

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Writing Objective

As a country with population growth closely related to importing human capital, concern for immigration has been considered as an important issue in Australia throughout much of its history.<sup>1</sup> Over time, the Australian government's immigration policies have taken various forms, such as White Australia Policy (arising from the Immigration Restriction Act) that prevailed from 1901 to the 1970s and the mass immigration program which occurred from the late 1940s onwards. In other words, mass immigration is considered as one of the instruments through which Australia has shaped from the late 1940s to the recent times.

In this regard, it should be noted that White Australia Policy was considered as an effective immigration restriction for non-European immigrants. Moreover, this immigration restriction policy was unequivocally creates many disputes, particularly strong arguments maintaining that this policy was regarded as somewhat racist.<sup>2</sup> White Australia Policy was legally dismantled in the 1970s after influenced by events such as the revolutionary Whitlam Labor government vision to create equal opportunity.<sup>3</sup> More importantly, the end of race-based immigration restriction policy was also in part attributable to the rise of mass immigration program. It should be argued that the end of White Australia Policy is perceived as a changing perspective of the Australian government and community in understanding the large-scale

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<sup>1</sup> M. Crock, B. Saul & A. Dastyari, *Future Seekers II – Refugees and Irregular Migration in Australia*, The Federation Press, Sydney, 2008, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> E. Richards, *Destination Australia*, UNSW Press, 2008, pp. 246. See also J. Jupp, *Immigration Second Edition*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1998, pp. 115.

<sup>3</sup> M. Sawyer, 'Reinventing the Labor Party: From Laborism to Equal Opportunity', *Whitlam and Modern Labor: It's time again*, Circa Melbourne, VIC, 2003, p. 379. See Also Economou, p. 229.

immigration. It was aimed that the large-scale immigration was conducted by importing people not only from the European immigrants, but also non-European immigrants in an endeavor to create a multicultural society in Australia. Moreover, the mass immigration program has absorbed more various immigrants, in particular from the non-European immigrants such as people from Asia.

In such context, it is interesting to see that there have been marked changes in Australian perspective to immigration, from discriminatory to a non-discriminatory policy and the emphasis on skills, particularly in the half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. As noted earlier, Australia has promoted multicultural spirit within its society, therefore the races discrimination in Immigration Policy has been no more applied and replaced by skilled, family reunion and humanitarian categories.

Furthermore, it is important to examine the issue of immigration in Australia with emphasis in the shift from discriminatory to a non-discriminatory policy. In view of the fact that the current based of immigration policy in Australia has gone in opposite directions from the previous race-based immigration policy, it is regarded as important section that will be analyzed in this undergraduate thesis. Therefore, having viewed the issue indicated earlier, it is advisable to examine the topic under the title: The Changing Perspective of Australian Mass Immigration Program.

## **B. Problem Background**

### **B.1 Apparent Problems within Australian Societies**

In the recent years, the discourse on population growth has been overwhelmingly arisen within Australian societies. It is interesting to see that some multi-layered problems within society have become apparent in the last few years. These include a steep rise on the unemployment rate; environmental destruction with

particular emphasis in the greenhouse emission together with the water shortage; and unaffordable housing.

Moreover, the debate of population growth has been regarded as somewhat surprising. It should be noted that Australia has the highest number of its overall population growth compared to other developed countries, even to Canada and the United States.<sup>4</sup> Many argue that Australia cannot sustain for more population growth. Some also argue that current Australia immigration policy is in part attributable to the appearing problems such as sharp rise on unemployment rate; increasing greenhouse emission; water shortage; and unaffordable housing. It is important to note that increasing net overseas migration in the last few years also exacerbates the strong depressing effects of immigration. As indicated earlier, net overseas migration has always remarkably contributed in the Australia population growth. This stems from the fact that from 1978 to 2007, net overseas migration has been an ongoing component of population growth.<sup>5</sup> Natural increase has usually been the leading contributor to population growth, however in 2006-2007 the main contributor has been replaced by net overseas migration demonstrated by its increase of 56 percent to population growth in Australia, as indicated by the Figure 1.1.

