



BLOODING A LION IN LITTLE BOURKE STREET :  
THE CREATION, NEGOTIATION AND MAINTENANCE OF  
CHINESE ETHNIC IDENTITY IN MELBOURNE

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THESIS SUMMARY AND SYNOPSIS

The main concern of this thesis is the creation, negotiation and maintenance of Chinese ethnic identity in Melbourne. I have broadly divided the Chinese into three reference groups ; the Old Migrants, the Present Migrants and the Australian born Chinese or ABC. The first three chapters are devoted to the historical experiences of these three groups with particular emphasis on the Australian Immigration policies whose pervasive effects are clearly discernible in domestic relations - Chinese family structure and relationship between generations - in social, religious and ritual activities, in residential arrangement, in occupational distributions, in Chinese and English language usage and in the activities of ethnic organisations.

The unfavourable stereotyping of Old Migrants in colonial Australia has filtered down to the present era. As I show, the Chinese community has sought for some time to maintain an image of 'respectability' and to avoid increasing an awareness of their presence among the wider Australian public. The controversial establishment of a 'Chinatown' in Melbourne in 1975 drew unwanted attention to the Chinese community. In addition, the presence of large numbers of highly visible Indo-Chinese refugees in the early 1980's, have revived fears among the Australian *has* public, of an 'Asian invasion'. These two events, increased Chinese apprehensions about their 'visibility' as 'Asians' in Australian society. They reacted by dissociating themselves, in part, from the Chinatown project and by attempting to distance themselves from the Vietnamese community.

In my final chapter I treat the occasion of Chinese New Year among the Melbourne Chinese community as a social situation which illuminates in an effective way, the disparate elements that go into the construction of a complex and normally opaque social order.

I argue that Chinese ethnic identity is constructed in terms of what the Chinese perceive to be the Australian mainstream values and lifestyle. I argue further that the Chinese have persisted in maintaining a high degree of 'invisibility' over an extended period of time despite what would appear to be quite radical changes in government policy. Thus, although the White Australia Policy with its hard line assimilation theories has given way to the supposed liberality of multiculturalism, Chinese behaviour has remained unchanged.

My analysis of ethnicity has been informed by the arguments of Barth, Mitchell, Epstein, Hannerz and Parkin. Each has proposed a somewhat different definition of ethnicity. I conclude by arguing that the critical issue for the anthropologist is not how ethnicity should or should not be defined but how social situations are so structured and constrained that a particular ethnic identity is negotiated.



## DECLARATION

(a) This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

(b) I consent to the thesis being made available for photocopying and loan if applicable, if accepted for the award of the degree.

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Chooi Cheng Yeen

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns the creation, negotiation and maintenance of Chinese ethnic identity in Melbourne. I relate this process of the formation of an ethnic identity to the historical experiences which Chinese migrants have undergone both in their former countries of residence and upon their entry into Australia. I also focus on the various official Government Acts and policies which affect the 'integration' of the Chinese immigrants into Australian society. I argue that the consequences of these official policies are clearly discernible in the domestic relations - Chinese family structure and relationship between generations - in social, religious and ritual activities, in residential arrangement, in occupational distributions, in Chinese and English language usage and in the activities of ethnic organisations.

I conclude that despite the changes in policy from that of assimilation to present day multiculturalism, Chinese construct their ethnic identity as if the policy has remained one of assimilation. I further explore the actual realities of 'multiculturalism' when translated into day to day living.

Throughout my analysis I have drawn on the major works of Barth (1969), Mitchell (1956, 1959, 1966, 1974), Cohen (1969), Epstein (1978), Hannerz (1969) and Parkin (1969). I present ethnicity as involving five factors.

Firstly there is the group identification which emphasizes past origins such as 'common ancestral origin' or 'common cultural heritage'. Secondly, ethnic identity is based on some conception of cultural, social or physical distinctiveness. Third, an ethnic group can be perceived as a component unit in a broader system of social relations. Fourth, the situational use of ethnicity means that different meanings are ascribed to ethnic categories in different social situations and for different individuals on different occasions. Finally, the labels which are used for ethnic categories are emblematic in that these labels have symbolic meaning.

I argue that there are varying constraints on the extent of negotiability of an ethnic identity, depending upon the structure of the situation. Some situations have fewer constraints and are therefore open to negotiation, while other situations are not. ~~Thus~~, I conclude that the critical issue to be explored in Anthropology<sup>A</sup> is not<sup>A</sup> which is the correct definition of ethnicity per se, but the nature and type of constraints which operate in social situations to create, negotiate and maintain a particular construction of ethnic identity.

My method of investigation was that of a participant observer. Due to the kindness and generosity of certain Chinese families in Melbourne, I was fortunate in having the opportunity to observe Chinese family life at first hand, in the ten months of my stay, from 1983 to 1984.

For the first six months of fieldwork I also participated in many ritual and social activities organised by Chinese organisations. Inevitably, special friends emerged who made great efforts to advance my research. I was given access to ritual activities and documents of organisations, which were normally unavailable to the general public.

While I was able to gain access to the Chinese community, to the ethnic Chinese Vietnamese community and even to the Russian Chinese community in the Dandenong Ranges, I was unable to make much headway with the ethnic Vietnamese. I attribute this to the lack of time available, the language difficulties and the natural wariness of the ethnic Vietnamese towards 'outsiders'.

I have used Census figures and media information to back up certain generalizations based on <sup>participant</sup> empirical observations. I have also retained the anonymity of my informants but have retained genuine organisation and place names.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION

Tune - "Dickie Birds"

You doubtless read the papers,  
 And as men of observation,  
 Of course you watch the progress  
 Of Chinese immigration -  
 For thousands of those pigtail chaps  
 In Adelaide are landing;  
 And why they let such numbers come  
 Exceeds my understanding.

On Emerald Hill it now appears  
 A Joss House they've erected;  
 And they've got an ugly idol there -  
 It's just what I expected;  
 And they offer nice young chickens  
 Unto this wooden log;  
 And sometimes with a sucking pig  
 They go the entire hog.

Now some of you, perhaps may laugh,  
 But 'tis my firm opinion.  
 This colony someday will be  
 Under Chinese dominion.  
 They'll upset the Australian Government  
 The place will be their own;  
 And an Emperor with a long pigtail  
 Will sit upon the throne.

Melbourne will be the seat of power,  
 And then 'tis my impression,  
 Of the stations up the country  
 They'll quickly take possession.

The squatters will be used as slaves,  
 By the Celestial nation;  
 And growing tea or rice will be  
 Their only compensation.

The mandarins will seize for wives  
 The fair Australian girls;  
 And from Melbourne to the diggings  
 They'll cut a lot of canals.  
 And for fear the coves of New South Wales  
 Should pay a hostile call;  
 Between this colony and that  
 No doubt they'll build a wall.

The customs of their country  
 Of course will then prevail;  
 And every English slave will have  
 To wear a long pigtail.  
 We'll all of us be fed on rice,  
 As true as I'm a sinner;  
 And stead of spoons we'll have to use  
 Those chopsticks for our dinner.

This picture, perhaps, is overdrawn;  
 But, however, who can say,  
 That all these things will not take place,  
 If we let them have their way.  
 If it comes to pass, these English songs  
 Away I'll quick be flinging,  
 And learn their language, and come out  
 In Chinese comic singing.

Chas. R. Thatcher, 1857



In this chapter, I examine the historical process by which a Chinese ethnic identity was constituted in relation to the larger white Australian colonial society. The massive influx of Chinese sojourners into Australia in the nineteenth century was believed to be detrimental to the social, moral and economic well-being of the host society and discriminatory laws were enacted to severely restrict Chinese immigration and competition. Ethnic boundaries were maintained by initially isolating the Chinese miners in Protectorates and later, when gold declined, the sponsorship system worked to keep the Chinese within their own community. Because of residential segregation, the factor of ethnic membership became highly salient. As Southall (1967:327) stated in his discussion of Kampala:

"The encouragement of ethnic differences through separate residence tends to generalise a model of the whole social system in which an ethnic component enters the interpretation of all differences of (...) behaviour."

Many important stereotypes or to paraphrase Parkin (1969:274) 'blame-pinning' devices, were formed of the Chinese by the Australian society, during this period from 1861 to 1947, which saw the birth of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Commonly known as the White Australia Policy.

I argue here that an increasingly derogatory 'imperative' identity (cf. Barth, 1969:17) was imposed on the early, physically and culturally distinct Chinese by the wider Australian public.

Against this backdrop of self ascription and ascription by others,<sup>2</sup> I explore the social, economic or political forces in China that caused her sons to migrate, as well as the effects of the Australian immigration restrictions on the Chinese pattern of migration and settlement in Victoria.

The 1981 Census estimated that there are 127,022 Chinese in Australia. They comprise only 0.2 per cent of the total population. Broadly speaking, for the purposes of this study, I divide the Chinese into three groups.

