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ALAPSZAKOS SZAKDOLGOZAT

The Impact of Post World War II. Immigration on Australian Legislation

A második világháborút követő bevándorlás hatása az ausztrál jogalkotásra

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes the connection between the mass immigration to Australia after World War Two and the legislation process in this period. It discusses the different waves of immigration to the country and its social and legal effects. The changes in the ethnic composition of the country necessitated a new attitude to immigrants, which brought about new regulations. The results of the research show that the increasing number of immigrants living in the country had a very strong impact on Australian legislation. At the beginning of the post-war period the main goal was the assimilation of newcomers but later it was replaced by an integrationist approach. Later on, multiculturalism became the prevailing policy, which is the reason for the cultural diversity of today's Australian society.

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Introduction

Immigration has played an extremely important role throughout the history of Australia. During the last 220 years the population of the country increased from 0,9 million to over 22 million, mainly because of the high number of immigrants. ("Australian Social Trends, 1996") As a result, Australia has the second highest proportion of foreign-born residents in the world after Israel. Since the Second World War, in the period that my thesis deals with, approximately 5.5 million people from different parts of the world migrated to the country. Currently twenty-three per cent of the population are descended from another country and forty per cent of the people have at least one non-Australian-born parent. (Zappalá 684-685)

The mass immigration had a significant effect on Australian economy and society. The population became more and more diverse in both a racial and a cultural sense, which called for new rules to handle the emerging problems. New laws needed to be enacted to regulate the rights of the immigrants and their role in the society in order to avoid serious conflicts. The aim of this research thus is to examine the connection between the migration waves and the legislation to find out how the presence of people from totally different cultural backgrounds influenced the decisions of the legislative power.

My thesis is completely based on library research. I became acquainted with the books and articles of scholars who carried out investigation on this topic. To make my work more structured I divided the post-war period into four parts. The reason for this division was that these shorter periods differ from each other in policy making.

In studies connected to this topic there is always a need to clarify the meaning of the word *'immigrant'* and *'migrant'*. In my thesis these expressions only refer to the first generation of people who migrated to Australia for various reasons. Their children and further descendants, who were already born in this country, are not included in this category.

1. 1945-1960

During this period the population of Australia increased by three million people, from 7.4 million to 10.4 million. The reason for this growth was the so-called natural increase, i.e. the difference between births and death and the officially encouraged immigration. The annual number of immigrants showed significant fluctuations, the peak was in 1950, when the immigration intake reached 175000. ("Australian Social Trends, 1996")

1.1 Changes in the immigration policy of Australia after 1945

The experience of the Second World War made the Australian government change its immigration policy, which can be attributed to several factors. First, the threat of a Japanese invasion during the war drew attention to the need of the country to defend itself. However, this was impossible to achieve at that time because of the huge territory and low population density of the country. Prime Minister John Curtin said in a speech in 1943 that a population of 20 million was vital to Australian security. (Sherington 129) Furthermore, the economic structure of the country needed to be diversified because it was too vulnerable to world market forces. Large scale public works were started, such as the creation of irrigation systems and the modernisation of roads and railways, which made the presence of more labour necessary. (Jupp, "Immigration" 70-71) Australia showed a huge potential for growth and development, which offered a chance for many people from other parts of the world to start a new life in this distant country. (Immigration – Federation to Century's End 9)

1.2 The White Australia Policy

The laws that were in force impeded the mass immigration after the war. The basis of the regulation was the *Immigration Restriction Act* passed in 1901, at the birth of the Federation. It is also known as *White Australia Policy (WAP)*, which meant the legality of racist practices until 1972. The main reason for the enactment of this law was the influx of Chinese migrants during the Gold Rush, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The goal of this policy was to create a racially homogenous society by allowing only white immigrants to settle in the country. According to this Act, mainly British immigrants were preferred, whereas the Chinese were to be kept out. Moreover, the black workers from Pacific islands, the Kanakas were banished from the sugar plantations in Queensland. The main device of the selection was the so-called *Dictation Test*, which could be given in any European language and was therefore impossible for many immigrants to pass. It was the most effective way to exclude people without seeming to be openly racist. Consequently, only 2.4 per cent of the population were born overseas, outside Britain in 1947, although there were some Maltese, Croatian, Jewish, German, Italian, Greek and Chinese communities in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth. (Collins 9-10)

1.3 The first Migration Program

After World War Two the first *Migration Program* was launched, which was planned to be the largest immigration intake in the history of Australia. The first Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell established the *Federal Department of Immigration*, which was responsible for the implementation of the plan. (Jupp,

"Immigration" 3) The main goal of the program was to achieve an annual population growth of two per cent, half of which coming from the natural increase and the other half from immigration. The original idea was that the high number of overseas-born people should not change the homogeneity of the society. Calwell stated that 'for every foreign migrant there would be ten people from the United Kingdom' (Sherington 130) Skilled British tradesmen were encouraged to come in the first place to satisfy the needs of the labour market, especially the demands of the building and construction industry. (Jupp, "Immigration" 56)

