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Changes and continuities: Australian citizenship from the White Australia Policy to multiculturalism and beyond

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Changes and Continuities: Australian Citizenship from the White Australia Policy to Multiculturalism and Beyond

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2011

Changes and Continuities:

Australian Citizenship from the White Australia Policy to Multiculturalism and Beyond

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Australian Citizenship Act 1948

Certificate of Australian Citizenship

PER TURE SJOLANDER

born on 19th July 1937

having applied for a Certificate of Australian Citizenship, having satisfied the conditions
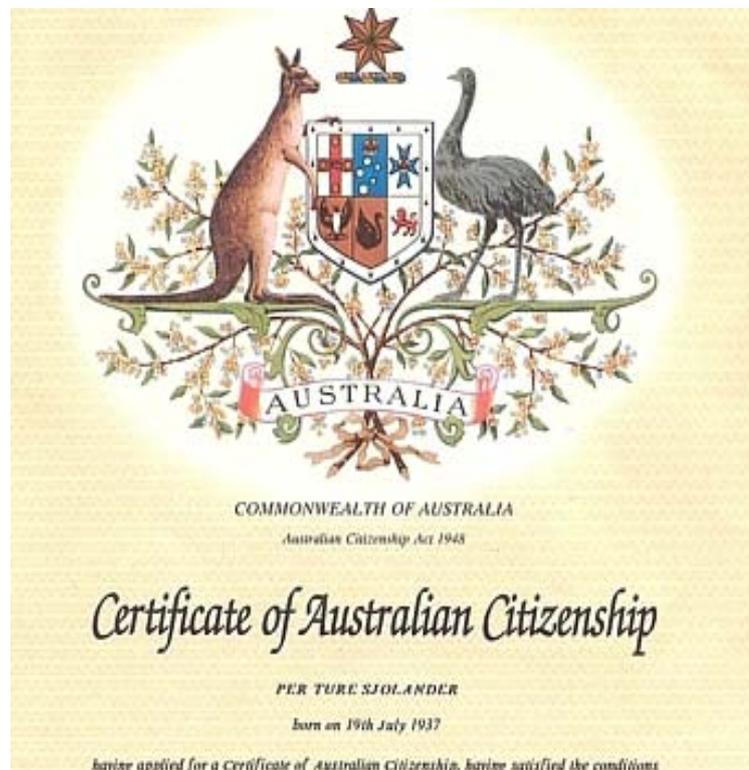
CERTIFICATION

I, Laila Hafez, declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts Research, in the School of Social Sciences, Media and Communication, Faculty of Arts, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Laila Hafez
2011

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Five: Citizenship and Multiculturalism   **85**

Conclusion and Recommendations………………..…………...……120

Bibliography….………………………………………………...…………127

List of Tables

ABBREVIATIONS

ACOSS   Australian Council of Social Service

ACRAWSA   Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association

BIMPR   Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research

BIR   Bureau of Immigration [and Population] Research

CAAIP   Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies

CALD   Culturally and Linguistically Diverse

DIAC   Department of Immigration and Citizenship

DIEA   Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

DILGEA   Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs

DIMA   Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

DIMIA   Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs

NESB   Non-English Speaking Background

NOM   Net Overseas Migration

NSWCCL   NSW Council for Civil Liberty

SBS   Special Broadcasting Services

UOW   University of Wollongong

PREFACE

Personal and Professional Experiences

In 1976, I migrated to Australia, and in 1979 I became a proud Australian citizen. Multiculturalism was a novelty then and multicultural policies were thriving. I experienced multicultural policies including Anti-discrimination, Access and Equity and Equal Employment Opportunity. However, over the years, multiculturalism weakened and the interpretations and effectiveness of such policies changed. I was born and raised in a non-English speaking country, non-European, non-white and, dare I say, non-Christian, and to say that I am an Australian citizen can be a challenge. Before migrating to Australia, I was aware that Australia was the latest country to have implemented anti-discrimination policies, and that it had abolished race-based restrictions on immigration as recently as 1975; this is in comparison with Canada in 1964 and the United States in 1968. They too, as former British colonies, had applied restrictions on immigration and citizenship. However, I believed then that Australia would have to be the best example of a multicultural society, and present a good model for greater social and political opportunities for all its citizens. Being bi-lingual and bi-cultural in such a country would, I thought, hold special values and advantages. Instead I found that, being non-Anglo, I was treated as different from other citizens and was referred to by negative labels such as NESB (Non-English Speaking Background), disadvantaged group, minority group, Middle Eastern, etc. It appeared that Australia was, and to a certain extent still is, reluctant to let go of its history of racism and discrimination. My experience during the early period of multiculturalism was more relaxed, giving a feeling of belonging as a citizen. At that time I did not have to constantly justify or clarify my nationality as an Australian. As a non-Anglo, however, I have over time and increasingly been questioned about my nationality and given to believe that my appearance and my accent are not consistent with Australian citizenship. However, there have also been some positive changes over time. As a non-Anglo citizen, I have experienced significant opportunities to continue the challenge and play a role in a changing society. These include professional experiences as a public service officer, where my role can be productive and is rewarding. Also, with my current opportunity to further my study, I am in a position to research and challenge the

myths of Australian history, to examine their effects and also to argue that Australia should be inclusive, not just a white nation. My own experience awakened my interest in this topic and my thesis both examines and challenges the legacy of Australia's history.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the changes and continuities in Australian citizenship from the time of Federation and the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* to the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*. A number of historical primary and secondary sources are consulted, supported by a critical analysis of central concepts including immigration, citizenship, power and multiculturalism. The thesis presents a historical overview of immigration policy and how it relates to the policy and process of citizenship. It argues that the key historical struggles in the evolution of Australian citizenship, including political and social struggles, are in conflict over who to exclude and who to include in the nation and in notions of citizenship. What constitutes and what determines Australian citizenship are also examined. The foundation for citizenship arguably developed with Federation in 1901 and the ensuing White Australia Policy, with its relation to power, privilege and prejudice, inclusion and exclusion, and practices of assimilation. Since the 1970s, the policies of multiculturalism, such as Anti-discrimination and Equal Opportunity, were introduced with measures addressing justice and fairness, aimed at bringing about change. The contradictions between the policy and the ideology of citizenship, and between multicultural theory and practice, are a result of the continual struggle with the legacy of history that currently influences and arguably governs Australia's cultural diversity. The thesis argues that Australia's long experience of the White Australia Policy continues to guide significant political, social and moral aspects of citizenship. Citizenship continues to meet significant challenges, including unspoken assumptions from earlier times, such as the privileging of white, European, English-speaking inhabitants and their status as the 'default' version of the Australian citizen. From the perspective of minority groups, citizenship does not bring equality, but continues to be used as a tool for exclusion. This study has found that some early assumptions relating to citizenship survive, with slight variations. It argues that the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, which introduced a test to determine citizenship eligibility, has similarities with the European language dictation test which was in force from 1901 to the late 1950s. Both favour assimilation over multicultural difference.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The Persistent Legacy of Immigration Restriction and the White Australia Policy

Context of the Study

The changes and continuities of Australian citizenship from the 'White Australia Policy' to multiculturalism are the theme running through this thesis. The thesis examines the history of social and political attitudes to the White Australia Policy and to multiculturalism reflected in changes and continuities in both the meaning and process of Australian citizenship. The study further investigates the forms and meanings of the establishment of the British system, which has contributed to, and proved decisive for the interpretation and changing nature of, citizenship in the Australian legal system.

On 1 January 1901, the nation-state of Australia came into existence and became a self-governing entity through Federation of the former colonies and the adoption of a Constitution. This was enabled by the passing of a bill in the British House of Commons in May 1900 that sanctioned Federation. Unlike the US experience—the separation from Britain—there was no Australian War of Independence, nor the establishment of a new republic. There was no radical or violent founding event such as a revolution. Indeed, what was first established in Australia was a transformation and transplantation of British culture, with Australian democracy inspired by the British model of democracy (White 1981, p. 56). According to White, 'during the nineteenth century Australians saw themselves, and were seen by others, as a group of new, transplanted, predominantly Anglo-Saxon emigrant societies' (p. 47). This later formed the foundation of a typical Australian citizen, the historic establishment of the physical appearance, cultural and racial characteristics of the citizen, as well as the political, social, psychological and moral aspects of a citizen's identity, which underpinned the principle of the White Australia Policy.

The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was arguably produced as an extension of legislation already in place in all six individual colonies, which reflected their distinct vision of a political and social community long before Federation. This distinct vision was based on Australia as a white community, and its inhabitants deemed to be British subjects. The desire to preserve and perpetuate the British type in the various colonial populations implied the right to exclude aliens, or non-British subjects, a right which was enshrined in the legislation of the new nation from the outset. Indeed, Federation invested the Commonwealth with complete power and control over immigration, and the impact of these foundational measures on Australian views on citizenship and on the ideology of inclusion and exclusion survived for many years beyond the end of the White Australia Policy. It appears inevitable that Federation and the Constitution would introduce the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which became known as the White Australia Policy.

The White Australia Policy has a powerful legacy, and remained legally in force until 1973. It was seen as a great achievement by many prominent, influential and powerful Australian leaders. Sir Henry Parkes, five times Premier of NSW (1872–89), a migrant himself from Warwickshire, and one of the leaders of Federation and architects of the White Australia Policy, in a speech of 16 May 1888 to the NSW Parliament, stated that:

> …to maintain the fabric of this young nation, we cannot encourage or
> admit amongst us any class of persons of an inferior nature to advance
> to all our franchises, to our privileges as citizens, and all our social
> rights (quoted in Yarwood & Knowling 1982, p. 187).

Alfred Deakin, Australia's second Prime Minister (1903–10), stated that 'the unity of Australia is nothing if it does not imply a united race' (quoted in Jayasuriya, Walker & Gothard 2003, pp. 76–77). In 1901 William Morris Hughes, future Prime Minister of Australia (1915–23), launched the Labor Party's platform arguing that 'our chief plank is, of course, a White Australia. There's no compromise about that. The industrious coloured brother has to go—and remain away' (*Bulletin* 16 February 1901, quoted in Jayasuriya et al. 2003, p.31). In 1945, John Curtin (Prime Minister 1941–45) insisted that the White Australia Policy was not primarily racially motivated:

> Our laws have proclaimed the principle of a white Australia, we do
> not intend that to be, and it never was, an affront to other races. It was
> devised for economic and sound human reasons (*Commonwealth*

Parliamentary Debates (*House of Representatives*), Vol 181, 182, 28th February 1945).

After the bombing of Darwin and Broome, Prime Minister Curtin's address to the nation in December 1943 linked Australia's security to an increase in population from seven to twenty million by the beginning of the 21st century. It also motivated him to reiterate his commitment to a white Australia when he stated that 'this country shall remain forever the home of the descendants of those people who came here in peace in order to establish in the South Seas an outpost of the British race' (DIAC 2009a, Section 3, p9). His views and commitment was supported by Arthur Calwell, Australia's first Minister for Immigration, who revived Billy Hughes' 1937 slogan 'populate or perish' to introduce the mass migration program (Jupp 2002, p. 11, quoted in Peters 2003, p10). It is interesting to note that Prime Minister Curtin was considered a moderate socialist, socially conscious, who as a representative of the Australian Labor Party brought about significant social changes (Jayasuriya et al. 2003).

Much closer to our time, Pauline Hanson (Independent MP, 1996–2002), in her maiden speech to the Federal Parliament (10 September 1996), said:

> I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians…They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate (Hanson 1996, p. 3862).

As the White Australia Policy was strongly supported by people in government with positions of power and authority, its survival beyond its original historical context should come as no surprise.

However, the Australian Federation of 1901 did not define what it meant to be an Australian citizen since the Constitution did not refer to or mention citizenship. Australians were perceived in the eyes of the law as British subjects until 1949 and the term 'British subject' continued until 1984 (Quick & Garran 1901; Rubenstein 1995; Davidson 1997a; Zappalà & Castles 1998; Castles & Davidson 2000). Both before and after Federation, the British influence had a profound impact, both explicit and implicit, on the political, social and economic aspects of immigration in Australia. After the creation of the Department of Immigration in 1945, Australia embarked on a project of mass immigration in order to populate the country. The main purpose of this

government department was to continue implementing the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901,* and to accommodate other European and white immigrants and manage the migration process in accordance with the White Australia Policy. This contributed to the significant and complex issue of the naturalisation of people who were not born in Australia, particularly immigrants of non-British background. In order to achieve a continuation of the White Australia Policy, and for the development of processes for granting Australian citizenship to white Europeans who were not British, the government introduced the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*. This Act served as a means of implementing and endorsing Australian citizenship based on the White Australia Policy through a cultural policy of assimilation.

The White Australia Policy applied the criteria of race and ethnicity as the basis for inclusion and exclusion, excluding racially undesirable (i.e. non-white) groups, and on occasion also groups deemed undesirable because of ethnicity (white Eastern, Southern and South Eastern Europeans). Such groups are defined in the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* as 'prohibited immigrants'.[1] The first category (3(a)) of 'prohibited immigrants' is defined in the following terms: 'Any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the officer' (National Archives of Australia n.d.a, p. 1). This is what became known as the dictation test, which continued to be used until the late 1950s as a tool to exclude 'undesirable' immigrants, whether non-white or white Eastern and Southern Europeans, from entry to Australia. This constitutional law was open to interpretation by figures in authority, which meant that they were given the power to implement the White Australia Policy in ways outside the actual clauses of the law (White & Russell 1997; Tavan 2005; Windshuttle 2005). In practice, it meant that an immigration officer could administer a test in any European language and by his choice of language in effect decide which immigrants to accept and which to reject.

Like many other nations, particularly Western societies, the Australian citizenship policy and process are based on global historical, political, social, economic and cultural notions of citizenship. Citizenship has consistently been discriminatory and exclusive in

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[1] Section 3 of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* lists what is meant by 'prohibited immigrants' under seven categories, (a)–(g).

nature. Indeed, the concept of citizenship was derived from the need to establish and support a cultural, political and social hierarchy in a wider population. This study attempts to investigate the ambiguous nature of the term citizenship, and the discrepancy between the theory and the practical usage of the concept. From the abstract notion of citizenship to its functional significance in contemporary Australian society, the recurrent themes of the concept's history in this country resurface due to the impact the White Australia Policy has had on Australian thinking, which is evident in policy debates over issues of immigration and citizenship.

Within the Australian context, as suggested by Dyrenfurth (2005), Rubenstein (2000) and Castles (2000a), the nature and notion of citizenship—at times confusing and contradictory—are historical questions often disputed but always serving as a source of inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, many attempts to define citizenship have revealed its limitations, contradictions and deficiencies, and to date we are no closer to defining, understanding or resolving the many complex issues of citizenship (Dyrenfurth 2005; Rubenstein 2000). Rubenstein has examined the difference between the legal, formal and exclusive status of citizenship, and the universal, 'normative' meanings of citizenship that have contributed to the current confusion and contradiction.

History demonstrates that, since 1788,[2] governments, initially the British colonial administration and later, after the Federation of 1901, the Australian government, have recruited, subsidised and encouraged immigrants. However, while the broader agenda to populate the country with migrants existed, a closer examination reveals that they have made efforts to select suitable entrants. Indeed, the government provided various state interventions in order to make immigration a central area of public policy as outlined by DIMIA (2002) and Castles (1992a, 1992b, 2002). Australia maintained an immigration policy which is based on permanent settlement and citizenship. This study seeks to establish the link between immigration and citizenship policies, and its impact on Australian views on citizenship beyond the end of the White Australia Policy. There are indications that the concepts of its citizenship and national identity are yet to take into account the cultural diversity of its population. In some ways it can be argued that Australia has continued to live the monocultural myth, and is yet to establish a balance

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[2] In 1787, the British First Fleet loaded with diverse people from all over the United Kingdom set sail for Australia, landing in January 1788.

between a fair system of immigration and an equitable and fair system of citizenship (Castles, Cope, Kalantzis & Morrissey 1988; Castles 1988b, 1990, 1992a; 2000b).

In this thesis, I will argue that the key historical struggle in the evolution of Australian citizenship, including political and social struggles, continues as a conflict over who to exclude and who to include in the nation and in citizenship. Indeed, policy, process and obtaining citizenship are consistent with the immigration policy and process, and the question of who should be admitted to Australia and is a desirable candidate for citizenship. James Jupp (2002; 2007; DIEA 1986) has examined immigration policy and demonstrates how the immigration policy and process have historically been about selecting suitable candidates through a process of exclusion rather than simply opening the gates to anyone in an equitable, standardised approach.

The thesis provides a critical sociological perspective, reading the literature, and interpreting the political perspectives around immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism. It takes into account many different aspects of citizenship, including legal 'formal' and social 'informal' citizenship. Through the developmental stages of citizenship, it emphasises certain basic rights such as the political, economic, social and cultural rights of citizens. Citizenship is a relationship between individuals and the state. In this sense, a significant aspect of this relationship is the classification of individuals into groups of different legal and social membership status. Ultimately, citizenship in Australia represents a legal status as well as a bundle of rights and privileges granted to its citizens. However, this study will examine whether Australian citizenship represents equality of status for all members or whether it has been used as a tool for the purpose of exclusion.

It is worth mentioning in this context how and, possibly, why Australia initiated and developed a citizenship law in 1948. I argue that it was a consequence of the establishment of a concept of citizenship by the newly established United Nations, and the Charter of Human Rights in 1945. This was indeed an instrumental factor in the fundamental debate on citizenship in Australia. Although paradoxically implemented, following the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, these features were taken into consideration when the Australian citizen was formally defined and came into existence in 1948 (Castles 1988a, 1992a, 1992b).

Australia's social history and the social evolution of its membership from 1901 to this day (inclusion and exclusion, interpretation and practice of immigration and citizenship policy and multiculturalism) provide the theme of this thesis. I will argue that this history created a paradox between theory and practice: while apparently changing in the direction of greater inclusivity and multiculturalism, the perception of and the general attitudes towards citizenship continued to embody unspoken assumptions of earlier times, privileging the white, European, English-speaking Christian as the 'default' version of an Australian citizen. Further, this thesis will demonstrate that the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, with its controversial 'citizenship test', could be considered as endorsing the historic process of selection and exclusion. It could thus be seen to replicate a method of exclusion similar to the old dictation test of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which was in effect until the late 1950s. The citizenship test was introduced in 2007, according to the then Parliamentary Secretary for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Andrew Robb, because 'the country was attracting people from "cultures more removed" from Australia' (DIMA 2007).

A new government with a slight difference in attitude towards immigration and citizenship was elected in late 2007. Indeed, in recognition of Australia's diversity, Laurie Ferguson, the new Parliamentary Secretary for Multicultural Affairs and Settlement Services, said in 2008: 'Forty-five per cent of Australians are born overseas or have at least one parent who was born overseas…as a nation, we now speak more than 300 languages, originate from around 230 different countries and practise a wide variety of religions' (Ferguson 2008, p4). However, the new government maintained significant aspects of immigration and citizenship policy including the citizenship test. Slight changes to the citizenship test were made, with some aspects of Australian culture removed in favour of notions of civic duty. Interestingly, the mark required for passing the test was also increased. To date, the citizenship test continues, and contributes to the many changes and continuities in the development of citizenship over time. I argue that it may result in creating a greater group of disadvantaged, marginalised permanent residents of Australia who have not been granted political or social citizenship and therefore full membership of the nation.

The paradox of citizenship and multiculturalism reflects theory and practice as well as the legacy of the past. I argue that citizenship has made no real or significant

advancement in including all Australians irrespective of their colour, race, nationality, language or religious background. Interestingly, neither the Constitution nor any of the citizenship acts, even the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, defined Australians as white or Christian people, yet that is nevertheless how the typical Australian is perceived, despite the actual diversity of the population. This perception of the Australian citizen may be viewed as offensive and racist, as it perpetuates the vision of a white Australia. The study will explore the possibility that Australia may have institutionalised the ideology of a 'white Australia', and enquire about why and how different ethnicities have been marginalised and demoralised whilst others have been welcomed and accepted.

Aims and Scope of the Study

The aim of the study is to examine various primary and secondary sources as supportive evidence in order to answer the research question: What are the changes and continuities in Australian citizenship from the time of Federation and the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* through multiculturalism, and up to the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*? The study aims to critically analyse the legislation and policy framework as well as their social and political implications over time.

Within the limited scope of this study, it is not possible to carry out a full history of Australian multiculturalism, or examine the long history of the White Australia Policy before Federation (which arguably contributed to the establishment of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*), and the protection of the White Australia Policy that continued until the 1970s. The study will not address or analyse the effects of policy and practice relating to Indigenous Australians on notions of citizenship. Also, citizenship and globalisation will not be discussed in this study.

The study aims to bring to the surface the legacy of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which, it argues, survives in the testing and selection criteria of the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*. In addition, a number of questions will be raised and discussed such as the controversy in the late 1990s surrounding the rise of Pauline Hanson and whether the current debates/arguments over the new *Australian Citizenship Act 2007* are similar to those debated at the time of Federation in 1901. The study will further explore

issues and possibilities beyond the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007,* with particular analysis on the relationship between citizenship and multiculturalism. Thus, this may provide an opportunity to explore suggestions for Australia's citizenship future perspectives.

Methodology

This study employs a number of distinctively different approaches. The first approach consists of exploring several theoretical concepts and perspectives relevant to this study, and their implications for citizenship. The theoretical approaches employed are relevant both to universal and Australian aspects of citizenship. The study employs theories from Western perspectives only. These include Marshall's (1950, 1964, and 1975) that best cover the following theory of citizenship and the complexity of citizen rights, with emphasis on the issue of social rights, which may have influenced the development of citizenship in Australia. Marshall's (1950; 1964; 1975) theory of citizenship contributes to the debate on the contradictory nature of social class and social rights in a capitalist society, where equality of membership can create conflicting interests.

To describe the very nature of citizenship is to examine and operationalise concepts such as immigration, multiculturalism, inclusion and exclusion, minority group, ethnicity, and racism. For this purpose, the work of several Australian scholars will be examined, including Stephen Castles (1988a, 1990, 1992a, 2000a), James Jupp (1988, 1996a; 1996b; 1998, 2002, and 2007), Ghassan Hage (1998, 2003), Ellie Vasta (1993; 1996, and 2005) and Alistair Davidson (1991, 1993, 1997a, and 1997b). Foucault (1980, 1984, and 1996) and Parsons (1957, 1963, and 1967) have discussed power and its relation to knowledge. Giddens (1977, 1981, 1982; 1994, 1997; 2001), and Turner (1986, 1990, 1993, 1994, 2001, and 2002) have elaborated on power and its relation to authority, inclusion and exclusion, knowledge, and participation. Further, the argument regarding the different meanings and the contradictions relating to citizenship in Australia will be supported by reference to Rubenstein (1995, 1996, 1999; 2000a, 200b; 2002, and 2003), who has examined the notion of citizenship from legal, formal and informal perspectives.

The second approach is investigating primary documents. Primary government policy documents will include the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, the *Aliens Registration Act 1920*, the *Citizenship Act 1948*, the *Migration Act 1958*, as well as the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*. Other primary documents include the *Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants* (the Galbally Report 1978), as its recommendations played a paramount role in the planning, implementation and evaluation of significant multicultural policies, some of which have continued to the present day. Related documents include James Jupp's report *Don't Settle for Less* (DIEA 1986), and the citizen resource test book *Becoming an Australian Citizen* (Commonwealth of Australia 2007), and the Resource Book – *Australian Citizenship: Our Common Bond* (Commonwealth of Australia 2009).

Another fundamental approach is to examine the historical relationship between immigration, citizenship and multicultural policy. This will be done by examining the development of the Department of Immigration, its name and focus, from the assimilation policy (1945–1976) through to multicultural policies (1978–2007). This study will be accompanied by references to relevant debates and statements by influential leaders. This includes an analysis of the rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, which may provide some answers to the underlying tensions relating to Australian citizenship and its ideology that survive in contemporary Australia.

Contribution to Knowledge

The study will contribute to the current literature on and knowledge of Australian citizenship and its development over the years. It investigates the history of the 'white Australia' ideology that continues to affect Australian citizenship politically, socially, economically and morally. It argues that the present understanding of citizenship embodies the ideology of white Australia. Also, the study will make enquiries into whether citizenship has become generally 'superficial' and whether or not it has reached its 'use-by date'. Moreover, the study stimulates and contributes to written and unwritten dialogue and current research surrounding the topic of contemporary Australian citizenship in relation to the White Australia Policy, multiculturalism and beyond.

The study is also concerned with the development of a distinctive argument about central themes in Australian social and cultural history such as immigration, national identity, power and privileges, and race, and the relationship between policy and practice regarding citizenship. It offers significant challenges to the contemporary meaning of citizenship and the ideology and policy determining who is an Australian citizen and who is not. The study brings an original argument: that citizenship does not change people's culture, ethnicity or identity, but that it has the effect of classifying people who are not of the Anglo-Australian mainstream. The study is innovative in that it brings to the surface the fact that Australia is a nation, and being an Australian citizen must refer to the individual member's nationality, as a legal status, and not necessarily to their cultural identity.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is comprised of five chapters; they are structured as follows:

Chapter One: Theoretical Perspectives on Citizenship

This chapter examines citizenship in theory from universal and national perspectives, the concept, practice and development of citizenship, and other related concepts. It introduces various, and at times contradictory, meanings of citizenship from the Australian political, legal, social and cultural perspectives. The extent of global history's influences on Australian citizenship over the years will also be examined.

Chapter one begins with citizenship in theory, which includes several perspectives presenting general enquiries into definitions and functions of citizenship. It presents a number of theories highlighting aspects of the concept's global, particularly Western, historical background that are consistent with today's understanding of citizenship, which consequently have contributed to the policy and process of inclusion and exclusion. Theories of citizenship began with the historical foundation for understanding citizenship presented by Aristotle. Thomas Marshall's (1950, 1964, and 1975) theory of citizenship stages of development brought an understanding of the development of civic, political and social citizenship rights. Bryan Turner (1994) provides critical perspectives on citizenship that define and constitute individuals as members of a socio-political community. Turner's theory of citizenship brings an understanding of public and private perspectives in terms of the active and passive

aspects of citizenship, playing particular attention to the *function* of citizenship, articulating and extending the cultural dimensions of citizenship as a further expression of the evolution of citizenship rights. Further, Anthony Giddens (1977, 1982, 1994) provides a new and interesting perspective on citizenship, presenting the social and political structure and interaction that influence and impact on individual citizens in a given society.

Chapter Two: Citizenship and Power

The second chapter is mainly concerned with the nature, structure, distribution and implementation of power in modern society, and how this in turn relates to citizenship. Several theoretical perspectives are examined in this chapter, including that of Michel Foucault, whose work has been influential in studies of power, raising important issues regarding the relationships which exist between power, knowledge and culture, and the influence of power in particular historical and social contexts on the micro processes of society (Joseph 2004, p.93). This chapter also deals with citizenship, power and privilege in Australia, examining the historical struggle for equality by ethnic minority non-white groups. Particular focus is on conceptualising Australian citizenship in terms of exclusion, power and privilege, and the dominance and exploitation of non-white groups. It further explores the legal, social, political and cultural aspects of citizenship, using Marxian views on the separation of class based on power, domination and exploitation. The contradictions of the formal and informal as well as legal implications of citizenship will be examined and argued from Kim Rubenstein's (2000, 2000a; 200b; 2002, and 2003) perspective on citizenship in Australia; power and the structural privilege of white Australia, together with patterns of racist portrayals of minority groups, (Castles; 1988a, 1990, 2000a, Hage 1998, 2003). Finally, this chapter examines nationalism and Australian citizenship, with particular focus on the rise of nationalism since the late 1990s. The rise of Pauline Hanson represents an example of how the fantasy and myth of whiteness privilege and grant ownership of the nation Australia.

Chapter Three: The Changes and Continuities of Citizenship: From the White Australia Policy to Multiculturalism

In order to trace the changes and continuities of citizenship in the Australian context, various relevant pieces of legislation and government documents will be examined in

this chapter. Chapter three begins with the historical development of citizenship from 1901 to the present day: the various pieces of legislation defining Australians as British subjects, the introduction of Australian citizenship in 1948 and its modifications over the last 64 years.

This chapter examines whiteness and its influence on how concepts and policies such as immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism have been interpreted and applied, and differences between theory and practice. Ghassan Hage's (1998) arguments relating to the 'fantasies' of white Australia are employed to bring some understanding of the historical development and meaning of white Australia, and perceptions of white citizenship.

Chapter Four: Citizenship and Immigration

This chapter examines the historical overview of patterns of immigration and traces links between citizenship and immigration through legislation, patterns and management of population flows, and follow the stages of developments within the Department of Immigration, followed by discussing the powerful influence of immigration as a political tool.

Chapter Five: Citizenship and Multiculturalism

This final chapter examines citizenship as it relates to multiculturalism. Starting with a definition of multiculturalism, it then offers an outline of a number of documents and reports relating to this policy, and the many aspects of the relationship between multiculturalism and citizenship. This chapter also considers opposition to multiculturalism and its effect on policy and practice, and reasons why the concept of citizenship remains resistant to the principles and ideology of multiculturalism.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The conclusion will signal future possibilities for Australian citizenship beyond multiculturalism, asking a number of questions, and making recommendations for moving citizenship away from the legacy of history towards a model more fully integrated with the social and cultural realities of the nation in the 21st century.

