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A novel - *The Dues of St Fitticks*
and
Essay - Paying Your Dues in the Lucky Country: Anglo-Celtic Australian Attitudes to
Migrants

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Submitted: November 16, 2010

USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

Abstract

Through the medium of the novel and an accompanying essay, this project explores the relationship, particularly since the end of World War II, between the dominant (Anglo-Celtic) and non-dominant Australian cultural groups. I argue that upholding the dominance of Anglo-Celtic culture, particularly as a centre or “core” of Australian identity, is discriminatory and detrimental to the development of Australian society in general and the goal of multiculturalism in particular. Moreover, I question the thesis that Australia can have a “core” culture without marginalising the groups that do not reside within it. Instead of projecting Anglo-Celtic culture as the archetypal Australian identity and thereby reinforcing its hegemony, I argue that we should allow migrant cultures to impart their influence on Australian culture and identity. Only then can we facilitate a national identity representative of all Australians—a *bone fide* multiculturalism.

Anglo-Celtic Australia has a history of discriminating against non-Anglo-Celtic Australians and my novel, while focusing on the post-war migrant boom, attempts to articulate this antipathy as a continuum that stretches from white settlement to the present. The characters in my novel are symbols of my interpretation of the Australian cultural *milieu* and they express my main concern with race as a marker for national identity. I illuminate the irony inherent in the Australian ideals of tolerance and egalitarianism by juxtaposing these national myths with the treatment of, and antipathy toward, migrants and Australia’s indigenous.

Although my novel might be considered social realist, I was influenced by a range of authors and philosophers and I do not attempt to subvert the socio-economic hierarchy, as is the intent of many social realist novels. Indeed, I resist any categorisation of my novel as such, by, at times, questioning both poles of the political spectrum.

The theoretical bases that drove the narrative in my novel were influenced by the theses of sociologists, academicians and political and social philosophers that speak, directly or indirectly, to my interest in race, identity and the Australian cultural dynamic. I do not, however, attempt to provide an antidote to the cultural antipathy I chart. I seek merely to uncover and question it.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

- (i) Incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;
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Michael J. Armstrong

November 16, 2010

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Paying Your Dues in the Lucky Country:
Anglo-Celtic Australian Attitudes to Migrants

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The Genesis of *The Dues of St Fitticks*

My novel, *The Dues of St Fitticks*, had its genesis, I suspect, in my youth. I was from the dominant Australian culture—Anglo-Celtic—but part of a suburban minority, as the majority of my school’s population and my friends were offspring of the Non-English speaking migrants who made the culture-changing impact on post-war Australia. In my teens, as though an Australian Todd Bowden, Steven King’s child protagonist in *Apt Pupil*, I was shaken by my first glimpse of the horrors of Nazism; and around the same time I was touched by the sweet, if sometimes belligerent, prose in Harper Lee’s *To Kill A Mockingbird*. These very different texts with analogous subject matter made deep and lasting impacts. The image of a Polish woman’s leg, disfigured after a human guinea-pig operation¹ at Auschwitz, does not fade, nor do the lessons from Harper Lee’s “children’s book”² seem less acute fifty years after they were given life.

It is, perhaps, not an understatement to say that over time I was perplexed by cultural discrimination, both for its injustice and for its squander: injustice in the sense that it imperils the affected with an impediment over which they have no control; and squander because it robs the community of skills, creativity, intellect and diverse subject positions that may otherwise benefit society.

From my anti-cultural discrimination position, I naturally took a keen interest in Australian attitudes to other cultures. While I was aware of some tension between Anglo-Celtic Australians and post-war migrants, my youth was not encumbered by fear nor an overt sense of cultural antipathy toward non-Anglo-Celtic Australian ethnic groups but it was there, dormant, and it sprang forth—usually from someone’s lips—when some wrong was imagined or when there was nobody else to blame. The older I became and the more I learned—and later researched—the closer I came to realising that there was an irony in the confluence between Australian identity and Anglo-Celtic Australian relations with the non-Anglo-Celtic migrants with whom I grew up. The “fair

go, egalitarian, tolerant” society in which I was bred to believe did not extend much further than the books and hand-me-down myths that gave it life.

In researching for my novel, I selected three key areas for investigation: Australian identity; Anglo-Celtic Australian attitudes to non-English speaking migrants; and literature with thematic or stylistic considerations similar to the novel I wanted to write.

On Australian identity, I offer a repudiation of Miriam Dixson’s *The Imaginary Australian*, particularly her thesis that Australian culture must have an Anglo-Celtic “core” to act as a holding centre until the process of multiculturalism can be completed. I reject that thesis on the basis of the inherent fracture that must occur—precisely the type of fracture Dixson seeks to avoid—because, I argue, to have a core is to have a periphery and, in turn, a culture that must inhabit that periphery.

On Australian attitudes towards migrants I modified the work of Ghassan Hage, particularly his thesis that the “White worrier” is constructed from the effects of neo-liberal economics, Noel Ignatiev’s exhortations to “eliminate the white race” and Jennifer Rutherford’s thesis on the camouflaging qualities of the Australian “good”, in addition to other sources. Following Ignatiev, I argue that Australia must release itself from the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture if it is to become the nation of tolerance and egalitarianism to which it espouses. Only then can Australian migrants and the non-dominant cultures be free from discrimination. Only then can the historical continuum that began at white settlement be broken.

Thematic and Theoretical Framework

The study of Australian attitudes to non-Anglo-Celtic Australians was the lynchpin of my research. It was the prism through which I sought to explain the inconsistencies inherent in a nation that considers itself egalitarian yet owns a history of cultural discrimination and continues to struggle with the changes to its culture and demography. The irony of this is acute. When one looks at the continuum of cultural antipathy, demonisation and genocide committed by the predominant Australian culture since white settlement, there can be no doubt as to its durability. The anti-Chinese workers' sentiment during the gold rushes³, the "White Australia" policy—the Australian federal parliament's first Act⁴, the internment of German-Australians and Italian-Australians during World War I⁵ and again, with Japanese-Australians, during World War II⁶, the "dictation tests"⁷ designed to maintain the veneer of equality while keeping out undesirables, the post-war assimilationist policies⁸ designed to "integrate" the "New Australians", and the furore over "boat people" after the Vietnam War, its current manifestation (the debate over asylum Seekers) a battle where both major political parties attempt to prove themselves the more draconian—none of this Australian history evinces a society that is caring, tolerant or egalitarian. Indeed, if one includes the treatment of Indigenous Australians—from the arbitrary shooting, poisoning and attempted genocide⁹ to the withholding of the franchise for sixty-seven years after federation¹⁰—it is hard to argue that Australia has *not* vilified and subjectified people because of their ethnicity.

To further the irony, it should be remembered that the first migrant group demonised by a dominant white Australian cultural group was the Irish¹¹. This irony—that the first ethnic group demonised later formed the basis of the dominant cultural group—was a hook on which I could hang the themes explored in my novel. Moreover, I explore this as the first in a series of attitudinal changes whereby a group formerly demonised gained acceptance after the arrival of a new group, who then endured the

brunt of the dominant culture's antipathy. It should be noted that, while the Irish were to make a significant contribution to the mythological "Australian" after "paying their dues", contributions from other migrant groups to Australian identity have yet to transpire. Perhaps that is in Australia's future.

Many who defend Australia's past often point to the histories of other nations, as though Australia wins by default. Admittedly, Australia does rank below most nations on the demonisation totem pole. It is almost impossible to become a Japanese citizen unless you are racially identified as such¹²; the modern histories of South Africa, Nazi Germany, The United States, Uganda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda et.al are well known; and the caste-system remains intrinsic to Indian society. Perhaps there is no nation that is blameless. What separates Australia, however, from the inglorious list of sinful nations is the propensity for it to declare itself the epitome of tolerance. It is this irony that heavily influenced the writing of my novel.

Another strategy employed by those who wish to assuage Australian guilt is to assert that it is not possible to judge the past using twentieth [or twenty-first] century morality. Indeed, such a methodology *is* unfair and simplistic. I argue, however, that we must take ownership of the attitudes, actions and atrocities of a nation's past if we are to celebrate the outstanding historical achievements of that same nation. Of course, nations do celebrate their histories; and it is upon this that the heroism, nationalism and myths of nation are built. In my novel, Tom is symbolic of Australia; he is the hero, the myth. I attempted to draw him as a likeable, typical, Anglo-Celtic Australian. But I also questioned his likeability. Tom is lauded by the dominant culture but his nemesis, Frank Bailey—symbol of Indigenous Australia—despises him. It is not until the last page of my novel that Tom thinks outside the paradigm of his own culture. And, in the context that an individual must cope with and learn from mistakes while gaining confidence from successes, I assert that so, too, must nations. Nothing productive came from John Howard's unwillingness to say "sorry" to Australia's Indigenous and the debate about an apology served only to delegitimise Indigenous suffering by focusing the argument on Anglo-Celtic complicity.

It is with all of the above in mind that I used Miriam Dixson's work, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*, as a base text—a kind of surrogate for the views of Anglo-Celtic Australia.

In her scholarly and comprehensively researched work, Dixson espouses a belief in an 'Anglo-Celtic core' that functions 'as a vital cohesive centre for the whole culture'.¹³ To Dixson, the transition to a multicultural nation is predicated upon the ability of the core culture to 'hold' the nation together, lest it 'fragment'¹⁴. I argue that Australia has, at least in limited form, always been a multicultural nation and that the transitional phase(s) have been only to determine hegemony. Even if one considered the date of white settlement as the birth of the Australian "nation", as Dixson does, and ignore the nations that roamed the Australian continent for forty-thousand years prior to Cook, white Australia was, not long after foundation, a cultural milieu where British, Irish, Protestant, Catholic, Dissenter, Indigenous, Islander and, later, Chinese, Pacific Islander and Japanese found homes. The transition to a multicultural nation—even if we are talking only of a white one—began long before the first "New Australians" stepped off the boat or plane after World War II. Yet, Dixson asks, 'Can the "old" dual ethnic dynamic [Anglo and Celtic] continue to operate as a "holding" centre for the great variety of ethnic groups now part of this re-inventing nation?'¹⁵

Dixson adapts the 'holding' theories of psychoanalyst Donald Winnicott¹⁶, whereby 'a script is laid down early in mental life and thereafter enacted... by the child's imaginary inner objects'¹⁷ [unconscious representations of significant early figures such as parents]. The inner objects either 'hold or fail to hold' the child's early anxieties and 'either promote or discourage a degree of psychic integration'¹⁸. Although Dixson concedes that she transposes Winnicott's theorem from the 'private sphere to the public'¹⁹ and that her thesis on the 'imaginary ideas of identity' have 'a speculative quality'²⁰ her aim, nonetheless, is to buttress the dominance of Anglo-Celtic Australia against the rising tide of the non-Anglo-Celtic Australian demographic. Herein lies Dixson's main theme: without an Anglo-Celtic "core", Australia would

fragment and descend into a society rife with political instability, crime and lower living standards. Dixson fears that, 'the emerging new Australia might not prove immune to the kind of disintegration we see elsewhere.'²¹

It is xenophobia, of course, as Dixson attests:

'Living in rural Australia for over thirty years, on visits to the city I can detect in myself prickles of shock, even traces of fear alongside real pleasure at the diversity brought by newer ethnic groups... The problem is that an intermediate process has been discouraged, not by those newer groups themselves of course, but by the Australian intellectual culture and by officialdom. Part of the Australian "obsession" with identity turns on the relation between the "core culture" and the ethnic groups represented in post-1970s mass migration. For some of that obsessiveness is a displaced grief that is forbidden to mourn and has nowhere to go.'²²

It is notable that Dixson uses the post -1970s, rather than post-war "mass migration" to make her point about Australian identity. Indeed, it affirms my contention that the discrimination (described below) of non-Anglo-Celtic Australians is transitory—in the sense that a group pays its "dues" until another group, more disparate in culture and values than the dominant group, arrives, upon whom Anglo-Celtic Australians can subsequently vent, the group previously demonised now partially released from this role.

For Dixson, it is as though the discrimination of the post-war migrants did not exist; for only after the post-1970s, it is implied, was there a connection between an "obsession" with Australian identity and Anglo-Celtic Australian relations with migrants. I'm reminded of a speech to the federal parliament by Senator John Faulkner in 2006:

'For example, a part of our community might be regarded as suspect because many were recent immigrants. They put the strictures of their

faith above Australian law and recognised a foreigner as their highest authority. Their loyalty and patriotism were suspect, particularly when newspapers published stories of secret training camps in the Blue Mountains for young men planning to fight against Commonwealth forces. Unemployed young men roamed the streets in gangs, and a series of harrowing and brutal gang rapes left many convinced that these immigrants had changed the country forever for the worse. Rather than admit that their culture and religion were at fault, their community leaders blamed discrimination in the legal system. They established separate schools where their religious values were taught and sought to change Australian laws and political institutions. And their families had large numbers of children while more and more Australian women were practising birth control. The name of this threat to Australia? Irish Catholics. In 19th century Australia, religion and race became synonymous in the language of prejudice and discrimination. Religion provided an alibi. It hid racism under an acceptable antipathy to a religion and culture considered to be fundamentally alien to our Australian values and way of life. And religion provided a shelter and a solace for those who felt excluded or persecuted. Racism, prejudice and resentment grew into a mutual antipathy that scarred Australia for generations. These days, the idea that Irish Catholics are inimical to Australia's values is laughable. Indeed, these days the idea of Anglo-Celtic Australia is held up as our foundational national identity. Sectarianism is dead, and I have long regarded that as one of the most positive developments in Australian society in my lifetime. So I am dismayed to see a new sectarianism beginning to emerge.'²³

Dixson contends that the core culture will 'commonly display forms of fear if they sense that it is under threat. Indeed it will tend to find angry expression—"the Hanson

phenomenon” provides an example for Australia of the 1990s. But whether manifest awkwardly or gracelessly, the fear itself tends to be powerful and deeply embedded.’²⁴ Ergo, the Anglo-Celtic core group is the only ethnicity able to manage the transition to a multicultural Australia and, should it be thwarted in the endeavour, it will revolt. It’s a lose-lose scenario for non-Anglo-Celtic Australians.