The government signed agreements with the United Kingdom in 1946 which provided *free and assisted passages* for British people who desired to settle in Australia. The compact included three main groups of migrants: *personal nominees* with relatives or friends in Australia, *group nominees* selected for employment by companies and Commonwealth nominees invited against general employment demands. Besides these categories another group, the so-called 'Nest Egg settlers' migrated to the country; these were people who had enough money for a housing deposit. (Jupp, "Immigration" 62) All of them were allowed to enter Australia without a visa or selection, and they had to stay for two years. The participants of this program had to contribute at most £10 to the costs of the passage because the expenses were mainly covered by the Australian government. Two years after the war the *Empire and Allied Ex-Servicemen Scheme* was launched to help British and American ex-servicemen migrate to the country. Another important group of newcomers constituted the unaccompanied British children, who were encouraged by voluntary organizations to sail to Australia. In order to take care of them, the *Immigration (Guardianship of Children) Act* was passed in 1946, which made the *Minister for Immigration* become the legal guardian of every person under the age of twenty-one without an adult relative in Australia. Religious and state institutions in

the whole country were commissioned to supervise the welfare of these children. (*Official Yearbook* 580)

The major sources of immigrants within Britain were London, Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow. The proportion of the Scottish was relatively high, while the Welsh and the Northern Irish were underrepresented. Most of them settled in the major cities – Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Perth, and Adelaide – or in the developing suburbs around these, which were close to transport and industry. They generally lived in individual homes with gardens and pursued traditional English free-time activities, such as soccer and darts. (Jupp, "Immigration" 65-67)

In spite of the efforts made for the success of the program the maintenance of the planned proportions proved impossible. Although the migration to Australia had been advertised in many cities, there were not enough British newcomers available. (Milne and Shergold 14) Moreover, the shortage of shipping also limited the number of immigrants in the post-war period. As a result, Australia had to look for migrants from other European regions, which made the relaxation of the *Immigration Restriction Act* necessary. Calwell tried to attract people from Western Europe and Scandinavia, but he had no success. He then turned to the refugees of the war who lived in camps in Austria, Germany and France; only the republican Spaniards were not allowed to enter the country because of their left-wing opinions. (Collins 22) These *Displaced Persons* in general met the basic requirements in connection with the immigration, because they were mainly fair skinned, Catholics or Protestants, educated and young. (Jupp, "Immigration" 72)

The first arrivals were 12000 Baltic immigrants, after Calwell had come to an agreement with the *International Refugee Organization (IRO)*. In the period 1947-54 more than 170000 Displaced Persons migrated to Australia. The most preferred

nationalities were the Slavs, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks and Balts. The main reason for the decision of the immigrants was that this country was far away from the troubles of Europe and they expected to have better economic opportunities in a less-developed country, such as Australia than in the United States or Canada. (Sherington 136-138)

According to the *Passports Act*, which was passed in 1948, it was not compulsory to own a passport to enter Australia. In the same year the Australian citizenship was created by the *Nationality and Citizenship Act*. This regulation was complementary to citizenship legislation passed or about to be passed by the countries of the British Commonwealth. (*Official Yearbook* 581-582) Its aim was to symbolize the pride of the Australians and, as Calwell stated, 'to offer a share in their future to the new Australians they were seeking in vast numbers'. Besides, it was passed to give a new meaning to the word 'Australian', which would stand for every member of the community. However, immigrants intending to become Australian citizens had to face some difficulties. Their intention to apply for citizenship had to be declared two years before the application. Moreover, the intention had to be advertised in the newspaper as well and the applications could only be made after a five-year residency qualifying period. (Klapdor, Coombs, and Bohm 8)

The government had to sell the new program to the public because there were fears of the increased immigration intake. They had to ensure Australians that migrants would not compete with them for their jobs. A *two year indenture system* was introduced, which meant that the newcomers had to occupy unfilled and unwanted jobs often in remote regions in the first two years. This period was characterized by a *two-class immigration program*, because there was a huge difference between the social position of the migrants from English speaking and non-English speaking countries.

The former were treated similar to the Australian-born, while the latter were inferior both in the labour market and in the society. (Collins 22-23)

In addition to these regulations the *Aliens Act* and the *Aliens Deportation Act* were also passed to calm the public opinion. The former introduced new rules for the immigrants by requiring them to report personal details, such as name, address and occupation and any changes to the Immigration Department. (Klapdor, Coombs and Bohm, 2009) The latter empowered the Minister for Immigration to order the deportation of an immigrant who is 'not fit and proper to remain in Australia'. (*Official Yearbook* 580)

