Middle-Class Pacific Islanders in Australia: Negotiating Identity, Race and Class

Fesaitu (Itu) Taito - 41971418

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Research, Department of Sociology, Macquarie University, 2016

Contents

Summary

By examining in-depth interviews with ten middle class Pacific Islanders, this thesis explores the complexities they experience in negotiating identity and belonging through the intersections of race and class in Australia. The findings are divided into three broad themes of inclusion, exclusion and inbetweeness. Inclusion is experienced through formal and informal modes of 'integration' which have facilitated the respondents sense of belonging; exclusion meanwhile relates to the everyday racism faced by respondents that act as a constant reminder they do not fully belong; and lastly a sense of inbetweeness must be negotiated as they occupy being privileged socio-economically whilst simultaneously stigmatized due to racial ethnic markers. This thesis reveals the complexity of the middle class migrant identity which continues to be little examined in the literature on immigrant settlement in Australia. Moreover, it expands research on the settlement experience of Pacific Islanders in Australia by focusing on its middle class as well as unpacking the heterogeneity of this pan-ethnic grouping.

Declaration of originality

Except where the contributions of others are acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my own original research, and has not been previously submitted for assessment.

Fesaitu (Itu) Taito – 41971418

Date:

Acknowledgements

'No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him who loved us.'

Romans 8:37

Immeasurable gratitude goes to my parents for your constant love, support and prayers over the years and for showing me how to plant roots in foreign places and make it 'home'.

Thank you to my brother for always being there when it matters most and for fixing all my never ending computer issues.

Huge thanks to Dr Kristine Aquino for being an incredibly gracious and patient Supervisor. Your dedication, time and sociological insights have been invaluable to me. You have gone so far above and beyond the call of duty and I am richer for it.

Thank you to my fellow students and cheer squad Vikas Arya, Margaret Kelly and Lara McGir for sharing this ridiculous journey with me and making it seem less painful than it really is.

Thank you to the ten interview participants for fitting me into your busy schedules in order to support this project. This thesis would not have been possible without your insights.

Thank you also to the Executive Committee and members of the Pacific Island Mount Druitt Advocacy Network (PIMDAN) for your enthusiasm for my project and for spreading the word far and wide among your contacts.

Thank you to the entire Macquarie University Sociology Department for your continued encouragement and assistance over the past two years, in particular Dr Alison Leitch, Dr Justine Lloyd and Dr Shaun Wilson for helping me navigate my way through this MRes course.

Thanks also to my boss and work colleagues at the NSW Ministry of Health for being so understanding of my study and personal commitments.

And finally much love to my nearest and dearest friends and extended family who have not seen me for two years but continue to make the effort to keep in touch.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Research on immigrant settlement in Australia has largely focused on disadvantaged migrants such as low skilled migrants or refugees. Historically post World War II migrants who came to Australia were seen as *'factory fodder'* (Taksa and Groutsis, 2010, p.78). In general they were perceived as a labour commodity and part of a government initiative to 'people Australia' (Jupp, 1990, p.286). Foregrounding migrant labour power or skills renders the bearer invisible (Taska and Groutis, 2010, p.79) in the sense that they are dehumanised as economic commodities. These type of migrants, therefore, have been a significant focus for migration studies because this cohort can face socioeconomic disadvantage , have poor English language skills and are also often demonised for not 'integrating' due to their tendencies to cluster in 'ethnic ghettos'. But what about migrants who are situated 'inbetween' and who do not fall in the category of lower working class and are not reduced to labour commodities? Recent research indicates a growing 'migrant middle class' in Australia those who are financially secure, upwardly mobile and in comparison to their working class counterparts are considered quite privileged. What about their settlement experiences?

This thesis examines how middle class Pacific Islanders construct, negotiate and understand their 'integration' in 'mainstream' Australian society. I explore the intersections of race and class in the lives of middle class Pacific Islander migrants in Sydney who occupy a privileged class position yet continue to encounter racial exclusion and stigma. Through ten qualitative in-depth interviews, the central aim of this thesis is to better understand the *complexities* of constructing and negotiating identities among those who are racialised and middle class in multicultural Australia. I argue that this middle class location, while indicating the achievement of social mobility and economic 'integration' in the 'mainstream', continues to be fraught with experiences of marginality and exclusion produced by racial stereotypes and systemic biases. Because racism is an important aspect of contemporary migrant discourse in Australia, I posit that racialisation occurs in both established ethnic minority groups as well as newer migrant groups constructing both as different from the host society. As such the pressure to integrate is experienced by both groups (Erel et al 2016 p.1343) and the position of 'immigrant' or 'racialised minorities' are not always clearly defined as racial minorities are often cast as recent arrivals (Erel et al 2016 p.1352). While there are similarities between new migrants and established racialised minorities the experiences of inclusion and exclusion will differ depending on factors such as the length of time one has settled in the host country, their class position, citizenship and social status.

My research aims to contribute to the literature regarding social mobility, migrant settlement experiences and middle class locations within the Australian context. It explores the grounded experiences of migration, settlement and diversity in everyday life as they experience both 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' in Australian society.

Pacific Islanders in Australia

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2011), approximately 276,786 people with Maori and Pacific Island ancestry currently reside in Australia. Of this number there is around 91,069 Pacific Islanders who reside in NSW with the majority (88,572) living in Greater Western Sydney. The top four Pacific Island populations include Maori, Samoan, Tongan and Fijian (Westir ABS 2011). Despite the growing numbers of Pacific Island migrants in the country, very little research has been undertaken about their settlement experience.

While there have been some studies carried out on the transnational practices among the Pacific Islander diaspora including their multidirectional movements across borders and their transnational economic, social and cultural practices (Lee and Francis 2009), most notably, much of the literature tends to be preoccupied with marginalized sectors of migrant Pacific Island communities such as those living in lower socio economic areas and overrepresented in labour intensive work (McDonald 2014), young male youth offenders (Ravulo 2009), and young Pacific Islander men participating in sporting codes (Lakisa et al 2014; Horton 2012). The experience of middle class Pacific Islanders remains largely under-researched. This gap in the literature highlights a problematic assumption prevalent in understandings of immigrant groups as largely homogenous rather than heterogeneous. This assumption creates an 'over-simplistic' understanding of migrant experiences in Australia, one that fails to take into account internal differences within immigrant groups (Colic-Peisker 2011) and inherent complexities associated with negotiating identity through *race* and *class* intersections. This thesis aims to redress this imbalance by providing empirical research on middle class Pacific Islanders living in Australia and what it means to occupy the space between inclusion and exclusion and privilege and stigma.

Race and Class

Traditionally class has been perceived in terms of 'class location' and 'power relations'. In everyday language, the term class is used to denote locations within graded schemes, in particular, income gradations (Wright 1979, p.326). Definitions of *class* within sociology try to understand classes in terms of levels of status. Within Marxist theories, classes can be defined as 'common positions within the social relations of production' (Wright 1979, p.326).

However as Wright (1979, p.327) argues it is possible that not all positions within the production process will fall unambiguously into a single class location. Many of these positions occupy what he refers to as 'contradictory locations'. It is at this juncture my conceptualisation of class borrows elements of this ambiguous and ambivalent nature of class. My thesis demonstrates class is an unstable identity because people may have certain markers of a particular class but still not be fully recognised within that class position due to marginality and other forms of disadvantage. Moreover, the meaning of *race* is even more problematised in scholarly debates (Barot and Bird, 2001). Traditionally, 'racial science' defined race as biological phenotypical differences across groups and which translated to differences in mental capacities (Du Bois, 1969). However, since the beginning of the twentieth century this scientific basis has been invalidated and there now exists a consensus among natural and social scientists that race is a 'social construct'. Despite the latter, however, there are calls to abandon the term all together as its continued use can reify an empty signifier with no objective basis (Gilroy, 1998). In this thesis, while I acknowledge that there is no biological scientific basis to race, I argue that the *idea* of race continues to matter in lived experiences. I use a definition borrowed from the critical race scholarship of Omi and Winant (2002) who argue that race requires persistent political engagement because it continues to find formation in everyday life and, more importantly, continues to buttress modes of racism and racial inequality. In this thesis, 'race' is deployed and understood as a socially constructed mode of difference that works through phenotype but as well perceived cultural distinctions.

I apply the framework of 'intersectionality' to theorize how race and class (and gender) intersect in the lives of my research group. Intersectionality is the term used to critically reference the intersection of multiple systems of inequality such as race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, age. As an interdisciplinary discourse it recognizes that all of the above are not mutually exclusive entities but operate as 'reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities' (Collins, 2015 p.1-2). Rooted in Black Feminism and Critical Race Theory, the term was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw to address the marginalization of Black women in the U.S (Carbado et al 2013 p.303) to advance research on the plight of black women experiencing multiple forms of oppression (Bose 2010, p.67). Within this field of study is attentiveness to the relationship between power relations and social inequalities (Collins 2013 p.1). In recent years the analysis of intersectional theory has developed distinct methodological approaches to analyse multiple inequalities (Bose 2010

p.69). For instance Patricia Collins' (2013) has defined three distinct ways in which intersectionality can be practically applied:

> *(a) as a field of study, e.g., its history, themes, boundaries, debates, and direction; (b) intersectionality as an analytical strategy, e.g., how intersectional frameworks provide new angles of vision on social institutions, practices, social problems, and other social phenomena associated with social inequality; and (c) intersectionality as critical praxis, e.g., how social actors use intersectionality for social justice projects.* (Collins 2013 pp.3-4)

I deploy the concept of intersectionality as a holistic *analytical strategy* (akin to Collins' 2013 practical application) which encompasses institutional practices and other social phenomena generating multiple inequalities. In this way, intersecting inequalities such as race and class can be examined in broader terms as 'structural contexts that reproduce social and economic inequities' as opposed to 'individual level cultural explanations' (Viruell-Fuentes et al, 2012 p. 2103). Utilizing this approach my research brings to light the complex lived experiences of a particular social group in relation to wider institutional constructs such as *class and race and gender* which together generate multiple inequalities. Intersectionality brings to the fore the type of questions about whether race underpins experiences of migrant exclusion or whether class relations cause exclusion and at which point do both race and class intersect to affect negotiations of identity and social relations?

Integration

Through these questions, my thesis problematizes the very notion of 'integration'. In this thesis when I talk about 'Integration' I refer to the guiding principal still driving immigrant settlement policy in Australia. I argue that Immigration and settlement policy in Australia is largely underpinned by an integrationist rhetoric which in practice is assimilationist in nature. Integration thereby becomes problematic because it continues to advocate inclusion based on how well immigrants can assimilate to a homogenous 'White Australia' ideal. The term integration has been defined in many ways such as 'the participation of ethnic and religious minorities, individually and as groups, in the social structure of the host society while having possibilities to retain the distinctive aspects of their culture and identity' (Jakubowicz 2011). In recent years there has been a more contemporary shift that defines integration as 'civic integration' which involves attaching mandatory integration requirements such as citizenship tests, learning local history and language, and value commitments to status acquisition (Jakubowicz 2009; Banting and Kymlicka 2013; Rane and Hersi, 2012 p.142). My findings

show, however, that there are different trajectories and experiences to social mobility because of the varied ways economic markers and racial markers intersect.

Inbetweeness

The significance of my research is that it examines how class and race configurations operate within migrant experiences and highlights the importance these intersections play in determining levels of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' within host societies. As a way of understanding the ambiguous position between inclusion and exclusion, privilege and stigma, I deploy the notion of *'inbetween*ess' (Hall, 1990 and Bahba, 1990) to argue that middle class Pacific Islanders construct their identity in the context of living between or within multiple points of belonging. I apply conceptual frameworks emergent in recent research that attempts to similarly capture non-linear trajectories of immigrant 'integration' such as of *strategic assimilation* (Lacy 2004) and *minority culture of mobility* (Vallejo 2012) to emphasize the disparity between the 'white middle class' and 'minority middle class' identities. I argue that it is important to acknowledge race and class intersections to better understand immigrant experiences of settlement, integration, mobility and exclusion.

Methods of the study

I conducted ten (10) semi-structured qualitative in-depth interviews with participants from 'Pacific Islander' backgrounds living in Sydney, Australia. This pan-ethnic grouping includes persons with geographic ancestry from South Pacific regions of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. The ten participants in this study had Pacific Island ancestry from Fiji, Rotuma, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga and the Cook Islands. The sample group comprised of a mix of first and second generation Pacific Islanders engaging in predominantly white collar occupations. Three have mixed ancestry of Fijian and Anglo-British and Fijian and Rotuman parentage. The age range of the sample group covered those in their late twenties to early sixties. These interviewees consisted of five (5) male and five (5) female middle class Pacific Islanders. An equal number of males and females were chosen to ensure a variety of gendered perspectives. All participants have been de-identified and given pseudonyms for privacy reasons. For the purpose of my research, the definition/criteria applied for a person occupying the *'middle class'* is a person engaged in white collar professional work, usually with a tertiary qualification and whose income is in the top 60% of the population (Colic-Peisker, 2011). This definition has been used in a variety of other studies notably Lamont and Fleming (2005) conceptualization of class.

