

Australia as “the most successful multicultural society in the world”

by Ly Ly Lim

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

under the supervision of Andrew Jakubowicz

University of Technology Sydney
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

19 January 2021

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I, Ly Ly Lim declare that this thesis, is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

This research is supported by the Australian Government Research Training Program.

Signature: Production Note:
Signature removed prior to publication.

Date: 18 January 2021

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Doctoral studies are challenging. When I started my PhD journey a wise person said to me: “It’s like going through a pregnancy, along the way you can go through the entire spectrum of emotions: from excitement, apprehension, fear, frustration, at times loneliness and exhaustion, but overall exhilarating. But you don’t get to take a baby home.” They were right.

But writing a thesis during a period that looks, sounds and feels like apocalyptic times takes it to another level. While writing this thesis, my hometown Canberra went through a summer of bushfires, hailstorms and floods. Then there is, of course, the COVID-19 pandemic.

After sweating through its hottest year on record and with the region in drought for almost a decade, bushfires raged through the region for weeks from November 2019. The city, with its hazed dusky air and glowing red skies, felt more like Mars than its ‘bush capital’ image. We experienced a number of days recording the highest pollution levels in the world; worse than Beijing, New Delhi or any of the large metropolis renown (deserved or otherwise) for air pollution. In between the bushfires, there was a bout of hailstorms that morphed into floods. And just as the bushfires were expelling their last reluctant breaths, the COVID-19 pandemic hit. Although it sounds clichéd, these experiences do simplify the priorities of life.

First, my heartfelt appreciation to my better half, Dany and our son, Alexander. Their love, support and encouragement are priceless to me. They are with me all the way: through good, bad, frustrating and difficult times. I am thankful to my mother, whose path in life was directed by circumstances beyond her own control and thus never had the opportunities that came my way. I also want to thank my sister Samantha Lim, whose support helped unburden my own interim financial situation while I undertook this PhD. These are the people who without their love and support, I could not complete my doctoral studies.

I am most grateful to my supervisor Emeritus Professor Andrew Jakubowicz. Andrew is unique as a supervisor in that he places significant trust and confidence in me in ways unexpected. He asks me the difficult questions I unconsciously try to avoid but knowing that I must address in undertaking this thesis. If not for his reassuring guidance, my hesitation to inject myself so directly into the discourse on race, multiculturalism and power would not have been overcome. I would have been left with a poorer understanding of myself and the political issues at hand. He also trusted me implicitly in how I directed and prioritised my time and research. A rare faith in someone whose mental energy is at times sapped by the parasitic imposter syndrome.

I also want to thank my alternate supervisor, Associate Professor Christina Ho, whose positivity, encouragement and feedback have been invaluable to me.

My most sincere thanks also to all participants of my original research proposal, particularly the respondents who kindly participated in the interviews. Thank you for giving me your valuable time and sharing your thoughts with me. I salute your passion and enthusiasm in advocating for a more equitable and fairer Australia. Unfortunately, that research had to be abandoned because of a lack of response from the policy decision-makers group.

Last but not least, one of the unexpected joys in undertaking this journey was meeting the amazing, and marvellous Dr Annmaree Watharow, my friend and *accomplice extraordinaire*.

This thesis is in the format of a conventional thesis with chapters that cover: an introduction, review of literature, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion.

PREFACE

That hot wet monsoonal day in the camp, I remember the arrival of the white man. We had been on the run for months, from war-ravaged Cambodia now into Thailand. I was eight. I would meet him again, nearly twenty years later, in Canberra, where with my law degree achieved, I was working for the Australian government. We were introduced, and I said something like, 'we've met before'. He clearly couldn't place me. I described the thatched and rickety makeshift unofficial refugee camp on the border of Cambodia and Thailand. He immediately recalled the lone little Asian girl, standing by the barbed wire fence, barefoot and in torn old clothing. She looked him in the eye and smiled.

