

Australian citizenship: a genealogy tracing the  
descent of discourse 1946-2007

Justin Briggs

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts and Social  
Sciences, University of Technology Sydney, to fulfil  
the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree

February 2009

### **Claim of Originality**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, or substantial proportions of material which have been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS) or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at UTS or elsewhere is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare that the intellectual content of the thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.

---

**Justin Briggs**

**February 2009**

## **Acknowledgements**

The research described in this thesis commenced in January 2002 under the supervision of Dr Deb Hayes who at that time was a Senior Lecturer in education at UTS. When she became an Associate Professor at Griffith University, Queensland in 2006 she graciously agreed to continue to supervise my research. On her appointment as Associate Professor at Sydney University in 2007 again Deb continued to supervise my research. The supervision of doctoral students is a difficult task at the best of times. Her ability to continue to supervise my research despite no longer being employed by UTS or living in Sydney was greatly appreciated. She has been a very patient supervisor. On occasions I would refer to the text by Professor Allan A. Glatthorn, 'Writing the Winning Dissertation' (1998) and confess this to Deb during subsequent supervision sessions. During these discussions Deb would gently rib me and ask, '*I wonder what the good professor would say about that?*' This question would cause me to check the text to ensure I complied with both the good professor and the good associate professor. I sincerely thank Associate Professor Hayes for her guidance, encouragement and assistance in the completion of the study but most of all I thank her for being my teacher. Like all great teachers she has inspired me. Thank you Deb!

I would also like to acknowledge the Education Faculty at the University of Technology Sydney. I was granted a Research Training Scheme in December 2001 and it is through this program that the thesis has been developed and completed. Without my access to this federally funded scheme I would not have been in a position to complete the research. Additionally Professor Alison Lee (UTS) has provided me with a number of opportunities to present sections of my work at post-graduate student conferences and discussions. These conferences have provided further opportunities for evaluation by academics and students.

To all my colleagues in education who have encouraged me over the years to complete the study I thank-you!

Thank-you also to Dr Rosemary Aldrich my sister-in-law who provided additional advice and suggestions about the content of the research having completed her Ph.D in Australian political discourse concerning Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples at the University of New South Wales in 2006. Our intellectual conversations were always productive, informative and most helpful.

Thank you to all my family, particularly my mother Joyce and my father Malcolm. My parents have encouraged me to be the best I can in all aspects of my life. Their greatest joy is the continuing personal and professional growth of all of their five children, spouses, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Thank you Mum and Dad for all your love and encouragement!

Finally, to my wonderful wife Ireneanne Aldrich for her continued love, support and encouragement during the research and writing of this dissertation. Without her this thesis would never have been attempted. Ireneanne would often have to listen to me read sections of the dissertation and passages from the writings of Foucault. At times this was quite a chore for her! Ireneanne is my greatest teacher. I dedicate this study to her. Thank-you darling!

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Table of Contents .....	ii
List of Tables and Figures.....	vii
Abstract.....	viii
Glossary of Terms.....	x
Australian Citizenship Timeline (laws, government and society).....	xiv
Presentations and publications arising from the research.....	xxi
<b>Chapter 1 Statement of the problem and focus of the study .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction to the Study.....	1
1.2 Overview of the research in this dissertation.....	8
1.2.1 The significance of Australia Day and sourcing the data.....	10
1.3 Citizenship as a discourse.....	12
1.4 Background to the study.....	18
1.5 Citizenship, controversy and the production of truth.....	22
1.6 The importance of the study.....	23
1.7 The researcher within discourse.....	24
1.8 Ethical considerations of research practice.....	25
1.9 Overview of the Foucaultian methodology.....	26
1.9.1 The Foucaultian nature of power.....	28
1.9.2 An explanation of Power/Knowledge.....	29
1.10 Focus for the analysis of the period 1946 – 2007.....	31
1.11 Summary of the problem statement.....	32
1.12 Professional significance of the problem.....	33
1.13 Organisation of the research.....	34
1.14 Summary of Chapter One.....	36
<b>Chapter 2 A review of the literature.....</b>	<b>38</b>
2.1 Overview of the chapter.....	38
2.2 Search of the current research literature.....	39