As my empirical work aims to examine individual experiences of the research target group, ten participants was considered a sufficient sample size in order to provide a variety of in-

depth responses. The aim in this instance is to discover the intricacies of individual experiences as opposed to the scope of representation across the community group (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006 p.483). The qualitative approach, furthermore, was valuable in providing the ability to 'penetrate social life beyond appearance and manifest meaning' (Crouch and McKenzie 2006 p.483). According to Ritchie et al (2003, p.28), the interview method is a valuable tool to engage a subject's, experiences and modes of meaning-making of social phenomena. Interviews also enable me to gauge aspects of the 'particular daily experiences' relating to a participant's theorization of identity (Yuval-Davis 2010, p.265). Interview questions covered the following topics (1) Background (2) Initial experiences migrating/growing up in Australia (3) Class and social mobility (4) Racism (5) Identity and Integration and (6) Cultural/Racial solidarity. Within these topic areas were sub questions which deconstructed the everyday lived experiences of participants regarding these topics. I also attended the Pacific Island Mount Druitt Advocacy Network (PIMDAN) monthly network '*info-share*' meetings as both an active community member and 'researcher' undertaking participant observation. This gave me the opportunity to gain additional insights into the community through experiencing social interactions and phenomena as they occurred (Ritchie et al 2003 p.29).

Participants were recruited via two separate avenues. The first was to draw from my own *personal and professional networks*. As a part of the Pacific Island Australian community I have access to a network of people who satisfied the participant selection criteria for this study. The second method was via *Snow-ball sampling* (Patton 1990). Considering the Pacific Island Australian community in Sydney is close-knit, participants also included those who heard of the project via 'word of mouth' and those who expressed their interest after a brief *info-share* session at a PIMDAN meeting. These avenues were selected as the most expedient method of recruitment due to the limited thesis timeline, this is because I already had an existing network to draw from who not only satisfied the criteria but could also spread the word among the community. In addition, the Pacific Advocacy Networks I had chosen to participate in and observe is well recognized within Pacific communities as a leading organization for the distribution of information.

Interview data was collected via written notes, digital MP3 voice recordings and typed transcripts of interviews. Typed transcripts of interview responses were then coded into thematic categories. While the interviews explore the individual experiences of participants it is imperative to 'take into account the social context' when interpreting and analyzing the data

(Crouch and McKenzie, 2006 p.485). The Miles and Huberman (1994) approach was used to analyze interview findings. This approach involved transcribing all recorded interviews and then coding the data according to common themes emerging from participant responses. These themes became the sensitizing concepts relevant to my thesis topic. These concepts provided a theoretical framework for my empirical work.

My thesis excluded descendants of the South Sea Islanders in QLD and Northern Australia as the socio economic and political migratory history with regard to this cohort is vastly different. In 1994 South Sea Islanders were acknowledged as a distinct ethnic group separate from Pacific Islanders, Torres Strait Islanders and Indigenous Australians and given official legal recognition in QLD in 2000 (McGavin 2012).

My interest in this topics stems from my own experience as a middle class Pacific Islander growing up in different parts of New South Wales Australia. My formative years were spent moving inbetween different locations including Newcastle, Temora, Narooma, Wollongong and Sydney, constantly renegotiating my own sense of 'identity', 'home' and 'belonging'. I acknowledge my position as a researcher and as a member of the community I am researching. I was aware of certain complexities including my own bias and prejudices. Being an insider and a researcher meant I had to consciously distance my own life experiences from the respondents' narratives.

Chapter Outlines

In Chapter Two, I begin with canvassing the literature on immigration and settlement policy in Australia and unpack the problematic nature of settlement rhetoric versus reality. I also explore the literature on middle class migrants within the international and Australian context. I highlight the work of Karen Lacy (2004) with regard to *Strategic Assimilation* and also explore Jody Vallejo's (2012) paradigm of a *minority culture of mobility'* as both provide a practical guide for my own work.

In Chapter Three, I commence the analysis of my empirical findings which reveal the problematic notion of 'integration' as there are multiple pathways to *inclusion*. My participants' narratives reveal three 'modes of integration' and these include institutional modes of integration, informal networks of support, and discourses of *home.* This chapter highlights the important role formal institutions and informal personal networks play in facilitating feelings of acceptance and belonging of migrants within 'mainstream' society.

In Chapter Four, I examine the experience of racial *exclusion* faced by participants. My research, thus, demonstrates that despite their privileged class location, middle class Pacific Islanders continue to experience both overt and subtle forms of racism. I argue that incidences of *everyday racism* (Essed 1991)) continue to be underpinned by the endurance of white hegemonic dominance and the reproduction of 'sameness' in 'mainstream' Australia, including the middle class. I argue that at the heart of integration rhetoric is the ideal of valuing 'sameness' as opposed to valuing 'difference'.

In Chapter Five, I consolidate my discussions in Chapters Three and Four and theorise how being Pacific Islander and being middle class results in a *third space* of *inbetweeness* where, on the one hand, my participants occupy a privileged position but, on the other hand, they continue to face stigma associated with their ethnicity and visible racial markers. They walk a fine line between inclusion and exclusion because they are economically secure yet continue to face social stigma. This chapter demonstrates the ambiguous nature of race and class intersections within identity construction and migrant discourses. I argue that if integration rhetoric values homogeneity than those who occupy the migrant middle class location will always experience a sense of exclusion due to their heterogeneity. I demonstrate how despite these impediments to integration, my participants find ways to strategically negotiate this ambiguous space.

In the Conclusion Chapter I reemphasise how the on the ground experiences of middle class Pacific Islanders signals the problematic nature of the notion of 'integration' that continues to be prioritised in Australian migration and settlement policy. I also reiterate the *complexities* associated with constructing and negotiating identities among those who are racialised non white middle class migrants in multicultural Australia and I signal new questions this study raises especially in relation to the shortcomings of current migrants and multiculturalism research and policy debates.

CHAPTER 2 – REVIEWING THE LITERATURE

In this section I examine the national and international literature that pertains to the examinations of the experience of middle class migrants and important research pertaining to middle class racialised minorities. I begin with canvassing the history of immigration and settlement policy in Australia and, moreover, focus on the problematic notions of assimilation and integration that have driven the range of policy reforms attempting to manage migrant populations. I then highlight recent work that focuses on immigrant experiences and multiculturalism as it happens in lived contexts. Moreover, I explore emergent research detailing how class and race intersect in complex ways on the ground.

Immigration and Settlement Policy in Australia

Australia has a long history of immigration that has been central to nation building. The Australian experience of immigration has often been analysed in terms of *'epochs'* of settlement policies these are 'Assimilationism', 'Integrationism' and 'Multiculturalism' (Jakubowicz 1989, p.2). Assimilationism involved the implementation of policies which upheld Anglo-Australian society as the dominant culture, Integrationism acknowledged the importance of ethnic groups as a means of support for immigrants during their settlement period and 'Multiculturalism' recognized that ethnic minorities claimed special rights to maintain their culture (Jakubowicz 1989, p.3).

It is important to acknowledge that Australia's racialised nation building project begins with the colonisation of the Indigenous population which saw violent conflict between white British settlers and the original inhabitants of the land. Indigenous persons who survived the battle for the frontier were then later institutionalised through racist policies. Furthermore, on 23 December 1901, the *Immigration Restriction Act* came into law. The legislation was specifically designed to limit non-British migration to Australia, especially of Asian migrants, and allowed for the deportation of 'undesirable' people who had settled in any Australian colony prior to federation. It was the central pillar in what came to be known as the 'White Australia policy.'Migrants from the South Pacific also occupied a certain place in this immigration restriction as they were among the first non-British entrants into the country. Prior to 1901 South Pacific people were arriving in Australia either in whaling ships or through labour migration regulated by the *Polynesian Labourers Act* of 1858. In 1901 the Commonwealth Government in one of its first acts of nationhood passed the *Pacific Island Labourers Act* which ended the incoming traffic of South Pacific labour and included the

threat of deportation for anyone remaining after 31 December 1906 (Connell and McCall 2006, p.3).

It was only until post-war migration that the White Australia policy slowly dismantled. In an effort to foster economic growth and to boost population for defence and national security purposes the Labor government of the day embarked on a massive immigration programme taking in a large proportion of refugees from war-torn Europe. Between 1947 and 1953 approximately 170,000 displaced persons arrived in Australia, from non-British countries. Other changes in policy followed. Between 1948 and 1952, assisted passage schemes, formerly preserved for people from Great Britain and Ireland, were extended to include Europeans. These programmes all contributed to a weakening of the Anglo-Celtic dominance in Australian culture and society. Even so, priority to British and Irish immigrants remained central to the settlement programmes of conservative governments during the 1950s and 1960s (Mann 2013, p.156). With increased non-British migration, the state implemented a policy of assimilation to manage the increased racial and ethnic diversity of the population. The assimilationist epoch existed on the premise that all immigrants would eventually cut cultural ties with their countries of origin and adopt an Anglo Australian culture (Jones 1996 p.76). Diversity was suppressed in favour of preserving a white 'Australian' core culture. The policy had three elements - an underlying belief that the Aborigines would disappear, at least from the country's temperate areas; a determination to exclude further non-European migration; and an anxiety to encourage the settlement of suitable white colonists' (Jones 1996 p.76). Immigration studies acknowledge that the original mode of racial domination was in the complete exclusion of Indigenous populations as a result of colonisation.
But the government eventually recognised that assimilation policy was failing to incorporate migrants in the 'mainstream' because ethnic groups did not abandon their cultures upon taking up residence in Australia (Anderson 2013). In the Australian social policy context, 'Integration' was first introduced as a guiding principle of immigrant settlement during the late 1960s under the Liberal Party Coalition government led by Harold Holt. It resulted partly from a backlash against assimilationist policies as immigrants who felt marginalised by Australia began leaving, dramatically increasing the rate of return of immigrants to Europe. White Australia prohibitions were slowly dismantled as 'government policy turned towards a greater acceptance of the fact that immigrants would hold onto their culture of origin and even pass some of it on to their children' (Jakobowicz, 2012).

During the period 1962–72 Integration policy replaced assimilation as official government policy in managing migrants in Australia. Migrants were now encouraged to incorporate themselves into the dominant Anglo-Celtic society but also to retain elements of their own culture. The policy emerged in response to the unravelling of Britishness and the incremental dismantling of the White Australia Policy as the twin pillars of Australian national identity. The "new nationalism", which stressed a more independent and home grown 'Australian identity', arose as a possible replacement to British race patriotism towards the end of this period. During this period there was a continued emphasis on cohesion. But, again, there were references to the Anglo-Celtic and European migrant cultures coming together to form a new, distinctive Australian identity. Changes which were implemented on the ground as part of integration policy included the setting up of ethnic clubs such as Italian clubs, Greek clubs, Maltese clubs and even a Polish society of Australia (Mann 2013, p.59). Other services included telephone interpreter service at the state branch level to the current interpreter services provided by the Department. It would provide twenty-four-hour assistance to migrants in the languages which were deemed by service providers to cause the most difficulties (Mann 2013, p.59). Schools began to shift their focus to becoming more inclusive within their curriculum of those from non-English speaking backgrounds (Mann 2013, p. 59).

By the mid 1970s Integration was officially replaced by the policy of Multiculturalism. As a policy critics argue it was adopted 'defensively' rather than proactively which demonstrates a reluctance of the Australian government to 'deeply and consistently engage with the level of cultural diversity that had emerged from the sizeable post-war migration intake' (Boese and Phillips, 2011 p.190). Whereas 'integration' implied a single culture in which all immigrants would eventually share, 'Multiculturalism' allowed for a continuing diversity into future generations (Jakobowicz, 2012). The great wealth of literature on Australian multiculturalism and its relationship to national identity has been written in three phases: the late 1970s/1980s, during the Liberal Fraser and Hawke Labor governments, which saw greater attention being paid to the 'migrant experience' this lent itself to an increasing analysis of class and to a certain extent gender; the 1990s, in the context and wake of the Keating Labor government, and public and political debates on becoming a Republic and Australia's place as geographically and culturally 'part of Asia'; and the late 1990s/early 2000s in the very different political and cultural atmosphere of the Howard government and issues about the resurgence of 'race' and monoculture in Australian identity" (Anderson 2013 p.907). The Howard government although not formally rejecting multiculturalism still made a clear shift away from diversity and a return towards 'integration' and the upholding of white Anglo

norms. The federal department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs was replaced in 2007 by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, and a Citizenship Test was introduced with the aim of testing applicants' grasp of English, but also their knowledge of Australian values, culture, history and national symbols (SMITS p.91-94). As policy, many scholars argue that multiculturalism is still largely assimilationist in nature. This is demonstrated in how much the policy has been undermined by successive Australian governments from the Howards years which saw a return to assimilationist to Rudd and Gillard (Joppke 2004, p147; Jupp 1996 p.40). Jakobowicz (2012) also argues that 'integration' ideology is now a prominent feature of Australian settlement policy and that Australia's future is 'firmly set upon a course in which cultural recognition of difference is subordinated to priorities of social cohesion as these are perceived by the current political and social elites.' However, this whole period was one of uncertainty and questioning.

