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UnAustralian Values

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Abstract

The 9 Australian Values promoted in the *National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools* have been developed with emphasis on valuing cultural and religious diversity, tolerance and inclusion. The document states:

> *These shared values such as respect and 'fair go' are part of Australia's common democratic way of life, which includes equality, freedom and the rule of law. They reflect our commitment to a multicultural and environmentally sustainable society where all are entitled to justice (DEST, 2005:4).*

It would follow that UnAustralian Values of exclusion, ignorance, disrespect and dishonesty, synonymous with a resurgence of narrow nationalism and intolerance for cultural and religious diversity, are in conflict with Australian Values. However many public figures seem to have confused UnAustralian with Australian Values and the so-called 'Values Debate' has largely ignored the actual content of the 9 Australian Values promoted in the *National Framework for Values Education*. Something is amiss in UnAustralia. This paper aims to examine this discrepancy.

UnAustralian Values

When Peter Costello spoke of Australian Values at the Sydney Institute in February 2006, which particular values was he talking about?

In 2005 the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST) released a booklet outlining *The National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools*. It lists 9 Australian Values and a rationale for their development and delivery. The document states:

> These shared values such as respect and 'fair go' are part of Australia's common democratic way of life... They reflect our commitment to a multicultural and environmentally sustainable society where all are entitled to justice (DEST, 2005:4).

The 9 Australian Values are: *Care and Compassion; Doing Your Best; Fair Go; Freedom; Honesty and Trustworthiness; Integrity; Respect; Responsibility; Understanding, Tolerance and Inclusion* (DEST, 2005:4).

The 'Values Debate' has led to a misconception that Australian Values are in conflict with culturally diverse and multifaith Australia. This is not the case. These 9 DEST Australian Values have been developed with emphasis on multiculturalism, respect, tolerance and inclusion. It is the politics behind the values, their packaging and the discourse surrounding them that have incorrectly linked the 9 Australian Values with a resurgence of a narrow nationalism and intolerance for cultural and religious diversity.

This discourse does not support the 9 Australian Values, instead another set of UnAustralian Values, including *Lack of Compassion, Dishonesty, Hypocrisy, Prejudice* and *Exclusion.* have permeated our society. These UnAustralian Values reflect a commitment to neoliberal Dominionism, where prejudice and fear increasingly dominate federal political discourse and voices of dissent are silenced.

Comments from political leaders have launched and sustained the full blown 'Values Debate'. They have also contravened the 9 Australian Values, in particular their commitment to multiculturalism and inclusion, and have been more aligned with the UnAustralian Values presented above. Some notable examples of this discourse have been:

- Howard's (quoted in Caro 2004) attack on Australian public schools for being "too politically correct" and "values-neutral" in January 2004 in an interview for *The Age*.
- After the London bombings in July 2005, Nelson's (quoted in Grattan 2005) infamous "if people don't want to be Australians and they don't want to accept Australian values and understand them, well basically they can clear off".
- Bishop and Panopoulos's calls to ban Muslim headscarves in public schools in August 2005 (Herald Sun 2005).
- On Australia Day 2006, Howard's (quoted in Maiden 2006) identification of Australian Values with the "dominant cultural pattern" of "Judeo-Christian ethics, the progressive spirit of the enlightenment and the institutions and values of British political culture".
- Costello's (quoted in Lewis 2006) tirade at the Sydney Institute in February 2006, in the wake of Cronulla and the Danish cartoons, against "mushy misguided multiculturalism", for Muslims who do not abide by Australian Values to be stripped of citizenship and for a "more muscular nationalism"
- Howard's calls on talkback radio in August 2006, "for Muslims to integrate fully into Australian society, learning English and 'accepting Australian Values'" and that "people who come from societies where women are treated in an inferior fashion have got to learn quickly this is not the case in Australia" (quoted in Devine 2006).
- On the eve of the fifth anniversary of 9/11 2006, Howard (quoted in Herald Sun 2006) again on talkback radio said, "There is a section of the Islamic population which will not integrate… does have values and attitudes, which are hostile to Australia's interests". He was also reported as believing that "Western democracy would triumph eventually".

• Howard on the 15 September 2006 (quoted in Morris 2006) attacked "zealous multiculturalism" to defend the government's proposal for compulsory citizenship tests.