2.3 Growth in Citizenship Discourse.....	41
2.3.1 The development of citizenship as a site for research.....	42
2.4 The discourse of Australian citizenship.....	45
2.4.1 Australian egalitarianism and its relationship with Indigenous communities.....	49
2.4.2 Citizenship and Media Constructions.....	52
2.4.3 Discontinuity and individual citizenship: David Hicks as a media construction.....	54
2.5 Reasons for the utilisation of the Foucaultian method.....	57
2.5.1 Power/knowledge and citizenship.....	61
2.6 The literature as methodology .....	63
2.6.1 Archaeology and Genealogy: an overview.....	64
2.6.2 Postmodernism, Poststructuralism and Citizenship.....	68
2.6.3 The nature and function of discourses as sites of regulation and resistance .....	70
2.7 Summary of Chapter Two.....	72
<b>Chapter 3 Citizenship discourse and its exteriorities.....</b>	<b>74</b>
3.1 Citizenship and its exteriorities.....	74
3.2 Globalisation and citizenship.....	75
3.3 Localisation, democracy and citizenship.....	80
3.4 Capitalism and neo-liberalism.....	81
3.4.1 Social compliance and economics.....	88
3.5 Summary of Chapter Three.....	90
<b>Chapter 4 The methodology of the study.....</b>	<b>92</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	92
4.2 A description of the methodology in general terms.....	94
4.3 The researcher and the choice of methodology.....	99
4.4 A definition of the Foucaultian methodology utilised in the dissertation.....	100
4.4.1 Archaeology and Genealogy as methodology.....	102
4.5 The collection of the data.....	103

4.6 Separation of the corpus.....	104
4.7 Criteria for inclusion in the database.....	105
4.8 The search process.....	106
4.9 Procedures used to analyse the data.....	107
4.10 The research context or site.....	109
4.11 Data Analysis.....	111
4.12 A summary statement of the methodology.....	113
<b>Chapter 5 The summary and discussion as the genealogy.....</b>	<b>115</b>
5.1 Statement of the problem.....	115
5.2 Review of the methodology.....	116
5.3 Summary of the results.....	118
5.3.1 The major products of the research.....	119
5.4 Discussion of the results.....	121
5.4.1 The silencing of Aboriginal concerns 1946 – 1969.....	121
5.4.2 Authorised voices question the acceptance of poverty and racism 1969 – 1980.....	145
5.4.3 Relations of power between Aboriginals and whites 1981 – 1988....	154
5.4.4 Relations of power between Asian immigrants and whites 1989 – 1996.....	161
5.4.5 The struggle of cultural dominations 1997 – 2007.....	167
5.5 A summary of the discourse in terms of its modalities, transformations and discontinuities.....	179
5.5.1 Australian citizenship discursive experiences .....	182
5.6 A discussion of the products of the research.....	187
i) A discussion of the products of the research.....	187
ii) Relationship of the current study to previous research.....	189
iii) Recommendations for educators.....	191
iv) Suggestions for additional research.....	193
5.7 Chapter conclusion.....	194

<b>Chapter 6 Re-thinking citizenship discourse.....</b>	<b>195</b>
6.1 Introduction.....	195
6.2 Solving the methodological dilemma.....	197
6.3 Re-imagining citizenship discourse.....	199
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>209</b>
Appendix 1 The discourse of citizenship leading up to 26 January 2007.....	209
Appendix 2 Additional articles.....	210
Appendix 3 The five major concepts in citizenship discourse.....	229
<b>References.....</b>	<b>243</b>