Critical debates: Assimilation, Integration and Multiculturalism

The difference between settlement policy *rhetoric* versus *reality* have formed the basis of critical scholarly reflection in Australia in regards to managing migrant populations. For example, in his early research Kevin Dunn (1990, p.2478) examined Local Government Councils and the incorporation of multicultural programs, he argues that in lived contexts an inclusive politics of difference involves more than the development of techniques such as local festivals and foreign language information to 'manage' cultural diversity. The more radical and democratic approach involves recasting the local state itself; rethinking local citizen-ship. 'Multiculturalism in local government must include the cultural festivals and language systems, but it should also encompass a remaking of governance, such that citizenship is expanded.' (Dunn et al 1990, p. 2491). This expansion of citizenship is in the context of seeing migrants as good citizens despite their differences and only then will multiculturalism truly shift away from assimilationist ideals. Castles et al (2013) similarly examined the role of Australian Citizenship as migrant communities become more mobile and transnational he states that Citizenship will need to include 'portable civil, political, social and health rights, to reflect the growing flexibility of social identities…The biggest adjustment will be to move away from singular national identities and jealously guarded borders.' (Castles et al 2013 p.119) Vasta (1993) also raised issues about the problematic nature of multiculturalism discourse in the way it constructs migrants as problematic and as the reason for their disadvantage. For example, migrant service delivery programs view the migrant's cultural background as the cause of the problem. Further, if language problems are removed, then it is thought that migrants will be in the same position as Anglo Australians. In this frame, migrant disadvantage is attributed to culture and language but yet, as Vasta (1993,

p.217) argued, despite the introduction of multicultural policies that attempt to redress these markers of disparity, racism against migrants still continued. These early works were formative in highlighting the problematic politics of multiculturalism by examining the possibilities of re-conceiving multiculturalism at the state and institutional policy levels. More recently, other scholars such as Wise and Velayuthum (2009) and Harris (2013) turn to the lived experiences of multiculturalism as it operates on the ground to further critical reflection of Australia's experience of immigration and migrant settlement. Wise and Velayuthm (2009) define *everyday multiculturalism* as a situated approach to understanding how cultural diversity is experienced as negotiated on grounded everyday situations and how the social actors are shaped and reshaped in the process. Similarly Harris (2013, p.32), argues that social cohesion, which focuses on shared core values and community harmony rather than the recognition of difference is often viewed as the counter balance to divisive effects of multiculturalism. Harris (2013, p.32) research suggests that in the context of everyday multiculturalism, conflict can in fact coexist with living productively with difference. The literature mentioned above unpacks how migrant settlement and, more broadly, cultural diversity operates in reality and how differences are negotiated in situated lived experiences.

Race, Class and Immigrants

Situated in research that critically reflects on immigration and migrant settlement, recent work has also attempted to discern the internal differences within ethnic groupings which creates a rigid and over simplistic understanding of migrant experiences (Colic-Peisker 2011). A growing body of international research indicates there is increasing complexity to immigrant or racial minority experiences as a result of changing class configurations (Lacy, 2004; Pon, 2005; Lamont and Fleming, 2005; Van Hear 2014; Oliver and O'Reilly 2010).

But it is not to say that the intersection of race and class have not been debated in the Australian context. In the 1980s and 1990s, the 'ethnicity/class' dichotomy was central in attempting to understand migrant experiences at the scholarly and policy level. Jakubowicz et al (1984) in a much cited report examined the relationship between the welfare of ethnic minorities and the intersection of race and class. He argued that social policy that saw migrant experiences being determined by economic class relations was systematic blind to institutionalized discrimination against minorities. According to Jakubowicz 'class formation is a cultural process as well as, part of the economic process, and class relations can only be approached through their cultural forms' (1984 p.17). In other words cultural processes or forms of experiences are shaped by the structure of class relations and cultural traditions. For example a more powerful group can define the type of characteristics and entry points

migrants need to be accepted within mainstream society. The definitions of subordinates is defined by the privileged group and what constitutes ethnicity is also defined by the groups that have the greater power. Jakubowicz et al (1984, p.18) argue that relations between ethnic groups are always problematic in capitalist societies because they are a 'culturally divided proletariat.'

> *In a polyethnic advanced capitalist society where a significant sector of the-proletariat is drawn from culturally distinctive groups, whose own prior experience is of pre- or early-capitalist social relations, many of the societal tensions which appear to be 'ethnic' will reflect underlying cleavages in relations of production. For example, racist resistance by the majority working class to new arrivals of different cultural origins may provide a rationale for the intra-committal exploitation by an immigrant petite bourgeoisie.* (p.18)

Jakobowicz et al (1984, p.18) critiques the view that the migrant struggle for equal access to society is due to social status alone or that increased social awareness of the economic needs of ethnic minorities and immigrants would alleviate all disparities between ethnic groups. Colic-Peisker (2011, p.565) argues that Australia has entered into a new era of multiculturalism which has resulted from changes in the socio-economic composition of ethnic minorities. Until the mid-1980s, with a few notable exceptions, being an 'ethnic' in Australia was virtually synonymous with being working-class and disadvantaged (Collins 1991). But with close to 50% of the current population categorized as 'second generation immigrants' a significant proportion of this demographic are highly skilled professionals now making up part of a growing *'multicultural middle class'* (Colic-Peisker 2011 p.569; Hu 2015 p.49). The multicultural middle class according to Colic- Peisker (2011 p.1) began to emerge in the1980s and was created from two sources the second generation of 'white ethnics' Europeans who arrived after WWII and those from the large post-war Non-English-Speaking-Background and predominantly middle-class immigrants who arrived in the 1970s. How we conceive of 'migrant experiences', therefore, is more complex than ever.

In Australia, research exploring the concept of a 'socially mobile' migrant has come in the form of middle class Asian migration studies which includes the schooling success of second generation Asian Australians (Matthews 2002; Matthews 2013) and the more recent work on ethnic entrepreneurs and Chinese, Indian and Filipino middle class migrants (Jakubowicz 2011; Ien Ang 2014; Gurry 2012; Aquino 2016). Other studies have emerged mapping the

migration of middle class South Africans (Forrest et al 2013) and Middle Class Mexicans to Australia (Maggio 2013). Significant insights can be gleaned from this research namely that within an Australian context there is an enduring tension between national unity and ethnic diversity one which settlement policies fail to adequately address because they are not equipped to manage ambiguous identities and diverse difficulties experienced by migrant groups. For example, in Ien Ang's research on Chinese Australian migrants, she argues that a more satisfactory analysis would question the 'group-ness' of the Chinese that is 'taking as a basic analytical category not the "group" as an entity but group-ness as a contextually fluctuating conceptual variable' (167–168).

Middle class racial minorities elsewhere

The most prominent body of work carried out on race and class intersections has been in the United States. In particular, there is much literature on the experience of middle class Asian Americans (Beeghley 2008) and more recently middle class Latinos (Vallejo 2015). The experience of middle class Black Americans (Pattillo 1999; Pattillo-McCoy 2013; Lacy 2004; Lacy 2007; Martin 2010) and elite professional Blacks (Lamont and Fleming 2005) are also significant (although are not considered as an 'immigrant' population). These studies examine the everyday lived experience of the intersection between racism and class inequalities experienced by racial minorities and specifically how these groups negotiate their racial and class identities. As the American middle class becomes racially and ethnically diverse several debates have re-emerged as to whether class position is more important than racial status when it comes to achieving the American dream (Shelton and Wilson 2012 p.1460). In the last 50 years the US has seen significant changes in the socioeconomic progress of ethnic minorities who currently occupy the 'middle class minority' location.

Among the original foci of the literature was the social mobility of Asian Americans whose median household income now exceeds that of Whites. Notable literature emerged during the 90s onwards detailing middle class Asian American mobility in the area of education and neighbourhood perceptions (Greenberg et al 1998; Lee 1998; Beeghley 2008;Finn 2009). This soon cast Asian migrants in the US as the *'Model Minority'*. However, Asian American scholars have argued against this problematic label as research showed that while the American public revered Asians for their 'hard work' and economic 'contribution' to society, they were still also marginalised as "outsiders" and "perpetual foreigners" (Xu et al 2003, p.1364). The *'Model Minority'* term was formally labelled in a Newspaper article (Peterson 1996) and the image depicted Asian Americans as hardworking over achievers and this myth continues to persist today. The nature of model minority stereotyping tends to more distinctly

involve basic assumptions and attitudes. In the case of the model minority image, these assumptions tend to be more trait based and positive on the surface (e.g., talented in classical music, good at science and math, hardworking). Hence, model minority stereotyping and discrimination can be seen to share a foundation which stems from race-related generalizations and potential bias (Kiang et all 2016 p.1366). Michael Aoki and Okiyoshi Takeda (2008) explain how the fate of Asian Americans has been powerfully influenced by the way they have been portrayed in the media, and more generally, in US society as 'forever foreigner' which has continued to contribute to marginalise Asian Americans. For example, Aihwa Ong (2006: 127) has written about the Chinese-background middle class in California and how their command of the transnationalised electronics industry has placed them at the top of the ethnic hierarchy in California endowing them with an 'honorary whiteness' for achieving socio-economic success but that which is remains a tentative status of belonging to the dominant group because they are not white. In Australia, John Stratton (2009) applies the concept to the experience of the Asian middle class who are now celebrated for their 'desirable' integration on account of their social mobility. This occurs, furthermore, in the context of the state's continued enlargement of its skilled migration program which values these migrants over other kinds such as asylum seekers and refugees. Stratton, however, argues that this inclusion is ultimately in the form of conditional acceptance provided these migrants accept 'Australian values' (Stratton 2009 p17). Another aspect of Asian American studies which is significant to mention is the shift in race research from a one-dimensional hierarchical approach to a multidimensional system of racial stratification. Building upon Claire Kim's (1999) racial triangulation theory Xu et al (2003) examined how the American public rates Asians relative to blacks and whites along two dimensions of racial stratification: racial valorization and civic acceptance/ostracism. Racial triangulation theory proposes that Asian Americans are "triangulated" within a "field" of race relations based on their position relative to blacks and whites on two different dimensions (racial valorization and civic ostracism). This results in a racial position distinct from other groups (Xu et all 2003 p.1363). The significance of this work is in the way it nuances racialisation as not being something that is merely black versus white but rather ethnic minority groupings also have a relational component to them in where specific groups sit in multiple hierarchical positions. An example of this within an Australian context would be how at present it would seem Muslim Australians are tolerated less than most other ethnic groups, due to contemporary media portrayal associating terrorism with Moslems.

More recently, research has also turned to the study of the emergent social mobility of middle class Black Americans. In her study of middle class blacks, Lacy (2004 p.908) examined how they 'conceptualize their own integration into American society'. The main focus was on assimilation trajectories of middleclass blacks specifically how they travel between both black and white spaces. Lacy uses the term *strategic assimilation* to describe a middle class black population that 'does not perceive itself as permanently constrained to the bottom rung of a racial hierarchy' (Lacy 2004 p.908). Lacy found that despite being in upwardly mobile class, there are still strong undertones of race being a major barrier to achieving full cultural acceptance in white neighbourhoods. Similarly, Pattillo-McCoy (2013 p.4) showed that the 'black middle class' has not achieved parity with 'white middle class' the two remain separate and unequal. Lamont and Fleming (2005) in their study of highly elite blacks further demonstrated disparities between classes within racial minority groups finding a greater divide between elite upper class blacks and middle class blacks than there is between middle class blacks and lower class blacks. Elite prominent black leaders enjoy a much greater level of cultural acceptance due to their education, wealth and social privilege than marginalized, working class or even middle class blacks. Of those studied from the upper echelons of American society, some stressed that class distinctions played a major role in social mobility while an overwhelming majority placed great emphasis on 'intelligence, competence and a college education' as being most effective strategies to overcome social exclusion (Lamont and Fleming 2005 p.36). However, because this cultural capital (specifically a college education) is an indicator of cultural membership and is not always attainable by marginalized middle class blacks it is argued that these strategies further reinforce inequality and the marginalization of the lower classes (Lamont and Fleming 2005 p.40). Spatially a recent study found that middle class blacks lived in predominantly white areas but they do so keeping 'varying degrees of social distance that members of the dominant group will tolerate' (Martin 2010 p.244). Living in white places does not mean occupying white spaces, exclusions persist and boundaries are maintained.

Another group that has formed the focus of recent studies into class and race intersections are Latinos in the US who now make up one-sixth of the US population and have contributed to the nation's growth since the start of the Century and continue to contribute through sustained migration and strong labour market presence (Vallejo 2013 p.3). However, as a minority group, Latinos, specifically Mexican Americans continue to be negatively stereotyped by political and social institutions as a *homogenous* group of uneducated immigrants occupying America's underclass and 'draining the nation's coffers' (Vallejo 2013 p.127). It is against

this backdrop that Jody Vallejo's (2013) empirical study *'Barrios to Burbs: The Making of the Mexican American Middle Class'* is set. Vallejo (2013 p.5) examined the lives of 75 accomplished middle class Mexican Americans each from varied class backgrounds, generations and at different points in the mobility trajectory, analysing their pathway and incorporation into the middle-class by conceptualising a *'paradigm of minority culture of mobility'*. This paradigm is described as a *'set of cultural elements which emerged as a response to distinct problems rooted in structural disadvantage and discrimination and becomes pronounced when socially mobile immigrants and their descendants leave ethnic communities and enter the economic mainstream'* (Vallejo 2013 p.9). Her research question focused on whether Mexican Americans experience 'a pathway of downward assimilation or stagnation' or whether they have become upwardly mobile and incorporated into the white middle class. In other words do they 'follow a linear assimilation trajectory where they disappear into the white middle class or are they incorporated into a minority middle class culture community?(2013 p.4).' Vallejo defined the middle class as a combination of the four attributes: a college education; a total household income over the national median, employment in a white collar occupation or business ownership; and homeownership (2013 p.5). These make up a person's perception of what constitutes middle class status. Measures of incorporation and upward mobility included 'giving back and family obligations, racial and ethnic identity and civic participation.' (2013 p.4).

