Chapter 1
The Multicultural Experiment: Premises, Promises, and Problems

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Abstract This introductory chapter reflects on current debates about the challenges faced by multicultural societies in coming to grips with the interrelated societal tasks of facilitating migrant settlement, nurturing cultural diversity and pursuing inclusive citizenship. In doing so, the chapter will explore the development and deployment of the concept of 'multiculturalism' from a comparative and historical point of view and will proceed to discuss its key assumptions, achievements and challenges. The chapter will also touch upon the key theoretical paradigms debated in this book and will attempt to synthesise conceptually how its three sections interconnect dialectically and empirically.

Keywords Cultural diversity • Cosmopolitanism • Migration • Multiculturalism • Social cohesion • Social justice • Human rights

Against an absence of new articulations of post-Westphalian approaches to citizenship, the rise of human mobility is engendering, among other reactions, new forms of inclusion/exclusion for 'non-citizens', 'forced migrants' and all those considered 'outsiders' (Agier 2011; Gibney 2004). These forms of exclusion are especially pronounced in relation to the political community (state) where claims for cultural rights, equality and active participation are made and contested by minoritised 'Others'. Today across many émigré societies, minority groups in general and migrant communities in particular are demanding greater accommodation of their distinctive cultural identities as a way of enacting their aspirations for justice and equality (Modood 2013; Vertovec 2010; Benhabib 2002; Barry 2001). So far the consequential ethical dilemma and policy challenges have revolved around ways of ensuring that such claims are sustained without the risk of engendering cultural relativism, cultural ostracism, and the creation of segregated communities. The latter in particular is purported to carry within it the possible emergence of dual attachments and a weakened sense of belonging to the wider society. Indeed, in much of the contemporary literature on this subject it is increasingly argued (c.f. Modood

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2013; Harris 2013; Steiner 2013; Mansouri and Lobo 2011; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010) that one of the main difficulties facing multicultural societies is the extent to which they are able to reconcile commitments for cultural diversity with securitised social cohesion agenda. Put differently, how can pluralism at the cultural and religious levels be supported without the unwanted consequence of erecting new forms of social exclusion, cultural racism and intercultural tensions?

Taken together, this book aims to address these inherent tensions and related questions central to the 'multicultural challenge', with a focus on diversity and its ethical and policy ramifications. This discussion will be undertaken not only horizontally across a range of multicultural societies but also vertically within the diverse cultural systems of minority groups themselves. To this end, the chapters in this book tend to display an eclectic yet useful variation in theoretical, disciplinary and methodological approaches. Some authors rely on abstract critical theoretical analyses of how particular dimensions of diversity such as religion and sexual identity have been approached in specific political contexts. Others bring in more empirical data-driven accounts of key challenges facing minoritised and at times marginalised groups in their quest for social integration and cultural acceptance in various social milieus.

Yet, in terms of its overall approach, the book charters a somewhat distinct epistemological pathway—to the growing literature on all matters multiculturalism—by introducing three unique conceptual and methodological features. First, it brings a much stronger empirical basis to discussions of multiculturalism, which have tended to be rather abstract in much of the scholarly debates spanning various disciplinary traditions across the social sciences and humanities. Using such diverse empirical foundations, the book's various contributions usefully apply complex theoretical concepts into prominent and carefully selected case studies. Second, the book's overall epistemological approach is overwhelmingly multidisciplinary. To an extent, this contrasts to how multicultural debates have been approached and tackled across the social sciences with a tendency for the single disciplinary tradition to provide the main conceptual framework. This volume incorporates well-conceptualised contributions from education, sociology, cultural studies, philosophy and political science. And in many cases, these differing disciplinary insights come together in the same chapter providing a multi-faceted account to what is a complex social phenomenon. Third, and perhaps most importantly, the book exhibits global perspectives with empirical insights from multicultural societies in North America, Australia, New Zealand and Europe included, even if the individual case studies under examination in each of the book's chapters are locally situated.