Comments such as these, attacking multiculturalism and particularly targeting the Muslim community have been criticised by politicians, journalists, academics and Muslim leaders for: fueling division in the community (Coorey 2006); scapegoating Muslim communities (Vamvakinou 2006 cited in McManus and Harvey 2006); feeding "Muslim-bashing" (Ray quoted in Coorey 2006); as being hypocritical (Lawrence cited in Coorey 2006) especially concerning gender equity (Devine 2006); increasing alienation that could "lead to violence" (Aly quoted in Packham 2006); antagonising youth (Aly quoted in Packham 2006); being "offensive to all Arabic and Muslim communities" and "to the whole history of multiculturalism" (Smiley quoted in The Age 2006). They hardly promote *Care, Compassion, Respect*, and *Inclusion* instead they are divisive, hypocritical, prejudiced, exclusive and show an alarming lack of responsibility from the nation's leaders.

Howard, Costello and Nelson in particular all seem to have confused UnAustralian with Australian Values. It makes you wonder whether they are aware of the 9 DEST Values at all. Perhaps they are aware of the DEST Values yet are deliberately disregarding them as they have the Kyoto protocol? Perhaps Beazley (Nason 2006) instead of campaigning for immigrants and tourists to sign a commitment to Australian Values would have done better to insist that all ministers sign up first? Our nation's leaders are not living up to "their side of the compact" (Bracks quoted in Austin 2006).

It is tempting to make light of the 'Values Debate', which recently gained new heights of absurdity when Vanstone accused Beazley of racism (Grattan 2006b), however the reality is that the promotion of UnAustralian Values has had dangerous consequences for Australians, the Cronulla riots are a particularly disturbing example. Something is seriously amiss in UnAustralia.

The Values Debate

The need to emphasise Australian Values in policy was recommended by the Fitzgerald Inquiry in 1988 (Seccombe 1988). Then leader of the opposition, Howard agreed that "Australian culture and values" should take "precedence over cultures of origin" (Galligan & Roberts 2003:10). Howard (quoted in Chan 1996) after his election in 1996, and in response to Hansonism, spoke of his "vision" to unify the Australian nation with a "common set of Australian Values". Australian Values have appeared sporadically in political discourse since then, notably in 1999 with the unveiling of the constitutional preamble (Dore 1999) and in 2001 when Howard reaffirmed "shared US and Australian values" on a visit to Washington (Financial Review 2002).

The 'Values Debate' began in earnest in January 2004 when Howard (quoted in Caro 2004) accused Australian public schools of being "too politically correct" and "values-neutral". The acting Minister for Education, Peter McGauran echoed Howard's concerns

(Caro 2004). In June 2004 every school, "as a condition of funding" was ordered to display the Australian flag and the Australian values framework in a prominent position (Clark 2006:107). This was not so surprising as Clark (2006:109) has stated, the 'Values Debate' is but another chapter in the 'history wars'. Howard's revival of a narrow nationalism, epitomized by the imposition of the compulsory flag and Australian Values programs in all schools, found strong support in the public as did "the desire to teach a cohesive narrative and identity" (Clark 2006:110).

I first encountered the 9 DEST Australian Values in December 2004, when they were presented at a UNESCO conference in Adelaide, well before their official launch in June 2005. Clearly the educators who authored the 9 DEST Australian Values are people who believe in multiculturalism, social justice and environmental sustainability. I was pleasantly surprised, and based on the integrity of the authors and their product, resisted the urge to ask the pressing question: How can the Howard government espouse *Compassion* as the principle Australian Value and simultaneously advocate for children to be in detention? I kept quiet and thought I'd wait to see if the Howard government would officially endorse these values. I doubted it.

In 2005, following the London bombings Nelson launched the *The National Framework for Values Education in Australian Schools*. The content of the text was the same as what we'd seen in Adelaide, however Nelson took credit for superimposing Simpson and his donkey over the top of the 9 Values "as an example of what's at the heart of our national sense of emerging identity" (Clark 2006:111). He also said "We want them to understand our history and our culture" but questions Clark (2006:111) "who are "we", and what is "ours"?"

Just how these 'left-wing', 'politically correct' educators managed to have their 9 DEST Values endorsed by the Howard government is a stroke of genius worthy of further inquiry but beyond the scope of this paper. Unfortunately the subsequent packaging and discourse of the Australian Values are in direct contrast to the DEST Values, particularly the values of respect, inclusion and the commitment to multiculturalism.