Apart from the fact that the current population growth is mainly overwhelmed by net overseas migration, it should be noted that Australia's population carrying capacity is only at 20 million people.<sup>6</sup> In such, this carrying capacity is estimated through examining some prominent considerations such as maintaining the environmental sustainability. It is noteworthy to mention that this approximation may

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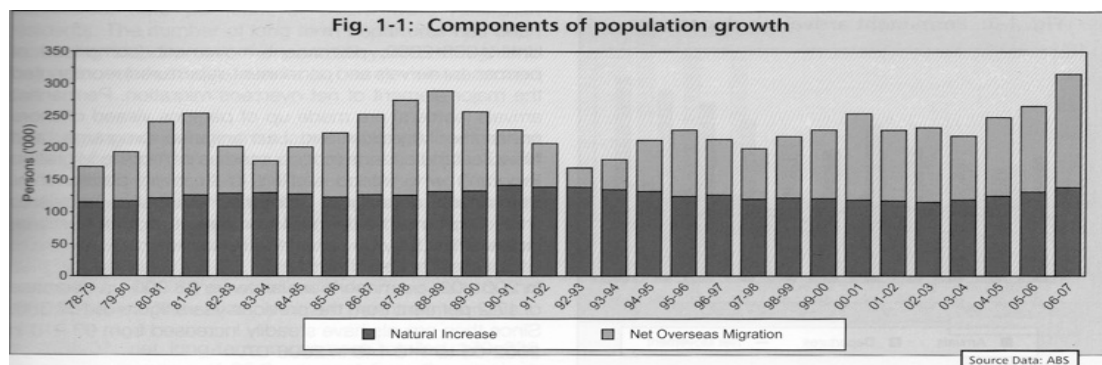
<sup>4</sup> A. Edgeworth, 'Growth, Environment and Immigration', in J. Wayne Smith (ed.), *Immigration, Population and Sustainable Environments: The Limits to Australia's Growth*, Flinders University Press, SA, 1991, p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Population flows Immigration aspects 2006-07 edition*, DIAC, Canberra, 2008, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> B. Foran and F. Poldy, *Dilemmas Distilled-Option to 2050 for Australia's population, technology, resources and environment*, CSIRO Sustainable Ecosystem, Canberra, 2002, p. 13.

goes in opposite directions with the current fact in which Australian population is projected to be more than 22 million people.<sup>7</sup> In view of the facts that the current number of population has exceeded the Australia's population carrying capacity, it is argued that problems within societies from environmental degradation to sharp increase of unemployment are unequivocal. Unbalanced population growth also exacerbates these problems whereas the number of natural increase as important component tends to decrease steadily in the next few years.

**Figure 1.1** Components of Australian population growth (1978-2007)



*Source: DIAC, Population flows Immigration aspects 2006-07 edition, p. 5.*

In addition, it is pertinent to add here that a research conducted by CSIRO Sustainable Ecosystem supports the fact that higher number of population in Australia unequivocally provokes larger challenges. In more subtle ways, the research has founded three main scenarios of population growth: low; medium; and high population scenario. It is interesting to see that the biggest challenges are projected to occur at the high population scenario. These challenges include a bigger number of waste and emissions; more limited stock of marine fish and oil; and degradation of air

<sup>7</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Population clock, 20 March 2010', *Australian Bureau of Statistics Website*, 20 March 2010, <<http://abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Web+Pages/Population+Clock?opendocument#from-banner=LN>>, consulted 20 March 2010.

quality.<sup>8</sup> In such context, low and medium population scenario also provokes some challenges, however challenges on these levels are less serious than on high level.

