The state and the welfare of immigrants in Australia

by Andrew Jakubowicz

Abstract

Post-war immigration to Australia has been accompanied by two processes associated with the development of Australian capitalism - the urbanisation process and the "proletarianisation" of the immigrant population. These processes brought with them major social problems and the potential for social conflict. The welfare system provided a means to control the immigrant population, which failed to assimilate effectively into Australian society, as had been expected by the immigration planners of the 1940s. The government policies shifted from "assimilationism", to "integrationism" and then on to "multiculturalism" and most recently, "mainstreaming". In each case the basic economic contradictions of Australian society provide the context for welfare policies directed towards ethnic minorities.

1. Capitalism, immigration and welfare in Australia

An introduction

One of the particular features of Australian capitalism in the post-war period has been its dependence on the importation of millions of foreign workers - and the retention of many of them as settlers. In 1947 at the commencement of the planned post-war migration program, Australia had a population of 7.7 million, of whom 90.2% were of "British" (including Irish) origin, while 6.0% were of Northern European, 0.9% of Eastern European, and 1.5% of Southern European origin. By 1984 the population had doubled, to 15.5 million, of whom those of British origin made up 76.0%, Northern Europe 7.6%, Eastern Europe 4.2%, Southern Europe 8.0% and Asian 2.8% (see Table 1) [Price 1984:265-266].

The British settlement of the continent in the late eighteenth century laid the foundation for a European society, one which saw the metropolis as London and its core values drawn from the British experience. Since 1945 Australian social policy structures have had to come to terms with a world in which the international movement of capital and labour has reframed dramatically old assumptions and values. Before 1945, Australian governments viewed the society of which they were a part as primarily British in affiliation and origin. The assumptions which underpinned the practices of the state led inevitably to a vision of an ethnically homogeneous society, with values broadly shared amongst all classes. The practices and policies within which these assumptions were embedded included programs which excluded non Europeans (The White Australia policy - adopted by the new Federal Parliament in 1902), and a variety of moves to exterminate the Aboriginal people [Yarwood 1982].

However the years of the Great Depression and the Second World War provided ample evidence to the state and to Australian capitalists, of the need for an increase in the labour supply far above that provided by natural reproduction. In addition the domestic market in Australia was small and could barely provide a stimulus to the development of domestic manufacturing industry. So in search of workers and consumers

for Australian capitalism, the great post war immigration program was put in place as part of Post War reconstruction by the Australian Labor Party government in the years 1945 to 1949. The workers would have to come from a far wider pool than the traditional source of the British Isles could provide. The recruitment of non-British and later non-European immigrants directly challenged the strongly held views about the appropriate composition of Australian society. The management of those changes by the historically interventionist Australian state (1) provides important insights to the way in which ethnic groups and therefore "ethnicity", have been constituted in political and social discourse.

The Australian experience of immigration has often been analysed in terms of the "epochs" of settlement policies pursued by successive central governments [e.g. Martin 1978, Birrell and Birrell 1981, Wilton and Bosworth 1984, Committee of Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services 1986]. Usually these epochs have been identified as "assimilationism", "integrationism " and "multiculturalism", or even more simply as just the first and last of these. At some point in history, usually located in about 1978 and associated with the recommendations of the Review of Post Arrival Services and Programs (the Galbally Report), there was suppposedly a paradigm shift from the monocultural emphasis of the post war era, to a recognition of cultural pluralism and a sympathetic understanding of the many ethnic experiences that were now legitimately seen to constitute contemporary Australian society.

However this paradigm shift did not occur in any mystical way, and indeed the development of contemporary responses to the flow of immigrants into Australia has had a decidedly pragmatic character. This paper addresses the relationship between the material changes occurring in Australian capitalism in the post war period and the form through which the state sought to manage the relationship between immigrant workers, the emergent ethnic middle class, and the structural demands of Australian

capitalism. A focus for analysis in this case is the welfare system, with its interwoven, historic, concerns for the maintenance of both class and gender hierarchies. Before detailing these processes, it is necessary to identify clearly the significant points in the development of settlement policies, as important changes came to be institutionalised. These are presented in outline in Table 2, and then each policy epoch is defined.

1. Assimilationism: involved the development and implementation of policies which assumed the natural superiority of the dominant cultural practices of Anglo Australian society. These resumed that immigrants would become "like" Anglo Australians over time. This apparently "natural " process of individual adaptation to the dominant mores could be subverted by the retention of historic ethnic cultural practices by immigrants. Such retention was vilified, while state energies went on "breaking up" potential concentrations of Non English Speaking Background(NESB) immigrants .

2. Integrationism: provided a more sophisticated perspective which acknowledged/recognised the importance of social groups as intermediaries between the individual and the wider society. Thus government came to see ethnic groups - both informal networks of association and more formally constituted specific purpose organisations, as a means of supporting the individual through the settlement process, the end point of which was still his/her assimilation. Or if the immigrant would not or could not achieve this socially valued goal, then his/her children would be assimilated into the still culturally homogeneous society at large.

3. Multiculturalism I: Ethnic Rights: provided the opportunity for the state to accept a more pluralist view of society in its policies, in response to emerging demands from NESB workers. The structural location of NESB workers in the production relations of Australian capitalism [see Collins 1978] was recognised as a source of unequal access to life chances, and a challenge to the egalitarian ethos

and claims being made by the central state at the time. When ethnic minorities claimed special rights to cultural maintenance and the recognition of the equal legitimacy of differing cultural practices, the traditional Anglo Australian presumption of superiority was challenged. Society was seen to be comprised of competing, unequal groups, on whose behalf the state should intervene, even to the extent of modifying the economic order which allowed some sectors to profit from the subjugation of others.

4. Multiculturalism II: Social Cohesion: sought to play down the conflictual and antagonistic relations revealed by the ethnic rights perspective. A culturally pluralistic and harmonious society was possible, provided that all groups recognised the core values of the economic and political system, and that cultural differences did not "harden" into economic relations of superordination. The economic order was not open to question in this process.

5. Mainstreaming: superseded that form of cultural pluralism which had degenerated into a string of small, poorly funded, low quality services provided on a shoe string by ethnic groups to their members, with little or no increase in the responsiveness of the core institutions of society. Even when the state supported such "ethno-specific" services there was little evidence of a "real" pluralist consciousness in other state institutions. This had been one of the unachieved goals of the ethnic rights movement. The "mainstream" institutions were those which provided services to the "whole community", but which had often done little to recognise the ethnic and linguistic diversity of that community. "Mainstreaming" would try to ensure NESB people had "access" to mainstream services, which should be able to respond to them effectively. Their needs would be assessed fairly, by people who understood them, so that they received an equitable share of public resources consistent with those needs. This increasingly contentious perspective, as we shall see below, locates the central concern for government in "communication", and avoids many of the structural issues (such as the quality of the mainstream service to non-NESB consumers).

Table 2 describes the broad pattern of immigration to Australia in the period 1947 to 1986, during which time these policies developed and were institutionalised. The broad economic situation, the average annual inter-censal immigration rate, and the dominant policy paradigm at the time have been tabulated. However the policy changes were not instantaneous "paradigm shifts", but rather consolidations of arrangements that were amended pragmatically as the situation was seen to demand. A detailed assessment of these policies in terms of the human services and welfare programs which gave them effect in the lives of immigrants forms the core of this paper. A Diagrammatic representation of this situation for the period 1947 to 1978 appears in Figure 1.

The various government instrumentalities involved in the planned migration program after 1945 slowly perceived that government - the state in all its operations - would be faced with the management of a difficult settlement process. Within this process many conflicts were likely. Governments sought to minimise the potential for social disruption by adopting policies and programs which would prevent the emergence of "immigrant ghettoes" in Australia.

The development of Australian capitalism has been heavily dependent on the importation of labour power and capital. The major investment period for manufacturing growth took place in the years from 1947 to 1970, and thereafter the Australian economy was marked by major contractions of manufacturing employment.

Table 3 provides data on the sources of immigrants to Australia in the years 1945 to 1985. The first post war immigrants were male refugee workers from eastern Europe, introduced into the construction and heavy metals industries where industrial union militancy had developed most strongly during the war. (One effect of these workers was to replace Anglo Australian women who had often performed these tasks during the wartime

period). In many cases these new workers played an important part in breaking progressive leaderships in those unions.

Immigrant women were introduced into domestic service, light industry and process work, and into service industries such as cleaning. Non-English speaking immigrants have continued to be used in those jobs which are the least attractive, most dangerous, and pay the lowest base wage rates [Collins 1981,1984]

The heaviest recruitment of immigrant workers for manufacturing industry took place up in the period to 1971, and saw the "catchment" extended to Malta, Germany, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Lebanon. The expectation of British dominance expressed by immigration ministers in the immediate post war period was challenged from the outset by the actual sources of immigrants available. By the early 1960s this cultural diversity was of such concern that the Australian government was prompted to initiate a "Bring Out A Briton" program [Wilton and Bosworth 1984].

From the early 1970s the pattern of immigration began to change. Two factors were important here. Firstly, the abandonment of the White Australia policy, which had historically been used to exclude Asian, Pacific and black African immigrants, under international and progressive internal pressure opened opportunities to "non Europeans". As importantly, the transfer of resources to speculative resource development and out of manufacturing, meant that the demand for "muscle" labour was reducing, to be replaced by the demand for "intellectual" workers. The rising unemployment of the period also prompted the Labor Party government (1972 to 1975) to cut annual rates of immigration from nearly 200,000 (as it was in 1968) to just over 50, 000 for the year 1975-76. The downturn in southern European migration triggered in this period was not to be reversed, and throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, new sources provided the larger part of the immigrant flow (after the traditional leading providers -Britain and Ireland). South Americans, many refugees

from the massacres following Allende's assassination in Chile, Poles evading marshal law, Lebanese fleeing the conflagration in their country, and Indo Chinese from Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, entered Australia under humanitarian programs.