Interestingly, the new *Values Education* posters, displayed prominently in all Australian schools, no longer show Simpson or the flag but rather a series of photographs of multicultural Aussie kids at play with an accompanying slogan "The Values We Share". Curriculum Corporation, who won the contract to prepare the *Values Education* material must have picked up on the discrepancy and thankfully addressed it.

The issues behind this hypocrisy will be explored in this paper. In particular I will investigate what UnAustralian Values are and, perhaps more importantly, why we are asking this question now.

UnAustralia and its Values

 UnAustralia long predates the Howard government. According to Smith and Phillips

(2001:325) the word was first used in the 1920's and 30's in the 'White Army' rhetoric of a 'secret group' of ruling class farmers and ex-soldiers who saw it as their duty to defend and maintain the moral and social order of Australia. UnAustralian has been used to describe non-whites, communists, radicals, Catholics, the unemployed, trade unions and pacifists (Smith & Phillips 2001:325). The Smith & Phillips (2001:326) study uncovered that the term UnAustralian "served primarily as a boundary-maintaining discursive player through which the right could allege sedition, subversion and disloyalty". The Howard government has similarly used the label UnAustralian, attempting to discredit Muslim Australians, dissident academics, activists and educators. A new patriotism has emerged in Australia under Howard; all who do not share his values are deemed UnAustralian and therefore a potential threat to society.

In 1998 when prominent Australians were asked about UnAustralia the majority agreed it "operated as a cloak for racism and social exclusion" (Smith & Phillips 2001:326). "Violence, intolerance, selfishness, waste, racism, divisiveness, separatism and immodesty" were identified as UnAustralian Values by respondents in the Smith & Phillips (2001:327-337) study. Violations of civic responsibility and foreign influences, American and ethnic were also deemed UnAustralian. In particular, "inward looking", "ethnic separatism" that snubbed Anglo-Australia was seen as particularly threatening as was a fear that ethnic ways could potentially dominate Australian society (Smith & Phillips 2001:326).

The persistence of 'suspicion of the ethnic other' throughout the history of UnAustralia, despite a majority of Australians condemning racism as an UnAustralian Value is paradoxical. Are racism and prejudice UnAustralian Values after all?

The Un/Australian Context: A History of Exclusion vs. Multiculturalism

In Australia, although blatant racism is not the norm, racial prejudice is endemic. In the wake of the Cronulla riots, 44% of Australians thought our society was racist (Newspoll cited in Shannahan 2005) and 75% thought "there is an underlying racism in Australia (ACNielson cited in Shannahan 2005). Concurrently 70% according to Newspoll (cited in Shannahan 2005) and 81% according to ACNielson (cited in Shannahan 2005) of Australians said they support multiculturalism. However recent polls report that in excess of 70% feel "it is better for society if groups adapt and blend into the larger society" (Good & Watson cited in Norton 2006:19) and 60% agreed "it is important for new migrants to learn what it is to be Australian [rather] than cling to old ways" (Bean et al. cited in Norton 2006:19).

Norton (2006:22) questions whether Australia's hidden prejudice has been brought to the surface by global and local crisis events like 9/11 and Cronulla? Yet how hidden has Australia's prejudice ever really been? Multiculturalism has only had a 35 year history and has been, and continues to be, continually and vehemently attacked by numerous critics.

Australia has a history of exclusion: prejudice and racism are never far from the surface. British occupation denied ownership of land and committed gross injustices to Indigenous Australians who were politically excluded until 1967 (Jayaraman 2000:137-8). The Gold Rush brought waves of non-European and Chinese immigrants to Australia, who experienced discrimination and violent attacks (Jayaraman 2000:140). The Immigration Restriction Act, popularly known as the White Australia Policy was passed in 1901 (Jayaraman 2000:141-142). In the early 1970s assimilationist policies were replaced by multiculturalism founded on the principles of "social cohesion, equality of opportunity and cultural identity" (Galligan & Roberts 2003:2-7). Multiculturalism enjoyed growing success and support and in 1982 it was put "at the heart of Australia's developing nationhood and national identity" (Galligan & Roberts 2003:7). Yet this didn't last long as *The Fitzgerald Report* of 1988 "opened the Pandora's box of multiculturalism". Its recommendations were "strongly nationalistic" emphasizing "Australian identity" as preferable to multiculturalism (Committee to Advise cited in Galligan & Roberts 2003:9).

