

ISA 2008 – Barcelona – September 5-8

MIGRATION, ETHNICITY AND PRIVILEGE: AN EXPLORATION OF REPRESENTATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

ABSTRACT

Representation assumes that those who govern have knowledge of those for whom they govern. It is easy to presume knowledge of the "other", but as we know this can be based in prejudice, cultural difference, or simply misinformation or simplification. Usually our explorations of this process have focussed on populations identified as disadvantaged, disempowered or somehow "non-privileged". However the research process outlined here has revealed previously unexplored diversity within a population commonly described as privileged suggesting that good governance requires alertness to presuming to know both unprivileged and privileged.

The research approach outlined in this paper has used a blend of historical reappraisal and qualitative techniques focusing on a population who have been conceptualised as doubly privileged. This population focus is that of older British, post World War 2 male migrants in South Australia. These people have been conceptualized as privileged because they are male, and they were part of the preferred ethnic group that Australian politicians and policy makers favoured post WW2. However review of the historical data and qualitative interviews with some of these men show that the accepted narrative of a homogenous pre-WW2 British origin population is oversimplistic.

The historical research suggests that the presumption that post WW2 British migrant men were coming into an homogenous, privileging environment in migrating to SA is both ahistorical and crude. Furthermore the belief that post WW2 British migrant men were ethnically homogenous is undermined by the qualitative research, that reveals that their presumed homogeneity is much more fluid and nuanced than dominant conceptualisations have allowed. The impact of core ethnicities that continue to exist and compete in Britain, the social class focus and economic commodification of migrants in the machinations of powerful players in the state of South Australia all confound homogenizing, simplistic knowings of British migrant men in this state. Generically these findings caution social researchers with regard to presuming to know so called "privileged" populations as well as presumed non-privileged groups.

1. INTRODUCTION

Representation is at the heart of democracy¹ and assumes that those who govern have knowledge of those for whom they govern. However as some writers and researchers have noted it is easy to presume knowledge of the "other"². These writers would posit that those in positions of power have a duty to seek out understandings of those from different social positions and experiences as part of maintaining, monitoring and ensuring justice within democratic societies. This paper builds on the literature which has critiqued some of the notions that exist within this paradigm, with the aim of extending our thinking and strengthening the justice of policy and practice outcomes.

Most research focusing on othering hones in on populations identified as somehow "non-privileged", conversely the research that will be used to explore the notion of knowing the other in this paper is a sub-population who in the context of Australia (both in academic literature and popular notions) has been identified as "privileged"^{3 4}. The group who form the core focus of this research are men who migrated to Australia from Britain/the United Kingdom in the post World War 2 period (ie 1945-1970). As white, male, English speaking, assisted (ie their travel to Australia was subsidized) migrants they have been positioned as multiply privileged in the Australian context. Yet exploration of their individual stories and experiences, archival and historical research in regard to the bureaucratic and political context which recruited (and benefited from) them, and re-examining the contexts they came from reveals a range of nuances, contradictions and macro level power machinations that challenge simplistic notions that these men were homogenously "privileged".

The approach taken in this paper is to provide an overview of the national historical and conceptual milieu within which the research outlined is located for those who may be unfamiliar with the Australian migration scene. This is followed by a mixed descriptive and analytical discussion of the research findings and their implications in regard to the presumptions that have been made about British migrants in Australia. We will then conclude with a discussion that works to generalize from these specific findings to broader explorations of democratic societies, exploring the implications for democracy, participation and governance, including the opportunities and cautions that can be distilled from the findings and discussion presented here.

¹ Janet McIntyre-Mills, *Critical Systemic Praxis for Social and Environmental Justice: Participatory Policy Design and Governance for a Global Age* (London: Kluwer, 2003).

² Michelle Fine, "Working the Hyphens ; Reinventing Self and Other in Qualitative Research," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Sage, 1994), Janette Young, "On Insiders (Emic) and Outsiders (Etic): Views of Self, and Othering," *Systemic Practice and Action Research* Volume 18, no. Number 2 (2005).

³ James Forrest and Kevin Dunn, "'Core' culture Hegemony and Multiculturalism: Perceptions of the Privileged Position of Australians with British Backgrounds," *Ethnicities* 6, no. 2 (2006), A. James Hammerton and Alistair Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms : Australia's Invisible Migrants* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), Richard Bosworth, "Australia and Assisted Immigration from Britain 1945-1954," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 34 (1998).

⁴ Indeed one of the first obstacles that the research had to negotiate at the PhD Research proposal stage was the query of why this group merited research given its privileged positioning.

1a. Australian Multiculturalism

Australia, like other colonial settler societies such as the United States, Canada and New Zealand is a migrant society⁵. That is our population is composed predominately of migrants (persons born in another country) and the descendants of migrants. Australia, like most of these nations also shares a history of the relatively recent dispossession of indigenous populations, however whilst wishing to ensure that this history is identified as integral to their current existence as nation states, it is the numerically dominant migrant and migrant origin population that forms the focus for this analysis⁶. Since the early 1970s, 25 percent or more of the population in Australia has been born overseas with a further third identifying that at least one of their parents was born overseas (REF). This compares to non-settler societies such as the United Kingdom (which will be referred to as Britain in the historical section of this paper) where commentators are noting increases in migration that have lead to up to 9% of the population being foreign born⁷. In Australia the ethnic composition of persons born overseas is diverse, with this mixing of origins having been dependent on both internal Australian politics and external events such as the locale of international conflicts.

