CULTURAL INTERACTION IN THE EXPERIENCE OF SOME 'MAINSTREAM' AUSTRALIAN GRADUATES OF ANGLO-CELTIC CULTURAL BACKGROUND:

A Humanistic Sociological Study

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES & FIGURES

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ABSTRACT

A review of Australian research in the area of multiculturalism and educational policy over the last thirty years indicated that a number of questionnaire surveys had studied the attitudes of mainstream Australians of Anglo-Celtic cultural background to the presence of minority ethnic groups in their midst (Richardson and Taft, 1968; Harris and Smolicz, 1976; Smolicz and Secombe, 1983; Kee, 1988; Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1989b). There appeared, however, to have been no research into the process of cultural interaction, understood as the crossing of cultural boundaries in order to participate in the life of another ethnic group, and its relation to education. Smolicz (1979 : 106-7) argued from a humanistic sociological perspective that cultural interaction was essentially a two-way process, which depended upon the attitudes and actions not only of members of minority ethnic groups, but also of individuals belonging to the mainstream majority group.

The aim of this study was to carry out a small-scale qualitative investigation of the experience of cultural interaction from the perspective of members of the mainstream group. Memoir methodology (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927; Znaniecki, 1968; 1982; Smolicz, 1974a; 1979) was adopted as the means of gaining an in-depth understanding of individual respondents' experience of cultural interaction and their attitudes towards cultural pluralism. This method involved the collection and analysis of forty three memoirs or

personal statements written by mainstream Australians (respondents of English speaking background, who were born in Australia, of Australian-born parents and could be regarded as being of Anglo-Celtic cultural background). All the memoir authors were graduate students of education who chose to write about their thoughts, feelings and experiences of cultural interaction, particularly in the contexts of the home and the school. The memoirs were analysed in relation to two questions, relating to the writers' experience of cultural interaction and their attitudes to cultural pluralism, which were derived from Smolicz's conditions for cultural interaction.

A number of the memoirs analysed gave evidence of their writers' changing attitudes to other cultures, as well as generational changes in attitude to cultural diversity in Australia. The respondents' actual experiences of cultural interaction could be seen to fall into a number of categories. Just under a third reported little if any opportunity to participate in the life of a minority ethnic group. Another third had experienced interaction at the social level in contexts where mainstream values prevailed. A little over a third gave evidence of actual participation in the cultural life of a minority ethnic group, with only a few of these experiences being the direct result of educational initiatives. The attitudes to cultural pluralism revealed by the memoir writers could be classified into five categories. Those who were strongly negative to pluralism and indicated their preference for Australia as a culturally homogenous society, together with those who were described as 'negative by default' and those who were uncertain about the advantages of cultural pluralism, made up a little less than one third of the respondents. A quarter could be said to be generally positive in attitude to cultural pluralism, while over two fifths were personally positive to the benefits of involvement in another culture.

The writers were classified into three types, based on the two factors of the extent of their participation in the culture of another group and the nature of their attitudes to cultural pluralism: Satisfied Monoculturals; Supporters of Pluralism; and Positive Interactors. The proportion of these types found among the respondents in this study could not be taken as representative of the Australian population at large, or any particular section of it. However, the identification of even a comparatively small number of mainstream individuals who, as Positive Interactors, had been able to act as bridges between mainstream and minority ethnic cultures, was considered to be important for the future of multiculturalism in Australia.

For

the Family

who made me

what I am

and the Supervisor

without whom

there would have been no thesis.

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I would like to thank

DECLARATION

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis being available for loan and photocopying.

Margaret J Secombe
July, 1997

CHAPTER ONE[1]

MULTICULTURAL RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN AUSTRALIA 1965 - 1995.

The Rise of Multiculturalism in Australia

Multiculturalism, both as a concept and a policy to be implemented, has emerged as an issue in Australian education only over the past thirty years. In the space of just over a quarter of a century Australian society moved from a situation where the very term 'multiculturalism' was virtually unknown, to one where a Liberal Prime Minister could declare,

> *Multiculturalism is about diversity, not division - it is about interaction not isolation. It is about cultural and ethnic differences set within a framework of shared fundamental values which enables them to co-exist on a complementary rather than competitive basis* (Fraser, 1981).

A subsequent Labour Prime Minister also showed his support for multiculturalism, when he stated that while the

> *policy of multiculturalism recognizes the socially enriching value of diversity, it also insists that all Australians, of whatever origin, accept the overarching principles and institutions which make us one single nation* (Hawke, 1988).

The massive inflow of migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds to Australia following the Second World War led to a profound demographic restructuring of Australian society. The acceptance of multiculturalism, as a positive response to these changes, was formalised by the adoption of policies advocated in the Galbally Report (Committee of Review of Migrant

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1   Some parts of this chapter were originally prepared for inclusion in Keeves (1987).

Services and Programs, 1978). Since then successive Australian governments have re-affirmed their commitment to what has come to be regarded as a bipartisan policy. This approach represented a new and radical departure from the time when the country was perceived as a nation-state of people of essentially Anglo-Celtic background, with others marginalized as Aboriginals, migrants or New Australians (Smolicz, 1995b).

The meaning of the term 'multiculturalism', however, has never been fully clarified, since throughout the period under review it continued to be interpreted in a number of different ways. Some people regarded it primarily in transitional terms, believing that minority cultures would fade away with the deaths of the first generation of non-British migrants. Still others looked upon multiculturalism as a residual phenomenon, with Australia retaining the essentially Anglo-Celtic cultural heritage of the mainstream group, but accepting minor cultural modifications on the periphery. In contrast, those concerned to preserve minority ethnic cultures advocated a multiculturalism that was both stable and dynamic (Smolicz, 1981b; 1984a). This approach recognized the dominant contribution of Anglo-Celtic culture to the framework of values that was acceptable to most Australians, but envisaged the possibility of retaining central aspects of minority cultures, especially their languages, in addition to English as the shared tongue of all Australians.

It is necessary therefore to clarify how 'multiculturalism' and other key concepts have been used in this study. The term 'multiculturalism' has been used in the sense advocated by Smolicz (1981b; 1984a) to refer to a situation where society is made up of a number of different ethnic cultural groups who live together and interact with one another in a stable but dynamic form of pluralism. The groupings which make up the plural

society of Australia have normally been referred to as the **mainstream** and **minority ethnic** groups.

The label 'mainstream' has been used in relation to what has been variously called the majority, the founding, the ruling or the dominant group. Although this group is not ancestrally homogenous, most come from British or Irish backgrounds, with an admixture of people from German, Jewish and other backgrounds who have culturally and linguistically assimilated to it. The culture of this mainstream group can be seen to have been derived from the Anglo and Celtic heritages brought to Australia by immigrants from the British Isles in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Modified by two hundred years of living in this unique continent, it may now be regarded as the language and culture of the Anglo-Celtic-Australian group. Individuals from other ancestries who have become integrated into the Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural world have been included in this grouping in order to make culture the main focus of differentiation between the mainstream and minority groups. Although it is acknowledged that people from the mainstream group exercise the dominant role in the overall development of Australia, the term 'dominant group' has been used only when the element of power is intended to be emphasized.

The other cultural groups in Australian society have been referred to as **minority ethnic groups**. This usage recognises that all Australians belong to one or more ethnic groups and helps to stress the ethnic cultural, rather than the power dimension of the Australian context. The distinction between mainstream and minority also reflects in part the difference in their numerical size, which in the Australian context cannot be gainsaid. According to Price's (1988) calculations of ethnic origin, the mainstream

group makes up approximately three quarters of the Australian population; however, he lists over sixty other ethnic groups, the largest of which constitute less than 4% of the total.

It should also be noted that this investigation deals exclusively with migrant minority groups in Australia and not with the Aboriginal groups. Although from a theoretical perspective the diversity of Aboriginal cultures may be analysed according to the humanistic model of cultural interaction developed in chapter 2, the status of Aboriginal peoples in Australia, as the indigenous inhabitants of the continent, requires a consideration of other factors which have not been dealt with in this study.

Reviewing Research and Educational Policy in Multiculturalism

This chapter sets out to review what has been achieved in terms of research and educational policy in relation to multiculturalism over the past thirty years. A comparison of educational research and policy in 1995 with what existed in 1965 points to how much has been achieved in this regard. In 1965 research related to multiculturalism was almost non-existent. All that was available was a handful of published studies, which dealt with particular immigrant groups, the main ones being by Taft (1953; 1965), Borrie (1954), Price (1963) and Zubrzycki (1964). Apart from articles and reports written by teachers or administrators on the adjustment of migrant children and the problems they faced in acquiring English, the bibliography compiled by Willcock (Price and Martin, 1975) listed only one academic paper written before 1965 on the issue of cultural and linguistic pluralism in relation to education (Clyne, 1964). By 1995, however, the amount of research in this area had become so large that one brief chapter could not deal adequately with all the important contributions made to it by authors from the various social science fields that have a bearing on education.

In 1965 the situation in regard to multiculturalism in education was much the same as in the area of research. There were no educational policies which recognised the existence of children from minority ethnic backgrounds in Australian schools. A state Director of Education from this period explained, '... we deliberately refrain from collecting any statistics in regard to school pupils from overseas. Once they are enrolled in school they are, from our point of view, Australian children' (quoted in Harris, 1979 : 34). Such assumptions ensured that no special programmes or provisions were made for children of non-English parentage (Martin, 1978).

In contrast, by 1995 multiculturalism had become well established in educational policies. Cultural and linguistic differences among the student population of Australian schools were being recognized not only in the development of new course materials for the whole range of subjects in the school curriculum, but also in the adoption of teaching methodologies appropriate to such diversity. Over thirty Australian community languages were available as year 12 subjects acceptable for entrance to university studies. Policies to make the learning of a language other than English an integral part of the school curriculum for all primary and secondary students were being implemented in a number of states. Even the universities and the TAFE sector, which were among the last educational structures to officially respond to the issue of multiculturalism, were beginning to take account of their students' cultural and linguistic differences in their teaching, curriculum, management and support services.

The sections that follow seek to review the research and scholarly writings of academics involved in the study of population, migration, assimilation,

integration, ethnic stratification and cultural and linguistic pluralism in so far as these applied to the education of Australian students. The research that was carried out in this area over the period 1965-1995 was characterized by a variety of themes, methodological procedures and ideological orientations, which need to be taken into account in evaluating each piece of research. However, as far as possible, the perspective adopted in this analysis has been that of the researchers themselves, since many of those represented here responded to a request for personal comments and evaluations of their work. Quotations of personal statements received in this way have been acknowledged by the reference 'personal communication.' This essentially humanistic sociological approach (Znaniecki, 1968; Smolicz, 1974; 1979), which is explained further in the second and third chapters, has been supplemented by an attempt to make some judgement of the extent to which the research discussed had an impact on education policy concerning multiculturalism. The review has not set out to be comprehensive in scope. Instead, the reader's attention has been directed to those works which have been judged to be central to the researcher's achievement in the multicultural field, or of significance for the development of educational policy.

An overview of the whole period suggests that there have been four main lines of policy development in the area of multiculturalism:

- the provision of programmes in English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) (from the early seventies);
- the introduction of multicultural education programmes (from the mid seventies);
- the extension of provisions for learning Australian community languages other than English (from the mid seventies);

- the development of multicultural approaches in the tertiary education sector (from the late eighties).

After an initial section which deals with studies of general significance to the field, the discussion of multicultural research and educational policy which follows has been organised under these headings.

Studies of General Significance

Price, as a demographer, played a major role in developing awareness of ethnic diversity in Australia. From the fifties onwards, his studies on the composition of the Australian population by ethnic origin, birthplace and ancestry provided the factual basis used by successive government reports and committees to recommend new policies and approaches in response to the arrival of different minority groups, and in predicting future trends (eg. Commonwealth Schools Commission Committee on Multicultural Education, 1979; Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1980; Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs, 1982; South Australian Ministerial Task Force on Multiculturalism and Education, 1984; Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, 1984). The continuity of his research in this area over a long period proved of undoubted value in providing education policy makers with solid basis of data for action (Price, 1983). His editorship of books (Price, 1975; 1991) and demographic digests involved the continual updating of census and survey data, and the refining and improving of analysis techniques (Price, 1970; 1979; 1981; 1991). In this way Price introduced a demographic dimension to the discussion of educational problems that Australia faced with the increasing range of diversity of ancestry, identification and culture among its student population.

Taft was also one of the few researchers whose work spanned most of the period from 1965. His early investigations into immigrant assimilation in Western Australia (1953, 1965) led to the development of the concept of monism, interactionism and pluralism which provided a framework for studying the adaptation of immigrants adopted by a number of succeeding researchers. His later work (1975), more specifically in the field of education, involved a number of pioneering surveys on the career aspirations of immigrant children, which revealed the high level of aspirations to be found among students from non-English speaking backgrounds. Subsequently he undertook a comparative study of the initial adjustment to Australian schools made by newly arrived children from South American, Maltese and British families (Taft 1979; Taft and Cahill, 1978; 1980). Taft's contribution can also be seen in the succession of research students who worked with him and then went on to their own investigations (Taft and Johnston 1967; Johnston, 1972; Putnins, 1981; Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984; Cahill, 1986).

Appleyard was another scholar who exerted an influence on our understanding of the large influx of migrants in the post-war years and the way the presence of their children affected the Australian educational system. The focus of his research was on the socio-cultural adaptation of British and Greek immigrants. His longitudinal study of Greek migrants had specific implications for the education of their children in Australia (Appleyard & Amera, 1978). He was also involved in a number of government consultations and committees on immigration and education (Appleyard, 1974).

The influence of Zubrzycki as a social scientist can be traced in policy developments over the three decades. He himself considered that his major

contribution to multiculturalism and education in Australia was in terms of his role as 'author or co-author of several government reports which laid the foundation for a coherent philosophy of multiculturalism and its implementation' (personal communication). At the Australian Citizenship Convention in 1968 he gave a keynote address, in which he argued that education had an important part to play in preventing structural segregation and ethnic stratification through the provision not only of special programmes in English and opportunities for occupational mobility, but also of opportunities to maintain their ethnic languages. At the same time he claimed that by neglecting ethnic languages Australia was 'not utilizing fully the talent and resources that we have introduced through migration' Zubrzycki (1968 : 28). In succeeding years Zubrzycki served as chairman or member of a number of government committees and task forces, including the Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1975) and the Ethnic Affairs Policy Task Force which produced a Ministerial Report for the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (1982). Zubrzycki was also involved with Sussex in editing a series of research papers on Polish people and culture in Australia, which included sections on the education of Polish-Australian youth (Zubrzycki & Sussex, 1986).

Jean Martin was one of the earliest exponents in Australia of the use of qualitative research methods for the study of the migration experience. Her two early books (Martin, 1965; 1972a) used in-depth interviews with and extensive participant observation of groups of refugee settlers. These were followed in 1978 by *The Migrant Presence* which included the first review of the response of Australian education systems to the influx of migrant children over the period 1945 to 1975. Her analysis of the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) and the pioneering moves toward

multicultural education policies was based largely on official reports of the period and research studies in the area (Price and Martin, 1975). Her early studies of the structural pluralism evident in migrant groups and associations led to a concern that migrants should be accorded equality of opportunity in Australian society, particularly in relation to education (Martin, 1972a). This concern was also reflected in her Meredith Memorial Lecture (1972b); her contribution to the Fink Memorial Symposium at Melbourne University (1976); and in the large scale comparative study of the educational experiences of Sydney High school students which she launched with Meade in 1974.

The longitudinal survey of over 3000 year 9 students from 16 Sydney high schools, undertaken by Martin and Meade (1979) and subsequently completed by Meade (1981, 1983b), must rank as one of the most ambitious studies carried out in relation to multiculturalism and education. The sample distinguished between students of English and non-English speaking background, both overseas and Australian-born. The study followed the students up to the time when they left school. It gathered a wide range of data on respondents' personal and family history and school achievement, as well as their aspirations, experiences and attitudes to school. In addition, almost 700 of the students' parents were interviewed, and teacher questionnaires were completed by over 600 members of staff in these schools. The most important finding of the reports was that in proportion to their numbers in the population overall, more students from non-English speaking backgrounds stayed on at school to complete year 12 and to qualify for university entrance than did their counterparts of English-speaking parentage. Meade (1984) later completed a parallel study in a number of Brisbane secondary schools and obtained results which he claimed were 'uncannily' like those of the original inquiry (personal

communication). These results were important in challenging the view of minority ethnic-Australian children as inevitably being educationally disadvantaged, a view which had prevailed since the findings of the early seventies on the low achievement levels of migrant children (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1975; de Lemos, 1975). In this sense Meade's findings were in line with the earlier researches of Taft (1975) on the career aspirations of migrant children. Subsequent studies of young people from particular minority ethnic backgrounds - Inglis (1992) on Turkish students in Sydney and Stevens (1990) on young Cambodians in Adelaide - provided further confirmation of Meade's work.

Marjoribanks' contribution to studies on multiculturalism and education was based on large scale empirical investigations and sophisticated multivariate statistical analyses on the assumption that 'such an orientation would permit general propositions to be generated that could be tested by other investigators' (Marjoribanks 1980a : 138). In his extensive survey in this area, Marjoribanks (1978, 1979, 1980a) investigated some of the factors related to inequalities in children's learning at school by analysing the relationship between measures of family learning environments, students' academic performances and their attitudes to school. Over 800 eleven year old school children drawn from six different ethnic background groupings were involved. The research design was notable both for the development of an interview schedule to measure family orientation to academic achievement, and for the use of ethclass groupings which took account of the family's ethnic minority background and its social status in educational and occupational terms. Regression surface analysis was used to analyse these scores; the results supported the proposition that families from the various ethclasses created for their children different learning environments which were related to ethclass variations in children's

academic achievement. These statistical analyses provided important evidence for the existence of ethnic cultural differences in family life and cognitive development in Australia and other pluralistic societies. However, Marjoribanks concluded that these differences were not so great that a comparatively small restructuring of school learning environments could not redress the inequality in students' performances. In later surveys, he used a similar analysis procedure to highlight the nature of ethnic group differences in abilities and attitudes (Marjoribanks, 1984; Marjoribanks, Secombe and Smolicz, 1985).

Marjoribanks' results were used in the preparation of the multicultural programme called the 'Ten Schools Project' in South Australia, a pioneering venture in introducing multiculturalism into primary schools (Rudzinski, 1984). According to Bull and Tons (1985 : 18), as a consequence of Marjoribanks' research, the schools concerned 'embarked on an intensive staff development programme' which led to 'significant curriculum modifications', the teaching of community languages, an increase in parental involvement and 'attitudinal change in staff, parents and students'.

The research of Goodnow (eg. 1986) and her associates into ethnic family differences was based on research methodology which sought to investigate both how family members interacted with one another and affected one another's perceptions, and the extent to which different generations shared the same ideas and expectations about family life. Such studies highlighted cultural differences in child-rearing and parental expectations of childhood patterns of development (Goodnow and Burns, 1979; Goodnow and Cashmore, 1986), as well as exploring the implications of this for education.

Smolicz's (1971) early work took up the issue of whether the Australian school was acting as an 'assimilationist agency'. Subsequently the research of Smolicz (1979, 1981a, 1984a, 1984b) focussed upon a theoretical analysis of the ways in which ethnic groups might co-exist in an ethnically plural society, when one of these groups was dominant in terms of numbers, as well as political, economic, linguistic and educational resources. He argued that a plural society could be stable and coherent if the mainstream and minority ethnic groups shared a constellation of values overarching the linguistic, religious or family traditions which were recognised as central to the various minority ethnic cultures. The result would be a society that was neither static nor coercive, but flexible and resilient, encouraging bilingualism and cultural interaction among the various ethnic groups. Smolicz's supposedly 'culturalist' approach did not neglect the importance of structural changes or of social interaction but rather subsumed them within a wider definition of culture (Smolicz, 1979; 1983a).

The influence of Smolicz's conceptualisation of multiculturalism as a balance between shared overarching values and minority core values can be traced by reference to subsequent policy statements, including the views on multiculturalism expressed by the former Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser (1981), quoted at the beginning of this chapter, as well by his Minister for Immigration Ethnic Affairs, Ian MacPhee (1981); the Fitzgerald Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policy (1988); the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet's Office of Multicultural Affairs' (1989). Further evidence of this influence on educational policy becomes apparent on examination of such reports as those of Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Schools (1976); the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1980), Commonwealth Schools Commission Committee on Multicultural Education (1979); the South Australian

Ministerial Task Force to Investigate Multiculturalism in Education (1984); the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs (1988); and the South Australian Department of Education and Children's Services multicultural policy statement (1995). Smolicz's concepts and investigations into linguistic and cultural maintenance among a variety of ethnic groups are considered in more detail in chapter 2.

Crittenden (1982) also dealt with theoretical issues of multiculturalism and education. He interpreted cultural pluralism in Australia to include 'ways of life linked with ethnicity but extended to a broader range of diversity'. His book investigated the legitimation of cultural pluralism and the 'social philosophical issues of freedom and authority as they affect education in a polyethnic society' (personal communication). The important philosophical point which emerged from Crittenden's work was that in a pluralistic society it was imperative to safeguard social cohesion by developing the shared values upon which the tolerance of such pluralism depended. In the school context this approach required 'a common core curriculum of Australian studies', supplemented by a series of options based upon students' personal or cultural interests - a view that was also expressed by Musgrave (1971).

Claydon (1975) too, adopted a view of multiculturalism which sought to make a distinction between matters of ethnicity and other forms of plurality, which were evident even in societies that were ethnically homogeneous. His research was focused on those cultural differences associated with inequity and disadvantage and the implications of these for the curriculum of the urban school. In consequence, Claydon's concern was that the teaching of minority languages should not be allowed to dominate multicultural education and lead to the school curriculum neglecting other

aspects of cultural diversity in Australian society. Claydon's book with Knight and Rado (1977), which considered the curriculum response to both linguistic and other cultural diversity, was used as a resource in a number of teacher preparation courses over subsequent years.

The initial contribution of Bullivant (1973) to the study of multicultural education was notable for anthropological insights into the study of curriculum, classroom practice and school organization. His book *The Way of Tradition : Life in an Orthodox Jewish School* (1978) provided valuable insights into the cultural transmission of a minority group which at the same time wished to adapt itself to the life of mainstream society. Subsequently, Bullivant's work showed his 'disenchantment' with multicultural theory and practice as it was being implemented in Australia. He revealed a growing interest in 'a much more ideational view (of culture) stressing societal survival' and in the 'cultural reproduction framework' of Bourdieu and Young (personal communication). This was followed by a study of problems related to pluralism in other countries, including a survey of teacher education in pluralist societies (Bullivant 1981a, 1981b). In this work he attempted to show how 'the dominant ethnic group in a poly-ethnic society uses pluralist education and the curriculum to reproduce its own control over the life chances of children from ethnic-cultural minorities' and acknowledged his critical attitude to 'all kinds of pluralist education and especially multicultural education in Australia and overseas' (personal communication).

Bullivant's later book (1984) moved away from neo-Marxist inspired 'earlier theories of ethnic hegemony' towards 'a neo-Weberian model ... and a developing interest in historical perspectives on curriculum development and education in pluralist societies'. He adopted a multifaceted model of

pluralism designed to allow for ethnic, cultural, class, gender and racial 'diacritica' being adopted in varying combinations as boundary markers by minorities, as well as the dominant group, 'in processes of inclusion, exclusion, and usurpation in attempts to maximize control over shares of socio-economic resources and rewards' (personal communication). These ideas formed part of a submission to the 1983 Committee of Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs which, together with one to the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council in 1980, appeared to him 'to have influenced developments in Australia'. Bullivant perceived 'little hope for multicultural education surviving in its present tokenistic form; the emphasis on teaching languages could be politically motivated and due to strong vested interests ... [while] the Schools Commission's emphasis on TESL is actually a form of assimilation. Where this leaves equipping ethnic children with the skills and knowledge to survive and gain adequate life chances in Australian society is quite problematical' (personal communication).

Poole was another researcher who investigated the abilities, aspirations and achievements of children of minority ethnic groups, in the context of examining their equality of opportunity and life chances (Evans and Poole, 1975; Poole 1981a). Her contribution also included a review of research that had been done in the equality area (Poole 1981b; 1984). She considered that her main contribution was editing and disseminating to a wider audience the most recent research on the issues related to multiculturalism and education. The book *Mosaic or Melting Pot* (de Lacey and Poole, 1979), for example, 'was unique and provided the basis for thinking in relation to initial teacher education; it was the only source book of its kind available' (personal communication). Another useful review of current research was Sturman's (1985) discussion paper which scrutinized research on the issues

of participation and equity not only in immigrant children's experiences of schooling, but also in their transition to work. There is little doubt that such books proved of great value in the professional education of teachers who would otherwise be deprived of ready access to original literature, such as the article by Isaacs (1979) on the experiences of a child of Greek background at school.

Jakubowicz (1979) played 'a useful role in triggering what has become known as the ethnicity class debate, that is an explanation of social behaviour which does not depend on the utilization of ethnicity as a tool of analysis'. In particular, he was concerned to explore 'class conflict and class relations within ethnic collectivities, with particular emphasis on the development of consciousness and action' (personal communication). In a later paper Jakubowicz's (1984) surveyed the literature on ethnicity and class in education in terms of a range of concepts such as 'cultural relations', 'social groups', 'access to education', 'control of resources', 'power relationships', 'accumulation of wealth', and 'conflict between cultural collectivities'. He concluded that Australian history had reflected 'the rule of a cultural minority - a ruling class that was predominantly Anglo-centric and male'.

Jayasuriya (1977; 1984; 1985; 1988) was another researcher who expressed doubts about 'culturalist' models of ethnicity with their stress on cultural and linguistic themes. He opted, instead, for an 'instrumental' model which was said to be 'concerned with the more material aspects of living - in particular, the need for economic, social and political power on the part of ethnic group members'. His model viewed ethnic groups as minority groups 'which are singled out for differential and pejorative treatment by the majority - the dominant group - on the grounds of their ethnicity'.

From this perspective, minorities appeared as 'stigmatized, oppressed, and discriminated against' so that their identity as ethnic groups was grounded in their perception of being objects of 'collective discrimination' (personal communication). The argument here could be seen to centre on whether it was possible to assume that the economic and cultural hierarchies in society were invariably one and the same; or whether the two could be viewed as frequently overlapping, but nonetheless distinct, so that individuals could achieve economic success (say, in business) but still be denied linguistic and cultural rights (say, at school or university).

Other social scientists who sought to extend the definition of multiculturalism 'beyond' the issues of ethnic languages and cultures were Foster and Stockley. In their joint book, they undertook an analysis 'of the role of state vis-a-vis multiculturalism and of the relationship between class issues and multiculturalism' (Foster and Stockley, 1984 : 3). They argued that 'the concept itself has been washed out of its dangerous elements and reduced to a study of cultural phenomena and English language difficulties' (Foster and Stockley, 1984 : 2).

Foster and Stockley's ideological stance prompted them to develop a conceptual framework, based on 'a sociology of knowledge perspective' and 'a critique of systems management thinking', which they then used in an analysis of government reports, parliamentary debates and interviews with 'knowledge-makers' ie. leaders in government and community life. Their investigations led them to conclude that social control in Australia was being maintained 'through management of knowledge on multiculturalism and through the deliberate legitimation of a concept drained of the potential for social change'. By exposing the contradictions inherent in the concept, the authors aimed to move policy 'beyond

multiculturalism' by 'providing ways of combining considerations of class and ethnicity' (Foster and Stockley, 1984 : 1-2).

There is, of course, the danger of dismissing 'cultural phenomena' as unimportant, through the assumption that the researcher's own culture provided the only legitimate source for all possible variables, whether those of social class, language or religion. These 'cultural' aspects of multiculturalism, in line with the meaning of the term itself, were in fact singled out as crucial by ethnic minority groups themselves. With the help of social scientists within their membership, they evolved a model of multiculturalism that was firmly grounded in their own cultures, but also set in an Australian context in such a way that their cultural maintenance and development could not be used as a reason for disadvantaging the minorities in the social and occupational fields (Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia, 1982, 1985a, 1985b).

Research such as that of Foster and Stockley, Jakubowicz and Jayasuriya, which pointed to the disadvantages suffered by students of minority ethnic background in Australian schools, could be seen to have promoted government and educational authorities in the mid eighties to propose the policy of mainstreaming as a counter-measure. The intention of mainstreaming was to ensure that all members of the Australian community could participate in the decision making processes of society and enjoy fair and equitable treatment (see Committee of Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1983). Officially the policy stated that people of minority ethnic background and those with experience, expertise and commitment to multiculturalism and ethnic minority rights would in fact be enabled and encouraged to participate in the mainstream structures of society.

Ethnic communities, however, expressed the fear that the adoption of this policy could, in practice, represent a more subtle return to assimilation. They recognised that it could enable those who held power in mainstream structures and organizations to retain or re-assume control of multicultural affairs and decide such matters as distribution of funds and government policies in relation to the needs of minority ethnic communities (Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia, (FECCA), 1985a). The proposal that Commonwealth funding for multicultural education projects be given direct to mainstream education bodies rather than to specifically constituted multicultural education committees in each state was an example of such a move (Review Committee on Quality of Education in Australia, 1985). According to FECCA (1985a : 23) unless such a policy involved 'the sharing of "mainstream power"', it could only 'result in the further marginalization of minority ethnic communities'.

Studies Related to ESL Programmes

Although the Child Migrant Education Program (CMEP) was the first educational policy to recognise the reality of cultural and linguistic diversity in Australian schools, the area of teaching English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) for a long time attracted comparatively little academic research. A number of surveys in the early seventies investigated the extent to which children of non-English speaking background differed from their peers of English-speaking origin in terms of competence in English and the consequent effects of such differences on intellectual development and school achievement. The Commonwealth Department of Education (1975) survey of Sydney and Melbourne schools with a high migrant density showed that students 'suffering learning difficulties through an English language disability' were more numerous than expected and in many cases

did not have the opportunity to attend special English classes (Price and Martin, 1975 : 42-3).

de Lemos, in her work at the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER), was involved in several projects that aimed to provide an objective data base on the education of immigrant children, particularly in relation to their command of English. In her view, such facts were necessary 'in order to determine the nature and extent of the problem and to develop appropriate policies and programs to overcome the problem' (personal communication). de Lemos (1975) investigated the performance of primary school children at Grade 2, 4 and 6 levels, not only on a number of measures of school achievement, but also in tests of general language and conceptual development and non-verbal reasoning ability. The statistical analysis of results showed significant differences in the performance of children from English speaking backgrounds as compared to those of non-English speaking origin, although these were linked to a number of other factors, such as socio-economic status, geographic location and educational level of parents.

Evans and Poole's (1975) study also showed that in verbally oriented I.Q. tests students of non-English speaking background had lower scores than native English-speakers. On non-verbal tests, however, there appeared to be little difference in performance between the two groups. The appearance of these studies about the same time as the inquiries conducted by the Commonwealth Department of Education provided further proof of the need for ESL programmes and undoubtedly helped to strengthen the maintenance and growth of the Child Migrant Education Program in succeeding years.

Another related area investigated by de Lemos (1972) was the extent to which children from non-English speaking backgrounds participated in preschool education. This was followed by a longitudinal study comparing the readiness for school, and achievement at school, of children from English-speaking and non-English-speaking backgrounds, in areas of both high and low socio-economic standing (de Lemos and Larsen, 1979). de Lemos considered that this research drew attention to inequalities 'in the provision of pre-school education for children from different cultural and language backgrounds, and led to a greater interest and more research in this field' (personal communication).

One of the most innovative, and at the same time, most practical research done in relation to English as a Second Language was the achievement of Ingram (1979b) and his associates in the development of Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR), designed initially for use in the Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP). It aimed to provide an overview of the stages in developing proficiency in a second language, which could be used as the framework for planning English courses for immigrants. This schedule for second language proficiency ratings was defined in terms of specific language skills and assessed by four sub-scales, one for each language macroskill, namely, Speaking (S), Listening (L), Writing (W), and Reading (R). Each sub-scale described language performance by the learner at nine points within the range. There were only two absolute points on the ASLPR scale, namely, the bottom (inability to communicate) and the top (native-like proficiency). Learners were rated on the ASLPR scale as their language behaviour was matched with the definitions that best described their behaviour. The ASLPR scale proved to have application beyond ESL programmes for adult migrants. A similar approach was also used in later initiatives to establish language proficiency

and assessment levels for other languages being taught at secondary, tertiary and further education levels.

One extensive piece of research carried out in regard to English language teaching was that commissioned by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1983-5) for its *Studies on Adult Migrant Education*. The series comprised a dozen volumes, as well as an overview study (Gardini and Secombe, 1986). One of the most useful volumes dealt with the principles and methodology of teaching English to adult migrants (Mills, 1984). Another important volume was that provided by Ingram (1984) on the validation of ASLPR levels. Two other specialist studies were carried out to determine the extent to which lack of child care provision or physical handicaps were barriers to participation in English language classes. In addition, eight community-based studies investigated the English language learning needs of immigrants in urban and rural centres throughout the country, and evaluated the effectiveness of existing Adult Migrant Education courses in meeting these needs (eg. Coppell, Baumgart and Tenezakis, 1984; Manton, McKay and Clyne, 1983). All made use of Ingram's (1984) ASLPR scales to measure their respondents' performances in English as part of their interview schedules. The results from each centre strongly reinforced one another in highlighting the respondents' low levels of English proficiency, especially in reading and writing skills; in providing evidence of the strong desire of most respondents to become more competent in English; and in demonstrating the failure of many Adult Migrant Education classes to meet the particular requirements and learning preferences of their students. These research findings had a direct influence on subsequent organization and teaching approaches adopted by AMEP.

One of the researchers involved in the Adult Migrant Education series was King, whose work with Palser (1984) on immigrants in the inner city area of Sydney was concerned particularly with the issues of equity and participation. They also analysed the extent to which 'ethnic shielding', or the availability of community help and support in an immigrant's language, minimized the need to use English. King and Sinclair (1984) later investigated these issues further with a report prepared for the NSW Education Commission on the provisions for slow learners of Greek and non-Greek background in inner city high schools, and a related evaluation of Participation and Equity Programmes (PEP) being offered. In King's judgement the danger of many so-called 'multicultural' programmes was that they resulted in cultural differences being made 'synonymous with disadvantage or discrimination' (personal communication).

Spearitt and Colman's (1983) evaluation of the schooling arrangements and English language programmes developed for Indo-Chinese refugee children was an example of research specifically commissioned by the Commonwealth Department of Education, with the aim of assessing the effectiveness of existing programmes and suggesting improvements for the future. Goodnow (1985) also investigated English language learning among adult Vietnamese refugees. She found some relation between the linguistic-cultural variations among the Vietnamese group and their interest in learning English, in particular, the level of proficiency they wished to acquire in English. Such cultural factors in the motivation for language learning highlighted the choices open to individual respondents to mainly associate either with the dominant, or with a minority ethnic group. Decisions were likely to be made on the basis of what they saw as the value of learning English as against the perceived cost in terms of time and effort.

The *National Policy on Languages* Report, prepared by Lo Bianco for the Commonwealth Department of Education (1987), emphasized the importance of ensuring that Australians of all backgrounds were able to achieve competence in English. (The Report's complementary recommendations on languages other than English are considered later.) The growing concern over declining standards of English literacy among students, not only of minority ethnic background but also from the mainstream, was clearly reflected in the 1990 discussion paper, *The Language of Australia*, prepared by the Department of Employment, Education and Training. Throughout this paper (and many subsequent publications) literacy was assumed to mean the ability to read and write English, ignoring the fact that for many Australians of minority ethnic background the acquisition of literacy skills in their home language was not only possible but also of vital importance.

The concerns over written English skills led to the incorporation of literacy into the brief of the National Languages Institute of Australia (to be discussed later). In the years that followed, a number of publications on literacy in English were sponsored by the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA). They ranged from theoretical studies, such as Wignell's (1995) account of personal literacy in terms of functional linguistics to teachers' guidelines for enhancing the literacy of adult 'learners with diverse language and cultural backgrounds' (Dixon and Lyons, 1995). Among the most innovative and practical studies in this area was the collection of papers edited by Cope and Kalantzis (1993). Its focus was the development of a genre approach to the task of writing in English, as a means of giving all students 'the powers of literacy'.

Multicultural Education Programmes

Various types of multicultural courses were introduced into schools from about the mid-seventies. Most often these were aimed at giving all students a better understanding of the cultures of minority ethnic groups in Australian society and encouraging more positive attitudes towards them. Holenbergh (1975; 1977) was one of the first to work directly in this area, when she developed 'two new undergraduate courses in the School of Education, Macquarie University, the first of which *Culture Contact in the Classroom* began in 1975'. These could be seen as 'the forerunner of those which subsequently arose in several other NSW tertiary institutions' (personal communication). On the basis of this work, she helped to draft curriculum guidelines for projects funded through the Multicultural Education Program of the Schools Commission. On a more theoretical level, Holenbergh (1979) reviewed the concept of ethnic identity in relation to the migration process and the maintenance of bilingualism. This led to an analysis of the types of programmes existing in multicultural education.

The question of ethnic identity was investigated empirically or theoretically by a number of other researchers. Taft's (1973) investigation of the ethnic identification of Jewish youth found evidence of a duality of identity among his respondents. Smolicz (1979) reported similar results in studies of youth from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Joy Harris' (1980) study set out a theoretical framework for understanding ethnic identity in relation to social structural variables and analysed the use of the term in official documents, research writings and the day-to-day practice of education in Australia.

The Buntine Oration of the Australian College of Education, delivered by Barbara Falk (1978), was also on the theme 'Personal Identity in a Multicultural Society'. Although not primarily involved in multicultural

education, Falk was concerned to clarify the conceptual study of multiculturalism and its educational implications. She helped to bring scholarly work in the field to the notice of teachers by means of Australian College of Education 'Leadership Institutes on Multicultural Education' and the publication that resulted from them (Falk and Harris, 1983). A recurring theme in her contributions to this area was the concern that there could be a limit to the tolerance of cultural diversity. She envisaged the situation where certain usages sanctioned in another society would be termed 'wrong' rather than simply 'different' in the context of Australian educational practice. A later paper by Falk (1985 : 22) suggested that two key issues in relation to multiculturalism at that time were the linguistic and cultural 'rights' of minorities and 'the problems involved in the resolution of "culture dissonance"'.

Andreoni's (1982a; 1982b; 1983) approach to multicultural studies was based on active involvement in developing curricula for schools and in teaching related tertiary courses. She believed that 'improved cross-cultural communication is not necessarily achieved through the direct approach ie. discussing prejudice, ethno centrism'. Instead, she has achieved 'more favourable results, both in the field and in teaching, by coming at the issues obliquely. This has been particularly successful using the Arts' (personal communication). A second feature of Andreoni's research has been involvement with rural communities. Both of these aspects were incorporated in the project which combined teaching the traditional art of Sardinian weaving with language learning in a remote northern NSW community (Andreoni, 1982a).

Perhaps the most comprehensive review of multicultural education programmes was that completed for the Commonwealth Schools

Commission (1984) by Cahill and a team of fellow workers. Their aim was to review the first five years of Commonwealth funding for multicultural education programmes through surveys, consultations, case studies and evaluative analyses. In conclusion they argued that whether the Schools Commission continued the existing policy of separate provision for multicultural education or adopted the approach of mainstreaming, the focus should be on three main types of programmes : those 'to increase the educational opportunities and life-chances of children from non-English speaking family backgrounds'; those which increased 'opportunities for students in Australian schools to study the languages spoken within their own families and communities and the languages which are of benefit to the total Australian community'; and those which aimed to 'educate all students in intercultural understanding, by studying the multi-ethnic nature of the Australian heritage' (Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1984 : 351).

Eckermann (1994) was one educational researcher who addressed these concerns at both a theoretical and practical level. Her study, *One Classroom, Many Cultures*, sought to link theory, policy and classroom practice in relation to both multicultural and Aboriginal education. She investigated a variety of teaching strategies, curriculum developments and organisational innovations which had been developed by teachers in a range of schools. Her work focussed particularly on the curriculum areas of language, mathematics and science, as well as on school-community relations. Her purpose was 'to record, analyse and explore' innovations which the teachers involved regarded as successful, so that other practitioners could 'review their own practice and experiment with alternate approaches'.

A concern for equality and social justice in education was central to the writings of Kalantzis and her co-workers. They developed an inquiry based programme in multicultural social education, which was designed for students in the upper primary and secondary grades (Kalantzis and Cope, 1983). This practical approach to taking account of cultural, gender and linguistic differences in the classroom they called 'social literacy'. Their work on multicultural curriculum strategies, entitled *Pluralism and Equitability*, was also notable for being firmly grounded in school practice (Kalantzis and Cope, 1986). Kalantzis's study of 1988 highlighted an emphasis that was evident in all her research, namely the dimension of gender, as being equally as important as ethnicity and class.

Another investigation at the school level undertaken by Kalantzis and associates was completed as part of the OECD based research project on *Education and Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism : Innovative Schools*. Six schools in Victoria and New South Wales were investigated as case studies in innovative approaches related to education and cultural pluralism. On the basis of these findings, a number of models for negotiating cultural and linguistic diversity in education were proposed, focussing specifically on the areas of cultural and linguistic incorporation, community participation, pedagogy and assessment. Different approaches were identified in relation to the three successive curriculum phases of assimilation (1950s and 1960s); 'cultural pluralist multiculturalism' (1970s and 1980s); and the 'equitable multiculturalism' of the late 1980s (Kalantzis, Cope, Noble and Poynting, 1990). In a recent collection of papers which she edited, Kalantzis (1995) stressed the need to redefine the meaning of social justice in education in the light of the 'new and as yet not entirely clear, political and intellectual environment' of the 1990s.

Community Language Programmes

Throughout the whole period covered by this review, Clyne has been engaged in research related to community languages in Australia and explicating to teachers and administrators the implications of his findings for education. Much of his work predated 'the new multicultural thrust in Australia, so it tried to legitimize this area of academic research as well as to encourage, in a small way, a change of policy' (personal communication). In addition to publishing widely in academic journals and books whose readership was restricted to his fellow linguists and socio-linguists in Australia and overseas (eg. 1967; 1970; 1972), Clyne translated the results of his research into practical terms for the benefit of language teachers (1977, 1980, 1983a). He thus became known for his early advocacy for the teaching of languages of minority ethnic groups, which he termed 'Australian community languages other than English' or CLOTEs. He was also a protagonist of bilingual education (1968, 1983b) and of the need for a national language policy (1975, 1985).

Clyne was also active as the editor of a series of papers dealing with various aspects of language research, usage, and policy in Australia (1976; 1986; 1991b). In addition, his books *Multilingual Australia* (1982) and *Community Languages - The Australian Experience* (1991a) which were based upon a meticulous analysis of the language data that was available from the 1976 and 1986 censuses, provided the most of valuable source of language information available up to the present time in Australia.

In assessing the significance of his research upon policy development in education, Clyne placed greater stress upon 'interaction with like-minded people through Migrant Education Action or [the Monash] Centre for Migrant Studies' (personal communication) than upon publications.

Clyne's further contribution in this area was through his involvement in the work of such committees as Plan Lang Pol which made a substantial submission to the Senate Inquiry Report on National Language Policy (1984), the National Advisory and Coordinating Committee on Multicultural Education (NACCME), the Working Party of the Victorian Post-Secondary Education Commission and the joint Victorian State Board of Education/Ministerial Advisory Committee on Multicultural and Migrant Education Working Party which produced the paper 'The Place of Community Languages in Victorian Schools' (1985). He was also closely involved in the development and work of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA) which will be discussed later.

Bostock (1973; 1975) was another researcher who from the early seventies began to challenge the prevailing Australian ideology of monolingualism and to argue for language planning and teaching (1977a). He described himself as a political scientist whose special interest in problems of language, culture and education led him to investigations on the alternatives of ethnicity in Australia (1977b; 1981). 'His researches have led him to believe that multicultural education, once the exclusive privilege of elites should now be made available to all members of society, not only as a right but as a safeguard of an open and democratic society' (personal communication).

Other valuable contributions to the area of community language teaching were made by researchers such as Maria Tenezakis (1975; 1979) with her study of language acquisition among Greek-Australian children; Tamis (1985) with a study of changes in the Greek language in the Australian context; and Camilla Bettoni (1981a; 1981b; 1986) with research into the modification and attrition of Italian in North Queensland and Sydney. In

addition, a number of evaluative studies have been carried out on the early community language programs introduced into schools. One of these was Barbara McLean's (1982) case study investigation of language programmes in six different primary schools drawn from several states. She concluded that, for a variety of reasons, most of the programmes were ineffective in their principal aim of language acquisition. Barbara Horvath (1980) also surveyed the types of approaches currently being used in the teaching of migrant languages and assessed their effectiveness, while Jakubowicz and Chan (1980) published an evaluation of the mother tongue maintenance programme at the Cringila St Francis school in New South Wales.

The teaching of minority languages in community-organized ethnic schools was also the subject of research. Lewins and Kringas (1981) investigated ten Greek, Italian and Slovenian ethnic schools using a case study approach. Their findings led them to question the very existence of ethnic schools. Support for ethnic schools in their role of cultural and language maintenance seemed to them to encourage separatism and the exclusion of minorities from participation in mainstream Australian life, particularly the political process. Lewins (1980, 1982) spoke later of his concern for providing 'some intellectual depth to the critical approach to multiculturalism'. On the basis of his experience with ethnic schools, he warned of the dangers of 'politically sensitive research' and the need to 'be cautious of studies being "co-opted" or selectively drawn on by politicians to support their interests' (personal communication).

Norst's (1982) survey of ethnic schools for the Commonwealth Schools Commission used a qualitative and quantitative approach in seeking the views of ethnic school teachers and organizers, as well as students and their parents, about the current and future role of their schools. The study was

noteworthy as the first comprehensive and detailed investigation into the ethnic schools of all minority groups in all states, and for the way it sought answers from among the participants rather than imposing the researcher's view. The official report of the survey, however, failed to do justice to the wealth of data that were gathered (see Commonwealth Schools Commission, 1983).

Bilingual education was another issue which attracted a number of researchers. A valuable review was carried out by Mills (1982) who analysed research into bilingual education in Australia as a whole, and provided particularly useful insights into the Aboriginal bilingual programmes which had been developed in the Northern Territory and South Australia. Clyne's (1983b) school-based research sought to develop a viable model of bilingual education for Australian schools. Gail Robinson's (1978, 1981) involvement with the development and assessment of community language programmes in NSW schools led her to investigate the benefits and possibilities of bilingual education.

Several studies highlighted potential difficulties in the introduction of bilingual education. de Lemos undertook a collaborative study on levels of literacy in Italian and English among a group of Italian high school students in order to provide basic data to schools that were considering the introduction of bilingual education programmes (de Lemos and Di Leo, 1978). The results showed that the students concerned had a greater mastery of English than Italian, particularly in literacy skills. de Lemos was concerned that the introduction of bilingual education programmes under these conditions would further undermine rather than help the school achievement of such students. Marjoribanks' (1980b) work on parental attitudes to bilingual education also had practical implications for any

school or education system contemplating the introduction of a bilingual education programme. His finding was that parents from the Anglo majority often appeared quite well disposed to the teaching of ethnic languages and cultures to young children who had recently arrived in Australia, but that this tolerance decreased with the age of the immigrant children and the length of their residence.

One researcher who was involved for a number of years in the development of an innovative approach to bilingual education was Marta Rado (1976a, 1976b, 1977). Her work was notable for the way a strong commitment to the value of bilingualism both as an individual and a community asset was wedded to a pragmatic recognition of the linguistic reality of most Australian classrooms. She postulated the ideal of competent bilingualism, which included 'literacy skills and the ability to handle everyday and scientific concepts in more than one language' (personal communication). Students of minority ethnic background who were bilinguals because of their home domains very often had no opportunity to gain literacy skills in their home language or extend their vocabulary and competence beyond the level of family conversation. Furthermore, even in a class with a reasonably large proportion of minority ethnic students, these were likely to come from a number of different linguistic backgrounds.

On the basis of these assumptions, Rado worked for over a decade on a Multilingual Project which prepared student-centred bilingual curriculum materials for use at the secondary school level. The project produced a series of independent study units on topics generally required for junior secondary school courses, using parallel texts in English and one of thirteen community languages. Students in the same classroom could thus be

working on the same topic, but choosing to use texts in a variety of languages. The possibilities and requirements of this multilingual approach to classroom teaching were discussed most fully in Rado's (1984) book. With Foster and Lewis (1980, 1983a, 1983b), Rado also carried out two extensive surveys on student attitudes toward the maintenance of minority ethnic languages and bilingual education, and on the factors contributing to language development of children of non-English speaking background. Rado's most direct influence on educational policy came through her 1984 submission on 'The Place of Community Languages in Victorian Schools' to the Victorian State Board of Education and to the Ministerial Policy Committee on Multicultural and Migrant Education (1985).

The idea of developing a co-ordinated and coherent language policy for the whole of Australia was first suggested by Clyne (1975), and was subsequently reiterated by Ingram (1979a), and Smolicz (1984c). In addition, Andreoni's (1982a; 1983; 1991) evaluations of community language programmes in schools emphasized the need for all those involved in teaching languages other than English to adopt a unified approach, without which 'monolingualism will prevail and we will have pockets of disaffected ethnic groups increasingly isolating themselves from the mainstream' (personal communication).

The issue of a National Languages Policy was taken up in the early eighties by the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA, 1982; 1985b) which had been formed a few years before. In order to gain support for this policy, they organized two special conferences which brought a number of key researchers in the area of language teaching together with representatives of the ethnic communities and educational administrators from State and Commonwealth departments. The

discussion paper prepared for the first FECCA conference by the Commonwealth Department of Education (1982) represented a distillation of some of the most significant research in the area of languages and multiculturalism in Australia. The proposal for a National Language Policy was brought closer to the level of actuality with the publication in 1984 of the Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts and elicited direct comment from a number of researchers (Clyne, 1985; Smolicz, 1986).

The publication of Joseph Lo Bianco's *National Policy on Languages* (Commonwealth Department of Education, 1987) could be said to represent the high point of achievement in policy development for languages teaching in Australia. Its appearance illustrated how collaboration among researchers, policy makers and public servants, when linked to the deep concern of minority ethnic groups for their linguistic heritage, could bear fruit at the level of specific policy proposals. The report was notable for the recognition and importance given for the first time to Aboriginal languages in Australia and for the inclusion of Auslan, the Australian language of the deaf. Its underlying assumption was that languages other than English, together with the possibility of bilingualism, were to be regarded as a potential resource for Australia, rather than a problem (Clyne, 1992). In relation to education, Lo Bianco recommended a dual thrust, designed to enable all children to become competent in English as the common language for all Australians and to have access to the learning of at least one other language. In the case of children from a minority ethnic background, this would be, wherever possible, the language of their home. For those of English speaking background, Lo Bianco recommended the opportunity to learn one of nine languages appropriate to the Australian context.

The commitment to languages education for all Australians which was so clearly enunciated in the Lo Bianco policy recommendations was subsequently muddied by ministerial attempts in a subsequent Green Paper to focus on English literacy and foreign Asian languages at the expense of other key provisions (Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1990). The response of researchers in the area of multilingualism and those of minority ethnic background committed to community language maintenance was firm enough, however, to ensure that the original impetus of the 1987 report was not lost (Clyne, 1992).

Multicultural Approaches in the University Sector

The appearance of the Lo Bianco Report seemed to coincide with a growing interest in multilingualism and multiculturalism within the university sector. Until that time interest in multiculturalism within the universities had usually been confined to a small group of dedicated researchers whose work attracted little interest among mainstream academics. Monash's Centre for Migrant Studies (later Centre for Migrant and Intercultural Studies), with its *Journal of Intercultural Studies* , was one of the pioneers in this field in the late seventies. It provided an important outlet for the work of Clyne and had a particular focus on Australian languages other than English. The other unit established about the same time was the Centre for Multicultural Studies at Wollongong University which published the early studies on ethnicity and equality by Jakubowicz and Kalantzis.

By 1989, however, the Commonwealth Department of Education was insisting that all universities collect data on the cultural and linguistic background of their students. The limitations of the questionnaire adopted are worth noting; since it failed to include any questions on parental

background or birthplace, Australian born children of immigrants have been automatically excluded from the data collected. Nevertheless, its use did mean that universities were forced officially to take some cognisance of the cultural diversity within their student population.

In addition, the second half of the eighties saw the establishment of a number of academic centres dedicated to research and teaching in various areas of multiculturalism. Holton's Centre for Multicultural Studies at Flinders University had a focus on economic and labour studies research. Jupp, as Director of the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies at the Australian National University in Canberra, was responsible for editing the bicentenary Encyclopedia, entitled *The Australian People*, which helped to raise awareness of the great range of cultural diversity encompassed within Australian society (Jupp, 1988).

At the University of Sydney, Inglis established the Multicultural Research Centre, with a focus on public policy, as well as the role of economic and educational institutions. These interests were evident in her recent policy paper for the UNESCO programme, *Management of Social Transformations* (Inglis, 1996) and her study on immigrant teachers in the work force (Inglis, 1995). The Centre for Intercultural Studies and Multicultural Education, set up at the University of Adelaide under the directorship of Smolicz, focussed not only on multicultural research but also on the wider dissemination of research through public seminars and publications for schools (Smolicz 1992; 1994), as well as the fostering of intercultural links in Europe and Asia.

In the area of languages, the Commonwealth government supported the recommendation of the Lo Bianco report by providing funding for the establishment of the National Languages Institute of Australia, later

extended into the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA). This involved the establishment of a number of key research centres at various universities throughout the country : a language testing centre at Melbourne; a language and technology centre at Queensland; a language and society centre at Monash (under the research directorship of Clyne); and a language acquisition centre at Sydney. These were linked at the national level and co-ordinated with policy development in the languages area through the NLLIA Directorate. Other centres were added subsequently, particularly after 1991, when an emphasis on literacy in English was incorporated into the Institute's range of concerns.

Since its formation NLLIA (or its predecessor) has been responsible for the funding and publishing of a considerable number of research projects, including areas such language planning (Djite, 1994); bilingual education (Liddicoat, 1991; Berthold, 1995; Fernandez, 1996); and profiles on fourteen key linguistic communities in Australia. The Queensland Centre has published studies on languages in the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector (Baker and White, 1991) and on Australian second language learning programmes (White, Baker, de Jong, 1992). Research projects emanating from the Monash Centre included a study of the extent to which the linguistic resources brought to Australia by immigrants were actually being utilized (Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels, 1995).

Research Into Inter-ethnic Relations and Cultural Interaction

Interaction between the mainstream group and the ethnic minority communities in Australia is one key issue in relation to multiculturalism which appears to have attracted surprisingly little research over the last three decades. This issue includes such aspects as the attitude of members of the mainstream towards the presence of minority ethnic individuals in

Australian society, as well as the extent and nature of the actual contact between them. Yet these factors would seem to be critical for the maintenance of multicultural policies and their successful implementation. If ordinary Australians of the Anglo-Celtic mainstream are opposed, or even indifferent, to the ideal of Australia as a culturally plural society, political leaders at State and Commonwealth level are unlikely to support multicultural policies or provide the funding necessary for them to be put into practice. Although the so-called 'ethnic vote', referring to the voting preferences of those from minority ethnic backgrounds in Australia, is a factor that both major political parties now take account of , its importance depends to a large extent on whether mainstream group voters are regarded as supportive or disapproving of multicultural policies.

This issue was raised by Barlow (1986) in presenting what he called 'a voice from the mainstream' of those Anglo-Celtic-Australians who felt that they were being 'ignored, taxed, discriminated against and criticised', while recent immigrants, especially those from Asia, received special privileges and treatment. The tremendous popular support and press coverage gained in 1984 by Professor Geoffrey Blainey, when he advocated restraint in migrant intakes, and in 1996-7 by Pauline Hanson, with her anti-Asian and anti-Aboriginal statements, would suggest that there is much disquiet and concern over immigration and multicultural policies among at least some sections of the Australian population.

Such negative views were apparent in the national survey on views about multiculturalism, which was commissioned by the Commonwealth government over 1988-89. Half of the 4,502 people interviewed considered that multiculturalism meant 'migrants get too much help from the government'. Just under half thought that multiculturalism was

responsible for depriving 'Australians of jobs' and undermining 'loyalty to Australia' (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1989b : 3).

The public face of the multicultural debate, as seen in politics and the media, was considered by Sawer in a paper prepared for the Office of Multicultural Affairs. She set out to explore what she called 'the "respectable" critiques of multiculturalism', as opposed to those that were too ill-informed to be taken seriously. She focussed, in particular, on 'organisational and media linkages and the resources available to the opponents of multiculturalism' (Sawer, 1990 : 1). She concluded that there were important and well-resourced opinion leaders in the Australian community who were opposed to multiculturalism. Part of a government strategy for 'a sustained attempt' to answer such critics should be to use those who came from the same mainstream group, but held positive views toward cultural pluralism in Australia. In her judgement, 'within the mainstream print media, articles by commentators such as Gerald Henderson or Greg Sheridan or Sir William Keys have carried more weight than those which can be depicted as emerging from the "ethnic lobby"' (Sawer, 1990 : 28).

Over the last three decades there have been a few attempts to survey the views of the mainstream Australian population towards cultural pluralism and the on-going presence of minority ethnic groups in Australian society. Early in the 1960s Richardson and Taft did a survey of 171 Australian-born Perth residents. They concluded that there was a fairly wide-spread preference for monism based on the belief that immigrants should 'assimilate culturally as quickly as possible' (Richardson and Taft, 1968 : 51-52). The idea of pluralism was unacceptable to most of the respondents and

only a few favoured the interactionist solution, which was defined in terms of the emergence of an eventual cultural synthesis.

A more detailed study of this issue, although related only to a restricted range of the population, was carried out in 1973 by Harris and Smolicz. They surveyed 369 University of Adelaide students, all of whom were born in Australia, of Australian-born parents. The questionnaire presented the respondents with statements about the nature of Anglo-conformism, interactionism and cultural pluralism derived from the earlier research of Richardson and Taft and asked them to indicate which they preferred. As many as 84% gave interactionism as their first preference, with 8% opting for Anglo-conformism and 1% for pluralism (Harris and Smolicz, 1976 : 150). This result revealed a considerable shift from the monism reported by the original researchers.