The new life of the immigrants normally started in refugee camps, such as Bonegilla in Victoria and Bathurst in New South Wales, where they were geographically isolated from the rest of the society. They mainly had jobs in the industry, such as in the steelworks at Port Kembla and on the Snowy Mountain Hydro-Electric Scheme. Some of them worked on the maintenance of roads and railways or water storage and electricity projects. Women generally occupied jobs in the consumer goods industries. The employers paid no regard to the qualifications of the immigrants. Although many of them were highly skilled and had former jobs such as doctors, professors, lawyers or artists, they had to do mostly manual labour and many of them kept working in blue-collar jobs even after the indenture period. However, some former refugees managed to become successful; several Eastern Europeans belonged to the wealthiest people of the country some decades after their arrival. In general, though, migrants had no social contacts with the Australians, who labelled them simply as 'Balts' or 'Reffos'. (Collins 56-59)

After the two-year period the main goal of the political leaders was to assimilate the immigrants to the society. English-teaching programs were started, and a public

campaign for ethnic tolerance was launched. The *Good Neighbour Council* was established in 1949, which brought the immigrants in contact with the Australians, and encouraged them to apply for citizenship. (Winter)

1.4 The second wave of non-British immigrants

The second wave of non-British immigration started at the beginning of the 1950s, when new assisted passage schemes were agreed with the USA and several European countries, including Malta, Ireland, the Netherlands, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Greece, Spain, Belgium, Finland, Switzerland, Denmark and the Free Territory of Trieste. These intergovernmental agreements brought more than 100000 new migrants to Australia, who came to find employment and better conditions in this distant country. Many of them intended to return home after a few years, but the majority decided to stay eventually. (Immigration − Federation to Century's End 12-14)

In 1956 many Hungarians had to flee from their home country because of the Soviet military actions during the Revolution. After its suppression the Australian Minister of Immigration announced that the government decided to let in 3000 refugees, who had already fled to Austria across the border. Later this quota was raised to 15000, which was 1000 higher than the total number of refugees in 1956. Most of the Hungarians were young tradesmen and factory workers, which made it quite easy for them to find work and start a new life in Australia. (Kunz 82-83)

Although the number of immigrants living in Australia increased rapidly, the proportion of those who became citizens remained low. Consequently, there was a need for a change in the citizenship regulations. In 1955 the new *Nationality and Citizenship*

Act was passed, which removed many of the difficulties in connection with obtaining citizenship. The declaration of intention no longer had to be made two years before the application and the requirement of the newspaper advertisement was also repealed. In addition, the applications could be made six months before the end of the five year residency qualifying period in order to accelerate the process of becoming a citizen. (Klapdor, Coombs, and Bohm 9) As a result, the number of applicants increased significantly, however, many immigrants decided not to obtain citizenship because they still needed to get a reference from Australian citizens about their character and they also had difficulties with formal documents written in English. (Davidson 93)

The increased immigration intake in the post-war period resulted in the growth of the risk of various diseases and infections. To avoid the spreading of epidemics the *Quarantine Act* was passed in 1956. It obligated immigrants to undergo medical examinations before being permitted to enter Australia. The law included a list of illnesses that could cause the prohibition of the entry, such as chicken pox, cholera, tuberculosis and malaria. This list remained almost totally unchanged until 2004. (Bashford and Power 4-6)

The emerging practicalities of the migration program showed that there was a need to modify the general regulations concerning immigration because it was still difficult to get an entry permit. In 1958 the *Revised Migration Act* was framed, which created a simpler system. Its major arrangement was the abolishment of the *Dictation Test*, which hindered many immigrants, especially non-Europeans, from settling down in Australia in the previous decades. It was an extremely important step towards the ceasing of discrimination. (Immigration – Federation to Century's End 14)

2. The 1960s

The major change in this period was the relaxation of the White Australia Policy. The main reasons for this were the economic problems that the country had to face at the beginning of the decade and the political events in the world. The changing immigration patterns also resulted in moving away from assimilationism towards integration. The population of the country had increased by nearly 2.5 million people by 1969, with one million coming from immigration. (Immigration − Federation to Century's End 27)

2.1 Economic and political changes in Australia and Europe

The 1960s started with an economic recession in Australia, which made the country less attractive for immigrants. Besides, there were significant changes in Europe at the end of the previous decade, which had a strong effect on the migration of Europeans to Australia. In 1958, the Treaty of Rome was signed, which meant that the citizens living in the member states of the European Economic Community (EEC) were allowed to move freely across the national boundaries and occupy a job in the other countries of the community. As a result, the intake from formerly important source countries, such as Italy, West Germany and the Netherlands decreased. (Collins 24-25)

At the same time Britain was excluded from the European Common Market, which caused an economic decline in the country. Many British workers lost their jobs and Australia offered a chance for them to start a new life in a similar society and even among much better climatic conditions. These changes resulted in the increasing number of British immigrants; the total intake reached an annual average of 73000 people between 1962 and 1969. However, one fourth of these migrants returned home after a short time. (Sherington 150-152)

2.2 Migration sources in the 1960s

The majority of the immigration intake in the 1960s constituted of British people, although it did not reach the targets stated in Calwell's original plans. The political changes and prosperity in Europe had a negative impact on the migration from Northern and Western Europe. The immigration from these countries constituted less than one per cent of the total intake in the first half of the period and only five per cent in the second half. (Collins 24-25)