### List of Tables and Figures

Figure 1.1 The relationship of the chapters as operating fields of the study with the ‘target’ or focus of the research being the ‘problem statement’ .....	35
Figure 6.1 The articles of significance in the archive from 1946-1955.....	132
Figure 6.2 The articles of significance in the archive from 1956-1965.....	143
Figure 6.3 The articles of significance in the archive from 1966 -1975.....	150
Figure 6.4 The articles of significance in the archive from 1976 -1985.....	158
Figure 6.5 The articles of significance in the archive from 1986 -1995 .....	166
Figure 6.6 The articles of significance in the archive from 1996 -2006 .....	175
Table 7.1 Groupings of the five major concepts in the citizenship archive from 1946 – 2007 as represented on 26 January .....	230
Figure 7.2 The five major concepts of citizenship discourse traced from 1946 – 2007 .....	233
Table 7.3 Groupings of the five major concepts in the citizenship archive from 1967 – 2006 as represented on 27 January .....	234
Table 7.4 Groupings of the five major concepts in the citizenship archive as referred to in the Editorial and Letters in relation to key texts from 1946 – 2006 as represented on 26 January .....	235
Table 7.5 The five major concepts in the citizenship archive as portrayed on 27 January .....	238
Table 7.6 Transmission of dominant and minority perspectives on January 26 or January 27, 1946-2007.....	239
Figure 7.7 Majority and minority voices and their perspectives1946 – 2006 .....	241
Figure 7.8 The major concerns of authorised voices from 1946 - 2007	242

## **Abstract**

This thesis is a genealogy which traces changes to the discourse of Australian citizenship. These changes were traced in the Australia Day (i.e., January 26) and January 27 editions of *The Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) and *The Sun Herald* (SH) from 1946 – 2007. The dissertation used Foucault's (1980; 1991a; 1991d; 1991e; 1998; 2002a; 2006b) genealogy supplemented with his archaeological method to provide an analysis of the discourse of Australian citizenship.

The analysis was conducted by creating an archive of newspaper texts that related to Australian citizenship discourse. This archive represents the body of knowledge about citizenship as published in the specified print media and reflects the systems of thought that circulated the discourse at particular points in time.

The archived newspaper texts related to Australian citizenship discourse contain traces of the social, political, cultural and economic beliefs and values of Australian citizens. The analysed texts were found in headlines, reports, editorials, opinion pieces, annotated photographs and letters to the editor that made-up the day-to-day history of the Australia Day editions. The texts that were produced in this narration in the SMH have provided data in the form of specific language use that defines the discourse of citizenship over the 62 year period.

The language of these texts as reported in the print media represents the understandings of citizenship at particular times and also the discursive responses to contingent factors conditioning citizenship discourse including globalisation, localisation and neo-liberalism. The research links with Foucault's (1980; 1991a; 1991d; 1991e; 1998; 2002a; 2006b) findings that the analysis of discourse is fundamental for understanding the nature of reality. This reality reported in this dissertation indicates a discourse that has changed and transformed over the analysed period of time.

The discourse of citizenship has developed through the flow of rules and regulations that prohibit and permit what can and cannot be said, thought or spoken about citizenship at particular points in time. This form of normative thought, action and speech is culturally constructed and has been traced in the discourse through a mapping of specific language use related to understandings of citizenship. These types of knowledge constructions are artefacts of culture and reinforce existing power relations. This study

has attempted to unmask these relations of power to question the rationality of the practices and experiences of Australian citizenship.

The genealogical method allows for the distillation of citizenship discourse as a history of social and political truths as seen in the print media from 1946 – 2007. The genealogy of Australian citizenship presented in this dissertation lays bare the characteristic forms of power/knowledge manifested in the discourse over the post-World War Two period of Australian history to show systems of thought pertaining to citizenship. By doing so it shows that current citizenship practices are not the result of historical inevitabilities but rather the result of the interplay of contingencies. By emphasising citizenship in this way the thesis offers insights into how it can be re-fashioned to offer greater individual freedom through an understanding of the games of truth that are played throughout all levels of society.