The Adelaide survey included other concrete and attitudinal questions which threw further light on the views of the respondents. Over three quarters claimed to have at least a few friends of minority ethnic background, yet about the same proportion felt that they had been influenced only 'a little' or 'not at all' by the presence of minority ethnic cultures in Australia. The majority (51%) thought that minority ethnic children should be brought up 'mostly Australian, and only a little ethnic'; 43% supported the preservation of minority ethnic languages; and 32% were in favour of minority ethnic communities maintaining their own structures. These replies suggested some degree of contradiction with the high level of support given for the ideal of interactionism. According to Harris and Smolicz (1976 : 151) the implicit assumption behind the students' expressed preference for interaction was that

any future Australian cultural-synthesis would derive its ancestry overwhelmingly from Anglo-Saxon sources. Only a few of the students appeared to recognise that for interpenetration to occur at the deeper, cultural, levels, some degree of pluralism in Australia would be required to provide a firm sub-structure for the interaction process.

A much more representative survey of linguistic attitudes was carried out 'as part of a longitudinal study of the social and psychological impact of the multicultural television service in Adelaide' (Kee, 1988 : 4). The study involved interviewing almost 2,000 residents drawn from two samples that were carefully structured to be representative and randomly selected. One sample represented the wider Adelaide population, while the second involved a sample of residents in Census Collection districts which had a relatively high proportion of people born overseas. Those interviewed were asked to respond to a number of attitudinal statements concerning the teaching and use of languages other than English.

Overall Kee reported 'a generally high degree of support for language diversity among Adelaide's residents'. For example, the statement, 'Knowing a language other than English is useful in everyday life in Australia,' was supported by 67% of the total sample, including 66% of respondents classified as 'Australian-born of Australian-born parents' and 90% of those of non-English-speaking background. Approval was higher overall (82%) for the statement, 'All school children should be taught another language as well as English', with 79% of the respondents classified as 'Australian-born of Australian-born parents', and 88% of those of non-English-speaking background, agreeing (Kee, 1988 : 8). Further analysis showed that both gender and educational background were statistically significant, in that women and those with higher levels of education were

more likely to support linguistic diversity than men and those with lower levels of education (Kee, 1988 : 11).

A very different type of study in the area of inter-ethnic relations and interaction was undertaken by Clyne (1994) in investigating the influence of cultural values on intercultural communication in the workplace. He carried out a discourse analysis of speech acts in English recorded in a number of work settings where individuals from various ethnic minorities were interacting with Anglo-Celtic-Australians and one another. In this way he was able to identify cultural variables that contributed to successful, as opposed to unsuccessful, intercultural communication. His results pointed to the way in which communication patterns among second language users were 'culturally conditioned' and to the need 'for people to be *aware* of variation in discourse patterns and to appreciate their equal validity' (Clyne, 1994 : 208). Educational authorities and institutions in particular needed to take seriously the cultural variations in English language communication among individuals of different ethnic backgrounds.

In the light of the paucity of Australian research into inter-ethnic relations and interaction, and the researcher's personal interest in this area, it seemed appropriate to make cultural interaction and education the topic of this study. It was also decided to make use of the Anglo-Celtic-Australian background of the researcher and to focus the investigation on the phenomenon of cultural interaction from the perspective of the mainstream group. The chapter that follows attempts to outline a theoretical framework for understanding the phenomenon of cultural interaction in a plural society. Its basis is the humanistic sociology of Znaniecki, as applied in the Australian context by Smolicz.

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURAL INTERACTION IN HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

A Group's Culture

The humanistic sociological theory developed by Znaniecki (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927; Znaniecki, 1963; 1968) and further elaborated by Smolicz (1974a; 1974b; 1979; 1988; 1995b) rests on the assumption that human beings are to be regarded as active participants in the dynamic on-going process that defines a group's culture. On the one hand, becoming recognised and accepted as a member of the group involves learning the shared meanings related to the ways of thinking, feeling and acting which constitute the culture of the group. On the other hand, new members gradually come to use and develop these shared meanings in their own distinctive ways. The attitudes they adopt, the ways in which they express their thoughts and feelings, the actions they perform as individuals in living together in the group, are part of the process by which the shared meanings of the group's culture are sustained and modified, created and recreated from one generation to the next. Humanistic sociology tries to take account of the essential interplay between the members of the group as individual persons and the life and activities of the group as a whole. In this way attention is focused on what Znaniecki (1969 : 69) regarded as the key practical issues for sociology, '(1) the problem of the dependence of the individual upon social organization and culture, and (2) the problem of the dependence of social organization and culture upon the individual'.

Viewed in this way, culture cannot be seen as an abstract concept, to be analysed theoretically in relation to some general, or universal phenomena, but as the specific meanings shared by the members of a particular group.

These shared meanings give rise to distinctive observable patterns in the way group members think, feel and act, and find material expression in the objects the group members create. Culture is therefore to be thought of as the collection of meanings which belong to a given group of people. The group concerned may be defined at the ethnic level as, for example, Hungarian; or in religious terms, as Catholic; in relation to social status, as working class; or by reference to some particular profession, like lawyers, or some sporting interest, such as cricket. Each of these groups of people develops and maintains its own distinctive culture. For some of these groups the range of meanings shared applies to most, if not all, areas of life, as in the case of an ethnic group. In other instances, the group's culture has a more limited application to specific areas of living, as in the case of a professional association or a sporting club.

Cultural Values at Group and Personal Level

Znaniecki (1968 : 41) uses the term **value** to distinguish between cultural and natural objects. A natural object such as a piece of rock or driftwood has a physical content; and its existence may have no further significance for the members of any group who encounter it. If, however, the piece of stone contains gold which is fashioned into a marriage ring, or the driftwood branch is shaped into a cross, it becomes in the life of certain groups a cultural object which, in addition to its physical content, has acquired a meaning shared by all group members. Among groups that uphold the Western European cultural heritage, a gold ring is the means by which a man and a woman signify their marriage to one another. Among Christian groups, the cross is used in worship as a symbol of the central doctrine of their religious beliefs.

In humanistic sociological theory, (Znaniecki, 1968 : 36; Smolicz, 1979 : 22-3; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981 : 6) values such as these are viewed as integrated into a cultural system which corresponds to an area of life - the group's system of religious values in relation to the cross; the system of family values in the case of the marriage ring. Another important example of a group system of cultural values is its language in which each word, both as a sound and in its written form, has an agreed meaning within generally accepted patterns of grammar and syntax. Together these make up the group's system of linguistic values. Those who, as members of the group, have learned its linguistic values since childhood can communicate with one another on the basis of the common meanings they give to the words, idioms and structures of their language. Those outside the group who do not know its linguistic values are denied the opportunity of communication, unless they are prepared to take the step of learning the new language for themselves.

Such **group systems of cultural values** can be postulated for all other aspects of the group's life, such as economic, artistic, religious, recreational, political and legal. According to Znaniecki (1963 : 267) one of the most important of these systems is made up of ideological values, which represent the beliefs and ideals, and the norms of conduct upheld by the group. Furthermore, in terms of the humanistic sociological approach, the group itself is regarded as a cultural system, in which the individual members represent social values for one another. In addition to their biological content, they are given cultural meanings which define their role and identity in relation to the group itself. They may in the first place be recognised as legitimate members of the group, as distinct from those who are given the meaning of foreigners or outsiders. Their cultural meaning within the group may be further defined in relation to their gender, their age, their position in the

family, their occupation and their involvement in other social structures. The meanings given to individuals within these group social systems determine the way group members act and relate to one another (Znaniecki, 1939).

The reality of the shared meanings that make up a group's cultural systems can be demonstrated by the sociologist, through watching the way these cultural values are used by group members. However, a group's culture has a reality which transcends the lives of individuals per se. Much of the group's current system of religious or political or linguistic values, for example, existed before the present generations of group members were born and much is likely to be used by their descendants long after they themselves have died. In this sense (a group's systems of cultural values are independent of the actual group members.) This represents one fixed pole of the dialectical interplay between individuals and their cultural heritage - an interplay which produces that society's current, living tradition. The other pole is the irreducible personal world of all individuals, the nature of what they have actually experienced, and the ways they each personally think, feel, act and express themselves.

The concept of **personal cultural systems** recognises both the reality of the inner personal world of individuals and the fact that it is fashioned and created out of the cultural values they have learned in the life of the group (Smolicz, 1979 : 41-6; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981; 1989). As they grow up, children born into the group learn those cultural meanings to which they have access through interaction with older members. Because the personal cultural systems of individuals are based on the group's cultural values, they can be said to bear a family resemblance to one another. They have sufficient commonality of shared meanings for individuals to interact with

one another in achieving personal and group goals. At the same time, the idiosyncrasies of personality, life experiences, historical setting and social context mean that personal cultural systems are in many ways unique to each individual.

In relation to linguistic values, for example, children learn the meanings which their group gives to particular sounds, and as they grow older, the written forms that correspond to these utterances. They develop their own personal linguistic systems as they make use of these words in order to communicate with others, at first orally and later through reading and writing. Yet in the act of internalizing and using the group's linguistic values for their own purposes, individuals set their own stamp upon them, as is evident in the recognisably distinct ways they pronounce and use the language concerned.

In the case of social values, personal social systems are developed from the social contacts that individuals make in the course of their day to day activities. Each of the various spheres of life - family, work, sporting, leisure or interest activities - provides a pool of potential social values that can be used in the construction of personal social systems. It has been proposed (Smolicz, 1979 : 146-9), that personal social systems can exist at two levels - secondary and primary. According to Cooley (1909), secondary relationships are characterised as formal and distant, or casual and transient and limited to specific areas of life. In contrast, primary relationships not only exist at an intimate and deeper level, but extend across many areas of life. A person's primary personal social system is therefore made up of all those individuals with whom he or she enjoys a primary relationship. All other people who come within the orbit of an individual's daily life, but with whom no closer

or deeper relationship has developed, fall within the secondary personal social system.

In relation to personal cultural systems, the distinction between attitude and tendency is particularly useful (Znaniecki, 1968 : 57-69). The term **tendency** is used to refer to the actual activation of cultural values - the act of speaking or writing language in the case of linguistic values. Mainstream individuals, for example, who have constructed personal cultural systems in a language other than English (such as French or Chinese) through school and university studies, reveal their tendency to activate these personal cultural systems when they hold tutorial conversations or write an essay in the language concerned. Once they have graduated from university, however, they may find themselves living and working in contexts where they have no opportunity to use a language other than English. In this situation their personal cultural system in the other language continues to exist at the level of an **attitude** which can be activated into a tendency only when the individuals concerned find themselves in the company of French or Chinese speakers, read books or watch films in these languages. Their on-going positive attitude to Chinese or French coould even find expression in their decision to go for a holiday to a country where the opportunity to use the language concerned would transform their attitude into a tendency. The concept of attitude is also applied to the situation where individuals may not have had the chance to learn, say, Chinese but feel positive towards the language and express regret that they do not know it.

Heritage and Tradition in the Life of the Group

The uniqueness of personal cultural systems interacts dialectically with the cultural values of the group to provide the dynamism of the group's culture

and ensure that cultural heritage of the group is not simply reproduced, but modified, adapted and even transformed, by succeeding generations to form the current living tradition of the group (Smolicz, 1974b; 1979 : 35).

This humanistic approach to tradition, proposed originally by Szacki (1969), reverses the accepted view of tradition as the heavy hand of the past imposed on succeeding generations. Instead, existing group cultural values are regarded as the heritage which is transmitted to the children and young people growing up in the life of the group. Members of the younger generation, however, evaluate and use this received heritage in the light of the particular circumstances in which they find themselves. Some transmitted cultural values may be evaluated positively and continue to be activated in the life of the group. Others may be judged negatively as models of action which individuals of the emerging generation specifically reject as models of action. In the process of this evaluation, cultural values may be adapted, modified or changed to meet new needs and circumstances.

Heritage that is either positively or negatively evaluated and thus continues to influence the way individuals act constitutes the group's contemporary tradition. Other received cultural values which fail to excite any definite response from members of the current generation and are regarded with indifference as irrelevant in their situation remain as heritage - unused values from the past (Smolicz, 1988). Those values which make up the current generation's tradition are then transmitted to the next generation for whom they become heritage to be evaluated. In a literate society heritage which has been neglected by previous generations but has been recorded in the books of the period may be re-discovered, positively evaluated and incorporated into the current tradition, as happened with classical Greek and Roman texts at the time of the Renaissance. Similarly, the discovery of

contemporary texts about the first century Christian church has led to a re-evaluation of the transmitted heritage by both Protestant and Catholic theologians in the present-day church.

Defined humanistically in terms of the evaluation of current actors, the concepts of heritage and tradition provide a broad theoretical framework for understanding cultural change that accounts well for such phenomena as the re-emergence of minority ethnicity among the grandchildren of immigrants or what is now being referred to as the re-invention of nationalism and ethnicity (Alba, 1990; Conzen, 1990). Another dramatic example of the changing generational evaluation of cultural heritage has been evident in Russia since the fall of Communism. Over the years of Communist rule the religious heritage of the Orthodox faith had been officially replaced by the ideological values of Marxist-Leninism. For over three generations there had been no overt transmission of Orthodox values and even the outright destruction or appropriation of church buildings. Within a short time after the collapse of the Communist regime, churches were being re-opened and filled with worshippers and those destroyed were being re-built. Many Russians were rejecting the Communist ideological values of their immediate past and returning instead to a positive evaluation and open activation of the religious values of their Orthodox heritage. Similarly, in the realm of music, the baroque works of Bach which became almost forgotten and infrequently played in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, have enjoyed a remarkable revival in the last forty or fifty years.

A Group's Core Values

In small homogeneous societies, where group cultural values in most areas of life are shared by all members, there are usually some cultural systems

which are specific to age, or gender groupings (common in African tribes such as the Chagga peoples of Kilimanjaro), or totem or clan groupings (found among Australia's Aboriginal peoples). These can be labelled as sub-cultural groups in that the individual members concerned continue to participate in the life of the wider group generally. However, in certain very limited and specific matters, these persons have access to values which belong to a much smaller and more select grouping, based often on factors of birth.

Modern complex technological societies reveal an even greater range of sub-cultural groupings which are determined most frequently by individual choice and preference. Although the political values that make up a modern Western European multi-party democracy are shared by all citizens to the extent that they exercise the right to vote for those who govern them, individuals can select which political party's ideological values and policies they wish to associate themselves with, or retain the possibility of being committed to none. In areas such as religious belief, sporting interests, leisure pursuits and occupational and professional activities, individuals develop personal cultural systems based on their participation in whichever of these groups' activities they choose to become involved.

Each of these distinct groups has a set of cultural values which are critical in defining its purpose and activities. These central or core values mark it out as a recognisable group (Smolicz, 1979 : 57-78; 1981a; 1984b; Smolicz and Secombe, 1986a). Those who belong to the group are identified by the fact that they activate these core values. Very often these values are used as the test of group membership. Those who have a personal cultural system based on these values are recognised and accepted as group members, by both those within and those outside the group. Those who do not have

personal cultural systems based on these core values are outsiders, excluded from the group.

In some areas of life these core values may be related to the actual performance of certain activities or skills, such as singing in a choir or playing in an orchestra; or being a member of a scientific research group, a cricket team, bridge or golf club. In the case of the first musical example, one cannot be a member of a choir, if one cannot sing - unless one has the complementary role of a conductor or accompanist. In the case of an orchestra, research or sporting team, there is no possibility of individuals being accepted as members until they are judged to have developed personal cultural systems focused on the required core values. If individuals' activation of these values are seen by their fellows to be declining or neglected, they may be excluded from the group. The outrage over scientists who are found falsifying results illustrates the scientific community's rejection of individuals who have spurned its core values by not abiding by the fundamental principles of scientific research.

For other types of groups, core values relate more to fundamental beliefs or ideological values. To become a member of the socialist or 'greens' Party, the Liberal or Labor Party, the individual must demonstrate a certain commitment to the values which the party concerned publicly proclaims as the beliefs which distinguish it from all other political parties. A similar situation exists for religious groups. All the great religions of the world have certain core values which identify them as Jewish, Islamic, Catholic or a particular Protestant denomination. Those who belong to these groups must make an initial confession of their faith, by professing to uphold and abide by these core values in their lives. In many cases, failure to live up to these standards is dealt with less severely than a deliberate challenge to, or

rejection of, the core values themselves. Thus the provision within the Christian churches for forgiveness and restoration of the penitent is to be contrasted with the sometimes ruthless determination to excommunicate, or even in the past exterminate, any heretics who challenge the group's core values.

An incident in Scotland that attracted much press coverage at the time illustrates these principles at work in a more subtle way. The British Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, an elder (or leader) in the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, was suspended from duties as an elder and refused the right to participate in the central rite of the Church (receiving Holy Communion) because he had attended a requiem mass for a Catholic fellow judge whom he greatly respected. Lord Mackay's suspension was upheld after appeal to the highest body of the Church (the synod), not so much as a result of his attendance per se, but because he refused to accept the discipline demanded by the Church by publicly repenting of his action in attending a Catholic mass, and giving an undertaking never to do so again. This case illustrates well the continuing force of the anti-Catholic origin of the core values of the Free Presbyterian Church. In the eyes of the elders the Presbyterian interpretation of Holy Communion remained a defining or core value for all members of Free Presbyterian congregations. To participate in, or even attend, a Catholic mass, based on the Catholic meaning of the same religious rite, was regarded as rejecting and denying its distinctively Protestant meaning.

In this situation, Lord Mackay chose to renounce his membership of the Church because he personally rejected this core value. In explanation, Lord Mackay said,

The synod has now ... made it clear that I am excommunicated for as long as I remain of the view that my attendance at the memorial service for Lord Russell of Killowan was right and refuse to undertake not to attend a similar service in the future ... I have no intention of giving any such undertaking as that for which the synod has asked. Accordingly, I am from now on no longer a member of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland (Sharrock, 1989 : 6).

His statement highlights both the freedom individuals may exercise in the construction of their personal cultural systems and the consequences this may have at the level of group social and cultural systems. The Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland no longer has the Lord Chancellor as one of its members; time will tell whether his stance will help to modify the Free Church's rigid adherence to this particular core value.

Overarching Values

In modern complex technological societies where many alternative or voluntary groups exist, there usually emerges a cluster of values which are common to all people who belong to the society, regardless of what other more limited groups they belong to. These overarching values generally relate to the political, economic, legal areas of life. All those living within Western European-style democracies are obliged to accept at least a minimum of participation in the political and legal structures of society in electing the government, in paying taxes and in abiding by the laws of the country.

Often the overarching framework of a given society includes a specific language as the means of common communication, whether this is officially stated in the constitution or enforced through long-established precedent. There are also some examples of countries where a particular

religion or ideology has been officially part of the overarching framework. The extent to which other religions and ideologies are tolerated in such a society varies greatly, but in some cases there is active persecution and discrimination, at least against those publicly practising or known to hold different religious beliefs.

Overarching and Core Values in an Ethnically Plural Society

So far the discussion of group values has focused mainly on the situation of an ethnically homogeneous society and the forms of subcultural diversity that may exist within it. What happens in a society which is ethnically plural? In the case of Australia, for example, alongside the diverse cultural traditions of the original inhabitants, the dominant British settler group and subsequent immigrants have introduced different cultural heritages related to the whole range of life activities from economics, politics, law, religion and language to family and child rearing practices, education, the arts, food, hospitality and eating customs.

The culture of an ethnic group is to be distinguished from the subcultural variations to be found within it, in that its cultural systems relate to the wide range of actions encompassing the whole life of the group, not just to limited sets of activities which are the concerns of the various subgroups. The difference can be compared to the distinction between a theme and variations in music. Ethnic cultures represent quite different themes; the sub-cultures to be found within every ethnic culture can then be taken as variations on the ethnic theme - differing adaptations and modifications of the same base cultural heritage.

In the context of an ethnically plural society, the concepts of core and overarching values are particularly important for understanding the

various patterns of adaptation possible. Smolicz (1979 : 69; 1981a : 21; 1984a : 11) has pointed out that in many ethnically plural societies there emerge values which are generally accepted by all members of society, whether they come from majority or minority ethnic backgrounds. Although in most instances these **supra-ethnic or shared values** that overarch all the various ethnic groups in society have originated in the cultural heritage of the dominant or majority group, they have come to be regarded as the common cultural possession of all. Since most modern states or nations regard their political, legal and economic structures as their salient or critical institutions, these values very often form the overarching framework of values in plural societies today. Implicit usually in these structures is the use of a common language to facilitate both public and private communication among all peoples within society. In the past nations, and even empires, have also used religious or other ideological values, such as Emperor worship, Christianity in its Protestant or Catholic form, Islam or Communism, as a unifying force for diverse ethnic groups.

In Australia Smolicz's idea of an overarching framework of values has found an echo in successive government reports dealing with the policy of multiculturalism. The Commonwealth Schools Commission Committee on Multicultural Education (1979 : 7) spoke of 'a common thread' running through the diversity of Australian society. This was provided by common values which were accepted by all ethnic communities and formed the base of a national identity. When the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1980 : 3) reviewed multicultural and migrant education, it referred to the way in which the cultural and linguistic diversity of Australia existed 'within a framework of consensus on democratic values and institutions'. The report of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs (1982 : 15-16) stressed a 'common national identity', the shared experience of being

Australian and the need for multiculturalism to 'be based on support for a common core of institutions, rights and obligations if group differences are to be reconciled'. According to the South Australian Ministerial Task Force on Multiculturalism and Education (1984 : 11-12), the overarching values of Australian society relate to 'the upholding of the democratic political tradition; the concept of people being worthy of freedom and respect; economic pluralism whereby individuals can advance themselves according to merit, but where state intervention is accepted to ensure greater equality; and the English language as the basic means of communication among all Australians'.

A few years later, in commenting on citizenship for immigrants to Australia, the Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policy (1988 : 68) argued that citizenship could be 'enhanced by linking it to Australian institutions and principles commonly valued by immigrants and Australian-born'. The Discussion Paper produced by the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs (1988 : 3-4) claimed that 'the policy of multiculturalism has always affirmed the importance of an overriding and unifying loyalty to Australia's interests and future. It remains based upon a shared commitment to a common set of institutions ... [and] builds upon the basic values which underpin Australian society'. The Labour government's *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia : Sharing Our Future* (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1989a : vii) identified certain principles to be accepted by all Australians, such as 'an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia' and an acceptance of 'the basic structures and principles of Australian society'. In this sense overarching values were seen as 'carefully defined limits' on the rights of Australians to express and share their cultural heritage - limits which were said to be

justified as necessary to safeguard social cohesion in a society made up of various ethnic groups.

In relation to ethnic cultures, the concept of **core values** refers to those aspects which are of such fundamental importance for the group's continued viability and integrity that they can be regarded as the heartland of the group's culture. They then come to act as identifying values that are symbolic of the ethnic group and its membership. In the case of a minority ethnic group, the loss of core values results in its disintegration as a community that can perpetuate itself as an authentic entity across generations (Smolicz, 1981a; 1984b). Once core values have been lost or removed and replaced with cultural values originating from the dominant or mainstream group, ethnic cultures become reduced to random fragments, like certain foods, folk songs and special celebrations or festivals. Such residues effectively function only at the level of a subculture of the mainstream group.

Research evidence has been accumulated to show that ethnic groups differ in the extent to which they emphasize their native tongues as core values (Smolicz, 1981a; Smolicz and Secombe 1986a; 1989; Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe, 1990). Many of those who feel strongly Irish, for example, do not use Irish Gaelic in everyday communication. Throughout the world there are people who have a strongly developed sense of Jewish identity, yet do not know the specific Jewish language, Hebrew, or even Yiddish. For both these groups, religious values - Catholicism in the case of the Irish and the traditions of the Torah in the case of the Jews - have been central to the group's ongoing life and survival.

Other ethnic groups have continually stressed their language as the principal cornerstone of their culture and relied upon it as their main defence against any threat of assimilation. The Polish, Baltic and Greek peoples can be regarded as examples of such groups in Europe, as can the French in Quebec and the Vietnamese in Asia. In the case of such language centred cultures, their survival in a viable form is dependent on the preservation of the mother tongue of group members. The language then becomes more than just a medium of communication and self-expression but a symbol of ethnic identity and hence a defining value which acts as a pre-requisite for 'authentic' group membership.

For a language-centred culture, the loss of the native tongue usually heralds a cultural shift to the periphery. Ethnicity may still be maintained by appeal to the group's folk-lore, the preservation of family cohesion and in-group marriage. Once reduced to such residues, minority ethnic cultures come to be associated with subcultural variables like social class, gender, religion or life-style. When such a shift occurs the intellectual aspects of culture evaporate. In these circumstances, the cultural transmission chain tends to weaken in later generations. Furthermore, in its residual form, an ethnic culture is not very effective in interacting with the mainstream culture, at any other than domestic and folk levels. Significant cultural interaction rarely occurs among groups that are patently unequal in power and status and the remnants of ethnicity often serve merely to sustain structural division.

In a plural society the loss of certain minority ethnic values and institutional forms is inevitable since, if each group retained its political, legal and economic structures, there would be no single society, but at best a confederation of separate states. However, the acceptance of shared

institutions by all groups, and consequent modifications to the culture of each group, is very different from the excision of core values that are fundamental to its survival and development. Hence core values can be seen to mark the boundary between accommodation to plurality and assimilation to the dominant or mainstream group. However, the co-existence of overarching societal values and minority group core values is viable only when there is no conflict between the two. In the context of Australia, for example, there would be no toleration of any ethnic group with a core value of totalitarianism or fascism, since this would contravene the commitment to democracy that is central to the overarching framework of society.

Smolicz's (1995b : 6) distinction between state and nation is useful in understanding this essential dilemma of all plural societies. **State** refers to a political and territorial unit. In contrast, a **nation** is essentially a cultural grouping whose members share a sense of being one people on the basis of their common culture. There is no necessary link between the two, despite the Western European ideal of a monocultural nation-state, where the political entity was supposed to coincide with the cultural group, and was often made to do so through the imposition of the dominant culture on minority nations or peoples. Political democracy can be achieved in a multi-ethnic society by giving individuals the right to participate in the state, regardless of what nation they identify with in terms of their cultural activation. The greater challenge for such a society is to encourage the emergence of cultural democracy by giving full recognition to the diverse cultural groups within the framework of the state, as integral parts of the multicultural nation.

Balancing the maintenance of a minority ethnic culture with its incorporation into the wider society in a way that fosters interaction with other cultures is a very sensitive process. On the one hand, some institutional aspects of each culture must be merged into the over-arching value system that enjoys the consensus of all the groups involved. On the other, the adjustment process must not be so severe as to prune away the heart of a culture so that it is unable to survive in an authentic form which is able to effectively interact with other cultures. Once the core value boundary is crossed, minority cultures disintegrate into residues and the essence of cultural pluralism is lost. For pluralism to survive, and for cultures to interact, there needs to be a balance of creative tension between the core values of minority groups and the overarching values of society as a whole (Smolicz, 1981b).

Forms of Cultural Interaction in an Ethnically Plural Society

As suggested at the end of chapter one, interaction in an ethnically plural society can be considered as the crossing of cultural borders to participate in the life of another group (Kloskowska, 1996 : 467; Smolicz, 1996). In the Australian context, this occurs most frequently in relation to individuals born into the families of ethnic minority groups who have access to the cultural values of their parents, but also find themselves participating in the cultural values of mainstream society at school, at work and in leisure pursuits. In the case of those who belong to the mainstream group, the circumstances of their education, work, leisure activities and friendship may bring them into contact with members of minority ethnic groups who can encourage the crossing of cultural borders and participation in minority cultural values. Where individuals find themselves exposed to new cultural values, they may begin to reorganize their personal cultural systems in order to take account of the new values. In this way personal

cultural systems derived from the cultural values of more than one group can emerge in a plural society.

The cultural interaction in which such individuals become involved in the course of their everyday lives may lead to changes being introduced at the level of group cultural systems. On the one hand, minority cultural values may be influenced and modified through contact with the mainstream culture or with other minority cultures. On the other hand, there is equally the opportunity for cultural values belonging to Australians of minority ethnic groups to be incorporated into the overarching values of the whole society, which most often are initially derived from the core values of the dominant group.

Smolicz (1979 : 79-109) has postulated that a number of different types of personal cultural systems and corresponding societal contexts may emerge in a culturally plural society such as Australia. The four main types are summarised in Table 2.1, where **(a)** stands for personal cultural systems based on mainstream Anglo-Celtic-Australian group values and **(e)** stands for those derived from minority ethnic values. One possible adaptation occurs when the personal cultural systems of all people in a given society are based on the cultural values of the dominant or mainstream group **(a)**. Under this situation society becomes largely monolingual and monocultural, as a result of those of minority ethnic background forsaking their own cultures and assimilating to the culture of the mainstream group. At best, minority cultural residues may be retained at the level of subcultural variants where the potential for interaction is very limited. Such a situation prevailed in the United States during much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as in Australia during the 1950s and 1960s (Martin, 1978).

TABLE 2.1: PERSONAL CULTURAL SYSTEMS IN A PLURAL SOCIETY**

Prevailing Value Orientation	Nature of Personal Systems	Anglo-Celtic-Australians' Personal Systems*	Minority Ethnic-Australians' Personal Systems*	Type of Adaptation
EXTERNAL CULTURAL PLURALISM	exclusive monistic	(a)	(e)	SEPARATISM: Either (a) or (e) values adopted on their own, by different individuals
INTERNAL CULTURAL PLURALISM	dual system	(a)(e)	(e)(a)	DUAL SYSTEM INTERACTION: Both (a) and (e) values adopted by the same individuals, but activated by them in different situations
HYBRID MONISM	hybrid monistic	(ae)	(ea)	SYNTHESIS TYPE INTERACTION: Neither (a) nor (e) values on their own, but new amalgam, derived from both, adopted by individuals
DOMINANT (ANGLO) MONISM	dominant monistic	(a)	(a)	CONFORMISM: Only (a) values of dominant group adopted by individuals

*   The symbols (a) and (e) stand for personal systems based upon Anglo-Celtic-Australian and minority ethnic values respectively.

**   Source: derived from Smolicz & Secombe (1981:20)

Another adaptation in which personal cultural systems remain largely monocultural occurs when different ethnic groups maintain their own separate communities and people spend their lives largely within the confines of the one ethnic group. Individuals' personal cultural systems remain monistic, either **(a) or (e)**, in so far as they are based almost exclusively on the values of their own group. Personal cultural systems incorporate values from other ethnic groups, only in those areas of life in which it is essential for the groups to interact, (as, for example, in the economic realm, under the apartheid system in South Africa).

Where interaction is a common or accepted phenomenon within a plural society, two different forms of personal cultural systems may emerge. These two are not mutually exclusive and may exist side by side, with one form being seen as more appropriate or convenient in a given area of life. The dual system type of interaction presupposes that individuals have had the opportunity to construct two parallel systems of cultural values, both **(a) and (e)**, in the same cultural area, as, for example, in the case of a bilingual individual who can use two different languages depending on the circumstances and the social context. In some areas of life, such as food or patterns of family life, it is possible to postulate the emergence of personal cultural systems which represent a synthesis or hybrid of cultural values drawn from more than one ethnic group, **(ae)** or **(ea)**, to highlight the range of possible mixing.

Smolicz's delineation of types of cultural interaction has some points of similarity to the concept of cultural valence elaborated by Kloskowska (1993a; 1993b; 1996) in contra-distinction to national identification. Whereas the latter refers to a person's sense of national allegiance, as Polish or

German for example, the latter seeks to take account of the fact that the person concerned may know and be able to participate in one or more other cultures (both Polish and German). According to Kloskowska (1993a : 180), the term cultural valence involves not only competence in the culture concerned but also 'the feeling of intimacy, particular freedom of expression and some sense of shared ownership of that culture'. She uses the term to distinguish between individuals who are culturally univalent and those who are bivalent, with the possibility in some cases of polyvalence. The existence of bivalence or polyvalence in individuals can be taken as evidence of their participation in the process of cultural interaction.

The Process of Cultural Interaction

Most often the initial stage of the interaction process takes the form of social contact between people who belong to different cultural groups. The contact may occur when people from diverse backgrounds find themselves in the same class at school, in the same workplace, or involved in the same sporting, artistic or other leisure time activities. Most often the incorporation of the new individuals into secondary personal social systems leaves other personal cultural systems largely untouched. The interaction process remains at the level of social values as long as the persons concerned do not move outside the cultural framework of the group in which the initial contact was made. However, where relationships extend into other cultural contexts, there is the opportunity for these social contacts to lead to a broader and deeper cultural exchange that eventually results in changes not only to social but also to other personal cultural systems.

The cultural context in which social interaction occurs is one factor which influences whether the stage of cultural interaction is reached. If the context is one in which the cultural values of the mainstream group are activated,

there is little opportunity for individuals of other ethnic backgrounds to use and share their values. The one exception could be if they are involved in interpreting or translating the mainstream group's language and other cultural values for the sake of someone from their own background. But even this usage serves only to reinforce the supremacy of the mainstream values. Where, however, the (context of social interaction) involves the activation or manifestation of minority cultural values, those from other groups, including the mainstream, find themselves confronted with new or unfamiliar cultural values. Going to a Chinese dragon festival, being invited to a Greek Orthodox wedding or baptism, watching an Indian film or an Italian opera - all these contexts can provide participants from other backgrounds with the chance to experience, at least for a short time, cultural values other than their own.

In the case of individuals of minority ethnic backgrounds the cultural context of interaction is problematic in another way. As long as the (family maintains the minority culture, it is most likely that they have some personal cultural systems derived principally from the minority values of the home and others from the dominant group values which they have learned through participation in the structures of mainstream society, such as the school or the workplace. Because of their bicultural capacities, such individuals often find themselves as the pivot of cultural interaction experiences, in much the same way as bivalent persons in borderland regions (Kloskowska, 1994 : 92-93).

If, however, an immigrant family chooses to set aside its minority heritage in order to assimilate as quickly as possible to the culture of the dominant group, its members are likely to activate personal cultural systems based on mainstream values, even when they had well developed minority value

systems before migration. Outwardly such individuals may appear little different from those members of the mainstream group who have had no contact with minority cultural values. Since their minority personal cultural systems remain at attitudinal level only, residual or unused, they cannot contribute in any useful way to any process of cultural interaction, although there remains the possibility of their minority values being re-activated in a different context or changing circumstances.

A second factor which may influence whether or not social interaction is the forerunner of cultural interchange is the level of relationship that develops among interacting individuals of different cultural backgrounds. Where the relationship remains at the secondary level (Smolicz, 1979 : 146-7), the chances of cultural interaction appear to be much less. When individuals interact only within the framework of common cultural values, in the limited context of the workplace, a sporting activity or leisure pursuit, there is little or no need to take account of differing cultural values in other areas of life. However, at the primary level, where relationships are deeper and more extensive, the possibility that each comes to know and understand some of the distinctive cultural values of the others is increased.

Knowledge may extend eventually to active participation in some aspects of the other's culture as, for example, an Anglo-Celtic-Australian boy joining a Polish Dancing Group because his two best friends are Poles and he finds that he enjoys the activities of the Dancing Group. Or a girl from the mainstream cultural group chooses to study Italian at school because she has Italian friends and wants to be able to talk to them in Italian and go to Italy one day herself. Involvement in these minority ethnic contexts through primary friendship networks thus provides those born into the

mainstream group with the opportunity to cross borders and interact at the cultural level through the incorporation of minority cultural values into their personal cultural systems.

This possibility highlights a third important influence on cultural interaction. Most often interaction develops at the cultural level, when the individuals concerned have a (positive attitude) to cultural diversity) in general and to the new cultural values they have encountered in particular. Where a positive attitude does not exist, even a context of minority values and a close personal relationship, may not be sufficient to ensure that cultural interaction occurs. Marriages between partners of different cultural backgrounds, for example, may become monocultural through being based exclusively on the culture of one of the partners. This happens when one person is indifferent or negative towards the culture of the other, who renounces his or her own cultural values to a greater or lesser extent. In this situation, even contact with the other partner's family and their cultural ways may be avoided or endured as a disinterested or hostile onlooker. Furthermore, the dominating partner will usually ensure that the children are brought up solely in his or her culture.

Conditions for Cultural Interaction

According to Smolicz (1979 : 104; 1988 : 391) the (process of cultural interaction, which leads individuals to modify and adapt their personal cultural systems, is central to the success of building a stable but dynamic multicultural society. In such a context cultural interaction helps to minimize the potential conflicts and tensions and maximizes the possibilities of creative adaptation and development. In his analysis of the different forms of personal cultural systems which may be found within an ethnically plural society, Smolicz (1979 : 106-7) concluded by setting out what

he called the essential conditions for cultural interaction to become a recognised and established phenomenon in such a society. He argued that cultural interaction was essentially a two way process and depended on individuals from both the mainstream group and the various minority ethnic groups fulfilling certain conditions. On the side of **individuals of minority ethnic background**, these conditions may be summarized as:

- they themselves must maintain their ethnic cultures, or in humanistic sociological terms, they must have some personal cultural systems based on minority ethnic values;

- they must be ready to share their cultures with people from other cultural backgrounds, ie. they must have positive attitudes to the value of multiculturalism rather than separatism;

- they must also know the Anglo-Celtic-Australian culture and participate in mainstream society, ie. they must have personal cultural systems based on Anglo-Celtic-Australian values in those areas where they need to participate in overarching Australian structures.

On the part of the **members of the mainstream Anglo-Celtic-Australian group,** the conditions for cultural interaction can be stated as:

- they must accept cultural pluralism as desirable for Australian society, or in humanistic sociological terms, they must adopt positive attitudes to the value of multiculturalism;

- they must be willing to participate in minority ethnic cultures ie. to incorporate some elements of minority ethnic cultures into their own personal cultural systems;

- they must accept bilingualism and biculturalism as a model for future generations of Australians from both the mainstream and minority groups, ie. accept personal cultural systems derived from more than one ethnic culture as a viable tradition for all Australians, of mainstream, as well as minority backgrounds.

Each of these conditions will now be discussed in more detail in terms of the humanistic model of culture explained earlier.

Minority Ethnic Cultural Maintenance

Cultural interaction can occur only as long as there exist in society cultures other than that of the mainstream group with which it can interact. If children born in Australia to immigrant parents of non-English speaking background do not have the opportunity to learn the cultural values of their parents, then the possibilities of cultural interaction will largely die out with the immigrant generation. The same result will be apparent if the younger generation, despite having access to the parental cultural heritage, adopts a negative attitude toward it and prefers to develop monistic personal systems based entirely on the cultural values of the dominant group.

Some minority cultural values, however, are far more vital for the group's survival than others. In this regard the concept of core values, as elaborated by Smolicz (1981a; 1984b) is particularly valuable. It helps to pinpoint those values which identify the group and without which its cultural life would

become residual and fragmented. Earlier empirical studies in Australia suggest, for example, that among groups like the Latvians, Poles and Greeks, their ethnic language is regarded as a core value. In the case of the Greeks their language is further reinforced by the complementary core values of the Greek Orthodox faith and their collectivist family orientation (Smolicz and Secombe, 1986a).

The significance of an ethnospecific language as a core value may be acknowledged in general terms, ie. in the sense of being recognised as indispensable for the group's cultural survival, without individual members being personally committed to activate and transmit such values. Some Welsh speakers in Australia, for example, are aware that there is little hope of maintaining Welsh culture in Australia without the language but, at the same time, there are hardly any young people born or educated in Australia who are fluent in Welsh, because parents have not made the effort to transmit the language or to insist on its use in the home (Hughes, 1994). In contrast, Greek-Australians show a high level of ethno-linguistic vitality in the sense that they not only acknowledge its importance in general terms, but actively maintain it in daily life. Clyne's (1991 : 62-65) analysis of the 1986 Census statistics showed a language shift from Greek to English among first generation Greek-Australians of only 4%. Among those of second generation in endogamous marriages the shift was 9%. In the case of the second generation involved in exogamous marriage, the shift was 41% which was still much lower than language shift in most mixed marriages (85% for those of German-born parents and 71% for those of Italian-born parents).

Where young people of minority backgrounds, such as the Welsh, are unable or unwilling to establish viable personal cultural systems in core

value areas such as their ethnic language, they must draw instead upon the cultural values of the mainstream group. At best, they may retain minority values in such areas as food, folk dancing or handicrafts which are only of residual or peripheral significance in life. In contrast, those who have positive attitudes and access to the core values of their minority home culture can learn, for example, literacy in their minority ethnic language. As a result they are able to build up their minority ethnic personal cultural systems in a number of different areas of life. Through their activation of these personal cultural systems, the culture of the group maintains itself in the new country in a viable form which can interact creatively with the other cultures it encounters.

The Readiness of Minority Groups to Share Their Cultures

It is not enough, however, for minority groups to succeed in maintaining their core values from one generation to the next. There must also be developed within the minority groups' ideological values an outward looking orientation and readiness to share their culture with those who were not born into the group, but come into contact with its members or are attracted to its culture. Such a multicultural value represents the very antithesis of the ethno-centric attitude to be found among members of those ethnic groups who seek to restrict the access that outsiders or foreigners have to their group life, by limiting participation in their cultural and educational institutions to their own group members. This separatist attitude is sometimes observed among individuals whose group core values are based on birth or assumed genetic factors. Unless the minority group as a whole, and its members individually, adopt the ideological value of multiculturalism with its implication of cultural sharing, there can be little possibility of cultural interaction in a society like Australia.

The most obvious evidence of such sharing in the Australian context is in the area of food, with the proliferation of restaurants of Italian, Greek, Chinese, Vietnamese, Lebanese and Russian which many mainstream Australians enjoy patronising. Similarly, minority ethnic festivals and celebrations like the Italian *Carnivale*, the Greek *Glendi*, the Chinese Dragon Boat racing and the Polish *Dozynki* attract a wide range of people, well beyond the confines of the organizing group. At a deeper cultural level numbers of mainstream Australians have taken advantage of opportunities to learn a minority ethnic language from a teacher of that background.

Minority Participation in Mainstream Culture and Structures

A third vital condition is that individuals of minority ethnic background become familiar with the mainstream culture of Australian society so that they can participate on an equal footing with members of the dominant group. Such equality is of crucial importance in those areas of life which constitute the overarching framework of values for all Australians. If individuals of minority ethnic background do not have, for example, a good grasp of English (both in its oral and written forms), their capacity to participate in the structures of mainstream society are severely curtailed. Similarly, if they have no understanding of Australian political, economic and legal systems they are not able to play an active part in the various formal economic, political, and occupational structures of mainstream society.

Those ethnic individuals who do fulfil this condition, as well as the two earlier ones, are in a position to play a vital role in the interaction process. Social interaction between such minority ethnic individuals and those of Anglo-Celtic-Australian background within the context of mainstream structures is important. For many of the dominant group this is the only

opportunity for contact with people of minority ethnic background and learning something about the existence and significance of minority ethnic cultures in Australia. In some cases this form of social contact may prove a pre-cursor to interaction at the cultural level. Moreover, minority ethnic individuals may find themselves in a position where they can initiate, even if in a very minor way, some modification to mainstream cultural values in their particular sphere of influence.

To summarize, for cultural interaction to occur individuals of minority background must be bilingual and bicultural in their own and the mainstream culture, and willing to share their culture with others. In terms of Kloskowska's terminology, they must be bivalent or polyvalent, a condition which all the University graduates of non-English speaking background in the recent research carried out by Hudson (1995) did fulfil. Such individuals are most valuable and vital catalysts in the cultural interaction process. The danger is that these minority ethnic individuals may feel isolated, intimidated and powerless to influence mainstream culture in any way. Such a sense of alienation can be prevented if Anglo-Celtic-Australians also re-organize their personal and group cultural systems in order to fulfil the conditions from their side for cultural interaction to become a reality in a plural society such as Australia.

The Incorporation of Cultural Diversity into the Overarching Framework
The mainstream group's attitudes toward cultural diversity are critical for the achievement of cultural interaction. For it is these attitudes of group members which influence how they respond to any new or different cultural values they actually encounter. If the mainstream society, both at the level of government policy and individual action, fails to respond positively to the reality of cultural pluralism brought by immigrants into

Australian society, then newcomers are left with the choice of becoming assimilated to mainstream cultural values as quickly as possible, or of entrenching their cultures in isolation from mainstream society in all those areas of life where this is open to them. Examples of other societies shows that denial of recognition to minorities may lead them to enter the political and economic arena as sectional parties or associations.

If the assimilationist alternative prevails, society could be expected to revert to cultural monism within one or two generations. Such an outcome would ensure that examples of cultural interaction were limited to a very few individuals, outstanding for their independent outlook and creative imagination. For the most part, ethnic cultural values would then die out in the Australian context, and there would be no alternative values for the mainstream culture to interact with. Where the latter separatist possibility emerges, cultural differences tend to become so construed in terms of confrontation and conflict that it is difficult for cultural interaction to occur. Social contact between groups is likely to be limited to specified areas of life involving secondary relations only. Except in the areas of essential overarching values, individuals from both minority and especially mainstream backgrounds have little opportunity for access to cultural values other than their own. Those who do seek understanding of and participation in other cultural values are likely to risk ostracism and denunciation from members of their own group.

If, however, individuals of the mainstream cultural group are prepared to reorganize their personal cultural systems to incorporate a positive evaluation of cultural pluralism in general and a willingness to experiment themselves in experiencing other cultural values in some areas of life, cultural interaction becomes a realistic possibility. This positive attitude

towards cultural pluralism needs to be strong enough, and found among enough influential individuals to be given public recognition and official support in government policy, as a value for the whole Australian society. In other words, it is necessary for the overarching framework to be reorganized to include multiculturalism as an ideological value.

In theory, at least, the widespread acceptance of multiculturalism would encourage both government and private initiatives that increase the access of mainstream Australians to the range of cultures that make up the heritage of the Australian people. The adoption of multicultural values would also ensure that Australians of minority ethnic background are given the opportunity to become fully qualified and take up positions in the political and economic structures of mainstream society right through to the highest administrative and executive levels. Recognition of overseas professional qualifications, for example, is an important issue which has only recently been given the attention it deserves through the establishment of the National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (NOOSR).

Participation of Mainstream Individuals in Minority Cultures
Participation of mainstream individuals in minority cultures is most likely to develop when they are interested enough to associate with those members of minority ethnic background whom they come into contact with. Once social interaction is initiated, the development of a deeper level of friendship may encourage participation in minority family, social, religious, sporting or other distinctive activities. Such individuals of mainstream background may develop a genuine interest in the art, drama, music, language or literature of one or more minority ethnic groups and be prepared to make the effort to participate in the minority ethnic structures

concerned. Where opportunities exist in mainstream educational institutions they may study these aspects formally as part of their secondary or tertiary studies, or in non-award courses, out of sheer interest. In this way a Catholic priest of Irish background who is working in a predominantly Italian parish, may decide to learn Italian so that he can say Sunday Mass in Italian as well as English. He may also introduce into the life of the parish, and actively participate himself in, the celebration of specifically Italian feast days and religious celebrations (Smolicz, 1995a : 43).

Individuals who take up such opportunities are able to develop personal cultural systems which partake, at least to some degree, of minority culture values. This can occur in at least two different ways. On the one hand, there is the possibility of constructing a second parallel personal cultural system in certain areas of life such as language. Individuals can become bilingual by constructing a Greek, Italian or Chinese linguistic system alongside their existing English one, thereby developing what Smolicz (1979 : 104) called a dual linguistic system. The components of the dual (or multiple) linguistic system can then be activated independently, depending on the social and cultural context. In the area of food, a diversity or multiplicity of taste experiences is also possible, but most often a blending of ingredients, recipes or dishes is involved. Such a process of synthesis or hybridisation is not generally encouraged for language, since in a minority setting, it often represents a stage towards language extinction, as described by Dixon (1990) for Aboriginal languages.

For other areas of life, it is difficult if not impossible to acquire an additional complementary personal system. In the case of family life, for example, it is not possible to have two spouses of different ethnic backgrounds and set up two different households based on the family patterns of each partner, at

least not legally. Nor is it desirable to continually move aged parents between the family home and the old people's 'home'. What may develop, however, where marriage partners come from two different cultural backgrounds is a synthesis or hybrid system of family values which incorporates values drawn from the cultural heritages of both partners (Smolicz, 1979 : 104). In this way a compromise can be worked out, for example, between the value of individual independence being sacred, no matter what the implications for the family, which is often a central value in mainstream Anglo-Celtic-Australian families, and the opposite value of family solidarity taking precedence, no matter what the needs of individual members, which is the assumption in some minority ethnic cultures.

A Mainstream Tradition of Multiculturalism

The processes discussed above could encourage the emergence of an increasing number of mainstream Australians who were to varying degrees bicultural and bilingual, in the sense that their personal cultural systems were derived from the cultural heritage of more than one group. They, like the bilingual bicultural Australians from minority ethnic backgrounds, would become models of cultural interaction for the rest of society and point to the creative possibilities that participation in more than one culture could bring. For cultural interaction to become securely established as an important and continuing phenomenon in Australian life, the idea of at least some mainstream Australians becoming bilingual and bicultural needs to be accepted as a viable tradition. It would then be passed on from the current generation of bilingual models to their children, as a development that is not only worthwhile emulating at personal level, but is vital for the cultural and economic benefits it confers upon the whole society (Smolicz, 1990).

Where personal cultural systems remain monistic, this fact can be taken as evidence that the individuals concerned have not been involved in cultural interaction. This restriction of personal cultural systems may, however, be the result of lack of access to alternative values. If the principle of cultural interaction is not publicly recognized and supported to create situations and structures that encourage cultural interaction, it remains a chance or random phenomenon rather than an Australian multicultural tradition.

One important means of achieving a mainstream multicultural tradition is the education system. Education from pre-school to tertiary can ensure that the educational experiences of all Australian children gives them access to languages and cultures other than the mainstream group's through the curriculum, staffing and resources available to them. To develop a multicultural tradition, the curriculum should provide the opportunity to study the languages and cultures not only of Australia's neighbouring countries and trading partners, but also of Australian ethnic minorities in at least some schools and universities.

The Focus of Investigation

The present study aimed to investigate the phenomenon of cultural interaction as revealed in memoirs and personal statements written by Diploma in Education students of mainstream Anglo-Celtic-Australian background over the period 1979-1994. The experiences revealed in the memoirs were analysed according to humanistic sociological principles and the conceptual framework outlined in this chapter. The analysis was intended to extend and deepen our understanding of the phenomenon of cultural interaction in Australia, and the role of education in this, from the perspective of members of the mainstream group. In particular, the three conditions for cultural interaction which Smolicz (1979 : 106-7) postulated

from the side of the mainstream Australian group were re-formulated as two basic questions which were used to analyse the memoirs. The first, derived from the second condition, focussed on the experience of interaction:

- To what extent had the writer experienced cultural interaction, according to the descriptions given?

The second was an attitudinal question which attempted to pick up in general terms the implications of the first and third conditions:

- What current overall attitude to cultural pluralism did the writer reveal in the views and ideas expressed?

Before the analysis of memoirs is presented, it is necessary in the next chapter to consider in detail the method of memoir collection and analysis as first developed by Znaniecki and subsequently used by Smolicz in Australia and Kloskowska in Poland.

CHAPTER THREE

MEMOIR ANALYSIS AS SOCIOLOGICAL METHOD

Adoption of the humanistic sociological approach has implications for the method of investigating the phenomenon of cultural interaction. The assumption that individuals are active participants in their social and cultural context requires a method that allows the researcher to collect data from the participants' point of view, by minimizing and as far as possible, eliminating the influence of the researcher on the data gathered. Ideally the method should allow individuals free expression of their ideas, thoughts, feelings and aspirations, in reflecting upon themselves, their situation as they see it, and their actions within it. The researcher's involvement with the data begins with the stage of analysis for the purpose of interpreting the participants' actions and situations with what Znaniecki (1963 : 132) called the humanistic co-efficient - as they appear to the human individuals who actually experience them .

The Use of Memoirs

The work which pioneered such a humanistic methodology was Thomas and Znaniecki's *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* published first in 1919 and republished in 1927. They made use of personal documents in the form of letters which had passed between various family members - those who had remained in Poland and those who had emigrated to other parts of Europe and America in the early years of the twentieth century. The authors were able to gain access to several series of such family letters. This primary source of personal data was supplemented by newspaper reports, court documents and organizational records which the authors used as supporting evidence for their analysis of the letters. Thomas and Znaniecki also included as part of their

study a long and detailed life history of the Polish emigrant, Wladek. Znaniecki considered that such memoirs were a most useful source of data for a humanistic sociological analysis of individuals as cultural beings within their given social contexts (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927 : 1832) .

The interwar years in Poland saw a number of large scale studies using memoir methodology under the direction of Znaniecki who at that stage held a chair of Sociology at Poznan University. The most extensive of these was the organization of a memoir competition for peasants who were asked to write about their lives in the hope of gaining one of the number of prizes offered for the memoirs judged to be the best in portraying the life situation of their writers (Chalasinski, 1938). This study of peasant life was replicated twenty five years later, when other Polish sociologists interested in tracing the changes in Polish peasant life, organized a second competition to collect a whole new set of peasant memoirs (Golebiowski and Jakubczak, 1964-72). Znaniecki (1931) himself did a study on the city of Poznan 'in the consciousness of its inhabitants' through analysing the views he had solicited from its people. Among the more recent Polish studies has been a collection of memoirs from people involved in the 1980 Solidarity inspired strikes in the Gdansk shipyards (Latoszek, 1988).

Over the last twenty years, Kloskowska has been one of the leading Polish exponents of the use of autobiographical materials in sociological research. Her early studies involved an analysis of the 'paths to Polish patriotism' revealed in the published autobiographies of eight outstanding Polish leaders in the period covering the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries (Kloskowska, 1982 : 73). Her later study of the phenomena of 'national conversion' and cultural polyvalence in the experience of individuals in the Polish 'borderlands' also depended on the analysis of materials, such as

the published writings and memoirs of the scholar, Albert von Winkler later known as Wojciech Ketrzynski, and of the artist, Joseph Czapski (Kloskowska, 1994). Her most recent research involved the use of tape recorded interviews with seventy young people of different cultural background educated in Polish universities. The interviews were transcribed into oral memoirs, over half of which Kloskwska (1996) analysed in detail in relation to the national identification and cultural valence they revealed.

In Australia the method of collecting and analysing memoirs was used by Smolicz and his collaborators in studying the experiences of Polish immigrants and their children in the Australian education system (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981; 1982); for investigating the nature of core values among minority ethnic groups in Australia (Smolicz and Secombe 1986a; 1986b; 1989; Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe, 1990); and most recently for studying the 'cultural becoming' of some education graduates of the University of Adelaide (Hudson, 1995). In some of these studies a modification of the memoir method was adopted, in so far as the participants were not asked to provide full scale life histories, but were given guidelines to memoir writing which asked them to concentrate on their experiences in the particular areas of life on which the investigations were focussed, such as language usage, patterns of family life, school achievement and sense of identity. Smolicz's co-workers have also experimented with the use of recorded oral memoirs transcribed from extended, open-ended interviews with respondents whose backgrounds were Ethiopian (Debela, 1996), Welsh (Hughes, 1994) and Armenian (Milosh, 1995).

Criticisms of the Memoir Approach

The use of memoirs and other personal documents for humanistic sociological analysis has aroused much debate and controversy, since the publication of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* in 1919. Critiques have ranged from the

detailed discussion of Thomas and Znaniecki's work by Blumer (1939) to the ongoing debate on memoir methodology among Polish sociologists (*Sisyphus Sociological Studies*, vol.2, 1982) and to the wider interest shown more recently by those involved in publishing the regular *Biography and Society* newsletter of Research Committee Number 38 of the International Sociological Association. Blumer's main criticism of *The Polish Peasant* related to the extent to which the interpretation of the documents was open to bias and distortion from the researcher's views and experiences. Other criticism has tended to focus on the inherent limitations and inadequacies of personal documents and statements as sources of sociological data.

A recent analysis of contemporary discussion on what is now being called 'the biographical method' pointed to three objections to biographical materials often made by those working from within the methodological principles of empirical research - their lack of 'objectivity; their lack of representativeness; and their lack of uniformity' (Giza, 1987 : 13). Authors in the December 1988 Newsletter of *Biography and Society* raised some of the same issues, as problems that need to be overcome in using personal documents. These included the need to establish the authenticity of documents, as well as the importance of recognising that they are not likely to be representative of any society, or any group within it, or even be comparable to one another in terms of the subject matter discussed. The sections that follow consider these main criticisms in greater detail.

Memoirs as Authentic Documents

One of the questions often asked in relation to the use of memoirs as sociological resource materials is the extent to which the researcher can treat them as authentic. This matter emerges as a more important issue in relation to data collected via memoirs than in the case of questionnaires. It is possible

for those filling in a questionnaire form to deliberately falsify their answers, as a joke or as a deliberate attempt to conceal their identity, or to frustrate the purpose of the investigation. In a statistical analysis, however, an incorrect or false response from one individual, or even two or three people, is not important. The whole purpose is to calculate a statistical probability for the population represented by the respondents, with the acknowledged limitation that this cannot be used to predict single or individual cases. By contrast, in humanistic sociological analysis where the aim of the research is to understand each individual respondent in his or her context, the authenticity of a given memoir would appear to be critical (Kloskowska, 1982 : 72).

How can a researcher be sure that the writers of the memoirs being analysed were genuine and serious in their intentions and accurately described their situations and states of mind - at least to the best of their understanding? To what extent should researchers seek confirmation of the authenticity of the memoirs they are analysing? It would seem that the approach adopted by most researchers using humanistic methodology is to treat memoirs as reliable, by assuming that the respondents have not written fictional memoirs or deliberately made statements which they know to be untrue, until there is evidence to the contrary. Such an approach is consistent with Znaniecki's argument that memoirs must be accepted as the writer's expression of the thoughts and feelings which directly influenced the way they acted in their situation. According to Znaniecki (1982 : 12), the participants themselves are the only possible arbiters of their inner states of being. When memoir writers speak of their fear or anger, their sense of achievement or bewilderment, the researcher cannot deny or reject these characterizations of their feelings. They must be accepted in the terms in which the respondents have stated them. If a participant says, 'I hated my father', the researcher must accept this statement as a cultural fact, while seeking to understand more clearly what the writer

meant by these words, through reference to other comments in the memoir, which may qualify the particular sense, event or period in which the hatred was felt. It may, for example, have been a momentary feeling associated with a particular event; or have represented a phase in the writer's experiences of growing up; or it may have been maintained as an abiding attitude which continues to be expressed in the writer's refusal to have any contact with the father.

The discovery that a particular memoir is fictional or that certain statements made within it are false, may even be welcomed by the researcher in that such data can provide a means of gaining a deeper, more subtle understanding of the range of interactions which may occur between individuals and their social and cultural context. A close analysis of the supposed inconsistencies may highlight the priority of the participants' attitudes in relation to their actual actions. Because of the possibilities, as well as the problems, posed by memoirs which can be shown to be false or misleading in one way or another, it is worth discussing in more detail some of the practical problems of analysis and interpretation which may arise.