The dominant theoretical understanding of Australia the migrant nation that has been developed, refined and used to underpin public policy in the era following the end of World War 2 until recently is that of multiculturalism⁸. Historically multicultural theory posits that up until the end of World War 2 the Australian population was predominately 'Anglo-Australian', that is born in either Britain, or Australia but of British origin. A commonly quoted percentage (although its origins are obscure) is that Australia at the end of WW2 was "98% British"⁹. This presumed ethnic homogeneity is seen as having been the result of two core policy processes: on the one hand a favoring of British migrants through processes of supporting their migration to Australia, and on the other exclusionary policies that barred non-British people. In the analyses of multicultural theorists as the supply of British migrants dried up in the decades following World War 2 Australian governments were forced to look elsewhere for migrants to fulfill their aims of intense population growth leading to Australia becoming the multicultural nation that it is today¹⁰.

Multiculturalism in Australia holds within it a number of conceptual pairings; British/non-British; White/non white; Anglo/non-Anglo; ethnic/Anglo-origin; Anglo/multicultural. All of these pairings draw on images of two distinct internally homogenous groups, which although the terms used change, consistently conflate British migrants and "Anglo Australians" as ethnically and

⁵ David Pearson, "Theorizing Citizenship in British Settler Societies," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 6 (2002).

⁶ Having said this, as a complicating factor to the discussion most people identifying as indigenous in Australia have some non-indigenous ancestry.

⁷ David Feldman, "Making Immigration Work for Britain," *BBC History Magazine*, March 2008.

⁸ "Assimilation" was the dominant policy aim and exploration until the mid to late 1960s, however from that time multiculturalism has held sway

⁹ Bosworth, "Australia and Assisted Immigration from Britain 1945-1954.", Russell McGregor, "The Necessity of Britishness : Ethno-Cultural Root of Australian Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 3 (2006).

¹⁰ Laksiri Jayasuriya, "Integration in a Diverse Plural Society," *NEXUS Newsletter of the Australian Sociological Association Inc* 19, no. 1 (2007), John Menadue, "Australian Multiculturalism: Successes, Problems, Risks," in *The Multicultural Experiment*, ed. Leonie Kramer (Sydney, Australia: MacLeay Press, 2003).

culturally the same and homogenous. Experiences of cultural dissonance or migrant experiences had been denied in regard to British migrants in Australia, with some multicultural authors being quite overt in claiming the terms “ethnic” and “migrant” for only those migrants who had come from countries where English was not their first language¹¹.

Multiculturalism thus created an homogenized “other” and one which non-British or British origin persons could be positioned against as less privileged than¹². Privilege was purported to be displayed in the manner in which post World War 2 Australian migration recruitment programs targeted British migrants, and the level of subsidization that these migrants received to come to Australia¹³, and the different, purportedly less onerous, constraints put on them on arrival in Australia¹⁴. These definitions of “privilege” have rarely been critiqued, and it is only recently (compared to the volume of literature and research produced regarding non-British migrants experiences) that there has been a flurry of interest in the stories of post World War 2 British migrants. This interest has been predominately in the field of oral histories¹⁵. Whilst recognizing and exploring the disregard that has existed towards them as migrants, it has not actively critiqued the presumptions of privilege that have framed such.

2. RESEARCHING POST WORLD WAR 2 BRITISH MEN IN AUSTRALIA : THE LITERATURE

Between 1947 and 1971 British migrants formed 42% of all migrants to Australia, contributing a net population gain of just over 1 million people¹⁶. As noted already, popular theory is that these migrants blended seamlessly into the Anglo-Australian community as they were the visually, culturally and linguistically “the same” as the resident population of the time¹⁷. However

¹¹ Laksiri Jayasuriya, David Sang, and Angela Fielding, "Ethnicity, Immigration and Mental Illness: A Critical Review of Australian Research," *South Carlton, Australia: Bureau of Immigration Research* 61 (1992): p7, D. T. Rowland, *Pioneers Again : Immigrants and Ageing in Australia* (Canberra: Bureau of Immigration Research, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1991).

¹² Ross MacGregor, "Why the Nesb [Non English Speaking Background] Banner Still Flies [the Misuse of the Term Nesb as an Indicator of Social and Economic Disadvantage.]," *People and Place* 5, no. 1 (1997), Jean Martin, *The Migrant Presence ; Australian Responses 1947-77 : Research Report for the National Population Inquiry*, Studies in Society (Sydney, NSW: Hornsby, 1978).

¹³ W.D. Borrie, "'British' Immigration to Australia," in *Australia and Britain : Studies in a Changing Relationship*, ed. A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980)., for comment re Non-British migrants see (REF)

¹⁴ Ann-Mari Jordens, "Post-War Non-British Migration," in *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, It's People and Their Origins*, ed. James Jupp (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ Hammerton and Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms : Australia's Invisible Migrants*, Mark Peel, "Dislocated Men : Imagining 'Britain' and 'Australia'," in *Speaking to Immigrants : Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration*, ed. A. James Hammerton and Eric Richards (Canberra, ACT: Australian National University, 2002).

¹⁶ I.H. Burnley, "British Immigration and Settlement in Australian Cities, 1947-1971," *International Migration Review* 12, no. 3 (1978).

¹⁷ Andrew Markus, "History of Post-War Immigration," in *New History : Studying Australia Today*, ed. G. Osborne and W.F. Mandle (George Allen and Unwin, 1982), Jordens, "Post-War Non-British Migration.", Bosworth, "Australia and Assisted Immigration from Britain 1945-1954.", McGregor, "The Necessity of Britishness : Ethno-Cultural Root of Australian Nationalism."

preliminary literature based research into the experiences of post World War 2 British migrants began to throw up surprising inconsistencies, between the picture of harmonious integration that had been painted firstly by politicians of the immediate post war era¹⁸, and had then been uncritically picked up by multiculturalists. Despite the assumption that British migrants would be readily assimilated into Australian society there were clear indicators that their experiences were not trouble free. Intriguingly many of the specific issues identified by British migrants paralleled those commonly identified as affecting non-English speaking migrant groups. For example a lack of recognition of qualifications¹⁹, cultural and language differences²⁰ and prejudice from Anglo-Australians²¹. In addition Burnley²² had noted that British migrants patterns of housing location did not mirror those of the Australian born, again suggesting a level of stratification and distinction that has been more commonly noted with regard to non-English speaking migrants in Australia²³.