The manifestation of power/knowledge in the discourse is further evidence that citizens exist in relations of power. These manifestations produced five distinct thematic discursivities. I labelled them as, *'The silencing of Aboriginal concerns 1946 – 1969, Authorised voices question the acceptance of poverty and racism 1969 – 1980, Relations of power between Aboriginal Australians and whites 1981 – 1988, Relations of power between Asian immigrants and whites 1989 – 1996, The struggle of cultural dominations 1997 – 2007'*. In particular, a discontinuity was identified during the period *Relations of power between Aboriginal Australians and whites 1981 – 1988*. From this time in the discourse Indigenous Australians were permitted to criticise their treatment by whites. Subsequently this permission has become embedded in systems of thought.

This thesis gives details of the products of the genealogical method related to the discourse of citizenship. It pinpoints the moments when individuals and social, cultural, economic and political groups played roles in the production, reproduction and transmission of truth from 1946 - 2007. Based on the products of the research it creates recommendations for minimising the potential dominations of social and political truths. It also suggests ways to re-think Australian citizenship to afford greater freedoms for individual thought, speech and action.

## Glossary of Terms

*Archaeology*: a method of research that describes the archive. The archive is the term used by Foucault (2002b) to explain, ‘... *the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events*’ (p.145). The archive, ‘... *reveals the rules of a practice that enables statements both to survive and to undergo regular modification. It is the general system of the formation and transformation of statements*’ (Foucault 1989c: 146). The purpose of the method is to determine the ‘episteme’ of an era.

*Authorised voices*: is used to include any person either citizen or non-citizen who is deemed to have authority either as an expert in a particular field or simply due to the public attention brought to them through the publication of their words or opinion or image in the data set. The use of the recorded statements of ordinary citizens holding authority in the discourse in addition to experts has previously been used by Foucault (1991a) and by the Australian citizenship researchers Walter and MacLeod (2002).

*Citizen*: an individual member of both a real and imagined community who shares rights and responsibilities within a democratic nation. Ideally citizens share common beliefs, values and ideals and feel that they are fully included in all aspects of the society of which they are a member.

*Citizenship*: can be conceptualised as the membership of not only a real but also an imagined community whose members have rights and responsibilities. Citizenship at its best provides citizens with processes designed to create access to equality of opportunity. The central idea of citizenship is to create equality of opportunity for all citizens so that citizens have access to participate in the ways in which they are governed. A discursive understanding sees citizenship as normatively incorporating the citizen into both the real and imagined political and social community.

*Discontinuity*: a break in knowledge or truth that demonstrates that history can be viewed as a series of discontinuous discursive events rather than it being viewed as a continuous evolutionary progression or teleology.

*Discourse*: is the set of rules that regulates the flow of relations of power for the construction of a specific body of knowledge. This body of knowledge as a manifestation of relations of power demonstrates the ‘systems of thought’ that are at play at specific times. It can also be understood as a site where power and knowledge are joined. Significantly discourses are systems that regulate the way people perceive their local and global reality.

*Discursive formations*: are the building blocks of discourse. These are forms of specific language that frame understandings of areas of knowledge at points in time.

*Discursive practices*: the set of actions including the spoken and written word that produce discourse.

*Enonce*: is what Foucault (2002a) calls the statements or groups of statements related to specific knowledge, in this case citizenship, which allows for a positioning of what can and cannot be said at particular times in the discourse. For the purposes of this thesis the data indicates evidence to extend Foucault’s analysis to include single words as manifestations of power/knowledge. As such single words are also used in conjunction with statements or groups of statements as examples of enonces.

*Enunciative modalities*: Foucault (2002a) explains that the status and institutional setting of particular statements within discourse are known as ‘enunciative modalities’. This means that the statement or text has authority due to its institutional setting and because of the perceived authority of the writer or speaker of the text which allows for a positioning of what can and cannot be said.