Life, growing up Asian in Australia I was often plagued with feelings of being an outsider. Of being an "impostor" in any space I occupied and a fraud who didn't belong. Growing up and living in a society that preferences the voices of men, usually white, middle-aged conservative men above all others, it is not difficult to feel like anything other than an imposter.

In conservative Australia, these men are continuously seen as the default model. One that everyone should aspire to. They are the "norm"; the voices of reason; of authority. They are viewed as "impartial", "experts" and automatically valued. Those who don't fit this mould are "fringe" or "shrill" or "alternative", or any other adjective designed to deride, belittle and marginalise.

When they raise their voices, it is because society has gone "off track"; overrun by the PC brigade. Their mirrored brethren in government and the vast Australian media landscape with their powerful platforms, respond.

A white conservative man can express a controversial opinion quite freely and with little repercussion. A white man can be racist or sexist, homophobic, or all of that — yet will likely maintain his platform. If, there is some backlash, he complains that his "free speech right" is attacked. Yet even then he'll continue to enjoy more freedom of speech than any of the groups of people he has vilified.

Should women, or people of colour venture into the public eye with a contrary voice, they will be attacked with racist slurs, called derogatory names or told to go back where they came from and more. Women will be ridiculed, shamed, subjected to misogynistic tirades and threatened with rape threats. Google Annaliese van Diemen or Yasmin Abdel-Magied: the barrage of nasty misogynistic, racist slurs and death threats these two women were subjected to become clear. All for simply tweeting something conservative Australia did not agree with. Both women are highly educated and articulate but still could not hold an opinion in twenty-first century Australia. What chance would those racialised and marginalised have?

I often ask myself ‘WHY?’ and ‘HOW’ could this be changed? How can the voices of the marginalised in Australian society navigate the status quo? It is difficult to say you have a voice when Australia’s institutions of authority – the parliaments, judiciary, government ministers and senior government departmental officials look nothing like you. When you turn on the television and the faces you see rarely reflect someone like yours.

The inner pragmatist in me questioned why bother. Doing a PhD made utterly no sense as I could not change the status quo. But what it does is allow me the introspection of my own "impostor syndrome" – to understand the source is a powerful psycho-hypnotic metanarrative, enforced daily through the media, television and the daily interactions, of who belongs in this country. A power structure that upholds the status quo of privileging people who are white, and will continue to do so. Partly due to my need to find my own voice, as well as through exposing the system, that this endeavour commenced.

In work settings I've been “welcomed” by older colleagues who said “it was time the department had some brown faces”, that “there are a few like you around” and were surprised my English was “really good”. My white peers found these comments “quaint” and amusing but failed to see the patronising and underlying unconscious racism. While this may not be the intention of those who engage me, unfortunately these are the experiences they expose me to throughout my career as a young lawyer, a public servant and an Australian diplomat overseas.

I decided the unconscious bias of others was no longer going to be my problem. I therefore feel my role in this is simple: I am highly qualified, with the ability to decipher the inner workings of this unequal society. I can use the skills and privilege that I personally have in a bid to raise awareness and effect change. My voice is important because it can help bring the struggles experienced by people of colour to the forefront in connected ways no white conservative man will ever possess.

At the same time, I have a responsibility to myself to remember my words deserve space.

There are still times when I still feel that "impostor syndrome" creeping through. How could I not in a society that still sees Asian women, particularly from Southeast Asia, in 3Ds – diminutive, docile and deferential? Their voices unimportant, and lives disposable.

Yet the voices of people of colour, particularly women of colour, are crucial if this country wants to heal, to right the wrongs and to commit to an inclusive and healthier future. Undertaking this PhD has enabled me to express my views unpolluted by the current status quo. My voice; that of a coloured woman living in Australia, is worth this respect.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Graphs	xv
List of Figures	xxiii
List of Tables	xxiv
Abstract	xxvi
Glossary	xxviii
Chapter 1: Introduction – Australia as “the most successful multicultural society in the world”	1
Background	1
Aims and contribution of thesis	2
Structure	4
Chapter 2: Understanding Australia’s version of multicultural nation–building	8
2.1 Australian Multiculturalism – the journey so far	9
2.2 Research question	25
2.3 ‘Multiculturalisms’ in Canada, Netherlands, Sweden and the UK	28
2.4 Multiculturalism and Australia	31
2.5 Ethno-racial hierarchy in a multicultural Australia	39
Chapter 3: Literature Review – three “understandings” of multiculturalism	45
3.1 Liberalism and the management of cultural diversity in liberal democracies	47