Against this theoretical and methodological variation, the overall arguments pursued in this book and discussed briefly in this introductory chapter, relate to three key contested domains in the broad multicultural question. First, the question of *premises*, which will engage with the historical, philosophical and normative foundations of the multicultural project that culminated in the formal adoption of a suite of multicultural policies in Canada, Australia and subsequently other émigré nation-states during the second half of the twentieth century. Second, this chapter will reflect on the enduring *promises* of multiculturalism both as an ideal for recon-

ciling notions of justice, human rights and difference within liberal states, and as the basis for social policies aimed at supporting migrant settlement through the preservation of heritage culture. This particular feature of multiculturalism has attracted deeply polarised debates (Mansouri and de B'beri 2014; Jupp and Clyne 2011) about how such reconciliation should be pursued and the extent to which a liberal interpretation of multiculturalism can tolerate certain group claims that might simultaneously impinge upon rights of individual members of those very minority groups. And it is within the third domain *problems* that we see many of these debates being transformed into outright criticism and rejection of the basic assumptions underlying multiculturalism namely an acceptance of and support for cultural diversity. These three interrelated dimensions of the multicultural debate will be approached in this volume not merely from abstract intellectual viewpoints, but more importantly from comparative, transnational and empirical perspectives that touch upon social policy, justice, human rights and education.

1.1 Premises of Multiculturalism

The deep philosophical foundations underpinning multiculturalism go a long way back in history and certainly cannot be linked solely to the policies introduced in Canada and Australia during the second half of the twentieth century (Taylor 2013; Kymlicka 2010; Mansouri and Lobo 2011). Indeed, many old civilisations such as the Egyptian and the Roman as well as medieval civilisations such as the Ottoman Empire had to grapple in their own ways with cultural and religious diversity. In the case of the Ottoman Empire for example, the central state had introduced social policies, in particular the *Millet* system, to regulate and protect cultural rights and in the process extend a degree of social justice to minorities within the larger empire (c.f. Parekh 2005). This social contract within the Ottoman Empire rested on certain obligations on the part of those making the claims, and corresponding rights extended to them in return by the central state. In many ways, this arrangement was akin to a modern citizenship approach with its emphasis on "contributory rights" (Turner 2006). A few centuries later, and in his 1795 essay *Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant discussed similar ideas in terms of a cosmopolitan law/right that would provide a guiding principle to protect people, especially during times of conflict, and this cosmopolitan right was to be grounded in the principle of universal hospitality. Further to the foundational work of Kant, the philosophical writings of Emmanuel Levinas (Davis 1996) on ethics, and Jacques Derrida (Still 2010) also on hospitality, provided an even sharper theoretical framework for approaching and understanding the relationships among (diverse) people in their everyday lives.

Indeed, for Levinas, the foundation of ethics consists in the obligation to respond to the Other through a sense of responsibility, of "goodness" and "mercy" to overcome the Other's state of vulnerability. Likewise, Derrida (1978, 1997, 1999) approaches this responsibility to "care" through a notion of "hospitality" as the foundation of human ethics and as a readiness to welcome the Other into one's

home. In this sense, ethics amounts to a pure and unconditional hospitality in our relationships with the Other. These theoretical approaches to ethics and hospitality hold out the possibility of an acceptance of the Other as different but of equal standing. Yet in contemporary societies such philosophical assumptions no longer seem adequate to overcome the inherent tensions in relation to obligations extended to individuals and groups who do not formally belong to a particular political community. Within the modern state, such dilemmas are conveniently dealt with under the citizenship framework with its inclusionary and exclusionary capabilities. But national citizenship approaches remain state-bound and are yet to embrace more post-national and global agendas. Therefore and from a more contemporary approach to cosmopolitanism, a key argument advocated by Appiah, among others, is that a citizen of the world should neither "abjure all local allegiances and partialities in the name of a vast abstraction humanity, nor should s/he take the nationalist position of rejecting all foreigners" (in Lenz 2011: 415). In other words, a more sustainable approach to such contested attachments, would be a partial or rooted cosmopolitanism, which reflects the hybridity and intermingling of cultures whilst ensuring contentious, cross-cultural dialogue and negotiation of difference within societies and across nations (c.f. Appiah 2005; Delanty 2006; Kymlicka and Walker 2012).