In the five years from 1981 to 1985, the pattern of immigration changed once more. In that period there was an 86% increase in the number of Vietnamese, an 82% increase in the (smaller) number of Filipinas, and a 44% increase in Malaysians, mainly Chinese professionals escaping the "bumiputra"(Malay advancement) policy of their government. Two changes which introduced English speaking immigrants in significant numbers were the rise in South Africans (up 28%) and the rise in U.S. citizens (up 26%).

By June 1985, some 21.1% of the Australian population was overseas born. Of these, 35.6% were of British or Irish origin, with 8.4% from Italy, 5.8% from New Zealand, 4.8% from Yugoslavia, 4.6% from Greece, 3.6% from Germany, 3.1% from the Netherlands, 2.4% from Vietnam, 2.1% from Poland, 1.8% from Malta, 1.8% from Lebanon. The remaining 26% came from just about every country in the world, including those in sub Sahara Africa [Australian Bureau of Statistics 1986].

The result of this migration process was a rapid increase in population and an increasing proportion of the population born overseas in countries where English was not the first language. The proportions of the population and total population size at each post war census are provided in Table 4. It is clear that different source areas present different migration profiles - with significantly different implications for settlement policies. An examination of these in the field of welfare provides the focus for the next section of the paper. Figures 2, 3, and 4, demonstrate these profiles for European/North American, Non-European populations, and the proportion of the Australian population born overseas as at the censuses from 1947 to 1981.

2. The Structure of Welfare

A pattern of exploitation, domination and resistance has developed within Australian society as part of the constitution of cultural relations. The welfare provision made available to immigrants during their experience of settlement offers a site for investigating this proposition in more detail. Governments use the welfare system to maintain the general conditions necessary for the productivity of capital and the social cohesion of society . Within the welfare system the boundaries within which human services and social security are able to operate are set by these wider social goals. Most welfare, (understood as the daily maintenance of human labour power, its nurturing, and generational reproduction) is provided by the unpaid work of women - either in the home (as domestic labour) or through various voluntary and community organisations (as "volunteers").

Welfare arrangements in advanced capitalist societies have been described as processes of control mediated through the provision of material support to categories of eligible recipients. Thus Offe notes in his discussion of Keynesian welfare states such as Australia, that:

> The means by which the welfare state intervenes [to meet human needs] consist of bureaucratic rules and legal regulations, monetary transfers and the professional expertise of teachers, doctors, social workers, etc.... the welfare state can be said to be partially dispel the motives and reasons for social conflict...[and] performs the crucial functions of: removing some of the needs of the working class from the arena of class struggle and industrial conflict.... [Offe 1984:194-195].

Thus immigrants enter a network of gender and class relations which are already embedded in and, in part, constituted through the welfare process. Immigrants enter an Australian society in which these arrangements have long been in place. Historically the welfare state in Australia has mediated the class, race and gender relations which constitute the Australian social

formation. In the case of gender, Cass has argued that women:

> as the providers of the 'hidden welfare system', because of their caring obligations are vulnerable to poverty... Even though women's labour force participation has increased since the World War II, the sex segmentation of the labour market [in Australia] continues to concentrate women in a narrow range of occupations that offer reduced opportunity for security, advancement and higher earnings. [Cass 1985: 89-93].

The welfare system impinges on immigrants through all three dimensions of social relations - as workers, as men and women, and in terms of cultural hierarchies. As workers, they often have dependents in their countries of origin whom they support from their Australian wages, but for whom they cannot claim deductions against their taxes. The system of welfare impinges on them as members of families, with its assumptions about appropriate gender roles within families - the care of the sick, people with disabilities and the elderly most often falls on women in the family. Yet elderly immigrants are often not eligible for the means-tested aged pension, which in Australia is provided out of general revenue, not wage-deducted social insurance. Pension eligibility requires ten years residence in Australia. Immigrant women, while expected to carry the double burden of work and domestic labour, are most often in the most poorly paid, dangerous and insecure jobs, with little access to child-care or other social benefits.

Government policies have been concerned to manage two central social processes in Australian society which reflect the broader dynamics of production and social reproduction. These are the proletarianisation of the population brought about by the centralisation and concentration of capitalist development, and the urbanisation of the population which emerged from the spatial manifestation of these dynamics. The welfare institutions ostensibly planned to provide for those immigrants most vulnerable to these processes, have developed in a welfare system remarkably slow to recognise and meet the

challenges to welfare posed by these rapid processes of change.

The "long boom", liberal and social democracy.

National, state and local governments have all taken some responsibilities for the welfare of Australian residents since 1945. Outcomes therefore vary significantly for Australians living in different parts of the country. The welfare services available to immigrants are affected by where they live, what rights they bring from their countries of origin, and their experience within the economic reality of Australian capitalism. Welfare here is used to describe a state of well being created by access to basic economic and social security, health, education and housing services [Jones 1983].

Welfare arrangements in Australia loosely group together in a broad "welfare state" which for the most part incorporates a "residual" model of welfare [Mishra 1981, Graycar 1983]. The role of the state is generally argued to be the provision of a basic safety net. Thrift and private institutions are expected to deliver effective coverage for the needs of old age, infirmity and ill health. "Voluntary agencies" have provided most specific and personal services to identifiable client groups, such as the disabled and elderly, though Commonwealth and state provision has increased since 1973. Government extension of the provision of social security since 1945 has not freed those people totally dependent on state transfers from poverty [Tulloch 1979, Harding 1984].

The centralisation of the income taxing function with the Commonwealth government in 1944 resulted in a national focus for income security - child endowment, unemployment benefits, aged pensions, invalid pensions, repatriation payments (for returned service personnel), widow pensions, single carer payments. State governments sustained their historic role of social control and the provision of individual services, such as hospitals, child protection, adoption, corrections, emergency aid, and regulation of voluntary agencies. The

role of local government varies from State to State, and within States, so that the range and quality of services differ markedly.

Reform of the welfare state has followed the general trends in other developed capitalist societies. The post war period, associated with the long period of economic growth, was characterised by an increasing intervention by governments to manage the social consequences of the boom. There was an increasing demand for government or institutional provision of services previously provided within the family through the unpaid work of women. The increasingly mobile work force demanded by post war patterns of industrial development fragmented earlier extended family and community networks. Where this mobility was international, as with migration, the fragmentation had very deep consequences for social well being.

As each new social collectivity emerged able to articulate a specific set of needs, or as social changes which resulted in particular social crises were identified by government, ad hoc arrangements were instituted. Certain crucial assumptions were institutionalised within this process. The first distinguished between the deserving and undeserving poor, an historic division fundamental to the welfare state in capitalist societies. The strategies were necessarily different, but were predicated on the belief that no welfare provision should act as a disincentive to take whatever paid employment was on offer [Watts 1982, Higgins 1982] .

The second assumption was that the primary role of women was as wives and mothers. The maintenance of the family was a central goal of social policy. Embedded within this policy goal was the necessity to ensure that the unpaid labour of women was available to reproduce the social relations of capitalist society, and the labour power of its paid workers. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s skilled labour shortages drew women into the work force and resulted in increasing, though limited, state provision or funding of services such as child care, women's health centres, and women's refuges (2).

The wealth generated by the long boom was perceived by the social democratic national Australian Labor Party government of 1972- 75 as a means of funding the extension of the welfare state [Jakubowicz et al. 1984: 56-69] . An "institutional" guarantee was to be given that all citizens/residents should be able to participate fully in society. In part, this participation would be achieved through access to effective, affordable, and high quality social provision by the state or voluntary organisations. A target of 25% of average weekly earnings was set for all pensions, while the means test on aged pensions was to be removed (thus suggesting it was a right of all citizens). A national medical insurance scheme funded from a levy on income was established (Medicare). A national social welfare plan would provide local tripartite bodies with funds to develop locally relevant services (the Australian Assistance Plan).

Neo-conservatism and the "deserving poor".

The return of the conservative Liberal/ National (Country) Party to federal government in 1975/6 led to the effective abandonment of the emergent institutional models of welfare, and the rapid reversion to the ideology associated with residual concepts. In response to the accelerating social problems resulting from the international crisis of capital, there was a reassertion of the benefits of the free market, reduced state expenditure, and private thrift and choice. The new government proposed that the state revert to concern for those "really" in need, and abandon welfare for the middle classes [Graycar 1983] . Much closer surveillance of beneficiaries was introduced to reduce supposed fraud, while systematic ideological attacks on state dependants (particularly young unemployed and those on invalid pensions) became common place.

The emphasis on the role of the family in welfare re-emerged as did ideological pressures that asserted the priority of woman's work in the home. As unemployment increased in the early 1980s, cuts in direct services, real reductions in benefits, and a focus on "married women taking the jobs of unemployed youth"

signified an attempt to pursue the lead proffered by the New Right strategies of Thatcher in Britain, and Reagan in the U.S.A. [Sawer 1982]. All these directions were associated with a sustained commitment to move the allocation of the social surplus towards capital and profit, and away from labour and wages. In part this was done by cutting those elements of the social wage amenable to bureaucratic and political reduction.

These perspectives on the role of the state, as an agency of monetary restraint and limited extension of state services, sat uncomfortably with the Australian Labor Party commitment to institutionalised welfare and the eradication of poverty. The national Labor government after 1983 sought means of incorporating these contradictory elements in its social Accord with the trade unions. The agreement between the government and the Australian Council of Trade Unions traded real wage rises to individual workers, for elements of redistributive justice and social wages, while holding down government borrowing, and attempting to closely target welfare services and income security. Government identified youth and the aged as the groups towards whom services should be focussed, and whose welfare the broader economic strategies seemed to be missing.