CHAPTER ONE
Theoretical Perspectives on Citizenship

The concept and practice of citizenship have a historical perspective. It derives from ancient Greece and was formulated in the polis, or City State, where the citizens gathered to administer the affairs of the city (Davidson 1997a, p. 15). It was believed that a 'man's' full potential and personality could only be achieved through full participation in the activities of the polis, which functioned as a nation-state (Barker 1946, p. 134). The city dwellers became the citizens and as this status came with prestige and privileges it was inevitable that it also created an intense drive for exclusion. Since then, extensive debates surrounding the wider conception of citizenship and the dynamics of the nation and the citizen have revealed a wide range of contradictory perspectives (Heater 1990, 1999, 2004a; Davidson 1997a, 1997b).

Over the years, there have been many attempts to conceptualise and characterise or define the elusive and often complex notion of citizenship. Indeed, the nature and notion of citizenship have been disputed throughout history, but one issue has remained constant: citizenship as a mechanism for inclusion and exclusion (Rubenstein 1995, 2002; Davidson 1997a; Castles 2005; Castles & Davidson 2000; Dyrenfurth 2005). This chapter starts with an outline of the perspectives of a number of key theorists and their understanding of the concept of citizenship and its development. The theories will range from the early Greek perspective of Aristotle to Marshall (1950), who in the mid-20th century developed a theory of the stages of development of citizenship, and to Bryan Turner (2001, 2002) who later contributed the dimensions of justice and equality, and the cultural aspects of citizenship. The second section of this chapter will explore theoretical perspectives on the dynamics of power as it relates to citizenship, including the influential work of Michel Foucault (1980). The third and final section in the chapter will investigate how these theoretical perspectives on citizenship, power, and privilege apply to the development of the concept of citizenship in Australia from three distinguished perspectives. This section will begin with the conceptualisation of Australian citizenship, followed by conceptualise power and the structural privilege of White Australia, and explore issues relevant to nationalism and Australian citizenship.

Citizenship in Theory

Addressing theoretical perspectives on citizenship is a challenging task. There are extensive numbers of theoretical positions, which have been proposed, argued and challenged throughout the years. I argue that there is no single perspective or discipline that may claim domination over the whole notion of citizenship. I further argue that the nature of citizenship is a complex concept with many dimensions, and that it relates to many other significantly complex concepts, including power, nation, inclusion and exclusion. This is not a sign of weakness in the theoretical thinking on citizenship. On the contrary, considering the complexity and importance of the topic, this study argues that the more approaches, and the greater the diversity of thinking surrounding the concept of citizenship, the more vitality is added to the enterprise, and the closer we will be to answering some of its many historical and theoretical enquiries. However, it is not possible to include every theorist who has contributed to the theory of citizenship over the years. I will concentrate on a few because of their major impact in the field, and their particular relevance to my main topic.

Historical, universal and national perspectives on the development of citizenship are the major themes in this chapter. It includes general enquiries into the definition and function of citizenship. It presents several aspects of its global, particularly Western, historical background, and how it relates to today's policy, practice and ideology of citizenship. There have been many attempts at defining citizenship, nationally and globally. Castles and Davidson (2000) posit that citizenship status is marked by the membership and belonging of individuals to a democratic society where citizens possess a wide range of civil, political and social rights. However, complexities surrounding the notion and nature of citizenship remain. Citizenship also has dimensions that relate to inequality, which can be explored through the nature of power at work in exclusive and inclusive policies and practices (Kuper 1987, p. 53).

Consistent with the historical development of citizenship is the notion of exclusion, and its correlation with race and racism. Racism can be understood as a particular way to construct and deal with difference. Difference is used to make claims of exclusion from citizenship, which means the exclusion from full participation in economic, political and social rights. Exclusion, subordination and 'inferiorisation' can and do occur on the

basis of exploitation of, and control over, ethnic groups and their differences, providing the basis for a racial and racist discourse.

Starting with Aristotle in the fourth century BC (cited in Heater 1990, p. 4), attempts have been made to define and bring new perspectives to the notion of citizenship. Aristotle's focus was consistent with today's debates and arguments: he discussed the origin of the state and its components, natural and un-natural modes of good 'wealth getting', emphasising the relationship between masters and slaves, and between state power and its citizens (Barnes 1984; Irwin 1988; Irwin & Fine 1996). Furthermore, Aristotle articulated an understanding of citizenship relative to its involvement in politics, suggesting that the act of citizenship as involvement in politics necessarily required rationality (Barnes 1984; Irwin 1988).

Aristotle extended his debate into a theory of individual self-interest and action, just distribution of power and comparative politics. He defined who and what makes a citizen by highlighting the excluded individuals and groups. Historically, and as conceptualised by Aristotle, slaves, women and aliens (defined as foreigners) could not experience the privileges of citizenship (Ellis 1928; Irwin 1988; Irwin & Fine 1996). According to this ancient view, individuals who enjoyed the privileges of citizenship had significant privileges and power, including the right to participate in deliberative or judicial office (Barnes 1984; Irwin& Fine 1996). This conceptualisation of power clearly indicates the relation between the practice of citizenship and practices and policies of inclusion and exclusion.

In the 1950s, Thomas Marshall developed an evolutionary theory of citizenship, itemising three dimensions of citizenship rights from civil to political and, most recently, the development and challenges of social citizenship rights. Marshall's theory described the chronological development of the three dimensions of citizenship as an evolutionary process. Civil rights, such as liberty, personal security and due legal process, were developed in the eighteenth century. Political rights, such as rights to political participation, emerged in the nineteenth century and, more recently, social citizenship rights (e.g. the rights to receive health, education and economic benefits from the state) came to the forefront in the twentieth century. Marshall's distinctive contribution was to introduce the concept of social rights, and to emphasise the

importance of social rights, which underpinned the idea of the welfare state. However, there have always been disputes over what rights are legally binding, what distinguishes citizenship rights from human rights and how citizens differ from non-citizens in terms of rights (Vasta 1996; Castles & Davidson 2000; Rubenstein 1995, 2000a; 2000b).

Marshall's theory, and his work on citizenship (1950, 1964, 1975), provided a theoretical perspective on a broader and deeper conception of citizenship as social membership. This process is expressed in and by the ongoing struggle to address and to achieve inclusive rights for citizens in a given society. Marshall (1950, 1964) argued that to truly be a citizen, one must be in possession of all three sets of rights. Social citizenship is complex and often controversial because it deals with social equality and inequality. Marshall (1950, p. 10) stated:

> [T]he modern drive towards social equality is, I believe, the latest phase in an evolution of citizenship which has been in continuous progress for some 250 years.

Bryan Turner (1994) writes on citizenship from different perspectives, which define and constitute individuals as members of a socio-political community. Turner presents different types of citizenship, distinguishing citizenship from the public and private perspectives and in terms of the active and passive aspects of citizenship. He pays particular attention to the *function* of citizenship when he argues that citizenship does not necessarily create emotional solidarity or 'cultural identity, but incorporates, through ideological means, a subordination of particular social groups' (Turner 1994, pp. 4–7). Further, Turner highlighted the relationship between social participation and citizenship rights, particularly social rights, placing particular emphasis on the relationship between citizenship entitlements and the economic structure of the state. He defined citizenship as a collective of rights, particularly socio-political rights.

While Marshall's (1950) model of citizenship development identified its civil, political and social dimensions, which correspond to the jury system, parliament and the welfare state, Bryan Turner (2002) articulated the cultural dimensions of citizenship as a further expression of the evolution of citizenship rights. Turner's distinctive contribution to this field consists of his outline of a general theory of cultural citizenship. He introduced various dimensions of the cultural sphere, arguing that, in addition to civil, political and

social rights, it is essential to consider the cultural rights of citizens (Turner 2002, pp. 11–12). He argued that it is necessary to respect, accept and promote the diversity of modern cultures, while linking them to more political and economic issues (2002, p.5). He promoted the idea that citizens have the rights to be different while enjoying full membership of a democratic and participatory community (pp. 2-3). The notion of cultural inclusion may provide protection for majority cultures and minority cultures alike. I argue that to be excluded from cultural citizenship is to be excluded from full membership of society. Cultural citizenship functions as cultural empowerment, offering minorities the capacity to participate successfully and effectively within a national culture.

Turner (1994) is concerned with the historical development and functioning of citizenship. He traced historical developments from medieval times through the French Revolution of 1789, the failure of the bourgeois revolution of 1848 and the American Civil War of 1865–1869, claiming these events have contributed to the institution of modern democratic society, which is a reflection of modern social citizenship. Modern social citizenship, which is associated with the concept of social membership, is also associated with the social rights of citizens. Social rights are closely associated with the provision of welfare, health care, distribution of justice, individual rights and the issue of equality in terms of basic citizenship rights (Turner 1986, 1994). Turner (1994, p. 200) asserted that it is legitimate to argue that 'the secular institution of rights cannot be separated from the issue of democracy'; and that 'the infrastructure of democracy is a fundamental, if limited, restraint on the employment of coercive force'.

Turner (1986, 1990, and 1994) is concerned with the qualities of distribution of justice, individual rights and the notion of equality and inequality, exclusion and inclusion. For example, he argues that a deeper sociological, historical and philosophical enquiry into the notion and character of social and political membership and social and political participation and of social rights is required, and must be consistent and paralleled with the notion and characteristics of modern social citizenship (1990, 2002). Turner further argues that this enquiry must encompass a holistic approach to individual citizens' social rights within the context of democracy. Turner's (1990) argument is consistent with the theory and work of Marshall (1950, 1964, 1975), which provides further debate on the relationship between citizenship entitlement and the economic structure of a

capitalist society, and, therefore, social restructure and social justification of the state. Turner's views address the problem of inequality and the contradiction between political equality and the persistence of social and economic inequality, which are ultimately rooted in capitalist societies such as that of Australia. These societies are advantageous to people with opportunities and privileges. Marshall's (1950; 1964) and Turner's (1994) proposals are to reconcile this contradiction by extending the notion of citizenship as political membership, which may overcome the shortcomings of social citizenship.

Turner (1994) discusses other dimensions of citizenship, including the passive and active nature of citizenship. He explains that whether individuals or society are active or passive in their exercise of participation and of citizenship rights depends on how citizenship developed in a particular society. For example, as a result of the French Revolution, citizenship originated by community and group action (referred to as bottom up), which was also the experience of the United States. These developments contributed to active citizenship. They also represent social struggle and social conflict as the central drive of citizenship. On the other hand, passive citizenship is the consequence of a system that was imposed by the state and is concerned with the notion of power, legitimacy and authority (referred to as top down) as in the British case and, therefore, the Australian experiences.

Further perspectives on citizenship distinguish between public and private aspects of citizenship. Flyvbjerg (1998) argues that space may be constructed in different ways by different people through power struggles and conflicts of interest. Spaces are socially constructed; many spaces may co-exist within the same physical space; and there is a need to analyse how discourses and strategies of inclusion and exclusion are connected with particular spaces (pp. 9–10). As well as physical space, there is symbolic space.

Anthony Giddens (1977, 1982, 1994) contributing a different perspectives on citizenship, links citizenship to the view of the social and political structure and interaction that influence and impact on individual citizens in a given society. Giddens (1977, 1981; 1982) primarily conceptualises citizenship and class domination by discussing class conflict in modern capitalist societies. This includes class formation,

class structuration and class relations which, he argues, continue to be of constitutive importance for defining capitalist societies.

Giddens (1994; 2001) integrated the classical traditions of social theory with modern theoretical conceptions of social, political and philosophical thought. His proposal has merit as his alternative perspective on social and economic options presents an innovation in understanding the advantages and disadvantages of citizens. Giddens' alternative ideas include the 'globalising of modernity', international relations and the diminishment of the 'nation-state' system (2001). Citizenship issues overlap with global and national interests. As Heater (1999, p. 114) states, citizenship needs to be 'understood and studied as a mosaic of identities, duties and rights rather than a unitary concept'. Consequently, the substance for current and future conception, implementation and operationalisation of citizenship will often be broadly characterised, and relate to moral issues that, in part, derive from social, historical and political perceptions and understanding of history's legacy in contemporary diverse societies. In this sense, the issue is whether citizenship is conceptualised as a tool of exclusion, and the citizen as simply the subject of absolute authority by the state and government of the time, or an active political agent that can marginalise and exclude certain groups or individuals.

According to Turner (1994), the public space of political activity as a form of citizenship is a reflection associated with the structure of the public/private division of Western culture and society. This division originated from and is historically based on Christianity and Christian culture. Turner (p. 207) highlights that 'Christian ideology/theology continues to place an individualistic limitation on the expansion of active political citizenship, and on the emergence of an active view of citizenship as a carrier of rights'. Australia is perceived as a Christian country, with Christian values and culture, even though there is no evidence or support for this in the Constitution or any other government or non-government policy.

On the subject of exclusion, Allen, Cars and Madanipour (1998), write about conceptualising exclusion, in particularly various forms of social exclusion. Allen, Cars and Madanipour define social exclusion as a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion that are combined, such as exclusion of participation in

decision making and political processes, lack of access to employment and material resources, will consequently result in exclusion of integration into common cultural processes (p22).

When combined, these forms of social exclusion create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods. In Australia, without the provision of bridging policies and services (such as Access and Equity, Equal Opportunity and Equal Access policies), the elimination of legislation that discriminated against disadvantaged migrants (such as the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* through to the dictation test of the 1950s) would not have occurred. Opposition to political and social acceptance of and participation by the diverse migrants in all aspects of Australian life would increase. The combined impact would result in an increased power imbalance, an increase in conflict, and further policy and practice aimed at excluding particular groups.

The exclusion of women from the full and effective status of citizenship for much of history, ancient and modern, explains why women's gradual achievement of civil, political and social rights often followed a different pattern from men's. A number of authors (Cook & Fonow 1990; Oldfield 1992; Savage & Witz 1992; Lloyd 2005; Heisler 2005) have argued that mainstream, twentieth-century citizenship theorists tended to ignore the ways in which women's rights as citizens have evolved and been conceptualised. They also claim that they tended to dismiss women's earlier exclusion as a historical aberration. There is consistency between the approach to discrimination and exclusion practice against women in the past, and ethnic minorities in general who are primarily of non-white origin. Irving (2000) maintains that the dominant group is comprised of a political elite of white heterosexual, European men. This has become one of the dominant models for understanding the 'default setting' of citizenship in Australia.

Finally, political views that relate to and conceptualise citizenship may come from areas such as political science, political culture, political economy, socialism, capitalism and utilitarianism. However, due to the limited scope of this study, greater emphasis is placed here on critical perspectives such as Marxism and feminism. Marxism and feminism conceptualise the notion and concept of citizenship in relation to underlying

factors such as power, exploitation, authority, privilege and domination; these are also the tools used universally for the purpose of inclusion and exclusion. To conclude, this chapter has offered a historical and theoretical overview of the notion of citizenship. I argue that there is still a need to conceptualise citizenship in a way that is consistent with Australia's political, social and cultural history, which is characterised by significant socioeconomic and political inequality, as well as social exclusion experienced by many individuals and minority groups in Australia. The next chapter examines citizenship and power from several perspectives including, citizenship power and privilege in Australia, analysis and discussion on the power and the structural privilege of white Australia and it concludes with examining nationalism and Australian citizenship.

CHAPTER TWO

Citizenship and Power

The previous chapter provided relevant theoretical perspectives on citizenship and citizenship in theory. This chapter is mainly concerned with the nature, structure, distribution and implementation of power in modern society, and how this in turn relates to citizenship. I argue that the concept of power is of central importance for many aspects of citizenship. I further argue that power is an elusive notion because it refers to a complex set of relationships which are manifested in different dimensions of citizenship. The complex system of power and privilege in society in general and in relation to citizenship in particular. Several theorists have attempted to define power and examine its structure and distribution in society

In a broad sense, Max Weber (1946, p. 124) has defined power as 'the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are particularly affected by and in the action'. Weber suggested that 'power consists of the ability to get your own way even when others are opposed to your wishes' (p. 124). In this sense, since individuals have different interests, political leaders and governments reflect/impose/implement their authority and power over others as common values. However, Marx and Weber both agreed that distinct kinds of power correspond to each of the three fundamental spheres of social life: economic, political and cultural (Giddens 1981, 1982; 1994). In the economic sphere, Mann (1986, p. 6) defined power generally as the ability to pursue and attain goods; he then proceeded to relate and define social power by combining two interrelated factors and significant aspects of power. These are, Mann argued, the power of some people over others, and the power of collective action. Social power, he asserted, is a matter of domination.

Consistent with a social critical perspective, Marx emphasises that human existence and the control of power, inclusion and exclusion could be understood by an analysis of economic conditions and of exploitation and class domination (Marx & Engels 1958). Marx described the membership of a class—an economic class in particular—through the relationship to the means of production. Marx further described the notion of alienation as the separation of people or groups or classes from aspects of their 'human

nature', which, in relation to citizenship, can be defined as membership of a community, a society or indeed a state. According to Joseph (2004), Marx believed that alienation is a systematic result of capitalism, leading to isolation from the dominant and contributing to exclusion from mainstream citizen collectives, hence, to powerlessness. Such a theoretical perspective illuminates concepts relevant to the focus of this study, including the concepts of citizenship and power, power and privilege, white dominance, ethnic minorities and their relations to political, economic and social position (Marx 1974). In this study, the Marxian concepts of exploitation, privilege and dominance along with the acquisition and maintenance of power provide, in part, the reasons for the influential role of white Australia. They demonstrate that the manifestation of power in capitalist society grooms inequality.

Power is not solely based upon material dimensions, but also involves the capacity to construct meaning and exert control over the flow of information within contemporary society, as suggested by Turner (2001, pp.11-23). The expression of power takes place when an individual or group, or an institution such as the state, directly (and at times indirectly) imposes its will, policy, attitudes and values on others. Michel Foucault has provided a significant contribution to the study and understanding of complex notion of power. He has been influential in raising significant issues, focusing on the relationships between power, knowledge and culture, and the influence of power in particular historical and social contexts into the micro processes of society. Foucault (1971, 1984) writes that power relations extend beyond the limits of the state, suggesting that the state (and all its components) is far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations. He further argues that the state can only operate on the basis of other, already existing, power relations (Foucault 1971, 1980; Joseph 2004). In this sense, Foucault asserted, the state is superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks including the family, kinship, knowledge, technology and so forth.

Foucault writes that power may be embodied in world views, value systems and shared thoughts (Foucault 1971, 1980; Dowding 1996). He argues that power is embodied inside and outside the formal structures of administrative systems. To understand how Foucault uses the idea of knowledge as power is to first look at how truth is produced, how 'regimes of truth' come about, and how these are used to legitimise knowledge in order for knowledge to have status and thus be used in power relations. The production

of truth requires making a claim to power and sustaining and justifying it. Foucault questions the absolute truth of knowledge and sees truth as being something constructed to impose ideas of what is right and true (Foucault 1980). Foucault's book *Discipline and Punish* (1975) analyses the rise of a new type of disciplinary power, one linked to knowledge, techniques of surveillance, and the production of 'truth'. Foucault analyses the 'technological take-off in the productivity of power' and sees power as utilising the 'techniques' of the production of truth, knowledge and surveillance. Thus, he asserts the interconnections of knowledge/truth and power as they are embodied in institutions and practices (Foucault 1980).

Foucault (1980) further suggests that power is conceptualised and construed in a productive way. He claims that power pervades all aspects of social life; in this sense, power extends into the resources that provide directions that are essential to the coordination and integration of individual activities so that collective goals can be pursued productively. This interpretation of power sees it as the foundation for social action, as well as potential control and coercion. In this view, the nature and structure of power in society are essentially structured by its function and distribution. Furthermore, people's actions and interests are structured by the sets of relationships they have with one another and the world around them. However, as power also exists within social relationships, social interaction is essentially the function of power. Therefore, power determines which individuals and groups will be able to obtain or receive their preferences in day-to day social, economic and political interactions. Foucault (1980) further argues that the relationship between power and control in society is inherent in the modern organisational system. In this sense, there is also the notion of power that is legitimated by explicit rules and rational procedures, which is not confined to a constitutional structure but a 'legal-rational authority' that defines the rights and responsibilities of an individual. After all, societies are shaped by the power of individuals who represent a dominant collective and their desired goals and outcomes. Indeed, power defines, describes and explains citizenship in various forms and ideas, including its nature and citizens' influence and participation in the public arena, and the exclusion and alienation of certain individuals and groups. The exercise of social power can disadvantage and cause conflict for individuals who are different, and supposedly competing for different interests (Cox 1970; Jagtenberg & D'Alton 1992; Bessant & Watts 1999).

Foucault (1980, p. 2) further articulated how dominant systems and institutions in modern societies seek to establish the power of master codes, which may be and can be meaningless to others outside the system. Both knowledge and science are culturally and historically embedded products and both are closely intertwined with power (pp. 2–4). According to Foucault, power in modern society is continuous, and is embodied in institutionalised practices and influences, which people develop in a particular historical and social situation. Consequently, Foucault (1980, 1984) suggests that authority is essentially the institutional code within which the use of power as medium is organised, legitimised and obeyed. Authority stands to power as property, as an institutional government does to citizenship. In this sense, property, as Foucault (1980) further asserted, is a bundle of rights of positions, including above all that of alienation, at various levels of control and use. Authority, then, is a status in a system of social organisation put in a position legitimately to make decisions which are binding, which become rules/policy and laws to be obeyed by citizens. This may or may not explain the hierarchical structure of power and consequent inequalities of power between groups/cultures and the state in the present world system. Indeed, different levels and dimensions of power continue to constitute important aspects of inequality with complex interrelationships to citizenship.

Feminists including Cook and Fonow (1990) and Lloyd (2005) argued that power as domination over other human beings has resulted, historically, in the subordination of women, where women suffered long term from oppression, discrimination and inequality (Cook & Fonow 1990, pp. 74–76). I argue that women's experience and struggle with discrimination and oppression, which is conceptualised by feminism, is consistent and correlates with the struggle of minorities and disadvantaged individuals and groups who continue to experience barriers and exclusion within institutions. These include the military, industry, technology, universities, science, politics, finance and the police force, which tend to be in the hands of the dominant white society. I argue that many individuals and groups in Australia including non-white Australians, those of NESB, migrants and refugees, those from the Middle East, 'black' Africans and Asians are excluded from many significant avenues of power within Australian society.

Talcott Parsons (1949, 1957, 1963, and 1967) observed social life and social relationships for over 50 years, and has presented another perspective on power. He justified power as a 'legitimate authority' and claimed that it is based on society's

structured system and shared values. Thus, by virtue of one group holding power, there needs to be another group and/or individuals without power or access to power—the powerless. Parsons' (1963) fundamental idea of power is that it is a capacity that operates primarily on the basis of legitimacy and, therefore, by means that presume the consent of those over whom it is exercised. The relationship between power and consent is in conflict with other concepts such as control, dominance and structural inequality. The idea of power that operates on the basis of consent and the presumption that consent is the key to the exercise of power has been contested.

In contrast to Parsons, Anthony Giddens (1982) stresses the importance of power as a means to an end and, hence, as directly involved in the actions of every person. Power, the transformative capacity of people to change the social and material world, is closely shaped by knowledge, space and time (Giddens 1982; Giddens & Held 1982). Action relates to participation, which includes the aim to change existing power structures by those usually excluded from decision-making processes; it can be an empowering process for the community members involved.

Consistently, Giddens (1977, 1981, 1982; and 1994) has emphasised the social construction of power. He argues that the political concepts of 'left' and 'right' are now breaking down as a result of many factors, most centrally the absence of a clear alternative to capitalism, the culture of exploitation and domination, and the eclipse of political opportunities based on social class in favour of those based on lifestyle choices (Giddens 2001a, 2001c). According to Giddens (1982), power is a generalised facility or resource in society; therefore, power in society is not seen as fixed or constant. Instead, it is variable in the sense that it can increase or decrease. Also, the term power has many different meanings, most of which involve the use of control, or force. Power can be political, economic, democratic or personal. It can also be perceived as creating a sense of independence or responsibility, or a sense of freedom. It is a pervasive aspect of all human relationships. Many conflicts in society are struggles over power, because how much power an individual or a group is able to achieve governs how far they are able to realise their own wishes at the expense of the wishes of others (Giddens 2001a, p. 696). Giddens places particular emphasis on 'social power', 'social control' and the distribution of power in society. The nature of political, economic and status hierarchies and the relations among elites profoundly affect access, equity and opportunities, and

can contribute to advantages or disadvantages of individuals and groups (Castles 1997, 2000a; Rubenstein 2000a).

Giddens' (1982; 1994) theory of structuration explores the question of whether it is individuals or social forces that shape society; he argues that people are not entirely free to choose their own actions. This is because their knowledge is limited and they are not always in a position of power. They are, nonetheless, the 'agency' that reproduces the social structure and therefore leads to change (Giddens 1977, 1982; 1994; 2001). I tend to agree with Giddens' argument, as this may explain the structures as consisting of rules and resources involving policy and policy change, for example in the area of immigration and citizenship.

The above examples conceptualise the notion of power from various theoretical perspectives relevant to the area of citizenship. Since power pervades all aspects of social life, it gives direction to human affairs, guiding people's actions along one course rather than another (Joseph 2004). Power is considered as central and is closely tied to the cluster meaning and evolution of citizenship. Indeed, power and its related terms such as authority (which simply means legitimate power), control, influence and dominance have significant implications for issues of inequality, inclusion and exclusion, policy and practice (Joseph 2004). Joseph argues that power is a significant aspect of human society, claiming that a central preoccupation in social and political theory is the concern with problems arising out of inequalities due to the distribution of power (pp. 13–15).

Historically, the structural properties of power intersect and closely relate to social and political structures, to processes of citizenship and to exclusion and inclusion. In the 'classical' sociological tradition, rationality is understood as the underlying structure of values and norms that governs social actions (Weber 1946; Castles 2000a, 2005). However, rationality is inseparable from power (Castles 2000a, 2005). Thus, different rationalities—with their distinctive horizons of values and norms that guide social actions—are implicit acts of power in that they are attempts to govern which sorts of social actions are to be carried out, and which are not (Foucault 1971, 1980, 1984; Flyvbjerg 1998). To further examine rationality, it appears that the rational assessment and justification of knowledge claims are culturally based, which is an interpretive

process that is the result of positions of dominance that produce knowledge distortions through the operation of power. Indeed, it is unlikely that a Western capitalist society such as Australia would adopt the knowledge of the marginal and the subjugated.

I argue here that power, like citizenship, has no globally acceptable definition. I further argue that, generally, and for the purpose of this thesis, the most appropriate definition or usage is that the elusiveness of power as a defined concept emerges from a complex set of relationships manifesting at different levels of social and political life (Davidson 1997a; Castles 2000a; Castles & Davidson 2000; Barker 2000; Joseph 2004). Power manifests itself in capitalist societies, where social classes and the struggle for power reinforce and groom inequality (Davidson 1997a; Castles 2000a).

Citizenship, Power and Privilege in Australia

Conceptualisation of Australian Citizenship

In the current Australian political, social and cultural climate, the notion and concept of citizenship have attracted an unprecedented level of interest. The prime focus is not on what citizenship is, nor is it on what it means to be a citizen, but more on who is, who is perceived to be, and who should be, an Australian citizen. Historically, white European males possessed power, privileges and dominance all over the Western world and indeed over Australian society (Dietz 1992). Dietz suggested that traditionally, most known societies have been patriarchal, and authority and leadership are associated with the male in every society (1992). From a radical feminist perspective, Ellen Willis (1999) argues that the idea that women should have political, social, economic and intellectual rights equal to those of men has been a historical struggle (see also Cook & Funow 1990; Dietz 1992; Meyers 1997).

In the Australian context, the historical struggle for equality by minority non-white groups has been problematic. This is because it relates to the complex and contested nature of the historical experience of discriminatory policy and process, power and privilege, exclusion and inclusion, and dominance and exploitation primarily by white European males. Prior to World War Two, immigration was dictated by the dynamic process of citizenship as a means of selecting 'acceptable' members of society. For

example, people could immigrate to Australia for specific social and economic needs without ever being granted citizenship. Indeed, Australia did not have a system in place for the processing of citizenship until the introduction of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*. The rationale of immigration control for the preservation of national culture was the driving force of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, known as the White Australia Policy. The White Australia Policy was legally phased out by international and national law and legal protective policies, such as anti-discrimination laws, but its legacy remained as an attitude, ideology and value (Gunew 1994; Birrell 1995; Davidson 1997a, 2006). This foundation for immigration and consequently citizenship processes determined the themes that underpin political, social and economic policies.