Southern European migration also declined in the 1960s, it was only one tenth of the total intake at the end of the decade. The only country which increased its output was Yugoslavia, which was the second most important source after Britain in the second half of the period. (Sherington, 1990) From the mid 1960s on, highly skilled non-Europeans were also permitted to settle permanently in Australia. As a result, the Asian intake grew, however, it included migrants coming from countries with various cultural and political background, such as India, Israel, Turkey, Lebanon and Japan. (Collins 24-25)

The conflicts in the Communist part of Europe and in China resulted in a higher refugee intake in Australia. The Russian invasion of Prague in 1968 forced many Czechs to leave their home country. Nearly 5500 fled overseas to start a new life far away from Europe. After the Communist victory the political situation in China had changed, which meant a threat for the Russians who had left their home country after the Revolution of 1917. Many of these 'White Russians' migrated to Australia, generally in larger families. (Sherington 150)

The members of the different national groups usually occupied jobs in different industrial branches. The Yugoslavs were concentrated in the steel industry, most of the

Greeks and Turks worked in the motor industry, while Italians were employed in construction projects. The major destinations were the larger cities, such as Sydney and Melbourne, where immigrants constituted the core of the working class. (Milne and Shergold 14)

2.3 Changes in the immigration and citizenship policy

The increasing number of immigrants living in Australia and the incidents related to world politics necessitated some changes in the immigration policy of the country. At the beginning of the decade a simplified application form was introduced for those wishing to attain citizenship to facilitate the process. As a result, the number of applicants rose significantly, in 1962 it was by 10000 higher than in the previous year. (Klapdor, Coombs, and Bohm 10)

In the middle of the period the government decided to rethink the non-European migration policy. The three main criteria set up were the suitability of the applicants as settlers, their ability to integrate into the society and the possession of useful qualifications. Those who wanted to migrate to Australia had to meet each of these requirements to be allowed to settle. At the same time the conditions of becoming permanent residents and citizens were also changed. Non-European temporary residents could reach this status after five years instead of the former fifteen years, which made them equal to European immigrants. (Immigration – Federation to Century's End 15)

The most important measure of the 1960s in connection with immigration was the introduction of the *Special Passage Assistance Program* in 1966. It encouraged guest workers whose work contracts in Europe were terminated to migrate to Australia. The applications of non-Europeans were also considered, if they were well-qualified. In

its first year nearly 11000 people arrived and later it became the second largest program in the history of the country after the British-Australia scheme. The main sources of immigrants were Scandinavia, Switzerland, France and America. (Immigration – Federation to Century's End 15)

In the former decades the government encouraged only working age males to enter the country, but in the 1960 the quotas were changed in order to make the country more attractive for immigrants. Consequently, more dependents were allowed to settle, which made many families migrate to Australia. Moreover, the need for more immigrants forced the political leaders to look for workforce in countries that had not come into question at all earlier. In 1967 an agreement was signed with Turkey as an extension of European migration, which resulted in the arrival of 10000 Turks. However, because of their different cultural background and lack of qualifications they had serious problems with adjusting to their new home country. A press campaign was launched against them which tried to make this appear as the beginning of Asian mass immigration. (Sherington 153-154)

The changes in the immigration policy brought about an increasing intake. The Migration Program reached a peak in 1969, when 185000 people settled in Australia. ("Immigration – Federation to Century's End" 16) At the same time the number of non-white immigrants grew significantly, it reached 10000 a year. (Sherington 154)

The most significant event of this decade was the Vietnam War, which Australia actively participated in. During the war both Australian citizens and temporary residents could be conscripted. As a reward for the service of the immigrants the *Nationality and Citizenship Act No. 11* was passed, which gave citizenship to those who were called up and served at least three months in the war. However, many migrants decided not to apply for citizenship, even if they had the chance. The reason for this was their

conviction that they would continue to be regarded as immigrants, even if they took up citizenship. This belief resulted in a fall of the number of new citizens, although the immigration intake increased. In reply to this the *Citizenship Act* was framed in 1969 to facilitate the naturalization of non-European migrants. The residency requirement for them was reduced to two years if they could speak, write and understand English proficiently. (Klapdor, Coombs, and Bohm 11)

3. The 1970s and 1980s

During these two decades the population of the country grew from 12.3 million to 17.1 million, a significant part of it coming from the immigration intake. (Immigration – Federation to Century's End 27) The events in world politics, the political changes in Australia, as well as economic reasons had a strong influence on the pattern of immigration and therefore also on the regulations concerning immigrants.