3.2	Sociological and socio-political theories of multiculturalism	52
3.3	Ethnocracy in poly-ethnic societies	56
3.4	Weber on ethnicity.....	72
3.5	Ethnic stratification.....	81
3.6	Recent research	87
Chapter 4: Methodology, Methods and Measurement.....		90
4.1	Background and purpose of study.....	91
4.2	Methodology – the need for methodological pragmatism	92
4.3	Data sources	95
4.4	Interrogating the ‘multicultural’ criteria.....	100
4.5	Interrogating the ‘successful’ criteria.....	102
4.6	Methods	105
4.7	Analysis	109
Chapter 5: Interrogating ‘Multicultural’ Australia		111
5.1	Definition and conceptual issues	112
5.2	Interrogating the ‘multicultural’ of Australia.....	118
5.3	Challenges to data collection.....	140
Chapter 6: Interrogating ‘success’: International perspective – Australia vs Canada, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom and United States.....		143

6.1	World Bank Gini Index and OECD Gini Coefficient on income inequality	147
6.2	Socio-cultural policies for a multicultural society.....	151
6.3	Australia’s state of democracy.....	174
6.4	State of peace and security	186
6.5	United Nation’s Human Development Index	192
6.6	Discussion.....	197
6.6.1	Assessing Australia’s MCP Index score for 2019.....	198
Chapter 7:	Interrogating ‘success’: National perspective.....	205
7.1	Australia’s Westminster-style of parliamentary democracy	206
7.1.1	Cultural diversity in Australia’s parliaments	207
7.1.2	Cultural diversity in Australia’s local governments	210
7.1.3	Cultural diversity in Australia’s national government.....	213
7.1.4	Cultural diversity in Australia’s government and corporate leadership	215
7.1.5	Cultural diversity in Australia’s institutions of hard power – the military and police forces.....	218
7.1.6	Cultural diversity in Australia’s judiciary	223
7.1.7	Cultural diversity in Australia’s tribunal and legal profession.....	226
7.2	Weber on Class, Status and Party	230

7.2.1	Ethnic differentials in Class: Top 10 incomes	232
7.3	Ethnic differentials in Class: Bottom 10 incomes	245
7.4	Ethnic differentials in qualifications and educational attainment.....	262
7.4.1 - 7.4.8:	Ethnic differentials in educational attainment versus ancestry versus medium income	270-273
7.5	Ethnic differentials in political Power.....	275
7.6	Ethnic differentials in Status.....	281
7.7	Mapping informal power holdings.....	283
Chapter 8:	Australia – a racial ethnocracy	299
8.1	Is Australia an ethnocracy?	300
8.1.1	Ethnicity, not citizenship, forms the main basis for resource and power allocation.....	301
8.1.2	Only partial rights and capabilities extend to minorities, thus there is a constant ethnocratic-civil tension	310
8.1.3	The dominant ‘charter’ ethnic group appropriates the state apparatus and shapes the political system, public institutions, geography, economy and culture, so as to expand and deepen its control over the state and territory	319
8.1.4	Political boundaries are vague, often privileging the co-ethnic of the dominant group in the diaspora, over minority citizens	327