The results of her study are quite significant, the first is a clear demonstration that ethnic minorities are heterogeneous and not homogenous, the second is the finding that there are multiple pathways into the middle class for Mexican immigrants and whilst Mexican original populations have the lowest levels of educational attainment than any other racial or ethnic groups and continue to be stereotyped as marginalised, a clearer view of Mexican American middle class emerges when the data is 'disaggregated by generation'. Vallejo found that the proportion of Mexican Americans lacking education and mobility opportunities *steadily decreases with each generation* since immigration (2013 p.8). Thus, her findings challenge the common perception that US Latino assimilation and incorporation into mainstream society is downward moving or stagnant. Frank Samson (2014 p.470) also carried out a study of US Hispanic assimilation and social mobility finding correlations between political party identification and immigrant assimilation. Samson's argument is that race is a paramount criterion to social acceptance in American society and non-white immigrants face more access barriers to opportunities than their white counterparts. In addition the low income resulting from 'human capital disparities' such as low wages, racially segregated communities and low

income neighbourhoods means educational resources are often lacking for immigrant populations situated in these areas. Also poorer co-ethnic communities lack access to professional or entrepreneurial contacts thus compounding and constraining immigrant mobility further (Samson 2014 p.471).

Similar themes of enquiry emerge in relation to Britain's minority middle class cohort. Ali Meghji (2015) explored the identities of Britain's black middle class drawing upon interviews with 72 participants Meghji theorized a *'triangle of identity'* (2015 p.1). She demonstrated how identities are constructed within three interrelated categories or poles namely the *'class minded'*, the *'ethno-racial autonomous'* and *'strategic assimilation'* poles.

The first conceptual scheme gives *class* more prominence when constructing identity, the second views *race* as central to ones identity and 'whiteness is actively resisted' (this brings the concept of WhiteWorld to the fore that is the idea that assimilating with the WhiteWorld ensures class distinction) (2015 p.1) and the third sees a continual movement of participants between the two spheres of race and class (Meghji 2015 p.1). This conceptualization is similar to *intersectionality*. Meghji also recognised previous scholarly work differentiating between *incidental* blackness and *collective* blackness. The former understood in terms of skin colour the latter in terms of aligned political or conscious collective (Meghji 2015 p.3). With regard to black middle class identities the research explores how '*black middle class individuals position themselves, their narratives of being positioned by others, and their performances of resistance against being positioned.'* These positions are not fixed but undergo constant change (2015 p.4). The significance of this work is in the creation of a tangible mechanism (triangle of identity) which can be used to measure my own participant responses of how they see their middle class migrant experience and race / class intersections. Meghji's work grounds certain themes arising from my empirical data into tangible definitions. For instance participants were divided as to whether race or class was more prominent in the construction of their identity and self perceptions of the inequality faced by some.

Points of departure

In this chapter I have explored the relevant literature on the history of Australian settlement policy from assimilation to integration to multiculturalism highlighting its shortcomings in relation to recognising 'difference'. I have also unpacked the current literature on migrant and minority middle class settlement experiences and social mobility trajectories within the global and Australian contexts placing particular emphasis on the works of Karen Lacy and Jody Vallejo. In this context my work is situated within the larger political and research contexts of migrant social mobility and race and class intersections.

In the chapters to follow, I unpack how middle class Pacific Islanders in this study experience a privileged position yet continue to experience barriers to inclusion produced by racial stereotypes and systemic biases. What my thesis aims to demonstrate is that there is no universal pathway in migrant settlement trajectories. The experience of settlement is diverse – with different modes of 'integration' and varied experiences to 'exclusion'. Furthermore, strategic negotiations are constantly occurring as middle class Pacific Islanders navigate their class mobility that accesses levels of privilege amidst persistent exclusion based on racial grounds.

CHAPTER 3 – INTEGRATION

In this chapter I address the central question of how middle class Pacific Island migrants conceptualize their own 'integration'. This section demonstrates that modes of 'integration' – economic, political, social and cultural - are varied and complex and as migrant populations are heterogeneous, so too are their settlement pathways. I argue that while different modes of integration have been identified here, the rhetoric behind the term remains problematic because the underlying assumption is that migrants should conform to hegemonic ideals of the dominant society which continues to determine who is included and excluded. And so, inherent in conceptions of 'integration' among my participants were also conceptions of 'belonging' and 'not belonging'.

Measuring modes of integration

Scholars in the field use a range of approaches to measure immigrant integration. These fall within three broad categories namely *Functional Indicators*, *Policy and Institutional Structures* and *Grounded settlement experiences of immigrants*.

Functional indicators used to measure integration include but are not limited to employment access, educational attainment and income level (Rane and Hersi 2012 p. 142). The underlying notion is that a well integrated migrant will display markers that indicate they have achieved a certain level of 'economic success' in their host country. That is, they will have financial security in the form of employment, they will have attained higher education which provides greater opportunity for social mobility and their income level will be within the median range of the general population. Other studies have noted that relationships and social bonds are also important measures of achieving integration (Ager and Strang, 2004) because these demonstrate that social interaction and social cohesion is occurring and that immigrant groups are not living in isolation from mainstream society.

Kymlicka (2012) on the other hand, applied policy and institutional structures to measure integration (Collin 2013 p.135) formulating a 'Multiculturalism Policy Index' which measured eight of the most common types of Multicultural Policies. The eight MCPs include; Constitutional, Legislative or Parliamentary affirmation of Multiculturalism, the adoption of Multiculturalism in schools, Inclusion of ethnic representation and sensitivity in the media and other public arenas, exemptions from dress codes either by legislation or case law, the allowance of dual citizenship, funding of ethnic group organizations to support cultural activities, funding of bilingual education and affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant

groups (Kymlicka 2012 p.7). By measuring integration at policy and institutional level Kymlicka was able to undertake a comparative analysis to measure the effectiveness of integration policies on a global scale.

A third approach and the one applied in this thesis is to take into account the experiences of immigrants to gauge how they conceptualize modes of integration and their 'lived social experience with complex dimensions' (Rane and Hersi 2012 p. 134). That is, how they negotiate their own integration through the complexities associated with their immigrant settlement experience in everyday life. What does it mean to be integrated into a host society? What does it mean to be 'accepted' and to feel like you 'belong'?

Assessing the level of integration in contemporary Australia requires analysis of a complex set of social relationships and social political economic and cultural outcomes (Joppke 2004 p.145). When measuring Integration there are *objective* and *subjective* aspects of the social dimension of immigrant integration. As Joppke (2004) outlines *objective* aspects can be 'assessed through analysing immigrant patterns and settlement concentration through the social relations between immigrant settlers and others in their neighbourhood. For example *objective* aspects could include statistical data outlining suburbs with the largest population of particular ethnic migrant groups. *Subjective* aspects of integration can be explored through immigrant perceptions of national identity and belonging and through non immigrant attitudes towards immigrants, immigration and cultural diversity (Joppke 2004 p.144). These aspects are subjective in nature because they rely on the individual response and perception to their own experiences.

Following this model, my research unearths participant responses according to their own conceptualization of their integration. Participants were asked questions about their social mobility, where they felt most at 'home' and how they negotiate experiences of being Pacific Islander, being middle class and living in contemporary Australian society. My findings reveal a range of Integration modes both institutionalized and informal.

Social mobility and integration

Social mobility is one mode of integration which enabled some participants to find their place in society and feel a sense of achievement and belonging. All participants displayed markers of being 'middle class' that is they worked in white collar occupations, attained a high level of education and had incomes within the median range of the population. They also had access to social capital (Bourdieu 1986) and professional networks. Each participant

emphasized the importance of educational opportunities which afforded them greater access to higher paying jobs and social mobility. Three of the participants came from working class families and acknowledged the sacrifice of their parents who worked long hours to give them opportunities to excel in Australia.

I was just like don't worry mum I got your back I know the sacrifices you did for us, seen her do night shifts she was an enrolled nurse so she did teaching in Samoa went to NZ and got her qualification in nursing and to see her do 30 years of that and we all did well... (Jacob)

Jacob is a first generation Samoan Australian. His family migrated to Brisbane in 1988 from West Auckland New Zealand and he is currently studying a PhD in Education at The University of Sydney. Similarly Kayla a second generation Tongan Australian was born in Australia in the 80s but spent part of her formative years in New Zealand. Her family returned to Australia in the 90s and she grew up in the Northern Beaches. Kayla also acknowledged the sacrifices her parents made for her so she could attain a good education in Australia.

Before moving here that was home (New Zealand) looking back now lifestyle is very different to Australia ... hard working families usually families are struggling to make ends meet often parents are working two to three jobs like I often remember seeing my mum in different colour uniforms leaving home in the early hours of the morning and then coming back late at night while I was babysat by grandparents. (Kayla)

Another marker of social mobility and integration includes home ownership. Home ownership is a direct indicator of economic integration and social mobility and one of the mainstream processes that begin to 'blend away immigrant foreign-ess (Castillo 2014). Within the Australian context home ownership is a middle class aspiration and to own a home for some migrants means they have 'made it' in their host country. To own tangible assets like a house is a migrant aspiration and proof of social mobility. One participant discussed how home ownership is every middle class Australian's dream so to be able to buy a house that is owned by her is something which makes her realise she has achieved a high level of social mobility via her assets.

I'm blessed in a way that I have a home as a roof over our head and ...coming here we own our home that's a plus and also I have good families with the nephews and

> *brother in law they all have properties yeah assets we're blessed in that sense that we are connected and we help each other. (Susana)*

Institutional modes of integration

My research also identified institutionalized modes of integration which facilitated respondent's sense of belonging in Australia. These include mainstream institutions such as the *Defence Force*, the *Church*, *Sporting Organizations* and formal *Pacific Island Organizations*. These are considered formal because they are organizations run by governing bodies and administered in a formal way. That process of being valued by a mainstream institution of the host society gives rise to a sense of acceptance. In this context 'belonging' is couched in terms of how social locations and identity constructions and attachments are valued and judged (Yuval-Davis 2006 p.205).

For instance, when asked about whether he felt a sense of belonging in Australia, Craig a first generation Fijian/Rotuman Australian and Engineer for the Royal Australian Navy stated the following;

> *Yes. Being in the Navy, they drill it into you, you know, you matter and what you do matters don't let anyone ever tell you different you know, what you're doing for your country ...so yep I do matter. (Craig)*

According to Craig the *Navy* as a formal government institution validated his experience, his service and his sense of identity and belonging in Australia. Because he has served his country for 13 years, there is a sense of pride that he has been recognized and attained a high level of achievement for his efforts. He understands not only the Australian culture but also the Defence Force culture. This recognition from a formal institution is what makes him feel like he has the right to be comfortable wherever he goes in Australia irrespective of race or negative racial connotations.

In the same way the *Church* as an institution provided a sense of 'home' for Susana when she first migrated to Australia from Fiji as a 19 year old nursing student in the 1970s. The Church provided a formal infrastructure and network system which supported her as she transitioned from migrating from Fiji to Australia and throughout her career as a surgical theatre nurse.

> *Your faith and your church family are very important I was blessed I had the church family that really helped we had youth fellowships and every Sunday I'd go and I'd be*

billeted out to families for church lunch..so I was lucky in that sense that I was
accepted as I am ... (Susana)

Similarly Michael a second generation Samoan Australian merits his integration and sense of
belonging to education and specifically his involvement in sporting organisations from an
early age which eventually led to him playing representative football in Australia, Italy and
the UK. Performance through sport created a sense of recognition and value enabling Michael
to find his place in society where the formal rhetoric of integration and being part of a
national identity is fairly strong:

> *I think a lot of that discrimination changed when we started to perform on the field*
> *and do things but I also grew up with that it wasn't only us who copped it the Anglo*
> *Saxons copped it as well ...(Michael)*

Informal networks of support as modes of integration

Informal modes of integration are those that occur outside formal institutional support
networks. From the participant responses these include *Family* and *Personal networks.* These
networks are often the catalyst for migration and also provide a solid support base for Pacific
Islanders as they navigate complex settlement experiences. Participants remain close to their
informal extended family/kin and personal networks and these relations provide a valuable
source of information and resource knowledge. The sense of acceptance is steeped in
emotional attachments and ties to familial collectivities (Yuval Davis 2006 p.199).
For most participants, close family ties were crucial to their immigrant settlement and for
some it was the catalyst to why they decided to immigrate to Australia. A couple of
participants mentioned that integrating into Australia society was made easier because they
had close family networks already living and studying in Australia. These existing family
networks became a valuable source of information sharing and understanding Australian
culture by virtue of asking a sibling for their help.

> *The advantage for me was my eldest sister had gone to University in NZ and another*
> *sister had also gone to Armidale University so for me I had this networking already in*
> *play. (Susana)*

> *Extended family is the reason we came over to Australia – still have close ties with*
> *them. Get together on special occasions. (Michael)*

These family networks form what is termed *migrant social capital*. These are networks of relationships among people which enable individuals to thrive within a social field or context (Bourdieu 1986). In other words 'migrant social capital is embedded within networks of relative and friends in the destination country. This reduces the costs and risks of migration and increases the likelihood of cumulative migration among network members' (Paul 2010 p.719).