3.1 Changes in the immigration policy

The immigration intake reached a peak at the end of the 1960s, but at the same time problems emerged in connection with the increasing number of immigrants. The economic circumstances were changing, which reduced the amount of the labour needed. Besides, immigration resulted in serious environmental problems, particularly in urban areas. (Collins, 1991) In response to this, the government lowered the Migration Program from 170000 to 140000 a year. The immigration intake was reduced

several times in the following years as well; in 1975 it was 50000, the lowest since World War Two. (Immigration – Federation to Century's End 17)

At the beginning of the period the tendencies of the previous decades continued concerning the approach of the country to immigration. The immigrants were expected to adopt the culture and language of Australia rapidly. Besides, whole families were encouraged to settle permanently, whereas transitory guest-workers were not favoured. (Nile 55) Education was considered to be the major assimilative device, so the government tried to use the school system for its goals. In 1971 the *Immigration (Education) Act* was passed, which launched the *child migration education program*. It prescribed the teaching of the English language to migrant children in order to integrate them to the Australian society. (Jupp, "From White Australia to Woomera" 95)

In 1972, after 23 years of Liberal-Country Party rule, the Labor Government of Gough Whitlam was elected, which brought about significant changes in connection with immigration regulations as well. One year before the election the Federal Labor Conference declared that the immigration policy should be based on '*the avoidance of discrimination on any grounds of race or colour of skin or nationality*'. The new Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby reduced the immigration intake and used new criteria in the selection procedures. Family reunion was considered to be more important than the labour needs of the country. However, personal qualities, qualifications and skills were also taken into account. The improving of the public relations in the Indo-Pacific region was emphasized as well. (Milne and Shergold 15)

The most important measure of the Labor government was the abolition of the White Australia Policy and the introduction of a non-discriminatory approach. At the beginning of the Whitlam era one third of the whole population was overseas-born, this is why discrimination and racial exclusion could no longer be maintained. The *Human*

Rights Bill, which was passed in 1973, stated that *'everyone is entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law'* and that *'persons belonging to ethnic or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture or to use their own language'*. (Human Rights Bill 1973) It was the beginning of multiculturalism in Australia. The first arrangements of the new policy included the expanding of health care and the establishment of new federal funds for schools, colleges and universities to support non-English speaking immigrants. Moreover, the residency requirement for those seeking citizenship was reduced to three years, and a program of social and cultural rights for all Australians was launched. (Sherington 160-162)

In 1975 the Liberal Government took office again, and the new Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser continued the policy of multiculturalism. The post arrival programs and services were reviewed and criticized by Melbourne lawyer Frank Galbally. His report was the basis of a new system, which is more or less still in place today. It includes support for the officers in ethnic organizations given by the state and the establishment of Migration Resource Centres. (Nile 62-63) Besides, new English language classes were started for both adult migrants and their children and weekend ethnic schools were established in many cities. Ethnic radio and television channels were founded to present programmes in many languages. (Sherington 160-162)

An important step towards a multicultural Australia was the *Racial Discrimination Act*, which was passed in 1975. It made racial discrimination against the law and prohibited offensive behaviour based on racial hatred. The aim of the act was to ensure that *'everyone is treated equally, regardless of their race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin'*. It also gave immigrants the chance for complaining, which was used 10500 times since then. ("A guide to the Racial Discrimination Act 1975")

3.2 The second part of the 1970s

Although the economic recession continued, the government of Malcolm Fraser decided to increase the immigration intake. In the second part of the 1970s the average annual number of immigrants was over 70000, and the ethnic composition changed dramatically. The main source country was New Zealand, whose English-speaking citizens could move to Australia without any restriction. They decided to migrate because of the economic depression in their home country. The proportion of the British immigrants decreased significantly, it was under one fifth of the total intake. The migration from Southern and Northern Europe also declined, it was below one per cent in the late 1970s. (Collins 60-71)

At the same time the number of refugees admitted to Australia increased remarkably. The main causes for this growth were serious conflicts in the world, such as the civil wars in Lebanon and El Salvador, the turmoil in Poland after the rise of the Solidarity movement, the Indonesian invasion of East Timor and the political oppression of the Jews in Russia. The major sources were, however, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos during the Vietnam War. As opposed to the earlier exclusion of Asian immigrants, Australia experienced the largest intake since the Gold Rush in the 1850s. Although Australian troops had also fought in the war with the US forces since 1965, the country gave shelter to many Indo-Chinese refugees. (Collins 60-71)

Before the elections in 1975 the Whitlam Government planned to permit only 1000 refugees to enter the country, which was strongly criticized. However, the new Liberal government led by Malcolm Fraser decided to open the doors. As a result, almost 100000 people were taken in from 1975 to 1984, many of them arrived by unsafe, wooden fishing boats. Four waves of these *'boat people'* can be distinguished:

politicians, military officials and businessmen with close links with the former government, the subjects of the forced resettlement program of the communists, people fleeing from the China-Vietnam War and those who arrived under the Orderly Departure Program. The latter was an agreement made by Australia and Vietnam, which sponsored Indo-Chinese families and their settlement. It resulted in the decreasing number of people undertaking the dangerous boat-journey. The Kampucheans had to flee from the Pol Pot regime and the Vietnamese invasion of their home country. (Collins 60-71)

After the war the family migration program was started to reunite refugees in Australia with their family members who remained in Vietnam, Kampuchea or Laos. All things considered, Australia has accepted more Indo-Chinese refugees in comparison with its population than the Western nations, such as Canada, France and the United States. (Milne and Shergold 21)