The key historical struggle in the evolution of Australian citizenship continues as a conflict over who to exclude and who to include in the nation as a citizen. Indeed, access to citizenship is consistent with immigration policy and process, and the question of who should be admitted to Australia. Historically, Australia, like the rest of the world, has experienced an evolution of claims to civil rights in relation to citizenship, which has been consistent with a particular type of community and set of values. The advent of citizenship legislation has had little impact (Irving 2000; Rubenstein 2000b; Dyrenfurth 2005). Irving (2000, p. 10) has suggested that Australian citizenship has developed as a social construct rather than a legal, formal or political one. This may explain why citizenship was not mentioned in the Constitution.

Throughout Australia's history, and particularly since its colonial time, one of the constant challenges has been over rights for, and recognition of, non-whites in Australia (Davidson 1997a; Rubenstein 1995; 2003). To further capture and understand the complexity of Australian citizenship, it is imperative to mention the contribution of Kim Rubenstein to the field. Rubenstein (2000b) explored the different meanings of citizenship from two significant perspectives. She argued that the legal formal, and the normative informal, meanings of citizenship, which concern the broader concept of membership regardless of a person's formal status, have contributed to expressing or defining citizenship in both exclusive and inclusive ways throughout the past century. Rubenstein (2000b) critically examined the meaning of citizenship in Australia from the legal perspective, and drew attention to the relationship between citizenship and nationality. Rubinstein offers a detailed analysis of the meanings and symbolism of

citizenship. She suggests that there is no constitutional statement or mention of citizenship as membership of the community, as is the basic global definition of citizenship. She also argues that to understand issues of citizenship, one must consider questions of membership, national identity and civic allegiance. It may also include 'all the commonalities of sentiment and obligation that give effect to the legal and ethical bonds constitutive of a given community'. (Beiner 1998, quoted in Rubenstein 2000a, p. 2) Further, she considers this complexity of the concept and notion of citizenship, and the different perspectives on various aspects of the concept, including political, social, legal and philosophical components. Consistent themes in the literature support the mixed use and meaning of the term citizenship. However, Rubenstein emphasised the specific importance of legal perspectives of the concept of citizenship. Even though there are other broader frameworks of citizenship, including political and social aspects, the legal perspectives can have significant, often complex implications (Rubenstein 1995; 2000; 200b). For example, Rubenstein writes about the legal aspects of citizenship in Australia from the High Court perspectives; she examined High Court decisions where it concerns the concept of citizen appears. She found that in a number of cases, the word citizen was used when the court was referring to a person and not the legal status of citizenship (2000a, p. 1). According to Rubenstein, this indicates that citizenship is a complex notion, where it has many meanings, as well as several dimensions (Rubenstein 1995). Rubenstein (1995, 2000a, PP. 1–3) argues that the High Court's use of the word citizenship in various situations is an indication that it does this to reflect the different meanings in different contexts in Australia.

According to Rubenstein (1995, 2000a), it seems that the High Court of Australia is not quite settled or agreeable with the broader notion of citizenship as membership of the community and national identity. She suggests that there appears to be a tension between the formal notion of citizen and the substantive meaning of citizenship, and the High Court has indeed made use of the word citizenship in an interchangeably manner, wherever it makes reference to person/personhood (Beiner, cited in Rubenstein, 2000a P. 2). Rubenstein writes that an important restriction for the High Court in determining and or shaping Australian citizenship is that citizenship is not a constitutional term. She asserts that the word citizen was deliberately not used in the drafting of the Australian Constitution. This omission has had a profound influence upon the meaning and dimensions of Australian citizenship Rubenstein (1995, 2000). Even though the legal

notion of citizenship is usually distinguished from other frameworks and meanings of citizenship, this omission ultimately reaffirmed the mixed and often confused meaning of citizenship in Australia. Nonetheless, Rubenstein emphasised the broader notions of citizenship by taking into account 'private' notions of citizenship, as 'the idea of citizen beyond the public sphere' (p. 4). She (2000b, pp. 3–4) further argues:

> There is no foundational constitutional basis for securing the view of citizenship which sets the state up as protector of human rights. Nor is there any clear/comprehensive statement about the relationship between the state and its citizens in a Bill of Rights; nor is there any constitutional statement about citizenship as membership of the community. Citizenship is purely a statutory term, open to change and differential consequences.

The notion of citizenship has two parallel aspects: one is that of equality, social inclusion, and, ultimately, the welcoming of desirable members/citizens; the other is the inequality and exclusivity embodied in the policy itself. From the inception of the statutory status of 'citizen', citizenship has become a valuable status, representing nationhood, and highly sought after by many migrants, refugees and humanitarian residents in Australia. I argue that for many of these people, citizenship has not been an enabling status, nor has it been a positive or welcoming process. Indeed, throughout Australia's history, changes to the concept of citizenship have created significant contradictions in areas such as immigration, citizenship policy and processes, issues relating to inclusion and exclusion, access and equity, and fairness and participation. These contradictions stem from the ambiguity of the many meanings and symbolism of citizenship, as well as the many changes and amendments made to the citizenship acts, and to policy and its dynamic procedures (Rubenstein 2000a). As Rubenstein has argued, minority groups of non-British, non-white, non-European backgrounds in particular have suffered from these internal contradictions.

The absence of constitutional sanction means that the parliament and government of the day can and do determine and change any aspect of citizenship law. This depends on who is in power and how they use their position of power to implement equality or inequality in the policy, process and understanding of citizenship. For example, some argue that former Prime Minister John Howard won the 2001 election with his statement: 'We will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come' (cited in Kramer 2003). The former prime minister was obviously defending

his government's decision to bar the landing of Afghan refugees/asylum seekers on the Norwegian ship *Tampa*. Kramer (2003) asserts that this was a futile political exercise by Mr Howard that had little or no meaning outside the election campaign. It demonstrates that the government's approach to issues of migration, refugees and citizenship had reached a stage of high intensity, where journalists were driving the coverage of events not just across Australia but to the world. This incident, according to Jayaraman (2000), was evidence of a dangerous past—the Australian political and social past that was 'racist' and had remained as such with the discriminatory attitudes that surfaced. He claimed that, for this reason, there is a constant need to be vigilant. Interestingly, on the hundredth anniversary of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, the *Tampa* refugee crisis was played out and contributed to the national policy on border protection. The restriction on the arrival of Asian/Middle Eastern refugees to Australia in the name of national security is a reminder of a much earlier policy of restricting and preventing Chinese and Pacific Islanders from entering Australia in the name of the White Australia Policy in 1901. This indicates the continuation of exclusionism in Australian responses to immigration, fear and hostility towards aliens, and the consistent perception of white European citizens as more desirable.

The fundamental issue of citizenship is one of culture and not just of race. To capture this understanding, Joseph Carens (1988, p. 46) explains why it is perceived that cultural homogeneity increases the likelihood that members of the political community will cooperate and provide collective benefits. He adds that since Australia's settler society was founded by people of 'British stock', the Australian population wishes to 'recreate Britain' in Australia. To achieve this, it is necessary to ensure that immigrants to Australia are 'as much like the British as possible', in other words, come from white society. The white British race presents a distinctive culture with distinctive political, social and moral values, which Australia aimed to preserve and adopt as its own culture and values.

Power and the Structural Privilege of White Australia

To study the notion of power and its relation to the structural privileges of white Australia, a recent development is the establishment of the Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Association (ACRAWSA 2005). ACRAWSA is a growing social and cultural network of academic researchers. These researchers recognise that whiteness operates through institutions, ideology and identity formation in order to secure political, legal and economic privileges for white people as a collective, which leaves many Indigenous and ethnic groups 'racialised' as 'non-white', collectively disadvantaged and dispossessed of material, cultural and intellectual resources. The rationale behind the association was simply summed up by Ghassan Hage (2003), who writes that migrant settlement has changed Australia's neighbourhood, challenged white control and white privilege and stimulated migrant demands for real equality and share of power.

In a broad sense, white privilege refers to the advantages and benefits that white people derive politically, socially and economically, as a result of being white. Hage (1998) explains that whiteness has been described as being so common and pervasive that most white people are not aware of its existence, and that whiteness is seen as neutral or the norm, the standard to which all other groups are compared (see also Davidson 1997a; Cope & Kalantzis 2000). Australia's experience of whiteness must be understood from a historical perspective of colonisation, Federation and the White Australia Policy, which created and endorsed systemic power structures privileging people who were white with access to power and resources. Indeed, since Federation, white Australian domination has resulted in the racialised distribution of economic, political and cultural power that we have today (Castles 1975; Murphy 1993; Jupp & York 1995). This must be understood in terms of the power of whiteness, which is constitutional, and the interrelation of race, gender and class which is systematic and structural.

Hage (1998) argues that white privilege is a set of perceived advantages enjoyed by white people beyond those commonly experienced by non-white people in the same social, political and economic spaces, including, nation, community, workplace, public space and income. Hage (1998) further argues that whiteness differs from racism or prejudice in that people benefiting from white privilege do not necessarily hold racist

beliefs or prejudices themselves and can be, as is often the case, unaware of their privilege. Both historically and in contemporary society, the relationships between racial and ethnic groups in Australia are framed within a context of unequal power.

Hage (1998) offers numerous examples of Australia's history of power domination, privilege, inclusion and exclusion. He (pp. 232–233) examines how the fantasy and myth of 'white Australia' are defined not solely 'by the colour of their skin or their ethnic background; rather, how whiteness operates as a symbolic field of accumulation where many attributes can be accumulated and converted into whiteness'. Hage (1998) explores white privilege and white power and how it relates to exclusion and racism, arguing that white people see Australia as a nation structured around white culture, which they created through myth, fantasy and indeed policies that they continue to protect, maintain and control by exercising their power over others. Hage (1998) further insists that the White Australia Policy was never really abolished and never became obsolete. He argues that there is an open or at times hidden ambivalence, a systemic and ideological dimension at the heart of being white and of the power of whiteness. On the one hand, the power created by the myth and fantasy of whiteness refers to and often preserves a set of specifically white constructions of privilege, and therefore full citizenship (Hage 1998, 2003). This perception of power and psychological superiority associated with whiteness, created by myth and fantasy or by structured systematic policy and practice, continues, and finds its expression in policies and processes of inclusion and exclusion, racism and discrimination, dominance and the exploitations of minorities. This white privilege has the power to undermine and create barriers to any political, social or cultural attempt towards action or effective change.

Hage's (1998 and 2003) views on whiteness have provided a useful contribution to this study. However, I do not agree with him entirely, and I have to register my disagreement with his conceptualisation of certain aspects of whiteness. For example, Hage claims that whiteness changes over time; in my view, this may apply to the Australian experience during the policy of assimilation. In the beginning, the White Australia Policy applied only to British subjects, then, after the Second World War, Australia's policies changed to accommodate the immigration of white Europeans (starting with Western Europeans, then Eastern and Southern Europeans) to be assimilated into the Anglo-Celtic population. I agree that this was the case, but it has not

changed much since then; multiculturalism did not make or change whiteness. It is not possible to consider (no matter how high their achievements or positions) a Chinese, or African, or Middle Eastern person as white. This is a challenge: whiteness is a culture, and a heritage but it is also skin deep; it cannot and does not change over time, no matter how much 'cultural capital' a non-white person can gain. I do not agree that there is such a thing as a 'white club' that may allow non-white membership (it would merely be honorary or associate membership) by alternative means other than being white. In this context, Hage's (1998) views may be considered not only patronising and demeaning, but they may be viewed as offensive to some. These views appear to claim that non-whites need to or must have alternatives to 'fit' into or be accepted by the 'white club'. A white European living in Australia would automatically be considered Australian without being a formal or legal citizen; a second or third generation Australian citizen of Asian or African background would still be asked about their nationality or background—this is simply the legacy of whiteness in the Australian identity and culture. Further, Hage (1998) also claims that whiteness is a 'fantasy'. I argue that whiteness was created and built as a foundation for Australia as a 'successful' nation, by the inclusion of the White Australia Policy in the nation's Constitution of 1901, and it solidly and securely existed there until the mid-1970s. The ideology remained and the legacy is emotionally tenacious and can resurface when the need, motivation and circumstances are right. In my view, there is no fantasy about whiteness or its past; it is a continuation of privileging white people. The way Hage (1998) and many other sociologists (Jayasuriya *et al*, 2003, Brodkin, 2004, Clemence, 2007, Jupp, 2007), conceptualise whiteness and white people conveys an underlying message of white guilt, defensiveness and even shame. This in my view can be counterproductive, particularly for the non-white people of Australia. For example, from my perspective as a non-white Australian citizen, myself, I would not want to think for a moment that my failures (or missed opportunities) are simply to be blamed on white privilege. Indeed, I have had several opportunities and successes which are unrelated to questions of whiteness. Studying and analysing whiteness can be awkward and may create another form of stereotyping. Some of the greatest social theorists, literary writers, and the most generous advocates for justice and equality, after all, are of British or white European background.

The notion and discourse of white supremacy acknowledge white privileges and, in Hage's (1998) view, is only a function of whites' actions toward minority subjects and not a mysterious accumulation of unearned advantages. White European male dominance and its relation to the historical inequality and oppression of women provide a significant parallel. The historical struggles for women have been political, social, intellectual and economic rights equal to those of men. Similarly, the struggle of non-white and minority groups in Australia continues, its roots planted in the white European structural power privilege, supported by its relation to patriarchal power which organises society into further complex relationships. I argue that the way to deal with white European male dominance and oppression of all kinds is to attack and challenge the underlying causes of these problems (inequality, discrimination, oppression) and address the fundamental components of society that support them; this view is supported by Cook and Funow (1990) and Anthias (1992). The historical oppression and struggle of women for equality with white European males are today's ongoing struggles for equality by non-white minorities in Australia.

I have struggled with whiteness theory, but do appreciate some relevant applications and interpretations in the Australian context. For example, I agree with Hage (1998) that the Australian experience with the traditional desire for a white nation continues to undermine and inhibit the progress of change, including multicultural policies. Indeed, the persistent legacy of 'white Australia' contributes to ongoing antagonism, public agitation, and at times hostility towards non-Europeans, contradicting the efforts of multiculturalism and equal citizenship (Hage 1998).

Early efforts to define the 'desirable Australian citizen' were aimed at endorsing people of the white race and culture. This past categorisation has contributed to contemporary ideology regarding citizenship. Since the time of British occupation in 1788, one of the fundamental tenets of Australian policy makers has been to keep the population as British and Anglo-Celtic as possible and, failing that, as European as possible. The aim has been to maintain a degree of racial homogeneity. The rights and entitlements of the Australian citizen were originally based on these ideas (Clarke & Galligan 1995; Jayaraman 2000; Dyrenfurth 2005).

Another view on whiteness and white privilege is presented by Karen Brodkin (1999) who argues that, historically, people of British, followed by white European, descent generally assume the power to claim the land, claim the resources, and claim the language. Brodkin adds that they even claim the right to frame the culture and identity of who we are as Australians. That has been the case ever since Cook landed on the Australian continent in 1770. Indeed, white dominance in Australia has been powerful enough to maintain non-whites and people from minority groups at the margins of society, if policy does not restrict them from entering the country. Brodkin (1999) writes that even offers of change and justice are made on white terms. Whiteness confers both dominance and privilege on white people, embedded in Australia's institutions and in the social practices of everyday life (p. 25). The hegemony[3] of whiteness represents power relations in Australian society, and has been an integral part of political, social and cultural practice throughout Australia's history. The White Australia Policy embodied in the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was the result of maintaining white dominance and privilege, as was the exclusion of non-white European migrants from many aspects of membership of the community and citizenship (Castles 1977; Carens 1988). This included the power, for example, of ending the employment of Pacific Islanders and making laws to deport them (Castles 1977). Castles (1977, p. 234) asserts that conflict between groups in society is a result of the clash between the subjective interests of the powerful and the objective interests of the less powerful. An examination of dominant values highlights how powerful interests are obtained and maintained. Thus, an essential element of power in a capitalist society such as Australia is the relationship between the dominant culture and minorities and disadvantaged groups, leading to inequality.

Power and class intersect to maintain inequality. Citizenship and multiculturalism interrelate in a different way. Cultural differences are often perceived as threatening, particularly when claims to ethnographic distinctiveness are asserted and celebrated by persons of distinctive 'racial' or ethnic background. Green (1995) argues that the preference for cultural homogeneity, be it expressed as ethnocentrism, racism or some other principle of exclusion, runs deep in any society (see also Jayaraman 2000). It has

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[3] Hegemony, a concept of Marxist Antonio Gramsci, refers to the way that the political and social domination of class in capitalist society is pervasively expressed not only in ideologies but in all realms of culture and social organisation (Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences 2002).

been argued that in Australia multicultural policies were never expected to include citizenship (Davidson 1997a; Castles & Davidson 2000). Green (1995) and Bessant and Watts (1999) have discussed how multiculturalism accommodates minority groups, and how the dominant culture 'tolerates' others for the benefits they bring. Both practices are based on oppression and exploitation.

To examine how the power of white privilege influences core elements of immigration and citizenship policy, it is important to trace its constitutional basis and historical influence, as reflected in Australian institutions. These include but are not limited to the institutions of government. For example, the diversity of Australian society is neither reflected nor represented in political life. Whether it is at federal, state or local government level, it is rare to see a Middle Eastern, Asian or African Australian representing the community. The higher the position, the less likely it is to find a minority representative. Access to higher education and advanced employment opportunities with an aim to redress past disadvantages and improve outcomes for people from designated equity groups continues to be an issue of concern. Many academic institutions do not recognise that ongoing social and structural disadvantage creates barriers to academic success. These barriers continue to act as means of exclusion for disadvantaged individuals and minority groups who are different or perceived to be different. For example, the new Australians who arrived after World War Two were expected to speak English, live among Anglo-Australians and behave like them, but at the same time their experiences within education, employment opportunities and labour market are also segmentation and social segregation, and, as a result, limited opportunities and discrimination persisted. Even highly skilled migrants were often forced to accept unskilled or semi-skilled work because state officials refused to recognise their overseas qualifications—an issue which has continued to date.

'White Australia' did not come into existence with Federation and the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*. Hage (1998, pp. 9–11) writes that Australia had already established 'white Australia' doctrines and policies by various colonial governments since the 1840s, many of them in direct response to public pressure against non-European immigration, in favour of maintaining 'fantasies' of white Australia. I argue that, for those people, it was not just a fantasy, as the notion of 'fantasy' denotes

harmlessness, but a feeling of supremacy, which translated into a discourse of exclusion.

Nationalism and Australian Citizenship

Another aspect of citizenship, power and privilege in Australia that must be explored is the complex notion of nationalism. In a broad sense, nationalism is defined as a devotion, or sense of loyalty, to one's country (Anderson 1991; Smith 1991; Tilly 1996; Davidson 1997a; Stratton 1998; Rubenstein 2002; Hage 2003). However, the concept of nationalism in Australia is far from being simple; it is complex and even changing. Nationalism in Australia evolved from the colonial era through Federation, as events shaped Australia as a nation and the 'identity' of its citizens. Nationalism has a complex and dynamic relationship with citizenship, based on the belief that each nation has both the right and the duty to constitute itself as a state, as suggested by Kuper (1987). According to Kuper (1987), nationalist theory usually attributes conflict to cross-national oppression, and thus offers a promise of world peace when self-determination has become a global reality. Offering an explanation for the causes of conflict between different ethnic groups, nationalism is not just a belief, but a force to move people to action (p. 156).

According to Vincent (2002) and Galligan and Roberts (2003), citizenship in Australia, as in other countries, has traditionally been nourished by sentiments of loyalty and patriotism and cultural values that help sustain political community and national security. Or, at the very least, an affirmation of civic values. However, citizenship is consistently understood as belonging to a community by complying with and applying its values. I argue that adherence to what is often referred to as 'Australian' values is typically regarded to be a prerequisite for assimilation into the dominant culture, in this case, white Australian culture and values. I further argue that in order to belong in Australia, and indeed to be accepted as an Australian citizen, one must adopt or be seen to adopt these so-called 'Australian values', and adhere to the norms set by white Australians.

Nationalism can be regarded as a complex set of ideas and sentiments that responds over time to new situations, often situations of grievance in which people may find themselves. Beaumont (2007) argues that the experience of two world wars was central in shaping nationalism and 'Australianness'. At the time of Federation, the new nation was racially exclusive, imperial, and deeply anchored in the traditional view of the military obligation of the individual to the state. Since then, and consistent with the centrality of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (Anzac), nationalism perpetuated other dimensions of Australian citizenship, including gender and race. However, Beaumont (2007) found that Anzac and the two world wars, for all their impact on the lives of Australian families and on national political culture, did not reflect or force any significant reconceptualisation of Australian citizenship or nationalism. This is further evidence that the ideology of nationalism and citizenship was anchored in the White Australia Policy.

Who can forget Pauline Hanson's maiden speech in the Federal Parliament in 1996, reminding us of white Australia's values and culture and proudly 'echoing' Arthur Calwell's words? More than 50 years after Arthur Calwell was the first minister of the Department of Immigration in 1948, Pauline Hanson (1996, p. 3862) repeated his words: 'Japan, India, Burma, Ceylon and every new African nation are fiercely anti-white and anti one another. Do we want or need any of these people here? I am one red-blooded Australian who says no and who speaks for 90% of Australia'. According to Galligan and Roberts (2003), former Prime Minister Howard's distaste for multiculturalism and his strong commitment to traditional Australian values proved a political advantage in heading off the appeal of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party. Hanson had burst on to the national political stage in 1996, pictured wrapped in the Australian flag, and in the name of nationalism echoing fears, hostility and racism towards minorities of non-white background. This is an example of the White Australia Policy's legacy resurfacing in the name of nationalism. Pauline Hanson presented an intense emotional appeal against minorities, suggesting a return to the White Australia Policy. This occasion activated intense and often racist debate, and attacks on many social justice and social rights issues including Asian immigration, Aboriginal welfare and multicultural policy (Galligan & Roberts 2003; Davidson 1997a; Hage 1998; Castles 2000a).

An appeal to nationalism is often employed by political groups to create a sentiment of national unity. With the launch of One Nation and the Hanson phenomenon, many Australians supported the resurgent debate including that of Australian culture, the danger of Australia losing its identity and the possibility of being 'swamped by Asians' in the name of national unity. All of these claims echoed the legacy of racist immigration and exclusion (Leach, Stokes & Ward 2000). The rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party was a reminder that nationalism, ethnicity, race and immigration policy remain controversial issues (Grattan 1998; Bessant & Watts 1999; Stald & Tufte 2002; Galligan & Roberts 2003). Pauline Hanson's views and attitudes represents an example demonstrating the fantasy and myth of white privilege and ownership, not only of the nation Australia as their home, but the structured power representing authority over who can be invited to the nation. In her maiden speech, Hanson used the analogy of home; she claimed ownership over the nation the way she does over her own home, stating that '…I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country' (1996, p. 3862). Her analogy between nationhood and a person's own home shows how nationalism and nationalist sentiments can have intense personal appeal, when her argument in fact is a racist one, used to exclude specific culturally and racially defined minority groups such as Asians from Australia. Pauline Hanson's appeals to nationalism, employing national symbols including the flag and mentioning that her grandfather had served as an Anzac soldier, inciting fears of Asians swamping the country, were made at an intensely emotional level, and therefore, proved very effective.

Racial conflict came to the surface again in the Cronulla riots of 2005.[4] Young, white people felt offended by the presence and activities of people of 'Middle Eastern appearance' at the beach. They were reported to shout nationalist slogans, such as 'Aussie, Aussie Aussie…Oi Oi Oi' (which is usually used to support and encourage Australian sports people at international sporting events); they were also dressed in the Australian flag, and with slogan on their T-shirts: 'We grew here, you flew here'. The misguided perception of the rights of ownership of white youth over public space that spurred the expressions of racism at Cronulla beach reflected on imperial history and

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[4] The Cronulla riots, on Sunday 11 December 2005, were a series of racially motivated mob confrontations which originated in and around Cronulla, a beachfront suburb of Sydney. Soon after the riot, ethnically motivated violent incidents occurred in several other Sydney suburbs (Wikipedia 2010).

the myth of nationalism and national identity that excludes any race but the white race. The youth of Cronulla claimed that they, as white Anglo-Australians who had been in the country for several generations, have a greater claim to the nation and the national space than more recent, and particularly non-white recent, immigrants. Hage (1998, 2003) argues that whites claim ownership of the national space as if the nation 'belongs' to people of a particular racial or cultural origin, and people of other backgrounds do not have the same rights; if they are citizens, they are not 'cultural citizens' in the same way as white Anglo-Australians are. These national sentiments with underlying racial and cultural tensions erupt with a highly publicised expression of nationalism and Australian identity (Jupp 2007).

Nationalism's most destructive expression occurred with the rise and popularity of the Nazi movement. The rise of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party in 1996 and the racial tensions turned to violence at Cronulla beach in 2005 have left an indelible impact upon the Australian political and social climate. Similar sentiments surfaced in the 2001 *Tampa* incident, 100 years after the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*. These events, which project a negative and dangerous image of nationalism, cannot but have an impact on Australian citizenship.

Many theorists, including Turner (1990; 1994), acknowledge that critical analyses of citizenship address primarily European, relatively homogeneous, societies; in the case of Australian citizenship, the British system seems to be the prime influence. They do not address societies with significant ethnic minorities, such as Australia. This important distinction must be conceptualised, raising complex issues of citizenship and its relationship to the state. To the individual, social and political rights are crucial but may need a different and more contemporary and inclusive approach. As Turner (1986, 1990, 1993, 2002) suggests, to do justice to any theory of citizenship, one must consider significant differences in cultural and political experience. This is imperative considering Australian citizenship has a short history in comparison with the European experience. However, these limitations to the way we think of citizenship and the dilemmas of social and cultural rights in comparison with civil and political rights of citizens persist.

To conclude, this chapter discussed the meaning and function of citizenship and its relation to the concept of power and power struggle. It presented a historical perspective on how citizenship came to be a tool for exclusion. The chapter gives an outline of some of the themes that need to be conceptualised in order to explore dimensions of citizenship, including its relation to the notion of power, and processes of inclusion and exclusion. Issues of citizenship, power and privilege in the Australian context have also been raised. I argue that Australia's history was based on white European male dominance and on efforts to maintain superiority and dominance by discrimination and restriction, through policies and practices of exclusion. This chapter also examined whiteness and its influence and showed how concepts and policies such as immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism have been interpreted and applied, and analysed differences between theory and practice.

The next chapter is focused on specific legislation and on the policies and processes that have contributed to the changes and continuities of citizenship in Australia. By examining the formal and legal historical development of citizenship in Australia from the White Australia Policy with the implementations of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* to multiculturalism, it traces the stages of development of citizenship in Australia to date. .

CHAPTER Three

The Changes and Continuities of Citizenship: From the White Australia Policy to Multiculturalism

The previous chapter was mainly concerned with the nature, structure, distribution and implementation of power in modern society, and it showed how this in turn relates to citizenship, and several theoretical perspectives were examined. This chapter begins with the historical development of citizenship from 1901 to the present day: the various pieces of legislation defining Australians as British subjects, the introduction of Australian citizenship in 1948 and its modifications over the last 64 years. This chapter examines whiteness and its influence on how concepts and policies such as immigration, citizenship and multiculturalism have been interpreted and applied, and differences between theory and practice. Ghassan Hage's (1998) arguments relating to the 'fantasies' of white Australia are employed to bring some understanding of the historical development and meaning of white Australia, and perceptions of white citizenship.

The year 2009 marked the 60th anniversary of Australian citizenship. On 26 January 1949 the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948* came into effect creating the new status of Australian citizen. To date, more than four million migrants from over 200 countries have chosen to become Australian citizens (DIAC 2009b, p3). Indeed, 2009 was a year to reflect on the changes that shaped Australian citizenship over the past 60 years. The Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, Senator Chris Evans (2009, p4), said that 'it is an opportunity for all Australians, whether citizens by birth or by choice, to understand the role Australian citizenship plays in building a strong, harmonious and unified nation'. Before 1949, the status of Australian citizen did not exist, and people born in Australia were British subjects. On 26 January 1949, people born in Australia became Australian citizens automatically, but, for new immigrants and naturalised 'aliens', the implementation process was much more complex. I argue that the changes to citizenship legislation are significantly linked to and reflected by many changes to

other Commonwealth legislation, policies and practices including immigration and multiculturalism. I further argue that changes to the oath of citizenship over the last 60 years reflect the evolution of Australian immigration and citizenship from being a population of British subjects to becoming an independent multicultural nation.

In Australia, there have been changes and significant consistencies, as there are several different dimensions to the principles and practices of citizenship. The history of citizenship in Australia has been a mixture of legal and political struggle and has been problematic in nature (Davidson 1997a; Castles 1992a, 2000a; Hudson & Kane 2000; 2003). According to Kim Rubenstein (2003, pp. 146–148), throughout Australia's history, and guided by the omission of citizenship from the constitutional document, very little informed debate has contributed to the complex issues of citizenship. Some may argue that the less said about citizenship in the Constitution the better. This would indicate that the concept of citizenship matters very little indeed, as suggested by Alexander Bickel (1973, p. 387). Consistently, Greg Taylor (2001, p. 205) has argued that 'it is extremely difficult to pin down precisely what implications might flow from a vague and general concept as citizenship'. Using the United States as an example, Taylor suggested that the inclusion of reference to citizenship within the United States' Constitution has not led to any clarity or usefulness in its application.