*Episteme*: a purpose of the archaeological method is to determine the episteme of an era. Foucault (2002a) states that the episteme is, ‘... *something like a world view, a slice of history common to all branches of knowledge, which poses on each one the same norms and postulates, a general stage of reason, a certain structure of thought that the men of a particular period cannot escape – a great body of legislation written once and for all by some anonymous hand*’ (p. 211).

*Genealogy*: a method of analysing historical descent and the emergence of discourse through the tracing of transformations and discontinuities. The method focuses on the production and distribution of knowledge. The changes that occur are viewed not as historical inevitabilities but as the interplay between contingent factors. Its purpose is to question the rationality of current practices.

*Governmentality*: the different ways in which people regulate or govern their own thinking, desires and actions. Foucault also used the term ‘biopolitics’ to describe this form of self-regulation. Originally he used governmentality to describe the ways in which political and institutional power was used to control the minds and bodies of populations. Towards the end of his life the term was used to also explain ‘techniques of the self’ where individuals governed their own desires, actions and thoughts in an attempt to free them from discourse.

*Ideology*: the organisation of specific ideas, values and assumptions that frame views on how society should function. It is promoted through the political process and reflects active relations of power. It is also promoted by authorised voices and ideally enacted through everyday actions by individual citizens who are shaped by dominant ideologies.

*Knowledge*: in French there are two meanings for knowledge; ‘connaissance’ and ‘savoir’. For Foucault (1989a) *connaissance* refers, ‘... *to a particular corpus of knowledge, a particular discipline...*’ (p. 16) e.g. the discipline of history. Foucault (1989a) also states that knowledge is also ‘savoir’, ‘... *which is usually defined as knowledge in general...*’ (p. 16). Illuminating this, Marginson (1993) states that,

*'Foucault distinguishes between knowledge that constitutes information (connaissance) and knowledge where the knowing subject – the student or researcher – uses the process of acquiring that knowledge for a process of self-transformation (savoir)' (p. 251).*

*Neo-liberalism:* according to Lowes (2006) neo-liberalism can be understood as, '*... a political, social and economic agenda that is promoted as orthodoxy by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Trade Organization and the multi-lateral agreements administered by the last. Some governments, like those of Britain, the USA and the European Union ... support this agenda; as do international banks, multinational corporations and the Media. The central neoliberal tenet is that markets are inherently efficient and that the State and public sector have no essential role to play in economic development apart from facilitating the expansion, intensification and primacy of market relations'* (p. 172).

*Non - discursive practices:* the set of actions that create behaviours developed through the social control of bodies that are the products of discourse. This control can occur through institutions, political events and economic practices and processes.

## **Australian Citizenship Timeline (laws, government and society)**

1947 – *The White Australia Policy, a series of laws enacted to maintain and protect Australia as a 'white' nation is re-interpreted to allow non-British Europeans to migrate to Australia.*

1949 - January 26 – *Australian Nationality Act comes into force so that Australians are citizens of Australia while also retaining a secondary position as British subjects which remains in place until 1984.*

1957 – *Albert Namatjira (1902-1959) one of Australia's most renowned artists was the first Indigenous Australian granted similar rights to white Australians. In the archive he is sometimes credited with being the first Aborigine to become an Australian citizen. In practical terms this meant he was allowed to move freely around the country without seeking permission from reserve and mission managers. Under these rights he was also allowed to buy alcohol for his own use. Six months later he was imprisoned for buying alcohol for other Aboriginal Australians.*

1962 – *The right to vote a basic right of citizenship was granted to Aborigines. However, people found to be encouraging Aborigines to enrol to vote could be prosecuted under State laws. There was no compulsory voting for Indigenous Australians until 1984.*