The increasing number and proportion of immigrants necessitated an institution managing the affairs related to their presence. In 1979 the *Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA)* was established, that functioned until 1986. Its responsibilities were defined in the *Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs Act*, the most important tasks included developing of an awareness of the diverse cultures within the community, promoting tolerance, providing advice to the government, organizing educational and promotional activities and establishing a library for immigrants. (Jupp, "From White Australia to Woomera" 92)

3.3 Problems related to immigrants

Many immigrants in this period had migrated to Australia with experiences of brutal wars and persecutions and brought much hope with them. (Milne and Shergold 21) They settled predominantly in Sydney, Melbourne or in other cities in Victoria and New South Wales. (Sherington 163) The majority of them lived in migrant hostels and took part in the so-called 'on arrival programs' which introduced them to the English language and Australian society. Later on many immigrants moved out of the hostels and found accommodation in the relatively cheap flats and houses of the suburbs. They usually took up semi-skilled or unskilled factory jobs, the men generally worked in the motor vehicle industry, the female immigrants in the clothing industry. They had low incomes in comparison with the Australians and the European immigrants. Moreover the unemployment rate among them was much higher than the average of the country. (Collins 67)

The refugees arrived at a time of economic recession, which made the Australians afraid of losing their jobs. Because of their hard work the Asians often had conflicts with other employees. The expressions used for them before the Vietnam War, such as 'the yellow peril' and the 'hoards from Asia' led to resentment, hostility and suspicion among Australians. Moreover, the immigrant communities were geographically concentrated, which resulted in a high degree of visibility. The government had to undertake steps to calm the public opinion. In 1983 the *Migration Amendment Act* was passed, which prohibited non-citizens from entering the country without permission. (Collins 67)

At the same time the government tried to guarantee the basic human rights for everyone living in Australia and to facilitate the process of naturalization for those who

had not obtained citizenship yet. The latter was incorporated in law in 1984 by framing the *Australian Citizenship Amendment Act*. It abolished discrimination according to sex, marital status and nationality, and changed the English language requirements as well. The basic level of knowledge was enough to apply for citizenship and the immigrants over 50 were granted an exemption from the requirement. (Klapdor, Coombs and Bohm 13) Two years later the *Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act* was passed to establish an organization that makes provision for the observance of human rights and the assuring of equal opportunities. The responsibilities of the Commission include the resolving of complaints of discrimination and the violation of human rights, developing human rights education programs, providing advice to the court in cases related to human rights, and carrying out research into these issues. (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act 1986)

3.4 The second part of the 1980s

At the end of the period the positive effects of immigration were widely recognized and acknowledged. The study *'The Economic Effects of Immigration on Australia'* written by Neville R. Norman was released in 1985, which emphasized the advantages of immigration. Its findings made the government increase the immigration intake and change the criteria used in the selection procedure. The main goal was to attract immigrants whose qualifications differ from those of the unemployed Australians in order to avoid a competition for jobs. In 1987 the *Skills Transfer Scheme* was introduced, which encouraged the short term entry of specialists and executives. One year later the government reformed the entire immigration policy by dividing it into

three streams named '*Family*', '*Skill*' and '*Humanitarian*' stream. (Immigration −
Federation to Century's End 21)

The increasing number of children from distinct cultural backgrounds
necessitated changes concerning the education system of Australia. *The Education and
Training Act* passed in 1988 introduced a new policy. It subsidized weekend ethnic
schools and encouraged the teaching of community languages in regular day schools.
Moreover, it created a new scheme for the subsidy of religious schools. According to
this, Jewish, Greek Orthodox and Islamic schools were also supported beside the
Catholic and Protestant institutions. (Jupp, "Immigration" 106-107)

In the same year the *Privacy Act* was framed to prevent the misuse of personal
information collected by government agencies. It is also valid for the Department of
Immigration and Citizenship and prohibits this institution from collecting, using and
disclosing data about immigrants, unless permission is given for it. ("Privacy")

4. Since 1990

During the last twenty years the population of Australia increased from 17 million to 22 million. In this period Australia has taken in many refugees from different parts of the world but at the same time a large number of people moved to the country in hope of better opportunities as well. The main source countries included the United Kingdom, New Zealand, China, Vietnam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, India, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon and Yugoslavia. (Immigration – Federation to Century's End 21-23)

4.1 Changes in the immigration policy

The early 1990s saw a change in the government, when Labor leader Robert Hawke lost the elections in 1991. The new Prime Minister from the Liberal Party, Paul Keating had two immigration ministers: Gerry Hand, who occupied this position from 1990 and Nick Bolkus, who took over in 1993. At the beginning of the period migration targets were reduced because of an economic recession, and the most important source of immigration was the *Family stream*. (Jupp, "From White Australia to Woomera" 49-52)

Political conflicts in their home country had a significant impact on the number of Chinese immigrants. After the Tien-an-men Square repression of 1989 in Beijing many Chinese students wanted to remain in Australia instead of going home. In 1992 the *Migration Amendment Act* was passed, which gave them temporary protection visas for four years rather than permanent residence. Although its renewal was possible, it also could be used to send them back to China, which made their situation insecure.