Rubenstein (2003) disagrees with Taylor's (2001) and Bickel's (1973) views. She argues that Australia can benefit from the United States' experience, and 'be as explicit as possible in the Australian citizenship amendments, and to ensure that the investment of citizenship with legal consequences does not disinvest non-citizens, permanent residents as informal citizens' (Rubenstein 1995, 1996, 2000a, 200b; 2003). Indeed, whether citizenship and citizens' rights are considered in the context of the Australian Constitution or in legislative form, it is currently generating a more complex discussion. In this chapter, the focus is on Australian citizenship and how legislation, processes and practice have developed throughout its existence.

In the previous chapter, theoretical perspectives on citizenship were introduced and several theorists' perspectives on citizenship, and its complexity and inconsistency, were explored. Different dimensions to the principle and practice of citizenship were also examined. Further, chapter one addressed significant theoretical perspectives on the

notion and dynamics of power, as it relates to citizenship. It showed how power became of central importance to many aspects of citizenship. The final section of the chapter addressed the application of these theories and perspectives on citizenship and power to the experience of citizenship in Australia with particular focus on white privileges and nationalism. Following on from the previous chapter, this chapter explores the plethora of issues which contribute to an understanding of citizenship and its development in the Australian context. The main focus in the first section is the historical and legislative development of citizenship. It examines the changes and continuities of Australian citizenship through legislation relating to citizenship in Australia, from the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* to the *Citizenship Act 1948* and to the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*. The second section of this chapter will focus on immigration and its relation to citizenship. The final section will examine multiculturalism, its meaning and development. The principal policies and practices of multiculturalism, its contradictions and unintended consequences will be discussed. The relationship between multiculturalism and citizenship will conclude this section.

Prior to 1949, from a legal point of view, there were no Australian citizens, only British subjects who resided in Australia. After 1949, people born in this country, British-born immigrants, and the previously called 'aliens' who had been 'naturalised', became British subjects and at the same time are also Australian citizens. After 1969, Australians were no longer British subjects in name. Then, after 1984, they were no longer British subjects in fact. Throughout this complex journey, Australian citizenship evolved alongside the journey of immigration and multiculturalism; citizenship policies and practices encountered significant changes and continuities, which continued until the most recent changes brought about with the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*.

The Historical Development of Citizenship in Australia

Since colonial times, one of the constant citizenship struggles has been that over rights for, and recognition of, non-white people in Australia. The Federation of the former colonies led to the development of the Constitution, introduced on 26 January 1901. The Australian Constitution is contained in an Act of the British Parliament (Irving 2000). This is because the British Parliament was the only body in 1900 which could make laws for the whole of Australia; the parliaments of the various colonies, as they then

were, made laws only for their particular colonies. Further, Section No. 17 of 1901 of the Australian Constitution is the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*.[5] The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was followed by many other significant pieces of legislation. These include the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*, the *Naturalization Act 1903* and the *Amending Immigration Act 1905*, which became known as the *Contract Immigrants Act 1905*. This Act amended and superseded the clauses relating to contract immigrants in the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, with significantly tighter procedures put in place. Employers resident in Australia wishing to bring in labourers under contract had to gain approval from the Minister of External Affairs (National Archives of Australia 1999, Section 7). The goal of these pieces of legislation was to promote, endorse and enhance a 'white Australia', while imposing restrictions on non-white immigrants. This became a national policy accepted by all major political parties (Clarke & Galligan 1995).

The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* restricted immigration and provided for the removal from Australia of 'prohibited immigrants'. The restriction policy introduced a language test, known as the dictation test, which remained in force until it was abolished under the *Migration Act 1958*. A standard of competence, namely, proficiency in a European language, was used as the criterion of potential citizenship, primarily in order to exclude non-desirable would-be immigrants. The test was used to exclude non-Europeans, and particularly non-whites, from entry into Australia (Clarke & Galligan 1995; Rubenstein 2003; Dyrenfurth 2005). The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* also allowed for the deportation of Pacific Islanders.[6] Indeed, the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* became the foundation for the development of many exclusionary policies and practices relating not only to immigration but also to citizenship policy and practice for many years to come. The Constitution of 1901 provided the Commonwealth with the power to make laws with respect to naturalisation and 'aliens' (DILGEA 1988). Its terminology is not always consistent. Section 117 uses the word 'subject' rather than 'citizen', Section 24 uses the phrase 'people of the Commonwealth', and Section 44 uses the term 'citizen' in regard to persons who are 'subjects or citizens' of a

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[5] No. 17 of 1901, is 'an Act to place certain restrictions on Immigration and to provide for the removal from the Commonwealth of prohibited Immigrants [assented to 23rd December 1901]' (National Archives of Australia n.d.a, p. 1).
[6] 1901, *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901*, under this Act all Pacific Islanders were to be returned to their places of origin by 1906.

foreign power and therefore ineligible to stand for Federal Parliament (McKeown 2002, Section 1, p3).

Thomas Clarke and Brian Galligan (1995) examined the legal foundation of citizenship in Australia. According to Clarke and Galligan (1995), the features of a racially based citizenship regime were formally established by the start of the First World War. Clarke and Galligan (1995, p. 457) designate six legislative enactments introduced following the passage of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* that were important in defining and shaping popular understanding of the Australian citizen between the First and Second World Wars.

These legislative enactments began with the right to participate in the formal electoral process, enacted via the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*.[7] This Act established the selection criteria's of person to be included on electoral rolls and who would be able to vote and/or stand for political office. Second came the *Naturalization Act 1903* which determined who might become what was then called a 'naturalised national'. This Act is significant and has been amended several times; therefore, it will be discussed further in this section. The third legislation which followed was the *Amending Immigration Act 1905*, which became known as the *Contract Immigrants Act 1905*. This Act was produced primarily to closely monitor the implementation of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, with much tighter procedures put in place. Then, the *Invalid and Old-age Pensions Act 1908* followed, introducing social support with the establishment of welfare benefits for citizens; maternity leave benefits followed in 1912 with the introduction of the *Maternity Allowance Act*.[8] The *Passports Act 1920* confirmed not only the notion of the national citizen, but also established the international endorsement of an Australian citizen. Finally came the *Commonwealth Public Service Act 1922*. According to Clarke and Galligan (1995), these pieces of legislation were instrumental in defining the features of an Australian citizenry. The category of the national was also the catalyst for more conceptions of the citizen to develop in the

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[7] The Act stated that 'no aboriginal native of Australia, Asia, Africa or the Islands of the Pacific except New Zealand shall be entitled to have his name placed on an Electoral Roll unless so entitled under section forty-one of the Constitution' (National Archives of Australia n.d.b, p. 2).
[8] In 1939, the Department of Social Services was created, and became fully operative in 1941, with the introduction of the *Child Endowment Act 1941* (Parliament of Australia 2010, Section 7).

interwar period. It defined who might be counted as an Australian citizen, defining specifically the 'nature' of the Australian national.

For its significance, the evolution of the *Naturalization Act 1903* must be mentioned here. Firstly, the Act allowed non-Europeans in Australia to be excluded from acquiring British citizenship, and this legislation continued in force until 1956–1957. Changes were made, including an amendment was passed in 1917, which dictated that prospective applicants had to advertise in the media/press their intentions to become naturalised. Then, in 1920, the Act included the Territories and a fee was introduced and imposed for the Certificate of Naturalization. In 1936, further changes came into effect and for the first time the Act came to include women. Women were allowed to apply for naturalisation as independent of their spouse, or take on 'deemed naturalisation' by using marriage as certification. Further amendments to the status of women came into effect in 1946. They stated that a woman who was a British subject would not lose her status of Australian citizen if she married an 'alien'. Finally, in 1948, with the introduction of *Citizenship Act 1948*, the earlier naturalisation acts were repealed and, this significant shift in policy allowed men and women of Australia, for the first time, to could gain Australian citizenship by birth or naturalisation (DILGEA 1988; Clarke & Galligan 1995; National Archives of Australia 1999; McKeown 2002).

Legislation for the monitoring of 'aliens' was consistent, particularly between the First and Second World Wars. Initially, the term 'alien' was introduced in Section 51(19) of the Constitution of 1901. It was not defined either in the Constitution itself or in subsequent legislation. Then, the *Aliens Registration Act 1920* came into effect, the main purpose of which was to trace all Asians and prohibited immigrants in Australia. It was followed immediately by the *Enemy Aliens Act 1920*, officially known as the *Amending Immigration Act 1920*. This Act prohibited Germans, Austrian-Germans, Bulgarians, Hungarians and Turks from entering Australia for five years from 2 December 1920. A formal definition of 'alien'[9] was included in the Citizenship Act when it was established in 1948; the operation of this concept continued until it was removed by further changes to the legislation in 1987 (National Archives of Australia 1999).

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[9] According to Section 5(1) of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, 'alien' means 'a person who is not a British subject, an Irish citizen or a protected person'.

The *Commonwealth Public Service Act 1922*[10] forbade the employment of non-citizens in the Commonwealth Public Service. To date, this legislation remains in place. However, British citizens, although they are not Australian citizens, continue to be eligible to vote without being or becoming Australian citizens, and are able to work in the Commonwealth Public Service. Subsection 22(8) of the Act (AustLII 2010) reads: 'An Agency Head must not engage, as an APS employee, a person who is not an Australian citizen, unless the Agency Head considers it appropriate to do so'. However, British citizens who are not Australian citizens are exempt. Since 1922, legislation indicates that, for a person to vote or be eligible to work in the Commonwealth Public Service, they must be an Australian citizen (by birth or obtained naturalisation). However, British citizens, who were on a Commonwealth electoral roll as at 25 January 1984 and have lived for at least one month at their current address, are exempt from this policy to date (Davidson 1997a; Dyrenfurth 2005).

Until 1949, British subject status was the only form of citizenship in Australia; this was endorsed and reinforced by the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, and Australian people continued to be British subjects until 1984 (Davidson 1997a). This legislation included the term 'a protected person',[11] which was the official status of Aboriginal people (Castles & Kosack 1973, Jupp 1996a; Jordens 1995; Castles 2000a). The *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948* provides an early expression oriented towards defining the 'desirable Australian citizen'; a racially based citizenship was formally established which would continue for a significant period, and contribute to the contemporary ideology of citizenship (Clarke & Galligan 1995; Dyrenfurth 2005).

Australians, who until 1949 had been British subjects, were now Australian citizens and at the same time British subjects. This situation was in place from 1949 until 1984. When on 26 January 1949, the legal status of Australian citizen came into effect, the first Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell (1948, quoted in McKeown 2002, Section 2, p1), said:

> This is a historic occasion in the life of our nation. The bill seeks to establish for the first time the principle of Australian citizenship,

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[10] The current requirements are set out in the *Public Service Act 1999* (Cth) (see AustLII 2010).
[11] An Australian protected person means 'a person who, by virtue of regulations in force under the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948–1967*, is, for the purposes of that Act, under the protection of the Australian Government' (ComLaw 2005, Part II, 10(1)).

while maintaining the common bond of British nationality; this bill
will enable Australia to proclaim its own national citizenship…

Kim Rubenstein (2003, p. 152) argues that 'while the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* tells us who is a citizen and who can lose their citizenship, it tells us nothing about the legal consequences of citizenship'. According to the legislation, an Australian citizen is someone who is considered to be in one of four categories: by *birth*, and only if at the time of birth in Australia, at least one parent is an Australian citizen or an Australian permanent resident; by *adoption*, and only if adopted by an Australian citizen; by *descent*, if a parent is an Australian citizen and registers the child's name at an Australian consulate within eighteen years of the birth; or by *grant* of citizenship (Rubenstein 2003, pp. 152–153). Stephen Castles (2000a) argues that citizenship by naturalisation or grant as mode of citizenship acquisition in Australia has become one of the nation's most regulated social and political processes. Immigration and citizenship became intimately linked, as the federal immigration laws were well established by the year 1945; since then, immigration policies and practice reflect and indeed impact on many policies and practices of citizenship and vice versa. The only area where immigration policy can be considered separate from the policy of citizenship (and yet relevantly connected) is when the Department of Immigration issues entry visas for temporary entry, such as tourism or international student visas (DILGEA 1988). The procedures governing naturalisation have always been administered by the Federal Department of Immigration, especially in response to the post-war migration program. However, the modes of citizenship acquisition in Australia have undergone several significant changes.

Davidson (1997: 45) writes that, according to the new *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*, citizenship became available under the following conditions:

- being born to an Australian father;
- five years residence for those from Britain and Ireland, be of good character, have a knowledge of English, have an 'adequate knowledge of the rights and responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship' and intend to reside in Australia;

- by naturalisation, if an alien, which required all of the above, or to have resided in Australia for one year or have worked for the government for four years, to have applied and been accepted, and on swearing an oath of allegiance to the monarch of Great Britain. (Davidson 1997 p: 45)

Alistair Davidson (1997a) argues that the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* continued to assert the concept of British subject: it 'constituted Australian as Anglo-Celtic' and confirmed Australia's citizenship policy as assimilationist. This meant that all newcomers were expected to conform to the dominant Anglo-Celtic culture, as the use of the notion of British subject continued until the changes made to the Australian Citizenship (Amendment) Act 1984, that Australian law no longer accept Australian as "British subject." These significant changes became effective on 22nd November 1984. In the 1960s and 1970s other reforms were introduced for the purpose of assimilation had a significant impact on citizenship status for Indigenous people and migrants, especially Non-European migrants. The implementation of assimilation included providing services for people who were non-Anglo-Celtic, and who were also white Europeans, to legally adopt and change their names to Anglo-Celtic names. In the 1960s and early 1970s, neighbourhood councils all over Australia were established for the primary purpose of assisting non-British Europeans with assimilation processes for obtaining citizenship (Davidson 1997a).

The *Migration Act 1958* provided a statement of the law under two main headings: 'Immigration and Deportation' and 'Emigration'. This Bill had no effect or impact to decisions either on the grant of assistance to migrants to come to come to Australia, or with the actual size or composition of the intake of migrants. Indeed, parliament had control over the migration program, including the power to appropriate funds for it. However, the *Migration Act 1958* provided three major pieces of legislation, all of which applied to all potential migrants, with the exception of British people of European descent. Firstly, it prevented the entry of people who were not eligible to enter Australia under all existing policies; secondly, it regulated the temporary entry of some people for various purposes and ensured their departure; and, thirdly, it legislated for deportation. The latter referred to the deportation of a person who had evaded control under the previously mentioned legislation, or who, having been admitted for indefinite residence, is later found unsuitable (Parliament of Australia 1958, p. 1).

Another significant change made in the *Migration Act 1958* was the abolition of the dictation test as a device or tool used for deportation, as well as for preventing entry. Indeed, the dictation test was found to be 'objectionable' on many counts, including involving the formality of court proceedings despite the virtual certainty that a conviction (for the 'offence' of failing to pass the test) was inevitable; resulting in the imposition of a punishment of imprisonment for six months. The Bill provided more straightforward means of deporting undesirables (Parliament of Australia 1958, p. 2).

Furthermore, major changes and developments of citizenship have occurred in regard to the status of Aboriginal people of Australia. Even though this study does not primarily focus on Aboriginal issues, a mention of citizenship in regard to Australian Aborigines is essential. On 27 May 1967, a constitutional referendum, supported by 90.77% of those who voted, altered the Commonwealth Constitution to allow:

(a)   Aborigines to be counted in the national census; and

(b)   the Commonwealth power to enact 'special laws' for members of the 'Aboriginal race' if it wanted to.

According to Davidson (1997a), until the 1967 constitutional referendum, the Indigenous people of Australia did not have uniform access to the same range of citizenship rights and obligations as white citizens. In 1962, for example, when the Commonwealth awarded all Aborigines the vote in federal elections, it did not make it compulsory for them to register. The right to vote in state elections was finally awarded to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in Western Australia (1962) and Queensland (1965).

It is significant to include the 1967 referendum in this study, as it also indicated a significant shift in white attitudes to Australia's non-whites, particularly Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. The overwhelming vote in the 1967 referendum may indeed indicate a symbolic vote for 'inclusion' of the Indigenous people into the Australian community. The 1967 referendum was a defining historical moment to understanding the material and symbolic importance of achieving equal citizenship understood primarily as a legal and administrative status. On the other hand, and in the years after 1967, it became clear that more social, economic and political reforms were needed to

enable non-white including Indigenous people to participate as full members of the Australian community.

The changing status of citizenship developed in tandem with changes to the citizenship 'oath of allegiance'. This is an essential part of the citizenship process. The wording of the oath of allegiance taken by newly naturalised Australian citizens has changed over time. In 1948, the oath required the would-be citizen to swear by Almighty God to be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Sixth, his heirs and successors (*Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, p. 19). In 1966, the amendment bill of 'insertion of renunciation…' was introduced by the Minister for Immigration, the Hon. Hubert Opperman. In 1966, renunciation by an oath of alliance or affirmation of alliance became an integral part of the process of naturalisation; it meant the abandonment and dismissal of any previous nationality or citizenship allegiance became an essential requirement for obtaining Australian citizenship made under oath or by affirmation. Indeed, since 1917, certificates of naturalisation were not issued until after a person had been assessed and approved by the responsible authority and had taken the oath and the renunciation. Until 1938, the oath and renunciation were simply taken in front of a justice of the peace, and then Cabinet decided that they must be taken only before a magistrate, or a clerk of a local court. However, with the introduction of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, the notion of renunciation was included in the process but was not in the actual oath of allegiance. The 1966 Bill proposed that would-be citizens would need to renounce previous citizenship as part of the oath. This Bill was defeated in the Senate at first, and then was passed. At the time of his second reading speech, the Minister for Immigration (Opperman 1966, p. 833 quoted in McKeown 2002, Section 5, p1) stated:

> We have decided that the essential words of renunciation should now
> be incorporated as part of the oath of allegiance to the Queen. The
> change will simplify and shorten the naturalisation ceremony and
> enhance its dignity, and will also, I believe, eliminate the emotional
> disturbance felt by candidates due to their national and rightful love of
> their homelands.

By the end of 1966, the changes came into effect and the oath of allegiance became:

> I…renouncing all other allegiance, swear by Almighty God that I will
> be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth

the Second, Her Heirs and Successors according to law (McKeown 2002, Section 5, p2).

However, an affirmation was introduced and became an alternative option for the first time, possibly as an acknowledgment of non-Christian immigrants:

> I…renouncing all other allegiance, solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth the Second, Her Heirs and Successors according to law' (McKeown 2002, Section 5, p3).

New changes came into effect with the *Australian Citizenship Act 1973*;[12] with the reference to Queen of Australia, and with the would-be citizen's choice of oath of alliance or affirmation of allegiance. The oath's wording was:

> I…renouncing all other allegiance, swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Australia, Her heirs and successors according to law, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Australia and fulfil my duties as an Australian citizen (McKeown 2002, Section 6, p1).

Further, significant changes were made to the wording in 1986. This occurred after the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948 was* reviewed by the Human Rights Commission in 1982 and recommended that the oath or affirmation of allegiance should not include renunciation of all other allegiance (McKeown 2002, Section 7, p1). In regard to the question of allegiance, the renunciation requirement was a process of naturalisation at all times, and was not abolished until 1986.

The 1986 amendment included the removal of renunciation along with the removal of the requirement that candidates state their names when taking the oath or making the affirmation. In 1986, the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs described renunciation as 'ambiguous and unnecessary' (Hurford 1986, p. 868). The wording of the oath then became:

> I swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Australia, Her heirs and successors according to law, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Australia and fulfil my duties as an Australian citizen (McKeown 2002, Section 7, p3).

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[12] The *Australian Citizenship Act 1973* (Cth) effective 1 December 1973, also sought to remove the renunciation in the oath but this was defeated in the Senate.

Australia no longer required new citizens to formally renounce their former citizenship under the new law of the country. Further, an equivalent wording was available in the form of a non-religious affirmation for those who preferred to do so (DIMA 1998). Other changes came into effect in 1993, with the *Australian Citizenship Amendment Act 1993*. This Act introduced the pledge of commitment to replace the oath or affirmation of allegiance and removed reference to the Crown. The Immigration Minister, Senator the Hon. Nick Bolkus (1993, p. 1439), argued that 'we need to have an oath of allegiance which reflects the core values of Australia and which is a bonding instrument, and we can do so without any disrespect to our sovereign…'. These sentiments relating to citizenship seem to be in place to date.

To fully capture what full membership of the Australian community is, Rubenstein (2000) explains the legal consequences of citizenship. Rubenstein lists a number of 'significant legal consequences' of citizenship, of which voting as a form of political participation is perhaps the most important. Another of the consequences of citizenship is the obligation for citizens to perform, when required, active jury service. Further, Rubenstein makes reference to the status of citizens and non-citizens with respect to travelling. It is also significant to mention that only Australian citizens may obtain an Australian passport, guaranteeing freedom of movement into and out of Australia without having to apply for an entry visa (Rubenstein 1995; 2003). There has been no change to this situation: it is maintained to date.

The *Australian Citizenship Amendment Act 1986* signalled significant changes to the historical status of citizenship, which is by birth. Section 10 states that a person born in Australia after the commencement of the *Australian Citizenship Amendment Act 1986* shall be an Australian citizen by virtue of that birth if and only if, either one or both parents of the newly born child was, at the time of the child's birth, an Australian citizen or a permanent resident of Australia (DIMA archives 2007). These changes to citizenship came into effect after complex debates and in some cases challenges all the way to the High Court of Australia. Until 1986, every child born in this country automatically became a permanent resident of Australia at birth no matter who the parents were. Indeed, this was the policy and practice since the introduction of the Commonwealth Constitution in 1901. The changes in 1986 had the effect of removing

the automatic citizenship entitlement at birth from children of 'illegal migrants' and temporary visa holders, including visitors and refugees.

Over the years, the rules for obtaining citizenship had been modified on numerous occasions, but no significant changes were made to clarify its definition. However, on 20 August 1986, changing the previous nationality by birthplace came into effect, with a new definition ruled by Constitution as/or *jus soli*[13] (DIMA 2007). This principle was abandoned and the new rule limited citizenship to those born in Australia to a parent who was an Australian citizen or permanent resident only. Original legislation of natural justice by birthright has changed within the definition of citizenship as it currently stands. This has been regarded as the use of citizenship as a device of exclusion (Rubenstein 1996, 2003).

There have been many changes to the original *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, however, significant amendments aimed at the removal of the notion of 'aliens' from the Constitution were not made until the year 1987. Indeed, despite the Citizenship Act, citizenship continued to be seen in cultural and ethnic terms rather than in terms of rights and responsibilities (Zappalà & Castles 1998). Jordens (1995, pp. 1–35) argues that: '…this culturally normative conception of citizenship was clearly reflected in the definition of "alien" embodied in the Act; a nation's understanding of itself is revealed by the categories of people it regards as foreign, aliens and "other"'.

Significant changes to citizenship legislation came into effect in 2007 with the introduction of the Australian (Citizenship Testing) Bill 2007. It amends the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, and brought about controversial changes such as citizenship testing. This Bill was passed and the implemented. Indeed, until October 2007, candidates for Australian citizenship were not required to sit any test as such. What was in place was an informal oral interview, by a delegate of the minister. However, on 30 May 2007, the new Australian Citizenship Amendment (Citizenship Testing) Bill 2007 was introduced into parliament. Many communities and organisations registered their objections as they felt that the test was uncompassionate and discriminatory. For

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[13] '*Jus soli* (Latin for "right of the soil" or…"right of the territory"), or birthright citizenship, is a right by which nationality or citizenship can be recognised to any individual born in the territory of the related state' (Wikinfo 2007, Section 1).

example, the NSW Council for Civil Liberty, in their submission to the Inquiry into the Australian Citizenship Amendment (Citizenship Testing) Bill 2007, stated that

> the Bill would give a broad and uncontrolled discretions to the Minister which will potentially enable the Minister to create significant practical barriers to obtaining citizenship. This will have the effect of creating a class of permanently disenfranchised permanent residents in Australia (NSWCCL 2007, p.1).

However, the new bill was passed on 12 September 2007; and the citizenship test was implemented on 1 October 2007 (DIAC n.d.a, Section 1, p3).

On 1 October 2007, the terminology was changed from the 'grant of citizenship' to 'citizenship by conferral', and the 'deprivation' of Australian citizenship became 'revocation' of Australian citizenship (DIAC 2009, Section 4, n.d.c, Section 6). Other changes to the provisions for citizenship included an extension of the residence requirement to four years lawful residence in Australia immediately prior to making an application for Australian citizenship with at least 12 months as a permanent resident.
When the test was first introduced, October 1st 2007, the requirements included comprehension in the English language and an understanding of Australian values, institutions, traditions and symbols. The proposed citizenship test was not publicly available, but kept confidential. The test was computer based, and consisted of 20 multiple-choice questions drawn randomly from a large pool of questions. The intention of the test questions was to assess knowledge of the Australian 'way of life', which was included in an information guide, 'in a citizenship test resources book *Becoming an Australian Citizen* (Commonwealth of Australia 2007).

Given the requirements of the new test, it is clear that the citizenship applicant was no longer merely required to have basic English literacy. The applicant was tested in comprehension and literacy, that is, the ability to read, comprehend, respond to written English, and the ability to use a computer. It has often been noted that many of the 4.5 million people who have become citizens of our nation since 1949, including parents of many current members of parliament, could not have passed the new test.

Further changes made in the new *Australian Citizenship Act 2007* affected the residence requirements, but they only apply to people who have become permanent residents on

or after 1 July 2007. For example, until 1 July 2007, people who became permanent residents before 1 July 2007 need only meet the old residence requirements (presence in Australia as a permanent resident for periods amounting to two (2) years in the last five (5) years including one (1) year in the last two (2) immediately prior to making the application) provided they applied within three years from the day the legislation commenced (DIAC n.d.d, Section 4, p1). After 1 July 2007, new amendments brought further restrictions on processing for obtaining citizenship, and the residency requirement, as a possible candidate, before applying for citizenship has doubled; from two years to four years.

The policy and process of the current citizenship testing are recent examples of the continuation of selection criteria determining who is likely to be included and who is likely to be excluded. According to recent data from the DIAC (DIMA 2007, DIAC 2009), between 1 October and 31 December 2007, a total of 9043 people sat the Australian citizenship test, including the skilled migrant category (which accounts for 43.8 per cent of all test participants), family reunion (which accounts for 21.6 per cent of all test participants), stream migration programs and clients who came to Australia under humanitarian programs (which accounted for 21.6 per cent of all test participants). The results show that 1128 participants from the United Kingdom sat the test and only 25 of them failed; 642 Indians (who are primarily skilled in Western culture and English speaking) sat the test and 7 of them failed; 676 clients from Iraq sat the test and a staggering 109 failed; 262 Afghanis sat the test and 65 of them failed; 236 Sudanese sat the test and 70 of them failed (DIMA 2007; DIAC 2009). It is also worth mentioning that the above statistics do not indicate the residency period of the test participants in Australia prior to applying for citizenship.

The cost of the general eligibility citizenship application has risen from $120 to $260. From this increase, the government was able to obtain additional revenue of $1.2 million in 2006–07 from an increase in citizenship applications following the announcement of the citizenship test (DIMA 2007).

As we can clearly see, amendments to citizenship continue to be introduced, with complex rules concerning naturalisation being continually added, removed or amended. These continuing substitutions have created inconsistency not only in the policy and

practices of citizenship, but also in the meaning of citizenship which continues to elude a clear definition (Jordens 1995; Castles 2005). Furthermore, these constant variations have contributed to intense and complex debates on citizenship, including the changes introduced on 1 March 2007. These new changes to Australian citizenship are significant. Some argue that the changes made in 2007 can be considered so influential that they amount to the formation of a new model of the nation-state and of citizenship that differentiates it from both the white Australia ideology and multicultural policies.

Due to significant concerns in the community, and in particular the welfare sector and academic community, alterations were made to the citizenship test of 2007, after the change of government in late 2007. The government appointed an independent committee in April 2008 to review the Australian citizenship test following its initial six months of operation with the aim for the committee to consider ways to improve the test's operation and effectiveness. The Report of the Australian Citizenship Test Review Committee (2008), *Moving Forward...Improving Pathways to Citizenship*, made 34 recommendations to the government; however, not all were adopted.

The new government accepted the recommendation concerning the removal of the cultural aspects of the test, with a greater emphasis on issues of civic responsibilities. The Committee's (2008) key recommendation was that the pledge of commitment which people make when they become Australian citizens should be the focus of citizenship testing. For example, it was no longer needed nor was it considered fair that specific Anglo-Australian knowledge of sport culture identities such as Donald Bradman (the cricketer) should determine whether a person could become an Australian citizen. The new government scrapped some test questions relating to cultural knowledge, replacing them with a focus on the commitments in the pledge (DIAC 2009).

These significant changes introduced at the beginning of 2009 included changes not only to the questions, but also to the whole process, by making sample questions available in the free resource booklet *Becoming an Australian Citizen*. The test is contained in *Becoming an Australian Citizen*, and is based on the following types of knowledge:
- Responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship

- Australian values
- Australian history
- Australian society
- Governing Australia.