Outside of extended family networks, my research also identified diverse social spaces and neighbourhoods which created an informal personal network of friends in the social domain who facilitated belonging. Michael a South West Sydney boy, discussed how he did not feel like such a fish out of water when he was able to play and hang out with the other ethnically diverse kids in his neighbourhood. He mentioned that he has kept close ties with most of them including attending each other's weddings.

> *There was a good group there various nationalities, next door Lebanese Arabic backgrounds and Italians, two Chinese families and the Aussie family. We had a good neighbourhood (Earlwood) and lived across the road from the park, played a lot of games learned how to play cricket in that park. Real mix of kids growing up where I was accepted and then I go to school (Lewisham) and I was left out. (Michael)*

Michael mentioned how culturally different Earlwood was from Lewisham and how going to school in Lewisham which was predominantly white was not an enjoyable experience for him. He felt more comfortable with the kids next door in his neighbourhood despite them being from such diverse cultural backgrounds and together they formed bonds and created a sense of identity that was inclusive of each other. This is a typical example of an intercultural exchange where youth of different backgrounds routinely encounter one another and negotiate ways of sharing multicultural spaces as ordinary young people dealing with difference and belonging (Butcher and Harris 2010 p.450). How young migrants negotiate that engagement is either fraught with tension or in the example above transforms identities to include others.

Another interesting finding is how suburb demographics based on middle class locations also meant for some participants their interaction with other Pacific Islanders was minimal and for some non-existent. This distancing from the boundaried ethnic grouping is not intentional but simply by virtue of where a person grew up.

I grew up around a lot of Australians, Italians and Lebanese guys most of my mates even till now I hardly have any Islander mates actually I don't. It sort of wasn't an option for us its sort of where we grew up (Ryde) when we moved to Australia we sort of grew up that way and we just got comfortable that way you know... (Craig)

One participant Luke a first generation Papuan Australian also talked about the paradox between wanting to be part of a community network but also wanting to be free from it. He explained how there is a freedom in living in Australia and being away from cultural traditions and ties which can have an oppressive effect. The oppressive nature comes in the form of having to follow highly ritualised practices when engaging with members of the wider Papua New Guinean (PNG) community. Given that PNG is made up of many different regions each with its own social customs and etiquette, Luke talked about how complex it is having to constantly negotiate between people of different regions. Luke talked about the tension to balance community interests whilst also distancing one-self from the same traditional pressures that come with ethnic community ties. In a sense this distancing is not about wanting to cut ties with co-ethnic communities in order to identify closely with whites (Portes & Zhou 1993) and neither is it a form of Inter-ethnic-othering (Pike & Dang 2003) but rather it is a way to avoid ethnic complexities one would not necessarily find in a white contemporary society. He states that people want to be free from those traditional pressures once they hit the middle class status in Australia;

Complexity is a negative when you come to places like Australia because we are so used to so many different ways of interacting ... coming to Australia what people tend to do really well is assimilate very quickly... and with the assimilation ...they don't want to negotiate all those differences any more. It's tiring, it's tiresome. (Luke)

This brings to the fore Butcher's (2012) argument that while uprooting home can create uncertainty in migrant experiences, it is also a means to manage opportunities that relocation can offer especially when these involves reinventing the self (Butcher 2012 page 24).

Discourses of 'home' as modes of integration
A subjective measure of integration includes discourses of 'home'.

In my participant interviews to gauge how participants conceptualized their own integration, questions of identity and belonging were asked in terms of 'home' and where is home to you? And where do you feel you belong?

Hage (1997) theorize several categories of 'migrant home building' which facilitate migrant integration in host societies. These are the sense of *security* that a home provides, a feeling of *familiarity* generated by the space in which home is established, feeling of *community* created by sharing values with others and a sense of *possibility* and future opportunities.

The following responses illustrate how conceptions of home are constantly shifting according to the meanings migrants attribute to the concept of home (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011 p.518).

> *I could give you the idea that home is where the family is but in terms of location Australia is home. I go back to NZ often but...Dee Why is home cause my girls were born there and had Primary and High School there. (Kayla)*

The quote above demonstrates how 'home' is experienced both as a location and as a set of relationships that shape identities and feelings of belonging (Ralph and Staeheli 2011 p518). The attachment to place is made meaningful because of the relationships associated with place. A sense of home is constructed around people, objects and places (Skrbis et al 2007 p.261). In the same token Lina a first generation Cook Island Australian viewed home as attached to familial relationships.

> *To be honest if it is where I feel at home it would have to be where my parents are in Raratonga. (Lina)*

One participant also expressed ways in which multiple locations could be considered home.

> *Fiji is still my home and this home in Dean Park and where I work, home in Derby WA ... I am happy with three homes, I have to be adaptable and have to have an open mind always. (Susana)*

Claire a second generation Rotuman Australian and successful Business Director shared that home is where she lives in Australia because she is comfortable here and as such feels a sense of belonging to Australia.

> *Home is here where I live in Australia. I feel comfortable here and coming back, when I leave there's nothing better than coming back ... (Claire)*

Conceptualisations of home are connected to a sense of belonging. But mobility does not necessarily equate with relinquishing connections between home and place, but can create a complex belonging to 'bits' of multiple homes for some people (Butcher 2012 p23) as reflected in the participant response below.

When asked whether they feel a sense of belonging Lina mentioned the following.

> *I don't feel like I completely belong here – I do and I don't but if I had it on a scale I'd say I felt maybe 80% I don't think you could really belong here because it's not our home, we're not indigenous to this land. (Lina)*

When asked about her hopes for her children and where she would like them to feel at home, Claire responded with the following:

> *I'd love for them to feel like they're a proud Australian and also a proud Pacific Islander ... when they come to cheer for sporting teams ... I want them in that instance to feel like they can be proud and happy for both teams and I want them to be proud of their cultural heritage and find a way to be Australian and Pacific Islander as well. I want them to be proud of their heritage but also appreciative of the country here. (Claire).*

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates how different modes of inclusion are utilised by middle class Pacific Island migrants to assist their integration into mainstream Australian society. It highlights how institutions and informal networks operate to provide a system of support which helps facilitate a sense of belonging in society. However it also implies that the notion of integration remains problematic as participants share how they do not always feel as if they belong nor do they feel completely accepted. I detail this experience of marginality and exclusion in the chapter to follow as I examine my participants' experiences of everyday racism.

CHAPTER 4 - RACISM

My research found that despite their privileged class location, middle class Pacific Islanders continue to experience both overt and subtle forms of racism. They continue to be viewed as a homogenous ethnic group where negative racial stereotypes operate to exclude them from full participation in social life.

Everyday Racism

Everyday racism was a term coined by Essed (1991) to describe the subtle forms of racism integrated into everyday routine practices and situations. It explores the structural force of racism which is routinely created and reinforced through everyday practices (Essed 1984). Essed linked ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes and the reproduction of racism in terms of the experience of it in everyday life (Essed 1991 p.177). It describes how racism is normalized and infused into daily routine practices (Nelson et al 2011 p.263). These include the 'mundane or common everyday acts through which people express racism' and forms of exclusion (Ranjin et al 2011 p.329). These everyday acts include social slurs and social jokes that overemphasise ethnicity. 'It is racism integrated into daily life as common societal behaviour'(Dovemark 2013 p.17). These subtleties of racism are also manifested through a 'denial of racism within institutions as part of the social structures of everyday life' (Essed 1991). The impetus behind everyday racism was to reveal the pervasive impact on the daily experiences of Blacks. The study emerged from the need to make visible the lived experience of racism (Essed 176). In the same vein Mapedzahama et al (2012) argues that the denial of racism still dominates Australian public and popular discourse on race relations. This denial perpetuates the myths of racial harmony, multiculturalism and egalitarianisms (p.153). Dovemark (2013) argues that the denial of racism also manifests as silence and 'silence is a tool to maintain power relations and impedes resistance' (p.17).

Interviewee responses demonstrated significant commonalities in their experiences of everyday racism. Two examples below were in relation to the respondent's affiliation with mainstream churches. These churches whilst supporting multicultural programs and an ethos of cultural diversity also perpetuated racial stereotypes and tokenistic ideals about Pacific Islanders. The effect of this was a form of exclusion from full participation in church activities other than those prescribed.

Discrimination happens unconsciously because often Pacific Islanders are used as tokens for providing hospitality and providing entertainment, I know we've got beautiful voices, I know we can cook but I am more than that. (Kayla)

Kayla is an ordained Minister and holds a Bachelor of Theology from an Australian University, she shared her disappointment that she was rarely asked to deliver a key note talk because she is usually relegated to singing or providing hospitality for church events. Luke who also holds a Bachelors degree in Theology and works for Youth outreach also shared his frustrations about being prescribed a tokenistic role which he is expected to fulfil without complaint.

It has to do with the culture and the arts and the food that's where the Pacific Islander communities fit in. Your role is already defined before you even accept and it's very specific roles you're invited into when it comes to Australian society I mean every Pacific Island person that I've spoken to they're only invited to something if they're told to dance, sing or cook... (Luke)

In both situations participants expressed that they felt they had to conform to these expectations because the churches they attend are predominantly white. Such tokenistic representations and stereotypes of Pacific Islanders could demonstrate that the 'white Australian majority continue to manage and define the national space' determining migrant inclusion (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2008 p.47).

Other respondent experiences of everyday racism come in the form of police harassment. In these instances, the respondent's class location and increased access to material wealth and financial resources immediately profiled them as 'suspect'. The quotes below illustrate that 'to be Black/migrant and middle class does not mean to have transcended racism' (Rollock et al 2015).

When 'B' and I bought our first car in 1994 it was a Statesman he would get pulled over every day, first thing he would get asked was 'Are you the owner of the vehicle?' The police were often surprised he owned the vehicle. (Claire)

Claire and her husband are Directors of their own manufacturing business with patents for insulation materials. They are highly educated, upwardly mobile and travel extensively with

their business and yet as Claire shares, there is continued frustration with the negative racial stereotyping they experience because they have financial means. Similarly Anita who is a second generation Fijian/ Anglo-British Australian grew up in a very middle class neighbourhood in Dundas, she shared how her brothers were often pulled over and questioned by police even though they had done nothing wrong.

> *I remember one time 'T' he was bringing home stakes to put in the ground when you plant tomatoes and the police pulling him over and talking to him because the stakes could be a weapon and another time he was in a car with friends on Victoria road in Ermington and the police pulled them over ordered them all out and made them all get on the ground face down because they thought someone in the car looked like a suspect they were after and I remember at the time thinking would they do that to a white kid? (Anita)*

Another instance of everyday racism was experienced by one respondent when applying for a job. Sam holds two Bachelors degrees from Australian Universities he has extensive work experience as a Senior industrial chemist for a large multinational pharmaceutical company and is also an ordained Anglican Deacon. He shared that due to his networks he knew he was the only person who had applied for a particular job and was surprised when the interviewer told him they had decided to hire the other candidate.

> *"If I was a white single male I think I would have had a chance but because I was an Islander it changed the mix. There's a ceiling of acceptance that cannot see past the colour of your skin." (Sam)*

These instances of everyday racism align with the view that the migrant or minority middle class does not enjoy parity with their white middle class counterparts (Lacy 2004; Lamont and Fleming 2005; Vallejo 2013; Rollock et al 2014). There are several reasons for this disparity, Lacy (2004) found that despite being in upwardly mobile class, there are still strong undertones of race being a major barrier to achieving full cultural acceptance in white neighbourhoods.

At this juncture it is important to note that intersections of *race* and *class* were not the only categories of discrimination experienced by respondents. One respondent mentioned the intersectionality of multiple categories of discrimination and disadvantage highlighting the

prevalence of *gender* discrimination. When asked whether she had experienced any barriers moving between classes Lina talked of her experience working behind the scenes with Rugby Union associations and dealing with Corporate representatives she stated the following;

> *Yes, class for me I (also) mentioned being a woman. I'm involved in sports a bit it happens in all classes...there's a lot of men I work with and I know when I'm with the men I have to be pretty confident because I'm a woman and second I'm an Islander. I've gained the respect of the men and they know but it's the ones that don't know me that perceive that I'm stupid ......I'm conscious of the struggle all the time... (Lina)*

This highlights the complex way in which distinct categories of discrimination become even more complex as they intersect. It is an illustration of how lived experiences of particular groups in relation to wider institutional constructs such as *class and race and gender* together generate multiple inequalities.

By the same token, there were two participants who shared that their experience of migrating to Australia was unproblematic and they had not experienced any form of racism. One respondent is in his 30s and moved to Australia during the 1990s. This era saw the Keating government redefining Multiculturalism as an essential character of national identity in contemporary Australia (Stratton and Ang 1994 p.124). The other respondent is in her late 60s and moved to Australia straight after high school to train as a surgical nurse during the 1970s. This was the time when the Whitlam government abolished White Australia Policy and embraced an emergence of multicultural policy (Anderson 2013 p.909). Whether the time periods in which they arrived in Australia made any difference is only something that can be speculated on at this stage. However the point has been made that because people from non-Anglo backgrounds are more likely to experience racism they are therefore more likely to acknowledge it (Dunn and Nelson 2011 590).

