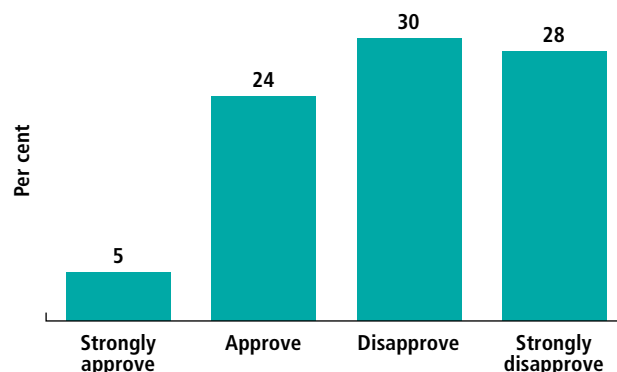
Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015; Australian Election Studies 1993-2013.

majority (56 per cent) of Australians believe that they are 'not very important' to Australia, that percentage has fallen 14 points since the referendum. However, the largest increase has been among Australians who believe that the Queen and her family are only 'fairly important', suggesting this measure of support for the monarchy is relatively soft. The percentage who believe the royals are 'very important' to Australia remains low, at 13 per cent.

Debate on the merits of changing the Australian flag to remove references to Britain often accompanies debate on becoming a republic. However, where a majority of Australians support moves to become a republic, only 22 per cent favour changing the flag. Further, 48 per cent of Australians 'strongly favour' retaining the current flag. Support for changing the flag peaked in the 1993 AES, with 42 per cent of respondents in favour. Between the 1999 referendum and 2015, public opinion has swung firmly behind support for the current flag.

As an avowed supporter of Australia's constitutional monarchy, Prime Minister Tony Abbott reintroduced the national honour categories of Knight and Dame of

"Do you approve or disapprove the reintroduction of knights and dames to official Australian honours?"



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

the Order of Australia. The categories were initiated by the Queen in 1976, on the advice of the then Prime Minister, before being discontinued by the Federal Government in 1986. Respondents were asked whether they approve or disapprove the reinstatement of these honour categories, amidst criticism of the Prime Minister's decision to honour Prince Phillip with a knighthood, announced on Australia Day (26 January) 2015. This survey was conducted in the first two weeks of March, commencing five weeks after the Prime Minister's announcement.

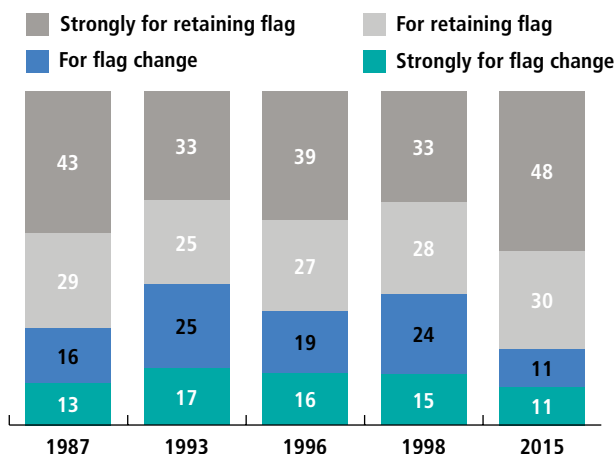
Australians emphatically disapprove of the decision to reinstate 'Knight and Dame' honours in Australia. More than half (58 per cent) either 'disapprove' or 'strongly disapprove', with only 29 per cent approving and 12 per cent not decided. While 28 per cent 'strongly disapprove' only five per cent 'strongly approve', suggesting that opinion against the decision is more fervent than that in favour.

KEY TRENDS: MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL MOOD

KEY POINTS

- Among Australians, the economy remains the most important problem facing Australia, followed by better government and immigration.
- A majority of Australians are broadly satisfied with the direction of the country, although only 10 per cent are very satisfied.
- The political mood in Australia has declined markedly since 2008, but there are some signs of a possible recovery.

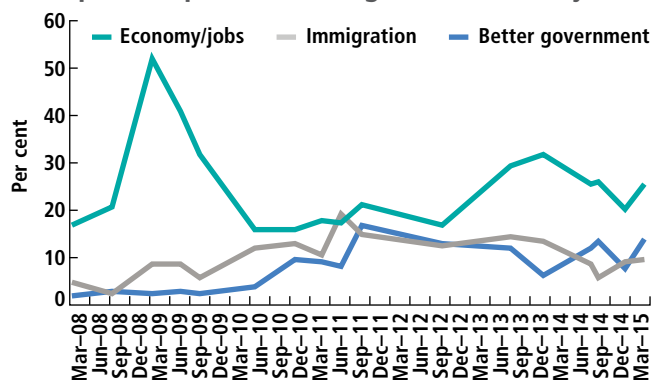
"Do you favour a flag change or would you prefer the flag to be retained?"



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015; Australian Election Studies 1993-2013.

Since 2008, the ANUpoll studies have asked Australians to name the most important problems facing the country. Since 2011, the economy and jobs have dominated responses, and the current ANUpoll continues that trend. One in four – 26 per cent – nominated the economy and jobs as the most important issue, an increase of six points from the last ANUpoll in March 2015. Almost half of respondents – 47

"What do you think is the most important problem facing Australia today?"



Source: ANUpolls March 2008-March 2015.

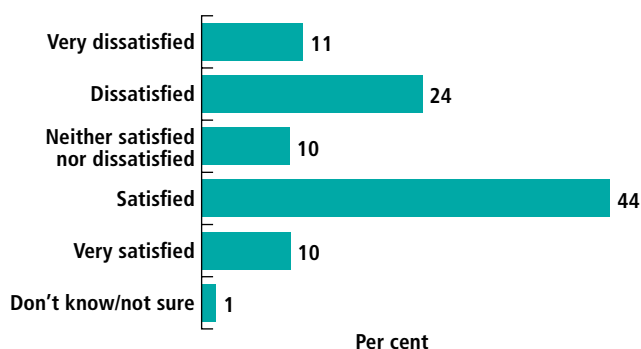
per cent – named the economy and jobs in the top two most important problems facing Australia.

The second most frequently named problem in this ANUpoll is better government, with 15 per cent of respondents nominating it as most important. This has increased by six points since the March 2015 and eight points since January 2014, but is still three points lower than its peak in October 2011 (during the term of minority government).

The third ranked problem facing Australia is immigration. Immigration (including asylum seekers) was replaced by terrorism as the third ranked problem in the last ANUpoll, but decreased visibility of terrorism-related issues in the media has led to a decrease in the public's concern. The percentage of Australians (10 per cent) nominating immigration as the most important problem remains steady from the previous poll, but has fallen five points since January 2014 and ten points from its peak in July 2011.

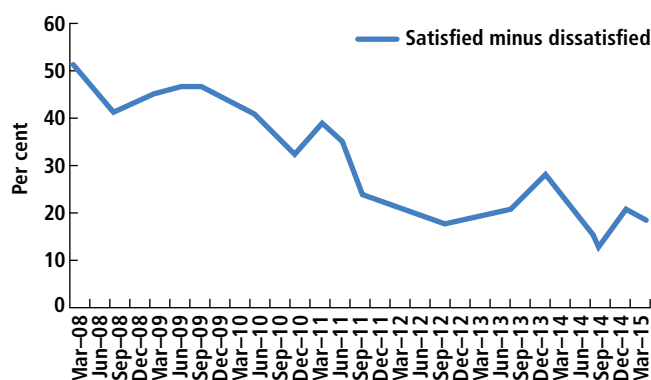
The political mood in Australia, measured by respondents' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way the country is heading, remains largely positive. More than half – 54 per cent – of respondents are either 'satisfied' or 'very satisfied', although only ten per cent express the strongest satisfaction. Overall satisfaction has fallen seven points since the January 2014 poll. Dissatisfaction has remained stable since the previous poll, at 35 per cent. This represents a three point increase since January 2014, and a 15

"All things considered, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the country is heading?"



Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

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Source: ANUpoll on Australian attitudes towards national identity, 2015.

point increase from the lowest level of dissatisfaction recorded in March 2008.

Mapping the political mood over time reveals that the political mood has been in steady decline since 2008. Net satisfaction among Australians, measured by the total percentage who are satisfied minus the total percentage dissatisfied, has fallen from more than 50 per cent in March 2008 to 19 per cent in March 2015. While net satisfaction rose throughout late 2012 and 2013, that recovery came to a halt in 2014. Net satisfaction increased by eight points between September 2014 and January 2015, but has fallen two points in the past months.

The 18th ANUpoll was conducted by the Social Research Centre, an ANU enterprise, and is based on telephone interviews with 1,200 people in early March 2015.

Sheppard, J (April 2015). *Australian attitudes towards national identity: citizenship, immigration and tradition ANUpoll April 2015*, pp. 2-11. Retrieved from <http://rssh.anu.edu.au> on 10 November 2015.

Nationalism and patriotism

Extract from a citizenship discussion paper, produced by the **Scanlon Foundation**

The Australian flag is frequently in use. Politicians deploy it when they make announcements. Flags are abundant on Australia Day, much more so than in past decades. They are often attached to cars in late January, around the time of the holiday. For much of the twentieth century, the Australia Day holiday has been a festival of citizenship ceremonies and backyard barbecues. The announcement of the Australian of the Year is also a much bigger media event than in past years.