1966 – *The international spotlight is focussed on Australia's treatment of its Aboriginal people when Davis Daniels, the secretary of the Northern Territory Council for Aboriginal Rights appealed to the United Nations for support over the sacking of striking workers at Wave Hill cattle station. The Wave Hill walk-off was led by Vincent Lingiari an elder from the Gurindji people who wanted equal pay, equal rights for themselves and their families and most importantly land rights.*



1967 - May 27 – *Indigenous Australians are protected by Constitutional powers through referendum changes that gave the power to make laws affecting Aboriginal peoples to the Commonwealth Government and for Aboriginals to be counted in future censuses.*

1972 – January 26 – *Aborigines erected a ‘Tent Embassy’ on the lawns of Parliament House in Canberra. It became a symbol of resistance and signalled the appearance of a new generation of Aboriginal activists.*

1973 - *Australian Nationality Act changed to the Australian Citizenship Act. The White Australia Policy is officially discarded. The Federal Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs established.*

1977 – January 26 – *The Northern Territory (NT) Government enacts the first law in Australia granting Indigenous peoples land rights with the Aboriginal Land Rights Bill (NT).*

1984 – January 26 – *The British Nationality Act 1981 (U.K.) came in to force in Australia, which abolished the status of Australians as ‘British subjects’. Compulsory enrolment and voting for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples introduced.*

1984 - April 19 – *‘Advance Australia Fair’ officially replaced ‘God Save the Queen’ as the national anthem having been chosen in a 1977 popular vote. Previously the Whitlam government adopted Advance Australia Fair in 1974 but the Fraser government reinstated ‘God Save the Queen’ in 1976.*

1988 – January 26 – *The Bicentenary of the establishment of a British colony at Sydney Cove is celebrated. During these celebrations Aboriginal Australians protest at their treatment by whites. The Year of Australian Citizenship was launched to promote the concept of citizenship and to encourage eligible migrants to take up Australian citizenship. This promotion proved successful, resulting in a 45 per cent increase in the number of immigrants being granted Australian citizenship (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research 1995).*

1992 – *In the Mabo decision the officially recognised legal concept of Australia being Terra Nullius (land belonging to no-one) prior to the arrival of the British was successfully challenged in the High Court by Torres Strait Islanders led by Eddie Mabo. This resulted in High Court recognition of Indigenous communities continual ownership of traditional lands.*

1994 – January 26 – *A pledge to Australia was introduced for new citizens. New citizens make a pledge to be loyal to Australia and its people, share in the belief of the democratic process, respect the rights and liberties of other Australians, and uphold and obey Australia's laws. The pledge<sup>1</sup> replaces an oath to the British sovereign which was used from 1949 - 1994. This pledge as part of a 'preamble' to the Australian Citizenship Act (1948) promotes a set of rights and obligations of citizenship. Australian citizens are also encouraged by the government to recite the pledge at Australia Day ceremonies. In November 1994 a campaign was launched with the dual aims of persuading approximately 1.1 million eligible residents born overseas and to increase the awareness of Australian citizenship amongst all Australians (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research 1995).*

1995 - July 14 – *The Australian Aboriginal Flag and the Torres Strait Islander flag were proclaimed as flags of Australia under section five of the Flags Act.*

1996 – *The Wik decision is handed down by the High Court stating that pastoral leases do not extinguish native title. The Indigenous Wik people celebrate their continuing ownership of 6,000 sq. kms of land on the Yorke Peninsula, Queensland with a further 24,000 sq. kms of land ownership still to be determined.*

1999 – January 26 – *Proclaimed as 'The Year of Australian Citizenship' to celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Australian citizenship. 1999 - November 6 – A referendum to replace*

---

<sup>1</sup> The pledge from *'What it means to be an Australian'* by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (1997) states, 'From this time forward, under God\*, I pledge my loyalty to Australia and its people, whose democratic beliefs I share, whose rights and liberties I respect, and whose laws I will uphold and obey. \* You may chose whether or not to use the words 'under God' (p.13).