But away from these quintessentially philosophical debates and intellectual discourses, multiculturalism was thrust into the public arena in the wake of emergent international human rights frameworks. These were reflected most notably in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Refugee Convention (1951) and associated international instruments aimed at protecting minority rights from the possible excesses of the nation-state and the social injustices perpetrated by dominant groups. The call for intercultural understanding, social acceptance and mutual respect for human dignity can be seen as the unintended promises of subsequent multicultural articulations.

1.2   Promises of Multiculturalism

Linked to the notion of premises, the enduring *promises* of multiculturalism remain at the level of incorporating migrants and newcomers into dominant mainstream societies. Multiculturalism, in many ways, was conceived of as a vehicle for replacing racist, assimilationist approaches to managing forms of ethnic and racial hierarchy within post-War Western societies. Indeed, as Kymlicka (2012: 3) argues,

> From the 1970s to mid-1990s, there was a clear trend across Western democracies toward the increased recognition and accommodation of diversity through a range of multiculturalism policies (MCPs) and minority rights. These policies were endorsed both at the domestic level in some states and by international organizations, and involved a rejection of earlier ideas of unitary and homogeneous nationhood.

Therefore, and at the level of social and, political and legal manifestation, the multicultural promise was unequivocally about a promotion of empowerment, justice and respect for all irrespective of cultural or religious backgrounds.

And the multicultural promise at this level was facilitated and anchored within existing institutions of the émigré society most notably citizenship frameworks. This articulation of multiculturalism in countries such as Australia (see Chaps. 5 and 12), Canada (see Chap. 4) or New Zealand (see Chaps. 3 and 7) has engendered more positive than negative social outcomes despite the caricature portrayal of multiculturalism that has dominated media and some academic discourses. The early and enduring promise of multiculturalism at this level can only be adequately understood and appreciated when accounted for within its proper historical context. Indeed, the multicultural promise should be seen as the third wave of global emancipatory movements that started with decolonisation in the 1950s, followed by the US-inspired civil rights movements in the 1960s, and culminating with a rejection of assimilationist policies in favour of multiculturalism during the late 1960s and early 1970s (Kymlicka 2012). At the heart of all of these transformative social movements were ethical commitments to diversity, social justice and human rights (Banting and Kymlicka 2013). Therefore, the so-called "retreat", "crisis", or "utter failure" of multiculturalism elaborated further below, tended to be discussed almost exclusively rhetorically rather than analytically, and often with no basis for objective inquiry or credible evidence.

1.3   The Perceived "Problems" of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism has been debated and critiqued frequently at the turn of the twenty-first century, with many theorists, public commentators and political leaders making various, and at times contradictory, attempts to at least "rethink" it if not "abandon" or "reject" it altogether. In the context of Europe in particular, and as Taylor (2012: 2) argues

> […] anti-multicultural rhetoric in Europe reflects a profound misunderstanding of the dynamics of immigration into the rich, liberal democracies of the West. The underlying assumption seems to be that too much positive recognition of cultural differences will encourage a retreat into ghettos, and a refusal to accept the political ethic of liberal democracy itself.

Yet others still argue for the need not only to preserve multiculturalism but to align it even more strongly with its original functions and objectives, in particular in relation to supporting migrant settlement and cultural diversity (c.f. Jakubowicz and Ho 2013; Modood et al. 2006; Ivison 2010; Kymlicka and Bashir 2008). This return to the core of the "multicultural ethos" can be pursued through a restatement of the importance of its cosmopolitan tendencies. This task is even more pressing in the context of cultural racism and xenophobia, which threatens the rights and safety of some members of our contemporary societies in particular those adhering to the Muslim faith.

But one of the key problems in the contemporary debate is that both proponents and opponents of multiculturalism remain indifferent to the inherent tension between multiculturalism as a socio-political ideology and multiculturalism as a demographic reality in our globalised societies. The latter has historically presented

serious challenges to governments everywhere but particularly in Western émigré societies where levels of cultural diversity are visibly high. The challenges relate to how to accommodate such diversity with its underlying notion of "difference" as articulated by migrant groups, while maintaining an overarching sense of belonging to, and inclusion within, the society at large.