There were also issues that seemed to be more specific to British migrants compared to non-British migrants of this era, reflecting cultural and social differences between Britain and Australia. For example a number of migrants in Varley's²⁴ contemporary study noted the lack of employment for wives in Australia. This was problematic as families had often budgeted on having more than one income²⁵. This scenario was however demonstrative of a cultural difference between Britain and Australia at this time. Many of the married women migrating to Australia had been working in Britain prior to migration²⁶ however in Australia even through the 1960s working wives were frowned upon and actively excluded from the labour market (REF)²⁷. There were other differences as well that lead to many British migrants seeing Australia as a step back in time. Stuart²⁸, one of the men interviewed by the author, who arrived in the early 1960s found life in a newly developing suburb of Adelaide to be vastly different from his life as a young man in "swinging London" (Stuart interview).

¹⁸ For an interesting introduction to the rhetoric of the era see the first few minutes of the then Minister for Immigration's claims : <http://video.google.com.au/videoplay?docid=7134061664078851909>

¹⁹ Alan R. Richardson, *British Immigrants and Australia : A Psycho-Social Inquiry*, Immigrants in Australia 4 (Canberra: Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Australian National University Press, 1974). Val Colic-Peisker, "Croats in Western Australia: Migration, Language and Class," *Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 2 (2002).

²⁰ Diane Bithell, E., "British Immigrants in Elizabeth, Sa : A Third Culture?" (B.A. Hons, University of Adelaide, 1974), Colic-Peisker, "Croats in Western Australia: Migration, Language and Class."

²¹ Reg T. Appleyard, *The Ten Pound Immigrants* (Boxtree Limited, 1988), Andrew Jakubowicz, "Racism, Multiculturalism and the Immigration Debate in Australia: A Bibliographic Essay," (1985), James Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures* (Lansdowne: Cheshire, 1966).

²² Burnley, "British Immigration and Settlement in Australian Cities, 1947-1971."

²³ James Ted McDonald and Christopher Worswick, "The Earnings of Immigrant Men in Australia: Assimilation, Cohort Effects, and Macroeconomic Conditions," *Economic Record* 75, no. 228 (1999).

²⁴ G. Varley, "'A New Britannia' : Being a Study of Migration to South Australia since Ww2 with Particular Reference to Its Effects on Adelaide's Outer Areas of Elizabeth and Salisbury" (Murray Park CAE, 1974).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.(Interviews with Brian, John)

²⁷ In South Australia women in the public service were expected to resign on getting married up until at least the mid 1960s when my own mother had to do this.

²⁸ Interview ref

Other more structural differences experienced by the British migrants included the impact of coming from localities with well established infrastructure to what were often newly developing communities. For example the stresses of migrating to the developing outer northern suburb of Elizabeth in South Australia, with unfinished roads that formed a quagmire in the wet²⁹ and a deficiency with regard to any "entertainment other than sport"³⁰. In addition a lack of social services such as the national health scheme and free public education were also felt keenly by many British migrants of the time³¹.

Hassam's³² and Thomson and Hammerton's³³ historical explorations have revealed a level of tension and conflict between British migrants, Australian government bureaucracies, and the Australian media in this period that is startling given the rhetoric of sameness. This included a number of rent strikes by British migrants who were residents in government hostels, and in one case this even involved both state and federal police being called to break up a strike³⁴. Hassam's quite specific analysis involved tracking the shift from a media portrayal of British migrants as "heroes", to "whingers"³⁵. This labeling of British migrants has been forgotten or ignored in Australian migration analyses yet again it confounds the notions of harmonious integration and sameness that both Australian politicians and multicultural theorists have claimed. Indeed Hassam contends from his survey of newspapers that the Australian media was consistently more positive towards non-British than British migrants through this era³⁶ and that the broad shift from a "British" to an "Australian" identity in Australia through this era placed British migrants in a psychically negative position as remnants of changing ideologies of identity³⁷.

These findings contested the picture of homogenous sameness between British migrants and "Anglo-Australia", and began to throw into question the homogenous "othered/privileged" positioning of British migrants compared to non-British migrants in the post war period. There were suggestions that some of the negative experiences of migrants may not necessarily have been based in racial or language distinctions but were somehow part of a more generic migrant experience; and that British migrants may have had to face issues unique to their migration, some perhaps even connected to their preferenced positioning by Australian governments.

²⁹ Susan Marsden, "Interview with Doris Venus " (1982).

³⁰ Varley, "'A New Britannia' : Being a Study of Migration to South Australia since Ww2 with Particular Reference to Its Effects on Adelaide's Outer Areas of Elizabeth and Salisbury", p21.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Andrew Hassam, "From Heroes to Whingers: Changing Attitudes to British Migrants, 1947 to 1977," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 51, no. 1 (2005).

³³ Hammerton and Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms : Australia's Invisible Migrants*.

³⁴ Hassam, "From Heroes to Whingers: Changing Attitudes to British Migrants, 1947 to 1977."

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Andrew Hassam, "Post-War Migration and the Birth of the Whingeing Pom," *The Real Thing: ACH* 24 (2006): p43-45.

³⁷ Hassam, "From Heroes to Whingers: Changing Attitudes to British Migrants, 1947 to 1977."