3. Concepts of the immigrant in welfare policy 1960 -1986

Assimilating...

In order to make sense of welfare services to migrants we need to understand how the "migrant problem" and the "problems of migrants" were conceived of by policy makers. As with the overall management of the settlement process, the arrangements constructed to contain the social experience of immigrants were affected by the dominant ideologies about ethnic group relations. The first fifteen years of post-war migration were typified by an assimilationist rhetoric. This rhetoric was based on a notion of the "natural" processes of assimilation, which portrayed the necessary

succession of conflict, competition, accommodation and assimilation [Wilton and Bosworth 1984] . Government policy tended towards actions which would minimise the potential of ethnic group formation, and thereby minimise the likelihood of inter group conflict.

Federal provision was initially restricted to British Commonwealth immigrants, so that for non British there were at various times limitations on access to unemployment benefits, invalid pensions, widows pensions, aged pensions, and social work (human services) etc. The government's national Social Fund which ostensibly provided the source for these payments was assumed to require "deposits" in the form of many years of taxes paid before an individual who was an alien could make a withdrawal through a claim for benefits. The other side of this implicit equation presumed Australian society had made the same investment in the education and upbringing of the immigrant as for the Australian born worker - though in fact these costs were borne by the society of origin.

International migration could be seen as a transfer of wealth (as human capital) from these often poorer regions to advanced capitalist societies such as Australia. The conflict over the economic role of immigrants and therefore their social rights has been one of the continuing features of the welfare scene in Australia [Birrell and Birrell 1981, de Lepervanche 1984, Burnley et al. 1985, Norman and Meikle 1985, Withers 1986].

The sustained concern throughout the assimilationist period was to "individualise" the immigrant families, incorporate their children into an Australian culture, and effectively eradicate the cultural distinctiveness of immigrant collectivities. The "Good Neighbour Council", a government sponsored volunteer scheme to resocialise immigrants (mainly British initially) into becoming good Australians through contact with Anglo Australians, was the most overt expression of the residual, assimilationist, individualising strategy.

Government settlement policy was one of dispersal, which was reflected in public statements deploring the creation of immigrant "ghettoes" in inner urban areas. The retention of language and culturally specific behaviour by parents in the home was castigated as a cause of delinquency and deviancy amongst the young [Dovey 1960].

By 1949, soon after the commencement of large scale planned and funded immigration, the Immigration Department had established 39 social work positions, which were to be directed towards aiding the natural absorption of immigrants into normal Australian behaviour. They provided a case work service, primarily to British immigrants, though the Department's expectations that general community services could respond to immigrant needs after a short period proved to be unfounded. The residual and voluntaristic nature of community provision, delivered primarily through religious and/or charitable agencies, was barely adequate for those who were linguistically competent in English.

The Assimilation division of the Department marginally increased its social work positions (even though it could not fill a number of them) to respond to demands for case work services in immigrant hostels. The case work approach relied on referrals to community agencies. In the first post war recession (1952) positions were cut as part of a general Public Service reduction. The cut back in positions continued until the end of the decade, on the basis that assimilation was a whole community responsibility. The demand for case work support would supposedly be met through the volunteer structure of the Good Neighbour Councils. Specific Department services for immigrants were argued to be antithetical to the policy of assimilation. This philosophy reflected the developing conservative position that welfare should be provided through the voluntary sector [Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1985a:44 ff].

As Australia entered the first of the recessions that marked the downturn of the long boom in

1961, much of the unemployment was absorbed by the thousands of immigrants recently arrived in the country. Outbreaks of violence occurred at Migrant Hostels during demonstrations protesting the lack of jobs and poor social security provision[Wilton and Bosworth 1984, Jakubowicz et al. 1984]. These complaints were heightened, as the post war redevelopment of Europe had put in place quite elaborate social security and national insurance schemes for industrial workers in many of the countries of origin.

Industrialists continued to press for sustained immigration despite the recession, on two grounds. Firstly, immigrants were seen to raise aggregate demand for products such as housing, motor vehicles and other consumer durables; secondly, by the early 1960s industrialists had come to depend on the sustained flow of malleable immigrants as a pool of labour which lessened labour militancy in the unions, and could be worked more intensely under poorer conditions of employment.

In the face of potential reduction in the supply of immigrants from traditional sources, the Federal government effected some changes to social security provision. However there were still significant differences in benefits for newer arrivals from non British backgrounds. The recession resulted in many social problems, particularly in inner urban areas. Chain migration of families and friends sponsored by rural workers from Southern Europe generated exactly that intensity of settlement of ethnic groups in local communities that "assimilationism" has been supposed to avoid. State and local governments, and voluntary agencies were forced to respond to particular patterns of "social fallout" generated in these processes.

State psychiatric institutions reported increasing numbers of mentally disturbed immigrant men, for whom the diagnosis made was one of schizophrenia. However it became clear in the first half of the decade that the typical precipitating scenario was one of individual isolation and economic hardship, and that

psychiatric labelling generated a smokescreen which placed the blame on the victim. In schools, the apparently systematic denigration of the historical experience of the parents of ethnic children by the dominant cultural mores (required by and rooted in assimilationism) resulted in intergenerational conflict, resentment by parents, and poor educational outcomes for many children [Martin 1978] .

Demands by parents and community associations grew for the recognition of their culturally specific experience as legitimate and respectable. Government policies came under increasing attack for their laissez-faire responses to the poor quality and relevance of much educational, welfare and health provision. Government recognition of these pressures came together with the necessity to forge links with the leadership of the emerging community associations in order to continue recruitment of traditional source country immigrants. This coalescence of interests was given expression as "integrationism", the official national government terminology after 1964 [Martin 1978, Jakubowicz et al. 1984] .

Integrating...

The new philosophy perceived that assimilationist goals would require the participation of organised ethnic collectivities themselves in absorbing the pressure and pain of the settlement process. The state could not afford to allow its minimalist view of welfare that permeated general social provision in Australia in the decade after 1960 to be undermined. The apparently endless set of difficulties generated for Australian traditional services by immigrants began to appear as exactly such a threat. Welfare departments provided low level services and were not equipped for serious responses to deeply felt needs, especially if expressed in languages other than English. Professional interpreters were non existent within government services, except occasionally in some courts. Bi-lingual staff were rarely recruited to the state and federal service bureaucracies and if they existed would most likely be separated from countrymen with

whom they might identify too closely.

By the late 1960s unforeseen social effects of large scale immigration, such as urban sprawl and poor social provision, were having a devastating effect on the quality of life for many Australians. Researchers rediscovered poverty in Australia at the end of the decade, and revealed that recent immigrants were in grave danger of being in poverty if they were on a single basic income with many children and high rents. If the male breadwinner left the household, the woman, old people and children would be in dire straits - with few if any social supports, living in overcrowded conditions and attempting survival below an already extremely austere poverty line [Henderson 1975, Martin and Cox 1975, Jakubowicz and Buckley 1975].

The notion of "integration" permitted a transfer of responsibility for direct services to the poor and damaged, from government onto ethnic collectivities - and in particular women. As early as 1959 this had been prefigured by a " drastic reduction" in the social work provision by the Department of Immigration - only 11 of the 42 positions established by 1952 remained. The welfare of immigrants "was seen to be the responsibility of the Australian community as a whole" [Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1985a:46] . The failure of mainstream voluntary welfare agencies to respond to the needs of non English speaking immigrants raised considerable concern within the "ethnic communities", as the social effects of rapid urbanisation upon and proletarianisation of such immigrants, intensified.

This "community" concern took concrete form in welfare associations, managed for the most part with a sense of noblesse oblige by the petite bourgeoisie, or in some cases the haute bourgeoisie , of the relevant language groups. The larger collectivities developed voluntary welfare bodies modelled on the Australian voluntary sector organisations. Such a structure could be guaranteed to sort out the deserving from the undeserving poor, and maintain social control within collectivities. In particular it could manage the problems created for the

patriarchal order by the proletarianisation of immigrant women. These problems included their increasing economic independence, with its tendency to result in their increasing resistance to their historic subordinate position in the family.

The Immigration Department instituted a system of grants-in-aid [1969 onwards], as a contribution towards the employment by Anglo and migrant organisations, of welfare and social workers to work with migrants. This scheme was supposed to meet the needs emerging in the communities, while protecting mainstream organisations from demands of ethnic communities.

The apparent success of grant-in-aid welfare officers (quasi professional welfare aides) working with migrant organisations such as Co.As.It. (Comitato d'Assistencia Italiano) prompted the Immigration Department to seek the appointment of numbers of its own welfare officers after 1971. This was as much as a result of a new found concern for the welfare of immigrants as it was to ensure the settlement process became no rockier, difficult and off-putting for prospective immigrants than it had already become [Jakubowicz et al. 1984: 44-48]. These welfare personnel were introduced, gingerly and with trepidation, into a Social Work section which had previously concentrated its efforts on the evaluation, screening and management of immigrants seeking repatriation on grounds of mental illness or familial breakdown. The Department was hesitant about allowing itself to be seen as anything more than a referral point for crisis aid. It was also wary of legitimating the claims by ethnic community social and community workers that immigrants were facing severe and continuing social deprivation.