Later the whole scheme was abolished, which resulted in the increasing number of Chinese in Australia. However, this growth was not as massive as expected. These measures show Hand's ambivalent attitude towards immigrants. He launched the 'special assistance program' for European asylum seekers mainly coming from Yugoslavia because of armed conflicts in their home country, but he introduced mandatory detention for refugees coming from Indochina. The latter category included mainly boat people who were brought to hostels in Port Hedland, far from the population centres in order to isolate them from the rest of the society. (Jupp, "From White Australia to Woomera" 51-52)

In the following years the system was changed and permanent residence status was given to the refugees approved, but it only lasted until the next election. After the Liberal-National government had taken office in 1996, the regulations were changed again. Only temporary protection was given to asylum seekers, which meant that they had no access to many settlement and welfare services. The new rules were applied to the refugees coming from Kosovo in 1999 and Afghanistan in 2002. Australia accepted 4000 Kosovars, but they had to return home after peace had been restored. Eventually, less than one hundred refugees became permanent residents from this group. Similar measures were taken, after 3200 Afghans had fled from their home country to Australia because of armed conflicts. They were financially supported to go back following the defeat of the Taliban. ("From White Australia to Woomera" 191-192)

4.2 The new wave of 'Boat People'

From 1997 on, the number of immigrants arriving by boat started to increase again. Most of them were coming from the Middle East and Central Asia as a result of turmoil in their home countries. Both the government and the media emphasized their illegal arrival and created fear of a 'flood of Muslim refugees' among the population, although they arrived in relatively small numbers, only 2800 refugees in 2000. (Mason)

The increasing panic resulted in the success of radical political organizations, such as the *One Nation Party (ON)* led by Pauline Hanson. The party was founded in April 1997 in response to the growing number of Chinese and Muslim refugees, and it pursued an anti-immigration and anti-Aboriginal policy. ON supporters were worried about the level of unemployment and their own opportunities to find work. The leader, Pauline Hanson became famous for her views on Asian immigration and racism. She said that Australia was being '*swamped by Asians*' and that '*reverse racism was applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness*'.(Greig, Lewins and White 249) In June 1998 the party won 22.7 per cent of the votes at the Queensland state elections and became the third largest party in the chamber. However, its popularity declined rapidly, they never managed to get more than five per cent in the following years. (Gibson, McAllister, and Swenson 824-827)

In August 2001 a remarkable incident happened off the coast of Australia. The Norwegian ship 'Tampa' rescued the passengers of a sinking boat and tried to bring them to Australia. Instead of taking them in, the Australian government ordered the military to stop the ship. According to the promise of Prime Minister John Howard that '*the asylum seekers aboard the Tampa would not set foot on Australian soil*' (Poynting), the refugees were transported to Nauru. It was the application of the

new policy named the '*Pacific Solution*', which included the transportation of refugees to detention camps on Pacific islands. This demonstrated that the Middle Eastern immigrants were considered to be a threat to the country. The prejudice against Muslim and Arab Australians increased after 9/11 and the Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005. The latter caused the death of 88 Australians and many of them were seriously injured. The policy was pursued until 2007, when the Labor government led by Kevin Rudd abolished the scheme. (Mason)

4.3 Changes in the 2000s

This period included significant changes in the number of immigrants as well as in the regulations concerning their life in Australia. The annual intake was increased from 89000 in 2001 to 158000 in 2009. The main source countries included China, India, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and South Africa. Besides, there is a recent trend among Australians of seeking job overseas. There are some larger Australian communities both in the USA and in the UK. (Jupp, "From White Australia to Woomera" 206)

The number of students coming to Australia also increased along with the total intake, which necessitated a regulation of the education provided for them. In 2000 the *Education Services for Overseas Students Act* was framed to make provision for the education and training of international students in Australia. (Education Services for Overseas Students Act 2000)

In the same year a report was released by the Australian Citizenship Council that recommended some changes in the citizenship law. In response to its findings, the government made some important amendments to the former citizenship act. Prior to

these changes Australian citizens who acquired another nationality lost their citizenship automatically. The *Australian Citizenship Amendment Act* passed in 2002 introduced dual nationality for Australian citizens. Moreover, it also made dual citizenship available for citizens of the United Kingdom and the United States. (Jupp, "From White Australia to Woomera" 206)

The idea of multiculturalism necessarily includes the assuring of human rights. In Australia this notion was already incorporated in law, but in 2004 a new act was passed as well. The *Human Rights Act* listed all human rights that needed to be held in respect. The most significant rights were the freedom of religious beliefs, the recognition and equality before the law, the protection of family and children, the right to liberty and the security of person. (Human Rights Act 2004 11-19)

Three years later the Federal Parliament decided to change the citizenship regulation again. The *Australian Citizenship Amendment (Citizenship Testing) Act* extended the residency requirements to two years including a twelve month period of permanent residence before the application. It also introduced a new test type for applicants, which include twenty multiple choice questions about Australian history, culture and values. The language skills are not assessed separately, only by the ability to pass the test. (Klapdor, Coombs, and Bohm 20)

Conclusion

The waves of migration to Australia after World War Two, discussed in this thesis and summarized in a table in Appendix A, show that the historical, political and economic events in the world can have a significant effect on the demographic features of a country. Australia was one of the major destinations of immigrants in the post-World War II period and the influx of people from different cultural backgrounds brought about the transformation of Australian society. These social changes necessitated new regulatory enactments as well because the old rules were inappropriate for the new situation. (See the list of laws referred to in this thesis in Appendix B.)