At the same time, Anzac Day has become a moment of much greater reflection and commemoration in the past 20 years, after several decades of being one of the less celebrated public holidays. For many thousands of young Australians, attendance at the dawn service at Gallipoli and at war memorials in Australia has become a rite of passage. Clearly, there is a hunger among many contemporary Australians to express their pride and appreciation of the nation's past and its achievements.

There is a chance that what could be lost amid these expressions of loyalty to historical events and symbols, is the acknowledgement that being a citizen of Australia is not necessarily defined by the waving of our flag, marching in a parade or holding a barbecue, but by our behaviours to each other and our ability to recognise the worth of our fellow Australians, irrespective of background.

New arrivals have chosen to come here for all that Australia has to offer – from education to economic and physical security – and are keen to contribute to the future development of their new country. Their ability to do this is directly affected by the degree of acceptance that they experience through welcoming communities, caring neighbours and social inclusiveness.

Many Australians are fearful of external threats and this has led some to a false belief that the formal citizenship process is a protection against violent extremism. But limiting attention to this type of formality ignores the more important, very positive contribution, that a broader appreciation of everyone's responsibilities to being a good and active citizen can make towards a better-functioning, more cohesive Australia.

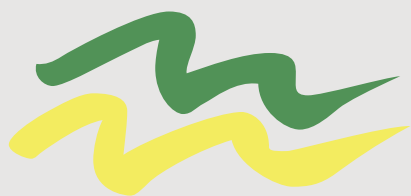
Scanlon Foundation (August 2015). *Citizenship Discussion Paper*, p.12. Retrieved from <http://scanlonfoundation.org.au> on 10 November 2015.



Flags are abundant on Australia Day, much more so than in past decades.

NATIONAL COLOURS

Fact sheet information from the Australian Government's website, *It's an Honour*



In 1984 green and gold were formally recognised as the national colours.

About the national colours

Australia's national colours are green and gold. Long associated with Australian sporting achievements, the national colours have strong environmental connections.

Gold conjures images of the country's beaches, mineral wealth, grain harvests and the fleece of Australian wool.

Green evokes the forests, gum trees and pastures of the Australian landscape.

Green and gold are the colours of Australia's national floral emblem – the golden wattle.

History

Since the late 1800s green and gold have been popularly accepted as the national sporting colours, both locally and around the world.

In 1984 green and gold were formally recognised as the national colours. The Government's decision was prompted by widespread community support for official recognition of the time-honoured green and gold.

Prior to 1984 three colour combinations unofficially represented Australia:

- Red, white and blue
- Blue and gold, and
- Green and gold.

Red, white and blue are the colours of the Australian National Flag and the first version of the Commonwealth Coat of Arms.

Blue and gold have heraldic significance as the colour of the wreath in the Commonwealth Coat of Arms, which was granted by royal warrant in 1912.

In 1975 blue and gold were selected as the colours of the ribbon of the Order of Australia.

Proclamation

The then Governor-General, Ninian M Stephen AK GCMG GCVO KBE, proclaimed green and gold the national colours on 19 April 1984.

The proclamation is published in the Commonwealth of Australia Gazette No. S142.

FAST FACTS

THE NATIONAL COLOURS:

Green and gold

COLOUR REFERENCES:

Pantone®348c (green) and Pantone®116c (gold)

PROCLAIMED AS THE NATIONAL COLOURS:

19 April 1984

OTHER COLOURS OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE:

Red, white and blue (the Australian National Flag), and blue and gold (the Order of Australia ribbon)

USE OF THE NATIONAL COLOURS:

Unrestricted

Use of the national colours

Australians are unrestricted in their use of the national colours. Green and gold may be used in any design or arrangement of colour, emphasising the green or gold.

To use them correctly, the two colours are placed together, unbroken by another colour.

Commonwealth of Australia (2012). *National Colours*. Retrieved from www.itsanhonour.gov.au on 10 November 2015.



Australian National Anthem

Fact sheet information from the **It's an Honour** website

The Australian National Anthem, proclaimed in 1984, identifies Australia at home and overseas. It unites the nation and is a public expression of joy and pride in being Australian. The Australian National Anthem is used at important public ceremonies, sporting and community events.

Australian National Anthem words

The words for the first verse of the Australian National Anthem are:

Australians all let us rejoice, For we are young and free; We've golden soil and wealth for toil; Our home is girt by sea; Our land abounds in nature's gifts; Of beauty rich and rare; In history's page, let every stage Advance Australia Fair; In joyful strains then let us sing, Advance Australia Fair.

History of the Australian National Anthem

In 1973 a competition was held for a distinctively Australian national anthem. The Australian National Anthem Quest was run in two stages by the Australia Council for the Arts.

The first stage for lyrics attracted more than 1,400 entries. The second stage for music received 1,200 entries. A prize of \$5,000 was offered for each stage.

The judges decided the entries did not meet the high standards of Australia's traditional songs 'Advance Australia Fair', 'Waltzing Matilda' and 'Song of Australia'.

The Australia Council for the Arts recommended the final choice for the national anthem should be made from these three songs. The Bureau of Statistics ran a national poll of 60,000 people. 'Advance Australia Fair' was favoured by 51.4 per cent of the people followed by 'Waltzing Matilda' (19.6 per cent).

The original composition of 'Advance Australia Fair' was written by Peter Dodds McCormack in 1878 and consisted of four verses.

In 1974 'Advance Australia Fair' was adopted as the Australian National Anthem; however in 1976 'God Save The Queen' was reinstated.

In 1977 the Australian Electoral Office conducted a poll for the national anthem tune in conjunction with a referendum. The tune 'Advance Australia Fair' was the preferred option. In 1981 the National Australia Day Council recommended that the Australian National Anthem consist of two verses of 'Advance Australia Fair' with some modification.

Proclamation

The Australian National Anthem, consisting of the tune of 'Advance Australia Fair' and the verses as drafted by the National Australia Day Council, was proclaimed on 19 April 1984 by the then Governor-General, the Rt Hon Sir Ninian M Stephen KG AK GCMG GCVO KBE.

FAST FACTS

ANTHEM NAME:

Australian National Anthem

PROCLAIMED:

19 April 1984

USE OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM:

While permission is not required to use, perform or record the Australian National Anthem for non-commercial purposes, there is a requirement to seek permission for commercial use. For contact details see the website, www.itsanhonour.gov.au



Commonwealth of Australia (2012). *Australian National Anthem*. Retrieved from www.itsanhonour.gov.au on 10 November 2015.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL FLAG

It's an Honour explains the significance and history of Australia's national flag

The Australian National Flag is Australia's foremost national symbol. The flag was first flown in 1901 and has become an expression of Australian identity and pride.

The flag is an important part of national occasions such as Australia Day, Anzac Day, and Australian National Flag Day.

About the Australian National Flag

The Australian National Flag has three elements on a blue background. The Union Jack in the upper left corner (or canton) acknowledges Australia's historical links with the United Kingdom.

Below the Union Jack is a white Commonwealth Star. It has seven points representing the unity of the six states and the territories of the Commonwealth of Australia. The seventh point was added in 1908 and is the only change to the flag since 1901.

The Southern Cross is shown on the fly (or right hand side) of the flag in white. This constellation of five stars can be seen only from the southern hemisphere and is a reminder of Australia's geography.

The flag was first flown in 1901 and has become an expression of Australian identity and pride. The flag is an important part of national occasions such as Australia Day, Anzac Day, and Australian National Flag Day.

History of the Australian National Flag

In 1901 Prime Minister the Rt Hon Sir Edmund Barton MP, announced an international competition to design a flag for the Commonwealth of Australia.

Five near-identical entries were awarded equal first place from more than 30,000 designs. The designers shared the prize of £200.

The Australian National Flag flew for the first time on 3 September 1901 from the Royal Exhibition Building in Melbourne.

Australian National Flag Day

Australians celebrate the first time the Australian National Flag was flown by flying or displaying the flag on 3 September.

Other Australian flags

Australia recognises other official flags including the Australian Aboriginal Flag and the Torres Strait Islander Flag.

The ensigns of the Australian Defence Force include the Australian Defence Force ensign, the Australian white ensign and the Royal Australian Air Force ensign.



The Australian National Flag has three elements on a blue background – the Union Jack, the Commonwealth Star and the Southern Cross.

FAST FACTS

FIRST FLOWN:

3 September 1901

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL FLAG DAY:

3 September

DESCRIPTION:

A blue background with the Union Jack in the upper left corner, a white Commonwealth Star in the lower left corner and the five stars of the Southern Cross on the fly of the flag in white. The colour references for the Australian National Flag are: Blue Pantone® 280 and Red Pantone® 185.

USE OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL FLAG:

The flag can be flown every day of the year.

SIZE OF THE FLAG OVER PARLIAMENT HOUSE:

12.8 by 6.4 metres or slightly larger than the side of a double decker bus.

The Australian Red ensign is the official flag to be flown at sea by Australian registered merchant ships.

Proclamation

The *Flags Act 1953* proclaimed the Australian National Flag.

Use of the Australian National Flag

The flag can be flown every day of the year. As the nation's foremost national symbol it should be treated with dignity and respect and there are protocols governing its use.

Commonwealth of Australia (2012). *Australian National Flag*. Retrieved from www.itsanhonour.gov.au on 10 November 2015.

A PROPOSAL FOR A NEW, MATURE AUSTRALIAN FLAG

What would an Australian flag that acknowledged our past, present, and future look like? **John Blaxland** not only asks this question, he also offers his own design



As we know, there's a divide between those who would support a new Australian flag and those who believe the current flag is fine. And even those who declare an interest in a new flag are divided on what that design should be. I've designed a flag that, I believe, takes into account the many necessary cultural and historical factors – and that may help us mature as a nation.

