Dr Sev Ozdowski AM
Director, Equity and Diversity at the University of Western Sydney and
Adjunct Professor in the Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies at Sydney University
PO Box A959, Sydney South NSW 1235
Ph: 0413 474744 E-mail: sevozdo@gmail.com

Relevance of Australian Immigration and Multicultural Experience to Poland and Contemporary Europe[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

Allow me to start with congratulating Collegium Historicum of the Adam Mickiewicz University, and in particular its Dean, Professor Prof Kazimierz Ilski, on the idea of organising this very timely and important conference entitled "*Immigration and Multiculturalism in XXI Century. The Case of Poland.*"

Although contemporary Poland could be described as a predominantly mono-cultural country, it has a rich multicultural past. The recent influx of migrants and refugees to Europe from Northern Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere may impact on Poland and its standing in the international community. It is therefore timely to review the experience other countries have had in this area and the applicability of such experience to the responses being considered by Poland and her European partners.

Just a few words to introduce myself. I am an alumnus of this great University, having graduated from law and sociology here in 1971 and 1973 respectively. In 1975 I migrated to Australia where I have spent most of my life working both for the national government and in academia.

In particular, I have spent most of my working years in the advancement of multicultural and human rights policies and institutions including: working on the pioneering 1989 National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia in the Office of Multicultural Affairs, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet; being CEO of the Office of Multicultural and International Affairs in South Australia (1996-2000) and conducting, as the Human Rights Commissioner (2000-05), a ground-breaking *"National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention."* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 2004) Currently I am Chair, Australian Multicultural Council; Director, Equity and Diversity at Western Sydney University; and teach in honorary capacity as Professor at The University of Sydney.

Today I was asked to talk about the success or otherwise of Australia's multiculturalism and immigration policies. The paper will first explore the historical backdrop and events that facilitated the development of modern Australia. Then, it will review Australian migration programs, multicultural policies and settlement outcomes. Finally, it will attempt to assess to what extent the Australian experience may apply to Poland and her European partners in the context of the current European migration crises.

Let us begin with saying few words about Australia.

For many Europeans, Australia is an exotic country with no history, an agriculture and mineral based economy and too far away to consider for convenient holidays.

In fact, the economy of Australia is one of the largest mixed market economies in the world, with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US$1.525 trillion as of 2014 or GDP per capita around 68,000 USD. International education is Australia's largest service export, worth A$19.6 billion a year to the Australian economy. Although Australia is geographically located in Asia and China is its second largest trading partner, most of her population and institutions are of European origin and it has a distinct and lively history.

Despite her European origin and institutions, Australia's national ethos is very different to that of any European country.

2. HISTORICAL BACKDROP

To understand Australia's contemporary approach to the management of migration and settlement issues one must go back to the early days of settlement.

Australia – a new country

The first issue of distinction is the fact that contemporary Australia, despite its 40,000-60,000 years of Indigenous history, is a very young country, especially when one draws comparisons with Europe. In fact, the history of modern Australia began on the day Captain James Cook arrived at Botany Bay in the *HMS Endeavour* in 1770 and formally took possession of the east coast of New Holland (as it was then called) for Britain. The first settlement was only established in 1788.

To put this timing into perspective, Australia's early days coincide with a time when Europe was about to be shaken by the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars and the Polish Great Sejm started its deliberations to deliver the 3rd May Constitution, when the United States of America were consolidating after its War of Independence and Chinese troops occupied Thang Long, the capital of Vietnam.

Politically, Australia was first established as a British penal colony in 1788; then a number of original colonies evolved into individual States each with its own legislature and government system, to be federated in 1901 under a Commonwealth Constitution, which was drafted by Australians in conventions and approved in popular referenda before it was formally sanctioned by the British Parliament. Initially a dominion, Australia finally emerged in the 1930's as a sovereign nation, with Australian citizenship created in 1949.

Egalitarian character of Australia

Second, modern Australia is an egalitarian society, with limited class divisions, popular culture of a *"fair go"*, strong commitment to social justice and an anti-authoritarian streak.[2] In Graham Davis' (2011) words: "*We seem to regard our self as perfectly entitled to tell anyone in authority to 'get stuffed', especially if that person is an effwit and violates our inviolable code of 'fair go'*".

In fact, egalitarianism has been a defining characteristic of Australian society from the very early days, when little attention was paid to class barriers by both colonial authorities and communities. For example, one of the earliest decisions taken by Captain Arthur Phillip, who later became the

first Governor of Australia, was to distribute food equally amongst the convicts and freemen and to apply the same penalties to anybody who stole from the stores. Governor Phillip was also very quick to set up an emancipation system whereby convicts could earn their freedom and take land grants in the new colony. By 1790 there was a growing population of emancipated convicts and ex-military establishing private enterprise.

A succession of governors, some better than others, continued to build a society based on Phillip's foundations. Governor Lachlan Macquarie, for example, much to the chagrin of the free settlers, appointed emancipated convicts to high government office, including Francis Greenway as the colonial architect and Dr William Redfern as the colonial surgeon. He even appointed one former convict, Andrew Thompson as a magistrate. In the old world this disregard for class barriers would simply not have been possible.

This notion of a *"fair go"* and equality of all men continued post federation. In 1907, Justice Higgins used Australia's innovative conciliation and arbitration industrial relations system to bring down the landmark Harvester Decision and established a concept of the living, or basic, wage. An employer was obliged to pay his employees a *"fair and reasonable wage"* that guaranteed them a standard of living that was reasonable for *"a human being in a civilised community",* whether or not the employer has the capacity to pay. This decision leads the world in setting up progressive labour standards. It was made long before the Bolshevik Revolution or establishment of the International Labour Organization. Another of the industrial court's early acts was to set the standard working week at 48 hours.

It needs to be recognised however that the initial concept of *"fair go"* included only male British subjects. In particular, the concept *Terra Nullius* or *"no man's land"* was the antithesis of the extension of *"fair go"* to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The Harvester decision did not guarantee the same conditions of employment to women and Aboriginal Australians; in other words, the Harvester decision could be also described as both racist and sexist as the terms are sometimes used today.[3]

However in time this initially limited egalitarianism has been significantly extended to include other social groups including; women[4], non-British minorities, people with disabilities and most recently to LGBTIQ people. Further, it has become the towering concept of Australian human rights culture, often overshadowing civil liberties and freedoms.

Currently, Australian governments are seen as the custodians of the *"fair go"* principle with a key function to overcome the effects of disadvantage. It is expected that they will deliver housing, schools and hospitals and tax tall poppies out of existence, as electors will take care of politicians who become too full of themselves.

Past cultural diversity

Third, Australia has always had a diverse population and the authorities had to manage it. To start with, modern Australia began as a white settlement in a land inhabited by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. The clash at the frontier between the Indigenous population and white settlers was cruel, hateful and has left long lasting consequences. Aboriginal resistance against the settlers was widespread, and prolonged fighting between 1788 and the 1920s led to the deaths of at least 20,000 Indigenous people and between 2,000 and 2,500 Europeans. (Grey, 2008, pp.28-40)

One may also wonder to what extent the past brutal takeover of Australia is linked to the current prejudices and a past fear of alien invasion.

Other conflicts developed along ethnic and religious lines - some 60 nationalities, ethnic backgrounds and religions are recorded among the First Fleet. The settlers imported into Australia the conflict between the Protestant English and Catholic Irish. These old prejudices and hatreds did not subside but flourished in Australia until the early post WWII years when they finally started to wane.

Particularly significant was a conflict that developed between white and Chinese miners in the Gold Fields of Victoria and elsewhere during the 1850s. The Chinese, being the largest non-British group accounted for about 20% of the mining population in Victoria. According to John W. Knott (2001): *"There were allegations that the Chinese were immoral, that their methods of mining were wasteful, that they were unwilling to prospect for new fields, that they spread disease, that they would marry white women and that their weight of numbers would eventually swamp the British character of the colony".*

What was particularity resented was that Chinese were very industrious, hardworking and were able to earn income from claims abandoned by white settlers. In other words, Chinese were accused of - amongst other things - unfair labour competition because they worked too hard. Their work practices were clearly seen by white miners as undermining what they understood to be the *"fair go"* principles.

To resolve the conflict, as early as the 1860s the Australian colonies passed restrictive legislation directed specifically at Chinese immigrants and established the foundation of the *"White Australia"* policy.

In fact, Australian legal history illustrates the existence of such diversity and associated laws and political institutions that reflected ethnic and racial prejudices and fears. Some argue that the Federation movement, for example, was partly driven by anti-Asian prejudice and fear of foreign invasion. The so-called *"race power"* section (s 51(xxvi)) was inserted into the 1901 Constitution to grant the Federal Parliament power to regulate for *"The people of any race, for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws".*

The First World War saw the establishment of internment camps for German and Italian settlers. Over time there were also a number of other conflicts that developed along ethnic and religious lines. (National Archives of Australia, 2012)

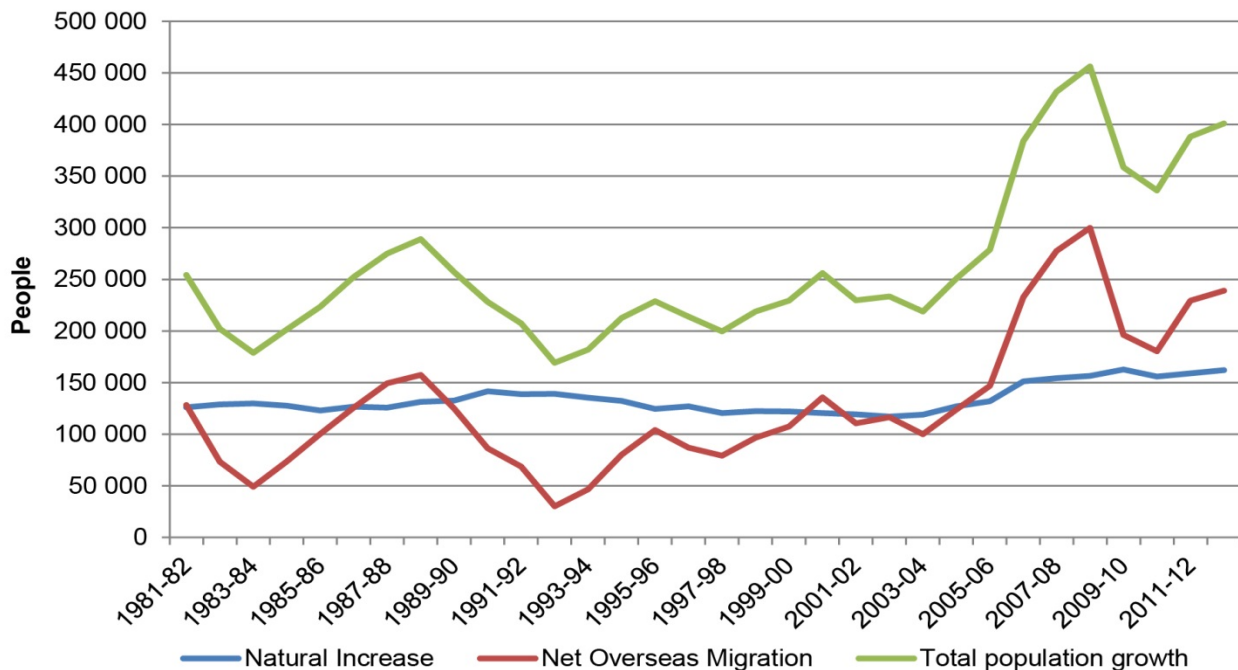## 3. AUSTRALIA – A MIGRANT COUNTRY

The modern history of Australia, as well as that of many countries in the contemporary world, is in large part the story of migration. In fact, there would not be contemporary Australia without mass migration. Every person who lives in Australia, with the exception of Aboriginal Australians, is either a migrant or a descendent of a migrant.

The population growth

Australia (together with New Zealand, Canada and the USA) is among the highest, as a percentage of population, countries in regard to migrant intake. In 1788, when European settlement began,

Australia's Aboriginal population was about 400,000. By the time of Federation in 1901 the total population was close to four million, of who one in four was born overseas. Today, 228 years later, Australia's population is about 24 million people.

Figure 1: Components of population growth 1981–82 to 2012–13

Source: Regional Net Overseas Migration 2004-05 to 2017-18.
(Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2016c. p.9)

Overseas migration continues to be a dominant factor in Australia's post WWII natural population growth; with the vast majority of migrants arriving as skilled migrants and some as refugees. Since 1945 over 7.5 million people have settled in Australia with the annual intake rates often exceeding 1 percent of Australia's population. For example, in 1950 Australia's population was 8,307,000 and the migrant intake was 184,900 people that is 2.2 percent of Australia's population. The corresponding figures for 1960 are 10,392,000, 105,900 and 1 percent; for 1970 – 12,663,000, 185,100 and 1.5 percent. The most recent immigration figures are 229,400 for 2012; 227,100 for 2013; and 205,900 for 2014 and thus approaching 1 percent of Australia's current population ("AUSTRALIA: population growth of the whole country", 2016).

As a result, Australia's current overseas-born resident population is estimated to be over 28 percent of the total population with almost 50% of Australians being either migrants or having at least one parent who is a migrant.

These figures are considered high compared to most other OECD countries and put the 2015-16 European refugee crises into perspective. By comparison, the estimated German intake of approximately 1 million asylum seekers in 2015 is about 1.2 percent of the German population estimated at 82,652,256 as of 1 July 2014.
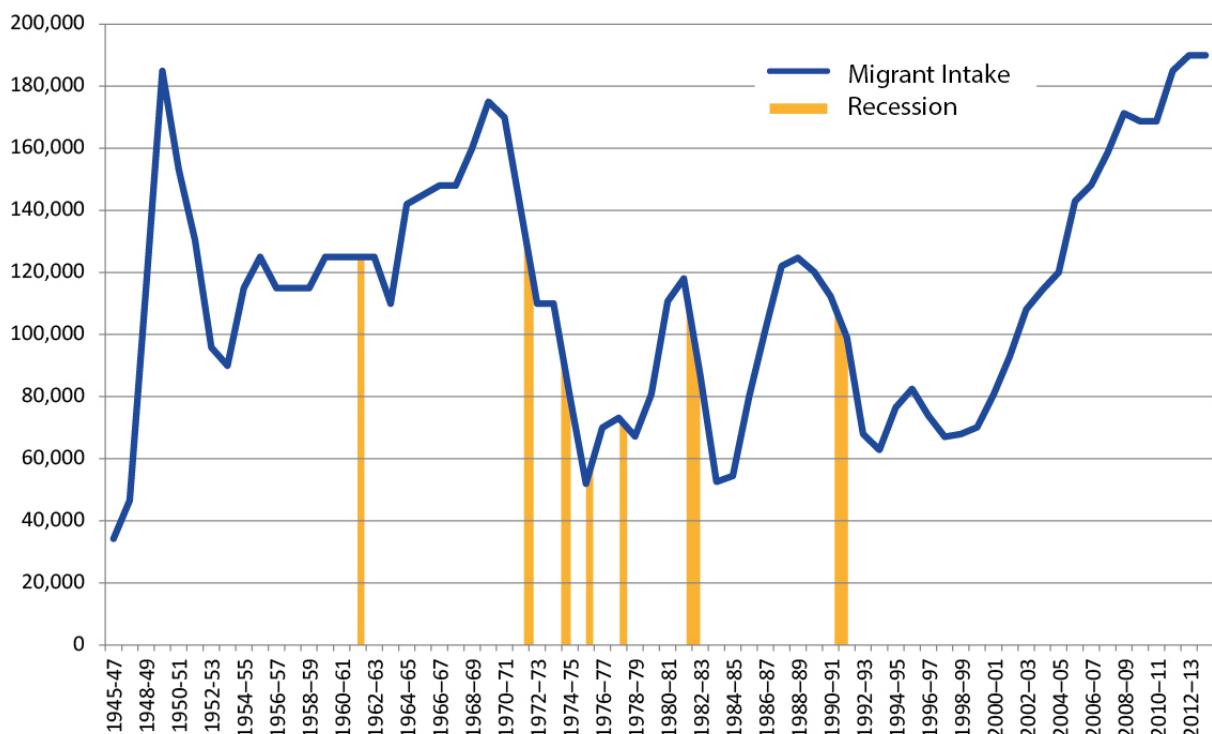
The reasons behind migrant intake

- **The economic imperative**

Although Australia started as a penal colony, migration was always seen as an important source of economic growth mainly through skills development and capital inflows.

As early as 1790, Governor Arthur Phillip wrote to England imploring the British authorities to send skilled migrants to assist with economic development. A range of different assisted-migration schemes and selection procedures were developed over the years – all focused on enticement of migrants such as skilled tradesmen and wealthy individuals who were needed for economic development.

Since the late 1850's mechanisms were put in place to allow governments to adjust immigration intake to changing economic circumstances and labour conditions. Economic booms were usually associated with increases in migrant intake and negative economic conditions with the decline. Immigration intake also directly corresponds with the health of the Australian economy and the rate of unemployment. When the economy is in recession (defined by two quarters of negative growth in real GDP) the immigration intake reduces. For example, during the Whitlam Labor government the net overseas migration went significantly down to only 21,239 in 1975-76 because of high unemployment (Phillips et al., 2010). Similar reduction in migrant intake took place as a result of the 1982-83 recession.

Figure 2: Migration Intake and Recession, 1945 to 2014

Graph created using data in "Historical Migration Statistics" (Border.gov.au, 2016c).
Recession Dates: "Mark the Graph: Dating Australian Recessions" (Markthegraph.blogspot.com.au, 2016).

The above table illustrates reduction in immigration intake during the recessions of 1961, 1971-72, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1981-83 and 1990-91. The last 20 years of unbroken economic growth has
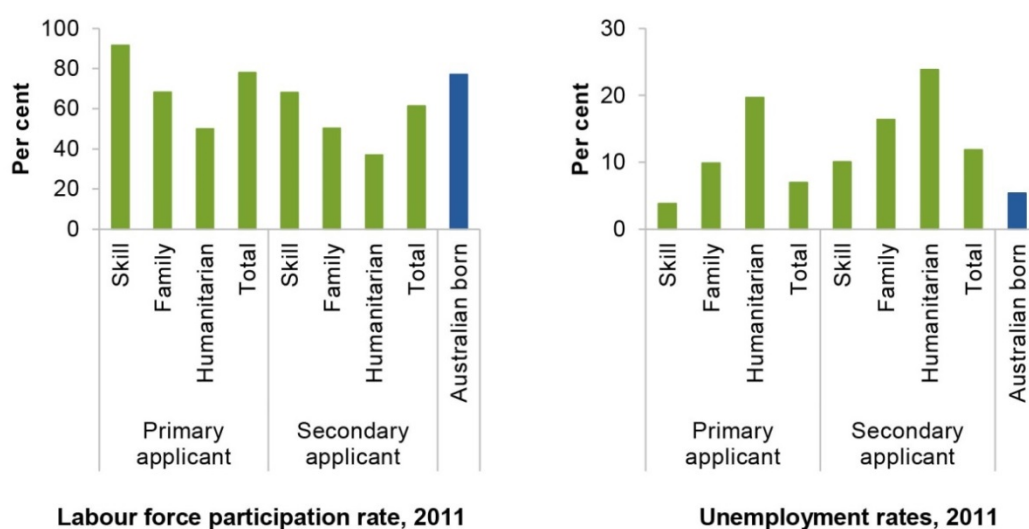
delivered a major increase in the skilled immigration intake. The above Migration Intake figure well illustrates both the political and economic influences on the size of immigration intake.

These adjustments to the immigration intake have been made to ensure that migration does not undermine Australia's high wage and labour protection measures. Historically the colonial governments worked to ensure that labour competition between settled colonialist and newcomers was minimalized and to stop the immigration of cheap labour - mainly from Asia - and of indentured workers from New Caledonia to work in the Queensland sugar industry. (Martin, 2001) Similar concerns occupy contemporary lawmakers and from time to time the issue of labour market protection is mentioned in the context of immigration intake; for example in the context of the growing popularity of temporary 457 visas.

The focus on economic imperative of immigration has grown stronger in recent years, especially since the FitzGerald (1988) inquiry that recommended a higher intake of skilled and business migrants at the expense of the quota for family reunions ("Immigration History of Australia", 2016). More recently we observed the growth in demand driven temporary migration either to address skilled labour shortages or as students. In 2000–01 temporary migrants outnumbered permanent arrivals for the first time.

A vast body of research indicates that immigration does, and will continue to, have positive economic benefits. (De Maio et al., 2014; DIAC, 2012; Hugo, 2011; Richardson et al., 2002). Migrants have increased Australia's productive capacity and brought about a broadening of Australia's social and communal life. In particular there is a wealth of evidence indicating that skilled migration adds significantly to both the Taxation Revenue and Global Domestic Product from the first year of settlement. This unfortunately does not necessarily apply to humanitarian entrants.

Figure 3: Selected labour market outcomes of immigrants

Source: Productivity Commission 2015, p. 9.

The 2014 Report by the Migration Council Australia estimates that by 2050, migration will contribute $1.6 trillion dollars to the Australian economy. These encouraging forecast figures assume that the Government will maintain a migration program which looks to fill employment gaps while also encouraging migrants with entrepreneurial experience and skills to create employment opportunities. (Migration Council Australia, 2014)

It needs to be further acknowledged that Australia's growing cultural and linguistic diversity has contributed to Australia's global reach into overseas markets and the successful expansion of Australia's trade networks, especially with China and India.

- **Advancing national security**

Since the very early days Australians were acutely aware that they are unable to defend themselves in the case of military threat and looked towards Britain to provide for Australian defence needs.