As indicated earlier, it is important to note that there has been a steep rise on the number of unemployment within Australia since 2009 onwards. This stems from the fact that there has been 41.44 percent increase of unemployment rate appeared in 2009 from the 2008 rate.<sup>9</sup> This increase unequivocally exacerbates the competition among labour force in getting jobs. In addition, it also should be noted that declining GDP per capita has become apparent in some states recently. The largest fall in per capita GDP at 2.5 percent is experienced by South Australia, followed decline at almost 2 percent by Western Australia.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, environmental degradation is also regarded as part of the problems within Australian societies. Many argue that Australia has played important role in exacerbating the environmental destruction. This derives from the fact that in 2008 Australia has classified as the second largest greenhouse emissions intensity, produced by its agriculture industry compared to other OECD countries. Simultaneously, the emissions intensity of agriculture industry has only made up as many as 29%, and the rest of the emissions are contributed by its mining, manufacturing, transport, electricity, gas and water.<sup>11</sup> In view of the fact that the industry has contributed in exacerbating environmental degradation, it is interesting to see that Australia has reached its highest per capita emission due to the supply of

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<sup>8</sup> B. Foran and F. Poldy, *Dilemmas Distilled-Option to 2050 for Australia's population, technology, resources and environment*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>9</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, '6202.0 – Labour Force, Australia, June 2009', *Australian Bureau of Statistics Website*, 5 August 2009 <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/6202.0Main%20Features1Jun%202009?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=6202.0&issue=Jun%202009&num=&view=>>>, consulted 30 September 2009.

<sup>10</sup> Sustainable Population Australia Inc (SPA), 'Media Release – GDP per person falls in every state', *SPA Website*, 5 March 2009 <<http://www.population.org.au/index.php/media/98-media-releases-2009/298-gdp-per-person-falls-in-every-state>>, consulted 12 November 2009.

<sup>11</sup> R. Garnaut, *The Garnaut Climate Change Review*, Cambridge University Press, Victoria, 2008, pp. 150-1.

electricity, in which Australia's electricity supply is the highest in the OECD countries; 98 percent higher than the OECD average and 74 percent higher than the world average.<sup>12</sup>

Besides, it should be noted that currently Australia also suffers water shortage in which the environmental degradation in Murray-Darling Basin can be examined as an example. Most rivers of the Basin experience severe degradation resulting from unsustainable overuse, in particular misguided overuse for irrigation.<sup>13</sup> As Murray-Darling Basin is important in terms of water resource, the current draught unequivocally demonstrates the underlying problems on environmental issue within Australia.

Furthermore, it is important to note that currently Australian societies also face problem on property in which prices of housing have become unaffordable. This derives from the fact that there has been continuous decline on affordability in which fell by 18.4 percent during the December 2009 quarter.<sup>14</sup>

## **B.2 Immigration-induced Problems?**

In regards with the problems arisen on Australian societies, it should be noted that these problems are commonly caused by population growth. As indicated earlier, as a country with population growth closely related to importing human capital, concern for immigration has been considered as an important issue in Australia throughout much of its history. This stems from the fact that net overseas migration (NOM) has been more than a half of population growth since 2006 onwards.<sup>15</sup> In

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<sup>12</sup> Garnaut, *The Garnaut Climate Change Review*, p. 160.

<sup>13</sup> I.J. Kowalick, 'The Murray Darling Delusion', *The Adelaide Advertiser*, 30 July 2008, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> B. Philips, 'Home Affordability Crashes', *The Housing Industry Association Current News*, 22 February 2010, <<http://hia.com.au/Latest%20News/Article.aspx?CID=&RID={42CB0DD2-F51C-4278-89F8-6A59809FCEF1}&yearmonth=201002&title=February%202010&AID={0A2276E2-F70E-406D-B854-B777A6EF321A}>>, consulted 23 February 2010.

<sup>15</sup> Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), *Population flows Immigration aspects 2006-07 edition*, media release, DIAC, Canberra, 2007, pp. 2-3

2008, the population growth was 400,000 people in Australia, with net overseas migration as many as 230,000 people.<sup>16</sup>

Before turning to further analysis on immigration issue, it is important to briefly examine the causes of problems arisen within Australian societies in more detail. As noted earlier, increase on unemployment rate in 2009 has been inevitably occurred. Regardless of some arguing the economic crisis was in part attributable to this increase, it should be noted that the rise of unemployment rate is also caused by population growth. Some argue that higher levels of unemployment appeared due to the social change interpretation of societies, rather than econometric research. This means that immigration plays important role in determining unemployment rate. The result of AGB McNair poll on immigration in 1996 can be regarded as supporting documentation, in which 74% of Australians who believe that immigration intake was too high argue that unemployment is the main reasons why immigration intake should be reduced.<sup>17</sup> In such context, immigration adds more to the labour demand than to its supply, viewing from the fact that migrant families tend to include in demand, but only individuals who work and include in supply.