The irony in Dixson’s argument for a ‘cohesive’ force to facilitate Australia’s ‘transition’ to multiculturalism is that each side of her Anglo-Celtic “core” has an antipathy toward the other that stretches back centuries. Dixson admits that Australia’s dominant culture is not ‘unified’, declaring that ‘some six centuries of old world intercourse, further shared experience in Australia itself over a relative period of stability, together with a degree of intermarriage unique within the Irish Diaspora, failed, until recently at least, to mould this duo into any seamless unity.’²⁵ In essence, Dixson argues that a disunited culture can unite other cultures. And if the two sides of the Anglo-Celtic Australian coin are *now unified*—being that they have withstood the tribulations of nation-making and forged the transition to a tolerant, egalitarian paradise—why would other cultures be unable to contribute to the next stage in the transition?

I do not argue for the destruction of Anglo-Celtic culture, nor that we subvert the current hierarchy of Australian cultural identity. I argue that we do not need a hierarchy; we do not need a “core”. To have a core means we have to have a periphery. I wanted to investigate the idea of the “core” and how Dixson and others arrive at it. The notion, often espoused by Anglo-Celtic Australians, that the “first” (white) arrivals to Australia automatically hold some higher place in society is central to Dixson’s validation of the core’s role. It is a notion not particular to Australians but it is frequently used by Australian politicians to sate the mainstream’s need for a scapegoat. Prime Minister John Howard’s declaration during the 2001 federal election campaign, echoed by Opposition Leader Tony Abbott during the 2010 federal election, that ‘we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come,’²⁶ is a case in point. The problem is defining the “we”. Of course, Howard would

suggest that he speaks for all Australians and not just those who have been here for generations; but it is doubtful that he was speaking to the Vietnamese Australians who risked their lives on leaky boats in the 1970s—and if he was, I hardly think it would resonate. Further, when Howard was asked to comment on Pauline Hanson's 'in danger of being swamped by Asians'²⁷ maiden speech to parliament, he said, 'Well, are you saying that somebody shouldn't be allowed to say what she said? I would say in a country such as Australia people should be allowed to say that.'²⁸

Most citizens of democracies would not deny an individual the right to free speech; but Howard certainly wasn't being asked a question about rights. Instead of showing leadership, however, Howard chose, with his silence, implicitly to endorse Hanson's views while pandering to the Hanson constituency. This exacerbated the tension between Australian ethnic groups while playing to the Anglo-Celtic core's sense of cultural dominance. Dixon is more explicit: she emphasises that the 'Anglo-Celtic core... underpinned Australian culture, its institutions and the nation itself from their origins'.²⁹ The fact that Anglo-Celts founded white Australia is conceded by all and it serves Dixon to repeat it, *ad infinitum*, for the resonance it creates to those, from the dominant cultural group, who identify with its message. An American actress, the focus of a television series about genealogy, proclaimed that the discovery of three-hundred year old documentation about her ancestry made her 'somehow more American'³⁰. Perhaps the upholders of the Anglo-Celtic "core" feel the same.

If we take this argument to be valid, what does it say about the majority of Australians who cannot trace their heritage past a World War? Personal ancestry should be celebrated regardless of the site from where the branches descend; and an individual's national identity, even by degree, should not be predicated upon that heritage. The guardians of national identity know this. They know that the Muslim child born in an Australian hospital bed today is no less "Australian" than the Anglo-Celt descended from convicts born in the room next door. Still, they tap away at Anglo-Celtic Australian fears and prejudices: Dixon uses the word "fragmentation" when discussing, as above, what might happen if the "core" becomes fearful; Bob

Birrell argues that the immigration issue was ‘politicised’, and that political parties and business groups’ calls for migration to ensure that Australia might ‘accept the economic challenges of the future’ were a mask for the ‘higher immigration agitated by the ethnic communities’.³¹ Like many promoters of the Anglo-Celtic Australian “core”, Birrell looks to the British experience to strengthen his case, declaring that it and most of Western Europe are ‘concerned with national and cultural identity in the face of dilution from outside migrant elements’³². Yet, others, including James Jupp, have argued that despite the ‘shifts in Australian immigration policy in the mid-1990s... the Australian relationship with Asia has been accepted by public opinion much more readily than the comparable changing relationship with Europe has been accepted in Britain’.³³

The irony of the thesis of the Anglo-Celtic *foundational* core is that it is possible only to discuss a white Australia. On Indigenous culture and the brutality wrought on Indigenous peoples, defenders of the “core” are mostly silent—notwithstanding Keith Windschuttle’s *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*. In *The Imaginary Australian*, Dixon mitigates Anglo-Celtic culpability. It is ‘Europeans’ and ‘conquerors’, not Anglo-Celtic Australians, who have ‘a record of greed’, ‘committed an act of massive cruelty’, and ‘undercut Aboriginal societies in the most profound way possible’³⁴. Moreover, the antidote to this historical fissure in Australian society, Dixon argues, is not a one-way street. She says that ‘reparation must falter and may stall unless there is a certain degree of mutuality, of recognition on both sides that genuine effort is being made’³⁵.

I do not think that Dixon sets out to eschew the value of non-Anglo-Celtic Australians but I can understand non-Anglo-Celtic Australians’ frustration at the cultural myopia inherent in her theses. After two-hundred years of oppression, subjugation and discrimination, non-Anglo-Celtic Australians are asked to continue to submit to the dominance of an Anglo-Celtic “core” while being accomplice—at least in the case of Indigenous Australians—to the amelioration of Anglo-Celtic guilt.

Dixon attempts to further assuage the guilt by contending that ‘frontier tendencies towards generalised violence’ and ‘convictism’ were displaced ‘onto

people... deemed lower in the pecking order'³⁶. It is understandable that a group or individual might act with violence if violence is a normal part of life. But Dixon does not go back far enough and does not come to the root cause. As Castles et.al attest, 'Australian prejudice is inexplicably linked to white settlement. Indeed, when British colonisers declared Australia *terra nullius*, they set a precedent – declaring implicitly that non-whites were not “people” – which 'laid the foundations of a collective Australian tendency towards racism'.³⁷

It was *terra nullius* that was the genesis of the discrimination toward the non-dominant Australian classes that continues into the present.

In every project of this nature of which I am aware, the researcher develops a key focus; and mine was to go some way toward answering the question of motive: why does Anglo-Celtic Australia, despite its claims to tolerance and egalitarianism, have an historical antipathy toward migrants?

I assert that Dixon and others hope to buttress Anglo-Celtic hegemony against the tide of identity-changing migration that will, eventually, force a reassessment of the dominant perception of Australian national identity: the bronzed Aussie surfer or beachgoer; the beer-swilling “yobbo” in the pub; the suburban Americanised lower middle class nuclear family; the working man with dirty hands—on the land or in the metropolis; the football or cricket hero; it need not matter which because the images are all Anglo-Celtic.

It is beyond the scope of this work to delve into the colonial past and investigate the impact of convictism upon the collective Anglo-Celtic psyche but I will state that the genesis, as Dixon has espoused, although in a different way, of Anglo-Celtic antipathy may indeed have its roots within the shame of Australia's convict heritage. But that is a topic for another day as I am concerned with post-war migration as it is the site of my novel.

In the 1930s Hancock famously stated that, 'if such a creature as the average Briton exists anywhere upon this earth, he will be found in Australia.'³⁸ Partington likewise

contended that a 'shared sense of Britishness was often achieved more readily in the Australian colonies than back home, partly because of the sharp contrast with the Aborigines, partly because the different populations of the British Isles were mixed together as they had never been before even in Britain's American colonies.'³⁹ It is with these statements in mind, while researching for my novel, that I reflected upon Australian migration after World War II and conceded, as have most, that Australia *was* an Anglo-Celtic culture, notwithstanding the, as yet enfranchised, Indigenous population. This was important because the site of my novel—post World War II—was the beginning of the challenge to Anglo-Celtic Australian hegemony.

To understand the forces of post-war immigration I drew heavily upon the recent research of James Walsh. Walsh interrogates the effects of globalisation upon immigration policy and, crucially, examines the effect of immigration on sovereignty. This is important, because 'migration disturbs the nation-state's administrative borders and the purported linkage between territory, people, and identity, [and] many scholars have argued that its current dynamics jeopardize the modern nation-state's sovereignty, territoriality, and cultural significance and that national borders are uncontrollable.'⁴⁰

It is worthwhile to allow Walsh to summarise post-war migration:

In addition to common material conditions, shared cultural traits were viewed as necessary in supplanting divisions of class, status, and region and maintaining a unified and cohesive national society. Reflecting these concerns, migration policies were pursued with the intent of preserving [Australia's] ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Nationality was given precedence in the selection process; British were "preferred" and were actively recruited, Europeans were accepted, assuming they were willing to assimilate, and non-Europeans were largely "restricted". These restrictions were justified by appeals to... historical, ethnic, and cultural particularity. By the early 1970s, mass industrialism

and Keynesianism were no longer effective at stabilizing economic crises and securing full employment within advanced capitalist societies....policies of large-scale planned migration have served as vital forms of population management or macro-social engineering and have been central to national development. The particular focus is on the movement from mass-industrial and Keynesian to post-industrial and neoliberal socioeconomic formations. In response, new growth strategies emerged, founded on global economic integration, the dismantling of social-welfarism, and the emergence of the new entrepreneurial or “Schumpeterian workfare” state. With these transformations, firms and governments throughout the developed world entered into a period of experimentation in which economic and regulatory strategies were reorganized to render capital and economic activity more flexible and competitive in a transnational context. As the... Australian welfare states experienced crises related to economic and demographic transitions, the principles of redistribution and social collectivism were displaced by those of market rationalism and individualism.’⁴¹

And here is the site at which we begin to expose the Anglo-Celtic underside, the demonisation of migrants, the other side of what Jennifer Rutherford calls the ‘Australian Good’⁴². If policy is determined by market rationalism there can be no room for cultural considerations. The market is colour-blind. And when the market allows migrants access, due to their economic credentials, the non-dominant culture comes under threat and then every boat off the West Australian coast becomes front page news. It is the site at which defenders of dominant cultures prise open the lid of antipathy that evinces the ugly face of all cultures.

In a review of Christian Joppke’s *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State*, Bob Birrell admits that ‘the increasing influence of internationalist and

human rights ideals renders illegitimate (at least among the political class) the use of ethnic criteria'.⁴³ But he appears opportunistic in light of the current state of fear prevalent in "receiver" nations: 'The challenge of global terrorism may yet provide fertile ground for the revival of ethnic criteria in future decisions about the admission of new members to national communities.'⁴⁴ The major Australian political parties, as the election pamphlets of the 2010 election attest, do little to stem the anti-migrant sentiment apparent in their Anglo-Celtic dominated constituencies. In my electorate, the Liberal Party exhorted that they will 'Stop the Boats'⁴⁵ and the Family First Party declared they would vote to end 'people smuggling'⁴⁶. The Labor Party is similarly minded. From the time the party was conceived, when it 'actively pursued' a 'white Australia policy' prior to federation⁴⁷, to the current vigour with which Julia Gillard attempted to flex her border protection muscles during the 2010 federal election, Labor has continued to mirror conservative policy on migrant issues. Indeed, no policy area in Australian political history has been so bi-partisan.

Yet, migrants—with passports or in tiny boats—have a minute effect on Australian society, except in the manner that their presence reinforces the antipathy under discussion and gives vent, as will be discussed below, to Anglo-Celtic Australian frustrations. Indeed Birrell's own data suggest that, since 1995-96, the level of low-skilled migrant arrivals has dropped considerably.⁴⁸ And, as Walsh summarises below, current government policy—for good or ill—is not based upon a desire for a multicultural state:

Multiculturalism and substantive commitments to liberal-democratic principles have generally been touted by academics and policymakers as the official rationale behind such shifts (Joppke, 2005; Kymlicka, 1995). Such perspectives ignore that alongside the easing of ethnic and national restrictiveness was the institution of sophisticated mechanisms for sorting migrants based on economic attributes. In this manner, instead of more open and inclusive, over time, the dispersal of

territorial access has, in certain respects, become significantly more stringent. After ending [its] discriminatory policies, [Australia] initially placed almost exclusive emphasis on humanitarian migration and family reunification. However, this phase was short lived.⁴⁹

The principal concern I have with Dixson's thesis—and all those who support it or a version of it—relates simply to her inability to empathise with non-Anglo-Celtic Australians. By stratifying Australian culture she invites tension, creating a binary that marginalises non-Anglo-Celtic Australians. It was this lack of empathy that drove the narrative in my novel.

Empathy, the human condition that separates us from all other beings, is the mortal enemy of the demoniser. In her only novel, *To Kill A Mockingbird*, Harper Lee wrote, 'You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view... until you climb into his skin and walk around in it'.⁵⁰ Lee's use of the word 'skin', often misquoted as "shoes", is important because it leavens a doctrine of empathy into a contemplation of racial (in)equality. The chief protagonists in my novel seldom show empathy to the migrants that surround them. Even Jim, the cold aloof father, can feel for his son when Tom's arm is broken and for Lizzy when she chokes on her toast. His concern for the migrant who fell off his roof, however, is perfunctory and his demeanour is gruff. The lost Italians in the Morris Minor, similarly, are treated with disdain, as the men building Jim's garage taunt and harass until a fight ensues. Yet the irony is that Jim and Alec and the other Anglo-Celtic Australians *do* offer assistance: they give directions and round up the Italians' wayward goat; they ferry the injured migrant to the hospital while caring for his family.