Australia should ensure its flag is distinct, inclusive and symbolic of the nation's maturity and independence.

But why is this all coming to the fore again?

New Zealand Prime Minister John Key recently proposed replacing New Zealand's flag with a more distinctive national flag and Kiwis will vote on whether to do so in a referendum in the next parliamentary term.

Since then, talkback host Tom Elliott – among others – has come out defending the current Australian flag with its Union Jack.

Fighting for the Union Jack?

Few realise the overwhelming majority of the 102,000 Australians who fought and died for the British Empire did so under the Union Jack, not the current Australian flag – as did the New Zealanders who died in the world wars. Key understands this and is boldly setting New Zealand on a path which, in my view, Australia should follow.

Australia should ensure its flag is distinct, inclusive and symbolic of the nation's maturity and independence.

It was not until the *Flag Act* became law in 1954 that

Australia's blue ensign became the national flag. Prior to that, Australians were more familiar with the red ensign. This was the civil ensign and was recognised as the unofficial Australian flag after Federation.

The blue ensign existed but was in limited circulation. At the opening of Parliament House in 1927 the flags flown were the Union Jack and the red ensign – not the blue one we currently take to be our flag.

Progress towards a new flag has been delayed in part by the lack of an evocative design that would capture the imagination.

As the American comedian Jerry Seinfeld once said, the current Australian flag is the British flag on a starry night. The dominant top left quadrant belongs to the flag of another nation, making Australia symbolically subordinate to Britain. That is an anachronism.

This anachronism has been building in the years since the second world war as Australia's identity increasingly separated from Britain.

Even Australia's 'strategic cousins', the Canadians, dropped the Union Jack from the dominant top left quadrant of its flag in 1965 while remaining a federal bi-cameral constitutional monarchy with the Queen as the head of state.

A flag that matches our identity

Post-war migration from war-torn Europe helped further differentiate Australia from Britain.

In the meantime, Britain favoured trade with its European neighbours at the expense of its imperial offshoots. Yet Australia retained the blue ensign as the nation's flag, even though on so many levels the anachronism of the flag's arrangement led to a discordance with Australia's increasingly independent, self-confident and multicultural identity.

Today many are uncomfortable flying it, seeing it as a symbol of division and disunity associated with reaction and fringe politics.

Finding a winning compromise

Now, more than two centuries after the first British colonists arrived, Prime Minister Tony Abbott is seeking to acknowledge in our constitution Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people – a profoundly important step for all of our citizens.

Progress towards a new flag has been delayed in part by the lack of an evocative design that would capture the imagination.

There are several touchstone symbols that can either attract or repel supporters to alternative flag designs.

First is the Union Jack. To some no flag will be acceptable if this is removed, yet to others this is exactly the most repellent feature. Some kind of accommodation is necessary on this point.

Second is the uniquely Australian configuration of the Southern Cross – with its oft-tattooed four seven-pointed stars and one five-pointed star.

Third is the seven-pointed federation star – a key symbol of Australia as an independent state.

Then there are the two indigenous flags, the Aboriginal flag and the Torres Strait Islander flag, representing Australia's first peoples.

Then there is the gold and green – alluding to the colour of Ireland.

Designs that have not addressed these touchstones have failed to spark the imagination.

A better design?

We can do better. As mentioned at the outset, I have designed a flag (which you can see at the top of this article) that fosters recognition and reconciliation while incorporating aspects of the touchstones.

Placing the black, red and yellow colours from the Aboriginal flag at the leading edge gives due recognition to the original inhabitants and the land itself. The red band, shaped as a boomerang, also symbolises local ingenuity and adaptation and, along with the dots, pays homage to indigenous artistry.

In Australia we must choose a design or be stuck with a faintly embarrassing anachronism. It's time for an inclusive flag symbolising reconciliation.

A seven-pointed star symbolic of the federation, with its six original states and the Commonwealth, includes 250 dots representing the languages of indigenous people and post-1788 migrants – all together as one in the dominant top-left quadrant, symbolising the authority of the people of Australia, within an inclusive federation.

The red boomerang, in turn, abuts against a band of white: 'girt' by sea much like waves on a beach along the country's famous shoreline. The white abuts the blue which, together with the red and white bands, becomes a sliver of the Union Jack, symbolising recognition of the British-derived national institutions, culture and language that are the foundations of modern Australia.

The stars of the Southern Cross are green and gold, Australia's national colours, symbolising a modern, egalitarian, multicultural and inclusive Australia.

Scanning left to right, one sees a country informed by its history – initially Aboriginal, then British, then distinctly independent and multicultural. Everyone is included in the federation and this rendition portrays us as all in this together, as a symbol of recognition,



reconciliation and inclusiveness.

In Australia we must choose a design or be stuck with a faintly embarrassing anachronism. It's time for an inclusive flag symbolising reconciliation.

John Blaxland is Senior Fellow, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University.

THE CONVERSATION

Blaxland, J (25 March 2014). *A proposal for a new, mature Australian flag*. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com> on 10 November 2015.

Australia's Constitution works because it doesn't define national identity

The Constitution has been very successful in setting out how Australian federalism will work, in part because it has nothing to do with identity politics, writes **Gregory Melleuish**

When Australia's Founding Fathers came together in the 1890s to draw up a constitution to enable the colonies to federate, what did they think they were doing? Looking at the debates and the Constitution itself, one thing is certain. They were not drawing up a document that defined what it means to be an Australian.

They were engaged in creating a document that would be acceptable to all parties and enshrined the political and legal principles which they had inherited from Great Britain. They looked to their British inheritance because they believed, quite correctly, that the (unwritten) British Constitution worked. They wanted a system of government that would be durable.

What they produced is not an exciting document embodying abstruse political principles, but one that has been very successful in setting out how Australian federalism will work.

WHY THE CONSTITUTION WORKS

It is very important to realise that the Australian Constitution has nothing to do with identity politics.

It does not deal with substantive issues, as do other constitutions, such as the Irish Constitution – which was why the Irish people needed to hold a referendum on same-sex marriage. The Australian Constitution's focus is procedural.

The current move to recognise Australia's indigenous people in the Constitution is worrying. This is not because of its intent ... Rather, the problem lies in the way in which it changes the nature of the Constitution away from a procedural document by introducing issues of identity into it.

The one concession to identity was the inclusion of God in the preamble. It was something that many ordinary Australians desired but was not particularly favoured by convention delegates. Edmund Barton, in particular, spoke against it. Section 116, forbidding government support of any religion, ensured that it



would have no legal implications.

For this reason, Australian intellectuals have often found the Constitution to be a rather dry document not to their taste. It does not fire the imagination – especially the nationalist imagination. Nationalists would prefer statements setting out “who we are”.

The Constitution has by and large worked very well. This is not to deny that there have been problems, such as the way in which it works to confer excessive financial and taxing power on the central government. But, by and large, the Constitution works because there is a willingness on the part of both the federal and state governments to make it work. This mirrors the spirit of co-operation that brought it into being.

THE PROBLEM WITH CONSTITUTIONAL RECOGNITION

There are some problems, which include the Commonwealth’s power to make laws with regard to a particular race. Such a power is an embarrassment in an age of equality and should be consigned to history.

But the current move to recognise Australia’s indigenous people in the Constitution is worrying. This is not because of its intent. That intent is an expression of the traditions of justice we have inherited from Britain, going back to *Magna Carta*. Rather, the problem lies in the way in which it changes the nature of the Constitution away from a procedural document by introducing issues of identity into it.

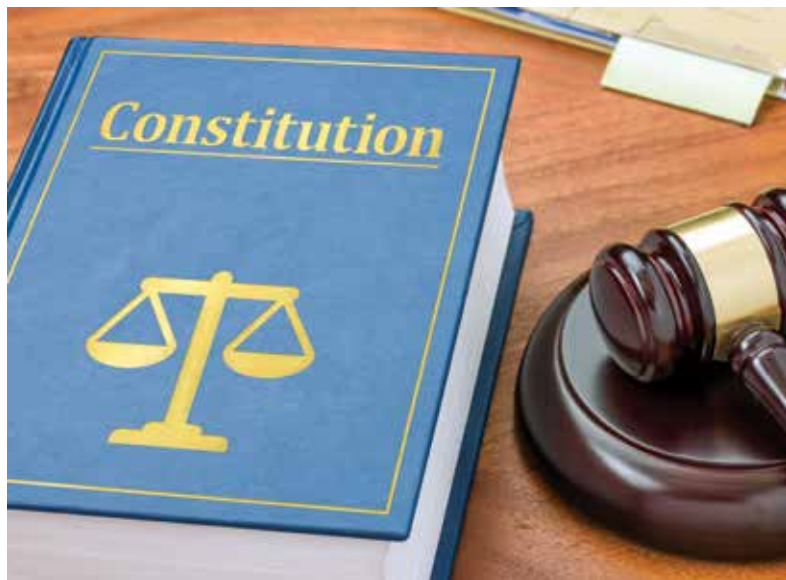
In this regard, it is worth noting that the attempt to introduce God into the preamble in the 1890s led to a vigorous campaign against such a move by the Seventh Day Adventists. They feared that it would be a prelude to the enforcement of Sunday observance.

There is much to be said in favour of recognition of Indigenous Australians somewhere in Australian public life. But it is important that any such recognition should not become the foundation for future attempts to turn the Constitution into a document that comes to focus on issues of identity. We need to appreciate that the Constitution has served us so well because its basic function is procedural.