Sources of Mistakes and Errors in Facts

By its very nature as a reconstruction of the past and a record of the writer's memories, every memoir involves the possibility that, without intending to deceive or mislead the researcher, the writer has made some mistake, especially in relation to specific details of past years. Take, for example, the case of respondents who genuinely forget the proper year of their birth, or the date of their arrival in Australia, or inadvertently make a mistake in one of the ciphers. Such inaccuracies of detail are no justification for the researcher to reject as worthless the descriptions of feelings and experiences of migration contained in the memoirs. In the course of the rest of their writing, their

discussion of memories of childhood or other key events in their lives may reveal quite clearly that the date of birth, or arrival, which they had written down was inconsistent and almost certainly wrong.

The researcher also needs to bear in mind that in some social contexts falsification of personal data such as place of birth may have been a political necessity for survival. The researcher's discovery of the true place of birth, perhaps through some other source of information or from other evidence within the memoir, together with the researcher's understanding of the historical and cultural background, does not mean rejecting the whole memoir because of a lack of authenticity. Nor is it simply a matter of correcting the supposedly 'wrong' information given. Rather the knowledge of both facts provides the researcher with a unique means of understanding the dilemma faced by the memoir writer and/or the family concerned, and the procedures which were adopted to resolve it.

It is also possible that a memoir will provide some evidence on the basis of which a researcher would be justified in concluding that a mistake was deliberate and reflected a particular state of the author's mind. A memoir that discusses, for example, the writer's fear of growing old and desire to remain youthful may suggest to the researcher that an incorrect date of birth was deliberately given.

There is even the chance that the researcher can go one step further. From the analysis of a set of memoirs, the researcher may be able to draw some conclusions as to whether the fear of growing old, linked to falsification of age, is simply the behaviour of one person; a phenomenon to be found occasionally among women participants of a given age range; or a recognisable pattern of behaviour apparent among the great majority of adults of both sexes from a

particular cultural background. In the first possibility, the phenomenon in question is to be interpreted as the idiosyncratic whim of a single individual. In the second case it can be recognised as a response commonly found among a section of people of a given sex and age range. The third possibility suggests a situation where youth, with its beauty and vitality, is prized in the culture of the respondents' group as the pinnacle of life, while growing old has consequently acquired a negative meaning. Hence it becomes part of the accepted norm for adults, say, never to admit to an age over 35 and to celebrate namedays in preference to birthdays.

Bias, Self-deception and Misrepresentation

Although it can be argued that inaccurate factual details in no way require a whole memoir to be discarded as useless, false or misleading statements about the writer's thoughts and feelings could be regarded as more critical. The researcher may accept and analyse as genuine a memoir that is totally fictional or contains a number of misrepresentations. There have been examples of attempts to deceive researchers for personal, social or financial reasons, such as the same person writing a memoir as a young girl and an old woman, perhaps in the hope of maximizing her chances of a prize in a memoir competition or perhaps just because it was a challenge that took her fancy (Kloskowska 1982 : 72).

More frequently memoir writers misrepresent or falsify certain aspects of their life stories in order to give a particular impression of themselves. Take the example of a middle-aged man who continually alludes to the love affairs of his youth, or the mother who proclaims her devotion to the Polish language and boasts of her insistence that her children use Polish with her in the home. If, through access to other information, given with the memoir or available to the researcher through other means, it is discovered that the former in fact

married the only girl he ever went out with, or that the children of the latter always answered their mother in English, does the researcher reject the memoirs concerned as lies, or can they still be regarded as useful documents for humanistic sociological analysis? In both cases knowledge of the memoir writers' statements, when juxtaposed with the concrete information from other sources, enables the researcher to gain a much more complete understanding of the individuals concerned in their situation, both at the level of what they actually do and of what they think and feel about themselves.

In much the same way the researcher has to take account of descriptions and experiences which, although not falsified, may be heightened, exaggerated or coloured by the beliefs, prejudices and ideological outlooks of their writers (Grabski, 1982 : 18-27). One of the notable features of the memoir competition organized for Polish peasants between the wars was the tendency of many participants to exaggerate the physical hardships and poverty of their lives. Grabski's answer to the question of whether such biased memoirs were of any value to the sociologist was that it depended on how they were used:

> *He who wants to quote glaring formulations from this is most likely to be at variance with the truth ... They [the memoirs of peasants] abound in exaggerations, but next to that there is much truth in them, and what is true suffices to let us see poverty and its various causes; and even what is exaggerated is not without value, because it allows us to infer what peasants think and feel* (Grabski, 1982 : 20).

Sometimes the issue pertains not so much to deliberate exaggeration, as to the particular outlook of the writer. Thus writers with differing perspectives may vary substantially in their interpretations of the same family situation. Miodunka (1988; 1990), for example, reported notable variations in the interpretation of the maintenance of minority ethnic languages and cultures among children within the same Polish family in Australia. Those children

who had become successful professionals and assimilated to the language, outlook and lifestyle of their mainstream Australian colleagues emphasized in their comments the great difficulties experienced by their non-English speaking parents in dealing with the English-speaking world of work, commerce and government bureaucracy. They could recall the sense of conflict they themselves experienced in moving between the minority ethnic culture of their home and the dominant mainstream culture of the school. Other children from the same family, interpreting the same phenomena from a perspective influenced by their active involvement in the social and cultural affairs of the Polish-Australian group, highlighted in a positive way the maintenance of the parents' language and culture within the home and the advantages of having access to two languages and cultures.

From the point of view of the memoir researcher, however, a particular perspective, bias or prejudice on the part of the author is not to be deprecated or regretted as an imperfection or flaw which lessens the value of what has been written. Rather it is the great advantage of the memoir method that it allows the researcher to recognize the viewpoint or prejudice and see the relationship between the ideological attitudes of the respondents and their actions in everyday life. In this way the memoir method is able to take account of the varying perspectives adopted by different participants toward the same phenomena, thus enhancing our understanding of the complexities of social reality.

A further extension of this issue has more serious theoretical consequences. There are those who argue that people in general, and respondents in sociological research in particular, cannot be regarded as actors who are responsible for what they do in their situation. At worst they are to be regarded as puppets (Berger, 1988 : 140) ; at best they are somewhat irrational

and limited beings, who have little or no way of understanding the unseen forces that really control them (eg. Dixon, 1973 : 67-87). Personal statements or memoirs are from this point of view no more than marginally relevant, since all they show is the writers' ignorance of the powerful political, economic, social and cultural forces which really shape and determine their lives. Such criticisms often come from sociologists who consider that their perspective as a critical outside observer gives them an unrivalled position from which to make judgements which are deemed to be closer to the supposedly 'objective truth' about social reality.

The limitations of relying solely on the judgement of the sociologist as outside observer can be seen in an admittedly unusual and complex case known to the researcher. It concerns the son of British immigrants, who had both died when he was still a very young child. Subsequently he was brought up in a small Australian country town by his father's brother and wife, who happened to be of part Aboriginal descent. Because his fellow students assumed that this woman was his mother, they regarded him as Aboriginal and subjected him to name calling and mistreatment, such as rolling him in the mud.

To the sociologist working from available verifiable information about this man, there was no doubt that biologically he was of British stock and of Anglo-Australian cultural background. Yet if the sociologist had been prepared to investigate his inner personal world, the man would have admitted that he actually felt part Aboriginal. In fact, his sense of identification with Aboriginal people persisted into adult life, even after he had left the country town of his childhood. Despite the actual circumstances of his birth and ethnic ancestry, he had so internalized his peer group's objectively 'wrong' identification of him as Aboriginal, that he came to think of himself as Aboriginal, at least in part. Kloskowska's (1994) detailed investigation of the circumstances and nature of

the 'national conversion' of the German, Albert von Winkler, into the Pole, Wojciech Ketrzynski, provides a very well documented example of the social and cultural consequences of an individual changing his personal sense of identity and what this meant for him.

The classic defence of the humanistic sociological approach which accepts the participants' definition of their situation was given by Thomas. In reply to Blumer's criticisms he argued that 'even a highly subjective, delusional, or fabricated document has significance, since it represents attitudes which may pass into action' (Blumer, 1939 : 83). He elaborated this point by quoting from his own later writings.

> *A document prepared by one compensating for a feeling of inferiority or elaborating a delusion of persecution is as far as possible from objective reality, but the subject's view of the situation, how he regards it, may be the most important element for interpretation. For his immediate behaviour is closely related to his definition of the situation, which may be in terms of objective reality or in terms of a subjective appreciation - 'as if' it were so. Very often it is the wide discrepancy between the situation as it seems to others and the situation as it seems to the individual that brings about the overt behaviour ... If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequence.* (quoted in Blumer, 1939 : 85)

The Representativeness of a Set of Memoirs

Critics have also raised the question of how representative a set of memoirs is (Dulczewski, 1982 : 85). Some Polish researchers have even focused their analysis chiefly on motives for writing memoirs (Golebiowski, 1982 : 145). Those who choose to write memoirs, whether in response to a competition or at the request of a researcher, obviously form a self-selected group (Adamski, 1982a : 199), as in the case of experimental work based on volunteers. They can in no way be regarded as a representative or random sample of the population at large, or even of a particular group within the overall population. The

demand that participants in an investigation be representative is necessary only when the investigation is based on statistical analysis. Then a particular number of cases must be selected, either randomly or to reflect accurately the various characteristics of the total population in order to test hypotheses and predict the occurrence (or at least the probability of the occurrence) of certain phenomena within that population.

The purpose of humanistic sociologists is very different. They seek to understand specific individuals as social and cultural beings within their particular contexts and to understand the interplay between the individual and the various social and cultural factors in a given time and situation. The context and responses of each person, in the terms in which they are defined by each individual as a holistic entity, are important for themselves, in their own right. The individual's definition of the situation and of the appropriate response to it are to be accepted and treated as an aspect of social reality which cannot be denied as untrue or ignored as unimportant. At the same time, it must be recognised that such cultural data cannot be used as the means of predicting the future patterns of behaviour of people in a given population, but rather for the purpose of deepening understanding of social and cultural phenomena as the product of the essential interaction between personal and cultural factors in the social context under investigation.

It is of course theoretically possible to speak of a memoir as being representative or typical of a whole set of memoirs related to a common phenomenon or experience, in the sense that it describes situations and reveals attitudes which are discussed in the majority, if not all of the memoirs. In practice, however, it is often not easy to find one example that typifies all the others, since each memoir tends to have some unique features. Aspects discussed in detail in one memoir may not even be mentioned by other memoir

writers. Some researchers have seen this as a problem of the methodology and tried to adopt procedures designed to ensure that all memoir writers deal with at least a common core of issues in which the researcher is particularly interested. Potential memoir-writers have been provided with guidelines of topics or issues which they might like to discuss (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981; Adamski, 1982a : 190-1). Others have suggested careful selection from a pool of potential respondents who express an initial interest in writing a memoir (Lutynski, 1982 : 87; 1988 : 45-6).

Most often, however, the researcher is able to identify a number of memoirs as being similar to one another in their definition of their cultural context and in the response they make to it. It may then be possible to construct a typology which indicates the range of definitions and responses to a particular cultural context which can be isolated in the analysis of a whole set of memoirs. In this way, the researcher may sometimes be in a position to judge whether a particular response is to be interpreted as an individual phenomenon, as typical of a small section, or as evidence of a cultural pattern among the majority of memoir writers.

Interpreting Memoirs

In his critique of *The Polish Peasant*, Blumer (1939 : 44) considered the issues of the representativeness, the adequacy and the reliability of personal documents, including memoirs, and life histories or records. However, he devoted the greatest part of his discussion of the methodology of using human documents, as he often called them, to a consideration of the validity of interpreting them in terms of the culture of a given society or group. In evaluating Thomas and Znaniecki's depiction of Polish peasant culture, which they claimed to derive from their analysis of family letters, supplemented by newspaper accounts, court documents and other organizational records, Blumer (1939 : 32)

acknowledged that 'the characterization is convincing and illuminating, and gives the impression of deep insight and of a high order of intelligence'. However, in his view, the human documents used were not the sole source of Thomas and Znaniecki's analysis of Polish peasant society. He argued,

> *it is clear that the letters get their meaning and significance from the introductions and footnotes [supplied by Thomas and Znaniecki] rather than vice versa. Were an intelligent reader with no knowledge of Polish culture or personal life given merely the letters to study, it is inconceivable, in the judgement of the writer, that he could ever arrive at the characterization of Polish peasant society presented by the authors* (Blumer, 1939 : 32).

Rather he considered that the interpretation of the letters had been influenced directly by both the theoretical framework adopted by the authors, and by the prior knowledge and understanding of Polish culture brought to the analysis by the researchers themselves.

Thomas and Znaniecki (1927 : 76) had pointed out in their introduction,

> *Our acquaintance with the Polish society simply helps us in noting data and relations which would perhaps not be noticed so easily by one not immediately acquainted with the life of the groups.*

In Blumer's estimation this statement greatly underplayed the direct contribution and even intervention of the researchers in the analysis of human documents.

> *It seems quite clear that, in interpreting the letters, the authors have brought to bear upon them a framework of knowledge, information and perspective that far transcends the letters themselves. The framework must have been based on an intimate knowledge of Polish peasant life, derived from a wide variety of sources; and on a rich fund of questions, hunches, leads, and ideas which sensitized the authors to special kinds of data and relations. They have given expression to this framework in their general introduction, and then*

used this scheme for the ordering and interpretation of the letters (Blumer, 1939 : 32).

It would seem therefore that the researcher's mind interacting with the human documents of the participants rather than just the documents per se had produced the sort of analysis to be found in *The Polish Peasant*. The difficulties of defining just what this interpretative interaction involved was highlighted by Blumer's (1939 : 36) complaint that

> *there is no way of understanding how the interpretation was arrived at; nor are there any rules which would permit determination as to whether the interpretation is correct or erroneous, or the extent to which it is so.*

On the one hand, he argued that the letters used by Thomas and Znaniecki could not be regarded as 'the inductive materials out of which they have constructed their elaborate analysis of Polish peasant life'. On the other hand, they could not just be considered as 'rich illustrative material for the exemplification of their theoretical analyses' (Blumer 1939 : 38). The actual relation could be characterized perhaps as one in which the already developed theory illuminated and directed the analysis, but where simultaneously, the actual reading of the human situations revealed in the documents could lead to further theoretical formulations and modifications.

In these circumstances the quality of any analysis of human documents depends in a large measure on the researcher who seeks to make use of them. It also follows from this assumption that different researchers bringing different attitudes, theoretical frameworks and questions to the documents are likely to produce rather different interpretations from the same body of human documents. Blumer (1939 : 77) concluded,

the value of the analysis will depend on the experience, intelligence, skill and fruitful questions of the student. As these factors vary, so will the interpretation. The person who has a broad acquaintance with human beings, who as we say popularly, understands human nature, and who has an intimate familiarity with the area of experience that he is studying, should make a more able analysis than one who is less well equipped in these respects ... the interpretative content of a human document depends markedly on the competence and theoretical framework with which the document is studied. One person, by virtue of his experience and interests, may detect things in a document that another person would not see.

It is important to recognize the limitations and difficulties in memoir methodology which have been discussed above, so that these may be taken into account by the researcher. Those who have used this methodology, however, have pointed to what they consider to be a number of strengths and advantages in this approach.

Strengths and Advantages of the Memoir Method

One of the chief advantages of the memoir method relates to the quality of data collected in the form of personal statements, in comparison with other methods. Kloskowska (1996 : 467) justified her use of personal documents in her study of national identification and cultural valence by claiming that,

... mass statistical research, when applied to national problems often creates or strengthens national stereotype by the very method of asking questions. This is avoided in autobiographical case studies. No suggestions as to the "general character" of national groups are used here and the facts of national awareness are tackled from within the consciousness of the respondent who is the author of his own life story.

Information gathered in a structured way by means of a questionnaire often proves a useful way of gathering much data in a comparatively short time, but also suffers from the disadvantage that the terms of the question are in a

standardised form which may ignore important features specific to particular groups or individuals. Furthermore, responses which take the form of ticking the most appropriate box provide the researcher with no means of ascertaining how the respondents have interpreted the question. Variations in the meaning given to words by individuals from the same ethnic background, and even more across ethnic groups, may substantially influence the pattern of responses. Where the investigator has personal knowledge and experience of the phenomena being studied, some of these drawbacks may be overcome.

In the case of interviews, much depends on the investigator's ability to set the respondents at ease and get them talking about the relevant issues. When they are relaxed and informal, much valuable information may be gained. However, it is often very time-consuming, and may prove inadequate in that it does not allow time for the respondents to consider the question and to relive their memories of past events. The presence of the interviewer in some situations may have a constraining effect on the respondents, or significantly influence the extent and nature of their participation.

Asking participants to write memoirs or personal statements about their cultural experiences in relation the phenomenon being investigated has a number of important advantages. The writers themselves have control of the subject matter; they can concentrate on those aspects they consider important and leave out others which they do not want to discuss. Respondents are also free to write in their own way with far less interference from the researcher in expressing their thoughts, feelings, aspirations and assessments. Their explanations and discussions often provide a cultural and linguistic context for the researcher to better understand the meaning which the respondents give to a particular cultural activity or situation. Such comments may provide insights and breadth of understanding of the phenomenon in question which go

beyond what can be gained from the ticks and crosses of a questionnaire survey. In the opinion of Lutynski (1982 : 91),

> *An ample and comprehensive autobiographical description also often enables the researcher to evaluate better the reliability of the various items it provides than the reliability of the data given in an answer to a questionnaire, which are usually analysed separately and which as a rule do not combine to form the whole which an individual's life is.*

Another significant advantage lies in the fact that memoirs and other personal documents (including transcribed oral memoirs), once collected, are accessible to analysis and interpretation by subsequent researchers and other readers. This possibility does not exist in relation to statistical or ethnographic studies. Although in principle, a stack of computer data sheets that represents the coded responses, the initial analysis and the later statistical manipulation of the results would be available for later perusal, in practice this is a cumbersome and unwieldy solution which is rarely pursued. At most any later checks are confined to the accuracy and appropriateness of the last stages of statistical analysis. Most often the reader has no direct access to the original responses of the participants or to the vital stage of how the researcher has chosen to ask the questions or code and analyse the data collected.

In the case of ethnographic studies, despite the most detailed daily notes of the anthropologist, it is virtually impossible for later researchers to be able to experience exactly the same phenomena and situations and get back to the original experience per se. All that is available is the record of the experience as observed and written down by the anthropologist. Such a record is, of course, much influenced by the anthropologist's own cultural upbringing, research and experience, as well as the local people used as informers.

In contrast, researchers using memoirs and other personal documents are able to make immediately available to their readers the original data on which their interpretations are based. This may take the form of short quotations or long extracts from the documents themselves where these provide confirmation or illustration of the point being made. This approach can be seen in Thomas and Znaniecki (1927); Weber (1982); Smolicz and Secombe (1981; 1986a; 1986b; 1989); Smolicz, Lee, Murugaian and Secombe (1990).

Often whole memoirs or documents are published either as an integral part of the text or as an appendix to it. Thus the final section of *The Polish Peasant* is made up of the very long memoir, written by Wladek, a Polish immigrant to America, and extensively annotated with footnotes provided by the researchers. The Chalasinski (1938) study of peasant memoirs collected between the wars included the publication in separate volumes of the two memoirs judged to be most outstanding.

In Smolicz and Secombe's (1981) study of the educational experiences of Polish-Australian children, four of the memoirs collected were published in full as an Appendix. The four concerned were chosen as representative of the range of responses revealed by memoir writers in the study. Where actual examples are incorporated into the studies themselves in these ways, it becomes possible for readers to make their own judgements on the adequacy of the researchers' interpretations through their reading of the original data.

The analysis of personal documents has also been recognised as providing a level of insight and understanding afforded by few other approaches. In his review of *The Polish Peasant*, Blumer (1939 : 35-6) claimed that despite their shortcomings in terms of the conventional test criteria for research data, the 'use, value and significance' of the family letters analysed by Thomas and

Znaniecki could not be denied. They enabled the reader to gain an understanding of what might be termed the core values of Polish peasant culture (love of the land, family solidarity and religious piety) and an appreciation of how the loss of these values in the face of economic and material ambitions learned in the urban context of the immigrant society, led to the disintegration of their whole way of life. Blumer (1939 : 37) recognised that while the letters taken as separate documents did not meet the criteria he regarded as crucial for sociological research,

> *... taken collectively they fare much better. There is a large measure of verification and support which the letters give one another; pieced together, they tend to give consistent pictures. Since the letters are numerous, since they were not written with the thought of their subsequent scientific use, and since the different series were collected independently of one another, the fact that they do fit together and support one another must be taken seriously. Thus, while one might throw out each letter on the ground of test criteria, and thus throw out all of them, their collective consideration would compel one to recognise in them a representativeness, a certain adequacy, and a reliability that cannot be ignored.*

In trying to reach an overall evaluation of the achievement of Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant*, Blumer (1939 : 76) concluded that the use of personal documents in sociological research was not so much to conclusively test the validity of a researcher's hypothesis or theoretical interpretation, as to 'provide human materials which would yield to a sensitive and inquiring mind such hunches, insights, questions suitable for reflection, new perspectives and new understandings'. His subsequent description of how he envisaged that the authors of *The Polish Peasant* worked on the human documents they had collected, can be taken as a perceptive account of how the humanistic sociologist works in memoir analysis. In his judgement, Thomas and Znaniecki represented,

... two excellent minds with a rich experience with human beings, with a keen sensitivity to the human element in conduct, with some fundamental notions and interests, with a number of important problems, with a variety of hunches, with a lively curiosity and sense of inquiry, with a capacity for forming abstract concepts - two minds, of this sort, approaching voluminous accounts of human experience, mulling over them, reflecting on them, perceiving many things in them relating these things to their background of experience, checking these things against one another, and charting all of them into a coherent abstract and analytical pattern. Perhaps, after all, this is how the scientist works (Blumer, 1939 : 76).

Adamski (1982b : 100) claimed that the humanistic sociological analysis of personal documents could lead to three fruitful lines of investigation. The first was the study of attitudes 'which are not isolated or taken out of the social context, which may occur in the case of questionnaire studies, but are deeply set in the realities of the milieu in which a given individual lives'. Secondly, it was possible to trace the evolution of particular attitudes in individuals, together with the factors that influenced their emergence. A third possibility was to study the changes in attitudes and personality types among individuals.

According to Kloskowska (1982 : 74), data derived from personal documents were not only an 'irreplaceable source of suggestions for research' but

... inform us above all about the complexity and multifaceting of the phenomena we study, and thus induce the sociologists not to abandon all attempts at generalisations, which are the core of his cognitive work, but to be cautious and restrained in formulating statements and making assessments and to compare these with the complex realities of societal life.

Kloskowska's (1996 : 467) most recent research has shown clearly how personal documents can reveal 'the extent of individual variation within a cultural group'. From the fourteen autobiographies, for example, which she collected from young people in the western region of Poland, in the formerly contested

area of Silesia, she was able to distinguish seven different formulations of national self-identification, varying from 'a Pole' to 'a German' and including 'a Silesian, neither a German nor a Pole' and 'a German and a Pole'. In her judgement, autobiographical materials are the best data for 'grass roots level research' which is focused on 'the personal experience of individual, ordinary people' (Kloskowska, 1996 : 466).

Perhaps most important of all, personal documents give direct access to the consciousness of individuals and hence to the distinctively human dynamic in social and cultural life. They provide the means by which a researcher, as well as other readers, can vicariously share the experiences of the respondents. In reading such accounts, the researcher is able to stand in the shoes and get inside the skins of the writers and see the world as it appears to them, through their eyes. In the words of Thomas and Znaniecki (1927 : 1846-7) such sources of data enable those of us who would be humanistic sociological researchers to

> *... put ourselves in the position of the subject who tries to find his way in this world ... (remembering) that the environment to which he adapts himself, is his world, not the objective world of science - is nature and society as he sees them, not as the scientist sees them. The individual subject reacts only to his experience, and his experience is not everything that an absolutely objective observer might find in the portion of the world within the individual's reach, but only what the individual finds himself.*

Znaniecki (1982 : 11) took these ideas further in later writings.

> *Unlike the psychologist, the sociologist views the author of an autobiography totally and solely in his (the author's) social setting and in an unseverable connection with it; unlike the historian, he views the social milieu of the autobiographer totally and solely with respect to that author's person. In the sociologist's eyes, the individual and his milieu form a single whole.*

Moreover, individual attitudes are in dialectical interaction with group cultural values in such a way that one individual's personal world is 'not merely his inner isolated world, but also represents the world of meanings and values of his social milieu, especially of those groups with which he is connected by primary group relations'. This means that if we, as researchers, 'are in possession of empirical data about the language of meanings and values of single individuals we can draw conclusions and formulate opinions about the social groups of which those individuals are members' (Dulczewski, 1982 : 80).

Lutynski (1982 : 90) went beyond these advantages to the researcher to point to the wider significance that studies based on memoirs and other personal documents could have for individual readers and for society at large. In his view researchers who used such data could fulfil a cognitive function in that they were able to 'more easily impart empirical and comprehensible meaning to theoretical concepts while providing the reader with instruments for an intellectual analysis of his own experiences and observations'. This is perhaps comparable to Chalasinski's (1982 : 49) claim that autobiographies could 'expand and enrich a person's social experience in a way that no other written source can do'.

Lutynski also saw an important 'social function' for studies based on memoir methodology, when they were made accessible to a general reading public. Their influence, he claimed, could be both educational and ideological (in the broad rather than the narrow political sense) in helping different groupings in society to better understand one another. A memoir-based study of a particular group may enable individuals from other social groups to know and appreciate the cultural patterns and social milieu of the memoir writers. Such enhanced understanding, Lutynski (1982 : 90-91) believed, 'usually means bringing close together people from different social strata'. It has been

suggested, for example, that the publication of Chalasinski's study on Polish peasants led to an increased understanding of and sympathy for rural people among the Polish urban intelligentsia.

The Present Study

The present study aimed to collect and analyse memoirs written by tertiary education students on the topic of cultural interaction. It sought to minimize as far as possible the shortcomings that earlier researchers had pointed to and to make the most of the particular advantages of the memoir method discussed above.

As part of a sociology of education subject, which included a consideration of multiculturalism, graduate students at the University of Adelaide were given the opportunity to write about their views and experiences of cultural interaction and cultural pluralism, especially in relation to schooling. The personal statements of these education students can be taken as memoirs in the Znaniecki sense, in that the writers were given free rein to discuss whatever ideas and experiences they wished in relation to the topic. Their memoirs were limited, however, in so far as the participants were asked to write on only one specific aspect of their experiences, rather than the whole gamut of their lives. They were also guided, in that the statements were written after the participants had attended lectures and been involved in tutorial discussions on various aspects of cultural pluralism, although the students concerned chose of their own volition to write on this topic. In length the memoirs ranged from approximately 1,000 to 5,000 words, with most being around 2-3,00 words.

The forty three memoirs which were analysed for this study are presented in Chapters 5 to 11. All were written by graduates who were classified in cultural terms as mainstream Anglo-Celtic-Australian, in that they were of English

speaking background, born in Australia of Australian-born parents, even though some of the writers indicated that there were German elements in their ancestry. The study could be seen to be comparable in scope to that of Kloskowska (1996 : 466) in her research on national identification and cultural valence, discussed earlier in this chapter. Kloskowska's data were collected from seventy young adults who were university educated members of national minorities and of the mainstream Polish group. They took the form of life stories, gathered through autobiographical interviews which were recorded and later transcribed. Kloskowska (1996) analysed forty two of these cases in detail for the purpose of her study on *Kultury narodowe u korzeni (National Cultures at the Grass Roots Level)*.

In the analysis of memoirs from the present study, Kloskowska's distinction between the emic and the etic approaches proved a useful guide, particularly in pinpointing the stage at which the researcher consciously intervened in the interpretation of the data. Kloskowska (1994 : 83) referred to the work of Pike who argued that in linguistic and cultural studies behaviour could be studied either from the viewpoint of someone outside the system being investigated (etic) or from the perspective of a person within the system (emic). Applying this distinction to the analysis of autobiographical materials, Kloskowska considered that,

> *In the emic analysis the text produced by the subject is considered in terms of his own explicit formulations, meanings and interpretations. The etic analysis considers the topics discernible in the text from the viewpoint of broader theoretical concepts ... Indispensable for this interpretation is extra-textual knowledge of the life-course of the subject, the historical background and other additional biographic materials.*

In the interpretation of the memoirs in this study, these two approaches were integrated, rather than treated as separate analyses. The first step in the

process was to read the memoirs several times to enable the researcher to become thoroughly familiar with their content. The memoirs were then grouped according to the overall answers they provided in relation to the two key analysis questions outlined at the end of chapter 2 : the extent to which the writers had experienced cultural interaction; and the current attitude which the writers revealed towards cultural pluralism.

This classification of the memoirs into groups for more specific analysis could be regarded as essentially an emic analysis, since it was based on what the memoir writers were saying about themselves and their situation. The two questions used as the focus for analysis, however, could be regarded as essentially etic in approach, as they were derived from theoretical formulations and distinctions about the phenomenon of cultural interaction discussed earlier. At the same time, these analysis questions were deliberately framed in an open way, which encompassed all the very diverse descriptions and opinions of the writers, in order to preserve as far as possible the emic dimension in the interpretation of the memoirs.

Concrete and Cultural Facts in the Analysis of the Memoirs

According to Mokrzycki (1971), the process of imaginatively reconstructing other people's experience from their own writings involves taking account of everything that is known about them. In practical terms, the analysis of memoir material requires the recognition of two different types of data. The first type relates to generally verifiable facts concerning the observable realities of the participants and the social and cultural context of their everyday lives. This type of fact includes such information as the gender of the respondents, their age, place of birth, ethnic background, languages spoken, type and level of education, occupation, income, and place of residence. Such data have been referred to as **concrete facts** (Smolicz, 1974a; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981;

1986a; 1986b; 1989), in that they refer to material realities, the existence of which does not depend directly on the consciousness of the participants. The humanistic sociologist is primarily interested, however, in another sort of information - that which can come only from the participants themselves - their own description of their situation, their thoughts and feelings about it and about their own actions in response to it. Such data have been labelled **cultural facts** (Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Secombe, 1981; 1986a; 1986b; 1989) in that they are a direct expression of the consciousness of the memoir writers.

Table 3.1 provides an overview of how concrete and cultural facts were used in the analysis of memoirs in this study. Concrete information about family background, present circumstances and life experience of the writers were vital for the significance of cultural facts given in the memoirs to be fully appreciated. Although such information was often given by the participants in the course of writing their memoirs, it proved useful to follow the practice of earlier studies (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981 : 27-8) and ask participants to complete a brief questionnaire which provided a basic minimum of concrete data common to all participants in relation to social, cultural and educational background. These data were used to compile the summary of concrete fact details of all the respondents which is to be found in the Appendix.

Cultural facts were most readily recognised in the form of attitudes that were directly expressed by the memoir writers in relation to their particular social situation and experience. They were often prefaced by words such as 'I felt', 'I think', 'I hope' or 'I wished'. Statements by two writers from the Australian mainstream, recalling their feelings about children of other cultures at school, can be used as illustrations. One writer recalled,

> *I remember that as a child belonging to the Anglo majority at school, I felt resentful of other children who could converse in a foreign tongue. I felt that*

TABLE 3.1: ANALYSIS OF MEMOIR DATA*

	CONCRETE FACTS	CULTURAL FACTS	
		Assessments	*Attitudes*
SOURCES	1. Information given (with little or no comment) in memoirs. 2. Information derived from assessments made in memoirs. 3. Details available to researcher (e.g. information on first degree, schools attended)	Comments and remarks made by memoir writers concerning: (i) their own actions (ii) the actions of others (iii) institutions, organizations.	Thoughts, feelings, aspirations expressed by memoir writers about themselves.
USES	1. Needed for interpretation of cultural facts e.g. to know *whose* attitudes and values are being studied and what their social, economic and cultural situation is. 2. Give an indication of what cultural values are actually being activated.	1. Provide concrete facts about actions of writers themselves and others. 2. Give an indirect indication of attitudes of writers. 3. Supply indirect evidence of group values.	1. Are a direct source of the writers' attitudes. 2. Provide indirect evidence of group values.

*   Developed from Smolicz and Secombe (1981:27).

I was missing out on something, not simply because I could not understand what was being said, but because 'those children' had the opportunity to talk about the world in two ways.

The sense of resentment and regret expressed by this writer at not being able 'to talk about the world in two ways' was interpreted as evidence of her positive attitude to linguistic pluralism. In contrast, another author wrote:

I can't help but think, why, if the migrant has come to Australia to start a new life, do they hold to their cultures. If they are so attached to them, why did they leave their homeland?

In this case the writer's doubts and questionings about migrants maintaining their cultures in Australia were suggestive of a negative attitude to cultural pluralism. Statements like the above were taken as direct expressions of attitudes which reflected those aspects of the social and cultural reality which their authors had appropriated in constructing their inner personal world. Such cultural facts were considered to be in every way as real and important in influencing these respondents' actions as the concrete facts concerning their personal and family background.

Cultural facts were also derived indirectly from the assessments and evaluations made by participants of their own or other people's aspirations, thoughts and actions. The theoretic reconstruction of assessments and evaluations sometimes proved more revealing of the range and complexity of participants' attitudes, than a particular attitude propounded in a most explicit and forthright manner. For example, the first writer quoted above also made the following generalized assessment:

monoculturalism and homogeneity have their drawbacks, particularly for individuals who don't want to be monocultural and live life quite happily as multiculturals.

Although not expressed in the form of a personalized attitude, this statement did indirectly indicate the author's preference for multiculturalism over homogeneity. In this instance the attitude evident in her assessment was consistent with the personal feelings she expressed earlier in her memoir in recalling her childhood sense of loss at not being able to speak two languages. Together these two statements provided strong evidence of this participant's positive attitudes to cultural and linguistic pluralism.

The author of the second example of a directly expressed attitude also included a general comment about the great range of cultural resources available to 'be utilised and shared' in Australia.

> *Australia is really lucky to have such a multicultural society and schools are the best places for such cultures to be shared.*

The generally positive attitude to multiculturalism which seemed to underlie this statement stood in contrast to the writer's previous personal questioning of why migrants wanted to maintain their ethnic cultures in Australia. The juxtaposition of the two statements could be interpreted as an important clue that the respondent was essentially ambivalent in her attitude to cultural pluralism in Australia, and, perhaps, that the one given personal expression had been more firmly internalized in her personal cultural system.

In making use of both these sources of cultural facts, the fundamental aim was to understand social and cultural phenomena with the **humanistic co-efficient**, that is, from the participants' perspective. In theoretical terms, such cultural facts were taken as indicative of the attitudes and personal cultural systems of the memoir writers and ultimately of the cultural values of the groups to which they belonged.

Before proceeding to chapters 5-11, where the memoirs are analysed in detail, the next chapter attempts to provide more information about Diploma in Education students generally, as the overall group from which the memoir writers were drawn.

CHAPTER FOUR

A SURVEY OF THE ATTITUDES OF DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS TOWARDS CULTURAL AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

The memoirs which are the main focus of this investigation were written by tertiary students of mainstream Australian background who were completing a Diploma in Education at the University of Adelaide. The participants had already successfully qualified for a first degree, usually in science, mathematics, arts, music or economics. The course consisted of a year of full-time, or two years of part-time study, and in the course of the tutorials and seminars they shared, the students often came to know one another quite well. A questionnaire survey of Diploma in Education students was undertaken in order to establish some parameters of this social group from which the memoir writers came.

It was anticipated in particular that the survey would provide valuable data on the extent to which students of non-English speaking background participated in this postgraduate diploma course. The level of involvement of such students at the various levels of education has not generally been known, partly because of the reluctance of authorities such as state education departments and tertiary institutions to gather statistics on parental birthplace and home language. The only figures available to the South Australian Ministerial Taskforce to Investigate Multiculturalism and Education (1984 : Table 7.1, p.176) were those on student and parental birthplace compiled in a 1982 survey conducted jointly by the Centre for Applied Social and Survey Research at Flinders University and the South Australian Group of Chief Executives of Tertiary Institutions.

A few years later a detailed survey was carried out by Professor Colin Power and his associates (Power, Robertson and Beswick, 1985) on the 'class of 1985' ie. all those South Australian students who completed year 12 schooling in 1984 and entered tertiary institutions and/or the workforce in the following year. This investigation gathered valuable data on the ethnic background not only of those who actually entered tertiary education courses, but also of those who did not apply to enter, and those who applied but failed to gain a place. In addition to asking questions on student and parental birthplace, the questionnaire asked about language usage in the home, as an important indicator of ethnicity.

According to Power's figures, 20% of the total group of students who enrolled in tertiary institutions spoke a language other than English at home, while the percentage of such people in the South Australian population in general was only 17 per cent (Power et al., 1985 : Table 3.2, p.43). However, there was a marked difference among the various tertiary institutions, with as few as 9% of those with a home language other than English enrolled at Roseworthy, and as many as 27% at Flinders University. The figure for the University of Adelaide was 20% (Power et al., 1985 : Table 3.7, p.53). Differences were also apparent among the various University of Adelaide courses, ranging from 11% in Agriculture to 34% in Health Sciences/Medicine. In the Science faculties 30% were of non-English speaking backgrounds, but in Arts/Humanities the figure was only 18%.

The Diploma in Education Survey

The Diploma in Education survey involved all the full-time students who, in the beginning of the year at a preliminary lecture session, were asked to fill in a questionnaire anonymously. Only a few chose not to participate. This procedure was followed in the years 1979 to 1981 when 226 students were

involved. It was repeated again in 1987, with 102 students, in order to see whether the background characteristics and attitudes of Diploma in Education students had changed over the intervening years.

The respondents were asked to provide concrete data about their gender and social status characteristics, their ethnic and linguistic background, the languages other than English which they knew, and the ethnic origin of their friends. The information collected on these aspects has been summarized in Tables 4.1 - 4.4.

Gender and Social Background Characteristics

As Table 4.1 shows, a little more than half of the Diploma students over the period 1979-81 were women. It may be argued that this situation reflects the fact that secondary teaching has been recognized as one of the occupations especially suitable for women, both in regard to hours of work and qualities of character demanded. However, the 1979-81 gender balance was similar to the 52% female and 48% male reported among students entering higher education in 1985 (Power et al., 1985 : Table 3.1, p.41). The slight preponderance of men revealed in the 1987 enrolments was exceptional for the 1979-87 period.

Some indication of the social background of the respondents can be gained from the data on type of secondary school attended and father's occupational status ranking (Table 4.1). Over half of both sets of respondents had attended state schools for their secondary education, with the remainder being divided almost equally between Catholic and other independent schools. In regard to their school background, these Diploma students were markedly different from 'the class of 85'. According to the calculations of Power and his associates (Power et al., 1985 : Table 36, p.49) the year 12 transition rate to higher education institutions was only 25% for students from state schools; from

TABLE 4.1: SUMMARY OF GENDER AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS

(All figures are percentages except where indicated)

Characteristic	1979-81 Respondents	1987 Respondents
SEX		
Female	57	45
Male	43	53
No Answer	0	2
TOTAL	**100**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**
TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL ATTENDED		
State school	57	61
Catholic school	18	12
Other independent school	14	10
State and Catholic	4	3
State and other independent	3	5
Overseas	4	10
TOTAL	**100**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**
FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL RANKING		
Professional	25	25
Managerial	15	17
Clerical	16	5
Skilled manual	15	7
Semi-skilled manual	9	12
Service, unskilled manual	6	8
Retired, deceased	11	22
Unemployed	0	5
No answer	3	1
TOTAL	**100**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**

Catholic Schools the rate of transition was 32%, while from other independent schools 45% moved on to higher education. It would seem that many more former state school students gravitated, on completion of their first degree, to the Diploma in Education course, than did students from the Catholic and other independent school sectors.

The hint provided by these figures on educational background, that the social status of Diploma in Education students is below the norm for tertiary students generally, is confirmed by the data on father's occupational status (Table 4.1). Approximately a quarter of the fathers from both sets of respondents came from professional occupations, while the remainder was spread fairly evenly over the managerial, clerical, skilled manual and semi- and unskilled manual categories. The 1987 data showed a comparatively large proportion of retired or deceased fathers. Although the occupational status of the fathers of Diploma students was considerably higher than the level of 13% professional and 12% managerial recorded for the South Australian adult male population as a whole, it was noticeably lower than the 56% of fathers of all 1985 higher education entrants who were in professional and managerial occupations (Power et al., 1985 : Table 3.5, p.49). Thus although the questionnaire provided only limited data on the social background characteristics of the Diploma students, these did provide some clues for plotting their social status within South Australia.

Ethnic and Linguistic Background

The information relating to the ethnic and linguistic background of the Diploma students is summarized in Table 4.2. Among both sets of respondents, 71% were born in Australia. This is rather less than the 80% reported by Power et al (1985 : 44) among the 1985 first year entrants to higher education. As many as 13% of Diploma students in 1978-81 and 8% in 1987

TABLE 4.2:   SUMMARY OF ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC
BACKGROUND OF DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS

(All figures are percentages except where indicated)

Characteristic	1979-81 Respondents	1987 Respondents
RESPONDENT'S BIRTHPLACE		
Australia	71	71
United Kingdom and other English-speaking country	15	20
European country	8	5
Asian country	5	3
Other	0	1
No answer	1	0
TOTAL	**100**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**
PARENTS' BIRTHPLACE		
Both born in Australia	44	44
Both born in U.K. or other English-speaking country*	14	23
Both born in continental Europe	24	22
Both born in Asia	5	4
One parent born in English-speaking, the other in non-English-speaking country	13	6
Other	1	1
TOTAL	**100**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**
LANGUAGES KNOWN		
English only	45	52
Parents' language, in addition to English	32	28
Another language in addition to English as home language	23	20
TOTAL	**100**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**

*   This classification includes those with one parent born in Australia, and
the other in another English-speaking country.

were born in non-English speaking countries of Europe and Asia. When parental birthplace was taken into account the percentage of those of non-English speaking origin rose substantially. In the case of one quarter of the respondents, both parents had been born in a European country, while another 4-5% had both parents born in an Asian country. In addition, as many as 13% in the years 1978-81 and 6% in 1987 had one parent born in a non-English speaking country. In all, therefore over two-fifths of the 1978-81 respondents and almost a third in 1987 had at least one parent born in a non-English speaking country.

Such results highlight the inadequacy of the 1989 DEET survey form, which for the first time enabled the collection of data on the ethnic and linguistic background of all students enrolled in Australian tertiary institutions. It asked questions about the students' birthplace and home language use, but not parental birthplace. The Diploma in Education survey indicated that such an omission was likely to considerably underestimate the number of non-English speaking background students in tertiary institutions and would seem to imply that all Australian-born students had assimilated to the point of being English monolinguals and indistinguishable from mainstream Australians.

In regard to parental origin, comparisons with the South Australian population as a whole were made difficult in that the figures readily available referred only to father's birthplace. Among the South Australian population as a whole, 22% had a father born in a non-English speaking country; for the higher education entrants of 1985, the percentage was 25 (Power et al., 1985 : Table 3.2, p. 43).

The figures on linguistic knowledge served to reinforce this evidence on birthplace, and provided more exact details of the range of ethnic backgrounds represented among the students. About a third, although slightly less in 1987,

claimed to know and use their parents' mother tongue at home. It is worth noting that this represented three-quarters of the 1979-81, and two-thirds of the 1987, respondents who had at least one parent of non-English speaking origin. In all 26 different languages, including 6 from Asia, were mentioned by the students as their mother tongues (See Table 4.3). This range of minority ethnic home languages well illustrates a feature of Australian multiculturalism, which is characterized by a great number of numerically small minority groups (Price, 1988). A number of the bilingual respondents in this survey knew a third and even fourth language as well.

The proportion of those of non-English speaking background participating in Diploma in Education studies, 32% in the 1979-81 and 28% in the 1987, was much higher than the figure of 17% estimated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics to be found within the South Australian population generally, and higher than the 20% overall rate for 1985 new enrolments at the University of Adelaide (Power et al., 1985 : Table 3.7, p.53). However, the rate was comparable to the 34% level of participation for students of non-English speaking background that was evident in the 1985 new enrolments for the Medical/Health Science areas.

Among the Diploma in Education respondents whose native language was English, almost a quarter of the 1979-81, and a fifth of the 1987, participants had learned one or more other languages. There were indeed several who knew two or three languages in addition to English. In most instances this was the result of school studies, but some were university graduates, mainly in French, German, Japanese or Italian, and intended to teach these languages in schools.

TABLE 4.3: LANGUAGES KNOWN BY DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS

Language	1979-81 Respondents (N)	1987 Respondents (N)
PARENTAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN		
Italian	22	12
Greek	14	5
Chinese	8	2
German	8	5
Dutch	5	0
Ukrainian	4	2
Latvian	3	0
Polish	3	0
Yugoslav languages	3	1
Russian	2	0
Welsh	2	0
Danish	1	0
Estonian	1	0
Finnish	0	1
French	1	1
Hebrew	1	0
Hungarian	1	0
Punjabi	1	0
Japanese	1	0
Macedonian	1	0
Maltese	1	0
Malay	0	2
Rumanian	1	0
Swedish	0	1
Tamil	1	0
Vietnamese	1	0
TOTAL	**86**	**32**
Number of Respondents	*266*	*102*
OTHER LANGUAGES KNOWN		
French	63	14
German	32	7
Japanese	9	1
Italian	7	8
Malay	5	0
Russian	3	0
Spanish	3	2
Afrikaans	2	0
Chinese	2	2
Dutch	2	1
Danish	0	1
Estonian	0	1
Greek	1	0
Hebrew	1	0
Hindi	2	0
Indonesian	0	1
Malayalam	1	0
Norwegian	0	1
Portuguese	1	0
Swedish	1	0
TOTAL	**135**	**39**
Number of Respondents	*266*	*102*

Friendship Patterns

In order to ascertain the extent to which students were involved in social interaction that crossed the boundaries of cultural groupings, respondents were asked to indicate the ethnic origin of their close friends. Their replies were summarized in Table 4.4. The number of individuals regarded as close friends ranged from less than four for two fifths of the respondents to over six for another fifth. In the case of two thirds of the 1979-81 respondents and about half of those from 1987, this group of friends included people from at least two different ethnic groups. Over 80% of the earlier respondents and 90% of the later had at least one friend from the mainstream Australian group.

Although there was a minority whose circle of friends was confined to a single ethnic group, the responses gave evidence of friends being more often drawn from varying cultural backgrounds. This could be interpreted as a reflection of the university context which provided the opportunity for new patterns of friendship which were more likely to cross ethnic boundaries since students of minority ethnic backgrounds represented a presence of 20%-30% in South Australian universities at the time of Power's study (Power et al., 1985 : 53)

These figures show a rather more complex pattern of social interaction than that reported by Harris and Smolicz (1976 : 150). As many as three quarters of their Anglo-Australian respondents claimed to have minority ethnic friends. The lower figures in the Diploma in Education survey may be explained by the fact that questions in this survey asked specifically about 'close friends'.

Cultural Facts from the Diploma Survey

In addition, the Diploma in Education survey sought cultural facts in the form of attitudes expressed by the respondents towards the reality of multiculturalism in Australian society and its implications for school policies.

TABLE 4.4:   FRIENDS OF DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS

(All figures are percentages except where indicated)

Type of Friend	1979-81 Respondents	1987 Respondents
NUMBER OF CLOSE FRIENDS		
less than four	41	40
four to six	42	42
more than six	17	18
TOTAL	**100**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**
ETHNIC ORIGIN OF FRIENDS		
from only one ethnic group	32	47
from Anglo-Australian group, their own ethnic group* and at least one other non-English speaking group	23	12
from Anglo-Australian group and at least one other non-English speaking group	20	34
from Anglo-Australian group and their own ethnic group*	19	4
from their own non-English speaking ethnic group and at least one other non-English speaking group	7	3
TOTAL	**101**	**100**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**
FRIENDS FROM THE ANGLO-AUSTRALIAN GROUP		
none	17	9
one	18	5
two	19	23
three	19	20
four or more	27	44
TOTAL	**100**	**101**
Number of Respondents	**266**	**102**

* The definition of this group excludes those of Anglo-Australian background, but includes those of other English-speaking backgrounds.

The students involved were presented with brief statements of a range of situations that might arise in a plural society like Australia, in relation to the usage of languages other than English, ways in which languages could be taught and possible patterns of social interaction among members of different cultural groups. They were asked to put a tick to indicate their basic agreement or disagreement with the situation described. The choice of situations presented was based on views expressed by respondents in a number of earlier research investigations (Harris and Smolicz, 1976; Smolicz and Secombe, 1977; Smolicz and Lean, 1979). In the analysis of these data, presented in Tables 4.5-4.7, the respondents were grouped according to parental birthplace in order to highlight any differences in the pattern of responses for students from mainstream, as opposed to minority ethnic background.

Space was also provided for the students to make a comment on each of the situations and explain their response to it. This approach was adopted in an attempt to incorporate a more humanistic component into the questionnaire format. In addition to investigating attitudes to multiculturalism through this means, it was hoped to look at the methodological issue of the extent to which these comments clarified or qualified the ticked responses made.

Attitudes to Language Usage

The response to statements about language usage are summarized in Table 4.5a and 4.5b. Overall as many as 87% (including 84% of those whose parents were born in Australia) expressed disagreement with the situation of migrants and their children 'giving up their own languages in Australia'. Almost the same proportion (86% in 1979-81 and 87% in 1979) endorsed the situation of migrants and their children speaking their own languages at home. Two subsequent questions explored the respondents' attitudes to limiting ethnic languages to the private world of the home. The situation of migrants and their children

TABLE 4.5a: VIEWS OF 1979-81 DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS TOWARD LANGUAGE USAGE IN AUSTRALIA

(All figures are percentages)

Family Background	LANGUAGE USAGE SITUATIONS																								
	Migrants and their children giving up their own language in Australia;					Migrants and their children speaking only English in public;					Migrants and their children speaking their own language at home;					Migrants and their children speaking their native tongue freely, whether at home or in public;					Australians of British origin learning the language of their migrant friends and neighbours.				
	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total
Both parents born in Australia (N=118)	14	84	2	0	100	28	70	0	3	101	85	10	3	3	101	75	22	2	1	100	90	7	3	1	101
Both parents born in Britain or other English speaking country (N=36)	6	91	0	3	100	24	76	0	0	100	88	9	3	0	100	82	18	0	0	100	91	9	0	0	100
Both parents born in non-English speaking country (N=77)	5	91	3	1	100	20	80	0	0	100	88	5	4	4	101	80	18	0	2	100	86	9	1	4	100
Parents born in different countries (N=35)	9	83	9	0	101	27	66	6	2	100	86	6	6	3	101	80	17	3	0	100	100	0	0	0	100
TOTAL (N=266)	10	87	3	1	101	25	73	1	1	100	86	8	3	3	100	78	20	1	1	100	90	7	2	2	101

TABLE 4.5b: VIEWS OF 1987 DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS TOWARD LANGUAGE USAGE IN AUSTRALIA

(All figures are percentages)

Family Background	LANGUAGE USAGE SITUATIONS																								
	Migrants and their children giving up their own language in Australia;					Migrants and their children speaking only English in public;					Migrants and their children speaking their own language at home;					Migrants and their children speaking their native tongue freely, whether at home or in public;					Australians of British origin learning the language of their migrant friends and neighbours.				
	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total
Both parents born in Australia (N=45)	4	96	0	0	100	24	76	0	0	100	84	9	2	5	100	71	27	0	2	100	87	9	4	0	100
Both parents born in Britain or other English speaking country (N=21)	10	90	0	0	100	33	67	0	0	100	90	5	5	0	100	76	24	0	0	100	86	5	5	5	101
Both parents born in non-English speaking country (N=22)	0	100	0	0	100	32	64	4	0	100	96	4	0	0	100	86	14	0	0	100	82	18	0	0	100
Parents born in different countries (N=14)	21	79	0	0	100	29	71	0	0	100	79	0	0	21	100	93	7	0	0	100	79	14	0	7	100
TOTAL (N=102)	7	93	0	0	100	28	71	1	0	100	87	6	2	5	100	78	21	0	1	100	84	11	3	2	100

'speaking only English in public', was rejected by 73% of the 1979-81, and 71% of the 1987 respondents, while 78% of both groups approved the right of ethnic-Australians to speak 'their native tongue freely, whether at home or in public'. These results represented a much more positive response to cultural and linguistic pluralism in Australia than those reported by Richardson and Taft in 1968 and Harris and Smolicz in 1976.

Another significant response concerning language usage was to the statement about 'Australians of British origin learning the language of their migrant friends and neighbours'. Irrespective of their parental background, as many as 90% of the 1979-81 students and 84% from 1987 agreed with this view, indicating strong support for linguistic and cultural interaction among these respondents.

Attitudes to Language Teaching

Another group of questions investigated the respondents' views on different ways in which minority ethnic languages could be taught in Australia (Tables 4.6a and 4.6b). Over 90% of both sets of respondents were in favour of 'migrants teaching their children to speak their native tongue at home'. Similarly, three-quarters of all the respondents indicated that they supported the idea of 'migrants teaching their children their mother tongue in special Saturday schools which they run'. As many as 72% of the 1979-81 students (including 66% of students of Australian-born parents) agreed also with the policy of 'Australian schools teaching children of migrant background to read and write in their own tongue', thus indicating that they did not wish to confine languages other than English to ethnic homes and ethnic schools. In 1987, however, the level of support for this situation had fallen to 55%. This response may reflect greater public awareness of attempts to introduce languages other than English into the school curriculum and the difficulties

TABLE 4.6a: VIEWS OF 1979-81 DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS TOWARDS WAYS OF TEACHING ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA

(All figures are percentages)

Family Background	WAYS OF TEACHING ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA																								
	Migrants teaching their children to speak their native tongue at home;					Migrants bringing up their children according to the traditions of their own culture;					Migrants teaching their children their mother tongue in special Saturday schools which they run;					Australian schools teaching children of migrant background to read and write in their home language;					Australian schools giving all students the opportunity to learn a non-English, migrant language.				
	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total
Both parents born in Australia (N=118)	92	6	1	2	101	65	25	6	3	99	81	18	1	0	100	69	28	1	2	100	99	0	1	0	100
Both parents born in Britain or other English speaking country (N=36)	97	3	0	0	100	58	24	12	6	100	67	27	3	3	100	76	21	0	3	100	100	0	0	0	100
Both parents born in non-English speaking country (N=77)	91	8	1	0	100	66	20	11	3	100	74	20	3	4	101	76	15	4	5	100	96	4	0	0	100
Parents born in different countries (N=35)	83	14	0	3	100	51	31	11	6	99	66	17	11	6	100	69	20	6	6	101	91	3	6	0	100
TOTAL (N=266)	91	7	1	1	100	63	24	9	4	100	75	20	3	2	100	72	22	2	3	99	97	2	1	0	100

TABLE 4.6b: VIEWS OF 1987 DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS TOWARDS WAYS OF TEACHING ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA

(All figures are percentages)

Family Background	WAYS OF TEACHING ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIA																								
	Migrants teaching their children to speak their native tongue at home;					Migrants bringing up their children according to the traditions of their own culture;					Migrants teaching their children their mother tongue in special Saturday schools which they run;					Australian schools teaching children of migrant background to read and write in their home language;					Australian schools giving all students the opportunity to learn a non-English, migrant language.				
	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total
Both parents born in Australia (N=45)	93	7	0	0	100	73	20	2	5	100	80	18	0	2	100	56	40	0	5	101	98	0	2	0	100
Both parents born in Britain or other English speaking country (N=21)	86	14	0	0	100	57	33	5	5	100	71	29	0	0	100	43	57	0	0	100	95	5	0	0	100
Both parents born in non-English speaking country (N=22)	96	5	0	0	101	68	23	9	0	100	77	14	9	0	100	59	32	0	9	100	96	5	0	0	101
Parents born in different countries (N=14)	93	0	0	7	100	64	29	0	7	100	64	14	0	21	99	64	29	0	7	100	100	0	0	0	100
TOTAL (N=102)	92	7	0	1	100	68	25	4	4	101	75	19	2	4	100	55	40	0	5	100	97	2	1	0	100

involved in implementing such a policy for children of all linguistic backgrounds.

The policy which gained almost unanimous support (97%) from both sets of respondents of all backgrounds was that of 'Australian schools giving all students the opportunity to learn a non-English migrant language'. Overall, therefore, the majority of respondents, regardless of their background, were in favour of children learning ethnic languages and cultures, and hence of maintaining cultural pluralism in Australia. However, there was a minority, of no more than a quarter, who were opposed to all these efforts.

These results compare favourably with findings on attitudes to linguistic diversity reported in other studies. Meade (1983a) reported that 56% of 264 Australian born parents in Sydney approved the principle of children of minority ethnic background learning their parents' language. In a Queensland survey of over 1,000 year 10 students, he found 63% supported this principle. Smolicz and Lean (1979)'s study of Catholic school parents found that two thirds of the parents of Anglo-Celtic-Australian background agreed with the proposition that minority ethnic languages should be taught at home and at school. In the survey of attitudes to languages other than English among the Adelaide population at large discussed in chapter 1, Kee (1988) reported that 79% of the respondents who were Australian born of Australian born parents, were in favour of all school children being taught another language as well as English.