However, scholarly literature suggests that Australia continues to have a problematic love affair with Multiculturalism policy which is directly at odds with the ideals of white hegemony (Anderson 2013; Stratton 2009; Jakubowicz and Ho 2013; Ralson 2013). As Forrest and Dunn (2006) argue, contemporary Australian society while characterized as increasingly multicultural is 'still struggling to disengage from a legacy of Anglo Privilege and cultural dominance.'

White hegemony and the reproduction of 'sameness'

> *"The default position in terms of identity in Australia will always be white. So we don't belong." (Sam)*

The quote above expressed one respondent's view that White Australia Policy is very much alive and well and no matter how much Pacific Islanders may integrate into society or become socially mobile, the fact that they are not white, are visibly different from normative ideals of what constitutes a 'blonde haired, blue eyed' Australian, means they will never be fully accepted as an equal.

The respondent believes their cultural and racial differences are too difficult to overcome by mainstream white Australia (Forrest and Dunn 2011). Rizvi (1996 p.176) referred to these as 'out-groups' or migrants who are made to feel they do not belong.

In scrutinizing whiteness, Essed and Trienekens (2008) highlight two areas of concern: a) cultural expressions of white normativity and b) interpretations of the notion of whiteness as identity. They argue that 'whiteness, even when defined as an ideology, culture, process, and a sense of privileged location, presupposes at least some adherence to race purity as a relevant phenomenon' makes the question of Dutch 'whiteness' as identity complex and convoluted (Essed and Trienekens 2008 p52-53). They also identify that 'whiteness' is not a homogenous concept pertaining to all white people, this is illustrated in their acknowledgement that Dutch whiteness is very different from US normative understandings of whiteness (Essed and Trienekens 2008 p.55). The vast difference is in the Netherlands refusal to acknowledge race and in turn whiteness. Whiteness can be viewed as 'European cultures assuming the historical maturity and the moral right to force the rest of the world into western modes of modernity' (Essed and Trienekens 2008 p.56).

While multiculturalism policy was an attempt to incorporate ethnic difference it has been argued that Australian multiculturalism is still constrained by assimilationist white hegemonic ideals. Essed and Goldberg (2002 p.1066) theorise white hegemony as a form of deeply ingrained reproduction of culture which they term the 'cultural cloning of *sameness'*. This sameness underpins much of mainstream thinking around institutions such as 'politics, law, education, management, military process of production' They argue that these deeply racial and gendered class structures determine 'who' will be cloned (2002, p.1066) and imagine that those 'non-white' cultural clones will be created to be subservient and less privileged.' The

notion of *cultural cloning* is a way of systemically reproducing the 'white, masculine, homogenous, high status' individuals who maintain the status quo and ensure the right type of migrants are cloned (Essed and Goldberg 2002 p.1068). Exclusions are always along racial, ethnic, gender, sexual class and other 'structural demarcations' (2002 p.1069) they further state:

> *Cultural cloning is predicated on the taken-for-granted desirability of certain types, the often-unconscious tendency to comply with normative standards, the easiness with the familiar and the subsequent rejection of those who are perceived as deviant (Essed and Goldberg 2002 p.1070).*

This notion of cultural cloning and sameness was strongly reflected in some of the interviewee responses, most notably the quote below, when asked about whether participants feel socially integrated one respondent stated the following:

> *...I dumb down my intelligence for the sake of getting on with people. You have to wear different masks because people don't really want to know who you are they want to know what you can give them.* (Sam)

The above quote reflects the notion of making oneself the 'right' kind of migrant who is subordinate and does not upset the status quo lest there be a 'discomfit about cultural difference' (Forrest and Dunn 2011 p.439).

Constructing Immigrants as a problem

> *"Bad behaviour does not represent a culture ..."* (Claire)

Several participants addressed the issue about the negative media coverage of Pacific Island youth in Mount Druitt and the effects that had on their sense of pride and achievement. An interesting theme which arose was the notion of constructing immigrants as a problem whether at an institutional level or via negative media coverage there is a constant 'otherness' attached to people of ethnic backgrounds. The quote above highlighted the frustration faced by individual members of an ethnic group when a small minority cause 'trouble' or break the law. These actions perpetuate negative stereotypes about Pacific Islanders amongst the mainstream society.

This is not confined to Pacific Islanders alone the mass media has been found to treat ethnic minority groups as problematic and the media perpetuate concepts and ideologies which construct minority groups as problematic and homogenous. Examples of adverse media treatment include the Cronulla race riots which featured in highly volatile talk back radio programs (Noble 2009). The 'out-groups' are not new to Australia in fact since the mid late nineteenth century there has been concerns about Asian migration and more recently Middle Eastern namely Muslim immigration (Forrest and Dunn 2011 p.439) especially post 9/11 and now with the 'war on terror' rhetoric espoused by Liberal Democratic governments there is a greater reluctance to allow middle eastern refugees into the country lest they be the wrong type of migrant.

Constructing immigrants as problematic is not a new phenomenon and it is not restricted to to the Australian context. Research was carried out examining the Swedish educational system to investigate whether education sites were racially structured given that Sweden refuses to acknowledge that racism exists (Dovemark 2013 p.19). Dovemark found that immigrants' *'otherness'* was juxtaposed against 'Swedish values'. Teachers focused on differences rather than on similarities and the cultural sign posts used to highlight differences between Swedish parents and immigrant parents were viewed as normative truths. Immigrant families were regarded as 'weak' and less 'secure' than middle class Swedish families thus reifying the view that children and parents of immigrant backgrounds were less able to cope with institutional requirements and therefore were problematic to society and the institutions (Dovemark 2013 p.19).

There was a common notion that immigrant parents needed to be educated on how to bring up their children the right way and the right way was the Swedish way which was superior and normative and representative of white cultural norms (Dovemark 2013 p.20-21). The subtle tones of a denied yet very present racism were prevalent in most dealings between teachers and their immigrant students. In some sites segregation was encouraged between Swedish and Immigrant children and when Immigrant children reported incidences of racial abuse from their Swedish counterparts these were often ignored by teachers. Dovemark (2013) concluded that the denial of racism itself created a racialised educational system and despite Sweden boasting a culturally diverse population 'the permanence of everyday racism including White supremacy,' is still prevalent and immigrant children are still seen as under achievers and disadvantaged.

The research above whilst based within the Swedish context drew similarities with my own personal experience working as a University Cultural Project Officer with young people at youth centres and high schools. Part of my role was to facilitate ways in which Pacific Islander parents could better engage with staff at the schools. Much of the rhetoric focused around how best school staff could educate 'these parents'. The underlying motivation behind most of the cultural outreach programs was that Pacific Island youth and their parents were problematic if left to their own devices and the schools needed to intervene. Several times I would be asked cultural advice about how to deal with a problematic 'Samoan' family or how to raise cultural awareness among non-Pacific people about how to deal with Pacific people. There were subtle undertones in these discussions that these families were not conforming to the institutional processes and as a result their children were problematic.

One of the interview participants picked up on this very theme and mentioned an incident involving her child and the school which angered her enough to contact the Principle and explain the inappropriate and racist assumptions made by the school, she states:

> *My daughter was given a pamphlet at school about Pacific Island parents invite to a forum workshop on physically disciplining children they labelled it as part of domestic violence and abuse ... I did not appreciate it! I asked whether other kids received the same pamphlet and she said 'No it was only for Pacific Island kids'. (Claire)*

The general stereotype was a negative one. Other comments voiced a disappointment with how the Pacific Island community perceives *itself* as being problematic and in constant need of services:

> *We have Croatian club, Greek orthodox club and then the Mount Druitt Pacific island Community Centres – I get disappointed where you have other cultural communities having social or educational clubs but when it's to do with Pacific Islanders there's more (about) community need (services) so that we recognise we have so much need – what about Business School? Instead of community centres where we deal with so many bad issues. We are losing the opportunity to tap the resources and skills of people who have a rich sense of knowledge that they understand how to do certain things and access certain things – for our kids I want them to access those associations. (Claire)*

Another respondent voiced her opposition to needs based centres:

> *I hate that there is so much funding available for service based needs centres, because it perpetuates the idea that we can't do things for ourselves, that we are helpless. Why can't there be art centres or creative places instead? (Anita)*

Conclusion

This chapter highlights the reality of racism as it is experienced in everyday situations and contexts. Despite occupying a middle class location with middle class markers such as a high level of education, financial means and access to resources, these participants continue to encounter exclusionary practices as a result of racism. This places them in a contradictory position where they have access to means of production and support networks yet continue to grapple with the complexities associated with being a minority group. How they negotiate different types of belonging as they negotiate this contradictory space will be unpacked in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5 - INBETWEENESS

> *"When I think middle class I see white picket fence, white person in car driving in Castle Hill"* (Sam)

In this chapter, I consolidate my discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 which detailed the experience of 'integration' and racism, by theorising how being Pacific Islander and being middle class results in a *third space* of *inbetweeness* (Bhaba 1990) where, on the one hand, they occupy a privileged economic position but on the other hand, they continue to face stigma associated with their ethnicity and visible racial markers. I begin by applying recent theoretical frames that communicate similar themes around non-linear in-between pathways to integration among racialised migrant minorities. I then explore the manner in which the experience of inbetweeness creates a hybrid identity among Pacific Islander migrants in my study, resulting from the constant negotiation between inclusion and exclusion**.**

Strategic assimilation and the Minority culture of mobility

> *If you say Pacific Island middle class than you bring it down a bit because as soon as you say middle class I automatically don't put myself in there. We know the middle class we can picture it and the middle class is a white man's class ...'* (Lina)

The quote above was one of three quotes from different participants expressing the same theme – they each saw a difference between the notion of the 'middle class' and that of a 'Pacific middle class'. The Pacific middle class was perceived to be of a lower status, whereby, the very term 'Pacific middle class' or 'migrant middle class' signals an exclusionary politics because it suggests that the traditional privileged *'white middle class'* is distinguishable from a racialised one. There are two conceptualisations for why this may occur. They are the theory of *strategic assimilation* and the *minority culture of mobility*.

The theory of *segmented assimilation* advanced by Portes and Zhou (1993) posits that three paths of adaptation are possible for immigrants of colour. The first is a destination to the white middle class, the second is where they identify with the black underclass and the third is where they retain the cultural values of their immigrant community. In this third path immigrants rely on their ethnic communities for social capital, employment leads and relief from discrimination (Waters 1999). Lacy (2004) however, proposes a variant of the third path which is that of *strategic assimilation* and applies to the experience of middle class black

Americans. This term describes a middle class black population that 'does not perceive itself as permanently constrained to the bottom rung of a racial hierarchy' (Lacy 2004 p.908). Lacy found that despite being in upwardly mobile class, there are still strong undertones of race being a major barrier to achieving full cultural acceptance in white neighbourhoods. Lacy then examined the affinity for 'black spaces' as a means of respite from a racially hostile world (Lacy 2004 p.911) and found that middle-class blacks could 'switch ethnic identities under conditions where their original identity is no longer useful' (Lacy 2004 p.912). So too middle class Pacific Islanders have been able to apply strategic assimilation to their own settlement experiences switching between cultures Pacific and Australian.

Specifically, this variant of integration involves occupying the social field of the 'black middle class' and which entails moving between black and white spaces. For example, living in black neighbourhoods yet working in white workplaces allows connections to be maintained a 'black identity' (Lacy 2004 p.910).

> *I've always lived in dense Pacific areas from Minto and Campbelltown to Mount Druitt ... for me breaking that cycle that whole breaking the norm that was a big thing out of my crew I was the only one who went to Uni. Predominantly I still live in the Mount Druitt area...I still hang out with the boys. (Jacob)*

Despite working in predominantly white workplaces Jacob chooses to live in Local Government Areas which have a large Pacific Islander population. However, Jacob is still able to move between his local Pacific neighbourhood and white workplaces such as Church educational institutions, NSW NRL and Sydney University Academia.

Jacob maintains ties with the Pacific world because he enjoys interacting with other Pacific Islanders and he enjoys being part of the Pacific Island local community. Lacy (2004, p911) argues that maintaining ties to the black world also provides a form of 'refuge from racial discrimination' and relief from the 'terrorising white gaze.' And it is through these interactions in black spaces that middle class blacks construct and maintain black racial identities.

A *minority culture of mobility* operates in a similar way. According to Vallejo (2012 p.2) middle class Mexican Americans who came from working class backgrounds face challenges from their low class background and minority status as they attempt to navigate white cultural

places. While similar to segmented assimilation, the incorporation pathways outlined by segmented assimilation do not allow for the possibility that second and later generations can achieve upward mobility and incorporate into the minority middle class (Vallejo 2012 p.4). Vallejo's participants displayed traditional markers of middle class status which include employment in white collar roles, national median household incomes and a college education. She found that contrary to conventional assimilation theory socially mobile middle class Mexican Americans do not cut ties to poorer co ethnics nor do they view themselves as white. Socially mobile Mexican Americans straddle two different worlds (Vallejo 2012 p.9). Likewise this model can be applied to middle class Pacific Islanders as they straddle two different worlds one of stigma and one of privilege. Kayla comes from a working class background, she dropped out of school early when she became a teenage mother and what followed was several years of working and studying her way into the middle class. Despite her move into a predominantly white middle class workplace she still feels as if she bears the stigma associated with being a Pacific Islander and from a working class background.