With regard for the stylistic imperative of creating characters that are believable (and not mere caricatures), I was influenced by Jennifer Rutherford's *The Gauche Intruder: Freud, Lacan and the White Australian Fantasy*. Macca and the men in the pub, the workers who build Jim's garage, Jim and Alec—even Tom—all explicitly

discriminate against the Baileys and the migrants while in the act of doing a perceived “good”.

Rutherford describes her work as an attempt to speak ‘a truth about white Australian culture, a truth in the psychoanalytic sense of an act of speech capable of converting symptom into signification’.⁵¹ In essence, Rutherford analyses, via Freud and Lacan, the manner in which the Australian fantasies ‘of the “good” provide a camouflage for aggression at both a national and local level... directed both to an external and internal Other.’⁵² Rutherford seeks to understand ‘what is at play as soon as one walks down a street in Australia...’ She suggests that the ‘structures and the modalities of the codes of reception, ordering and exclusion that dominate public discourse and public practice are framed by white Australian fantasies of nation and national character, and that other fantasies and imaginaries do not carry the same regulatory weight’.⁵³ Rutherford, in effect, confirms the existence of Dixon’s “core”. There is, however, a difference: whereas Rutherford sees a ‘crucial confusion between the desired state [multicultural Australia]... and the social and political reality⁵⁴ [white Anglo-Celtic hegemony],’ Dixon sees ‘vulnerable transition years’.⁵⁵

It can be argued that, on the issues of Australian identity, and the multicultural debate that surrounds it, there are two broad camps: those who wish to move toward the “multicultural society” and those who resist, in whose camp I include those, who, like Dixon, are resigned to the eventual overthrow of Anglo-Celtic hegemony and wish to mourn—and Dixon certainly emphasises the Anglo-Celtic need to mourn. Freud has described how, in the psyche, an individual’s country could take the place of a loved one and Dixon describes Anglo-Celtic Australia similarly as ‘experiencing a counterpointing sense of uprootedness, a powerful if obviously less poignant sense of grief’. She twists Freud’s substitution by inserting ““core culture” for “one’s country” [so that] Freud’s words shed some light on the grief Anglo-Celtic Australians must surely be experiencing’.⁵⁶ In a sense, I understand Dixon’s intentions regarding Anglo-Celtic mourning and while I accept that it is, to a degree, part of the loss of the

“imaginary”, I argue that it is also nostalgia and a fantasy—in Rutherford’s sense—for an Anglo-Celtism that no longer exists.

In the same way that it is natural for a first time visitor to France to expect onion festivals and brie and burgundy festooned cafe tables surrounded by French intellectuals discussing Sartre or Camus, I fear some Anglo-Celtic Australians long for a homogenous Australia filled with Australians ‘more British than the British’ (the Celtic part gets forgotten here), where Irish-Catholic-Australian women are awed by the British royals and bronzed Aussie men work hard in their honest jobs after which they sprout anti-authoritarian rhetoric over beers at the pub. I’ve always found these idealised myths ironical and reminiscent of the anti-British sentiment among soldiers, particularly the myth of refusing British generals’ orders—yet so many died ‘going over the top’.⁵⁷

Of course, the argument over mourning is valid. Whether the feelings of a nation, a “core ethnic group” or an individual are based on mythology, “fantasy” or “imaginary” is irrelevant in determining the need to mourn. Perhaps Anglo-Celtic Australians *will* need to mourn when Australia ceases, as it inevitably will, to be an Anglo-Celtic dominated society.

My criticism of Dixson’s thesis is not an attack on Anglo-Celtic Australia (of which I am a part) but a rejection of its hegemonic role. Dixson says, ‘in a very deep sense, old-identity Australians have been forbidden to mourn on this issue,’⁵⁸ and she may be right; but my regard is for the opposite side of the binary. If we preference Anglo-Celtic Australians, we “demote” non-Anglo-Celtic Australians. If Anglo-Celtic Australians *are* the “core” identity, the other ethnic groups must inhabit the periphery—they become marginalised. Dixson makes no mention of other ethnicities’ need to mourn the loss of their former homes, lifestyles, families, culture, environment and national identity. Indeed, she is deafeningly silent, for the most part, on the need of Indigenous Australians to mourn. It seems to me that, in the land of equality, tolerance and freedom we (Anglo-Celtic Australia) cannot bring ourselves to “give up” in order that others can be equal, unless they wait—and pay their dues. The

“giving-up” is often identified as wealth but I think the major concern for many—as identified by Dixon—is the fear of being usurped from their social position, as I discuss below. We only mourn after loss and Dixon’s exhortations for Anglo-Celtic Australia to be allowed to mourn signifies acceptance of this fact. After the “imaginary” is stripped away and the “value” arguments are dissected there is nothing left but Anglo-Celtic grief over the loss of hegemony.

Dixon contends that ‘in major part through the attitudes and values congealed in Australian-English... to some degree, day-to-day communication in Australian-English transmits... values such as respect for the ideal of the individual, for freedom of expression, for egalitarianism, for fairness and for the rule of law...’⁵⁹ Leaving aside the “attitudes and values congealed in Australian-English” and the manner in which they “transmit values”, I fail to understand this argument, often employed by the anti-migration lobby, that migrants coming to Australia might hold values at odds with those that Dixon describes. Firstly, most democracies include the values described by Dixon and most migrants who come to Australia come from other democracies.⁶⁰

Secondly, migrants who find Australian values abhorrent are unlikely to wish to live here. Indeed, it is more rational to think that those who come from troubled regions are attempting to escape the persecution and injustices of nations that do *not* have the values described by Dixon.

I have eschewed a separate discussion of the impact Dixon’s thesis on Indigenous Australians but there is certainly scope for other researchers to pursue it.

As I end, for the most part, the section of this work relating to Dixon, I ask that consideration is given to the Celtic part of the “core” in light of the work of noted Celtic scholar, Nora Chadwick, who concluded that ‘it is evident that the concept of an ethnically distinguishable entity known as Celts existed a century or more before the historic migrations, and that they were thought to occupy a swath of western Europe from Iberia to the Upper Danube’.⁶¹ Moreover, Celts populated part of Marseilles when it was a Greek colony.⁶² Dixon and others, therefore, must make an arbitrary

demarcation line in time to determine who is Celtic. I'm quite certain she does not envisage Papadopouloses or Koutafideses in her cultural "core".

Notwithstanding that which has already been written, I believe that we *should* celebrate Anglo-Celtic culture and its influence on Australian culture. It has helped to carve out a nation that in many ways "punches above its weight" on the world stage. The motivation in constructing my thesis is not to tear down a culture but rather to open it up, to change it and, taking that which is good from the great diversity of other cultures in Australian society, to make it better. Discussing Asian nations' future challenges, sociologist Stephen Castles says 'the phases of nation-building and post-nationalism, which took up centuries in Europe, are being telescoped into a few decades. The construction of democratic and inclusive forms of citizenship under such conditions is an unprecedented undertaking. The size and the rapidity of the changes present great challenges. Like Europeans a generation ago, Asian leaders are hesitant in recognising the realities of porous boundaries, new minorities and growing diversity. Yet in the long run, there is no other way forward if cohesive, prosperous and just societies are to be achieved.'⁶³ Castles could well have been discussing Australia.

Killing the Mother so the Child Can Live

The previous pages hinted at a possible cause of Anglo-Celtic antipathy toward migrants and, as I further sought to refine the planning for my novel, I drew upon the works of Donald Horne, Ghassan Hage, Noel Ignatiev and Jennifer Rutherford. Their theses, described below, influenced—without being an impediment to the creative process—the development of plot and character, symbolism, irony and metonymic devices employed in the writing of my novel. In the following pages I will draw more heavily from my novel, *The Dues of St Fitticks*. The previous section of this essay was the *reason* I wanted to write, what follows is *what* I wanted to write.

The inability of Anglo-Celtic Australia, for the most part, to acknowledge and embrace the benefits of other cultures was an important factor in the conception of my novel. Australia has novels about the experiences of migrants—“migrant novels” —written almost exclusively by migrants but, while I find such works important both to the Australian literary canon and to the migrant experience itself, I wanted to write a novel about migrant issues from an Anglo-Celtic point-of-view. I wanted to explore the reasons for Anglo-Celtic antipathy toward migrants.

Why do Anglo-Celtic Australians reject, for the most, non-Anglo-Celtic culture? Firstly, I don't believe that Anglo-Celtic Australians reject any culture *in totality*. No culture that is alive remains in stasis. And Anglo-Celtic Australians do, as I have discussed, accept migrants into the mainstream, as evidenced by surveys⁶⁴ conducted after World War II; it just takes time for the new culture to “pay its dues”. It is my assertion that the time it takes depends on the arrival of the next wave of non-Anglo-Celtic migrants.

In the novel, one of the symbols I used to convey migrant acceptance was food. In the 1970s and 1980s, when I was attending primary school, many of my friends arrived for school with lunch boxes stuffed with souvlaki, salami, marinated vegetables, garlic-laden meats and strong-smelling cheeses. Although these children

were my friends and I shared everything else with them, I did not sample any of their food. Similarly, at home we would be served Anglo-Celtic fare without exception, until my teens, when “Australian” attitudes began to change. In my novel, Tom and his Anglo-Celtic school friends are given the experiences I had as a child, notwithstanding the difference of a decade.

The marked changes to Anglo-Celtic food tastes, particularly eating-out, in the middle 1980s were coincident with the increases in Australia’s Asian population. With the arrival of Asian migrants, Anglo-Celtic Australian antipathy had a new focus and non-English-speaking European migrants began to gain acceptance into the mainstream—if still not part of Dixson’s “core” culture. During this time, scores of Italian and Greek restaurants opened in Australia.⁶⁵ And, whether it was migrants on television and in the theatre subverting Anglo-Celtic antipathy or Anglo-Celtic Australia accepting the non-English-speaking migrants as Australians, I cannot qualify, but the term “wog” lost its venom around this time and it is now almost a term of endearment.⁶⁶ The point is that migrants are eventually accepted into Australian culture but they must “pay their dues”—time—and there must be another group who follows them to step into the breach and bear the brunt of Anglo-Celtic antipathy. This follows the prejudice/discrimination theory which ‘holds that discrimination reflects social distance, with the least prejudice against the nearest groups and the greatest prejudice against the furthest. Thus, if prejudice is intense enough to produce discrimination against one group, more distant groups will suffer even more: discrimination against a “further” group must always be equal to or greater than discrimination against a nearer group’⁶⁷.

Ghassan Hage, Australian researcher and writer on social theory and anthropology, influenced the narrative of the novel by giving me the symptoms of the Anglo-Celtic disease that causes anti-migrant attitudes. He also gave me the carriers of the disease: the White “worriers”. The White “worrier” to whom Hage refers is ‘the white person who is always worrying about something: about migrants, about single

mothers on the dole... trying to reassert a sense of governmental power over the nation through their worrying...'⁶⁸

Although Hage does not reserve the White worrier status specifically for Anglo-Celtic Australians or suggest that their “worries” are directed only at migrants, his description resonated with the characters that were in my head but not yet on paper:

‘Economic policy marginalises and hope shrinks – ‘as the state withdraws from society many people, even those with middle-class incomes—urban dwellers paradoxically stuck in insecure jobs, farmers working day and night without “getting anywhere”, small business people struggling to keep their business going, and many more—have begun suffering various forms of hope scarcity. They join the already marginalised populations of indigenous communities, homeless people, poor immigrant workers and the chronically unemployed. But unlike these groups, the newly marginalised are not used to being denied their share of hope by society. So they now dig for new forms of hope. They live in a state of denial, still expecting that, somehow, their nation and their “national identity” will be a passport to hope for them. Deep down they know that their national society is no longer “servicing” them, but like a child whose mother has stopped feeding her, the very idea of such a reality is too hard to accept and to think... They become self-centred, jealous of anyone perceived to be “advancing” (being cared for by the nation) while they are stuck. They project the fear that is inherent in the fragility of their relationship with their own nation onto everything classified as alien. Increasingly, their attachment to such a non-feeding nation generates a specific paranoid form of nationalism. They become vindictive and bigoted, always ready to “defend the nation”, in the hope of re-accessing their lost hopes. They are not necessarily like this. Their new life condition brings out the worst in them, as it would in any of us. That is the story of many of those in the Western world who are anti-asylum seekers, who are running towards the right and extreme right ideologues who

still promise a “good nation”. Paranoid nationalists are the no-hopers produced by transcendental capitalism and the policies of neo-liberal government. They are the “refugees of the interior”. And it is ironic to see so many of them mobilised in defending “the nation” against “the refugees of the exterior”. Global rejects set against global rejects constructing what is perhaps the greatest phobic international order instituted since World War II.⁶⁹

Of course, Hage is not specifically aiming at working-class or leftist white Australians—indeed farmers, small business owners and those on middle incomes are certainly not that—but one of the protagonists in the novel, union boss, Jim, was representative of a class often marginalised by a re-distribution of economic wealth. Further, the “hope scarcity” is evinced by Tom’s best mates, Macca and Johnno; two boy/men without a comprehensive education or a trade and seemingly without prospects. And, of course, they “project fear” onto the alien migrants.