8.1.5 Politics are ethnicized, as the same logic of power distribution polarises the body politic and party system	330
8.1.6 Rigid forms of ethnic segregation and socio-economic stratification are maintained despite countervailing legal and market forces	332
Chapter 9: Challenges for multicultural Australia	337
9.1 Australia – a racial ethnocracy	337
9.2 Australian Constitution – racialisation, exclusion and ethnocracy.....	344
9.3 Ethnocratisation and racialisation central to Australia’s racial ethnocracy....	347
9.3.0 Racialisation and ethnocratic spectrum of Australian political parties in the federal Parliament	350
9.3.1 The characteristics of Australia’s racial ethnocracy	351
9.4 Policy implications	354
Chapter 10: Conclusion - towards a multicultural ‘We’	368
Bibliography	380

Appendices:

- Appendix A: ABS Data 2006 Census Occupations vs ancestry (top 10)
- Appendix B: ABS Data 2016 Census Occupations vs ancestry (top 10)
- Appendix C: ABS Data 2006 Census Educational attainment vs ancestry (top 10)
- Appendix D: ABS Data 2016 Census Educational attainment vs ancestry (top 10)
- Appendix E: ABS Data 2006 Census - average salary vs educational attainment vs ancestry (top 10)
- Appendix F: ABS Data 2016 Census - average salary vs educational attainment vs ancestry (top 10)

LIST OF GRAPHS

<i>Graph</i>	<i>Page</i>
5.2.3(a) Top ten countries of birth for 2016	119
5.2.3(b) Top ten countries of birth 2016 (overseas)	121
5.2.3(c) Overseas-born – top ten countries – trend	122
5.2.3(d) Country of Birth by Continents 2016 (excluding Australia)	123
5.2.4(a) Country of birth of parents 2016.....	124
5.2.4(b) Migration to Australia (1975/76 to 2015/16).....	125
5.2.5(a) Top 20 ancestries by country 2016 (1 st response)	126
5.2.5(b) Ancestries by region 2016 (1 st response).....	128
5.2.5(c) Ancestries by region 2016 (2 nd response).....	129
5.2.5(d) Top 20 Ancestries 2016 (1 st and 2 nd responses)	130
5.2.6(a) Top 20 languages spoken at home 2016.....	131
5.2.6(b) Mandarin speakers vs top ten countries of birth 2016	133
5.2.7(a) Distribution of religious affiliation in Australian population 2016	135
5.2.7(d) Population vs religious affiliation by ancestries (1st & 2nd responses).....	138
5.2.8(a) Indigenous Australian population 2016.....	139
6.1.1 Australia's Gini Index vs Canada, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2004-2014).....	148

6.1.2	Australia's World Bank Gini Index on income inequality vs Canada, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2015)	149
6.1.3	Australia's Gini coefficient (income inequality) vs Canada, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2015)	149
6.2.1(a)	Australia on the Multiculturalism Policy Index for Immigrant Minorities ..	152
6.2.2(a)	Australia's 2014 MIPEX scores	159
6.2.2(b)	Australia's 2014 MIPEX score and ranking vs New Zealand, Canada, UK, US, Netherlands and Sweden	161
6.2.2(c)	Australia's MIPEX scores vs New Zealand, Canada, UK, US, Netherlands and Sweden (2010-2014)	162
6.3.1(a)	Democracy Index ranking: Australia vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	178
6.3.1(b)	Democracy Index scores: Australia vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	179
6.3.2	Australia's electoral pluralism score vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	180
6.3.3	Australia's functioning of government score vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	181
6.3.4	Australia's political participation score vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	182
6.3.5	Australia's democratic political culture score vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	183

6.3.6	Australia's civil liberties score vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	184
6.3.7	Change in Australia's Democracy Index vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2018)	186
6.4.1	Australia's GPI ranking compared to Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2007-2019)	188
6.4.3	Australia's level of ongoing domestic and international conflict compared to Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US from 2014 to 2019	190
6.4.4	Australia's level of safety and security in society score compared to Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US from 2014 to 2019	191
6.4.5	Australia's level of militarisation score compared to Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US from 2014 to 2019	192
6.5.2(a)	Australia's HDI scores vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK and US (2006-2017)	195
6.5.2(b)	Australia's HDI ranking vs top ten HDI ranked nations vs Canada, New Zealand, Netherlands, Sweden, UK US from 2006 to 2017	196
7.1.1	Top ten ancestries of Australia's parliamentarians	208
7.1.2	Top ten ancestries of Australia's local government legislators	211
7.1.4(a)	Top ten ancestries of Chief Executives or Managing Directors	216 & 243
7.1.4(b)	Top ten ancestries of corporate general managers in Australia	217
7.1.5(a)	Top ten ancestries of ADF senior officers	220