For the Polish audience it could be of interest that Russia was perceived as a threat to the security of Australia in the 18th and 19th centuries until her defeat in the war with Japan in 1905. In fact, there was a realistic fear of bombardment by the Russian fleet and of possible invasion as Australian colonies were an easy prey for lightning raids in the event of war with Britain which, at various periods, was not a remote possibility. A particular flare up took place in 1863, as a result of the visit to Melbourne by the Russian flagship *Bogatyr*, when the Colonial Press reported that Captain Severin Rakowski, living in Melbourne, was warned by his nephew, an officer on the *Bogatyr,* that an attack on Melbourne was planned by Russian warships for 1864. This was interpreted as possible Russian response to the British support for the January 1863 Insurrection in Poland. As a result, Australia took measures to mitigate the Russian threat, including reinforcement of fortifications in Sydney harbor and a request to strengthen British sea power in the Pacific. (MacCallum, 1972)

WWII made it obvious that Australia's population was too small to defend the continent. Australia was militarily threatened by Japan, with Darwin flattened by air bombardment and Sydney attacked by Japanese submarines, leading to the recall of the Australian army from Europe to take part in the Asia Pacific theatre of war. In 1945, Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell (1945, pp. 4911-4915) wrote: "*If the experience of the Pacific War has taught us one thing, it surely is that seven million Australians cannot hold three million square miles of this earth's surface indefinitely."* The old cry "*populate or perish"* won new currency with all major parties and mass migration started.

Australia also understood that a post war Britain would be in no position to supply the large number of immigrants required and as a result, in 1942 an Inter-Departmental Committee (IDC) on Post-War Migration was formed. According to Jerzy Zubrzycki (1994) by December 1944 part of the minutes of the committee labelled "*secret*" at the time recommended:

> *(i) "A vigorous policy of white alien immigration, complete with an effort to make the individual alien feel he is regarded an asset; (ii) Assistance to immigrants to meet part of passage costs that maybe necessary to induce good flow; (iii) A central body of unofficial groups interested in migration to be formed in each State to assist with reception, placement and after-care of migrants, alien and British alike; (iv) It should be made clear that Commonwealth immigration policy is based on social, economic and cultural grounds and not on any assumption of racial superiority."*

This led to mass post WWII migration from Europe and in time to the dismantling of the "*White Australia"* laws and associated practices and intake from Asia and elsewhere. The process was started in 1949 by the Menzies Government allowing some 800 non-European refugees to remain in Australia and Japanese war brides to enter Australia. In May 1958, the Menzies Government replaced the arbitrarily applied dictation test with an entry permit system, that reflected economic

and skills criteria. In 1960 the term *"White Australia"* was removed from the Liberal Party's Federal Policy Platform (Morrison, 2011) and the Labor Party followed five years later. The final vestiges were removed in 1973 by the Whitlam Labor government and the migration from non-European countries started after the Fraser government came into office in 1975.

The abolition of the White Australia Policy and the resulting globalization of immigration and refugee intake led to a significant increase in immigration from Asian and other non-European countries. The breakthrough came in August 1977 when, with the European migration being unable to deliver the numbers Australia needed, the Fraser government started substantial intake from Lebanon and South-East Asia.

- **Nation building**

There is a significant linkage between migration and Australia's national outlook and identity. On one hand, Australian authorities have been determining who will be allowed to migrate to Australia, on the other, new settlers have been impacting on the Australian national outlook. Furthermore, Australia's place in the world has significantly changed over the last two hundred years.

Looking back, Australia of the 1800s was a predominantly white British nation on the periphery of Asia with a fear of being demographically overwhelmed by its heavily populated Asian neighbours. The fact that the 1901 Constitution was created without a US-style Bill of Rights was not an oversight on the part of the drafters, but a conscious reflection of the policies and feelings of the day. Australia did not want to legislate for the equality of people of different races at that time.

WWII had taken Australia away from the British sphere of influence and created a new alliance with the USA. With the arrival of European settlers post 1945, the division between British and non-British subjects had grown out of date. The "*White Australia*" policy came into conflict not only with modern values and aspirations of Australians but also with Australia's economic need as her neighbours and key economic partners found it deeply offensive.

To sum up, it was a journey from being an insecure, ethno-centric, parochial outpost of the British Empire glorifying and depending upon Mother England, to being a modern, self-conscious, cosmopolitan and independent mid-range political and economic power in Asia Pacific. It was a journey from a closed, uniform society embracing prejudice and intolerance to a contemporary multicultural Australia embracing diversity. A very few nations in the world have experienced such a significant change in such a short period of time. It is also significant, that this journey was undertaken as a result of deliberate changes to government policies.

However, contemporary Australia, despite its solid Aboriginal and Anglo-Celtic heritage base, is still searching for its modern identity and a fully-fledged place amongst the family of nations in Asia-Pacific region.

Government control over migration

Immigration to Australia has always been tightly controlled and often financed by the relevant government(s). (Ozdowski, 1985) Initially the control was exercised by the British authorities with Great Britain sending predominantly British and Irish convicts together with accompanying officials and military. The first free settlers arrived in 1793, but numerically significant free migration

started in the 1820s and the first scheme of assisted emigration to NSW and Tasmania was established by the British government in 1831. (Oxley & Richards, 2001) Then a range of different assisted migration schemes and selection procedures were developed over time by the different colonies to bring in the most desirable migrants. In 1836 the colony of South Australia was established for free settlers from Great Britain, with a notable German language settlement.

From 1856 the Australian colonies, except Western Australia, became self-governing and took over the management of migration issues; including controls over the levels of immigration, selection of migrants and management of various forms of assistance. During the latter half of the nineteenth century several colonies continued providing passage assistance to skilled immigrants, mainly from Great Britain but also from Europe with the British government paying for the passage of convicts, paupers, the military and civil servants.

The need for a common immigration policy was one of the key factors driving the Federation movement of the 1890s. In fact, the new Federal Parliament quickly established controls over immigration to maintain Australia's *"British character"*. The first act of Parliament was the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* which established the *'White Australia'* policy at a national level and the famous dictation test to be taken at the discretion of immigration officials in any European language. *The Pacific Island Labourers Bill 1901* was passed shortly after that.

Two years later the Parliament legislated for *The Naturalization Act 1903* which talked about British subjects and did not mention Australian citizenship per se. It also established that Asians and other non-Europeans were to be denied the right to apply for naturalization and that resident non-European males were not allowed to bring wives to Australia. And all this took place in a context of disregarded British advice to Australian authorities that a race based immigration policy would run "*contrary to the general conceptions of equality which have ever been the guiding principle of British rule throughout the Empire"*. (Evans, 2001, p. 44)

After WWII, the Australian Labor government initiated a mass immigration intake. It started with a preference for 'ten pound' British immigrants; however, when the number of British migrants fell short of what was required, Arthur Calwell, the first Australian Minister for Immigration, opened Australia's immigration to the hundreds of thousands of people displaced by the War from Central Europe and then Southern Europe. The Menzies Liberal Government (1949-66) continued the mass immigration program.

The post war migration required significant changes to immigration and related laws and these provided a foundation for the current migration system. In particular, Australian citizenship had to be created as many new arrivals were not "*British subjects"*. The *Nationality and Citizenship Act* was enacted in 1948.

Immigration policies have been and continue to be politically sensitive and their impact is keenly observed by the Australian electorate. In particular, any perceived loss of migration border control by government has always had significant electoral consequences and has often resulted in significant policy and legislative changes.

For example, governments temporarily lost control over immigration between 1851 and 1860 after the discovery of gold in Victoria. As a result, Australia's population had grown from 437,655 to 1,151,947 and the population of Victoria from 77,000 to 540,000. Although the vast majority of came from the British Isles and Ireland (600,000), 60,000 came from Continental Europe (including

the Poles), 42,000 from China, 10,000 from the United States and just over 5,000 from New Zealand and the South Pacific.

The uncontrolled population growth and the emergence of a conflict led the Victorian government to assert responsibility for the management of migration and in 1855 to legislating to restrict the entry of cheap labour from China into the colony; then other colonies followed suit resulting in a significant drop in the Chinese population. From 1880 the Australian colonies adopted the White Australia Policy, the policy of excluding all non-European people from immigrating into Australia.

The government's ability to protect the border has also played an important political role in recent times. Since the early 1990s Australia has experienced waves of unauthorized arrivals (popularly referred to as boat people) mainly from Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. Furthermore, the challenge by Pauline Hanson to Australia's non-discriminatory immigration policy and multiculturalism undermined trust in the government's handling of immigration.

The effective border protection policies implemented by the Howard Coalition government, including the introduction of the Pacific Solution, clearly contributed to the defeat of the One Nation Party and a return of public trust in government handling of immigration and multicultural policies. They resulted in the re-election of the Coalition government in November 2001 despite incidents such as the Tampa or the "Children Overboard" affair[5] and allowed a significant increase in immigrant intake and an overall increase in funding for multicultural, citizenship and settlement programs.

The strong border protection measures were dismantled soon after the Rudd Labor government was elected in 2007. This led to a rapid surge in unauthorized boat arrivals, clearly contributing to Labor losing power in 2013; one of the first measures taken by the returned Coalition government was the reintroduction of strong border controls and stopping the boat arrivals (Phillips, 2015a).

4. AUSTRALIAN MIGRATION PROGRAMME

Overview

Permanent settlers enter Australia via one of two distinct programs—the Australian Migration Programme (AMP) for skilled and family migrants or the Humanitarian Program (AHP) for refugees and those in refugee-like situations. Each year, the Australian Government allocates places, or quotas, for people wanting to migrate permanently to Australia under these two programs.
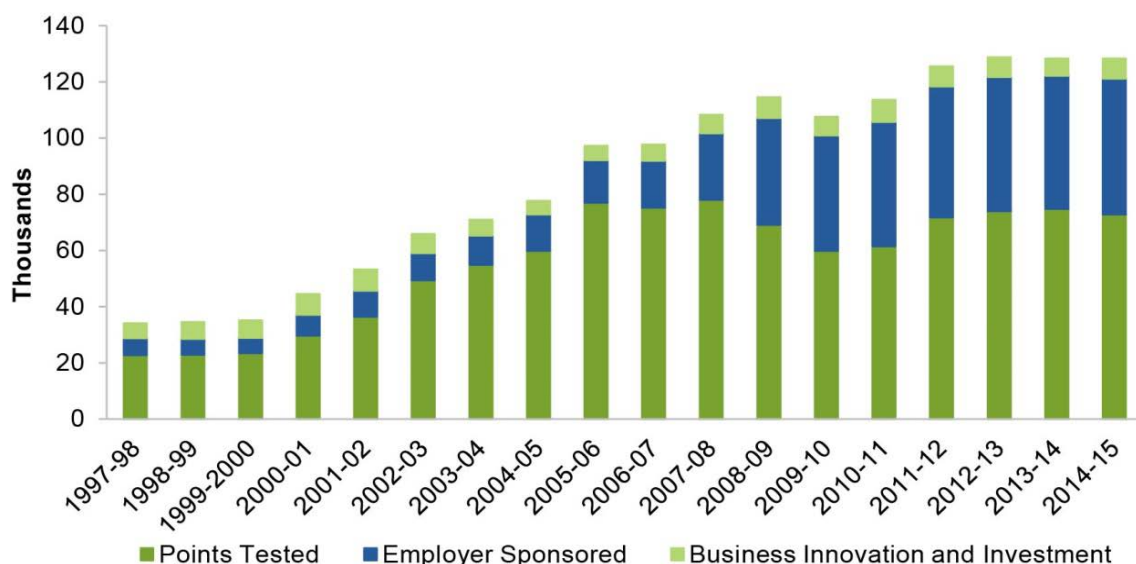
AMP, under which the vast majority of migrants are allowed to settle in Australia, is non-discriminatory on the basis of national origin, race, religion, gender or ethnicity; most successful nationalities in 2013-14 were Indians (21%), Chinese (14%) and people from the UK (12%). The program is flexible in size and composition and changes over time. It involves both off-shore applicants and on-shore demand-driven pathways.

Skills focus

The key objective of the AMP is to build the economy and in particular, support the labour market. People apply themselves either under the point system or business criteria or may be nominated by employers. Priority is given to people with skills and work experience needed for the Australian

economy, who have a good knowledge of the English language and who are relatively young and to their families. The below table includes only principal applicants without their immediate family members.

Figure 4: Permanent skilled immigration visa grants, 1997–2015

Source: Productivity Commission (2015, p.24)

In recent years, a very significant contribution to net overseas migration has been from people on-shore on temporary visas. The on-shore applications involve skilled workers (mainly on 457 visas) and their dependents applying for permanent residence after certain conditions are met.[6] Furthermore, many students are also eligible to apply for permanent visas at the completion of their courses.

Current intake

The planned intake for 2015-16 AMP is 190,000 people (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2016a) and includes the following categories:

- 128,550 (68%) places are allocated for skilled migrants, including employer sponsored (38%), general skilled independent (34%), state, territory and regional nominated (22%) and business (6%) migrants;
- 57,400 (32%) places are allocated for family migrants sponsored by immediate family members (79 percent partner, 14 percent parent, 6 percent child and 1 percent other);
- 565 places are allocated for special eligibility migrants, who include former permanent residents who have maintained close business, cultural or personal ties with Australia; and
- 3,485 Children (outside the managed Migration Program).

5. AUSTRALIAN HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMME

The backdrop to humanitarian intake

The second, although much smaller, permanent component of Australia's immigration intake is the Australian Humanitarian Programme (AHP) designed for refugees and others in refugee-like situations either offshore or onshore. In fact, Australia is one of the most sought after destinations for humanitarian resettlement because of its wealth, stable democratic order, English language as national language and climate as well as its far distance from international conflict spots.

Since 1945 more than 800,000 refugees have been welcomed to Australia. The source countries of refugee intake change from year to year, mainly in response to changes in geo-political situations. In fact the waves of refugees resettling in Australia reflect the history of world conflicts. The first major group were approximately 170,000 displaced persons (DPs) from Eastern Europe who arrived between 1947 and 1954. Poles have featured prominently amongst the DPs with some 70,000 of them arriving.[7]

The Menzies Government (1949-66) signed the Refugee Convention. A refugee is defined by The 1951 Refugee Convention as *"someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion."* [8] The principle underlying the convention is one of non-refoulement. Article 33 of the convention defines non-refoulement as the promise to not return a refugee to a country where s/he may be persecuted.

Australia is not only one the 145 States Parties to the 1951 Refugee Convention, but also one of 27 countries that participate in the UNHCR resettlement program and accept quotas of refugees on an annual basis and has done so since 1977. Australia offers resettlement to people outside Australia who cannot be repatriated or locally integrated and are in need of humanitarian assistance. Australia has consistently ranked as one of the top three resettlement countries in the world.

Table 1: Refugee resettlement in Australia, US, Canada and Sweden in 2013

Refugee Resettlement	Total resettled refugees	Per 1000 population	Per billion GDP (USD)	% share of total resettled refugees
Australia	13,169	0.564	0.118	13.4
United States	66,249	0.207	0.253	67.3
Canada	12,173	0.346	0.150	12.4
Sweden	1,902	0.199	0.305	1.9
Global total	**98,426**			

Source: Department of Social Services (2015, p.122)

After the fall of Saigon in 1975 Australia, under the Fraser Coalition Government, accepted Vietnamese refugees from the camps of South-East Asia. In addition to a limited number of boat arrivals, the majority of Vietnamese arrived under the 1979 Orderly Departure Program; some 55,000 Vietnamese settled in Australia by 1982. According to the 2011 Census there were 185,000 people in Australia who were born in Vietnam.

More than 18,000 Lebanese moved to Australia during the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990). Then, refugees were taken after the occupation of East Timor by Indonesian's troops in 1975 and approximately 16,000 people arrived as a result of political turmoil in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay during the 1970s. Following the Tiananmen Square massacre in June 1989 some 30,000 Chinese students in Australia were granted permanent residency. The Yugoslav Wars in the Balkans (1991–2001) drove many Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Croats and Serbs to settle in Australia. In addition around 70,000 refugees arrived from Africa and since 2004 some 18,000 Burmese refugees were taken from camps along the Thai-Burma border and from Malaysia and India as well as 5,200 Bhutanese refugees from Nepal between 2005 and 2007.

The current policy framework for refugee intake dates back to 1977 when government established a planned Australian Humanitarian Programme (AHP) for the intake of refugees, together with the establishment of a mechanism for refugee status determination. In addition, in 1981 Australia created the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP) to include people who are *'in refugee like situations'*. (Karlsen & Phillips, 2011) It is for people who are subject to substantial discrimination amounting to gross violation of human rights in their home country, but *not* for refugees fleeing persecution for a Convention reason. For example , discrimination that might involve arbitrary interference with the applicant's privacy, family, home or correspondence, deprivation of means of earning a livelihood, removal of citizenship rights, denial of a passport, or constant surveillance or pressure to become an informer.

The need for refugee resettlement places in Australia and elsewhere continues to be in high demand. By the end of 2014, UNHCR estimated that 59.5 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of conflict and human rights violations. Some 19.5 million were refugees, 38.2 million were internally displaced persons and close to 1.8 million were asylum seekers. (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2014)

Current intake

The overall intake under AHP is determined annually with a separate quota allocated for humanitarian resettlement to meet Australia's international responsibilities. The program includes both on-shore and off-shore intake. Since 2000 the intake under AHP has been maintained at a relatively steady number between 12,000 and 14,000 per year. The most significant departure from this trend was in 2012–2013 when the former Labor Government increased the Humanitarian Program to 20,000 in response to a surge in unauthorised boat arrivals.

Table 2: Australian Humanitarian Programme by visa category 2010 to 2015

Category	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14	2014–15
Refugee	5984	5988	11 985	6499	6002
Special Humanitarian Programme	2966	714	503	4507	5007
Onshore	4828	7043	7510	2753	2747
Total	**13 778**	**13 745**	**19 998**	**13 759**	**13 756**

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2016b)

The 2015-16 Programme has 13,750 places comprising of a minimum of 11,000 offshore places (including 1,200 places for women at risk) and the balance for people onshore who arrived in Australia lawfully.

However, important steps were taken recently to increase the size of the AHP as a result of on-going pressure by church leaders, advocacy groups, academics and some policy makers. First, in December 2014, in the context of negotiations with cross-benchers to secure passage of the Government's *Migration and Maritime Powers Legislation Amendment (Resolving the Asylum Legacy Caseload) Bill* 2014, the Immigration Minister announced that the Government would increase the number of visas available under AHP to 16,250 in 2017–18 and to 18,750 in 2018–19. (Karlsen, 2015a) Then, in September 2015, in addition to the usual allocation of 13,750 places, Australia provided an additional 12,000 places for Syrian and Iraqi refugees located in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey.

The humanitarian resettlement program is global, although recently the refugee intake focussed on Asia with smaller numbers being taken from Africa and elsewhere. In 2013–14 the majority of Australia's offshore refugee quota was filled by the resettlement of refugees and their families from Afghanistan (2,531) Myanmar (1,145) and Iraq (829). In 2014-15 the majority of offshore visas went to refugees from Iraq (2335), Syria (2232), Myanmar (2029) and Afghanistan (1813). (Parliament of Australia, 2015; Phillips & Spinks, 2013)

Table 3: Top 9 nationalities[a] within the offshore component 2010-11 to 2014-15 Offshore Humanitarian Programme

Rank	2010–11	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14	2014–15
1	Iraq	Myanmar	Iraq	Afghanistan	Afghanistan
2	Myanmar	Iraq	Afghanistan	Iraq	Myanmar
3	Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Myanmar	Myanmar	Iraq
4	Bhutan	Bhutan	Bhutan	Syria	Congo (DRC)[b]
5	Congo (DRC)	Ethiopia	Congo (DRC)	Bhutan	Syria
6	Ethiopia	Congo (DRC)	Iran	Iran	Somalia
7	Sri Lanka	Eritrea	Somalia	Congo (DRC)	Eritrea
8	Iran	Iran	Sudan[c]	Eritrea	Bhutan
9	Sudan	Somalia	Eritrea	Somalia	Ethiopia

Notes:
[a] Nationality is based on country of birth. The country of birth of principal visa applicants is applied to secondary visa applicants.
[b] Congo (DRC) refers to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
[c] 'Sudan' refers to people from both Sudan and South Sudan.

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2016a)

Onshore Asylum seekers

Onshore protection is provided to people who arrive lawfully in Australia and who are found to be refugees according to the Convention. Applicants are assessed on a case-by-case basis; they are not mandatorily detained and may be given a bridging visa which will allow them to reside lawfully in the community while their application is being processed. Some bridging visa holders are allowed to work and can access Medicare. Applicants must also satisfy health, character and security criteria before being granted Permanent Protection visas.

Historically, the vast majority of asylum seekers have arrived by air with valid visas and then apply for asylum at a later date while living in the community. In 2012 the proportions of boat people and air arrival asylum seekers temporarily shifted as in 2012–13 the boat arrival applications figure

reached 68.4 percent; only to shift back in 2013–14 with the majority of applications (51.5 percent) again lodged by air arrivals.

Until the introduction of Operation Sovereign Borders in 2013 the boat arrivals had a much greater chance to secure settlement in Australia than the asylum seekers who arrived by air. For example, the visa grant rate for boat-arriving Afghans has varied between about 96 and 100 percent; while the rate for air-arriving Chinese is usually only around 20 to 30 percent (although a much higher success rate was scored by a relatively small number of people arriving by air from Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Libya). Presumably the subsequent drop in boat arrival numbers will result in a return to the historical norm whereby the majority of those applying for protection onshore in Australia will have arrived originally by air with a valid visa.
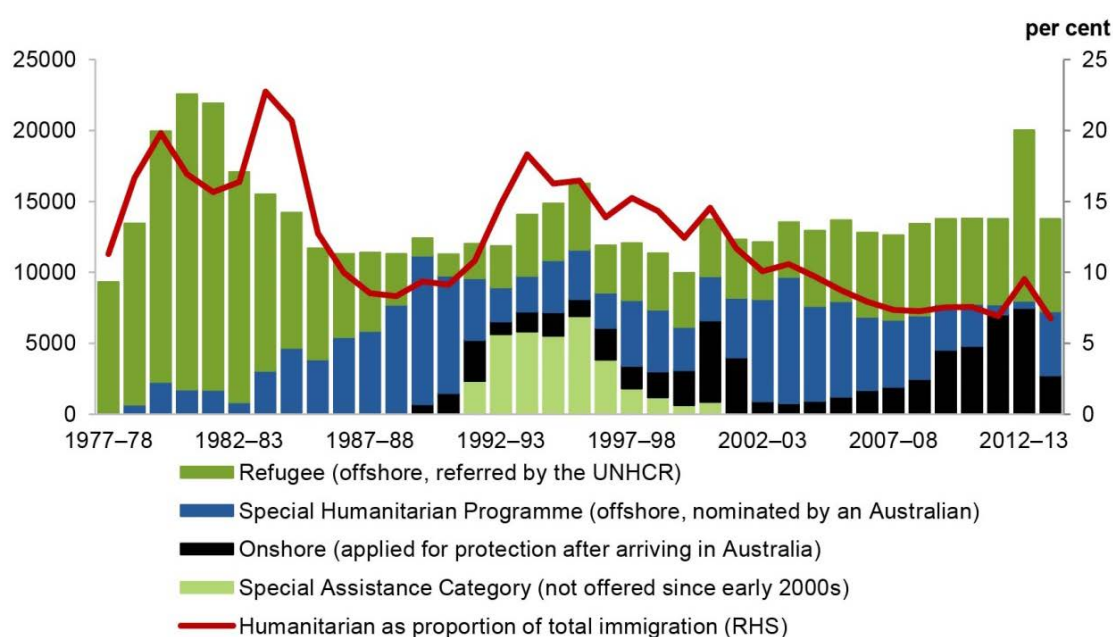
Offshore component

The offshore component of the Australian Humanitarian Program has two categories; namely the Refugee category and Special Humanitarian Programme (SHP) category.