First, there were the 'Old Migrants'<sup>3</sup> who arrived during the Victorian gold rushes and before the Second World War (1861-1947). Secondly there were the 'Present Migrants' who came after the Second World War when immigration rules were again relaxed and finally, there are the 'ABC's' or Australian born Chinese, who are the offspring of these two sets of migrants.

This categorization is not perfect. It represents an approximation of a reality which is hard to depict with any reasonable economy of conceptual clarity and descriptive detail.

<sup>2</sup> Barth (1969:13).

<sup>3</sup> In two separate decisions made in 1905 the Australian High Court took the view that an immigrant was a person who entered the Commonwealth irrespective of whether he intended to stay for a short or long period. In brief, the term immigrant in Australia, is clearly satisfied by the act of coming into the country (see Chia Gee vs Martin (1905) 3 Commonwealth Law Reports 649 and Mann vs Ah On (1905) 7 Western Australian Law Reports.)



The 'Old Migrants' in Monarchistic China.

The overwhelming majority of Chinese in Australia who migrated between 1861 and 1947 came from Kwangtung, the southernmost province of China. Those in Victoria came from an area one hundred miles southwest of Canton city which includes the See Yap<sup>4</sup> or Four Districts and the Sam Yap<sup>5</sup> or Three Districts. As far as Melbourne was concerned, the See Yap Chinese and in particular, the Toi Shan and Sun Wui, dominated (see Table 1). What is important here is, not so much that the two sub groups made up 50 and 30 per cent respectively of the See Yap migrants, but that the early Melbourne Chinese community was dominated by a single distinct dialect group - the Cantonese.

The villages in Kwangtung and Fukien consisted of a few lineages, some of only one (see M. Freedman, 1966). As Table 1 shows, the nine most populous family groups accounted for about half of the total Chinese migrants in the records. All of the Loueys and a major proportion of the Laus and Ngs had come from Toi Shan while the Lams, Leongs, Cheungs and Chungs are mainly from Sun Wui. The Wongs and Chins are almost equally divided between Toi Shan and Sun Wui.

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<sup>4</sup> The four districts are Toi Shan, Sun Wui, Hoi Ping and Yan Ping.

<sup>5</sup> The three districts are Nanhai, Punyu and Shunte.

Table 1 : PLACE OF ORIGIN OF CHINESE MIGRANTS IN VICTORIA AS REGISTERED IN THE SOUTH MELBOURNE CHINESE JOSS HOUSE, 1893-1913, BY PRINCIPAL SURNAMES

Surname	Toishan	Hoiping	Sunwui	Yanping	Others*	Total
Wong (Wang)	455	26	396	4	5	886
Louey (Luey)	777	-	-	-	-	777
Lau (Liu)	529	4	19	1	-	553
Lam (Lin)	178	16	285	-	34	513
Ng (Wu)	461	5	36	-	2	504
Chin (Chen)	196	3	154	1	2	356
Leong (Liang)	69	43	228	1	-	341
Cheung (Chang)	21	60	209	1	-	291
Chung (Chung)	13	-	175	-	-	188
Others	2,754	770	1,579	39	16	5,158
Total	5,452	927	3,081	47	59	9,567

\* 39 of these were from Hokshan

A large proportion of village land was owned by the lineages and clans rather than by individuals. Of the agricultural land in the Four Districts around the Canton Delta, in Toi Shan, 50 per cent was clan owned, in Sun Wui, 60 per cent, and in both Yan Ping and Hoi Ping, 40 per cent<sup>6</sup>.

This then was a rural society where the collective interest of the family and lineage was held above that of the individual:

'Our ephemeral self is nothing; it is for the good of our ancestors, our immediate parents and our descendants that we work, we drudge and even we die.'<sup>7</sup>

Marriage, for instance, was not so much the affair of the matured children but an affair of the parents. Its chief purpose was not remantic bliss but the fulfilment of a sacred duty - that of producing male heirs for the perpetuation and strength of the ancestor's lineage. It also meant the acquisition of another pair of female hands for domestic work and the begetting of sons for the security of the parents' old age (C.Y. Choi, 1975:12).

This subordination of individual interests in favour of lineage loyalty is evidenced in the pattern of early Chinese migration to Australia. Male migration was approved of but female migration was not. Women remained in China and acted as an emotional tie to link the migrants to their home villages. Indeed, it could be argued that women were used as an incentive by the clan

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<sup>6</sup> H.S. Chan, 1937:33-5.

<sup>7</sup> L.K. Tao and Y.K. Leong, 1915:68.

and lineages to encourage overseas migrants to pay occasional visits home and to remit portions of their earnings. The visits were important firstly, because they brought prestige and honour to the family lineage and, secondly, because they also provided possible opportunities to contract marriages or conceive children to reproduce the family system and the migratory process. When these children matured they might be sponsored, in turn, by their fathers or uncles in Australia (C.Y. Choi, 1975:83).

Thus, circulatory migration was reproduced with sons replacing their retiring fathers generation after generation. In the Melbourne Chinese community there were many who were foreign born themselves, although their fathers and grandfathers were once in Australia.

This pattern of migration had a definite effect on the integration of these Chinese into the wider Australian society. Chinese migrants were sponsored by Chinese commercial concerns and were bound legally to them for a specific time period. Inevitably these migrants fell under the influence of the Chinese community. Moreover, the status of being sponsored implied much. A Chinese migrant depended not only on his fellow countrymen for sponsorship to enter the country but also for his occupation and, therefore, his income, for his extension of stay if desired, and even for his recreation and friendship. These legal, social and economic bonds between the old and newcomers, gave strength and depth to the already existing social and cultural relationships between Chinese migrants and helped to isolate the Chinese community from their Australian counterparts.

Thus, the average migrant had little to distract him from labour. The ideology of kinship and lineage customs in China and the Australian immigration policies of 1905, both acted to restrict the entry of women<sup>8</sup>. There were, therefore, few Chinese families as such in Australia, with the exception of those of well-established Chinese merchants whose wives were admitted for short periods, usually of six months. Additionally, many Chinese migrants were in debt for their sea passages and were exploited by their creditors. Hence, it is not difficult to understand why the early migrants were reputed to be sober, frugal and industrious.

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<sup>8</sup> Of the 25,424 Chinese in Victoria in 1857, only three were women. In 1861, there were eight women and in 1871, there were 31.

The Reception of Early Chinese Migrants

On 8 December 1848, the first boat load of 219 Indian, Malay and Chinese 'coolies'<sup>9</sup> arrived in the Port Phillip District of Victoria. The early white Australian settlers had demanded an abundant supply of cheap, tractable and industrious bush workers, shepherds, domestic and farm labourers. They were either unwilling or unable to recruit many Aborigines for these tasks. 'Free' workers were expensive and most had families who were an encumbrance to employers. Moreover, these workers considered shepherding as the 'lowest form of labour' (Cronin, 1982:6). It was a lonely, monotonous as well as a dangerous job, for many isolated shepherds were attacked and killed by Aborigines. The comparatively few convicts in the Port Phillip District were characterized by their masters as 'too independent and rowdy' and as 'disobedient malingering drunkards' (Ibid, 6). Even so, in 1840 when convict transportation was halted, the pastoralists complained that although unreliable, the convicts were inexpensive bonded labourers and, as William Broughton, the Anglican Bishop of Australia pointed out, 'the systemic employment of forced labour' had alone furnished the colonies with accommodation and facilities of communication without which the habits and intercourse of civilized life could hardly be maintained.<sup>10</sup> A Port Phillip squatter, Charles

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<sup>9</sup> The term 'coolie' was derived from the Tamil word 'Kuli' meaning burden bearer. In the Chinese language it came to mean hired or bitter strength, implying servitude, peonage or even slavery (cf Fellows, 1972:108).

<sup>10</sup> 'Report from the Committee on Immigration' In Votes and Proceedings (N.S.W. Legislative Assembly) 1841, p.211.