Attitudes to Social Interaction

The statements relating to patterns of migrant settlement (Tables 4.7a and 4.7b) evoked rather ambiguous responses. As many as 61% in the period 1979-81 and 65% in 1987 agreed with the situation of 'migrants and their children living

TABLE 4.7a: VIEWS OF 1979-81 DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS ON SOCIAL INTERACTION AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA

(All figures are percentages)

Family Background	PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION																								
	Australians of British origin mixing freely with migrants and their children;					Migrants keeping up their own traditions in their own group and not mixing with anyone of a different background;					Migrants and their children establishing their own clubs and organizations, where they keep up their own ways of life;					Migrants and their children living in the same streets and suburbs as other migrants;					Migrants living in suburbs which mainly have residents who are Australians of British origin.				
	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total
Both parents born in Australia (N=118)	100	0	0	0	100	3	95	1	1	100	91	8	1	0	100	66	25	6	3	100	68	19	9	4	100
Both parents born in Britain or other English speaking country (N=36)	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	100	91	6	0	3	100	73	15	3	9	100	48	36	9	6	99
Both parents born in non-English speaking country (N=77)	89	9	0	3	101	4	93	0	4	101	83	10	5	3	101	50	39	6	5	100	50	36	6	8	100
Parents born in different countries (N=35)	94	3	3	0	100	6	89	6	0	101	86	0	11	3	100	54	26	20	0	100	66	23	9	3	101
TOTAL (N=266)	96	3	0	1	100	3	94	1	2	100	88	8	3	2	101	61	28	8	4	101	60	27	8	5	100

TABLE 4.7b: VIEWS OF 1987 DIPLOMA IN EDUCATION STUDENTS ON SOCIAL INTERACTION AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA

(All figures are percentages)

Family Background	PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION																								
	Australians of British origin mixing freely with migrants and their children;					Migrants keeping up their own traditions in their own group and not mixing with anyone of a different background;					Migrants and their children establishing their own clubs and organizations, where they keep up their own ways of life;					Migrants and their children living in the same streets and suburbs as other migrants;					Migrants living in suburbs which mainly have residents who are Australians of British origin.				
	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	N.A.	Total
Both parents born in Australia (N=45)	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	100	89	9	2	0	100	60	33	2	4	99	56	38	2	4	100
Both parents born in Britain or other English speaking country (N=21)	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	100	81	19	0	0	100	57	43	0	0	100	76	24	0	0	100
Both parents born in non-English speaking country (N=22)	96	5	0	0	101	5	96	0	0	101	96	5	0	0	101	73	23	0	5	100	36	64	0	0	100
Parents born in different countries (N=14)	100	0	0	0	100	0	100	0	0	100	86	0	0	14	100	79	14	0	7	100	71	21	0	7	99
TOTAL (N=102)	99	1	0	0	100	1	99	0	0	100	88	9	1	2	100	65	30	1	4	100	58	38	1	3	100

122b

in the same streets and suburbs as other migrants'. The 1979-81 figures, however, included 66% in favour among those of Australian born parents, but only 50% agreement rate among those of non-English speaking background. In 1987, 73% of those of non-English speaking background indicated their agreement. The converse of this situation produced a seemingly contradictory result. Around 60% of both sets of respondents approved of 'migrants living in suburbs which mainly have respondents who are Australians of British origin'. Again this included 68% agreement among those of Australian origin and only 50% approval among those of non-English speaking parentage. The students' comments, to be discussed later, help to interpret these seemingly conflicting results.

Much more definite and clear-cut was the evaluation of the situation of migrants keeping up their traditions in their own groups and not mixing with anyone of a different background. Overall 94% of 1979-81 and 99% of 1987 students disagreed with this statement, confirming what has often been regarded as general Australian rejection of the idea of ethnic separatism. Both those of Australian and non-English speaking parentage showed agreement in this assessment. On the other hand, the situation of 'migrants and their children establishing their own clubs and organizations where they keep up their own ways of life' was supported by 88% overall, including 91% of those of Australian born parents, but only 83% of those of non-English speaking origin. This level of support represented a considerable increase on the 32% of Harris and Smolicz's 1976 respondents who indicated their approval of such a situation.

The statement that gained the highest level of agreement in relation to social interaction (96% in 1979 and 99% in 1987) was that of 'Australians of British origin mixing freely with migrants and their children'. This was endorsed

unanimously by those of English speaking background, but had somewhat less support from those of non-English speaking parents - 89% among the 1979-81 respondents and 96% among those from 1987.

Attitudes Explored

The comments included in the responses were analysed in order to deepen understanding of the views of students revealed in the 'ticks' they gave in responding to the statements. Several of the statements from each table were considered in this regard. Comments on the situation of ethnic groups establishing their own (or 'ethnic') schools were received from 103 students (out of a possible 266). Of these, 28 came from respondents who ticked their disagreement with ethnic schools; the reasons they gave for their opposition included the claim that ethnic schools were not necessary, or represented an imposition on ethnic children. However, over a third of those who opposed ethnic schools argued that it would be better to introduce the teaching of community languages and cultures into the regular day school curriculum. It is perhaps even more significant, however, that among the 77 comments made by those who ticked their agreement with ethnic schools, only 17 expressed strong and unreserved support for the proposal. The others gave only qualified approval : 20 stressed that such studies should be voluntary; others suggested specific provisions to ensure that ethnic students were not over-burdened with studies, or to safeguard the primacy of English as the common language for all Australians. Another 24 make it clear that they supported ethnic schools only as a 'second-best' solution, if ethnic languages and cultures could not be taught in the regular school system.

In all, 90 students wrote comments in response to the situation of Australian schools giving all students the chance to learn an ethnic language. Only four students disagreed with this proposal, and another 13, while 'ticking' their

agreement, added some sort of qualification or proviso. Over one-third of the comments, however, were statements or exclamations of strong support, such as:

- *good idea;*
- *great;*
- *excellent;*
- *an absolute must.*

Another third justified their agreements by referring to the way such courses would contribute to building up Australia as a multicultural society in comments such as:

- *assists Australian understanding of other ethnic groups;*
- *necessary for future national cooperation;*
- *let's be fair - we're pretty adamant about them learning English.*

Comments on the situation of 'Australians of British origin learning the language of their migrant friends and neighbours' came from 123 respondents and can be interpreted as a realistic modification of their overall agreement. Only ten were opposed while seven were undecided about this proposal. Of the 106 comments from those who agreed with the proposition, 18 nevertheless revealed a variety of hesitations about the proposal. The main qualification made by 28 other students was that such studies should be voluntary, not compulsory. As many as 58, however, made comments that reinforced their support for such a situation, or suggested that benefits to be derived from mainstream Australians learning the languages of their friends and neighbours. What was significant about their comments was the high degree of acceptance of the principle involved, provided it was freed from any element of compulsion, and the recognition of the value of such a situation both for the individuals concerned and for society at large.

In relation to the commonly expressed assimilationist position of 'migrants and the children giving up their own language in Australia', ten of those classified in the statistical analysis as 'undecided' or 'no answer' made some comment in reply. Seven commented on the advantages of migrants learning English, while retaining their first language. Three indicated that their response would depend on the situation in which the migrants found themselves, or the extent to which the migrants themselves wished to assimilate.

Among the 21 who made comments in conjunction with their basic agreement with the statement, only one expressed the conventional assimilationist demand, 'If they come to Australia they should learn the English language'. Seven pointed out that knowing English was an advantage for migrants in coping personally and preventing a sense of alienation in their new society. Another 6 stressed that English as a common language was important for communication, or to prevent discord in Australian society. Nine of the comments, however, substantially qualified their agreement with the statement, by referring to the possibility of maintaining their home language alongside English.

In the case of the 148 who disagreed with this situation and commented on their position, over two fifths stressed the value of migrants maintaining their home language, giving a number of different reasons. Twenty-five mentioned the benefits of knowing another language generally; 11 the importance of migrants not losing the languages and cultures they knew; 18 the vital link between language, culture and identity; and 6 the advantages for Australian society as a whole. Two commented that forcing migrants to give up their language would be undemocratic. About a third qualified their rejection of the statement by mentioning that English should be learned in addition to the migrants' native language, while 3 went so far as to stipulate that English only

should be spoken publicly and the use of the migrant language confined to the home. Eight commented on the tendency of children to change to English because of peer pressure or difficulties in learning the parental language properly. There were 5 respondents who considered that the question of whether the home language was retained or given up was a matter of individual and family choice.

In relation to patterns of social interaction, 83 of the students commented on the situation of 'Australians of British origin mixing freely with migrants and their children'. Of the 74 comments that came from those who agreed with the statement, two fifths consisted of expressions of positive affirmation and approval :

- *a necessity;*
- *of course;*
- *important.*

Another two fifths wrote of the mutual benefits to understanding and learning that would follow from such interaction. The problems associated with segregation and division were mentioned in 9 cases. Another 6 qualified their agreement by stressing that choice of friends should be a matter for individuals to decide. Among the 7 students who ticked their disagreement with this situation, 5 pointed to the practical difficulties of achieving the ideal of unrestricted social interaction, such as the existence of prejudices, the perception of a 'gap', and the fact that most mainstream Australians could only mix with those who could speak English. The two whose ticked response was ambiguous both indicated in their comments qualified support for the situation.

Overview

The questionnaire survey of all Diploma in Education students enrolled in four different years provided important background information concerning the general student group from which all the memoir writers to be discussed in chapters 5-11 were drawn. The knowledge gained from the survey provided an important reference point against which the individual memoir writers could be compared. This applied in relation not only to the overall characteristics of the group, such as gender, socio-economic standing, ethnicity, language and friendship patterns, but also to views and opinions expressed in responding to the culturally plural situations presented to them in the questionnaire.

These Diploma in Education students were clearly not typical or representative of the South Australian population at large, but must be recognised as an educationally elite group whose views cannot be extrapolated to the population at large. Nevertheless, the attitudes of these particular students to cultural pluralism were worth investigating for themselves, in so far as the views they expressed in their teaching and modelled in their actions would have a considerable influence on their future students.

In addition, important methodological conclusions can be drawn from the comments section of the questionnaire which was completed by so many of the students. The fact that the respondents were tertiary graduates, used to expressing themselves in written form, probably helps to explain both the comparatively high percentage who took the trouble to record their comments and the quality of their remarks. The detailed analysis of the comments above revealed the ambiguity of ticked questionnaire responses in that the same tick covered a wide range of views, with qualifying comments reaching even to the point of contradicting the primary response. The comments collected in the

questionnaire survey pointed to the advantages of memoir methodology where participants were able to write about issues in their own terms.

The chapters that follow are concerned to analyse the memoirs written by forty three Diploma in Education students of mainstream Australian background. These more detailed personal statements provided a context for the views expressed by the writers in a way that enabled the researcher to come to a far deeper and more accurate understanding of their experiences and attitudes.

CHAPTER FIVE

A PREFERENCE FOR MONISM

Chapter five is the first of seven chapters in which the views of the 43 participants of Anglo-Cetic-Australian cultural background are presented in detail. The discussion in all these chapters incorporates extensive quotations from the memoirs, as a means of understanding the social and cultural context of the writers, as well as the attitudes they expressed, in greater depth than was possible from the questionnaire comments considered in the preceding chapter. The quotations have been edited minimally to eliminate details which could identify the writer or were irrelevant to the purpose of this investigation; any such omissions are indicated by three dots. Words in square brackets are explanatory comments added by the researcher or needed for the sense of an edited sentence. Any emphases in the quotations (use of capital letters or underlining) are reproduced from the original text. Each of the quotations is identified by the number of the chapter and a letter of the alphabet which reflects the order in which they have been discussed eg. 5A, 7C or 9D.

The main thrust of the analysis was to ascertain the extent to which the personal statements of the writers provided support for the conditions of cultural interaction proposed by Smolicz, by seeking to ascertain what experiences of cultural interaction the respondents described and what attitudes to cultural pluralism their comments revealed. This chapter considers the memoirs of five of the respondents who had had little or no direct contact with people of other cultural backgrounds **and** expressed a preference for Australia to be a society where mainstream culture prevailed. Some of these writers indicated that they had known minority ethnic individuals at the level of general secondary relationships in a wider grouping. For the most part,

however, their memoirs focussed on the arguments for cultural monism in Australia. Table 5.1 provides concrete fact details of each of the writers discussed in this chapter.

Monism on Economic Grounds

A economics graduate who spent his childhood years in a rural community considered that the ideal of cultural pluralism was unlikely to succeed in Australia for economic reasons.

> All commercial and legal transactions are conducted in English in Australia and I would argue that ... to survive in a new society the migrant has to learn the host language which means that to some degree the core values of the host group inherent in language are transferred. While it would be fair to add that many migrants who came to Australia many years ago have still to gain fluency in the host language their children ... often adopted English as their primary language naturally and have fully participated in the economy.

> In many ways the migrant, as opposed to the refugees of recent years, is a unique person. Why do people leave often traditional rural communities and travel thousands of miles to resettle? I would suggest that the motivation is, more often than not, a desire for improved material wealth and status. The measuring stick for material wealth for different groups is different. I remember as a teenager going back ... to work picking oranges and meeting Greeks who had worked as casual labourers when my family had lived there. Nearly all I knew of had bought fruit blocks and measured their success by the land that they had been able to buy. In rural Greece and many other European countries land is a measure of wealth and success. These people were a "curious" mixture of Greek and Australian, who had been accepted in terms of the Australians in the district because they worked to gain what they had. In a sense there was no conflict of values, the Greeks were respected because they'd worked hard (something Australian rural communities value highly) and had achieved their personal goal of improved material status.

> The British migrants with whom I have lived during the past twelve years had the same motivation as the Greek rural workers - material gain but they value different items, houses, cars, caravans and things of the like. In Britain

TABLE 5.1:   CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 5

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
5A 1979	M	c.24	Country Town + Suburban	State High School	BEc	Economics	—	
5B 1980	M	c.23	Country Town	State High School + Independent Boys College	BA	English	—	
5C 1982	M	c.27	Suburban	State High School	BA	English History	—	
5D 1982	M	27	Suburban	Independent Boys College + State High School	BA LLB	Law Accounting Politics	—	
5E 1983	F	35	Suburban	Independent Girls College	BA	Geography	—	

these are the measures of wealth and personal success. Nearly all the British migrants who emigrated from the 1950s on were working class (mainly from Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham and London) with lesser numbers being lower middle class tradesmen who perceived improved material status in different terms.

My argument centres around the assertion that migrants in leaving their own country are saying something about their willingness to change their way of life and even if the migrant is unwilling to change, particularly the non-English speaking migrant, the fact that the host group's language is the economic language is in itself enough of a conforming force (5A).

It would seem that the writer based his views largely on his contact with immigrants from Greece in rural South Australia and from Britain in suburban Adelaide. Although he had lived in the same community with them, there is no evidence that his association with any of the immigrants had been at anything more than a general secondary level, such as 'knowing of them' as casual workers on the family's rural property.

For him the critical values in life were economic, in that he saw these as determining values for people of all ethnic groups. Cultural differences were recognised only to the extent that they might influence the way economic gains were spent. Economic values, as the critical determining force in all social and cultural life, were assumed to be the driving force behind migration, except in the case of political refugees. All immigrants were seen as prepared to conform to the mainstream cultural patterns needed for achieving economic success in Australia. The implication was that there was no need for any specific assimilation policy since economic factors per se would ensure the level of cultural uniformity required for a stable society, and even tolerate a degree of difference in marginal areas of life, such as patterns of consumption. The possibility of cultural diversity in certain areas of life being maintained as a

distinctively Australian shared value, or of individuals from the mainstream group being influenced by minority cultural values was not considered.

The Advantages of Monism from a Social Class Perspective

An English graduate who had also grown up in the country was even more forceful in his defence of cultural monism in Australia.

> *I was brought up, in a family of four other children, on a farm in South Australia ... Both my parents were of Anglo-Saxon lineage, hence my orientation in the home sphere was Anglo-conformist. The home was without doubt the greatest influence on my emotional and deeply unconscious reactions and attitudes. Intellectually and ideologically, its influence was considerably less.*

> *I attended [the local] primary school for the mandatory seven years, then did three years at [the local] high school before completing my secondary education at [a boarding school in the city]. The students at both the primary and high school were of similar background and class, although most of the Catholics went to the separate Catholic convent for their primary education. School [in my home town] had very little influence on my values, or my intellect (since I did as little work as I could get away with), and only the peer-group at school was significant, that by way of shaping my social and sexual out-look. By far the biggest influence (and interest) was sport, as indeed it was for the majority of the boys I knew.*

> *College [in the city] was quite different. Though less severe than the plight of an ethnic child in a non-ethnic school, I found the alien social milieu at first traumatic, later alienating. I despised the self-satisfied, liberal assurance of the well-to-do (who accounted for the majority of the students there) and developed political and moral ideas which were quite the opposite of what the school's "hidden curriculum" taught. For the first time in my life, I began to cultivate an intellectual life, but this was confined to interaction with trusted peer-group members outside of the classroom.*

Out of this context came his belief that minority ethnic cultures were also to be explained in socio-economic terms. In his opinion the possibility of genuine

cultural interaction occurring in Australian society was very remote, and the maintenance of ethnic cultures a threat to Australian society.

... much of what [is attributed] to ethnicity could be incorporated in a broader socio-economic framework ... the vast majority of immigrants who came to Australia were forced, either by social sanctions or by virtue of their lower-class origins, to occupy the lower rungs of the Australian class system ... it could be that their linguistic difficulties and general cultural differences have been the primary cause of their [lack of] social mobility over the decades ...

However, who is to say that the social mobility of Australian-born manual workers is any greater? It seems probable that for low socio-economic groups, mobility up the social scale is prevented by the social structure. Ethnicity may exacerbate the problem, but essentially it is an economic one. Furthermore, a number of researchers have found that working-class usage of language differs from that of the ruling class(es) in a significant way. Consequently, children from a lower-class background have difficulty understanding the more complex transactional language used by teachers, texts and middle-class children. Although inability to speak English at all is a bigger handicap, it is important to realize the preponderance of the socio-economic question.

... will secondary interactions amount to mutual toleration, in which case no really valuable cultural symbiosis will happen, or will Anglos and Ethnics meet in genuine rapport? I would predict the former ... The above problems, of course, would be exacerbated ... [if] PRIMARY interaction would be confined to a given ethnic culture. It seems that real cultural exchange, which requires a degree of both respect and emotional involvement, would not occur. In a climate of "toleration", monism as separatism will soon result ...

At bottom [cultural pluralism] amounts to a preference of European culture as against Australian culture. Anomie and loss of meaning is a real and poignant fact of life for many ethnics and their children. However, they ARE living in a different culture ...

... a heterogeneous community whose national and mutual achievements in commerce, politics, law etc. are secondary to an over-riding ethic of inter-cultural respect ... is laudable, BUT, in view of what I've said above, unlikely.

Divisiveness of some sort is inevitable : it may be a small price to pay, in fact, but it could also lead to the kind of political instability <u>which is part of the structure</u> of a number of European cultures. As an Australian, I don't want the political and bureaucratic "style" of Italy, Poland, Greece or Latvia to emerge AT ALL in this country.

The point is, what's wrong with Monism? Provided an effectual education for assimilation is provided, and, despite its critics, this is possible without alienating ethnics, why not witness the gradual decline of minority cultures? Simply because a culture is old, simply because part of the history once produced great art, is no reason to perpetuate it. Sure, it might enrich the host culture, but equally as likely, it might add <u>undesirable</u> elements to the host culture. Australia is sexist enough, without incorporating the Italian and Maltese attitude to women. And so on. In fact, the potential divisiveness of a plural solution is increased if one or more ethnic cultures have supra-values which clash unavoidably with those of the host culture.
(5B)

This memoir gives no indication that the author had ever had any significant contact with Australians of minority ethnic background. His upbringing in a country town and later secondary education at an independent boarding school brought him in contact only with those who differed from himself in terms of religious practice (whom he tolerated) and those who came from a more affluent social group (whom he despised). His lack of experience of primary relationships with those of minority ethnic background was reflected in his questioning of whether it would ever be possible for 'Anglos and Ethnics' to relate to one another with the degree of 'respect and emotional involvement' which he recognised was needed in genuine cultural interchange.

Of all the memoirs analysed, this personal statement could be seen as representing the most direct and intransigent expression of a negative attitude to the possibilities of cultural pluralism and interaction in Australia. The writer's perception of the primacy of socio-economic values mostly led him to

interpret minority ethnicity as differing only in degree, and not in kind, from the linguistic and cultural variations to be found among the socio-economic groupings of the mainstream group. In this sense his attitude can be seen as similar to that of the author of Memoir 5A. Yet it was not simply that he believed interaction was unlikely to happen, but rather that if it did occur it would produce negative effects, such as insecurity, conflict and division which could potentially undermine the stable ethnically monistic Australian society he knew and obviously preferred.

The Inevitable Triumph of the Majority

A third respondent who graduated in English and History, argued largely on the basis of his experiences at secondary school, that the mainstream culture would prevail through the desire of minorities to become assimilated.

> *My school, which was still in the late 60s, the elite state school, contained a very high continental European population (25% in 1968).*

> *English was a compulsory subject until 5th year. An "adequate" knowledge of English was obviously assumed, as we were never tested for grammar or vocabulary. Instead, the emphasis was on literary criticism which, as the experiential content of most of the poems, plays and novels was so far beyond our own diverse but juvenile experiences, was a meaningless success - we became very good at reading critical works, gauging the English masters' likes and dislikes, and then simulating well-researched critiques. It was as foreign as Chemistry, hardly Anglo-dominant; just another subject. The best students in "English" [included a number of European names].*

> *History until 5th year was predominantly Australian, and was chronological, not cultural in presentation. When diversification came in 5th year, everyone was fascinated with the German and Italian national upsurgeances and, of course, World Wars I and II, which our Irish history master took pains to show us were signals of the decrepitude of England and the Empire. I resented this latter at the time, but the rest of my class agreed with him wholeheartedly.*

The whole thing about school was that it was not especially cultural whichever way you looked at it. Its dominant impact was pure pedagogy, tempered with large doses of adolescence and football, which I understand are universal. Its overt achievements, under whatever Anglo-dominance there was, were definitely not the preserve of the Anglo-Saxons. [Eleven out of thirteen school duces in third and fourth year had European rather than distinctly Anglo-Australian names].

The head prefect that year was [of Greek background] and the magazine in which I found all this was edited by [a Yugoslav and a Greek], both prefects then, one now an actor, the other a Federal Senator. On my last day of school I went to Granite Island with three Malay Chinese and two Greeks, so I was deemed a Greek for the day, to even up numbers. It was a good day.

In my home, I suspect that we were reasonably Anglo-conformist. However, our ... fear and insecurity about the use of foreign languages stemmed not from xenophobia but from the fact that my mother was a brilliant French scholar and linguist, while my father spoke Old and Modern Greek, and knew Aramaic. The result was that my brothers and I were all hopeless at languages except for one who refused point blank to do them at all at school. He is now so proficient in Indonesian as to have an identifiable dialect ...

My peer group was very, by and large, Anglo-Australian, and marked in its dislike of my apparent Englishness (I am actually fourth and fifth generation Australian). Consequently my best friends at school were an Austrian, an Italian, a Greek, and a New Zealand Quaker. Yet in all this I would have considered myself, and been viewed by my friends as "Anglo-Saxon", and my environment as Anglo-Australian ...

Commonalities and similarities between approaching cultures will only speed their assimilation and in the final synthesis obscure some of their diverse origin ... [Yet] there will still be remaining strands of origin and internal diversities within a society ... [There is a danger] of representing melting-pot assimilation and synthesis as an equalising and democratic process of absorption. It is not - majorities always prevail. (5C)

The detailed evocation of school day memories in terms of contemporary students and some of the subjects they studied together illustrates well the almost daily interaction at secondary level that could take place between individuals of different ethnic background in the context of a mainstream structure based on Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural values.

Despite the final protestation concerning the triumph of majorities, the school and its curriculum were not recognised as being 'Anglo-dominant'. The writer pointed to the success of students of minority ethnic background in the life of the school and in subsequent life, but it was clear that they had been expected to succeed in terms of a school curriculum, which took no account of the cultural heritages of the non-English speaking background students. Their success after school was also gauged in terms of their achievement in mainstream social structures, such as the theatre and the Federal Parliament.

He described both his peer group and his environment as 'Anglo-Australian', which could be taken as evidence that the cultural values being activated in their activities were those of the mainstream group. Yet the close school friends and associates he mentioned came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Despite this contact, the writer gave no evidence of any real awareness of the cultural differences which existed between himself and his fellow students, let alone any exchange of cultural values among them.

Indeed the comment that school was 'not specially cultural' could suggest that the writer's understanding of the word 'cultural' was not that of the anthropologist or sociologist but was perhaps associated more with aspects of 'high culture' which he did not consider to be part of the school curriculum. Certainly he did not appear to associate the term culture with the taken for granted reality of life as he knew it at home and school. The fact that he saw

himself as being singled out in negative terms for his 'apparent Englishness' was perhaps responsible for his stress on what he called the 'internal diversities' of society. In his perception the cultural heritages of minority ethnic groups appeared to be no different from the sub-cultural variants to be found within the Anglo-Celtic-Australian group. The implication may be that when reduced to cultural residues, minority ethnic heritages could be accepted as sub-cultural variants within the overarching culture of the mainstream group. The attitude expressed - that the majority culture would prevail - left no room for any recognition of the way the cultures of minority ethnic groups could be incorporated into an Australian multicultural tradition.

The Dominance of the Anglo-Celtic Heritage in Australia

Another student, who was a law graduate of Anglo-Celtic background, also argued for the dominance of the mainstream cultural heritage in Australia and the need for this to be transmitted and understood by people from all ethnic backgrounds.

> *I write as a W.A.S.P. cultural product and wish to defend my ethnic culture upon perceived attacks and downgrading by person(s) of different cultural background(s). I say a 'W.A.S.P. cultural product' because of the Celtic content assimilated already so successfully before my birth that Anglo-Saxon is taken now to include Anglo-Celtic ...*

> *First I wish to examine the alleged values which may be shared values of Australia. What is Western parliamentary style democracy? Is it government of the people, by the people, for the people OR is it government of the people, by self-interested politicians on behalf of the most influential lobbyists? Do representatives in our 'democracy' (representing the majority of their party which managed to get the majority of votes) act for the whole nation OR for 51% of 51% which means about 26% of the total electorate (even ignoring the many voters who do not belong to a political party) ...*

Likewise the notion of freedom of the individual is without substance ultimately for me as a determinist. Also be it economic or political 'freedom', I would suggest that the individual seeks to better his personal condition and that is only for a small minority that intellectual 'freedom' is necessary and that economic 'freedom' is relevant to only a few in our capitalist society having the means to use it ... Many immigrants come to Australia because they expect a better material lifestyle and do not understand about liberalism or democracy. Consider here, recent Southern Italian immigrants from rural areas who may not realize Australia is a democracy and never get naturalized to vote, but when they can finally afford a trip to the 'old country,' get naturalized to make re-entry easier. Many immigrants are the spouses or children merely following the breadwinner who decided to emigrate. Many immigrants did not decide to go to Australia; to leave their old country was the real decision.

I wish now to examine the transmission, or lack thereof, of my ethnic groups' earlier values ... Why should modern ethnic cultures expect to be treated better than the older Anglo-Celtic cultural groups? Some examples will illustrate.

So many Cornish, and to a lesser extent Welsh, miners came to South Australia last century for the Burra, Moonta etc. mines ... Cornish pasties seem to be the sole discernible contribution to our culture of a large significant group. If the Italians contribute pasta, pizza and terrazzo floors then they have added proportionally more than part of the allegedly dominant group ...

The destruction of a separate Scottish identity would be complete except for (i) 'funny sounding surnames' (like McArthur, McAlister, McGowan etc.); (ii) ethnic societies (eg. Royal Caledonian Society); (iii) folkloric dances (eg. Scottish country dancing - dancing which I personally used to do 13 years ago - or Highland dancing); (iv) "funny" costumes (men in dresses, how funny - they call them 'kilts' don't they?)

The 'destruction' of Celtic cultural input can be overstated. Much has been contributed to our existing culture and language. Place names such as Burnside, Glynde, Strathalbyn, Urrbrae ... a word such as 'reck' (to care or think about) survives in 'reckless' or 'reckoning' though not in its root form. (Interaction, not mere assimilation, occurred!) ... Old Australian culture

actually consists of a plurality of cultures with sometimes opposing core values eg. Old Australian working-class values such as collectivism, and frankness, and Establishment individualism and 'politeness' ... Within [my own] supposedly mono-cultural family, there was a persistent war between two cultural behaviour patterns : between the brusque, rude working class behaviour of my father and an effusive, polite Adelaide Establishment behaviour pattern of my mother ...

[On teaching practice] I was shocked when the year 11s explained that they did not know anything about Magna Carta, the Act of Supremacy, separation of Church and State, the 1689 Glorious Revolution establishing the supremacy of Parliament, or even anything about Australian history except its initial discovery. They had been taught the history of Indonesia and our near neighbours instead! ... I see this as 'Internationalism' run rampant. The school also teaches a number of community languages because of its 25% ethnic proportion of students.

I see this as anti-Anglo conformism and internationalism throwing the baby out with the bath water. The institutions of our society, such as Parliamentary Democracy have grown out of English and Australian history. In failing to teach 'Anglo' history, we fail to instil any deep appreciation for democratic etc. values and make difficult the creation of such values being shared, core values for Australian society.

Consideration for the 25% or so of our population's non-Anglo cultures, does not mean that the 'Anglo' history of the old 75% should be ignored. Anglo history is now the common heritage of all Australians because it created the existing traditions of democracy and economic freedom for us now.

In asserting democracy, economic and individual freedom should be shared, core values of all Australians, we assert the required/desired dominance of core values of certain groups within the Anglo-cultural heritage. I have no objection to the continuance of cultural differences where they do not conflict with these values; but just as all need to know the English language to survive in Australia, for Australia to survive as a democracy all groups need to learn and to appreciate the central core Anglo-heritage which has shaped and created it. (5D)

Although this personal statement provided little evidence of the writer's contact with individuals from minority ethnic cultures, it revealed an understanding of what had happened to Celtic cultures in both Britain and Australia, as well as the conflict of sub-cultural differences in his parents' relationship. As with Memoir 5C, the writer's assumption appears to be that cultures of minority ethnic groups are just other forms of sub-cultural variations within mainstream culture, comparable to the Scottish and Cornish residues, or the social class and life style differences he recognised in the contrasting behaviour patterns of his mother and father.

His experiences with secondary school students on teaching practice left him convinced of the crucial significance of transmitting the Anglo Saxon cultural heritage to all students in Australian schools, no matter what their ethnic origin. Without this commonality of knowledge and understanding, the very existence of Australia as a democratic society was, in his opinion, endangered. He was not opposed to the maintenance of ethnic cultural differences, provided that they did not conflict with what he regarded as the essential core values for all Australians.

The expression of attitudes in this memoir was more complex than in those discussed earlier. The real dichotomy of attitudes which can be discerned makes it an interesting example of some of the issues of interpretation raised in the chapter on memoir methodology. In the first paragraphs of his statement the writer was cynically challenging the operation of democracy and individual freedom in societies like Australia, and arguing instead for determinism and materialism. Yet in the last section he expressed his concern and shock at finding that the students he was teaching knew nothing about English history, which at that stage he claimed was 'the common heritage of all Australians because it created the existing traditions of democracy and economic freedom

for us now'. This can be interpreted as an example of apparently conflicting attitudes being expressed by the same writer in the course of the one memoir in a way that allows the researcher and the reader to gain greater understanding of the sometimes contradictory attitudes that may co-exist within the one individual. To the persons concerned, of course, these attitudes could be quite consistent, since their expression could be related to the different social or intellectual contexts in which the individuals found themselves.

Indifference to Cultural Interaction

Another writer, a graduate in geography and herself the mother of school age children, spoke of her disinterest and 'apathetic attitude ... toward the encouragement and development of cultural interaction'.

> *My value orientation is predominantly Anglo-conformism and ... my initial reaction to the development of educational policy to accommodate the various cultural influences was more closely aligned with those who would be identified as integrationists. Whilst not denying the various ethnic groups, and individuals, particularly those of the second and third generations, access to their cultural heritage, I would see benefits accruing to them rather than to those subscribing to the dominant culture ...*

> *My formal schooling, both at secondary and primary level, was within the confines of a private girls' school, where both staff and students were almost uniformly Anglo-Australian. In keeping with tradition, I pursued Latin as my main language until the end of secondary school, while French, the only other language taught at the school, was dispensed with after first year. Moreover, the only history topics offered were either Ancient or British/European history. The latter was simply indoctrination in the past glories of the British Empire and a reinforcement of Anglo-Saxon cultural values. At this stage topics such as Australian or South-East Asian history were not included in the school curriculum, and indeed were seen to have little relevance in a formal academic education based on educational ideals borrowed from Britain. In addition, my home environment, both family and friends, were exclusively Anglo-Australian, and as I recall both my parents and grandparents, whilst welcoming some of the post-war immigration*

policies, assumed that the immigrants would very quickly assimilate. Hence it is not surprising that my attitudes are very heavily tainted with Anglo-conformism, with little opportunity, at least within my personal orientation, to be different.

In retrospect, however, it is difficult to reconcile my current attitudes with perceived influences which I can assume were acquired from my schooling and early home environment. What is perhaps more pertinent, is the influence of my children's attitudes and associations with ethnic children, and my limited association with their parents. Indeed, at times I am surprised by the terms in which my elder daughter (who attends a high school where there is currently 36 per cent of the children with parents of ethnic origin) addresses many of the children from ethnic backgrounds. Evidently, there is very little cultural and social interaction between Australian and ethnic children, and in many instances there appears to be animosity between them. Whilst my upbringing was almost totally devoid of competing cultural influences, which can be seen as responsible for my general indifference, my daughter has managed to form very definite attitudes which can be labelled at best ambivalent ...

In my own work experience, which is currently teaching at tertiary level, I find that most of my colleagues are Anglo-Australian and that even in this environment there is little exposure to different cultural values. Those ethnic students with whom I do have contact appear to be well acculturated, and yet maintain extremely tight-knit social groups. It can be argued that these groups are a response, or a defence mechanism, adopted to combat perceived alienation, imposed wherever Anglo-conformism is the predominant cultural system ...

With the exception of my eating habits which have undergone quite dramatic change due to the many different 'ethnic' foods now readily available, I find my lifestyle little affected by the wide range of cultural values now evident in Australian society ...

I feel many educationists in the past have ignored the fact that education can't compensate for society and that it is the political and economic system which has to undergo change to alleviate or ameliorate inequalities. To what extent the arguments for expenditure on the development of educational programs to promote greater cultural interaction are dependent on notions

to ultimately improve life chances for ethnics and eliminate prejudice and discrimination will in the long term obviously have to be accompanied by economic and political change. Hence, in my view arguments centred primarily on cultural rather than political and economic aspects of society are rather simplistic, which is most probably a reflection of my own university education, whereby the stratification of society by class has generally been seen to be more relevant ...

[Recently] a notice sent home by [my daughter's] school aroused much dissension amongst parents (primarily of Anglo-Saxon origin but also of other nationalities) towards the Greek parents of the school. It was sent to all parents of children attending the school. Obviously, the invitation [to attend a meeting organized by the Greek Parents Committee] was extended to all parents to foster an understanding of the aims of the Greek parents' committee and to interest parents in allowing their children to participate in Greek studies. Despite good intentions, most recipients were annoyed as this notice arrived before the notification of a 'general' parents' Annual General Meeting, and therefore was seen by many (quite interestingly by many British immigrants) as an excuse to form their own parent committees to counter-attack the Greeks. (Not that this eventuated) ...

I personally view the existence of a Greek Parent Committee as a retrograde step which, whilst maintaining and developing Greek cultural identity, has led to conflict and alienation of persons who might have responded if such a proposal was put forward by a body, of no ethnic affiliation, that might have simply been formed to promote cultural diversity. I have no idea to which extent the Greek Parent Committee, or other similar affiliations, are a normal part of the current school scene, however in the light of my very superficial contact I feel that such groups are divisive, particularly when they manage to apportion to themselves a greater share of scarce educational resources ... Whilst I would agree that cultural interaction is a worthwhile goal to work towards, I personally would be more likely to retain my indifference, but can see positive influences for my children. (5E)

It is clear that the socio-cultural context of this writer had provided little opportunity for contact with people of minority ethnic origin. Educated in an independent girls' school, where the students came from a similar background

to herself, she had only as a tertiary teacher become aware of the reality of living in the same community as Australians of other cultures. Contact with her students had never extended beyond the level of secondary relationships within the value framework of a mainstream tertiary educational institution. In her opinion, the minority background students were responsible for the lack of cultural interaction, since they were either culturally assimilated, and therefore not a source of alternative cultural values, or maintained closed primary networks, from which she as an Anglo-Celtic-Australian was excluded.

More recently she had been confronted with multicultural issues in what she regarded as a more provocative way, with the discovery that a Greek Parents' Committee existed at her daughter's high school. Her direct questioning of the desirability of Greek parents establishing a separate parents' committee, points to an assumption that schooling should be based on mainstream cultural values. The underlying fear was that structures based on any other cultural values would lead to separatism and division.

Throughout the memoir her comments revealed an Anglo-conformist attitude which was opposed to the incorporation of cultural pluralism into the shared value framework of Australian society, although she accepted that there could be benefits to ethnic individuals in having access to their cultural heritage. Her preference was for cultural monism, although she did admit to taking advantage of the variety of foods available since the European and Asian groups settled in Australia. She also thought it possible that her children who had been educated alongside those of non-English-speaking background might adopt a different attitude to hers.

Overview

Overall, these five statements from individuals whose attitudes favoured monism rather than cultural pluralism, and consequent interaction, though they did so from varying perspectives and on rather different grounds. Their comments indicated that the extent of minority cultural variation that they would be prepared to tolerate were residues like food, life-styles and customs that could be accepted as sub-cultural variants of the mainstream Australian culture.

It can be argued therefore that these memoir writers fulfilled none of the conditions postulated by Smolicz as necessary for interaction to take place on the Anglo-Celtic-Australian side. None of the five statements provided any evidence that their writers had ever directly experienced or participated in any aspect of minority ethnic cultures. Furthermore, none of them revealed a positive attitude to cultural diversity. All of them expected that the future cultural patterns of Australia would be derived almost exclusively from the mainstream Australian group. If the views and experiences described by these respondents were found to be widespread in Australian society, cultural interaction would be a rare phenomenon.

CHAPTER SIX

ACCEPTING THE PRINCIPLE OF PLURALISM

This chapter considers the views of those respondents whose memoirs revealed some readiness to accept cultural diversity in Australia, although the circumstances of their lives had given them little or no contact with cultures other than their own. However, the extent to which they embraced this principle varied considerably. Some expressed only qualified support; others recognised that their attitudes had little chance of being activated, while in a few cases the comments revealed sensitive appreciation of, or strong support for, minority ethnic cultures in Australia. In the discussion that follows the memoirs have been arranged to illustrate similar attitudes, as well as common features in the writers' background and experiences. Table 6.1 presents the concrete facts related to each of the participants discussed in this chapter.

A Qualified Recognition of Minority Cultures

Two respondents who had grown up in country towns both revealed a cautious attitude to cultural pluralism in Australia. One, a graduate in English and French, described in detail how the monocultural outlook of her early life formed her attitudes to cultural and social interaction.

> There was nothing to disturb the Anglo-Saxon nature, in fact, the Anglo-Saxon Protestant nature of my home life. Geographical location is the most significant reason for this. In a small country town we were untouched by the immigration policies of our Government. The religious differences which provided the only variety were rivalled only by the division between country dweller and city dweller. This was the other significant cultural distinction. Therefore, it was with some curiosity and wonder that we regarded the presence of the new Polish family in our midst in the 60s. Language did not affect us for they spoke English. Therefore their Polish remained at the level of a curiosity. Their difficulties with Nazism during the war were like

TABLE 6.1: CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 6

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
6A 1982	F	43	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	English French	French (yr 3 uni)	travelled in Europe
6B 1982	F	40	Country District	Independent Girls College	BA Hons	History English	—	
6C 1979	M	22	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BA	English	—	
6D 1981	M	25	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BA Hons	English	Latin (yr 12)	
6E 1981	M	24	Suburban	State High School	BMus	Music	—	
6F 1981	F	21	Suburban	State High School	BMus	Music	—	
6G 1983	F	26	Suburban	State High Schools (girls + coed)	BMus Hons	Music	—	

something out of a storybook, far removed from our experience, like everything else in the world, for the geographic isolation was not just of our township but of our nation as well. There were rumours of "exploitation", but there was also acceptance and assistance on the part of my own family who believed in giving everyone a "fair go". My faint memories record that the local Catholic priest was not over-accepting of his new parishioners. They experienced difficulties in getting work, having to go to the city for employment. I remember my father explaining reluctantly, that the newcomer seemed to think he was "a bit good" for the employment offered in town. Here was a direct clash with the ethos of the Australian experience of the past - the age of the "swaggie" and of the depression : work should be taken wherever it could be obtained and whatever it was. The Protestant work ethic dominated our society ...

Nothing has since greatly affected or challenged my Anglo-Australian experiences. Encounters with non-Anglo-Australians have been brief and superficial. Never has the opportunity developed for conflict with other customs, attitudes or values. Never has my survival depended upon the speaking of another language. Never have differences been greater than the differences met between my family, where one has to adjust to that particular family's social system ...

My schooling covered the post-war years (1945-1956) and it was only in later years that I realised the cultural significance of my schooling. It was not Australian, though the English might have thought so. It was English, though the English might have recognised many Australian characteristics. History textbooks told of English kings and English success in battles, the British Empire and that Captain Cook "discovered" Australia. Stories revolved around country lanes, jam tarts, hedgerows and good children. Nature studies reflected oak trees and robins. There was minimal Australian history, and it was not until my university studies that I realised that apart from Patrick White there was a respectable body of Australian literature beyond Banjo Patterson and Henry Lawson. The Pacific regions didn't exist at all and Asia only in relation to trade. Each 24th May, Queen Victoria's birthday, we received a medal to commemorate Empire Day, and all schoolchildren became members of the Gould League (of bird lovers) by buying a badge. We took to school food parcels for Britain, listened to B.B.C. news broadcasts wavering over the wireless, sat up late for broadcasts of royal weddings, coronations, and of course cricket test matches. We bought British

goods wherever possible because these were of "good quality". People who had never been to Britain and had several generations of family born in Australia, called Britain "home" ...

The cultural distinctions of my childhood were not ones of ethnic origin but ones of religious distinction. Not only was Australia mostly Anglo-Saxon but it was also Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Protestants went to the state primary school, Catholics to the local convent school. Their culture was as mystifying, fanned by a residual Protestant bigotry of previous generations, as any ethnic culture. It was a case of "never the twain shall meet" at primary school level, but became of little importance at high school level, where the "cultures" mingled, and friends were made on the basis of "shared values" rather than differences (which were easily tolerated). At High School, in my experience, only two people represented or revealed the migrant presence, but that is recognised in retrospect. At the time they were simply school mates and were significant only by a moderately outstanding skin colouring (a blonde and olive colouring in the case of the Italian) and unusual names. "Immigrant" was a word we didn't hear at this level ...

As most immigrants were of Orthodox or Catholic persuasion, and my own denomination was Protestant, I was further shielded from the migrant presence.

To hear a foreign language or see a foreign word was a notable event. In the kinds of circles I moved in, youth clubs, tennis clubs, offices, even in the 60s, my experience of the migrant presence was almost non-existent.

Language experience was restricted to school French, which precluded the speaking of the language. Encounters with any culture other than Anglo-Saxon were spasmodic and superficial. It was necessary to travel to experience another culture. But the cultural characteristics of the various groups began to have their effect upon Australian society, and when I returned after several years' absence, it was noticeable in the large cities. It still has not penetrated to the country towns except in the form of Chinese takeaway restaurants or Pizza houses. It was with eagerness and excitement that we observed the influence. Nonetheless, even though our home is now situated in an area which is remarkably well populated by the Italian community, the cultural interaction is at limited level. Foreign languages are heard only at the supermarket or on the bus. This perhaps points to the lack

of cultural interaction in the form of language in the media. Ethnic radio is isolated from the mainstream media as is ethnic television where it is available. There is no call to listen to other than English, or read other than English. The institutions catering for the ethnic communities are isolated from the mainstream culture ...

Speaking another language is a nice ideal, but it is difficult. It becomes apparent that the need to speak another language is the most compelling reason for doing so. It is an easy matter to try other food, even to learn a new dance, but to learn a new language requires effort which calls for great motivation. The Anglo-Australian community does not have this motivation. The ethnic community must have it if the pursuit of opportunity is to be encouraged in an English speaking society. (6A)

In this memoir there is no suggestion that the writer was opposed or hostile to minority ethnic cultures, but rather the impression that she had been for much of her life unaware of them. In retrospect she recognised that her schooling had actually involved the transmission of the cultural heritage of the English ethnic group and she retained a certain detachment from participating in another culture. For her, the only meaningful differences were those to be found between Protestants and Catholics, between rural and urban people, or among family members. Her French studies, her travels abroad, and her current life in a suburb which she recognised was shared with many Italian families, had not led to any changes in the personal cultural systems which she activated in everyday life. Even her social contacts with those of other backgrounds remained 'brief and superficial'.

In her judgement, mainstream Australians had no motivation for making the effort to learn a language other than English in order to participate in the cultural life of another ethnic group. Learning French in her own case had not led to any cultural participation or interaction in the Australian context. She appeared to have no objection to minority ethnic groups maintaining their

cultures in Australia, but she saw these as rather separatist activities in which mainstream Australians had no interest.

Another participant who graduated in History and English had grown up in an Anglo-Scottish family in a rural district interstate. While recognising some of the benefits of multiculturalism, she was doubtful of it ever succeeding as an ideal among mainstream Australians.

My own Anglo-Australian parents and school transmitted [their] values to me as a child, and they were very much taken for granted ... values instilled in my childhood [included] the importance of always doing what one believes to be "right" and keeping one's word, and these values were so strongly held by my paternal grandfather and my headmistress, both Presbyterians, that I think they were more than just part of moral training but had the status of core values. The rest of the family, a mixture of Anglicans and Catholics, believed in these values too, but they were a fundamental part of these two elderly Presbyterians, and indeed my father. All my contemporaries, most of whom were country children, held a strong attachment to the Australian land ... which could be described as a core value, but it was not so evident in school friends who came from Melbourne. On the other hand, my mother's family had come to Australia from England in the first years of this century, and though she was born here my mother for most of her life has referred to England as "home", although she rarely does now. She has always had a strong attachment to the monarchy, like many Anglo-Australians of her generation, but this was countered in my upbringing by my father's slight Jacobite tendencies.

My childhood was certainly Anglo-Celtic-Australian, and in the early years the only other ethnic people I saw were the Aboriginals who lived in kerosene tin huts along the town's riverbank, or who came to the town occasionally by horse and cart from the reserve thirty miles away. There was also the one remaining Chinese market gardener and the rare Afghan traveller, but they remained curiosities and disappeared in the early 1950s. From about that time the labour needed to build the post-war irrigation works ... was largely supplied by European migrants, who initially were referred to as Displaced Persons (whether they had been or not), D.P.s or Dagoes. My father

employed them too, and they came from the migrant camp to fulfil their two years' labour before they were allowed to retreat to the city and establish small shops, a dream many of them had which surprised my brother and me. Perhaps it was partly because of our small knowledge of some of the experiences that these people had endured, the fact that the War was still fairly fresh in people's memories, and also the whole climate of the Cold War period, that the advantages of the Australian political system and the idea of Australia as the best country to live in were transmitted both at home and at school; perhaps, too, it was a result of the insularity of Australia in the 1950s.

During this period the government's policy towards migrants, who were to be called New Australians, was assimilationist. We assumed that the children we came into contact with would learn to speak English well, and their parents to speak it adequately, but I do not think we assumed they would be totally assimilated. They would attend Australian schools and fit in with our way of life, in other words accept our values, but at home they would live as we imagined they would live in Europe. We certainly did not adjust our way of life to theirs, apart from changing our eating habits slightly, and Anglo-Australians in the district welcomed the improvement to the green grocer shops and cafés as they were gradually acquired by one Greek family. However, the social life of the town remained separatist, and the head of the Greek family continued to be attached to Greece and eventually sold his best delicatessen and retired to Capri [or perhaps Crete] ...

Some second generation ethnic people in order to fit in better with their Australian contemporaries, have rejected the culture of their parents. In many cases children who are spoken to by their parents in their ethnic language reply in English, and also converse with their siblings in English. Often the third generation have tried to rediscover their culture but, unable to learn the language properly and not having had the core values transmitted to them, they have tended to adopt folk customs instead, such as dancing. This tendency can still be seen in the Australians of Scottish descent who learn Highland dancing and to play the bagpipes. My father's family laid great store by the wearing of the "correct" tartan, and my brothers at one stage (unfortunately for the rest of the family) attempted to learn to play the pipes

...

While I support the teaching of languages I have grave doubts about the practicality of this system, and feel that it would not produce balanced bilingual speakers, let alone bicultural people. In contrast to the situation in Canada, we have so many different ethnic groups and inevitably the smaller ones would be neglected. Also a good spoken and written command of English is essential to participate fully in the social and economic life of Australia, and I am not at all convinced that bilingual schools would provide this for ethnic children or for those Australians who have any difficulty with written English at all ...

I am pessimistic about the chances of any but a very few Anglo-Australians becoming bicultural, and also, with the process of interaction, pessimistic about the chances of most ethnic groups maintaining their cultures and languages in a "pure" form. Nevertheless, I do believe the schools should provide multicultural education for all children, and should value, and teach all children to value, the diverse cultures and languages to be found in Australia. Moreover, I believe in the provision of the better teaching of a wider variety of languages to children, but I am concerned that if "community" languages are to be taught, particularly through bilingual education, those children speaking a small minority language will be forgotten and feel their own language is not valued.

In conclusion, then, I believe that schools should continue to teach the shared values of Australian society, and should integrate multicultural education into their curricula. Even if Australian society tends towards cultural separatism, there will be some interaction between groups so that all cultures will be somewhat modified by each other, with the dominant Anglo-Australian culture having the strongest influence, at the same time being modified itself. I believe Australia will be a multicultural society for a long time to come, and the role of the schools will be important in deciding how much and in what form the different ethnic groups will retain the culture and values they have brought with them, and how much interaction there will be among the groups. (6B)

One of the attitudes which this writer claimed was taken for granted in her childhood was the assumption that the languages and cultures of other groups would continue to be activated, but only within the confines of the home. Such

an attitude represents the privatisation or domestication of minority ethnic cultures, which puts them on a level with the activation of family traditions and personal religious beliefs or participation in other voluntary or interest sub-groupings within Australian society. Her doubts that only a few mainstream Australians would ever become bicultural could be seen as a reflection of her early enculturation and her observation of the way the people in the district responded to the presence of 'New Australians' in their community. Her support for an increase in the teaching of community languages was tempered by an Anglo-Celtic-Australian concern for fairness to all which, in its extreme form, would rather deprive all minority ethnic children of the opportunity to study their home language rather than favour some groups or individuals over others. In arguing for multicultural education, she saw the possibility of mainstream culture being influenced to a limited extent by minority ethnic cultures, but remaining essentially dominant. Such comments suggest a recognition of minority cultures, but doubts about the extent to which they could interact meaningfully with the mainstream culture.

Re-evaluating the Transmitted Anglo-Conformist Heritage

Two of the memoirs gave evidence not only of the exclusively Anglo-Australian (as opposed to Anglo-Celtic-Australian) heritage transmitted through their school, but also of their re-evaluation of this heritage in the light of subsequent experience. One English graduate, who began by describing the overwhelmingly Anglo-Australian orientation of his schooling, went on to express an appreciation of the importance of cultural interaction.

> *My own education was at a leading independent boys school. Out of a senior school of about seven hundred there were several Jews, a couple of Greeks and one Asian prince (an honorary white). While there was nothing in the curriculum or the comments of staff to influence opinions on other cultures,*

there was an appreciable amount of 'subdued antagonism' to those who were not Anglo-Saxon. It is possible that even if the influences of the home do not contribute directly to it, the very act of coming from all over Adelaide to a school almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, cannot help but create an ethnic and class consciousness. To be able to matriculate at the age of eighteen without even speaking to or knowing someone of a different religion or ethnic background does not pave the way for a multi-cultural society with any cultural interaction (at least for some people).

The accepted view in the home was very much ... a mixture of detachment and subdued antagonism to ethnic minorities. This may be more so in the case of families with men who fought in World War II and then saw migrants from defeated countries (ie. Italy) come to Australia to start a new life.

The attitudes of my peer group were non-committal; the subject of ethnic groups was really a non issue. Apart from signs on the school gates in Greek and Italian saying "Private Property Keep Out" and listening (and smirking) when people spoke on the bus in foreign languages, we had no contact with any other cultures.

For the most part the same was true for the Church. The Church of England does not communicate with Italians and Irish who are Roman Catholic or Greeks who are Greek Orthodox or many other ethnic groups who have their own churches. We just ignored them; which brings me [to the point that] ... I feel the minority ethnic groups would prefer even more inter-cultural tension provided it means there was interaction. Nobody likes to be just ignored while their culture withers away. The older people who can transmit some of their living tradition often cannot do so; their children who will be able to (perhaps) may not want to. (6C)

This writer revealed a perceptive awareness that both the independent school he attended and the Anglican church in which he was brought up functioned as separatist structures for the benefit of the mainstream group and to the almost complete exclusion of minorities. Those who belonged to upper class Anglo-Australian organizations were effectively kept apart from, and in ignorance of, their fellow Australians who belonged to minority ethnic and

other religious groups. The writer's sense of irony in pointing out that the school's only recognition of the multicultural reality of the surrounding suburbs was the 'Keep Out' signs in Greek and Italian, can be interpreted as an indication of his own awareness of the separatist heritage into which he had been acculturated.

He himself expressed a preference for the principles of cultural interaction, even at the expense of some minority ethnic groups experiencing greater tension, as the means of at least recognizing the presence in Australia of people whose cultural background was different from those belonging to the mainstream Australian group. His comments did not provide any clue as to the factors or experiences that might have influenced this attitude. Nor was there any evidence that the positive attitude he expressed toward cultural interaction, had yet found any practical reflection in the activation of his personal social and cultural systems.

In the case of an honours English graduate, his memories of his Anglo-Australian oriented schooling revealed his current more positive evaluation of multiculturalism in Australia. It is interesting to note that he had attended the same school as the previous writer, and the author of Memoir 5B.

> *My own experience at home and at school exemplifies the dominance of Anglo-conformism. The suburb where I have lived most of my life is staunchly Anglo-Australian. Until recently it was unusual even to see people of non-British stock in the streets. This may be largely attributed to the high cost of housing in the area. The majority of ethnic migrants have come from the poorer areas of southern Europe since the war, while most Anglo-Australian families in this suburb would have been here for several generations and have had the opportunity to acquire the necessary affluence. By the same token, this area is staunchly middle class. Of course to me as a child this lack of ethnic (and class) diversity was unobtrusive.*

Anglo-conformism was reinforced, not explicitly, but with as much power as if it had been. My core values, in other words, were those shared by other families in the neighbourhood and taken for granted as exclusive throughout Australia. Their Anglo-conformist nature was particularly pervasive since my English grandparents lived with us for several years. While England, needless to say, was not under constant discussion, the very existence of English magazines in the house, references to childhood in Britain and even my grandmother's lingering accent, no doubt encouraged an awareness of my Anglo-Australian heritage, even if at a subconscious level. There was one Australia, and it was inhabited by Anglo-Australians.

If British ancestry and home life created my Anglo-conformist values, these were reinforced and extended by eight years of schooling which, since [the school's] foundation has been self-consciously British in character. All headmasters, save the present one, have been English clergymen. The school has even borrowed its name from an Oxford theological college. Founded shortly after [the state itself, the school] has set out to provide the State with governors, law-givers, clergymen, politicians, doctors, scientists and other professional men - the key links in our ideological system and especially required in a young colony. Inculcated in all these men, as in all its students however prominent in later years, have been the core values under which our Anglo-conformist system was established and is now maintained. If Australian schools in general have been slow to acknowledge the multicultural nature of our society, [this college] has been especially so. As with housing in middle-class areas, many migrant families have been unable to afford to send their children there. The ethnic children who have attended the school have come from families thoroughly attuned to Anglo core values. These families want such values implanted in their children so that they will succeed in economic terms under the prevailing system. (Of course, many southern European migrants are Catholics and do not wish their children to attend the school even when they can afford it).

The 'good' education [provided] is primarily academic, aimed at 'good' qualifications and a 'good' job. To become a surgeon or a judge it has not been necessary to acquire linguistic or cultural knowledge of the ethnic groups in Australia. In fact, owing to the conservatism of such professions, ethnicity has been a definite disadvantage. On the other hand, knowledge of different cultures has become increasingly useful in the practice of these professions (eg. medical treatment and legal advice for migrants). The

languages which have been included in the curriculum, such as French and German, have not only failed to represent the diversity of ethnic groups in Australia, but have been taught in an exclusively academic fashion - an extra qualification stripped of practical usefulness. The English language, as a core value, has been the 'only' language of any real value - in itself, for communication, in literature, or whatever. This has been true of many schools, but while some are now including modern ethnic languages in their curricula, at [this college] Ancient Greek has recently been restored. While this is not at all discreditable, the lack of a parallel course in modern Greek reveals a continuing insensitivity at the school to the multicultural nature of our society. Where a non-traditional language has been introduced, like Indonesian in the early 70s, it has not been handled very seriously, remaining little more than a token response to changing educational fashions. The boys considered unable to cope with Latin were given Indonesian in much the same way as they were given woodwork and arithmetic instead of integral calculus. Far from contributing to intercultural knowledge and understanding, the language - studied as it was by the 'weaker' boys - itself acquired an aura of insignificance.

The Anglican religious core value pervaded all levels of the school more prominently than at home. This not only refers to the rituals of prayer at the beginning and end of the school day, but to the very presence of buildings like the Chapel and ... Hall. Just as the absence of migrants in my neighbourhood and school implicitly reinforced an acceptance of the Anglo-conformist nature of our society, so did these buildings by their sheer physical presence serve as a constant, subliminal reminder of the solidarity, permanence and worth of the values for which they stand. For me at least there was not so much the conviction that migrants would have to adapt to a British-style existence, or even that the Anglo-core values were superior to all others - merely, these values seemed the only values; the migrant presence was scarcely noticed, if at all ...

The advantages of a multicultural society, in terms of the mutual enrichment of the different cultures, are too obvious to need enumeration here. A way must be found to make the most of these advantages, to ensure the maintenance both of the core values of individual groups and of the common values shared among them. Education can play a vital role here. (6D)

This statement, like the previous one, reveals the current positive attitude of the writer toward multiculturalism, despite what he describes as the overwhelmingly monistic Anglo-Australian values to which he was exposed in the home, the school and the neighbourhood environment. He has in fact evaluated his family and school experiences from the perspective of his current awareness of the benefits of cultural pluralism. He did not, however, indicate what factors had influenced him to favour multiculturalism or the extent to which his attitude found expression in interacting with minority cultural values either through meeting people who activated them or through reading, travel or some other way. Nevertheless, the attitudes expressed by this and the previous writer show that childhood monistic experiences at home and school are not necessarily and always perpetuated in Anglo-conformist attitudes in adulthood. Ideological values transmitted informally in the home and more formally at school can be re-evaluated, modified and changed by young people as they encounter different individuals, ideas and contexts, in growing up and moving into the tertiary education system and the wider world.

A Positive Response to the Principle of Cultural Pluralism

A music graduate, who admitted that he had little personal contact with Australians of minority ethnic background, was prepared to recognise positive aspects in their cultures.

> In my own experience, just observing the Italian people in the community in which I live, they, by dint of frugal living and hard work shared with their families, seem to have made better use of the economic improvement available in Australia than the Anglo-Australians have. I think the individual independence so fiercely maintained by Australians is actually a disadvantage, especially when trying to financially better oneself, while the Italian family unity and interdependence supplies a cheap labour force, all of whom benefit from the work of the group. It would seem then that the minority cultures do readily accept and share values with the Anglo-

Australian majority but just as important to each culture is their own individual cultural identity ...