Multiculturalism 1: social democracy and ethnic rights

The return of the Australian Labor Party to national government in 1972/3 after 23 years in opposition, allowed a number of interests that had been historically repressed to argue their

case publicly. A Migrant Workers' movement had begun to call for the right of immigrants employed in Australia with overseas dependents to claim those people for taxation purposes. Demands surfaced for a pluralist range of services, from welfare to media, which would be influenced by and serve the needs of the variety of communities by then well established in Australia. These claims became to be managed within a policy framework labelled as "multiculturalism", based on a social philosophy ostensibly concerned to ensure that minorities would be recognised as legitimate social entities with long term interests which could be supported by government.

The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, established by the Liberal government in 1972, was expanded from a concern just for income security to an examination of those many aspects of social relations which limited welfare - including legal practice and services, health provision, and education [e.g. Henderson 1975: 269 - 281, Jakubowicz and Buckley, Cox and Martin 1975]. A series of studies examined the role of ethnic communities in the provision of services, and the particular needs of ethnic minorities which were excluded by traditional practice.

Meanwhile the Social Security Department developed a welfare rights officers program to facilitate an advocacy role by community organisations of their clients' interests. Some of these positions went to ethnic welfare organisations . Within the Australian Assistance Plan (A.A.P.) migrant community development officers were appointed in some regions, in order to support the participation of ethnic communities in decision making about local welfare priorities [Martin 1978: 50 ff].

The Immigration Department was reconstituted in 1974 as a Department of Labour and Immigration, with a labour recruitment focus. Its previous responsibilities for welfare were spread throughout the service departments, with migrant units being established within Social Security, Education, and Health. The implicit model of welfare under Labor required

government to accept responsibility for facilitating access and participation by minorities, and to ensure core departments of the state would meet the needs of minorities, either directly or through support for other organisations. Thus the early stage of multiculturalism was strongly affected by demands for minority rights, but this perspective barely survived the fall of the Labor government in 1975.

Multiculturalism 2: neo-conservatism

The return of conservative ideology with the coalition Liberal/ Country (National) Party government after 1976 reinstituted a residual philosophy of welfare. The A.A.P. was abandoned, and the welfare rights officers program dissolved. The right to claim overseas dependents for taxation purposes was effectively withdrawn. The Immigration Department was re-formed and assumed once more its historic role of managing minorities through the control of welfare and other services, signifying the importance of these tasks in its new name of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. In 1977 the government announced a review of post-arrival and settlement services for immigrants, which reported to the Prime Minister in April 1978.

The Galbally Report, (as it was known after its chairman Frank Galbally Q.C.), claimed that Australian society was at a turning point with regard to settlement services, and advanced a multi-dimensional program of services [Galbally 1978a]. The cost of these programs effectively matched the savings from the removal of tax concessions for overseas dependents [Galbally 1978b:1-20]. The funds thus released were transferred in practice from the ethnic working class to the ethnic petite bourgeoisie and intelligentsia through the creation of "ethnic" jobs. The Department welfare officer program established under Labor would be cut back, and the funds redirected to the emerging ethnic community welfare agencies. Support was given for ethnic schools, radio, welfare grants to organisations for the employment of social workers, and the establishment of local Migrant Resource Centres (M.R.C.s) to provide advice

and referral services. The M.R.C.s would have locally elected committees; effective control rested in the budget provided by and officers appointed by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs [Meekosha and Rist 1982] . Access radio, previously provided in Melbourne through the Australian Broadcasting Commission to language programming committees elected at public meetings [at radio station 3ZZ], was closed down by a Commonwealth police raid. It was replaced by closely-controlled government radio programming with no provision for access or control by community members. Government monitoring was maintained through an appointed board for the new organisation, the Special Broadcasting Service, which then began to operate radios 3EA in Melbourne and 2EA in Sydney [Dugdale 1979] .

Just before the Galbally Report was released (though not apparently with any conspiratorial intent), the Department of Social Security implemented a campaign which would ostensibly stamp out schemes to defraud the Invalid Pensions program. In dawn raids across Australia police arrested hundreds of Greek pensioners and a number of doctors, seized medical records, and broadcast that they had broken a Greek Social Security fraud of mammoth proportions. Utilising pre-existing stereotypes based on the concentration of Mediterranean immigrants in dangerous jobs, and their propensity to be injured, the government carried out a witch hunt in Australia and Greece against the many victims of the migration experience. The Case was finally abandoned in 1985, and an inquiry recommended widespread compensation to those who had been intimidated, threatened and harassed [Jakubowicz et al. 1984: 79 -81].

One crucial element in the structure of welfare that came to the fore in the late 1970s was the situation of aged immigrants. As the majority of migrants had arrived as young adults in the thirty years from 1947, many were ageing and about to become dependent on the state as pensioners. Studies revealed limited accommodation and support for the earlier

arrivals, who had been displaced people, mainly men, without family networks, or women at home to carry the burden of their care. In addition, the emphasis on family reunion as a principle of immigrant selection after 1976 meant that many elderly people were arriving under Maintenance Guarantees signed by their adult children. Immigrants from non British countries had to have been in Australia for ten years to be eligible for the Aged Pension, and any special benefits they received in the meantime could be recovered from their children/guarantors [Hearst 1981]. As the economic situation worsened, and former two income families became single income, or overtime dried up, or family obligations increased with new children, these pressures on the poorer families to meet their obligations often resulted in major hardship. A national campaign developed to end Maintenance Guarantees, which the Government relabelled as Guarantees of Support in 1982.

Multiculturalism in practice was a very complex affair - many service departments resisted the direct provision of culturally specific services. Often the "community" organisations necessary under government regulations to allow funds to be directed towards specific groups, did not exist. Many of the organisations that emerged were "created" by government employees anxious to find "legitimate" bodies to fund. Such funding would then provide evidence of a need being met. These structures of welfare that emerged under the grant-in-aid scheme were based on the voluntary provision of labour by women in the communities.

Employed workers were often poorly trained and even more poorly managed: they were more likely to lack formal qualifications and be responsible to inexperienced committees, than were employees in the large Anglo Australian voluntary organisations or in government. They suffered from overload, burnout and industrial injuries such as Repetition Strain Injury (also known as tenosynovitis, cumulative trauma disorder, musculo-skeletal injury or occupational overuse injury) [Meekosha and Jakubowicz 1986]. Commonwealth direct services (such as

Settlement Centres) were often cut when "community" programs (such as the M.R.C.s) were established. Workers rarely received superannuation, study leave or any of the many other conditions available within the state sector. The emphasis was on the privatisation of services where possible, and the development of "community" structures to carry the burden of welfare.

An evaluative review of the Galbally proposals in 1982 by the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs, itself a creation of the Galbally Report, claimed that the proposals had been generally effective. The Evaluation declined to suggest any action on the conditions of welfare workers in the ethnic community agencies. It did however argue for the withdrawal of the D.I.E.A. from a casework role in the community (outside hostels) and that the Department should concentrate on developing voluntary organisations to extend welfare [Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs 1982]. All these proposals sat comfortably within the generally conservative strategy which characterised the final years of the Liberal government. A co-ordinating committee inside government would seek to ensure longer term implementation of the "finely tuned" proposals.

The Evaluation met widespread condemnation [Jakubowicz et al.1984: 84 ff], as did the Institute, which was seen by many as closely aligned politically to the Liberal Party. The Australian Labor Party pledged a full review of the Institute as part of its 1983 election campaign.

4. Ethnicity and Welfare: the contemporary nexus.

Mainstreaming 1: access and equity

Whatever it felt about the Institute, the new Labor Government accepted many of the proposals it had advanced in its Evaluation of the Galbally program. Minor modifications introduced by Labor included an extension of the Grant-in-Aid Scheme to include trades unions with heavy migrant memberships. The

multiculturalism espoused by the Liberals had resulted in strong support for quite conservative ethnic community organisations and very limited action by service departments, which were facing broad cuts to their funding throughout the Galbally period. Under Labor, increasing rhetorical pressure was directed towards the task of drawing service departments into an engagement with the problems of meeting the needs of all Australians. However the pressure continued in favour of an environment in which women would return to the home, and "community care" would replace state provision delivered through paid workers.

This process was given the name of "mainstreaming", a term drawn from earlier proposals in New South Wales emerging from its Ethnic Affairs Commission. The economic strategy of Labor also acted as a constraint on additional funding for services. Mainstreaming was presented as a means of redirecting already scarce resources to effectively cover the needs of ethnic minorities as part of these core programs. One Minister referred to the rationale of this process as "all snouts out of the trough". The implications were that the special position accorded to ethnic minorities under the policy of multiculturalism would be modified. They would become just one interest group amongst many competing for a declining slice of the welfare cake - in a period of general retreat from the welfare state.

The ad hoc arrangements had evolved in response to the various periodic crises of capitalism. The disparate fall out of both the crises and the responses on minority cultural groupings constituted, by the late 1980s, a range of occasionally contradictory and inequitable programs. While some notion of the particular welfare needs of ethnic minorities was apparent at the Commonwealth and state levels, and for some local government bodies , the practices arising out of these perceptions had only a few commonalities.

The Commonwealth effectively used different definitions for the extent, coverage and accessibility of its services, depending on the

program and the apparent logic of costs and benefits. Thus aged pensions were not available until ten years after arrival, though taxes were payable immediately. Citizenship brought no automatic access to welfare rights beyond those available to permanent residents, except the right to permanent employment in the Commonwealth public service. Unemployment benefits were immediately available, as were child endowment and supporting parent's benefit. Access to invalid pensions, particularly after the raids of 1978, was rather more difficult for immigrants in practice, if not de jure.