In addition, it is important to note that declining GDP per capita in some states are also commonly caused by high levels of immigration intake. This derives from the fact that states like Western Australia and South Australia which have a high rate of immigration-driven population growth suffer biggest drop in per capita GDP.<sup>18</sup> Under such condition, it should be noted that problems within societies caused by high level immigration intake have always been obvious.

Moreover, environmental destruction is also exacerbated by immigration. Many argue that Australia cannot sustain a large population environmentally due to

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<sup>16</sup> DIAC, *Population flows Immigration aspects 2006-07 edition*, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> K. Betts, 'Immigration and Public Opinion in Australia', *People and Place*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1996, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> SPA, 'Media Release – GDP per person falls in every state'

its high levels of emission and water shortage.<sup>19</sup> The Australian environment is now under serious threats such as existing land use, resource extraction, production and consumption patterns as well as infrastructure trends.<sup>20</sup> As such, it is argued that environment should be protected through the limitation of population growth, in particular the limitation of the immigration intakes.<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, declining affordability of Australians in buying house is also much less indicates that immigration lies behind this problem. As indicated above, immigration add more to labor demand, in which migrant families who need social and economic infrastructure will inevitably provoke high demand in many layers, including high demand on property.

### **B.3 Current Immigration Policy**

Turning to the examination of current immigration policy, immigrants on the basis of skills, family reunion and humanitarian categories are overwhelming Australia's net overseas migration. In an endeavor to have qualified immigrants, a 'points test' for skilled immigrants was also introduced in 1978 on the basis of professional qualifications and English language proficiency.<sup>22</sup> In addition, it is argued that importing skilled immigrants could diminish the need to train Australian born people; thereby the government and business prefer skilled immigrants than other categories. However, the skilled immigrants intakes marked relatively

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<sup>19</sup> M. Ayre, 'Metropolis strives to meet its thirst', *BBC News*, 3 May 2007, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/6620919.stm>>, consulted 17 May 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Friends of Earth Australia, 'Immigration, Population and Environment position paper' *Friends of Earth Australia Official Website*, 14 May 2004 <<http://www.foe.org.au/population/policy-position/immigration-population-and-environment-position-paper>>, consulted 12 January 2009.

<sup>21</sup> J. Coulter, 'Australian Population and the Environment', in J. Wayne Smith (ed.), *Immigration, Population and Sustainable Environments: The Limits to Australia's Growth*, Flinders University Press, SA, 1991, p. 211. See also Edgeworth, A., 'Growth, Environment and Immigration', in J. Wayne Smith (ed.), *Immigration, Population and Sustainable Environments: The Limits to Australia's Growth*, Flinders University Press, SA, 1991, p. 205.

<sup>22</sup> A. Parkin and L. Hardcastle, 'Immigration and ethnic affairs', in D. Woodward, A. Parkin and J. Summers (eds.), *Government, Politics, Power and Policy in Australia*, 6th ed., Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1997, pp. 496-7.



significant numbers, reached to 30 percent from all immigration arrivals in 1993-1994.

In the contrary, the family reunion category has reached the largest category of immigration in Australia compared to others. This reunion category has always reached approximately 50 percent from all immigration arrivals. This is supported by the point of view of Jack Collins, where today's refugees would be tomorrow's family reunion priorities.<sup>23</sup> Measuring the origins of the people in this reunion category, countries such as Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, India, China, Hong Kong and Sri Lanka were dominating after the people from European countries itself.<sup>24</sup>

The humanitarian category is much filled by refugees and asylum seekers. Australia inevitably becomes one of the most favorite destinations for the refugees and asylum seekers due to its favorable circumstances. In late 2006, Australia has accepted more than 620,000 refugees and displaced persons from the early 1940s.<sup>25</sup> The people from Vietnam dominated the humanitarian immigration, while small numbers of people from Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Hong Kong and Thailand were also immigrated. This category reached approximately 10-20 percent from all immigration arrivals. These facts indicate that the changing perspective of Australian government and community enabled the broader categories of immigration.