As an Anglo-Australian though, when confronted with the same question, I have much difficulty in describing that which is uniquely Australian. Personally I reject the standard list of football, meat pies, kangaroos and Holdens because I can still be called Australian without the label of "Ockerism". After considerable thought some aspects of Australian culture or attitudes are obviously descendant from Anglo-Saxon culture, eg. the independence of the individual, with the associated notion that an "Englishman's home is his castle", no matter how big or small ...

Significantly in the same way that English islanders tend to be isolationist, Australians are individually and collectively even more so, though we live on a much bigger island. One attitude peculiarly Australian is the empathy with the land. Not as a European rural peasant or a plains Indian. The Australian landscape is awesome and harsh and bitter experience has nurtured great respect amongst all Australians whether town or country dwellers. The underlying feeling seems to be that we are all visitors to a place which has no beginning and no end, and shall remain forever despite any man's attempts to change it ...

Ideally a multicultural education would not only increase the child's self-esteem and self-identity, but it would also reduce the gulfs of misunderstanding between cultures. As an Australian I know that my knowledge of the cultures around me is almost non-existent and I feel safe to assume the same is the case for the majority of Australians. (6E)

Despite the fact that this respondent had had little personal experience of cultures other than his own, he revealed the capacity for a sensitive analysis of the essence of mainstream Australian cultural values alongside a perceptive recognition of other cultures and their importance for the group members concerned. In this sense, his personal ideological system can be said to have incorporated a positive attitude to cultural diversity. He also appreciated the importance of multicultural education in fostering the self esteem of children of minority backgrounds and provide opportunities for those of the mainstream

group like himself to gain greater knowledge and understanding of minority groups.

Another music graduate also expressed a generally positive attitude.

> *I attended a primary school in the northern suburbs of ... [a city interstate]. Because of the area and economic situation the percentage of ethnics in the community was very low. As a result, little attention was given to migrants and their culture when they entered the school. There were no language lessons in the entire school (apart from English), and there were no special language classes for any of the migrant children. They were expected to assimilate with older children ... I attended ... high school [in South Australia] at a time when the percentage of ethnic groups was just starting to escalate. I found that, in each year level in about 1973 to 1975, ethnic students were generally placed in the same class, presumably in an attempt to isolate any problems they had from other students. Once again the general attitude was that their ethnic culture was ignored, and all students were expected to behave in a similar manner.*

> *The view held in my home on ethnics retaining their culture differed from that of either schools. My parents held the view that ethnics do need their culture and should maintain their own language and culture, but in restricted circumstances. They do not like migrants speaking their native language in public, and consider it to be extremely rude. They believe that the ethnics should keep their own culture, but believe that they should also hold, and use, some Anglo-Saxon cultural values, such as speaking English in public.*

> *Because I have not ever been closely involved with many migrants, it is hard to determine exactly what views were held in my peer group environment. On reflection, it appears that culture was, to a large extent ignored. It was ignored by the ethnic students themselves, in their attempt to be as "Australian" as possible, and by the non-ethric students who had probably never really been involved in the ethnic students' "out-of-school life" ...*

I think the value of interaction is self-evident. There are benefits to all those involved, and it can only help towards promoting stability within a society. (6F)

This respondent, too, had had little contact with people of another culture. Although there were students of minority ethnic background in the secondary school which the respondent attended, she made no specific mention of any direct relationship with them. This could have been explained partly by her comment that the minority ethnic school students seemed to have been separated into a class of their own, away from the other students. It is ironic that had the students themselves sought such separatism, it would have been discouraged as undesirable and divisive. Moreover, in her judgement, the response of minority ethnic students was to behave as much like the mainstream group as possible, so that students of all backgrounds tended to ignore any cultural differences that might have existed among them.

Yet, despite the fact that her school and peer group had failed to recognise ethnic cultural differences and that her parents believed in the confinement of ethnic cultures to the private domain of the home, she herself expressed a positive attitude to cultural interaction, because of the benefits which she considered it brought both to the individuals involved and to society at large. At the same time it must be recognised that her views were expressed in very general terms, and her memoir contained no evidence of personal commitment and involvement.

A third respondent who graduated in music with a specialization in singing pointed to her tertiary studies as important in raising her awareness of other languages and cultures.

I belong to that group of Australians whose ancestors were among the original white settlers in Australia; whose culture was derived from the British economic, political and social system. The history of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Australia is very short, spanning two centuries, whereas the Aboriginal people have lived here for thousands of years ...

The Aboriginals were expected to integrate with white society and absorb its cultural values. Mission schools were established towards this end. It seems that it has only been in recent times that "white society" has in turn attempted to understand and fully appreciate Aboriginal culture; and even assisted Aboriginal people to retain certain key aspects of their culture and explain its values to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike.

An important aspect of this process which I have observed, is the teaching of Aboriginal music and through it certain cultural values, at the Adelaide University Music Department, through its ethnomusicology course ...

A central aspect of the Australian culture is I feel, the dominant position of the English language. My own education largely emphasized the English language and traditions. This was reinforced at home as well as at school. It was only once I started music studies in earnest at tertiary level, that I began to absorb other languages and a deeper understanding and appreciation of other cultures.

I see this country in which I live fast becoming a diverse multicultural, racial society in which those Anglo-Saxons related to the early British pioneers will eventually cease to be the largest group, with the most widespread cultural influence. There will be a gradual integration with other racial groups and cultures of that pioneer race I affectionately think of as the "fair dinkum Aussies".

It seems to me that there is an increasing awareness and emphasis with those concerned with formal education that we need to work toward creating a cultural pluralist society which preserves the heritage of the different ethnic groups while increasing the harmony and understanding between different groups. (6G)

In the course of this discussion, the author explained the influence which she believed had given her an understanding of the reality of cultural pluralism in Australian society. As part of her music degree, she had taken the subject ethnomusicology, which had looked at the musical heritage and traditions of the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. These tertiary education experiences gave her the first window into the world of ethnic cultural differences. As a result she revealed a positive attitude to multiculturalism in education which she felt could help to deepen and extend young people's understanding of cultural variations and thus enhance societal harmony.

There is some evidence, however, that this positive attitude to multiculturalism might have remained at a fairly superficial level, which as yet had failed to radically restructure her ideological attitudes or her personal cultural systems in other areas of life. This interpretation is based on her comment that the pioneer white settlers of Australia, the group from which she herself was descended, were 'the fair dinkum Aussies'. The unstated implication behind such a remark could be that peoples of other cultural background are somehow less than proper Australians. On the other hand, she viewed in positive terms the possibility of Anglo-Celtic-Australian culture existing alongside and interacting with the cultures of minority ethnic groups.

Overview

The memoirs discussed in this chapter revealed a cautious acceptance of pluralism. Unlike those considered in the previous chapter, these writers were not opposed to the idea of cultural pluralism, although some pointed to the problems and difficulties that needed to be resolved. Unlike the authors to be discussed in the next two chapters, none gave evidence of having been involved in social interaction with individuals of different ethnic backgrounds

from their own, let alone of participating in any cultural interaction, as was the case with those respondents to be discussed in chapters 9-11.

What is perhaps most notable is that many, though not all, of them expressed positive attitudes to the possibilities of cultural pluralism and interaction in spite of the fact that they had had little if any personal experience of it. Indeed, almost all had been exposed at home and school to ideological values that emphasized monism and conformity to the cultural values of the Australian mainstream. Yet the context of their lives, and the realities of the Australian society they saw around them, had resulted in some of these writers changing and modifying the values transmitted by their parents and teachers.

In fact these memoirs showed evidence of a change in their writers' attitudes, which seemed to have occurred after they had left school, as a result of experiences in tertiary education or later life. The study provided no way of knowing, however, whether such attitudes ever found expression in actions that were supportive of cultural pluralism or involved the writers themselves in the process of cultural interaction. Rather the memoirs as they were written illustrated the way mainstream Australians of Anglo-Celtic cultural background could continue to pursue their lives without any direct contact with Australians from other cultural backgrounds.

Nevertheless, some of these memoir writers can be said to have given evidence of beginning to fulfil the first of Smolicz's conditions - the development of a positive attitude to cultural diversity.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXPERIENCES OF SOCIAL INTERACTION ON MAINSTREAM TERMS

Social interaction, in the sense of having contact with people of other ethnic backgrounds, can be regarded as a common, though by no means universal, experience of individuals growing up in Australia's multi-ethnic society after the Second World War. In the survey conducted by Harris and Smolicz (1976 : 150) (discussed at the end of chapter 1), 76% of the University of Adelaide students they sampled claimed to have 'at least a few ethnic-Australians in their circle of friends'. The results of the survey of diploma in education students reported in chapter 4 also revealed a considerable degree of social interaction between individuals of mainstream and minority ethnic backgrounds. Among the 1979-81 respondents two thirds had friends drawn from more than one ethnic group, and almost a quarter had friends from at least three different groups (Table 4.4). In the case of the 1987 respondents, just over half had friends from more than one ethnic group; only a tenth did not have any mainstream Australian friends and in the case of nearly two fifths, their friends included both mainstream and minority ethnic individuals. Figures derived from surveys such as these provided little indication, however, of the nature and context of such relationships.

A number of the memoir writers focussed their attention on discussing their experiences of social interaction with Australians of minority ethnic background in a way that often provided a greater understanding of what these relationships involved. For some respondents this experience had only been short-lived, while in other cases the relationships had proved to be more prolonged and at a deeper level. The comments of the writers quoted in this

and the following chapter were sufficiently detailed to provide an understanding of how they evaluated and related to the minority ethnic individuals they encountered. This chapter discusses those writers whose comments revealed that they regarded the minority ethnic individuals with whom they came into contact as little different from themselves. Those respondents whose statements revealed the way in which relationships with minority ethnic individuals influenced them to develop positive attitudes to cultural pluralism are considered in the chapter that follows. Concrete facts concerning the writers discussed in this chapter are provided in Table 7.1.

Contacts with Minority Ethnic Children at School

One agricultural science graduate gave a fairly generalised account of her memories of fellow students of minority ethnic background at school.

> *There were many Italian children, in particular, and even [other] ethnic-Australian children. Although at the time, I was not conscious of what was actually occurring, looking back on my school years, I can see the great conflicts between cultures and how each group dealt with them ... Schools, themselves, have not forbidden the use of other languages, but through peer pressure and the need to conform they are not spoken or even encouraged. An Italian child that started school with me, could not speak much English and soon became ostracised ...*

> *At high school, the only Italian or Greek words used were swear words, there was no general conversation in native tongue. I can't help but think, why, if the migrant has come to Australia to start a new life, do they hold to their cultures. If they are so attached to them, why did they leave their homeland?*
> *...*

> *It is still fascinating, when considering the enormous pool of cultural backgrounds present in Australia and the wealth of information they could provide. In such a multicultural society, all these cultural resources should be utilised and shared. Australia is really lucky to have such a multicultural society and schools are the best places for such cultures to be shared ...*

TABLE 7.1: CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 7

Memoir No + Year Written	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
				BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS				
7A 1983	F	24	Suburban	State High School	B Ag Sc	Biology Computing	—	
7B 1979	F	24	Country Town	State High School	BAppSc	Chemistry Biology	—	
7C 1982	M	22	Suburban	State High School	BA	French German	French (yr 3 uni) German (yr 2 uni)	
7D 1981	F	21	Suburban	Catholic Co-ed	BA	History Psychology	—	
7E 1980	M	21	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	History Zoology	French (basic)	Travelled in Europe

I think everyone would like to be able to speak another language, especially monolingual English-speaking people, but they also need to learn about the culture to understand the meaning of the language. I am greatly in favour of multicultural education, particularly from the beginning of primary school. It is a fact that a young child can learn a new language far easier than an older teenager or adult. The child grows up being associated with many cultures and positively aware of the ethnic peers. (7A)

This respondent remembered the presence of Italian children in her school, and even in her class, but she did not mention becoming friendly with such classmates in the way described by some of the writers considered in Chapters 8 and 9. Her remarks also indicate that there were sufficient Greeks and Italians at the high school she attended for their swear words to have become common currency among the students. This would seem to be a small scale example of the sort of peer group hybrid discussed in more detail by the writer of Memoir 10E. Her own contact with these minority ethnic peers appears to have been fairly minimal and not to have touched her personally at all.

Furthermore, the remarks in this memoir appear to reveal an unresolved clash of attitudes within the writer's personal ideological system. On the one hand, in recalling the plight of non-English speaking children subjected to peer group pressure to conform to the cultural and linguistic norms of the mainstream, she expressed the dominant monistic view that the migration process inevitably involved leaving behind one's original native culture with the homeland and adopting the culture of the new country from the time of settlement. On the other hand, she gave evidence of a generally positive attitude toward the learning of other languages, in so far as she claimed it was something everyone would like to learn. In addition, by advocating the development and sharing of Australia's manifold linguistic and cultural resources through the provision of multicultural education programs, she was expressing support for the multicultural values underlying the educational policies concerned. Which of

these valuations of minority ethnic languages and cultures found expression in the writer's actions would probably depend on the particular context in which she found herself.

Making Friends with Migrants

One respondent, who had completed all her education, including an Applied Science degree, in Tasmania, pointed out that she had had little opportunity to make contact with cultures other than her own. Yet she did mention meeting and socialising with those whom she referred to as 'migrant people'.

I grew up in, and received my primary, secondary and tertiary education in Tasmania. Tasmania is not a plural society. The early English settlers killed the aboriginal people thus totally eliminating any cultural interaction. The few migrants who do settle in Tasmania are mainly English and Dutch and are barely distinguishable from the locals as they readily join in the existing social structure. At university there are a small number of Asian students. Many of these have been educated in English speaking countries and do not expect to speak their native tongue whilst at university or when socialising with Australians. Many of them revel in the Australian freedoms and break their own religious and cultural taboos during their stay here but are prepared to go home and re-enter the society of their homeland ...

Both my parents were active during the last world war. My father has an intense hatred of the Asian peoples particularly Japanese. I was brought up to be proud of my country and I am proud to be an Australian. I cannot imagine choosing to live in any other place in the world. As an Australian I realise that I am lucky. As an Australian I expect migrants from other countries to learn the language of their adopted country. The main reason for this is to open up communication. I do not believe that the English language is intrinsically superior to any other language - it just is the language of this particular country.

Cultural interaction to me is a day to day, person to person occurrence. Because of my upbringing, education, life experiences I am who I am. When I meet people I don't classify them but see them as a person. If they are of ethnic origin that is just a facet of the total personality. As with all

knowledge, I have generalised my opinions somewhat eg. Greek men are very egotistical but Nick is Nick, George is George.

I am possibly inclined to be more tolerant than the average Australian. Because I grew up in an atmosphere free of cultural tensions I am able as an adult to make rational decisions, not emotional inculcated responses about this particular issue. The clubs I have played sport for have often been multicultural in recent years. Socialising with migrant people from middle class backgrounds I find easier than with others from working class culture. The Church is too hypocritical on so many issues for me to take much notice of her teachings. The mass media has presented me with opportunities to view foreign produced films. Like all films some are good, some are bad. Likewise with people some are good, others bad and this has little to do with their ethnic origin. (7B)

This writer considered that she had experienced cultural interaction in so far as her circle of friendships and acquaintances included those from different cultural backgrounds. In her case the area of life which brought her into contact with such people was sport where the cultural values being activated would have normally included no recognition of ethnicity and been generally free from ethnic cultural connotations. She seems to have followed this pattern of evaluating those she associated with, since she claimed to see people as individuals and judge them on personal criteria. In the process of interaction, however, it is apparent that she communicated with them on her own cultural and linguistic terms in a way which took no account of their cultural background. Her comments reveal a greater awareness of social class over ethnic cultural values, in so far as she said that she found it easier to relate to those of middle class minority ethnic background rather than to individuals whose behavioural patterns reflected working class cultural values. By implication it would seem that the minority ethnic individuals with whom she was associated were well assimilated into mainstream ways and did not activate minority ethnic values in her presence.

In her opinion, the tolerant attitudes she displayed could be traced back to growing up in a country free of 'cultural tensions' (despite her father's attitude to Asians) and to the consequent possibility of individuals incorporating 'rational' values into their personal ideological systems. Overall her comments would seem to indicate that this rational tolerance extended to personality and socio-economic, rather than to ethnic and cultural differences. Her expectation was that migrants would learn the English language and fit into the existing structures of Australian society.

Treating Everyone as a Human Being

A French graduate acknowledged that he had gained a greater awareness of cultural differences through his language study, but he saw this as less important than inter-personal adjustment.

> *My school was typical of most ten years ago when everybody did all the same subjects with no special consideration given to your cultural background. Everyone received the same perspective, the same history - traditional languages were offered but not community languages. The Anglo-conformist approach taken at school was reinforced at home where, being Anglo-Australian, the Anglo-Australian outlook was propagated. Prejudice against any minority ethnic group was the 'norm' and comments were expected to be made. Even among my peers, many of whom were Italian and Greek, Anglo-conformism was the major influence. Everyone was treated the same, no-one escaped the name-calling, for no particular one was picked on. We all acted as we were 'expected' to act. Everyone had to speak English (but then no-one wanted to speak Italian or Greek), we all wore uniforms, etc.*

> *In fact, I never really thought about cultural differences until recently. As a foreign language student, I opened my mind to new countries and new cultures and never once questioned the way other people chose to live. I thought that if the French want to eat snails and frogs' legs, that's their business. It had nothing to do with me. I still don't care. I understand more about the culture now, but I don't feel that it is of vital importance. If you treat someone as a human being and not as a member of a particular ethnic*

group, then this is more important than cultural interaction. I do realise, however, that it is important to recognise that the same action in one culture may mean something totally different in another, but you can only learn the truth through experiencing the different cultures yourself.

Having become fairly well acquainted with people of differing cultural backgrounds, I have come to realise the traumas life can hold for these people who are in the process of finding their niche in life. A colleague at my school was born in Italy of Italian parents. To become accepted into the Anglo-Australian community he has adopted the bicultural approach. To all outsiders (non-members of his ethnic group) he is a beer-swilling, English-speaking, foul-mouthed Australian male who has Italian parents, yet to his family and friends he is a calm Italian-speaking Italian boy ...

The major problem I have in determining anything about cultural interaction is that I am a member of the dominant Anglo-Australian group who can't identify with the problems of interaction because I don't really understand my own cultural group and I feel as if I don't belong, knowing full well at the same time that I do. My dilemma is that I'm not ethnic here in Australia and don't have the problems associated with cultural interaction because the pressure is not on me to remain a member of the dominant group (for I am already) but rather on the non-members of that group to join or adapt to it. If I were ethnic, I would be able to more fully understand the problems of interaction, but unfortunately as an Anglo-Australian person, I am not sufficiently aware of problems with cultural interaction to be too concerned about it, for I feel that two people can live together as one no matter which cultural group they belong to, as long as <u>they</u> agree on what sort of compromise they are going to make.

Maybe for me it is the lack of strength placed upon my cultural roots which leaves me in this predicament for although others feel that cultural identity is important to their lives, I do not. I believe in people, being themselves, not a representation of a culture, although I know it is difficult for the person to be divorced from their roots. Nevertheless, cultural interaction must occur on a person-to-person basis not one group versus another. Compromises must be sorted out if people from varying backgrounds are to co-exist in a plural society, otherwise we will not have an integrated society but rather a whole series of communities totally divorced from each other. The problem to be solved then must be that we should understand ourselves and our own

culture before we can interact with other cultures for we need to know
ourselves before we can understand others. Therefore it is necessary to teach
culture, language and history of all the groups to all those who are interested
in order that an integrated, well-informed and adjusted plural society may
develop. (7C)

Some of the comments in this memoir exemplify the supposedly egalitarian ethos to be found in many Australian schools, where the content and structure of the curriculum, as well as the attitudes of teachers and students, assume that equality means that everyone should behave and be treated in the same way. Despite the opportunity to learn a language other than English at school (French), the fact that he referred to this as a foreign language was indicative of a personal ideological system that drew a sharp distinction between the cultural values of what he saw as his own group and the cultural values of other groups. Experiences in learning French had taught him to recognise the reality of cultural differences, but part from this academic exercise in the context of the school curriculum, he had no desire to experience for himself or participate in any cultural values other than his own.

Both during his time at school and later, he associated extensively with individuals of non-English speaking background, especially Greeks and Italians. However, their evident concern to appear as Anglo-Celtic-Australian as possible in the school and other public domains, meant that such contacts provided no opportunity for cultural interaction. For his part, the writer did not consider that cultural interaction was a goal worth striving for; accepting people for their worth as human beings was more important. As a result the problems of cultural interaction were seen as no more or less than issues of interpersonal social adjustment which took no account of cultural factors which could be influencing the individuals involved in the relationship concerned.

In this sense his ideological system appears to have been little changed or modified by his experiences of learning French and interacting socially with people of different ethnic backgrounds. The values he expressed could be seen as representing a belief that focuses on the universality of being human, and neglects or discounts the reality that individuals achieve their humanity through becoming cultural beings and members of some particular social group. Such a value may be seen to underlie educational policies that stress social justice and equality of opportunity, without making any provision for the cultural and linguistic maintenance of minority ethnic individuals.

This respondent's remarks suggest that other ideological attitudes also underlie his hesitancy in relation to the possibilities of cultural interaction. Being born into the mainstream group left him with no conscious sense of cultural and ethnic identity, perhaps because Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural values, were so all-pervasive at home, at school and in society generally, that they assumed a 'taken-for-granted' reality whereby they automatically received formal educational support without being raised to the level of manifestly conscious enculturation. As a result of the circumstances and experiences of his life, he had begun to wonder about his identity. The feeling that he did not properly understand his own group and cultural identity led him to advocate the teaching of the culture, language and history of all groups in schools. This suggestion would imply that greater knowledge and understanding of ethnic cultural heritages and identity could make a person more ready and open to participation in cultural interaction.

Friends of Different Personalities

Another respondent (a History and Psychology graduate) realised that the school friends she had from different cultural backgrounds were so well

assimilated that, like the previous writer, she thought of them as different only in terms of personality.

> *Although I dislike having to be classified as belonging to a cultural group, the idea of which seems to me to encourage a certain degree of stereotyping at the expense of one's view of oneself as being an individual ... I must describe myself as being of the Anglo-Australian culture ... I have had friends of different cultural backgrounds from my own but they are probably best described as being "anglicised". In my mind they represent different personalities rather than being of a different culture ...*

> *My own cultural background would be seen as that of Anglo-Australian although it is in a sense a hybrid, in that it is a synthesis of both an Irish and an English background ... I have no recollection of any migrant children in my primary school but there were a number at the college I attended. The school tended to have a very flexible policy with respect to the backgrounds of students, for example, although it was a Catholic school, Catholicism was not a criteria for entry into the school and non-Catholics were treated like everyone else. Most of the students from ethnic backgrounds were Italian and they tended to associate with each other in groups although not exclusively. In retrospect the school tended not to facilitate any form of cultural interaction between the two types of cultures. Throughout my time at the school only one of my friends in my "peer group" was of Italian background. She had some knowledge of Italian and spoke this at home, although I am unsure whether this was a dialect or not. Certainly no provision was made by the school for these students to study Italian. Whether or not this was due to the very few numbers of Italian students in the school or because the school had a latent conformist attitude is something I cannot estimate ...*

> *I do, however, remember the stigma of "wogs" being ascribed to such students from time to time. Certain schools were also given the status of a "wog" school if a lot of the students appeared to be from ethnic backgrounds ... Whilst [minority ethnic students] ... were not discouraged in theory from retaining their ethnic identity there existed an undercurrent stemming from the fact that they were in some way **not** Australian from the Anglo point of view which may have had the same effect. Neither group was really encouraged to interact in the sense of a cultural interaction ...*

> *In discussing this [question] with my father, I was mildly surprised to discover his position on this issue; since studying German as a second language over the past three years, he strongly advocated the idea of bilingualism, as well as the ideal of a cultural interchange with ethnic groups, claiming that he considered that of the Anglo-Australian to be a fairly "empty" culture.* (7D)

The opening sentence of this memoir gives evidence of a similar ideological value to that discussed in relation to the previous writer - belief in the valuation of people as individuals and the corresponding reluctance to classify them according to ethnic or cultural 'stereo-types'. The Catholic school she attended gave her the opportunity for making friends of non-English speaking background, but on mainstream cultural terms. This effectively prevented any meaningful form of cultural interaction, yet provided no guarantee that those of non-English speaking background would be fully accepted as proper (ie Anglo-Celtic-) Australians. The practical outcome of such cultural assimilation and social rejection, as this writer noted, was often a separation which was difficulty for any individual to bridge.

The writer's assessment, in the final paragraph, of her father's change toward a positive attitude toward bilingualism and cultural interchange after embarking upon studies of German provided interesting evidence of the way an individual's attitude, even later in life, could be modified in response to new experiences. His reported evaluation of Anglo-Celtic-Australian culture as 'empty' found an echo in the views expressed in other memoirs, such as 8J. In this instance the father would appear to have adopted a more favourable attitude to cultural pluralism than his daughter revealed in her comments and been more positive than the parents mentioned by a number of other respondents (eg. 8D, 8F, 8J).

Enjoying the Exotic

In the case of another respondent, the impetus for cross-cultural contacts and experiences originated informally in the home, rather than in the formal structures of the school.

> *As a student I attended a school in the country where there were relatively few Europeans represented, in fact, there were probably less than five out of two hundred who had recently migrated to Australia. At school I cannot recall ever hearing any language spoken other than English, except by a rotary exchange student now and then. The only other group present was a population of "aboriginals" who lived in a town nearby ... However, there were no aborigines in the area who did not have some Anglo-Saxon or European blood so this is perhaps a poor representation of the true aboriginal culture. When I look back at it, our school was very Anglo-conformist because there appeared no immediate need for multicultural education. All white children attending the school had opted for the Anglo-Saxon culture from all outward appearances and there was no discrimination between them. Certainly the Aboriginals were a separate group but at the same time they did not appear to have any distinct culture of their own ...*

> *In my home ... we did not come into contact with other ethnic groups. We felt no prejudice towards the aboriginals and received none from them. This could have been due to our early contact with them ... [in another town where] there were pure blooded aboriginals and traces of their own distinct culture. My parents became very friendly with one family in particular and as a young child they were some of my best playmates. Perhaps it was from this early ... contact that we developed a closer relationship and understanding of ... aborigines ...*

> *As well as this, more recently we have acted as one of the host families to several rotary exchange students, especially one from Brazil (Priscilla) and one from Japan (Hiromi). In both circumstances we all learned some of the language spoken by the two girls and shared foods and some customs ... As a result we now have meals unique to these countries quite often and will drink green tea. In fact, Japanese food seems to taste better when using chop sticks so we use them when eating such meals. In Anglo-Saxon tradition, my father prefers meat in all his meals so when steak was added to Japanese vegetables*

and cooked in soya sauce he was quite satisfied and now enjoys Suki-yaki regularly. Also my mother has been overseas several times and likes to experiment with French and Italian foods and so on ...

As the culinary delights from other cultures is one of the few areas we have been contact with, it is the only one we have adopted, although some of my family can speak pieces of French that, now and then, we try and communicate in - for interest more than anything. Incidentally we did not learn this from school but during trips to France where we picked up some words and phrases to communicate. We did not want to forget it completely so we use it occasionally.

During my earlier school years my peer group environment was Anglo-conformist, again mainly because of the lack of other ethnic groups around ... However, after beginning courses at a tertiary institution in the city and being able to come into contact with other cultures I have found my new peer group more receptive to cultural variations. There are no apparent prejudices amongst this new group although my older friends still are ... although we all recognise the different cultures represented and do not wish to alter them, I don't think any of us want to adopt ethnic customs or values of these alternate groups. (7E)

For this respondent the predominantly Anglo-Celtic-Australian nature of his early schooldays was counteracted by contacts at home with Aboriginal playmates and some occasional overseas visitors. The presence of two Rotary Exchange students whom they hosted led the family members to experiment with other cultural values in the area of food. They learned to cook Japanese, and later French and Italian dishes and continued to enjoy these foods.

It could be argued that such actions are in a limited way examples of cultural interaction, in so far as it clearly involved the activation of cultural values drawn from ethnic cultural heritages other than their own. However, the fact that these activities appear to have been within the context of their mainstream Australian home, rather than in a specifically Japanese, French or Italian

setting, suggests rather the adoption of a few highly selective ethnic trimmings or flavourings, within a basically Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural pattern. Travel to France resulted in the family learning French for basic communication purposes abroad, and occasionally using it for fun within the family on their return.

Yet in this case, these experiences of activating cultural values from other groups outside Australia had not led to attitudes that were strongly supportive of cultural interaction among various ethnic groups within Australian society. In his concluding comments, he acknowledged the influence of his peer group on his present attitudes. Cultural variations were recognised; the rights of others to maintain their cultures were accepted; but he and his peers drew the line at cultural interaction, except where interesting exotica could be comfortably incorporated into their cultural world on their own terms.

Overview

The memoirs analysed in this chapter could be said to describe the mainly secondary relationships that these respondents of the mainstream group established with members of minority ethnic groups in Australia (Memoirs 7A, 7B, 7C, 7D) or temporary visitors from abroad (7E). Mostly they described these contacts in a general way; only Memoir 7D made mention of a specific friend, while 7E named the Rotary Exchange students involved. The others seemed to be referring to more peripheral or transient contacts. The evidence of their statements suggests that all of these had occurred in mainstream contexts where Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural values prevailed, such as the school classroom and playground in memoirs 7A, 7C, and 7D, sporting associations in the case of 7B, or an Anglo-Celtic-Australian household (7E). Such relationships must therefore be classified as essentially examples of **social interaction,** which did not extend to the kind of cultural interchange and

participation in the cultural values of another group seen in the memoirs to be discussed in chapters 9, 10 and 11.

One of the most illuminating aspects of these memoirs is the evidence to be found concerning the way the participants evaluated the individuals they encountered from minority ethnic backgrounds. In so far as they regarded their minority background classmates and associates as little different from themselves, these mainstream respondents appeared to be attributing to the minority individuals with whom they associated the meaning of being Australians as they were. However, the underlying expectation of such an evaluation would seem to have been that their minority origin peers would adhere culturally to Anglo-Celtic-Australian values, in the form of one or other of the acceptable variants within it. In these memoirs there was no recognition of minority ethnic acquaintances and contacts as cultural beings whose identity was linked inextricably to the heritage of the family and group into which they were born. This evaluation of minority individuals as basically acceptable as new members of the mainstream group was consistent with the way they were regarded and treated in school structures and by many of the teachers. Indeed, it was often exactly the meaning that the minority ethnic individuals learned from their surroundings to aspire to - at least in school and other public domains, where many strove to ensure that nothing in their behaviour provided clues to their minority origin.

Ironically, as a number of the respondents remarked, the efforts of minority individuals to be accepted and 'pass' as Anglo-Celtic-Australians, by making their behaviour conform to the cultural norms of the mainstream, did not succeed in many cases. Physiological features, distinctively ethnic names, or recognisably non-English accents often provided the clues by which members of the mainstream recognised them as individuals from a minority group

whom they evaluated more or less negatively, as people to be excluded from any form of primary relationship. For interaction at the cultural level to occur members of the mainstream would have needed to recognise and identify minority individuals as belonging to a culture other than their own and to regard the difference positively as an advantage or benefit in friendship.

Other respondents explained quite explicitly that they evaluated the people of minority background whom they encountered on an individual basis. Often this was stated as a matter of belief and principle - that all people were entitled to be judged and treated on their individual qualities and merits. Yet when this attitude was further investigated, it could be seen to be based on the assumption of cultural uniformity - that all individuals in Australia shared the same culture, which in the final analysis was taken to be that of the mainstream. Although such an evaluation was supposed to avoid the evils of stereotyping and prejudice based on ethnic variations, the refusal to recognise the reality of cultural difference effectively denied minority individuals the right of identifying with, and activating their ethnic heritage. As a consequence, it also precluded any possibility of cultural interaction.

This analysis of the meanings attributed to individuals of minority ethnic background, may perhaps help to explain why the respondents involved in social interaction who have been considered in this chapter do not give evidence of positive attitudes to cultural pluralism and interaction. Instead they have been classified as 'ambivalent' in the case of 7A or 'negative by default' (7B, 7C, 7D, 7E). Although they do not propound the advantages of monism, as the respondents discussed in chapter 5, the attitudes of the writers in this chapter stand in contrast to some of those discussed in the previous chapter, who had little or no personal contact with individuals of a different culture, but expressed their support for the principle of cultural diversity (6D,

6E, 6F, 6G). Like the respondents of chapter 5, therefore, those discussed in chapter 7 do not satisfy the first of Smolicz's conditions for cultural interaction.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING POSITIVE ATTITUDES TO CULTURAL PLURALISM

This chapter seeks to analyse the memoirs which not only revealed that their writers had some experience of social interaction with minority ethnic individuals, but also gave some evidence that the response to these encounters had been positive. At one end of the continuum, not far removed from the memoirs discussed in chapter 7, the writers' responses were expressed simply in vague regrets that the experience had been limited, superficial or transient, or that the circumstances of their lives meant that there was no opportunity to interact at a more meaningful level with those from other cultural backgrounds. At the other end of the continuum were memoirs in which the writers took time to describe how their experience of social interaction had deepened into friendships that had changed their attitudes to cultural pluralism. There was no indication, however, that any of these respondents had reached the stage of activating the cultural values of another group. Concrete facts related to the writers discussed in this chapter can be found in Table 8.1.

A Variety of Contacts

A graduate in English and History remembered having contact with minority ethnic students in the country schools he attended and with Asian students in his later secondary and tertiary education in Adelaide.

> *I was born in [an industrial country town] of Australian parents. I was educated at [the local primary and high school; a boys' boarding school in Adelaide] and the University of Adelaide. [There are] a large percentage of migrants in its population of 30,000 people. The*

TABLE 8.1:   CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 8

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
8A 1981	M	26	Country Town	State Rural High School + Independent Boys College	BSc	Chemistry Mathematics	—	
8B 1983	F	24	Suburban	State Primary + Independent Girls College	LLB	Law	—	
8C 1980	F	20	Suburban	State High School	BA	Classical Studies History	—	
8D 1979	F	21	Suburban	State High School	BA	German	German (yr 3 uni)	
8E 1982	F	23	Suburban	State High Schools	BMus	Music	—	
8F 1982	F	21	Suburban	State High School	BA	Economics Geography	German (basic)	
8G 1980	M	30	Country Town	State Rural High Schools	BSc	Biology Chemistry	—	
8H 1980	M	21	Surburban	Independent Boys College	BA	Geography	—	
8J 1981	M	23	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BA Hons	English	Indonesian (yr 12)	

city is divided into two sections, an older section with well established homes with rather spacious gardens. This area is inhabited predominantly by Australians, who work in professional or semi-professional jobs. The second section consists of cheaper housing packed closely together with small gardens. This area is inhabited predominantly by migrants who are unskilled or semi-skilled.

In the early 60s the company that [dominated the town] was faced with a shortage of unskilled workers and was only too pleased to have large numbers of migrants to fill its work force. However, the large majority of migrants coming from supposedly low socio-economic regions were placed in and could only afford the cheaper accommodation and the professional, mainly Australians were offered and could afford the better accommodation. A large number of migrants went to [the town] in search of a better life for themselves and their children and as such a large number of children I went to school with were ethnic Australians. It is in this environment that my primary education began ...

The primary school tended to ignore any differences between children from different cultures ... No reinforcement of ethnic culture was made ... In primary school there was a lot of peer group pressure to conform to Anglo-Australian cultural values. Australian rules football was one such value. It was very rare that an Australian boy would play soccer. Ethnic-Australians were urged to give up playing soccer. There was a strong feeling among my peers that migrants were of low social status and inferior in most other respects. This feeling of superiority would have been reinforced by their parents.

My father was stationed in Italy during the war and as a result learnt to speak Italian. This experience along with his Christian faith gives him a high respect for Italians and their culture ... My family as a whole is very tolerant of anyone (person or group) whose ideals were not the same as theirs ...

In first year [at secondary school] I was able to make a choice between French, Latin and Woodwork. A high percentage of the

class were ethnic-Australians, however no classes were offered in Greek and Italian. I feel my peer group continued its dislike of ethnic-Australians into high school. Expressions like dago and wop were prevalent. I am presently employed as a housemaster at [a college in Adelaide] and derogatory remarks about ethnic-Australians are still in vogue.

Through boarding school I was introduced to Asian students. Asian students didn't have an inferiority tag placed on them by their peer group, possibly because they came from parents of high standing in the community. In fact one of the Chinese student's father had been the Mayor of Darwin. This is in contrast to my peer group's attitude to ethnic-Australians in [my home town] ... Most of the students at the school were Anglo-Australians and no programs to assist ethnic-Australian students were employed by the school.

At the University of Adelaide I again lived away from home and boarded at a university residence. The residence wasn't strictly disciplined and with very little family contact the cultural values I accepted came mainly from my friends at University. Once again Asian students made up the largest ethnic body ... Some students especially where they had been taught English in their old country appeared to conform completely to Australian cultural values. One student whose mother tongue was an uncommon dialect actually preferred to talk in English as he had lost fluency in his own language.

Other Asian students kept to themselves and talked mainly to other Asian students and only learnt what English they needed to get by. They mixed socially with other Asians and made no attempt to adopt Anglo-Australian values ... Possibly the reason why they made little attempt to accept Australian values was because when they had finished their degree they intended to leave Australia and return to their homeland. My friends at university didn't like these students as to them these Asian students were snobs.

> *The students I got to know the best were usually involved in sport*
> *(tennis, table tennis and squash). One Vietnamese student who I*
> *play table tennis with has two completely different circles of*
> *friends. One circle of friends is completely Vietnamese and the*
> *other is Australian. He mixes quite freely and is accepted by both*
> *circles of friends. He is fluent in both languages and would be*
> *considered a bicultural individual. (8A)*

The writer of the above memoir highlighted some of the difficulties he had observed in establishing social interaction between students of different ethnic backgrounds in schools and institutions of tertiary education. His experiences of minority ethnic students in a state primary school in a country city, and with Asian students in an elite boarding school and later at university, enabled him to draw some interesting comparisons. Outside the classroom, minority ethnic students were kept apart from the mainstream because they lived in lower social status suburbs and played what were regarded by the Anglo-Celtic-Australian group as inferior sports. In contrast, Asian students were recognised as of higher social status, but the tendency of many to associate mainly with one another (often the result of their transient student status in Australia) led to them being regarded as snobbish by students of the mainstream group. What emerged as the one possible point of contact from the comments of this writer, as in memoir 7B, was that sport could provide the medium whereby social interaction took place - provided the sports were recognised and played by the mainstream group.

The writer saw himself as rather more tolerant and accepting of individuals from other ethnic backgrounds because of the influence of family values, some of which he attributed to his father's wartime experiences in Italy, and the family's religious values. Nonetheless, these positive attitudes within his ideological system did not extend beyond social interaction with those of non-English speaking background to incorporate the possibility of cultural

interaction, by participating, for example, in the other cultural world of his bicultural Vietnamese friend.

A Childhood Openness to Other Australian Cultures

A law graduate who completed education studies on a part-time basis recalled some early contact with children of minority ethnic background at primary school. Although this ceased when she transferred at secondary level to an independent school, her home and peer group reinforced a general attitude of readiness to acknowledge and accept other cultures than her own in Australian society.

I started primary school in the early sixties. I can recall very little of my infant education but I do not seem to remember that there were very many if any migrant children in my class. I cannot say whether this is because there weren't or because it was not an important factor to my five year old mind. A lot of children from my school came from working class homes and many had fathers who worked at Holdens and so in my primary years I remember quite a number of Greek and Italian children and a lesser number of German and Dutch. Their numbers were not large but there would have been I estimate about 5 in every class of about 35 so they were not an insignificant group. I don't recall being particularly prejudiced against them but I do remember noticing the difference but with no malice. I remember they had different names but then so did I. I remember they were mostly Catholic and that they sometimes lived in houses the decorating of which was definitely not "Australian". I also recall that some Greek children went to Saturday school which I thought was similar to Sunday School only they had it on a different day, which I put down to the fact that they belonged to a different Church. As I recall they were no more or less intelligent than the rest of us and certainly most seemed to have more advantages than the children who came from poor families whose parents didn't care.

Looking back what I do find remarkable is that we spent a lot of time on social studies learning about Canada, New Zealand, the United States and of course Australia and no time at all on anything to do with the countries of these children's origins. We certainly didn't learn any languages. We learnt folk dancing mainly Scottish country reels. The music we learnt with few exceptions was Anglo-Australian. We played football, cricket, softball and netball. At the time it didn't occur to me that we could have learnt something of their cultures. It certainly would have fostered greater understanding. The migrant children were always something of a mystery, an unknown quantity. I remember admiring their ability to converse in two languages. One friend in Grade 5 tried to teach me some Italian and the sole word I can remember is luna for moon. I also believed that learning a language involved memorising the equivalent word. It never occurred to me that grammar might be different ...

We moved to [a more socially exclusive suburb] when I started secondary school and thus commenced the next phase in my life. I went to a private Protestant girls school and therefore almost without exception (there were one or two) my fellow students were of middle class Anglo-Australian background so the question of cultural interaction was academic only. I do think some genuine efforts were made to broaden the curriculum past the traditional concentration on English language and history. I remember in first year our history course included some ancient Greek and Roman history and the history of Malaysia and other Asian areas. Asian history was offered in Leaving and for the other years Modern European History did indeed mean European and not English. I recall becoming very interested in the Russian pre-revolution literature while studying the Revolution. I studied French for five years and most girls studied for at least 3. The course included some cultural studies in aspects of geography, history and literature but at that stage French was the only language offered.

Because the school was largely Anglo-Saxon it catered for the demands of the students or at least their parents. [Yet] I do not think the school was narrow minded in its approach ...

> *Because my home and peer group environment is largely Anglo-Australian there has been little need to formulate attitudes. The same is probably true of my church. The attitude of all these groups has been accepting of ethnic groups and they have shown some readiness to learn of their cultures but little readiness to adopt them themselves.* (8B)

In this memoir, the respondent provides quite detailed recollections of her childish curiosity and interest in the children of non-English speaking background who were her class mates at primary school. Her positive attitude to cultural pluralism at that stage is perhaps best revealed in her admiration of their ability to speak more than one language. For a short period at least this attitude extended to actual involvement in cultural interaction, through her efforts, if only perfunctory, to learn Italian from a school friend. But the fact that she remembered this detail can be taken as indicative of her positive response to this involvement.

Such experiences may have helped to maintain her generally positive attitude to cultural interaction even when she moved to an almost exclusively Anglo-Celtic-Australian Protestant girls' school at secondary level. In her view, this attitude was maintained and fostered by courses in Asian and European history, even though these remained at the level of academic interest only. She expressed no surprise or concern that the school was content that the cultural experience of the students remained within the confines of their parents and teachers' worlds. In fact, as she herself recognised, she had never to that point in her adult life found herself in a social context in which she needed to activate her generally positive attitude into a tendency by actually participating in the cultural life of another group.

Social Contact but No Opportunity for Cultural Interaction

Another history graduate with friends of Greek and Italian background went as far as expressing a positive attitude to participation in another culture, but recognized that she had no opportunity to do this.

Coming from an Anglo-Celtic background ... whilst in attitude I favour a bicultural Australia, my tendencies reflect the extreme Anglo-conformistic values that were generated at home, in my school and to a certain extent by my peers. In the last group, however, there was a slightly varied attitude, because many of my friends were of Greek and Italian extract. From my observation, however, most of my peer group companions expressed offence at being labelled as belonging to a certain ethnic group (usually because the "labelling" was done in the most derogatory terms) and at least whilst in the company of Australians they tried very much emulate Australian fashions, manners and the English language. Very few would confess to speaking their own native tongue fluently, and in many instances this was in fact true.

Both the schools I attended [at primary and secondary level] consisted of a high ethnic student population, yet, dominant monism, at least in the school environment, seemed to be the attitude adopted by both ethnic and Australians alike. The school itself perpetuated this attitude, as do most schools, as may be evident by making English a compulsory subject until year eleven. The move towards incorporating Italian and Greek as curricula languages, may be recognised as some encouragement for interaction between the two cultures and the host culture. Yet in my experience at school, the majority of students taking Italian were Italians, and most of the Anglo-Australian students selected German or French if they selected a language at all. Similarly, the Italian Club, organised by one of the teachers at my High School, was intended to promote interaction between the Australian and Italian students. The result was a committee comprising all Italian students, and the majority of the people attending the functions were Italian ...

Both parents came from a rural background and were unfamiliar with the fact that such a cultural diversity even existed within Australia besides being unaware of any of their cultural ideologies. Interaction occurred only with members of the Anglo-Australian community ... the ethnic communities are tolerated, but no attempt to become involved in their cultural activities was made.

Any clubs, sporting or social, that I joined were recognisably Australian; and in fact this Anglo-conformism value orientation pervaded and continues to do so, all aspects of my social and cultural life ... Thus whilst I say that my attitudes are oriented towards biculturalism ... [h]aving had a constant influence and being involved only with one culture, I am unaware of first, the conflicts of many migrant children when trying to construct their own personal systems; and secondly of the other value systems available to me. (8C)

This respondent, too, revealed a positive attitude to the principles of cultural pluralism and interaction. Her contact with students of non-English speaking background had given her some understanding of the way they felt obliged to conform at school, while maintaining their ethnic culture at home. She also realised that the school's efforts, under the cultural range of the curriculum by introducing Italian, had in fact seemed to intensify the separation between students of the mainstream and minority ethnic groups. Although these experiences had led her to modify the Anglo-conformist values she had been exposed to in her family and peer group environment in favour of supporting the principle of a multicultural Australia, she recognised that the constraints of her present circumstances ensured that she did not have a chance to activate this attitude in any concrete way through participating in another culture.

Friendship at school with children of minority ethnic background was an important part of the experience of another respondent who was a graduate in German.

> *I went to state schools from the beginning of 1964 until the end of 1975. I was never particularly aware of cultural differences at school. I come from an Anglo-Australian family (4th generation) and for me, school was an extension of my own culture. In retrospect, I now regard the schooling I received to have been ... based on an Anglo-Australian lifestyle.*

> *I went to ... Primary and a large percentage of the children at the school came from Italian and Greek backgrounds. Other nationalities which were represented in the school were Polish, Estonian, Lithuanian, Hungarian, German, Maori, French Canadian, French and Swedish.*

> *There were never, to my knowledge, any fights caused by cultural differences, and I suppose that I was oblivious to the fact that being Italian-Australian was any different to being Anglo-Australian. I remember regarding the Italian and Greek children (I was at least aware that they were Italian and Greek!) as disadvantaged and poor - they were usually the ones who got the free books.*

> *I think that the school was at an advantage because the numbers were small, and all the children knew one another. The situation at high school was different. It was only when I got to high school that the name-calling started ... [It was] a large school, with an ethnic student population to match ...*

> *I was in the top stream, and only got to know those students who were in my classes. There was a fair percentage of ethnic-Australians in my classes, and they all did well at school, and fitted into Anglo-Australian society very well. However, I do know that some of the kids had problems with their parents over cultural differences and value systems.*

Two girl friends, who are Italian-Australian (born here of Italian parents) would never (while they were at high school at least) speak Italian in public, and they maintained that they were Australians and not Italians - they were born in Australia ...

I always had friends from ethnic backgrounds, and any differences of opinion were never culturally based. Perhaps this great camaraderie was just a product of how well they fitted into the Anglo-Australian way of life - a product of what a wonderful job the school was doing in assimilating them into society ...

My family life has been predominantly Anglo-Australian. My parents have brought up the family to be considerate of others, but there is always (on my parents' behalf) an underlying mistrust of 'foreigners', which has resulted from some unpleasant past experiences. A case of once bitten - twice shy. My parents would always be the first to say, "There's good and bad in all nationalities!"

I have had quite a few ethnic-Australian friends, (actually most of my friends have been ethnic Australians) and my parents have always accepted them, and I have been accepted by their parents ...

Most of my friends are at university now. They have met the problems of ethnicity in a basically Anglo-conformist society, and have succeeded. Schooling can be made easier for the ethnic-Australians. Why should they be Anglicised at the expense of their own cultures, especially when other less problematic alternatives exist? (8D)

This memoir writer, too attended schools with a wide range of minority ethnic students in their population. Neither at primary nor secondary level did the school give an recognition to, or make special provision for such students. What it did was to provide those who managed to cope with the academic demands with the chance to proceed to higher education and professional occupations. In her own judgement, the schools did 'a

wonderful job' in assimilating minority ethnic students into Australian society. The minority ethnic students who were her friends in this top-stream class, were seen to have succeeded so well in these terms that, she had no chance to learn about, or participate in the other cultural values they activated at home.

There is, however, one small piece of evidence from the way she described her minority ethnic friends that her own attitude to cultural pluralism was not as exclusively monistic as the ideological values to which she herself had been exposed both at home and school. Her concluding comment also recognised that Anglo-assimilation was not the only policy alternative for Australians today and that the transmission of minority ethnic cultures could be beneficial for children belonging to these groups.

Developing a Cultural Awareness through School Friendships

An music graduate recalled her experience with ethnic groups at secondary school.

> *The State all-girls school I attended was situated in an area of migrant concentration and consisted of approximately sixty per cent Greek girls and the remaining forty per cent Australian and other races. Although the school was zoned for a particular area there were cases of ethnic girls living outside this zone who were permitted to attend the school as their parents had a strong antipathy to the idea of a mixed school and did not wish them to attend the local co-educational school. The school was streamed and the streaming was based on academic achievements and IQ testing. The majority of the Greek and Italian girls were in the lower streams. This perhaps did not mean that the ethnic group had lesser ability but that they may not have been able to cope because of their background. Not all their parents were able to speak English and in a number of cases they did not have academic*

aspirations for their daughters and expected them to get work as soon as they left school.

Greeks were the dominating ethnic group and they did not appear to be worried about their ethnicity in a school that had a pro-Australian culture. They mingled well with the Australian and other races but they grouped together as friends and there were rarely any non-Greeks in their friendship group. All the various ethnic races assimilated well into the school system and accepted the Australian values ... the ethnic groups in the thirteen to seventeen age group had very similar outlooks on life to the Australian girls. A school friend of mine who is Latvian assimilated well into the school situation and was popular with both students and staff. At home she was made to speak Latvian to her parents and she also attended Latvian language classes. She coped extremely well and was one of the few successful bicultural individuals at school at the time ...

Most of the ethnic girls I knew could speak in their own language and seemed proud of this link with their heritage. Sometimes they would use this ability and speak their native language to discuss subjects or to speak about people when they didn't wish the English-speaking girls to understand which underlined this particular group's emphasis on language as a core value. Also there were traditional aspects of life with which the ethnic parents expected their daughters to comply. One Greek girl in a senior class became engaged to a boy and the engagement had been arranged between her parents and the boy's parents. Also a number of Greek girls had to be chaperoned (usually by a male member of the family) at the school socials which contrasted with the freedom of the Australian girls. These and other of the ethnic traditions are non-existent in the Australian culture. Because of this some Greek girls often thought that this treatment by their parents was unjust and consequently they rebelled against these traditional constraints. Often this resentment manifested itself by very precocious behaviour from these girls.

Thus these ethnic girls who were the second generation migrants, were assimilated into the Australian school culture but not

completely as they still retained or were expected to retain core values such as language and other traditions. (8E)

The writer of this memoir attended a state school where students of non-English speaking background were in the majority. Her description of them as 'Greeks' and 'other races' in contradistinction to those termed 'Australians' probably reflected the unthinking tendency of many members of the mainstream group not to consider members of ethnic groups other than their own as real or proper Australians, which they took for granted meant Anglo-Celtic-Australian. Despite the pressure for conforming to mainstream values within the domain of the school, she seemed more aware than other respondents discussed earlier of the maintenance of minority ethnic values in the private world of the home.

She was able to compare the position of many of the Greek and Italian girls who, in the structure of the school, were given little chance to succeed academically and hence later to find employment in high status occupations, with that of her Latvian friend who did very well at school both in terms of educational progress and social acceptance. Moreover, she compared the situation of some of the Greek girls, who often experienced a conflict between the values they were expected to activate at school and those the family upheld at home, with her Latvian friend who had been able to achieve a successful balance between the two cultures of home and school. Her sympathetic description of the situation of her fellow students of minority ethnic background and her acceptance of the bicultural adaptation of her Latvian friend could be taken as implying, even though there was no overt statement, that these experiences had helped her to become positive in attitude towards cultural pluralism.

A geography and economics graduate outlined in some detail the nature of the social interaction she had had with young people of backgrounds other than her own at secondary school and as friends since.

... there were very few New Australians at the [primary] school [I attended] and those that were there tended to be ... caucasian and usually second generation at least. Here the Anglo-Conformist approach was dominant and considering the type of student at the school and his/her background it is not hard to see why. Similarly it is not hard to see why the system no only existed but also worked quite harmoniously.

Quite apart from my more liberal family background the secondary school I attended was quite a change. I went to ... High School which had quite a large group of New Australians in attendance. There were of course a large number of Italians and Greeks but there was also a reasonably large number of other cultures which were significantly represented. The school had an exchange student program with Germany and also had an even larger group of students from Malaysia and a few other Asian countries, at matric level ... The teachers made good use of this situation, particularly in social studies and language classes I attended. We often had lessons where we discussed different cultures first hand as it were with the students from different cultures ... I learnt a lot from the time I spent there, gaining a much better understanding of other cultural values. Certainly the teaching staff encouraged us to learn about each other's different cultural backgrounds pointing out the benefits of broadening our minds, trying to break down senseless prejudices, develop an awareness of different languages and its function and in turn learning more about our own language in the process, etc.

My family background is very Anglo-Saxon in the sense that every member of it is of an Anglo-Saxon ethnic background. Nor have their been any marriages in our family between mixed cultures. However, my upbringing was very liberal in this regard together with my secondary schooling and the fact that I had a number of friends, both in school and at university who were from different

cultures. Certainly I was always encouraged to mix with people from other cultures. Having always had a number of friends from different cultures, including an ex-boyfriend who was Italian and another who was Irish, it has certainly given me an insight into different types of cultures and the difficulties they face in surviving in our society. For the Irish boy life was not so difficult, the only problems he had were with people (particularly children during school years) teasing his accent. However, he could speak English very well and so did not have to go through the trauma of having to learn a new language and face all the problems associated with that.

On the other hand, the Italian boy had very many more problems. First there was the difficulty of learning a new language. This was quite a problem for him, having to use English as a first language at school and Italian as a first language at home. He said as a child he had a lot of difficulty understanding this situation; Further to that he was teased a lot at school for being Italian and said that at his Catholic school it worked out that the children would divide into two groups or gangs, namely the Italians versus the others, and they would often fight. Certainly there was a lot of segregation between the cultures. Outside school he faced the same discrimination being called names such as; 'dago' and 'wog' and having people (usually groups of youths) fight him. Consequently he is still very sensitive about his ethnic background and it seems to me that he often takes it out on his parents. By that I mean that he treats his parents with contempt as if he is punishing them for what they have put him through by coming here to Australia. Having been born here he wants to see himself as Australian and not Italian and so over the years he has denied his Italian background so much so that now he will often refuse to participate in the Italian culture. Unfortunately he does not fit, or at least is not accepted that well, into the Anglo-Saxon culture either and so he has had quite a dilemma and identity crisis in his life.

As for other agencies in my life such as the church and clubs I attended they were very Anglo-Saxon in their content but I would not say that they were intolerant of other cultures. Instead [the

matter] never came up because there was only Anglo-Saxon members of such groups. (8F)

At secondary school level this memoir writer had the opportunity to mix with students from a wide range of non-English speaking backgrounds. She was one of the very few respondents who mentioned that the school had actually provided opportunities for all students to learn something about the languages, heritages and histories of the different ethnic groups represented in the student population. In addition, she felt that the tolerant attitude of her family had encouraged her to have friends from other cultural backgrounds.

Her comparison of her Irish and Italian boy-friends revealed an awareness of the predicament of the latter, who had rejected the Italian cultural heritage of his parents without finding full acceptance within the Anglo-Celtic-Australian group. Implicit in this account is the reality that despite her considerable experiences of friendship with those of minority ethnic origin, their interaction was always on mainstream cultural terms.

Understanding an Australian Minority Heritage

One respondent who grew up in a rural area settled by German immigrants in the early days of European settlement revealed a more positive understanding of cultural pluralism in Australia.

> *I attended ... high school in the heart of the Barossa Valley. The area was settled by Germans many, many years ago, and there is no doubt that the German culture is alive and strong. How much of this is "residual" I am not sure, because the area is very strongly tourist oriented. The people are proud of their ancestry and it is not uncommon to hear (older) people speaking German to each other in the streets. The language still thrives in the Valley but by*

no means is spoken by a majority. Many of the people that I went to school with must have been at least third generation German-Australians, and it amazed me that most still had a slight German accent. German was taught at school and classes were fairly large. However (at school) there were, at the time, more Anglo-Australians than German-Australians and it was clear that students with obvious traits of the German culture were open to slight but constant ridicule. Apart from the language classes there was no "social studies" in German culture that I was aware of ... The area tenaciously hangs on to its German roots and traditions, but I believe that subtle pressures at school from the Anglo majority of students, cause a move to Anglo-conformism. There is certainly interaction between the Anglo-Australian culture and the ethnic German, but it is (I believe), mostly at the peripheral level - ie such that tourism will remain an important industry ...

Forgetting the school and looking at the townspeople, it is also clear that there is a hard core of at least second, and probably third generation Germans. Some of the older people seem to speak German all of the time and stick to their own groups. Their clothing and manners seem quaint and "old country". Thus I believe there is clear evidence of separatism; but as I have discussed above, the pressures on the progeny of this hard core minority in the school and other environments, ensure that his will not continue for much longer. There are probably a few individuals who are (and will be) bicultural ...

A knowledge and understanding of different cultures can only enrich and enhance one's life. The study of the different cultures gives one different views of coping with life; its puzzles and problems. With knowledge comes understanding of other cultures' characteristics. Understanding removes irrational fear and prejudice. I think that an appreciation of these facts alone, provides a powerful argument for a movement towards a biculturalist direction in the education of all Australians. (8G)

This memoir is the only one that gives evidence that the writer grew up in what he recognised had been an ethnically plural community for some

generations. Although the German language of the early settlers continued to be taught, (mostly as a 'foreign' language) the school gave no other recognition of the ethnic origins of the valley. In his judgement the general orientation of the school and the majority of students was Anglo-conformist. The community at large seemed to be interested only in those residues of German heritage that were economically viable as tourist attractions. His concern that the maintenance of German culture was being limited to the older generation, who lived largely apart from the rest of the community, highlights his own positive attitude to cultural interaction through the development of bicultural individuals. Yet it must be recognised that there is no evidence in the memoir about the writer's own tendencies in this regard.