Although a significant proportion of offshore refugees are identified and referred by UNHCR, it is important to note that Australia, not UNHCR, decides the final size and composition of its humanitarian resettlement program each year. When making decisions, in addition to UNHCR information on global resettlement needs and priorities, the Australian government considers the views of stakeholders including states and territories, non-government organisations and the Australian community.

A person seeking to enter Australia on a Refugee visa must satisfy, in addition to the Refugee Convention criteria, that she/he also meets health, character and national security requirements. Factors such as connection with Australia, ability to resettle elsewhere and the capacity of the Australian community to provide for their permanent settlement must be also considered.

Figure 5: Trends in humanitarian immigration

Source: Productivity Commission (2015, p.28)

Applicants under the SHP must be supported by an Australian citizen or an organization that would assist with their initial settlement. Traditionally, most of the places available under the SHP are taken up by family members of refugees and humanitarian entrants already in Australia. During 2014-15 it was planned to take 6,000 (44%) people under the SHP.

The analysis of trends in the number of visas being granted on-shore and off-shore out of the total pool of places under AHP suggests the existence of an interesting linkage between the numbers. For example, the large numbers of unauthorised boat arrivals in 1999-2001 and 2010-2013 resulted in a significant decrease acceptance of other off-shore refugees waiting in refugee camps around the world for resettlement and an increase in on–shore applications. This led to a public perception that boat people are self-selecting by paying people smugglers in Indonesia and elsewhere, and thus are *"queue jumpers"*, denying access for genuine refugees to the Australian resettlement programs.

The 'Boat People'

Australia has experienced a number of waves of what is officially now called "*unauthorised boat arrivals*" or what is crudely called "*boat people"*. (Phillips & Spinks, 2013) The key difference between the onshore applicants arriving by air and the boat people has been that people reaching Australia's shores by boat were not subject to pre-departure visa checks. They often arrive without identifying documentation and because of this the boat arrivals have been very difficult to return if found not to be refugees.

The first wave is associated with the Vietnamese influx in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. The first boat - KG4435 - with Vietnamese refugees landed in Darwin in April 1976. By 1981 a total 56 boats with 2,100 people arrived in Australia.

A second wave persisted from 1989 until 1997 with boats arriving with a relatively small number of people per annum—mostly from Cambodia, Vietnam, East Timor and southern China.

In 1999, a third wave of asylum seekers began to arrive, mainly from Indonesia, bringing mostly people of a Middle Eastern origin. This time the numbers were much larger than previous arrivals and usually the passage involved the assistance of 'people smugglers'. Between 1999 and 2001 12,166 boat people arrived, with the peak of 5516 arrivals in 2001.

The fourth wave took place between 2008 and 2014 with 45,251 people arriving on some 800 boats. The arrivals peaked in 2012-13 with 25,173 people arriving on 403 boats. This resulted in 17 centres detaining up to 10,000 people at a time with 8,000 children put through the detention system, all at the cost of more than A$ 10 billion.

Despite that the overall numbers of asylum seekers arriving by boat in Australia being regarded by European 2015 standards as relatively small and that approximately 80 percent of boat arrivals during the last 40 years have been found to be genuine refugees (Refugee Council of Australia, 2016), numerous studies indicate that the public resentment of boat people has steadily increased over the past four decades. (Betts, 2001, p.45) While the first Vietnamese arrivals were understood and welcomed, the more recent arrivals are often seen by the public as "*queue jumpers" "invading*" Australia to get "*preferential treatment"* and access to social welfare. The public opinion surveys also suggest that although up to 80 percent of Australians were concerned about boat people arrivals, they were on the other hand positively inclined toward refugees

arriving orderly under AHP. (Phillips & Spinks, 2013, p.5; see also Markus, 2012) The over 1170 drownings at sea during the last wave (Australian Border Deaths Database, 2016) and the TV broadcasts of the December 2010 Christmas Island boat disaster that killed 48 asylum seekers in particular impacted strongly on public attitudes too. More recently many regard protection of refugees and their resettlement as also being the responsibility of less developed transit countries that have signed the Refugee Convention.
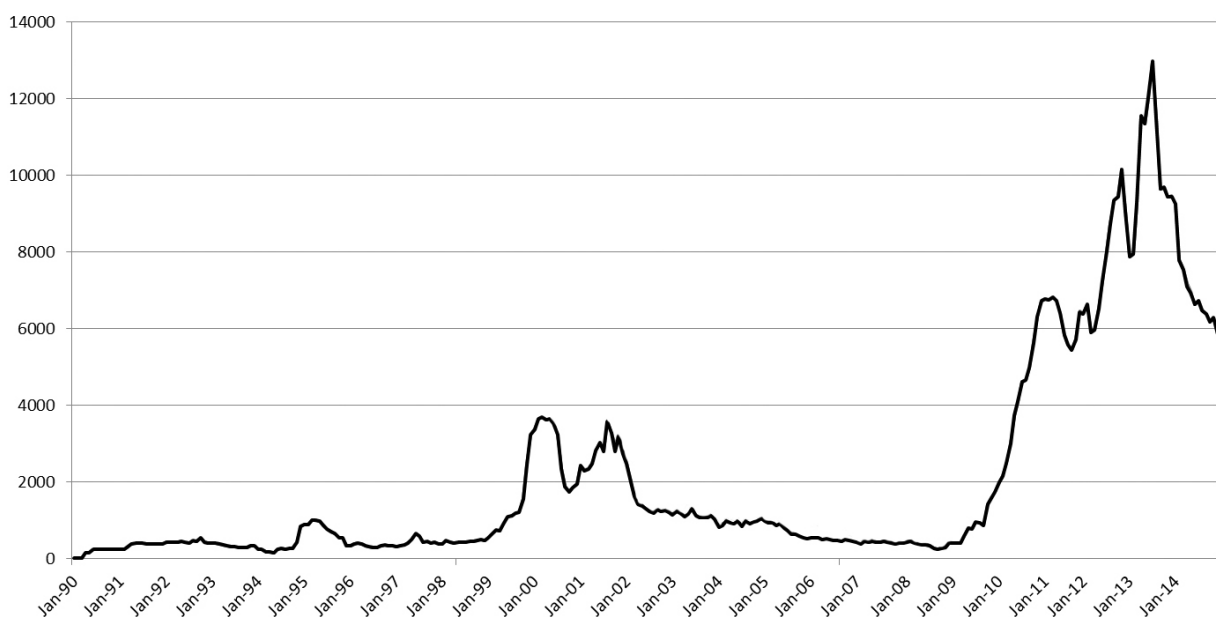
Since the late 1970s the successive governments have explored various ways to discourage boat arrivals and since the 1990s there has been a notable increase in the severity of measures taken to deter asylum seekers from coming to Australia by boat. Reportedly, these measures reflected advice given by the Indonesian President to Australian officials *"to take sugar off the table".* The key measures such as mandatory detention, Temporary Protection Visas (TPV) and offshore processing are discussed below.

- **Mandatory Detention**

First, in 1992 the Keating Labor government introduced a mandatory detention policy for unauthorised boat arrivals. Initially it was to detain unauthorised arrivals for a limited period of up to 273 days to process their refugee claims and organise appropriate security checks.

Now Australia has an indefinite mandatory detention policy in place. Asylum seekers who arrive on boats are detained until their refugee claims are successful and a resettlement place is found or, if unsuccessful, until they depart. Mandatory detention rules also apply to persons whose visas have been cancelled by the Minister, for example on character grounds. In August 2004 the High Court of Australia confirmed in *Al-Kateb v Godwin* the constitutionality of indefinite mandatory detention of aliens, if they cannot be returned to another country.

Figure 6: Immigration Detention Population from 1990 to 2014

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2014.

The number of people in immigration detention reflects the waves of people arriving by boats and fluctuates month to month as a result of releases into the community and departures from Australia, including transfers to offshore processing centres.

- **Temporary Protection Visas**

The second measure to discourage unauthorised boat arrivals is the Temporary Protection Visa (TPV) which was initially introduced by the Howard Government in 1999. Those who had arrived in Australia without a visa – usually by boat – and were subsequently assessed by the immigration department to be refugees were eligible for a TPV only. In contrast, those who had arrived in Australia with a visa – typically by plane – were eligible for a Permanent Protection Visa (PPV), allowing them to live permanently in Australia.

Initially, the law allowed TPV recipients to apply for permanent residence after 3 years. However, amendments to the TPV regime in 2001 made this much more difficult. If a person holding a TPV had spent seven days or more in a country where they could have sought and obtained protection *en route* to Australia, they were not eligible for a permanent residence visa and could only apply for another TPV. This meant that most refugees who arrived by boat would remain indefinitely on a TPV. Approximately 11 000 TPVs were issued between 1999 and 2007.

The TPV system was ended by the Rudd Labor government in August 2008 and about 90% of TPVs holders gained permanent status.

The Abbott Coalition government reintroduced TPVs in December 2014. Under this scheme, TPVs can be granted to illegal sea or air arrivals for up to three years, subject to health and security checks. After that time a person's need for extension of temporary protection would be reassessed to ascertain if conditions had changed in their homeland. The TPV holders are entitled to work, but there is no right to family reunification and rights to access various welfare support mechanisms or to re-enter the country if they decided to leave Australia are limited (Kaldor Centre, 2015). They are only entitled to job matching services by Centrelink, Special Benefit, Rent Assistance, Family Tax Benefit, Child Care Benefit, Medicare, Early Health Assessment and Intervention Program, torture and trauma counselling, and English as a Second Language classes (for TPV minors only). Currently there are nearly 29,000 asylum seekers in Australia on temporary bridging visas.

- **Offshore Processing**

The third, and the most effective measure to stop asylum seeker boat arrivals, was to deny them access to the Australian jurisdiction as the Australian laws and associated jurisprudence interpreted the Refugee Convention in a more generous manner for asylum seekers and most decisions were subject to lengthy administrative and judicial reviews.

The policy first involved, in September 2001, the excision from the Australian migration zone of Australian external territories (Christmas Island, Ashmore and Cartier Islands and Cocos (Keeling) Island) and other islands in the Pacific Ocean, where boat people were usually headed to. The effect of this change was to limit the ability of "*offshore entry persons"* to make valid visa applications. Thus, only claims of asylum seekers who reached the mainland by boat were processed in Australia; other boat people were sent to offshore immigration detention facilities for processing of their refugee claims. On 16 May 2013 the Labor government legislated to excise

the entire Australian mainland from the migration zone to remove any remaining incentive for asylum seekers to try to reach the mainland, instead of the previously excised Australian islands. The excision has no impact on Australians and other people who arrive in these territories with valid visas.

The offshore processing centers (OPC) of the so-called *"Pacific Solution"* were established by the Howard Coalition government in late 2001 after signing agreements with the governments of Nauru and Papua New Guinea. OPCs were set up with the cooperation of the host country governments, financed by Australia and managed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The OPCs were responsible for accommodation and assessment of the claims of asylum seekers. (Phillips, 2012) Both Nauru and Papua New Guinea are now signatories to the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* and its 1967 *Protocol*.

A total of 1637 people - mostly intercepted at sea (usually by the Australian navy) - were transferred to OPCs between 2001 and 2008, including 786 Afghans, 684 Iraqis and 88 Sri Lankans, with a peak population of 1515 in February 2002. Asylum seekers were not detained under Australian law, or the laws of Nauru or Papua New Guinea, but are instead granted Special Purpose Visas by those countries to facilitate their stay while they await processing of their refugee claims and resettlement or return.

The Pacific Solution was dismantled by the Rudd government. In particular, to fulfil an election promise, the Nauru centre was emptied and closed in 2008. Labor also initially opposed turning boats back as dangerous to all concerned. However, after a large increase in the number of maritime arrivals following the Rudd government decision, it was reopened four years later by the Gillard Labor government in 2012. In the dying days of Rudd second government in 2013 an announcement was made that no new boat arrivals would be settled in Australia.

In 2013 the returned Coalition government re-established and strengthened border protection measures. Under the Operation Sovereign Borders (OSB) program[9] asylum seekers attempting to arrive in Australia by boat may be turned around and returned to international waters, or transferred to offshore processing centres. If boat with asylum seekers is not seaworthy, passengers are transferred to a purpose built capsule to take them safely back to land. All boats and capsules are then escorted as closely as possible to Indonesian territorial waters.

The key difference in implementation is a tough zero tolerance towards illegal boat arrivals. The OSB is overseen by a three star general and its key component is the Regional Deterrence Framework that was provided with a budget of A$420 million to undertake multi-lingual communications campaigns, a boat buy-back scheme, bounty payments , provision of intelligence information to the Indonesian National Police and a range of diplomatic initiatives with other countries in the region, especially with Indonesia, to prevent asylum seeker vessels leaving for Australia.[10] Since the start of OSB, 26 boats carrying 710 people have been safely turned back to Indonesia.

By now, the government of Nauru has made refugee status determinations for most illegal maritime arrivals and the Nauru Regional Processing Centre (RPC) operates as an open centre where illegal maritime arrivals are free to come and go at any time without restriction. The government of Nauru is responsible for operating and managing all aspects of the RPC and providing appropriate support to meet their needs, including access to health services and education. Those found to be refugees are permitted to remain in Nauru for up to ten years,

pending resettlement in a third country. As at 12 February 2016, 67 children with their families from Nauru RPC were temporarily in Australia (predominately to access specialist medical treatment). These children and their families will be transferred there back once they are fit to go back to RPC. There is a legal obligation under *the Migration Act 1958* to take an illegal maritime arrival temporarily in Australia back to RPC when the person no longer needs to be in Australia.

All initial refugee claim assessments were completed at Manus RPC by March 2016 and 389 were found to be refugees and allowed to settle in PNG. More than 400 people who had their refugee claims rejected have been returned home.

In addition to settlement options in Nauru and Papua New Guinea the Australian government is taking steps to resettle the successful asylum seekers elsewhere from RPCs, for example in Cambodia. The success of this resettlement program is very limited as very few countries agreed to offer resettlement places. The others who were found not to be refugees are expected to return to their country of origin or to a third country where they have the right to reside.

Finally, the cost of off-shore detention is prohibitive. In the 2014-15 financial year the detention centres on Manus Island and Nauru cost Australia A$1.2 billion. A 2014 report by *the Guardian* newspaper estimated that the Australian government may have spent as much as A$10 billion on its detention policies since mid-2007 - and that each person in offshore detention costs the government as much as A$440,000. (Evershed, 2014)

On 3 February 2016 the High Court of Australia upheld the Australian Government's regional processing and resettlement arrangements in place in Nauru in Plaintiff M68/2015 v Minister for Immigration and Border Protection & Ors case. On 26 April, when this paper was being finalised, the PNG Supreme Court ruled that the Manus detention centre was illegal and unconstitutional and ordered it to be closed. Australian Immigration Minister Peter Dutton replied the government would work with PNG to address the issues raised by the court ruling, but insisted that Manus Island detainees "*will not be settled in Australia*". Some potential responses to the judgement may include changing PNG laws to make the centre legal, turning the facility into an "open centre" so detainees can come and go as they please or transferring detainees to Nauru or Christmas Island.
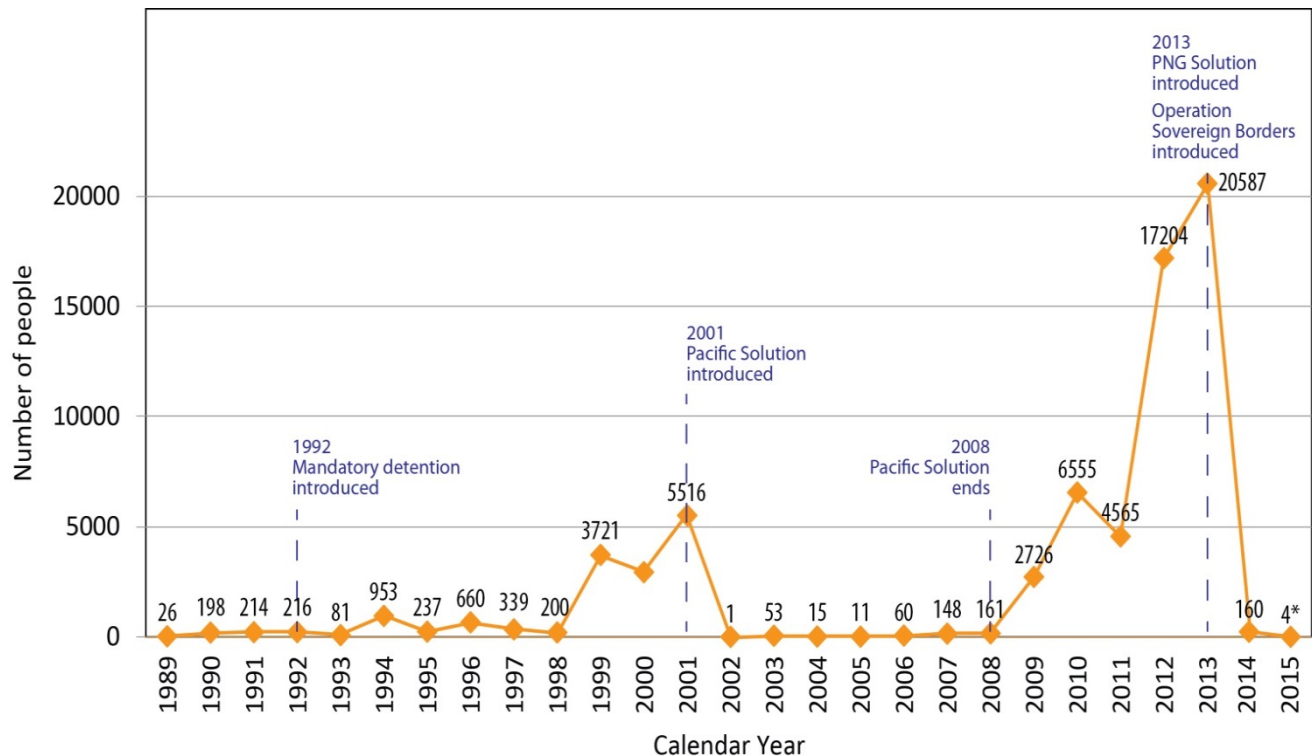
- **Outcomes**

To conclude, both the Pacific Solution and Operation Sovereign Borders were unqualified successes in terms of stopping unauthorised boat arrivals.

In particular, the offshore processing together with the boat turn-backs policy under the OSB have actually stopped the boats. In August 2015, immigration minister Peter Dutton stated that since December 2013, 633 people on 20 vessels have been subject to turn-back operations, including a boat from Vietnam. On 6 August 2015 he further announced that it had been 12 months since the last successful people-smuggling operation.

Furthermore, the number of people in immigration detention centres in Australia and RPC in Nauru and Manus Island reduced significantly. On 3 April 2016 the minister declared that in Australia: "*From a peak of 2,000 children in detention under Labor, today we have no children of boats in detention."* He further said, "*We've closed 13 of 17 extra detention centres that Labor opened…"*

However, the number of people detained in Nauru and on Manus is still relatively high. In March 2016 there were about 900 people in Manus RPC and around 470 people, including about 50 children, still in the Nauru RPC; another 870 people, including more than 100 children, have refugee status and are living in the Nauru community.

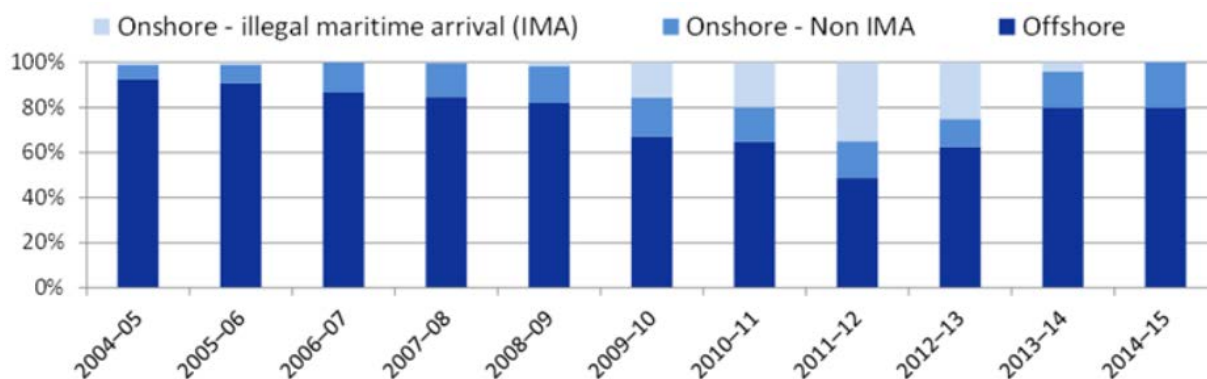**Figure 7: Impact of Policy Changes on Boat Arrivals**

*2015 data to 1 March 2015 only.
Source: Phillips, J. (2015b) and Law.uq.edu.au (2015).