7.1.5(b)	Top ten ancestries of Australia’s commissioned military officers.....	220
7.1.5(c)	Top ten ancestries of commissioned police officers.....	221
7.1.6(a)	Top ten ancestries of Australia’s judges.....	225 & 239
7.1.6(b)	Top ten ancestries of Australia’s magistrates	225 & 239
7.1.7(a)	Top ten ancestries of tribunal members.....	227 & 240
7.1.7(b)	Top ten ancestries of barristers	228
7.1.7(c)	Top ten ancestries of ‘Other judicial and legal professions’	228 & 240
7.1.7(d)	Top ten ancestries of solicitors	229
7.2.2	Top ten ancestries of surgeons.....	234
7.2.3	Top ten ancestries of anaesthetists	234
7.2.4	Top ten ancestries of internal medicine specialist.....	235
7.2.5	Top ten ancestries of financial dealers	236
7.2.6	Top ten ancestries of psychiatrists	237
7.2.7	Top ten ancestries of ‘Other medical practitioners’	238
7.2.9(a)	Top ten ancestries of mining engineers	241
7.2.9(b)	Top ten ancestries of petroleum engineers	242
7.2.11	Top ten ancestries of engineering manager	244
7.3.1(a)	Top ten ancestries of fast food cooks (<i>lowest income earning occupation</i>)....	255

7.3.1(b)	Top ten ancestries of hospitality employee (<i>2nd lowest income earning occupation</i>) – bar attendants.....	251
7.3.1(c)	Top ten ancestries of hospitality employee (<i>2nd lowest income earning occupation</i>) – gaming workers	252
7.3.1(d)	Top ten ancestries of hospitality employee (<i>2nd lowest income earning occupation</i>) – hospitality workers (<i>not elsewhere classified</i>)	252
7.3.1(e)	Top ten ancestries of food trade assistants (<i>possibly equivalent to the 6th lowest income earning occupation</i>).....	255
7.3.1(f)	Top ten ancestries of kitchenhand (<i>possibly equivalent to 6th lowest income earning occupation</i>).....	256
7.3.1(g)	Top ten ancestries of waiters (<i>7th lowest income earning occupation</i>)	253
7.3.1(h)	Top ten ancestries of commercial cleaners (<i>possibly 8th lowest income earning occupation</i>)	257
7.3.1(i)	Top ten ancestries of domestic cleaners (<i>possibly 8th lowest income earning occupation</i>)	258
7.3.1(j)	Top ten ancestries of drycleaner (<i>possibly 8th lowest income earning occupation</i>)	258
7.3.1(k)	Top ten ancestries of carpet cleaner (<i>possibly 8th lowest income earning occupation</i>)	259
7.3.1(l)	Top ten ancestries of window cleaners (<i>possibly 8th lowest income earning occupation</i>)	259

7.3.1(m)	Top ten ancestries of cleaners not elsewhere classified (<i>possibly 8th lowest income earning occupation</i>).....	260
7.3.1(n)	Top ten ancestries of café worker (<i>10th lowest income earning occupation</i>)	253
7.4.0(a)	Top ten ancestries of postgraduate degree holders (2006 & 2016)	263
7.4.0(b)	Top ten ancestries of bachelor degree holders (2006 & 2016).....	263
7.4.0(c)	Top ten ancestries of certificate level holders (2006 & 2016)	264
7.4.0(d)	Top ten ancestries of Year 12 holders (2006 & 2016).....	264
7.4.0(e)	Top ten ancestries of Year 11 or below (2006 & 2016)	265
7.4.0(f)	Top ten ancestries of ‘No Education’ attainment (2006 & 2016).....	265
7.4.1	Top ten ancestries of ‘postgraduate degree level’ educational attainment versus median weekly income	270
7.4.2	Top ten ancestries of ‘bachelor degree level’ educational attainment versus median weekly income	270
7.4.3	Top ten ancestries of ‘advanced diploma and diploma level’ educational attainment versus median weekly income	271
7.4.4	Top ten ancestries of ‘certificate III & IV level’ educational attainment versus median weekly income	271
7.4.5	Top ten ancestries of ‘certificate I & II level’ educational attainment versus median weekly income	272