Nicholson, summed up the situation when he said that:

'The fact is we must have labour in some shape or other - free labour if we can get it, if not prison labour; and failing either, coolie labour.'<sup>11</sup>

The New South Wales and Port Phillip Associations for the Introduction of Coolies were revived for, as the Port Phillip Herald declaimed:

'To avert in time the calamitous results ... and as a dernier resort ... we must bring in Pagans.'<sup>12</sup>

The use of 'Chinese' as a discriminatory term

Although it was ultimately superseded by the gold rush emigration, the early Victorian coolie experiment was important. These early Chinese workers were fitted into an existing unfree and oppressive colonial labour system and although small in numbers, they left a legacy of images which were to become part of white Australian ideology and mythology in relation to the Chinese. Historian Charles Price (1974:23) asserts that the 'coolie' emigration of the 1840's is 'not enough to produce restriction in emigration but enough to raise worries about a new kind of semi slavery!'. White employers and workers alike forever pictured the Chinese as providing a servile labour force and continued to argue that the Chinese were 'suited by habit, characteristics and physique to plodding, fossicking, persevering industry rather than for heavy work' (Cronin, 1982:15). The colonists distinguished between white

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 211

<sup>12</sup> Port Phillip Herald, 17 July, 1840.

labour - which was 'noble' and 'vigorous' whose work made the man and socially elevated him - and nigger work, 'fit only for Kanakas and Chinkies and Coolies' (Ibid.). As late as 1894, the Bulletin argued that employment such as domestic work was 'by the common consent of men and women alike' (work) of the lowest description:

'The prejudice is idiotic, no doubt, but it exists and there is no arguing against a certainty. From a social point of view to become an ordinary domestic, is just as hopeless as to become a hangman. It is the same thing as losing caste, or being a Chinaman, or a nigger, and almost the same thing as being suspected of leprosy.'<sup>13</sup>

Thus, these first Chinese 'coolie' migrants to Victoria were chiefly regarded by the pastoral industry as cheap indentured labourers and by the colonial anti-coolie factions as slaves, not by law, but by condition and custom, for it was believed that:

'... their employment would ... degenerate into a species of Domestic Slavery.'<sup>14</sup>

#### Anti-Chinese legislation

Accordingly, in the 1880's, when the Chinese of their own volition began to migrate to the Victorian gold fields - dubbed the 'New Gold Mountains' - the colonists' first reaction was that they were being overrun by slaves.

<sup>13</sup> Bulletin, 19 May, 1894.

<sup>14</sup> Petition 4129 colonists to Queen Victoria in Gipps to Stanley, 4 August, 1843, In Historical Records of Australia, series 1, vol.22, p.594.



### Ching attitude to Chinese migration

For several centuries Chinese authorities had forbidden all emigration. In 1712, the Ching court asked foreign governments to repatriate Chinese living abroad so that they could be executed for flouting their country's laws. Official recognition of the right to emigrate was finally proclaimed when western demands for Chinese labour were heightened by the rapid development of colonies. In 1859, the first public announcement of a change in policy was made by the Governor of Kwangtung. This was followed by the 1860 Peking Convention which made it legal for the recruitment of labourers in treaty ports. However, foreign powers had forced the Ching court to give permission for emigration and since it firmly believed that such emigrants from South China would almost certainly be anti-Manchu, they were left mostly to the mercy of their adopted countries. The unwillingness of the Ching government to assist or protect its overseas citizens in any form, contributed in part, to the discriminatory migratory laws in Australia, Canada and the United States of America (C.Y. Choi, 1975:15-16).

### Chinese in Victoria

In 1854 there were only 2341 Chinese in Victoria (Census) but by early 1855, more than 10,000 had arrived. By the middle of the same year, the numbers had reached 17,000, almost all of whom were adult males (Willard, 1966:21).

In June, 1855, an 'Act to Make Provision for Certain Immigrants' was passed, to limit the number of Chinese passengers allowed on any one vessel and to tax each arrival £10. This Act further confined gold field Chinese to segregated camps under the control of official 'Protectors of Chinese'. Such Chinese protectorates were subsequently established in Ballarat, Bendigo, Castlemaine and Maryborough (Cronin, 1982:46).

However this Act was unsuccessful because ship masters and owners simply unloaded their human cargoes in New South Wales or Guichen Bay in South Australia. The Chinese immigrants then walked overland to the Victorian diggings.

~~Such~~ <sup>The</sup> physical and residential segregation of the Chinese mining community from the wider host society created an uneasy situation. As Parkin (1969:274) demonstrated in East Africa, the target of blame for economic and other problems is affected by 'the social distance of the accuser and the accused'. I am referring here to the process by which an ethnic categorization becomes a dominant element in public perception and so comes to be taken as an adequate explanation for the behaviour of people so defined.

#### Racial tension between Chinese and colonial miners

Evidence of this can be seen in the Buckland riot of 1857 and the New South Wales Lambing Flat riots of 1861.

These events were often seen as aberrant, isolated flashpoints of racial violence. In reality, the Chinese miners were repeatedly assaulted and hounded from all fields over the period, from 1854 to 1857. The Castlemaine Protector, John Hamilton, wrote that 'Scarcely a day passed without violent encounters between European and Chinese'.<sup>15</sup> In April 1855, Chinese at Diamond Gully were beaten with sticks and bludgeons and in September, five Campbell Creek Chinese were captured and 'maltreated' by two hundred diggers (Ibid.).

In Maryborough, Chinese were regularly 'stoned', 'abused and ill-treated' and 'subjected to gross insult'.<sup>16</sup> Bendigo's protector, Frederick Standish spent much of his time settling inter-racial disputes. His diaries recorded two serious anti-Chinese discords in April 1856, nine in May, some few in June and July and seven in both August and September.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Hamilton to Warden Castlemaine, 2 June 1856, forwarded to Chief Secretary in letter V4687 of 1856; Bull to Chief Secretary, 28 April 1855, in letter P6423 of 1855, box 283; Hamilton to Bull, 10 September 1855, in letter R11762 of 1855, box 289; Bull to Chief Secretary, 24 November 1855, in letter S16003 of 1855, box 637; Argus, 17 September 1855.

<sup>16</sup> Crespigny to Warden Amherst, 18 August 1855, forwarded to Chief Secretary, in letter L11213 of 1855, box 287; Templeton to Chief Secretary, 28 August 1855 in letter L11213 of 1855, box 287; Webster to Chief Secretary, 9 June 1856, in letter W5170 of 1856, box 644.

<sup>17</sup> Standish to Chief Secretary, 16 March 1856, in letter T3316 of 1856, box 641; 10 May 1856, in letter J4575 of 1856, box 643; 24 May 1856, in letter T4576 of 1856, box 643; 8 June 1856 in letter X5130 of 1856, box 644; 16 August 1856, in letter W7804 of 1856, box 647; 13 September 1856, in letter X8252 of 1856, box 648.

Unlike the early 'coolies', Chinese miners came not to facilitate white pioneer undertakings but for their own gain and, as such, they were competing against Europeans in the contest for gold. White diggers claimed that Chinese spoiled or wasted precious water supplies. And to the independent, unattached European miners, the Chinese surface miners, puddlers and fossickers in their organised work gangs appeared unfair competitors and were likened to 'swarms of devouring locusts' or 'huge communities of ants' (Cronin, 1982:43).

#### Chinese 'vices' and purported immoralities

The anti-Chinese movement which endured through the 1860's and 1870's, took a more subtle form. The colonial church members, politicians and journalists focussed their attention not on the Chinese but on their purported vices. The Reverend William Young provided important ammunition for this purpose. In 1868, he compiled the official 'Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population in Victoria', which concluded that 80 per cent of the Chinese were gamblers while 50 to 90 per cent smoked opium with almost 40 per cent being addicted to the drug. He further stated that all single Chinese men were driven to 'abnormalities' (homosexuality) and 'great immoralities' (Ibid.). Young told of 'wholesale debauching ... of girls of tender years'. 'A bevy of children from 10 to 12 years of age put into the witness box, one after the other, to brand themselves with shame or ... shield the (Chinese) monsters who had betrayed them is certainly a sight to make the angels weep' (Ibid.). There was also the 'monster gambling establishment, the Chinese bank' similarly

calculated to corrupt young colonists:

"Here night after night assemble young men and boys eager to risk their money in the most barefaced gambling ... several young men in various trades ... have for months past regularly invested their savings each night in this absorbing bank, nay even children of 10 or 12 years old are constantly seen eagerly watching the result of their gambling."<sup>18</sup>

His was a highly exaggerated account. Even the police admitted that few white women 'owed their seduction' to the Chinese. Moreover, women in Chinese camps were often married women who had left their husbands or who 'preferred the nomadic life at the camp'.<sup>19</sup> It was the same with the reports of homosexuality, gambling or drug addiction. It was true that some Chinese men formed homosexual liaisons and gambling was a popular pastime. To the Chinese, opium, however was a curse, the financial and physical ruin of one-fifth of their community who were addicted to it. In Sydney, community leaders such as Quong Tart and Cheong Cheoh Hong, repeatedly petitioned the government to control opium importation or to ban the drug altogether. But there were no colonial legal sanctions against drug dealers until 1891 because the government derived considerable income from opium import duties and opium manufacture in Gippsland (see Table 2). Meanwhile the Chinese use of opium was hailed as an indication of their vice and immorality.

<sup>18</sup> Young, 1868:48.

<sup>19</sup> Sub-Inspector Brennan, 'Report Upon Chinese Camps', New South Wales Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings, 1883-4, vol.2, p.3.