Howard, then the leader of the opposition, called multiculturalism an "aimless divisive policy" and proposed a 'One-Australia' migration strategy (Galligan & Roberts 2003:10) calling for a "common Australian identity" to replace multiculturalism (Galligan & Roberts 2003:1). The Liberal-National Government lost the 1990 and 1993 elections and under Keating multiculturalism was viewed as an economic asset facilitating and promoting global trade (Lopez 2005:39).

Hanson rose to power in the mid nineties attacking Aboriginal and also Asian Australians (Jayaraman 2000:151). Howard too was elected in 1996 and refused to condemn Hanson's views and instead voiced approval for her right to air them (Jayaraman 2000:151). Howard's 1996 election campaign was titled "For all of Us", where the implied "(but not them)" (Pearson quoted in Clarke 2006:109) represented the special interest groups who under Keating had apparently "made the majority feel left out" (Williams 1997:59 cited in Maddox 2006:77). The 2001 campaign was also "dominated by the dehumanisation of asylum seekers, by fear and xenophobia – the fear of strangers and a rejection of 'the other'" (Lawrence 2006:39). Reith implied that the route of asylum seekers arriving by boat was "potentially a pipeline for terrorists" and Ruddock described the increase in numbers of asylum seekers as an "urgent threat to Australia's very integrity" (Lawrence 2006:40-41). Post 9/11, the Howard government has "linked anxiety about terrorism with anxiety about ethnic and religious difference" (Connell 2006:35).

The London bombings in July 2005 reignited the multiculturalism debate with many arguing that multiculturalism was a contributing factor in producing 'homegrown' terrorists (Lopez 2005:33).

> The analysis generally runs along the following lines: multiculturalism has encouraged Muslims to maintain their identity without becoming part of the community at large; this has led to separatism, the free propagation of extremist views and contempt for the Australian nation and its core values (Georgiou 2005).

Georgiou (2005) has defended multiculturalism on the grounds that it is the "freedoms that define Western democracy", particularly freedom of religion and freedom of speech, long predating multiculturalism, that create an environment where extremist ideas can be propagated. Multiculturalism has also been mischaracterized as promoting difference and "offering no central core of values to provide a shared identity"; this is incorrect, as multiculturalism as early as 1981, under Fraser, has always affirmed commitment to the law and common values at once above and alongside respect for diversity and equity of opportunity (Georgiou 2005).

Despite these arguments, multiculturalism continues to be pummeled in the press and there are additionally disturbing reasons for the current assaults alongside Australia's history of exclusion.

UnAustralian Alliance

Along with persistent prejudices, the discourse on Australian Values has been simultaneously stimulated by external influences of globalisation, US neoliberalism and Dominionism.

> …the forces of globalisation lurk behind the majority of the things 'UnAustralian'… (Smith & Phillips 2001:324)...entrepreneurial multinational capitalism, cultural trends towards 'Americanisation' and the growing ethnic presence can all be read as potential threats to the ontological security… (Giddens 1984 cited in Smith & Phillips 2001:324)

Similarly, in Australia attacks on multiculturalism and the rise of narrow nationalism is evidence of a "boundary-maintaining process" where "out-groups" are blamed for change and decline of "the old ways" (Bauman 1990:48 cited in Smith & Phillips 2001:337). This is currently a global phenomenon.

The need to affirm common values and a monocultural identity are also advocated by neoliberalism, primarily in order to aid the market. Neoliberalism argues that the market is the most efficient and moral provider of services and goods and opposes social democracy and the welfare state (Connell 2006:32). The Howard government's commitment to neoliberalism are reflected in the 'Values Debate' as neoliberals believe everyone should be treated equally regardless of what their circumstances are (Maddox 2005:110-111). The "basis of Howard's early opposition to multiculturalism" is his belief that "unity, however artificial, was preferable to plurality if the latter led to emphasis of difference" (Henderson in 1995:26 cited in Maddox 2005:110). Howard's Values (quoted in The Age 2000:6) of "self-reliance; the concept of a 'fair go; the ability to 'pull together'; and the willingness to 'have a go'", blatantly reflect a neoliberal agenda. Costello (2006:15), similarly places "economic opportunity" at the top of his list of values and follows with "security, democracy, personal freedom, the physical environment and strong physical and social infrastructure". Both are a far cry from the 9

DEST Values and notably, compassion, multiculturalism and inclusion are missing.