Because of the success of Operation Sovereign Borders that stopped unauthorised boat arrivals, the number of offshore places available for resettlement under the humanitarian program has significantly increased. In 2014-15 Australia granted 13,756 visas under the program of which 11,009 visas were granted under the offshore component and 2747 visas were granted under the onshore component.

Figure 8: Onshore/offshore balance within the Programme

Source: Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2016a)

Human rights concerns

Australia's treatment of unauthorized maritime arrivals has attracted on-going criticism both domestically and internationally. The criticism usually revolves around the conditions of the offshore processing centers, the lack of independent scrutiny, the mental health impacts on those held in the centers and the lengthy periods of time that many asylum seekers spent on Nauru and Manus Island while their claims were being processed.

In 2004 a ground breaking report titled *'A last resort? National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention.'* dealt with the treatment of the children of boat people seeking refuge in Australia. The report documented a range of breaches of international human rights law, made a range of recommendations and ultimately led to children being released with their families from mandatory indefinite immigration detention. (Ozdowski, 2004 and 2009) The Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC) was relatively quiet about human rights of detainees during the Rudd/Gillard Labor governments but AHRC criticism has escalated after the return of the Abbott Coalition government in 2013. (Ozdowski, 2014) In 2014 AHRC revisited the question of children in immigration detention and published a new report.

Criticism of Australia's treatment of asylum seekers could also be found in academic publications, statements by non-government human rights organizations such ChilOut, GetUp and the Castan Human Rights Law Centre and in the media on a regular basis. Most recently doctors criticized off-shore detention for impacting on the mental health condition of children and for abuse and sexual harassment of children at Nauru schools.[11]

Internationally, Australia has been regularly criticized by UN human rights bodies. For example, Australia's treatment of asylum seekers received unprecedented condemnation during the Universal Periodic Review by the Human Rights Council in Geneva in 2015. Most recently, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, reacting to the 4 February 2016 decision by the Australian High Court upholding the policy of detaining asylum seekers offshore to be legal, has reminded the Australian authorities that under the terms of the Convention on the Rights of the Child to which Australia is a party, the best interests of the child should be a primary consideration when making any decision concerning children. Also, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and other reputed international human rights bodies are highly critical of Australia's treatment of asylum seekers. (Human Rights Watch, 2015)

6. SETTLEMENT SERVICES

Background

In 1988 the FitzGerald Inquiry moved the Australian migration program away from 'family reunion' toward an emphasis on skilled and business categories. (FitzGerald, 1988) Thus, the assisted passage scheme ended and people migrating to Australia on skills visas now face a two year waiting period for access to social security payments and/or concessions. Only the humanitarian and some family stream settlers are eligible to receive the same entitlements as all other Australian citizens and permanent residents and are exempt from the standard waiting period that applies to skilled migrants.

In addition, all humanitarian and some family stream entrants are eligible for a range of generous settlement services, mostly federally funded, including the pre-departure Australian Cultural Orientation Program (AUSCO) – currently delivered by the IOM to humanitarian entrants offshore and on arrival the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) that provides up to 510 hours of English language and settlement tuition; access to the specialist torture and trauma services; use of Translating and Interpreting Service (TIS) and many others.

The humanitarian entrants were chosen for provision of this initial settlement support because of their needs resulting from the situation they found themselves in before arriving in Australia. Refugees are not selected because of their skills and labour marked readiness, but often arrive into Australia traumatized, without English language, marketable skills or social know how and the community support networks needed for successful settlement. For example, the Australian Institute of Family Studies (AIFS) shows that 78 percent of those who arrived between May and December 2013 could not speak English on arrival. (Jenkinson at al., 2016)

There are two key settlement programs funded by the Federal Government that are specifically tailored to the needs of eligible[12] humanitarian entrants, namely: the Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) and Complex Case Support (CCS). Both programs aim to ensure that humanitarian settlers become self-reliant, fully-functioning members of Australian society in the shortest possible period of time and are examined briefly below.

The Humanitarian Settlement Services Programme (HSS)

The HSS programme provides early practical support to new humanitarian entrants to help them settle into the community in the first six to 12 months of their arrival; if necessary it could be accessed within five years after arrival.

HSS providers first assess client needs and develop a case management plan package tailored to include services to meet these needs. Services may include: on-arrival reception and assistance with finding accommodation and provision of an initial food package and start-up pack of household goods; facilitates access to mainstream services provided by all levels of government, including Medicare, Centrelink, Job Services Australia and banks and schools; cultural orientation services including linking with community; English language training[13] and an interpreting service and other services.

HHS services are delivered by independent service providers on behalf of the Federal Government.[14] For example, in New South Wales the program is delivered by Settlement Services International (SSI); a leading not-for-profit organisation providing a range of services in the areas of humanitarian settlement, accommodation, asylum seeker assistance, foster care and disability support. In 2014 SSI served 11,800 clients and in FY 2013-14 secured accommodation for 1829 of its clients. Because of its frontline experience, SSI has also been running the highly successful Ignite Small-Business Start Ups for several years now and has recently signed a partnership agreement with Allianz Insurance to improve employment and educational opportunities for SSI clients. (Settlement Services International, 2014; Settlement Council of Australia, 2015)

The Complex Case Support Programme (CCS)

The CCS programme delivers intensive case management services to a broad range of humanitarian entrants and other eligible clients[15] with exceptional needs for up to five years after their arrival in Australia. It is targeted at supporting clients whose needs extend beyond the scope of early settlement programmes (such as the HSS). The CCS programme is designed to work in partnership with settlement and mainstream services by referring these clients with long term settlement needs.

Through an agreed case management plan, CCS providers link clients to further required services that may include: dealing with torture and trauma or other mental health issues; family violence support; on-going management of accommodation; financial or legal services and other services.

The Costs

The full costing of the usage of generalized services by humanitarian settlers is difficult to obtain as such services are delivered by all three levels of government. A recent article in *The Australian* newspaper reported that Federal government welfare and unemployment payments to refugees will exceed A$100 million in the financial year 2016-17.[16]

The cost of delivering dedicated settlement services for humanitarian entrants is also high. The 2014-15 Federal Budget allocated over A$170 million for settlement services in this financial year. The mid-year economic report released in December 2015 showed that Australia has set aside about A$640 million to resettle Syrian refugees over the next four years.

In addition, humanitarian settlers are entitled to general and refugee specific state government services and support from community programs. Funding is also provided through NGOs such as the Australian Red Cross to assist on-shore asylum seekers living in the community and for people placed in community detention as well as access given to basic health and community services.[17]

Impact

Both programmes are popular with users[18] and are reported to be meeting expectations of both policy makers and humanitarian settlers. The Ernst & Young evaluation[19] of both programmes concluded that, on the whole, they are working well and are achieving their objectives of broadly meeting client needs and delivering clear and lasting impact on client outcomes and well-being. Particularly successful appears to be the Adult Migrant English Program. For example, recent research conducted by the Australian Institute of Family Studies (AIFS) of refugees who arrived between May and December 2013 has shown that 69 percent of them were taking English classes and that the proportion speaking English well or very well rose from 22 percent to more than 33 percent after taking classes.
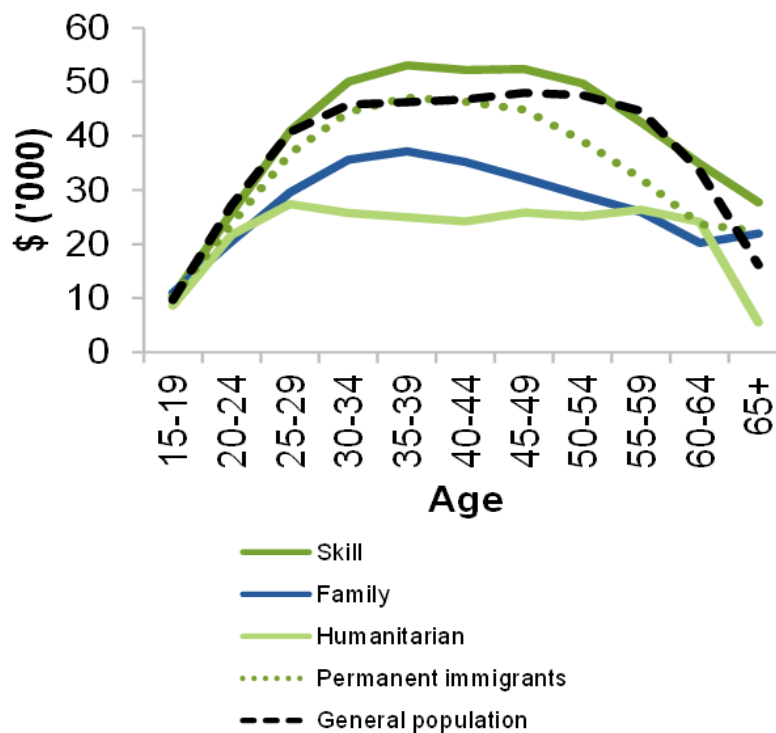
Despite the high utilization of settlement programmes, the humanitarian settlers have a very low labour force participation rate and very high rates of welfare dependence, even after many years of residence in Australia.[20] For example, the employment rate of humanitarian migrants from Afghanistan and Iraq are only 9 percent and 12 percent respectively five years after settlement with 94 percent and 93 percent of households in receipt of welfare payments. (Jenkinson et al., 2016) Similarly high unemployment rates were reported in Germany. (Bauer et al., 2010)

Further, the AIFS research shows that only 7% of a group of 2400 refugees who arrived between May and December 2013 have jobs two years later and the progress in gaining employment is very slow as the number of them receiving government payments fell from 83.5 percent to 82.4 percent over the last 6 months. The research has also shown that out of this group, about 40 percent were having difficulties finding housing and 35 percent of men and 45 percent of women were at moderate or high risk of psychological distress, compared to 7 percent of men and 11 percent of women in the general population. (Jenkinson at al., 2016) There is also evidence that the earning capacity of humanitarian entrants is lower than that of skilled migrants or the general population.[21]

This could be partially explained by specific characteristics of humanitarian entrants and by the fact that the humanitarian intake roughly consist of only 50 percent of people of working age.

Clearly the vast majority of them require further assistance from the government to increase labour market participation outcomes. Increasing access to English language training is certainly one of the issues that needs to be considered. One could further suggest a need to target traditional male breadwinners with additional measures that would lead to their employment. Extended unemployment of traditional family heads denies them dignity and undermines their standing with other family members. Such circumstances may be a contributing factor to disintegration of traditional family structures and, in particular, impact on the effective settlement of children.

Figure 9: Immigrants Median Income by Age, 2009-10

Source: Productivity Commission (2015, p.9)

A leaked cabinet draft document (Lipson, 2016) suggests that government is considering introducing further measures that would include "*an enforceable integration framework to assess aspiring migrants' suitability for life in Australia*". It also acknowledges that: *"Close attention to the delivery of health, education, employment services and infrastructure that positively influence successful integration and social cohesion may assist to mitigate, but will not eliminate, the*

ongoing prospect that a small number of refugees will be susceptible to criminality and radicalisation." The document proposed that the tougher screening criteria being used for the Syrian and Iraqi intake be applied entire humanitarian program *"where possible...to help ensure that we accept individuals with a high probability of successful integration".*

7. AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURALISM

Immigration and Multiculturalism

The post-WWII migration to Australia delivered cultural diversity which became one of this country's most defining contemporary characteristics. Immigration also required a government response in terms of societal organisation to integrate the migrants. Australian multiculturalism delivered such a response. It aims at integration with a human face and through it, social cohesion. Multiculturalism, however, is not a policy that dictates the shape of on-going immigration intake, although some Australians argue for increased migration in order to increase diversity. (Australian Institute for Progress, 2015, p.8)

Initially, assimilation of non-British migrants and the continuation of a mono-cultural 'Australian way of life' was the ideal to be followed. The expectation of the post-WWII immigration policy was that these non-British European migrants would, in short time, melt seamlessly into Australian society and adopt the Australian lifestyle as fast as possible; become local patriots and abandon their past national allegiances and cultural 'baggage'. 'New Australians', as they were then called, had to speak English, not live in cultural ghettos and wherever possible marry into the Australian-born community.[22]

However, upon their arrival, non-British migrants did not dissolve easily into the Anglo-Celtic melting pot, but established their own lively communities with churches, sporting, youth and cultural clubs, associations, language schools, welfare and financial institutions. They established these to maintain their culture and to help themselves in the process of settlement as there was no welfare state to look after their needs. New Australians also developed effective community leaderships and ethnic media.

The process of moving away from the policy of assimilation towards multiculturalism gained momentum in the late sixties. With the increasing number of non-British settlers arriving, their concentration in certain localities and their growing wealth and political influence, the so-called ethnic vote started to make a difference. This clearly points to a political dimension of the origin of current multicultural policies. In addition, the policy of assimilation started losing the high moral ground and public support, including amongst the Anglo-Celtic majority. The ideals of racial equality were gaining acceptance as social integration of migrants progressed. A culinary revolution and a high rate of intermarriage also played a role in this process.

By the early seventies it had become obvious that cultures brought to Australia by migrants were not going to fade away and that the nation would be better served by accepting diversity rather than trying to eradicate it.

Since then the successive national governments have created architecture, policies and programs to acknowledge and support cultural diversity, although Australia did not legislate along the lines of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act 1985.

For example, all post-1975 governments issued major policy statements defining and endorsing multiculturalism. The themes of multiculturalism were embedded in the *Australian Citizenship Act 2007* under which *"Australian citizenship is a common bond, involving reciprocal rights and obligations, uniting all Australians, while respecting their diversity."* and in the anti-discrimination legislation – especially in the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. The Australian Human Rights Commission has statutory responsibilities to investigate and conciliate complaints of alleged racial and other discrimination and human rights breaches lodged with it. Australia is also a party to the seven key human rights treaties and submits periodic reports on measures taken to implement these.[23]

In addition, some states, for example New South Wales,[24] Victoria and South Australia have specific multicultural legislation in place. Western Australia enacted a *Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission Act* in 1983; however this was repealed in 2006. A *Multicultural Recognition Bill* was recently adopted by the Queensland Parliament.

Definition

There is no generally agreed definition of 'multiculturalism'. Taken literally, multi-culture means simply many cultures. Looking at how the word 'multiculturalism' is used one must conclude that multiculturalism means different things to different people.

Below I distinguish four different meanings that are most commonly given to the word 'multiculturalism'.

First, multiculturalism could be defined as ideology or a normative ideal of how a diverse society should be organised to maximise the benefits of cultural and religious diversity.

Australia has adopted an inclusive model of multiculturalism where migrants can belong to Australia while keeping their original culture and traditions. Migrants and their cultural heritage are welcomed and celebrated and their economic and civic contributions are cherished. Australia's 'fair go' culture is the backbone of such an ideal.[25] Some 40 percent of Australians define multiculturalism as two-way integration '…with Australians doing more to learn about the customs and heritage of immigrants and immigrants changing their behaviour to be more like Australians.' (Scanlon Foundation, 2016, p.6)

There is however less clarity as to the place of an existing Australian culture.

The majority view is that Australian multiculturalism has, at its core, some common elements of the established culture such as; the rule of law, parliamentary democracy, civil liberties and freedoms, equality of sexes and English as a national language. The non-dominant cultures are seen as contributors and not as pollutants.

A minority view would argue that the ideal of multiculturalism implies that all cultures are equal as the prefix 'multi' implies many equal parts. It would follow that all cultural beliefs and activities have equal standing and must be at least tolerated and preferably respected. For example, if a culture requires women's status in the society to be different to that of men, this should be respected by the authorities and the broader society and on occasions it should be able to override the egalitarian provisions of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984.*

This notion represents a relativist view of culture where a range of different standards could co-exist on equal footing, for example, Sharia law could coexist with Australian laws.[26] It also, to a degree, challenges the normative system of the dominant culture by bringing to the fore issues of integration of cultural minorities into the so-called mainstream and by rejection of democracy and in particular separation of state and religion. Opponents of multiculturalism focus their criticism on this definition of multiculturalism seeing it as synonymous to tribalism and likely to undermine social cohesion.

The above quoted Scanlon Foundation research has further suggested that approximately 25% of Australians support a cultural relativist definition. From my point of view, this finding is of concern although I acknowledge that the relativist interpretation of multiculturalism has never won any official government endorsement in Australia. Should these important research findings be further confirmed, there would be a need for appropriate policy and educational responses.

There is also a problem with ending the word with –ism. Words like fascism, communism, atheism, etc. tend to indicate an ideological focus.

Second, the word multiculturalism is simply used as a demographic descriptor of a diverse population. This is the most common use of the word. For example, Germany, France, Peru, India or Malaysia are often described as multicultural societies, meaning that they include multiple national identities, cultures and religions living next to each other.

Sometimes the usage of the word as a demographic descriptor is limited to only indicate the presence of minorities and does not refer to the whole of society concept. For example, many European leaders, when criticising the term multiculturalism, often refer only to the settlement problems associated with the current wave of refugees or the issue of integration of Muslims into Western societies.

Third, multiculturalism could be understood as a set of government policies and programs developed in response to and to manage cultural diversity. For example, many multicultural - in the demographic sense - countries may have some legal, policy and program responses to such diversity. These may include a range of measures aiming at social integration such as anti-discrimination laws, welfare, language training for new migrants and/or measures to combat the radicalisation of Muslim youth. However, the word multiculturalism is unlikely to be used in the context of punitive measures directed, for example, against Jews in the Third Reich or recently against non-Han minorities in China, and in particular against Tibetans and the Uyghurs people.

Fourth, multiculturalism is understood as a social compact or agreement about how to arrange social, political and economic relationships between different cultural strata. In modern societies like Australia, Canada, New Zealand and USA such compacts are founded on the principle of equality of status and opportunity and involve the sharing of power and wealth between different ethno-cultural groups. Social compacts are organised around a complex set of agreed national values and goals, normative and structural systems as well as policy, budgetary and program responses put in place to manage diversity.[27]

Demographic diversity

Today, Australia is clearly a multicultural society in the descriptive use of this word. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011 Australian Census, over a quarter (26% or 5.3 million) of
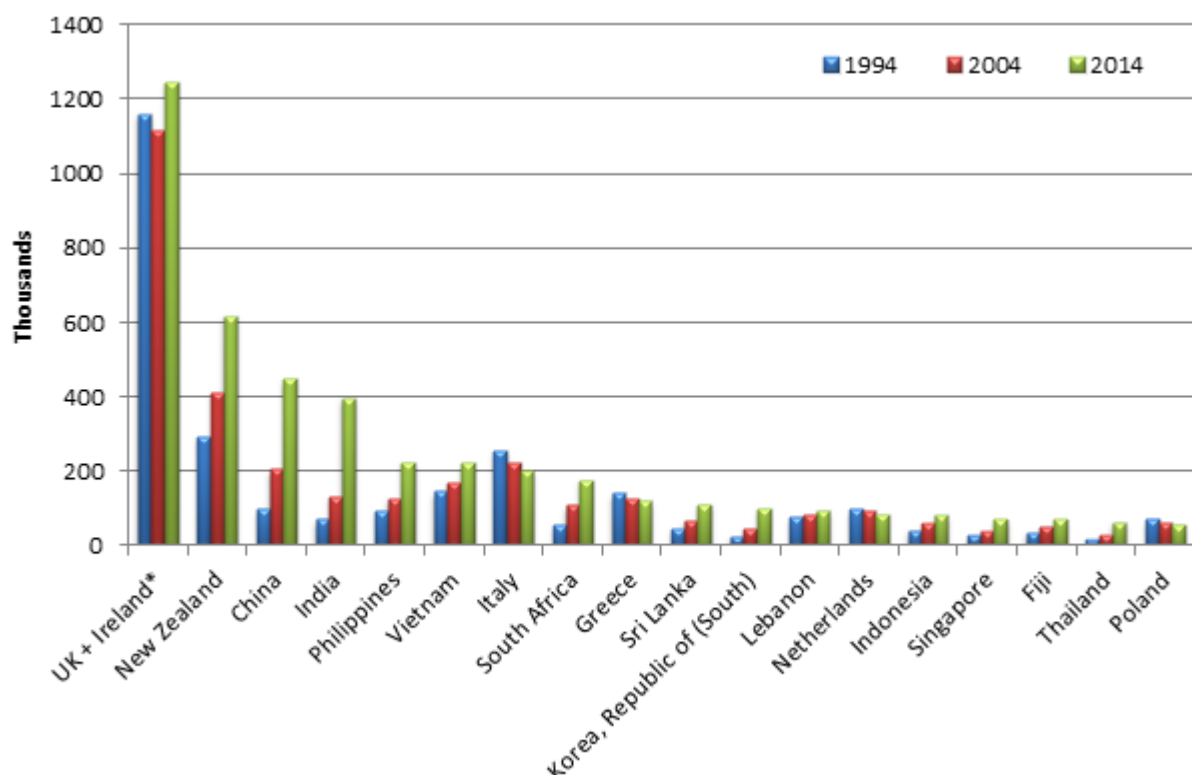
Australia's population was born overseas and a further one fifth (20% or 4.1 million) had at least one overseas-born parent. According to Anthea Hancocks this means that Australia has now *'… the largest overseas-born population of all large OECD nations …'* (Scanlon Foundation, 2016, p.2)

Although historically, the majority of migration came from Europe, there are increasingly more Australians who were born in Asia and other parts of the world. Renewed prosperity in Europe has meant that, where once Italians and Greeks made up the majority of non-British new arrivals, in 2010–11 China surpassed the UK as Australia's primary source of permanent migrants. Since then, China and India have continued to provide the highest number of permanent migrants.[28] Between June 1996 and June 2013, Australia's overseas-born population grew by 51.2 percent to 6.4 million people and included 427,590 born in China and 369,680 in India. The change in the ethnic composition of migrant intake is likely to continue in the foreseeable future under the Australian non-discriminatory immigration policies.

Conflicts overseas have also meant that Australia has been taking refugees from a range of diverse countries, for example from Sudan, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Iraq and Sri Lanka. This adds to Australia's diversity.