Given the fact that the current immigration policy provokes multi-layered problems within Australian societies, it is pertinent to add here that these three significant categories have replaced the racial categories in the immigration system implemented by White Australia Policy. This policy was applied from 1901 to 1975,

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<sup>23</sup> Jack Collins, *Migrant Hands for a Distant Land*, 2nd edn, 1991 [1998], pp. 271-272. Quoted by M. Langfield, 'Bridging the Cultural Divide: Movements of People between Australia and Asia', in M. McGillivray & G. Smith (eds.), *Australia and Asia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1997, pp. 40-41.

<sup>24</sup> Langfield, p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> M. Crock, B. Saul & A. Dastyari, p. 13-7.

and officially known as the restrictive immigration policy, regulated under the Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act of 1901.<sup>26</sup> It was known as an effective immigration restriction for non-European immigrants. In other words, there were only European immigrants who allowed entering Australia for immigration. In contrast, regardless of the White Australia Policy implementation, the humanitarian category in the immigration intake has been applied since 1951 onwards, in particular after Australian government ratification on the Refugee Convention.<sup>27</sup>

Some argue that the White Australia Policy was arisen as part of the first Labor Prime Minister's commitment, John Christian Watson, to protect the local labour values from international migration influx, which creates further competition.<sup>28</sup> The policy was implemented through applying a dictation test as mentioned in the part of Immigration Restriction Act of 1901,

...3.The immigration into the Commonwealth of the people described in any of the following paragraphs of this section (hereinafter called "prohibited immigrants") is prohibited, namely:— (a) Any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the officer;...

Moreover, this immigration restriction policy was unequivocally creates many disputes, particularly strong arguments maintaining that this policy was regarded as somewhat racist.<sup>30</sup> The White Australia Policy was legally dismantled in 1973 after influenced by events such as the Australian ratification on the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the

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<sup>26</sup> J. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002, ch. 1.

<sup>27</sup> M. Crock, B. Saul & A. Dastyari, p. 17.

<sup>28</sup> N. Economou, 'The Labor Party' in A. Parkin, J. Summers & D. Woodward (eds.), *Government, Politics, Power and Policy in Australia*, Pearson, NSW, 2006, pp. 226-8.

<sup>29</sup> Multicultural Australia, 'Immigration Restriction Act, 1901' *A Multicultural Research Library*, 29 March 2002 <[http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/immresact\\_1.pdf](http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/doc/immresact_1.pdf)>, consulted 14 May 2009.

<sup>30</sup> E. Richards, *Destination Australia*, UNSW Press, 2008, pp. 246. See also J. Jupp, *Immigration Second Edition*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1998, pp. 115.

revolutionary Whitlam Labor government vision to create equal opportunity.<sup>31</sup> More importantly, the Racial Discrimination Act that passed by Australian Parliament in 1975 has officially indicated that racial discrimination is strictly illegal in Australia.

### **C. The Research Question**

It is important to note that there have been noticeable changes in Australian perspective to immigration, the main changes being in relation to the move to a non-discriminatory policy and the emphasis on skills, particularly in the half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, this changing perspective concomitantly precipitates some issues within Australian societies recently. Research Question for this undergraduate thesis will be formulated as follows: *Why did Australian government dismantle its race-based immigration policy in 1973?*

### **D. Purpose of Research**

It is the aim of this undergraduate-thesis to examine the motives behind the decision of Australian Government to dismantle its racial discriminatory immigration policy since the late 1970s onwards. Besides, analyzing on changing perspective of Australia's mass immigration program being in relation to the move to a non-discriminatory policy and the emphasis on skills is also the objective of this research.

