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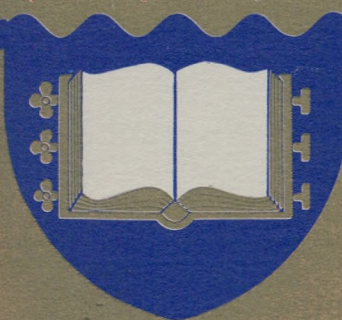*University of Wollongong*

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Abstract

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A NEW AGENDA IN MULTICULTURALISM?

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1. Signs of the Times

In the 70s and early 80s, there appeared to be a considerable measure of concensus in Australia on policies towards immigrants: they were to be permitted a large measure of cultural autonomy, while at the same time special institutions and measures were introduced to ensure *access and equity* and *participation* for all Australians irrespective of their origins. These policies - referred to collectively as *multiculturalism* - were endorsed and implemented (albeit in varying forms) by the major political parties, and appeared to enjoy broad public support. However, recent events indicate that this multicultural concensus is no longer uncontested, and that important changes are taking place, or are imminent:

- The first was the "Blainey Debate" of 1984, which questioned the non-racist immigration policy. Blainey's attack on Asian entries was supported by Bruce Ruxton of the Victorian RSL, who has continued with an onslaught on Black South African immigration. This debate rapidly widened into an attack on multiculturalism, with considerable media airing through David Barnett"s notorious article in **The Bulletin** (18 February 1986), and Des Keegan's scurrilous "National Affairs Column" in **The Australian.**

- An enormous amount of recent academic research in the disciplines of sociology, economics and education has gone into demonstrating that there is no such thing as migrant disadvantage, and that there is consequently no need for special policies in this area. [1] Most recently, the claim has been raised that it is now the Anglo working class who are becoming the "new self-deprived".[2]

- The Budget for 1986-87 announced considerable cuts in the multicultural area, notably the abolition of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), the merger of the SBS with the ABC, cuts in Commonwealth funding for English as a second language teaching and for the Multicultural Education Program, the closure or reduction in size of regional offices of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA). The savings brought about by these measures was minor, so that it appeared that their real purpose was to ring in a change of policy. Archbishop Penman (Chairman of AIMA) spoke of the

abandonment of multiculturalism in key areas, while ethnic groups protested vocally.[3]

- In the first half of 1986, a major review of multicultural services and programs was carried out on behalf of the DIEA. By the time its findings were published, the ground had been cut away from beneath it, by the Budget measures. The ROMAMPAS or Jupp Report[4] became an embarrassment, to be thrown in the memory hole of history. At the same time, other reviews were being carried out: of the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission[5] and of the Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission of Western Australia.

- The disenchantment of the ethnic communities with ALP policies became ever-more evident. The marginal premier of NSW, Barry Unsworth, emphasised the significance of the ethnic vote, and called for more sensitivity in Canberra. One result was the dismissal in February of the unpopular Minister of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Hurford, and his replacement by Mick Young. The fact that Mick Young is also ALP Party Chairman shows how seriously ALP strategists are taking the ethnic vote in this pre-election period.

- The only substantive innovations have been the establishment of an Office of Multicultural Affairs (OMA) in the Prime Minister's Department and the appointment of an Advisory Council on Multicultural Affairs to advise the Prime Minister.[6] OMA's exact function has yet to be clarified, but will include vetting Federal Government Departments' Access and Equity Statements. But the main function of OMA and the Advisory Council is no doubt to convince ethnic communities that the Government is still committed to multiculturalism.

2. The Roots of Multiculturalism

Do these events add up to a major shift in ethnic affairs policies in Australia? Do they herald a move away from multiculturalism? And if so, will the course be back towards assimilationism, or in a completely new direction? I will argue here that an important change is taking place, but that despite the growing vocalisation of racism and the call for regressive moves, the direction is not simply backwards. Rather new models for ethnic affairs are emerging in response to:
- the maturing of the migratory process (particularly for the postwar European immigrants)
- changes in economic, social and political conditions in Australia;
- changes in the character of current immigration.
To understand these changes, it is necessary to take an historical view of postwar immigration and the development of multicultural policies.