We need to appreciate that the Constitution has served us so well because its basic function is procedural.

Equally, it is important that any statement – even in the preamble – should not have any constitutional implications. It should be a simple statement of recognition. Moves to address issues of inequality must be legislative in nature, not constitutional. Constitutionally, all Australians must be treated equally.

This is not an easy or simple matter, especially taking into consideration the issue of removing the race power from the Constitution. However, Australia’s Founding Fathers did find an elegant way around the problem of finding a place for God in the Constitution.



But it took much discussion.

It is only by facing the full complexity of the issue of indigenous recognition that a workable solution will be found to this issue.

Gregory Melleuish is Associate Professor, School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong.

THE CONVERSATION

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Australia Day: is nationalism really so bad?

The progressive side of politics in Australia needs to embrace the nation and nationalism in order to achieve lasting change, asserts **Christopher Scanlon**

Australian flag boxer shorts and bikinis, an annual political stoush about who was named Australian of the Year (and who was overlooked) and a binge-drinking holiday to mark the destruction of one of the world's oldest people and cultures.

Viewed from many angles, Australia Day isn't a pretty sight.

So, why do we even continue with national celebrations? You would have thought that a multicultural society like Australia would have grown out of nationalist nonsense and embraced a more cosmopolitan identity. Surely in a globalised, interconnected world, we're all 'citizens of the world'?

But is nationalism really so bad?

Despite its bad name, nationalism isn't necessarily a dirty word. Like most other '-isms', it's an ideology that can be both productive and positive. However, it can also be thoroughly vile.

Many who abhor nationalism at home, for example, enthusiastically endorse it for others. This is particularly the case when it comes to minority and oppressed peoples and when the word 'nationalist' is quickly followed by 'struggle'.

Nationalist struggles by East Timorese, West Papuans or Palestinians, for example, get the big tick of approval from many people who wouldn't be seen dead in green

and gold zinc cream. Similarly, we heartily embrace Aboriginal nations, or the First People Nations.

While those on the progressive side of politics often sidestep the dreaded 'N' word by talking about 'self-determination' instead, such struggles make no sense if they are not at the same time nationalist struggles.

And shame and embarrassment about one's nation (or national holidays) is itself only possible if you first have feelings of nationalist sentiment. As the noted thinker on nationalism Benedict Anderson has written, feelings of national shame are a sign of a highly developed sense of nationalism. Anderson wrote in a 1999 article in the *New Left Review* that:

No one can be a true nationalist who is incapable of feeling 'ashamed' if her state or government commits crimes, including those against her fellow citizens.

Although she has done nothing individually that is bad, as a member of the common project, she will feel morally implicated in everything done in that project's name.

Take, for instance, the apology to the Stolen Generations delivered by former Australian prime minister Kevin Rudd in 2008. The apology was a response to the shameful treatment of Australia's indigenous people. And it was delivered on behalf of and in the name of the nation.

Rather than being un-Australian, the so-called "black armband view of history" derided by conservative commentators and politicians is entirely consistent with being a nationalist. In this broader understanding of nationalism, national shame demonstrates that you care deeply about your fellow nationals

Many who abhor nationalism at home, for example, enthusiastically endorse it for others. This is particularly the case when it comes to minority and oppressed peoples and when the word 'nationalist' is quickly followed by 'struggle'.



and their actions.

In that regard, nationalism has a lot more going for it than more cosmopolitan identities, such as citizen of the world.

At best, citizen of the world is an identity that can be genuinely felt only by those with privilege. It's the kind of identity that is natural to a globally mobile elite that views any connection to a place or community as an intolerable restriction on their freedom.

At its worst, citizen of the world is utterly devoid of content. It has about as much substance as one of those ad campaigns for multinational banks you see at airports showing Thai dancers and Mexican peasants who, in spite of their differences, appreciate quick access to their money via a globally connected network of ATMs. While comforting, they're utterly vacuous as a basis for civic identity.

Starry-eyed cosmopolitanism commits us all to being nice to each other, but seems incapable of anything more complex. Change, whether making amends for crimes of the past or building a more equitable, tolerant society, requires time and commitment. This kind of commitment comes from long and deep engagement with communities, including the national as well as the local and the international.

It's not hard to see why many people have a dim view of nationalism. Many expressions of nationalism are racist, aggressive, vulgar and just plain awful. But



It's not hard to see why many people have a dim view of nationalism. Many expressions of nationalism are racist, aggressive, vulgar and just plain awful. But the nation isn't going away and the alternatives, while superficially comforting, too often lack substance.

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Nationalism and the national project are too important to give up on. For all the faults and potential dangers, the progressive side of politics needs to embrace the nation and nationalism in order to achieve lasting change, whether it's building national infrastructure, tackling climate change, making peace with

indigenous people or creating a distinctively Australian culture.

Christopher Scanlon is Associate Dean (Academic), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, La Trobe University.

THE CONVERSATION

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A hybrid Australia, where identity has a multi-layered crunch

CREATING A UNIQUE AUSTRALIAN CULTURE HAS BEEN AN ENDURING CHALLENGE, CONTENDS **JULIANNE SCHULTZ**

Australia today is very different to the place I grew up in: our culture has changed and is changing, but public discussion is still framed by old tropes. We need a new shorthand to capture the reality and potential of Australia in the 21st century – one that synthesises the past and casts it forward with insight into what makes this place and its people unique.

While we adjust to these changes incrementally in our own lives, making sense of them in the public domain is more of a challenge. Defining the new Australian reality and bringing it to life is not easy, especially at a time when the political debate is narrowly defined and the mass media has dissipated.

Public discussion is more fragmented and fractured than ever, the arteries of cultural communication are clogged with clutter and junk, making it hard to ensure that an authentic national voice gains momentum.

Tipping point

Some 50 years, almost to the day, after the publication of Donald Horne's *The Lucky Country* (1964) we are again at a tipping point, where the rhetoric of public life does not match lived reality. If this moment can be captured and galvanised it will help define the future, possibly in the way that Horne's book did in another era.

The statistics on popular culture tell us that Australians value their own stories, but hearing them, and the discussion about what they mean, in a noisy, connected, always-on world is harder than ever.

While there is a lot of chat on social media, the traditional platforms have shrunk. Stimulating an inclusive national conversation may be easier than ever, but drawing meaningful lessons from it is harder.

Societies such as Australia, where more than a quarter of the population was born overseas, are well suited to this global age in which people, ideas and dollars move with great ease and enormous speed.

But success also depends on a clear sense of identity. The shorthand we have used in the past no longer captures the reality of what being Australian means in the 21st century. Unless we can redefine this, we run the risk of becoming irrelevant.

Australians are diffident about delving into what makes us distinctive, to accentuate the positive while acknowledging the negative. My concern is that if we don't do this in a serious way, we are at risk of losing our moorings, of forgetting about the values and attributes that mark us.

To my mind, Australia's uniqueness comes from the mix of peoples, place, institutions and values.

The challenge is to dig down into what this really means, to jettison both the cultural cringe and the cultural strut.

In the past couple of years there have been about a dozen books trying to reframe the question Horne posed in 1964 about the dangers of relying on luck. Despite the publishing frenzy, no one has yet captured the zeitgeist the way *The Lucky Country* did.

Australia's uniqueness comes from the mix of peoples, place, institutions and values. The challenge is to dig down into what this really means, to jettison both the cultural cringe and the cultural strut.

And yet something, it seems, is happening. It has not yet crystallised. But it will. At least I hope it will.

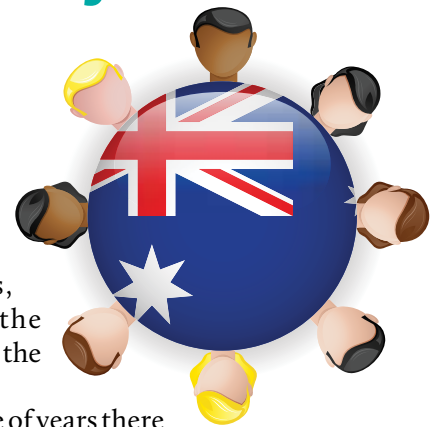
Each year thousands of books are published in this country, and only a handful make it through the sluice gates to get a review in an outlet that is read by a significant number of people. Yet reviews of blockbuster American books can be picked up cheaply to fill the space.

As was pointed out when Richard Flanagan won the Man Booker prize for *The Narrow Road to the Deep North* (2014), ABC TV's book show, which is only broadcast once a month, had in the previous year only reviewed one Australian book, and that in passing, with a more critical tone than was warranted.

The review pages of the major papers have shrunk. There is now one reviewer for all the Fairfax papers, one for *The Australian* and one for all the News Ltd papers. I know this because when *Griffith REVIEW* – which I edit – gets a review the press clippings can be wonderful – it appears in scores of papers – but it is one reviewer, not a critical cultural dialogue.

There has been a lot of hand-wringing about the limited box office appeal of Australian movies – this may in part be a result of the changing nature of the publicity industry, mass audiences, are harder, and much more costly to create. (By contrast watch the marketing of the new Russell Crowe-directed film *The Water Diviner* as a lesson in how it can still be done.)

Simply put, we need to ensure our lived reality, our hybrid identity, is given the opportunity to flourish. Unless that's captured in books, films, TV shows, paintings, plays and the like, and unless these are



discussed widely, there will be a sense of confusion and cultural detachment.