Some Western governments have adopted specific social policies to deal with rising levels of diversity. Multiculturalism was conceived as just such a policy: a progressive integration tool aimed at managing cultural diversity in a way that offers some protection to migrants' cultural rights. Some (e.g. Ivinson 2010) might argue that this "protective" agenda contains within it the seeds of tension, as it lays the foundations for a more communitarian approach to managing diversity. Perhaps it is this communitarian manifestation that led to the fair amount of criticism since multiculturalism was introduced formally in the 1970s. At the philosophical level, the criticism was related to the implicit cultural essentialism of multiculturalism and for its perceived role in producing separatist "ethnic" enclaves. Tied to this, the leaders of Germany, France, the UK and other countries have recently expressed strong criticism of multiculturalism, which they declared as counterproductive to social integration and in some instances as "an utter failure" (Mansouri and de B'beri 2014; Taylor 2012). Criticisms of cultural essentialism in multicultural policies have been made even in countries known for their high levels of cultural diversity and progressive social policies such as Canada and Australia. Furthermore, while multiculturalism has addressed some key problems of unidirectional assimilation and acculturation, the continuing expectations often made of migrants relating to formal attachment and belonging have been left unchallenged.

Generally, multicultural policies did not take into account the fact that migrants often live in "transnational communities" with transnational connections allowing migrants to maintain collective identities and practices. These and other political implications of transnationalism represent significant challenges to national citizenship. To cater for these multiple identifications, alternative frameworks for citizenship were explored and developed throughout the 1990s, such as post-national, multicultural and intercultural citizenship. These will be discussed briefly under Sect. 1.3 below, but before that we need to explore some of the practical outcomes of a failed policy towards the accommodation of cultural diversity in pluralist societies.

One of the most obvious problems that has resulted from this so-called crisis of multiculturalism especially post 9/11, has been a sharp increase in identity politics as well as more pronounced forms of racism towards specific cultures and faith communities, especially Muslims (Mansouri and Marotta 2012). Because of the prominence of security concerns in the media and the false association of a whole religion with violence, current debates about citizenship in Europe, North America and elsewhere have become disoriented and confuse cultural and religious diversity with terrorism threats and other security risks.

It is at this level that new calls for adopting "forced" assimilation policies are being articulated once again with a complete disregard towards the basic recognition of individual rights and group claims especially when these relate to culture and faith. In the following section, a brief outline of the book structure and the

individual contributions from various theoretical and empirical perspectives will allow a more nuanced examination for these tensions in the context of differing historical, social and political contexts.

1.4   Book Structure

1.4.1   Part I: Histories and Politics of Multiculturalism

The first section of the book provides a deep contextual and conceptual context for the current predicament of the multicultural experience. Kivisto, writing about multicultural inclusion and national identity in the US, argues that the very concept of multiculturalism is a mode of incorporation predicated on the core values of liberal societies. Part of Kivisto's argument is to remind those who have contributed to the backlash against multiculturalism, that multiculturalism is not a means for promoting group- or self-segregation, nor for advancing an "anything goes" sort of cultural relativism. For Kivisto, multiculturalism is premised on the moral assertion that solidarity at the level of the societal community (or nation) can be achieved and that simultaneously difference (ethnic and religious) can be recognized and embraced. The argument mounted by Kivisto, is that multiculturalism is viable, even if not inevitable, and that its future will be shaped by the outcome of political contestation between its defenders and critics.

Focusing on the tension between these two camps in the context of New Zealand, Morris recounts a recent Cologne District Court decision (2012) to ban the circumcision of male minors and examines the responses from Muslim and Jewish communities, governments, and NGOs. As is often the case with these attacks on diverse cultural practices, Morris argues that these debates, clothed as they are in the politics of competing human rights and professional medical and legal discourses, reveal hidden dimensions of prejudicial cultural, legal and political norms that serve to restrict the freedoms of minority communities. Morris discusses these problematic discourses and examines their inadequacy in comprehending religious communities and their practices in contemporary multicultural and formally "secular" societies. The problem has been and remains a lack of a more nuanced and plausible framework for the appreciation of the formation of intergenerational religious identities. Morris calls for the adoption of a "new" model of cultural human rights, determined at the level of the individual rather than the collective: focussed on a child's right to full participation in a religious community along with the implications this may have for our understanding the nexus between multiculturalism and human rights.