3. EXPLORING BEYOND THE LITERATURE

Following on from initial literature based investigations, the ethnographic research undertaken involved 3 core explorations. Firstly a review of the historical picture to what that Australia in 1945 was 98% British origin, was undertaken. Exploring ABS data from pre-federation state-based census's disputed these proportions and the possible implications in regard to the resident Australian population post WW2 are the subject of other papers³⁸ (REFS). Simply summarized the research undertaken in this regard indicates that the South Australian population (having used this as a case study) had a much more mixed-ethnic ancestry than has commonly been accepted with perhaps 20% or more of the population having had non-British ancestry by 1945, the end of World War 2. This research contests the ethnic homogenization of "Anglo-Australia" that British and non-British migrants were entering post WW2 and indicates that the differences between British migrants and the Australian population in the post war period may have been distinguished not only by the impacts of geographic separation and unique history as a settler nation on culture³⁹, but also the impact of a much higher rates of miscegenation and mixed ethnicity than has been acknowledged.

However for the purposes of this paper, our focus is on the research undertaken specifically with regard to post World War 2 British (men's) migration. This involved two other key research processes. Firstly qualitative interviews with older British men who had migrated between the years 1945 to 1975; and secondly a review of the files of the South Australian Immigration, Publicity and Tourist Bureau Department, the bureaucratic entity responsible for organizing and coordinating British migration to the state in the post War period. These two sub-projects reveal a range of fractures in the homogeneity of "British migrants" themselves, and begin to extend our understandings of migration from that of individual ethicized privileged : non-privileged, migrants to a much more politicized understanding of migration per se.

3a. Intra-British distinctions

Interviews with British men revealed a number of confounders to the homogenized portrayal of British migrants. The first was the continuation of identifications with intra-British ethnicities, and experiences of prejudice and discrimination because of these. For example a number of the men interviewed had Irish connections. Jim for example spoke of being Irish in England, his parents having migrated from Ireland to England pre World War 2. He noted that in England he lived in an area where there were lots of Irish, and that there was an attitude to the Irish in England "that was not that nice". John spoke of not considering Ireland as a possible alternative to living in England because although his wife was Irish, they were a mixed relationship (John being English) and would have "had trouble" there. On my first contact with Howard, he asserted confidently that he could not be labeled a "whingeing pom" because he was not English but a Scot. More complexly,

³⁸ Janette Young, "Ethics, Categories and Identity : Counting on Quantification : Ethnicity in Australian History," *Systems Research and Behavioral Science* (pending publication), Janette Young, Janet McIntyre, and Murray Drummond, "Overlapping Identities in Pre-Ww2 South Australia: Lessons for 21st Century Australia," *People and Place* 15, no. 3 (2007).

³⁹ John Rickard, *Australia, a Cultural History* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1988).

Bill and his wife illustrate the presumptiveness of presuming to know "British" migrants. Bill, who was almost the first man interviewed, identified himself as being "gypsy"⁴⁰, "you know caravans and all" whilst his wife revealed that her parents had been pre WW2 German migrants to Britain.

In this manner the men interviewed displayed an awareness of, and experiences of the internal ethnic diversity of British-ness. This is a diversity that has rarely been considered or acknowledged in Australian migration literature⁴¹. However in Britain the English, Irish, Welsh and Scots (and the Cornish although their claims to separatism have been much less accepted within the political scene) continue to see themselves as distinct ethnic groups, and the establishment of a Scots, Irish and Welsh parliament within recent times are testimony to the recognition of such (REF). Indeed the Irish battle for independence from England has a history of centuries⁴² and has only subsided in the last 10 years. In Britain these ethnic groups live separately and do not mix in the manner in which they have in settler societies such as Australia⁴³. Indeed a number of contemporary researchers in the UK are examining the "cross cultural" experiences of intra-British ethnicities including for example, being English in Scotland⁴⁴, Irish in England⁴⁵ and the tensions around contemporary non-Welsh migration into Wales⁴⁶.

The second factor that emerged in the interviews which confounds the notion of homogenous privilege that has been applied to post WW2 British migrants is the manner in which many of the men were on the boundaries of superfluity⁴⁷ in Britain prior to migrating. Whilst South Australia was wooing and establishing an automotive manufacturing industry in this state, workers in this industry in Britain were facing unemployment. Men like Brian who worked for Leyland in the Midlands and was in an increasingly tenuous employment situation. Prior to migrating Brian was not only conscious of his own potential retrenchment, but saw no future employment for his children. Migration for Brian was about shoring up his own and his children's future employment. Other men also saw a bleak future for their children (Dennis) in an economic environment where their own employment opportunities were being stymied (Nick) or had been constrained by the war years (Jim). The stories of the men interviewed for this research dovetail with the

⁴⁰ This is Bill's terminology and used in the knowledge that "Romany" is the more academically acceptable term.

⁴¹ Susannah Dunlop, "Post-War British Immigration to Australia : A Proposal for an Expanded Subject" (B.A. Hons, University of Adelaide, 1997).

⁴² Mairtin Mac An Ghaill, "British Critical Theorists: The Production of the Conceptual Invisibility of the Irish Diaspora," *Social Identities* 00007, no. 00002 (2001).

⁴³ Rickard, *Australia, a Cultural History*.

⁴⁴ Allan M. Findlay, Caroline Hoy, and Aileen Stockdale, "In What Sense English? An Exploration of English Migrant Identities and Identification," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (2004).

⁴⁵ Karen Scanlon et al., "Potential Barriers to Prevention of Cancers and to Early Cancer Detection among Irish People Living in Britain: A Qualitative Study," *Ethnicity and Health* 11, no. 3 (2006).

⁴⁶ Iolo Madoc-Jones, "English Settlers in Wales - Explorations of Attitudes to New 'Settlement' in the U.K.," in *Moving Cultures : Shifting Identities. Migration Connection, Heritage and Cultural Memory* (Flinders University, Adelaide, South Australia: 2007).

⁴⁷ See Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (San Diego: Harvest/Harcourt, 1968). especially chapters 5 and 7 for a discussion of capital, migrants and superfluity.

contemporaneous research undertaken by Appleyard⁴⁸ and Richardson⁴⁹. Appleyard⁵⁰ noted that the fear of unemployment was significantly correlated to emigration in British male emigrants and Richardson⁵¹ identified that having arrived in Australia satisfaction with their employment situation correlated with satisfaction of having migrated for British men.