Defining culture

Culture is complex. It is everything: language, heritage, art, social relations, education, and identity – and at the same time, it is annoyingly intangible. It is the glue that binds us, it enriches and informs our lives every day, it is something we make and something we participate in as a human right, and while its public value can be assessed it resists measurement.

Governments indeed should not, create culture. Wise leaders seek to enrich and enable its expression.

So when Prime Minister Tony Abbott recently declared, and repeated just in case it was missed the first time, that “the defining moment in the history of this continent” was the arrival of the First Fleet, the reaction was swift and loud.

Indigenous leaders and bloggers were quick to point to the hurt embodied in the statement; conservative commentators shouted back that this sort of response was the reason the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* should be changed.

In the overheated digital world of immediate call and response, where only one truth can be left standing at the end of the day, they were all almost half right.

The problem was the use of the definite article – the defining moment – coupled with continent. The weight was wrong.

Clearly the arrival of Captain Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet in 1788 was – by definition – an essential moment in the creation of modern Australia, although as the Prime Minister noted, most Australians know almost nothing about the Enlightenment man who led that perilous journey.

I am sure I was not the only person for whom the furore was cut through by an image in my mind's eye: Michael Cook's wonderful rendering of the arrival of the First Fleet. An Aboriginal man holding a Union Jack on the beach, an Aboriginal man in uniform facing off local fauna, or an Aboriginal woman, London Bridge in the background and rosellas flocking around.

Cook's work, which has been exhibited to acclaim around the world, is witty and clever as well as being beautiful and technically superb. His hybrid images go to the heart of the uniqueness of Australia – and in the process speak to the world.

Public history

Notwithstanding the work of excellent historians, we are not good enough at public history in Australia.

The desire to collapse complex layers of people and place to a single hierarchy does not work anywhere, but in a country like Australia it is especially problematic.

This is a continent with an ancient geological, botanical and zoological lineage, a place with histories of human settlement dating back tens of thousands of years.

It is a country that has in more recent times beckoned

and made welcome people from every continent. But we have not been as diligent as we should be in telling these stories, in encouraging them to blend into each other. Too many are forgotten and lost.

The National Museum's Defining Moments project is one of a number that are seeking to animate our history. Smart, curious, able people are doing this in many ways, digging through dusty archives, interrogating the records, finding the keepers of memory, reimagining lives in words, music and performance, on screen and in installations.

The challenge is to find ways to allow these histories to percolate and inform each other – to foster a rich, informed, hybrid culture, which is not subsumed by myth, where the truth has a multi-layered crunch.

When I think about this, the image that comes to mind is the wonderful work of Queensland-born artist Danie Mellor. He collapses the layers of settlement and tradition in his detailed paintings.

The elaborate indigo and white rendering of the Australian bush, rather than the traditional blue and white porcelain patterns from China or Europe.

Defining Australian culture

I would argue there are four distinctive characteristics to Australian culture.

The first is its indigenous history, as home to the longest continuous living civilisations. There is no other country that can trace such a lineage. This is something that has never been properly acknowledged. Until it is, the full potential of the great southern land and its peoples will never be realised.

The second is that it has one of the most successful continuous representative democracies. It did not happen by chance or by fiat: it was shaped by a long, slow process of struggle and debate over more than a century – it was not a gift of the English, but something that was contested and resolved at the time. But it is not fixed in concrete. We need to keep it under review, to ensure it is as good as possible.

Nonetheless this long democratic tradition has underpinned Australia's openness and its resilience – even if at times it acted as a brake on change. A direct line can be drawn from this heritage to the ease with which Australia has become home to people from many different backgrounds, and the fact that despite only 23.6 million people it is the 13th richest country in the world.

The third characteristic that is unique is that, with the exception of devastating colonial wars that decimated the First Australians, there has not been a full-scale modern war fought on Australian soil. The lives lost in the colonial wars remain unacknowledged, and need to be recognised. But on every other continent millions of lives have been lost in civil wars and territorial wars over the last century.

Although Australians have fought in these wars, many lost their lives or were irreparably damaged, and others came here as refugees from those conflicts, the battles

did not happen here. The Australian countryside is not marked with memorials to past battles.

I would argue that it has a legacy, one which we rarely acknowledge, but that at its best underpins Australian pragmatism. There is a strong sense that things can be sorted out without resorting to violence, that war happens elsewhere. And although this can make us want us to ignore what is happening elsewhere, that pragmatism is a great bit of cultural DNA.

The fourth is the accident of geography that places Australia in the Asian hemisphere. This provides opportunities that many Australians are now enthusiastically exploring. We seem to rediscover the potential of proximity every few decades, maybe this time we will finally embrace this in a multi-faceted way.

Culturally ambitious nation

The new mantra of the Australia Council for the Arts is to foster “a culturally ambitious nation”. This is admirable, and will hopefully embolden Australian artists at home and see them celebrated around the world – but the A\$222 million annual budget at its disposal is miniscule by comparison with every other area of government expenditure, so it is a big ask – with big rewards.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics estimated this year that the economic value of the creative and cultural sector as being more than A\$87 billion, about 7% of GDP in 2008-09, and employing just under a million people.

This is a big enterprise – generating more of the GDP than many other industries we spend much more time talking about, and at least as importantly providing interesting and rewarding jobs.

As this cultural commerce is conducted globally, it also sends a message to the world. It is an export with more power than ships full of coal. Sadly such is the disregard for culture in the current Australian political environment that the ABS data series on culture has been cancelled. This is a great loss, not least because these are truly the jobs of the future.

Even in a settler society that feels perpetually new, there is a need to unpick recent history. The next step is to synthesise this and communicate it at home and abroad, to continue listening and thinking, to realise that culture is a work in progress not something that stopped 100 or 50 or ten years ago.

Some of the most remarkable and exciting art currently being produced draws on both the indigenous and settler traditions. The works of young artists mentioned above, Danie Mellor and Michael Cook, synthesise this in original ways.

They are two of a large group of artists – Christian Thompson, Fiona Foley, Ricky Maynard, Julie Gough, Vernon Ah Kee, and others who were given a collective voice in two wonderful National Gallery of Australia exhibitions, *Culture Warriors* and *UnDisclosed*, and Djon Mundine’s *Bungaree: The First Australian* exhibition at the Mosman Gallery last year.

It is also happening in dance and music, performance

and literature – Bangarra Dance’s recent show, *Patyegarang* which explores the story of Lieutenant Dawes and the Aboriginal woman who taught him the language of the Eora people and how to read the stories in the stars.

The old clichés ... are no longer sufficient, so there is a need for an expansive approach, one that unpicks the layers of Australian history and identity, engages its peoples, and communicates with the world in an open minded, quietly self-confident, unapologetic manner.

Paul Stanhope’s oratorio *Jandamarra*, for the Sydney Symphony Orchestra with Gondwana and Kimberley choirs, celebrates a warrior who betrayed and then saved his people.

Wesley Enoch’s play *Black Diggers* uncovers the story of Aboriginal soldiers who died on the battle fields of the first world war and the complex connections between Europe and Australia.

In *The Swan Book* (2013) Alexis Wright uses biting Aboriginal humour to imagine a future Australia where a reverence of Aboriginal leadership has dire consequences. And then there are movies and TV shows produced and directed by brilliant indigenous filmmakers, *The Sapphires* (2012) and *Redfern Now* (2012), to name just two.

Indigenous Australia was defined by culture – and we are increasingly recognising that it is culture rather than race as defined by bloodlines, which give this its continuing power and potency.

The task of creating and mobilising a unique Australian culture has been one of the enduring challenges ever since the First Fleet arrived. I would hope that this would always be a work in progress. The recent decision by the Sydney City Council to include the Gadigal names of major sites in the city is an important step in this direction.

The old clichés drawn from the 19th and 20th centuries are no longer sufficient, so there is a need for an expansive approach, one that unpicks the layers of Australian history and identity, engages its peoples, and communicates with the world in an open-minded, quietly self-confident, unapologetic manner.

This is useful in many ways, for individuals, for the society, and maybe even for the world as an example of what is possible.

Julianne Schultz is Founding Editor of *Griffith REVIEW*; Professor, Centre for Public Culture and Ideas, Griffith University.

THE CONVERSATION

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THE DAY I DON'T FEEL AUSTRALIAN? THAT WOULD BE AUSTRALIA DAY

This nation has a history that extends well beyond the past 227 years, writes **Chelsea Bond** as she recounts her own experience as an Indigenous Australian

If there is ever a day that I don't feel Australian, it would be on Australia Day.

My mother is a fifth-generation Australian of English and Irish heritage and my father is Munanjahli and an Australian-born South Sea Islander.

Their marriage in 1968 for their families was the first time that "lives of black and white entwined", in the words of Noonuccal poet Oodgeroo Noonuccal. Their union blended two very different histories, cultures and experiences of citizenship in this country, which was apparent throughout my childhood and into adulthood.

The disconnect I feel on January 26 is not a rejection of my mother's history. Rather, it is a rejection of the privileging of one version of history at the expense of another. I simply cannot be part of the collective amnesia that sweeps the nation on January 26 each year. This amnesia is evidenced in our current prime minister choosing the arrival of the First Fleet as the "defining moment" of our national identity.

This nation has a history that extends well beyond the past 227 years, not to mention a few more inclusive "defining moments" since then.

There is no doubt that the arrival of the First Fleet was a "defining moment" for this nation, but

defining for vastly different reasons for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. For me, this day is worthy of commemoration, not celebration.