When we look at cultural heritage, over 300 ancestries were separately identified in the 2011 Census. The most commonly reported were English (36%) and Australian (35%). A further six of the leading ten ancestries reflected the European heritage in Australia with the two remaining ancestries being Chinese (4%) and Indian (2%). (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012b; see also Jupp, 1988)

Figure 10: Estimated Resident Population by Country of Birth
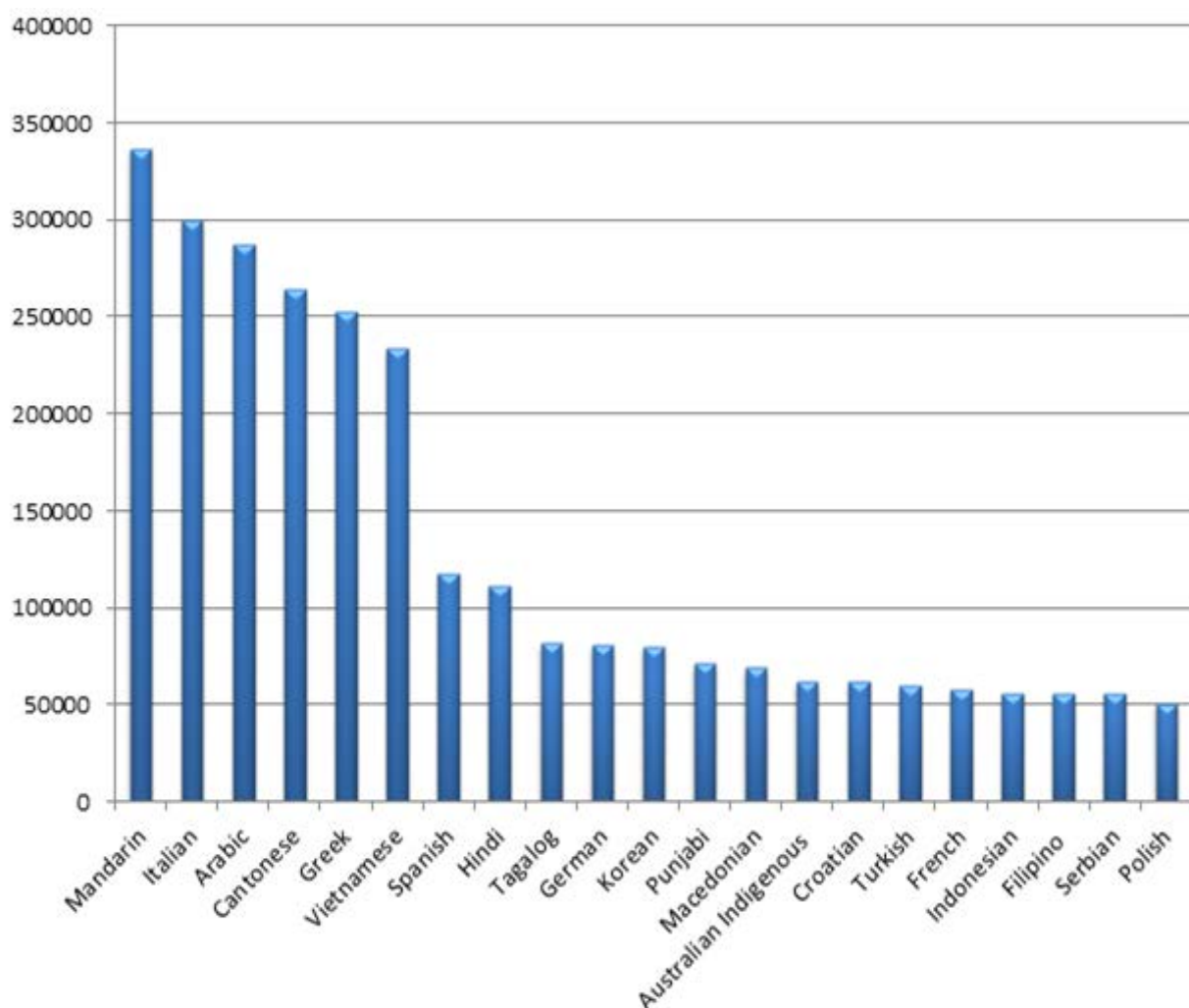

* Data used for UK + Ireland is from 1996
Source: Estimated Resident Population By Country Of Birth - 1992 To 2014. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016a)

Today Australians speak more than 215 languages – this includes some 40 Aboriginal languages. Apart from English, the most commonly used are Chinese (largely Mandarin and Cantonese), Italian, Greek, Arabic, Indian (Hindi and Punjabi) and Vietnamese languages.

The 2011 Census indicated that usage of non-English languages is not equally distributed across Australia. For example, nearly 23 percent of the New South Wales population speak a non-English language at home. Arabic, which dominates the western suburbs, is the most widely spoken non-English language, with Mandarin and Cantonese the next most common second languages. In the Western Sydney suburb Cabramatta West, 40% of residents speak Vietnamese, in Old Guildford 47% speak Arabic, and in Hurstville 50% speak either Cantonese or Mandarin. In contrast, English language usage dominates regional Queensland and Western Australia.
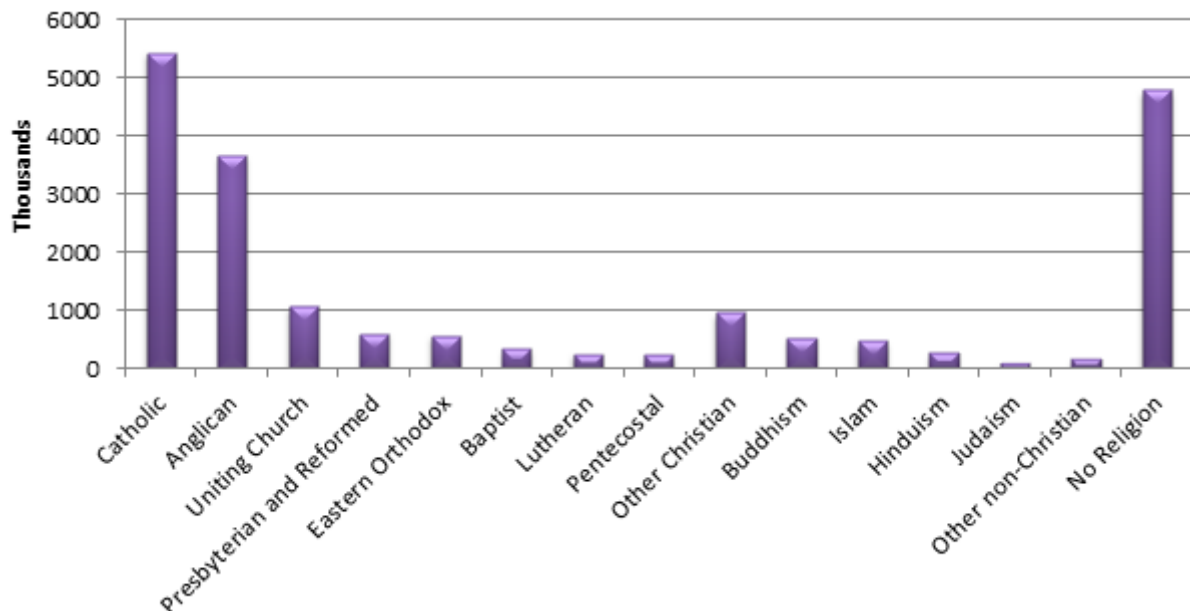
Figure 11: Language Spoken at Home (other than English)

There is also enormous religious diversity with some 61 % reporting an affiliation to Christianity in the 2011 Census, 7.2% reporting an affiliation to non-Christian religions, and 22% reporting 'No Religion'. The most common non-Christian religions in 2011 were Buddhism (accounting for 2.5% of the population), Islam (2.2%) and Hinduism (1.3%), although these proportions may have changed by 2016. Of these, Hinduism had experienced the fastest growth since 2001, increasing by 189% to 275,500, followed by Islam (increased by 69% to 476,300) and Buddhism (increased by 48% to 529,000 people).[29]

Despite that, Australia is a secular state and that some 22 percent of Australians reported no religious affiliation religious identity plays a key part in the life of some communities. [30]

Figure 12: Religious Diversity

Graph created using data provided in 2071.0 - Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012–2013. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2012a).

Australia also is a place of strong inter-faith movement that clearly contributes to social cohesion and builds understanding between people of different faiths. The Australian National Dialogue of Christians, Muslims and Jews was officially 'launched' in March 2003 by the National Council of Churches in Australia, the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils and the Executive Council of Australian Jewry. By now interfaith initiatives such as Ramadan Iftar Dinners become regular annual events, celebrated by interfaith communities. For example, in June 2016 Iftar dinners were hosted by the Prime Minister of Australia and the NSW Parliament – to name only a few.

Evolution of policies and programs

Looking back, the emergence of grounding ideas associated with what we today call multiculturalism could be traced back to the Menzies Coalition Government who embraced an ambitious program of non-British immigration after WWII and allowed non-European migrants to apply for citizenship after fifteen years. In 1960 the term 'White Australia' was removed from the Liberal Party's Federal Policy Platform, five years before a similar change was made in the Australian Labor Party platform. In 1966, the Holt Coalition Government allowed migration of non-Europeans who had met certain professional and settlement criteria and allowed non–European temporary residents to apply for citizenship.

The modern concept of multiculturalism has been built cumulatively by the post-1972 governments often in the context of political contest to secure electoral advantage. In the words

of Elsa Koleth (2010) 'Multiculturalism has served a variety of goals over the years, including, the pursuit of social justice, the recognition of identities and appreciation of diversity, the integration of migrants, nation building, and attempts to achieve and maintain social cohesion.' Although there were some important differences between multicultural policies of different governments over the years, by now all major political parties have accepted the core elements of multicultural policy.

Let us examine briefly how Australian multiculturalism has developed since the mid-seventies.[31]

- **Early Multiculturalism – Whitlam's Labor Government (1972-1975)**

On 5 December 1972 Australia elected Whitlam's Labor government, the first Labor government in more than two decades, which set out to change Australia through a wide-ranging reform program. Whitlam's Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby discovered the term 'multi-cultural' on a trip to Canada[32] in 1973 and brought it back to Australia.

Although Grassby never proposed a precise definition of multiculturalism, his speeches suggest that for him multiculturalism was a rather vague combination of different ideas, concepts and policies associated with equality, cultural identity and social cohesion in application to non-British migrant settlement. His concept of 'the family of the nation' (Grassby, 1973) came close to being the first official definition of multiculturalism: '*In a family the overall attachment to the common good need not impose sameness on the outlook or activity of each member, nor need these members deny their individuality and distinctiveness in order to seek a superficial and unnatural conformity. The important thing is that all are committed to the good of all.*'[33]

The Whitlam government's key achievement was to outlaw racial discrimination and to remove the discriminatory provisions from the immigration legislation. *The Racial Discrimination Act* was enacted in 1975 to implement Australia's obligations under the newly ratified UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and an office of Commissioner for Community Relations was established.

- **Ethno-specific services – Fraser Coalition Government (1975-1983)**

When Malcolm Fraser's conservative coalition government came to power in late 1975 it adopted the Labor foundations and significantly extended Australian multiculturalism both as a concept and as a practical government response to cultural diversity. Professors George Zubrzycki and Jerzy Smolicz, both sociologists of Polish heritage, have made a significant contribution in this area.

A major initiative under the Fraser Government was the 1977-78 Review of Migrant Programs and Services. The resulting 1978 Report provided '*Guiding principles*' of multiculturalism to guide development of Australia as 'a cohesive, united and multicultural nation'. (Galbally, 1978)

With this, for the first time, multiculturalism emerged as a well-articulated concept and government endorsed policy. It was an ideal of a society based on the principles of social cohesion, equality of opportunity and cultural identity. The Report declared that all Australians have the right to maintain their culture without fear of prejudice, as the Fraser government firmly believed that Australia's culture is enriched by the maintenance of diversity and Fraser linked his political success with the advancement of multicultural policies.

The Review also identified a range of ethno specific services and programs needed to ensure that non-British migrants had equal opportunity of access to government funded programs and services. It recommended the creation of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), the Multicultural Education Program, the English as a Second Language (ESL) program, Migrant Resource Centres and the extension of existing services such as the Grant-in-Aid scheme, the Adult Migrant Education Program and the Bilingual Information Officer program.

The above recommendations were implemented by the Fraser government and paid for by the revenue resulting from the removal of tax deductibility for money sent by migrants to support families overseas. In addition, in 1981, the Fraser government created the first federal Human Rights Commission to domestically implement the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.[34]

Perhaps SBS, a government sponsored radio and television service with the principal function spelled out in its charter 'to provide multilingual and multicultural radio and television services that inform, educate and entertain all Australians and, in doing so, reflect Australia's multicultural society' (Special Broadcasting Service, 2016) has been a standout and long-term success of the Fraser reforms.[35]

Fraser also created a number of advisory and consultative bodies including the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, the Australian Population and Immigration Council and the Australian Refugee Advisory Council. These councils were merged in May 1981 to form the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs Council (under the chairmanship of Professor George Zubrzycki). Ethnic communities and their leaders gained access to government and were regularly consulted on issues of relevance to them.

- **The mainstreaming of services under Hawke/Keating (1983-1996)**

Labor was returned to government under the leadership of Bob Hawke in 1983 and initially started to dismantle some of the multicultural institutions and programs created by the Fraser government. First, a review of AIMA was commissioned 1983 that resulted in a closure of the Institute in 1986. (Committee of Review of the AIMA, 1983) Then a merger between SBS and ABC broadcasters was proposed, that would effectively disband SBS. Public protests followed and forced the government to change its approach.

In December 1985 a Committee of Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services (ROMAMPAS) was created under the chairmanship of Dr James Jupp to advise on the Federal Government's role in assisting migrants to achieve their equitable participation in Australian society. The Committee reported in August 1986 (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1986). It recommended moving away from an ethno specific service delivery model to provision of services, where possible, by government mainstream service providers under the new policy of 'Access and Equity'.[36]

Another key outcome of the Report was the establishment of the Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet and of an advisory body the Australian Council of Multicultural Affairs. In addition, in 1989 the government established the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (to fill the vacuum created by closure of AIMA).

The establishment of OMA as a central coordinating agency for multicultural policy and programs under the dynamic leadership of Professor Peter Shergold created a golden era in Australian multiculturalism and ensured that the years of Hawke/Keating governments were characterised by the expansion of multicultural narrative and linking it to the mainstream. Throughout the Australian Bicentenary in 1988 and afterwards, constant efforts were made to link multiculturalism to Australian values. Strong efforts were made *to* 'place multiculturalism within a national narrative where cultural diversity and tolerance were part of Australian national identity'. (Koleth, 2010)

Perhaps the biggest achievement of the Hawke government was the adoption- in 1989 - of the *'National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia. Sharing Our Future'* developed by the Australian Council on Multicultural Affairs under the leadership of Sir James Gobbo. (Office of Multicultural Affairs, 1989) The Agenda further advanced the concept of multiculturalism by defining its limits. It said that effective multiculturalism requires an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, an acceptance of the rule of law, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and the equality of the sexes. It also stated that the right to express your own culture carried the responsibly to afford others the same right to express theirs. In addition to the social justice and cultural identity aspects, a third tier of economic efficiency was also added. (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997)

Hawke's era was also characterised by the enhancement of consultations with ethnic communities and by the establishment of strong links between ethnic leadership and the Commonwealth and State Labor governments. Teaching of non-English languages was enhanced (Lo Bianco, 1987) and interpreting and translating services re-engineered.

When Paul Keating replaced Bob Hawke as Prime Minister at the end of 1991 he continued in this vein. Keating described multiculturalism as 'a policy which guarantees rights and imposes responsibilities.' /.../ 'The essential balance, I think, in the multicultural equation: the promotion of individual and collective cultural rights and expression on the one hand, and on the other the promotion of common national interests and values. And success depends on demonstrating that each side of the equation serves the other.' (Keating, 2002) Keating continued to stress that multiculturalism imposes responsibilities: 'These are that the first loyalty of all Australians must be to Australia, that they must accept the basic principles of Australian society. These include the Constitution and the rule of law, parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as a national language, equality of the sexes and tolerance.' Keating also ordered a major evaluation of responsiveness of Australian government services to Australian culturally and linguistically diverse population. (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1992; see also Ozdowski, 1992)

The high profile of multiculturalism under Hawke/Keating governments brought about populist backlash and questioning if the multicultural society was indeed desirable for Australia. At the same time the most recently arrived humanitarian settlers from Vietnam and Lebanon were experiencing significant settlement problems. In this context, the government created an ad-hoc 1988 Committee to Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies, chaired by Dr Stephen FitzGerald, which in its report warned of a 'clear and present need for immigration reform' and found that as the philosophy of multiculturalism was not widely understood, the 'ensuing uninformed debate' was 'damaging the cause it seeks to serve'. (FitzGerald, 1988)

- **Citizenship and cohesion under John Howard Government (1996-2007)**

In 1996 the Coalition leader John Howard was swept into power with a significant majority. Also in the 1996 election Pauline Hanson, expelled by from the Liberal Party because of her views, was elected on an anti-multiculturalism and anti-Asian platform. In her maiden speech to parliament Hanson 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.' (Hanson, 1996)

John Howard had been known as a critic of aspects of multiculturalism while in opposition. Howard's concern about "multiculturalism" was that it was becoming nothing more than a slogan lacking any descriptive meaning and therefore unfair both to the notion of a distinctive Australian culture and to the various minority cultures that contributed to it. He had advocated instead the idea of a 'shared national identity', grounded in concepts of 'mateship' and a 'fair go'. So there was no surprise when soon after the election, Howard rearranged multicultural affairs, re-focussing it to deal more with practical solutions than symbolism. For example, he dropped the multicultural portfolio by closing down the Office of Multicultural Affairs and transferring the responsibility for multicultural issues, with an increased budget and staffing, to the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. Immigration Minister Ruddock had proven to be a powerful advocate for multiculturalism with the ability to move things along. Although Howard closed the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research and reduced funding to ethnic organisations, funding was increased to the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) programs responsible for provision of English language and settlement skills tuition to eligible migrants and humanitarian entrants; at that time particular focus was given to support the refugee cohorts coming out of the Horn of Africa.

Howard was initially reluctant to criticize Hanson, claiming free speech as her right. However after she formed the One Nation Party, which split the conservative and blue-collar vote, and her tirades began to affect international relations Howard acted. In December of 1996, just 2 months after Hanson's maiden speech, Howard said: 'that there is no place in the Australia that we love for any semblance of racial or ethnic intolerance. There is no place within our community for those who would traffic, for whatever purpose and whatever goal, in the business of trying to cause division based on a person's religion, a person's place of birth, the colour of the person's skin, the person's values, ethnic make-up or beliefs.' (Howard, 1996)

Then, the National Multicultural Advisory Council was appointed and delivered significant report: '*Australian multiculturalism for a new century: towards inclusiveness*' in April 1999. Soon after, in December 1999 the government launched a new policy statement called *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia* (Commonwealth of Australia, 1999) with added focus on citizenship. In addition, a new Council for Multicultural Australia (CMA) was created to promote community harmony through the Living in Harmony grants and promotion of Harmony Day. Multiculturalism, although in a slightly redefined form and focus, had continued under Howard to be an important part of public life.

The government also took measures to advance the value of Australian citizenship.[37] Now those applying for citizenship need to undertake an Australian history and culture test in English and pledge: 'loyalty to Australia and its people … whose democratic beliefs I share … whose rights and liberties I respect … and whose laws I will uphold and obey.' (Border.gov.au, 2016a) He also introduced expanded dual-citizenship rights.

Surprisingly, the terrorist attack in New York on 11 September 2001 gave Australian multiculturalism an additional lease of life. In 2003 the government issued a new policy statement

'Multicultural Australia: United in Diversity: Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia: Strategic Directions for 2003-2006' (Commonwealth of Australia, 2003). This further shifted the focus of multiculturalism to unity and social cohesion. It also meant the return to old practices of community consultation and of opening government access to community leaders. In 2005 after the Prime Minister's Summit with Muslim Community Leaders, a Muslim Community Reference Group was created to advance Muslim integration with the rest of the community.

- **Equality and justice under Rudd/Gillard governments (2007-13)**

The Labor government was returned in 2007 with Kevin Rudd as Prime Minister. Upon election, Labor's initial approach to multiculturalism disappointed many. The electoral platform promise to re-establish OMA in PM&C was not implemented after the election.[38] Then, in the 2010 election, for the first time since the Whitlam government in 1972, Labor did not put forward a multicultural policy proposal. It needs to be acknowledged however, that significant groundwork was undertaken under the Rudd Prime Ministership. For example, in April 2010 The Australian Multicultural Advisory Council (17 December 2008 – to 30 June 2010) delivered their advice to government titled *'The People of Australia'*. (Australian Multicultural Advisory Committee, 2011)

Multiculturalism gained a higher profile after the change in Prime Ministership to Julia Gillard. Post the 2010 election, her Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, Chris Bowen, announced the restoration of the multicultural portfolio. In an address entitled: *'The Genius of Multiculturalism'* (Bowen, 2011) to the Sydney Institute, Bowen expressed the view that 'If Australia is to be free and equal, then it will be multicultural. But, if it is to be multicultural, Australia must remain free and equal.' The renamed Australian Multicultural Council (AMC) was officially launched by the Prime Minister on 22 August 2011 at parliament House in Canberra and an updated version of Australia's multicultural policy *'The People of Australia'* was published with a focus on equality and anti-discrimination.

Prime Minister Gillard also reaffirmed the well-established concepts that multiculturalism is: '… the meeting place of rights and responsibilities where the right to maintain one's customs, language and religion is balanced by an equal responsibility to learn English, find work, respect our culture and heritage, and accept women as full equals.' /…/ 'Where there is non-negotiable respect for our foundational values of democracy and the rule of law, and any differences we hold are expressed peacefully.' /…/ 'Where old hatreds are left behind, and we find shared identity on the common ground of mateship and the Aussie spirit of a fair go'. (Australianpolitics.com, 2012)

- **Social cohesion under Abbott/Turnbull government (2013-2016)**

The returned Coalition Prime Minister Abbott reappointed the Australian Multicultural Council and strengthened focus on social cohesion and productive diversity. In addition, a range of new measures were put in place to communicate better with Muslim community leadership and especially to stop the radicalization of Muslim youth.