Becoming an Australian Citizen has been translated into 37 community languages commonly spoken by Australian migrants. Included on p. 45 of the booklet are 20 questions such as**:** In what year did Federation take place? What date is Australia Day? Who was the first Prime Minister of Australia? What is the floral emblem of Australia? Who is the Queen's representative in Australia?, as well as some true or false answers. In 2009, a new resource book was developed, *Australian Citizenship: Our Common Bond*. It shows that all citizenship test questions are based on the information in the testable section of the book, which covers practical and relevant tropics such as Australia's democratic beliefs, laws and levels of government, as well as information on the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship. The testable section of the book also contains 20 practice questions, (DIAC 2009).

The actual test takes 45 minutes to complete; it is a closed book test, with no additional time or resources made available or allowed. Changes made to the previous test included an alternative method of testing, so that people could do a short course instead of computer-based testing. Indeed, a number of migrant resource centres and multicultural services centres were provided with funds to assist migrants (of all cultures, including English-speaking migrants) so they would be fully prepared for the citizenship test (DIAC 2009). The ongoing changes and development of Australian citizenship seem to be a work in progress. This is arguably a positive thing, but it may take years to achieve a completely equitable system.

It is worth mentioning here that the next citizen resource test book, *Australian Citizenship: Our Common Bond* (Commonwealth of Australia 2009), brought about further changes to improve the relevance and equity issues to the citizenship test. However, there has been significant academic critical engagement with the citizenship test, including, James Arvanitakis writing about "The heterogeneous citizen" questions the relevance of some of the questions such as the one asking about Don Bradman's

average; indeed how relevant is this information to newly arrived migrants and how many of us really care? (Arvanitakis 2009).

While there have been significant changes to the test, and specifically to questions referring to Australia's culture, and certain examples of the types of questions are now widely and publicly made available, the interesting side to this is that the minimum mark for passing the test has been increased to 75 per cent. In 1949, during the inaugural year of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, Australian citizenship was granted to 2493 people from just over 35 different nationalities. The top five nationalities (and number of grants) at that time according to the Australian Yearbook 1953 (CBCS 1953, p. 572) were: Italian (708), Polish (597), Greek (276), German (225) and Yugoslav (80), all of European background. However, in 2007–08, by comparison, a total of 121,221 people from more than 185 countries were conferred with Australian citizenship at ceremonies (DIAC 2008a, p. 3). This is an indication that there have been significant changes throughout the years.

In 2004-05, the Net Overseas Migration (NOM), (the difference between total international long-term and permanent arrivals and departures) represented 50% of Australia's population growth. At 30 June 2009, the estimated resident population Australia reached 22.0 million people, including 5.8 million Australians born overseas; nearly one-quarter of the population (25%), (ABS 2009).

Table 1 below lists the top previous citizenship of people who became Australian citizens by conferral at ceremonies during 2008-09.

Table 1: Top 10 Previous Citizenships of Newly Conferred Australian Citizens 2008-09

Previous Citizenship	Total conferred	Per cent
UK	18 510	21.3
India	9088	10.4
China, Peoples Republic of	6697	7.7
South Africa, Republic of	4128	4.7
New Zealand	3744	4.3
Philippines	3450	3.9
Sri Lanka	2196	2.5

Iraq	2148	2.5
Malaysia	1771	2.0
Bangladesh	1755	2.0

Source: DIAC 2009a, pp. 333–336

The information in Table 1 indicates significant changes from the figures of 1949. However, it also indicates a significant continuity in that the majority of people who became citizens were English speaking, white European people, including people from the United Kingdom, New Zealand and the Republic of South Africa. There is no indication or statistics on how long the people who have become naturalised have been in Australia, nor details of entry or residency status. On Australia Day, 26 January 2009, about 13,000 people from more than 180 countries became Australian citizens (DIAC 2009c, Section 2.3).

To conclude, the introduction of 'computer-based' testing of immigrants to determine their eligibility for citizenship has been criticised. It is argued that the test is reminiscent of the old dictation test that discriminated against applicants on the basis of British cultural and political norms and was used to eliminate non-white applicants (NSWCCL 2007, Jupp 2007). This new trend in major policy is different from past policy as it does not involve racial selection criteria, but it does measure the cultural knowledge of potential citizens. To conclude, this chapter traced the changes and continuities of citizenship in the Australian context, various relevant pieces of legislation and government documents was examined. It began with the historical development of citizenship from 1901 to the present day: the various pieces of legislation defining Australians as British subjects, the introduction of Australian citizenship in 1948 and its modifications over the last 64 years. The next chapter will examine the historical overview of patterns of immigration and traces links between citizenship and immigration through legislation, patterns and management of population flows, and follow the stages of developments within the Department of Immigration, followed by discussion of the powerful influence of immigration as a political tool.

CHAPTER Four: Citizenship and Immigration

Immigration and Its Link to Citizenship

The previous chapter traced the changes and continuities of citizenship in the Australian context. Various relevant pieces of legislation and government documents wear examined. It began with the historical development of citizenship from 1901 to the present day. This chapter examines the close relationship between citizenship and immigration. It will examine the patterns and management of immigration. A closer look at the development of the Department of Immigration is also explored in this chapter, which concludes with a discussion on power of immigration as a political tool.

Australia is a nation with a long history of immigration and a high level of immigrants. Immigration changes the nature of a nation's social, cultural and industrial economies, and significantly contributes to changes in the meanings, policy and practices of citizenship. Throughout Australia's history, immigration and citizenship have been importantly and consistently linked. Indeed, without immigration policy and practice for the integration of immigrants into all aspects of Australian life, the operation of citizenship and the processes of naturalisation would not be as important. Immigration and migrants[14] contribute to social movement and therefore to social change, which Australia and Australian people have experienced throughout their history. Further, people who migrated to Australia contribute to the economic development of Australia in many ways, such as satisfying skill shortage; stimulating demand on goods and services; investing in the Australian economy; and fostering international trade through knowledge of overseas trade markets, business networks, cultural practices and languages other than English (Australian Human Rights Commission 2008, p. 33). According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, economic modelling done by Access Economics estimates that under the 2007–08 Migration Program, migrants would add $610 million to the budget surplus in the first year, and $1.5 billion in 2028 (DIAC 2008b cited in Australian Human Rights Commission 2008, p. 33).

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[14] 'A migrant is a person who is selected to enter Australia on the basis of one of several factors including skills, age, qualifications, business expertise, capital or relationship to an Australian permanent resident or citizen. Migrants (excluding humanitarian entrants) may enter Australia under one of three migration streams: Skilled, Family and Special Eligibility' (Australian Citizenship Test Review Committee 2008, p. 60).

Furthermore, diverse immigration contributes to Australia's multi-lingual, multicultural workforce which can increase productivity and help business gain a competitive advantage' (Australian Human Rights Commission 2008, p. 33).

The forces contributing to the migration of people and the impact of immigration as policy and practice are reciprocally interconnected to citizenship. People migrate to Australia for various reasons including economic, political and transnational migration purposes. The distinctive and characteristic features of immigrant communities have emerged and evolved over the years, at times characterised by high levels of labour migration from economically less-developed nations to the most developed countries and similarly high levels of refugees fleeing political conflict, persecution and instability (Castles & Miller 1993). According to Stephen Castles and John Miller (1993), Australia, like other Western countries such as the United States, Canada and New Zealand, was fundamentally shaped by immigration, and will always be thought of as a nation of immigrants, where the ongoing challenges to incorporate newcomers into full membership of the mainstream community are presented under the guise of naturalisation and citizenship.

Immigration has been an important feature of Australia's historical experiences in general and its contribution to the population is of paramount importance. Recent statistics (ABS 2008a cited in DIAC 2009d, Section 5) indicate that of Australia's estimated population of 21.4 million people, about one quarter (5.5 million) were born overseas. This shows that the historical trend of a high proportion of overseas-born among Australia's population continues. Data also shows that Australian residence who were born in the United Kingdom continued to be the highest populations of overseas-born Australia residents (1.2 million persons as at 30 June 2008), this followed by people who arrived from neighbouring New Zealand (494,600), then, China (313,600), India (239,300) and Italy (221,700) (ABS 2008a, p. 26). This continual migration has had an important effect on the diversity of Australia's population. This process of immigration and its operation continues, with every year, more people migrate to than emigrate from Australia, which consequently increase the growth of Australia's overall population. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2008a, cited in DIAC 2009d, Section 5), between 1998 and 2008, the proportion of immigrants born in North-West Europe and Southern and Eastern Europe declined, with each region falling 0.8

percentage points, while the proportion of migrants from North-East Asia and Southern and Central Asia increased with each region up by one percentage point for the same period. The narrative of immigration in Australia tells an ever-changing story, structured by a different theme at the beginning, and evolving over the years. This section brings together four sub sections discussing major aspects relevant to immigration as it relates to citizenship, beginning with an historical overview of Australia's pattern of immigration, with particular focus on immigration since Federation, statistics on the overseas-born population, and the relationship between immigration and citizenship. Then, the management of immigration will be discussed, followed by the development of the Department of Immigration, particularly with the dynamic changes to its name and focus. The fourth sub section concludes with discussing the powerful influence of immigration as a political tool.

Prior to Federation in 1901, each colony administered its own immigration programs devised according to its needs. Colonies were actively competing for settlers until the constitutional responsibility for immigration was acknowledged as a matter of national significance. Even though the first formal and legal policy of immigration was introduced in the Constitution by the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, Australia has been a country of immigration, seeking settlers since colonisation in 1788. Indeed, between 1788 and 1861, immigration was responsible for 74 per cent of the increase in population; and during the period 1861–1938 the increase in population due to net immigration was 23.3 per cent (Borrie 1944). Furthermore, immigration has had an equally significant impact on the nature of Australia's population. For example, the proportion of Australia's population born overseas increased from just 9.8 per cent in 1947, to 23.3 per cent in 1996 and 25.1 per cent in 2001 (ABS, 2000a-cited in Vasta 2005). A further 27 per cent of Australia's total population in 1998 had at least one parent who was born overseas (ABS 1996; 2000a; 2001); this did not change in the 2006 ABS statistics. Immigration has been fundamental to the building of the political, economic and social conditions of modern Australia (Kramer 2003; Vasta 2005). Through migration, Australia's population has developed into one of the world's most culturally diverse societies' (DIAC 2008c, p. i). No other country's immigrant population is so diverse ethnically or linguistically (Dugan & Szwarc 1984; Cope & Kalantzis 1997; Vasta 2005).

Since Federation, Commonwealth governments have made efforts to select suitable entrants by recruiting, subsidising or encouraging particular immigrants; they have also provided various state interventions and made immigration a central area of public policy (DIEA 1986; Castles 1992a, 1992b). In 1933, a study of fertility patterns showed that the majority of immigrants had a level of reproductivity below the Australian average; only the Italians had sufficient fertility to add permanently to the Australian population (Borrie 1944). Australia clearly wanted new immigrants because population growth from traditional sources (the United Kingdom and Northern Europe) was low. Australia also needed immigrants for the purpose of defence and industrial labour, as well as for the enhancement of its population. However, because Australia's need was also Europe's needs, in regards to skilled, semi-skilled and non-skilled workers, Australia needed to revolutionise its immigrant intake, which led to the consideration of Southern and Eastern Europeans (Borrie 1944). Therefore, the consistent policy of allowing only British settlers eased to include Southern and Eastern European immigrants.

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Historical Overview of Patterns of Immigration

The population growth in Australia has two components: natural increase—'the excess of births over deaths' (ABS 2008b, p. 180) and net overseas migration—'the net gain or loss of population through immigration to Australia and emigration from Australia' (ABS 2009, p. 11). Permanent entry to Australia is structured through various migration programs, skilled and family migrants, or the humanitarian program for refugees and others in humanitarian need. These migrants have had a marked influence on all aspects of Australian society. More than 650,000 people have arrived under humanitarian programs, initially after the Second World War as displaced persons from war-torn Europe, from Hungary after the 1956 Soviet invasion, from Chile after the 1973 coup, and from Vietnam after the end of the war in 1975 (ABC 1996). Later, people arrived after the conflict of civil war in Yugoslavia in the 1990s and more recently as refugees from African, Asian and Middle Eastern war-torn countries (DIMEA 2006.).

The information below shows the steady increase in Australia's population 1947–2000.

Table 2: Increase in Australia's population 1947–2009

Census Year	Overseas-born	Total No.	Population %
1947	744 187	7 579 358	9.8
1954	1 286 466	8 986 530	14.3
1961	1 778 780	10 508 186	16.9
1971	2 579 318	12 755 638	20.1
1976	2 718 388	13 548 448	20.2
1981	3 003 834	14 576 330	20.6
1986	3 247 301	15 602 163	20.8
1990	3 851 500	17 335 900	22.2
1995	4 163 100	18 071 900	23.0
2000	4 637 300	19 153 400	24.0
2005	5 241 124	20 697 900	25.0
2009	5 800 000	22 000 000	27.0

Source: ABS 2008b, p. 180, and ABS, fact sheet no 3101.0-Australian Demographic Statistics June 2010.

The above table shows that, since 1990, there has been continuous and steady increase in the overseas born Australian residence. According to 2006 Census, estimated Australian born population is 75.41% and 24.59% are estimated total overseas born (ABS 2009, p. 33). As of June 2008, migrants were born overseas living in Australia

accounts for over 5.5 million, and arrived from over 200 countries (ABS 2009, p. 8). Those born in the UK declined from 6.1% of Australia's population in 1998 to 5.4% in 2008. Likewise, the Italian-born declined from 1.3% to 1.0%. In contrast, increases were recorded for people born in New Zealand (from 1.8% to 2.3%), China (from 0.7% to 1.5%) and India (from 0.5% to 1.4%) (ABS 2009, p. 9). Between 1999 and 2009, the number of Australia-born residents increased at an average rate of 1.0% per year, while the number of overseas-born residents increased at 2.9% per year. (DIAC 2010, Estimated Residents Population, Australian Demographic Statistics, Accessed Saturday 29th January 2011, from: http://www.immi.gov.au/settlement/#sr=show_report).

Further, during 2005–06, Australia's net overseas migration contributed 213,700 to the Australian overall population. This represented 59% of the nation's population growth for the year (ABS 2009, p. 12). NOM has doubled from 146,800 persons in 2005-06 to 298,900 persons in 2008-09. ABS reveals that, as of June 2010, over 5.5 million migrants from over 200 countries living in Australia were born overseas (ABS 2010).

Table 3: Increase in Australia's overseas born population

Migration program intake 1995–2010

Year	Total	Year	Total
1995–96	99 000	2002–03	94 000
1996–97	86 000	2003–04	112 000
1997–98	77 000	2004–05	123 000
1998–99	84 000	2005–06	132 000
1999–00	92 000	2006-07	140 000
2000–01	107 000	2007-08	149 000
2001–02	89 000	2008-09	158 000
		2009-10	141 000

Source: DIAC's Overview–migration to Australia 1996–2010 Table A3; Report Selection Criteria by Calendar Year of Arrival (nearest 500). Accessed Friday 28th January 2011, from: http://www.immi.gov.au/settlement/#sr=show_report

The focus of immigration programs has moved steadily since the 1980s from encouraging family migration to targeting skilled migration.

Through the 1970s and 1980s, immigration escalated as progressively more refined means of selecting business and skilled workers were introduced (Cope 1987, 1992). The number of skilled migrants rose rapidly from 29 per cent in 1995–96 to 62 per cent of the total migration program in 2003–04.

Table 4: Migration programs 2004–05 to 2008–09

Category	2004–05 Outcome	2005–06 Outcome	2006–07 Outcome	2007–08 Outcome	2008–09 Outcome
Total Family[15]	41 740	45 290	50 080	49 870	56 370
Total Skilled[16]	77 880	97 340	97 920	108 540	114 780
Total	**120 060**	**142 930**	**148 200**	**158 630**	**171 150**[17]

Source: DIAC 2010. http://www.immi.gov.au/settlement/#sr=show_report

Over the years, migration programs have been a reflection of issues relevant to political, economic or social conditions in Australia, as well as in the migrants' home countries. For example, during the 1840s a large number of Irish immigrants came to Australia to escape the famine in their homeland (they were accepted as Northern European people); from the 1860s to the late nineteenth century, labourers from Pacific Islanders countries were recruited to work on Queensland plantations (this was to be a temporary arrangement); and during the gold rush era of 1851 to 1860, early migration increased sharply with the arrivals of about 50,000 people a year (DIAC 2009e, Section 1, p4–5).

The history of immigration in Australia has been closely linked to world events, such as the Second World War which led to a significant shift in social and cultural conditions contributing to greater diversity in Australia. The fall of Saigon in 1975 signalled the start of migration waves from Indo-China to the Western world including Australia. The fall of Dili to Indonesian troops in 1975 forced many people from East Timor to take refuge on the close and safe shores of Australia. Further, during the 1970s the dictatorships in South America forced many people from Chile, Argentina and Uruguay to migrate, seeking asylum in many parts of the world including Australia. In 1989, the Tiananmen Square 'massacre' was presented in the media with vivid and emotional detail, which prompted the then Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke to grant permanent

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[15] Family category visa includes: Partner (spouse, fiancé and interdependent); Child (child-adoption, child dependent and orphan minor); Other Family (aged dependent, carer, orphan unmarried and remaining relatives); Parent (designated, contributory and non-contributory parents) (DIAC n.d.g).

[16] Skilled category visa includes: Employer Sponsored (employer nomination scheme, labour agreement, regional sponsored migration scheme); Skilled Independent; State/Territory Sponsored (State/Territory nominated independent scheme and skilled independent regional); Skilled Australian Sponsored (brothers, sisters, nieces, nephews, non-dependent children, working age parents, grandchildren and first cousins who have been skill tested); Distinguished Talent; Business Skills. This information does not include Humanitarian Entrants (DIAC 2008).

[17] Migration program numbers do not include New Zealand citizens or holders of Secondary Movement Offshore Entry (Temporary), Secondary Movement Relocation (Temporary) and Temporary Protection visas (DIAC 2008).

residency to many Chinese students in Australia. The outbreak of the Yugoslav civil war (1991–2001), forced many Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Croatians and Serbians to migrate to Australia. Recent world events include the invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), with mass exits of Iraqi and Afghan migrants and refugees. The ongoing unrest of civil war in many African countries, including the Sudan, Somalia and Liberia, has left its impact. This can be observed in the latest immigration and refugee statistics, contributing to Australia's diverse migrant population. These particular (Middle Eastern and African) wars have created significant controversy, highlighting Australian attitudes to immigration, and may have contributed to a number of changes in immigration policy and practice as well as in citizenship legislation. For example, changes were made to Australia's external boundaries for the purpose of refugee processing; regulations concerning detention centres were highlighted, and negative attitudes toward asylum seekers emerged.

In 1787, the First Fleet of 11 ships and about 1350 people from all over the British Isles, under the command of British Captain Arthur Phillip, set sail for Australia; arriving on 26 January 1788—a date recognised and celebrated as Australia Day (Richards 2008). A day of settlement or a day of immigration has been acknowledged as the National Day to celebrate Australia. Some argue that from the moment the First Fleet arrivals were set ashore on Australian soil, it has been a place of cultural diversity. This diversity included diverse convicts, free settlers, military personnel and, most of all, the diverse Indigenous people who had inhabited this land for thousands of years. However, from the early history of the nineteenth century to Australia's twenty-first century, Australia has been living with the historical legacy of a systematic practice based on the belief in a 'white Australia as the dominant culture' (De Lepervanche 1984; Vasta 1993, 1996; Bashford 2002). Immigration practices have been discriminatory, continuously practising an approach of inclusion and exclusion for the purpose of maintaining a dominant white Australian culture and society. Considering the numerous and complex factors which precede emigration, it is rarely the result of a totally free choice (Alpalhão & Da Rosa 1980; Green 1995; Van Hear 1998). There are often factors beyond the individual's control that motivate the decision to migrate permanently to another country. Particularly with the significant distance to reach a country such as Australia, it is a challenging enterprise. From 1788 to the early 1960s, people seeking to settle in

Australia would have travelled by ship, a journey that took on average 90 to 100 days from most European countries.

Since immigration was constitutionalised in 1901, it has been a complex issue with dynamic ongoing debates, some arguing against immigration and therefore for a reduction in intake, others arguing to increase the immigration intake. These arguments and debates continue. Not only politicians contribute to it, but authors, research scholars and academics present their views and values, and some have significantly influenced policy changes over the years. These debates have been influenced by political, economic, social and environmental factors and at times moral issues have also contributed to debates for and against immigration (Beck 1996; Evans 1988). To date, as a nation of immigrants, the government continuously seeks to regulate the influx of immigrants as it has done from the time of Federation in 1901. The federal government Department of Immigration was established in 1945, the Citizenship Act came into effect in 1948. This is similar to the earlier link between immigration and naturalisation: the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* was followed by the *Naturalization Act 1903*. This relationship between immigration and citizenship has been continuous, with changes made to immigration having consequences for citizenship.

Immigration restriction began with the anti-Chinese legislation during the Australian gold rush of the 1850s. The first White Australia Policy was legislated in 1888 with the *Chinese Immigration Restriction Act 1888*, in colonies including Victoria and New South Wales, followed by the introduction of a dictation test. Eric Richards (2008, p. 49) writes that 'the dictation test had been in Victoria in 1899, in Western Australia in 1897, and in New South Wales in 1899, the Commonwealth government endorsed and enforced universal implementation across all Australia in 1901'. The dictation test was used to prevent non-white English-speaking people such as Black Americans and Black South Africans from entering the country. According to Richards (2008), the key legislative enactment of the White Australia Policy, the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, was initially linked to immigration but soon after became important to citizenship practice. The exclusionary practice of immigration and citizenship disadvantaged certain non-Anglo professionally skilled people (Barrett 1940; Bessant & Watts 1999; Castles & Davidson 2000). For example, James Barrett (1940) writes about the history of immigration admission for medical foreign graduates and how the selective

recognition of immigrants and refugees who were medical practitioners caused disadvantages for many years. According to Barrett (1940), Australia had reciprocity arrangements for registration in most states with Britain, New Zealand and South Africa; others were not entitled to registration. Barrett argued that the dilemma for these refugees was that selection had been based on political and racial selection and not on medical qualifications. Barrett referred to this example as wasted human resources, whether it is in the form of overt and or covert policy and practice. (Barrett 1940).

The First World War highlighted the need to increase the national population, especially for defence purposes, and European ethnic minorities other than British were needed, such as German and Italian people (Borrie 1944). According to Wilfred Borrie (1940), patterns of restriction and control over immigration have consistently been aimed towards monocultural nation building. By the end of the Second World War, Australia continued to seek and encourage (through the Assisted Passage Scheme) settlers from Britain, including Irish people, followed by other Northern European immigrants such as Germans. Southern and Eastern Europeans, including people from Greece and Spain, were also considered. While many who were of non-British background encountered hostility and discrimination, racism was strongest against non-European immigrants, from the time of the Chinese, who came in response to the gold rush in the 1850s, and the South Pacific Islanders, who were recruited as cheap labour by plantation owners in the late nineteenth century (De Lepervanche 1984; Castles 1988a, 1992a; Zappalà & Castles 1998).

The Management of Immigration

Australia consciously or unconsciously used immigration as part of the process of nation building, and used it as a tool for developing and implementing citizenship policy and practice. Australia's immigration policy and practice had been established based on permanent settlement,[18] and entries of permanent immigrants have varied over

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[18] 'The Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) define "settled permanently" as those persons who are already in Australia on a temporary basis and are granted permanent residence status, and those persons who arrive from an overseas destination and are entitled to stay permanently in Australia' (Australian Human Rights Commission 2008, p. 29).

the years. According to Philip Ruddock, Minister for Immigration (Immigration and Multicultural Affairs from 11.3.96 to 26.11.01, and Minister for Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs from 26.11.01 to 7.10.03), since Federation, when the formal management of immigration began with the implementation of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, immigration management was not only welcomed by the community, but was supported and enforced by all political parties (Ruddock 2001 cited in DIMA 2007). In the period 1901–1939, one of the Commonwealth's most active roles in immigration was the regulation of non-British arrivals, particularly those of Asian origin. The White Australia Policy was generally used to refer to the formation of Australia in ethno-nationalistic terms (DIMA 2007).

The prime aim of the government has been to incorporate newcomers into the Australian population and nationhood, first by restricting non-British arrivals,[19] then by assimilation and most recently by naturalisation and citizenship (Castles et al. 1988; Castles 2002; Davidson 2006). The immigration process served as the main focus for building a 'real national spirit', summed up by 'white Australia' (Castles et al. 1988). Endorsed by immigration legislation, the strength of the white Australia sentiment ensured that it was one of the first issues addressed by the new Commonwealth parliament in 1901. The notion of white Australia was closely linked to both immigration and citizenship, and it was a cause which could evoke emotional commitment, powerful patriotic imagery and even idealism (Castles & Davidson 2000). White Australia meant not only an immigration policy which excluded non-white entries, but a corresponding policy of 'the deportation or reduction of the number of non-white aliens' (Richards 2008, p. 117).

For the management and regulation of immigration and the careful selection of immigrants, the federal government established the Department of Immigration (the Department)[20] in 1945. The prime purpose of the Department was the solution to the problem of immigration by operationalising settlement services and processes for non-British immigrants; the second purpose was developing ways for granting citizenship,

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[19] The *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, followed by Assimilation 1944–1966, then assimilation/ integration policy continued between 1966 and 1974.
[20] Due to several name changes of the Department of Immigration since its development in 1945 (currently the Department of Immigration and Citizenship), throughout this section [and the next] the Department of Immigration will be referred to as the Department.

and implementing and endorsing the policy of assimilation. Further, the Department has been responsible for Australia's settlement services to migrants and refugees,[21] which have evolved over the past 64 years. After World War Two, Australia embarked on a mass immigration program in order to populate the country, with a particular focus on potential migrants that were skilled and/or economically beneficial, from anywhere in the world. Over the years, the ultimate achievement of the Department is to successfully incorporate new immigration policy and practice, and the linking of immigration to the policy and practices of citizenship and vice versa (Castles & Davidson 2000).

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Department continued as the primary tool in implementing existing and new immigration policy. The Department commenced by allowing immigrants from Southern Europe to populate the country and to satisfy the need for labour. Ella Vasta (2005) argues that the Department by then had created two classes of immigrants. In 1952, there was a significant shift in attitudes toward immigration policy, in that the government allowed non-Europeans to be admitted to Australia; for example, Japanese wives of Australian servicemen and 800 non-European refugees. However, in 1957, a new immigration campaign was launched with the slogan, 'Bring out a Briton', with the assistance of free travel to Australia (Castles 1992a; Zappalà & Castles 1998; Vasta 2005). The community was encouraged to take responsibility and pride in sponsoring British families and assisting them to settle successfully in Australia, raising intense patriotism for the support of people from the 'motherland', Britain. Further, according to Vasta (2005), there was a third, invisible, class: those who were not admitted at all. Indeed, the White Australia Policy was applied with rigorously patrolled practice, even the Asian wives of Australian soldiers who had served overseas were excluded for many years (Vasta 2005).

Further, development of immigration policy and practice in the 1950s brought about some significant changes, signalling political, economic and social shifts. For example, Australia endorsed and supported immigration protocols agreements with more than 20 European countries, and established immigration assistance and family reunion schemes

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[21] The definition of refugee in Article 1A of the Refugees Convention as amended by the Refugees Protocol is: a person who has been assessed as having a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social or political group, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.

with theses countries. Even though British immigration continued to be favoured, and promoted throughout the country, in the 1960s, to early 1970s the Good Neighbour Council was established to assist with the assimilation needs of newly arrived non-British European migrants. The number of post-war immigrants to Australia reached one million by the year 1955 (DIMA 1996).

Significant changes to immigration came into effect in 1958 with the introduction of the *Migration Act 1958* which abolished the dictation test and introduced the Immigration Entry Permit System (IEPS). (http://museumvictoria.com.au/discoverycentre/websites-mini/immigration-timeline/1950s/).   In 1959, the Immigration Reform Group was established in Melbourne, actively advocating the put an end of the White Australia Policy. However, more national and international influence was required before the official end of the White Australia Policy became a reality years later.

Ghassan Hage (2003) argues that immigration and immigrants have changed Australia's neighbourhood, challenged white control and white privilege and created migrants' demands for real equality and a share of power. During the twentieth century, immigration resulted in a much more diverse population than had previously been the case, yet immigration has consistently been handled in a discriminatory manner (Jayasuria 1985, 1990; Sherington 1990). In 1959, it was established that Australian citizens could sponsor non-European spouses and unmarried minor children for migration. For example, in 1962, white European-background Armenians[22] residing in Egypt became eligible for the unassisted migration program, but not native Egyptians. In 1966, the government reviewed its non-European migration policy and announced that applications of potential migrants wishing to settle in Australia would be considered and assessed on the basis of their suitability as settlers, their ability to assimilate, and their possession of qualifications useful to Australia (DIMA 2001, p. 7). These criteria were expanded upon after the national and international law of anti-discrimination in 1975; which consequently brought about the Australian *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*.