Positive Attitudes to Cultural Pluralism through Friendship

One respondent, who traced a long Anglo-Australian family heritage, considered that his friendship with an individual of minority ethnic background had been important in modifying his attitude.

> I am a fourth generation Australian, and my family's heritage has been Anglo-Australian for the past two hundred years. I identify very strongly with Australia and all of my personal cultural and social systems are derived from an Anglo-Australian background.
>
> Throughout my education in primary school, on reflection, I realise that my school transmitted almost entirely Anglo-Australian cultural values. I remember vividly every Friday morning, assemblies in the lunch yard. where we all patriotically saluted the Australian flag and marched around to the tune of God Save the Queen! The majority of students were born in Australia and had Australian parents, and so there wasn't really much scope for cultural interaction with other ethnic groups. This was much the same picture in my years of secondary schooling where I attended a college run along very traditional Anglo-lines. My peers

in this situation were also very strongly oriented towards Australia, and my sense of identity with Australia, as it still is now, was increasing rapidly. Tertiary education, for me, was the turning point, and it was here that I came into close contact with a number of people from differing ethnic backgrounds and indeed became very good friends with one particular person.

This experience enabled me to become more aware of other ethnic groups, their values and orientations, and their social mannerisms. I wouldn't go as far as to say that I changed my Anglo-conformity orientation but I did certainly take more care in understanding the way other cultures worked. I became aware that ... cultural pluralism was evident in our society and that it wasn't such a bad thing at all. This was quite a radical change from my earlier days when I held the attitude that anything that wasn't Australian wasn't worth knowing about. (8H)

Although few details about the writer's friendship at university with someone of a different ethnic background were given, the person is described as 'a very good friend', in a way which suggests that the relationship was both long-lasting and at a deep level. Certainly, there is no doubting the clear assertion of the respondent's belief that the relationship had had a significant influence on his ways of thinking and acting. Given his earlier attachment to things Anglo-Australian, and his dismissal of other cultures as not worth knowing, the recognition that his commitment was to the cultural heritage of his own Anglo-Australian group and that the contribution of other cultures to Australian society was 'not a bad thing' can be seen to represent a definite, if limited, modification of his attitudes.

A second respondent also claimed that friendship with those of other cultural backgrounds had been one of the key factors in changing his attitudes to cultural pluralism in Australia.

My own upbringing has been almost without exception, a linguistically and culturally monistic one. My parents are from Anglo-Saxon stock exclusively, both their ancestors being members of the early South Australian squattocracy. Both had university educations, my father pursuing a [professional] career in which he has been highly successful ... My domestic environment was thus middle class, and one of considerable wealth ...

The immediate family structure was, overall, regarded by its members much more as a group of individuals rather than a single, collective entity. This was due to some extent to the friction in the relationship between my parents ... [My mother's] dictums [on the freedom to pursue one's own interests], together with the clear example of success embodied in my father, instilled a high level of individualistic, competitive ambition in both my sisters and myself. Both my older sister and I were able students, and we cultivated our abilities to stay at the "top of the pile". The Anglo-Saxon school structure, which encourages and fosters competitive, rather than cooperative work, provided the means by which we could enhance our status through academic effort. Our peers were regarded more as fellow competitors on a secondary level than comrades on a primary level, although certainly we had many "school friends" ...

The school, however, like most Anglo-Saxon schools, stressed collectivist ethics in relation to secondary structures. We were taught to be responsible citizens, who would, through the exercise of our talents, serve society as a whole. As is typical, these collectivist sentiments were manifested more on the sportsfield than the classroom.

My parents do not regard themselves as Anglo-Saxon ie of British descendancy, but as quite definitely and distinctly Australian. They identify heavily with the Australia of 30-40 years ago (ie non-multicultural) and regard the influx of migrants as a "corrupting" factor. Both see Australia as an improvement on Britain, with its better climate, supposed lack of class tension and inequalities, and the greater chances of individual development and freedoms. I was brought up on Australian literature - C.J. Dennis, Banjo

Patterson and Adam Lindsay Gordon - as my parents have little conception of British or European literary, artistic, political or philosophical cultural activity. Both parents have been to Europe and expressed little interest in the cultures they encountered. My mother, in particular, was relieved to come home, being almost xenophobic in relation to foreign lifestyles. Both are quite nationalistic and are against the emergence of a multicultural society in Australia. My father views Southern Europeans as potential "Mediterranean back ache" compensation cases, all English as potential militant unionists, and the Lebanese as shady, avaricious wheeler-dealers. My mother was against the establishment of ethnic radio and television, believing that if one migrates to another country one must "do as the Romans do" ... My interests in literature and the arts have fortunately modified my outlook, and my various friendships with those of other cultural origin (Ukrainian, Greek, Jewish, Italian, Scandinavian and Polish) have in fact brought me full circle. These cultures, with their historical achievements and their more intimate, less aggressively individualistic ideological orientations, appeal to me more than the Australian mainstream culture as it exists today, with its rather insensitive, unreflective, materialistic and often ignorant attitudes. (8J)

The ideological values that this writer had been exposed to at home were clearly not just indifferent or ignorant of minority ethnic cultures in Australia, but rather completely opposed to them. His schooling reinforced this confinement to the upper middle class Anglo-Australian values of his home. As with the previous writer, it was only after he left school that he had the opportunity to encounter people of different cultural backgrounds. In his case the medium for making relationships with individuals from a whole range of different ethnic origins was his interest in literature and the arts. These relationships brought him into contact for the first time with the cultures of other ethnic groups and led him to critically evaluate aspects of his mainstream Australian heritage, including its hostility to other ethnic

cultures, and express an appreciation of the cultural achievements of other ethnic groups. Although there seemed to be an implication that such cultural diversity would be beneficial for Australian society, the memoir provides no evidence that this positive attitude to other cultures actually led to his participation in them.

Overview

Only two of the respondents discussed above claim that their social interaction with individuals of different ethnic backgrounds had influenced them to evaluate other cultures as worthwhile. In both cases the friendships had developed when they were young adults attending university or involved in literary and arts activities (8H & 8J).

In contrast, few of the contacts made in the context of the school classroom or playground had proved to be so long lasting or influential. The best that had been achieved was an enhanced level of understanding and awareness of cultural differences. For the writer of Memoir 8E, for example, the experience of boy-friends of Irish and Italian background had made her aware of the difficulties which such people have in surviving and assimilating into mainstream Australian society. Three (8C, 8G, 8J) indicated their preference for a multicultural Australia.

What in fact emerged in a number of the respondents considered in this chapter, as with a number of those discussed in chapter 6, was the extent to which they had been brought up in an mainstream Australian world which had isolated and separated them from contact with people of minority ethnic background. The middle class Anglo-Australian and Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural values of the home were reinforced in the experience of the writers by the same values to be found in the school, as well as the

church, sporting and peer groups with which they were involved. Several of them (8C, 8D, 8H) explained how difficult it was for them to break out of the confines of this monocultural world. In contrast to the respondents to be discussed in the next three chapters, the circumstances of their lives had not resulted in them experiencing cultural interaction.

CHAPTER NINE

PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL INTERACTION

The respondents whose memoirs are to be discussed in this and the following two chapters all revealed evidence that their experience of interaction extended to personal involvement in the cultural values of other ethnic groups. The memoirs of those for whom cultural interaction took place within the context of the education system are considered in chapter ten, while those of the respondents involved in intercultural marriage are considered in chapter eleven.

This chapter focuses on those writers whose experiences of cultural interaction were the result of friendship or travel. There was a wide variation not only in the extent of these experiences but also in their context and long-term outcomes. In one case the experience proved ambivalent and ultimately left the respondent with a negative feelings of alienation. In the opinion of others the benefits and advantages outweighed the difficulties of mutual adjustment and cultural adaptation.

The writers' descriptions of their involvement in other cultures were often quite long and detailed. Their comments have been quoted at length because they help to throw light on the cultural interaction process. In a number of instances, the details provided in the memoirs made it possible to trace attitudinal changes to cultural diversity across time, generations and differing social contexts. Table 9.1 provides concrete facts concerning the memoir writers considered in this chapter.

TABLE 9.1: CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 9

Memoir No + Year Written	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
			BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS					
9A 1980	M	38	Suburban	State High School + Adult Matriculation	BA	History	—	
9B 1981	M	21	Suburban	State High School + Independent Boys College	BA	History	—	
9C 1980	F	23	Suburban	State High School + Catholic Girls College	BA Hons	French	French (Hons) Spanish (yr 2 uni)	lived and worked in France
9D 1993	M	c.24	Suburban	State High School	BSc Hons	Physics	Greek (conversational)	travelled in Europe
9E 1984	M	30	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BSc	Physiology Psychology	French (yr 12)	lived in France & North Africa
9F 1979	M	28	Suburban	Independent Boys Colleges	BA	Politics Music	—	travelled in Europe & Asia and studied classical guitar
9G 1982	M	21	Suburban	State High School	BA	Geography	Chichewa	lived in Malawi
9H/10E 1990	M	23	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	English History	—	lived for a year in Canada
9J 1980	M	28	Suburban	State High School + Adult Matriculation	BA	History	—	trained as a chef

Cultural Interaction through Friends of Other Ethnic Backgrounds

Some of the respondents focussed their memoirs on their experiences of friendship with people of other ethnic backgrounds and described the way these relationships had provided an opportunity for cultural interaction. Their accounts showed clearly how they had moved beyond the boundaries of social interaction described by the writers who were considered in chapters 7 and 8. The respondents discussed in this chapter gave evidence of actually participating in the culture of a group other than their own. The contexts in which these friendships had emerged were varied. Often the initial contact was the university; sometimes it was at home; at other times in the work situation; only occasionally did friendships leading to cultural interaction begin at school. In the recollections of a history graduate his contact with minority ethnic cultures occurred first at home and later at school.

> As an Australian of Anglo extraction the most prevailing influence upon my early education was Anglo-conformism. Early its influence helped to develop in me a strong sense of nationalism and the idea that my cultural heritage was superior. I attended school in the late forties and fifties. During my sojourn in the Australian education system there was little concern for the problems and cultural mores of other ethnic groups.

> However, this was not the case at home ... My mother kept a guest house. We had between 30-40 boarders of mixed European nationality at any one time. Within the house [cultural pluralism] prevailed and was very stimulating. I was introduced to many facets and values of many European countries. It was apparent that outside the house most boarders tried to come to terms with [the dominant culture] since their jobs and prospects depended upon their assimilation and the overcoming of prejudice and suspicion. We had, in six years, four suicides.

My peer group environment was mainly Anglo-dominated but since my best friend was Greek, I experienced [contact with another culture through] his parents and their friends ... [Differences] revolved mainly about the attitudes ethnic groups had toward family. I witnessed the dilemma of Italian and Greek girls. Religion too, was a focus of transmission ... To function [in these intercultural relationships] one had to be more universal in one's behaviour as experience was varied and notions of hospitality, expression and manners were seen quickly to serve a purpose rather than have value in themselves. One, of course, can now see that peculiarities of cultures are attractive and unattractive in themselves. Tolerance and understanding then, were the main springs of any relationship ...

I suggest that there may be influences at work in Australia stronger or as equivalent in persuasion as cultural forces. Manning Clark expresses this notion well, [when claiming that] ... "in Australia the spirit of the place makes a man aware of his insignificance, of his impotence in the presence of such a harsh environment". If place in Australia does have such an effect, then certainly all cultural groups will be subject to the vortex. In generations notions of cultural interaction in Australia may be unnecessary. (9A)

For this writer, awareness of the existence of other cultures had come initially through the boarders in his mother's guest house. His friendship with a Greek boy was not described in detail, but it clearly went beyond the domain of the mainstream Australian school and included involvement with his Greek family and friends. As a result he not only came to understand differences in religion and family life, but also began to modify his own behaviour in areas like 'hospitality, expression and manners'. His own interpretation of this participation in the life of another group was not in terms of learning its cultural values, but of functioning more effectively in a given context by becoming more 'universal' in his behaviour.

The attitude to cultural pluralism revealed by this respondent appeared quite complex. His recognition of group differences was clearly indicated when he wrote of the need for 'tolerance and understanding'. But his idea of the Australian environment as an homogenizing force to which all cultural groups in Australia were subjected suggested an ultimate solution of monism, at best a synthesis, rather than a plural society which would encourage cultural interaction.

Another respondent described the way his own and his family's cultural outlook had gradually been modified through a series of contacts and friendships with people of different ethnic backgrounds.

> *My home and family were extremely Anglo-Australian in outlook even five years ago, but several events have happened since then. During one of my periods of leave from the Army, I brought a Thai friend home to Adelaide for a fortnight. Although they did not encourage my idea initially, they enjoyed his visit extremely and asked him back the next year. My elder sister married a builder whose mother is Chinese. The family was divided, but the marriage has worked well, and the mother-in-law is now well respected.*

> *Although my parents are not German, some of their best friends are, so three years ago they joined the German Club of Adelaide and are still members. My parents and I attended the Hungarian Club's New Year's Eve party, and my home provided a party for officers of the U.S. Navy who visited Adelaide last year. My family now has great toleration for non-Anglo-Australians, far more than before we made the effort. My peer group environment at the University is mainly the Dip.Ed. students teaching History. This group has a small proportion of Anglo-Australians, so for virtually the first time I belong to the minority! We are all good friends, especially after a restaurant dinner and the Martindale Hall camp. We would probably like to think of ourselves as being bicultural, although none of the Anglo-Australians speaks Greek or Italian.*

In my reading I have found that the human character is well formed by late adolescence. Therefore [my school], my home and my peer group up until that time formed the foundations of my cultural values. As I stated before, these followed a mainly Anglo-Australian outlook which was reinforced by the Army when I was [in officer training for three years].

Since completing my degree, I have become much more aware of the values transmitted to me by my school, family and peer group. However, after attending Adelaide University, going to church again and joining civilian clubs, I have become aware of other cultures as being valuable and rewarding. Many Anglo-Australians including myself, are envious of the ethnic festivals and celebrations which its members can share in by knowing the language and group norms of their special culture. It therefore seems a pity that Anglo-Australians have been so eager to discard their old Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English dialects and traditional skills. (9B)

The author of these comments could probably be regarded as a case comparable to Memoir 8H, whose experiences appeared to lie on the borderline between social and cultural interaction. He has been included among those respondents who gave evidence of cultural interaction because of the way he and his family participated in German and Hungarian culture. Although this behaviour represented a rather limited experience of cultural interaction, it should be recognised that attendance at the activities of minority ethnic clubs is comparatively rare among mainstream Australians. There was no doubt, however, of his positive attitude to cultural pluralism and cultural sharing, which was directly expressed in his awareness of other cultures as being 'valuable and rewarding' and his recognition of the decline and loss of Celtic languages and cultures.

This writer's comments on his Diploma of Education peer group also raised an interesting point in relation to 'the experience of majority as minority'. From the description given the contact among this group was probably best seen as social interaction, perhaps flavoured by a few of the cultural values, such as food, from the high percentage of minority ethnic students in the group. It might well have functioned to give Anglo-Australian students insights into ethnic differences because they were in a group that appreciated cultural diversity so that the minority individuals concerned were confident enough to talk more readily about their own multicultural and bilingual experiences. However, the fact that the group would have included students from several different backgrounds, such as Italian, Croatian, German Greek and Serbian, would have meant that the basic cultural patterns being activated were mainstream Australian since those were the ones shared by all.

One young woman who was a graduate in French had experienced a prolonged period of exciting cultural interaction through coming to live in the household of an Egyptian-born French teacher.

> *I was born a third generation Australian, descending on my mother's side from German Lutherans who fled their homeland during the last century in order to escape religious persecution. My grandparents and parents considered themselves through and through Australians - I recollect stories being told me by my grandmother of my ancestors in their early years in Australia, but nothing connecting them with any other culture than the Anglo-Australian one I was being taught. My maternal grandfather was the last in the line to speak German - the reason my mother gives for not understanding a word of this language is that her father refused to teach his children a language towards which there was much hostility in the community during the War. She speaks with vague regret at losing that final link with the culture, for even in my grandfather's day the family had broken away from the*

Lutheran Church after a seemingly trivial dispute with a minister
...

The cultural values transmitted to me by my home that I can distinguish were basically of material possessions equalling success in life; also a high value was placed on tidiness (in a female), cleanliness, independence ("standing on one's own feet"), hard work ("the devil makes work for idle hands") and good living (honesty and sexual morality). My family expressed suspicion of other groups in the community who didn't agree with such values. Jews, for example, who would "stick together in a tight group, helping each other and keeping honest Australians excluded" were the subject of many abusive jokes. Italians (or Greeks or Yugoslavs - they were virtually indistinguishable) could be spotted because they wore such bright clothing and painted their houses so gaudily too. Their children were invariably half-witted and badly behaved at school - no doubt as a result of their home life - their parents were always screaming at them, even in the street! The family living across the road from us was an exception - although they were Italian (or Greek?) the wife kept the house quite clean and I was allowed to play with their son - Mari. I apparently took this young boy "under my wing" in our early school days which was considered a generous act towards this unfortunate (being a migrant) boy ...

Perhaps it was a vague nostalgia for her lost cultural ties with Germany that led my mother to enrol me in German in my first year at high school. For some reason I can't recall I was quite determined to study French because my brother had most of the required text books already from his two unsuccessful years compulsorily studying French. There was not much evidence of multiculturalism being an aim of the French course in the suburban high school I attended. The course was a fairly progressive audio-lingual course, but modern languages in the school were taught as a discipline and ability in the field was used to stream the junior school into A,B,C,D,E classes ...

In the final years of high school - I was attending a small low-status (ie. inexpensive) Catholic college run by an order of nuns which

originated in France. French in this school was a high status subject especially in my matriculation year when the all-science subject girls left the college to attend the 'brother' boys school nearby in order to take advantage of the facilities. In six years of French I gleaned very little knowledge of the French culture from my high school course - I was obliged to learn two or three short poems off by heart to recite in the annual Alliance Francaise exams; I learned that the French ate croissants and escargots (snails) during a Bastille Day celebration one year when I also may have heard the Marseilles. I heard some popular French music in the classroom one year, one of my teachers believing in singing as a method of drilling correct intonation and pronunciation. In fact, when I look back I can recall many isolated bits and pieces of French culture which were scattered around my classes, but these pieces were never linked to any meaningful whole - they were presented rather as idiosyncrasies of a very peculiar (but likeable) people. I don't think I came across a real French person during my whole high school French course, I'm not even convinced that I believed such a person actually existed!

However, these cultural references were saved from meaninglessness for me by a close friendship I formed during high school with a woman who just chanced to be an Egyptian-born modern language teacher. T------ spoke both Italian and French as her native tongues along with English which she had learned at school in Australia, having arrived here at the age of four. I found myself strongly attracted to her rich cultural background which contrasted strongly, I felt, with my own poverty in this area. I was fascinated by her exciting ancestry - Gypsy, French, Italian, Austrian and Maltese blood was in the family. Her paternal grandparents were Maltese living in Egypt where her father was born. Her mother's family had ended up in Egypt as a result of a disapproved marriage between an Austrian and an Italian while the two countries were warring; the couple could not marry in either of their home countries so they had run away to live in Egypt. As well as these diverse cultural influences in the family, T-----s aunts and uncles had married into such distinct cultural groups as Southern Italian, Jewish and English living in England.

At the age of sixteen, for various reasons, I came to live with T------ and her family which meant close contact with parents, uncles, aunts, cousins for the extended family was a core value of the group ...

Dialogue in French, English and Italian was always punctuated with borrowed expressions from the languages not being used, as well as with the occasional German or Arabic borrowing, if these happened to express what was being said more accurately or concisely, or if they came to the mind more quickly ...

Food in T------'s family was again an example of a mixing of traditions - I remember a Christmas dinner consisting of lobster, and fresh mayonnaise, pasta al forno, salads, fresh fruit, Lebanese cakes, Christmas pudding with sixpences hidden in it, and Turkish coffee.

It now seems obvious why I developed such a profound and lasting interest in learning French - the more I learned the more I became involved in and accepted by the family, and the more I comprehended of the domestic conversation and could contribute to it.

During my university years, as I moved away from the influence of the family, my interest in French moved from an interest in the language and through it in involving myself in a European-Egyptian culture, to a love of the French culture in its own right and an adoption of some minor aspects of the culture as my own. Living and working for almost a year in Paris ... intensified my identification with this culture.

Having left [my adopted] family, no longer living in France, and being somewhat estranged from my own family by my changed cultural values as a result of experiencing living in different cultural groups and assimilating certain of their values; I find myself as uncomfortable an Australian-as-can-be. I find I have rejected values I was brought up to believe in, in favour of values I feel guilty at borrowing. (9C)

This writer's experience of cultural interaction had been quite extensive through coming to live in a household made up of individuals from various ethnic heritages. What she described as the patterns of language use, and meals can be interpreted as the spontaneous emergence of a synthesis or hybrid family culture which she found stimulating. Later a period spent in France had given her the opportunity for participation in the French culture at the wider societal level as well. Her experience of cultural interaction was extensive and meaningful enough to have substantially changed her personal cultural systems, in a way seen in only a few other respondents.

Her comments evoked vividly the nostalgic sense of loss and homelessness that she felt on her return to Australia. Her experiences of cultural interaction had so changed her cultural values that she was left feeling uncomfortable, isolated and alienated from those Australians who had never had the opportunity to transcend the values of the mainstream Australian cultural group. It was not the experience of cultural interaction per se that she regretted but the fact that at the time of writing it had left her feeling that there was no group to which she belonged.

Another respondent, who recalled being fascinated by languages other than English, used the opportunity of interacting with Greek and Dutch friends he had met at university to learn their languages.

> *My own experiences of coming into contact with other cultures than the mainstream have been numerous and fulfilling. My interest in other cultures has always begun with language. In early high school (which for me took place in rural South Australia), I wished to study a foreign language (I do not recall why), but the school offered none. Hence I began to study French by correspondence with a school in Adelaide. This proved a difficult*

arrangement, and the study did not continue past the first year. The experience did however give me my first taste of another language and the joy that it could bring. My parents have brought me up as an open-minded individual; however, I am sure that the experience of studying a foreign language can do nothing but increase empathy and tolerance towards other nationalities. This fascination with languages continued in my learning (together with friends), German swear words and a few incidental words, which we would use amongst ourselves for amusement. The fun I experienced in this context developed in me a habit of trying to commit to memory any new words from other languages that I came across.

Through my early studies in university, I met many students from minority ethnic backgrounds, particularly Greeks and Italians. I developed close friendships with a few Greeks, and through these friendships I was gradually introduced to the Greek culture. Impromptu visits to a friend's house would see me rewarded with a meal cooked by his mother. I was somewhat tentative when it came to trying 'strange' foods, but eventually I came to love the spanakopita, dolmathes and baklava, which I was introduced to. I was always fascinated hearing the strange language spoken between my friends and their mothers (the fathers usually spoke English well). Little did I know that one day I too would be able to speak the language. These Greek households were bilingual; however, I believe that when the children were not around, Greek was the language spoken almost exclusively ...

Through a particular Greek friend with whom I was living at the time, I began to learn a few Greek words, and my fledgling efforts at communication were so rewarding that I determined to teach myself to speak the language. I purchased dictionaries and some second-language books, and with Greek childrens' books which my friend dusted off for me, I set about the task of gaining a basic knowledge of the grammar and a basic domestic vocabulary. I was fortunate at the time to be working in the Casino, an environment which brought me into contact with many Greek men each day. Being able to practise on them was a decided advantage, and they were always delighted and a little amazed to see an Anglo- young

man trying to speak their language. It is a sad fact which reflects the fact that it is exceptionally rare to find people of Anglo background with the need or desire to learn a minority ethnic language, particularly Greek, which uses its own alphabet. The Greek men were always very encouraging, and it was only a matter of months before I had a working knowledge of the language.

My interaction with Greek people through learning their language, brought me also more fully into contact with the Greek culture, which became very meaningful for me as I could see and hear it more through the eyes of a Greek-Australian more than an Anglo-one. In my later travels to Europe and Greece, in particular, I became more fluent in the language and genuinely felt as if a part of me was Greek. I was always well accepted and was often asked if my parents were Greek. My experiences overseas did much besides this to develop in me the attitudes and to some extent the linguistic abilities of a multicultural individual. Living in several European capitals for periods upwards of a month was fascinating, and an 'eye-opener'. The perspective of being an individual from a minority ethnic group (which I experienced when living in Prague, where I had no Czech language skills), was invaluable and increased my understanding and empathy for such groups in Australia, manifold.

Another association with a minority ethnic group which I have had was with Dutch people. Several years ago I had a girlfriend whose father was born in the Netherlands and whose mother was born in England. The family seemed to bear no traces of English culture (at least none which were different from the Anglo-Australian mainstream), but there was quite a Dutch influence in the house. It was evident that the father had all but lost the ability to converse in Dutch (even though he was a teenager at the time of migration). The only time he would speak Dutch was on Monday nights when his father would visit for dinner. I was present at many of these meals, and experienced Dutch dishes such as Rookwurst and Sauerkraut and meatball soup. Dutch Billjarts was played after dinner, and I would often join the men for a game. Fascinated by the language used at these times, I set about teaching

> *myself some Dutch. However there was never much encouragement apparent, and my efforts eventually ceased.* (9D)

The comments of the above writer give evidence of participation in the culture of another group in outlining his efforts to learn the language of his Greek and Dutch friends. He is one of the few examples of such spontaneous self-generated learning of Australian community languages. (Another is described in Chapter 11). Most Australians from the mainstream cultural group associate language learning with formal theoretical study at school and university which in the past was focussed on grammar, vocabulary and translation rather than oral and written communication skills. His own positive attitudes to cultural pluralism were most clearly expressed as tendencies in his informal learning and self-initiated study of languages. It is significant that he was not able to get such opportunities within the context of the school curriculum where little enough encouragement was given to those of English speaking background to learn traditional school languages like French, let alone community languages. His travels in Europe had reinforced his interest in languages, as well as enhancing his understanding of cultural diversity in Australia.

Experiences of Cultural Interaction Abroad

Several respondents wrote about the cultural interaction they had experienced abroad. Their comments can be compared with the earlier discussions of a number of memoir writers who had also mentioned their travels abroad (6A and 7E). In the earlier cases their time overseas had not led to any changes in the patterns of their cultural activation or to any noticeable influence on their attitude to cultural pluralism in Australia. According to one science graduate, participation in another culture overseas

had given him far greater understanding of cultural differences than his study of French and Latin at school.

My formal schooling was conducted in the 'Anglo-Australian' tradition. I attended the same single-sex church grammar school for both primary and secondary education ...

My language experience is based on exposure to rigorous formal English grammar of a type not now pursued in schools, together with exposure to two of the 'academic' languages - Latin and French. I learned the difference between a gerund and a gerundive, although this did not seem to be of great significance at the time; English grammar was easy because all I had to do was write down what sounded 'correct' and it was invariably correct. Language learning at school mirrored what was learned at home - exactly. Formal interaction with language learning stopped when I matriculated with French as a 'foreign' language and English.

Ten years further on I became acquainted with French culture in metropolitan France and in North Africa. It was something of a surprise to experience at first hand - my idea of the French as a race and a society had hitherto revolved around tedious disputations as to the ownership of a pencil, or the whereabouts of somebody's cat - translation into English never provided much insight into a national culture ... The European experience was in many ways a disappointment - once the difference in language was set aside, nothing else was really novel ...

The North African experience was rather different. For the first time I was able to confront a culture which was as different to mine as those of Southeast Asia (my only other cultural experience), but here I was able to communicate directly with the bearers of the culture in a way which was impossible in, say, Thailand, since I can't speak Thai. Arabs were obliged to use their second language but despite this I gained profound insights which would otherwise have been denied to me ... I spent some fifteen months without speaking English except to an occasional American tourist, by the end of which time I was beginning to think like a child because

French was still not adequate to express the more abstract needs, desires and feelings which English allowed me ...

Nothing in my language experience at school had suggested to me that language was a cultural activity deeply endowed with the core values of the group which spoke it. I had never experienced a culture which provided spoons to those who (as I did), lacked the dexterity to eat elegantly in public with their fingers. And this in a slightly condescending way ...

I was not aware of growing up in a multicultural society. No-one at my school had a funny name or had their sandwiches cut in a different way. During the 'assimilation' phase of ... the 1950s, my parents actually shopped for fresh fruit and vegetables at the Central Market - a fact which I sought to conceal from my school friends as late as my early teens! I much regret that my own multicultural education was so long delayed ... Would that I had been exposed to an Australian community language at an early age; I might then have come to an earlier understanding of the significance of ethnic culture not only to those speaking the ethnic tongue, but of the significance that it was going to have for me ... as an Anglo-Australian. (9E)

Like a number of respondents discussed previously, this writer's overwhelmingly Anglo-Australian education at an independent college for boys provided no opportunity for cultural interaction. His later experiences of living in French-speaking North Africa profoundly affected his attitudes to cultural pluralism. Although the personal cultural systems he learned during this time, evident at least in areas such as Arab food and hospitality, French language and North African life style, could not be activated on his return to Australia, the positive attitude to other cultures he gained through these experiences was not abandoned. Rather they gave him the insight to recognise for the first time the reality of Australia as a multicultural society. This was especially evident in his comments on

language learning, in which he contrasted his own academic study of French and Latin with the benefits of cultural understanding and interaction that could have followed, if he had had the opportunity to learn an Australian community language.

Another respondent, a music graduate, felt similarly that his cultural horizons had been broadened by travel.

I think that my parents' general view of migrants was that they should be forced to assimilate. My parents appear to have an innate belief in the superiority of Anglo culture and would argue that immigrants to Australia come from second rate countries and therefore should have no desire to preserve their past.

Cultural monism was reinforced through my schooling. I was sent to a string of private schools that were not just WASP [White Anglo-Saxon Protestant] oriented but also single-sexed ... [and eventually to] the school which to this day prides itself in offering education for children of Adelaide's 'best' families. I recall that while attending that institution, only one student was of a different ethnic origin. He was Italian and I remember that he was expelled for slashing a seat ... The schooling was based on discipline with a strict hierarchy, with plenty of exams and beatings to keep students on the straight and narrow ...

Academic subjects that were taught included the predictable curriculum of English History, foreign languages void of other aspects of culture, maths, sciences, Western music, and Protestant religion. Chapel services were compulsory and coupled with religious instruction and English-centric history directly helped to instil beliefs in the superiority of WASP upper middle class culture. The only contact with ethnic people within the school was with the cooking and cleaning staff; they were predictably around, but behind the scenes ...

The ideology transmitted through private schools hid the need for any student to know about ethnic cultures let alone that cultural interaction could be at all beneficial to Anglo-Australians.

On the level of social manners my parents' standards reflected conformist middle-class norms. My father is never seen without a tie, even when gardening, and my mother is always dressed conservatively but well. Food has always been English oriented. Greetings have always been formal, handshakes for men and cheek kisses for ladies. European greetings were judged as ostentatious. Culture on this level was thus very monistic.

Interaction with people of other cultures in my experience only began when at University I associated with a few Anglicised ethnic people of my own age. I remember having cricket and football matches with Greek friends but their influence had little cultural significance beyond just personal friendship. They did the bending to our ways but little did I realise that they were actually doing anything different.

Perhaps the most interesting shock effect that any event had on me was at the age of 25. I arrived home from my first overseas trip and at the Sydney airport overheard a group of 'Ocker' business men talking in a broad Australian accent. I realised for the first time that Australians had a distinctive language of their own. It took that experience of arriving home after being immersed in different cultures in South East Asia to realise the distinctive nature of Anglo-Australian culture. It was a shock but probably one of the most educative experiences of my life. Having seen something else it made me realise that ethnic differences are important in our Australian context and that assimilation must be so hard for migrants. Subsequent journeys have reinforced my ideas of ... the narrow confines of mono-culture.

Looking back on my education and taking my life interest of classic guitar into account, I wish I'd had the opportunity to study Spanish culture and language. Such influences I believe would be important for interpretation of music as well as broadening life's

experiences in general which is critical for a practising musician. (9F)

This writer had attended the same boys college as a number of the previous respondents (eg. 6C, 6D). In voicing his criticism of its monocultural outlook, he expressed his current feelings of regret that his formal education had failed to give him any understanding of other cultures. The university had offered him, for the first time in his life, a context where he could associate with contemporaries from a different ethnic background to his own even though, as he recognised at the time of writing, the cultural values being activated were those of the mainstream group to which he belonged. Only after experiences of immersion abroad had he become aware of the reality of ethnic cultural differences. In his case the area of his music specialization, classic guitar, with its integral link to the culture of Spain, had heightened his cultural sensitivity. In this self generated activity, we have the most direct evidence of his participation in another culture.

For one respondent, living in Malawi where his parents worked as missionaries for a number of years, was the experience that changed his attitudes to cultural and racial diversity.

> *Until the age of sixteen I lived in an environment that was defined and structured by the Australian way of life that had evolved since the foundation of South Australian history. My ancestors were on the first ships from England and were of good Methodist stock! Thus, much of my cultural frame of reference, if not all, was based on the values handed down over many generations of South Australians. My family's interaction was almost exclusively with others of the same cultural background and thus I had little close contact with people of different ethnic backgrounds. It was not that there was any anti-ethnic feeling ...*

During my primary school years, I came into contact with children of ethnic origin and some became my schoolyard friends. However, even this contact was of an artificial kind. We came together at school, played together, worked together and fought together, but our relationships ended at the school gate. Because their home life was so unknown to me and mine so unknown to them, there was never any suggestion of spending time at each other's place. After school we retreated back into our own familiar world with those of our own cultural background. Thus, even though we spent time together at school, we never interacted culturally, and thus, our relationships were artificial.

The school curriculum was Anglo-Saxon in orientation and ethnic children just had to learn English to be able to cope ... The school never tried to affect the ethnic child's after school activities either and the child would go home and re-enter the familiar world of his parents.

My peer group environment never included thoughts of cultural interaction. We just did what we always did. We would come home from school, play cricket or football on the back lawn, and in high school we would do our homework, go to cricket, football or basketball practice, or discuss how marvellous our girlfriends were!! Cultural interaction, or learning to enjoy another culture, apart from struggling through German at school, was never relevant to our way of life. Even if we did learn a language other than our own, it never became part of our frame of reference outside of school ... It was something to be learned and forgotten at the school gate. The cultural values of other groups were never presented to us, except for the tasty appeal of pizzas, lasagnas and tortillas ...

However, in 1977, our family moved to South Africa, initially, and then on to the tiny country of Malawi. Suddenly our whole frame of reference was challenged and found totally inadequate to allow us to relate to the people around us. There were those whites in Malawi who segregated themselves from the reality of their environment and created their own little Britain or America in

their own homes. However, because of our involvement as missionaries we came in contact with the Malawian culture constantly, and in every day situations. This was the major difference between our Australian experience and the situation in Malawi. At home our only contact with another culture was in the artificial environment of the school, but in Malawi, we were faced with another culture the moment we woke up till the time for bed ... Over time in Malawi ... our lives had to accommodate for the culture of a people totally foreign to our whole way of life. We started to speak much more slowly, our English became interspersed with Malawian words, our style of dress changed, we began to hold hands with our Malawian friends without looking around to see if anyone was watching, our diets changed dramatically ...

On returning to Australia, we found ourselves faced with as much a culture shock as we did when we arrived in Malawi. Everyone spoke so fast, everyone was so well off, dressed beautifully, and living at such a fast rate. Cars were everywhere, there were no beggars, no cripples outside the supermarkets, no real markets and, most strangely, no black people! I once saw an Aboriginal in Victoria Square (!) and my heart leapt with excitement, and I so wanted to touch him, hug him and lose myself in memories. Our lives have been revolutionised by our time in Africa, mainly because the Malawian way of life had become part of our lives ...

My life in Malawi has permanently affected (so far) my peer group environment and my University life back here in Australia. I see things differently, I have different attitudes, I react differently (sometimes quite embarrassingly!) and desire different things than my friends and acquaintances.

Since being back in Australia, I have had a different outlook on people of different cultures (mainly the Aboriginal people). I can understand them a lot better and the obstacles (sometimes mountains) they must face in attempting to live in a totally foreign environment. I think that we as Australians have lived far too long unaware of other cultures and have become stifled in our thinking and outlook on life. I know that my life in Malawi has

allowed me to have a choice of reactions to situations, to be able to see situations from two different viewpoints and to be able to experience life much more fully. (9G)

The comments of this writer provide clear evidence of the way he learned to participate in the day to day life of Africans in Malawi on their cultural terms rather than his own. He also described in some detail how this experience of cultural interaction changed his attitudes to cultural pluralism and people of minority ethnic background on his return to Australia. In his judgement the ability to evaluate situations from two cultural perspectives was an advantage that he personally appreciated. He recognised, however, that his current cultural duality put him on the margins of his own peer group. His discussion of his positive response to Aboriginal people of dark skin colour is particularly significant. Such an attitude would have marked him out among his white contemporaries who would have had little or no contact with Aboriginal people and most likely would have had indifferent or even negative attitudes towards them.

Family Interaction in a Country Town

For another respondent, cultural interaction was essentially a family experience, which occurred as his family made contact with a number of Greek families in a country seaport.

I am the first child ... of parents of German (father) and English (mother) descent. I am unsure of the origins of my mother's English ancestors, but I am certain they arrived in Australia at some stage during the previous century. A family genealogy does shed some light on my father's origins. I am fifth generation German, my ... ancestors having a well documented history that explains the immigration to South Australia in 1847 as a response to the religious persecution prevalent under Friedrich Wilhelm III, Emperor of Prussia at the time. My lack of real knowledge

concerning my German and English ancestors rightly suggests that my ethnicity will reflect little of the middle-European (German) influence in specific terms. I have only ever felt vaguely 'connected' to these origins and believe that the values I share with the Germanic culture of that period represent only the most broad of Western core values ...

I was born and raised in [a country port]. At the time of my departure from the town ... the population was approximately twelve and a half thousand. Statistically, the dominant population (over 70%) was Anglo-Australian, with a few thousand people making up the Aboriginal, Yugoslavian, Greek and Italian minorities within the community ... During my earliest years (pre-school) I was largely unaware of the existence of a culturally plural society within [the town]. Almost all of my interactions were with my parents and younger siblings. I grew up learning only one language, English, hardly aware of the fact that other languages existed. My kindergarten and primary school years were very similar. I would call my childhood 'sheltered' in this respect. I remained naive for a long time. All my interactions with other children from my own and other ethnic groups were based upon communication in English. There was no question that any other language would have been used ...

the primary school in my personal experience ... reinforced the values I learned and accepted in the home and among my white Anglo-Australian peers ... I was sheltered from the possibility of exposure to an obviously different or 'other' ethnic cultural system and also too young and naive to know any different ...

At the time of [my secondary schooling] my family was becoming good friends with a Greek family in the town. I went to school with their first-generation children, which extended our relationship to both the social front and the school environment ... [and resulted in a] relationship with this family and later the entire Greek community ...

On a small scale family-to-family level, successful interaction within the town's plural society was achieved. Similarly, our

Greek friends perpetuated and made use of their own ethnic, cultural resources, were willing to share their culture with non-ethnic others and were able to make these choices because of their familiarity with Anglo-Australian culture and systems ... I found myself the only Anglo-Australian in an otherwise all-Greek soccer team. Similarly, I resisted the pressure to play 'Aussie-Rules' football (an activity loaded with obvious indications as to the real level of commitment to and participation in Anglo-Australian culture), and to this day have never played a game of Australian Rules. I also found the majority of my family social interactions to occur in the company of our Greek friends (a community of ten to fifteen families), often with my family being the exclusive Anglo-Australian guests. Our diet at home also changed, with a new emphasis on spinach pies, pork shaslicks (most Greek professionals ... were pig farmers), tzaziki, baclava and a range of other Greek and continental foods. Our incorporation of Greek cultural elements into our personal pattern(s) of life became most apparent ...

Apart from the previously mentioned examples, we began to undertake formal lessons in Greek dancing. Our social life saw us wining and dining with the Greek community more frequently. Curiously, at this point of constant and deep interaction, having been heavily immersed in the Greek culture for around two years, I reached a stage where I began to consciously re-evaluate my own Anglo-Australian culture. The long-term experience of basic cultural amalgamation which my family was experiencing led me to view my own culture in a new light ...

I came to realise that my culture really did differ from the Greek culture which we had come to appreciate, understand and embrace. I now viewed my own culture in terms of 'absence', or 'lack'. It seems to me, (still, to this day) that we are able to define our dominant Anglo-Australian culture by what it does not have, or what we as an Anglo-Australian majority don't have ie. 'cultural absence'. I came to view our culture as conservative and dull in comparison to the precious and colourful culture of our Greek friends ...

This evaluation process, once complete, did not cause me to deny my own culture. Instead, I had reached an understanding of the value of ethnic culture, its traditions and heritage. An appreciation of Greek culture influenced a personal desire to investigate my own cultural origins in the hope of reactivating various traditions from the German and English heritage, in order that my present Anglo-Australian culture could be given a cultural boost. Of course, these hopes were nothing more than unrealistic teenage musings. As much as my attitude towards ethnic cultures had become positive and generally accepting and my tendencies often indicated a personal decision to investigate nineteenth century German tradition (for instance), all these changes occurred within me ...

Through this ongoing experience ... I saw myself as enjoying the benefits of two cultural worlds. I was a privileged and frequent participant in Greek culture, while simultaneously I retained my position as an Anglo-Australian in the dominant group. Rather than incurring a destabilising effect, my involvement in two different traditions offered me a 'richness' in my life that other Australians like myself were denied ...

I consciously made decisions about these different cultural experiences despite my parents' influential activities. We acted as a family, but of course each individual member exerted his or her opinions, actions and thoughts throughout the overall experience. Although our friendship and involvement with the Greek community has reduced in intensity (partially due to many families moving to Adelaide or elsewhere), the entire experience has left me in no doubt about the need for and the value of [cultural interaction] for all Australians ... I consider myself fortunate to have enjoyed a primarily family and social experience that instilled an awareness in me of ... cultural pluralism, despite a lack of the same cultural impetus within the school experience. Cultural subtraction is not the path to become a 'proper' Australian ... Being an Anglo-Australian, realising that I belonged to one of many ethnic groups in Australia, was one of the first individual steps I took in beginning a steady history of interaction with people from other cultural groups. (9H/10E)

The cultural interaction described in detail by this writer involved not just himself, but his whole family. The country town in which he grew up was noted for an historical concentration of Aboriginal-Australians and the later arrival of European immigrants both of which were largely ignored by the mainstream group, even though the minority ethnic children were clearly evident in the school population. The possibility of one mainstream Australian family of professional standing interacting on a level of acceptance and equality with Greek-Australian families in a country town where Anglo-Celtic-Australian rural values had long been entrenched might not be deemed a very likely occurrence. Yet this respondent gave a vivid description of the way he and his family came to take part in such interaction. His account also made it very clear that this experience was not only exciting and invigorating in itself but also challenging to his cultural development. It left him with a very positive attitude to other cultures as a result of which he not only re-evaluated his own cultural background but also sought out friendships with individuals from cultural backgrounds different from his own.

The fact that the writer's was the only non-Greek family participating in this interchange meant that many of the values activated were Greek. More importantly, some of these values were evaluated so positively that the writer's family began to incorporate them into the pattern of their own lives. The Greek food they had enjoyed as guests came to be regularly eaten at home. The family had lessons in Greek dancing, while the writer himself chose to play as the only mainstream Australian in the Greek soccer team, instead of joining his Anglo peers in Australian rules football. In contrast to the writer of 9D, however, this experience of cultural interaction did not extend to learning the Greek language.

Acquiring a Taste for Cultural Interaction

Another respondent realised only in retrospect the cultural diversity to be found in his neighbourhood among the children with whom he grew up. He could also reconstruct in detail the ethnic backgrounds of his fellow students at school. Yet his first experiences of cultural interaction did not come until he was an adult, working as an apprentice chef.

> *"I am an Australian. I love my country. I salute the flag. I honour her Queen. I promise to obey her laws."*

> *During the [postwar period] at least once a week, if not more frequently, a mass of innocently naive primary school students would unemotionally recite the above oath, followed always by "God Save the Queen", the then national anthem. This then is the atmosphere of the times in which I was brought up. I am a third generation Australian-born person reared by an Anglo-Australian family in a predominantly Anglo-Australian working-class neighbourhood. Obviously then all that occurred in my life was oriented around this Anglo-Saxon core. However, I think in all honesty we really regarded ourselves as dinkum Aussies, never considering for one minute that we were remotely English. I have since discovered that our family is of English-German extract.*

> *Until very recently it had never occurred to me that we as Australian-born Anglo-Saxons had modified the English culture and transformed it into our own uniquely defined Australian sub-culture. Nor had it dawned on me that our neighbours, being of different nationalities, actually had their own beliefs and attitudes according to their culture. Sure, the had a funny sounding name and their father drove a big American car, but they weren't very different. We still played with their kids. The Rockliffs spoke in an unusual English way but they weren't different, they were O.K. The Gregs, however, were discernibly different. The children spoke English but their parents always jabbered away with loud, high-pitched voices in a foreign language. They were obviously Italian - well, that's what we as children assumed anyway.*

Within that relatively small area of four house blocks were four families each different in their national backgrounds, and therefore probably organising their lives according to beliefs and attitudes that they may have brought with them to Australia, together with those that they may have acquired in this country ...

The attitude adopted by many Australians to any and all immigrants [is that] they (the Australians) have pioneered and made this great country what it is. Consequently, whatever is good for Australians is good enough for migrants as well. In this situation the ethnic individuals would have to learn English and adapt themselves to the "typical" Australian way of life. It is in such a light that I viewed my various migrant neighbours. They were different in some ways but they seemed to act, work and live in much the same style as us Australians ...

A migrant arriving in Australia as part of a social group continues to promote and accept those cultural norms within that context. However, outside such a group, for example at work or at school, the constraints placed on an individual by the other cultural group may necessitate the modification of his ethnic culture so that he is readily accepted in the alternate situation. Although I did not realize or recognize it at the time, my Italian neighbours, the Gregs, particularly the children, would have been in such a situation. At school and when playing together they spoke English as we did, but in their own home they conversed with their parents in their native language ...

In a state primary school ... I came in contact with, and on occasion associated closely with, children of divergent cultural backgrounds. The school I attended was relatively small and was only recently opened in a developing residential area. By far the majority of students were Australian or of Anglo-Australian descent. I can recall very few "foreign" children, let alone any "foreign" staff. Consequently the educational thrust of that school, similar to many others at that time, was one of British and Australian nationalism. Anglo-Saxon Australians were the dominant social

group and those who didn't fit into this category had to be integrated, or assimilated into the dominant culture ...

I remember a tall, heavily-built blond girl named Regina. It didn't take us kids very long to assess her as foreign. Our dossier of "facts" included the way she wore her braided hair, her large round flat face, her very quiet and shy ways (not very conclusive evidence), and that she lived alone (so we assumed) with her grandmother, a short, wizened old lady with wispy, grey hair and who spoke a different language ... Together with Regina, whom I believe was Polish, I was acquainted with Sancia (Sri Lankan), Evonne (Aboriginal), and Michael (German). Despite this small body of nationalities in only one class of the school, there was no impetus whatsoever to generate a healthy interest in people from other nations with varying cultures. I clearly remember United Nations Day each year, but was our own tiny United Nations allowed, or even requested, to demonstrate their unique and divergent cultures? No. The underlying impetus to conform to the Australian culture was very strong indeed.

In the two secondary schools I recently visited, both incidentally with a high proportion of migrant students, staff and students were responsibly aware of their school's situation regarding the ethnic groups and their cultures. Italian language studies was part of the curriculum in both schools, together with the more academic French and German. Certainly not all the students took this subject but the fact that it is an option at a school speaks for the attitude of the staff. Nearly all students taking Italian in one school were of Italian descent ...

After observing and teaching in a school where I thought the staff and students seemed to understand and appreciate the presence of different ethnic groups, I was taken aback when a teacher, confronted with an incoherent or badly-written piece of work, would comment to the effect, 'Well, look at his name. What else do you expect?' Inevitably the student in question had a foreign name. This occurred on more than one occasion. The problem then was placed solely at the feet of that particular ethnic group,

and what is even more concerning is that a student's ethnic background was seen as the reason and cause of the problem ...

My limited experience with people possessing cultural behaviour different to mine, has at least ingrained upon me to be aware of what the other person possesses and to appreciate the fact that they too have a perfectly valid reason for acting and thinking as they do. Perhaps my greatest awareness that people had different cultures was not during my school years, in the usual sense of education, but when I undertook an apprenticeship course in cooking at a suburban hotel. My five and a half year sojourn as an employee of that particular establishment had a profound effect on my perception of other social groups. The influence even went to the extent of permeating to my immediate family. Although I may not have been aware of it at the time, in fact I'm quite sure I was not aware, I was participating in cultural contact, exchange and diffusion.

As with most hotels or restaurants, the staff rosters read like a session of the U.N. General Assembly. There were Greeks, Italians, Poles, Hungarians, Chinese, Japanese, Slavs, Germans, Austrians, French, Spanish, Turks, Swedes, English, and at some time or other an occasional Australian. I'm sure I could recall some more if I tried. Despite this agglomeration of peoples though, I curiously came to regard everyone as the same; encompassed in a net of internationalism. We were all working for long periods of time in a very closed and close environment ... We all cooperated (with the occasional disruption) and worked together. and it mattered not that the person next to you was a Swede or a Yugoslavian. They all spoke English, albeit haltingly and usually with a very broad accent. They dressed similarly, and the relationship between the staff as employees and as individuals was harmonious, and to a degree egalitarian. With the exception of the Hungarians, I doubt whether I ever really identified them according to their respective nationality and culture. At the same time I was learning from them, they perhaps were gaining something in their contact with me.

During the course of my training I was learning and gaining knowledge according to the time honoured master/apprentice relationship as well as through the teachings of the trade school. Concurrent with this formal technical training was an education, albeit subtle and unstructured, into the culture and lifestyle of Hungarian immigrants. Maybe it was because they formed a majority group in this situation, or possibly because they were women and being a shy, naive, young lad fresh out of school I needed some affectionate mothering to help me through the traumas of my first job. Whatever the reasons, in the following years I willingly and eagerly learned aspects of their culture. Not knowing, or having met any Hungarians in their native land, I cannot deny the possibility that the cultural values transmitted to me may have been influenced and modified by their contact with the Australian community.

Working in a food industry one might be forgiven for thinking that eating would be the last thing we would do or talk about. However, cooks have to survive as well, and my extra-curricular activities in the sampling of Hungarian foods certainly broadened my culinary horizons, if not my waistline. I learnt that many of their national dishes survived the migration without any alterations at all.

Hungarians apparently have a penchant for cream of the soured variety. Presented with a large bottle brim full of luscious looking cream I proudly presented it to my mother who went into raptures about farm fresh cream and supplied us with recollections of her life on a rural property. Cream wasn't exactly cheap for our family at that time so it was considered a valued and welcome indulgence. Heaping it lavishly on our bread and jam we all dug in. Horror of horrors!!
'Ugh, what's that?'
'What's wrong with this cream?'
'Yuck'
'Where the hell did you get this?'
The transformation of their facial expressions was a wonder to behold. Jolted by this unexpected dinner table crisis I suddenly recalled that Hungarians prefer a cultured, sour cream. I think I

hastily experimented with some Hungarian food in the following few days so as not to waste their well-intentioned gift.

The great sour cream disaster of 1969 at least in retrospect turned out to be an object lesson in cultural perspective. Still clinging to aspects of their culture after twelve or more years in Australia, they inadvertently assumed that other people would enjoy the same foods as themselves. I too erred in my judgement as I assumed the cream to be 'ordinary' and not cultured.

Language also became a vehicle for cultural interaction if only on a one way basis. My fellow kitchen workers conversed freely in Hungarian and it didn't take long for me to learn some simple phrases and salutations. I felt wonderfully proud as my vocabulary grew and I could add the numbers 1-20 to my repertoire. I suppose I enabled them to understand English a little more, as I could only talk with them at length using it. But only on a few occasions did they ask something specific about English grammar or expression.

In our tiny international community assorted languages echoed frequently among the pots and pans with English the common denominator. Whether others 'exchanged' languages as I did, I don't exactly know. One curious phenomenon I noticed was the development of a purely verbal/oral language made from a combination of two or more other languages - a hotch-potch of English, German and Hungarian words and phrases. Listening to it reminded me of a secret James Bond code, and I began using it, too, but with limitations. My German was, and still is atrocious.

The interactions occurring between the cultures of the various ethnic groups or individuals in that kitchen were to a degree superficial but there was interaction nonetheless. Only on two occasions did I ever get to glimpse their family life and how it was structured, and then the visits were too brief to be of any influence now. Suffice it to say that food and language were the obvious indications of a different culture.

As a third generation Australian of English stock my home situation and life was to say the least Anglo-Saxon. While

demeaning the 'poms' and their habits, we were the inheritors who lived, dressed, ate and talked according to the western English edicts. There was very little if any interaction between our family and any ethnic groups until I started work. Even when some degree of peripheral cultural interaction occurred, such as when I brought around some 'foreign' friends, or when I would cook some 'unusual' foods, it was usually greeted with watchful scepticism. I don't doubt for one minute that I and my family have benefited from such influences. Meals at our table now yield some inviting and exciting surprises. Even my father, the stalwart of all that is Australian, has grown accustomed to certain 'wog' foods. But I still feel he is dreading the day when one of his offspring marries into a migrant family. (9J)

In this writer's experience the context of interaction was a hotel kitchen where, as an apprentice, he worked with chefs from Hungarian and many other backgrounds. The interaction took place in two main areas of culture - food and language. In neither case did the actual experience of interaction appear to have been great although it was an on-going involvement in the confined quarters of a hotel kitchen over a period of years. Through the hotel kitchen, and even more in contact with the Hungarian family who were the proprietors, he had the opportunity to taste, and later experiment with, various dishes belonging to the European, particularly Hungarian culinary traditions. In the case of language, the writer's interaction took the form of learning a few words of Hungarian and participating in the emergence of a hybrid of English, German and Hungarian, the main languages known by the kitchen staff. Because a number of the workers had only a limited command of English, this ad hoc mixture functioned as the means of communication among them. This example of cultural interaction is comparable to the family language which memoir writer 9C encountered in a multilingual household.

Yet this seemingly trivial experience of cultural interaction was sufficient to cause in this respondent a fundamental change of attitude to cultural pluralism. It gave him an 'awareness that people had different cultures' and exerted what he described as 'a profound effect' on his perception of other groups. This new attitude can be seen to have exerted considerable influence on the description he gave of his own schooling and in his assessment of the two teaching practice schools he attended.

Another notable feature of his account was the way in which the writer gradually succeeded in encouraging the members of his family to share his taste in cultural interaction. Although they appeared so deeply set in their Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural ways, he arranged for them to meet some of his minority ethnic friends or try some of the new dishes he cooked for them. In this aspect of family involvement, his account could be compared to that of 9B.

Overview

The above accounts indicate that for some of the memoir writers cultural interaction emerged as a consequence of prolonged exposure to living in another culture, whether abroad, as in 9E, 9F, and 9G or in a minority ethnic home, as in 9C. For others (9A, 9B, 9D) it was repeated or on-going contacts with minority ethnic individuals in contexts such as homes and community organizations where minority ethnic languages and cultures were predominantly activated. In one case (9J) the context was the workplace in which the writer found himself surrounded by fellow workers from a variety of non-English speaking backgrounds whose knowledge of English and mainstream Australian culture was still limited.

Most of these respondents expressed the view that their experiences of cultural interaction had proved beneficial and rewarding for them personally. For one writer, however, when the contexts of an adopted ethnic home and living overseas came to an end, and there was no mainstream Australian group to which she felt able to return, she was left at least temporarily rootless and destabilized.

The memoirs also gave evidence that the positive attitudes to cultural diversity formed by the writers as a result of these experiences were not a transient or ephemeral enthusiasm but had become internalized into their personal cultural systems to the extent that they were subsequently activated in other times and contexts. This was shown very clearly in the case of those whose travels abroad had given them a new awareness and appreciation of the cultural differences they observed on their return to Australia. The existence of an internalized positive attitude to cultural pluralism is also evident in the evaluations and assessments that some writers recorded in their memoirs. In memoir 9J, for example, the writer's memories of the children in his street and his fellow students at primary school have been filtered through, and re-interpreted, in the light of his new understanding of the reality of cultural diversity in Australia. In the majority of cases (9B, 9D, 9E, 9G, 9H/10E, 9J) their comments indicated their clear preference for Australia to develop as a multicultural society.

CHAPTER TEN

CULTURAL INTERACTION THROUGH THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

This chapter, like the previous one, analyses the memoirs of those writers who not only revealed a positive attitude to cultural diversity but had actually participated in some way in the culture of a group other than their own. In addition, however, the respondents indicated that these attitudes had been stimulated and their actual cultural participation encouraged through the opportunities provided by the education system. Reference to schools and universities appeared in many of the memoirs considered in previous chapters. Some memoir writers in chapter 6, for example, described the schools they had known as agents for the transmission of mainstream Australian cultural values. A number of those discussed in chapters 7 and 8 indicated that the school was the context in which they had associated with students of minority ethnic background and sometimes established a firm friendship.

The focus of this chapter, however, is not so much on the education system as a context for social interaction among students of varying ethnic origins, but on the cultural values transmitted by the school in its central learning and teaching function and the patterns of cultural activation to be found in the classroom and playground. Four of the respondents indicated that the curriculum of the school or university had given them access into the language and culture of another ethnic group. Two other writers focussed on a quite different manifestation of cultural interaction in the school situation. They described in some detail the distinctive cultural patterns that emerged spontaneously in schools where young people of indigenous or minority ethnic background formed a considerable proportion of the

student population. Table 10.1 summarizes the concrete facts for each of the respondents discussed in this chapter.

The Influence of Studying a Language Other than English

Several of the writers considered that the subjects they had studied at secondary and tertiary level had been one of the key influences in developing their interest in other cultures. In two instances this awareness had come through learning a language other than English. In both cases the respondents described at least one other factor in their situation which they saw as reinforcing positive attitudes to cultural diversity.

One science graduate explained the long term consequences of her studies in Japanese, while pointing also to an early influence from her mother.