Tony Abbott was replaced by Malcolm Turnbull as Prime Minister in September 2015. In February 2016 a leaked government document indicated that the Turnbull government may consider toughening Australia's humanitarian resettlement program, including increasing the screening and monitoring of refugees and making it harder to obtain permanent residency and citizenship. The document claimed that the changes may be introduced because *'it has been established that there are links between recent onshore terrorist attacks and the humanitarian intake'*. It also

singled out the Lebanese community as the 'most prominent ethnic group amongst Australian Sunni extremists'. The leak drew a swift reaction from ethnic communities and the Labor opposition, alleging elements of the paper were *'verging on bigotry and racism'*. (Hurst, 2016). This was followed by a conciliatory meeting with Muslim leaders in Melbourne in March 2016.

The Parramatta murder of police accountant Curtis Cheng by 15-year old gunman Farhad Jabar was described by the Prime Minister Turnbull as an *'act of terror'* motivated by extremists' political and religious views. Further, at a media conference in Sydney the Prime Minister delivered a public appeal for unity and respect. He said: *'Respect for each other, respect for our country, respect for shared values, these are the things that make this country one of the most successful countries in the world, as a multicultural country in particular. /.../ So, if you want to be respected, if we want our faith, our cultural background to be respected, then we have to respect others. That is a part of the Australian project.'* The Assistant Minister for Multicultural Affairs, Concetta Fierravanti-Wells added that '*our Muslim communities now need to own the problem and own the solutions.'*

Minister for Immigration and Border Protection Dutton reassured Australians that *'As far as future policies are concerned I can assure you that in terms of people's rights there is only one class of citizens in Australia. All citizens have the same rights but they also have the same obligations and one of those obligations is obviously to obey the law. That applies whether you were born here or whether you took out your citizenship last week.'* (Hurst, 2016). Furthermore, the success of border protection policy has been linked by conservative Australian governments to broad public support for multicultural policies. In fact during the 2016 federal election campaign the Prime Minister Turnbull stated that tough border protection is essential to guarantee and sustain Australia as the most successful multicultural nation on earth – *"If you don't have strong border protection then people* lose faith in the immigration system and the whole Australian multicultural project is threatened" Mr Turnbull told *The Australian* newspaper on 29 June 2016.

However, no new multicultural policy statement has been issued by the Abbott/Turnbull government as the approach appears to be to concentrate on individual policies rather than a "multicultural program". For example, in February 2016 Social Services Minister Christian Porter re-focused the mandate of the Australian Multicultural Council from general advice on multiculturalism to advice on empowering culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) women, particularly in the areas of economic and social participation, leadership and safety.

Multiculturalism - success or otherwise

The vast majority of Australians regard both Australia's immigration outcomes and its multicultural policy as a success and take pride in them. Some would go as far as to claim that multiculturalism is *"an inherent part of Australian DNA"*. (Hurley, 2016) Let us start with results of public opinion research and then examine a number of other social indicators.

- **Attitudes towards migration and multiculturalism**

The 2015 Scanlon Foundation National Survey Report, Mapping Social Cohesion (Markus, 2015), revealed that public concern over migration to Australia is at its lowest level since 2007 with some 41% agreeing that the number of immigrants accepted to Australia is "about right" and 19% that it is "too low". It suggests that Australia is a country with one of the highest levels of positive sentiment towards migration in the western world. By contrast, in the United Kingdom, 71 percent disapproved of how their government manages migration. The 2015 Australian Institute for

Progress survey also found that its respondents were strongly in favour of continued migration with 69 percent favouring current or higher levels of migration. (Australian Institute for Progress, 2015) Thus, most likely, the current migration program will continue in the foreseeable future at a historically high level as the government handling of immigration has popular support.

Similarly, the majority of Australians support multiculturalism and believe that Australia is the world's best and most cohesive multicultural society. The Scanlon Surveys have shown a strong support for the policy of multiculturalism dating back to 2013 (3 surveys) and some other surveys have indicated similar support in earlier years. The 2015 Scanlon Survey found that 86 percent of respondents agree that 'multiculturalism has been good for Australia' (Markus, 2015); 75 percent that 'multiculturalism contributes to our economic development'; 71 percent that 'multiculturalism encourages migrants to integrate'; and 60 percent believe that 'diversity strengthens the Australian way of life'. (Markus, 2013). The Scanlon Foundation findings are supported by the results of the Western Sydney University led Challenging Racism Project which reported that "*About 87 percent of Australians say that they see cultural diversity as a good thing for society*." (Dunn, 2016)

Acceptance of migration and cultural diversity is particularly strong amongst Australia's youth with 91 percent agreeing or strongly agreeing that *'multiculturalism is good for Australia'. Also,* 85 percent of young adults agree that '*we should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different cultures'*; but only 40 percent in the general sample supported this statement.[39]

Support for multiculturalism also varies between Australian states. Comparing the five mainland state capitals and Canberra gives three groupings: Melbourne and Canberra show the highest support with 48% in Melbourne and Canberra 'strongly agreeing' that multiculturalism has been good for Australia; Brisbane and Perth show the lowest support (35-37% strongly agree), while Sydney and Adelaide sit somewhere in the middle (39-42% strongly agree). If we examine attitudes in regional Australia, the aggregated result from 2013, 2014, and 2015 Mapping Social Cohesion survey data finds that 82% of respondents support multiculturalism (compared to 87% in capital cities), but the difference between 'strong agreement' and 'agreement' is in sharp contrast. For example, 'strong agreement' in the capital cities is at 42%, while outside the capitals, it is 29%.

Social research suggests a high level of social cohesion. This is illustrated by some 92 percent of those surveyed indicated having a 'strong sense of belonging in Australia' with close to half (44%) reporting this "always", and only small proportions "hardly ever" (5%) or "never" (3%); also, 85 percent reported to have 'a sense of pride in the Australian way of life and culture'. (Markus, 2015).

A recent Mind & Mood report on New Australians, based on extensive interviews with Chinese, Indian, Vietnamese and Somali migrants indicated that they see Australia as a peaceful and fair nation and were more optimistic about their future in the 'lucky country' than the local-born middle class. (Megalogenis, 2012) In fact, the vast majority of migrants are happy with their decision to settle in Australia and content with the nature of Australian society and its culture. For example, the majority reported feeling welcomed in Australia 'always' (52%) or 'most of the time' (28%). (Markus, 2015.)

There is also a range of other social indicators that multicultural policy is working well in Australia; let us examine them briefly.

- **Economic participation**

Many link Australia's prosperity to diversity and point to Multiculturalism as policy that clearly helps to integrate migrants into the economy. Although unemployment differs between different ethnic communities and between skilled and humanitarian migrants overall, migrants have greater labour market participation and earn more than Australian born workers. For example, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2015) data the average employee income of a skilled visa holder was approximately $5,000 higher than the national average of taxpayers in the 2009-10 financial year. Also, unemployment rates are lower for young second generation migrants then they are for the children of Australian born parents. Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) communities foster the entrepreneurial spirit and contribute to economic growth.

Unfortunately migrant families are slightly over-represented in the lower income decile. This statistic however, is significantly different to the situation of migrants in France and Belgium where 23 percent and 27 percent of migrant households respectively are in the lowest income decile. (Ergas, 2015) Particular difficulties are being experienced by some Muslim Australians. The 2011 census indicated that suburbs with a large concentration of Muslims have had unemployment rates of double the national average. For example, people living in Australia's only Islam-majority suburb of Lakemba, where 51.8 percent of residents identify as Muslims, recorded unemployment of 11.7 percent when national unemployment was below 6 percent. People living in such suburbs also have significantly smaller individual incomes than the national average.

On the other hand, some former refugees and migrants, such as Frank Lowy and Richard Pratt, have demonstrated enormous economic successes and accumulated extraordinary wealth. Ruth Ostrow's analysis suggests that about one third of Australia's richest list is occupied by people who migrated to Australia. (Ostrow, 1987; see also: Colins, 2015). Also, Australians with CALD backgrounds make up to 30 percent of small business owners.

There is also significant literature indicating that diversity boosts creativity, innovation and problem solving in the workplace and adds to competitiveness of industries. For example, a recent McKinsey survey of 366 USA companies suggested that '…the companies in the top quartile for racial/ethnic diversity were 35 percent more likely to have financial returns above their national industry median.' (Hunt et al., 2015, p.3)

- **Education**

To start with, the merit-based immigration system that allocates a significant number of permanent immigration places has served Australia well. 'The focus on Education and skills targets immigrants with characteristics that enable them to integrate successfully and deliver good labour market and economic outcomes.' (Productivity Commission, 2015, p.2)

Then, there is a wealth of research consistently showing the education system is utilized as a major upward mobility mechanism by migrant families. Children with overseas born parents perform relatively better in education compared to those with Australian born parents. There is however no such difference in second generation.

There is also enormous economic upward intergenerational mobility amongst the new settlers suggesting, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, that in Australia *Achievement has no colour".* For example, a study of Sydney's Lebanese Muslim community found that 45 percent of the parents

had left school before the equivalent of Year 10; in contrast, virtually all of their children had completed upper secondary school, with the majority continuing to tertiary education. Although 35 percent of the fathers were manual labourers, only 10 percent of the male children are; and while barely 3 percent of the parents were in the professions, some 20 percent of their children have professional jobs. In the Islam-majority suburb Lakemba, almost 15 percent of residents have gone to university or completed other tertiary education; this figure is in line with the national average.

The contrast to Europe could not be sharper. For example, in Germany and The Netherlands, second-generation Muslims are twice as likely to leave school before completion as their native-born counterparts and young Muslims are only one-third as likely to complete post-secondary education as their native-born counterparts. A German study indicated that educational outcomes of second-generation migrants in Germany increasingly lag behind those of the native population. (Bauer et al., 2010)

- **Intermarriage**

A high level of inter-ethnic marriage is usually considered as one of the most definitive measures of the dissolution of social and cultural barriers. In 2009 42% of marriages recorded in Australia involved at least one partner who was not Australian-born. According to the 2006 Census, a majority of third generation Australians of non-English-speaking background had partnered with persons of a different ethnic origin (the majority partnered with persons of Australian or Anglo-Celtic background). Also a majority of Indigenous Australians partnered with non-indigenous Australians.

- **Civic and political participation**

'New Australians' have not only developed their own organisations and leaderships but have also started to participate in mainstream political processes and civic undertakings. There has been a wealth of trailblazers at Federal, State and in particular local levels of government. For example, Nick Greiner, Premier of NSW between 1988 – 1992 was born in Budapest, Hungary; the current premier of Queensland Annastacia Palaszczuk is a daughter of a Polish migrant Henry Palaszczuk, who is a former Member of the Queensland Legislative Assembly and the Federal Finance Minister Mathias Cormann was born in Belgium. However, Australian parliaments are a long way from the point where our elected representatives are reflective of the composition of the population. As of 29 June 2015, of the 226 Australian federal Parliamentarians, 26 were born overseas (13 from the UK). (Parliament of Australia, 2016) As of 6 August 2013, during the Rudd government, four members of the 42 ministers and parliamentary secretaries spoke a language other than English. (Kenny, 2013)

Over 60 percent of new settlers apply for Australian citizenship.[40] For example on 26 January 2015 almost 16,000 people from 152 different countries become Australian citizens in public ceremonies across the nation.

Difficulties

Despite these remarkable achievements of, and the support for, multicultural policies and immigration intake, there some emerging issues that have the potential to undermine social cohesion.

- **Geographical concentration and isolation**

Although there are no ethnic ghettos in the strict sense of this term in Australia, the 2011 Census indicated that some migrants concentrate in particular suburbs of large cities. At the same time, they are highly likely to live in areas where a 30 percent or higher proportion of the population shares their identity, for example in localities such as Lakemba, Auburn and Greenacre in Sydney and Dandenong South, Dallas and Meadow Heights in Melbourne. They cannot be called ghettos as many houses are of high standard; as somebody observed: 'They are moving up without necessarily moving out.'

The concentration of migrants was also formed during the days of post WWII migration with some suburbs being regarded as Italian, Greek or Polish. But this distinction has long since vanished as in time the migrants became geographically mobile, using their newly created wealth to settle in the suburbs they aspired to and integrating into broader society.

There is growing recognition in academia, government and non-government organisations that Muslim Australians have not participated as prominently as expected in the process of social inclusion despite Islam and Muslims becoming an integral part of Australian social fabric. Some Muslims, generally speaking, despite the establishment of numerous Muslim organisations, schools, mosques and businesses have remained at the periphery of Australian society and their primary social networks are frequently narrow, with one survey finding that for example, 40 percent of young Muslims of Lebanese origins have never had any Anglo-Celtic friends.

Clearly more needs to be done to involve Muslim communities with the mainstream, including governance, policy development and decision making processes. One of the ways to achieve this would be through support for a greater role of secular and grass-root level community initiatives and institutions.

- **Feeling of injustice**

The feeling of discrimination and injustice is reported to exist amongst some visibly different migrant groups, for example, youth from South Sudan, young Australian Muslims of Middle Eastern extraction and some others. According to a recent OECD survey this feeling appears to be significantly more prevalent in Australia than it is in Belgium and France.

There is also a sense that others are responsible for and must redress. For example, only 13 percent of Australian-born Lebanese Christians strongly believe governments need to do more to advance the position of migrants; but 54 percent of Australian-born Lebanese Muslims do. And though the majority of Australian-born Muslims say they have never experienced labour market discrimination themselves, they believe it to be relatively widespread and more so now than a decade ago.

Australian media has on occasion criticised leadership of some of community-based Islamic organisations in saying that they seek to legitimise and strengthen the perception of segregation and victimhood amongst young Muslims. For example, the statement made after the Paris attacks by the Grand Mufti of Australia Ibrahim Abu Mohamed that nominated its causes as 'racism, Islamophobia, curtailing freedoms through secularisation, duplicitous foreign policies and military intervention' was heavily criticised. However the later Grand Mufti condemnation of the Brussels terrorist attacks was unqualified.

- **Radicalization**

The problem of violent extremism and radicalisation has clearly grown over the past several years in Australia. It impacts on a very small segment of the Muslim community in Australia[41], mainly on young men, but it has the potential for extreme violent behaviour and has resulted in sporadic acts of violent terrorism. This very small minority rejects the values of Western civilization and proclaim their support for Islamic state and intention to overthrow Australian democracy. It is the first ever determined challenge to Australian multiculturalism from cultural-relativist position.

Academics, commentators, community leaders and politicians differ in their analysis of the main contributing factors and how to counter radicalisation. Some Muslim leaders tend to blame the media for engaging in irresponsible reporting, arguing that Islam is actually a 'religion of peace' that plays no role in radicalisation or violent extremism.

The government response has been twofold. On one hand, to engage with Muslim communities and to focus on common values, on what unites rather than what divides. On the other, it initiated a range of de-radicalisation anti-terrorism measures. There is also much more focus on mapping out and support for factors that nourish social cohesion.

There is also a significant growth of both right and left wing extremism. While multiculturalism has consistently had majority support, there are sections of Australian society who are less comfortable with the pace of change and with the level of migrant services provided by the governments.

- **Racism and racial discrimination**

Finally, the issue of racism which, if prevalent, may constitute one of the biggest threats to the development and good functioning of a multi-ethnic society and its cohesion. Considering the historical overhang of past racism of the 'White Australia' policy and some recent incidents[42], the question needs to be asked: What is the actual level of racism in Australia now?

A recent national data survey from the Challenging Racism Project reported that direct individual experience of racist behavior is relatively low – from 6-7% who have experienced direct physical attacks or unfair treatment to some 20% who have experienced racial slurs and offensive gestures. The survey also demonstrated a very high level of awareness of racism amongst the Australian public, and possibly moral condemnation and disapproval of it. Racist hotspots are reported to be in areas of economic hardship, recent immigration and below-average education levels.

The above data is in line with the Newspoll survey findings published in The Australian newspaper on 17 July 2014 which concluded that 'One in five people agrees the word 'racist' describes Australians 'a lot', while two thirds agree that describes them 'a little'. Only 12 percent of people believe Australians are not at all racist.' The BNLA study of recent humanitarian entrants has also reported some racism with only 5 percent reporting discrimination most commonly on the streets or public transport.

Research also indicated that experiences of racism vary considerably amongst different ethnic groups; there are issues also within immigrant communities. Also, people born overseas report higher rates of racism than those born in Australia, and are twice as likely to experience racism in

the workplace, although the Scanlon Foundation surveys also indicated that 'settled' immigrants tend to experience lower levels of racist attitudes as more recent arrivals to Australia. (Dunn et al., 2009)

There is, however, a concern that racism may be on the increase. The 2015 Scanlon Foundation survey indicated an increase in people reporting a direct experience of discrimination because of their skin colour, ethnic origin or religion; the rate doubled to 18 percent since 2007. The research also showed a growing disengagement of some migrants from Australian life and a growing connection with countries of origin via the internet and satellite television. This links to the Survey suggesting that a sense of belonging to a 'great extent' fell from 77 percent in 2007 to 66 percent in 2014.

The 21 October 2015 address by the former Assistant Minister for Multicultural Affairs, Senator Concetta Fierravanti-Wells has well illustrated the discrimination in employment impact on Australians from minority backgrounds. She pointed out that '…of the 136,000 ongoing Australian Public service employees, less than 20,000 or about 14 percent, come from a non-English speaking background. In the Senior Executive Service, only 138 out of 1,918 are from non-English speaking background.' (Fierravanti-Wells, 2015).

The employment discrimination against Muslim Australians would be of particular concern as currently anti-Muslim feelings have become more visible with the Scanlon Foundation surveys indicating that the attitude towards those of the Muslim faith remains relatively high (Markus, 2014). Furthermore, research also points to some deep rooted concern in some section of the population about the cultural impact of Islamic migration. The Scanlon survey (Markus, 2015) found that 25 percent of Australians expressed negative attitudes towards Muslims which is many times higher than negative attitudes against any other religious group. A high level of concern was also uncovered by the recent AIP survey last November. Graham Young, AIP Executive Director concluded: 'There is a very strong feeling that immigrants from Islamic countries are part of a culture war pitting their way of life and beliefs against ours.' /…/ 'People are in favour of immigration, so this is not per se, xenophobia.' (Australian Institute for Progress, 2015).

To conclude, there is no doubt that racism remains an issue for Australia and that there are active pockets of racist behaviour and attitudes are in existence. However, this falls short of characterising racism as being a prevalent feature of contemporary Australian society.[43]

Multiculturalism as a national compact

Since the very early days of European settlement, the concept of belonging to Australia was quite narrow – it was centred around Anglo-Celtic ethos and institutions. In recent decades, the mass non-Anglo-Celtic migration has broadened the national identity enormously, shifting from an originally narrow focus to a more complex outlook nowadays. Now one can be from anywhere and maintain the traditions you grew up with – and still be Australian. Australian multicultural success to date has in part been due to the malleability of Australian culture and consistent economic growth, mainly due to our resources and massive migration intakes.

Today multiculturalism is seen by many as a business card or as the best short descriptor of today's Australia, although for some people, comfort with cultural diversity is still limited to culinary diversity. In fact, multiculturalism is not a search for utopia, but a practical policy designed to include all Australians regardless of their ethnic or national heritage.

Australian multiculturalism aims to deliver equality of opportunity and social inclusion for all. It is not however, as some would expect, a policy charged with singlehanded protection of minority cultures. It must instead be seen as an important social compact focussing on mutual rights and obligations. At its core there is a requirement for all migrants to accept Australian core values and laws. It also allows migrants to keep their birth country's customs and traditions providing that they do not conflict with the core values. It aims at development of a well-integrated and cohesive society that values and respects difference. It does not however encourage development of separate, parallel communities based on ethnic, religious or racial distinction.

The fundamentals of the compact as initially defined by Fraser's 1978 '*Guiding principles'* and in particular Hawke's 1988 '*National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia'*.

On one hand, the multicultural compact aims to advance egalitarian, economically robust, culturally sensitive and politically inclusive Australia. Cultural diversity is welcomed as an asset and governments are charged with keeping the societal structures open to and inclusive of newcomers. The compact also encourages preservation and transfer of minority cultural and linguistic heritage to the next generation and provides some resources to assist with cultural maintenance.

The multicultural compact is underpinned by core Australian values such as equality of the sexes and the rule of law and expresses the principle of respect for and tolerance of racial, cultural and religious differences. In fact, multiculturalism extended Australian egalitarianism and the *'fair go'* ethos to include cultural, linguistic and religious differences. Craig Laundy, Assistant Minister for Multicultural Affairs, in his recent opinion piece said: 'Our commitment to the rule of law, our parliamentary democracy, equality of opportunity regardless of race, religion or ethnic background; tolerance, fair play, mutual respect – these are the values that have attracted more than 7.5 million migrants to Australia and they are the very reasons why multiculturalism has been such a success." (Laundy, 2016).

Thus, new settlers are expected to participate on equal terms in all facets of the Australian society, to access economic, educational and other opportunities and to contribute to nation building. In particular, they are expected to join the broader Australian society and its political and cultural institutions. Settlers are to participate fully in the Australian economy delivering the so-called 'productive diversity' dividend (Cope & Kalantzis, 1997).

On the other hand, the compact requires that minority cultures do not conflict with the Australian core values and with other minority groups. The Australian Citizenship pledge reads: 'From this time forward I pledge my loyalty to Australia and its people, whose democratic beliefs I share, whose rights and liberties I respect, and whose laws I will uphold and obey.' Thus, it is also expected that newcomers will give up their foreign loyalties and, in particular, involvement with the country of origin's conflicts and ethnic or religious hatreds. The former Prime Minister Tony Abbott expressed this idea by saying that: 'Newcomers to this country are not expected to surrender their heritage but they are expected to surrender their hatreds.'

However, the recent experience tends to suggest that an upcoming issue is the rejection within a segment of Muslim population of the values of western civilisation. For example, the Hizub ut-Tahrir Islamist group regard that singing the national anthem or pledging support for democratic values and the oath of citizenship amounts to an oppressive campaign of 'forced assimilation'.