Australia Day celebrations to me feel a bit like what ANZAC Day would be without a dawn service. It just doesn't feel right or honourable to those that have gone before us. The iconic Australia Day images of people adorning various flag paraphernalia, parades, boozy BBQs, and bikini-clad girls on beaches shows complete disregard for the indigenous lives, lands and languages that were lost as a result of the British invasion of this country and the persisting inequalities that exist.

We remain on the margins, literally and figuratively; not worthy of the same national rituals of reverence and remembrance that our fellow Australians enjoy.

So how do I commemorate Invasion Day? I march. I march not because I'm bitter or stuck in the past, or ungrateful for the privileges I enjoy today. Rather, I march in remembrance for those who lost their lives simply defending their own land and people. I march with pride and pay tribute to the innumerable acts of





Our national day of celebration should be inclusive, meaningful and respectful to all of us as Australians, not just some of us.

resistance of our warriors and the ongoing resilience of our communities.

I march with my children so they will never forget about who they are, where they come from and how they came to be where they are today.

Last year, my husband and I took our eldest three children to participate in the Invasion Day march organised by the Brisbane Aboriginal Sovereign Embassy. As we walked through the city to join the march wearing Aboriginal flag T-shirts, we noticed the responses of our fellow Australians. Many averted their gaze or looked disturbed simply by our presence. I just didn't feel very Australian at all.

More than 1,000 of us marched across Victoria Bridge to South Bank where the official Australia Day celebrations were being held. We noted the newly erected fences around the two main entrances to the South Bank Parklands and the heavy police guard ensuring that we didn't spoil their parade by entering. It was a stark reminder of our standing in this country.

We remain on the margins, literally and figuratively; not worthy of the same national rituals of reverence and remembrance that our fellow Australians enjoy.

The Australia Day Council proudly boasts of its commitment to reconciliation, proclaiming that its

"programs play an important role in the symbolic aspects of reconciliation". Well, yes, celebrating Australia Day on the January 26 is certainly symbolic of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.

For me personally, celebrating Australia Day on this day is a symbolic and irreconcilable act of exclusion. This exclusion is made all the more obvious with the Meat and Livestock's Australia Day promotion encouraging us to "eat more lamb". The omission of iconic Indigenous Australians from the guest list (or any non-white Australian for that matter) reminds us of the continued white-washing of Australia's history, national identity and day of celebration.

That I choose to commemorate Australia Day by marching does not mean I privilege my father's history over my mother's. Rather the experiences, meanings and memories of Indigenous Australia should be bound up in the nation's collective consciousness.

Our national day of celebration should not require me to choose between mum's side or dad's or between black and white. Our national day of celebration should be inclusive, meaningful and respectful to all of us as Australians, not just some of us.

As you celebrate Australia Day, be it at the beach, the backyard or a barbie, take just a moment to consider the significance of that place you meet on, and not just since the arrival of the First Fleet.

How did you get to that place and who might've been there before you? Do you know about the nation on whose land you stand? If not, ask yourself why you don't know the stories of your own country? Hey, maybe you could even step out to one of the marches taking place in our capital cities and commemorate January 26 with your fellow Australians – the first peoples of the land that you proudly call home.

And maybe then, you will come to understand why this really should be a day to commemorate, not celebrate.

Chelsea Bond is Senior Lecturer in the Oodgeroo Unit, Queensland University of Technology.

THE CONVERSATION

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Don't deny our Australian identity

Australia has a proud heritage and an enduring cultural identity. This should be celebrated, not denied in order to placate the cultural left, writes **Kevin Donnelly**

What are we celebrating on January 26 and what does it mean to be Australian?

Traditionally, it's about celebrating the First Fleet's arrival in 1788 and recognising the early convicts and settlers, and the fact that our language, political and legal institutions are inherited from the British Isles.

Not any more. The cultural left tells us that it's all about multiculturalism and celebrating diversity and difference, with some even arguing that Australia Day should be renamed Invasion Day.

It's now politically correct to argue that there is no such thing as an Australian because the nation, like the USA, is a melting pot made up of different ethnic, religious and national groups all deserving equal treatment and respect.

Wrong. Australia is a Western, English-speaking nation and like other countries that share a common bond, like the USA and New Zealand, we are part of the Anglosphere.

Anglosphere countries share a common history, culture, language, a Westminster form of government, and legal concepts like common law, *habeas corpus* and innocent until proven guilty.

Even though religion is not as strong as it once was, we are also a Christian nation and it's no accident that parliaments around Australia at the state and Commonwealth level begin with the Lord's Prayer.

The fact that Australia is a Western, liberal democracy explains why so many millions of migrants have escaped war torn, oppressive regimes and migrated here searching for prosperity and peace.

Unlike countries in Asia like China, Burma, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam that are controlled by corrupt, self-serving regimes, Australia is a place where freedom is

safeguarded, everyone has the right to vote, and nobody is above the law.

Since federation in 1901, Australia has been a world leader in introducing universal franchise, votes for women, a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, and the old-age pension.

Australians are also unique. Forget old world, English upper-class snobbery; Australians believe that every man is as good as his master, that ability and hard work lead to success, that mateship is paramount, that life shouldn't be taken too seriously, and that it's important to be optimistic.

Beginning with the convicts, early settlers, outback workers, and continuing with the First World War diggers and moving on to today's battlers fighting drought, fire and flood, the Aussie legend is about

overcoming adversity, supporting loved ones and friends, and telling governments and bureaucrats where to go!

Australians love to win at sport, especially against the old country and New Zealand, enjoy a gamble and a drink, like larrikins, and don't take kindly to wowsers and the nanny state.

The dangers in denying or ignoring what it means to be Australian are many.

Firstly, arguing that all cultures are as good as one another leads to cultural relativism; a situation where it is impossible to argue that some cultural practices or beliefs are wrong or are better than others.

Multiculturalism, taken literally, means that female circumcision

The cultural left tells us that it's all about multiculturalism and celebrating diversity and difference, with some even arguing that Australia Day should be renamed Invasion Day.





Instead of adopting a cultural cringe, being politically correct and arguing there is nothing special about being Australian, let's celebrate our unique identity and the special history that binds us as a nation.

must be allowed and, if a religion argues that women are second-rate and men rule, then we have no right to complain.

Migrants living in ethnic ghettos and bringing their old hatreds to Australia also lead to what the historian Geoffrey Blainey describes as a nation of opposing tribes.

Secondly, communities and nations can only survive and prosper when there is common agreement about the need for civility, tolerance, ethical and rational behaviour, truth telling and respecting others.

Such values and beliefs are an essential part of Australia's Western tradition and Judeo-Christian

heritage. If different ethnic, cultural and religious groups don't agree on the values that bind us as a community and ensure the common good, then society fragments.

The irony is that other nations don't have the same identity crisis. The French have Bastille Day, the Americans celebrate Thanksgiving and Independence Day, and the English, based on last year's Diamond Jubilee for Queen Elizabeth II, have no problem working out who they are or what defines them as a nation.

For Australians who have travelled to and worked in Asia, it's also obvious that countries like Indonesia, Japan and India have a strong sense of national identity and that their people are proud of who they are and what they have achieved.

Instead of adopting a cultural cringe, being politically correct and arguing there is nothing special about being Australian, let's celebrate our unique identity and the special history that binds us as a nation.

Dr Kevin Donnelly is Director of Education Standards Institute whose ancestors settled in Wagga Wagga during the 1860s.

Donnelly, K (23 January 2013). 'Don't deny our Australian identity', *The Drum*. Retrieved from www.abc.net.au/news on 12 November 2015.

What does it mean to be an Australian and how has it changed?



*We are about to have another Australia Day. And as usual, it raises questions. What does it mean to be Australian? Who's included, and who's not? And how has it changed? In this piece **Peter West** takes a long historical view, and looks at changes since 1900*

Australia was basically British

At least, it was for the people of the newly-joined-up colonies making up the new country, Australia in 1901. (The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population was mostly forgotten and I will leave discussion of those issues till later). Where did mateship come from, asked the well-known writer CEW Bean. His answer begins, "The tradition was largely British ..." Australia's links with Britain are undeniable, whether of laws, language, much of its literature, its traditions; and this is barely the start. In the 1960s Keith Hancock wrote his own version of what Australia is in a book called *Australia*:

Our fathers were homesick Englishmen, or Irishmen, or Scots, and their sons, who have made themselves at home in a continent, have not yet forgotten those tiny islands in the North Sea. A country is a jealous mistress and patriotism is commonly an exclusive passion: but it is not impossible for Australians, nourished by a glorious literature and haunted by old memories, to be in love with two soils.

How much of this is still true? This would be a good topic to set for school-kids to debate today, with all its tones of a man who has lived in a world rather different from ours. Today we might have a mixed-culture and mixed-race country, but the overwhelming language is still English. If a European visitor turned on his TV in Melbourne or Darwin, he would be struck by how British the ABC's TV coverage is, from the dreary parade of what has happened – if anything – in some tedious game of cricket; and the never-ending story of Stephen Fry and antique shows that the ABC imagines is still relevant to anyone living here. For most Australians today, I would argue that our links with Great Britain signify more of a cosy reminder of where we've been rather than where we're going.

We would not say, as Menzies did in typical style at the time of the Suez Crisis of 1956:

Some casual but biased observers have suggested that we have merely 'toed the line'. This is, of course, nonsense. We have not ... lacked the capacity for expressing our own views, though we have at all times expressed them as British people.