Howard according to his neoliberal agenda has always cultivated and maintained a strong alliance with the US. This is particularly reflected in the Howard government's foreign policy and discourse. Following the US's lead, the Howard government has "reproduced America's lies… created a local climate of fear about terror, and sparked massive prejudice against Muslims" (Connell 2006:37). However, Howard's US alliance runs deeper than foreign policy.

Under Howard, the "American-style religious right" has gained "a foothold in Australia's historically much more secular democratic institutions" (Maddox 2005: xi). Howard's ascent to power in 1995, was driven by his family values crusade. The "civil war of values" and "culture wars" are also imports from the US religious right (Maddox 2005:81,294). Howard's "traditional values" are religious right values (Doherty 2004 in Maddox 2005:185) and his marriage of economic neoliberalism and social conservatism has been imported from the "American theology of Christian supremacy" known as Dominionism (Maddox 2005:198-199).

> Take dominion. Subdue the land in [God's] name. We are to fight a war. Our weapon is faith… We can move the hand of God in a mighty crusade of holiness (Robertson quoted in Martin 1996:216 cited in Maddox 2005:206).

Bush (quoted in PBS 2004 cited in Maddox 2006:270) has been influenced by the Dominionists, most evident in his post 9/11 pledge to "rid the world of evil" and in numerous statements such as "the liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity" (Bush 2003 quoted in Maddox 2005:174). Howard (quoted in Hage 2001:28) has expressed similar sentiments:

> We are, as all of you know, a projection of Western Civilisation in this part of the world. We have inherited the great European values of liberal democracy.

Hage (2001:29) exposes Howard's 'fundamentalism' in his vision of distinguishing universal values, such as commitment to tolerance and democracy as Australian and Western, thereby implying that there are 'other' nationalities and civilisations who are less or not committed to them, thereby mimicking Bush (and Huntington 1996).

Hage (2001: 27-28) describes the belief in core values as a basic feature of all fundamentalist ideologies: "Fundamentalism always offers a normative conception of a society as a coherent projection of complementary values". Howard has consistently promoted a vision of unchanging Australian values:

> …the Australia that I lived in 1956 was a wonderful country… it's important to understand that there are some things about our country that don't change, and shouldn't change, and we should fight hard to stop changing.

> …that golden thread of Australian values that hasn't changed (Howard 1998 quoted in Hage 2001:28)

Hage (2001:29-30) states that fundamentalists also believe that society is drifting away from core values that are fundamentally *Good*, and the need to recover the *Good* from the *Bad*. Howard's, like all fundamentalisms discourages critical reflexivity and "anyone who tries to emphasise a different reality is clearly on the side of the Bad other" (Hage 2001:31). Those who promote multiculturalism and Aboriginal land rights, 'black-armband' history, left-wing intellectuals, Christians who work for social justice, gay couples, single parents, Muslim and migrant communities, all the so-called 'out groups' and those who stand up for us/them have been demonised.

Instead, under the Howard government, similar to the US, Australia has seen a rise in influence of right-wing think tanks, conservative press and talkback radio in propagating neoliberal, family values and Dominionist agendas (Maddox 2006:210-221).

The driving forces behind the values debate are interconnected. The values of the US religious right are UnAustralian Values: values of a Market God with a Dominionist agenda. The Howard government has played on people's fears, of globalization, of terrorism, and people's prejudices to promote US neoliberalism and the values of the 'prosperity gospel'.

UnAustralian Attacks on Multiculturalism and Cronulla

Both the internal and external drivers of the 'Values Debate' have had disastrous consequences. The Howard government's discourse, promoted by the media, has reignited and re-legitimised Australia's 'underlying racism', targeting Muslim and ethnic communities.

Lawrence (2006:35) writes that after the London bombings "many ethnic groups in Australia, especially those who are identified as Arab or Muslim have reported a climate of fear – racism has hit peaks not seen since One Nation was in full flight" and a doubling of complaints of religious discrimination have been reported by The Victorian Equal Opportunity Commission since 1999. There has been a well documented rise of discrimination against Muslim communities (HREOC 2004; Poynting, S. and Noble, G. 2004; Monash University & AMF 2006). Communities that are incorrectly perceived to be Muslim have also been persecuted and Australia is currently experiencing a rise of migrantophobia, xenophobia and racism (Monash University & AMF 2006).