The aims of the postwar immigration program were to increase the population, for strategic reasons, and to increase the labour force and the

domestic market for economic reasons. The creation of a polyethnic society was never in anybody's mind. The plan was to bring in British migrants, or, failing this, others of "assimilable types". A large proportion of the migrant workers who helped build Australia's infrastructure and manufacturing base in the fifties and sixties were Southern Europeans. By the sixties, it was evident that assimilation was not taking place: persistent ethnic segregation in the workplace and, to some extent in housing, the maintenance of ethnic languages and cultures, the development of ethnic welfare and educational initiatives, the growth of ethnic media, were all factors indicating the unplanned emergence of a pluralist society. Teachers, welfare workers and academics pointed out to the government that migrants were not assimilating, that they could and should be expected to do and that the continuation of an assimlationist policy was leading to a crisis, particularly in the welfare and education system. The call was raised for recognition of a situation of "cultural pluralism"[7]

From the outset, there were two ways of looking at this: one was to define pluralism in terms of ethnic identity. Migrants constituted themselves as groups and sought to maintain their languages and culture, in order to gain material support and psychological protection in a new environment. Clinging to "primordial attachments" was a defense mechanism for groups whose experience of modernisation had taken the dramatic form of migration. The acceptance of cultural difference and the recognition of the ethnic group and its leadership (however defined) were the consequence of this approach, which is embodied in the academic work of Jerzy Zubrzycki and the policy approach of the Galbally Report of 1978.

The other way of looking at the situation was to emphasise the way the power and class structures of Australian society marginalised certain groups of migrant workers, and turned them into ethnic minorities. Work and residential segregation was both a result of their economic role, and a guarantee of its continuation. Neither the motivations of the migrants nor the interests of their employers were conducive to assimilation. Cultural maintenance and development of community structures were reactions to processes of structural exclusion, connected with the role of migrant labour in the Australian economy. The cultivation of ethnic languages, traditions and customs was seen as a mere surface expression of deeper-going conflicts. The emphasis on ethnic disadvantage and the special problems of particular migrant workers groups was expressed through the work of Jean Martin in the 70s, as well as through policy documents such as the NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission report **Participation** (1978) or the Victorian EAC's manifesto **Access and Equity** (1983).

This dualism in the understanding of the emerging ethnic pluralism corresponds with a dualism in the concept of multiculturalism that started to emerge after Al Grassby's lecture about the "multicultural society of the future" and "the family of the nation" in 1973. This dualism perhaps explains how it was possible that the slogan of multiculturalism could be maintained by such diverse governments as those of Whitlam, Fraser and Hawke. The dualism has at its one pole the concept of multiculturalism as a view of society, as an ideology that postulates a manner in which society is, or should be organised. The other pole is the concept of multiculturalism as a principle to guide social policy.

Multiculturalism as an *ideology of society* calls for an acceptance of cultural pluralism, and of the legitimacy of an ongoing ethnic diversity within Australian society. There is an expectation that cultural particularity will be maintained over the generations for an indefinite period. One central problem of this culturalist approach - seen clearly by proponents such as Zubrzycki - is the tension between ethnic pluralism and the cohesiveness of society as a whole. How can a nation be defined, if not in terms of ethnic identity? How are core values and acceptable behavioural forms to be worked out, if the hegemony of Anglo-Australian culture is no longer accepted? The problems of poly-ethnic states are neither new nor unique in the world, but they are a new departure in the history of Australia as an outpost of the British Empire. As an ideology, multiculturalism requires radical changes in thinking and behaviour, and for all its apparent acceptance, has so far merely scratched the surface of Australia's institutional structures.[8]