(Lewis & Higgins, 2015) This is, perhaps, an unusual development in the context of Australian multicultural experience.

The above tenants of this social compact were well summarised by the former Prime Minister Gillard who said: "Multiculturalism is not only just the ability to maintain our diverse backgrounds and cultures. It is the meeting place of rights and responsibilities. Where the right to maintain one's customs, language and religion is balanced by an equal responsibility to learn English, find work, respect our culture and heritage, and accept women as full equals". (Australianpolitics.com, 2012).

The recent Harmony Day speech delivered by Prime Minister Turnbull at Parliament House reinstated the compact dimension of Australian multiculturalism. The Prime Minister said: 'The greatest thing that we have succeeded in creating, all of us, all of us succeeded in creating the most successful multicultural society in the world./.../ And, we have done so because of an essential ingredient which is so Australian. That of respect. Mutual respect, a fair go, live and let live. Many ways you can describe it but that mutual respect, that two-way street of respect is what underpins our great multicultural society. /.../ you know, there was a time when people talked about multiculturalism, some people did, as though it was a practice where people were separate in their own cultures like a series of enclaves. That's not Australia, our multiculturalism is one where we are all enriched by each other's cultures.' (Turnbull, 2016a)

Following the terrorist attacks in Brussels on 23 March 2016 the Prime Minister Turnbull asserted that multiculturalism is one of key ingredients ensuring that Australia is better placed than many of our European counterparts in dealing with the threat of terrorism. He said: 'Strong borders, vigilant security agencies governed by the rule of law, and a steadfast commitment to the shared values of freedom and mutual respect - these are the ingredients of multicultural success - which is what we have achieved in Australia.'(Turnbull, 2016b)

To summarise, Australian multiculturalism is unquestionably a success story. It reflects a demographic reality, it is supported by national policy and institutions; and it is centred on a social compact that is built on mutual respect and shared rights and responsibilities. Multicultural policies have helped to unlock migrants' capacity and willingness to contribute to broader society. The policies were also able to build and maintain an unparalleled level of social cohesion despite a continuously high and culturally diverse migration intake level since the late 1940's.

As a high volume of migration to Australia is likely to continue in the foreseeable future, multiculturalism, with its stress on core values of democracy, equality, social justice and English as a national language, must continue as government endorsed social policy to deliver integration of newcomers and social cohesion for all. Perhaps much more would need to be done in terms of citizenship education in order to combat the relativist tendencies in Australian multiculturalism. The European Union approach to citizenship education provides a good benchmark for Australia to aspire to. (European Commission, 2012)

Multiculturalism compact, however, must also be seen as a work in progress project. To maintain a high level of social support for the multicultural compact, governments of the day would need to maintain its integrity and not to allow diversity to be used as party political football. On-going government leadership is needed to ensure that the key tenants of multicultural compact are understood and continue to be supported by all Australians and that xenophobia and racism are kept in check.

8. CONCLUSIONS - RELEVENCE OF AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE FOR EUROPE

Australia appears to be better placed than many of our European counterparts in dealing with the cultural and religious diversity, social cohesion and threats of terrorism because of her secure borders and the successful multicultural society despite large, continuous and diverse immigration since 1947. So, the question needs to be asked: what relevance has the Australian experience with migration and multiculturalism to the situation in Europe?

The short answer is possibly very little. Australian and European experiences in migration and nation building are very different and most likely not transferable.

Let us start with multiculturalism. Europe's and Australia's assessments of success of multiculturalism differ dramatically. To Australians, the European approach to multiculturalism all seems a matter of semantics or perhaps a victory of politics over policy. European politicians' attacks on *"multiculturalism"* [44] have focused more on the name 'multiculturalism' as a descriptor of demographic change rather than as a policy of empowerment of different ethnic, religious and cultural groupings. Australians would simply say that it is difficult for multiculturalism to fail in Europe, as Europeans have never actually tried.

Fully acknowledging the enormous human rights dimension of mass human movements to both Australia and Europe, one needs to also recognize there are also significant differences between our continents when looking at possible solutions. It seems that at present, Europe has three options.

First, would be to maintain the status quo and allow the influx of people to continue indefinitely, with drownings. Second, Europe could open its borders further and to avoid risk of drownings, provide transport to people from Africa and the Middle East to reach Europe. Third, adopt the Australian model or a variation of it. The March 2016 agreement between the European Union and Turkey is a step in this direction, but in my opinion, it will be only limited in its effectiveness. Hopefully it would allow for some orderly processing of refugee claims.

Retired Major General Jim Molan, the co-architect of Australia's tough border protection expressed a view that the Australian model involving boat turn-backs, offshore processing and regional resettlement could work for Europe. (Wroe, 2015)

For Europeans however, the issue appears to be much more complex. First, there appears to be little appetite for the adoption of the Australian solution amongst EU officials in Brussels; nonetheless the fact remains that EU member states continue to have the legal responsibility of EU external border control. First, there appears to be little appetite for the adoption of the Australian model amongst both EU officials in Brussels and some EU member states which continue to have legal responsibility of EU external border control. The current de facto open border policy lures thousands of boat people to their death in the Mediterranean Sea could be described as pro-drowning policy that impact mainly on Muslim asylum seekers. Second, the current refugee and migration governance in EU is risk-averse and highly inadequate to the task at hand. Clearly there is a need to establish the common European asylum system; perhaps Professor Goodwinn-Gill's suggestion to create a European Migration and Protection Agency should be given a serious consideration. Third, legally the issues are considerably more complex as the European Court of Human Rights has already ruled that boat turn-backs were illegal.

So what is likely to happen?

As the current refugee/migration crisis in Europe is only the beginning of a story that is yet to unfold, it is an outcome of a range of push and pull factors and European actors are yet to decide how to mitigate them. In particular, there is a chance that Europe will start showing some real muscle in an attempt to end the war in Syria and defeat the Islamic State.

In terms of pull factors it is likely that the German Chancellor's open-ended invitation will be withdrawn and that there will be a number of measures taken to *"take the sugar from the table."*

This could be achieved by a range of procedural changes that would allow individual host countries to implement differential treatment of genuine refugees and economic migrants; and return people who are not genuine refugees. There also needs to be a legitimate path established in countries of first refuge that would allow refugees legitimate access to the European countries. Australia's experience with boat people would be used to provide some guidance as to the measures that could work. Introduction of temporary protection visas, some offshore processing, limitations on family reunion or some other measures are likely to be utilised. A recent Polish Institute of International Affairs policy paper (Wnukowski, 2016) provides a good list of such options.

Finally, the Australian experience suggests that after the vast majority of refugees/migrants reach their desired location in Europe, they will stay there regardless of their refugee status. As a result, the European governments will need to come up with a range of measures not to marginalise the newcomers, but to integrate them into their new communities. There will be no social cohesion in Europe without give and take integration with focus on core values that underpin European democracies.

From the Australian experience, only 'fair go' societies where citizens are free and equal in opportunities can develop a common sense of belonging. In order to achieve social cohesion, Europe will need to ensure equal participation of migrants in a broader society and open to them channels of upward mobility channels regardless of their cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds. It could be a very costly exercise, but inclusion and empowerment of migrants will maximize their economic contribution and remove the need for ethnic ghettos or separateness from the community at large.

REFERENCES

AUSTRALIA: population growth of the whole country (2016). *Populstat.info*. Retrieved 11 April 2016, from
http://www.populstat.info/Oceania/australc.htm

Australian Border Deaths Database (2016) Retrieved on 1 May 2016 from:
http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/thebordercrossingobservatory/publications/australian-border-deaths-database/

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012a). *Cultural Diversity in Australia. Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census* (June 2012) cat. no 2071.0, accessed 25 September 2012,
http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2071.0main+features902012-2013.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012b). *2071.0 - Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012–2013*. Retrieved 14 April 2016, from
http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/2071.0Main%20Features902012%E2%80%932013

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2015). *ABS releases data on Personal Income of Migrants in Australia*, September 2015

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016a). *Estimated Resident Population by Country of Birth, 30 June 1992 to 2015*. Retrieved 14 April 2016, from http://stat.abs.gov.au//Index.aspx?QueryId=743

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016b). *B13 Language Spoken at Home by Sex*. Retrieved 14 April 2016, from http://stat.abs.gov.au/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=ABS_CENSUS2011_B13

Australian Institute for Progress (2015). *Australian Attitudes to Immigration*. http://aip.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/151013-AIP-Australian-Attitudes-to-Immigration-Report-FINAL.pdf, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Australian Multicultural Advisory Committee (2011), 'The People of Australia. Australia's Multicultural Policy', *Department of Immigration and Citizenship*, 16 February 2011 at
http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/multicultural/pdf_doc/people-of-australia-multicultural-policy-booklet.pdf, 17 January 2013.

Australianpolitics.com (2005). Howard Claims No 'Underlying Racism' In Australia; Cautions Against 'Rush to Judgement'. http://australianpolitics.com/2005/12/12/howard-claims-no-underlying-racism-in-australia.html, viewed 11 Mar. 2016.

Australianpolitics.com (2012). *Gillard, Lowy and Abbott: Australian Multicultural Council Lecture*. http://australianpolitics.com/2012/09/19/gillard-lowy-abbott-multicultural-council-lecture.html, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Bauer, T.K, Flake, R., & Sinning M.G. (2010). *Neighbourhood Effects on Labor Market Outcomes of First- and Second-Generation Migrants in Germany*. German Institute for Economic Research.
https://www.diw.de/documents/dokumentenarchiv/17/diw_01.c.357788.de/soep2010_paper_flake.pdf

Berry, J.W. & D.L. Sam (2013). Accommodating Cultural Diversity and Achieving Equality. An Introduction to Psychological Dimensions of Multiculturalism. *European Psychologist*, Vol. 18(3), p.151-157.

Betts, K. (2001). Boatpeople and public opinion in Australia. *People And Place*, *9*(4), 45. Retrieved from http://arrow.monash.edu.au/hdl/1959.1/480683

Border.gov.au (2016a). Australian Citizenship Pledge. https://www.border.gov.au/Trav/Citi/Citi/Australian-citizenship-pledge, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Border.gov.au (2016b). *Operation Sovereign Borders*. Web. 3 Feb. 2016. https://www.border.gov.au/about/operation-sovereign-borders

Border.gov.au (2016c). *Historical migration statistics*. Retrieved 14 April 2016, from
https://www.border.gov.au/about/reports-publications/research-statistics/statistics/live-in-australia/historical-migration-statistics

Bouma G.D., & Hughes P.J. (2014). Using census data in the management of religious diversity: an Australian case study' in *Religion*, Vol.44, No.3 pp. 434 – 452, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Bowen C. (2011). *The genius of Australian multiculturalism*. Minister for Immigration and Citizenship, 17 February 2011.

Calwell, A. (1945). *White Paper on Immigration* (pp. 4911-4915). Hansard House of Representatives, 2 August 1945.

Children Overboard Affair (2016). *Wikipedia*. Retrieved 11 April 2016, from
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Children_Overboard_affair

Collins,J. (2015). *Igniting the Entrepreneurial Passion of Newly-Arrived Refugees in Sydney*. Sydney: UTS Business School.

Committee of Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services (ROMAMPAS) (1986). Don't settle for less / report of the Committee for stage 1 of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services, August 1986, AGPS Canberra 1986, p. 526.

Committee of Review of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (1983) *Report to the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs*, *November 1983*, Canberra: AGPS.

Commonwealth of Australia (1999). *A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*.
    https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/files/settle/multicultural_australia/agenda.pdf. 10 Mar. 2016.

Commonwealth of Australia (2003). *Multicultural Australia: United In Diversity. Updating the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia: Strategic Directions for 2003-2006*.
    https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/01_2014/united_diversity.pdf, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (1997). *Productive diversity: a new, Australian model for work and management*. Sydney: Pluto Press.

Dastyari, A. (2016). *The 2014 Castan Human Rights Report - Faculty of Law*. *Monash.edu*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.monash.edu/law/centres/castancentre/policywork/hr-reports/2014/asylum

Davidson, H., & Doherty, B. (2016). *Child refugees tell of bullying on Nauru: 'They are rude to us, they punch us'. The Guardian*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/jan/21/child-refugees-tell-of-bullying-on-nauru-they-are-rude-to-us-they-punch-us?CMP=soc_567

Davis, G. (2011). *A Question of Respect* (15 March 2011). Grubsheet Feejee, accessed 23 September 2012, http://www.grubsheet.com.au/?p=21.

De Maio, J., Silbert, M., Jenkinson, R., & Smart, D. (2014). Building a New Life in Australia: Introducing the Longitudinal Study of Humanitarian Migrants. *Family Matters*, 94, 5-14. Web. 26 April 2016. https://aifs.gov.au/publications/family-matters/issue-94/building-new-life-australia

Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2014). *Immigration Detention and Community Statistics Summary*. Web. 5 Apr. 2016. http://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/statistics/immigration-detention-statistics-dec2014.pdf

Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2016a). Australia's Humanitarian Programme 2016-17. Discussion Paper. Canberra. http://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/discussion-papers/discussion-paper-humanitarian-programme_2016-17.pdf

Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2016b). Fact sheet – Australia Refugee and Humanitarian Programme, Canberra. https://www.border.gov.au/about/corporate/information/fact-sheets/60refugee

Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2016c). Regional Net Overseas Migration 2004–05 to 2017–18. Retrieved from https://www.border.gov.au/ReportsandPublications/Documents/statistics/regional-nom-2004-05-2017-18.pdf

Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) (2012). *The settlement journey: Strengthening Australia through migration*. Canberra: DIAC. Retrieved from www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/12_2013/settlement-journey_access.pdf.

Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1986). *DON'T SETTLE FOR LESS. Report of the Committee for Stage I of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services.* Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra August 1986.

Department of Social Services (2015). *Evaluation of the Humanitarian Settlement Services and Complex Case Support programmes*. Report prepared by Ernst and Young. June, 2015. Retrieved from https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/11_2015/evaluation_of_the_humanitarian_settlement_services_and_complex_case_support_programmes_-_final_report_0.pdf

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (1992). *Access and Equity Evaluation Report.* Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

Doherty, B. (2015). *UN countries line up to criticise Australia's human rights record*. *The Guardian*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.theguardian.com/law/2015/nov/10/un-countries-line-up-to-criticise-australias-human-rights-record

Donnelly, J. (1984). Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights, *Human Rights Quarterly,* Vol. 6, No. 4 (Nov. 1984), 400-419.

Dunn, K. (2016). *Challenging Racism: The Anti -Racism Research Project*. Western Sydney University, 2016.

Dunn, K., Forrest, J., Pe-Pua, R., Hynes, M., & Maeder-Han, K. (2009). Cities of race hatred? The spheres of racism and anti-racism in contemporary Australian cities. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, 1, 1–14.

Ergas, H. (2015). Ingrained Culture of Complaint, in *The Australian.* 23 November 2015, p. 42.

Evans, R. (2001). The White Australia Policy. In Jupp, J. (ed.) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, It's People and Their Origins*. New York; Cambridge University Press.

Evershed, N. (2014). Mandatory immigration detention is a billion-dollar business – analysis. The *Guardian*. Retrieved 11 April 2016, from http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2014/aug/25/-sp-mandatory-immigration-detention-is-a-billion-dollar-business-analysis

European Commission (2012). *Citizenship Education in Europe*. Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency: Brussels.

Fierravanti-Wells, C. (2015). Na*tional Press Club Address with Concetta Fierravanti-Wells, Assistant Minister for Multicultural Affairs*. National Press Club Address, 21 October 2015. http://www.canberraiq.com.au/downloads/2015-10-21-1.pdf, viewed 11 Mar. 2016.

FitzGerald S. (1988). Immigration: a Commitment to Australia Report. *Multicultural Australia*, pp. 119-127.

Galbally, F. (1978). Migrant Services and Programs. Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, AGPS Canberra 1978, p. 5.

Grassby, A. (1973). A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future. *Multicultural Australia*, 11 August 1973.

Grey, J. (2008). *A Military History of Australia*, Port Melbourne.

Hanson, P. (1996). Pauline Hanson - Party Leader - Maiden Speech. *Onenation.com.au*. http://www.onenation.com.au/paulinehanson#maiden, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Howard, J. (1996). John Howard on Multiculturalism. *Multicultural Australia*, 3 Dec. 1996.

Hrlc.org.au (2015). *International community condemns Australia's treatment of asylum seekers during major human rights review at UN | Human Rights Law Centre*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://hrlc.org.au/international-community-condemns-australias-treatment-of-asylum-seekers-during-major-human-rights-review-at-un/

Hughes, P., & Keski-Nummi, A. (2016). *Beyond Operation Sovereign Borders: A Long-term Asylum Policy for Australia*. Retrieved from https://cpd.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Final-Policy-Paper-Beyond-Operation-Sovereign-Borders-03.06.14.pdf

Hugo, G. (2011). *A significant contribution: The economic, social and civic contributions of first and second generation humanitarian entrants*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Retrieved from www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/01_2014/economic-social-civic-contributions-booklet2011.pdf.

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (2004). *A last resort? Report of the National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention.* Sydney. http://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/human_rights/children_detention_report/report/PDF/alr_complete.pdf

Human Rights Watch (2015). *World Report 2015: Australia*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/australia

Hunt, V., Layton, D. and Prince, S. (2015). *Diversity Matters*. McKinsey & Company, Print.

Hurley, David (2016). NSW Parliament Friendship and Dialogue Ramadan Iftar Dinner Address

Hurst, D. (2016). Refugees May Face Monitoring And Further Restrictions, Leaked Document Suggests. *The Guardian*. http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/feb/05/refugees-may-face-monitoring-further-restrictions-leaked-document, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Immigration history of Australia (2016). *Wikipedia*. Retrieved 11 April 2016, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration_history_of_Australia#cite_note-16

Jenkinson, R., Silbert, M., De Maio, J., & Edwards, B. (2016). *Settlement experiences of recently arrived humanitarian migrants* (Building a New Life in Australia Fact Sheet). Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies. Retrieved on 1 May 2016 from https://aifs.gov.au/publications/settlement-experiences-recently-arrived-humanitarian-migrants

Jupp, J. (1988). The Australian People. An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins, Angus & Robertson Publishers.

Jupp, J. (2009a). Australia's immigration revolution.

Jupp, J. (2009b). *The Encyclopaedia of Religion in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne.

Kaldor Centre (2015). *Temporary protection visas | Factsheet | Kaldorcentre.unsw.edu.au*. Retrieved 11 April 2016, from http://www.kaldorcentre.unsw.edu.au/publication/temporary-protection-visas#sthash.XjAL3w97.dpuf

Karlsen, E. (2015a). *Refugee resettlement to Australia: what are the facts?* Parliament of Australia, Canberra. http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1415/RefugeeResettlement

Karlsen, E. (2015b). *Australia's offshore processing of asylum seekers in Nauru and PNG: a quick guide to the statistics – Parliament of Australia*. *Aph.gov.au*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1516/Quick_Guides/Offshore

Karlsen, E., & Phillips J. (2011). Seeking asylum: Australia's humanitarian program, Background note, Parliamentary Library.

Keating, P. (2002). *Global Cultural Diversity Conference*. *Multicultural Australia*, 16 July 2002 at http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Audio/id/526.Global-Cultural-Diversity-Conference, 8 January 2013.

Kenny, M. (2013). *How culturally representative is Parliament?* World News Australia Radio. SBS Radio 6 August 2013. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2013/08/06/how-culturally-representative-parliament

Knopff, R., & Flanagan T. (1989). *Human Rights and Social Technology: The new war on discrimination*, Canada 1989, p. 131.

Knott, J.W. (2001). Arrival and Settlement 1851 – 1880. In Jupp, J. (ed.) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, It's People and Their Origins* (pp. 37). New York; Cambridge University Press.

Koleth, E. (2010). Multiculturalism: a review of Australian policy statements and recent debates in Australia and overseas. Research Paper No. 6 2010-11, Parliament of Australia.

Laundy, C. (2016). "Diversity One of Our Strengths". *Theaustralian.com.au*. http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/cultural-diversity-is-one-of-our-strengths/news-story/782c1c592f77d9ad12eb56ddbf29029a, viewed 11 Mar. 2016.

Law.uq.edu.au (2015). *Statistics relating to Migrant Smuggling in Australia*. TC Beirne School of Law - The University of Queensland, Australia. Retrieved 14 April 2016, from http://www.law.uq.edu.au/migrantsmuggling-statistics

Leuner, B. (2008). *Migration, Multiculturalism and Language Maintenance in Australia: Polish Migration to Melbourne in the 1980s.* Peter Lang AG, Switzerland, p 136-139. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=9kasGzPEjHoC&pg=PA137&lpg=PA137&dq=polish+refugees+after+ww2+Australia&source=bl&ots=faaGZM-80F&sig=kj6B-RSgloYB7fYhQuV6fKTHbIU&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwigtOy38dfKAhXEI6YKHbTIAgg4ChDoAQhDMAQ#v=onepage&q=polish%20refugees%20after%20ww2%20Australia&f=false

Lewis R., & Higgins E. (2015). 'Community under siege'. In *The Australian,* 2 November 2015, p.45.

Lipson, D. (2016). *Increased monitoring of refugees flagged in leaked document. ABC News, 5 Feb 2016*. Retrieved 11 April 2016, from http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-02-04/leaked-document-outlines-changes-to-migration/7140952

Lo Bianco, J. (1987). 'National Policy on Languages', *Multicultural Australia* (1987), pp. 1-10, 14-15, 18, 189-203.

Lopez, M. (2000). The origins of multiculturalism in Australian politics 1945–1975, Melbourne University Press 2000, p. 245.

Lynch, P. (1971). 'The Evolution of a Policy', *Multicultural Australia* p. 2.