> *During my school years I lived in ... a suburb with a moderately low concentration of ethnic-Australians. I attended ... a girls' grammar school and cannot remember anyone of non-English-speaking background at all in my year. Similarly both my parents and all my grandparents were Anglo-Australians ... My late mother [a doctor working in an area where a high proportion of minority ethnic-Australians lived] talked at length about the differences between Anglo-Australian cultural values and those of the Italians, Greeks and White Russians whom she treated in her surgery ... I often accompanied my mother on her medical rounds ... and would see the exuberant greetings given by the Italian relatives to each other ... This way of expressing affection to friends is now part of [my own way of behaving] ...*

> *At school ... there was no provision made for students who were not fluent in English, probably since they had never had a pupil at the school who was not. In Japanese lessons, however, we were encouraged to learn as much as possible about the cultural values of Japanese society. This I found extremely interesting and there seemed to be the beginnings of ... [an interest in participating in*

TABLE 10.1: CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 10

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
10A 1981	F	20	Suburban	Independent Girls College	BSc	Chemistry Japanese	Japanese (yr 3 uni)	6 week scholarship in Japan
10B 1983	F	22	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	German	German (yr 3 uni)	
10C 1979	F	c.22	Suburban	State High School	BMus	Music	—	
10D/11D 1987	F	c.23	Suburban	State High School	BA	Spanish Music	Spanish (yr 3 uni)	active in Spanish-Australian community
10E/9H 1990	M	23	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	English History	—	lived for a year in Canada
10F 1982	F	33	Suburban	Catholic Girls College	BEc	Economics	—	

another culture] ... I have studied the Japanese language, culture and a little history for almost nine years and spent six weeks living with a family in Tokyo only recently ... [but] six weeks in Japan is not sufficient ... [Recent education studies have] reconfirmed my desire to learn more about ethnic cultures and to try to become [more fully bilingual] ... (10A)

In the experience of this writer, the nine years of studying Japanese at secondary and tertiary levels had enabled her to build a skeletal personal cultural system in Japanese language and culture. The brief visit to Japan had served to extend her opportunities for participation, reinforce her positive attitude and make her eager to become more effectively bilingual.

This memoir would seem to provide an example of school language studies giving a student the opportunity to enter another cultural world. What is remarkable is that hers was the only memoir that described such an experience, even though most, if not all, the other participants would have studied a language other than English at some stage in their secondary school career. Her real enjoyment of the lessons and desire to internalize the language that she was learning at school were very apparent in her remarks.

Japanese has been taught in Australia as a modern Asian language, important as the language of one of Australia's most powerful neighbours and most extensive trading partners. The interest of this respondent in studying the language and learning to understand the culture that was integral to it was such that she continued her studies at tertiary level. She arranged to do it as a major in her Science degree, in what at that stage was regarded as a most unusual subject combination (Personal communication). At the end of these studies she won a scholarship to study for six weeks in Japan. A chance conversation with her a number of years later revealed

that even though she was well-established as a Science teacher in a leading girls' school, she still harboured an unfulfilled desire to introduce the teaching of Japanese into the school.

Another respondent who graduated in German recalled her early response to hearing languages other than English spoken by some of her classmates.

> *I personally have come to realize that human beings of different cultures have similar problems and although the processes of solving them often differ and the solutions vary, the same concern is often felt ...*

> *I remember that as a child belonging to the Anglo majority at school, I felt resentful of other children who could converse in a foreign tongue. I felt that I was missing out on something not simply because I could not understand what was being said, but because 'those children' had the opportunity to talk about the world in two ways. Having since studied German and French and lived in Germany for a year, I realize that language is more than just a means of communication. It is also a function of culture and as such shapes the way we view the world. For example, the German word Weltanschauung implies an entire philosophy of life and implies much more than the English translation "world view" ...*

> *Some have argued that multiculturalism will be irrelevant in fifty years' time and that we will all either be Australians in an Anglo-mould or a new hybrid culture will have developed. While this may be so, multiculturalism is not irrelevant today. The shape of future society will be determined by what we do today. Moreover, monoculturalism and homogeneity have their drawbacks, particularly for individuals who don't want to be monocultural and live life quite happily as multiculturals.* (10B)

In this case the influence of the study of French and German had been considerably heightened by the respondent's opportunity to spend a year in

Germany as an exchange student. Her concluding paragraph pointed to her positive evaluation of the benefits of multiculturalism for those individuals who desired it, while simultaneously recognising the continuing assumptions of monoculturalism among many people in Australian society. She herself revealed a positive attitude to languages other than English, from the time of her childhood envy of fellow students who could speak more than one language. Moreover, as a bilingual adult, she expressed a personal appreciation of the integral link between the language and culture of a group, as well as the essential complementarity between problems experienced universally by human beings and the particular solutions to them developed by different cultural groups.

The Contribution of Studies in Music

A graduate in music compared her memories of the mainstream oriented ethos she had experienced at school with the multilingual context and focus on the cultural values of other groups which she had encountered in her tertiary music studies.

> *In infant school, the only clear memory I have of any culture other than the Anglo-Saxon dominant culture being introduced was when Alice, a new girl from Germany, was asked to speak about Germany to the class. She even taught us about three words of German. The episode was not repeated, however.*

> *In all my schooling, only English was offered as a transmitter of knowledge. The migrants at school had to 'sink or swim' with regards to speaking English. There was only one person in my class handicapped by this attitude, but that was more than enough. He was a French migrant who had migrated in his late childhood and was extremely quiet in class. He was quiet because he could not always follow the teacher. He got low grades in both English and other subjects through his lack of understanding and had few friends at school. In French lessons where he was expected to be*

outstanding, he was not. He could not understand instructions, his grammar was incorrect, and he spelt incorrectly. He had moved from France before he had mastered the French language and could not master English. It is no surprise that he left school early to become a manual labourer.

One other migrant I knew while I was at school left early to work. He was from Belgium and his parents did not like him mixing with his school friends out of school. This could be construed as his parents wishing him to retain his Belgian identity without being influenced more than necessary by his predominantly Anglo-Saxon school mates. This theory strengthens when he himself testified that he did not want to leave school so young (the end of 9th year) but his parents wanted him to work in the family florist shop, and not see his school friends any more.

At school it was always very 'safe' to be Anglo-Saxon. The whole system was designed for Anglo-Saxons, and as I went to a very traditional school, the system was being perpetuated in every way possible. At school I was taught to read and write in English, express myself in English, and assume that Australia is based on Anglo-Saxon culture therefore I was doing the 'right' thing in being exclusively Anglo-Saxon. Even our French lessons were conducted in English as some form of knowledge rather than an alternative culture.

When I began my tertiary studies, the values transmitted by my faculty at University were very different. I studied music, and I discovered that other cultures had contributed so much to music and 'we' were quite insignificant by comparison. It was necessary to study other cultures to understand subjects more fully, and I suddenly discovered the importance of knowing other languages. My instrumental teacher could speak three languages fluently, and had travelled extensively, yet he was very 'Anglo-Saxon'. Other students were bilingual as well and stressed the importance of being. Only this year I was in an orchestra rehearsing with a German choir, and the entire rehearsal was conducted in German. The values transmitted in my tertiary course were not of Anglo-Saxon dominance, but rather of an equality of all cultures ...

> *At home my family is second generation Australian with the British Isles being their country of origin. Our relatives are Anglo-Saxon and most of our friends are Anglo-Saxon.*

> *Our church has been active with people of the Pacific region, however, and hosts families from this region. In this way, we have become familiar with other cultures at home, but they have not actively altered our family life in any way ...*

> *My peer group environment has mainly been Anglo-Saxon in content ... I include in this group, friends from church, friends from school, people I have worked with, and neighbours. One exception to this, however, is a formerly very close friend of Greek origin. She had an effect on all her friends as she grew older and introduced them to Greek culture. She introduced us to Greek food, family, customs, and friends. She also acted as mediator between her 'very' Greek friends and Anglo-Saxon ones ... [Thus] even my Anglo oriented upbringing has been unable to stop all interaction with other cultures. (10C)*

Chronologically the first important influence in this writer's involvement in other cultures was her apparently long-term relationship with a girl of Greek background. Through this Greek girl's readiness to share her culture with her Anglo-Celtic-Australian friends, she had initiated them into a memorable experience of interaction with Greek culture.

At university she experienced the actual transmission of music originating from many different cultures, as well as involvement in a situation conducted in a language other than English. Important also were the living models of bilingual or multilingual usage that she encountered in her music teacher and her fellow students. In these ways the actual subject content and teaching patterns in the Faculty of Music, together with the quality of the teaching staff in terms of competence and interest in

languages other than English, proved effective in enabling her to have some experience of cultural interaction. She recognised that without these educational opportunities and contact with her Greek friend, the circumstances of her home, wider family and peer group networks would have kept her within the confines of her own cultural group, as had been the experience of many of the writers in chapters 6 and 8.

A similar experience of music studies providing a memorable experience of cultural interaction is described in the extract that follows. The main part of the memoir will be considered in the next chapter that considers examples of intercultural marriage. Of mixed German, Irish and English ancestry herself, the respondent's meeting with the son of Spanish immigrants led eventually to marriage. As the means of strengthening her ties with her future husband and his family, she undertook university studies in the Spanish language, as well as in music. In the extract that follows, she compared the effectiveness of these two learning experiences in enabling her to participate in the life of the Spanish-Australian community.

When I learnt Spanish at ... University the emphasis at that time was more on imparting an intellectual and critical understanding of certain well-known Spanish literary works, amongst which 'Don Quixote' reigned supreme, rather than on the acquisition of the language and direct experience of the culture embedded within that language. However, the course stimulated my interest enough to seek out ways of applying the language in a creative way. It was in fact the Ethnomusicology course at ... University which provided me with the perfect opportunity to blend my existing musical knowledge and practical ability with my newly acquired second language and thus a passionate interest in Spanish folk music developed. Through the type of education I had received I grew up with the notion that music, art, and even language was a unique and separable human activity rather than an integral part of culture or as reflective of culture and the values

inherent in that culture. The Ethnomusicology course presented me for the first time with the concept of the inseparability of language, music and people and that the cultural expression of a group as manifested through language and music needs to be comprehended before real cultural understanding can take place ...

My developing interest in Spanish music, language and culture eventually found practical application in the formation and musical direction of a Spanish folk-singing group which provided the means for practical involvement in the Spanish community and the community at large. My field of inquiry developed even further when, as part of my work for Ethnomusicology I undertook research within the Spanish community in an attempt to understand something of the processes of cultural, music, and language transmission at work in this particular community in its multi-cultural setting. Working closely with members of the Spanish community, listening to them recall their experiences in Australia, and their memories of Spain and the intimate importance and sometimes unimportance they attached to maintaining certain cultural values, I not only learnt more of [my husbands'] cultural background but I began to find reference points for my own culture. People often say that learning another language teaches you a lot about your own language. I can also say that getting to know and understand another cultural group has taught me a lot about my own culture and has brought me face to face with a lot of my own deeply entrenched, culturally biased and often arrogant (through ignorance) attitudes. I suddenly realized the position of dominance in the world of music which I had ascribed to the European classical music tradition. 'Folk' music hasn't been a very big part of our musical heritage in Australia. Institutionalised music has generally been celebrated and acknowledged more than music which is transmitted by family or community members. I had been guilty too of placing value on the institution to the exclusion of the family as a transmitter of valid knowledge and musical expertise. This is not necessarily a bad value as such but I became aware of the obstacle this presented to, in this case, certain members of the Spanish community, in terms of maintaining 'their' musical traditions which had traditionally been transmitted by the family. (10D/11D)

The teaching of Spanish described by the above respondent had proved to be mainly a study of Spanish literature. What she had been hoping to gain from her language studies was communicative competence and an understanding of Spanish culture so that she could participate in the life of the Spanish community in Australia. Until very recently almost all language study in Australia, at both tertiary and secondary levels, was an academic pursuit for the most able, designed to give them a thorough knowledge of the grammatical structure of the language and the vocabulary needed to read the literature of the language concerned and to translate it into English. Only in the last ten years has the emphasis shifted to studying a language for the purpose of communicating with others in the contemporary world, both in oral and written forms. At the same time there has been a growing recognition of language as the dynamic creation of a group, linked inseparably to its culture in a way that requires that the two be taught together.

In this writer's experience it was the subject ethnomusicology, which gave her insight into the way music and language formed integral parts of a group's culture. In addition, the assessment of the subject demanded actual interaction with another cultural group. This provided her with the opportunity to put into practice the Spanish language skills she had acquired through her university studies in communicating with the members of the Spanish-Australian community for an investigation of Spanish folk music in Australia. This essentially educational activity led in turn to her developing an on-going participation with the community as the leader of a Spanish folk singing group.

Cultural Interaction in a School Setting

Two respondents gave descriptions of their involvement in patterns of informal, spontaneous cultural interaction which had emerged in the context of the schools with which they had been associated. The first developed within an adolescent male peer group which included students from a number of different linguistic backgrounds. The writer of memoir 9H, who described his family's interaction with a number of Greek families, recalled a different form of interaction which emerged among his fellow students, despite the school's refusal to recognise their cultural diversity.

> ... on the school front, I was gradually becoming aware of the school's 'mono-cultural' approach to education. In the area of language, this was most evident. Despite a population of other (ethnic) language users within the school, the only languages offered were French and German, languages which were naturally of no use to the community at large. Within the normal, daily classroom experience, teachers failed to recognise or welcome the fact that students of various ethnic backgrounds brought with them valuable and different experiences and expectations. Some of the teachers themselves were quite noticeably racist. It became clear to me that the school did not seek to provide a variety of programmes that would encourage and maintain the plurality of interacting cultures within the school and outside in the wider society. Educational activities that made use of multicultural values seemed to occur outside of school. The Greek language program, for instance, was privately taught out of school hours. The language was learnt exclusively by the children of the town's Greek immigrants. I soon discovered that some of my Greek friends were attending. Clearly, the secondary school which I was attending at this time, did not provide the thorough socialisation required for immigrant children. Instead of being given the opportunity to maintain and develop their own culture and the dominant Anglo-Australian culture, they (and we) gained a mono-cultural education in a mono-cultural school ...

[Despite this] my entry into and ensuing experience throughout secondary school ... was a departure from my insular and narrow, culturally monistic childhood ...

I quickly realised beyond doubt that I was a part of a dominant Anglo-Australian group of peers who regularly differentiated between 'us' and 'them'. Racial and ethnic discrimination was overt and common at secondary school. Discrimination was a concept that I had never known at home, at least not in the obvious sense mentioned previously. My parents had certainly never encouraged me to think of Aboriginal of any other children as different and unequal to myself, but at school I was unavoidably 'inducted' in the school grounds, merely by spending time with my Anglo-Australian peer group. Terms like 'dago' and 'wog' were regularly exercised to denote otherness in students of Greek, Yugoslavian and Italian origin. I soon realised that words like 'abo' and 'coon' were derogatory terms used with the intention to harass and belittle. As I watched my peers and friends adopt this terminology at school with regular frequency, I discovered myself using these terms on occasion, although I knew I was playing out the role of the 'all-Australian lad' and never felt comfortable with these verbal actions. The school experience certainly set up a clear understanding of the 'otherness' of different ethnic groups, but not necessarily their 'difference'. In fact, I thought that most Greek, Yugoslavian and Italian students were similar to me and my friends. It was the Aboriginal students, whose truant and often unpredictable individual and collective behaviour, not to mention their obvious colour difference, who provided me with the seeds of an understanding of cultural difference. While Aboriginal children remained the most culturally alienated from my often abrasive Anglo-Australian peers, I found that students of Greek, Italian and Yugoslavian origin had been or were being accepted into our own formerly 'ethnic-less' peer groups. The derogatory terms were still bandied about, but in a more friendly or 'matesy' manner ...

Interestingly, with the assimilation of ethnic peers into our peer groups (which operated under the unspoken principle : Australian first, ethnic second), the linguistic system of almost all the students

I knew at school (younger and older) seemed to change. Perhaps a certain slang terminology was passed on and assimilated throughout the younger students (of whom I was one). However these changes occurred, I noticed a 'new' set of terminology. Words like 'mara' (hand), 'boogadees' (shoes), 'bulyu' (cigarette) and 'jobuty' (fool, idiot) were all derived from the Pitjatjatjaran language spoken originally by the Aborigines who originated from the Port Lincoln area. A long list of popular, easy-to-remember terms came to replace their English meanings when talking exclusively among peers. While this phenomena represents the assimilation-in-miniature of some aspects of the Aboriginal linguistic system into the dominant Anglo-based linguistic system, it in no way heralded the breaking of other cultural barriers between black and white Australians in [the town]. The integration of select Aboriginal terminology, I hazard to guess, has its origins in the notion of hip, street-wise assumptions that correspond with a similar method of speech, much akin to American rap-talk. The colourful words add spice to an otherwise standard language (punctuated elsewhere only by the usual unimaginative Aussie slang) and represent an exclusive membership in a certain group; in this case, a widespread teenage (school-based) population. (10E/9H)

In this extract the writer focused on the student population and the patterns of student interaction in the secondary school he attended in a country port. A substantial proportion of the students came from a minority ethnic background, but no one group predominated. In addition to students of Greek, Italian and what was then referred to as Yugoslav origin, there were many Aboriginal young people, mostly the descendants of the original inhabitants of the district. In the judgement of the writer, the school's curriculum and teaching approaches took no account of this cultural diversity among the students and some of the teachers even revealed a hostile attitude towards it.

The students themselves seemed to take greater cognisance of their cultural differences, which was reflected negatively in the hierarchy of status they evolved. For the writer's mainstream Australian peer group students of Greek, Italian and Yugoslav background were 'dagos' or 'wogs' who eventually found some degree of acceptance at the level of what might be called 'second class citizens'. Students of Aboriginal origin, however, remained outside this network, being regarded as beyond the pale both on account of their visibly darker skin and their recognisably different patterns of behaviour.

Yet it was the socially rejected Aboriginal group that provided the cultural materials for the creation of what could be seen as a teenage 'counter-culture' language. It came to function as an identifying mark for male students of all backgrounds, including the Anglo-Celtic-Australians, who made up the peer group of the writer.

A second memoir compared the writer's experience as a teacher in a Catholic secondary school where the majority of the girls were from an Italian background with what she remembered of her own school days.

> *I attended a convent girls' school in the 1950s and 60s. The school was staffed by an order of nuns emanating from Ireland, but with the majority of sisters being Australian born. The school was situated in a suburb ... close to an area of relatively high Italian concentration. As such the school population consisted of about 30% of children with Italian background and the remainder of Anglo-Saxon background. It is not surprising that at this time, in Australia, there was little, if any, interaction between these two cultures. The Italian students adhered to their own culture and similarly the Anglo-Saxon students.*

From the Anglo-Saxon side there were no attempts at interaction ... The Italian girls and "Australian" girls did not associate at all with one another : there were two quite distinct groups. It did not even enter my head to ask an Italian girl to my home or even to speak with her at school. Most of the Italian girls performed poorly academically, did not play sport and were not allowed to attend school dances and social gatherings. These were important achievements for the dominant group and failure to be involved in these areas meant exclusion from the dominant group. It is interesting to note that only one Italian girl remained at year 12 and this girl managed an entry into the dominant Anglo-Saxon group. No accommodation was made for the obvious language difficulties of the minority group. The girl who remained in year 12 had made accommodation to the Anglo-Saxon majority and not vice versa. As a final, if not profoundly important, point : these were not the days of salami, olives, pizza and thick bread. Such lunches were eyed with suspicion and even disgust. These were the days of thin white bread and Kraft cheese!

In stark contrast I now refer to my last teaching appointment ... in South Australia ... This is a similar school to the one I attended being a school for Catholic girls. In most other respects it is quite radically different ... In this school about 80% of students are from an Italian background with the remaining 20% being mainly of Anglo-Saxon background. Approximately 30 to 40% of teachers are also of Italian background. In this environment ... evidence of interaction between the two cultures is clearly apparent. Obviously this is aided considerably by the fact that the Italian group form the majority.

Examples of the peculiar characteristics of this school illustrate well the forms of interaction. In the first place the study of the Italian language is undertaken by all students in the first few years of high school. With so many teachers of Italian background there is no difficulty in providing staff for this task. But on the other hand two full-time multicultural teachers are provided to assist Italian students with English learning difficulties. The above examples, referring to language, show the excellent manner in which there is accommodation on both sides to the different languages : a sharing and exchange of one of the most basic aspects of culture. This

exchange is not limited to the classroom. All important notices to parents are sent home in both English and Italian. At social occasions addresses to parents are made in both languages. For example an address to parents on television was made in Italian as well as English; at a Mathematics Week celebration a mathematical Bingo game was called in both languages.

With respect to social manners many examples of interaction are evident. For my own part, I was quite surprised by the warm manner in which the girls related to one another. It was not unusual to see girls embracing one another and feeling comfortable to casually catch hold of a teacher's arm to attract his or her attention. It was not a form of interaction with which I was familiar, but, it was a manner of relating which I appreciated and adopted myself. The Italian girls were "carriers" of their social manners, manners which were shared with and often adopted by the Anglo-Saxon group of both students and teachers.

Another example of interaction and mutual accommodation is evident in organisation of such functions as school camps and dances. Many Italian parents were reluctant to allow their daughters to attend such functions. It was felt that the appropriate place for socialization of this type should be within the confines of the family structure. But despite this initial reluctance accommodation was made on both sides to ensure that such functions proceeded. In some cases parents accompanied the girls on school camps or brothers escorted sisters to dances. There was a general willingness to come to some compromise.

Perhaps I have painted a rather rosy picture of this environment, but certainly in contrast to my own school of the 50s and 60s, interaction had come a long way. No longer was the Kraft cheese sandwich king! The gifts of Italian torte and wines brought to the staff by students and teachers alike were greeted with delight ...

Both of my parents were born in Australia, and their parents alike. One maternal great grandparent was born in Ireland hence my attendance at a Catholic school. Within that group widely labelled Anglo-Saxon, our family was part of the Irish contingent. There

were extremely strong ties to the Irish background through religion, and, on the lighter side through songs and superstitions. As a child our family had no contacts at all with members of any culture outside the Anglo-Saxon. To this day my father regards members of other cultures as "foreigners" ...

The majority of my friends are of Anglo-Saxon background but many of them have travelled overseas and have lived, or are living, in inner suburbs which have traditionally been the home of cultures other than the Anglo-Saxon. I live in a suburb of Adelaide which has the highest concentration of Italians. As such I am familiar with and appreciate many of the values of my neighbours. I know the appropriate manner in which to behave in social situations. Obviously my behaviour differs when I am in the company of my Italian neighbour and conversely with my English neighbour. With the former, coffee and cake rejected may appear to be an insult. With the latter, the invitation for tea and scones may take some time to arrive! ...

As a parent with two children, the cultural orientation of my family life is no longer connected significantly to that of my parents. As previously alluded to, the cultural orientation of my neighbourhood is that of cultural dualism. Similarly, the cultural orientation of my peer group, those with whom I share my recreation ... can certainly be identified as culturally heterogeneous. (10F)

In this memoir the writer focused on the contrast in interaction patterns she had observed in the two Catholic girls schools she had known. Girls of Italian background made up approximately a third of the school population in the school she had attended as a student. In the life of the school, however, they remained a separate group, excluded from the mainstream by both their lack of academic success and their failure to participate in sporting and social events.

In the school in which she was currently teaching, girls of Italian background made up over three quarters of the student population and, most significantly, about a third of the teachers were of the same origin. Such a high proportion of teachers from minority ethnic backgrounds would have been found in very few secondary schools in South Australia, particularly in the state sector. Although graduates of minority ethnic background made up about a third of students undertaking education studies to become teachers in the University of Adelaide's Graduate Diploma in Education course, as the figures in Chapter 4 indicated, it would have been most unusual for such a high proportion of one particular ethnic group to be found in one school.

The second school provided an example of the best that has been achieved by the Catholic Education system in responding to the presence of so many students of Italian background in their schools. Italian was a compulsory language (up to Year 10), not just for those of that ethnic background, but for all students in the school. This provision was matched by English as a Second Language (ESL) support for those who needed it. Italian was used alongside English on formal school occasions, in school notices and communications to parents. Chaperoning arrangements were set in place for out of school activities in recognition of the concern of Italian parents. All these provisions were indicative of the culturally inclusive approach adopted by the school.

Nevertheless the focus of the memoir was not only on the formal achievements of the school in incorporating Italian language as part of the curriculum and day to day functioning of the school. In addition, the writer described the informal patterns of interaction between student and student, students and staff members which had emerged as a distinctive part of the

school culture. Its source was not the Anglo-Celtic-Australian pattern of social relations to be found in mainstream society and most school contexts as described in other memoirs, but rather the cultural values of the Italian girls who formed the majority group within the school. The spontaneous and warm physical contact, the Italian food that was shared, the generous expressions of gratitude, these all became taken for granted patterns of behaviour among staff and students of all backgrounds.

The writer herself not only expressed her approval of these patterns of interpersonal interaction but also claimed to have adopted them as her own. But she recognised that her access to these patterns of behaviour had been via the Italian background staff and students in the school who had been prepared to share their cultural values with those of other ethnic origin.

Outside school she had on-going contact with her Italian-Australian , as well as her Anglo-Australian neighbours. Her tendency in this regard could be contrasted with that of Memoir 6A, whose author also lived in an area 'remarkably well populated by the Italian community' but who considered the two communities remained so isolated from one another that cultural interaction was not really possible. In the present writer's evaluation, the patterns of her own family life had moved away from those of her Irish-Australian childhood towards a more multicultural lifestyle as a result of the Italian-Australian influences which she had encountered and responded positively towards.

Overview

This chapter sought to identify those memoirs in which there was evidence that the formal educational structures had contributed to the participant's

experience of cultural interaction. Perhaps the most remarkable feature about them is their paucity. Only four writers gave the education system credit for making them aware of the reality of other cultures and giving them the opportunity to participate in the language and culture of another group. Given the comparatively high proportion of students of minority ethnic background in some of the schools and the supposed advent of multicultural education policies from the late seventies, it might have been expected that more schools would have provided mainstream Australian students with the opportunity for cultural interaction through the curriculum and teaching approaches adopted.

In fact it is known that a number of other respondents discussed in the earlier chapters (6A, 7C, 8D, for example) had in fact studied languages other than English at school and even at university level, but they had not seen these language studies in terms of providing access to the cultures of other groups. In contrast, another of the music graduates discussed previously (6G) indicated that her music studies had helped to make her aware of the existence and importance of the languages and cultures of other ethnic groups.

The other unexpected finding from this group of memoirs was the evidence of the spontaneous cultural interchange that emerged in the situations described in the last two memoirs.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

EXPERIENCES OF INTERCULTURAL MARRIAGE

The phenomenon of intercultural marriage, unlike the patterns of social and cultural interaction described in chapters 7-10, has been the subject of earlier sociological investigation. Most often this has taken the form of a statistical enquiry concerning its frequency and the ethnic backgrounds of the partners concerned. Price (1988; 1994) has been interested in intermarriage data for the generations since European settlement largely in order to calculate what contribution the various ethnic groups have made to the current Australian population. Pauwels (1985) has made use of intermarriage figures in studying the effect of interethnic marriage on the maintenance of minority languages.

The four intercultural marriages discussed in this chapter are seen through the eyes of the mainstream Australian partner, who in each case was the wife. Table 11.1 gives concrete facts related to the four respondents discussed. Two of the respondents had married partners of Greek background, while the other two were married to husbands from the Chinese and Spanish ethnic groups respectively. From Price's figures, it would appear that these represent ethnic combinations that are not common, either as a result of high in-group marriage rates, or because the group concerned was comparatively small in Australia. The table drawn up by Price (1994:9) for *Second Generation In-Group Marriage* over the period covered by the memoir writers indicated that of all ethnic groups in Australia, Greeks had the highest in-group marriage rates for bridegrooms, varying from 55% in the period 1981-86 to 60% in 1991-92. The corresponding figures for Chinese bridegrooms were 15% and 28%, while

TABLE 11.1: CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 11

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
11A 1981	F	28	Suburban	Independent Girls College	BA	Classical Studies Geography	Cantonese (a few words)	Visits to Hong Kong
11B 1985	F	26	Remote Country	Independent Girls College	BA	English	—	
11C 1982	F	c.42	Suburban	State High School	BA	English History	Greek (basic)	travelled to Greece
11D/10D 1987	F	c.23	Suburban	State High School	BA	Spanish Music	Spanish (yr 3 uni)	active in Spanish-Australian community

for Spanish bridegrooms they were as low as 16% and 8%, but the latter two groups represented a much smaller proportion of the total population than did those of Greek origin.

Where the social contract of marriage involves one mainstream and one minority ethnic partner, it does not necessarily result in cultural interaction in the ways described in the two previous chapters. There are important differences between the relationship of marriage considered in this chapter and the level of acquaintance and friendship discussed in the earlier chapters. Since marriage is intended as a long term relationship, which involves living together, almost inevitably cultural difference emerges as an issue that requires accommodation and solutions at the level of day to day actions. In addition, the fact that marriage is essentially a publicly acknowledged partnership embracing many areas of life puts the relationship under far greater strain than a friendship limited to one area of life or regarded as belonging to the private world of the individual. Further complexities and cultural choices often arise where there are children in the marriage. Some of the issues that may emerge in this situation are poignantly described in the third memoir of this chapter.

As a result of these factors, the cultural activation to be found in mainstream-minority marriage is most likely to be based on the dominant culture which prevails through the overwhelming force of its pervasive presence, particularly where the mainstream partner is the more forceful personality. The amount of time and effort required to reach competence in the minority language and culture is usually a prohibitive factor, even where the mainstream partner is eager and willing to attend lessons and visit the home country. The best that can be achieved in these circumstances is the emergence of some form of hybrid or synthesis as a

compromise between the partners' cultures in certain specific and limited areas of life, such as food or household furniture and decoration. Often, however, an Anglo-Celtic-Australian partner may be positive in attitude towards the other's culture, but have no practical opportunity to learn the cultural values needed for participation in a meaningful way. For these reasons there is much less chance of a marriage being based on the culture of the minority partner, or being bicultural, in the sense that both partners can switch from one culture to another, as appropriate to the context.

A Challenging but Worthwhile Relationship

One respondent married to a Hong Kong Chinese, discussed the general attitudes prevailing in the mainstream Australian community that she had had to come to terms with in marrying a husband who was visibly, as well as culturally, from another ethnic group. In particular, she referred to the commonly held, but in her view, arrogant attitude,

> *... expressed by contemporaries of my grandparents who feel very definitely that any 'New Australian' who chooses to come to Australia should be prepared to fit in with our way of life, and learn to speak proper English!*

> *I do not believe that this attitude has wholly died and been supplanted in all Australian minds. A number of my uncles and aunties who are largely from lower-middle class or working-class backgrounds, still hold the view that "migrants who have, after all, come here to take advantage of our good life, ought to recognise their obligations and be pleased to fit in with our civilised way of life and not taint it with their foreign customs and language". My primary and secondary schools too, made no recognition at all of the (25%) ethnic proportion of our Australian community.*

> *My parents, although coming from a similar social background do hold less extreme attitudes towards the non-Anglo members of our community. I think that higher education, religious beliefs and*

occupation, and wider contacts with other ways of life through work and Rotary have probably all influenced my father's more accepting attitude. Our family was taught to respect all people equally, according to the motto - "All men, brothers are we." Presumably women too have a place in this as well. My parents, I believe, would support an "interactionist" view of Australian society, although my mother would probably assume that a larger percentage of elements of Anglo-Australian culture would be present in a future society, than those of ethnic groups ...

During my years of undergraduate study at ... University I first came into close contact with ethnic people who ... [revealed] a dualism of cultural values and language. My parents accepted my friendship with a number of Chinese people, jokingly referring to my efforts to "increase international understanding". They approved of my marriage to a Hong Kong Chinese, encouraging me to learn Cantonese. These associations have been valuable to me, broadening my experience and appreciation of another culture. It is interesting to observe how my friends would choose to use the language that best suited the topic of conversation eg. Cantonese when playing Mah Jong; English whilst discussing current car models; Shanghai when conversing with parents. Visits to Hong Kong, which is a truly multicultural society, were fascinating. There, various Asian and Indian cultures exist within the English-administered colony. People move within one, two or more social, cultural and racial circles with ease and familiarity. Schools for different groups are provided, although education and its value from each institution is not truly equal.

However, within Australia, the smaller number of ethnic minorities means that the perpetuation of ethnic cultural values, attitudes and customs is less certain. Without support at schools for ethnic cultures, the reinforcement of ethnic groups is vital for the transmission of cultural values from one generation to the next. Otherwise those features that do not seem relevant or useful to the second generation children can easily be dismissed by them - eg. writing and reading Mandarin, or understanding the relevance of some religious customs.

My personal experience, through contacts with both Anglo-Australian and ethnic-Australian people confirms the belief that ... cultural pluralism certainly enriches the lives of individuals and surely, too, of society itself. (11A)

In the beginning of this memoir the writer traced what she saw as a generational change of attitude to people of minority ethnic background living in Australia. The assimilationist views of her grandparents and many of her aunts and uncles had been modified in the case of her parents to an acceptance of people as they were. Certainly they did not oppose her in going as far as making friends with students of Chinese background and even gave their blessing to her eventual marriage to a Chinese-Australian.

From the comments in her memoir it is clear that her interaction with these Chinese-Australian friends involved Chinese cultural contexts, such as the extended family and the playing of Mah Jong. In these situations she learned to understand and activate Chinese cultural values, even to the extent of learning Cantonese, although it is not entirely clear from her account how much she actually learned. Her opportunity for participation in Chinese cultural values was extended through her visits to Hong Kong, where she learned to appreciate the advantages of bicultural, and even tricultural individuals in interacting competently and effectively with more than one cultural group.

In practical terms she recognised that the multiplicity of small minority ethnic groups in Australia made the maintenance of these cultures among the younger generation more problematic. Her understanding of the difficulties encountered in the Chinese-Australian community led her to consider that the transmission of minority cultures and languages, like Mandarin, needed to be re-inforced through formal teaching in the schools.

From the perspective of her own experience of the benefits of an intercultural marriage, she considered that such provisions were important to maintain Australia as a plural society.

Cultural Shock and Trauma

The memoir of the English graduate that follows began with a detailed description of the cultural background of her home and school, which is vital for understanding what happened in the course of her relationship to a Greek-Australian.

> *Possibly one of my earliest childhood memories illustrates the blind acceptance by my family of the Anglo-conformist values with which I was brought up. We lived on a sheep station ... and at that time there was a relatively large Aboriginal population in the area. These people had been made homeless by the post-war subdivision of the thousands of square miles of land ... The Government then decided that it was impossible and impracticable to allow a large and obvious group of people to hang around in the towns with nowhere to go, making "nuisances" of themselves. They very generously decided to build these people houses and provide them with all the facilities that were considered necessary for a "reasonable standard of living". The street those houses were built along, even though it was about twenty kilometres out of town, had its own name and signpost just like every other street, this one was called Namatjira Avenue. They were provided with running water, rainwater tanks, a school bus and money.*

> *Not only were my parents outraged at the ingratitude and sheer perversity of the Aborigines when they failed to settle down, live in these houses, send their children off to school on the school bus and find jobs, but so was everyone else. No-one could understand how it could be possible that, given all those wonderful opportunities, these people could still want to go on walkabout and sleep out along the river under trees or in humpies. The question of Aboriginal cultural maintenance was never raised. It was simply assumed that the lifestyle and culture of the Anglo-Saxon*

majority was so much better, and that the Aboriginal people "if they had any intelligence at all", would jump at the opportunity to become anglicised. Their failure to do so added the estimation of personal worthlessness to the already established attitude that the Aboriginal culture was worthless.

The mono-culturalism of my home environment and the Angloconformist values of the surrounding community were furthered with my education as a boarder at a ... Girls Grammar school. Conformity to the ideals of the Anglo-Saxon heritage seemed to be seen by this institution as the most valuable goal, even more valuable than academic success. Along with the standard (Anglo-conformist) curriculum necessary to prepare students for the final P.E.B. [university entrance] examinations, we were taught drama, elocution, deportment, music, debating, religion (in large doses) and expected to play a wide variety of competitive sports. No room, let alone time, was left in the agenda for any excursions, whether group or solitary, into different cultural backgrounds of other groups of people ...

The academic units were taught by a group of carefully selected women, the criteria for their suitability being their obvious adherence to the values of the school. At that time the school policy was seen to be very progressive and prided itself for its open-mindedness in offering Japanese as an "alternative" language to French. While both the teachers of these languages were born in Japan and France respectively, the courses were almost entirely language oriented.

As a result of this I was poorly equipped to cope with the plural society into which I stepped when I left school and entered university. None of my Anglo-Saxon school friends entered university with me and so I was forced into the position of having to establish new friendships. A large proportion of these people came from a variety of backgrounds that were not Anglo-Australian in origin. Not only was I so naive as to blindly accept Anglo-Australian values, I had never had access to any alternative, but I thought that those values that were the most important to me, that is the Anglo-Australian core values, must lie at the heart

of the value system of all "rational" people regardless of ethnic background.

You can imagine the shock I received when my first generation Greek-Australian boyfriend took me home to meet his family and to announce our engagement, to be met with open hostility and "cultural conniving". Perhaps the usage of the term "cultural conniving" is a bit strong, however even now, that is still how it seems to me. My ex-husband's parents, speaking only in Greek, rapidly decided that we would go to a Greek dance that evening. At the dance the sense of his oneness and belonging, not only to a Greek ethnic group, but to a Greek family, were to be re-affirmed. Using the medium of a traditionally male only dance, from which I was of course excluded, the intention was that my ex-husband's ethnicity would be maintained.

My ex-husband's parents were doing this not only in an attempt to maintain his acceptability to the Greek community but also their own. At that time I did not understand what it meant to a Greek person to "lose face" in the community. I think I do now ... When one "loses face" within the Greek community that person has failed to maintain one or a number of core Greek values and in so doing risks expulsion from the group.

For people of my ex-husband's parents' generation, this would mean a complete loss of cultural identity. Regardless of the length of time many of these people have spent in Australia they still, on the whole, draw only from the Greek cultural stock, speaking only Greek and understanding only Greek traditions and values. On the other hand, for those of Greek parentage who were born in Australia, like my ex-husband, there are two sets of cultural values to which they are exposed and can therefore utilize according to the situation. This does not necessarily mean that those values are compatible, it means that an individual can choose from one or other set of values when deciding on a course of action. My ex-husband's decision to go ahead with the marriage without his family's consent, was made using Anglo-Australian core values - these being, I am an adult now and must assert my individuality and independence to direct my actions in this matter.

The consequences of these actions were rather drastic for all those involved. [My ex-husband] was cast out by his family. They made it clear that they did not condone such wilful refutation of Greek ideological values. As a direct consequence of these two actions he was alienated from the Greek community as a whole. My blind and naive insistence that a hybrid cultural solution would be the answer to our problems failed to take into account the enormous personal ideological loss that [my former husband] suffered during this time. An individual cannot function without a value system that is an acceptable determinant of his or her behaviour or that can at least provide a cross reference that can be relied on for easy decision-making about how to act in certain situations. His behaviour, without this personal ideological guide, became more and more erratic, aggressive and anti-social, and he was eventually certified, or so I have been told.

There were of course a wide range of individual factors involved in this situation. I still cannot accept, based no doubt on my Anglo-Australian values, what [my former husband's] parents did when they ostracised him. I think now that they would not have found it necessary to develop such rigid personal ideological systems in an attempt to maintain their ethnicity, if they had not been confronted with eventual cultural annihilation by the prevailing values of Anglo-conformism within Australian society. (11B)

The circumstances described by this respondent epitomise the cultural conflict which many opponents of multiculturalism regard as the almost inevitable consequence of allowing more than one culture to exist in a given society. They point to the personal trauma and social cost of marital breakup and personal disintegration that can result when people are exposed to the competing cultural demands to be found in a plural society. Yet this is the only memoir that dealt with such a conflict, although several others observed the signs of cultural conflict in the experience of friends or

fellow students of minority ethnic background (Memoirs 7C, 8D, 8E, 8F & 9A).

In the case of this relationship, it appears that both partners had been brought up largely within the confines of their own cultural group. Nothing in their previous experience had prepared either of them for the shock of cultural differences which confronted them when their relationship became serious enough for them to contemplate marriage and the respective families were consulted. In this regard it should be noted that the memoir says nothing at all about the response of the writer's own family to the marriage.

The Greek husband in this relationship had initially remained predominantly within the culture of his family and ethnic community. If the implication of the memoir - that he was one of the students of minority ethnic background whom the writer met at university - is true, this would mean that he had accommodated himself sufficiently well to the mainstream Australian school structures to reach the academic level required for university entrance. The memoir also suggested that his exposure to mainstream culture, probably through school, university and media, had led him to internalize at least some of the Anglo-Celtic-Australian values related to personal independence, which were at odds with the collectivist family values maintained strongly within the Greek-Australian community. From the writer's account he certainly had little appreciation of the great cultural divide between his family and the young woman he introduced as his prospective bride.

On the writer's side, her Anglo-Celtic-Australian upbringing on an outback grazing property and at a girls' boarding school meant that her only contact

with people of another cultural background were the Aboriginal people she saw in the nearby township. She grew up with the assumption that the cultural values she regarded as most important were common to all 'rational' people everywhere. This form of majority group separatism, with the accompanying tendency of its members to 'universalize' their own ethnic values, has already been referred to in relation to the experiences reported in memoirs 6D and 7C. University studies provided the context for her first personal encounter with people of other cultures. Forced to make new friends at the university, the writer found herself in a group of students from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds, without understanding the different cultural realities they represented.

The writer interpreted her former husband's decision to proceed with their marriage in terms of the conflicting values he had internalized, but laid the blame for his subsequent personal breakdown on his family's decision to cast him out as a son for his open defiance of the Greek core value of family collectivism. Cut off from the cultural base of his personal identity and his ideological roots, his whole personality and character disintegrated.

Contrary to what might be expected, however, her traumatic experience of intercultural marriage did not make her revert to the monocultural separatist values she had learned at home and school. Her description of the marriage and its subsequent breakup reveals her genuine attempt to understand, if not fully accept, the Greek cultural values underlying the actions of her former husband and his family. She showed appreciation of the almost impossible situation her husband found himself in, trapped in an alien culture and cut off from the community of his primary enculturation. Though critical of the family's ostracism of her former husband, at the time of writing she could even understand that this action

represented a tenacious clinging to Greek cultural values in the face of the overwhelming assimilationist forces in Australian society.

In all this the writer showed a willingness to accept other cultures, to understand how they differed from her own and even to make some effort to develop compromise hybrid situations incorporating some of her husband's Greek values. She could analyse the reasons for the failure of this effort and recognise the need for individuals to be culturally grounded in their primary ethnic groups. It may not be surprising therefore to know that when she later re-married her second husband was not Greek, but did come from a minority ethnic background (Personal Communication). It would appear that the whole experience had left her not bitterly opposed, but rather positive in attitude to cultural diversity. This is perhaps most clearly apparent in the discussion of her parents' attitudes to Aboriginal people in which she revealed her own recognition of the importance of Aboriginal cultural maintenance.

Identity Issues for the Child of an Intercultural Marriage

Another English and History graduate described the way she and her Greek husband were able to reach accommodation. The chief concern of her memoir was the effect of their intercultural marriage on their son.

> [My own immediate family] group consists of myself ... a third/fourth generation "Anglo-Australian"), my husband, (who was born in Athens, Greece and grew up there ...), and our son, who was born in Sydney, and who will turn fifteen years of age [later this year] ...

> My husband's family are all still in Greece. Whereas under such circumstances it can be possible to participate in Greek ethnic life in Australia, under the "umbrella" of a local community such as those for Macedonians, Rhodians, Cyprians, Imbrians and so forth, there

is no such group for "Athenians", and my husband does not identify himself with the village districts of either his mother or father (and never has).   In fact when we visited Greece [several years ago] we had some difficulty finding the villages only a few miles apart and two hours from Athens, and it took some time to overcome the "hostility/reserve" of my husband's sudden appearance there for the first time in his life.   (His family of 9 brothers and sisters in Athens "summer" each year in the respective villages, and also make regular visits there).

There are any number of examples which could be given of the "shared values" between myself and my husband, but perhaps the most dominant is that of the belief in democratic ideals and the rights of all people to economic security in a world of peace.   (Such values held our relationship together in the early days, as we struggled with a Greek-English, English-Greek dictionary to accommodate some of our "core values").   Education is another very important "shared value", as is the concept of neighbourhood and community ... However, such values as both my husband and I share do not necessarily reflect the present Anglo-Australian society in which our son is growing up, but rather those from our respective backgrounds which have changed in so many ways ...

For both my husband and myself, a very important "core value" is to consider ourselves Australians.   This was not a value imposed or transmitted by me, but a decision taken by my husband before we met - not to cast off his "Greekness" but to be a member of the Australian community, and cultural heritage.   Upon arrival in Australia my husband worked in a factory until he had learned enough English to basically communicate, and more importantly know the names of his tools of trade (plumbing).   He then obtained a job with an Australian company, (the only Greek employed there) and he has continued to live, work and socialise with Australians ever since, rather than the Greek ethnic community.   However, I do not want to give the impression that my husband has discarded ... his Greek cultural heritage, for that is not so and it would be impossible for him to do so.   Particularly in the case of community my husband finds the Australian community cold and reserved,

with families hidden in boxes or behind high fences, with little or no street contact even with neighbours ...

Perhaps some mention should be made ... of "masculine dominance" within the Greek cultural heritage. With my independence from an early age, even by Anglo-Australian cultural standards [because of family circumstances], and my relatively "late" marriage at the age of 27, this value was a great difficulty which we had to overcome. Some accommodations were made, although at times I resent my role as "chief cook and bottle washer" when studying, particularly at examination or essay time. My husband does help a little, but is "shamed" if "caught" by a visitor bringing in the washing from the line or preparing a meal while I "just sit and read" ...

Our son began his schooling in NSW ... but [a year later we moved to South Australia] close to my brother and his family and my father, stepmother and two adopted sons ... thereby giving our son a family he had not had before ...

It was three years, and many emotional problems later on the part of our son, before we realised the attitude of his peer group at the school. Our son was the only olive skinned, dark eyed/haired child attending at the time, the balance being from Anglo-Australian, English, Dutch and German families and rather more "coloured" along the lines of blond hair, blue eyes and "white" skins. When during one Christmas holidays ... we sent our son to Athens to meet and stay with his Greek family things really came to a head.

Until that time his Greek cultural heritage as an integral part of Anglo-Australian multicultural society had really not been tangible to him. He returned to Australia speaking Greek and thrilled and proud with his Greek family, but such was not at all accepted by the children at school. The appellation of "nigger" and "wog" became a daily distress to the child, and so much so that we moved ... so that he could attend a school with a Greek ethnic peer group.

But, that too in a way was not wholly successful. His family was not accepted as "Greek" because Mum was an "Anglo", and so his close

friends and peer group became those from the Italian ethnic group. (However, he did cease to be a "nigger" or a "wog"). The language policy of the school was/is for the Greek ethnic children to learn Greek, the Italian ethnic children to learn Italian and "others" to choose either Greek or Italian. On alternative years an "Ethnic" night is held - one year Greek and the next year Italian. Such evenings are very well attended and a financial success for the School Council, but seem to be a policy which separates the community and children into clearly defined and distinct ethnic groups rather than being part of an overall multicultural society. All the Greek parents, relatives and children go along one year, and the Italians the next, whilst the "others" either don't go along or hang around on the fringe of the evening's performance and groups ...

Our son changed peer groups again when he began his secondary education at [a city high school], where, much to his delight he has been accepted by the Greek ethnic peer group, (the largest in the school). However, this too has caused even more problems than before, because the lads seem to "over identify" with their ethnic cultural heritage and some distortion of "core values" have come to the fore. Firstly, although born here, they are not Australians - they are "Greeks", and when they all turn 18 they are all "going home". Shock! horror! when told that the Greek Government is not going to accept 'plane loads of 18 year old Australians who claim to be Greek. To be "Anglo", or to have any connection with such, is just too awful to contemplate - so much so that I was asked not to go near the school because it was too "embarrassing" for my son ... Although [more recently I have been] permitted to accompany the one Italian and five Greek members of the tennis team to their games on Saturday mornings, I am being accepted as a necessary (for transport) but slight aberration and, being the only parent or teacher who turns up each week, making some headway - even to being designated the "unofficial coach" of the team! ...

We feel that much of the problems we have encountered and the divisiveness in the community ... are caused by attitudes within the educational structure, beginning at primary school and continuing on into secondary school and further ... Past and present educational

policy and curricula in Australia today has and does lead to a separation of the multicultural ethnic communities and groups. In spite of the window dressing of languages and accompanying "cultural" courses for the children, there is no concerted effort to apply them to Australian multicultural society as a whole, but rather their very structure leads to divisions within the school yard and the immediate outside local community. Overall there does not seem to be any genuine attempt to implement educational policy or curricula to overcome these differences. They only appear as "bandaid patches" to get the dominant Anglo-Australian society through the period of the next twenty years or so, when all will be solved by the old "assimilation umbrella".

Even if a truly multicultural programme of language and culture were introduced into the educational system, how would it be applied? What happened to the language skills learned by the "others" at [our son's second] Primary school once they had gone on to secondary schooling and had no contact with Greek or Italian communities in which to practise their skills? Without constantly speaking a learned language, one cannot become bilingual and quickly loses them ...

I began to learn Greek, have a fair vocabulary - not much grammar - and can read slowly with a few errors. But as English is the language spoken at home, and we do not mix a great deal with the Greek community, that too is quickly going. So how can a bilingual society be achieved in Anglo-Australian society, if the ethnic communities are being to a large degree separated by the very educational system that is to be used to promote such a programme? Which group does the Australian bilingual join, when often the balance of the curricula [in community languages] promotes hostility towards "Anglos"? The history curricula to year 10 is an integral part of the education system, yet the accent is heavily weighted towards Anglo world histories and concepts ...

Our experience of multicultural society in Australia today has been such that in Sydney our social friendships extended to those of the Greek, Italian, Russian, Polish, Aboriginal, Chinese and German [groups]. In Adelaide, [they are] a little more limited, but include

Armenian, Greek, Turkish, Italian and overall of course Anglo-Australian. We have never found amongst the adults any desire to separate their ethnic groups off one from the other, but rather a desire for all to keep their "core" heritage and mix within Australian society. It is only amongst the children, once they move into the educational systems, that a distinct separatism becomes glaringly apparent, with a strong anti-Anglo element ...

Australian society has been greatly enriched by the cultural heritages brought to it by so many different ethnic groups, and will be all the poorer if such are not encouraged and allowed to participate and give more of their cultures to the dominant Anglo-Australian group which prevails at present. (11C)

In contrast to the previous memoir, this account of the marriage between a mainstream Australian woman and a Greek man described the basis on which the partners were able to build an enduring relationship. Undoubtedly, the fact that her husband had migrated as an individual and had no ties to any primary ethnic group in Australia made their mutual adjustment easier. The respondent pointed to the importance of focussing on values they shared, such as democratic ideals, the importance of education and belonging to a neighbourhood community, as well as a commitment to Australia. This could be interpreted as an assimilationist move on the wife's part, designed to ensure that mainstream Australian values were the basis of the marriage. The respondent herself, however, stressed that these were values each had acquired from their own cultural heritage and came to recognise as overlapping commitments or ideals, which could be used as the 'overarching' values of their marriage.

The chief area of contention in their marriage concerned what might be termed 'gender values', in particular, the roles of husband and wife. In relation to the performance of household duties and responsibilities, they

found a somewhat uneasy compromise between the conflicting heritages in which they had been enculturated.

The writer had made some effort to learn Greek but, since the home remained an English speaking domain, she had no context in which she was obliged to use the language and reinforce her learning. Her positive attitude to Greek language and culture, however, was seen in her recognition of the importance of the Greek cultural heritage to her husband, although this would appear to have been mostly at the attitudinal and ideological level (like the 'shame' of being found doing 'woman's work') rather than any overtly Greek actions. It was also apparent in the steps she took to ensure that the son had the opportunity to study Greek at school.

The main thrust of the memoir, however, was the negative experience of the son in the school system, particularly in relation to his acceptance as a genuinely Greek-Australian child, and the behaviour of student peer groups in the various schools he attended. The writers of memoirs 10D and 10E also highlighted the very significant influence of school peer groups on students' attitudes and actions. The son experienced three different peer groups in the course of changing schools, specifically for the purpose of finding a congenial and accepting peer group and a curriculum which included Greek. At the first South Australian school he was rejected by the overwhelmingly mainstream Australian children, on the basis of his physical differences. At the second school, with a mixed ethnic population, he found the children of Italian background more accepting than those of Greek parentage who objected to his mainstream Australian mother. When he went to high school, where he was one of a high proportion of minority ethnic students, he found himself accepted as a member of a

strong Greek peer group which was very separatist in orientation and exclusivist in relation to those from other backgrounds.

The writer had some fairly trenchant criticisms to make of the education system and its failure to incorporate minority cultural heritages into the school curriculum in a way that fostered interaction rather than division. The pattern of community language teaching, for example, with each language being offered only to those of the related ethnic background, proved in the son's schools to be the means of consolidating exclusivist minority ethnic peer groups - an observation also made by the writer of Memoir 8C. Unlike the teachers in the secondary school described in Memoir 8F, no-one had attempted to use the ethnic diversity of the students as a resource to give all of them an understanding of the cultures represented in the school population. In this way the school could have developed the sense of multiculturalism as a value that all Australians could share and enjoy.

On balance the culture of the marriage would appear to be weighted toward mainstream Australian values while, in a departure from the normally observed shift toward the mainstream culture among children of intercultural marriages children, the son seemed to be weighted more toward Greek values.

An Attraction of Cultural Opposites
The last writer's discussion of her marriage with a Spanish-Australian began with a discussion of her own mixed parentage.

> *I am providing this background information because I recognize that my own personal experiences at home and later at school and the cultural values presented to me in both institutions don't exist*

in isolation from the experiences of my parents or grandparents. In fact, seen in the context of the past my personal experiences have assumed greater meaning for me.

My mother's marriage to a man of Irish-English stock was the first case of intermarriage on the German side since migration in 1837. She grew up in the strongly German area of the Barossa Valley and attended a Saturday morning German school until it was closed down because of anti-German feeling which arose when the war broke out. At that time the Lutheran Church emerged as an even stronger cultural reinforcer for the German community than it had been before. Religion in one form or another has always been the very basis of our own family structure [while] ... the Lutheran Church [has been] ... a rallying point for many people in the German community ...

Religion and music were, not surprisingly values which my mother strongly adhered to. She was 'appointed', according to the European tradition, as the organist at the age of fifteen at the ... Lutheran Church ...

The music tradition continued when my mother at great financial sacrifice ensured that I learn the closest thing to the pipe-organ, being of course the piano. I began my musical pursuits firstly however with the recorder at the age of seven when I was sent to a brilliant musician and teacher who happened to be of German-speaking background. I continued private tuition in piano for all my school years, acquiring my Grandfather's great love for the European classical music tradition, which put me in an immediate position of isolation at school as I was rarely, if ever aware of the 'pop' music scene. To like, let alone play classical music as a child put me into quite a rare group. Consequently I became very private about my music and eventually rejected it for a number of 'deviant' years.

When my mother married a man who was committed to the Church of Christ, cultural conflict came into play which resulted in a compromise on her part. She was committed to the Lutheran Church, which also represented a strong link with her German

heritage, but also to the belief that a wife should submit herself totally to the husband and his identity. To the disappointment of her family she assumed my father's religion ...

I happened to grow up very close to my [paternal] grandparents [who were of Irish-English background] and I was affected directly and indirectly by their family values ...

At home, religion formed the very basis of the family and dictated our lifestyle more than any other factor. Life for me revolved around the Church which became, even more than school, my main sphere of social interaction. Social interaction outside of the Church and the family was never encouraged.

With my marriage to a person of Spanish-speaking background however, a whole new chapter of my life was opened up as I was flung into a deep and intimate involvement with the Spanish community and culture. My relationship with [my husband's] parents was tense in the beginning. Although they could both speak quite good English often they chose to speak to me through [my husband] in Spanish who would then translate into English. Of course I took this personally and visits to his parents' home were often fraught with misunderstandings and tears on my part. My 'typically' unaffectionate and reserved German-Australian nature even proved to be a source of misunderstanding for these 'typically' affectionate Spanish-speaking people. My lack of physical affection was interpreted as being rude.

[My husband's] parents had a positive attitude towards learning English from the moment they arrived in Australia and his mother was soon teaching English to other migrants in the garage at their home ... The strength of the Spanish community in that area was such that they were able to maintain their own language at home and with friends. If Spanish was to be the language used in [my future husband's] home I had no alternative, apart from remaining culturally isolated, but to learn Spanish. Thus, I enrolled in the beginners Spanish course at ... University and after doing well in the first year I decided to pursue a Bachelor of Arts taking on Music ... as my second major. My learning Spanish not

only gained me my acceptance into [my husband's] family, it also reinforced their culture for them which gave them a great sense of pride not only in me but in their language. As my awareness of the cross-cultural forces at play in our society developed and as I watched my mother-in-law more closely I came to realize that she had actually been embarrassed about her English when I was first introduced into the family. Now we are both on equal footing as I am embarrassed too sometimes about my Spanish.

My 'adoption' of the 'Spanish culture' has literally opened up the world to me, extending the range of possible choices and experiences for my life. The European Classical Music tradition is no longer the only worthwhile music tradition in the world and in fact it took second place for several years when I was so intensely involved with the Spanish folk-singing group ... [described in the extract 10D]

However, my involvement with the Spanish community has not been without conflict although I have generally received nothing but encouragement and praise for my decision to learn [my husband's] first language and for my work with the folk group. The folk group was well accepted in the community even though only one member was of Spanish-speaking background. I recall in particular after one performance an old 'Spanish' gentleman approaching me with tears in my eyes. He put his hand on his heart saying, 'You touched my heart' (translation). I realized then the value of the group as a cultural reinforcer. Not being 'Spanish' however, I often felt like an intruder and sometimes wondered what right I had to assume such a position in the community. I knew that the attitudes of many of the members towards non-native Spanish language teachers in the schools was less than favourable, an attitude which puts me in an unusual position now as a future teacher of Spanish, but what I was doing in terms of representing their music traditions appeared to be very warmly received and accepted. Clearly, language transmission is a much more serious matter. Many people were disappointed when for various reasons the group took an extended break.