The positioning of these migrant men in the labour market in Britain continues a pattern of British migration to Australia. British migrants were commonly not from the most impoverished strata of British society, as these persons were precluded from migrating by a variety of factors⁵². However given that the impacts of economic and industrial changes are felt with greatest intensity by those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder, migration has tended to attract persons who were a step or two above the most impoverished⁵³. In their place of origin they are not privileged, rather the small level of advantage that they have is fragile and may be under active threat. Migration becomes an attractive opportunity as it may hold securities that appear precluded in their place of origin. The focus on economic and industrial development that guided the Australian door keepers of post World War 2 British migration actively harnessed men who were in skilled and semi-skilled occupations and in doing so continued a pattern of recruiting non-privileged, although generally not the most underprivileged, of Britons to Australia⁵⁴.

3b. Gender and Migration

Discussing the labour market positioning of British migrant men exposes a gendered vulnerability that these male migrants endured and illustrate. Within Western cultures, paid employment or financial productivity has been one of the defining factors of masculinity⁵⁵. Commonly known as the breadwinner role, the gendered expectation that a man would be able to support a wife and children through his income earning capacity was enshrined in Australian industrial thinking as the male wage earner welfare legislation until relatively recently⁵⁶. Hammerton⁵⁷ in considering

⁴⁸ Reg T. Appleyard, "Socio-Economic Determinants of British Emigration from the United Kingdom to Australia," in *The Study of Immigrants in Australia*, ed. Charles Archibald Price (Canberra, ANU: Australian National University, 1960).

⁴⁹ Alan R. Richardson, "British Migrants in Western Australia," in *The Study of Immigrants in Australia*, ed. Charles Archibald Price (Canberra: Australian National University, 1960).

⁵⁰ Appleyard, "Socio-Economic Determinants of British Emigration from the United Kingdom to Australia," p29.

⁵¹ Richardson, "British Migrants in Western Australia," p37.

⁵² Eric Richards, "How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?," *The Journal of British Studies* 32, no. 3 (1993).

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Alison Leah Pion, "Exporting 'Race' To the Colonies: British Emigration Initiatives in the Late-Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 2004), p11. Pion's work clearly demonstrates the manner in which British emigrants (in the Victorian era specifically) were characterized by a contradictory positioning that located them as esteemed colonizer's abroad and denigrated "others" at home.

⁵⁵ Kenneth Solomon and Peggy Szwabo, A., "The Work-Oriented Culture: Success and Power in Elderly Men," in *Older Men's Lives*, ed. Edward H. Thompson (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), p44.

⁵⁶ Stephen Castles, "The Wage Earners Welfare State Revisited," *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 29, no. 2 (1994).

⁵⁷ A. James Hammerton, "'Family Comes First': Migrant Memory and Masculinity in Narratives of Post-War British Migrants," in *Speaking to Immigrants: Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration*, ed. A. James

the oral histories of post World War 2 British migrant men notes the overwhelmingly expectation that men of this era would adhere to this sex-determined model. What this adds to the discussion of previous paragraphs, is that it was *mens* work that was the benchmark for families to feel vulnerable. Whilst as noted, many of the wives of British male migrants had been working prior to migrating, in the conversations held with men, and frequently this involved their wives, it is their gendered responsibility to be the primary income earner that was used to assess the families economic vulnerability. This breadwinner role is clear in the marketing used to recruit British migrants⁵⁸, and in the manner in which this advertising is frequently remembered by them as connecting employment, family and migration.

The gendered breadwinner role could also become a powerful factor in the manner in which the men and their families choices became constrained on arrival in Australia. When asked why he had agreed to locate to the city of Elizabeth, having noted the very primitive state of roads and facilities that he and his family first encountered there, Nick stated simply "because that's where the work was". Behind this statement sits a wealth of gendered cultural expectation, and a location in a web of bureaucratic and political scheming. Elizabeth was where the work offered him as a male breadwinner was, and Nick, with a wife and 3 children to be fed does not see himself as having any alternative but to accept what was offered. In this manner Nick is not in a significantly different position to that of non-English speaking migrants who came to Australia in this era and were required to work wherever the government directed them⁵⁹ for 2 years. Whilst the overt criteria does not exist, Nick is still constrained, and the requirement that he refund his family's passage, plus pay for their return to Britain should they choose to do this within 2 years of arrival add to the pressure on him to accept employment in the locale he is directed to⁶⁰.

3c. The city of Elizabeth : The construction of "better" and "lesser" British migrants

The city of Elizabeth, where Nick found employment and was offered a purchase home, is not just any locale. South Australia is noted as having geographical concentrations of British migrants⁶¹ notably in the northern metropolitan suburbs, and in particular Elizabeth. Yet Elizabeth is not an example of a chance pooling of an ethnic group, or the actions of a migrant population who wished to remain exclusive. Rather the proportions of British migrants in the city are the outcome of deliberate government housing, industrialization and development planning and policy through the 1950s and 60s, creating an ethnic profile deliberately engineered by bureaucrats and politicians of the state.

Hammerton and Eric Richards (Canberra, ACT: Australian National University. History program Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, 2002), p25.

⁵⁸ See for example Mark Peel, *Good Times, Hard Times : The Past and the Future in Elizabeth* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995).plates 5 and 6.

⁵⁹ Jordens, "Post-War Non-British Migration."

⁶⁰ Nick is also an interesting individual example of non-privileged Britishness having grown up in a Children's Home

⁶¹ Bithell, "British Immigrants in Elizabeth, Sa : A Third Culture?", Burnley, "British Immigration and Settlement in Australian Cities, 1947-1971.", Hammerton and Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms : Australia's Invisible Migrants*.