### **E. Theoretical Framework**

#### **E.1 Decision-making Theories**

It is noteworthy to note that decision-making theories proposed by William D. Coplin will be exercised in examining the problem indicated above. In view of the

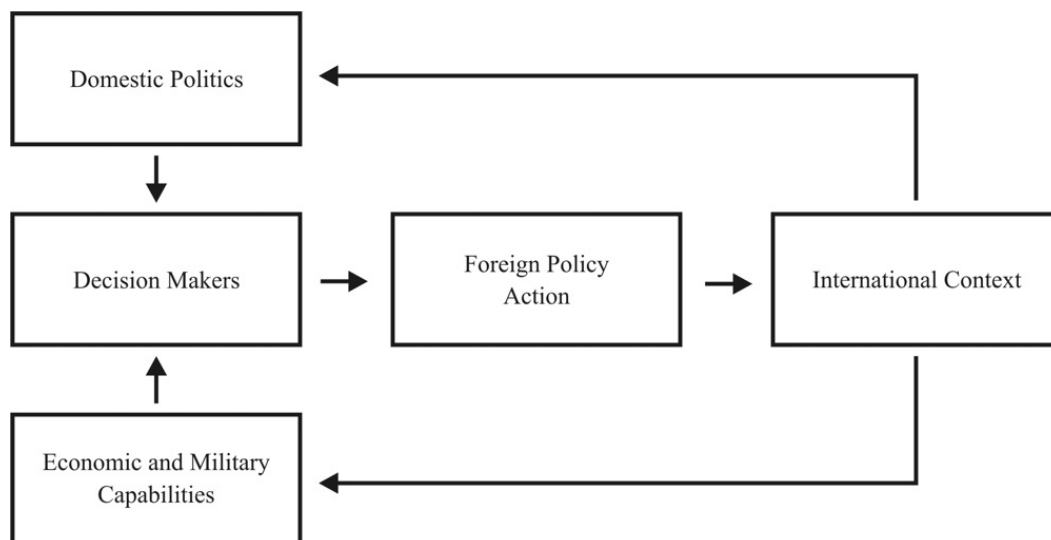
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<sup>31</sup> M. Sawyer, 'Reinventing the Labor Party: From Laborism to Equal Opportunity', *Whitlam and Modern Labor: It's time again*, Circa Melbourne, VIC, 2003, p. 379. See Also Economou, p. 229.

fact that the decision makers put many considerations prior to the implementation of decision-making process, it is pertinent to add here that according to Coplin, foreign policy can be regarded as an outcome of three influencing factors. These include international context; domestic politics; as well as economy and military capabilities.<sup>32</sup> He argues that international context is the product of other states foreign policies, in which international context will unequivocally influence the domestic politics, as well as the economy and military or particular state. Under such condition, these factors finally influence decision makers to formulate foreign policy.

In addition, he argues that international politics is a behavior and commitment of particular country upon international issues. In this regard, foreign policy can be exercised as a means in gaining particular national interest regardless of many other influencing considerations in formulating foreign policy itself. This analysis can be found through the figure as follows:

**Figure 1.2** How four determinants influence foreign policy action



*Source: W.D. Coplin & C.W. Kegley, p. 30.*

<sup>32</sup> W.D. Coplin & C.W. Kegley, *Multi Method Introduction to International Politics*, Markham Publishing Company, Chicago, 1971, pp. 30-1.

## **E.2 International Context**

In regard with international context, it is important to note that the condition in between the 1940s and 1970s was overwhelmed by some events such the end of World War II that sparked the growing concern of international society in eliminating racial discrimination. In such, international pressures contained the post-war changing global order indicated new attitudes of global community. These include the changing attitude of the concept of equality, in which equality was relative rather than universal concept. This changing attitude made it clear that Australian government would face difficulties in administering the policy restriction during the post-war period. Aside from World War II, bilateral relations turbulences also unequivocally pressed the government to dismantle the policy. As result of this pressure, Australia's signatory on the Refugee Convention in 1951 indicates that Australia agreed to not return refugees to a country where they could face persecution, and to give protection to all refugees without discrimination.<sup>33</sup> This signatory depicted the commitment of Australia to be more cooperative in handling humanitarian issues, regardless of their race-based immigration policy.

However, the government also made it clear that they had failed to honor the commitment as in the end of 1940s, the government attempted to deport several wartime refugees. These deportations eventually led to the severe condemnation from some prominent Asian countries, through which they argued that the deportations were at odds with the attempt of Australian government to create post-war peace and stability within region. In response to the deportations, these Asian countries also unceasingly emerged the Australian government to dismantle the White Australia Policy.