Hage’s description of the “child whose mother has stopped feeding her” was similar to the metaphor for Jim I used throughout the narrative: he is aloof, cold and irritable, symptoms of his guilt at the death of his mother and the diatribes directed at him by his grandmother. The displaced anger directed at his son is also evinced by his bitterness, stoicism and aloof mien. Jim is like the white settlers Dixson attempts to excuse for committing acts of brutality.

For Jim to be born his mother “had to die”; for Tom (symbolic of new Australia) to grow and develop his mother/parents (Anglo-Celtic Australia) must, metaphorically, die.

In reflecting on Hage’s “White worrier”, I gave the people of Westport “White worrier” traits: their attitudes and actions towards the Baileys (symbols of Australia’s Indigenous people) and the migrants (who descend upon Westport to change it forever). I wanted to show that these Anglo-Celtic Australians are frightened not simply by the unknown; they are frightened of losing their place in society. Even

though the Westportonians may be poor or ill-educated, surviving in low-paying jobs and struggling through life, they still have their colour. To be white means that they will never be at the bottom because there is always a “Bailey” or a migrant that is on a lower rung of the socio-economic ladder. Vilifying those below them ensures that the lower group remains “in their place”. Ignatiev’s work here was important, particularly his thesis on the Irish-American Diaspora:

‘The abolition of slavery called into question the existence of the white race as a social formation, for if the main underpinning of the distinction between the “white” worker and the black worker were erased, what could remain to motivate poor “whites” to hug to their breasts a class of landowners who led them into one of the most terrible wars in history? And if class interest replaced “race” interest in their hearts, who could say where it might end?’⁷⁰

My assertion, channelling Ignatiev, is that, as the dominant culture’s antipathy toward ethnic groups wanes, there is no one to halt the fall of my White Westportonian worriers and their “social formation” collapses—“hope shrinks”. Moreover, I connect this thesis with research in the 1980s by Canadian social-anthropologist Elliott Leyton. Leyton documented an exponential rise in the number of serial killers in the United States after the 1960s. Their profile was almost exclusively lower-middle or working class white males shut off from the middle-class positions created after the Second World War.

Some of these men sought revenge in reaction to their ‘blocked social mobility by transforming their fantasies into a vengeful reality’.⁷¹ Leyton, who researched the rise of the serial, or multiple (mass), murderer from the fifteenth century until the 1980s, found that the social origin of murderers and victims varied inversely over the period. Where once murderers were aristocrats in the fifteenth century, by the nineteenth they were doctors and teachers; and by the 1980s they’d become clerks,

computer operators and construction workers. The victims, once peasants and later prostitutes and housemaids, were, by the 1980s, university students, aspiring models and pedestrians in middle-class shopping malls.⁷²

Although railing against asylum seekers while watching a television program or driving around in a four-wheel-drive vehicle with a hateful sticker on the rear window declaring that Australia 'is full'⁷³ is not tantamount to serial murder, the connection is more in the motivation than the implementation.

The degree to which these "White worriers" descend in each country probably says more about Australian and American society and US gun control than anything else; but it is noteworthy that there is some data to suggest that Australian immigrants' fear of being a victim of crime has increased in Australia over the last five years.⁷⁴ Moreover, Australia's deadliest serial killer, Martin Bryant, vilified Japanese tourists immediately prior and during his rampage.⁷⁵ Further enquiry in this area is beyond the scope of this essay and my exploration of it was undertaken as a foundational resource for my novel. It is, however, an area that should be pursued.

With the benefit of almost four decades since Donald Horne wrote *The Lucky Country*, I examined Australian advancement as a society relative to Horne's critique. At times I looked through a 1960s prism to facilitate the writing of the novel—as it was mostly set during that period. Horne confirmed my thesis that the discrimination against migrant groups not only began at white settlement but switched from one group to another with the arrival of new cultural groups. As has been discussed, it was the Irish who first felt the sting of white Australian demonisation. From his vantage point of the 1960s, Horne says 'bitter distrust of the Catholic church is part of the systems of belief of most older non-Catholic Australians' and that 'those who have not grown up in Australia do not now always detect the significance of anti-Catholicism and it is now at last declining'⁷⁶. In my novel, Tom visits the haberdasher with Lizzy and notices the "position vacant" sign on the window, a disclaimer declaring that "Catholics need not apply". The intent was to show the continuum of cultural antipathy. Due to word

count constraints and my wish to make the novel character-driven, it was necessary to set most of the novel during Tom's formative years—the early 1950s until the late 1970s—with the brief passages set post 1980 acting as a kind of *dénouement*. It was, therefore, not possible to “show” a linear progression of cultural antipathy and the above device—and others like it—was used in place. The effect may lessen the reader's accessibility to my thesis of the anti-migrant continuum but the clues are there.

It is interesting that Horne mentions the anti-Catholic sentiment in Australia from his 1960 vantage point because most young Australians would, perhaps, not be aware of the depth of antipathy toward Catholics that, not too many years ago, precipitated riots, murders, exclusion from public office, a split in the Labor party that almost threatened its existence and social exclusion. Is an act of disremembering—like the genocide against the Indigenous or the internment of the Japanese and Germans during the wars. For Rutherford it is that ‘the fantasies of the good provide camouflage, as point of identification, as authorisation, provides a fantasmatic frame for the enactment and consolidation of white Australian culture at the singular and collective level’⁷⁷. Will future generations look back at this time and disremember the treatment of asylum seekers? Hage follows on from Rutherford:

‘It is true that only White worriers see the recognition of the shameful aspects of the past as a threat to their identification with the good parts. This is because they relate to those good parts defensively and claustrophobically; they don't see them as tools for hoping and imagining better national futures. But the alternative is not White caring: a recognition of the past as shameful. This, I argue, remains a coloniser's take on history.... an unbridgeable split... between the culture of the colonised and the culture of the coloniser. An ethical coming to terms with this split requires a symbolic tipping of the balance between coloniser and colonised. As such, it requires a

becoming Indigenous, what American radicals call becoming a “race traitor”, on the part of non-Indigenous Australians.’⁷⁸

To “become Indigenous”, as Hage asks, I argue that one first has to disown one’s culture, which is, in effect, becoming a “class traitor”. In my novel, Jim struggles with, and keeps the secret of, the death of his mother—killed in the act of giving him life. This, for me, was symbolic of the duty of all Australians if the nation is to commit fully to multiculturalism. Miriam Dixon’s “core” culture cannot exist within a nation that is truly egalitarian. There can be no core. Tom, like his father, only succeeds after his mother dies. “The mother must be killed in order than the child can live.” It is a metaphor for the abandonment of a stratified society, for the rejection of cultural or ethnic superiority and a clarion-call for discarding “our” British monarchy.

This assertion, perhaps the most contentious of my project, follows from the work of American writer and academic, Noel Ignatiev, who ignited a furore in the United States when he suggested that the cure for most of America’s social ills was to eliminate the white race. In his online newsletter “Race Traitor”, Ignatiev writes:

‘The white race is a historically constructed social formation. It consists of all those who partake of the privileges of the white skin in this society. Its most wretched members share a status higher, in certain respects, than that of the most exalted persons excluded from it, in return for which they give their support to a system that degrades them.

The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race, which means no more and no less than abolishing the privileges of the white skin. Until that task is accomplished, even partial reform will prove elusive, because white influence permeates every issue, domestic and foreign, in US society.

The existence of the white race depends on the willingness of those assigned to it to place their cultural interests above class, gender, or any other

interests they hold. The defection of enough of its members to make it unreliable as a predictor of behaviour will lead to its collapse.’⁷⁹

Ignatiev attracted significant criticism in the United States when he published his thesis but most criticism came from those who misquoted or took him out of context—and a significant degree of hate followed, naturally, from white supremacists. I find it difficult to counter Ignatiev’s argument, other than that its execution would be a veritable impossibility. It does speak to my contention (and opposition to Dixon’s thesis) that one cannot preference any culture without creating a cultural, and therefore social and economic, imbalance between the races. If such preferencing is not cultural discrimination, what is?

In my novel, I considered that many of the characters were symbols of the Australian identity myth. By Australian identity I mean the idealised Anglo-Celtic Australian as I have previously described. Tom was a young, post-war Anglo-Celtic Australian migrant: a ten-pound-Pom type, good at sports, popular and easy-going. His father, Jim, was old Anglo-Celt, out of place but a progenitor of the new Anglo-Celtism that had been superimposed upon Australia, therefore an influence upon his son’s worldview. Tom’s rebellion against his father was symbolic of Australia’s growing pains as it shifts from an Anglo-Celtic dominated society to a multicultural one. Tom retains many of his father’s prejudices, despite his rebellion, and the resultant tension is part of his journey into adulthood. From the beginning, I attempted to create a tension between the characters that symbolised the tension I felt was apparent in Australian society. This was not simply a conflict of the generations but the growing pains of a nation experiencing its first demographic challenge since white settlement.

Although Jim was old Anglo-Celt, he was not old Anglo-Celtic Australian. Macca, perhaps the character most drawn as a caricature, took that role. I “stole” the character from the impression in my mind created by Ania Walwicz’s prose poem *Australia*. The first sentence in the poem, ‘You big ugly,’⁸⁰ resonated with me because it was a familiar construction to sentences uttered by the parents of the migrant

schoolmates of my youth. Macca is also the embodiment of the “yobbo” Australian male who, without many other skills to draw from, takes a place on the social rung through his ability to booze or to brawl. It is, of course, a caricature, but it’s one of which many are familiar. One has only to visit an Australian entertainment precinct on a weekend to see the evidence of Macca—and, as is becoming more prevalent, his non-English-speaking European migrant offspring equivalent.

Felicity Stanton was the symbol of “old money” and Tom’s entrée into that world, initially via his university colleague, Ben—the left-wing intellectual symbol. This was another site of tension and a counterpoint to the main theme of Anglo-Celtic attitudes to non-English speaking migrants. I wanted to show that Tom’s admission to another social stratum was conditional upon “paying his dues”. In the social world of Felicity Stanton, automatic access comes only from birth, unless you are rich; Tom, therefore, must become successful before he can marry Brooke. I attempt here to juxtapose Australia’s egalitarian myth with the stratified socio-economic reality that, while not as acute the British system, is, nonetheless, real.

The other important character/symbol in the novel is Frank Bailey. Only on the last page is the reader made aware that Frank is Indigenous and a symbol of the oppressive and hopeless conditions imposed on Australia’s Indigenous by the dominant culture. Creating an Indigenous character(s) was the most difficult task I faced, not only because I wanted to be sensitive to the culture and to ensure I did not perpetuate the ugly myths. ‘In an article published in *The Age* newspaper, Thomas Keneally, author of *The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith* said, ‘it would be insensitive to write from that point of view now [of an Indigenous person]. Keneally said that, at the time of publication (1972) ‘Aborigines were comfortable for a white man to tell their stories’⁸¹.

The theft of the Bailey land was, of course, a metaphor for *terra nullius* and the dispossession of Indigenous land. Tom’s apology at the end of the novel, years after he had committed the offence, was a metaphor for the apology finally delivered by Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, in 2007. And, throughout the narrative, I wanted to pace Frank

Bailey's appearances so that the reader had almost forgotten him. This was symbolic of disremembering.

I wanted to show Frank's life was hopeless. Even though he leaves for a few years to take work in the mines of Queensland—and presumably earns an income—when he returns home there is nothing for him. There is no way into the mainstream; there is no way for Frank to reach the next stratum of Australian society. And because he cannot see a future—because he suffers from Ghassan Hage's "hope scarcity"—he does not try to achieve it, if he ever wanted it in the first place. We don't know because no one, not even the author, asks him.

Throughout the novel, many of the trials and tribulations of the protagonists are the result of my reading of Donald Horne. His seminal work, *The Lucky Country*, the interpretation of its title perhaps the greatest testament to the veracity of the thesis contained in the book, provided not only the theoretical background for an explication of the ills of Australian society, but a diversion from the general theme of the novel. No one would be interested in reading a novel that contained only an Anglo-Celtic family railing against non-English-speaking migrants.

Most balanced readings of *The Lucky Country* call it a critique of Australian society, rather than a diatribe against it. Horne was right when he said that 'Australia is a lucky country, run mainly by second-rate people who share its luck⁸²,' and, although, at times, it seems that Australia has emerged from the 'colonial' mentality of the 1960s that Horne denounced, the echo of his words often drifts down through the decades seemingly unheard. Horne castigated Australia as 'a nation that is so strongly inimical to ideas', for its 'triumphant mediocrity and the sheer dullness of life for many of its ordinary people' where 'the demand for mindlessness can be so pervasive that able men deliberately stumble around with the rest lest they appear too clever,' while 'much energy is wasted pretending to be stupid.'⁸³

Horne believed that, from the time of white-settlement, Australia benefitted from the industrial and technological advancements of the developed world without contributing or fostering a culture of independent advancement. One must question

whether Horne, if alive, would have seen parallels today, particularly post-global financial crisis, with the Australia of the 1960s. There are few economic commentators who would accept that Australia could survive a financial (or other) crisis that severely impacted upon the economies of China and India. Australia's future is tied to the new Chinese and Indian apartment buildings, roads, factories, cars, power plants and consumer goods being built in their thousands to satiate a migration that, in China, results in a population the size of Perth moving from rural to urban areas each month⁸⁴. Australia's contribution to the international economy is to do little more than dig holes and send the stuff taken out overseas. It is assured that, without the twin peaks of the mining boom of the last ten years, Australia would not have an economy that is 'the envy of the developed world'⁸⁵.

In addition, despite the catastrophic implosion of the US property market caused by fraudulent and predatory lending practices, fuelled by—at best—“misdirected” government programs aimed at ‘getting every American their own home,’⁸⁶ small Australian lenders have begun to resume the low-doc/no-doc/105% home loans to increase market share, while the big banks attempt to squeeze more profits from existing borrowers to increase their bottom lines. In effect, Australian banks are treading the same path that US financial institutions trod when they delivered the global financial crisis. The relevance is that there is no point discarding the “mother” if we then jump onto the coat-tails of the “prodigal son”.