From 1973 onwards, the White Australia Policy was for all practical purposes redundant [FROM http://tripatlas.com/White_Australia_policy] and outdated (Grassby 1973, cited

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[22] Armenian people were considered to be White Christian European people fleeing the Turkish army; they became displaced in Egypt after the Second World War (DIMA 1996-2005-Immigration overview).

in Dugan & Szwarc 1984; cited in Jupp 2007). Indeed, in 1973 Al Grassby,[23] immigration minister in the Whitlam Labor government, travelled throughout Asia publicising his government's significant new reforms to immigration policy. Mr Grassby clearly and unequivocally rejected Australia's longstanding White Australia Policy which had severely restricted non-European immigration. Indeed, Grassby, declared: 'It is dead, give me a shovel and I will bury it' (cited in Jupp 2007). In 1975 the Australian government passed the *Racial Discrimination Act* making racially based selection criteria illegal. Thus, discriminatory immigration policies were gradually removed between the end of World War Two and 1982 with the racially discriminatory aspects of the *Migration Act 1958* officially abolished in 1973.

In 1974, the waiting period required to obtain citizenship was reduced to two years. However, in the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, it was increased again to four years (Castles 1992a; Zappalà & Castles 1998). In 1976, Australian government began to consider Indo-Chinese from Thailand, people affected by civil conflict in Lebanon and refugees from forty countries, including the first refugee boats arriving on Australian shores from Vietnam, and accepted their applications for migration to Australia (DIMA 2001, p. 9). However, former policy and practice created a resilient ideology that allowed some discrimination in immigration selection and processes to survive.

James Jupp (1998, 2002, and 2007) writes that between 1973 and 2001 some 2.6 million new immigrants were legally admitted to Australia. He states that their children—those born in Australia—automatically receive citizenship and are not reflected in immigration figures, and yet they are often identified as migrants (Jupp 2002). Jupp justifies this influx of diversity as necessary to maintain the Australian workforce, and claims that any movement aimed at preserving Australia's European character had no future. Australia, he writes, has thus reached the multi-racial and multi-cultural situation in which it now finds itself (Jupp 2002).

Immigration intake fluctuates not only with political influences but also with economic circumstances. For example, the intake of immigrants in the economic boom year 1950

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[23] The Hon. Albert Jaime Grassby (1926–2005), Immigration Minister 1972–74. He became the first Commissioner for Community Relation (previously known as Ethnic Affairs Commission), and he had a major role in introducing the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*.

was 185,000, while there was a lesser intake during recession years like 1976 (53,000) and 1984 (69,000) (DILGEA 1988; BIMPR 1991, 28). With the introduction and implementation of non-discriminating policy of immigration, the intake of migrants went up in 1989 (145,000). Then, Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party contributed to intense public debates on immigration and stirred up anti-migrant attitudes in the late 1990s. The intake of migrants was again in decline and there was a shift in immigration policy targeting skilled and business migrants irrespective of their race or cultural background. The immigration program target for 2002–03 and 2003–04 was over 100,000, signalling a return to higher intake levels. Thus, according to Cope (1992) immigration policy has come to resemble tariffs as a flexible instrument for maximising national advantage.

Significant changes occurred after the implementation of *the Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. The implementation of this legislation led to immigrants arriving from the Middle East, Central and South America, as well as from Asian countries (Jupp 2007; DIAC 2008). Yet Australia's immigration continued to some extent to be based on racial issues of inclusion and exclusion, privileging Europeans in employment, and giving British immigrants the right to vote without being Australian citizens (Jayaraman 2000). One example of racially selective practice is the handling of 'unauthorised arrivals'. According to DILGEA (2006) it is a myth that most unauthorised arrivals have come by boat assisted by people smugglers. In fact, the majority of smuggling into Australia and other countries occurs by air (Jayaraman 2000; DIAC 2008). In seven of the last ten years, more unauthorised arrivals have come to Australia by air than by sea, but the frenzy has been all about 'boat people'. Menadue stated: 'When I was the Secretary of DILGEA, in highlighting illegal boat arrival, the government has also conveniently ignored the 60,000 "illegals" in the country, mainly from the UK and the USA, visitors who have "cheated" by overstaying their permits' (2002, p. 89). This exception for white 'illegal immigrants' shows that, the operationalisation of immigration control continued discrimination against non-whites, such as the boat people, the potentially unassimilable.

The Development of the Department of Immigration

Changes and continuities in immigration practice can be examined further through the development of the Department of Immigration and its many journeys linking its prime portfolio of immigration and settlement services with multiculturalism and citizenship. The Department has had responsibilities over other portfolios alongside immigration, with a number of changes to its name reflecting its evolving focus and responsibilities over the years. At different moments, the Department's responsibilities and portfolio have included Local Government, Ethnic Affairs, Multicultural Affairs as well as Indigenous Affairs. First, the Department was established on 13 July 1945 and was known as the Department of Immigration. This continued until 12 June 1974, when it was abolished and merged with the former Department of Labor to become the new Department of Labor and Immigration. On 22 December 1975, the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs was established and assumed the responsibility of the former Department of Labor and Immigration. This continued until 24 July 1987, when the Department of Labor and Immigration was abolished and merged with elements of the former Department of Local Government and Administrative Services to become the new Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs. However, significant changes came into effect on 24 March 1996, with the recognition of multiculturalism; the Department and its functions were transferred to the new Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, DILGEA (2006). Indeed, for the Department to officially adopt multiculturalism in its name is significant in relation to other political and social changes. It was a turning point for the Department's policy: it assumed the functions and responsibilities of the Office of Multicultural Affairs from the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. This could be taken to indicate that multiculturalism was no longer important enough to be included in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet[24]—meaning that multiculturalism was devalued.

On 26 November 2001, the Department was again abolished and became known as the Department of Immigration, Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. This was a shift in focus that was discussed and debated by numerous stakeholders: why include Indigenous affairs in immigration affairs? The Indigenous people of Australia have had no relation or link to immigration, and some were offended by this association; indeed,

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[24] This was the era of Prime Minister Mr. John Howard (PM 1996–2007).

significant pressure came from the Indigenous community to have a particular federal government department focusing on their affairs. The scope of this thesis is limited, and further discussion of Aboriginal affairs will not be possible. This name and focus of the Department continued until 27 January 2006, when responsibility for policies relating to Indigenous affairs was transferred to the Department of Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs and the Department became know once again as the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs.

Significant changes came into effect on 23 January 2007, when multiculturalism was dropped from the Department's name and it became known officially as the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. These changes were a reflection of political and social attitudes towards issues surrounding multiculturalism. Multiculturalism and its development will be extensively discussed in the next section of this chapter. It is interesting to note that at this particular time, it was replaced by citizenship. This was the year of the federal election, which provided an intense stage for such a dynamic political and social issue. For the first time in Australia's history, a citizenship test was introduced as part of the selection criteria for potential applicants for citizenship. It could be argued that the policy had come full circle: the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* brought the dictation test to select potential immigrants, and the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007* brought in another test as selection criterion for potential citizens. The practice of inclusion and exclusion provided a strong positive correlation in this relationship. The historical link and consistent relationship between immigration and citizenship have been maintained through complex and changing times, and are likely to continue. It is argued here that this latest change to citizenship may indeed have brought about a complete cycle of policy that reflects the attitude and ideology of the government on immigration, which has been consistently and intimately linked to citizenship and which still reflect the historically dominant culture and population in Australia. By replacing the multicultural portfolio with citizenship, the government could be seen to have revived the policy of assimilation.

Since its inception, the Department continues to deliver a diverse range of services to its citizens and to potential immigrants in Australia and overseas, with its key responsibilities including permanent family and skilled migration and temporary entry, refugee and humanitarian entry, and the enforcement of immigration law. This includes

strict border protection/security, offshore asylum seeker management, settlement services, the detention centres, and all functions relevant to Australian citizenship (DIMIA 2003, DIMA 2006, 2007). Other legislation the Department administers includes the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*, the *Immigration Guardianship of Children Act 1946* and the *Immigration and Education Act 1971*.

Since the development of the Department, immigration policy was designed to strengthen the nation demographically and economically, and citizenship was to endorse this function. The various phases of immigration have been responsible for introducing, defining and developing policies of settlement services, as well as engaging in social, economic and political monitoring of citizenship (Zappalà & Castles 1998; Jayasuriya 1999).

To counteract the power of the Department, the Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) was developed in the late 1950s; it continues to function on a larger scale to date. ACOSS was established as an organisation to provide and monitor all fields of social welfare in Australia, both voluntary and statutory, and any person could be represented. ACOSS is also affiliated with the International Council on Social Welfare as the Australian National Committee. As an independent peak organisation, this gives it credentials, and it can be an influential force that the government can and does consult. ACOSS provides a comprehensive view of the country's social welfare problems on a continuous basis, and it promotes systematic examination of Australia's equity and social inclusion issues, and social welfare needs at local, national and international levels. ACOSS contributed to significant changes made to the original citizenship test introduced in 2007 resulting in a more fair system in the current one. This was also a factor in highlighting the many disadvantages that 'ethnic minorities' of NESB experience. It provided an opportunity to introduce many other changes to counter the exclusionary policy and practice of immigration and citizenship (ACOSS 2010).

The Powerful Influence of Immigration as a Political Tool

The territory of the Commonwealth of Australia includes the six states and the internal territories of the Northern Territory, the Australian Capital Territory and the Jervis Bay Territory. However, less known are the external territories, which have become associated with immigration and asylum seekers and may have contributed to changes in current citizenship policy. Current external Australian territories are: Norfolk Island, the Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Christmas Island, Ashmore and Cartier Islands, the Coral Sea Islands and Heard and McDonald Islands in the Australian Antarctic Territory, (DIAC n.d.g, Section 2). The current legislation states that permanent residents of any of the external territories of Australia must provide evidence of the time spent in those territories, if applying for citizenship. The Australian external territory of Norfolk Island has maintained an immigration system separate from the others. Indeed, permanent immigration to the island continues to be restricted, even to Australian citizens; it has been protected from the changes that have occurred on mainland Australia (Castles et al. 1988; Vasta 1996).

This section has argued that there is an important link between immigration and citizenship. As a country of immigrants, Australian's citizenship policy has important political, social and economic repercussions, and will continue to be of significant importance. Further, there is little doubt that migrants would benefit in many ways from obtaining Australian citizenship, particularly immigrants fleeing social and political oppression or war-torn countries for a better life and better opportunities and freedom of choice. On the other hand, citizenship supposedly is about belonging, and is a crucial factor in becoming an Australian. While there have been significant changes in immigration policy reflecting on citizenship practice, the legacy of inclusion and exclusion continues, and determines not only who is to be admitted to Australia or who will be selected for citizenship, but also the perceived notion of the Australian citizen. These issues contribute to many prominent permanent residents being reluctant to become 'legal' citizens of Australia, as its all-inclusive values are in doubt. Many Australian residents need to be satisfied that becoming a citizen is more than the legal ritual, which continues to echo its historical legacy that is yet to be resolved.

To conclude, in 1901 most Australians were loyal, white subjects of the British Empire with direct connections to Britain. A hundred years later, following an unparalleled immigration program, its population was one of the most diverse on earth. Richards (2008) writes about the uniqueness of Australia's diverse society, arguing that there is no other country has achieved such radical social and demographic change in such a short time. Immigration and immigrants contributed to this extraordinary transformation. Against all odds, these changes have caused minimal social disruption and tension. While immigration has generated some intense political and social debates, Australia has maintained a stable democracy and a coherent social fabric (Richards 2008).

The transnational migration of people, including refugees with diverse cultural backgrounds, has shaped and continues to shape the ethnic profile of societies around the globe, particularly Australian society (Barrett 1940; Van Hear 1998; Jayaraman 2000). The experience of minority groups during the process of immigration—their difficulties and struggles, the experience of exploitative employment—has meant that not everyone is treated equally or accepted for citizenship. The contemporary management of ethnic diversity is a major issue in Australia, and this may continue until equity and social inclusion are fully integrated into all processes of citizenship and immigration. Also, this chapter showed that Australia is a nation built on immigration, and with the development of immigration policy and practices over the years, Australia has become a nation of people from diverse cultures. It showed that the Australian model for managing its ethnic diversity has had three main stages: the White Australia Policy from 1901 to the late 1960s, overlapping with *assimilation* from 1945 to the late 1960s, and *multiculturalism* which began in the early 1970s. The next and final chapter examines the policy and practice of multiculturalism, especially as they relate to citizenship, as well as contradictions arising from the internal opposition between citizenship and multiculturalism. Finally, I examine the reasons why the concept of citizenship remains resistant to the principles and ideology of multiculturalism.

CHAPTER Five: Citizenship and Multiculturalism

The previous chapter showed how Australia as a nation was built on immigration, and with the development of immigration policy and practices over the years, Australia has become a nation of people from diverse cultures. It explored immigration's link to citizenship, management of immigration and presented a historical overview of patterns of immigration, the development of the Department of Immigration over the years, and concluded with a discussion on the powerful influence of immigration as a political tool. This final chapter examines citizenship and multiculturalism. It explores the Australian model for managing its ethnic diversity, which has had three main stages: the White Australia Policy from 1901 to the late 1960s, overlapping with *assimilation* from 1945 to the late 1960s, and *multiculturalism* which began in the early 1970s. It examines many aspects to the concept of multiculturalism, it looks at the development of multiculturalism in Australia, opposition to multiculturalism and how citizenship has been resistant to multiculturalism over the years. The chapter concludes with exploring the issue of Australian multicultural citizenship.

Contrary to expectations implicit in the historical image of Australia as a British colony, populated by Anglo-Celtic people with the drive to maintain 'white Australia', the growth of ethnic and cultural diversity after the Second World War has prompted the government to rethink the viability of the White Australia Policy, and to recognise that the assimilation policy and practice that followed (its continuation and implementation) had become increasingly difficult to defend. However, Australia's authorities continued aiming at and actively seeking to maintain a population predominantly Anglo-Celtic in origin and culture. When models of population management rooted in assumptions about the inevitability of assimilation failed, the resilience of cultural, linguistic and religious differences among the Australian population led to a search for more accurate means to represent the changes in Australian society. It was acknowledged that not all Australian migrants were given equal status or equal opportunities within Australian society. By the 1970s, there was still little recognition that Australia was becoming a population derived from a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds; however, people were determined to hold onto and maintain their cultural heritage.

Assimilation drew its rationale from the White Australia Policy, which simply meant the denial of cultural difference; differences from white culture and race were not allowed or accepted. Consistent with the White Australia Policy, assimilation became a nationalist doctrine which embodied Australia's desire to maintain itself as a white, British nation. According to Sauer-Thompson (2003, P.11), assimilation is about the conservative ideas and beliefs of a sense of belonging to the nation-state was historically premised on an Australian nationalism as an ethnic white nationalism of British social and political origin, and not on a civic one based on citizenship.

Australia's history of assimilation began in the 1930s, and was focused on coercive practices that saw authorities compel Indigenous people to forego familial, social and cultural practices in order to merge with white society (Chesterman & Douglas 2004); an example of these practices was the forced removal of mixed-race Indigenous children from their parents. However, after the 1930s, the term 'assimilation' was used less to justify coercive practices and more to indicate a social expectation. The expectation was that the Indigenous population would eventually lose its cultural (and even biological) uniqueness as its members increasingly interacted with white society. The coercion was understood to be a part of the policy of assimilation (p.49). Indeed, assimilation became a way of governing not only Aboriginal people, but also non-Anglo European ethnic minorities arriving after the Second World War. It represented a break from the White Australia Policy and the older policy of protection on missionaries/reserves. These two policies gave way to assimilation policy and practice, which meant absorption: the absorption of Indigenous peoples into mainstream society and at the same time the absorption of 'other' Europeans into Anglo culture and society. The preference at the time was still for British migrants; other migrants were accepted to live and work with Anglo-Australians and become citizens on the understanding that they should shed their culture and language and be assimilated, and become culturally and socially absorbed, voluntary or otherwise, into the mainstream dominant population so that they would rapidly become indistinguishable from the Anglo-Australian population (Zappalà & Castles 1998).

Australian authorities eventually recognised that assimilation and adjusting to a new way of life without the provision of settlement services and assistance to immigrants from NESB had been ill-structured, as new arrivals may not want to lose their cultural

identity. Some simply emigrated out of Australia permanently. These factors, as well as significant 'internal public and international criticism', compelled the Australian government towards political and social reform, and to move away from assimilation towards multiculturalism. During the assimilation phase, Australia's public policies on immigration neither addressed nor resolved issues related to cultural diversity and in particular ethnic minorities. The prime objective of assimilation was maintaining a 'generally' integrated and predominantly homogeneous Australian population. Further, the policy and practice of assimilation became a challenge to some of the principles that Australia had come to accept including anti-racism and anti-discrimination as fundamental features of modern Australian society. Assimilation as a settlement policy failed for all intents and purposes because it denied the maintenance of individual identity premised on language, culture and religious practice. In an Anglo-Celtic society, features such as language, culture and views founded on traditional beliefs and perspectives inevitably differentiated between the 'mainstream majority' and 'minority' cultures to the exclusion of non-Anglo-Celtic, non-white Australians. This national objective had to change, as perceptions of the policy and practice of white Australia and assimilation changed. By the 1970s, the gradual abandonment of policies of assimilation and the introduction of the policy of multiculturalism began. The shift to multiculturalism was gradually introduced, shaped by the failure of assimilation, and moving towards non-racist nation building. Many of the political, social and cultural conditions which gave rise to assimilation changed. External influences, particularly the American Civil Rights Movement, confronted authorities with new challenges to develop policies with appropriate strategies to meet the needs of all Australians. Multiculturalism, based on respecting and valuing cultural diversity while encouraging participation in and identification with the Australian community, was seen to be more effective.

The 1970s witnessed a transformation in the approaches of many academic analysts, and a significant rise in public awareness. According to Gwenda Tavan (2005), it was the will of the Australian people to dismantle the White Australia Policy and the practice of assimilation. For the first time many saw the White Australia Policy and assimilation practice as racist, and began showing different attitudes, working towards discrediting assimilation and shifting their support to multiculturalism. Unlike the assimilation of immigrants, multiculturalism introduced several policies including non-

discriminatory practice that allowed the admittance of racially and culturally diverse immigrants, so that inclusion and exclusion would not continue as the policy and practice of immigration and citizenship. Further, the policy of multiculturalism aimed at promoting an Australia in which all cultural traditions would be of equal worth and where British cultural dominance was substantively reduced (Galligan & Roberts 2003). It was no longer desirable to celebrate a racially based citizenship, or one tied strongly to British influences. However, the absence of a homogeneous nation and the existence of cultural diversity have created new dilemmas for those wanting to support a single national loyalty. The proposed strategy for a multicultural society was to recognise Australia's cultural diversity and to shift the focus away from a racially based 'national identity' to that of a democratically oriented 'civic identity' (Jupp and York 1995; Jupp 2007).

What is Multiculturalism?

The term multiculturalism is complex and dynamic in nature; it is indeed difficult to determine or define. It can be defined in a number of different ways when used in different contexts: as policy and practice, everyday life, or ideology. In the Australian context, multiculturalism refers to a set of norms that upholds the rights of the individual to maintain and enjoy their cultural heritage, while respecting the law. It can also refer to principles derived from liberal political values such as equality, justice, social inclusion and mutual respect (Inglis 1995). Jupp and York (1995) write about Australian identity, and argue that it reflects a representation of democracy and equality, and it regards these values as essential components in developing a sense of Australian identity. (Jupp & York 2005). Jupp (2007) further argues that multiculturalism, with its emphasis on cultural diversity including community languages and ethnic media, promotes the development of identities that enhance the development of a strong Australian national characteristic rather than being considered an impediment to it.

Multiculturalism continues to be controversial, both in terms of government policy and initiatives, and as a new way of thinking about how to integrate minority cultures. Numerous academics, politicians, media commentators and ordinary members of the community have had opportunities through the years to describe the concept of

multiculturalism, some advocating and supporting it, some having mixed feelings about its meaning and its purpose, others finding it ineffective and continuing to be critical of it and even condemn its very existence. Over the years many attempts have been made to define multiculturalism, and multiculturalism has created and contributed to intense debate and at times social unrest. Some have expressed disappointment in its limitations and the apparent inconsistency between its ideology and its practice.

For the purpose of this thesis, it is important to acknowledge the usefulness of the Commonwealth government's perspectives and understanding of the concept which developed a definition of multiculturalism in the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*: 'In a descriptive sense multiculturalism is simply a term which describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia. We are, and will remain, a multicultural society' (Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs 1989, p. vii). As a public policy, multiculturalism encompasses government measures designed to respond to that diversity, and managing the consequences of cultural diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole. The Commonwealth government has identified three dimensions of multicultural policy:

> Cultural identity (the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their cultural heritage, including their language and religion); social justice (the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth); and economic efficiency (the need to maintain, develop and utilize effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background) (Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs 1989, p. vii).

These principles, policies and dimensions of multiculturalism have continued from 1989 to the present day.

Multicultural policies recognise that opportunities are not readily available to a large number of migrants, especially those of NESB, who are not treated equally. Historical restrictions on immigration and citizenship have contributed to their social marginalisation, and many experience hardships as they settle in Australia, and therefore require more direct assistance to participate fully as members of society (Kalantzis & Cope 1997). I argue that, since its inception in 1974, different perspectives of multiculturalism reflect on the importance of the concept as well as the difficulties in implementing its policies and its ideology in everyday practice. I further argue that,

even though discrepancies exist between many of the legal, political and social aspects of multiculturalism and their effective implementation, significant changes have been made to ensure that the White Australia Policy and assimilation have not only been abolished legally, but rejected, and their legacy continues to be challenged. The challenges for multiculturalism are that high expectations were bestowed upon it, that too much was expected too soon, and it is suggested that the struggle continues as part of natural dynamic processes of evolution. The changes credited to multiculturalism are real, and so are the challenges. Australia's multiculturalism has been distinguished as it differs from other countries' approach to multiculturalism, including that of Canada, which can be described as a bi-cultural society with reference to the French and English speaking provinces; on the other hand, in the United States, the term primarily refers to racially distinct 'others' such as people from African origins (Beck 1996).

Wenche Ommundsen (2007a, pp. 43–44), summing up its complexity, writes that

> the concept of multiculturalism takes on different rhetoric depending on the context of its production; it may be descriptive or prescriptive; it may denote ethnic minorities only or refer to the nation as a whole; it may be construed as dealing primarily with culture, identity or social justice, it may promote middle-class values in areas such as cultural consumption, aesthetics and life style, or address policy issues concerning welfare and ethnic rights.

To capture some essential elements of multiculturalism, the examples presented by Ommundsen (2007a, p. 44) distinguish between three specific categories of multiculturalism: as an empirical fact (Australia is indeed a country of people from diverse cultural backgrounds), as a set of social and cultural policies (endorsed or stated by government policies, including Access and Equity, Equal Opportunity and Anti-discrimination), and as a set of symbolic images. Exploring the term's symbolic construction/composition, Ien Ang (2000) refers to multiculturalism as a nice gesture, a 'cultural fantasy' and as an ideological discourse, describing it as 'togetherness-in-diversity'. In 2006, Ang writes again about everyday multiculturalism, recognising the relationship between cultural groups as the embodied or inhabited nature of living in a nation of diversity with cultural difference. In this sense, Ang (2006) presents issues of 'interconnections', describing multiculturalism as the ordinary dimensions of living with diversity, such as food, neighbours, racism, or issues such as multicultural place-sharing, and at the same time challenges over place, identity and belonging. These are

all features of multiculturalism where everyday interconnections shape living with and across differences (Ang 2006). In addition, Mark Lopez (2000a) describes multiculturalism as an 'ideological concept' suggesting four types of multicultural ideology: cultural pluralism, welfare multiculturalism, ethnic structural pluralism and ethnic rights multiculturalism. These are undoubtedly connected either negatively or positively to multiculturalism, depending on the context of their manifestations.

Brian Galligan and Winsome Roberts (2003) write that multiculturalism as a national policy, accommodating migrants from diverse cultural backgrounds, is significant and merits special attention, stressing multiculturalism functions as a 'claim' to the actual or preferred character of the Australian people and its national and cultural identity. Indeed, not many Australians would today want to claim Australia as 'white Australia'; it is simply not a factual claim nor would it be socially, politically or economically appropriate.

Paul Keating (1995, p. 23) has said that '…all Australians must accept the basic principles of Australian society including the Constitution and the rule of law, parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language, equality of the sexes and the right of every Australian to express his or her views and values'. Keating (1995) was emphatic in linking a sense of national identity and Australian patriotism to the multicultural banner, arguing that the qualities and attributes of the political nation and of citizenship were distinctive to multiculturalism. Laksiri Jayasuriya (1985, 1990) writes that dealing with Australian multiculturalism means inescapably understanding how this emerges out of a citizenship framing the boundaries of the political nation. Multiculturalism brought a shift from relative homogeneity to diversity, which was not the intention of the post-war immigration program; it was initially believed that non-British immigrants would threaten the nation's identity and social cohesion (Borrie 1944; Castles 1992a; Castles 2001). Thus, 'the term Australian multiculturalism summarises the way we address the challenges and opportunities of Australia's cultural diversity', as stated in *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia* (1999, p. 6) which reaffirms the fundamental principles established in 1989 in the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*. However, neither the government nor the Office of Multicultural Affairs defined multiculturalism in relationship to citizenship, nor said how the meaning of citizenship can be reconciled with multiculturalism.

To explore further contributions to the development of the concept of multiculturalism, and how it was implemented in Australia, it is useful to examine its development in relation to Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights[25] to which Australia is a signatory. It states: 'In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language'. In the Australian context, with its legacy of racism and discrimination, this is closely linked to human rights issues. In particular, for communities with cultural traditions that had for a long time been seeking the right to exist and the right to be protected from assimilation, this has been a struggle (Fraser 2001). Australian multiculturalism appears to have evolved from mass immigration and growing cultural diversity, which eventually led the state to re-examine social policy, and to address the needs of diversity. A final note on multiculturalism which needs to be mentioned here is one made by Will Kymlicka (1995), suggesting to reposition multiculturalism as both policy and lived reality. He argues that, since modern states are inherently multicultural by virtue of globalisation, societies such as Australia must endeavour to provide morally defensible and socially and politically viable answers to the challenges multicultural democratic states experience: How to incorporate cultural differences, and the rights and identities they demand, and the ability to participate in and achieve a more equitable democracy, increasing the interaction between individuals and the state (Kymlicka 1995, pp. 1–5, 6).

The Development of Multiculturalism in Australia

The first stage of the development of the principle of multiculturalism began after World War Two. Australia's responsibility as a member of the international community contributed to steps needing to be taken towards the dismantling of the White Australia Policy by initially permitting the immigration of 'distinguished' non-British and later non-Europeans. As a member of the newly established United Nations, Australia had become a signatory to the Charter of Human Rights. However, assimilation practice

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[25] Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted 19 December 1966, art. 27, 999 U.N.T.S. 172, 179.

continued under the guise of integration;[26] which was in effect from the mid-1960s to 1973, after which multiculturalism emerged.

Several factors contributed to the policy shift towards the abolition of assimilation, and the gradual removal of discrimination from the immigration program. The shift towards globally non-discriminatory immigration policies was due to international and domestic factors, including changes in Australia's military alliances, trade agreements, decolonisation, shifting patterns of international immigration and the growth of cultural diversity (Castles 1988a; Castles 1990; Castles 1997; DIMIA 2003). Australia changed from a pre-war 'British' monoculture to a multicultural-pluralistic society (DIMIA 2003).

Unlike the development of immigration policy and citizenship, multiculturalism's gradual development was established by a number of influential social research reports, highlighting the need for change. These reports produced recommendations for the government; consequently, most recommendations were endorsed and became policy to guide non-discriminatory practice. Except for the anti-discrimination law, multiculturalism did not bring legislative changes as such that were substantive enough to be included in the Constitution. These reports began with Polish born Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki, who has been described as one of the 'architects of multiculturalism in Australia', and an aadvisor to the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1968–86. He pursued the development of multiculturalism while he was the chairman of the Social Issues Committee of the Immigration Advisory Council to the Whitlam government, arguing that Australia had to move towards recognition of cultural diversity (DIMIA 2003). The series of reports began in 1968 with *The Questing Years*, highlighting the concept of cultural diversity in contrast to the prevailing principle and practice of assimilation. For the first time, a conceptual link was established between equity and cultural diversity, identifying problem areas, particularly the difficulties of the settlement experience for migrants, and discussing alternative approaches with strategies addressing them. The Report examined a number of problems experienced by

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[26] Integration: mid-1960s to 1972. The purpose of introducing the notion of Integration, so that an individual's identity and language and culture can be maintained and should not be lost. In 1966, the Liberal-Country Party effectively ended the White Australia Policy in 1966 by permitting the migration of 'distinguished' non-Europeans.
Found in http://www.pariahnt.org/pages/Integration.htm

migrants, including obstacles faced by their children in the education process, exploitation of unskilled migrants in the workforce, and the lack of recognition of NESB migrants with overseas professional and trade qualifications, all of which contributed to their marginalisation and segregation.