Income security was confused by the lack of a national contributory superannuation program in Australia, so that reciprocal agreements with countries of origin to share in the cost of income security for retired workers were difficult to achieve. In 1985 the Commonwealth embarked on a reconstruction of the rights to retirement pensions of immigrants, arguing that full pension entitlement would only be available to Australian residents after 35 years residence. Australia argued that other countries in which immigrants had worked also shared in the responsibility for financing the workers' retirement. Modifications to the proposals took place after heated resistance from Italian and Greek collectivities - though the driving force towards this "rationalisation" remained a concern for the prospective fiscal drain implicit in an ageing population. No consideration was given by the government to the social investment made in immigrant workers by their countries of origin, and the value of this to Australian development in the post war period.

Some programs however continued to be made available to immigrants for long periods after arrival, such as Migrant Resource Centre services. Others were limited to very short periods - e.g. hostel accommodation, full time English courses etc. One outcome of these procedures was a growing ethnic voluntary sector which depended, as did many of the Anglo institutions, on government subsidies.

As mainstreaming began to "bite", a number of

these institutions had central government support withdrawn. In 1984/85 there were 207 applications for grants-in-aid by welfare institutions, of which 47% were from "ethnic organisations" (3), 18% from general welfare agencies, 12% from church agencies, 6% from Migrant Resource Centres, and 17% from agencies concerned with specific needs, from those of women, the handicapped, drug dependency to housing.

The strategy of mainstreaming, as articulated firstly in New South Wales and then in the Commonwealth, proposed that Departments were to be required to prepare and implement strategies which indicated a concern to ensure that the specific needs of immigrants would be met by their generic programs. However affirmative action recruitment of minority community individuals for mainstream jobs, which such mainstreaming would require, was not perceived as a matter related to service delivery.

Unlike some states with their Ethnic Affairs Commissions , the Commonwealth lacked a central co-ordinating body concerned to ensure targets were set and met. Such a unit existed for women, in the Office of Status of Women in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, and units to co-ordinate provision of services to the aged and people with disabilities were established in 1985 in Ministerial Offices in the Department of Community Services. The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs had a statutory co-ordination function, but faced a level of distrust and cynicism within government departments and among many community groups. The service Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs was entrenched within bureaucratic structures of competition with other service departments, and lacked the particular authority of the state commissions.

In the 1985 Budget negotiations, the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs gained Cabinet support for a requirement that all relevant Ministries file with him by the end of 1985, and review each year thereafter, an Access and Equity statement. The apparent trade-off

was that he would not seek any increases in welfare funding through his department, and indeed after 1986 there is likely to be no growth in the number of grants available to community organisations (after steady increases in numbers from 1978 to 1985).

An indication of these dilemmas and the direction the negotiations would lead, are covered in the recommendations to a meeting of relevant Ministers for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs on immigrant women's issues in 1985. A national conference of immigrant women co-ordinated by the Women's desk in the Commonwealth Department identified the top priorities as i) improved health, safety and working conditions for the female immigrant work force; ii) improved access to language, education, training, and retraining for immigrant women; iii) improved access to culturally appropriate child care; iv) improved services for aged and ageing immigrant women [Depart-ment of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1985b].

In New South Wales the government policy of requiring ethnic affairs policy statements from all government departments, authorities and institutions, was a projection of the earlier strategy for equal employment opportunity. Departments were required to file plans which would identify the impact of policies on ethnic minorities, and how they would overcome the disadvantages ethnic minorities might face in attempting to use their services. The State Department of Youth and Community Services had previously adopted a consultants' report which inter alia proposed that people with racist views should be neither appointed nor promoted within the department. In addition dozens of bi-lingual staff were recruited to front line service positions in heavily ethnic localities, were many previously "general" positions were reconstituted as bi-cultural ones. All policy areas had to address the needs of cultural minorities as part of their normal functioning [Jakubowicz and Mitchell 1982].

In Victoria the position of the major ethnic welfare institutions rendered the question of mainstreaming more controversial. While

supporting the general propositions that core service departments should respond to the demands and needs of cultural minorities, the agencies claimed that their ethnic specificity was similar to the religious specificity of other traditional bodies such as Catholic, Protestant and Jewish institutions. They laid claim to long term legitimacy as an integral element in the welfare system, a particularly complex problem at a time government was seeking a means of reducing expenditure. Numerous proposals emerged in Victoria for formulæ which would allow a "rational" allocation of resources between mainstream and ethno-specific services. Some of these were carried into national debates [e.g. by National Population Council Ethnic Affairs and and Settlement Services Committee chairman David Cox, see Cox 1982, National Population Council 1985a, b; and Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission 1985] .

By the late 1980s the four Labor States of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Western Australia had Ethnic Affairs Commissions with Boards composed of representatives chosen by government to reflect some diversity of views within the leadership of communities. The Victoria E.A.C. tended to be rather more concerned with employment intervention strategies, arguing its priorities should lie with modifying the negative impact of the class position of poor immigrants [e.g. Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission 1984].

New South Wales was generally more concerned with maintaining links with the ethnic petite bourgeoisie through support for communal welfare projects in which these class fractions were most evident [e.g. Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales 1984 a, b]. The other Labor States fell somewhere between the two in their focus. Tasmania and Queensland had small ethnic affairs units within their welfare departments, but their programs were limited in scope and range. In both these States provision of specific services to ethnic minorities remained the effective preserve of Commonwealth programs.

Mainstreaming 2: streamlining and targeting

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs reported to Parliament in April 1986 on the progress of the Access and Equity Plans required of service departments under the 1985 Budget agreement [Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1986] . The report was less than sanguine in its assessment of progress, suggesting that many departments failed to understand the basic principles of mainstreaming or multiculturalism. As a result of this analysis, the government announced a number of actions which would require all departments and authorities to "take steps to:

(a)   improve the effectiveness of their activities to ensure "access-and-equity" for migrants in the delivery of Federal Government services and programs;

(b)   ensure these activities are co-ordinated and monitored within the framework of progressive administrative reform;

(c)   develop, by 30 September 1986 a 3 year plan of action to commence on 1 July 1987 to give effect to the guidelines... given current resource constraints; and

(d)   specifically identify in the three-year plans the needs of migrant women and measures to ensure their access to services and programs. [Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1986b].

As ideology, the statements read well, and contain some apparently unexceptional commitments. The government claimed they could be achieved in practice by "close targeting" of programs, and the use of program budgeting. However, the plan failed to overcome a crucial nexus - that these changes were to be implemented at exactly the time major cuts were to be made to existing programs and services, in all government departments.

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs initiated a review in late 1985 of the post-arrival strategy of the government. The review committee reported in August 1986. The review (known as ROMAMPAS - the review of migrant and multicultural programs and services - or the Jupp review, after its chair Dr James Jupp, a Canberra academic) sought to delineate the philosophical principles that should be adopted in the pursuit of mainstreaming. Some of these had already been sketched out in the NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission consideration of the issues - the right of all Australians to access to services regardless of ethnic racial or religious origin or preferences was one. The equity question was also involved - that the "quality" of service should be equivalent.

Another Labor government attempt to pursue this line of argument in the education area had already had to confront thorny dilemmas of gender and class inequalities [see Jakubowicz 1984]. This Participation-and-Equity program (PEP) had been designed to overcome barriers to participation in education for girls, NESB children and Aborigines - but had not been particularly effective. In the wake of PEP, the government abolished the Multicultural Education Program of the national Schools Commission - claiming it was no longer necessary as the schools in Australia had achieved the goal of becoming "multicultural", and even if they had not, it was now a "mainstream" State education responsibility. This decision was taken despite the clear evidence that school failure amongst NESB immigrants was still very much higher than among native born students, as was their unemployment rate after leaving school [Jakubowicz and Castles 1986, Horvath 1986].

The Jupp review went on to argue that the Government had to recognise it had a responsibility to advocate multicultural principles as well as implementing action to ensure equitable access to Federal programs and services. All government decisions should take account of the ethnic and cultural diversity of the society. These proposals were publicly adopted by the Government [Minister for

Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Media Statement 12 August 1986] - and advanced as the ideological position of the state. The Prime Minister reiterated this position, claiming the government 's "commitment to multicultural Australia is stronger than ever" [Prime Minister Media Statement 22 August 1986]. An unequivocal commitment was given to the enhancement of "multicultural values".

The operational expression of mainstreaming and the commitment to multicultural values was contained in the Budget produced by the Hawke government in August 1986. In a series of moves the Government closed down the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs, cut expenditure on English as a second language programs for immigrant children, confirmed the cessation of funding under the Multicultural Educational Program, indicated that the Human Rights legislation planned for introduction during the next year would not proceed, and abolished the Special Broadcasting Service through amalgamation with the other national broadcaster, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

The Institute was to be replaced by an Office of Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs, responsible to the Minister, with a brief to carry out the monitoring of the Access and Equity directives of the government. An earlier proposal by the Jupp committee that such an office should be located within the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet was firmly rebuffed by both the Departmental bureaucracy and the Prime Minister himself. Public outcry by ethnic communities was widespread on many of these moves, and indeed led to a grudging agreement to place the Office for Multicultural Affairs within the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet but under the direction of the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. Defending the budget, Minister Hurford claimed that "multiculturalism was healthy and growing", and that "streamlining and specific targeting" was now the order of the day [Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Media Statement 21 August 1986]. The concerns expressed were related to reducing expenditure

by the state, while maintaining the "bloc" with the ethnic bourgeoisie that had been created through the former multicultural strategies.

The Budget marked a turning point in the provision of services to ethnic groups via small grants to ethnic organisations. The "marginal" model of multiculturalism had been demonstrated to have increasingly little pay off politically, and allowed any concern with redistributive justice through government central activities to be minimised. However, little was put into place to replace the programs and services so rapidly abandoned.