There is a small library of literature, reports and government papers pertaining to the city of Elizabeth with a focus that shifts from its visionary planning as a core strategy in the Playford Plan of industrial development for the state, to that of a city plagued by an intense vulnerability to changes in global markets and industries and commonly labeled as welfare dependent⁶². Elizabeth is approximately 30 kilometers north of the city of Adelaide and was envisaged as a self contained satellite city where workers would be able to live and work within a relatively small geographical area⁶³ with planning and physical development commencing in the 1950s⁶⁴.

Whilst it was initially anticipated that Elizabeth would have a large proportion of British migrants, the proportion that eventuated in the city was in excess of that planned. From early on it became clear that this government and bureaucratic dream was not necessarily shared by the resident population with locals “resisting” purchasing in Elizabeth⁶⁵. Having failed to entice the local resident population into sharing in the bureaucratic and political dream of the planned city the government amplified its focus on recruiting British migrants to the city⁶⁶. Whilst the aim of bureaucrats was overtly an ethnicised one enmeshed within this are social class and blatant economic drivers.

One of the simplest economic drivers for targeting British migrants was that given the Australian Federal : State division of responsibilities, Australia states were expected to bear the costs of education, including the teaching of English to non-English speaking migrants⁶⁷. However it is in the interlinked social class/economic capacity that was used to position British migrants into categories of “better” and hence “lesser” that simplistic notions of ethnicity and privilege, and hence ultimately notions of representation and knowing the privileged other, are again challenged by this case study.

Peel⁶⁸ discusses at length the manner in which the South Australian Housing Trust, one of 2 key bureaucratic entities involved in the construction of Elizabeth (both physically and socially) utilized the state supported Migrant House Purchase Scheme to recruit a “better type”⁶⁹ of British migrant. “Better types” are juxtaposed against those British migrants who were “below average types who had little or nothing to offer”⁷⁰. What these better types had to offer was financial resources, a reality that is unashamedly identified in the words of Thomas Keig, who was Chief Migration Officer for the State in this era, “we didn’t want them without capital”⁷¹.

⁶² Peel, *Good Times, Hard Times : The Past and the Future in Elizabeth*. and others

⁶³ Ibid., 41-3.

⁶⁴ Susan Marsden, *Business, Charity and Sentiment : The South Australian Housing Trust 1936 -1986* (South Australia: Wakefield Press 1986).

⁶⁵ (REF- PEEL, Marsden, Keig, McKenzie)

⁶⁶ (PEEL; MCKENZIE, Keig Marsden)

⁶⁷ (Keig interview)

⁶⁸ Peel, *Good Times, Hard Times : The Past and the Future in Elizabeth*.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p89.

⁷⁰ (M. Tidswell to the SAHT board, 1958 in Peel, p90)

⁷¹ Keig Interview ?p

British migrants with capital were required most specifically, to purchase housing within the state. Linked to this however is a social engineering model of housing that positions home owners/purchasers as morally superior to renters, and in the development of the city of Elizabeth this archetype is clearly mapped out. The targeting of financially lucrative British migrants to the city intersects with the moralization of housing tenure that was part of the push towards home ownership in Australia in the post war years. Fed by the fear of communism that pervaded Australian political life at the time⁷², within this framework of understanding home owners became identified as a better type of citizen⁷³, people with a “stake in the country” via home ownership, would it was thought, be less likely to develop communist sympathies⁷⁴. Through an active process of British migrant selection in South Australia, the state was able to pick not only those migrants who could inject money into the states economy but also import migrants who fitted the political ideology and definitions of “betterness” that existed at the time. All relatively cheaply, as these financially lucrative, aspirational home owners did not require the expenditure of state monies on teaching them English that non-English speaking migrants would need.

Without an economic awareness of British migration to the state of South Australia, the engineering of social privilege and the exclusion of some members of the one ethnic group from such privilege (based on their financial capacity) can lead to double default misunderstanding of some British migrants “otherness”. The members of an ethnic group who have been categorized as “lesser than” already, are further discriminated against by presumptions of shared ethnic privilege. Our searches for representation and accountability via knowing the other are compromised by presuming to know on an homogenized ethnic basis, who is privileged.

4. APPLYING THE RESEARCH

The research outlined has revealed a range of factors that dispute the supposed homogeneity of post World War 2 British migrants in Australia and hence their presumed generically privileged and known positioning within Australian society. Their positioning in regard to both the resident “Anglo-Australian” population (the same as) and other groups of migrants (distinctly different from) is challenged by the findings, and with this the presumption of homogenous privilege. In summary there are seven challenges presented by the research that have challenged notions of homogenous privileging of British migrants in the post war period. Below these are briefly summarized. This paper will then conclude by genericising from these examples to the cautions they present in presuming to know privileged populations.

Firstly, there is evidence that British migrants had more in common with non-migrant groups than has been assumed by the defaulting of the term and understanding of “migrant” to exclude them. Secondly, British migrants experienced more conflict with “Anglo-Australians” (who for their part

⁷² John Murphy, *Imagining the Fifties : Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies' Australia* (Sydney: Pluto Press ; published by UNSW Press, 2000), 136-37.

⁷³ (Murphy) and see Menzies speech re “leaners and lifters”

⁷⁴ Murphy etc

may have been considerably less British in origin than has been assumed) than the publicly touted homogeneity with these people posited. Thirdly, a sense of differentiation within Britishness, based on intra-British ethnic identities emerges in the stories of men who have emigrated here. Fourthly, post World War 2 British migrant men were not predominately from upper stratas of British society, and may well have been facing superfluity via their market vulnerability in Britain, they have a class based vulnerability. Fifthly, British men had a gendered vulnerability bound up in the expectations of the “breadwinner role”, that was sixthly actively engaged in the machinations and self-interests of some Australian migrant recruitment programs. Finally, there is evidence that some powerful resident Australian interests actively construed a moral hierarchy within this one ethnic group on the basis of financial capacity.