The Cronulla riots were a hideous display of nationalism and racism, fuelled by 'shock jocks' and also in part by the 'Values Debate'. Youths on a mission to protect 'our' beaches and women, draped in Australian flags singing Waltzing Matilda, chanting 'Aussie, Aussie, Aussie', 'Fuck off Lebs! Fuck off wogs! Let's keep our country clean!' and 'Go home!' brutally attacked 'a darkish-looking fellow' and a Russian-born Afghani (Lawrence 2006:32-34). The Cronulla riots took us mostly by surprise, however when

you consider Australia's history of exclusion and especially our recent history, particularly the ill-treatment of asylum seekers and demonisation of Islamic communities, it is hardly surprising at all.

Multiculturalism: Networks for Social Cohesion and Shared Security

After the London bombings and particularly following the Cronulla riots, despite being attacked by right-wing press, academics and senior political leaders, multiculturalism has also been defended and promoted as a strategy for building social cohesion and shared security. Howard Government MP's Petro Georgiou and Tony Abbott have been among its greatest advocates.

Growing exclusion or discrimination can aggravate grievances and feelings of injustice, alienation and marginalization, especially experienced by young people from majority and minority groups who could be vulnerable to radicalization. Problems of exclusion and cultures of violence are being addressed by multicultural and religious organizations. Indeed following 9/11 issues of national security have been imposed on multicultural, multifaith and ethnic organizations particularly leaders of Islamic communities "ideally positioned to provide valuable intelligence to the relevant security authorities" and to promote harmony through commitment to core values in their communities (Lopez 2005:35). Exclusion is a major contributing factor to global risk. It is being perpetuated not by those who practice and value multiculturalism, but by those who do not. Attacks on multiculturalism exacerbate exclusion far more than conditional multiculturalism itself.

Concerns have also been raised that multiculturalism "undermines solidarity and trust" as "people are more likely to afford equal treatment to others with whom they share a common identity and common values" (Miller 1998:48 cited in Eisenburg 2006:19). However, Eisenburg (2006:21) argues that improving inclusion of marginalised groups through a politics of difference and multiculturalism will increase their participation in society therefore increasing solidarity. Promoting a multicultural view of Australian identity also insures that a common unity can be found beyond the oppositional 'Us and Them' of monoculturalism and assimilation.

The Edmund Rice Centre for Justice and Community Education and The School of Education, at the Australian Catholic University (2005:1-2), produced a publication *Defending Our Way of Life – Multiculturalism is our best defense* which stated:

> Criminal acts of terrorism occur when people become ostracized and oppressed and have no access to legitimate avenues of expressing their views… A multicultural society, which allows the peaceful expression of a diversity of opinions, is the best antidote to extremism and terrorism.

These views are also consistent with the perspective of international security experts. The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (cited in Georgiou 2005) in their

plan of action to combat terrorism note:

> No circumstance or cause can justify terrorism. At the same time, there are various social, economic, political and other factors…, which engender conditions in which terrorist organizations are able to recruit and win support.

To address these conditions, in a section titled 'Preventing action against terrorism… Promoting human rights, tolerance and multiculturalism' the plan recommends that:

> … participating states.. will promote and enhance tolerance, coexistence and harmonious relations between ethnic, religious, linguistic and other groups… Will… promote their respect for the rule of law, democratic values and individual freedoms.

As Georgiou (2005) notes: "These are expressions of the key principles of multiculturalism".

> In the war against terrorism multiculturalism is an ally not an enemy (Georgiou 2005).

Abbott (cited in Grattan 2006a) agreed that following the Cronulla riots "it makes more sense than ever to rehabilitate multiculturalism as an expression of our society's traditional strengths and as a vehicle for building commitment to Australia".

> In fact, multiculturalism is likely to be the most effective long-term antidote to the antagonisms on display. By accepting difference, multiculturalism strives to avoid confrontation. By stressing respect, it aims to foster the kind of dialogue that diminishes the potential for conflict (Abbott 2006).

In Australia, since 9/11 there have been numerous events, festivals, forums and conferences centered on multicultural or multifaith engagement. In particular, the number of multifaith initiatives has increased dramatically. This coming together of people from diverse ethnicities and religions as one community, to counter ignorance and promote common values, is a significant contribution to Australia's social cohesion and shared security.