5. Conclusion

The welfare provision for migrants is bounded by two central concerns of the state in Australia - that the general conditions necessary for the reproduction of capitalism over time are sustained; and that the unpaid work of women at home and in the community is available to keep the costs of reproducing labour at a minimum. Even where women are increasingly drawn into paid work, the development of welfare and community services depends on the assumption that many of the services will be in fact provided by women in their traditional role as domestic carers. That dynamic can be perceived within the particular programs implemented to meet the needs of immigrants (which therefore define what these needs may legitimately be), and in the categories that from time to time include or exclude them. The programs and procedures ostensibly designed for the welfare of migrants may have that as an outcome - but this is not their primary function.

The provision of human services and social security to cultural minorities in Australia has always been the outcome of other processes of conflict and struggle. Most recently the sustained implosion of fiscal constraint has been carried out behind ideological presentations of pluralistic policy. Initially the policies carried the label of multiculturalism, then mainstreaming, and most recently, (in recognition perhaps of the less than effective response of the

"mainstream", a problem identified with regular concern since the early 1950s) by a public commitment to "access" and "equity"[e.g. National Population Council 1985] . Access relates (unclearly) to the notion that the primary problem for ethnic minorities has been their "exclusion" from services, not the structural location of many NESB immigrants within that part of the working class in Australia most at risk in sustained periods of economic recession and industrial reconstruction. Equity has been described as "fairness" by the Minister for Immigration - that immigrants should get no less than is their due, but no more either. However the determination of what equity might mean in practice is left to the workings of the highly pragmatic political system.

The issues presented for public debate involve the clarification of criteria under which the limited "available funding resources" are to be distributed. The process of distinguishing the deserving from the undeserving poor has become the focus for action. Government goals appear to be concerned more with shifting the burden of welfare within the poor, from the immigrant to the Anglo Celtic recipient, so that the marginally better-off English speaker has his/her access reduced, in order to improve the equity available to the non English speaker. The welfare market place has been opened up to ensure competition between organisations interested in providing welfare. Yet the underlying issues, tensions and conflicts, are still those of a culturally marked, class based and gender split society, in which the dominant order utilises the the state to manage the minorities. The provision of welfare provides a crucial mechanism through which this hegemony is sustained.

Notes

1   An issue of terminology - I use the Australian state [lower case] to refer to the ensemble of institutional practices which lays claim to legitimate authority and resort to the use of coercion; a State [upper case] refers to a particular geopolitical formation within Australia - e.g. New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland etc.

2   A detailed range of discussions of women and the welfare state in Australia can be found in Baldock and Cass 1983, though they do not contain a discussion of immigrant women. For recent approaches to the theoretical and practical relationships between ethnicity class and gender from a feminist perspective, see Juteau-Lee and Rogers 1981, Martin 1984, and Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1983.

3   Figures provided by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs; major ethnic groups include Indo Chinese (9 grants awarded,16.5 rejected), Yugoslav (8/6), Spanish (1/4), Turkish (1/11), Lebanese (0/10), Greek (2/7) and Italian (2/5).

References

ANTHIAS, F and YUVAL-DAVIS, N. (1983) "Contextualizing feminism - gender, ethnicity and class divisions", Feminist Review, 15, November, 62 - 75.

AUSTRALIA, REVIEW OF THE SPECIAL BROADCASTING SERVICE (1984) Serving Multicultural Australia- the Role of Broadcasting, Appendixes, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS, (1986) Estimated Resident Population by Country of Birth and Sex: Australia, June 1981 and 1985, (Catalogue No.3221.0) Canberra, July.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS, (1982) Evaluation of Post-arrival Programs and Services, Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Melbourne.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS, (1985) Reducing the Risk: Unemployed Migrant Youth and LAbour Market Programs, Report, Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Melbourne.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS, (1986) Community and Institutional Care for Aged Migrants in Australia, Research Findings, Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Melbourne.

BALDOCK C and CASS, B.(eds.) (1983) Women, Social Welfare and the State in Australia , George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

van den BERGHE, P. (1983) " Australia, Canada and the United States : Ethnic Melting Pots or Plural Societies?", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 19:238-252.

BIRRELL, R. and BIRRELL, T. (1981) An Issue of People: Population and Australian Society, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.

BOTTOMLEY, G. and de LEPERVANCHE, M. (eds.) (1984) . Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

BURNLEY,I., ENCEL,S, and McCALL, G., (1985) " Introduction/ Epilogue ", in: Ian Burnley, Sol Encel and Grant McCall, (eds.) Immigration and Ethnicity in the 1980s, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.

CASS, B.(1985) "Rewards for Women's Work", in: Jacqueline Goodnow and Carole Pateman (eds.) Women, Social Science and Public Policy, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

COLLINS, J.(1978) "Fragmentation of the Working Class", in: E L Wheelwright and K Buckley (eds.) Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, Vol.3, ANZ Book Co., Sydney.

COLLINS, J. (1981) "Deprivation, discrimination and degradation: Immigration, Class and Inequality in Australia", in: Peter Hiller (ed.) Class and Inequality in Australia, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Sydney.

COLLINS, J. (1984) "Immigration and class: the Australian experience", in: Gill Bottomley and Marie de Lepervanche (eds). Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

COMMITTEE OF REVIEW OF MIGRANT AND MULTICULTURAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES (1986) Don't Settle for Less, Stage I Report, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

COX, D and MARTIN, J. (1975) Welfare of Migrants, Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

COX, D (1982) Religion and Welfare: a study of the role of religion in the provision of welfare services to selected groups of immigrants in Melbourne , Australia, Department of Social Studies, University of Melbourne.

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS,(1982) Australian Immigration, Consolidated Statistics No.13, 1982, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS, (1985a) Review of Migrant Services Units, Canberra, May.

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS, (1985b) "Immigrant Women's Issues", Report

from a national conference held in Canberra 26 -27 February 1985, to Meeting of Commonwealth/states/NT Ministers for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 29 March 1985 Adelaide, Women's Desk, Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Canberra.

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS, (1986a) Submission to the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services, Canberra, April.

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS, (1986b) Further DIEA Paper for ROMAMPAS: Access-and-Equity Strategy, Attachment B, Canberra, June.

DUGDALE, J. (1979) Radio Power: A History of 3ZZ Access Radio, Hyland House, Melbourne.

DOVEY, W. (1960) (Chairman) The progress and Assimilation of Migrant Children in Australia, Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council, Canberra.

ETHNIC AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF NEW SOUTH WALES (1984a) "New South Wales Government Achievements in Ethnic Affairs as at 31 January 1984", Government Printer, Sydney.

ETHNIC AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF NEW SOUTH WALES (1984b) Ethnic Affairs Policy Statements in New South Wales Government Administration, Project Section, Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, Sydney.

GALBALLY, F. (1978a) (Chairman) Migrant Services and Programs: Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

GALBALLY, F. (1978b) (Chairman) Migrant Services and Programs: Appendixes to the Report of the Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

GLAZER,N. AND MOYNIHAN,D. (1975) "Introduction", in: Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (eds.) Ethnicity: Theory and Practice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.

GRAYCAR, A. (ed.) (1983) Retreat from the Welfare State, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

HARDING, A. (1984) Who Benefits ?: The Australian Welfare State and Redistribution, Social Welfare Research Centre Reports and Proceedings No.45, Kensington, NSW.

HEARST, S. (1981) Ethnic Communities and Their Aged, Ethnic Communities Council of Victoria, Melbourne.

HENDERSON, R. (1975) (Chairman) Poverty in Australia, First Main Report, Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

HIGGINS, W. (1982) ' "To Him That Hath...': The Welfare State", in: R Kennedy (ed.) Australian Welfare History: Critical Essays, Macmillan, Sydney.

HORVATH,B.(1986) "An Investigation of Class Placement in New South Wales Schools", Report to the NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission, (mimeo), Department of Linguistics, University of Sydney, May.

JAKUBOWICZ, A. (1984) PEP and Ethnic Minorities, National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee for Multicultural Education, Discussion Paper No.1, Canberra.

JAKUBOWICZ, A. (1985) " Racism, Multiculturalism and the Immigration Debate in Australia: a bibliographical essay", Sage Race Relations Abstracts, 10:3.

JAKUBOWICZ, A and BUCKLEY, B. (1975) Migrants and the Legal System, Law and Poverty Series, Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

JAKUBOWICZ, A and CASTLES,S.(1986) "The Inherent Subjectivity of the Apparently Objective in Research on Ethnicity and Class", Journal of Intercultural Studies, 7,3: 5-25.

JAKUBOWICZ, A and MEEKOSHA, H.(1986) "Migrants,marginality and community work", in: A Jamrozik (ed.) Proceedings of Seminar on Migrant and Post Arrival Programs and Services, SWRC Reports and

Proceedings No.60, Kensington,UNSW.

JAKUBOWICZ, A and MITCHELL, G. (1982)
Community Welfare Services and Ethnic Minorities,
Contracted Research Paper No.1, Planning Research and
Evaluation Directorate, N.S.W. Department of Youth and
Community Services, Sydney, July.

JAKUBOWICZ, A, MORRISSEY, M and PALSER, J.
(1984) Ethnicity, Class and Social Policy in Australia,
Social Welfare Research Centre Reports and Proceedings
No.46, Kensington, UNSW.

JONES, M. (1983) The Australian Welfare State:
Growth, Crisis and Change, George Allen and Unwin,
Sydney.

JUTEAU-LEE,D. and ROBERTS,B. (1981) "Ethnicity
and Femininity: (d')après nos expériences", Canadian
Ethnic Studies, XIII, 1,1-23.

de LEPERVANCHE, M. (1980) "From Race to
Ethnicity", Australian and New Zealand Journal of
Sociology, 16:24-37.

de LEPERVANCHE, M. (1984) "Immigrants and Ethnic
Groups", in Sol Encel and Lois Bryson (eds.) Australian
Society, 4th ed., Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.