Genericising from these seven findings the following pointers emerge with regard to democracy and representation.

Firstly, certainly in the Australian context where a core difference between English speaking migrants and non English speaking migrants has been presumed, there are indications that migration has generic impacts. This includes in the manner in which there may be tension between migrants and the communities being entered⁷⁵. Secondly, beware of public claims to sameness, “who” has made these claims and what interests might these speakers have had in presenting this version of reality are crucial to presuming to know an other.

The third, fourth and fifth findings of this research highlight the complex realities of real-life social constructs. Homogenised ethnicity in the Australian context (the receiving country) belies the impacts of intra-British ethnic experiences in Britain (the place of origin). Furthermore essentialising ethnicity as the dominant construct of concern in our understandings of migration obscures the impacts of other constructs, for example social class and gender. In choosing to consider men as the focus of this research the impact of gendered masculine expectations in the broader story of post war British migration to Australia has been highlighted. Whilst the “breadwinner” role may have specificities peculiar to the time and culture of these men, the vulnerability that gendered expectations created to powerful other interests, suggests a need for increased awareness of such phenomenon with regard to not only women⁷⁶ but also men. Homogenizing British migrants in Australia has obscured powerful intra-British ethnicities and totally overlooked class and gender differentiations.

The sixth and seventh findings again point us to being aware of the role that non-migrant entities play in migration. Migration is about more than just migrants. Migrants as individuals are the players in complex machinations both in regard to international politics, but also in the schemes and plans of those with power in the countries that are entered. As the case-study of Elizabeth

⁷⁵ Wimmer explores this re “new arrivals : old arrivals/residents” and suggests that conflict may be more usefully considered using this conceptual framework than blatant “ethnicity/race” ones.

⁷⁶ Most of the gender focused literature on migration has focused on women.

illustrates, migrants can be actively constructed as “privileged” by parties in the place migrated to, in the interests of these parties.

The concept of “othering” has been a very powerful and useful tool in undertaking research interested in progressing social justice aims. However there are cautions that need to be exercised in using this conceptual tool. Linguistically and conceptually the term “other” establishes that there are at least two parties under consideration. When we respond as social researchers to a non-privileged population, there is a subtext operating which presumes to know the converse, that is who the privileged are. In Australia, multiculturalism presumed to know white Anglo-Australia and British migrants and has focused most of its attention on exploring non-British persons experiences, assuming that these were juxtaposed against a seamless, trouble free integration of British migrants. It is only when we focus on this presumed known group of other migrants that inconsistencies between the rhetoric and presumed know-ness are revealed. This research suggests that we need to become much more critical and consciously assess statements of “privilege” and not allow this categorization of other human beings to slip under our radar.

As Katz⁷⁷ notes that there is a need for awareness that it is those with at least a foothold on the institutions of power whose causes become tabled by policy makers. We need to be actively looking for the hidden voices and sub-populations who have not even got onto political agendas yet. In this regard, looking at presumed privileged populations becomes vital and indicators such as homogenization can alert us to possible oversights of representation.

5. REFERENCES

- Appleyard, Reg T. "Socio-Economic Determinants of British Emigration from the United Kingdom to Australia." In *The Study of Immigrants in Australia*, edited by Charles Archibald Price, 25-32. Canberra, ANU: Australian National University, 1960.
- . *The Ten Pound Immigrants* Boxtree Limited, 1988.
- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harvest/Harcourt, 1968.
- Bithell, Diane, E. "British Immigrants in Elizabeth, Sa : A Third Culture?" B.A. Hons, University of Adelaide, 1974.
- Borrie, W.D. "'British' Immigration to Australia." In *Australia and Britain : Studies in a Changing Relationship*, edited by A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones, 101-16. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980.
- Bosworth, Richard. "Australia and Assisted Immigration from Britain 1945-1954." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 34 (1998): 187-200.
- Burnley, I.H. "British Immigration and Settlement in Australian Cities, 1947-1971." *International Migration Review* 12, no. 3 (1978): 341-58.
- Castles, Stephen. "The Wage Earners Welfare State Revisited." *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 29, no. 2 (1994): 120-45.
- Colic-Peisker, Val. "Croatians in Western Australia: Migration, Language and Class." *Journal of Sociology* 38, no. 2 (2002): 149-66.

⁷⁷ Jack Katz, "On the Rhetoric and Politics of Ethnographic Methodology."