A couple of years ago I suddenly found myself in the very strange position of being more involved and more openly enthusiastic about things 'Spanish' than [my husband] was himself. Friends even began saying that I was more 'Spanish' than he was. Obviously this was partly due to the newness of my cultural discovery. I too was questioning my identity and realized that I was losing my footing in my own culture and also losing touch with my classical musical heritage. When the folk group decided to break for a time I took the opportunity to secure that footing in my own culture and re-establish the links with the music traditions I had been exposed to since the age of seven. I was actually feeling culturally displaced in my own culture and felt the need to reinforce my own cultural identity in much the same way I presume as the Spanish community and other groups need to reinforce for themselves who they are and where they come from. So, for a time I stepped outside the Spanish community and started to learn the cello, an instrument I had held a passionate love for several years and which demanded all my attention. While I still maintain that a firm footing in my culture is vital for me I have since come to the conclusion that my identity does not have to be static. Sometimes I feel Spanish and I like to identify with the Spanish culture while at other times I choose to reinforce my German, Irish-Anglo background. In many ways the two identities have become interwoven. A part of me is expressed through speaking Spanish and singing Spanish songs which is not expressed through speaking English or playing classical music ... each language I speak and each music tradition I engage in carries with it a different world of meanings ...

On a very personal level, it is my belief that a sure knowledge of [my husband's] language and the cultural values inherent in that language has resulted in more 'accurate' communication with him, with his family and with the Spanish community in Adelaide. For the time being at least, I have bemused those people bearing 'Job's news' that mixed marriages never work. (11D)

The writer's explanation of her grandparents and her parents' intercultural marriage was presented in summary form as a comparison with her

marriage to a Spanish-Australian. In addition, the discussion of her Anglo-Irish-German ancestry can be taken as an example of the way the statistics calculated by Price can figure in the living consciousness of individuals and influence their interpretation of their personality and destiny. It also illustrates how the cultural dimensions of ancestry can survive over generations, even when reduced to residues in the Australian context, as with the German and Irish heritages in her ancestry.

The respondent's account of her early contacts with her husband's family was reminiscent of the difficulties (in a much more extreme form) described by the writer of Memoir 11B. The frustrations of communication via the son's interpreting and the subtle cultural differences in the expression of feelings and affections led to misunderstandings and tensions. Her initiative in learning the Spanish language and Spanish folk music broke down these barriers and enabled her to participate in a meaningful way both with her husband's family and the wider Spanish-Australian community.

What is most remarkable about this respondent is the extent and success of her efforts to become bilingual and bicultural in order to be able to communicate more effectively with her husband and his family. Her university studies of Spanish gave her the linguistic knowledge, while her work in Ethnomusicology (discussed earlier under 10D) brought her into direct interaction with the Spanish-Australian community and gave her access into the wealth of the Spanish folk music heritage.

Her success, like the intense enthusiasm of the new convert, engendered other problems. She came to be perceived as more Spanish than her husband and felt herself that she was losing contact with her own cultural roots. This problem she dealt with by withdrawing from performance with

the Spanish folk music group and returning to the classic Western musical tradition by learning the cello.

Her capacity to interact so effectively with the Spanish-Australian community led also to a questioning of her own identity. To what extent was she still the Anglo-Irish-German-Australian of her early enculturation, or had she become Spanish? Certainly it was possible to observe that the combination of her Spanish married name and her long dark hair led her fellow Diploma in Education students and teachers to consider her Spanish. This assumption was no doubt reflected in the way they interacted with her and intensified the issue of who she really was. While she took steps at that stage to try to strengthen her original identity in an effort to restore the balance of being bilingual and bicultural, it is clear that she had achieved a most unusual degree of identification with the minority culture of her husband. It is doubtful, however, if she could have achieved this without the opportunity to study Spanish and Spanish folk music which the education system had given her.

Her comments on her sense of the extension of her personality through her involvement in Spanish culture are worth noting. A part of her was developed, she felt, and found in the Spanish culture a means of expression which had not been possible within her parental cultural heritage. As primary relations with people of varying personality and character can bring out different qualities in an individual, so perhaps the opportunity for participation in other cultures at a meaningful level can extend the individual's range of cultural options and life possibilities. This is consistent with the view that a single culture is only able to provide a limited range of solutions to the basic problems that confront all human

beings; access to other cultures can therefore extend the number of choices for action available to individuals and groups.

Overview

Of the four cases of intermarriage identified in this group of memoir writers, none were negative or hostile in attitude to her husband's culture. One (the author of memoir 11B) had little understanding at the time of the extent of the cultural differences her marriage was attempting to bridge. The writers of both memoir 11A and 11C showed genuine interest in the cultural heritage of their husbands and had visited the respective homelands.

Three of these memoirs gave evidence of the Anglo-Celtic-Australian respondent participating in some way in the culture of her partner. In two instances (11A, 11C) this appeared to be limited in scope and the development of personal cultural systems in the husband's culture had not proceeded very far because of practical issues such as time and opportunity to learn and apply them. As a result, the culture of the marriages might have been expected to be predominantly Anglo-Celtic-Australian, largely by default. However, the one writer (11C) who discussed this issue considered that an intercultural marriage involved discovering common values and negotiating a form of hybrid compromise in areas where the partners' values were in conflict. Only in the case of the writer of memoir 11D, did the wife's cultural knowledge and competence in the language enable her to interact with the ethnic community concerned. It would have been possible therefore for the culture of her marriage to be mainly Spanish, but in fact the writer said almost nothing about the nature of her relationship to her husband or the cultural adaptations of their married life She did, however, describe how her relationship with her husband's family and the Spanish-

Australian community generally developed and the ways in which she interacted with them.

Theoretically it would have been open to the writers of Memoir 11A and Memoir 11C to undertake university studies in Chinese and Greek, as the author of 11D had. But this is to oversimplify the situation and deny the differences in the personal circumstances and contexts of the respondents, as well as the differing priorities they gave to learning their husband's language in comparison with work and home responsibilities. What can be noted is that the opportunity for such language studies was non-existent at tertiary and secondary level until about twenty years ago when Chinese, Greek and Spanish became university subjects. In the last ten years the development of the South Australian Secondary School of Languages (SASSL) has enabled a wide range of the smaller minority ethnic languages to be taught at senior secondary level and taken as university entrance subjects. A number of the students enrolled in these courses have been of mainstream Australian (or other minority background) who came in order to learn the language of their spouse.

In relation to the three conditions for cultural interaction postulated by Smolicz, it could be argued that all four of the respondents discussed in this chapter gave evidence that they accepted cultural pluralism as desirable in Australian society. Furthermore, three had incorporated some elements of their husband's minority ethnic culture into their own personal cultural systems. The extent of this incorporation varied from limited in the case of the writer of Memoir 11A to very extensive for the writer of Memoir 11D. In two instances (11A and 11C) the respondents also clearly expressed the view that formal educational support was essential for minority cultural maintenance among the children of intercultural marriages. Without the

opportunity for this sort of learning reinforcement at school there was little chance of them becoming bilingual and bicultural adults. The existence of such Australian born second generation bilingual and bicultural individuals would represent the first step towards the emergence of a tradition of personal pluralism in Australia - at least for a potentially influential minority.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSIONS

The Question of Memory

The use of memoirs as the distinctive, but not exclusive method of humanistic sociology stems from the view that memory is an essentially human quality - and one that is as much cultural as personal. Remembering is a uniquely individual act as a person sorts out in his or her mind the experiences life has brought, evaluates their significance, recreates and relives them in imagination. Writing a memoir thus involves the author in some way in recreating his or her past life, together with the context in which it has been lived, as a coherent whole. At the same time memoirs represent a revelation of the social and cultural life of the groups to which the writers belong. For all individuals are social and cultural beings whose every thought, feeling and act, no matter how deeply personal, is in some way an expression of their culture and a reflection of the people with whom their past has been shared.

The memoirs discussed in the preceding chapters illustrate well the way in which memory is essentially creative and collective (Levitt-Olsen, 1995). For the individuals concerned, the act of writing the memoir was not simply a derivative recounting or regurgitation of the past. It was not like looking through an old album of photographs which had been fixed forever in historical objectivity by the camera. Rather it involved the writers in selecting, reliving and reinterpreting past events from the perspective of their present moment and their purpose in writing down their thoughts. In this sense their act of remembering not only recreated the past as a means of interpreting and making sense of the present moment, but also shaped the

direction of their future action, in the light of the remembered past. In this way the memoirs became an important source of their writers' present attitudes.

What these writers were recalling, however, were not simply psychological states of mind, or personal events limited to themselves alone. Rather they were essentially social and cultural experiences they had shared with members of their family , teachers and classmates at school, fellow students at university, or friends they had met at work or in their travels overseas. This explains why the personal statements used in the present study proved so useful for humanistic sociological analysis as a source not only of the writers' present attitudes but also of mainstream Australian cultural values.

The capacity of individuals to re-interpret and re-define past, present and future cultural reality in the light of their ideological perspective of the moment is important for understanding experiences like religious conversion (Berger, 1988 : 64-5) or changing patterns of identification which some post-modernists refer to as the 'invention' of ethnicity or national identity (Alba, 1990). The capacity to re-evaluate and re-interpret the cultural heritage received in the light of personal experience could be regarded, however, as a distinctively human quality which has been apparent throughout history. The methodology of humanistic sociology adopted in this study proved useful in revealing evidence of a number of individuals who were in the process of re-evaluating the ideological values of cultural monism transmitted by parents and teachers. Their comments showed how they were making an attitudinal transition in favour of the new values of multiculturalism they had encountered in later contacts and experiences.

The bulk of the conclusions that follow is presented in two parts. Part I shows the way the memoir method was able to reveal attitudinal change and the transformation of values across generations. Part II reviews the memoir responses to the two questions that were posed at the end of chapter 2, relating to the writers' experience of cultural interaction and their attitudes to cultural pluralism in Australian society. Finally, correlation of the respondents' experiences with the attitudes they expressed gives rise to a proposed typology of the writers' responses to cultural pluralism in Australia.

I. MEMOIR METHOD AND CULTURAL CHANGE

The structure of this study allowed for methodological comparisons to be made between the questionnaire survey data presented in chapter 4 and the memoirs analysed in chapters 5-11.

The Questionnaire Survey

The information on gender, socio-economic and ethnic background presented in chapter 4 was gathered from a total of 368 Diploma in Education students. In addition, the students' attitudes to cultural diversity in Australia were investigated through seeking their responses to statements concerning a range of culturally plural situations. The level of approval given in most of the plural situations postulated was surprisingly high. The survey sought to investigate in greater depth what the respondents meant by ticking the 'approve' or 'disapprove' column for situations such as 'Migrants speaking only English in public' and 'Australians of British origin learning the language of their migrant friends and neighbours', through the comments that the respondents were asked to add in relation to each situation. As the discussion in chapter 4 showed, these comments proved useful in explaining, justifying or qualifying the

individuals' ticked responses, sometimes to the extent of virtually reversing their evaluation.

Overall the survey could be assessed as useful in providing information on the background of Diploma in Education students and a general overview of their attitudes towards the hypothetical situations of cultural pluralism to which they were asked to respond. In this way it provided an understanding of the particular population of students from which the memoir writers came. While the overall trend of the responses was positive to cultural pluralism in Australia, the tone of the more open comments suggested an underlying ambivalence. This ambiguity pointed to the need for an in-depth humanistic sociological study to bring into the open the perceived benefits and doubts about multicultural Australia.

The Memoir Study

The 43 mainstream respondents whose memoirs were discussed in chapters 5-11 were all students in the Diploma in Education course. They had accepted the opportunity to write about their experiences of cultural interaction and their thoughts and feelings about cultural diversity in Australia as part of their preparation for teaching. As indicated in chapter 3, this set of respondents was essentially a self-selected group which could not be used as the basis for extrapolating to a wider population. The aim of analysing their personal statements was to gain a greater understanding of these respondents, for their own sake, as important knowledge in its own right, and not for the purpose of making predictions about other individuals or groups.

This particular set of respondents had special characteristics that were certainly not typical of the Australian population at large. As university

graduates destined for the profession of secondary school teaching, they could be said to belong to a relatively privileged group in Australian society and their memoirs had to be interpreted in the light of this knowledge. In terms of research outcomes, the fact that the respondents were from an educationally select group had important advantages. As postgraduate students, the writers had little difficulty in expressing their thoughts and writing at some length on the topic of their experience of and attitudes to cultural interaction.

Their personal statements gave the researcher access not only to additional concrete facts which often proved important in analysis, but also to a considerable range of cultural facts, as the respondents expressed their thoughts, feelings and assessments in commenting on and explaining what their experiences of cultural interaction had been and what they thought of the principles of cultural pluralism in Australian society. Most significantly, their comments formed coherent pieces of writing which presented an holistic picture of the writers in their actual social and cultural context, in terms of their own understanding of it. The understanding that the reader is able to gain of the tentative acceptance of pluralism in the writer of memoir 6B who came from a rural background, of the new insights that university friends of minority ethnic background brought to the writer of memoir 8J, of the importance of overseas travel for the writer of memoir 9E and of the cultural shock and trauma experienced in an intercultural marriage by the writer of memoir 11B, would have been greatly diminished if the writers concerned had not written at such length about themselves and the cultural context of their growing up.

In order to provide the actual evidence on which the humanistic sociological analysis was based and allow readers to make their own

judgements of the validity of that analysis, long extracts from the memoirs were quoted in the text of chapters 5-11. As a result, readers have access at first hand to the unique insights and deeper levels of understanding that these personal documents offered. They can read for themselves what the writers said about their lives, their feelings, their context and their actions within it, as they assessed and evaluated these aspects at the time of writing.

Evidence of Changing Attitudes

The advantages of this methodology in portraying people in their contexts can be illustrated in relation to evidence of cultural change that emerged in the analysis of the memoirs. Znaniecki (1968 : 66-68) argued that all social change could be expressed in terms of the dynamic interaction between individual attitudes and group values. In this study the discussion of certain memoirs pointed to changes in the author's attitudes to cultural pluralism, as well as to factors influencing the change. Such comments could be found in a number of the memoir writers that were categorized as Generally or Personally Positive in their attitudes to cultural diversity.

Memoir 6G, for example, contained the comment,

> *My own education largely emphasized the English language and traditions. This was reinforced at home as well as at school. It was only once I started music studies in earnest at tertiary level that I began to absorb other languages and a deeper understanding and appreciation of other cultures.*

The writer of Memoir 8H also gave a direct account of his changing orientations.

> *Tertiary education, for me, was the turning point, and it was here that I came into close contact with a number of people from*

> *differing ethnic backgrounds and indeed became very good friends*
> *with one particular person. This experience enabled me to become*
> *more aware of other ethnic groups, their values and orientations,*
> *and their social mannerisms. I wouldn't go as far as to say that I*
> *changed my Anglo-conformity orientation but I did certainly take*
> *more care in understanding the way other cultures worked. I*
> *became aware that ... cultural pluralism was evident in our society*
> *and that it wasn't such a bad thing at all. This was quite a radical*
> *change from my earlier days when I held the attitude that anything*
> *that wasn't Australian wasn't worth knowing about.*

Sometimes a change in attitude became apparent indirectly in the juxtaposition of seemingly contradictory statements. The writer of Memoir 6D, for example, made the following statement in past tense,

> *For me at least there was not so much the conviction that migrants*
> *would have to adapt to a British-style of existence, or even that*
> *Anglo-core values were superior to others - merely, these values*
> *seemed the only values; the migrant presence was scarcely noticed,*
> *if at all.*

Later he explained, in the present tense,

> *The advantages of a multicultural society, in terms of the mutual*
> *enrichment of the different cultures, are ... obvious ... A way must*
> *be found to make the most of these advantages ... Education can*
> *play a vital role here.*

However, the most telling evidence that the latter statement represented his currently generally positive attitude to cultural pluralism was found in the way that he described his upbringing at home and his formal education at home. At the time of writing, he considered that the 'subconscious' ethos of his home was that 'there was one Australia and it was inhabited by Anglo-Australians'. In relation to the teaching of French and German at school, he observed that these subjects 'not only failed to represent the diversity of

ethnic groups in Australia, but have been taught in an exclusively academic fashion', at a time when 'knowledge of different cultures has become increasingly useful' in the practice of the medical and legal professions, for example.

Such statements can be taken as evidence of the writer's positive attitude to cultural pluralism, revealed through his current recognition of how monocultural the influences of his home and school had been. They represented examples of how the writer had come to re-evaluate the assimilationist values transmitted by his home and school. This form of critical evaluation, where the writers' memories of the past and their judgement of contemporary school practices revealed their present positive attitudes to cultural pluralism, was found in a number of other memoirs, such as those written by 9J and 11B.

In examples like these, the memoirs provided evidence for a humanistic sociological analysis that the group values of cultural monism were those that prevailed in the homes and schools described by the writers. These were the values transmitted to them and incorporated initially into their personal cultural systems. In the case of the twelve memoirs discussed in chapters 5 and 7, these were the values their writers still upheld. Most of the respondents in chapter 6 and those in chapters 8-11, however, indicated that the circumstances and contacts of their lives had led them to reject these received values and adopt instead attitudes that were more positive to cultural diversity in Australia and derived from the alternative value of multiculturalism. The fact that this change in attitude is apparent not just in one individual, but in a number of the respondents in this study, could be taken as an indication of new culturally pluralist or multicultural values emerging in Australian society. The lengthy memoir quotations were

important in enabling the genesis of these new individual attitudes and group values to be traced.
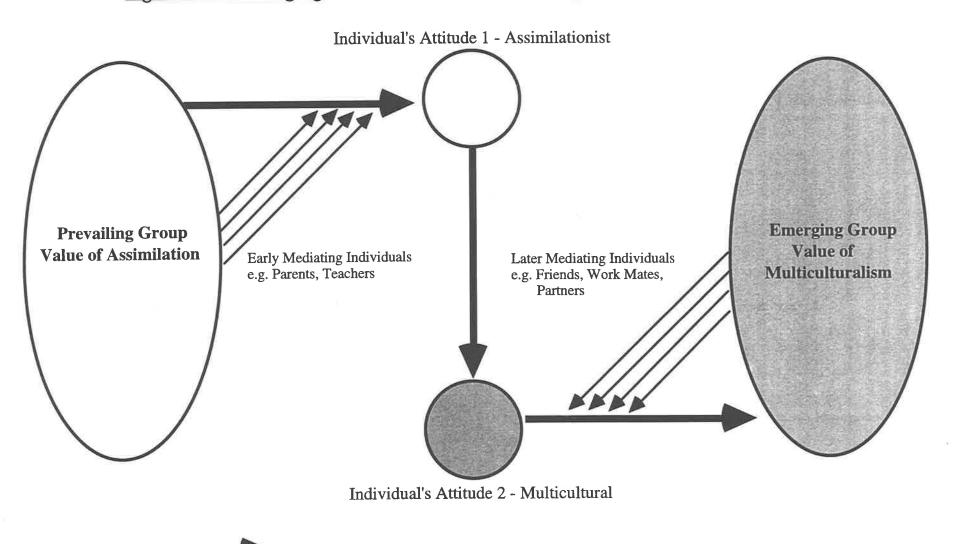
Generational Changes in Values

A number of the memoir writers referred specifically to what they regarded as a generational change in attitudes to other cultures in Australia. In an example that went counter to most of the change discussed, the writer of memoir 7D commented on the emergence in her father of an attitude to other languages and cultures that was more positive than her own. There were several cases (9B, 9G, 9H) in which the respondents' experience of cultural interaction was essentially a family affair. Others commented on their parents being more broadminded and tolerant of ethnic cultural differences than people in general (8A, 8F, 11A).

In contrast, there were other respondents who discussed their parents' essentially assimilationist attitudes towards other cultures. The positive attitudes of these writers towards cultural pluralism was sometimes revealed in part at least through their discussion of what they saw as the narrow, prejudiced attitudes of their parents or grandparents (8D, 8F, 8J, 9C, 9F, 9J, 11A, 11B). It was clear from their comments that they saw themselves as negatively evaluating the values of assimilation transmitted to them by their parents and adopting instead attitudes that were supportive of the values of multiculturalism or cultural pluralism. The pattern of changing attitudes and values described in this and the previous section is outlined in Figure 12A.

One respondent, for example, explained how his experiences had led him to evaluate minority cultures more positively than his parents.

Figure 12A: Changing Attitudes to Cultural Diversity Revealed in Some Memoirs

Individual's Attitude 1 - Assimilationist

Prevailing Group
Value of Assimilation

Early Mediating Individuals
e.g. Parents, Teachers

Later Mediating Individuals
e.g. Friends, Work Mates,
Partners

Emerging Group
Value of
Multiculturalism

Individual's Attitude 2 - Multicultural

Lines of Attitudinal Change

> *My own upbringing has been, almost without exception, a linguistically and culturally monistic one ... My mother was against the establishment of ethnic radio and television, believing that if one migrates to another country, one must 'do as the Romans do'.. My interests in literature and the arts have fortunately modified my outlook and my various friendships with those of other cultural origins (Ukrainian, Greek, Jewish, Italian, Scandinavian and Polish) have in fact brought me full circle. These cultures with their historical achievements and their more intimate, less aggressively individualistic ideological orientations, appeal to me more than the Australian mainstream culture as it exists today, with its rather insensitive, unreflective, materialistic and often ignorant attitudes. (8J)*

The author of memoir 9F expressed similar criticism of his parents' views, while explaining his own desire to participate in another culture.

> *I think that my parents' general view of migrants was that they should be forced to assimilate. My parents appear to have an innate belief in the superiority of Anglo culture and would argue that immigrants to Australia come from second rate countries and therefore should have no desire to preserve their past ... Looking back on my education and taking my life interest of classic guitar into account, I wish I'd had the opportunity to study Spanish culture and language. Such influences I believe would be important for interpretation of music as well as broadening life's experiences in general which is critical for a practising musician. (9F)*

Another writer, who was herself involved in an intercultural marriage, compared the views of her relatives to her own attitude.

> *A number of my uncles and aunties who are largely from lower-middle class or working-class backgrounds, still hold the view that 'migrants who have, after all, come here to take advantage of our good life, ought to recognise their obligations and be pleased to fit in with our civilised way of life and not taint it with their foreign*

customs and language' ... My personal experience through contacts with both Anglo-Australian and ethnic-Australian people confirms the belief that cultural pluralism certainly enriches the lives of individuals and surely, too, of society itself. (11A)

The generational changes described in these memoirs could also be regarded as excellent examples of the way group members evaluate, modify and change the cultural heritage transmitted to them, in the light of their own personal experiences and circumstances. In this way they can be said to have been in the process of re-interpreting the assimilationist heritage of ideological values towards other cultures and adopting alternative multicultural values. Although this could not be regarded as a tradition, in the sense envisaged by Szacki (1969) and Smolicz (1974b; 1988), until there was evidence of their transmission to, and their acceptance by the next generation, this attitudinal change could be seen as the first step needed if a new tradition of multiculturalism were to emerge in Australia.

The discursive, open-ended nature of these personal documents in which the writers were given freedom to discuss the topic in the way that came most readily to them can be seen to have made the memoirs a particularly rich source of cultural facts in relation to change at both the individual and group level. Although it is recognised that no investigation can ever be comprehensive in collecting all the evidence on the phenomenon in question, this set of memoirs did provide complex and multifaceted data which gave a much deeper understanding of cultural interaction from the mainstream perspective than the results of the questionnaire survey. The quantitative responses from the survey in terms of collective percentages gave no evidence of the participants' experience of cultural interaction, nor of any change in their attitudes to cultural pluralism. However, it is possible that the understanding gained from the memoir study could be

used to develop a questionnaire that did investigate these aspects with a greater number of respondents.

Factors Influencing Cultural Change

Discussion in the previous chapters has sought to highlight some of the factors that seem to have influenced the change of attitudes among some of the respondents. The chance for overseas travel proved a positive factor in the case of the authors of memoirs 9E, 9F and 9G but appeared to have no permanent impact on other respondents, such as 6A and 7E.

Friendship with individuals of minority ethnic background was another positive influence for some writers. Even where these contacts took place predominantly in mainstream cultural contexts, as in the memoirs discussed in chapters 7 and 8, such friendships could lead to changed attitudes towards cultural pluralism (for example 8H and 8J). The experiences of these writers were consistent with the view of Gordon (1964 : 237), who pointed to 'the bonds of intimacy and friendship which bind human beings together in the most meaningful moments of life and serve as a guard-wall against the formation of disruptive stereotypes'. He argued that cross-cultural friendship could be seen as one of the best means of counteracting the forms of ethnic prejudice which often accompanied structural separatism in society. In this study, however, there was evidence that such friendships were not only critical for some respondents in fostering positive attitudes to minority ethnic cultures, but also in facilitating actual participation in another culture, as described in memoirs 9A, 9B, 9C and 9D.

The effectiveness of such friendships depended also in part upon the attitude of the minority ethnic individuals who were encountered. Little or

no appreciation of cultural pluralism could be gained where those of minority ethnic background felt so intimidated by the Anglo-Celtic-Australian assimilationist pressures of the school and society in general that they tried to conceal any trace of their home cultures. This was the situation indicated in memoirs 7B, 7C, 7D and 8D, for example. In contrast, when minority ethnic individuals were confident of their ethnicity and willing to share it, as in memoirs 8E and 8H, their friends from the mainstream group were able to gain important insights and understanding. This was most clearly evident in memoir 10C, whose writer described the Greek school friend through whom she and other mainstream students were introduced to 'Greek food, family, customs and friends'.

The Role of the School in Cultural Change

According to the descriptions given by the memoir writers, the role of the school in fostering change in attitudes to cultural pluralism was ambivalent. Many of the schools described in the memoirs could be regarded as mainstream cultural strongholds which appeared to be shielding their pupils from contact with other ethnic groups and from the opportunity to understand their cultures. They could be regarded as providing **negative models** of how not to encourage cultural interaction. Their approach involved treating all students as if they came from an Anglo-Celtic-Australian cultural background; transmitting only main-stream culture; teaching only 'foreign' languages; and employing staff of Anglo-Celtic-Australian background, or those of minority ethnic background who had become enculturated to mainstream Australian ways.

A number of memoir writers discussed in chapters 6 and 10 specifically mentioned the importance of language and music studies in influencing the development of their positive attitudes to other cultures. Although this

was not the experience of all the memoir writers who had studied languages and music, such comments point to the possibilities inherent in these subject areas, when they are taught by teachers who are positive to cultural differences.

Two schools, those described in memoirs 8F and 10F, stand out as being successful in encouraging positive attitudes to cultural pluralism (8F) and even fostering participation in another culture (10F). They can be regarded as models of what can be done when schools support multicultural values and put them into practice in the everyday life of the school. Some of the critical aspects in achieving this appeared to be taking into account the cultural background of students in a positive way; teaching at least one or two minority languages and cultures; employing teachers who were positive in their attitudes to cultural pluralism and came from more than one ethnic background.

II. PATTERNS OF RESPONSES TO CULTURAL PLURALISM - A TYPOLOGY

Humanistic sociology recognises that no neat, cut and dried framework of theoretical concepts can be imposed over a set of memoirs as the means of analysis. Rather the researcher seeks to analyse what is distinctive in the response of each memoir writer, in recognition of the fundamental assumption that individuals can respond in a number of different ways to what an outside observer might consider to be similar or identical situations.

The emic analysis of the memoirs was based on the two key questions outlined at the end of chapter 2. These related to :

- **Experience of Cultural Interaction** (To what extent had the writer experienced cultural interaction, according to the descriptions given?)

- **Current Attitudes to Cultural Pluralism** (What overall attitude to cultural pluralism did the writer reveal in the views and ideas expressed?)

The formulation of these two questions arose out of the humanistic sociological framework of cultural interaction described in Chapter 2 (an etic approach). The answers, however, were derived directly from the memoirs (the emic dimension). Each memoir was read for concrete and cultural facts that the writer had given in relation to these two questions. The focus was not on single statements or phrases, but rather on the thrust of the discussion provided in the memoir as a whole.

In the course of their statements a few respondents revealed somewhat contradictory experiences and statements, as they reflected on different stages of their life. Such seeming inconsistencies proved valuable in indicating the attitudinal changes described in the previous section.

For the most part, the memoirs fell very clearly and unambiguously into a number of groupings based on the information given in relation to the two questions. Chapters 5 to 11 presented these various memoir groupings on a continuum that moved from writers revealing no experience of cultural interaction, linked to a negative attitude to cultural diversity, at one end (chapter 5), to those describing participation in cultural interaction with strongly expressed positive attitudes to cultural pluralism, at the other end (chapters 9, 10 and 11). In relation to attitudes to cultural pluralism, a distinction was drawn between those who expressed support for it in

general terms as a principle, but gave no evidence of having actually been involved in cultural interaction and those for whom it was clearly a personal commitment based on their participation in other cultures.

Two further refinements in the categorization were added in the process of writing up these chapters. Subsequent readings of the memoirs suggested that it was important to draw a distinction between social and cultural interaction in the experiences described by the writers. As a result chapters 7 and 8 included memoirs that described social interaction, with the former being limited to those who revealed negative or uncertain attitudes to cultural diversity, while the respondents in the latter chapter all indicated at least a generally positive attitude to the ideal of cultural pluralism.

In regard to the memoirs that described cultural interaction, it seemed useful to subdivide them according to the contexts in which they had participated in another culture. While chapter 9 covered friendship, overseas travel and the work place, as situations in which cultural interaction took place, chapter 10 focused on those memoirs for whom the experience of cultural interaction had occurred in the education system. Chapter 11 considered those writers who became involved in intercultural marriages.

The analysis of memoirs presented in chapters 5 to 11 has been summarized in Tables 12.1 to 12.3 in terms of the memoir writers' experience of cultural interaction and their attitudes to cultural pluralism. In this form it was possible to gain more of an understanding of the overall pattern of responses to be found in the memoirs.

Experiences of Cultural Interaction

The main findings from Table 12.1 in relation to the respondents' experience of cultural interaction are summarized below. It should be emphasized again that the proportion of respondents falling into particular categories relate to this set of memoirs and cannot be regarded as representative of the Australian population at large or any particular group within it. In this regard, it is possible to paraphrase Kloskowska (1996 : 430) that the main object of this investigation was not to arrive at a unified pattern of what it was to be a 'mainstream Australian', a 'multicultural Australian' or an 'ethnic Australian', but to uncover the basic variations of feeling or perceiving which the memoir writers themselves revealed concerning their relationship to cultural others.

- **No Cultural Interaction.** Twenty six out of the 43 respondents (60%) were categorized as not having experienced cultural interaction. Of these,
  - 12 (28%) recalled **no** meaningful contact with people of other ethnic backgrounds;
  - 14 (33%) gave evidence of having interacted **socially** with individuals of minority ethnic background, but these contacts had been in mainstream contexts on Anglo-Celtic-Australian terms.

- **Cultural Interaction.** Seventeen respondents (40%) could be considered as having had some experience of cultural interaction. Among these,
  - 6 respondents (14%) had experienced cultural interaction in an **educational context**;
  - 4 respondents (9%) had been involved in interaction through **intercultural marriage**.

TABLE 12.1: MEMOIR WRITERS' EXPERIENCE OF CULTURAL INTERACTION

Interaction Experienced *	Memoirs in which these Experiences Discussed #	TOTAL (N = 43)
Little or none	5A, 5B, 5C, 5D, 5E, 6A, 6B, 6C, 6D, 6E, 6F, 6G	12 (28%)
Social interaction with people of different cultural background	7A, 7B, 7C, 7D, 7E, 8A, 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F, 8G, 8H, 8J	14 (33%)
Participation in another culture	9A, 9B, 9C, 9D, 9E, 9F, 9G, 9H/10E, 9J, 10A, 10B, 10C, 10F	13 (30%)
Intercultural marriage	11A, 11B, 11C, 11D/10D	4 (9%)

* These categories have been derived from reading the memoirs in relation to the question : **To what extent had the writer experienced cultural interaction, according to the descriptions given ?**

\# The writers have been identified by the number of the chapter in which their memoirs are discussed, together with a letter of the alphabet which reflects the chronological order in which they appear.

Simply summarized, just under a third (28%) indicated that they had had no personal contact with minority ethnic individuals; about a third (33%) could recall social contact with individuals of another cultural origin; and a little over a third (40%) had actually experienced cultural interaction.

The first of these findings reinforces in numerical terms the comments made in a number of the memoirs that the circumstance of their lives at home and school had brought them into contact only with people of their own mainstream Australian group. Anglo-Celtic-Australians would seem to be the only group in Australian society where children could grow up almost totally within the confines of their own cultural milieu in isolation from other groups. Minority ethnic children of, say, Armenian, Jewish or Greek background who attended the bilingual schools established by their ethnic group would usually experience significant exposure to English and Anglo-Celtic-Australian values both in their school curriculum and through the mass media. In the case of Anglo-Celtic background children attending mainstream schools where there were comparatively few children of minority ethnic background, a reasonable proportion were likely to have had no contact with, or even awareness of other cultures.

This mainstream separatism could be regarded as comparable to some extent to Chalasinski's (1984) idea of a Polish intelligentsia ghetto. Both Gordon (1964) in the United States and Zubrzycki (1968) in Australia warned against the dangers of 'excessive compartmentalization and structural separation' in ethnically plural societies (Gordon, 1964 : 237). In the present study this form of mainstream separatism seemed to be most deeply entrenched in some rural communities and in some families of comparative affluence associated with independent colleges which were

accessible only to students whose parents could afford the high fees. This situation has recently been changing as a number of Greek and Chinese background parents have the means to send their children to such schools, while the colleges for their part have been anxious to boost their numbers in the current less prosperous economic climate, especially for rural families.

This separatist trend is apparent when Table 12.1 is considered together with the background details on each of the memoir writers. These are given in tabular form in the chapter in which each memoir is initially discussed, as well as being reproduced in full in the Appendix. Four of the twelve categorised as having little or no experience of cultural interaction grew up in rural areas (5A, 5D, 6A, 6B). In addition, half of this group of respondents had attended a single sex independent college at secondary level (5B, 5D, 5E, 6B, 6C, 6D).

However, the picture overall is not so simple and straight-forward. Of the fourteen writers who gave evidence of interacting socially with minority ethnic individuals, four grew up in country towns (7B, 7E, 8A & 8G) and four had attended independent schools. The social interaction they described, however, had occurred in state primary schools in two instances (8A & 8B) or during university studies in the case of the other two (8H & 8J). As many as nine among those who discussed their experience of social interaction had attended state high schools (7A, 7B, 7C, 7E, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F, 8G) and one other a co-educational Catholic college (7D). Those who attended state schools were thus much more likely to have had individuals of minority ethnic background as fellow classmates and friends.

Among the seventeen respondents involved in cultural interaction, three had grown up in a rural district (9H/10E, 10B, 11B), three had attended an independent girls' college (10A, 11A, 11B), two a Catholic girls school (9C, 10F) and three (9B, 9E, 9F) an independent boys college. Seven others had attended state high schools in the metropolitan area (9A, 9D, 9G, 9J, 10C, 10D/11D, 11C). Thus, although those from independent schools had less frequent contact with individuals from minority ethnic background in the school situation, it was still possible for them to have become involved in cultural interaction in other areas or stages of life.

Extent of the Respondents' Cultural Interaction

It is important to recognize that the extent of participation in another culture described by the seventeen classified as having experienced cultural interaction was in many cases limited. Two respondents (9C & 10B) had spent a year or more living overseas in France and Germany respectively after completing university studies in the languages concerned. A third (10D/11D) had developed extensive contacts with the Spanish-Australian community, after university studies in music and the Spanish language. Each of these had clearly developed personal cultural systems in the second language and culture that were sufficient to enable them to participate effectively in the day to day life of the society concerned. These three could perhaps be regarded as satisfying the conditions for **cultural bivalence**, as postulated by Kloskowska (1993b; 1996 : 128). Not only did they have an extensive knowledge of the second culture and a command of the language which included both oral and literary forms, but they revealed an empathy towards the group and the culture concerned.

The essence of bivalence was well-encapsulated by the comments of the writer of memoir 10D/11D, in discussing her sense of dual identification.

I have ... come to the conclusion that my identity does not have to be static. Sometimes I feel Spanish and I like to identify with the Spanish culture while at other times I choose to re-inforce my German, Irish-Anglo background. In many ways the two identities have become interwoven. A part of me is expressed through speaking Spanish and singing Spanish songs which is not expressed through speaking English or playing classical music ... each language I speak and each music tradition I engage in carries with it a different world of meanings. (10D/11D)

The identification of three bivalents among these 43 memoir writers can be compared to the findings reported in a recent study by Hudson (1995). In her investigation of the cultural becoming of university students of both English speaking and non-English speaking background, she found that none of the former could be classified as bivalent in Kloskowska's terms. In contrast, all of her respondents who were of non-English speaking background were regarded as either bivalent or polyvalent.

In the case of the writers of memoirs 9E and 9G, both had spent some time living in a very different cultural context - in North Africa among French speaking Arabs and in Malawi respectively. Both expressed positive attitudes to this experience, but their knowledge of the culture was probably not deep or extensive enough to justify them being considered fully bivalent. The author of 9D had taken the initiative of learning Greek by himself; his command was limited and there were few contexts in which he actually made use of the language, yet during his travels in Greece he claimed to genuinely feel that 'a part of me was Greek'. In memoir 11A the writer mentioned her attempts to learn a little Cantonese and commented very positively on her visits to Hong Kong. These two might be said to be on the threshold of cultural bivalence, but were still some way from achieving it.

The writer of 11C had also made efforts to learn Greek and been able to visit her husband's family in Greece. Although she had also been effective in helping to ensure that her son grew up competent in Greek, her memoir gave no evidence of her personal enthusiasm for and interest in the language and culture of her husband and hence she would not be considered bivalent in Kloskowska's terms.

For the remaining nine writers in this classification, cultural interaction was even more restricted, confined to specific contexts and involving comparatively little cultural knowledge and understanding. Yet, as discussions in the next section indicate, even this limited experience of cultural interaction appeared to have had a very positive influence on the respondents' attitudes to cultural pluralism.

Attitudes to Cultural Pluralism

The main findings revealed by Table 12.2 in relation to the memoir writers' attitudes to cultural pluralism are set out below.

- **Strongly Negative.** Four respondents (9.5%) revealed strongly negative attitudes to cultural pluralism. Half of these writers (5A, 5B) were from a rural background, while 5D attended an independent school.

- **Negative by Default.** Five of the respondents (11%) gave evidence of attitudes that were described as 'negative by default'. Two of these grew up in a rural area (7B, 7E), one attended an independent school (5D) and another (7D) went to a Catholic school.

TABLE 12.2: MEMOIR WRITERS' ATTITUDES TO
CULTURAL PLURALISM IN AUSTRALIA

Attitudes to Cultural Pluralism*	Memoirs in which these Attitudes Revealed#	TOTAL (N = 43)
Strongly Negative	5A, 5B, 5C, 5D	4 (9.5%)
Negative by Default	5E 7B, 7C, 7D, 7E	5 (11%)
Uncertain	6A, 6B 7A 9C	4 (9.5 %)
Generally Positive	6C, 6D, 6E, 6F, 6G 8A, 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F	11 (26 %)
Personally Positive	8G, 8H, 8J 9A, 9B, 9D, 9E, 9F, 9G, 9H/10D, 9J 10A, 10B, 10C, 10F 11A, 11B, 11C, 11D/10D	19 (44 %)

*   This range of attitudes was developed after reading the memoirs in relation to the question: **What overall attitude did the writer reveal in the views and ideas expressed ?**

\#   The memoir writers have been identified by the number of the chapter in which their memoirs are discussed, together with a letter of the alphabet which reflects the chronological order in which they appear.

- **Uncertain.** Four of the respondents (9.5%) gave evidence that they were uncertain about their attitude to cultural pluralism. Two of these (6A & 6B) came from rural backgrounds, and third went to a Catholic girls college (9C).

- **Generally Positive.** Eleven respondents (26%) indicated in their comments that they generally supported the principles of cultural pluralism. Only one of these (8A) had spent his childhood in a country town, while four had attended independent schools (6C, 6D, 8A, 8B).

- **Personally Positive.** Nineteen of the writers (44%) revealed that they were personally committed to cultural pluralism. Three of these (9H/10E, 10B, 11B) had had a rural upbringing. For eight of these respondents (8H, 8J, 9B, 9E, 9F, 10A, 11A, 11B) who had attended independent colleges, this was an important indication that the predominantly Anglo-conformist ethos of their schools did not necessarily mean that the students' attitudes were permanently set in the negative or indifferent mould but that experiences beyond school could lead to a more positive view of cultural pluralism.

Overall approximately 30% of the respondents revealed attitudes that were **not** supportive of cultural pluralism in Australia. Two thirds of these were opposed to the multicultural ideal, with the others being uncertain. In contrast 70% could be said to have revealed **positive attitudes**. Among this grouping one third could be regarded as generally positive, while the remaining two thirds could be classified as personally positive.

Perhaps the clearest example of a negative attitude to cultural pluralism in Australia was provided by the writer of one of the memoirs discussed in chapter 5.

> *The point is, What's wrong with Monism? Provided an effective education for assimilation is provided, and despite its critics, this is possible without alienating ethnics, why not witness the gradual decline of minority cultures? Simply because a culture is old, simply because part of the history once produced great art, is no reason to perpetuate it. Sure, it might enrich the host culture, but equally as likely, it might add undesirable elements to the host culture. (5B)*

Sometimes the negativity towards cultural pluralism was more subtle and more a matter of default - a lack of positive attitudes.

> *There are no apparent prejudices amongst [my university peer group] ... although we all recognise the different cultures represented and do not wish to alter them, I don't think any of us want to adopt ethnic customs or values of these alternate groups. (7E)*

The sense of uncertainty that some memoir writers felt towards the presence of other cultures was illustrated by comments such as the following:

> *I am pessimistic about the chances of any but a very few Anglo-Australians becoming bicultural, and also, with the process of interaction, pessimistic about the chances of most ethnic groups maintaining their cultures and languages in a "pure" form. Nevertheless, I do believe the schools should provide multicultural education for all children, and should value, and teach all children to value, the diverse languages and cultures to be found in Australia. (6B)*

Examples of comments expressing generally positive attitudes to cultural pluralism could be found in chapter 8. One writer explained,

> *Most of my [minority ethnic-Australian] friends are at University now. They have met the problems of ethnicity in a basically Anglo-conformist society and have succeeded. Schooling can be made easier for the ethnic-Australians. Why should they be Anglicised at the expense of their own cultures, especially when other less problematic alternatives exist? (8D)*

The personal commitment to cultural pluralism that was the characteristic of those classified as personally positive was clearly evident in statements like the following :

> *I much regret that my own multicultural education was so long delayed ... Would that I had been exposed to an Australian community language at an early age; I might then have come to an earlier understanding of the significance of ethnic culture not only to those speaking the ethnic tongue, but of the significance that it was going to have for me ... as an Anglo-Australian. (9E)*

> *The study of different cultures gives one different views of coping with life; its puzzles and problems. With knowledge comes understanding of other cultures' characteristics. Understanding removes irrational fear and prejudice. I think that appreciation of these facts alone provides a powerful argument for a movement towards a biculturalist direction in the education of all Australians. (8G)*

Correlating Experiences of Cultural Interaction and Attitudes to Cultural Pluralism

Table 12.3 provides a correlation of the memoir writers' experience of cultural interaction and their attitudes to cultural pluralism. The configuration of the results presented in this Table suggested that the actual experience of cultural interaction was closely associated with the

TABLE 12.3: CORRELATION OF MEMOIR WRITERS' EXPERIENCES OF CULTURAL INTERACTION AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO CULTURAL PLURALISM#

Experience of Cultural Interaction*	Attitudes to Cultural Pluralism**					TOTAL
	Strongly Negative	Negative by Default	Uncertain	Generally Positive	Personally Positive	
Little or none	5A, 5B, 5C, 5D	5E	6A, 6B	6C, 6D, 6E, 6F 6G		12
Social interaction with people of different cultural background		7B, 7C, 7D, 7E	7A	8A, 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F	8G, 8H 8J	14
Participation in another culture			9C		9A, 9B, 9D, 9E, 9F, 9G 9H/10E 9J, 10A, 10B, 10C 10F	13
Intercultural marriage					11A, 11B, 11C, 11D/10D	4
TOTAL	4	5	4	11	19	43

\# The writers have been identified by the number of the chapter in which their memoirs are discussed, together with a letter of the alphabet which reflects the chronological order in which they appear.

* These categories have been derived from reading the memoirs in relation to the question: **To what extent had the writer experienced cultural interaction, according to the descriptions given?**

** This range of attitudes was developed after reading the memoirs in relation to the question: **What overall attitude did the writer reveal in the views and ideas expressed?**

development of positive attitudes to cultural pluralism. There was, for example, one concentration of respondents where the negative and uncertain attitude categories intersected with little or no experience of interaction and only social interaction with people of minority ethnic background. An intermediate group of respondents was clustered where little or no contact or social interaction intersected with generally positive attitudes. At the other extreme, almost all the respondents classified as participating in another culture were also clustered in the column indicating personally positive attitudes.

A small number of the memoir writers fell outside these broad groupings. Three, who were categorized as having personally positive attitudes, were involved in a residual bicultural context (8G) or in valued friendships (8H & 8J), which brought them close to actually experiencing cultural interaction. On the evidence of the memoirs, however, their contacts were considered to remain at the level of social interaction.

In the case of memoir 9C, the writer's experience of cultural interaction had been extensive and her response to this very positive. It could be argued that her attitude to cultural pluralism per se remained positive, in spite of the difficulties described at the end of the memoir, and that she should have been included under this category. However, her categorisation as uncertain in attitude has been based on her sense at the time of writing the memoir that she had no group to belong to. The experience of cultural interaction, together with the current circumstances of her life, had left her feeling alienated from both her original and her adopted cultural groups in a way that would seem to fit the ambivalent type postulated by Kloskowska (1993b; 1996 : 129).

I find myself as uncomfortable an Australian-as-can-be. I find I have rejected values I was brought up to believe in, in favour of values I feel guilty at borrowing. (9C)

Such a marginal and 'painful state of mind' (Kloskowska, 1996 : 468) was poignantly described by the novelist Szczypiorski (1991 : 109) in portraying the character of Muller, who felt more at home living in Warsaw than in his native Germany. Caught in the cross-currents of trying to save a beautiful Jewish woman from the clutches of the Gestapo in the early years of World War II, Muller pondered in his own mind,

Dear God, how much must a German such as I suffer, an unfinished German, formed not at all in the German manner but with some kind of defect in the heart, who sees all this through the Slavic experience, a German infected with the blessed disease of Polishness.

A Typology of Responses to Cultural Pluralism

Overall the three concentrations of respondents revealed in Table 12.3 would suggest the postulation of three types of responses to cultural pluralism among the memoir writers investigated in this study. Kloskowska (1996 : 430) has argued that the concept of types is a 'sociological compromise between the de-personalised technique of mass statistical investigation and the obligation to show the full person - an obligation that only great art can fulfil' (my translation). However, provided the researcher does find some means of presenting the holistic picture of individuals in their context, the identification of types, as a complementary analysis, does have important implications in relation to the second of Znaniecki's poles of sociological inquiry. It may help to establish, for example, how widespread an attitude is and whether one individual's attitude is accepted by others as a cultural value and, if so, among which particular individuals

or groups of individuals. Such information is important in understanding what social and cultural factors are involved in a particular attitudinal change at individual level and the emergence of new values at the group level.

The three types that could be seen to emerge among the 43 respondents in the present study are outlined below.

- Twelve of the respondents (5A, 5B, 5C, 5D, 5E, 6A, 6B, 7A, 7B, 7C, 7D, 7E), who described little or no interaction or only social interaction in their memoirs, revealed either negative or uncertain attitudes to cultural pluralism. It may be worth noting that they were equally divided between men and women, although men predominated among those with negative attitudes and women in the classification of uncertain. These respondents could perhaps be considered as **Satisfied Monoculturals**.

- Another fourteen writers (6C, 6D, 6E, 6F, 6G, 8A, 8B, 8C, 8D, 8E, 8F, 8G, 8H, 8J) whose memoirs showed little or no experience of interaction or only social interaction revealed generally or personally positive attitudes to cultural pluralism. In this grouping, as in the first, there was an equal number of men and women respondents. This type could be regarded as **Supporters of Pluralism**.

- Sixteen respondents (9A, 9B, 9D, 9E, 9F, 9G, 9H/10E, 9J, 10A, 10B, 10C, 10D, 10F, 11A, 11B, 11C, 11D/10D) or perhaps seventeen, with the inclusion of the writer of memoir 9C, revealed evidence of both actual participation in another culture and personally positive attitudes to cultural pluralism. Although there were an equal

number of men and women in this type, only women had been involved in intercultural marriage. These respondents could be termed **Positive Interactors.**

In other words, just under a third of the respondents in this study (29%) largely succeeded in living within their own favoured monocultural world, even when they found themselves having to associate with other Australians of minority ethnic background. Approximately a third (33%) supported pluralism in principle, but were not themselves involved in cultural interaction. A little over a third of respondents (37%) could be said to have moved outside their own group to participate in the cultural life of other ethnic groups either within Australia or abroad and were positive about the benefits of multiculturalism.

Together the last two types, which both revealed positive multicultural attitudes, constituted two thirds of this group of respondents. This finding is rather more positive to cultural interaction than that reported by Hudson (1995). Among a comparable group of memoir writers of English speaking background, she found that only half gave evidence of positive attitudes to cultural pluralism.

Implications of the Typology

The results of the present study based on a small number of Diploma in Education students cannot, of course, be extrapolated to the wider population. But they do raise the important issue of how widespread the Positive Interactors need to be before they can wield any observable influence on Australian society generally.

Is it realistic or necessary to expect a high proportion of individuals from the Australian mainstream to actually participate in cultural interaction ? It is clear that there must be some individuals who can act as bridges into minority ethnic cultures for other members of the mainstream group. Smolicz (1992) has argued that individuals who can build linguistic bridges have a vital role to play in a culturally plural society. As the University of Adelaide studies of minority ethnic individual discussed in chapter two indicated, for the most part the bridges between cultures in the Australian context have been built by minority ethnic individuals who are bilingual and bicultural in the cultures and languages of their home and of the mainstream group (Smolicz, 1995c).

The interaction process remains one-sided, however, unless some mainstream individuals reciprocate in the bridge building process. Through their participation in minority ethnic cultures, they can become a creative force in advocating for and interpreting minority ethnic cultures to other members of the mainstream group, the circumstances of whose lives may severely restrict the possibility of their participation in other cultures. According to Smolicz (1992 : 5)

> *Members of the majority group who internalize ethnic cultures and languages may never be very numerous, yet the presence of such 'interaction catalysts' is necessary for minority education to succeed in its dual aim - language and cultural maintenance and diffusion, on the one hand, and social and occupational integration into the mainstream of society, on the other.*

The way in which such interaction catalysts can influence others was well illustrated in a number of the memoirs, such as 9B, 9J, 11A. One writer who had married into a Chinese family described how she had introduced her family to the reality of Australian cultural diversity.

During my years of undergraduate study at University I first came into close contact with ethnic people who ... [revealed] a dualism of cultural values and languages. My parents accepted my friendship with a number of Chinese people, jokingly referring to my efforts to "increase international understanding". They approved my marriage to a Hong Kong Chinese, encouraging me to learn Cantonese. (11A)

Another respondent claimed,

There was very little if any interaction between our family and any ethnic groups until I started work. Even when some degree of peripheral cultural interaction occurred, such as when I brought around some "foreign" friends, or when I would cook some "unusual" foods, it was usually greeted with watchful scepticism. I don't doubt that I and my family have benefited from such influences. Meals at our table now yield some inviting and exciting surprises ... (9J)

Perhaps it is sufficient if the number of Positive Interactors, who can act in this way, as interaction catalysts for the mainstream group, constitute a comparatively small proportion of the total population. However, there would need to be, in addition, a reasonable percentage of mainstream individuals who were in principle Supporters of Pluralism and hence open to the possibility of cultural interaction, if it were to occur. In proposing that leading mainstream figures who supported multiculturalism should be used to counter its opponents (as reported in chapter 1), Sawer (1990) recognised the importance of such people in influencing public opinion.

In practice, the relative number of individuals who could be classified as Positive Interactors, Satisfied Monoculturals or Supporters of Pluralism could be expected to fluctuate with the perceived economic and political stability of society, the ideological stance of leaders or the consciousness of

an external threat to the country. Changing patterns of evaluation of multiculturalism and immigration have certainly been highlighted in the Australian media since the election of a new government in March 1996.

It could be argued, however, that the greater the number of Positive Interactors, the greater would be the opportunities of creativity within the mainstream group. Similarly, the greater the number of Supporters of Pluralism, the greater the potential for understanding and the more secure multiculturalism in society would be. Together these two types of people could develop and maintain a multicultural tradition in society, even in the face of a proportion of the population who remained opposed to or uncertain about cultural pluralism - provided that political, economic and cultural leadership came from one of the first two groups and not the third.

This judgement is consistent with the conclusion reached by Clyne (1994 : 214) as a result of his research on the impact of cultural values on the discourse of intercultural communication in the workplace. Biculturalism, involving 'an active command of more than one communication style' was, in his view, to be desired and 'a passive command of as many styles as possible would be advantageous.' However, he concluded that the one necessary factor was 'for people of all cultural backgrounds to understand and tolerate one another's discourse patterns.' Where in practice it was unrealistic to expect the achievement of cultural duality in discourse patterns, the existence of positive attitudes to cultural diversity could be beneficial in making intercultural communication more effective.

Finally, in attempting to answer the two questions derived from Smolicz's conditions for cultural interaction from the mainstream's perspective, the findings of this study would suggest some modification of the conditions.

- It may be sufficient if some of the mainstream group actually participate in cultural interaction. It seems unlikely that all, or even the preponderance of mainstream individuals will have the opportunity or the willingness to engage in cultural interaction.

- It is important that the majority of Anglo-Celtic-Australian individuals have positive attitudes to multiculturalism, at least at the level of general principle, if not of personal commitment.

Although a tradition of multiculturalism supporting the model of bilingual, bicultural individuals, from mainstream as well as minority, background has not yet had time to emerge in Australia, there is evidence of multicultural values being adopted by some of the generation of mainstream memoir writers in this study, as an alternative to the more assimilationist orientation of their parents.

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 5

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
5A 1979	M	c.24	Country Town + Suburban	State High School	BEc	Economics	—	
5B 1980	M	c.23	Country Town	State High School + Independent Boys College	BA	English	—	
5C 1982	M	c.27	Suburban	State High School	BA	English History	—	
5D 1982	M	27	Suburban	Independent Boys College + State High School	BA LLB	Law Accounting Politics	—	
5E 1983	F	35	Suburban	Independent Girls College	BA	Geography	—	

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 6

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
6A 1982	F	43	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	English French	French (yr 3 uni)	travelled in Europe
6B 1982	F	40	Country District	Independent Girls College	BA Hons	History English	—	
6C 1979	M	22	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BA	English	—	
6D 1981	M	25	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BA Hons	English	Latin (yr 12)	
6E 1981	M	24	Suburban	State High School	BMus	Music	—	
6F 1981	F	21	Suburban	State High School	BMus	Music	—	
6G 1983	F	26	Suburban	State High Schools (girls + coed)	BMus Hons	Music	—	

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 7

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
7A 1983	F	24	Suburban	State High School	B Ag Sc	Biology Computing	—	
7B 1979	F	24	Country Town	State High School	BAppSc	Chemistry Biology	—	
7C 1982	M	22	Suburban	State High School	BA	French German	French (yr 3 uni) German (yr 2 uni)	
7D 1981	F	21	Suburban	Catholic Co-ed	BA	History Psychology	—	
7E 1980	M	21	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	History Zoology	French (basic)	Travelled in Europe

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 8

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
8A 1981	M	26	Country Town	State Rural High School + Independent Boys College	BSc	Chemistry Mathematics	—	
8B 1983	F	24	Suburban	State Primary + Independent Girls College	LLB	Law	—	
8C 1980	F	20	Suburban	State High School	BA	Classical Studies History	—	
8D 1979	F	21	Suburban	State High School	BA	German	German (yr 3 uni)	
8E 1982	F	23	Suburban	State High Schools	BMus	Music	—	
8F 1982	F	21	Suburban	State High School	BA	Economics Geography	German (basic)	
8G 1980	M	30	Country Town	State Rural High Schools	BSc	Biology Chemistry	—	
8H 1980	M	21	Surburban	Independent Boys College	BA	Geography	—	
8J 1981	M	23	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BA Hons	English	Indonesian (yr 12)	

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 9

Memoir No + Year Written	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
				BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS				
9A 1980	M	38	Suburban	State High School + Adult Matriculation	BA	History	—	
9B 1981	M	21	Suburban	State High School + Independent Boys College	BA	History	—	
9C 1980	F	23	Suburban	State High School + Catholic Girls College	BA Hons	French	French (Hons) Spanish (yr 2 uni)	lived and worked in France
9D 1993	M	c.24	Suburban	State High School	BSc Hons	Physics	Greek (conversational)	travelled in Europe
9E 1984	M	30	Suburban	Independent Boys College	BSc	Physiology Psychology	French (yr 12)	lived in France & North Africa
9F 1979	M	28	Suburban	Independent Boys Colleges	BA	Politics Music	—	travelled in Europe & Asia and studied classical guitar
9G 1982	M	21	Suburban	State High School	BA	Geography	Chichewa	lived in Malawi
9H/10E 1990	M	23	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	English History	—	lived for a year in Canada
9J 1980	M	28	Suburban	State High School + Adult Matriculation	BA	History	—	trained as a chef

327

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 10

Memoir No + Year Written	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
				BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS				
10A 1981	F	20	Suburban	Independent Girls College	BSc	Chemistry Japanese	Japanese (yr 3 uni)	6 week scholarship in Japan
10B 1983	F	22	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	German	German (yr 3 uni)	
10C 1979	F	c.22	Suburban	State High School	BMus	Music	—	
10D/11D 1987	F	c.23	Suburban	State High School	BA	Spanish Music	Spanish (yr 3 uni)	active in Spanish-Australian community
10E/9H 1990	M	23	Country Town	State Rural High School	BA	English History	—	lived for a year in Canada
10F 1982	F	33	Suburban	Catholic Girls College	BEc	Economics	—	

CONCRETE FACT PROFILES OF MEMOIR WRITERS IN CHAPTER 11

Memoir No + Year Written	BACKGROUND DETAILS OF WRITERS							
	Sex	Age at Time of Writing	Childhood Residence	Type of Secondary School Attended	Degrees	Subject Specialisation	Languages Other than English Known	Other Key Factors
11A 1981	F	28	Suburban	Independent Girls College	BA	Classical Studies Geography	Cantonese (a few words)	Visits to Hong Kong
11B 1985	F	26	Remote Country	Independent Girls College	BA	English	—	
11C 1982	F	c.42	Suburban	State High School	BA	English History	Greek (basic)	travelled to Greece
11D/10D 1987	F	c.23	Suburban	State High School	BA	Spanish Music	Spanish (yr 3 uni)	active in Spanish-Australian community

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