LEWINS,F. and LY, J . (1985) The First Wave: the
settlement of Australia's first Vietnamese refugees, George
Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

McMURCHY, M., OLIVER,M and THORNLEY,J.
(1983) For Love or Money, Penguin, Ringwood.

MARTIN, J. (1978) The Migrant Presence: Australian
Responses 1947- 1977, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

MARTIN, J./ENCEL, S. (1981) The Ethnic Dimension:
Papers on ethnicity and pluralism, by Jean Martin, edited
by Sol Encel, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

MARTIN, Jeannie (1984) " Non English speaking
women: production and social reproduction" in: Gill
Bottomley and Marie de Lepervanche (eds.) Ethnicity,
Class and Gender in Australia, George Allen and Unwin,
Sydney.

MEEKOSHA, H. and JAKUBOWICZ, A. (1986)

"Women Suffering RSI - the hidden relations of gender,
the labour process and medicine", Journal of.
Occupational Health and Safety - ANZ, 2:5, 390-401.

MEEKOSHA, H. and RIST, L. (1982) "The Resource
Centres: Boom or Bust ?", Migration Action, 6, 27-31.

MINISTER FOR IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC
AFFAIRS (1986) Report to Parliament on Access and
Equity in the Delivery of Federal Government Services
and Programs to Migrants, Canberra, 17 April.

MISHRA, R. (1981) Society and Social Policy: Theories
and Practice of Welfare, 2nd edn., Macmillan, London.

NATIONAL POPULATION COUNCIL (1985a) Access
and Equity in Federal Government Service Delivery to
Immigrants in Australia's Multicultural Society, National
Population Council Ethnic Affairs and Settlement
Committee , AGPS, Canberra.

NATIONAL POPULATION COUNCIL (1985b) The
Grant-in-Aid Scheme: issues for the 1986 review of post-
arrival programs and services, National Population
Council Ethnic Affairs and Settlement Committee ,
AGPS, Canberra.

NORMAN, N. and MEIKLE, K. (1985) The Economic
Effects of Immigration on Australia, Committee for
Economic Development of Australia, P Series No.26,
Melbourne.

OFFE, C.(1984) "Competitive party democracy and the
Keynesian welfare state", in: John Keane (ed.)
Contradictions of the Welfare State, Hutchinson,
London.

PRICE, C. (1974) The Great White Walls are Built,
Australian National University Press, Canberra.

PRICE, C. (1984) "Letter" in: Australia, Review of the
Special Broadcasting Service.

SAWER, M. (ed) (1982) Australia and the New Right,
George Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

THOMPSON, E.P. (1978) "An Open Letter to Leszek
Kolakowski", in E P Thompson The Poverty of Theory
and Other Essays, Merlin, London.

TULLOCH, P. (1979) Poor Policy: Australian Income Security 1972- 77, Croom Helm, London.

VICTORIAN ETHNIC AFFAIRS COMMISSION (1984) "The Employment Situation of Migrant Youth", Migrants and the Work force , 5, Division of Research and Policy, Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, East Melbourne.

VICTORIAN ETHNIC AFFAIRS COMMISSION (1985) The Relationship of Ethno-Specific Services to Government and General Community Services in Victoria, Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, East Melbourne.

WATTS, R. (1982) "The Origins of the Australian Welfare State", in: R Kennedy (ed) Australian Welfare History: Critical Essays, Macmillan, Sydney.

WILTON, J. and BOSWORTH,R. (1984) Old Worlds and New Australia, Penguin, Ringwood.

WITHERS,G. (1986) "The Impact of Migration on Domestic Employment and Unemployment: the case of Australia", Paper for-The Future of Migration - Conference of National Experts,13-15 May , Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

YUVAL-DAVIS, N. (1986)"Ethnic/racial divisions and the nation in Britain and Australia", Capital and Class, Summer, 87-103.

Table 1:

"Ethnic Origin" of contemporary population, Australia, 1947, 1984

ETHNIC ORIGIN	1947	%	1984	%
English	3,922,000	50.9	6,968,000	45.0
Scottish	1,133,000	14.7	1,883,000	12.1
Irish	1,757,000	22.8	2,705,000	17.5
Welsh	142,000	1.8	217,000	1.4
BRITISH	6,954,000	90.2	11,773,000	76.0
German	312,000	4.0	635,000	4.1
Scandinavian	84,000	1.4	155,000	1.0
Dutch	17,000	0.2	232,500	1.5
Other	47,000	0.7	155,000	1.0
NORTH EUROPE	460,000	6.0	1,178,000	7.6
Polish	24,000	0.3	162,000	1.0
Yugoslav	15,000	0.2	250,000	1.6
Other East	33,000	0.4	245,000	1.6
EAST EUROPE	72,000	0.9	657,000	4.2
Italian	72,000	0.9	635,000	4.1
Greek	23,000	0.3	372,000	2.4
Other	21,000	0.3	232,500	1.5
SOUTH EUROPE	116,000	1.5	1,240,000	8.0
West Asian	10,000	0.1	186,000	1.2
South Asian	9,000	0.1	77,500	0.5
South East	3,000	-	94,000	0.6
Chinese	17,000	0.2	77,500	0.5
Other	1,000	-	-	-
ASIAN	40,000	0.5	435,000	2.8
Other	8,000	0.1	46,500	0.3
Aborigine	59,000	0.8	170,500	1.1
TOTAL	7,709,000	100.0	15,500,00	100.0

Note: Ethnic origin reflects the ethnic descent of all Australian residents, as calculated by Price, 1984. It includes all those born in Australia, and overseas.

Table 2:

Immigrant Settlement Policy Epochs and Australian Capitalism, 1947-1986.

Years	Economic Situation	Settlement Policy	Annual Average Net Immigration July/June
1947 to 1954	Post War Reconstruction	Assimilation	91,289
1954 to 1961	Long Boom	Assimilation	83,536
1961 to 1966	Recession/ Expansion	Assimilation/ Integration	79,097
1966 to 1971	Industrial Consolidation	Integration	104,228
1971 to 1976	Expansion/ Recession	Multiculturalism I: Ethnic Rights	40,376
1976 to 1981	Recession	Multiculturalism II: Social Cohesion	83,752
1981 to 1986	Recession/ Industrial Reconstruction	Multiculturalism II: 1981-1985 ----> Mainstreaming: Access and Equity	78,240

Data from: Australian Bureau of Statistics 1986, Price 1984.

Table 3:

Sources of Migrants to Australia, 1945-1985 (Rank order 1-10).

1945-1959*

1	United Kingdom	506,296	34.9 %
2	Italy	192,626	13.3 %
3	Netherlands	108,568	7.5 %
4	Poland	74,988	5.2 %
5	Germany	67,861	4.7 %
6	Greece	63,341	4.4 %
7	Malta	40,716	2.8 %
8	New Zealand	39,172	2.7 %
9	Yugoslavia	31,524	2.2 %
10	Hungary	26,829	1.9 %
	Total	1,448,754	79.6 %

1959-71**

1	United Kingdom	618,464	41.6
2	Italy	164,060	11.1
3	Greece	139,512	9.4
4	Yugoslavia	107,608	7.3
5	Germany	48,601	3.3
6	Netherlands	36,595	2.5
7	Malta	32,237	2.2
8	New Zealand	26,905	1.8
9	U.S.A.	20,078	1.4
10	Lebanon	19,939	1.4
	Total	1,478,839	82.0

1971-1982**

1	United Kingdom	248,780	30.1
2	New Zealand	66,402	8.3
3	Yugoslavia	35,661	4.4
4	Lebanon	30,267	3.7
5	Greece	21,617	2.7
6	Italy	21,046	2.6
7	S.Africa	18,070	2.2
8	Malta	17,622	2.2
9	U.S.A.	17,156	2.1
10	Turkey	16,356	2.0
	Total	809,096	60.3

1984#

1	United Kingdom	12,950	18.8
2	Vietnam	9,510	11.8
3	New Zealand	5,770	8.4
4	Philippines	2,870	4.2
5	Hong Kong	2,010	2.9
6	Kampuchea	1,660	2.4
7	Malaysia	1,650	2.4
8	S.Africa	1,640	2.4
9	Germany }	1,610	2.3
10	China }	1,610	2.3
	Total	68,810	55.6

1985#

1	United Kingdom	11,610	15.0
2	New Zealand	9,080	11.7
3	Vietnam	8,490	11.0
4	Hong Kong	3,290	4.2
5	Philippines	3,160	4.1
6	China	3,140	4.1
7	Malaysia	2,410	3.1
8	Lebanon	2,380	3.1
9	India	1,950	2.5
10	U.S.A.	1,520	2.0
	Total	77,510	60.8

* Citizenship of long term and permanent arrivals, except for U.K., S.Africa, New Zealand and Malta, where figures are for country of last residence for long term and permanent arrivals.

** Net settler gain by country of citizenship.

Settler arrivals by country of citizenship.

Sources: Australia, Department of Immigration, 1977, Australia, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs,1983, Australian Bureau of Statistics 1986.

Table 4:

Migration and population growth 1947-1981
Birthplace of Australian Population.