Discussing the links between cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism and universalism, Imbert engages with Appiah's work on cosmopolitanism as (put simply "universality plus difference […]") to examine the challenge of cultural accommodation within multicultural societies. The problem for Imbert is that multiculturalism has always engaged with the question of acknowledging difference, but not the question

of universalism. Imbert finds that multiculturalism is not grounded in a universalism found in the value system of a group that imposed its hegemony through belittling or excluding others: this mistake often leads to a dynamic of resentment in the encounter among "hosts" and "Others". Resentment, as discussed by Imbert, Modood, Kymlicka and others, is characterised by displacement and the impossibility to belong or change. This is an important and often unseen dimension of multiculturalism that needs to be analysed more thoroughly; particularly it's potential to blend with established resentments shaping the economic and political landscape of the new society where immigrants settle. Some of these problems are analysed in more details in the second section of the book dealing with multiculturalism in key societal domains.

1.4.2 Part II: Justice and Education as Key Dimensions of Multiculturalism

Disenchantment, a concept not too dissimilar to Imbert's idea of "resentment", is taken up by Grossman, who draws on Paul Gilroy's work on multicultures and conviviality, as a framing concept for ethical sociality. Grossman uses this framing concept to examine how contemporary approaches to engaging communities in the effort to mitigate violent extremism and terrorism might productively be reshaped. Drawing on recent research into community perspectives on radicalisation, extremism and terrorism, Grossman explores Gilroy's analysis of the "citizen/denizen" discourse as this plays out in current approaches to engaging Australian Muslim and other communities around issues of extremism and terrorism: focusing in particular on the realm of counter-narrative discourses and their aftermaths—which counter-narratives are heard, which aren't and what stories have yet to be told? Grossman's central argument is that the current structure and trajectories of counter-terrorism narratives limit their efficacy. There is a real need, instead, to open up counter-narrative strategy to multiple micro-narratives that work with the commonalities and overlaps found in Gilroy's notion of "convivial culture"; this direction offers better and more enduring prospects for counter-terrorism and the future conditions of multiculturalism.

Roose and Possamai's contribution touches on two important and critical issues pertaining to the "crisis of multiculturalism". First, the extent to which there is a real policy "retreat in multiculturalism" as opposed to a mere rhetorical "backlash" inadvertently amplified by excessive media and academic attention. Second, they examine this question in the context of the recent debate around legal pluralism in western societies and in particular the case of "Shari'a" in Australia. The challenge here is that the growing numbers of Muslim migrants living in supposedly secular cities, will eventually lay claims to a form of religious accommodation that reflects jurisprudence principles articulated within Islamic Law. This conundrum has become known in the literature as the "twin tolerations" question (Stepan 2000: 8) pertaining to "the minimum degree of toleration democracy needs from religion and

the minimum degree of toleration that religion needs from the state for the polity to be democratic".

Moving away from these discourses of contestations, resentment, disenchantment, and counter-terrorism, Rata engages critically with culturalist and postcolonial theories to explore the idea of "localised knowledges" as a decolonising and liberating tool confronting disciplinary "Western" cultural knowledge. Rata argues that this approach often confuses the historical origins of knowledge with its epistemological status. She reminds us that young people who are denied access to powerful disciplinary knowledge in the belief that such knowledge is "Western" are denied both the means to move beyond experience and the means with which to criticise and change the localised world of experience, i.e. culture. Rata's fear is that these young individuals are left in the binaries of "self" and "other", "colonised" and "coloniser", "ethnic" and "Western"; reified and ahistorical categories that confine them to the world of experience and deny them the means to transcend the limits of culture. Rata argues strongly that a way forward for multiculturalism is to ensure that young people in pluralist societies have access to the powerful disciplinary knowledge required for educational success while at the same time being able to maintain or eschew cultural affiliation with the historical ethnic group as they wish.

