There has never been a greater need for a sober, historically informed yet critical account of immigration policy in Australia. In this book, James Jupp, Australia's leading specialist on migration, surveys the changes in policy over the last thirty years since the seismic shift away from the White Australia Policy. Along the way he outlines the history of Australian immigration, compares the achievements of the Fraser, Hawke and Keating governments, and considers the establishment of the 'institutions' of multiculturalism and ethnicity. Jupp looks critically at the ways economic rationalism, the rise of Pauline Hanson and One Nation, and the environmental debate have impacted upon migration choices. The vexed issue of refugees and asylum seekers is also covered in great depth.

James Jupp is Director of the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies at the Australian National University. His many publications include, as general editor, The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its Peoples and Their Origins (second edition, Cambridge University Press, 2001).
From White Australia to Woomera
The Story of Australian Immigration

JAMES JUPP
Contents

List of acronyms and abbreviations ix

Introduction 1

Chapter 1 Creating an immigrant society, 1788–1972 5
A new Britannia 5
White Australia 6
Populate or perish 10
Planning and control 13

Chapter 2 From assimilation to a multicultural society, 1972–2002 21
Assimilation 21
The ethnic situation in 1972 23
Language and culture 24
Ethnic community organisation 27
The new proletariat 29
Ghettoes and ethnic suburbs 30
A political base 32
Social mobility 34
Asian settlement 35
A new middle class 36
An ethnic underclass? 37

Chapter 3 The Fraser, Hawke and Keating governments, 1975–1996 41
The Fraser government, 1975–1983 42
The Hawke government, 1983–1991 46
The Keating government, 1991–1996 49
The ministerial record 52
Prime ministerial intervention 53
Continuity and difference 56

Chapter 4 Policy instruments and institutions 61
The Immigration Department 61
State government agencies 67
The advisory structures 69
Inquiries and reports 72
Consultation and representation 73
Research and advocacy 75
The ethnic communities 79

Chapter 5 Multicultural policy 83
Australian multiculturalism 84
The foundations 85
The Galbally report 86
Multicultural institutions 89
The agenda of 1989 91
The reassessment of 1995 92
Settlement policy 93
Language policy and multicultural education 94
Access and equity 97
The agenda of 1999 98
Indigenous peoples and multiculturalism 99
Theorising multiculturalism 101
Shifting emphases 102

Chapter 6 The attack on multiculturalism 105
Conservative criticism of multiculturalism 106
Other criticism 109
The bipartisan consensus ends, 1988 110
Australians Speak 112
A developing critique 113
Popular critiques 115
Summarising the conservative critique 116
Less conservative critics 119
The survival of multiculturalism 120
**Chapter 7** The impact of One Nation 123
- The racist inheritance 124
- The arrival of One Nation 127
- Hanson’s policies 129
- One Nation’s immigration program of 1998 131
- One Nation support 134
- Graeme Campbell and One Nation 136
- The influence of One Nation 137
- Tragedy or farce? 138

**Chapter 8** Economic rationalism 141
- Economic rationalism in immigration policy 141
- The overall economic impact 144
- The human capital approach 146
- Selection criteria 147
- User pays and cost-free immigration 151
- Settlement outcomes 153
- The ‘uneconomic’ immigrant 155
- The limits of rationality 157

**Chapter 9** Sustainability and population policy 162
- Populate or perish 163
- Growing doubts 164
- Zero population growth 167
- A population policy 170
- Growth, limitation and devolution 173
- Ageing and decline 175
- Future stabilisation 176

**Chapter 10** Refugees and asylum seekers 180
- The UN Convention and Protocol 182
- Refugee intakes since 1975 184
- The humanitarian programs 186
- Boat people, asylum seekers and mandatory detention 187
- The shift to temporary protection 190
- *Tampa* and the Pacific solution 193
- A tough solution for a small problem 196
## Contents

**Chapter 11 A past, present and future success?** 200
- Immigration policy in a globalised economy 201
- Multicultural reality 208
- A glance at the future 213
- Changing attitudes and values 217

**Appendix I Chronology: 1972–2002** 220

**Appendix II Ministers of immigration, departmental secretaries and gross annual settler intake, 1973–2002** 224

References 225

Index 233
### Acronyms and abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAFI</td>
<td>Australians Against Further Immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>Australian Broadcasting Commission (later Corporation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACF</td>
<td>Australian Conservation Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACPEA</td>
<td>Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTU</td>
<td>Australian Council of Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AEAC</td>
<td>Australian Ethnic Affairs Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AESP</td>
<td>Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGPS</td>
<td>Australian Government Publishing Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIMA</td>
<td>Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1979–86)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALP</td>
<td>Australian Labor Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMEP</td>
<td>Adult Migrant Education (later English) Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANESBWA</td>
<td>Association of Non-English-Speaking Background Women of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APIC</td>
<td>Australian Population and Immigration Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIO</td>
<td>Australian Security Intelligence Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSIC</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BI(MP)R</td>
<td>Bureau of Immigration (later Multicultural and Population) Research (1989–96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAAIP</td>
<td>Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies (1988)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CALD</td>
<td>Culturally and Linguistically Diverse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acronyms and abbreviations

CEDA Committee for the Economic Development of Australia
CMEP Child Migrant Education Program
COPQ Council on Overseas Professional Qualifications
CRSS Community Refugee Settlement Scheme
CSIRO Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
DEETYA Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs
DFAT Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DIEA Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1976–87, 1993–96)
DILGEA Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (1987–93)
DIMA Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (1996–2001)
DIMIA Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (since 2001)
DSS Department of Social Security
EAC Ethnic Affairs Commission (State level)
ECC Ethnic Communities’ Council (State level)
ESL English as a Second Language
FECCA Federation of Ethnic Communities’ Councils of Australia
GIA Grant-In-Aid
HREOC Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission
IOM International Organization for Migration
IRT Immigration Review Tribunal
LOTE Languages Other Than English
LSIA Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia
MAIS Multicultural Australia and Immigration Studies
MFP Multifunctional Polis
MRC Migrant Resource Centre
NAATI National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
NESB Non-English-Speaking Background (born overseas)
### Acronyms and abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NESB 2</td>
<td>Non-English-Speaking Background (born in Australia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMAC</td>
<td>National Multicultural Advisory Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOOSR</td>
<td>National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>National Population Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMAS</td>
<td>Numerical Multifactor Assessment System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMA</td>
<td>Office of Multicultural Affairs (1987–96)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM&amp;C</td>
<td>Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROMAMPAS</td>
<td>Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services (1986)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RRT</td>
<td>Refugee Review Tribunal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSL</td>
<td>Returned and Services League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBS</td>
<td>Special Broadcasting Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFE</td>
<td>Technical and Further Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIS</td>
<td>Telephone Interpreter Service (later Translating and Interpreting Service)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZPG</td>
<td>Zero Population Growth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>