The second problem of the culturalist approach concerns the tension between the legitimacy of cultural maintenance, and the role of culture in regulating access to economic resources and political power. Proficiency in language, use of elaborated codes, manipulation of cultural symbols determine entry to upper-level occupational positions, both directly and indirectly (through their role in allowing people to gain educational credentials). The role of culture with regard to the transference of class position from one generation to the next has been a major theme of sociology for many years. Clearly, the problem is even more acute when ethnic and class cultures interact. The state can legislate for access and equity in its own services and can enact anti-discrimination legislation, but it cannot, in the current political framework, prevent cultural markers being used in the non-state sector. This is still the main area where class position is determined. So policies of accepting cultural pluralism may actually be detrimental to the equal opportunity of migrants' children: they become locked into what are seen as "sub-cultures" by those with power, and this blocks social mobility. Proponents of culturalism are aware of this problem, but examine it in terms of "cultural deprivation",

i.e. the deficiencies of the individual, rather than the structural barriers of society.[9]

Multiculturalism as *a principle of social policy* was based on social research on the situation of migrants, which concentrated on their actual situation in Australian society. This approach did not look at migrants in general terms of ethnicity and culture, but rather tried to identify particular areas of socio-economic disadvantage. The work of Jean Martin on the economic and social condition of migrants played a large part in the development of this approach.[10] The basic problems experienced by migrants were seen not as a result of cultural disonance, but as a consequence of the segmentation of the Australian labour market, and the location of Southern European migrant workers in the manual working class.[11] In recent years, a lot of work has gone into the development of this approach and into linking the three dimensions of inequality: ethnicity, class and gender.[12]

In this context, the task of multiculturalism is that of identifying and attacking those structural factors in Australian society which stigmatise and disadvantage migrant workers and migrant women. Social policies must be designed to change institutions, in order to make them fit the needs of all Australians (i.e. including the one fifth of the population who are of non-English speaking background). The issue becomes one of equal opportunities in a non-egalitarian society, and the emphasis is on the problems of migrants in obtaining full and equal participation in the political, social and economic system, rather than on identity and distinctiveness.[13] This approach involves defining particular migrant groups as ethnic minorities, and demanding rights and social justice for them. The Ethnic Affairs Commission which have been set up in four states since 1978 are at the forefront in attempting to implement policies to achieve equal opportunity at work, in health and education, and in the provision of government services. The policy of "mainstreaming" advocated particularly in NSW and South Australia is a clear consequence of this way of tackling the problem: all political and social institutions should be appropriate to a multicultural society, as opposed to the Galbally approach which tended to encourage specialised (and often marginalised) institutions for ethnic groups. Of course, here too my earlier remark applies: the capactity of the state for changing the well-worn ethnocentric structures of the private sector is limited. Indeed, even within the state apparatus, the resistance to change is daunting.

Now I do not want to suggest that there is a clear polarity between culturalists and proponents of social justice. As Laki Jayasuriya has pointed out: "All reports dealing with migrants' settlement and ethnic affairs have straddled the twin issues of equality and identity - espoused

the need to provide for equality of opportunity as a matter of right belonging to all citizens as well as the 'right' to cultural maintenance."[14] The difference is rather one of emphasis: Zubrzycki, Galbally and AIMA (at least until 1984) stressed identity, while Jean Martin, the "Wollongong School" and the Ethnic Affairs Commissions stressed equality. Moreover, there is an alternative way of looking at multiculturalism as social policy: i.e. to see it as an mechanism of social control, in which the state contructs ethnic petit-bourgeoisies as a cheap way of controlling migrant labour and youth.[15] I have no time for a discussion of the detailed issues involved here. What I have said so far should be enough to indicate the complexities and ambiguities of multiculturalism. There may have been a political concensus that it was a good thing, but there was never a concensus about what it actually was.