Tsolidis, on the other hand, discusses neoliberalism as a driver of education in many émigré societies, and its potential effects on the promises of multicultural society. Within neoliberal approaches to education, the logic of the market is applied and parents are positioned as consumers with the responsibility of choosing the right school for their children. For Tsolidis, when markets and school choice are critical educational drivers, ethnicity takes on new meaning in marking some students as more or less desirable. This can be seen for example for "Asian" students who are often represented as extremely diligent and policed by overly ambitious parents who pay more attention to their academic achievements than their overall development and happiness. This understanding of "Asian" students has been fuelled by exposés of so-called "Tiger mothers". Yet despite their reputed academic prowess, these students have been seen as a trigger for "white flight". Tsolidis reveals that having a high percentage of "Asian" students is understood as a threat to the culture of a school premised on the virtues of an all-rounded liberal education. The character of the student population is critical to the market ethos that dominates education. With regard to the constitution of a "good" school, some ethnicities are seen as more valuable than others because they achieve good results. However, if high-achieving "non-white" students are seen as "taking over" a school this can shift the balance the other way. Tsolidis builds her analysis on current debates in the Australian media about school choice and explores this coverage as a means for understanding exclusion and racisms in the education sector.

Shifting the debate to continental Europe, Armillei discusses multiculturalism and the management of cultural diversity in Italy, focusing on the case of the Romani gypsy community. Armillei examines the policies of the Italian government towards the Romani community in the interrelated spheres of education and social justice; reminding us that these policies have also been deployed when dealing with other marginalised migrant communities. Presenting an analysis of the *via Italiana*

(the "Italian way") of promoting intercultural education, Armillei's appraisal of current policies reveals an essentially ethnocentric and assimilative approach to educational and social policies that positions the majority/dominant group as the point of departure and end for managing cultural diversity in Italy.

Moving away from these substantive issues of justice and education, the following section provides reflections on the more performative dimensions of multicultural belonging. Such performativity relates more specifically to spatial practices of everyday life; multicultural sexuality and cross-cultural networking.

1.4.3   Part III: Performing Multicultural Belongings

What does it mean to come of age in an era of anti-multiculturalism? How does such an environment shape the ways young people of diverse backgrounds come to feel "at home"—in the nation, in the city, in their neighbourhoods, and in their national identity? Discussing findings from her study of youth in the multicultural suburbs of five Australian cities, Harris explores how the politics of belonging is lived through the spatial practices of everyday civic life for those who have grown up during the multiculturalism backlash of the 1990s and 2000s. Harris finds that despite these conditions young people position themselves at the forefront of reimaging national belonging— their practices are more indicative of the successes of multiculturalism's legacy in everyday spaces, which the more popularised discourse of its failures obscures.

Low and Pallotta-Chiarolli, on the other hand, argue that post-White Australia, Australia's multicultural policies and community action enabled its culturally and linguistically diverse population of migrants and refugees from non-Anglo-Celtic background to gain citizenship rights. Yet, absent from these multicultural histories are multicultural gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender Australian narratives. Low and Pallotta-Chiarolli argue that in 2014, there still exists the silencing of sexual and gender diversities in heterosexist multicultural discourses, community spaces and services. The authors ask whether "reclaiming multiculturalism" can sit comfortably and confidently with "global citizenship and ethical engagement with diversity" without engaging with and including sexual and gender diverse histories, heritages and contemporary realities. Low and Pallotta-Chiarolli address this question by exploring three examples of how the reclaiming of multicultural queer histories and contemporary realities is occurring as part of refashioning a multiculturalism that engages with diversity. First, they present the work being done to uncover and recover pre-colonial and pre-Christian histories and heritages; second, they discuss the work of ILGA (International Lesbian and Gay Association) and AGMC (Australian GLBTIQ Multicultural Council) in addressing the rights of multi-faith, multicultural GLBTIQ peoples and communities. Third, they examine the Asian-Australian publication, *Peril* and related examples of other Asian-Australian/multicultural literary media that represent multi-sexual multi-gender realities.