Horne said that “the very idea of a clever, expert men thinking up new things to do is one that is repulsive to many Australian businessmen; to accept the importance of research might seem to imperil their self-importance.”⁸⁷ I am sure he would be appalled at the current business environment in Australia, particularly as so many business and political leaders pat themselves on the back and bask in their “luck”.

I wrote the majority of the novel during, and immediately after, the global financial crisis and it is no coincidence that the occupation from which Tom made his money and achieved “success” was as a property developer. The “businessmen” in the

novel, represented by Simon and Mr Crabb, similarly lacked the ingenuity described by Horne—yet they still became rich. Simon had the good luck to profit from the rising gold price but we are never told how he managed to predict it; and Mr Crabb seems to make money without being required to expend much energy. Tom, similarly, stumbles over a block of land that makes the Crabbs a lot of money and subsequently secures his financial future and thereby the social standing that he needs to marry Brooke. Later, he parlays his good fortune into more success when the land values around Gellibrand, the former working class enclave he once despised, skyrocket.

I make one final point in this section concerning the use of the word “racist”.

Researching this subject I came across its use many times and, although I have been guilty of using it myself, I understand that it is not helpful, is often inflammatory and seldom serves a purpose other than as a pernicious appellation. Hage writes in the introduction to his book, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*, that “in Australia today those offended by the term “racist” almost outnumber those offended by racists.”⁸⁸ I suggest the term has become a mechanism for “racists” to extricate themselves from uncomfortable situations because it is misused by “anti-racists”. Many academics, including Barbara Fields, now eschew the word:

‘Race relations as an analysis of society takes for granted that *race* is a valid empirical datum and thereby shifts attention from the actions that constitute racism—enslavement, disfranchisement, segregation, lynching, massacres, and pogroms—to the traits that constitute race. For racists in the New South, those traits might have included the Negroes’ ignorance, laziness, brutality, criminality, subjection to uncontrolled passions, or incapacity for the moral and intellectual duties of civilisation. For scholars in our own time who accept race, once ritually purified by the incantation socially constructed, as a valid category of analysis, the relevant traits are more likely to be

“difference”, “Other-ness”, “culture”, or “identity”. Either way, however, objective traits, the real substance of racism, take second place to subjective traits, the fictive substance of race; traits that would be irrelevant to explaining racists’ acts even if their empirical validity could be established.’⁸⁹

Whatever the nomenclature, I see Australia’s potential—fifty years after Horne—and wonder if we are squandering the commodity that is our greatest asset, the asset most important to all nations: its people, both the long-established and the newly-arrived. Australia is different from the Australia of forty years ago—and in forty years it will be different again. Like Horne, I wonder if it will be better.

Literary Influences; Devices; Technique

Perhaps my greatest disappointment in researching for my project was reading the theses of academics, newspaper writers and commentators such as Windschuttle, Blainey, Bolt, Albrechtsen, Birrell et.al and Dixon's *The Imaginary Australian*. The lack of empathy continually returned me to Harper Lee and her exhortations, channelled through Atticus Finch, to 'walk around in his skin'—perhaps because much of my novel takes place during Tom's childhood and is analogous with both *To Kill A Mockingbird* and my age at first reading.

Although *To Kill A Mockingbird* was not at the front of my mind when I wrote my novel, I'm certain it spoke to me subconsciously from the place it had occupied during my teens and then had lain dormant, awakening intermittently to right my wrongs or burnish my outrage at some injustice. The themes of childhood discovery and adult awakening, small town idiosyncrasies and cultural prejudice, were central to my novel, as they were in *To Kill A Mockingbird*. It soon became evident, however, that creating a work that highlighted Australian antipathy toward the non-dominant cultures presented a problem. Perhaps if there is a weakness of *To Kill A Mockingbird* it lies in the, at times, didactic narrative and, although the aim of my novel was to highlight, as Lee did, the injustices meted out to the non-dominant culture(s), I was cognisant that the work could degenerate into a polemic. Indeed, I did not attempt to reveal an ugly Anglo-Celtic Australian (although the caricature of Macca comes close).

The aim of my novel is to explore the relationship of Anglo-Celtic Australia to non-Anglo-Celtic Australia and by that definition it is an exploration of national identity, attitudes to race and discrimination. I wrote from the point of view of the Anglo-Celtic Australian for two reasons: firstly, it was the subject position I hold and I believed it would lend authenticity to the prose; and secondly, much of the Australian literature that explores the discrimination of Non-Anglo-Celtic Australians is written by Non-Anglo-Celtic Australians. While the insight into post-war migrants' lives is

valuable, few of the works, quite understandably, approach the topic from the Anglo-Celtic perspective—which is the focus of my research.

Although my novel can be, perhaps, categorised as “social” realist, it does diverge from the socialist-realist tradition of denouncing the establishment/middle class hegemony that restricts the rise of the working class; similarly it falls short of the Bolshevik tradition to “depict not just “objective reality” but to depict it “truthfully” and “in its revolutionary development””.⁹⁰ Some Australian social realist writers (Frank Hardy in *Power Without Glory*, Waten’s *Times of Conflict* and Prichard’s *Intimate Strangers*, among others), often suggest that curing social ills requires that the establishment is usurped. For me, the goal is to eschew an establishment, in a sense to allow anarchy, as pure as Proudhon intended it, in terms of race and culture. I did not want to make a statement about traditional politics.

In my novel there *is* a tacit condemnation of unionism, centred on Jim. But it is an antidote to his “principles”. When Jim’s garage and the extension on the house are built with union labour and materials—the payment for which is not disclosed—there is a subtle hint of union rorting. The intention here was not to demonise unions but an attempt at irony (a unionist accepting free goods and services as he lauds the working classes and berates and plots the overthrow of the capitalists). It is the binary opposition to Hardy’s demonisation of the capitalistic Frank West in *The Power and the Glory*. Yet, Tom Fraser, like West, does ‘escape from his working class origins by acquiring the wealth that will enable him to join the ruling classes’.⁹¹

I used irony in the novel as a marker to the irony inherent in an Australian society that declares itself tolerant and egalitarian yet promotes a stratified cultural milieu and fosters an implicit antipathy toward non-dominant ethnic groups. There is irony in Jim’s smug confidence while his political career peters out before it reaches the lofty heights to which he believes he is suited. Tom flees Westport at his first opportunity—to rid himself of the stain of his class—but ultimately returns when the land values soar and the glitterati, including Felicity Stanton, take up residence. Tom’s

Westport heritage, once an embarrassment, becomes an asset when Felicity declares to a friend that Tom is, 'alright. He's a Gellibrand Boy, born and bred.'

Perhaps the greatest irony is that Tom, like Dostoyevsky's Raskolnikov, considers he is a good human being but, when the surface is scratched, there is not much substance to his character. He is weak and only insulated from social exclusion by his sporting ability, if not his good looks. Like, Raskolnikov, Tom wants to be a good citizen but there is something inside that does not allow it to come through. For Raskolnikov, it is poverty and the inability, despite his supposed intelligence, to extricate himself from the social descent it threatens. Tom's weakness is that he does not have an independent mind. Tom is, in Horne's sense of the word, lucky. Without his sporting ability and good looks he would be nothing: more fodder for the meatworks or the power station. Tom transcends the need for a hard-working life in Westport with his schoolmates because he has "ability" and it is this that riles Jim. Tom does not have to pay his "dues". The irony is that the only life-lesson passed from Jim to Tom is one of "paying your dues".

Raskolnikov does speak to Tom. After murdering the pawnbroker, Raskolnikov searches for the "pledges" the old woman hides in her room. Reminiscent of Tom's stealthy attack on the attic above the garage and of the examination of the tea-chest and Jim's personal possessions, Raskolnikov fumbles with keys and locks (much like Tom with the padlock on the manhole cover in the shed) and then, finding the treasure, Raskolnikov examines the valuables voyeuristically:

'And so it was; there was a good-sized box under the bed, at least a yard in length, with an arched lid covered with red leather and studded with steel nails. The notched key fitted at once and unlocked it. At the top, under a white sheet, was a coat of red brocade lined with hareskin; under it was a silk dress, then a shawl and it seemed as though there was nothing below but clothes... But no sooner did he touch the clothes than a gold watch slipped from under the fur coat. He made haste to

turn them all over. There turned out to be various articles made of gold among the clothes—probably all pledges, unredeemed or waiting to be redeemed—bracelets, chains, ear-rings, pins and such things.’⁹²

Tom’s fall from the ladder—punishment for his crime—and the tension around his panic to cover the manhole, put the key in place and make his way back to the house, resonates with Raskolnikov’s alarm as the old lady’s customers pound on the door and he waits inches behind it, fearful of being apprehended.

‘The unknown rang again, waited and suddenly tugged violently and impatiently at the handle of the door. Raskolnikov gazed in horror at the hook shaking in its fastening, and in blank terror expected every minute that the fastening would be pulled out. It certainly did seem possible, so violently was he shaking it. He was tempted to hold the fastening, but *he* might be aware of it. A giddiness came over him again. “I shall fall down! flashed through his mind, but the unknown began to speak and he recovered himself at once.’⁹³

It is not until Tom’s father and mother are dead that he is awakened. The game he has played with his father—a battle of wills—is over and, ironically, the winner is dead. The competitive relationship between Tom and Jim has parallels with the relationship between Dmitri and Mr Karamazov in Dostoyevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov*. Although the Karamazovs share few character traits with the Frasers, the competitive nature of each relationship—the twine that binds each character together—is analogous. Dmitri competes for his father’s wealth and women while Tom competes for his father’s stature in the community and, vainly, for his mental discipline.

It is another irony of this project that I consider the works of Dostoyevsky to be among the greatest in literature and, yet, Dostoyevsky was an anti-Semite:

‘Dostoyevsky cannot legitimize the [messianic] role he claimed for Russia without eliminating, in a manner of speaking, that other people whose existence invalidated his claim. The only way out of the claim was to contend that the Jews no longer existed... The mere assertion that the Jews no longer existed was not enough, however, for Dostoyevsky; his mind was still tormented by grave doubts on that score. In his subconscious desire to dispel them, he conjured up the Jew with the conscious design of maligning and repudiating him.’⁹⁴

Perhaps, perversely, there is an ironical message in Dostoyevsky’s anti-Semitism: that one can appreciate the substance without concerning oneself with the skin. Yet, there is more in Dostoyevsky that attracts me and speaks to my own work. Many of Dostoyevsky’s works are about suffering and the payment due for transgressions; and, in the end, the characters get only redemption, what Joyce Carol Oates called, when discussing *The Brothers Karamazov*, the ‘transformation of suffering into joy’.⁹⁵ It is reminiscent of Jim’s suffering and his exhortations to “pay your dues”.

Oates also speaks to my work when discussing Dostoyevsky’s predilection to chart the historical events of the day—Russian history—and the metonymic use of the family for Russia:

‘The *Brothers Karamazov* Book I is called "The History of a Family" and here the narrator—surely Dostoyevsky’s voice—reports on the history of the bizarre Karamazov family, stressing by his technique the epic and realistic mode and never the poetical and imaginative: for this is not fiction but rather history and the Karamazovs "are" Russia. There are no metaphors in Dostoyevsky’s writing because his works as wholes are metaphors themselves.’⁹⁶

The Brothers Karamazov also speaks to the regeneration from death—the death of the mother—in my novel:

'The novel as it is summarized dramatizes the epigraph from the Book of John: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." Every significant character in the novel-Mitya, Grushenka, Alyosha, Katerina, even Ivan-is trans-formed. Ivan's brain fever is symptomatic of his particular sin: the sin of intellectual pride.'⁹⁷

An important part of my novel was attempting to make the dialogue genuine. While the Scottish accent was difficult to grasp and the Australian slang may cause international readers to balk, I resisted the urge to edit them out. For the dialogue, I read many Australian novels and revisited some that I had previously read. I used some of the techniques employed by George Johnston, in addition to attempting to unlock the devices he used in his semi-autobiographical trilogy and his descriptions of suburbia, discussed below. The passage below also resonates because of the subject matter, reinforcing the often disremembered anti-Catholic sentiment prevalent in Australia until the mid twentieth century.

When the eponymous Jack in *My Brother Jack* brings home his sick girlfriend, whom he's kept secret from the family, his father says:

"I think she's nothing but a cheap little trollop, puffing away at her damned cigarettes and sitting there with her skirts showing all she's got! And she's a mick, too, isn't she? Sheila Delaney! You've only got to look at that face of hers... as Irish as Paddy's pig... and that bloody cross things she wears on a chain around her neck... Go on, answer me, you! She's a mick, isn't she?"

"She's a mick, yes," Jack said in a voice that hurt, even across the distance of the vestibule. "What's that got to do with it?"

"What's that got to *do* with it!" Dad stormed. "Are you out of your wits? We're Protestants in this house. Protestants, do you understand!"