*the current constitutional monarchy with a republic with an Australian Head of State was defeated with 45% for a republic and 55% against.*

*2001 - September 17 – Citizenship Day was introduced for Australians to take pride in their citizenship and according to the Commonwealth Government reflect on the meaning and importance of being Australian. The day according to the Federal Government is a time to celebrate democratic values, commitment to a fair go, equality and respect for others.*

*2001 – October – David Hicks, an Australian citizen was captured by US soldiers as an ‘enemy combatant’ in Kabul, Afghanistan. He was taken to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba and detained without trial from late 2001 to 2007 before being released from U.S. custody after a hearing in a military commission. He was handed over to Australian authorities in December 2007 and later released from Australian custody in early 2008. He allegedly received training from the Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan and according to the U.S. authorities was ‘in personal contact’ with Osama bin Laden. By associating Hicks with bin Laden, authorised voices cast Hicks as a terrorist of global proportions. His decision to train with Islamists for a war against the West before the events of September 11, 2001 and his support of the Taliban who had harboured bin Laden in Afghanistan created the conditions for an outcry in Australia against Hicks as a traitor whose citizenship should be removed. His treatment as an Australian citizen is discontinuous with previous systems of thought where citizenship was understood to bring legal entitlement including the right to a fair trial. It also suggested that the normative force of citizenship would need to be strengthened against future ideological and religious struggles.*

*2002 – A significant amendment to Australian citizenship was enacted with the repeal of section 17 of the Australian Citizenship Act (1948) whereby ‘dual citizenship’ becomes a legal right. Australian citizens who acquire another citizenship from 4 April 2002 no longer have to lose their Australian citizenship. This enabled Australian citizens to acquire more than one citizenship, and brought Australia into line with the citizenship*

*practices of many countries including, Canada, France, Italy, New Zealand, the UK and US*

*2004 February 15 – A riot by approximately 100 young Aboriginal Australians against alleged police brutality occurred after the death of a 17 year old Aboriginal youth in ‘The Block’ an area of high social and economic disadvantage in Redfern, an inner city suburb of Sydney. The riot gains local and international media attention when Aboriginal youths threw Molotov cocktails and projectiles at the police near Redfern Railway Station.*

*2004 November – The Palm Island riot occurs after the death in police custody of an Aboriginal man, Domadgee. The riot on Palm Island in Queensland drew local and international coverage not only because of the circumstances of the death but also the Third World living conditions of the residents and the social policy of segregation. Over forty different Aboriginal tribal and language groups live on the island but none have an ancestral connection to the land. Palm Island’s history as a segregated island for Indigenous Australian communities began in 1914 when the Queensland government officially made Palm Island an Aboriginal reserve. From 1918 Aborigines began to be sent there mainly because they had agitated over wages or because they had continued to practise traditional ceremonies. According to Hooper (2007) the reserve became increasingly authoritarian and it was a kind of gulag with an arbitrary abuse of power.*

*2005 February 25 – February 28 – Four nights of riots by up to 150 youths occur in Macquarie Fields an outer suburb of Sydney with high social and economic disadvantage. The riots commence after two Macquarie Fields youths die as a result of a police car chase through the suburb in pursuit of a stolen car. The driver of the stolen vehicle is a known criminal; he escapes and is hidden by locals. He is eventually arrested, charged and imprisoned. The nightly riots gain extensive local and international media attention.*

2005 December 11 – *A gathering of up to 5,000 white Australians to protest the bashing of three life guards on Cronulla Beach the previous weekend by Australian youths of Middle Eastern descent. It descends into a daytime riot in Cronulla in southern Sydney bashing anyone believed by the mob to be of Middle Eastern descent. The riot gains extensive local and international media attention.*