3. The New Conditions

Multiculturalism was not just a natural evolution out of the failed policy of assimilationism. It was a response to a set of particular conditions which were apparent in the 70s:

- The postwar migratory process had made Australia into a polyethnic society. The Southern European migrants were forming communities culturally, economically and socially distinct from the rest of the population. The coming of age of second and third generations was not leading to the disappearance of ethnic identity;[16]
- Growing involvement of migrants in economic, political and cultural life, was leading to increased self-confidence and demands for ethnic rights and participation;
- The Australian economy had been through a long phase of expansion, and a large proportion of the population had experienced real improvements in income and social security. It was generally accepted that the postwar immigration program had contributed substantially to this expansion, and had therefore benefitted all major social groups;
- There appeared to a decline in xenophobia and racism among the Australian population. This was based in part on acceptance of ethnic life-styles through contact in the cities, partly on a new perspective on ideas of Anglo superiority, as Britain declined. The realisation that Australia must come to terms with its position close to Asia, and growing admiration for Asian economic success also contributed. This trend was often superficial and did not affect all Australians.

Do these conditions still hold good in the mid-80s? It is necessary to examine certain changes, if we are to understand the context of current debates on the future of multiculturalism.

3.1. Changes in the migratory process

The Southern European migrants workers, whose concerns were central in the development of multiculturalism, have aged. Most of them came in the 50s and 60s, and have reached or are nearing the end of their working lives. The result is a new discussion on the problems of the ethnic aged.[17] As second and third generations grow up, complete their education and enter the labour market, there is a shift in problems and perceptions of them.[18] Galbally-type multiculturalism, with its emphasis on ethnic group identity and state support of self-help, appears as a "first-generation strategy"[19], which is increasingly irrelevant to the current situation. The central issues are equality of opportunity for all and social justice for groups which have been marginalised.

The forms of political mobilisation of ethnic minorities are shifting. The young people who have come through the Australian educational system do not express their interests through ethnic organisations to the same extent as their parents. Many of them are "inside the system": welfare and educational professionals with networks linking both ethnic and mainstream institutions. This has led to a questioning of the concept of the "ethnic vote" as a political factor.

The process of differentiation of ethnic groups continues: On the one hand, differences in employment and residentlial patterns between different origin groups persists. On the other, social differentiation within each group is becoming more obvious, so that average or aggregate data are increasingly meaningless.[20] As first generation migrants leave the labour process, there are changes in the occupational and residential patterns of ethnic groups. Are the new migrant groups (particularly Asians) replacing Southern Europeans in a process of ethnic succession? Are we looking at a process of upward social mobility of migrants, or a process of inter-generational mobility, or is the apparent change simply a response to economic restructuring? Probably all these factors are interrelated in a complex way.

3.2. Changes in the economic situation

Australian manufacturing shed quarter of a million jobs from 1973 to 1983. During the same period a net total of449,700 new jobs was created in the economy as a whole, the big growth sector being Community Services (381,200 new jobs).[21] The main decline has been in the sectors where European migrant workers were concentrated, while the growth has been in areas where lack of language proficiency and educational credentials makes access difficult for them. Many migrant workers have been marginalised out of the workforce, either through lack of job prospects, or through industrial illnesses and injuries. Economic restructuring is a complex process, involving not only shifts in

employment patterns and skill requirements, but also changes in organisational forms of the labour process, such as the growth of sub-contracting, self-employment and the black economy. Disadvantaged groups such as unskilled workers, women workers and youth are likely to be hardest hit, the result being high rates of unemployment, or development of particulary exploitative forms of work. The changing economic context affects migrants in three dimensions:

- Changes in the material situation of existing migrant workers,
- Changes in public attitudes towards migration,
- Changes in the type of migration encouraged by Government and employers.