MacCallum, D. (1972). The Alleged Russian Plans for the Invasion of Australia, 1864. *Arts: The Journal Of The Sydney University Arts Association*, *7*(0). Retrieved from http://openjournals.library.usyd.edu.au/index.php/ART/article/view/5473/6108

Maguire, A. (2016). *Why does international condemnation on human rights mean so little to Australia? The Conversation*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://theconversation.com/why-does-international-condemnation-on-human-rights-mean-so-little-to-australia-53814

Maher, S. (2016). *Welfare for refugees '$100m'. Theaustralian.com.au*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/welfare-bill-for-refugees-to-top-100m/news-story/76d8a01ad528a1be6ff68cf0fd242246

Mail Online (2011). 'Nicolas Sarkozy joins David Cameron and Angela Merkel view that multiculturalism has failed', 11 February 2011 at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1355961/Nicolas-Sarkozy-joins-David-Cameron-Angela-Merkel-view-multiculturalism-failed.html, 17 January 2013.

Marger, M.N. (2008). Race and Ethnic Relations: American and Global Perspectives. Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Markthegraph.blogspot.com.au (2016). *Mark the Graph: Dating Australian Recessions*. Retrieved 14 April 2016, from http://markthegraph.blogspot.com.au/2012/03/dating-australian-recessions.html

Markus, A. (2012). *Why Australians love to hate boat people*? Paper presented at the University of Western Sydney Open Forum on 24 May 2012.

Markus, A. (2013). *Mapping Social Cohesion - The Scanlon Foundation Surveys 2013 National Report.* http://scanlonfoundation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/mapping-social-cohesion-national-report-2013.pdf, viewed 15 Apr. 2016.

Markus, A. (2014). *Mapping Social Cohesion: The Scanlon Foundation Survey 2014*. Report on "snap survey" conducted in October 2014.

Markus, A. (2015). *Mapping Social Cohesion - The Scanlon Foundation Surveys 2015*. http://scanlonfoundation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/2015-Mapping-Social-Cohesion-Report.pdf, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Martin, A. (2001). 'Immigration Policy before Federation' in J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, It's People and Their Origins*, New York 2001, pp. 39-43.

Megalogenis, G. (2012). Happy to be here, say migrants. *The Australian*, 15 September 2012.

Migration Council Australia (2014). *The Economic Impact of Migration Report. Canberra*

Morrison, S. (2011). 'Our Nation. A Liberal Perspective on Immigration and Social Cohesion in Modern Australia. Speech to the Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia', 18 November 2011 at http://www.scottmorrison.com.au/info/speech.aspx?id=312, 18 January 2013.

Morrison, S. (2014). *Migration and Maritime Powers Legislation Amendment (Resolving the Asylum Legacy Caseload) Bill 2014, transfer to Darwin*. Transcript, 3 December 2014, Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/143035/20141222-1032/www.minister.immi.gov.au/media/sm/2014/sm219747.htm

National Archives of Australia, (2012). 'Wartime internment camps in Australia', 2012 at http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/internment-camps/index.aspx, 17 January 2013.

Office of Multicultural Affairs (1989). *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra

Ostrow, R. (1987). The New Boy Network. Taking Over Corporate Australia, William Heinemann Australia

Oxley, D., & Richards, E. (2001). The Convict Period. In Jupp, J. (ed.) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, It's People and Their Origins.* New York; Cambridge University Press.

Ozdowski, S. (1985). The Law, Immigration and Human Rights: Changing the Australian Immigration Control System. *International Migration Review*, 19, 517-534. Fall, New York.

Ozdowski, S. (1992). *Cross-Portfolio Evaluation* in: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (1992): Access and Equity Evaluation Research, Australian Government Publishing Service.

Ozdowski, S. (2004). A last resort? National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, Sydney; see: https://www.humanrights.gov.au/our-work/asylum-seekers-and-refugees/publications/last-resort-national-inquiry-children-immigration

Ozdowski, S. (2009). An Absence of Human Rights: Children in Detention. *Political Crossroads*, 16(2), 39-72, http://sevozdowski.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/An-absence-of-human-rights-Children-in-Detention-2009.pdf.

Ozdowski, S. (2012a). Australia – Emergence of a Modern Nation Build on Diversity and "*fair go*". *Political Crossroads*, 19(1), 25-46.

Ozdowski, S. (2012b). *Fighting Racism and Discrimination in Multicultural Australia*. FECCA's Mosaic, 2012.

Ozdowski, S. (2013). *Australian Multiculturalism. The Roots of its Success*. In Mazur, K., Musiewicz, P., & Szlachta B. (2013), Editors, *Promoting Changes in Times of Transition and Crisis: Reflections on Human Rights Education*. Krakow: Ksiegarnia Akademicka. Available at http://www.akademicka.pl.

Ozdowski, S. (2014). Kids in detention: new AHRC inquiry. *Online Opinion*, 7 February 2014.

Parliament of Australia (2015). *Asylum Seekers And Refugees: What Are The Facts?* http://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/rp/rp1415/asylumfacts

Parliament of Australia (2016). *About Parliament – Parliament of Australia*. *Aph.gov.au*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/

Phillips J., & Spinks H. (2013). *Boat arrivals in Australia since 1976*, Research paper, Parliamentary Library, Canberra. http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2011-2012/BoatArrivals

Phillips, J. (2012). *The 'Pacific Solution' revisited: a statistical guide to the asylum seeker caseloads on Nauru and Manus Island*. Parliament of Australia, Canberra. http://www.aph.gov.au/about_parliament/parliamentary_departments/parliamentary_library/pubs/bn/2012-2013/pacificsolution

Phillips, J. (2015a). *Asylum seekers and refugees: what are the facts? – Parliament of Australia*. *Aph.gov.au*. Retrieved 11 April 2016, from http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1415/AsylumFacts

Phillips, J. (2015b). *Boat arrivals and boat 'turnbacks' in Australia since 1976: a quick guide to the statistics* – Parliament of Australia. Aph.gov.au. Retrieved 14 April 2016, from http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1516/Quick_Guides/BoatTurnbacks

Phillips, J., Klapdor, M., & Simon-Davies, J. (2010). *Migration to Australia since federation: a guide to the statistics*. Department of Parliamentary Services. Retrieved from http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/library/pubs/bn/sp/migrationpopulation.pdf

Pleskot, P., (2014). *Solidarnosc na Antypodach. Inicjatywy solidarnosciowe polskiej diaspory w Australii (1980-1989)*. Instytut Pamieci Narodowej. Warszawa.

Polishcommunity.org.au (2016). *Polish Community In Victoria - About Polish Refugees*. Web. 2 Feb. 2016. http://www.polishcommunity.org.au/index.php/about-polish-refugees

Productivity Commission (2015). *Migrant Intake into Australia. Draft Report.* Canberra

Refugee Council of Australia (2016). *Economic Migrant or Refugee? New analysis of government data*.

Report of the Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers. (2012). p. 143. Retrieved from http://web.archive.org/web/20140221061416/http:/expertpanelonasylumseekers.dpmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/report/expert_panel_on_asylum_seekers_full_report.pdf

Richardson, S., Miller-Lewis, L., Ngo, P., & Ilsley, D. (2002). *The settlement experiences of new migrants: A comparison of Wave One of LSIA 1 and LSIA 2*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Retrieved from www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/01_2014/settle_exp_access.pdf.

Scanlon Foundation (2016). *Multiculturalism – Discussion Paper.*
http://scanlonfoundation.org.au/wpcontent/uploads/2016/02/DiscussionPaperMulticulturalismFINAL.pdf, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Special Broadcasting Service (2016). "Corporate : SBS Charter".
http://www.sbs.com.au/aboutus/corporate/index/id/25/h/sbs-charter, viewed 10 Mar. 2016.

Settlement Council of Australia (2015). *National Settlement Service Standards Project. Background Planning for the Development ofg National Settlement Service Standards Report.*

Settlement Services International (2014). *Annual Report 2013-14*

Turnbull M. (2016a). *Remarks at Harmony Day Morning Tea, Parliament House, Canberra*.
http://www.pm.gov.au/media/2016-03-16/remarks-harmony-day-morning-tea accessed on 17-03-2016

Turnbull M. (2016b). 2016 Lowy Lecture, http://www.pm.gov.au/media/2016-03-23/2016-lowy-lecture

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2014). UNHCR Global Trends 2014 Report, UN.

Wnukowski, D. (2016). *Australia's Asylum and Migration Policy: lessons to Apply to the European Refugee Crisis*. Policy Paper. The Polish Institute of International Affairs No.1 (142) January 2016.

Wroe, D. (2015). *Refugee crisis: Europe looks to Australia for answers*. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved 12 April 2016, from http://www.smh.com.au/national/refugee-crisis-europe-looks-to-australia-for-answers-20150423-1ms804.html#ixzz3zopO523e

Zubrzycki, J. (1994). 'Arthur Calwell and the origin of post-war immigration', *Multicultural Australia*; Canberra 6 October 1994, accessed on 31 October 2012 http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/zubrzycki_1.pdf

FOOTNOTES

[1] Paper delivered at the Conference on "*Immigration and Multiculturalism in XXI Century. The Case of Poland*" organised by Collegium Historicum, the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland, 17-18 February 2016.

[2] For a comprehensive discussion of the Australian culture of "*fair go*" see: Ozdowski (2012a).

[3] In fact, the early Australian concept of the "*fair go*" was a bit like the Athenian concept of democracy in around 500 BC which formally applied to all Athenian citizens, but excluded Athenian women, most likely Athenians with disabilities, barbarians – which often meant other Greeks who spoke in a different dialect or with a different accent and slaves.

[4] In 1895 South Australian women gained a right to vote in parliamentary election. In 1902 *The Commonwealth Franchise Act* passed, enabling all women (with the exception of Aboriginal women in some States) to vote for the Federal Parliament. From this time, women were also able to sit in Parliament.

[5] The Pacific Solution is the name given to the Australian government policy of transporting asylum seekers to detention centres on island nations in the Pacific Ocean, rather than allowing them to land on the Australian mainland. For more see: Phillips (2012) and "Children Overboard Affair" (2016).

[6] In 2014, an independent review of integrity in the subclass 457 visa programme was undertaken. The review's terms of reference were to examine the integrity of the subclass 457 visa programme in the context of a series of reforms made to the programme over recent years. The panel's report was released following the review's 22 recommendations that aim to make it easier for businesses to access skilled workers, while ensuring that a strong integrity framework underpins the 457 visa programme. The government response to the report was released on 18 March 2015 and supports in principle, all 22 recommendations. Implementation of some of the recommendations is already in progress, including the re-establishment of the Ministerial Advisory Council on Skilled Migration and changes to the English language requirement. It is anticipated that implementation of all recommendations will be progressed by the end of 2015.

[7] Then, there were two other waves of Poles, first, post-1956 changes with about 15,000 arriving and the second between 1980-91 with some 25,000 Poles arriving. In fact, out of some 20 million Poles residing outside Poland now, a significant proportion of those who departed pre 1989 have refugee experience. For more information see: Leuner (2008) and Polishcommunity.org.au (2016). See also Pleskot (2014) for an excellent analysis of Polish diaspora pro-Solidarity activities in Australia in the 1980s.

[8] The 1967 Protocol modified the Refugee Convention broadening the definitional scope of who is a refugee and providing protection to "persons who have become refugees as a result of events occurring after January 1, 1951.

9   For more information see: Border.gov.au (2016b), Hughes & Keski–Nummi (2016), Karlsen (2015b).

10 OSB also purchased from Singapore at a cost of around $500,000 a number of orange fiberglasses "survival capsule" to send asylum seekers back in case their vessels were disabled.

11 Davidson & Doherty (2016). See also, for example: Maguire (2016), Doherty (2015), Dastyari (2016), Hrlc.org.au (2015)

12 Clients holding the Refugee (subclass 200, 201, 203 and 204) visas and SHP (subclass 202) visa are eligible for HSS support based on their individual needs. Only two groups on protection visas subclass 866 are not eligible for the HSS programme. These groups are: (i) unauthorized maritime arrivals who lived in the community on a Bridging visa E or in community detention (aside from unaccompanied minors); and (ii) the asylum seekers who lived in the community on a substantive visa (e.g. a Student visa), on a Bridging visa or in community detention ('community grants').

13 The Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) provides English language training to new migrants (administered by the Department of Education and Training).

14 At present, 16 service providers are contracted to deliver the programme in 23 contract regions across Australia.

15 Holders the following visas may be eligible for CCS services: Refugee (subclass 200, 201, 203 and 204) visas; SHP (subclass 202) visa; Protection (subclass 866) visa; Temporary Humanitarian Stay visa (subclass 449); Temporary Humanitarian Concern visa (subclass 786); Temporary Protection visa (subclass 785); and Safe Haven Enterprise visa.

16 Maher (2016). For more financial information see also: *Report of the Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers* (2012) which estimated the cost of increase of humanitarian program by 6,250 places will add cost in the order of $1.4 billion over four years (or $350 million per annum). See also: Morrison (2014).

17 The financial component of such assistance does not exceed 89 percent of the Special Benefit (which would currently amount to $458.88 per fortnight for a single person) and of Rent Assistance (which would currently amount to $75.71 per fortnight).

18 From its establishment in April 2011 to December 2014, HSS services were provided to 26,019 cases and 55,187 clients at a total of cost of A$283 million. The expenditure per client has remained steady since 2011/12. The average expenditure per client was $5,129 from April 2011 to December 2014. Expenditure per case has grown significantly over the past three years – increasing from an average of $9,365 in 2012/13 to an average of $17,456 over the first six months of 2014/15. This increase, however, largely mirrors the general growth in case size of the same period (rising from 1.8 clients per case in 2011/12 and 2012/13 to 2.9 clients per case in 2013/14 and 3.3 clients per case in 2014/15).

19 In September 2014, the Department of Social Services (DSS) engaged Ernst & Young (EY) to evaluate the Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) and Complex Case Support (CCS) programmes, with a particular focus on the appropriateness, effectiveness and efficiency of the programmes. See Department of Social Services (2015).

20 In comparison, the reliance on welfare payments by skilled migrants is very low as they are not entitled to unemployment and other welfare payments for the first two years of their residence.

21 The 7% statistic from the AIFS study got a lot of media attention and was hotly debated in the public domain. It was challenged mainly because the AIFS study question was not designed to measure unemployment. It was part of a Fact Check on The Conversation after Neil Mitchell restated it on Q&A earlier this year. Lastly, the current high costs of housing, especially in Sydney and Melbourne, may be a factor in the housing issues facing humanitarian entrants which are showing up in the AIFS study.

22 In fact, the first Immigration Minister Calwell was the key proponent for the post WWII migration boom, was also a vigorous defender of the White Australia policy. His is views reflected the views of the Australian public at the time. It was generally believed that it might take a generation but a conscious policy of assimilation would see a cohesive mono-culture '*without self-perpetuating enclaves and undigested minorities.*' (Lynch P., 1971; 2).

23 The treaties include: The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; The Convention on The Rights of The Child; The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities; The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; And The Convention against Torture.

24 Taking as an example the NSW *Community Relations Commission and Principles of Multiculturalism Act 2000,* it defines multiculturalism, defines its six principles and establishes it as the policy of the state; it also creates the Community Relations Commission for a Multicultural NSW to fulfil a range of functions, including to support multicultural communities; advise government on multicultural affairs issues; and report annually on community relations and the effectiveness of government agencies in observing the principles of multiculturalism. To support

the Commission's work, the Act also provides for the establishment of Regional Advisory Councils covering all regional areas of the state.

25 Interpretation of multiculturalism in Australia, differs significantly from that in Canada and the United States. According to James Jupp, Canadian multiculturalism reflects the bi-cultural and bi-lingual character of Canada; while in the United States, where multiculturalism was largely driven out of civil rights and constitutional protections it includes ethnic quotas in public appointments and redrawing electoral boundaries to take into account ethnic distribution. For more see: Jupp J., 2009a.

26 For a good discussion of the concepts of cultural relativism and universalism see: Donnelly, 1984.

27 For a good discussion of the term 'multiculturalism' see also: Berry & Sam, 2013.

28 New Zealand citizens continue to feature highly in the number of settler arrivals, but they are not counted under Australia's Migration Program unless they apply for (and are granted) a permanent visa.

29 For in-depth analysis of Australia's religious diversity see: Jupp, 2009b; see also Bouma and Hughes, 2014.

30 *The NSW Church Act* of 1836 is possibly the most important piece of legislation affecting the place of religion in contemporary Australia. It provided for equal treatment of all religions, but not for the American principle of separation between the State and Church. In fact, the Act provided state funds for clergy and building of churches. The principles that the Act has established still remain at the core of Australian society.

31 A more complete history of Australian multiculturalism could be found in Ozdowski, 2013.

32 A 1963 Royal Commission Report attempted to preserve Canada's status as bilingual and bicultural society but it was neither popular nor correct as by the 1980s almost 40 percent of the population were of neither British nor French origins. The Report was attacked by both English and French speaking nationalists, but most vociferously by the so-called *'Third Force'* Canada's other minority population, who advocated for 'multiculturalism'. (Marger, 2008) Faced with the very real possibility of their nation being torn apart the formula was changed from 'bilingualism and biculturalism' to 'bilingualism and multiculturalism'. (Knopff & Flanagan, 1989;131)

33 However, Mark Lopez (2000) argued that multiculturalism had a precarious status as an official policy under Whitlam because Grassby had not attempted to change the Labor party's immigration policy, and the policy direction outlined in his speech was not officially confirmed by the Whitlam Government.

34 Of particular importance was ICCPR Article 27, which 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 practice their religion, or to use their own language.*"

35 The 2016-2017 Budget provided $829.4 million over 3 years for SBS programming in more than 100 languages and radio services in 68 languages. In addition, significant resources (approximately $17 million per annum) are provided to the Community Broadcasting Foundation to support non-SBS ethnic broadcasters.

36 For more about the A&E concept see: *Access and Equity Evaluation Report.* (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1992) and *Cross-Portfolio Evaluation* (Ozdowski, 1992).

37 This policy shift was reflected in the name change from the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs to Department of Immigration and Citizenship January 2007.

38 During the 2016 election campaign the Leader of the Opposition Bill Shorten promised to re-establish the Office of Multicultural Affairs, but this time in the Department of Social Services not in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. If implemented, it will create the unfortunate perception of linkage of multiculturalism with social welfare.

39 For a comprehensive discussion of attitudes towards multiculturalism in Australia see: Scanlon Foundation, '*Multiculturalism. Discussion Paper*', February 2016 (Scanlon Foundation, 2016).

40 18 years or older must have lived in Australia for 4 years on a permanent residency visa before one can apply for Australian citizenship. During those 4 years, one may leave Australia for periods that total one year. In the year immediately before application, one must have been in Australia for 9 months or more.

41 There is close to 500,000 Muslims in Australia. If we add up the number of Muslims who have gone overseas to fight for ISIS, those who rioted ore have been arrested or are under investigation for terrorism-related offenses we get a total of about 1,000 people. That is 0.2% of the Muslim population in Australia.

42 In 2005 there were a series of racially motivated confrontations between white and Lebanese youths that started around a beachfront suburb, Cronulla, and continued in the following nights as retaliatory violent assaults and large gatherings of protesters in several other Sydney suburbs. This led to an unprecedented police lock-down of Sydney beaches. In 2009 protests were conducted in Melbourne by Indian students and wide scale media coverage in India alleged that a series of robberies and assaults against Indian students should be ascribed to racism in Australia.

43 There is no agreement amongst academia and public commentators on how deeply rooted is racism in Australian society and how to deal with it. The responses appear to depend upon who you are. People associated with the political left and those Australians who represent for example Aboriginal, Muslim or sections of Indian communities are more likely to claim that Australia continues to be a racist society, indeed full of racial discrimination and prejudice. For example, Aboriginal Reverend Aunty Alex Gater is of the view that, "*We all know that racism is alive and well*." The same view was expressed by Colin Markham, former NSW parliamentary Secretary for Indigenous affairs who also said, "*We all know that racism is alive and well*." Other people, especially those who belong to majority groupings and/or hold positions of wealth and/or power and many post WWII migrant communities as well the Chinese and some other communities would be more likely to argue that there is no significant level of racism in contemporary Australia. For example, former Prime Ministers of Australia have stated that *"I do not accept that there is underlying racism in this country"* (Australianpolitics.com 2005) and that "*I do not believe that racism is at work in Australia" (*Kevin Rudd). See also (Ozdowski, 2012b)

44 See for example: Mail Online, 2011.

Author's name and surname: Seweryn (Sev) Ozdowski

Affiliation: Western Sydney University & The University of Sydney
Email address: sevozdo@gmail.com
Number of words: 9,551 (not including endnote & footnotes)

Summary

The paper reviews both the Australian immigration experience and Australian multiculturalism from an historical perspective and also reviews current practice in an attempt to evaluate its relevance to the 2015–16 European migration crises.

The paper starts with an examination of objectives and principles underlying the Australian immigration system over the last two centuries with particular focus on economic development, national security and identity issues. Then the paper outlines the settlement and multicultural policies and programs that have been put in place since 1975 to integrate migrant and refugee intake into broader Australian society. It also considers the linkages that exists between immigration and multiculturalism and evaluates the success or otherwise of these policies/programs in terms of social cohesion outcomes.

Finally, the paper examines the Australian solutions and considers the applicability of the Australian model to guide the development of European responses to the 2015-16 migration/refugee crises. It concludes that at present the European Union has neither an effective immigration policy nor Australian style multiculturalism and settlement policies to deal with the current immigration crisis and/or its social cohesion consequences.

Keywords

Australia, *"fair go*" culture, European migration crisis, immigration, multiculturalism, social cohesion, social integration.

Bio Note

Dr Sev Ozdowski AM has played a major role in the advancement of multicultural and human rights policies and institutions in Australia. He has worked in senior government positions for over 20 years and published

widely on refugee issues, multiculturalism and human rights. As the Australian Human Rights Commissioner, Dr Ozdowski conducted the ground-breaking review of Australian mandatory detention system for asylum seekers entitled: *"National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention. A last resort?"*. Currently he works at two Australian universities and is Chair of the Australian Multicultural Council and President of the Australian Council for Human Rights Education.

Dr Ozdowski has an LLM and MA in Sociology degrees from Poland and a PhD from the University of New England. As a Harkness Fellow, Sev spent 1984-86 on research at Harvard, Georgetown and the University of California in Berkeley. He was awarded Doctor of Social Science *Honoris Causa,* from RMIT University in 2004. Dr Ozdowski is Member of the Order of Australia.