2005 December 12 – *A gathering of up to 200 Australian youths of Middle Eastern descent drive to Maroubra and Cronulla after gathering at Punchbowl a southern Sydney suburb for a revenge attack at night against whites. Several white youths are bashed with extensive property damage occurring to cars and shops. An Australian flag is removed by a rioter from the flagpole of a Returned Soldiers Leagues (RSL) Club in Maroubra and burnt. The revenge attack gains extensive local and international media attention.*

2007 May – *The Australian Citizenship Act (1948) amended and is renamed The Citizenship Act (2007). It includes the necessity for prospective citizens to successfully complete a Citizenship Test. In 2007 the Department of Immigration was renamed the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.*

2007 June – *The 'Intervention' begins in The Northern Territory. The Australian military and medical personnel are sent into remote Indigenous communities in The Northern Territory by the federal government to police so-called dysfunctional communities. According to the government the intervention was necessary due to concerns about the sexual abuse of children. An exception was permitted under the Racial Discrimination Act (1975) to enable the Intervention to proceed in a trade-off of Human Rights. Communities that agreed to the government intervention also traded leaseholds for government assistance to improve housing, gain access to clean water, receive medical check-ups and to participate in immunisation programs particularly for children and teenagers.*

2007 October 1 – *A Citizenship Test, a twenty question multiple choice test for prospective citizens with questions about Australian culture, history and sporting legends such as Sir Donald Bradman, was introduced after the parliamentary secretary for immigration Andrew Robb claimed in 2006 that Australia's immigration policy was*

*attracting people removed from Australian culture (Robb 2006). Concerns are raised that the test is discriminatory as in the first three months of the test refugees failed at higher rates than immigrants on skilled and family visas. The test was reviewed by the Rudd Federal government and a report was issued in November 2008 outlining proposed changes that emphasised the rights and responsibilities of citizenship based on the understanding that Australia needed immigration to realise its potential.*

## **Presentations and publications arising either directly or indirectly from the research**

### ***Books***

J. Briggs *Contested Spaces: The Cold War*, Sydney, McGraw-Hill, 2005.

J. Briggs *Power, Prosperity and Promise: a history of the USA 1898 – 1941*, Sydney, McGraw-Hill, 2003.

### ***Book Chapters***

J. Briggs *A Future for the Past: The State of Children's History*, Scates, B. (Editor), Chapter Four: Webquests – What are they? Where to find them? Why use them? History Council of NSW, Glebe, 2004.

### ***Peer reviewed publication***

J. Briggs *The Unequal Citizen: Australians In The Era of Globalisation*, 'Teaching History Journal', August 2004, Volume 38 No.2, History Teachers' Association, NSW.

### ***New South Wales State History Conference Presentation***

J. Briggs *Re-thinking Australian Citizenship*, Keynote Address, *Australian Independent Schools History Conference*, Australian Independent Schools, Kings School, Sydney 27 March, 2009.

J. Briggs *Power, Prosperity and Promise: a history of the USA 1898 – 1941*, *History Teachers Association Professional Development Day*, University of Technology (UTS), Sydney, 22 March 2003.

J. Briggs *Webquests and Productive Pedagogies*, *Australian Independent Schools Conference*, Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, 3 August, 2002.

### ***Victorian State History Presentation***

J. Briggs *The Cold War: People, Places and Politics*, History Teachers' Association of Victoria, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference, Melbourne, 10 November 2005.

### ***Regional Post-Graduate Student Conference Presentations***

J. Briggs *'The Unequal Citizen: tracing transformations of Australian citizens'*, *University of Technology Post-Graduate Student Conference*, UTS Ku-ring-gai Campus, Sydney, March 17, 2006.

J. Briggs *'Advance Australia Where?'* *University of Technology Post-Graduate Student Conference*, UTS Ku-ring-gai Campus, Sydney, March 18, 2005.

J. Briggs *'The Unequal Citizen: Australians in the era of globalisation'* *University of Technology Post-Graduate Student Conference*, UTS Ku-ring-gai Campus, Sydney, March 17 – 18, 2004.