- Dunlop, Susannah. "Post-War British Immigration to Australia : A Proposal for an Expanded Subject." B.A. Hons, University of Adelaide, 1997.
- Feldman, David. "Making Immigration Work for Britain." *BBC History Magazine*, March 2008, 18 - 19.
- Findlay, Allan M., Caroline Hoy, and Aileen Stockdale. "In What Sense English? An Exploration of English Migrant Identities and Identification." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (2004): 59-79.
- Fine, Michelle. "Working the Hyphens ; Reinventing Self and Other in Qualitative Research." In *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by Norman Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln: Sage, 1994.
- Forrest, James, and Kevin Dunn. "'Core'culture Hegemony and Multiculturalism: Perceptions of the Privileged Position of Australians with British Backgrounds." *Ethnicities* 6, no. 2 (2006): 203-30.
- Hammerton, A. James. "'Family Comes First' : Migrant Memory and Masculinity in Narratives of Post-War British Migrants." In *Speaking to Immigrants : Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration*, edited by A. James Hammerton and Eric Richards, 21-37. Canberra, ACT: Australian National University. History program Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, 2002.
- Hammerton, A. James, and Alistair Thomson. *Ten Pound Poms : Australia's Invisible Migrants*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Hassam, Andrew. "From Heroes to Whingers: Changing Attitudes to British Migrants, 1947 to 1977." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 51, no. 1 (2005): 79-93.
- . "Post-War Migration and the Birth of the Whingeing Pom." *The Real Thing: ACH* 24 (2006): 29-56.
- Jakubowicz, Andrew. "Racism, Multiculturalism and the Immigration Debate in Australia: A Bibliographic Essay." 1-5, 1985.
- Jayasuriya, Laksiri. "Integration in a Diverse Plural Society." *NEXUS Newsletter of the Australian Sociological Association Inc* 19, no. 1 (2007): 6-9.
- Jayasuriya, Laksiri, David Sang, and Angela Fielding. "Ethnicity, Immigration and Mental Illness: A Critical Review of Australian Research." *South Carlton, Australia: Bureau of Immigration Research* 61 (1992).
- Jordens, Ann-Mari. "Post-War Non-British Migration." In *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, It's People and Their Origins*, edited by James Jupp, 65-70: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Jupp, James. *Arrivals and Departures*. Lansdowne: Cheshire, 1966.
- Katz, Jack. "On the Rhetoric and Politics of Ethnographic Methodology."
- Mac An Ghaill, Mairtin "British Critical Theorists: The Production of the Conceptual Invisibility of the Irish Diaspora." *Social Identities* 00007, no. 00002 (2001): 179-202.
- MacGregor, Ross. "Why the Nesb [Non English Speaking Background] Banner Still Flies [the Misuse of the Term Nesb as an Indicator of Social and Economic Disadvantage]." *People and Place* 5, no. 1 (1997): 44-49.

- Madoc-Jones, Iolo. "English Settlers in Wales - Explorations of Attitudes to New 'Settlement' in the Uk." In *Moving Cultures : Shifting Identities. Migration Connection, Heritage and Cultural Memory*. Flinders University, Adelaide, South Australia, 2007.
- Markus, Andrew. "History of Post-War Immigration." In *New History : Studying Australia Today*, edited by G. Osborne and W.F. Mandle, 94 -112: George Allen and Unwin, 1982.
- Marsden, Susan. *Business, Charity and Sentiment : The South Australian Housing Trust 1936 - 1986*. South Australia: Wakefield Press 1986.
- . "Interview with Doris Venus ", 1982.
- Martin, Jean. *The Migrant Presence ; Australian Responses 1947-77 : Research Report for the National Population Inquiry*, Studies in Society. Sydney, NSW: Hornsby, 1978.
- McDonald, James Ted, and Christopher Worswick. "The Earnings of Immigrant Men in Australia: Assimilation, Cohort Effects, and Macroeconomic Conditions." *Economic Record* 75, no. 228 (1999): 49-62.
- McGregor, Russell. "The Necessity of Britishness : Ethno-Cultural Root of Austalian Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 3 (2006): 493-511.
- McIntyre-Mills, Janet. *Critical Systemic Praxis for Social and Environmental Justice: Participatory Policy Design and Governance for a Global Age* London: Kluwer, 2003.
- Menadue, John. "Australian Multiculturalism: Successes, Problems, Risks." In *The Multicultural Experiment*, edited by Leonie Kramer, 79-92. Sydney, Australia: MacLeay Press, 2003.
- Murphy, John. *Imagining the Fifties : Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies' Australia*. Sydney: Pluto Press ; published by UNSW Press, 2000.
- Pearson, David "Theorizing Citizenship in British Settler Societies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 6 (2002): 989-1012.
- Peel, Mark. "Dislocated Men : Imagining 'Britain' and 'Australia'." In *Speaking to Immigrants : Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration*, edited by A. James Hammerton and Eric Richards, 111-27. Canberra, ACT: Australian National University, 2002.
- . *Good Times, Hard Times : The Past and the Future in Elizabeth*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995.
- Pion, Alison Leah. "Exporting "Race" To the Colonies: British Emigration Initiatives in the Late-Nineteenth Century." Ph.D., Northwestern University, 2004.
- Richards, Eric. "How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?" *The Journal of British Studies* 32, no. 3 (1993): 250-79.
- Richardson, Alan R. *British Immigrants and Australia : A Psycho-Social Inquiry*, Immigrants in Australia 4. Canberra: Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, Australian National University Press, 1974.
- . "British Migrants in Western Australia." In *The Study of Immigrants in Australia*, edited by Charles Archibald Price, 33-44. Canberra: Australian National University, 1960.
- Rickard, John. *Australia, a Cultural History*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1988.
- Rowland, D. T. *Pioneers Again : Immigrants and Ageing in Australia*. Canberra: Bureau of Immigration Research, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1991.
- Scanlon, Karen, Seeromanie Harding, Kate Hunt, Mark Petticrew, Michael Rosato, and Rory Williams. "Potential Barriers to Prevention of Cancers and to Early Cancer Detection

- among Irish People Living in Britain: A Qualitative Study." *Ethnicity and Health* 11, no. 3 (2006): 325-41.
- Solomon, Kenneth, and Peggy Szwabo, A. "The Work-Oriented Culture: Success and Power in Elderly Men." In *Older Men's Lives*, edited by Edward H. Thompson. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Varley, G. "'A New Britannia' : Being a Study of Migration to South Australia since Ww2 with Particular Reference to Its Effects on Adelaide's Outer Areas of Elizabeth and Salisbury." Murray Park CAE, 1974.
- Young, Janette. "Ethics, Categories and Identity : Counting on Quantification : Ethnicity in Australian History." *Systems Research and Behavioral Science* (pending publication).
- . "On Insiders (Emic) and Outsiders (Etic): Views of Self, and Othering." *Systemic Practice and Action Research* Volume 18, no. Number 2 (2005): p 151 - 62.
- Young, Janette, Janet McIntyre, and Murray Drummond. "Overlapping Identities in Pre-Ww2 South Australia: Lessons for 21st Century Australia." *People and Place* 15, no. 3 (2007): 42-52.