Table 2 - REVENUE FROM OPIUM IMPORTATION 1857-1890 (£)

Year	Revenue	Year	Revenue
1857	2638	1874	17042
1858	?	1875	16057
1859	13588	1876	16817
1860	14888	1877	15206
1861	15516	1878	13747
1862	21041	1879	18877
1863	23644	1880	22315
1864	33437	1881	20663
1865	18879	1882	21509
1866	18750	1883	21105
1867	19988	1884	21048
1868	22410	1885	17438
1869	24123	1886	14652
1870	24533	1887	15217
1871	20332	1888	17831
1872	16698	1889	18303
1873	18547	1890	16591

SOURCE: Annual Finance Statements, tables giving detailed returns of revenue received from imports in Victoria, P.P. (Vic., L.A.).

NOTE: The opium imported was not only for Chinese consumption. Europeans also used opium and some of it was needed for medical purposes. But it is true that Chinese were the largest consumers of it, and contributed most of the opium duty. The decision to levy a duty (10s. per pound) on opium was seen by legislatures as an anti-Chinese action.

Colonial women were cautioned against cohabiting with the Chinese for fear of developing a 'faint strange Mongolian look' or appearing 'perfectly yellow' as well as contacting leprosy or nameless Chinese ailments (Cronin, 1982:129). Their status in Victorian society was so low, 'one could scarcely form an opinion of it' (ibid., 130). The Australian eugenicist journal, the 'Science of Man' preached the 'injuriousness of mixed parentage of incompatible races':

'As mixed offsprings cannot be perpetuated but always revert to original race types or die out, it is necessary to guard against the admittance of inferior races into a country ... Insanity, intemperance, epilepsy, immorality and delinquency have been produced by this hybridising of diverse races amalgamating the bad qualities of each of them.'<sup>20</sup>

Edward Dyson's tale of 'Mr and Mrs Sin Fat'<sup>21</sup> spoke of the prevailing moral of sex and race loyalty. Mrs Sin Fat was the European wife of a Chinese brothel keeper, who enticed young white girls into a 'life of sin' until her own white daughter of a previous marriage, was brought to the house. Her conscience awakened, Mrs Sin Fat protected her daughter's virtue by killing her Chinese husband (Cronin, 1982:130).

<sup>20</sup> 'Science of Man', 1900, Vol.3, p.137-8.

<sup>21</sup> The anti-Chinese stereotype of 'Ah Sin', originated from the Protestant missionaries in China who found the indigenous population unmoved by the teachings of Christ (Cronin, 1982:76).

The unsavoury actions of 'Ah Sin' were said to be the secret propensity of the whole Chinese community. It did not matter that Europeans also indulged in gambling, opium, prostitution and formed homosexual attachments. These were regarded as Chinese vices and European transgressors were depicted as having been led to their ruin by designing Asiatics.

Polygenists argued that certain races had aptitudes or immunities to particular diseases and that the Chinese would infect the Europeans with the 'darker maladies' of cholera, typhoid, smallpox and especially leprosy.<sup>22</sup> Newspapers warned of a 'virulent Chinese plague' 'decimating the white population' and described Chinese camps as 'nurseries of fevers, leprosy, black fevers and ulcerous skin eruptions'.<sup>23</sup>

Even the simplest innocent tasks of the Chinese assumed a sinister aspect. William Hopkins declared that he was 'panic struck to see Chinese bearing their burdens on the Sabbath' and the erection of a Chinese Joss House in South Melbourne was seen as 'evidence of a gigantic and deeply laid scheme to subvert the Christian religion'.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> R. Vale, Parliamentary Debates, 18 October, 1888, Vol.58, p.1612.

<sup>23</sup> 'Star', 21 August, 1857; 'Constitution', 5 May, 1857.

<sup>24</sup> 'Star', 14 October, 1856.



Old Chinese migrants and Christianity

The overall failure of the Victorian missionary efforts to convert the Chinese reinforced their view of them as moral lepers (see Table 3). The Chinese themselves had little confidence in the charity of white Christians. In Victoria, Chinese were reviled and assaulted by Christian colonists. Furthermore, anti-Chinese legislation, intended to hinder their subsistence and 'utterly at variance with the laws of God' (Cronin, 1982:108) was enacted by Christian governments. One Chinese challenged his Christian countrymen:

'What for you give up the religion of your fathers and follow Englishman's religion? Englishman's religion no good. He pelts stones at us when we doing no harm, only working at claim. Englishman hate us~~/~~. You join the enemy of your countrymen.'<sup>25</sup>

Missionaries, like the Reverend Young, were not simply instructing the Chinese into a new faith but attempting to wean them away from Chinese ideas and practices - to ascend 'the scale of civilisation' to the higher European standard (Cronin, 1982:109). The Chinese were told that it was a sin to worship their ancestors and that divination was an 'absurdity',<sup>26</sup> with no value.

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<sup>25</sup> 'Church of England Messenger', 8 April, 1875

<sup>26</sup> Leong a Toe Diary, 1 November, 1862.

Table 3 - CHINESE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS 1857-1901

Religion	1857	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Church of England	13	21	122	358	711	856
Protestant	4	-	1	17	47	28
Presbyterian	2	-	28	81	170	244
Methodist	1	-	32	229	329	574
Independent Congregationalist	4	-	1	-	6	15
Baptist	-	1	-	5	7	12
Church of Christ	-	-	-	-	-	36
Lutheran/Moravian	-	-	-	-	7	11
Salvation Army	-	-	-	-	19	30
Roman Catholic/ Catholic	8	6	101	132	231	190
Christian (General)	5	153	3	7	10	102
Moslem	-	-	-	4	4	1
Buddhist/Confucian	25387	24551	17645	11139	6688	4734
Other non-Christians	-	-	-	-	-	3
No denomination	-	-	-	-	124	168
No religion	-	-	5	-	508	15
Others	-	-	-	-	35	350
Refuse to state religion	-	-	-	156*	481	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>25424</b>	<b>24732</b>	<b>17938</b>	<b>12128</b>	<b>9377</b>	<b>7349</b>

SOURCE Census tables, Religions of the People.

Chinese Christians as a proportion of the total Chinese Population

	%	
1857	0.1	1881
1861	0.7	1891
1871	2	1901
		29

\*Commenting on the large number of Chinese who refused to state their religious belief, the Chief Statistician wrote in 1881 that the majority of Chinese had ceased to have any faith in the peculiar tenets of the various sects grouped under the heading of Pagan, and a few had secretly embraced Christianity, but they refrained from expressing this for fear of arousing the animosity of their non-Christian brethren.

Their idols were 'helpless fools with no spirit'<sup>27</sup> and that the stories of the ancients were 'mere legends with no beneficial tendency'<sup>28</sup>. Chinese observing these traditional rites were said to be 'servants of the devil and slaves to Satan'.<sup>29</sup>

The missionaries, however, found their task of conversion a difficult one. They were often ignored, rebuked or insulted:

'From this tent I went to another. The inmates were not at all disposed to listen, and made excuses, saying some of us are going out, some are sleeping and some are preparing their meals. I told them I should be but a short time occupying their attention, why then not be willing to listen. I conversed with eight of the men about the importance of the doctrine of Jesus: they made no remarks. I then read to them a portion of the 22nd chapter of Matthew and told them not to follow the examples of the men spoken of in the verses read. No remark was elicited from them, but they evidently disliked what was said, neither answering nor arguing.'<sup>30</sup>

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27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Leong a Toe, 'Diary', 1 November, 1862

30 Lo Sam Yuen 'Diary', 8 March, 1857.

The Reverend Young too, noted the indifference in the Chinese as potential converts:

'Sometimes as I unfold to him by similes and illustrations, portions of the gospel, he bursts out almost with a loud laugh and I have seen him try to choke this expression of delight by rolling his handkerchief into a small ball and keeping it between his teeth.'<sup>31</sup>

The Chinese defended their 'pagan' traditions fiercely. They would hear no criticism of ancestor worship for to have done so, would have implied disrespect of their parents, their clan and their lineage. As one Chinese countered:

'It is better to worship dead parents whom you have seen than to worship the living God whom you have never seen and never know.'<sup>32</sup>

### Chinese Christians

Those Chinese who accepted Christianity were cut off from their own countrymen and forced to break with their families. The converts took European names and renounced traditional practices. But they encountered opposition and even persecution from their non-Christian peers. It is essential to recognise that the Chinese of that period were living in closed enclaves, firstly, in

<sup>31</sup> Young to Tidman, 18 June, 1855, box 4, Australasian Correspondence, Archives of the Council for World Mission (C.W.M.). (London School of Oriental and African Studies)

<sup>32</sup> Leong on Tong 'Diary', 9 June, 1866

mining Protectorates and, later, due to the nature of the sponsorship and credit ticket system, in Chinese employment niches. By accepting a foreign religion one was not only forsaking the trappings of the Chinese society but embracing the faith of one's former persecutors who preached social equality and practised racial discrimination. Secret societies such as the Ghee Hings (later called the Chinese Masonic Society) were so influential in their opposition that in 1874, church attendance in Bendigo dropped and one Chinese apostated.<sup>33</sup>

#### The Chinese Question 1850-1945

The post 1850's anti-Chinese movement was sustained through the manipulation of the image of Chinese as physical and moral lepers, their stricken diseased exteriors, reflecting their vice and inner corruption. In the 1860's and 1870's the stage was set for the final exclusion of Chinese from colonial political, economic and social life. In the 1880's Chinese immigration was again restricted and all unnaturalized Chinese arrivals were charged a landing tax of £10. When certain Chinese fraudulently took out naturalization papers to bring in their countrymen tax free, the government forbade the Chinese from attaining citizenship. In 1880, they

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<sup>33</sup> 'Church of England Messenger', 12 October, 1876.

were refused consular representation in Victoria, as the government insisted that it would not be advantageous to allow them the standing such an arrangement would give.<sup>34</sup> Census figures for Victoria in the period showed a decline of about seven thousand. While Australian legal restrictions discouraged Chinese entry, the high rates of departure cannot be fully attributed to these laws which were affecting newcomers rather than those already domiciled. The rapid decline of the Chinese population during this period was due to pressure from their families and lineages to return home and the sojourner nature of the early Chinese settlement.