7.4.6	Top ten ancestries of ‘Year 12 level’ educational attainment versus median weekly income	272
7.4.7	Top ten ancestries of ‘Year 11 or lower level’ educational attainment versus median weekly income	273
7.4.8	Top ten ancestries of ‘no education’ attainment versus median weekly income	273
7.7.1(a)	Top ten ancestries of media producers	287
7.7.1(b)	Top ten ancestries of radio presenters	288
7.7.1(c)	Top ten ancestries of television presenters	288
7.7.1(d)	Top ten ancestries of editors of newspaper or periodicals	289
7.7.1(e)	Top ten ancestries of print journalists	289
7.7.1(f)	Top ten ancestries of radio journalists.....	290
7.7.2(a)	Top ten ancestries of actors.....	292
7.7.2(b)	Top ten ancestries of dancers/choreographers	292
7.7.2(c)	Top ten ancestries of entertainers or variety artists	293
7.7.2(d)	Top ten ancestries of actors, dancers & other entertainers (not elsewhere classified).....	293
7.7.2(e)	Top ten ancestries of singers	294
7.7.2(f)	Top ten ancestries of musical professionals.....	294
7.7.2(g)	Top ten regions of birth of Australia’s audiovisual industry employees.....	296

8.1.1	Reported experience of racial discrimination (Scanlon Foundation 2007-2019)	
	308

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Page</i>
5.2.4(b) Migration to Australia by region (1975-2016).....	125
5.2.7(b) Changes in religious affiliation over time (1966, 1991 and 2016)	136
5.2.7(c) Emerging major religions in Australia (2006, 2011 and 2016).....	137
6.5.0 The Human Development Index and its components.....	193
7.2.0 Illustration of Weber’s concepts of Class, Status and Party within <i>Gemeinschaft</i> and <i>Gesellschaft</i>	231
7.2.1 Top ten highest income earning occupations in Australia (2016-17 financial year).....	233
8.1.3 Media ownership in Australia (ACMA).....	328
8.4.0 Racialisation and ethnocratic spectrum of Australian political parties in the federal Parliament.....	352
8.4.1 Characteristics of Australia’s racial ethnocracy reflects a typical power holder in Australia.....	353

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table</i>	<i>Page</i>
6.2.1(b) Australia on the Multiculturalism Policy Index for Indigenous Peoples	154
6.2.1(c) Multiculturalism Policy Index for Indigenous Peoples (Australia vs other nations)	155-6
6.2.2 Australia's 2014 MIPEX scores across the eight policy areas	160
6.2.4 Summary of prejudice against immigrants, other religions and other races.	165
6.2.5 Prejudice against people of a different religion	167
6.2.6 Prejudice against people of a different race	168
6.2.7 Prejudice against foreign immigrants/workers	169
6.2.8 Prejudice against foreign immigrants/workers	170
6.2.9 Willingness to discriminate against foreigners	171
6.2.10 Changes in prejudice over time	172
6.2.11 Australia vs Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, UK and US on the importance of teaching tolerance and respect for other people to children.....	173
6.6.1 Australia's 2019 MCP policy scores on immigrant minorities based on evidence – federal versus State/Territories	199-202
7.1.3 Composition of the national Executive government (as of 15 Jan 2020).....	214
7.3.0 Lowest paid ten occupations (2016-2017 financial year)	246