This is a decent, Godfearing house. And I want no confounded Roman Catholics under this roof whether they're sick or they're not sick!"⁹⁸

Although Johnston's best known works are mostly set in Melbourne, London and Greece, in the final instalment in his trilogy, the part-completed, posthumously published, *Cartload of Clay*, Johnston describes a scene on a Sydney suburban street to which I often referred for the descriptive prose and lively narration, particularly as, like Johnston in real-life at the time, Meredith was ill and unable to walk quickly:

'He always felt intimidated by the opacity of an Australian street. He did not have to look up to know about it. In one garden there was a power lawn mower thudding and snarling and chattering at the turf. A heavy-bellied man with grey-bristly hair and a red neck and wearing a fancy cardigan clipped at the over-tidy edges of a flowerbed, big veinous hands active amid lobelia. Wallflowers, cinerarias and pink everlastings waiting their turns. In the big guesthouse named for a victory over the heathen Hindoo, a turreted edifice white and buxom as an overpowdered matron beneath the florid blush of its red tiles, anonymous and uncommunicative men and women sat in the sunshine in their separate garden chairs, sipping at their tea, reading their newspapers and magazines, knitting, just staring out. At a picket gate an elderly woman, her hair in coloured plastic rollers, lounged in an avid unexpectancy, waiting for the postman's whistle. The time, Meredith realised, that flowed along this street was measured by these things, the angry snarling of a lawn mower, a snip of shears, rustle of paper, clinking of a spoon on china, a gate creaking, rasp of dry leaves, a braking bus, the postman's whistle. There were bird songs there too, but foreign to these other settled sounds; just as there was life there, a sort of life, but perhaps it was this life that created the wall of opacity, because one could never escape the feeling that if you could finger

these lives there could now be no response except a sigh, and if you reached over to feel behind them there would only be emptiness. Nothing. The vacuum. It was possible that this was why the wall of opacity had to be preserved, so that nobody might ever suggest that there was nothing there...

Although it was like other streets in the city, maybe *any* street in *any* city: there was something there all the time, quiet and patient behind the order of tidiness and dull conformity, the infinite possibilities of horror and terror and pain, not in the least something expected, but unexpected, something both waiting and being waited for; waited for passively and with dulled ardours and unexpectant eyes. There were times when Meredith felt he could hear the sound of a street behind the whisper of leaves and the shurrushing rhythm of garden sprinklers and the creak of gates; a sound like the black beating of innumerable unseen wings, or a different sound which was like an unending scream constantly being smothered.⁹⁹

The undertone to this passage is that Meredith's thoughts drift to his Chinese poet friend, murdered during the war. Layered over that image and connected to it, however, is a critique, reminiscent of Horne's, about Australian life and, in particular, Australian suburban life. Meredith/Johnston has led an exciting, if turbulent life. He has been a war correspondent of some repute, a Greek island ex-pat with famous friends, he has struggled through poverty and regular public rows with his wife, he is dying of tuberculosis and yet, in Australia, life goes on as it did yesterday and will tomorrow. The sounds are all suburban and familiar—Meredith does not even have to lift his head to recognise them. A man clips “over tidy edges of a flower bed”, the “over tidy” description evincing that he has nothing better to do. The people are “uncommunicative” and they stare out with “unexpectant eyes”.

There are parts of my novel, where, had I been a more judicious, I might have edited out some scenes, particularly the descriptions of lamb roast dinners and

lengthy walks or Tom's interior monologue. I kept such scenes for the banality they evinced. As with Johnston, the 1960s Australian life was slow and steady. Whether the current social networking trends—that seem inimical to the tasks for which they were designed—are better is for others to decide.

In *Bread and Sirkuses: empire and culture in Peter Carey's The Unusual Life of Tristan Smith* and *Jack Maggs*, James Bradley reflects on similar undertones in the work of Peter Carey that resonate with my novel:

'Oscar and Lucinda's glass church is a physical story, a realization of the narrative implicit in the colonial process, in which the dreams and stories of the colonizer are imported to fill the space created by the lie of terra *nullius*. And embedded within this interest in the allure of narrative is a complex, if deeply ambivalent, relationship to the notion of culture, particularly the culture of the colony as it relates to empire, and of Carey's own role as a story-teller from the empire's edge. In *Jack Maggs*, Maggs is drawn back to his former home like a moth to a lamp, only to discover there is no place for him there and that his home is now the hated colonies, a place of unremitting cruelty and ugliness. Bettina Joy, too, in *Bliss*, longs for the glass towers of New York, for the *real* world rather than Brisbane's 'drabness of the town, its dullness, its lack of style.'¹⁰⁰

The first line of Carey's *Bliss* is: 'Harry Joy was to die three times, but it was his first death which was to have the greatest effect on him, and it is this first death which we shall now witness.'¹⁰¹ It takes death (twice) for Harry Joy eventually to be content and find love with Honey Barbara. Harry's death—to effect re-birth—is analogous with my thesis in this essay about the metaphorical death of the Australian core culture as a driver for a new more inclusive, tolerant society. Further, when Harry gives up a relatively lucrative business and moves to a commune, as Carey himself did, it is a

strong statement about dissatisfaction with life, culture and environment. Is Carey, like Johnston, writing his own life or making a statement about Australian culture?

Most literary theorists would eschew the idea that a writer's work is always autobiographical or "real". In writing *The Dues of St Fitticks* I'm sure part of "me" is contained in some of the characters. For Oates, 'Dostoyevsky's imagination is such that he conceives the kernel of his drama as a conflict within the parts of one self. We may assume that this self is Dostoyevsky.¹⁰² Johnston barely concealed the lives of himself, friends and family in his work, and the depiction of his father in *My Brother Jack* caused a rift, the family 'appalled', principally because he of the 'monstrous impression he creates of his father'¹⁰³.

Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes*, although more memoir than novel, was a useful part of my research because I used it as a kind a broad template for Jim's back story. Although I did not "steal" from the work, I kept in mind the harrowing conditions of McCourt's youth, the dysfunctional family, the slums and the constant hunger evinced by Depression era Ireland and the United States¹⁰⁴. The pain in Jim, if it was there, came from *Angela's Ashes*.

The McCourt story also spoke to my reading of the life of Indigenous activist, Rob Riley¹⁰⁵. McCourt describes the ridicule, due to the Brooklyn accent he'd been born into, when he arrives in Ireland with his Irish mother and father, who had met and married in New York. Later, when the family returned to America—and having lost his Brooklyn accent—Mccourt was pilloried for sounding like an Irishman. It reminded me of the tragic life of Indigenous activist Rob Riley who, as one of the Stolen Generation, was removed from his family and home because he was not "full-blooded". Of course, at the all-white school he attended he was laughed at because of the colour of his skin but he persevered and, although the name-calling continued, he began to do well. A few years later, he was "allowed" to see his natural family. His siblings, by now strangers, laughed and made fun of him because he was so "white". It would have been ironic had it not been so tragic.

In developing both character and plot I use “hooks” on which I add the layers to give the plot or character life. In *The Dues of St Fitticks*, I based many of the characters on one or more people whom I know, or have known, but no character was a complete facsimile of a real person. Often I used one mannerism or facial expression or feature to define a character. Jim’s “ugly parrot smirk” was one such feature. Johnno’s hair, Lizzy’s voice, Frank Bailey’s barrel chest were other examples where I used this technique. I conjure an image of a “hook” on a wall and when the character trait or expression is created or imagined I place it on the hook. As the characters develop more traits are added to the hook.

What often happens, if the writer is lucky, is that the characters begin to create themselves. Often, this entails an exaggeration of the traits inherited from the donor. Jim, for instance, is based on someone I know and the “ugly parrot smirk” took hold of the character and made him appear more aloof and cold than the original. In effect, the trait was amplified. Some characters, such as Tom’s university friend, Ben, Ben’s Aunt, Felicity, and others were entirely the product of my imagination. The plot was entirely fictitious, although some events, such as the collapse of the Westgate Bridge and political events—though none of the scenes regarding union meetings—were derived from actual events.

Before beginning to write seriously I had the good fortune (depending on your point-of-view) of meeting an assortment of characters during work in various industries and an involvement in sporting clubs. I have been in boardrooms with CEOs of multinational, stock exchange-listed companies and I once cleaned toilets for a living. I have been driven to five-star hotels in limousines and lived in a veritable dump with a car outside that had to be pushed the first ten feet before it would move of its own accord.

I grew up with so many Maltese, Greeks, Italians and Slavs that I can pass for one on the phone and I’ve lived in every state capital city of Australia, except for one, so I can, at a pinch, detect regional Australian accents, even though many would suggest such things do not exist. I say this not to congratulate myself but to

acknowledge the importance for writers, I believe, in living a life. The value when attempting a project such as this is immeasurable. During most of the period that this book was set I was either not born or very young so I did not have personal experience of the era but I did have a keen eye and a good ear to go with a good memory, upon which time, unfortunately, is beginning to have a deleterious effect.

No researcher or writer, however, can rely on memory or experience alone and, in addition to the researchers, academics and writers cited in this essay—and many more who were not—I consulted various historical societies, libraries and websites, including the Williamstown and West Australian historical societies, The JS Battye Research library, the Edith Cowan University library, The Public Records Office of Victoria, The Parliament of Australia, The Parliament of Victoria, the Australian Bureau of Statistics, and The Cultural Research Network, to name a few.

Conclusion

It is, perhaps, redundant to state that a project of this kind can be completed without a deep interest in the subject matter. Over the course of more than five years of part-time and full-time research and the completion of my novel, I found that the interest I hold in the subject of Australians' relationship with each other grew until it was almost painful. The research led me to consolidate the views I held previously and, while I can, to a point, understand the unwillingness of the dominant ethnic group to embrace other cultures, I cannot condone it. I said at the start of this essay that the discrimination of ethnic cultures was perplexing to me because of the injustice and the squander. I think the injustice part is self-evident—and accepted—but I suspect we are yet to realise the potential impact of the benefits that new cultures of ideas and thought will deliver.

These benefits will not flow if we push the non-dominant groups to the periphery because of a desire to maintain an outmoded Anglo-Celtic "core". The very idea of a core should be anathema to Australia's supposed belief system. Although the intangible benefits of a more tolerant culture are, perhaps, the most beneficial, the tangible benefits are not inconsiderable. 'According to government estimates, if the volume and composition of inflows persists, migrants should annually raise [Australian] living standards by \$794 per capita: The gain ... is ... sizeable. By way of comparison, a large personal income tax cut of about \$20 billion would be required to achieve the same gain in living standards. And it dwarfs the projected gains of under \$200 per head from the important policy reform of bring down trade barriers'.¹⁰⁶ 'Migrants have always come to Australia for a better life and the demographic composition of Australia's migrants in the 1950s and 1960s (after the WWII refugee camps had emptied), fluctuated upon the prevailing economic conditions in each area.'¹⁰⁷ Immigration levels since have been determined by Australia's economic needs, as James Walsh's research attests¹⁰⁸.

The negative rhetoric from those who rail against asylum seekers—in the process de-railing multiculturalism—comes usually for reasons of political expedience or ignorance. The evidence does not back up most claims. ‘In Australia, it is estimated that, at present, there are 50,000 undocumented migrants.’¹⁰⁹ The number is less than one quarter of one per cent of the population. Moreover, during 2007-2008, Australia issued only 9,400 humanitarian visas¹¹⁰.

Therefore, if the asylum seeker numbers are relatively insignificant and immigration boosts incomes, all that remains is the “core”. Near the end of Dixon’s *The Imaginary Australian*, she mourns the loss of Anglo-Celtic culture: ‘By the 1980s, there were clear signs of the end of Anglo-Celtic Australia’s cultural primacy and of the way of life it enshrined.’¹¹¹ Whatever the “way of life” to which Dixon is referring, it is one that would assuredly not have been better for non-Anglo-Celtic cultures. Dixon’s Anglo-Celtic “core”, as a notion, is both arrogant and lacking empathy. Like the death of Tom’s mother and father, Australia must allow the mother culture to die in order that the child—the new Australia—can live. There cannot be a “core”, for with it comes a periphery. Instead, Australia needs ‘an ultimate synthesis model, in which the [Anglo-Celtic Australian] majority would reorganise their belief systems as combinations of [Anglo-Celtic Australian] and ethnic attitudes and traditions’¹¹².

In the introduction to the history wars-ending *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle’s Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Robert Manne opines that, ‘the generation after Stanner broke the great Australian silence concerning the dispossession. It might be the task of the next generation, if the enthusiasm for Keith Windschuttle is any guide, to prevent the arrival in its place of a great Australian indifference.’¹¹³

Mark McKenna, historian of Australian republicanism, wrote that ‘without the traditional monoculture stereotypes and Britishness in Australian society, the task for Australians now is to define their own identity.’¹¹⁴ The alternative may be to live out the warnings of Horne and hope that the luck does not run out

Reflections on the Project

I find it hard to think about cultural discrimination without thinking of the histories of Australia's Indigenous people and the Jews; yet I, like many Anglo-Celtic Australians, have neither the capacity nor the experience to write about them. I met a West Indian before I met an Indigenous Australian. Until I was around ten years old, I thought "Jew" was a pejorative term for thrift because that was what my migrant friends called a kid who would not share his sweets.

At the beginning of this essay I said that I was of the dominant Australian culture: Anglo-Celtic. That statement is only partly true. In fact, it is half-true. My name, physical characteristics, language and accent, mannerisms and all the external features that go into making up *me* are Anglo-Celtic. But I am half-Russian. It is only in the conduct of this research, the writing of my novel *and remembering* that I have become conscious of the manner in which my Russian-ness has been leached. Australian society preferenced the Anglo-Celtic half of me until the Russian half disappeared. It happened before I began primary school so my formative years were not "tainted" and I could grow into a fully-fledged Anglo-Celtic Australian without any encumbrances.

Of course, I did not disown the other half of my family; and I did not lie about my ethnicity. I simply did not mention it unless it was forced upon me, and that was seldom. As my mother worked, I visited my Russian grandparents after school but never can I remember a friend, even my migrant friends, setting foot inside my grandparents' home. I was nineteen years old when my Russian grandfather died and during those nineteen years I cannot remember having a conversation with him. His English was not good—though, perhaps better than he let on—and that was an excuse for me to offer greetings and goodbyes but little else. I liked him, respected his work ethic immensely (he worked almost until he died and built a house with his own hands—literally, not figuratively) but one of my life's greatest regrets is that I did not

know him, a fact I did not know until just now. It is regretful because later in my life I developed an interest in Russian history and literature. How much more interesting could my life have been if I could have shared his love for Russian literature when I was young? How much more would I now enjoy, in the original Russian perhaps, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy and Chekhov? Perhaps, like any youth, closer communication would *not* have made much difference but I would have liked the opportunity.