In 1973, Al Grassby, the then Minister for Immigration, introduced 'multiculturalism' as a policy for Australia. Because of his view that Australia should become a multicultural society, Al Grassby and his family were threatened with serious violence by some members of the public (Dugan & Szwarc 1984). In July 1973, a report entitled *Inquiry into the Departure of Settlers from Australia* by the Immigration Advisory Council, Committee on Social Patterns, again written by Zubrzycki, was tabled in parliament. It showed a large number of migrants departing Australia permanently due to the difficulties they experienced with their initial settlement. The committee provided recommendations for immediate action towards effective change, focusing on strategies addressing a range of settlement services to be provided by government and community groups. The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council's Ethnic Affairs Task Force, again led by Zubrzycki, produced and presented two landmark reports to Malcolm Fraser's Liberal government: *Australia as a Multicultural Society* (1977) and *Multiculturalism for all Australians* (1982). These reports contained groundbreaking social concepts, associated with the development and definition of multiculturalism. They consisted of three principles, *social cohesion*, *equality of opportunity* and *cultural identity*, and included the policy guidelines derived from these principles.

A major factor in legally abolishing assimilation was the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, which outlawed discrimination based on race and ethnic origin; another was Australia's close trade relations with Asian countries. The Act allowed for the implementation of Equal Employment Opportunity, and provided the framework for it in every aspect of every workplace, including the public sector. Legally, equal treatment for migrants became official policy. At the same time, the qualifying period for Australian citizenship was shortened to three years;[27] and soon after, reduced to two years' residency. This was sufficient requirement to obtain citizenship for all qualifying migrants (Shergold 1984; Sherington 1990; Cox 1996).

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[27] Prior to multiculturalism, the waiting period for citizenship qualifications was 5 years (1949 to 1975), however, prior to 1948, eligible applicants were to wait 15 years.

In 1978, an influential report came into effect, with significant recommendations which contributed to, and endorsed, the implementation of many aspects of multiculturalism. The Australian government accepted and fully endorsed the recommendations and implementation of Frank Galbally's *Report on Post arrival Services for Migrants* of NESB (Galbally 1980; Jupp 1988; Keating 1995, cited in Jupp 1998). As the chairman of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, 1977–78, Frank Galbally presented the report at Parliament House in Canberra in 10 different community languages. This was the first time in Australian history a report in a language other than English was presented and endorsed.

The report, which became known as the 'Galbally Report', comprised four principles, all of which encompassed Australian and global issues, including social, political, economic, educational and even moral dimensions, that impacted on all migrants and in particular ethnic minority groups, addressing essential aspects of their lives. For example, the first principle is: *All members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services.* This principle contributed to the development of Equal Opportunity, with particular emphasis on Equal Employment Opportunity. It also included an ongoing periodic evaluation. Over the years, however, these evaluations eased and became less and less effective. The second principle is: *Every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures*. This principle contributed to, and was the foundation for, the anti-discrimination legislation and the development of other functions, including the Equal Employment Tribunal's roles and responsibilities. The third principle is: *NESB children should maintain their cultural and language identity*. This contributed to the development of community languages schools, and funds were made available to provide for the maintenance of cultural heritage for many communities, including Arabic, Greek, Italian, Spanish and Turkish; this continues to date, with the more recent arrivals' languages also provided for. The fourth is: *Needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision*. It indicates that services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant as quickly as possible. This

particular principle became the source of complex debates and created more controversy than any other recommendation in the Report. It led to the provision of interpreter services (particularly for legal/court and health/hospital needs), migrant resource services, and special projects for specific ethnic services, as well as some capacity building programs for migrant social and recreational activities with limited affirmative action strategies (Galbally 1978, 1980).

The complete Report is extensive and was guided by 57 recommendations, addressing what, how, and why issues relevant to a particular recommendation, and a time framework for indicators of its effective process. This consequently became an ongoing framework for the implementation processes over each period of the process. The Galbally Report was accompanied by an 'Information Kit' as a guide for service, based on information provided by the department or an organisation responsible for implementation of the Galbally's Report. This information kit provided a structure for updating, adding, replacing or amending information, as changes occurred. This would allow for reviews to take place, and for information to be amended according to new changes in needs. For example, the Galbally Report recommendations contributed to an extra $50 million over the first three years being spent on upgrading migrant services and programs during a period of strict expenditure control. It encompassed a range of supportive measures, from an intensive initial settlement program to a self-help approach drawing on voluntary efforts and requiring the gradual transfer of resources from the government to the non-government sector. This indicates that to achieve its objectives fully required the involvement of all levels of government and non-government organisations. Recognising this, the Report established mechanisms for intensive coordination and consultation, both aimed at the most effective and most efficient delivery of services according to the required needs (Galbally 1978, 1980).

The Galbally Report represented a watershed in the development of multiculturalism in Australia. It identified multiculturalism as a key concept in formulating government policies in relation to programs and services for migrants and spelled out how it could be done. Some argue that the Report represented the 'spirit' of multicultural policy: equal access to programs and services for all, and the right of all Australians to maintain their culture without prejudice or disadvantage. It recognised the need for special services and programs for migrants with encouragement of self-help to become self-

reliant as quickly as possible. It also foreshadowed the development of ethnic television and the establishment of an Institute of Multicultural Affairs.

In June 1979, the Australian Population and Immigration Council (Chairman: W.D. Borrie) and the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (Chairman: J. Zubrzycki) jointly produced a report, *Multiculturalism and its Implications for Immigration Policy*. This Report canvassed several concepts and practices of multiculturalism, affirming views on the desired conditions for building a multicultural society in Australia, and on its relationship to immigration policy, which the Report expressed in terms of serving the national interest. Further, this Report recognised that multiculturalism is dynamic, and expressed the conviction of both councils that its development should take place within the framework of existing parliamentary institutions and with due regard to social and political rights and obligations. The implementation of this Report meant that Multicultural Affairs would be directly under the responsibility of the Prime Minister's portfolio. Indeed, this was the case until Prime Minister Howard came into power in 1996.

In 1979, the Ethnic Television Review Panel produced an *Interim Report of Public Consultations on the Establishment of an Ethnic Television Service*; its recommendations were endorsed, with the establishment of ethnic television, which became known as the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS). To date, SBS is viewed by all Australians, promoting an appreciation of the diverse multicultural nature of Australian society, and assisting ethnic groups to maintain and further develop their cultural identity. However, the establishment of ethnic broadcasting had been an ongoing struggle since 1976, beginning with the limited ethnic radio stations 2EA in Sydney and 3EA in Melbourne. The Galbally Report recommended that ethnic radio should be extended to all capital cities, and the development of ethnic television. Arguably, in terms of representing cultural diversity, the development and significance of SBS have been complex and controversial in nature. According to Ang, Hawkins and Dabboussy (2008),[28] SBS, with all its limitations, is recognised as one of Australia's

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[28] *The SBS Story: The Challenge of Cultural Diversity* celebrating the achievement of SBS was published in 2008 by Ang et al., linking it to multicultural progress and development. These are not necessarily the views of many others, particularly ethnic minorities that SBS was initially established to provide a voice and some empowerment in society. The book brings valued chronology of a significant period in Australian social and political history. (Source: Ang et al 2008).

most important cultural institutions with much to offer media organisations around the world. Ang et al. (2008) write that SBS has been an important part of Australia's media culture, providing pleasure, formative of the Australian experience, and bringing an understanding of an evolving multicultural Australia. They argue that its relevance as a public broadcaster, reflecting Australia's multicultural society, is as significant today as it was over 30 years ago when it was first established. However, on the other hand, significant criticism of SBS also continues with some arguing that it is serving or targeting only ethnic viewers.

In 1980, a report was produced by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, *Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education* (Chairman: F. Galbally). It commented on the fundamental role of education in the development of multiculturalism. The Report stressed that education in Australia should embrace the teaching of English as a second language, the teaching of community languages and studies of ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia. Then, in 1982, another report, *Multiculturalism for All Australians: Our Developing Nationhood,* was provided by the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs, chaired by Zubrzycki. This Report expressed the view that the days when multiculturalism was discussed exclusively in the context of 'ethnic affairs', defined 'as something concerned with non-English-speaking minorities in Australia' are over. It argued that social cohesion is the key, with multiculturalism being the interaction between cultural minority groups and the wider Australian society. The Report stressed the notion of inclusiveness and opposed a situation where minority groups prosper/flourish on the margin at the expense of the total Australian society (Galbally 1982; Zubrzcki, 1982).

In 1982, the Galbally Report's first evaluation was due; the review, *Evaluation of Post-arrival Programs and Services* (Chairman: F. Galbally), provided good results with records indicating effective implementation of the recommendations of the 1978 report. It concluded that there had been substantial benefits to migrants' lives, both newly arrived and longer residents, Australia's ethnic groups, and the community as a whole. Further, the Report found that Australia has 'perhaps one of the most comprehensive systems of migrant and multicultural services in the world', and in several key areas, 'Australian provisions are unique' (Galbally 1982).

In 1986, further developments of multiculturalism were addressed in Jupp's report *Don't Settle for Less* (DIEA 1986). This was the second scheduled review of the Galbally Report, and it contributed to the enhancement of the Galbally's Report. According to James Jupp (DIEA 1986),[29] the Report's title was an indication of the theme, it was about 'equitable participation' as equity in the popular sense means 'fairness', and, in the legal sense, conveys the message of exercising one's rights to resources, which inherently co-exist with the concept of justice and fairness. The Report with its 'vibrant' slogan 'Don't Settle for Less', brought into effect two interrelated concepts representative of multiculturalism: *equity* and *justice*. The Report demonstrated an interactive and powerful dialogue with migrants of NESB, that 'one size does not fit all' (Jupp 1996a). This became the contemporary public policy at all levels of the Australian government as well as non-government organisations. I argue that this Report contributed further to the empowerment of disadvantaged people and ethnic minority groups, confirming their rights to public resources.

Jupp's report (DIEA 1986) comprised four principles as the basis for government implementation and strategy. These are: first, all members of the community should have equal opportunity to participate in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the nation; second, equitable access to resources; third, equal opportunity to participate in and influence government policies, programs and services; and fourth, rights, within the law, to enjoy one's own culture, practise one's own religion, use one's own language while respecting the rights of others to their own culture, religion and language. The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs endorsed Jupp's findings to extend 'access and equity', making it subject to public scrutiny, and to reform government agencies and services and make them more accessible to people of all cultures.

Following this period, a wide range of community consultations took place in 1989, drawing on the advice of the Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs (Chairman: Sir James Gobbo). The government then developed the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989) that was given bipartisan political support (this is current

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[29] James Jupp, Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Australian National University, and Chair of the 1986 Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services, which had proposed an Office of Ethnic Affairs in its report.

and continue to date). It explains the fundamental principles of multiculturalism, which is based on three rights and three limits/obligations. These consist of: first, the right to cultural identity (expressing and sharing one's individual cultural heritage, including language and religion); second, maintaining social justice (equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth); and third, economic efficiency (the need to maintain, develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians). (Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs 1989, p. vii). The three obligations state that there is 'an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future first and foremost'; second, the acceptance of 'the basic structures and principles of Australia'; and the third acceptance 'that the right to express one's own culture and beliefs involves a reciprocal responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values' (National Multicultural Advisory Council 1999, Appendix C, p. 3). The *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989) and its charter of rights and obligation are current, and continue to guide government and non-government policy to date. Essentially, the Galbally Report was instrumental in the development of these principles.

In 1995, the National Multicultural Advisory Council produced another report, *Multicultural Australia—The Next Steps: Towards and Beyond 2000* (Chairman: the Hon. Mick Young). It confirmed that the fundamental tenets of the 1989 *National Agenda* were still relevant. The Report aimed at further advancing the development of an all-inclusive, tolerant and globally competitive Australian society. To assert that Australia is an all-inclusive multicultural society, it recommended including the issues of Aboriginal reconciliation, national identity, global and regional forces, information technology, religious diversity and sectarian challenges.

1996, with the Howard government elected into government, signalled a significant turning point for multicultural development. A shift in attitudes towards multiculturalism began; arguably, his years in power (1996–2007) were detrimental to the very existence of multiculturalism, let alone its further development. Indeed, from 1996 until the Howard government's defeat in November 2007, attempts were made to abolish or discredit multiculturalism, creating social and political tension. The literature debating both sides of the debate about multiculturalism was mounting nationally and

internationally. Indeed, all through the Howard years, the controversy over multiculturalism intensified, and the domestic and international media continued to create challenges to Australia's reputation all over the world. Many prominent Australians condemned the government as racist, as did the United Nations and the international media.

During the Howard years, the controversy over multicultural affairs continued to intensify in the social and political landscape of Australia, where the media played a critical part in highlighting every incident; many of these issues have been discussed in previous sections of this thesis. Australia became the only developed country whose government has been condemned as racist by the United Nations: this happened on 13 October 2000. Then, Amnesty International accused Australia of violating the UN Convention on 29 August 2001. Further, in January 2002, the UN High Commission for Refugees sent a special representative to hear Australia's defence on alleged breaches to the 1951 Geneva Convention which sets out certain standards for the treatment of refugees (Jayasuriya 1999). Refugees who arrived in Australia were either imprisoned in detention centres or sent off to other South Pacific countries for processing, a practice which later became known as the 'Pacific Solution' (Jupp 2007).

On Tuesday, 23 January 2007, the then Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard, announced the abolition of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, and its minister Amanda Vanstone was dumped. The Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs was replaced by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship: multiculturalism was removed from the title in favour of citizenship. Through the years, the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs has seen many different ministers administer its policy, but no one has ever been as intensely critical of multicultural policies as Amanda Vanstone, who adopted a most controversial style in the troubled immigration and multicultural portfolio. Glenn Milne (2007), writes about why John Howard dumped one of his most popular Minister; claiming that the minister and her 'political execution were both brutal and shocking' (The *Sunday Telegraph*, p.37). One must question which was the most unexpected dismissal, the minister or the multicultural portfolio itself, the article concluded. At the same time, the period for residency requirement for citizenship increased, doubling from two years to four years

for all who met the required criteria for obtaining citizenship; and citizenship testing was introduced for the first time.

Opposition to Multiculturalism

Opposition to multiculturalism has been expressed throughout the period of its existence; few critics stand out more significantly than the historian Geoffrey Blainey in 1984, academic and former diplomat Stephen FitzGerald in 1988, the former Prime Minister John Howard (1996–2007) and especially Pauline Hanson (1996–1999) whose extreme stance against multiculturalism added to the intensity of the debate. Critical opposition to multiculturalism surfaced in the mid-1980s, with intensely emotional views expressed against multiculturalism and multicultural policies. Subsequently, those views have been aired with significant social and political impact, and with consequences for almost all aspects of multiculturalism. Indeed, since then, issues related to multiculturalism have continued to be raised in intense debates on immigration, citizenship, national identity and national security. In 1984, Geoffrey Blainey, who had been consistently unsupportive of Australia as a multicultural society, wanted to record his criticism of multiculturalism; by producing a report, *All for Australia* (1984), Blainey incited intense criticism against multiculturalism. In 1988, in an article in the *Weekend Australian* (1988, p. 22) titled 'Australian Australians Must Begin to Shout Loudly', Blainey writes, 'Multiculturalism is an appropriate policy for those residents who hold two sets of national loyalties and two passports. For the millions of Australians, who have only one loyalty this policy is a national insult'. Blainey's view is that society ultimately needs a number of shared values and shared attitudes, and the difficulty for most governments and federal government policy is that everybody should be free to follow their original culture, but they are careful not to define what they see as the legitimate parts of culture which they should follow, and those parts which they think perhaps they should not follow. In a 1993 lecture, Blainey (cited in Higgins 1993, p. 3) stated that '…the more emphasis that is placed on the rights of minorities and the need for affirmative action to enhance those rights, the more is the concept of democracy—and the rights of the majority—in danger of being weakened'. In this sense, Blainey's views are contradictory; he is not only opposing

multiculturalism, but a characteristic feature of Australia democracy, where the rights of individuals are valued including individuals of minority groups.

In 1987, Stephen FitzGerald was appointed as the chairman of the Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (CAAIP). Then, in March 1988, he produced a report, *Immigration: A Commitment to Australia*, which generated significant, and at times intense controversy (Jakubowicz 1988, p.2). In this Report, FitzGerald argues that multiculturalism refers to a set of government policies which seeks to recognise, manage and maximise the benefits of diversity (CAAIP 1988). He goes on to argue for an increase in migration, but with a tighter economic focus, emphasising employment skills, youth and English language skills over unbridled family reunion strategies. However, according to sociologist Andrew Jakubowicz (1988, p. 3), the FitzGerald Report also asked questions about the public understanding and acceptance of the idea of multiculturalism, while endorsing, albeit reluctantly in the eyes of some observers, the policy itself.

FitzGerald (CAAIP 1988, p. 2), challenging the official definition of multiculturalism, argued that it did not correspond with the popular concept of it, and concluded that 'confusion and mistrust of multiculturalism, focussing on the suspicion that it drove immigration policy, was very broadly articulated'. He added that 'many people, from a variety of occupational and cultural backgrounds, perceived it as divisive', arguing that 'the majority of these people also expressed concern about immigrants' commitment to Australia and to Australian principles and institutions' (p. 2). The Report recommended a coherent philosophy of immigration as the Committee saw mistrust and failing consensus threatening community support for immigration (p. 1). FitzGerald's criticism of multiculturalism was presented in the form or on behalf and in the name of the community's views with no indications or evidence of this being the case. However, FitzGerald's position concerning multiculturalism was not as intense nor emotional or emotive as the views presented by Blainey, Howard and Pauline Hanson; nevertheless, his perspective on multiculturalism has been significant and later influential to Howard's position on many multicultural policies.

Following the consultation with a number of community organisations, some groups, and individuals around Australia, the Committee noted and reported on the increasing

rejections of what some parts of the public thought multiculturalism meant—special preference for migrants in gaining services, and an emphasis on the continuation of separateness and divisions between groups. The old assimilationist sentiments were still out there, and the Committee identified those concerns in its report (Jakubowicz 1988, p.3). Indeed, John Howard was heavily influenced by the FitzGerald position, and was involved in a major controversy in 1988 when he spoke of the need for social cohesion as the basis for the composition of immigration—widely understood at the time as being a code for 'stop Asian immigration' (Jakubowicz 1988, p.6). As a result of CAAIP a new immigration research body was introduced in 1989 known first as the Bureau of Immigration Research, then as the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research and finally as the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research. The Bureau continued its operation until 1996, when it was closed, according to its last Director, Dr Bill Cope, as part of the 1996 Budget 'zeroing multiculturalism' strategy of the Howard government (Jakubowicz 1988, p.7).

Criticism of multiculturalism was much in evidence in the political rhetoric of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party which strongly opposed multiculturalism in general, and Asian immigration in particular. Indeed, One Nation's immigration policies intentionally recalled the values of white Australia, and were quite explicit about their fear of the 'Asianisation' of Australian culture. Pauline Hanson was the most influential opponent of multiculturalism; indeed, her views and their effects have generated significant national and international concerns about Australia's attitudes towards its minority groups, particularly Asian and Indigenous people. Much has been written about Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party's social and political influence on Australia in previous sections of this thesis; however, it needs restating here because of her intense opposition to multiculturalism and her call for its abolition, using the terms 'Australia will be swamped with Asian people', encouraging xenophobia and resurrecting the sort of racist paranoia more common decades earlier.

Multicultural policies have generated a mixed response. Publicly funded support for NESB migrants is often supported when seen as part of a universal provision available to all Australians but criticised when seen as a special program for migrants only. Indeed, opponents of multiculturalism see it as unwarranted social 'engineering'. The contradiction between the liberal democratic ideology of multiculturalism and the

implementation of its policy created complex debates, which continue. Criticism of multiculturalism has been presented by two extreme schools of thought. On the one hand, the views presented by Blainey, FitzGerald, Howard and Hanson's One Nation Party against multicultural policy argued that it provided too many rights to minority groups; it had gone too far in the provision of services and rights to minorities.

On the other hand, there were many sceptics and critics of multiculturalism who, according to Richards (2008, p. 264), believed that social attitudes in Australia had altered very little and that the changes in policies were essentially cosmetic and superficial; they questioned the seriousness and significance of the changes brought about by multiculturalism.

Stephen Castles was a well-known pioneer and advocate for multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, he argues, presents a complex moral problem of practical importance (Castles et al. 1988; Castles 1990). He also writes that many multicultural policies are limited, criticising multiculturalism for the way it applies primarily to the middle class and 'ethnic elites', and not to the working class or disadvantaged groups. According to Castles (2001, pp. 807-811), multiculturalism maintains the theory and idea of primarily belonging to one society and having a loyalty to one nation-state. Castles further adds that 'multiculturalism can be seen as a way of controlling difference within the nation-state framework, because it does not question territorial factors and many principles: including issues such as, multiculturalism assumes that migration will lead to permanent settlement, followed by subsequent generations who consequently are both citizens and nationals' (pp. 807-811).

Castles was one of the founders, and then director, of the Centre for Multicultural Studies at the University of Wollongong (UOW). Established in 1978, it was the first centre for multicultural studies in Australia. However, in 1996 research funding for the continuation of multicultural research was significantly reduced and by 1998 it was discontinued. The Centre for Multicultural Studies at UOW was abolished.

Albert Moran (2005) argues that whilst multiculturalism has been at the forefront of Australian social and political policy since 1974, weak forms of multiculturalism and tolerance are practised. He writes that government policy on tolerance has been the outcome of 'weak' multiculturalism. Focus on tolerance of cultural differences,

affective folkloric or social style approach to ethnic food and ethnic entertainment are all 'weak' versions of multiculturalism, while regarding cultures as ways of organising social relations, determining roles, distributing power and validating knowledge, are all 'strong' versions of multiculturalism. Moran (2005) gives the example of community broadcasting as an example of a 'weak' approach to multiculturalism, arguing that community broadcasting, including SBS, welcomes difference in the name of 'cosmopolitanism' rather than recognising that some differences are more important than others as evidence of continued social inequalities and subjudication.

Ghassan Hage (1998) adds to Moran's (2005) views and writes that contemporary policies of multiculturalism have failed to overcome repressive practices of tolerance: such practices have reinforced the power of elites. The concepts 'tolerance' and 'tolerant' are used from the perspective of power and authority, often employed to present superiority; they can be patronising if not belittling of 'others'. Tolerance means acceptance but from a distance and not expressing or intending inclusion, but repression and exclusion. Hage (1998, pp. 78–79) explains further:

> Mainstream culture is depicted as the very example of the liberal 'tolerant' society. It is often by reissuing calls for 'tolerance' that politicians think it best to counter this 'racist violence'. This in turn helps further to construct 'tolerance' and mainstream culture as if constituting a radical polarity with the 'racism' they are supposed to combat…an ideal type newspaper headline [in the *Sydney Morning Herald*] reads: 'claims of racism in Australia are exaggerated, even hysterical, and overlook an abundance of tolerance'.

Moran (2005) further writes that under a system of repressive tolerance, while the minority voices have been heard, they have more often been heard from the fringes-starved and with little impact on core society. I argue that the level of change since community broadcasting was introduced in 1979 has been limited, with NESB and Indigenous communities marginalised as a result of weak multiculturalism.

Even some known 'architects' of multiculturalism have found some problems with the concept. For example, when questioned about its meaning, Jerzy Zubrzycki, who has been a strong advocate for multiculturalism for over 20 years, refers to the term as a 'clumsy, pompous, polysyllabic noun' (Zubrzycki 1996). He argues that it is relatively easy to grasp that multiculturalism means many cultures, but much harder to discern

what multiculturalism has to say about the relationship between such cultures (Zubrzycki 1996, p. 13).

Thus, during economic difficulties, with the continual struggle for resources, multiculturalism and in particular minority groups suffer the consequences, with relationships between cultures also struggling. Indeed, the newer the immigrants the more likely they are to suffer during times of economic difficulties.

Jalil (2003) has stated that Australia's growing ethnic and religious diversity is the product of many active forces and that it has been difficult to disentangle the separate political, economic, racial, ethnic and religious influences that act to create and perpetuate minority groupings within Australia. Government policy is supposed to address, manage and eliminate racism, discrimination, exclusion and inclusion, but it has failed to truly address the concerns of minorities and disadvantaged groups who are usually the victims of a stronger and more dominant culture (Jalil 2003). Indeed, racial prejudice is historically linked to inequality of power, reinforced by economic and social differences between individuals and groups, and many are still seeking to justify such inequalities today. According to Allen, Cars and Madanipour (1998, p. 22):

> Social exclusion is defined as a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision-making and political processes, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods.

The complexities and controversies of multiculturalism continue through the views and opinions of politicians, historians, sociologists and individuals in everyday public debate. Considering multiculturalism as a political and social tool, it is not a perfect one, for its task is indeed a mammoth one to achieve. Multiculturalism is continuously evolving, mediating between two major aspects of Australia's social and political reality: the white Australia heritage and citizenship. The White Australia Policy is no longer practised; assimilation, which evolved from the White Australia Policy is no longer a policy, but arguably continues as an expectation in an unspoken 'attitudinal' or 'quasi policy' manner; and citizenship is arguably based on a model of that 'quasi policy' of assimilation. However, with its limitations, and controversy over positive and

negative achievements, multiculturalism continues to aim at maintaining the role of moderating citizenship, ultimately aiming at supporting equality within diversity.

Multiculturalism and Citizenship

The two concepts, citizenship and multiculturalism, are complex and their objectives and functions are different, as each concept originated in a different context for a specific purpose for which they continue to function. For example, by the nature of its operation, citizenship is a legal category governed by an Act of Law; whereas multiculturalism operates primarily in the social, cultural and philosophical spheres. The concept of multiculturalism is, as we have seen, complex and difficult to determine or define. It can be defined in a number of different ways when used in different contexts: as policy and practice, in the context of everyday life, or ideology. In the Australian context, multiculturalism refers to a set of norms that upholds the rights of individuals to maintain and enjoy their cultural heritage, while respecting the law. It can also refer to principles derived from liberal political values such as equality, justice, social inclusion and mutual respect, which apply the rules of law. Further, since 1989, multiculturalism became an official statement of the federal government's political response to the ethnic composition of Australian society (Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs 1989). The operation of naturalisation and citizenship has existed in Australia since 1902, long before the official adoption of Australian Citizenship in 1949. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, came into effect in the 1970s and continues to function as a social policy. Citizenship, as a legal entity, does not acknowledge or recognise the perspectives of cultural diversity; it continues operating within a legal and political system, its main aim was and continues to be mainstreaming the nation under the legal aspects of the citizenship process.

Multiculturalism is not about who is a citizen and who is not, but about how cultural difference is managed and understood within all aspects of Australian society. Multiculturalism brings to the surface of social policy the cultures and diversity of the Australian population. On the other hand, citizenship encompasses the overall legal practice governing the granting of membership after careful examination and selection.

This is the legal aspect of membership, which must be distinguished from notions such as social and cultural citizenship. The latter, I argue, continues to privilege people of white European background, whether legal citizens or not; these aspects of Australian citizenship practice have been consistent over time. Citizenship is a longstanding and widely recognised concept. Multiculturalism is not a concept that is shared or accepted in all countries, or even by everyone in countries built on immigration, like Australia. Both concepts are subjected to limitations in their validity and effectiveness, and the relationships between policy and practice continue to be controversial and at times contradictory.

The founding principles that contributed to the construction of Australian citizenship, from the *Naturalization Act 1903*, which determined who might become what was then called a 'naturalised national', to the *Citizenship Act 1948* and the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, are different from the founding principles of multiculturalism. Citizenship evolved over time into arguably three dimensions of citizenship rights. These began with civil and political rights and, later, development and challenges led to the addition of social citizenship rights (Marshall 1950). The current proposal is to extend the cultural significance of the of citizenship rights as an extended expression of the development and progress of citizenship rights (Turner 2001). However, since its development in the 1970s, multiculturalism introduced policy aimed at managing cultural diversity, but it may be argued that it is yet to progress further into the legal or political spheres. Citizenship in Australia was developed around the White Australia Policy and maintaining the close link to Britain. Multicultural policy began with the gradual abandonment of policies of assimilation. Multiculturalism was later shaped by Australia's growing integration with Asia, which hinges on deepened cultural linkages and on the success of non-racist and non-colonialist image building in the region (Kalantzis & Cope 1997, 1998; Cope & Kalantzis 2000).

Citizenship's aim is to provide commonality, a common bond between the members of a diverse population. The focus therefore tends to be on unity in difference. On the other hand, multiculturalism's aim is to acknowledge difference and to regulate how difference is managed throughout the social and cultural fabric of the nation. The focus thus tends to be on diversity. The two concepts thus have distinctive and different focuses. Multiculturalism as a concept assumes a broad approach to understanding

cultural diversity in Australia. However, cultures and their differences are often perceived as threatening, particularly when claims to ethnic distinctiveness are asserted and celebrated by persons of distinctive racial or ethnic background (Green 1995; Vasta 1996). This is where citizenship comes into play and calls for commonality and a tightening of the selection criteria for citizenship. Multiculturalism does not prohibit, assess or revoke anyone, but citizenship practice, by the nature of its function, assumes such a role. Citizenship amongst other things is a legal concept revolving around the policy and practice of who to include and who to exclude. Beyond that, citizenship is a complex concept with many other dimensions, which relates to other complex concepts, including power, the nation-state and national identity. Also, citizenship can be viewed from several different perspectives, including distinguishing citizenship in the public and private spheres, formal/legal or informal, and in terms of the active and passive aspects of citizenship.