> *I had to work full-time during the day and study part-time and look after a baby. I really am satisfied because I've come such a long way – the high school drop out where everyone said she would fail... (Kayla)*

However Kayla continues to keep close ties to her home Tongan community or home church in Dee Why because she remembers that's where she keeps cultural ties.

> *'I'll retire back to Dee Why. Dee Why always comes up also being Tongan and having wider family connections where you're still connected to your home church ...so whenever they have their special events we show our support ...we still have that connection... (Kayla)*

This illustrates how a minority culture of mobility operates, Kayla's intra-generational mobility means she has to straddle class and her Tongan ethnic context. Whilst still retaining an enduring familiarity to her working class roots even though she is now middle class she retains what Vallejo refers to as intra-class relations with co-ethnics. As they enter the white professional world middle class migrants must move between different locations of working in white worlds yet being part of group specific mobility strategies that result in their creating or joining ethnic communities and professional organisations.

Systems of privilege exist worldwide, in varying forms and contexts and the idea that "privilege is invisible to those who have it" has become a touchstone epigram for work on the "super-ordinate"—in this case, White people, men, heterosexuals, and the middle class (Kimmel and Ferber, 2010). When one is privileged by class, or race or gender or sexuality, one rarely sees exactly how the dynamics of privilege work. The middle class has always been a privileged position and one that has great power but as we have seen in this chapter that privilege does not fully extend to the migrant middle classes because of the associated stigma attached to their race and ethnicity. It is here however that those occupying the third space find strategic ways to negotiate their own integration into mainstream society.

Intraethnic Othering and Distancing

Another aspect of negotiating inbetweeness is in the way migrants position their own ethnic identity within host nations. In his study of middle class Haitian in the US Clerge (2012) explored how they negotiate between their middle class status, ethno racial exclusion and stigma attached to the lower classes (Clerge 2012 p.958). Distancing strategies were deployed by the second generation who attempted to distinguish themselves from the first generation and adopted affiliations with mainstream blacks. Similarly Pacific Island middle class like other immigrant are an invisible population in the discourses on immigrant incorporation and stratification and this sense of distancing also occurs to a large extent as people become even more socially mobile (Clerge 2012 p.959). Intraethnic othering was a strategy by which migrants conveyed their assimilated or bicultural identity it occurs when there's pressure to prove oneself integrated so they distance themselves from their co-ethnic communities as much as possible (Pyke and Dang 2003 p.164).

> *I've seen how a lot of these Islander groups act when they're together and it's ridiculous. Even when I play rugby I sort of look for the islander boys and I hammer them like seriously I always target them they just piss me off. (Craig)*

It is also important to note that within the panethnicity of Pacific Islanders there is also intraethnic othering between ethnic groups often based on internalised racism. Because Polynesians tend to have fairer skin and straight hair, there's an undertone that they are better than Melanesians and Micronesians because of these external features (McGavin 2014). This was also noted by a participant who expressed his disappointment at the way Polynesians speak and joke about Melanesians.

> *We use humour amongst ourselves to demean if we want to deflect attention from the*
> *point ...PIs tend to use humour to demean another group. There's joking and then*
> *there's joking like for a long while I was so excited to be working with PI people*
> *other than PNG ...then working with other islanders and then listening to them and*
> *how they joke about Melanesians ... (Luke)*

Noting these differences another participant Jacob also picked up on the point that Pacific Islanders are a heterogeneous group made up of many ethnic groups with different languages and customs and negotiating those differences within and between Pacific Islanders is something which needs to be acknowledged.

According to Pyke and Dang (2003) this intraethnic othering emerges from the pressures created by an underlying hegemonic order that views a persons' racial attributes as a negative. They therefore attempt to distance themselves from such traits. This internalized racism 'denigrates coethnic "others" as "too ethnic" or "too assimilated" while casting those at the bicultural middle as the "normals." (Pyke and Dang 2003 p.147)

Hybrid identities and the third space

This inbetweeness results in a *third space* one from which new positions emerge for Pacific Islander middle class migrants – a 'hybrid identity' which develops from 'conditions of antagonism and inequality' (Meredith 1998 p2). According to Bhabha the third space is an 'ambivalent site where cultural meaning and representation have no primordial unity of fixity' (Bhabha 1994). [1] In other words, identities become ambiguous. Those in between spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of self hood singular or communal that initiate, new signs of identity and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation in the act of defining the idea of society itself (Pon 2005 p173). The hybrid subject's potential is with their innate knowledge and ability to transverse both cultures and to 'translate negotiate and mediate affinity and difference within a dynamic of exchange and inclusion' (Meredith 1998. P.3)

When participants were asked how they navigated their way through being Pacific Islander and being middle class there was a general theme of learning to live in two worlds use strategies in order to make the most out of both as Jacob expressed below.

---

[1] Hybridity is originally theorised in the context of post-colonial studies – a condition resultant from attempts by colonial governing authorities to create a singular universal framework for the colonised to follow, but instead, a new identity or subject position is created instead that negotiates multiple positions of power and disadvantage.

>*"Getting the best of both worlds and making sure me personally my integrity and my morals are intact." (Jacob)*

Jacob also went on to discuss the difficulty of having to work with Pasifika collective value systems in sports whilst also trying to implement programs that are geared towards western individualism.

>*Because we are a tight close knit unit that collectively not individually the collective will always take priority over the individual but then that can work against it in programs cause programs need the individual not the collective and so in terms of understanding and cultural competence I've found its 100% works every time but in terms of sustainability ...and getting really into the intricacies that's when management can get a little intricate and complex.(Jacob)*

I apply this concept of inbetweeness to the middle class Pacific Islander experience as they constantly negotiate and conceptualise their place in Australia from a point of otherness and difference. While they occupy a privileged class position they are not fully acknowledged as being middle class because the middle class is a traditionally white privileged space
One participant discussed the ways in which he strategically negotiates otherness and difference. He does this through gathering with friends and sharing what he refers to as the '*Beetle nut talanoa'.* Talanoa means 'talking together'.

>*The beauty of beetle nut it's the beetle nut talanoa. There's a different way of interacting when you come to Australia on that middle income bracket. In our community we don't talk about our positions, we're here we have good jobs and houses you'll see it but you'll hardly ever hear people talk about it. (Luke)*

According to Luke practising cultural customs that gather people together is a way of dealing with differences and problems they face within an Australian diasporic context. Something as simple as chewing beetle nut and not worrying too much about how other people perceive of his position in society is what enables him to deal with outside pressures as he negotiates between white and non-white spaces.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have unpacked how middle class Pacific Islanders negotiate the space between inclusion and exclusion and between privilege and stigma. These negotiations form ambiguous identities and new ways of being in the world. This inbetweeness is built on difference and is shaped by diverse socio-cultural influences (Hall 1990; Baba 1990). The central issue of inbetweeness and hybridity is how this cohort constructs their identity living between and within multiple points of difference and belonging. The ways in which they straddle both worlds is through strategic negotiations As middle class Pacific Islanders negotiate their identity within this social space multiple pathways to integration are created.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

Drawing from ten in-depth interviews with middle class Pacific Islanders, my thesis demonstrates that there is no universal pathway in migrant settlement trajectories. The experience of settlement is diverse – with different modes of 'integration' and varied experiences to 'inclusion' and 'exclusion'. Furthermore the way in which middle class Pacific Islanders strategically navigate their privileged class location amidst persistent racial exclusion contributes to the wider literature about middle class racial minority and migrant experiences in general. There continues to be little known about these types of migrant experiences in the Australian context and this empirical research contributes to emergent literature that aims to better understand migrant settlement or racial minority experiences and the intersection between race and class.

As middle class Pacific Islander identities are constructed within the context of inbetweeness my research demonstrates how intersectionality applied as a holistic analytical strategy prevalent in institutional practices and other social phenomena generates multiple inequalities. This research has revealed different 'modes of integration' as conceived by Pacific Islanders and includes economic markers of social mobility, institutional modes of integration, informal networks of support, and discourses of *home*. These varied conceptions highlight the different ways these migrants forge a sense of belonging and inclusion in 'mainstream' society. This is particularly important in the context of dominant frames that position Pacific Islanders as disadvantaged and without agency. It is not to say that the plight of Pacific Islanders who do not have access to the same privileges is not important, but rather that there needs to be more situated analysis of the heterogeneity of this group. But, moreover, this thesis has shown that subtle racism continue to form exclusionary barriers even for middle class Pacific Islanders especially in the area of employment such as accessing promotions and equal job opportunities. These forms of racism remind my respondents of the limits to social mobility and 'integration' as the terms of who is 'included' and 'excluded' continue to be determined by a white hegemonic core. It is this intersection of race and class that this thesis, on a broader political level, highlights the short comings of Australian migrant policy as it is still constrained by assimilationist white hegemonic ideals which reproduce or culturally clone 'sameness'. On the one hand it encourages a culturally pluralist notion of embracing ethnic 'difference' while at the same time fostering an environment where 'cultural sameness' is highly valued.

Understanding integration and inclusion in contemporary Australia requires analysis of a complex set of social relationships and social political economic and cultural outcomes of which there are *objective* and *subjective* aspects of the social dimension of immigrant integration (Joppke 2004 p.145). Furthermore my research throws much needed light on the ambiguous location of *inbetweeness* of subjects who straddle the complex positionings of both privilege and stigma and the complex negotiations of identity amidst belonging and not belonging. And so, while this thesis argues for better understanding middle class racial minorities, it does not aim to undermine or discard the significance of research that delves into working class migrants settlement experiences. It aims to promote, instead, a more nuanced understanding of migrant groups not only for research but most especially for the arena of policy that continues to largely homogenize migrant populations.

Whilst examining the privileged position of middle class locations I acknowledge that social mobility still prescribes to a neoliberal individualistic ideal which cannot be achieved or maintained by everyone. Because capitalism is shaped by the social interaction of *production* and *exchanges* between capitalists and workers, at the heart of capitalist relations is the concept of exploitation and at the core of exploitation is an 'antagonistic interdependency of material interests of actors within economic relations' (Wright 1997 p.32). In other words, disadvantage is embedded into the very nature of capitalist economic societies, because they are built around a system of profit and loss therefore the pursuit of social mobility is not achievable by all. Economic markers of integration therefore remain problematic because they prioritize a certain kind of racial minority such as 'skilled' migrants with the capacity to contribute economically to the Australian system. Furthermore middle class strategies in acquiring 'equality' and 'inclusion' can also be divisive among racial groups due to the structural location of individuals who may never be able to mobilize the same resources (Lamont and Fleming, 2005). Social mobility as a mode of incorporation can, therefore, further reinforce inequality and marginalization of the less mobile among the group (Lamont and Fleming 2005 p.40). And so, more work is needed to explore how to create conditions that facilitate more inclusive notions of cultural membership in middle class milieus.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- **Background questions** – Tell me a bit about your self...
    - Ethnic background / mixed?
    - Language spoken/bilingual
    - Age
    - Occupation
    - Class
    - Place of Residence
    - Length lived in Australia / migrant or born here
    - Family members
    - Friendships
    - City/Country
    - Hobbies
- **Initial experiences** after migrating to Australia / growing up in Australia as a Pacific Islander
    - What was it like attending school? Public or private / University?
    - Were there many other Pacific Islanders in your school / University course? (How did that make you feel?)
    - What was it like growing up in your suburb?
    - Was the suburb you grew up in ethnically diverse? Did that make it easier or harder to fit in?
    - What brought you/your family to Australia?
    - What did you enjoy most about growing up in Australia?
    - What did you hate the most about growing up in Australia?
    - Did/do you ever experience Racism? Discrimination?
    - What are some negative stereotypes you encounter about Pacific Islanders?
- **Class background and class mobility**
    - What 'class' background did you come from?
    - What kind of work did/do your parents do?
    - What level of education did your parent's/siblings/cousins achieve?
    - Awareness of class? Have you ever experienced a time when you felt like you belonged in a different class?
    - Was/is education a big deal in to you/ in your family?
    - What were your aspirations when growing up?
    - What are your financial/social aspirations now? How do you intend to achieve those goals?
    - What key values do you attribute to your achievements/ successes in life?
    - How did you end up in your current occupation? /dream job?
    - Are you happy with the class location you currently occupy?
    - What are your hopes for the future?
    - Have other members of your family/ neighbourhood / friends changed their class location?
    - Have you ever experienced classism as a barrier to attaining a particular goal?
    - Does being middle class help you integrate better in society?
- **Racism**
    - Have you ever experiences racism/ discrimination? Did this affect the way you see yourself and who you are? / Was it a barrier to attaining a specific goal? How did you deal/overcome with it?
    - Do you know of racism directed at other people in your family/community?
    - What strategies/values do you rely on to keep you focused?
- **Identity / Integration**
    - Where is 'home' to you?
    - Do you feel 'at home' in Australia? Why or why not?
    - Do you feel a sense of belonging wherever you go in Australia? Why? Why not?
    - Is it important for you/your children to know/learn your PI language?
    - (*Interracial – Are there cultural difficulties associated/experienced being interracial/in an interracial relationship/having interracial children)
    - (*elite sports men – Why do you play for Australia and not Samoa/Tonga?)
- **Racial solidarity**
    - Do you feel a strong connection to your pacific island community/culture?
    - Do you feel a strong connection to people of PI backgrounds in general?
    - Do you support PI community initiatives? Why/Why not?
    - What are some of the ways you participate/engage with 'Pacific Islander culture'

REFERENCES

Anderson, Z., 2013. Reading 'multiculturalism': a historiography of policy and ideal in Australia. *History Compass*, *11* (11), pp.905-917.