The Australian unions also played a part in the movement to preserve racial homogeneity. Since the growth of the trade union movements in the 1970's in the Eastern colonies, working men had put forward their views on Chinese labour.<sup>35</sup> In 1878, the seamen's

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<sup>34</sup> Victorian Parliamentary Debates, 27 May, 1880, Volume 33:236.

<sup>35</sup> For a more detailed account of anti-Chinese agitation by trade unions see Andrew Markus, Fear and Hatred: Purifying Australia and California 1850-1901. Sydney. See also Andrew Markus and Ann Curthoys (ed), 1978, Who are our Enemies? - Racism and the Australian Working Class. Sydney.

unions of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and even New Zealand, organised a general strike against the introduction of coloured labour into the newly established Australasian Steam Navigation Company.<sup>36</sup> In the following year a resolution was passed to exclude all coloured labour on the grounds that:

'... the competition of Asiatic against European labour is entirely unfair ... it is well known that the presence of Chinese in large numbers had a very bad moral tendency.'<sup>37</sup>

By 1901, the Commonwealth of the Australian colonies had decided to exclude most Chinese. The White Australia Policy ensured that there would be no sizable second generation of Chinese Australians and the Chinese remnant remained cut off from their parents,

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<sup>36</sup> For discussions of the strike see Ann Curthoys, 1973, Race and Ethnicity: A Study of the Response of British Colonists to Aborigines, Chinese and Non-British Europeans in New South Wales, 1856-1881, Ph.D Thesis, Macquarie University; and Mother Mary Pauline Kneipp, 1965-6, 'The Seamen's Strike, 1878-9: Its Relation to the White Australia Policy', In ANU Historical Journal, Volume 1:14-18.

<sup>37</sup> Fourth International Trade Union Congress, Adelaide, 1886.

wives and children. However, it was not practical or possible to close Australia's doors completely. Some Chinese were already naturalized under the laws of the colonies; others had domiciliary rights and still others sought entry for special reasons, for instance, merchants, students and ministers of religion. The original Act, in Clause 3a, defined a prohibited migrant as a person who failed to write out at dictation, a passage of fifty words in a European language.<sup>38</sup> The choice of language as well as that of administering the test, lay at the discretion of the immigration officer concerned. In fact, Atlee Hunt, then Secretary of the Department of External Affairs wrote in a despatch that:

'It is not desirable, persons should be allowed to pass the test, and before putting it to anyone the officer should be satisfied that he will fail. If he is considered likely to pass the test if put in English, it should be applied in some other languages of which he is ignorant.'<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>The test was changed in 1905, upon protest from Japan, to 'not less than fifty words in any prescribed language'. The original 1901 Act was reproduced in A.T. Yarwood 1967, Asian Migration to Australia: the Background to Exclusion, 1896-1923, Melbourne, Appendix 1:157-62.

<sup>39</sup>Commonwealth Archives Office (C.A.O.) 235 03/3977. See A. Hunt to C.T. Mason, Collector of Customs, Fremantle, 1903.





ANOTHER ALIEN

"C-c-couldn't we give him a t-t-test in Gaelic?"

The Bulletin 1934

The Dictation Test as a substitute  
for Defence

This dictation test<sup>40</sup> provided a further check on those who succeeded in entering by illegal means since the test could be administered to anyone in the first year of arrival (clause 5.2). The one year period was later extended to two years in 1910, three years in 1920 and five years in 1932. The 1903 Nationality Act which forbade the naturalization of non-Europeans, formed the final barricade.

The basic principle was clear. Competitive labour was to be excluded while non-competitive labour such as chefs, assistants and special clerks was admitted. The restriction of females was also strictly carried out. After 1905 only wives of established merchants were allowed entry for short periods of approximately six months. As I have already stated, the lack of Chinese women in Australia was due in part to their being under the authority and control of kin and clan in Southern Chinese villages. Yarwood (1967) argued that it was the intention of the Commonwealth government to maintain the scarcity of females among the Asian population as a permanent deterrent to the increasing of their numbers. Without their families these Chinese migrants would also tend to return to their countries more quickly (Yarwood, 1961:246-7).

<sup>40</sup> Students and merchants were exempt from this Test. They were allowed entry in 1905 on temporary certificates and after 1912 on passports. System of exemptions were complicated and conditions affecting each category differed. Furthermore, even when the stated conditions were met the granting of exemptions continued to be at the discretion of the departments concerned. Immigration was administered by the Department of External Affairs between 1902-16, by the Department of Home and Territories between 1917-32 and by the Department of Interior between 1933-45. It was only in 1945 that a Department of Immigration was formed. For more details on the conditions of the exempted categories see C.Y. Choi 'Chinese Migration and Settlement in Australia', Sydney, 1975, Appendix I, p. 113-115; A.T. Yarwood 'Asian Migration to Australia: The Background to Exclusion 1896-1903', Melbourne, 1967; and A.C. Palfreeman 'The Administration of the White Australia Policy', Melbourne, 1967.

During the late 1920's and early 1930's Chinese females began to migrate to Thailand, Malaya and other South-east Asian countries. This new freedom of movement was a consequence of the 1911 Republican Revolution in China which overthrew the last Ching emperor and ended the legal support for Confucian oriented kinship ethics. Encouraged by the success of the revolution, young intellectuals in 1919, attempted, as part of the May Fourth Movement, to initiate fundamental changes in the traditional family system. Thus, the family and lineage rules were relaxed sufficiently to allow some females to go abroad. This did not affect the Chinese immigration to Australia, because, by then, the latter's restrictions on females had been tightened. This produced a fundamental difference in the experience and situation of the Old and New Chinese migrants to Australia. For the Old Migrants, the imbalance of the sexes resulted in the very slow growth of the Australian born, full Chinese population and led to the prolonged predominance of aged males.

#### The urbanisation of Chinese migrants after 1880.

The Old Migrants were not just coolies and miners. After 1881, when alluvial gold deposits were exhausted, the number of Chinese miners declined rapidly. By 1901, only 10 per cent of the total working Chinese male population in New South Wales were miners - a mere 1,019. In Victoria, it was 21 per cent - 1,296 and in Queensland 7.7 per cent or 657. Market gardening assumed a new importance, increasing to employ over 30 per cent of the total Chinese male population for New South Wales and Victoria with 29 per cent for Queensland (see Table 4). Although many of

Table 4 - NUMBER OF CHINESE MALES IN FOURTEEN MAJOR CHINESE OCCUPATIONS, FOR NEW SOUTH WALES, VICTORIA, AND QUEENSLAND, 1891 AND 1901

FOURTEEN OCCUPATIONS	NUMBERS						CHINESE MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA
	1891			1901			
	N.S.W.	VIC.	QLD.	N.S.W.	VIC.	QLD.	
1. Miners	1,947	2,181	1,078	1,019	1,296	657	
2. Market-gardeners	3,841	2,104	2,364	3,564	2,022	2,446	
3. Pastoral workers	622	96	148	469	27	53	
4. Other agriculture	1,817	530	1,510	353	515	1,859	
5. General labourers	719	583	582	586	89	250	
6. Domestic servants	792	385	693	593	100	741	
7. Hotel, boarding-house workers	279	68	257	293	121	309	
8. Merchants	56	30	24	72	55	29	
9. Greengrocers	317	93	201	650	252	293	
10. Storekeepers	364	492	507	290	290	595	
11. Hawkers	403	289	125	364	156	257	
12. Commercial clerks	215	73	29	226	50	38	
13. Cabinet makers	347	246	30	662	620	58	
14. Laundry	3	74	16	68	270	-	
Total fourteen occupations	11,722	7,244	7,564	9,210	5,863	7,585	
Total breadwinners	13,127	7,937	8,399	9,968	6,123	8,468	