Power is central and closely tied to the cluster of meaning and the evolution of citizenship. The notion and operation of power significantly influence core functions of citizenship. Indeed, power and its related terms such as law and authority, control, influence, and dominance have significant implications in their relationship with inequality, inclusion and exclusion, and hence with the policy and practice of citizenship.

A significant mode of operation of citizenship is power in its relation to the complex notion of nationalism, in this case Australian nationalism. Nationalism in Australia evolved from the colonial era through to Federation and beyond, as events shaped Australia as a nation and the Australian 'identity' of its citizens. Nationalism includes the belief that each nation has both the right and the duty to constitute itself as a state. Citizenship in Australia, as in other countries, has traditionally been nourished by sentiments of loyalty and patriotism and cultural values that help sustain political community and national security. Citizenship can be seen as a social construct against which the differences inherent in minority ethnic status are judged; however, everyone is regarded as equal before the law regardless of their differences such as their ethnicity and class (Barbalet 1989, p. 72; Philips 1996, p. 92). Multiculturalism, on the other hand, appears to be a consequence of mass immigration and growing cultural diversity, which eventually led the state to re-examine social policy, and to address the needs of

diversity. These are aspects of cultural citizenship which are yet to be fully operationalised in Australia.

Since its inception, multiculturalism has entertained a complex relationship with citizenship. At times, a parallel relationship exists; at other times, they move in opposite directions. *Anti-discrimination, Access and Equity* and *Equal Opportunity* are multicultural policies which affected the practice of immigration and citizenship. For example, with the adoption of the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989), restrictions on naturalisation and access to citizenship stopped. New policies were implemented at all levels of government which contributed to strengthening the social practice of citizenship. The operation of citizenship shifted in order to ensure that a person was not treated differently to others because of race or cultural background. Citizenship is now based on territory rather than ethnicity, designed to make people from varied backgrounds part of the Australian community (Castles 1992a, 1992b). However, in this study, citizenship is associated with assimilation policy and practice, and to a certain extent it is in contrast to multiculturalism as a concept and practice, as well as an ideology. Citizenship implies assimilation for the purpose of incorporating all Australian residents under a legal entity which is still influenced by aspects of the Anglo-British culture. Indeed, citizenship in many contexts continues to be seen in cultural and ethnic terms rather than in terms of rights and responsibilities (Zappalà & Castles 1998).

At the same time, opportunities and possibilities for a harmonious relationship between citizenship and multiculturalism exist. There are times when they are brought closer together; for example, when Australia presents particular images of itself to the outside world such as in the bid for and during the Sydney Olympics, Australian arts, and Australian sports teams (e.g. soccer or cricket). On these occasions, Australia presents itself in the image of a proud nation of diverse cultures. *Equality of Opportunity* and a *Fair Go* are valued and accepted concepts; they have been extended by multiculturalism to all aspects of Australian law including citizenship.

There are also overlapping areas between citizenship and multiculturalism, particularly from theoretical perspectives. Citizenship is a legal concept, with structured pieces of legislation, but it is also a theoretical construct. Indeed, citizenship has had an ongoing

relationship with the development of citizen rights, such as the civic, political, social and more recently cultural rights of citizens. Also, both citizenship and multiculturalism share a concern with social and political membership and social and political participation: the struggle for social rights runs parallel to the notion of modern social citizenship. Immigration and its link to citizenship is an overlapping area of interest with multiculturalism. Multiculturalism influenced immigration policy and practice, and has become the basis for a legal non-discriminatory selection process. Immigration has changed the nature of the nation's social and industrial economies, which in turn have influenced the meanings, policy and practices of citizenship. The operation of citizenship and the processes of naturalisation are essential functions of the process of immigration and the integration of immigrants into all aspects of Australian life; without this link, the practice of immigration could not have existed at the current scale. By the same token, immigration has brought about the need for multiculturalism. Immigration links citizenship and multiculturalism, and at times it highlights the contrast.

In its broader claims, citizenship is based on values including respect for the freedom and dignity of the individual, support for democracy, commitment to the rule of law, the equality of men and women, the spirit of a fair go, and mutual respect and compassion for those in need. The Government's citizenship information package lists six sets of values, which are covered by the current citizenship pledge (2008). These values are consistent with the values of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is considered by many as exemplary of Australian citizenship values, at the same time bringing Australia closer to the wider international community.

Citizenship Resistance to Multiculturalism

Even though there are significant similarities between multiculturalism and citizenship, citizenship as a concept and ideology has proved resistant to multiculturalism. This is because of the legacy of the White Australia Policy, immigration restriction, the policy and practice of assimilation, and the exclusive rights of British subjects. The notion of British subject, which continued until 1984, has survived into the current process of Australian citizenship, contributing to its current status. Even though multiculturalism

has made significant contributions to changing citizenship, the legacy of history has also influenced conceptions and practices. Australian citizens, on the whole, continue to be perceived as Anglo-Australian, of white European background. Whether a legal citizen or not, a white European individual residing in Australia is perceived as an Australian citizen, but a non-white, non-European citizen by birth or naturalisation, often has their citizenship questioned, or is perceived as 'ethnic' or 'multicultural' rather than simply as an Australian citizen.

The *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, which replaced the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948*, set out how a person may become an Australian citizen, how citizenship may be evidenced and how a person may cease to be a citizen; this legal approach has not changed significantly over the years. No significant concerns have risen about such an approach. However, many concerns have been expressed about the social cohesion of multicultural Australia; multicultural policies have generated a mixed response, and many popular stereotypes. I argue that there is a difference between the legal aspects of citizenship and the cultural perception, the common notion of what a 'real' Australian is like, and that this is due to the impact of the past on current conceptions. Some citizens are perceived as more marginal than others—although they have the same legal status, they do not have the same status in terms of *social* and *cultural citizenship*.

To appreciate the resistance of citizenship to multiculturalism, it is useful to examine current public thinking about, and perceptions of, citizenship. They reflect earlier practice and policies that were dominant for several decades, as well as government practices related to the process of adjustment that takes place before migrants become citizens. In contrast, multiculturalism recognises differences and aims to regulate how difference is managed throughout the social and cultural fabric of the nation; the focus thus tends to be on diversity. Citizenship resists such notions and asserts the legal process instead, aiming to provide commonality or a common bond among a diverse population. The different functions of citizenship and multiculturalism mean that they will always pull in different directions. Intense endeavours have been undertaken by both sides for adjustment in order to bring them closer or at least manage the difference in the relationship. At the same time, opposition to multiculturalism has been significant and consistent; this has served to maintain the historical perception of citizenship, and has resulted in weaker, less effective forms of multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism addresses aspects of globalisation, universal cultural diversity, equality and human rights. It provides a way of understanding Australia's place in the world, connecting and opening Australia to a wider community, particularly its near neighbours in the Asia and the Pacific. Citizenship, on the other hand, is a domestic legal process serving the nation-state. Holding an Australian passport is also significant in the context of international relations. Citizenship encourages concepts such as nationalism, and it is selective and exclusive: certain individuals are selected, others are prohibited. It is a restrictive, rigid system serving the purpose of protecting the general public from 'undesirable' individuals. Citizenship has in some ways become less and less globalised and more protectionist as a legal system; it changes according to a rigid, structured process. This is understandable: few would agree that Australia should allow people to settle here who are or have been convicted of serious crimes and considered criminals, people with severe mental illness, former Nazis who committed crimes against humanity or people who are escaping serious war or criminal persecution in other countries. Citizenship as a concept and an ideology is by its very nature a selective and discriminatory practice, and thus at odds with the ideology of multiculturalism.

Citizenship is a single legal entity, presented in the form of documentary evidence of birth or naturalisation, which is necessary to obtain an Australian passport. Some changes have been made to allow for dual citizenship, however, the fact remains that migrants of other nationalities will apply and go through certain processes to obtain Australian citizenship, and that these do not in themselves guarantee a social, cultural or multicultural Australian citizenship. It is argued that the current resistance to change is in line with the perceived need to maintain the legal aspects of citizenship separately, above and beyond social and cultural aspects of Australian society. Multiculturalism began as a series of innovative policy measures that were designed to assist migrants (particularly NESB migrants) in becoming Australian without jettisoning or discarding their previous cultural heritage. Citizenship in Australia resists such a shift; it has traditionally been nourished by sentiments of loyalty and patriotism that claim to 'help' sustain an exclusive political community in the name of national security. This community has historically been linked solely to 'Britishness' and white European heritage. I argue that the effect of citizenship has been to protect such a heritage; whereas multiculturalism has come to mean tolerance and appreciation for different cultural practices.

Another reason why citizenship has been resistant to multiculturalism has been the perceived need to protect Australian political and social values against the pressure for change by certain ethnic groups. Even though governments adopted 'Citizenship and Multicultural Affairs' as an acceptable twin framework for their policies and institutions, amalgamating the two concepts worked at a political level, but socially and culturally it continues to cause tension. This is because the restrictive legal notion of citizenship does not fully take into account the social and cultural aspects of citizenship, which continue to be influenced by the legacy of racial and cultural discrimination. Indeed, the multicultural agenda[30] contributed to recent changes to the citizenship test, and, while some may argue that this has weakened citizenship, others argue that the changes have strengthened citizenship, reducing it to an affirmation of civic values, making the test more relevant and the process more inclusive.

This dynamic campaign for the recognition of multicultural policy within the process of citizenship produces a continual legal, political, social, cultural and even moral struggle between the two notions. This struggle and resistance are likely to continue. I argue that this struggle is a positive and healthy political and social struggle; it generates dialogue in the community, enabling individuals and groups to actively participate in managing a valid and effective multicultural society, and at the same time monitor a fairer legal process of equitable and inclusive citizenship.

The assimilation and integration of post-war migrants have contributed to a significant shift in Australian society. Multiculturalism as a national policy and ideology contributed to the development of a richer and more diverse national culture, at the same time fostering an understanding of Australian citizenship as membership of a political community of people with a diverse history sharing Australia, the nation-state. Being or becoming an Australian citizen means sharing in that history and heritage. However, the citizenship model cannot but subordinate and/or assimilate minority ethnic groups to a predominantly Anglo-Australian value system and thus produces contradiction (Green 1995; De Lepervanche 1984; Castles et al. 1988; Dietz 1992; Jayasuriya 1999); a marked contrast to multiculturalism. Australia's multiculturalism

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[30] In this case, multicultural policy of anti-discrimination, aims at addressing/manage fear of marginalisation of NESB people, particularly new and emerging communities, and advocates for the changes are also multiculturalists.

encompasses the cultural differences of all Australians, including people whose language is other than English and non-European minority ethnic groups. Multiculturalism raised social and political issues in Australia amongst diverse individuals and groups. Throughout Australian history, political, social and economic discrimination against minority groups has been a constant (Castles 1977, 1992a; Vasta 1996); multiculturalism did not necessarily change that, but it aims to bring about change. Citizenship, because of its nature and history, has proved resistant to multiculturalism. It could be argued that it is ultimately better placed to achieve what multiculturalism was aiming to do in the first place. However, this is yet to be determined, as many would argue that it is not possible to achieve legal equality without taking into account the social and cultural aspects of a diverse society such as Australia.

Citizenship has been resistant to multiculturalism because it has greater affinities with assimilation, where immigrants are incorporated into society through a one-culture, one-language, one-model process of adaptation for the purpose of naturalisation. Immigrants are currently tested for above average English language skills and an understanding of Australia's social, legal and historical characteristics. In return, they obtain citizenship—legal, although not necessarily social, belonging (Castles 1992a; Zappalà & Castles 1998). Citizenship has always been a mainstream institution. This institution is not neutral: it is both implicitly and explicitly structured by inclusion and exclusion processes, for the benefits and interests of the mainstream social group and the assimilation of minority groups. If this fails, the result is the creation of permanently disadvantaged, marginalised, 'second class' individuals (Ramakrishnan & Balgopal 1995). The concept of multiculturalism is continually contested on the basis that it threatens this hierarchy of the mainstream institution. The preference for cultural homogeneity, expressed as ethnocentrism, racism or some other principle of exclusion, runs deep in the history of Australian society in general and citizenship in particular (Green 1995; Castles 1992a; Vasta 1996; Jayaraman 2000; D'Netto, Smith & Da Gama Pinto 2000), but the challenge of multiculturalism will not go away.

Australian Multicultural Citizenship

There is a possibility for the concept of a multicultural citizenship to develop in Australia, promoting cultural pluralism within Australian citizenship. This would mean an alternative approach to multiculturalism, reformulated in terms of citizenship. Stephen Castles (2002) has suggested that the key to this idea is that citizenship is not only equal individuals, but people with different needs and wants, and their culture must be included into the mainstream notion of citizenship. The collaboration between the Rudd government and the community to improve the pathway to citizenship contributed to making the necessary changes to the citizenship test. Significant elements of multicultural policy informed the new improved test. So far, there are no known concerns or opposition to the new citizenship test.

There is little doubt that there is a need to bring multiculturalism and citizenship closer together. There is significant connection between the two concepts, revolving around almost everything that multicultural policy has brought about; it has impacted on and contributed to significant changes to the policy and practice of citizenship. For example, there is a parallel path in the area of racial discrimination: anti-discrimination laws ensured that non-British and non-white Europeans could become citizens, and opportunities exist to challenge any policy regarding citizenship that discriminates against or excludes NESB potential citizens, including the recent policy of citizenship testing. Many stakeholders who are advocates and supporters of multiculturalism contributed to bringing about changes to citizenship granting processes; this resulted in a test that is more fair and relevant to Australia's cultural diversity. Further coordination of the two concepts can be envisaged. However, the process can also be reversed, depending on the government of the time and their policies and values relating to multiculturalism and citizenship, as well as relevant global issues.

Government and other agencies can effect change: a new and innovative model can be achieved to provide the Australian people with an opportunity to make the concept of multicultural citizenship as efficient and forward thinking as possible while at the same time maintain the necessary legal process of citizenship. For example, the government might make a national apology for the discriminatory and racist policies of the past, such as the White Australia Policy and the Immigration Restriction Act. The federal

government made an apology to the Stolen Generation in 2008, and to the Forgotten Generation in 2009; in the year 2011, Australia can show the world and the nation that it is taking ownership of past discrimination, and acknowledge that its legacy continues to the present.[31]

There is an opportunity to establish a National Day to Eliminate/Condemn Racism, a day to unite all Australians; this would be a day worthy of celebration. Current Australia Day celebrations are often culturally exclusive, and some use them to provoke incidents of racism and racial vilification. The government can implement changes, bringing in the notion of an 'Australian Multicultural Day'. A National Day of Multiculturalism would be a declaration of investment in the true nature of Australian society, with recognition and respect for all residents. In Australia, we have a day for celebrating citizenship, but not multiculturalism; it is suggested to combine the two, or even amalgamate them with Australia Day.

The government needs to review the current *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia* (1989), and incorporate citizenship in its planning and strategies. New innovative programs with strategies to eliminate the legacy of discrimination can be developed in partnership between federal, state and local governments. Inter-departmental education projects are the key link to social, political and culture change, as is inter-disciplinary research and collaboration. The questions to be asked are: Who are the stakeholders? What types and level of intervention are necessary to rethink Australian citizenship through multiculturalism? What would it mean to have a social or cultural Australian citizenship? Linking multiculturalism with citizenship in Australia is doable within the philosophy of public policy and universal rights. This would bring significant aspects of social and cultural citizenship and social cohesion. There would be many challenges, and departmental systems would need to be updated to support the changes. Amendments are regularly made in relation to the Citizenship Act; social and cultural changes would be no different; they can be incorporated. Cultural citizenship, reflecting the notion of cultural inclusion, could provide protection for majority cultures and minority cultures alike. I argue that to be excluded from cultural citizenship is to be

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[31]There are precedents for this type of apology. For example, in 2002 the New Zealand Prime Minister offered an official apology to Chinese immigrants for the poll-tax and other discriminatory legislation in the past.

excluded from full membership of society. Cultural citizenship functions as cultural empowerment, offering minorities the capacity to participate successfully and effectively within a democratic national culture.

Multiculturalism has allowed some non-Anglo citizens into significant positions of power, including elected positions at federal, state or local government level, but others are yet to be included in such positions of public office. Some would argue that cultural and linguistic differences prevent some, especially non-white Australians, from representing the Australian people. I argue that this view reflects assimilation, not multiculturalism. Multiculturalism by its nature accommodates and accepts difference; but in Australian multiculturalism that has not always been the case. 'White multiculturalism' is a term that has been used to express opposition to current multicultural practices. Multiculturalism was conceived as a new notion with innovative practices aimed to address discrimination, racism and inequality in society. Multiculturalism to a certain extent succeeded, but to progress it needs to be incorporated into the framework of citizenship. Multiculturalism has addressed the issues of equity and the social inclusion of minorities, but must be allowed to further challenge myths of white superiority and Anglo ownership over Australian society and culture.

Multiculturalism will continue to experience opposition and citizenship to resist its influence. Citizenship can contribute effectively to further multiculturalism, and both combined can eliminate exclusion and social inequality in Australia. The co-existence of the two would generate significant challenges, of a practical as well as ideological nature. However, the more robust the struggle between multiculturalism and citizenship, the better the outcomes, as numerous challenges would need to be confronted for both to co-exist as a legal entity.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of the Thesis

This thesis set out to examine the changes and continuities of Australian citizenship, from the time of Federation and the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* enforcing the policy and practice of the White Australia Policy through to multiculturalism, the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007* and beyond. To do this, the study began by exploring theoretical perspectives on citizenship and its relation to power, white privilege and nationalism. Then, to apply the operation of citizenship in relation to immigration and multiculturalism, the study examined various primary and secondary documents, and critically analysed a number of legislation and policy frameworks for their social and political implications over time.

The study employed a number of distinctive approaches; the first involved conceptualising theoretical perspectives on citizenship. It consisted of exploring several theoretical concepts and perspectives, and their operational implications for the development and practices of Australian citizenship. Theorists examined in this process included Thomas Marshall (1950) and Bryan Turner (2001), generating significant debates around notions of equality, social class and the social rights of citizens.

The second approach was to investigate primary government policy documents and pieces of legislation relevant to citizenship in Australia. These include the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, the *Aliens Registration Act 1920*, the *Citizenship Act 1948*, the *Immigration Act 1958*, as well as the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*. Other primary documents included the Galbally Report 1978, as the thesis showed its paramount importance, for its recommendations played a significant role in the development, planning, implementation and evaluation of many multicultural policies. The thesis dedicated the final section to providing critical analyses of the relationship between citizenship and multiculturalism, beginning with exploring the various meanings, understandings and implications of the concept and practice of multiculturalism. Opposition to multiculturalism was examined from different perspectives, with particular analysis of the reasons behind citizenship resisting the influences of

multiculturalism, and concluded by exploring options and making suggestions about the possibilities for a future *Multicultural Australian Citizenship*.

Key Findings

The study found that Australia's citizenship is a work in progress, changing and evolving over the last 63 years. Citizenship continues as an important concept closely related to, and connected with, the policy and processes of immigration and multiculturalism. Since Federation, immigration has continued as an essential part of Australia's nation building, strengthened by the influence of multiculturalism. However, citizenship continued to be influenced by the White Australia Policy and assimilation practice, which have contributed to its current contradictions and limitations. Therefore, it is recommended that Australian authorities, in partnership with relevant agencies and stakeholders, examine the social and cultural citizenship of Australia, particularly defining what citizenship is and what is essentially expected of it, and its future objectives.

It was found that an overall enquiry into the definition and function of citizenship proved difficult, and that citizenship, as well as multiculturalism, continue as complex, limited and contradictory concepts. The findings indicate that the legacy of the White Australia Policy continues to surface, privileging certain stakeholders who are eager to maintain this legacy, and continues to influence the perception that Australia is a nation of white European people. The beneficiaries have maintained the legacy, and continue to use citizenship as a tool for exclusion. The study revealed significant changes to citizenship, which began with the triumph of more liberal immigration attitudes aimed at increasing cultural diversity, and the recognition of the rights of non-white, non-European immigrants. More changes were brought about with the *Migration Act 1958* which allowed for the naturalisation of non-Europeans after fifteen years in Australia; followed in 1966 by the bipartisan timeframe for the non-European naturalisation as Europeans (after a minimum of 5 years in Australia). Further changes were introduced in 1973 to increase the number of non-European settlers on the basis of character, qualifications and skills. Ultimately, by the end of that decade, these developments led

to the introduction of multiculturalism (Sherington 1990; Davidson 1997a; Castles & Davidson 2000; Tavan 2004; Jupp 2007).

It was also found that history's legacy has periodically risen to the surface, and continues to play an instrumental role in shaping immigration, multiculturalism and citizenship debates, which in turn have influenced political, economic, cultural and social aspects of Australia.

It is recommended that more efforts are needed to bring citizenship closer to multiculturalism, and that services, whether governmental or non-governmental, be evaluated, designed and operated in full consultation with potential citizens. Such programs should encourage the full participation of migrants, particularly new and emerging communities of non-European people, and aim to make them feel included in the nation and in the notion of citizenship as early as possible.

The study found significant limitations, deficiencies and internal contradictions within citizenship and multiculturalism, primarily as a consequence of past policy and of history's legacy. The experience of minority groups in Australia shows that attitudes of racism, discrimination and marginalisation continue to some extent within many aspects of social and cultural citizenship. The thesis argued, and provided evidence for, the view that the system that constituted the notion of citizenship based on a white European background nation can be traced back to Federation, the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, the White Australia Policy; it continued through assimilation, the *Citizenship Act 1948*, and throughout the period of multiculturalism to the development of the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*. It showed that the new *Australian Citizenship Act 2007*, and its policy of citizenship testing as an essential process for naturalisation, is a reminder of past practice, similar to the dictation test which enforced the White Australia Policy.

Opposition to and attempts to eradicate multiculturalism reflect the legacy of the White Australia Policy and are in tune with the attempt to re-establish assimilation by mainstreaming citizenship. Australia's past practice of discrimination, inclusion and exclusion has never been acknowledged as unfair and racist, causing great injustice. It is worth mentioning here that because Nazism and apartheid were condemned and denounced as racist, Germany and South Africa were able to move away from their past

into fairer and more harmonious societies. This study recommends that Australian authorities take responsibility and own up to the past, and formally reject Australia's racist practices, including immigration restriction, the deportation and restriction of Chinese immigrants, the White Australia Policy, dictation testing and assimilation.

Appropriate and more effective contemporary management of ethnic diversity can ensure that minorities belong and become positively productive. This study shows that discrimination is not practised just by individuals: in their daily operation the institutions of society systematically discriminate against members of minority groups in what is referred to as institutional discrimination (Vander Zanden 1996). It was found that assimilation was enforced on non-Anglo immigrants, by convincing and encouraging them to assimilate into a homogeneous Anglo-Australian culture and becoming part of the mainstream of Australian society (Gunew 1994); this intention and its practice continue to a certain extent, if not by policy, then by expectations and attitudes. Johnson and Redmond (2000) report that managing diversity is an important and imperative task as people today around the world will no longer accept, or tolerate, to be treated unfairly or stereotyped because they have some distinguishing feature, including race, nationality, creed, and or background.. Cox and Blake (2002) assert that strategically managing diversity is productive and can lead to growth in organisational effectiveness, arguing that this has yet to occur in many organisations, particularly government ones.

There are extensive and complex legal policy and processing rules with regard to obtaining citizenship, which can be intimidating and overwhelming for many people from minority groups. Inconsistencies of citizenship status continue as a threat to many immigrants, refugees and other minorities who are citizens—a supposed state of 'equality'—and can only heighten their insecurity. These citizens and potential citizens are forced to live in fear of social attitudes which violate their social and cultural citizenship rights.

Citizenship was found to influence and determine immigration policy and practice and vice versa. Significant opposition to multicultural policies has led to a reduction in social and cultural services such as health, welfare and community services. These multicultural services are fading away almost to irrelevance; they exemplify the

discrepancy between policy and practice and what is referred to at times as 'window dressing'. There are notable gaps between essential multicultural policies and what has actually been delivered for many minority ethnic employees; the policy appears to be tokenism, and it may actually hinder and limit their progress and development (Vander Zanden 1996; Johnson & Redmond 2000).

Throughout Australian history, one of the dominant themes that has emerged from historical events, and from the literature concerning the topic, is that Australia as a colony and then as a nation has focused on issues of inclusion and exclusion, the selection of who is welcome and who is not, and even how the welcoming and the unwelcoming is conducted. These issues are consistently used to regulate immigration policy and the policy and process of citizenship, as well as attitudes towards multiculturalism. This thesis has demonstrated the tendency to downplay history's legacy which still represents a significant barrier to the international reputation of Australia.

The thesis found a recurrent theme in the literature of multiculturalism and cultural diversity in Australia which is the need for a greater level of cross-cultural analysis within the Australian context. Institutions need to examine issues in relation to changes brought about by new generations of non-European immigrants to Australia. Unless such awareness exists, misunderstanding will continue to result in marginalisation, stereotyping and prejudice, which can also be easily ignored or trivialised. It is therefore recommended that authorities provide funds for programs to support cross-cultural awareness, and to celebrate cultural diversity and community heritage in Australia. All levels of government need to encourage a stronger and more committed compliance with their own programs through the restructuring of the representations on boards/governing committees and councils to reflect the cultural diversity of Australia. There needs to be greater awareness of the experiences and achievements of non-European NESB people in our society, and the role these communities have played throughout Australia's history. I recommend a national observance day, in recognition of the accomplishments of non-white, non-European NESB citizens.

Looking to the future: Australian citizenship in the 21st century

Finally, one must speculate about the future of Australia's citizenship in an increasingly global world. Current issues which influence debates and raise important questions include: What will Australia be like 20, 30 or 40 years from now? Some predict that Australia's population might reach 50 million by the year 2050. Where are these extra people likely to come from? Australia is not producing enough children; therefore, immigration is likely to continue to play the role of nation building, as this country relies on highly skilled professionals and people with sufficient capital to invest in Australia. The people who are likely to immigrate to Australia are not the Anglo British or white Europeans; immigration practice is likely to continue to emphasise skilled and business migrants. These are likely to come predominately from India and China, as has been the case for the last decade or so. Further, debate about sustainability and environmental/climate concerns raises questions about possible further global unrest—consequences of climate change. The possible increase of Australian refugee intake due to such factors will involve people of non-European background, most likely from neighbouring Pacific Island nations.

As a nation historically built on discrimination and the practice of inclusion and exclusion, Australia has experienced periodic episodes of racism against a particular group or race, recently resurgent in small areas of the population with attacks on Indian students. It is interesting to observe the changing pattern of racism, with different groups targeted at different times. Changes brought about by the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007* indicate a move away from multiculturalism towards a 'new assimilation'; one must query its relationship to past practices, which continue to inform our present, and need to be explored as they may influence the future. The conflicting dynamics of globalisation and protectionism are likely to create a tension at the very core of Australian citizenship, between the commitment to universal liberal and democratic values and the practice of non-discrimination, on the one hand, and the commitment to Australian citizenship with a national cultural identity and political community on the other. These raise further questions, not only about immigration and citizenship, but also about how a democratic nation like Australia should respond to public controversy over immigration, citizenship and cultural identity.

Beyond the scope of this study, a question remains and must be asked: Can the founding principles that contributed to the construction of the White Australia Policy and assimilation be disassociated from Australian citizenship? Despite the best intentions to bring equality to citizenship process and practice, governments constantly struggle to deliver a system that is aligned with a multicultural society and includes the perspectives of new and emerging communities. Questions about the process and efficacy of citizenship, about the nature and affinity of the groups it represents, and about how to reduce difference and enhance cohesion in the community, are likely to continue. New realities are continual challenges to citizenship. There has been a struggle to bring about Australia's rich cultural diversity, to move away from a one-size-fits-all model to building confidence and trust, to implement approaches tailored to enhance diversity, but these have proved difficult and inconsistent, and they are not yet emerging as models to lead Australia towards a new era of multicultural citizenship.

One way of looking at future citizenship is partnering with Indigenous community leaders. This may provide the citizenship ceremony with an authentic sense of welcoming newly naturalised citizens to country, and bring about a shift in attitudes towards the future. It would also provide an overdue recognition of the original owners of this land, thanking them for allowing Australia to develop into what it has become today despite the obvious injustice they have suffered. It would also bring an understanding of other non-white Australians who have experienced discrimination and exclusion. My future vision for Australia: A society where all residents are respected, safe and feel that they belong, where they are able to achieve their full potential, where diversity means prosperity and is celebrated, where everyone enjoys equality and fully participates in all aspects of Australia's global community.

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