Focussing more explicitly on cross-cultural networking among migrant youth, Effeney, Mansouri and Mikola explore the extent to which the direction of official

Multicultural and Social Inclusion policies in Australia reflects the social attitudes and networking practices of migrant youth. The chapter pays particular attention to the Federal Government's "Anti-Racism Strategy", announced in 2012 as part of its Multicultural Policy. On a theoretical level, direct efforts to mitigate racism have the potential to augment strategies that reaffirm pluralism and address disadvantage often associated with the migrant experience. To explore the extent to which such top-level discourses have empirical founding in the social lives of migrant youth, Effeney, Mansouri and Mikola draw on data collected from a longitudinal research project on social networks, belonging and active citizenship among migrant youth. Their findings suggest that there is a persistent tendency among migrant youth to point to their social distance from Australians of Anglo origins who are perceived as symbolising Australia's mainstream—representing an inclusion/exclusion binary constructed along racialised lines that persists today. The migrant youth surveyed in this study point to a number of instances of racism that weaken their overall feelings of belonging. These manifestations of racial discrimination can preclude the emergence of a genuinely inclusive society that supports and nurtures cultural diversity as a significant part of the Australian national identity.

This section, and indeed the book, concludes with the contribution of Boese and Phillips who discuss multiculturalism in Australia as a contemporary policy framework and practice that has been the subject of sustained criticism and debate. They focus on the resettlement experiences of newly arrived migrants and refugees to show how Australian multiculturalism has become a limited symbolic cultural space where "ethnic Others" are permitted to display their minority ethnicity to the white ethnic majority group. They argue that the official and public meanings of multiculturalism today remain constrained by its past, specifically the historical legacy of White Australia and the contested but still entrenched remnants of the term "assimilation". As a result, new arrivals and existing cultural "Others" are expected to gradually "blend in"; a euphemism that in effect veils a form of cultural assimilation. This process occurs at the expense of acknowledging the everyday realities of cultural diversity, and the possibilities for a more proactive, reciprocal and ongoing cultural, political and social exchange within and between all diverse communities of Australia. Boese and Phillips argue that a more transformational form of multiculturalism has emerged, termed "(re)multiculturalisation". (Re)multiculturalising, in this regard, points to a multi-layered process and seeks to encapsulate some of the ways in which multiculturalism operates within Australia today across a variety of public and private settings.

1.5 Conclusion

It is perhaps heuristically not very helpful to describe and discuss "multiculturalism" in terms of "failure", "retreat" and "rejection", nor should this contested term be paraded as an all-encompassing solution to all that is ill with modern societies. In fact, neither its "protective" claims vis-à-vis migrants not its "liberal"

expectations from majoritarian groups are sufficient to provide conclusive arguments in the ongoing debate about cultural claims of minority groups.

This is why this book is not simply about multiculturalism as a social policy tool aimed at supporting migrant social integration and engendering broader social harmony. Nor is it about multiculturalism as conduit for dealing with more complex cultural diversity often linked to migrants and minority groups with different cultural and religious backgrounds. These issues listed above are indeed very important to our societies and worthy of dedicated volumes that explicitly examine their many diverse applications and implications. This book, however, is concerned with how individual human beings living in increasingly globalised cities are able to develop a multitude of attachments: to their heritage culture; to their national political community; to a globalised human society; and to a set of universal values that transcend the boundaries of the nation-state (Kymlicka and Walker 2012; Beck 2011). It is this multi-faceted engagement that often results in tension at the personal, national, transnational and global levels. Yet, human beings, throughout human history (Parekh 2005) have exhibited an unrivalled capacity to overcome and to prevail over such difficulties. What will be the exact future of multiculturalism in diverse societies is not perhaps the most critical question. Rather, a more inherently intriguing question relates to how multiculturalism and its many related concepts (cosmopolitanism, interculturalism; transculturalism) will evolve as they are critiqued, challenged, contested, reshaped and even reclaimed. Indeed, the premises, promises and problems of multiculturalism are the very characteristics that will ensure the concept will endure one way or another because it is an empirical impossibility to slow it down let alone reverse the cross-cultural encounter.

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