3. 3 Changes in migration policies

In the early 80s, immigration policy was shifting towards an emphasis on family reunion and refugee programs, rather than on labour migration. At the same time, as Australian wages have fallen relative to traditional labour supplying countries in Europe, it has become evident that any substantial increase in immigrant numbers must come from Asia. Over the last few years the ruling class appears to have been in the process of redefining its attitudes towards immigration. The CEDA report[22] and the response to it among businesspeople and politicians indicates a return to the idea of mass labour immigration as a way of securing economic growth. Kerry Packer has called for 200,000 new migrants per year, while Brian Burke, the Premier of Western Australia wants Asian migrants to develop the arid North. Yet this call for more migrants has been linked to an attack on multiculturalism: the Asians are regarded as desirable migrants because they work hard, have the "right attitudes" and appear capable of assimilation (defined as adaptation to the needs of free market industrialism rather than in cultural terms). So, paradoxically, New Right opponents of multiculturalism like Lauchlan Chipman can call for more Asian immigrants.[23] However, it is not Indo-Chinese refugees who are wanted, but well-educated people from India, Singapore or Hong Kong, who, moreover, often bring capital with them. The corrolary is a move away from an immigration policy emphasising family reunification and humanitarian considerations.

The shift in economic conditions has changed the way that popular attitudes towards migration and migrants are expressed. Once again, migrant workers are seen as competitors for scarce jobs, and a potential threat to wages and conditions. This feeling is all the more prevalent in the working class, who have most reason to fear competition. A recent statement on immigration policy by the Australian Council of Trade Unions calls for continued emphasis on entries of refugees and family members of persons resident in Australia, while rejecting migrationas a

means of solving general or long-term shortages of labour. The ACTU is therefore against increases in the skilled labour migrant category.[24]

As so often in Australian history, working-class fears of a threat to conditions can easily become articulated in the form of racism (in this case directed particularly against Asians). The malaise at Australia's political and economic decline is taking on the form of the "common sense" demand for defending the interests and the traditional values of the Anglo working class. The racist backlash led by Bruce Ruxton is indicative of this trend.

4. Towards a New Agenda

There is no doubt, that the conditions for multicultural policies have changed substantially in the last three or four years. The reviews, the Budget cuts and the change in Minister mentioned above are responses to these shifts, but they appear tentative, and lacking in clear direction. The Budget cuts marked the end of the culturalist agenda which had been set by the Galbally Report and the Fraser Government, but they simultaneously removed the basis of many of the recommendations of the ROMAMPAS Report, before these were even published. ROMAMPAS was expected by the DIEA to shape the new agenda for multiculturalism within the idiom of social-democratic social policy, but it was still-born. So where does that leave us?

It seems to me that the culturalist position in the multicultural debate of the 70s and early 80s is losing its relevance as a guide to policy. Culturalism of the Zubrzycki-Galbally type is on the way out: first because its basis as a "first-generation strategy" has been superceded; secondly because its message is no longer contested at the superficial level of rhetoric on diversity and equal rights. At present there would appear to be two options: a "new laisser-faire" in ethnic affairs, or a reassertion of the policy of social justice for minority groups. In each, social science plays an important part in helping to define issues, and indicate policies. Of course, the choice of which type of social science is to be funded still lies with those with political and economic power, so it is not a question of the best paradigm influencing policy. Rather shifts in political, economic and social forces determine the predominance of social science paradigms.

4.1 The New Laisser-Faire

The paradigm which appears to be gaining ground as a new "conventional wisdom" (in Galbraith's sense) is one whose answer to the question about the specific problems of ethnic minorities in Australian society, is that there are no ethnic minorites and no specific problems.. This position is closely linked to the neo-classical human capital approach in economics.

Its proponents have been based mainly with the Bureau of Labour Market Studies and the Centre for Economic Policy Research at the ANU.[25] The CEDA study, referred to above is similar in its conceptual framework, although concerned more directly with immigration policy.. A closely related approach in sociology, based on quantitative work with Census or large-scale survey data, is best known through the work of ANU researchers such as Broom, Jones, McAllister, Kelly and Evans.[26] The conclusions arrived at, using highly aggregated data combined with methods of regression analysis which homogenise diverse migrant experiences, are that migrants have no major disadvantages concerning work, income and social position. The paradigm claims that migrants merely have short-term adaptation problems in Australian society, which they rapidly overcome. A very high degree of inter-generational mobility is discovered. An extension of this work in the educational field finds that the children of migrants are doing very well, and that it is the children of working-class Australians who are now deprived. However, they are "self-deprived": Working class Australians lack the right attitudes towards work, risk-taking and education, and their family discipline is too weak. By comparison, most migrants (particularly Asians) are successful because of their "ethnic motivation" and strong family discipline.[27] Those who are not successful, are victims of individual disabilities or inadequacies.