	1947	1954	1961	1971	1976	1981
Australia	6,835,171	7,700,064	8,729,406	10,176,320	10,829,616	11,393,861
New Zealand	43,610	43,350	47,011	80,466	89,791	176,713
UK and Eire	541,267	664,205	755,402	1,088,210	1,117,600	1,132,601
Northern Europe	33,775	147,118	265,013	281,874	268,918	279,739
Southern Europe	50,910	173,193	358,331	538,254	509,156	529,762
Eastern Europe	24,368	172,727	219,491	297,243	300,839	312,658
Middle East	3,796	7,871	12,496	41,852	60,558	83,278
Central/West Asia	10,987	22,114	35,653	76,904	106,431	143,272
Sth/East Asia	8,632	15,823	22,331	35,203	51,334	120,267
Central/North Africa	1,671	9,855	20,663	49,280	54,945	63,272
South Africa	5,866	5,971	7,896	12,655	15,565	26,965
North America	10,293	12,777	29,577	42,873	45,001	50,310
South America	1,337	1,719	2,218	12,879	35,731	45,937
Pacific	3,145	3,358	4,529	6,885	9,663	16,721
TOTAL*	7,579,358	8,986,530	10,508,186	12,755,638	13,548,448	14,576,330

*Includes "others" not recorded here.
Source: Australia, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs,1983
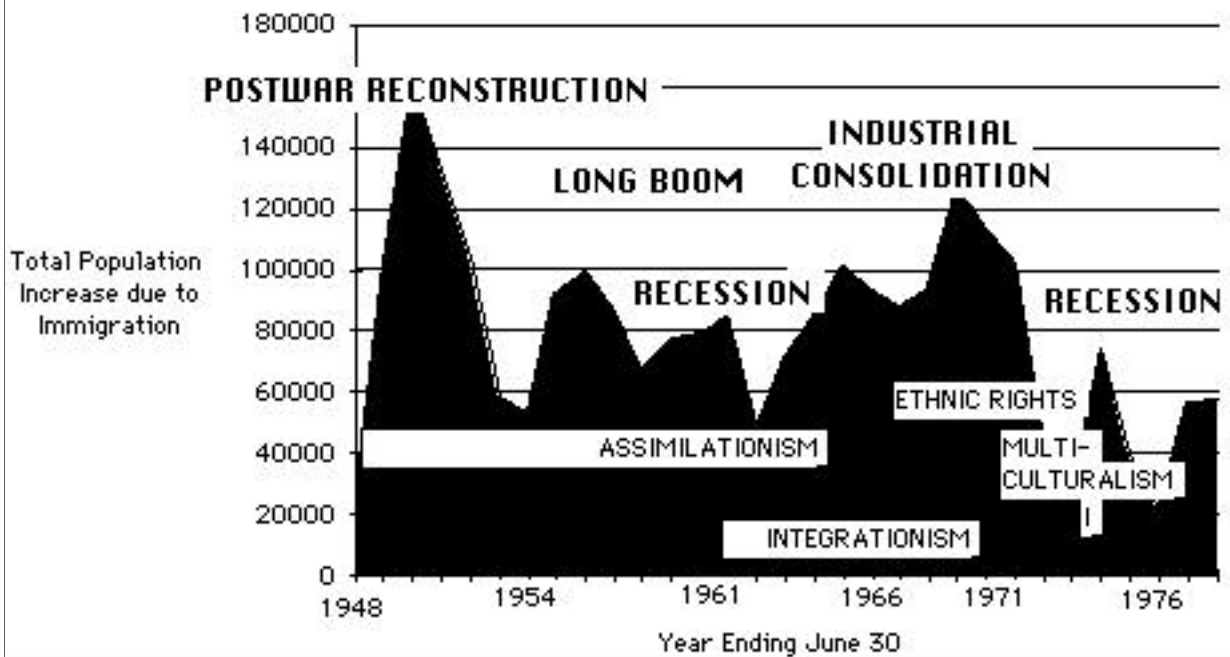
Figure 1: **Net Immigration to Australia**

Total Population Increase due to Immigration

POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION

LONG BOOM

INDUSTRIAL CONSOLIDATION

RECESSION

RECESSION

ETHNIC RIGHTS

ASSIMILATIONISM

MULTI-CULTURALISM

INTEGRATIONISM

Year Ending June 30

Figure 2:

European And North American Born, As At Census Year

UK and Eire

North America

Eastern Europe

Southern Europe

Northern Europe

Year
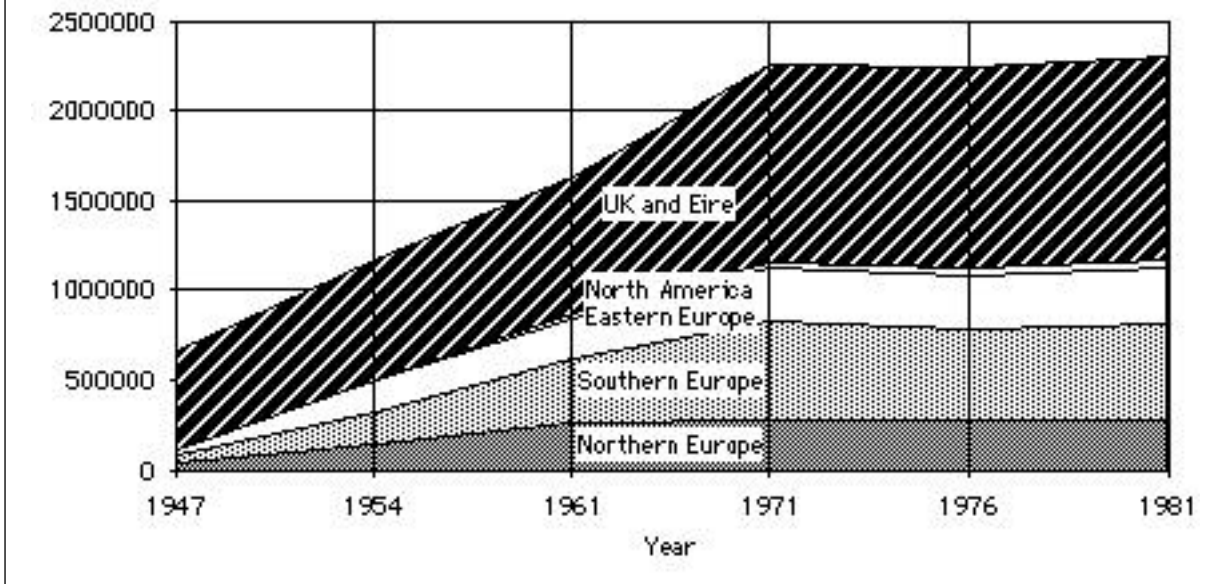
Figure 3:

Source Countries Other Than Europe/Nth America

Immigrants

700000
600000
500000
400000
300000
200000
100000
0

1947   1954   1961   1971   1976   1981

Legend:
- ■ Pacific Islands
- ■ South America
- ▨ South Africa
- ▥ Central/north Africa
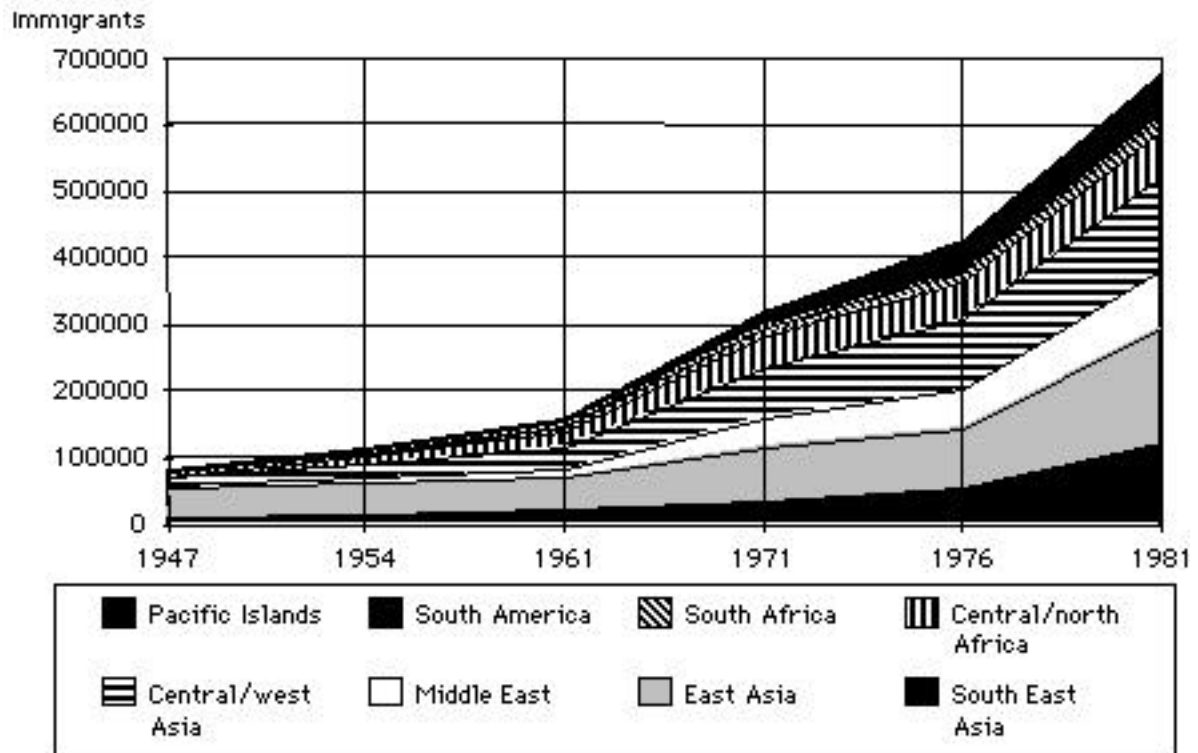- ▤ Central/west Asia
- □ Middle East
- ▨ East Asia
- ■ South East Asia

Figure 4:

Total Population of Australia

16000000
14000000
12000000
10000000
Population 8000000
6000000
4000000
2000000
0

Overseas Born

Australian Born

1947   1954   1961   1971   1976   1981