There are still a few who might echo these words, but the uproar that greeted then Prime Minister Abbott's decision to award a knighthood to Prince Philip on Australia Day, 2015, showed that most Australians

recognised that these ideas belong to a long-gone era. For many years, writers and artists had found beauty in the new land and contrasted it with the old. Thus Australia has often been defined against Britain – as it was in Dorothea Mackellar's poem *My Country*. I believe most Australians would empathise with her sentiments today.

Australia has had a complex relationship with Asia

For many years, Australians felt they were an Anglo-Saxon enclave surrounded by Asiatic and dark-skinned people. Fear of the 'yellow peril' had been a feature of Australian feeling since at least the goldrushes of the 1850s. Our first Prime Minister, Edmund Barton, expressed similar fears when introducing the White Australia policy in August, 1901. He said we had to guard against 'certain Asiatic influxes'. Cheap Asian labour would take away jobs from white Anglo-Australians. The economic basis for this policy has been little understood. World War II merely showed that there was sense behind the fears. And well after World War II, fear of Asia remained.

It is difficult to summarise with much authenticity where Australia stands in relationship to Asia today. The relationship with China alone would take a good deal of explanation. Yet when a course on Australian history since 1900 was set for New South Wales schools in the 1960s, China was not even included. It was still being called 'Red China' into the 1970s. Today it's another story. With Chinese buying land, making investments here, Chinese tourists visiting in the millions, and Australian investment in China, we are looking at a huge shift from earlier times. Asian-Australians find their own niche and have become part of our weekly routine in food and entertainment. Having comedies like *Family Law* on SBS shows us that enjoying self-mocking comedies is a trait shared by many Australians.

Have we grown up yet?

It's a curious feature of Australia. We seem forever coming of age and forever in change. We have not yet 'cut the apron strings' to England, though this is being debated, apparently eternally. We are still debating the strength of our alliance to the USA, and whether our current Prime Minister is too friendly to the Americans. We are always becoming grown up but never there yet. We could be compared to old-established countries like China, with a history going back thousands of years, despite fairly recent changes. Or the USA, with what I believe is the world's oldest written constitution.

Or indeed Spain or Italy, with ruins and monuments showing any visitor their respectability.

Does being Australian mean being male?

A charming novel by Miles Franklin tells us a lot about how men and women related:

The wholesome athlete is generally more lovable [than an intellectual]. When his brawn is coupled with a good disposition, he sees in woman a fragile flower that he longs to protect.

His muscle is an engine a woman can unfailingly command for her own purposes ... the athlete may have the muscles of a Samson, and yet, being slow of thought and speech, be utterly defenceless in a woman's arms.

This statement would cause uproar if spoken in public today. Before the 1960s, Australian men were expected to perform, protect and provide for their families. The two sexes were strongly differentiated. Let's just leave that one and move on.

Were Australian women seen as somehow less Australian? The still-respected statement is by Russel Ward:

According to the myth the 'typical Australian' is a practical man, rough and ready in his manners ...

I've provided a link, <http://quadrant.org.au/magazine/2008/09/the-australian-legend-fifty-years-on/>, to a thoughtful reference in *Quadrant* magazine, which stresses that what Ward was exploring was – as he said – 'a nation's idea of itself'. Not the average or normal Australian. It raises for many the question of where is the place in Australia for people who are not a man, or even a practical man.

Are men and women equal in Australia? It's easy to ask the question, but finding the answer provides many complex issues to wrestle with. The number of female members of key boards is not impressive; nor are the numbers of women in Cabinet. The problematic nature of gender today is something unknown to earlier writers. I don't see any early resolution to this tension. But the Australia Day celebrations are careful to include high-profile women in public enactments.

How does Australia Day gel with a multi-racial, multi-cultural Australia?

Once again, this issue remains unresolved. Perhaps it should not be resolved. The Australia Day celebrations are inclusive. In Sydney, where I live, the streets are full of people with Australia Day regalia. When I look at them I see people of all races and evidently from many beliefs. The Greeks, the Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese, people in turbans and women in hijabs. We need not anymore make 'being Australian' exclusive. There is a lamb advertisement currently showing on TV urging Australians to buy lamb. It pretends to bring home Aussies overseas so they can eat lamb chops. It's clever in that it touches many bases and sparks debate. Having Lee Lin Chin tell its story cunningly includes many migrant voices (she reads the news on SBS TV). No doubt the ad will offend someone,

but I doubt that its makers will mind much.

I wonder if anyone would repeat today what Gordon Moyes said on Australia Day, 1986. He said there was no need to apologise over and over for our treatment of convicts, women, the Chinese and Aborigines. A summary appears online but the original is clearer:

Our Christian heritage is suppressed by recent religious diversity; the significance of the Anzacs is superseded by the contribution of the arts; emphasis on the family is lost under emphasis on women's rights. We should make this Australia Day a time of resolve to celebrate Australia, rather than denigrate Australia.

These days determined efforts are made to include in Australia Day all of the groups Moyes mentioned. When I watch the Australia Parade on Sydney Harbour, the Aborigines always appear. They are given resounding cheers. With a few exceptions, people have a reasonable curiosity about their history and culture. They are a key part of Australia Day and always should be. If their art, culture and traditions were invisible to earlier generations, that was unfortunate but understandable. The same is true of the others Moyes fulminated about.

*So what ought we do on Australia Day?
I reckon we should get out there and join
the fun ... Would you really prefer to live
somewhere else?*

What does it mean to be Australian? We laugh at ourselves. We tease people from other countries (Americans, English, Chinese) and expect to be teased back. Our pride in our country isn't worn conspicuously. But slag off at us and you'll get some back. The British part of being Australian is still there, but fading a fair bit, unless you're from the ABC. Even older people (OK, I'm over 50, er, 60) don't see ourselves as even faintly like Pommies. Australians like Pommies? Perish the thought! Most of us take for granted that people have come here from many distant countries and it's often said that the only ones who didn't are the Aborigines.

So what ought we do on Australia Day? I reckon we should get out there and join the fun. Look at the parade of presidential hopefuls in the USA – or any other country for that matter. Would you really prefer to live somewhere else? As Hancock said above, Australia is a jealous mistress. Many of us might well feel, as our plane touches down, a pleasant sigh of relief when we hear "Welcome to Sydney" (or whatever city we reach). With all its blemishes, our country is one many around the world see as blessed. We are lucky to be Australians. Get out there and celebrate.

Dr Peter West is a well-known expert on men and boys. He is the author of *Fathers, Sons and Lovers: Men Talk about Their Lives from the 1930s to Today* (Finch, 1996). He works part-time in the Faculty of Education, University of Technology, Sydney.

West, P (25 January 2016). 'What does it mean to be an Australian and how has it changed?', *On Line Opinion*. Retrieved from www.onlineopinion.com.au on 25 January 2016.

EXPLORING ISSUES

WORKSHEETS AND ACTIVITIES

The Exploring Issues section comprises a range of ready-to-use worksheets featuring activities which relate to facts and views raised in this book.

The exercises presented in these worksheets are suitable for use by students at middle secondary school level and beyond. Some of the activities may be explored either individually or as a group.

As the information in this book is compiled from a number of different sources, readers are prompted to consider the origin of the text and to critically evaluate the questions presented.

Is the information cited from a primary or secondary source? Are you being presented with facts or opinions?

Is there any evidence of a particular bias or agenda? What are your own views after having explored the issues?

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Brainstorm, individually or as a group, to find out what you know about multiculturalism and national identity in Australia. Complete the questions on a separate sheet of paper if more space is required.

1. What does Australian multiculturalism mean, in both a descriptive sense, and as a public policy?

2. According to the latest Census (2011), what are the top 10 reported ancestral countries of origin of all Australians?

3. What does it mean to you to be 'Australian'?

4. What is your understanding of the term 'unAustralian'?



There is a chance that what could be lost amid expressions of loyalty to historical events and symbols, is the acknowledgement that being a citizen of Australia is not necessarily defined by the waving of our flag, marching in a parade or holding a barbecue, but by our behaviours to each other and our ability to recognise the worth of our fellow Australians, irrespective of background.

Prompt each person in your class to read the above statement and consider the various ways in which Australians demonstrate their pride and appreciation of the nation's past and its achievements. In light of increased cultural diversity through sustained immigration, and greater awareness of the impacts of dispossession on Indigenous Australians, discuss how you think celebration of Australia's national identity might have changed in recent years. Write down your observations in the space below and share them with others in the class. Compile a list of points to reflect the overall views of the class.

[illegible]



MULTIPLE CHOICE

Complete the following multiple choice questionnaire by circling or matching your preferred responses. The answers are at the bottom of the page.

1. According to the 2011 Census, which of these countries are the top 6 for overseas-born Australians?

- a. Germany
- b. Malaysia
- c. Vietnam
- d. Italy
- e. United Kingdom
- f. China
- g. New Zealand
- h. Philippines
- i. India

2. Match the following terms with their correct definitions and/or dates.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| a. Australia Day | 1. Person's sense of self-identity related to their notion of belonging to a particular cultural or ethnic group. |
| b. Cultural diversity | 2. Held on March 21 in Australia and intended to show cohesion and inclusion in Australia and promote a tolerant and culturally diverse society. |
| c. Cultural identity | 3. National Day of Australia, celebrated annually on 26 January. |
| d. Harmony Day | 4. Laws and policies implemented in Australia from 1901-1970s aimed at keeping people who were not from a white European background out of the country. |
| e. Multiculturalism | 5. Term recognising and celebrating Australia's cultural diversity, which accepts and respects Australians' right to express and share their individual cultural heritage while committing to Australia's basic structures and democratic values. |
| f. 'White Australia' policy | 6. A description of a society composed of people from many different cultural and linguistic groups. |

3. Which of the following are *not* official Australian national symbols?

- a. Australian National Flag (colours: red, white, blue)
- b. Sydney Opera House
- c. Wallaby and emu (Commonwealth Coat of Arms)
- d. Australian Aboriginal Flag (colours: red, black, yellow)
- e. Waratah (floral emblem)
- f. Blue and red (national colours)
- g. Advance Australia's Fair (Australian National Anthem)
- h. Sapphire (national gemstone)

MULTIPLE CHOICE ANSWERS

1 = c, d, e, f, g, i; 2 = a = 3, b = 6, c = 1, d = 2, e = 5, f = 4; 3 = b, c, e, f, h.