> …the social exclusion-cohesion approach implies an ongoing role for government in facilitating the bonding, bridging and linking capacities of social capital.
> …
> The facilitation of social capital through governance involves inclusive, participatory and locally relevant forms of relationships between communities and state (Stone & Hughes 2002:66)

Despite national and international debates and critiques of multiculturalism, in Australia in practice much more so than in theory, the resilience of multiculturalism is worthy of

mention. A multiplicity of initiatives aimed at building relationships and multi-actor networks promoting social cohesion and addressing exclusion, between the State, State actors such as police, religious and ethnic community leaders, are being undertaken in Victoria and Queensland, informed by the principles of multiculturalism (Monash University & AMF 2006). Both governments and Premiers Bracks and Beattie have been vocal in their commitment to multiculturalism as a strategy to promote social cohesion in their respective states and in Victoria, to counter-terrorism (State Government Victoria 2005:3). It is significant that riots took place in Cronulla, NSW and not in Brisbane or Melbourne, arguably in part as a result of such networks and strong commitment to multiculturalism.

> Networks have a capacity to carry information – an important aspect of social capital (Coleman 1990:330 cited in Ward 2006:151)… Experimental work establishes that communication helps to activate shared norms and understandings (Ostrom et al. 1994 cited in Ward 2006:151), and it is plausible that norms of appropriate response… to issues are also learnt by contact (Ward 2006:151).

Through two-way communication, between communities and state authorities, the creation of multi-actor networks can "promote sustainability – hence peace" (Ward 2006:162).

The 9 DEST Values due to their commitment to multiculturalism also promote social cohesion and shared security. I therefore disagree with Knight's critique of the DEST values as being "vague" and "empty" (in Roberts 2006) . They have been criticised for being too "universal" (Clark 2006:112), this is a correct observation, apart from the phrase 'Fair Go' there is nothing particularly Australian about them. However, from a security perspective, affirming a narrow nationalistic identity is not necessarily desirable, the Cronulla riots again are a perfect example of what can happen when a narrow nationalism begins to take hold. From a peace perspective, grounding the values in a multicultural context, as the 9 DEST Values have been situated, ensures that our Australian Values are compatible with Universal Values, acknowledged as being derived from multiple cultures, and are therefore values that all Australians can identify with.

Which Australia? Which Values? Advancing Shared Security

> The clash of cultures that concerns me is that between tolerance and intolerance (Georgiou 2004 quoted in Haywood 2005).

Despite Pearson's (2006:10) valid critique of such a position, my conclusion is that there are broadly speaking two opposing visions of Australian Values and we are divided by our agendas and prejudices. As Sen (in Pearson 2006:10) argues, culture is but one signifier of identity and therefore to assert a "simple duality" between monoculturalism and multiculturalism is problematic. Yes, we have multiple identities and also allegiances, yet in the case of Australia and the 'Values Debate', mono and

multiculturalism are the main signifiers of our competing national visions.

There is a growing movement towards an exclusive monocultural Anglo-Australian identity based not so much on Australian Values or even British colonialism but on US neoliberal, Dominionist values. The 'other' Australia believes in an inclusive and conditional multicultural and multifaith Australia respecting a diversity of cultures and religious traditions, within the boundaries of Australian law. It is committed to a shared Australian identity that has been derived over time, with its origins in Indigenous culture and influenced by successive waves of migrants. I know which Australia I would rather belong to and which Australia is more genuinely secure.

The 9 DEST Values are aligned with an inclusive multicultural Australia and UnAustralian Values with exclusive monocultural Australia. The Howard government has been using the 'Values Debate' to promote its neoliberal Dominionist agenda, paradoxically contradicting the 9 DEST Values it has endorsed, particularly commitment to multiculturalism, justice and inclusion.

Inclusion is consistent with peacebuilding theory centered on shared security. Exclusion poses the greatest security risks. The Australian government needs to acknowledge this rather than exacerbate the dangers by their rhetoric. We cannot preach compassion and inclusion without confronting the inequitable and inhumane treatment of Aboriginal communities and asylum seekers, rising Islamophobia and migrantophobia. An inclusive and critically reflexive multicultural and multifaith Australia, with a commitment to environmental sustainability is what we need to promote in order to confront the most pressing security issues of our times – exclusion, poverty and global warming.

The 9 DEST Values with their commitment to multiculturalism, justice and environmental sustainability are universal values that promote social cohesion and shared security in Australia. It's time we all put them into practice, including our political leaders!

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