I have a memory of a high school friend—after receiving intelligence from his sister, a friend of my sister—saying, ‘I didn’t know you had an ethnic grandmother’. I can’t remember my response but the fact that the question remains with me after the passage of almost three decades, hints at its importance.

I was at the supermarket check-out a few years ago and noticed the girl’s name-badge. ‘My mother’s name is Olga,’ I said.

‘I hate it,’ the girl replied unselfconsciously and a few days later, on the phone to my mother, I mentioned that I had met another “Olga” and related the story. My mother said, ‘I hate it, too. I always have.’

I’m sure there are many—including me—who have, at one time, disliked their name or preferred another. Over time, one becomes accustomed to it and, like the parent who reflects on the processes that stimulated the naming of their child a few years after the event, it is almost impossible to think that you could be called anything but the name you were given. I wonder if there are many Olgas in Russia who spend years hating their name. I suspect not. Like the black children in Kenneth Clark’s experiments who believe all the white baby dolls are pretty and all the black baby dolls are ugly¹¹⁵, society, our culture—at least the dominant one—conditions our responses until we are unaware of it happening.

I like to boast that I can speak about ten languages. In all but about three, I know only how to greet. Of the two non-English-languages, only in German can I have a stilted conversation. Prior to the white settlement of Australia there were about two

hundred and fifty Indigenous languages; only one hundred and forty-five remain, of which one hundred and ten are endangered¹¹⁶. I cannot say “hello” in any.

Notes

¹ Auschwitz: Polish women's legs disfigured by human guinea pig operations. Illustration facing page 165. Russell, Lord (of Liverpool). (1959). *The Scourge of the Swastika*. London: Cassell & Company Ltd. (Picture courtesy of Polish Cultural Institute)

² The actor portraying Harper Lee receives mock congratulations for writing *To Kill A Mockingbird*. The irony of a woman being patronised by a male dominated literary clique for writing a "children's book" that sought to underscore the American South's bigotry is not lost. Baron, C., Ohoven, M. & Vince, W. (Producers), & Miller, B. (Director). (2005). *Capote* [Motion picture]. Los Angeles: Sony Pictures Classics.

³ 'Hon. members tell that the Japanese are not what they were a few years ago. They were then an insignificant people; nobody took any notice of them, but since they have defeated a few Chinamen in some sort of scramble they had, all the pluck is knocked out of the lot of the hon. members on the other side, and they think we should not attempt to pass any law to prevent this undesirable class of people coming along. Where is the boasted British pluck now? (Queensland, Hansard, July 20, 1897. pp. 115-116.) 'What had started out largely as a means of attracting the votes of rabidly anti-Chinese Australian Labor was by the mid-1890s acquiring an identity of its own - the vision of "White Australia." (p. 116). See: Huttenback R. (1973). The British Empire as a "White Man's Country"- Racial Attitudes and Immigration Legislation in the Colonies of White Settlement. *The Journal of British Studies*, 13(1), 108-137.

⁴ In her essay, "An Uneasy Conversation: The Multicultural and The Indigenous", Ann Curthoys describes the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 as, 'the basis of a nationwide White Australia policy, designed to put and end to non-European immigration forever'. Cited in: Docker, J. & Fischer, G. (Eds). (2000). *Race, Colour & Identity in Australia and New Zealand*. Sydney: University of New South Wales. p.24

⁵ National Archives of Australia. (n.d.). *Your story, our history. Wartime internment*. Retrieved from <http://www.naa.gov.au/whats-on/online/feature-exhibits/internment-camps/introduction.aspx>

⁶ Ibid

⁷ 'From 1901-1958 the White Australia Policy was enforced by means of an education test superficially designed to ensure a high level of education among immigrants, but in practice a device to exclude non-European settlers by administering a dictation test in a language the immigration officer felt sure the immigrant did not know and by granting a certificate of temporary exemption to Japanese wool-buyers, Chinese merchants, Asian students and other persons whose temporary residence was acceptable to the Australian authorities.' (p99). Price, C. (1981). Immigration Policies and Refugees in Australia. *International Migration Review*, 15(1/2), pp. 99-108. See also: Jupp, J. (1995). From 'White Australia' to 'Part of Asia': Recent Shifts in Australian Immigration Policy towards the Region. *International Migration Review*, 29 (1), 208.

⁸ Murphy, in 1952, commented that the 'Australianisation of the D.P. starts in Europe from the moment he is provisionally selected. In the resettlement camps, at sea and again in the reception camps in Australia he is taught English mixed with Australian history and social customs under a unified and specially adapted scheme which continues to be widely available to him, though no longer compulsory, wherever he may find himself later.' (188). Murphy, H.B.M. (1952). The Assimilation of Refugee Immigrants in Australia. *Population Studies*, 5(3), pp. 179-206. Jayasuriya similarly sums up the assimilationist period: 'In the first phase of migrant settlement, associated with the mass migration of the post-World War II period, hard-line assimilationist policies were the order of the day and new settlers were expected to integrate and conform to the mores, practices and cultural values of the host society. The key to this monocultural policy of Anglo-conformism was the mastery of the English language. For this purpose, pre-recruitment procedures for migrants as well as settlement policies were heavily laden with English language classes, and every effort was made to strengthen these educational

programs throughout the 1950s and 1960s.' (126). Jayasuriya, L. (1990). Language and Culture in Australian Public Policy: Some Critical Reflections. *International Migration Review*, 24(1), pp. 124-148

⁹ The, perhaps, final salvo in the battle of the "History Wars", *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, refutes, with primary evidence, many of Windschuttle's claims. James Boyce highlights Rosalie Hare's account of the arbitrary killings in Sydney town: 'We have to lament that our own countrymen consider the massacre of these people an honour. While we remained at Circular Head there were several accounts of considerable numbers of natives having been shot by them [the company's (Van Diemen's Land Company) men], they wishing to extirpate them entirely if possible. (26). Martin Krygier and Robert van Krieken discuss the psychological aspects of Indigenous treatment: 'Apart from the massacre and humiliation, what of the small matter of dispossession? It is conceivable, we concede, that that could be done without killing a flea, even with the utmost politeness, but it is hard to conceive it being done without injury to the dispossessed.' (91). Henry Reynolds observes Governor Arthur's dispatch in 1828 from Hobart: '...the quarrel of the natives with the Europeans was, "daily aggravated, by kind of injury committed against the defenceless natives, by stockkeepers and sealers, with whom it was a constant practice to open fire upon them when they approached..." (129). Lyndall Ryan describes, among others, the atrocities detailed in the "Robinson Journal": '...informed Robinson that "a stockkeeper called Paddy Heagon at the Retreat... had shot nineteen of the western natives with a swivel charged with nails.' (241). Krygier and Krieken also give a balanced account of whether the treatment of Indigenous Australians by white Australia should be considered as genocide, applying Lemkin's descriptors of "synchronised attack on different aspects of life of the captive peoples," in the realms of politics, culture, economics, biology, physical existence (starvation and killing), religion and morality'. (96). See: Manne, R. (Ed). *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*. Melbourne: Black Inc. While Krygier and Krieken take a nuanced view of the categorisation of white Australia's treatment of Indigenous Australians as genocide, a reading of the United Nations Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, it could be argued, would make one less ambivalent. Article 2, defines genocide as '...any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.' See: United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (1948). *Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. Geneva: United Nations General Assembly. Since the release of the Australian government's *Bringing Them Home* report in 1997, it is, perhaps, no longer a surprise for most Australians that indigenous children were removed from their homes for decades. See: Lavarch, M. (1997). *Bringing Them Home. National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*. Canberra, Australia: AGPS. It is, however, perhaps still a surprise that such actions constituted genocide under the terms of the UN Convention on Genocide, of which Australia was an inaugural signatory.

¹⁰ 'In response to growing pressure from many quarters, discriminatory legislation was removed in the early 1960s. Aboriginal people gained uniform voting rights in 1961 at the federal level, and many discriminatory provisions, such as the right to drink and purchase alcohol, were removed from State legislation at around the same time. A fear of being labelled racist internationally, and a new-found desire for formal racial equality, also underlay the success of the Referendum of 1967, which gave the Commonwealth government constitutional powers on Aboriginal affairs, and the passing of the Land Rights Act of 1976, which provided a framework for land claims by indigenous groups in the Northern Territory.' Curthoys, A., cited in Docker, J. & Fischer, G. (Eds.). (2000). *Race, Colour & Identity in Australia and New Zealand*. Sydney: University of New South Wales.

¹¹ '...the deep rift that existed between the Anglo- and Irish-Australian communities at the time of the World War I... [is] now virtually a forgotten part of the country's history.' (172). Smolicz, J. (1997). Australia: From Migrant Country to Multicultural Nation. *International Migration Review*, 31(1), pp. 171-

186. Kent Fedorowich, although focussed on the period 1919-1929, gives a good summary of anti-Irish sentiment in Australia, particularly as it related to immigration and the Anglo-Australian fears associated with religion, Sinn Fein, the Irish connection to socialism and the Labor Party. Fedorowich, K. (1999). Reconstruction and Resettlement: The Politicization of Irish Migration to Australia and Canada, 1919-29. *The English Historical Review*, 114(459) pp. 1143-1178

¹² 'The formulation, race=ethnicity=culture, is essential to the Japanese way of conceptualizing what makes one Japanese. As a principle, no one can become Japanese who is not so by "race," and no one can perfectly acquire Japanese culture if he/she was not born with Japanese blood.' (4). Suzuki, K. (2003). *The State and Racialization: The Case of Koreans in Japan*. San Diego, USA: University of California, San Diego. The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies.

¹³ Dixon, M. (1999). *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. (2)

¹⁴ Ibid (27)

¹⁵ Ibid (35)

¹⁶ Ibid (4)

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Ibid (5)

²¹ Ibid (8)

²² Ibid (42)

²³ In a speech entitled, "Cultural and Religious Tolerance in Australia", Senator John Faulkner outlines—as I attempt to do in this project—the continuum of racial and religious intolerance that has been evident in Australian society since white settlement. Faulkner does this despite arguing that Australia has been a singularly 'tolerant nation'. This is that site at which I am most interested: the irony of the tolerant nation with a history of intolerance. Australian Parliament. Record of Proceedings. March 1, 2006, pp.136-137. Retrieved from

http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/chamber/hansards/2006-03-01/toc_pdf/4543-3.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22Cultural%20and%20religious%20tolerance%22

²⁴ Dixon, M. (1999). *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. (56)

²⁵ Ibid (34, 35)

²⁶ Australian Parliament. (2006). Record of Proceedings (Hansard). Retrieved from

http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/chamber/hansards/2006-06-15/0076/hansard_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf.

²⁷ Australian Parliament. Record of Proceedings. September 10, 1996 p3862. Retrieved From

<http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/reps/dailys/dr100996.pdf>

²⁸ Australian Parliament. Record of Proceedings. August 21, 2002. p3499. Retrieved From

<http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/senate/dailys/ds210802.pdf>

²⁹ Dixon, M. (1999). *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. (10)

³⁰ The actress in question, Sarah-Jessica Parker, made the statement after tracing a mother's relative to the Salem witch trials of the 16th century. Parker, in addition to feeling "more American", was also "pleased" that her relative was a victim rather than an accuser. Graham, A., Carter, L., Kudrow, L., Bucatinsky., & Roos, D. (Producers), & Freedman, B. (Executive Producer. (2010, March 5). *Who Do You Think You Are?* [Television series]. New York: National Broadcasting Company.