FOURTEEN OCCUPATIONS	PERCENTAGES						MIGRATION 1861-1901
	1891			1901			
	N.S.W.	VIC.	QLD.	N.S.W.	VIC.	QLD.	
1. Miners	14.83	27.48	10.45	10.22	21.17	7.76	
2. Market-gardeners	29.26	26.51	30.53	35.76	33.02	28.89	
3. Pastoral workers	4.74	1.21	1.76	4.71	.44	.62	
4. Other agriculture	13.84	6.68	17.98	3.54	8.41	21.95	
5. General labourers	5.48	7.35	6.93	5.88	1.45	2.95	
6. Domestic servants	6.03	4.85	8.25	5.95	1.63	8.75	
7. Hotel, boarding-house workers	2.13	.85	3.06	2.94	1.97	3.65	
8. Merchants	.43	.38	.28	.72	.90	.34	
9. Greengrocers	2.42	1.17	2.39	6.52	4.12	3.46	
10. Storekeepers	2.77	6.20	6.04	2.91	4.74	7.03	
11. Hawkers	3.07	3.64	1.49	3.65	2.55	3.04	
12. Commercial clerks	1.64	.92	.35	2.27	.82	.45	
13. Cabinet makers	2.64	3.10	.36	6.64	10.12	.68	
14. Laundry	.02	.93	.19	.68	4.41	-	
Total fourteen occupations	89.30	91.27	90.06	92.39	95.75	89.57	
Total breadwinners	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

Source: 1891 and 1901 Censuses for New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland.

the Chinese market gardens were found in country areas, a number of them were based around Sydney and Melbourne in the late 1880's (Charles Daly, 1931:28). There were also other urban occupations like cabinet making, laundry, vegetable and fruit distribution, hawkers, grocers and cafes. In short, the Chinese turned to employment areas which they felt would not arouse Australian competition or resentment. But harassment followed. Immigration laws were imposed to prevent sponsorship of migrants to assist in existing Chinese furniture and laundry businesses. After 1881, colonial mining companies were prohibited from employing Chinese workers and 'persons born to a Chinese father or mother' were deemed ineligible to hold a gold buyer's licence or liquor permit.<sup>41</sup> The government refused to contract with Chinese firms and in 1881 cancelled Chinese fruit stall licences for colonial railway stations.<sup>42</sup> The Crown Land Consolidation Act, 1913, of New South Wales forbade unnaturalized Chinese to hold crown land (C.F. Yong, 1977:59). In 1915, the Victorian Beet Sugar Works Act stated that any company receiving government sugar subsidies was forbidden to take on Asiatic labour (Ibid., 59). Chinese craftsmen, notably launderers, bootmakers, wiremakers and furniture manufacturers were singled out for special discriminatory

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<sup>41</sup> Prime Minister's Department Memorandum: Disabilities of Aliens and Coloured Persons Within the Commonwealth and its territories, December, 1920, in letter to Victorian Premier P2083 of 1921, P.D. (Vic), 26 May.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 9 June, 1881, vol. 36, p. 2430, 2614.

action. Several legislative enactments dating from the 1880's ensured that Chinese manufactured furniture was to be branded 'in legible type the words Chinese labour'.<sup>43</sup> Workrooms in which six or more European craftsmen were employed were subject to factory legislation, but all premises where one or more Chinese were engaged, directly or indirectly, in working for hire or reward in any handicraft or in preparing or manufacturing articles for trade or sale, had to be regarded as a factory and supervised by factory inspectors.<sup>44</sup> Colonial employers were therefore reluctant to employ any skilled Chinese labour in order to avoid the onerous factory regulations.

The essential matter to note here is that all the Chinese occupations, after the decline of gold mining, were urban based, concentrated principally in the city centres. In Melbourne, the community was to be located along the east end of Little Bourke Street. Stratified into the 'working class' Chinese (that is, market gardeners, hawkers, cabinet and furniture manufacturers) and the 'merchant elite' (Oddie, 1961:65-9), they had grown to sufficient numbers to enable their associations to build club houses. The See Yap association building was established in 1854. It built the only Chinese temple in Melbourne, in 1856, and a further extension was added to it in 1902. The Kong Chew Society

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<sup>43</sup> See Victorian Parliamentary Debates (V.P.D.), vol. 50, 1885, p. 1948, 1950, 2515.

<sup>44</sup> 1896 Factories and Shops Amendment Act, clause 4 (1) and (2). See also Factories and Shops Act 1905, No. 1975, clauses 88 and 89; Factories and Shops 1912 (Consolidation), No. 2386, clause 147. These three Acts were published in the Victorian Acts of Parliament in 1876, 1905 and 1912 respectively.

bought several houses off Little Bourke Street during this period. Even a Chinese newspaper was started - The Chinese Times - an anti-Manchu paper which began in 1901 and continued publication, with intermediate pauses, until 1921.

Merchants, Secret Societies and Welfare Organisations in the  
Victorian Gold Rush Era

The Chinese welfare and secret societies - See Yap, Sam Yap, Kong Chee, Ghee Hing<sup>45</sup> - and the wealthy merchants<sup>46</sup> who controlled them, played an essential role in the lives of the Old Migrants. In a word, these societies policed the movement of Chinese migrants from the instant of their arrival to their subsequent departure.

Chinese travelling to the Victorian diggings were termed 'free' migrants. In reality, 70 per cent of them, like the early 'coolies', were bound by contract or credit tickets to Chinese businessmen or clansmen. Victorian Chinese merchants or capitalists in China advertised in their family or neighbouring villages, offering to provide passages (£27 or £30) for a number of workmen usually in return for a year's labour. The emigrants were given food

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<sup>45</sup> In 1914, the Melbourne branch of the Ghee Hing, adopted a new English name - the Chinese Masonic Society. In Chinese, it was known as the Chung Wah Ming Kuo Kung Wui, signifying an alteration in its status from a secret society to an overt political party pledging its support for the establishment of a Republic of China (Chinese Republic News, 10 June, 1916; 8 July, 1916). After the Second World War, my informants claim that a further change was made, from a political party (會) to a welfare society. The English title remains intact to the present day (會). The society is commonly referred to as 'Chee Kung Tong'.

<sup>46</sup> The 1901 Census of Victoria (P.574-79) estimated that this class represented 11.1 per cent of the entire Chinese population in the State. The term 'merchant' here referred to those who were involved with import and export trade, wholesale transactions, grocery and storekeepers (C.F. Yong, 1977:45).

and lodging and possibly a small wage but all the gold they extracted, belonged solely to the creditor. The families and kinsmen concerned were held jointly and severally liable for the repayment of the debt. Like the Californian Six Companies, a similar Victorian scheme functioned for a time. It was controlled by secret societies until a dispute between the Hakka and Cantonese members disbanded it.<sup>47</sup>

Entrepreneurs like Chong Ahoy and Victorian merchants like Louey Ah Mong and Lowe Kong Meng, who were leading members of the See Yap and Ghee Hing societies, were reputed to have been involved in such migration schemes (Cronin, 1982:20).

The Chinese arrived in Victoria as part of a highly organised, self sufficient community. Their credit tickets carried their own names, those of their village headmen, sponsor and home districts. Arrivals were met on the wharf by representatives from district associations or secret societies and conducted to their lodging hostels in South Melbourne or Little Bourke Street:

'They pass through the town in batches of six to ten in single file, but never singly, each coolie carrying his own bamboo pole brought from China, on which are slung baskets of clothes, a roll of matting, a few humble necessaries and perhaps a box of tea or preserved eggs to barter. Men walking with apparent

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<sup>47</sup> Crawford, J.D. 'Notes on Chinese Immigration in the Australian Colonies' in A. Davenport to Lord Tenterden, 15 September, 1877. Britain (Foreign Office Archives, 1879-81, Confidential Print no. 3742).



nonchalance on the footpath act as guides and the different files, never expressing surprise or any other emotion, never mixing together, and never stopping, carrying their loads straight to the place assigned them; most to the camping ground beyond the town, where the greatest regularity is observed in the disposition of the tents; a select few go to the various accommodation houses representing branches of secret societies or other organisations.' 48

During the next few days following their disembarkation, the Chinese would be initiated into the perils of colonial survival; they were given mining equipment and were instructed in mining techniques and ways to accommodate themselves to Australian society. The See Yap impressed upon its members 'the necessity which exists ... to gain the favour of white men by quiet, orderly conduct'<sup>49</sup> and counselled its associates 'for political reasons to practice forbearance and patient suffering in cases where they may consider themselves imposed upon by Europeans' (Ibid.). Transgressions were frowned upon:

'Should anyone get embroiled in a quarrel with Europeans, and receive insults from them the services of an interpreter must be called into requisition to make up matters. The offending

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<sup>48</sup> Crawford, 1877:27.