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<sup>33</sup> M. Crock, B. Saul & A. Dastyari, pp. 44-5.

### E.3 Domestic Politics

Despite of pro-working class policies and history as the oldest political party in Australia, it is interesting to see that the Australia Labor Party (ALP) has spent less time in the national government than in federal Opposition. This stems from the fact that from 1949 ALP had become opposition for 23 years until when a new young leader of the ALP, Gough Whitlam returned to national government in 1972.<sup>34</sup>

Eventually, many argue that the Australian government changing policy priorities was commenced from the Whitlam administration. It is argued that since the Whitlam government's policy priorities have become relatively broader than the ALP's tradition itself. This derives from the fact that Whitlam administration was reformist declaring the end of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War; removing tuition fees for university students; generating the role of Women's Adviser to the Prime Minister to assure equality between women and men; establishing a Department of Ethnic Affairs; and introducing a public health insurance plan named Medibank, and more importantly, officially dismantling the White Australia Policy.<sup>35</sup> Some argue that these policies are part of Whitlam vision to create equal opportunity among the community as the guiding principle of social democracy, in particular to produce social environment in which every individual has a chance to advance his capability.<sup>36</sup>

However, it should be noted that the end of the race-based immigration policy had been commenced from the end of 1940s, in particular since the Liberal Party takeover the ALP leadership in federal government in 1949. Some relaxations of the policy had been undertaken during the administration of Harold Holt who was

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<sup>34</sup> Economou, pp. 229-31.

<sup>35</sup> M. Sawyer, 'Reinventing the Labor Party: From Laborism to Equal Opportunity', *Whitlam and Modern Labor: It's time again*, Circa Melbourne, VIC, 2003, pp. 376-7. See also Economou, p. 234.

<sup>36</sup> C. Johnson, *The Labor Legacy – Curtin, Chifley, Whitlam, Hawke*, Allen & Unwin, NSW, 1989, pp. 64-5. See also Sawyer, p. 378.

appointed by the Liberal government to be the immigration minister. Some argue that these relaxations were result of international pressures, but however, it is argued that the elements of domestic politics also should be taken into account. These elements include the indomitable criticisms from the ALP as opposition, by which many argue that the ALP was in favor to use the issue to increase their electoral support; as well as the establishment of some immigration reform movements throughout the Australian states.

#### **E.4 Economy and Military Capabilities**

In regard with the examination of economy and military capabilities, it is noteworthy to briefly sketch the evolution of Australian population. It was found that the small population of Australia creates a sense of vulnerability in the perspective of Australians. The number of Australian population in the year of federation (1901) was only about 3,788,123 persons and rose steadily to 6,462,610 people in 1930. A slight increase occurred in 1942 to 7,180,736 people in Australia.<sup>37</sup> These numbers are considered as a small population compared to Asian countries populations, such as China, Indonesia and India. The sense of vulnerability was arisen since it is nearly impossible to protect the security and defense of Australia with a small population in a big island. It will be argued that this small population encouraged Australian government to generate the mass population in a bid to decrease the sense of vulnerability due its small population. It was believed that through creating a bigger population, the existence of Australia as a country could be strengthened. The illustrations mentioned above, such as the reaction of Australia to the post Second World War and the fear of Australia to the Japanese invasion also indicate sense of

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<sup>37</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Table 1.2, Population by sex, states and territories, 10 June, 1901 onwards, 3105.0.65.001 – Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2008', *Australian Bureau of Statistics Website*, 5 August 2008 <<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/3105.0.65.0012008?OpenDocument>>, consulted 30 January 2010.

vulnerability of Australia due to its small population. This sense of vulnerability had allowed Australian government to establish a strong country through creating a bigger population.