³¹ Birrell R. (1984). A New Era in Migration Policy. *International Migration Review*, 18(1), p68

³² Ibid (67, 68)

³³ Jupp, J. (1995). From White Australia to Part of Asia": Recent Shifts in Australian Immigration Policy towards the Region. *International Migration Review*, 29(224)

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- ³⁴ Dixon, M. (1999). *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. (116)
- ³⁵ Ibid (117)
- ³⁶ Ibid (117, 118)
- ³⁷ Castles, S., Alcorso, C. Rando, G. & Vasta, E. (1992). *Australia's Italians*. North Sydney: Allen & Unwin. (3)
- ³⁸ Martin, G. (1980). Australia's History – "Australian" or "British"? *The Historical Journal*, 23(4), 1009
- ³⁹ Gare, D. (2000). Britishness in Recent Australian Historiography. *The Historical Journal*, 43(4), 1148
- ⁴⁰ Walsh J. (2008). Navigating Globalization: Immigration Policy in Canada and Australia, 1945–2007. *Sociological Forum*, 23(4), 787
- ⁴¹ Ibid (pp795-798)
- ⁴² Rutherford, J. (2000). *The Gauche Intruder: Freud, Lacan and the white Australian fantasy*. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press. (8)
- ⁴³ Birrell, R. (2005). Review: *Population and Development Review*, 31(3), 581
- ⁴⁴ Ibid (582)
- ⁴⁵ Morton, B. (n.d.). [Leaflet]. *Our commitment to you. The Liberals will do the right thing*. (640 Murray St, West Perth, 6005, Western Australia.)
- ⁴⁶ Rose, L. (n.d.). [Leaflet]. *How to Vote: Linda Rose, Family First*. (15 Bunning Blvd, Bunbury, 6230, Western Australia.)
- ⁴⁷ Jupp, J. (1995). From White Australia to Part of Asia: Recent Shifts in Australian Immigration Policy Towards the Region. *International Migration Review*, 29(1), 207
- ⁴⁸ Birrell, R., Rapson, V., Smith, T. (2005). *Immigration in a Time of Domestic Skilled Shortages*. Canberra: Department of immigration and Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs.
- ⁴⁹ Walsh, J.(2008). Navigating Globalization: Immigration Policy in Canada and Australia, 1945–2007. *Sociological Forum*, 23(4), 796
- ⁵⁰ Lee, H. (1996). *To Kill A Mockingbird*. London: The Folio Society. (41)
- ⁵¹ Rutherford, J. (2000). *The Gauche Intruder: Freud, Lacan and the White Australian Fantasy*. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press. (ix-x)
- ⁵² Ibid (10)
- ⁵³ Ibid (14)
- ⁵⁴ Ibid (15)
- ⁵⁵ Dixon, M. (1999). *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. (53)
- ⁵⁶ Ibid (43)
- ⁵⁷ See: Travers, T. H. E. (1994). Command and Leadership Styles in the British Army: The 1915 Gallipoli Model. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29(3), 403-442 for a description of Australian reporters' and "historian's" views on British leadership during the Gallipoli campaign. In the same context, it is worth noting Hoffenberg: 'ANZACs, or 'Diggers', as the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps troops came to be called, and the chroniclers of their deeds authored a mythology about the Australian war experience informed by this special relationship to and fantasy about the land. Among the most influential myth-makers were C.E.W. Bean (1879-1968), Australia's controversial and popular official war historian; John Masefield (1878-1967), the English Poet Laureate who visited Gallipoli in summer 1915 as part of a motor boat ambulance service and later toured the trenches on the Western Front.' (112) [Other authors]... 'have pointed out the troublesome relationship between the private unofficial memory of veterans and the differing public official memory of Australian society and the significant number of Anzacs who were not Australian-born and not even from the Bush, but immigrants and town-dwellers. Additionally, large numbers of soldiers from England, France, Turkey and New Zealand also died at Gallipoli.' (114). Hoffenberg, P. (2001) Landscape, Memory and the Australian War Experience, 1915-18. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 36(1), 111-131.
- ⁵⁸ Dixon, M. (1999). *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. (43)

⁵⁹ Ibid (33)

⁶⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2008-09). *Migration, Australia*. (Cat No. 3412.0). Retrieved from <http://www.abs.gov.au> (8)

⁶¹ Chadwick, N. (2005). *The Celts*. London: Folio Society. (5)

⁶² Ibid (1)

⁶³ Castles, S. (1998). *New Migrations, Ethnicity and Nationalism in Southeast and East Asia. Transnational Communities Programme seminar series*. Oxford: School of Geography, Oxford University. (13)

⁶⁴ Callan, V. (1983). Anglo-Australian Attitudes towards Migrants: A Review of Survey Evidence. *International Migration Review*, 17(1), 123-127. Also see: Murphy, H.B.M. (1952). The Assimilation of Refugee Immigrants in Australia. *Population Studies*, 5(3). 179-206. (Table on p206).

⁶⁵ 'Now the young and not-so-young people who delight in the diversity of ethnic cuisines in the city restaurants of the 1990s would not know (or would not want to remember) that a few decades earlier any such innovation in the culinary arts was regarded by Anglo-Australians with the same antagonism as was the sound of any non-English tongue in a public space.' *Jamrozik, A., Boland, C., & Urquhart, R. (1995). Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (166).

⁶⁶ During the 1980s, comedians such as Nick Giannopoulos, George Kapiniaris, George Smilovici, Mary Coustas et. al (and Mark Mitchell, who impersonated a Greek), popularised the satire of ethnic Australian cultures with movies, television series' and stage shows, including: *Wogs Out of Work*; *Acropolis Now*, *Wog Boy*, *The Comedy Company*. The term "wog" lost its venom around this time.

⁶⁷ Evans M.D.R., & Kelley J. (1991). Prejudice, Discrimination, and the Labor Market: Attainments of Immigrants in Australia. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 97(3), 721-759. (722)

⁶⁸ Hage, G. (2003). *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*. Annandale: Pluto Press. (2)

⁶⁹ Ibid (21).

⁷⁰ Ignatiev, N. (1995). *How The Irish Became White*. London: Routledge. (164)

⁷¹ Leyton, E. (1989). *Hunting Humans: The Rise of the Modern Multiple Murderer*. Ringwood: Penguin. (364)

⁷² Ibid (365)

⁷³ Often seen on bumper stickers and, infamously, tattooed on the skin of men and women during the 2005 Cronulla riots, the map of Australia with the words, "Fuck Off, We're Full", is, perhaps, the most offensive anti-immigration statement made by "Australians". It is a reminder to the author that racial vilification and discrimination remain an issue in Australian society. A copy of the picture can be found at: Treaty Republic. (n.d). *Let's not deny the evidence that Australia has a problem with racism*. Retrieved from <http://www.treatyrepublic.net/content/lets-not-deny-evidence-australia-has-problem-racism>

⁷⁴ Collins, J. (2005, November). *Ethnic Minorities and crime in Australia: Moral Panic or Meaningful Policy Responses*. Paper to a Public Seminar at Office of Multicultural Interest. Perth, Western Australia. See also: Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2010). *Measures of Australia's Progress, 2010*. (Cat No. 1370.0). Retrieved from <http://www.abs.com.au>. 'When comparing crime rates among population subgroups, it appears that there are strong links to levels of economic hardship.'

⁷⁵ 'On Sunday, muttering about "WASPs" and "Japs," he rolled in to one of the area's most popular tourist sites, unpacked automatic rifles from a tennis bag and started shooting.' (1996, Apr 30). He slept by day, prowled by night; Tasmanian massacre. *Edmonton Journal*. Retrieved from <http://0proquest.umi.com.library.ecu.edu.au/pqdweb?did=22358917&sid=2&Fmt=3&clientId=7582&RQT=309&VName=PQD>

⁷⁶ Horne, D. (2009). *The Lucky Country*. (6th Ed). Camberwell: Penguin. (59)

⁷⁷ Rutherford, J. (2000). *The Gauche Intruder: Freud, Lacan and the white Australian fantasy*. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press. (10)

- ⁷⁸ Hage, G. (2003). *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*. Annandale: Pluto Press. (5)
- ⁷⁹ Ignatiev, N. (n.d). Race Traitor. Journal of the New Abolitionism. Retrieved from <http://racetractor.org/>
- ⁸⁰ Walwicz's poem, *Australia*, evokes strong memories of the migrant voices of my youth. They are voices of frustration, disappointment and derision at the Australian way of life. The voices are, however, tinged with humour. The image Walwicz creates inhabited my mind during the writing of my novel and—both the ugliness and the humour—influenced my creation of the novel's Anglo-Celtic Australian caricatures. White, D. & Couani, A. (Eds.). (1981). *Island in the Sun*. Sydney: Sea Cruise Books. (90, 91)
- ⁸¹ Middlemiss, P. (2002). The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith: Thomas Keneally. 1972. Retrieved from <http://www.middlemiss.org/lit/authors/keneally/chant.html>
- ⁸² Horne, D. (2009). *The Lucky Country*. (6th Ed). Camberwell: Penguin. (233)
- ⁸³ Ibid (10,11,39)
- ⁸⁴ Until recently, internal migration to Chinese cities was 'tightly controlled' even though 'construction projects in urban areas have attracted many rural migrants.' Shen, J. (1998), China's Future Population and Development Challenges. *The Geographical Journal*, 164(1), 32-40. (33). It is now estimated that the 'ongoing urbanisation of china will result in 350 million Chinese moving to the cities by 2030—the equivalent of a new city of 1.25 million people every month'. United States Senate. (2009). *Broadening the Bilateral: Seizing the Opportunity for Meaningful U.S.-China Collaboration on Climate Change*. A Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Washington: US Government Printing Office. (6).
- ⁸⁵ 'Australian Treasurer, Wayne Swan, has frequently called Australia the envy of the world, because not only did the economy avoid the global recession, unemployment is half that of major economies and the budget is forecast back into surplus before anyone else. But Mr Hockey rejects the idea that this is all Labor's doing.' Economic Envy is due to us – Hockey. (2010). Retrieved from Sky News website: <http://www.skynews.com.au/politics/article.aspx?id=537367&vld=>
- ⁸⁶ In 2003, George Bush signed the "American Dream Downpayment Act, to assist Americans who could not afford their own. 'I am here today because we are taking action to bring many thousands of Americans closer to owning a home. Our government is supporting homeownership because it is good for America, it is good for our families, it is good for our economy.' Bush, G.W. (2003). President Bush Signs American Dream Downpayment Act of 2003. Retrieved from American Dream Down Payment Assistance website: <http://www.americandreamdownpaymentassistance.com/whsp12162003.cfm>
- ⁸⁷ Horne, D. (2009). *The Lucky Country*. (6th Ed). Camberwell: Penguin. (136)
- ⁸⁸ Hage, G. (2003). *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*. Annandale: Pluto Press. (x)
- ⁸⁹ Fields, B. (2001). "Origins of the New South" and the Negro Question. *The Journal of Southern History*, 67(4), 811-826. (812)
- ⁹⁰ Gutkin, I. (1994). Review of the book *Socialist Realism: The Impossible Aesthetic*. *Slavic Review*, 53(3), 856-857. (856).
- ⁹¹ McLaren, J. (1989). *Australian Literature: An Historical Introduction*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire. (141)
- ⁹² Dostoyevsky, F. (1994). *Crime And Punishment*. London: Reed International. (69)
- ⁹³ Ibid (71)
- ⁹⁴ Friedberg, M. (1983). Review of the book *Dostoyevsky and the Jews*. *Slavic Review*, 42(4), 723. (723)
- ⁹⁵ Oates, J. (1968). The Double Vision of The Brothers Karamazov. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 27(2), 203-213. (203).
- ⁹⁶ Ibid (204)
- ⁹⁷ Ibid (204)
- ⁹⁸ Johnston, G.(1965). *My Brother Jack*. Bangay: The Reprint Society. (156).
- ⁹⁹ Johnston, G. (2001). *Clean Straw for Nothing*. Sydney: HarperCollins. (330-331).
- ¹⁰⁰ Bradley, James. (1997). Bread and Sirkuses: empire and culture in Peter Carey's *The Unusual Life of Tristan Smith* and Jack Maggs. *Meanjin*. Vol. 56, No. 3 p658-663

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- ¹⁰¹ Carey, P.(1982). *Bliss*. Faber & Faber: London p7
- ¹⁰² Oates, J. (1968). The Double Vision of The Brothers Karamazov. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 27(2), (207).
- ¹⁰³ Kinnane, G. (1996). *George Johnston: A Biography*. Carlton South: Melbourne University Press. (1)
- ¹⁰⁴ McCourt, F. (1996). *Angela's Ashes: A Memoir of a Childhood*. London: Harper Collins.
- ¹⁰⁵ Beresford, Q. (2006). *Rob Riley. An Aboriginal Leader's Quest for Justice*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- ¹⁰⁶ Walsh J. (2008). Navigating Globalization: Immigration Policy in Canada and Australia, 1945–2007. *Sociological Forum*, 23(4), 786-813. (807).
- ¹⁰⁷ Price, C. (1975). Australian Immigration: 1947-73. *International Migration Review*, 9(3), 304-318. (306-309)
- ¹⁰⁸ Walsh J. (2008). Navigating Globalization: Immigration Policy in Canada and Australia, 1945–2007. *Sociological Forum*, 23(4), 786-813.
- ¹⁰⁹ Walsh J. (2008). Navigating Globalization: Immigration Policy in Canada and Australia, 1945–2007. *Sociological Forum*, 23(4), 786-813. (792)
- ¹¹⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2008-09). *Migration, Australia*. (Cat No. 3412.0). Retrieved from <http://www.abs.gov.au>. (32).
- ¹¹¹ Dixson, M. (1999). *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity—1788 to the Present*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. (168).
- ¹¹² Callan, V. (1983). Anglo-Australian Attitudes towards Migrants: A Review of Survey Evidence. *International Migration Review*, 17(1), 123-127. (121).
- ¹¹³ Manne, R. (2003). *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*. Melbourne: Black Inc. (12)
- ¹¹⁴ Gare, D. (2000). Britishness in Recent Australian Historiography. *The Historical Journal*, 43(4), 1145-1155. (1155)
- ¹¹⁵ Kenneth Clark, late Professor of Psychology, conducted experiments in the 1950s and 1960s as part of his research on the effects of racial prejudice on children. In one famous experiment, Clark asked black boys and girls to choose from a selection of black and white dolls, the “prettiest” and “ugliest” dolls. The black children overwhelmingly chose the preferred the white dolls over the black. Clark noted the research of Eugene Horowitz ‘concerning race attitudes in children indicate that prejudices are not inborn, and that further studies by experts reveal the awareness of skin color, racial identity and racial preference as being acquired within the social milieu of the home, school and community. Likewise, children are taught to hate and fear others different from themselves through expressions of hostility exhibited by adults in their social contacts from day to day’. (88). Johnson, M. (1956). That Children May Be Free. Review of the book *Prejudice and Your Child*. *Phylon*, 17(1), 88-89. See also (on art's positive influence on black American children's self-perception): Pear, E. (1969). Color Me Black. *Art Education*, 22(4), 6-9. In addition, Clark's experiment was re-tested a few years ago, with similar results. Davis, K. (n.d). Black Doll White doll. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybDa0gSuAcg&feature=related>
- ¹¹⁶ Creative Spirits. (n.d.). *Aboriginal Languages*. Retrieved from <http://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/language/>

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