<sup>49</sup> See Yap Records, 1888 (translated from Chinese).

Chinese shall first be chastised and his case afterwards gone into, and this will serve as a warning, for his presumption.'<sup>50</sup>

As the colonists appear to be 'very particular about their clothes, hats and shoes' and the Chinese costume was 'very much disliked by the Europeans', the See Yap Society cautioned its members against going about bareheaded or barefooted as well as wearing Chinese trousers in public.<sup>51</sup> The Melbourne Chinese Empire Reform Association was reported in 1906 to have encouraged its members to adopt western ideas, customs and fashions.<sup>52</sup> It encouraged its members to have their queues cut (Ibid.). It also promoted the wearing of western attire such as the high collar, Panama hats, pointed boots and creased pants. In fact, some of the leaders of the Association, such as H. Louey Pang, believed that Australian prejudice would be weakened if Chinese took up western manners and customs.<sup>53</sup>

Chinese associations were a focus of identity for these old migrants in their new environment. These societies were voluntary. While no one was compelled to join, practical benefits were evident. As the See Yap records of 1888 stressed, 'the stingy ... non-subscriber' was like an 'outside man', 'a wandering star', who would not receive the society's help 'in any quarrel or sickness, or in case of

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<sup>50</sup> 'Rules of a Chinese Society in Ballarat' in Reverend W. Young's Report on the Condition of the Chinese Population in Victoria 1868' Parliamentary Papers Victoria Legislative Assembly, Votes and Proceedings 1868, vol. 3, part 3 (p. 1271-1300).

<sup>51</sup> See Yap Records of 1888.

<sup>52</sup> 'The Age', 1 February, 1906

<sup>53</sup> 'The Age', 1 February, 1906

death or trouble in mercantile matters'. The secret societies likewise, extended aid to their members, to find employment, to travel about the gold fields, to expand their business enterprises and gave support to those who were ill or in legal difficulties. A number of Chinese were sent home by the associations at the latter's expense: X

'There are those who have had to face an adverse destiny, not having the smallest success, they are returning home without telling anyone; stealing back like the summoned spirits of those who have died in some distant places; their purses empty and clean as if newly washed. There are those who die here and whose needy relatives are hopelessly bewildered and dismayed when they count the cost of encoffining. The Association, in a public meeting, will consider the circumstances of these people and after deliberation act on their behalf for the satisfactory settlement of their affairs as an important form of benevolent endeavour.<sup>54</sup>

The Chinese were shielded by their associations from the host society. In the legal sphere, in particular, these organisations hid their members from the colonial police or spirited them away, before they were due to appear before the judiciary (Cronin, 1982:35). At the same time, they used the colonial courts to appeal against

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<sup>54</sup> Rules of the Bo Leong Society: the Association for the Protection of Virtue, 26 February, 1904.

unsatisfactory decisions made by their Chinese tribunal rulings to discipline recalcitrant members, or as a means of revenge against rival clans and enemies (Ibid., 36-38).

The scales of colonial justice were tipped against the Chinese. They were not permitted to serve on juries and their evidence was rarely admitted due to their status as 'pagans' (Cronin, 1982:36). They were also placed at a disadvantage, since they were generally unable to speak English. Evidence tendered through interpreters was suspect and cross examination of witnesses was impeded by the need to have the questions translated. Moreover it was often alleged that interpreters made alterations in the testimonies. The fact that the Chinese were 'heathens' and could not take an oath on the Bible, but were instead sworn in by breaking a saucer, blowing out a light, or even decapitating a cock, often exposed their testimony to ridicule.<sup>55</sup>

Factions and rivalry between Chinese dialect groups and societies

Although the Victorian Chinese could be said to be relatively homogeneous in composition, as compared to the later post-World War II migrants, class, cultural and political divisions remained a source of friction.

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<sup>55</sup> Age, 28 April, 1855; Argus, 29 May, 1854, 7 May, 1855, 23-24 October, 1857; Albury Border Post, 22 December, 1860, 2 January, 1861.

The economic gap between the wealthy Chinese merchants grew more pronounced when gold diggings were worked out and most Chinese lost their source of an independent livelihood. Since many Chinese traders were of Sam Yap origin, class differences were exacerbated by provincial differences. The Sam Yap Chinese who came from the urbanized and sophisticated city of Canton reputedly regarded their rural peers with contempt and viewed these See Yap natives as 'marginal Cantonese speaking an outlandish dialect'. Similarly, Hakka became a byword among the Cantonese for a liar and a cheat (Crawford, 1877: 8). Goldfield clashes between Chinese dialect groups were not unknown. In December, 1856, at Europa Gully, the Hakkas fought against See Yap diggers. Europeans at Fryers Creek spoke of endless brawls in the Chinese camps, as Cantonese fought Fukienese and Fukienese fought among themselves. Many of the disputes were derived from gambling, mining claims and, although short lived, they were often violent, with sticks, stones, knives and pistols being used (Cronin, 1982:39-40).

Some of the goldfield disputes involved the Triad secret societies who, like their brethren overseas, ran protection rackets, drug smuggling and gambling dens.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> For more information on the history of Chinese secret societies, within and outside China, see:

- (1) W.P. Morgan, 1960 Triad Societies in Hong Kong Hong Kong.
- (2) Leon Comber, 1957 An Introduction to Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya Singapore.
- (3) Convention of the Overseas Chinese Hung Meng (text in Chinese) Taipei, 1956, p. 53-118.

Major Ghee Hing violence flared in the 1890's when the society organised furniture workers in Little Bourke Street to strike for higher pay. There were also territorial disagreements between the Ghee Hing and 'private' gambling houses. But the Ghee Hing's enmity was mainly directed against the Bo Leong Society.<sup>57</sup> In 1904, physical violence erupted in Little Bourke Street, in Melbourne, over the right to occupy certain premises.<sup>58</sup> In the September of the same year, nine people were injured in another skirmish when the Bo Leong society accused the Ghee Hing of having informed the police about their illegal traffic in liquor and opium.<sup>59</sup> The seriousness of this situation prompted Chinese merchants in Sydney to send a delegation of six men to Melbourne, in an effort to resolve the grievances between the two rival societies.<sup>60</sup>

However, these internal dissensions were largely controlled or concealed by the Chinese associations and their elected or self-appointed trading elite. Outward unity was essential in their dealings with the hostile wider society. As one Chinese merchant concluded, 'So long as our Chinese people are sojourners in foreign lands, clans will be scattered, yet the tie of blood will be a real bind (sic) of union' (Cronin, 1982:40).

<sup>57</sup> 'Bo Leong' meaning 'to protect the weak and the innocent'. It was set up in Melbourne in 1897, and in Bendigo in 1899, by the See Yap society in an effort to curtail the activities of the Ghee Hing. It was eventually dissolved in 1912 (C.Y. Yong, 1977:159).

<sup>58</sup> The Age, 3 December, 1904.

<sup>59</sup> The Age, 27 September, 1904, 28 September, 1904; Chinese Times, 28 September, 1904; Tung Wah Times, 1 October, 1904.

<sup>60</sup> Chinese Times, 19 October, 1904; Tung Wah Times, 15 October, 1904 and 29 October, 1904.

The role of the trading elite who came to dominate the workings of the Triad and district societies - and hence the Victorian Chinese community - is important. Its consequences are felt to this day among their Australian born offspring, as I detail later.

Associates in these community societies are <sup>new?</sup> 'urged' to elect Chinese merchants to office on account of their wealth and standing in colonial society. The 1868 Melbourne Kong Chew Constitution, clauses 2 and 3, clearly pointed out this fact. As a result nearly all of the office bearers in the years 1901-1921 of the Kong Chew society were either store owners or businessmen.

While their role was to be a purely representative one - 'listening to associates' and 'taking orders at bi-monthly meetings',<sup>61</sup> their position gave these wealthy merchants great power and influence among their countrymen and assured their financial dominance. Many of the society's rules pertaining to immigration or financial matters were designed to suit their business interests and to ensure that loans advanced to their countrymen were repaid. Lowe Kong Meng was a prime example. He was a leading member of the See Yap Society and Ghee Hing meetings, initiation ceremonies and calisthenic sessions were held at his store, Sun Kum Kee at 92 Little Bourke Street. He was also involved with the Kong Chew society and loaned money to the Sam Yap Society to purchase their Nam Poon Soon headquarters. He had, in short, the backing of all the

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<sup>61</sup> See Yap Rules, 1854.

Cantonese district societies at that time, as well as secret societies like the Ghee Hing, thereby consolidating his position as community leader of Chinese migrants in Victoria.<sup>62</sup>

The standing and success of these men was reinforced by the fact that the majority of Victorian Chinese were illiterate agricultural labourers and peasants. Of those who could lay claim to the status of intellectuals, 30 per cent were estimated as having had only a rudimentary education, with six or seven years of classical study to their credit.<sup>63</sup> Some fifty were said to be proficient academics or Western graduates of missionary schools. The aforementioned Lowe Kong Meng, and Bendigo herbalist James Lamsey, were Mandarins of the Blue Button.<sup>64</sup> In 1866, Lowe Kong Meng and another merchant, Louey Ah Mong served on the provisional committee of the, then, new Commercial Bank of Australia and were among its most important shareholders (Ibid.).