During the last 65 years the attitude of Australians to immigrants changed dramatically. At the beginning of the period the main goal was the *assimilation* of newcomers. The 'aliens' were expected to adapt to Australian society rapidly and the preservation of their own culture was strongly discouraged. Later on, this approach proved impossible to maintain because of the increasing number and proportion of immigrants. The new keyword was *integration*, which meant that the newcomers were given help and time to familiarize themselves with the Australian values and way of life. Moreover, they could also retain some unique features of their original culture.

The integrationist policy was gradually replaced by the idea of *multiculturalism*. According to this policy, every immigrant can become an Australian without giving up the traits and values of his/her own nation. This approach brought about the establishment of a culturally diverse society without any form of discrimination.

All these changes contributed to a large extent to the development of the country in the post-war period. Australia has profited much from immigration, it has become richer in both a cultural and an economic sense.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Immigration waves to Australia after World War Two

Year	Source region	Source country	Number of immigrants	Motive, Reason
1946-56		Netherlands	31000	Netherlands-Australia Migration Agreement
1947-52		United Kingdom	177800	Assisted migration – United Kingdom Free and Assisted Passage Agreements
1947-51	Eastern Europe	Poland	68600	Soviet occupation of their homelands – 'Displaced People'
		Baltic States	36800	
		Yugoslavia	22400	
		Hungary	13200	
		Russia and Ukraine	21700	
		Other Eastern-European countries	14700	
1947-55	Western Europe	Netherlands	22000	Empire and Allied Ex-Servicemen
		Norway		
		France		
		Belgium		
		Denmark		
1948-56		Malta	22500	Assisted Migration – agreement between the governments
1951-56		Italy	24400	Agreement between the governments
1952-56		Federal Republic of Germany	32600	Agreement between the governments
1952-56		Austria	10400	Agreement between the governments
1952-56		Greece	18300	Agreement between the governments
1953-56		Italy – the former Free Territory of Trieste	5100	Agreement between the governments
1956		Hungary	14000	Soviet military actions after the Revolution
1965-1980		Turkey	10000	Turkish Kurds-Persecution

1966-71		Czechoslovakia	5500	Soviet invasion
1967-71		Turkey	10000	Agreement between the governments
1975	Indochina	Vietnam	1000	Refugees linked with the government in South-Vietnam and with the occupation forces
mid 1975-early 1978			12000	forced resettlement programme of the new communist regime
mid 1978-mid 1979			13000	China-Vietnam War
mid 1979-1984			45000	Orderly Departure Program
1975-84		Kampuchea	11000	Pol Pot regime, Vietnamese invasion
1975-84		Laos	6500	
1975-76		East-Timor	3000	Indonesian invasion
mid 1970s		Russia	4000	Russian Jews because of the political oppression
1976-78		Lebanon	20000	civil war
1980-82		Poland	10000	political upheaval after the rise of the Solidarity movement
1981-86		El Salvador	5000	civil war
1970s-1980s		New Zealand	150000	economic recession in the home country
since 1991		Croatia	20000	conflicts in the former Yugoslavia
since 1991		Bosnia and Herzegovina	24000	conflicts in the former Yugoslavia
1990's		Iran	15000	economic and political hardship – The Skill and Family streams of the Migration Programme
1991-92		Iraq	2000	Gulf war refugees
1990's		China	100000	economic reasons

Appendix B

List of Australian laws connected to immigration

1946 – Immigration (Guardianship of Children Act)

1947 – Aliens Act

1948 – Aliens Deportation Act

1948 – Nationality and Citizenship Act (+ Amendment - 1973)

1948 – Passports Act

1955 – Nationality and Citizenship Act

1956 – Quarantine Act

1958 – Revised Migration Act (+ Amendments - 1983, 2001, 2002, 2005)

1967 – Nationality and Citizenship Act No. 11

1969 – Citizenship Act

1971 – Immigration (Education) Act

1973 – Human Rights Bill

1975 – Racial Discrimination Act

1979 – Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) Act

1983 – Migration Amendment Act

1984 – Australian Citizenship Amendment Act

1986 – Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission Act

1988 – Education and Training Act

1988 – Privacy Act

1992 – Migration Amendment Act

2000 – Education for Overseas Students Act

2002 – Australian Citizenship Amendment Act

2004 – Human Rights Act

2007 – Australian Citizenship Amendment (Citizenship Testing) Act