To put it in simple terms, this paradigm asserts that "at the aggregate level ....migrants in the Australian labour market do as well as persons born in Australia after an initial period of adjustment."[28] They do well because they are willing (or constrained by their situation as newcomers) to make "human capital investments". Australian workers, by contrast, are bludgers who expect a hand-out from the state, and whose trade-union attitudes are a facade for unwillingness to work. Students from working-class Australian homes are victims of their own "ocker attitudes" which make them disruptive and lazy. The policy consequences of this approach are obvious: the state should do as little as possible, and leave everything to the market. Social policy is harmful because it hinders the functioning of free market mechanisms.

The Federal Government and the DIEA appear to have bought this approach.[29] One consequence is an expansionist labour migration policy. Another is a reducation in multicultural programs which actually intervene to change institutional structures, or to set up special services for migrants and ethnic minorities. The Budget cuts were typical for this trend. Of course, current financial constraints provide a convincing rationale for such cuts, but they are not the main reason. At the same time, a useful ideology has been found to justify the policy change. It is summed up in the word "mainstreaming" - originally coined by the NSW Ethnic

Affairs Commission to indicate the need for structural change in all areas of Government. Now the Federal Government uses "mainstreaming" as a cover for a new policy of non-interventionism. The official rationale for cutting ESL teaching and the Multicultural Education Program was that special measures were no longer necessary, as the mainstream systems were now capable of doing the job.[30] On this basis, multicultural services and programs can gradually be cut away, by the simple official finding that they are no longer necessary. Migrant parents and the teachers of their children did not share this view.

At the same time, political considerations - the "ethnic vote" (which no-one quite knows whether to believe in or not) make the maintaining of the rheotoric of multiculturalism essential. Hence the establishment of an Office of Multicultural Affairs in the Prime Minister's Department as the keeper of this Holy Grail in March 1986. It remains to be seen whether the functionaries of OMA will be satisfied with this role.

What this approach seems to boil down to is not a return to assimilationism, but rather a new sort of laisser-faire in ethnic affairs: cultural diversity of the "spaghetti and polka" type is seen as inevitable and acceptable, and no longer a policy problem. The economic and social integration of migrants is to be left to market mechanisms, in the framework of an affirmative multicultural ideology, which has no major consequences in terms of costs or institutional change. All this fits well with a new policy of increased labour migration: by denying the need for special programs, the laisser-faire approach helps keep additional labour cheap.

4.2 Social Justice for Minority Groups

A social justice approach to the situation of migrant workers in Australia is not new - it is continuation of the tradition of social democratic policy which started in the Whitlam era, and has been maintained in the work of the Ethnic Affairs Commissions. But there is clearly a need for a redefinition of the problems and a search for solutions, in the light of the changing context which I described above. There is new task for the social sciences: in the 70s it was valuable to look at "migrant disadvantage" or "the economic conditions
of migrants". In the late 80s, such a task can only have an ideological function, due to the process of differentiation between and within migrant groups. The result today is meaningless average data, which mask problems rather than revealing them.