- In 2011, the Census revealed that over a quarter (26%) of Australia's population was born overseas and a further one fifth (20%) had at least one overseas-born parent. Throughout the 100 years since the first National Census in 1911, migrants have made up a large component of the Australian population. Historically, the majority of migration has come from Europe, however, there are increasingly more Australians who were born in Asia and other parts of the world. This pattern of migration is evident in the make up of the richly diverse society which has been recorded in the 2011 Census. This diversity can be seen in the variety of languages, religions, ancestries and birthplaces reported by Australians (ABS, *Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012-2013*). (p.1)
- Over 300 ancestries were separately identified in the 2011 Census. The most commonly reported were English (36%) and Australian (35%). A further six of the leading ten ancestries reflected the European heritage in Australia with the two remaining ancestries being Chinese (4%) and Indian (2%) (*ibid*). (p.4)
- Just under a third (32%) of people who responded to the ancestry question reported two ancestries (*ibid*). (p.5)
- In 2011, 81% of Australians aged 5 years and over, spoke only English at home while 2% didn't speak English at all. The most common languages spoken at home (other than English) were Mandarin (1.7%), Italian (1.5%), Arabic (1.4%), Cantonese (1.3%) and Greek (1.3%) (*ibid*). (p.7)
- In a descriptive sense multicultural is simply a term which describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia. We are, and will remain, a multicultural society. As a public policy multiculturalism encompasses government measures designed to respond to that diversity. It plays no part in migrant selection. It is a policy for managing the consequences of cultural diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole (Department of Social Services, *What is multiculturalism?*). (p.8)
- The Commonwealth Government has identified three dimensions of multicultural policy: cultural identity, social justice, and economic efficiency (*ibid*). (p.8)
- 87% of Australians think that it is good that our community is made up of people from different cultures. It allows us to enjoy new traditions, a more diverse public discourse, and delicious food. Despite this, many individuals experience unfair treatment and racism because of how they look or where they come from. Racism means that people of all backgrounds are not treated equally and do not have the same opportunities (Australian Human Rights Commission, *Valuing multiculturalism*). (p.9)
- Australia's approach to multicultural policy embraces our shared values and cultural traditions and recognises that Australia's multicultural character gives us a competitive edge in an increasingly globalised world. The approach articulates the rights and responsibilities that are fundamental to living in Australia and supports the rights of all to celebrate, practise and maintain their cultural traditions within the law and free from discrimination. It also aims to strengthen social cohesion through promoting belonging, respecting diversity and fostering engagement with Australian values, identity and citizenship, within the framework of Australian law (Department of Social Services, *Fact Sheet – Australia's Multicultural Policy*). (p.10)
- An ability to speak English and to respect political institutions and laws are considered to be the most important factors in 'being Australian'. Being born in Australia is the least important factor, with more than half of Australians describing it as not important (Sheppard, J, *Australian attitudes towards national identity: citizenship, immigration and tradition ANUpoll April 2015*). (p.27)
- Australians overwhelmingly believe immigrants make positive contributions to the economic and cultural life of the country. Since 2003, the percentage of Australians who believe the immigration rate should be reduced has fallen from 61 to 28%. Support for tougher measures to exclude illegal immigrants is both widespread (65% of respondents) and stable over time (*ibid*). (p.30)
- Support for Australia becoming a republic has fallen consistently since the 1999 referendum, although a majority still support change. The number of Australians who believe the Queen and royal family are important to Australia has increased since the referendum, but they remain a minority (*ibid*). (p.31)
- Being a citizen of Australia is not necessarily defined by the waving of our flag, marching in a parade or holding a barbecue, but by our behaviours to each other and our ability to recognise the worth of our fellow Australians, irrespective of background (Scanlon Foundation, *Citizenship Discussion Paper*). (p.34)
- Australia's national colours are green and gold. Long associated with Australian sporting achievements, the national colours have strong environmental connections. Gold conjures images of the country's beaches, mineral wealth, grain harvests and the fleece of Australian wool. Green evokes the forests, gum trees and pastures of the Australian landscape. Green and gold are the colours of Australia's national floral emblem – the golden wattle (Commonwealth of Australia, *It's An Honour website, National Colours*). (p.35)
- The Australian National Anthem, proclaimed in 1984, identifies Australia at home and overseas. It unites the nation and is a public expression of joy and pride in being Australian. The Australian National Anthem is used at important public ceremonies, sporting and community events (Commonwealth of Australia, *It's An Honour website, Australian National Anthem*). (p.36)
- The Australian National Flag is Australia's foremost national symbol. The flag was first flown in 1901 and has become an expression of Australian identity and pride. The flag is an important part of national occasions such as Australia Day, Anzac Day, and Australian National Flag Day (Commonwealth of Australia, *It's An Honour website, Australian National Flag*). (p.37)

Assimilation

Altering of one culture's social characteristics to conform to those of another, usually the dominant or majority group.

Australia Day

Official National Day of Australia, celebrated annually on 26 January, marking the anniversary of the 1788 arrival of the First Fleet of British Ships in Sydney. In present-day Australia, celebrations reflect the diverse society and landscape of the nation, and are marked by community and family events, reflections on Australian history, official community awards, and citizenship ceremonies welcoming new immigrants into the Australian community.

Cultural diversity

Description of a society composed of people from many different cultural and linguistic groups.

Cultural identity

A person's sense of self-identity related to their notion of belonging to a particular cultural or ethnic group.

Culture

The sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings, which is transmitted from one generation to another.

Ethnicity

The identity of groups based on shared characteristics such as language, culture, history or geographic origin.

Ethnocentrism

The tendency to judge all other cultures by the norms and standards of one's own culture; the belief in the inherent superiority of one's own group and culture accompanied by feelings of contempt for other groups and cultures.

Harmony Day

Held on March 21 in Australia and intended to show cohesion and inclusion in Australia and promote a tolerant and culturally diverse society.

Immigrant

An immigrant, or migrant, is someone born outside Australia but who is now permanently resident in Australia.

Indigenous Australians

Collective term used to refer to Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islander people.

Integration

Fitting into mainstream society on an equitable basis but without necessarily abandoning distinctive cultural traits.

Multiculturalism

A term which recognises and celebrates Australia's cultural diversity. It accepts and respects the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy.

National symbols

Australia's national symbols represent what is unique about the nation, reflecting different aspects of our cultural life and history. Australia's national symbols include: the national

anthem, the national flag, Commonwealth Coat of Arms, floral emblem (golden wattle), national gemstone (opal), national colours (green and gold), and other Australian flags such as the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander flag.

Nationalism

Generally used to describe two phenomena: (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity; and (2) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination.

Patriotism

Patriotism is love of country, but it is love of a very specific kind. To be an Australian patriot is to love Australia as your own country.

Race

A group of people connected by common descent. Despite having no biological basis, the idea of distinct races still exists as a social construct.

Racism

Belief that human races have distinctive characteristics which determine their respective cultures, and which usually involve the idea that one's own race is superior and therefore has the right to rule or dominate others. It also includes offensive or aggressive behaviour to members of another race stemming from such a belief, and which can constitute a policy or system of government and society based on it.

Reconciliation

Process of building a new relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians and the wider community, one that heals the pain of the past and ensures we all share fairly and equally in our national citizenship.

Social cohesion

The willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper.

Stereotyping

A generalised set of traits and characteristics attributed to a specific ethnic, national, cultural or racial group which gives rise to false expectations that individual members of the group will conform to these traits.

White Australia policy

A series of laws and policies implemented in Australia from 1901 until the 1970s which aimed to keep people who were not from a white European background out of the country. These laws also restricted the lives of indigenous people and other people already in Australia who were not considered 'white'. The abolition of the policy took place over a period of 25 years.

Xenophobia

Fear or hatred of foreigners or of their politics or culture.

Websites with further information on the topic

All Together Now <http://alltogethernow.org.au>
 Ausflag www.ausflag.com.au
 Australian Bureau of Statistics www.abs.gov.au
 Australian Human Rights Commission www.humanrights.gov.au
 Australian Multicultural Foundation www.amf.net.au
 Australian National Flag Association www.australianflag.org.au
 Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade www.dfat.gov.au
 Department of Immigration and Border Protection www.immi.gov.au
 Department of Social Services www.dss.gov.au
 It's An Honour www.itsanhonour.gov.au
 Making Multicultural Australia www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au
 National Australia Day Council www.australiaday.org.au
 Racism. It stops with me <http://itstopswithme.humanrights.gov.au>
 Racism. No way! www.racismnoway.com.au
 Scanlon Foundation <http://scanlonfoundation.org.au>
 The Conversation <http://theconversation.com/au>

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- Department of Social Services, Australian Government
- It's An Honour website, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

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