In support, the labor shortage was also the reason behind mass immigration program. There was a significant industrial growth in Australia in the late 1940s, particularly after the end of Second World War. Consequently, Australia needed workers to sustain industrial growth and primary industries. Generally, semi-skilled and unskilled labors were needed to support the growth of secondary industry at the same time. From 1940s to 1960s, Australia faced an insufficient labor to fill the market demand for working within its industry. The labor shortage also indicated that Australia did not only need labor to fill the market demand, but also needed labor to develop Australia particularly to create a sustainable industry. This shortage shows the need of Australia to conduct a large-scale immigration as an attempt to overcome the labor shortage during the end of Second World War.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the small population in the 1970s enabled Australia to experience labor shortage and smaller military power due to its participation in some wars, including Vietnam War. Under such condition, many argue that the termination of White Australia Policy was implemented to promote economic growth opportunities as well as enhance social assets within the country. However, despite the fact that the economy and military capabilities were regarded as important motives behind the abolition of the policy, it should be noted that these capabilities apparently did not dominate the rationales behind the termination of the policy. It is argued that the international and domestic pressures by any means provided the main grounds of the government to dismantle the White Australia Policy.



## **F. Hypothesis**

It is argued that the government intended to dismantle the White Australia Policy because:

1. The rise of international criticisms towards the policy restrictions, mainly prompted by the racial basis perspective and also the deportation plans undertaken by the Australian government as part of the White Australia Policy implementation.
2. The Australian domestic politics in between 1949-1972 by which the two prominent political parties, the Liberal Party and the Australian Labor Party attempted to use immigration issue to lift their electoral support.
3. The Australia's national interest to create a bigger population and absorb skilled immigrants as part of the strategies to promote economic growth opportunities and to develop the Australia's defense enhancement.

## **G. Method of Research and Data Analysis**

In a bid to analyze and examine the research that indicated earlier, it is important to note that the method of research and data analysis will be preceded through the following approaches:

1. Study of Literature, in which this method will be practiced to examine the relevant data related to the case in an endeavor to explore the main problem as the starting point of this research. Conduct of this research will be synthesized from a reference list of books; magazines; internet-based sources as well as the scripts and journals (secondary data).

2. Data Analysis, in which the relevant findings will be analyzed and examined in a bid to gain the validity and relevancy to be used as the source in the research.
3. Verification of Hypothesis, which can be derived from discussion of the problem and the analysis.

## **H. System of Writing**

### **CHAPTER ONE**

Introduction

### **CHAPTER TWO**

This chapter examines the recent apparent immigration induced problems within Australian societies, and analyses the evolution of Australia's immigration policy.

### **CHAPTER THREE**

This chapter provides a brief analysis on the international context aspects of the policy to dismantle White Australia Policy in 1973. These include post-war changing global order; bilateral relations turbulences and post-war pressures for changes.

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

This chapter alludes to the domestic politic aspects of the termination of White Australia Policy in 1973. Among them are domestic tensions within the government; domestic politics between 1945-1972; interest groups; and economic and military capabilities.

### **CHAPTER FIVE**

Conclusion

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION**  
**AND ITS RECENT PROBLEMS**

Examining the rationales behind the demise of White Australia Policy should include examination on how this question has become apparent. In a response to this approach, this chapter will provide a general analysis on the history of Australian immigration. The first part of this chapter will examine the Australian immigration history from the first settlement in 1788 to national federation in 1901. The current issues of Australian immigration policy and empirical analysis on the evolution of immigration policy will form the second part of this chapter. It will also briefly allude to the termination of White Australia Policy that in some way believed to be the origin of the current issues in Australian immigration policy.

**A. The Australian Immigration History 1788-1901**

One of prominent elements of Australian history is its immigration that has been prevailed since the middle of eighteenth century. Compared to other countries like the United States, Argentina and even Canada, the evolution of Australian immigration has been regarded as somewhat long and slow, as its transformation mostly has been shaped by the governmental and private initiatives throughout much of its history. More interestingly, it is interesting to see that the governmental initiative in Australia has contributed more influence than the private initiative to the evolution immigration policy. This stems from the fact that many of the immigration policies in Australia has been created in a bid to protect its national interest, through which many argue that the policies reflect the prompt response of Australian government to address the immigration problem and to shape the Australian society.

The long and slow evolution of Australian immigration has commenced since the arrival of the first British Fleet of penal transportation ships at Sydney Cove in