The role of social research today is to find out which groups have become marginalised, in the context of the interrelating processes of the maturing of migration and economic restructuring. Clearly in doing this we are

relating the dimensions of ethnicity, gender and class, and we find that many migrants are not in marginalised positions, and many non-migrants are. It is essential to identify ethnic and other minorities, and to understand the mechanisms which lead to marginalisation. The methodology of this type of social research is different to that of the approach outlined above. General statistics may help to describe problems, but they do nothing to explain them. There is a need for a qualitative and longitudinal approach, which relates the global dimensions of inequality to the specific life experience of members of diadvantaged groups. Such work has been carried out, most notably by the Research and Policy Division of the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, by some University research institutes and - just before its demise - by AIMA. We are not starting with a *tabula rasa* - it is clear enough which groups are most at risk:

   -the Southern European labour migrant of the fifties and sixties, who got locked into manual manufacturing jobs, and have been hard-hit by restructuring;

   -the Middle East migrants and Indo-Chinese refugees of the seventies and eighties, who had trouble entering a labour market hit by recession;

   -Aged migrants, who are often affected by economic hardship and social isolation upon leaving the labour force;

   -Migrant youth, particularly affected by youth unemployment;

   -People of non-European origin (sometimes called the 'visible minorities'), who are the victims of racial stigmatisation and discrimination. This is a situation shared by recent non-European migrants and Australia's Aboriginal population.

On the basis of such work it is possible to suggest policy changes, aimed at combatting structural factors which cause disadvantage, dealing with specific forms of social hardship and economic deprivation, as well as upgrading the education and skills of disadvantaged groups. The targetting of policies on specific minority groups is particularly important in an economic situation which precludes blanket approaches to social policy. It is clear that this approach requires a substantial increase in state intervention and affirmative action, to improve the situation of minorities. This is likely to meet with little support from employers, nor from Government treasurers concerned about the cost aspects. It is a policy that cannot be justified on the neo-classical economic postulates, which are so fashionable, even within the ALP.

The precondition for such work, however is a clear definition of the aims to be achieved. The rhetoric of multiculturalism from Galbally to ROMAMPAS is full of principles calling for "access and equity", "equitable participation" and the like. Upon close examination, most of these statements are limited to the call for equal opportunity for all,

irrespective of people's specific needs and starting chances. There is little discussion of the issue of equality of outcomes - not surprising in a society, whose central principle is inequality in ownership and income. Jayasurija recommends the adoption of Rawls' radical liberal approach to social justice which calls for equality in civil liberties; equality of opportunity for advancment; and positive discrimination in favour of the underprivileged to ensure equity, i.e. fair shares for all.[31] Jasyasurija therefore calls for "a new model of multiculturalism: a minority group rights model attuned to the needs of the emerging future - the needs of the second and third generation ethnic minorities, the non-Caucasian groups, the increasingly articulate and militant women, and the ethnic aged.....Multiculturalism must be seen as a vehicle of change powered by the ideals of social justice."

At the political level, a similar demand is raised in the "social justice strategy" of the Victorian ALP Government. The recent review of the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission re-affirmed the policies of the Commission in the light of this political program.[32] The call for social justice for ethnic minorities may seem to run counter to the tide of pragmatism in the crisis-ridden Australia of the late 80s, but it seems the only way forward, if a genuine policy of multiculturalism is to be maintained.

Perhaps the next step could be the declaration of a National Minorities Policy, as was done by the Netherlands Government in the early 80s. This was based on a Report by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, which identified minority groups (including migrants from former colonies, Southern European migrant workers, gypsies and caravan dwellers) and proposed legal frameworks and policies for the achievement of their rights.[33] Obviously, the problems and the solutions for Australia cannot be the same as for the Netherlands, but the declaration of a minorities program, with a commitment to fundamental change, is a precedent which could and should be followed.

1 For a summary of some of this work and a discussion of its methodology see: A. Jakubowicz and S. Castles, The Inherent Subjectivity of the Apparently Objective in Research on Ethnicity and Class, in: **Journal of Intercultural Studies**, 1/87.

2 B. Bullivant, **Are Anglo-Australian Students becoming the New Self- Deprived in Comparison with Ethnics?**, Melbourne, Monash University, 1986.

3 See S. Castles, M. Kalantzis and B. Cope, W(h)ither multiculturalism? in: **Australian Society**, October 1986.

4 DIEA, **Don't Settle for Less - Report of the Committee for Stage 1 of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services**, Canberra, AGPS, 1986.