Ang, I 2014 'Beyond Chinese groupism: Chinese Australians between assimilation, multiculturalism and diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* vol.37, no.7, pp.1184-1196.

Aoki, A. and Takeda, O., 2008. *Asian American Politics* (Vol. 1). Polity.

Aquino, K., 2016. Anti-racism 'from below': exploring repertoires of everyday anti-racism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *39*(1), pp.105-122.

Australian Bureau of Statistics *2011 Census of Population and Housing* (Pacific Ancestry statistics provided by Westir LTD).

Bhaba, H (1990) *The Third Space: An Interview with Homi Bhaba in* Identity:Community, Culture, Difference edited by Rutherford J Lawrence and Wishant: London p207-221

Banting, K. and Kymlicka, W., 2013. Is there really a retreat from multiculturalism policies? New evidence from the multiculturalism policy index. *Comparative European Politics*, *11*(5), pp.577-598.

Barot, R. and Bird, J. (2001) 'Racialisation: the genealogy and critique of a concept', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol.24, no. 4, pp. 601-18.

Beeghley, L. 2008 *The structure of social stratification in the United States* (5th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

Boese, M. and Phillips, M., 2011. Multiculturalism and social inclusion in Australia. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *32*(2), pp.189-197.

Bose, C.E., 2012. Intersectionality and global gender inequality. *Gender & Society*, *26*(1), pp.67-72.

Bourdieu, P., 1986. The forms of capital Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education (pp. 241–258).

Butcher, M., 2010. From 'fish out of water'to 'fitting in': the challenge of re-placing home in a mobile world. *Population, Space and Place*, *16*(1), pp.23-36.

Butcher M, Harris A 2010 Pedestrian Crossings: Young People and Everyday *Multiculturalism Journal of Intercultural Studies* Vol 31, No 5 pp. 449-453

Castles S, Hugo G & Vasta E (2013) Rethinking Migration
and Diversity in Australia: Introduction, Journal of Intercultural Studies, 34:2, 115-121

Carbado, D.W., Crenshaw, K.W., Mays, V.M. and Tomlinson, B., 2013. Intersectionality. *Du Bois review: social science research on race*, *10*(02), pp.303-312.

Charmaz K 2014 (2nd Ed) Constructing Grounded Theory Sage Publications London

Colic-Peisker, V 2011 A New Era in Australian Multiculturalism? From Working-Class "Ethnics" To a "Multicultural Middle Class", *International Migration Review*, vol.45, no 3, pp.562-587.

Crouch, M and McKenzie, H 2006 'The logic of small samples in interview-based qualitative research' *Social Science Information* Vol 45; p.483

Collins, P.H., 2015. Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *41*, pp.1-20.

Collins, J., 2013. Multiculturalism and immigrant integration in Australia.*Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *45*(3), pp.133-149.

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1903/1969) *The Souls of Black Folk*, New York : New American Library

Erel U, Murji K, Nahaboo Z 2016 Understanding the contemporary race–migration nexus in Ethnic and Racial Studies 39 (8) pp.1339-1360

Essed, P.J.M. and Rice, S., 1993. Understanding everyday racism: an interdisciplinary theory. *Sociological inquiry*, *63*(4), pp.493-495.

Essed, P. and Goldberg, D.T., 2002. Cloning cultures: the social injustices of sameness. *Ethnic and racial studies*, *25*(6), pp.1066-1082.

Essed, P. and Trienekens, S., 2008. 'Who wants to feel white?'Race, Dutch culture and contested identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *31*(1), pp.52-72.

Gurry, M., 2012. India, the new centre of gravity: Australia–India relations under the Howard Government. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*,*35*(2), pp.282-305.

Greenberg, M., Schneider, D. and Singh, V., 1998. Middle Class Asian American Neighborhoods: Resident and Practitioner Perceptions. *Journal of Community Practice*, *5*(3), pp.63-85.

Finn, R.L., 2009. Situating middle class identities: American college women of South Asian descent. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *16*(3), pp.279-298.

Forrest, J. and Dunn, K., 2006. 'Core'Culture Hegemony and Multiculturalism Perceptions of the Privileged Position of Australians with British Backgrounds. *Ethnicities*, *6*(2), pp.203-230.

Forrest, J., Johnston, R. and Poulsen, M., 2013. Middle-class diaspora: recent immigration to Australia from South Africa and Zimbabwe. *South African Geographical Journal*, *95*(1), pp.50-69.

Fleming,C, Lamont, M & Welburn, J. 2012 'African Americans respond to stigmatisation: the meanings and salience of confronting, deflecting conflict, educating the ignorant and 'managing the self'', *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 400-417

Francis, S.T., 2009. *Migration and transnationalism: Pacific perspectives.* ANU E Press.

Gilroy, P. (1998) 'Race ends here', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 21, no.5, pp. 838-47.

Gross D & Schmitt N 2012 'Low- and high-skill migration flows: free mobility versus other determinants' *Applied Economics* Vol.44, no.1, p.1-20.

Hall S (1990) Cultural Identity and Dispora in Identity: Community, Culture, Difference edited by Rutherford J Lawrence and Wishant: London p.222-237

Hage, G (1997) *At home in the entrails of the west: Multiculturalism, Ethnic Food and Migrant Home Building in* Home/World edited by Grace H, Hage G, Johnson L, Langsworth J and Symonds, M, Pluto Press: Annandale p99-153

Hear V, 2014 'Reconsidering Migration and Class', *IMR* vol.48, no.1 pp.S100-S121

Horton, P 2012 'Pacific Islanders in Global Rugby: The Changing Currents of Sports Migration', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* November vol 29, no 17, pp.2388-2404.

Hu R, 2015 'Competitiveness, Migration, and Mobility in the Global City: Insights from Sydney, Australia' *Economies* vol *3*, 37-54.

Hummell, E 2014 Standing the test of time: Barth and Ethnicity Vol.13 no.1, pp.46-60

Jakubowicz, A., 2007. Anglo-multiculturalism: contradictions in the politics of cultural diversity as risk. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*,*2*(3), pp.249-266.

Jakubowicz, A., 2011. Chinese walls: Australian multiculturalism and the necessity for human rights. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *32*(6), pp.691-706.

Jakubowicz, A., Collins, J., Reid, C. and Chafic, W., 2014. Minority youth and social transformation in Australia: identities, belonging and cultural capital. *Social Inclusion*, *2*(2).

Jakubowicz, A., Morrissey, M. and Palser, J. (1984) *Ethnicity, Class and Social Policy in Australia*, SWRC Reports and Proceedings, No. 46.

Jakubowicz A 2009 The Risk of Diversity *Around the Globe* Vol 6 (1)

Jakubowicz A, January 2011 *The risk of diversity: the meanings of integration in Australian political culture* https://andrewjakubowicz.com/publications/integrationfutures_risk/

Joppke, C., 2004. The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy1. *The British journal of sociology*, *55*(2), pp.237-257.

Jupp, J., 1990. Immigration: Some recent perspectives∗. *Australian Historical Studies*, *24*(95), pp.285-291.

Jones F, 1998 Recent trends in labour market disadvantage among Immigrants in Australia *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* Vol.24 issue 1. pp.73-95

Kalleberg, A.L., 1982. Class Structure and Income Determination. Erik Olin Wright.

Keddie, A., 2012. Australian multicultural policy: Social cohesion through a political conception of autonomy. *Journal of Sociology*, p.1440783312462166.

Kiang, L., Witkow, M.R. and Thompson, T.L., 2015. Model minority stereotyping, perceived discrimination, and adjustment among adolescents from Asian American backgrounds. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, pp.1-14.

Kimmel, M.S. and Ferber, A.L. eds., 2016. *Privilege: A reader*. Westview Press.

Kymlicka, W., 2012. *Multiculturalism*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from: http://www. migrationpolicy. org/research/TCM-multiculturalism-success-failure.

Lee, S.M. and Fernandez, M., 1998. Trends in Asian American racial/ethnic intermarriage: A comparison of 1980 and 1990 census data. *Sociological Perspectives*, *41*(2), pp.323-342.

Lacy, K 2004 **'**Black spaces, black places: Strategic assimilation and identity construction in middle-class suburbia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* vol.27, no 6, pp.908-930

Lakisa,D, Adair,D & Taylor,T 2014 'Pasifika Diaspora and the Changing Face of Australian Rugby League' , *The Contemporary Pacific* vol 26, no 2, pp.347-367.

Lamont, M and Fleming, C 2005 'Everyday Antiracism: Competence and Religion in the Cultural Repertoires of the African American Elite', *Du Bois Review*, vol.2, no.1, pp. 29-43.

Martin L, 2010 'Strategic Assimilation or Creation of Symbolic Blackness: Middle-Class Blacks in Suburban Contexts', Journal of African American Studies vol.14 pp.234–246.

Mayer T 1997 'Reviewed Work: *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis* by Erik Olin Wright' *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 91, No. 4 pp. 997-998.

Mann, J., 2013. "Leavening British Traditions": Integration Policy in Australia, 1962–1972. *Australian Journal of Politics & History*, *59*(1), pp.47-62.

Matthews, J., 2013. The educational imagination and the sociology of education in Australia. *The Australian Educational Researcher*, *40*(2), pp.155-171.

Matthews, J., 2002. Racialised schooling,'ethnic success' and Asian-Australian students. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *23*(2), pp.193-207.

McDonald B 2014 Developing 'Home-Grown' Talent: Pacific Island Rugby Labour and the Victorian Rugby Union, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 31:11, 1332-1344,

Oliver C & O'Reilly K, 2010 'A Bourdieusian Analysis of Class and Migration: Habitus and the Individualizing Process', *Sociology* vol.44, no.1 pp- 49-66.

Omi, M. and Winant, H. (2002) 'Racial Formation', in Goldberg, D. and Essed, P. (eds.), *Race Critical Theories*, Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 123-145.

Patton, M 1990 Qualitative evaluation and research methods, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California.

Pyke K and Dang T 2003 "FOB" and "Whitewashed":Identity and Internalized Racism Among Second Generation Asian Americans *Qualitative Sociology* Vol.26 No.2 Summer 2003

Rane, H. and Hersi, A., 2012. Meanings of integration in the Australian press coverage of Muslims: Implications for social inclusion and exclusion. *Media International Australia*, *142*(1), pp.135-147.

Ravulo, J 2015 Pacific Youth Offending within an Australian Context in *Youth Justice May 18* doi: 10.1177/1473225415584983

Ralph D and Staeheli L Home and Migration: Mobilities, Belonging and Identities Geography Compass 5/7 (2011): 517-530

Rogaly B, 2015 'Disrupting migration stories: reading life histories through the lens of mobility and fixity' Vol.33, no.3 pp.528-544.

Ritchie J, Lewis J, McNaughton Nicholls C, Ormston R (edit) (2 Edition) 2014 Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers, Sage London

Savage M, Devine F, Cunningham N, Taylor M, Li, Y, Hjellbrekke J, Roux, B, Friedman, S and Miles A, 2013 'A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment', *Sociology* no.47, vol.2 pp.219–250 .

Skrbis X, Baldassar L, Poynting S 2007 Negotiating Belonging Migration and Generations *Journal of Intercultural Studies* Vol 28, No 3 August 2007 pp. 261-269

Sheppard J & Biddle N 2015 *Social Class in Australia Beyond the 'Working' and 'Middle' Classes*, ANU Centre for Social Research and Method Report No. 19 September.

Stratton, Jon. 2009. Preserving white hegemony: Skilled migration, 'Asians' and middle-class assimilation. Borderlands e-journal. 8 (3): pp. 1-28.

Taksa, L. and Groutsis, D., 2010. Managing diverse commodities? From factory fodder to business asset. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, *20*(2), pp.77-97.

Tilly, C 1998 *Durable inequality* Routledge London.

Vallejo, J. and Canizales, S.L., 2016. Latino/a professionals as entrepreneurs: how race, class, and gender shape entrepreneurial incorporation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, pp.1-20.

Vallejo, J.A., 2012. Socially mobile Mexican Americans and the minority culture of mobility. *American Behavioral Scientist*, pp.1-16

Vallejo, J., 2012. *Barrios to burbs: The making of the Mexican American middle class*. Stanford University Press.

Vazquez - Maggio M 2013 Migration of Mexicans to Australia Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, UNSW

Viruelle-Fuentes 2012 More than culture: Structural racism, intersectionality theory, and immigrant health *Social Science & Medicine* Vol.75 pp. 2099-2106

Wright, EO 1997 'Class counts: comparative studies in class analysis.' Cambridge New York Paris: Cambridge University Press Maison des Sciences de l'homme.

Xu, J. and Lee, J.C., 2013. The marginalized "model" minority: An empirical examination of the racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Social Forces*, p.sot049.

Yuval-Davis, N 2010 'Theorizing identity: beyond the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy', *Patterns of Prejudice* vol 44, no 3, pp.261-280.

Yuval-Davis, N., 2006. Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of prejudice*, *40*(3), pp.197-214.

Yuval-Davis, N., 2007. Intersectionality, citizenship and contemporary politics of belonging. *Critical review of international social and political philosophy*,*10*(4), pp.561-574.