7.3.1	ATO bottom 10 versus ABS occupation (or equivalent(s)) versus graph....	249
8.1.1(a)	Prospect of becoming a parliamentarian versus proportion in general population in accordance with the top ten ancestries of Australian parliamentarians in 2006 and 2016.....	302
8.1.1(b)	Prospect of being chosen as a judge versus proportion in general population in accordance to the top ten ancestries of Australian judges in 2006	304
8.1.1(c)	Prospect of being chosen as a judge versus proportion in the general population in accordance to the top ten ancestries of Australian judges in 2006 and 2016	304
8.1.1(d)	Prospect of being chosen as a magistrate versus proportion in general population in accordance to the top ten ancestries of Australian magistrates in 2006.....	305
8.1.2(a)	Prospect of being a police officer versus proportion of the general population in accordance to the top ten ancestries of Australian police officers in 2006 ..	317
8.1.2(b)	Prospect of being a police officer versus proportion of the general population in accordance to the top ten ancestries of Australian police officers in 2006 and 2016.....	317

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores in what ways and to what extent Australia's claim to exceptionalism as "the most successful multicultural society in the world" can be supported by evidence. The reiteration of this claim by successive Australian national governments, most recently in 2020, is tested in a series of increasingly focussed analyses. Beginning with a comparison at the international level with other multicultural societies in liberal democracies (Canada, New Zealand, UK, US, Sweden and the Netherlands), the thesis then investigates the nature of power in multicultural Australia on the basis of equity and inclusion, key ideas in the multicultural mantra.

What might be expected if "multicultural" is introduced as an additional modifier into claims of being a successful and even the most successful society in the world? Four parameters – those of economic participation and opportunity, state policies on cultural diversity, social equality and opportunity, and levels of human development – are used to test the comparative claims at a global level. These parameters are then applied through a detailed analysis of both formal and informal power positions and structures in Australia.

Finding an appropriate single marker of "multicultural" is complex, as there are both objective and subjective factors that can be operationalised. Typically in Australia the current officially sanctioned terminology "culturally and linguistically diverse" (CALD) refers to an ensemble of criteria including at least one of country of own and parents' birth, language spoken at home, faith, and self-identified heritage. Choosing the self-identified cultural/ethnic heritage – of ancestry – as recorded in the Census return captures the subjective aspect and some of the objective overtones. The research then explores how this independent variable is associated with the dependent variable of occupational status as expressed in both professional and income groups. The approach also demonstrates similar patterns in the realms of social, cultural and political power, leadership and influence.

The key outcomes point to an apparent hierarchy of power, class and status in which whiteness (Anglo-Celtic and Northern European origin), Abrahamic faith (Christian or

Jewish rather than Muslim), and male gender characterise those who hold the dominant positions across the board. These patterns reflect the persistence of an ethnocracy founded in an earlier period marked by White Australian values and practices, rather than an inclusive and open democracy reflecting multicultural values and opportunities. However the disjunction between rhetoric and reality appears to be bridgeable, should public policy be implemented that better institutionalises the aspirations of equity and inclusion.

GLOSSARY

ABARES. Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics and Sciences

ABS. Australian Bureau of Statistics.

ADF. Australian Defence Force

AHRC. Australian Human Rights Commission

AIMA. Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs.

ASCCEG. Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups

ATO. Australian Taxation Office.

CALD. Culturally and linguistically diverse.

EIU. Economist Intelligence Unit.

FECCA. Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia.

GDP. Gross Domestic Product.

GPI. Global Peace Index.

HDI. Human Development Index

HILDA. Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey.

ICERD. International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination.

ICESC. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

IGR. Intergenerational Report.

MIPEX. Migrant Integration Policy Index.

OECD. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

SBS. Special Broadcasting Service (Australian government funded television channel).

UN. United Nations.

UNESCO. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

White Australia Policy (WAP). The official Australian social policy from federation (1901) until 1975; formally repealed when Australia enacted the *Racial Discrimination Act* 1975 (Cth).

WWII. World War Two.