5 **An Issue of Social Justice - Review of the Ethnic Affairs Commission of Victoria**, Melbourne, Victorian Government, 1986.

6 See Speech by the Hon. R. J. L. Hawke, Melbourne, 13 March 1987.

6 Jerzy Zubrzyki, claims to have first used the term in print in his paper for the National Citizenship Convention of 1968.

8 Compare D. L. Jayasuriya, **Ethnic Minorities and Issues of Social Justice in Contemporary Australian Society**, Address to Australian Adult Education Conference, Canberra December 1986.

9 This issue was discussed by Jerzy Zubrzycki in his paper for the AIMA National Research Conference in May 1986.

10 Jean Martin, **The Migrant Presence**, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1978, and **The Ethnic Dimension**, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1981.

11 Compare Jayasuriya, loc. cit.

12 This has been a major focus of the work of the Research and Policy Division of the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, and has been embodied in numerous working papers. See also: G. Bottomley and M. de Lepervanche, **Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia**, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin, 1984.

13 This approach was first developed in detail by Paolo Totaro in **Participation**, NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission 1978, and then in **Access and Equity**, Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1983.

14 Jayasuriya, loc. cit.

15 See, for instance, A. Jakubowicz in: Bottomley and de Lepervanche, loc. cit.

16 I have argued elsewhere that international labour migration should not be seen as a single act, but as a process which may take several generations. The first phase is normally that of

labour migration of young adults. This is followed by a phase of family reunification. The third phase is that of settlement and community formation; in situations of structural racism the third phase often involves marfginalisation and definition as ethnic minorities. This concept is developed for Western Europe in: S. Castles et al., **Here for Good - Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities**, London, Pluto Press, 1984.

[17] See the two reports of AIMA, **Ageing in a Multicultural Society**, Melbourne, 1985; and **Community and Institutional Care for Aged Migrants in Australia - Research Findings**, Melbourne, 1986.

[18] See AIMA, **Reducing the Risk - Unemployed Migrant Youth and Labour Market Programs**, Melboune 1985.

[19] Jayasuriya, op. cit.

[20] The Centre of Multicultural Studies is planning a study on self-employment of migrants in Sydney, to examine the significance of changing stratification patterns, and their relation to shifts in economic structure.

[21] Des Storer, **Migrant Worker Unemployment in Victoria: Trends and Policy Directions**, Melbourne, Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1985.

[22] N. Norman and K. Meikle, **The Economic Effects of Immigration on Australia**, Melbourne, Council for the Economic Development of Australia, 1985; Speech to the CEDA Forum by Chris Hurford, 11 June, 1986.

[23] It is important to distinguish between the New Right approach to immigration and multiculturalism (i.e. in favour of the former, but against the latter), and the Blainey-style populism, echoed by Ruxton, which opposes both.

[24] **ACTU Submission on the Immigration Program Intake 1987-8**, Melbourne, 1987.

[25] The most comprehensive exposition of this approach is: BMLR, **Migrants in the Australian Labour Market**, Canberra, AGPS, 1986, which summarises a number of research papers of the BMLR and the CEPR.

[26] See Jakubowicz and Castles, loc. cit. for sources and a discussion of this approach.

[27] B. Bullivant, loc. cit., R. Birrell, A. Seitz, **The Ethnic Problem in Education: The Emergence and Definition of an Issue**, Melbourne, Paper for the AIMA Research Conference, 1986.

[28] BMLR, loc. cit, p. 155.

[29] A look at the Agenda and List of Participants of Conference on the Economic Impact of Immigration, organised jointly by the DIEA and the ANU Centre for Economic Policy Research in April

1987, shows how much this paradigm has become a guide to Government policy.

[30] This argument is discussed in S. Castles, M. Kalantzis, B. Cope, W(h)ither Multiculturalism? loc. cit.

[31] Jayasurija loc. cit.

[32] See **An Issue of Social Justice,** loc. cit., p.p. 30-31 and passim.

[33] Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy, **Ethnic Minorities,** The Hague, 1979.