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<sup>62</sup> The Australian Dictionary of Biographies, vol. 5, 1851-1890, K-Q, Melbourne University Press 1974; and Cronin, 1982:28-33.

<sup>63</sup> The Reverend William Young in his report on 'The Condition of Chinese in Victoria (1868)'.

<sup>64</sup> Australian Dictionary of Biographies, vol. 5, 1851-1890, K-Q, Melbourne University Press 1974.



These wealthier, educated, Chinese merchants were therefore regarded by the colonists as a superior class of men, vastly different from their poorer Chinese brethren (Turner, 1904:233 and Oddie, 1961:69). In the light of this, the Mount Alexander Mail declared that, they 'had no objection to educated Chinese who may wish to live amongst us as merchants'.<sup>65</sup> The Melbourne Chamber of Commerce even asked for Chinese merchants to be exempted from discriminatory racist taxation.<sup>66</sup>

This distinction should not be overstated because, to the majority of colonists, all Chinese whether naturalized, Christian, or capitalist were objectionable. Prominent Chinese traders continued to be subject to anti-Chinese legislation and, as the Argus maintained:

'The whole body from the Emperor of China, Kong Meng and Company down to the meanest subject of the Chinese nation (are) ... our deadliest enemies'.<sup>67</sup>

But the comparatively privileged position of Chinese merchants, as I stated earlier, was recognised at Federal level in the 1901 Migration Act which formed the basis of what is commonly known as the 'White Australia' policy.

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<sup>65</sup> Mount Alexander Mail, 9 May, 1888.

<sup>66</sup> J. King, Parliamentary Debate, Victoria, 18 May, 1860, vol. 6, p. 1168.

<sup>67</sup> Argus, 30 July, 1880.

### Summary

As I have shown, the vulnerable and physically visible Victorian goldfield Chinese and their earlier coolie brethren entered a society structurally and ideologically dominated by Europeans. Some, like the wealthy trading elite and Chinese Christians quickly differentiated themselves from their fellow migrants by adopting colonial dress and manners, and even formed attachments to European women. They therefore indulged in what De Vos and Wagatsuma (1967) described as 'passing', that is, a conscious manipulation of appearance and behaviour from what is perceived as a negative social identity to that of a more socially desirable one. They risk<sup>e</sup> social estrangement and sanctions, as in the case of Chinese Christians, from their former group of reference.

This maintenance of ethnic separation is a difficult one since, whether or not a person belongs to an ethnic group is dictated by people outside the group, by the group itself and by the individual's definition of himself. Self definition for the visibly alien Chinese in colonial Victoria was secondary, since the individual had little choice about his ethnic group reference.<sup>68</sup> His identity was inflexible or 'imperative' (Barth, 1969:13) in most situations that involved the wider Australian society,

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<sup>68</sup> Hannerz (1969) in his portrayal of the ghetto-specific man argued that ethnic group boundaries are determined by the dominant group, thereby leaving ethnic minorities little freedom to make their own distinctions as mainstream culture and mode of behaviour is held up to be the norm.

either because the dominant social group actively prevented his entry into their ranks (cf. polygenistic theories on <sup>it</sup> 'tainted' blood) or because the Chinese community itself prevented the individual from attaining membership in a new ethnic category through the imposition of community seclusion (Chinatowns) and the operation of family and lineage loyalty.

In societies where racial differences in appearance make some social affirmation of identification important, there may be instances of ambiguity in ethnic definition, especially for children of mixed unions. For instance, light skinned Negroes in Brazil can 'pass' themselves off as white. However in colonial Victoria, where maintenance of the racial purity of the dominant group was paramount such an extreme mode of 'passing' was a serious issue for those whites who feared such contamination.

'We are here upon a continent set apart by the creator exclusively for a southern empire - for a southern nation - and it is our duty to preserve this island continent for all eternity to the white race, irrespective of where they may come from.'

King O'Malley (on the  
White Australia Policy) <sup>69</sup>

Most Chinese remained apart from Australian society in their mining camps and what became Melbourne's Chinatown, that is, the area surrounding Little Bourke Street. Such strict observation of ethnic boundaries by both communities meant that the majority of Old Migrants retained their 'Chineseness'.

The Chinese were transients, mainly Cantonese, originating from the south of Kwangtung. Since family and lineage rules discouraged the emigration of wives for fear that sons and their money would be forever lost to the village, those who emigrated were predominantly male. These Chinese therefore became circulatory migrants (Mitchell, 1959) returning home every few years to re-establish links with their families, or to seek a bride. Australian immigration restrictions reinforced this operation of the circulatory system, thereby causing the average male migrant to be cut off from their parents, wives and children. For the majority then, the Chinese institutions of family and lineage played a relatively small part in the ordering of their lives in Victoria. This is a crucial difference between the composition and social structure of Old and Present Migrants in Australia.

#### Merchants

The wealthy trading elite, through their domination of the voluntary and secret societies, openly administered the Victorian Chinese community. This group dispensed justice and charity, made the rules of social behaviour, extended loans, conducted rituals and virtually ran the lives of the Chinese migrants from arrival to departure. The merchants, as wealthy intellectuals and, in special cases, Mandarins of monarchistic China, were deemed fit by both the Chinese community and the wider Australian society, to regulate contact between the mass of Chinese and the alien administration. In other words, this group filled a role not dissimilar to that of the gentry

literate<sup>70</sup> in the Imperial bureaucracy of China.

This pattern of domination by the merchants was not reproduced over time because of the advent of the New Migrants.

Yao (1983:27-30) argued that the merchant class on Cheung Chau Island (Hong Kong), retained their authority in the Chinese community by their control of the key centres of ideological production. In traditional Chinese society the structural order through which all fields of social relationships are generated is located in the Confucian principles of patri-filial relationship. Hence, it is necessary for the ruling class, in this case, the merchants, to publically demonstrate that their dominant ideology is, in fact, derived from this 'traditional' cultural ideology. However, such a situation can exist only if all the other classes recognise and accept the legitimacy of these values and principles. In short, a process of successful 'inculcation'<sup>71</sup> through the generations has to have taken place.

My argument here is that the Present Migrants <sup>who</sup> ~~that~~ came after the Second World War, although nominally Chinese, were citizens of the South-east Asian country of their birth. This meant that they were, to a large degree unfamiliar with the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977:72), of their Chinese forefathers. <sup>? in Bible?</sup>

<sup>70</sup> For more details on this, see Weber, Max, 1951 The Religion of China, Confucianism and Taoism. Hans H. Gerth (ed) New York:Macmillan.

<sup>71</sup> Chiang, M. (1957:9) on the Confucianization of Chinese society, commented that 'the moral precepts came from the Confucian classics. Moral ideas were instilled in the people by every possible means - temples, theatres, houses, toys, proverbs, schools, history and stories until they became habits in daily life'. For the role of arts and literature in the reproduction of Confucianism see Ward, 1977 and 1979.

Furthermore, the Present Migrants were not homogeneous either in dialect, religious affiliations, background or class divisions. They were selected by the Immigration Department on the basis of economic, employment viability and settlement prospects. In other words, the potential migrants were selected to integrate as easily as possible into Australian society, rather than the Chinese community.

These Present Migrants, therefore introduced an ambiguous element which could not be accommodated by the structuring principles of the pre-War Victorian Chinese society. The wealthy shopkeepers today, mostly retired, still continue their roles of ritual adepts, conducting such festivals as that of ancestor worship. The presence of their enterprises in Little Bourke Street, the site of the annual Chinese New Year festivities, accord them an important voice as to who may enter the arena of ritual play in the lion and dragon challenges.

#### Chinese Organisations

Little has changed in the workings of the two oldest surviving Chinese associations.

The See Yap<sup>72</sup> organisation which incorporates the Kong Chew,<sup>73</sup> Toi Shan, Yun Ping and Hoi Ping societies, remain a social service agency for its members. Territorial jurisdiction and dialect continue to be the main criteria for membership, financial aid and other matters. A recent

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<sup>72</sup> Literally, 'The Four Districts' or 'The Four Counties'.

<sup>73</sup> Also known as the Sun Wui Society.

illustration of these criteria is evidenced in the setting up of a social welfare centre<sup>74</sup> for the Chinese aged by the Federation of Chinese Associations (FCA).<sup>75</sup> The See Yap society was approached by the FCA for permission to use its Little Bourke Street premises for this purpose. My informants in the FCA claimed that the See Yap organisation agreed, on the condition that the services of the welfare centre be restricted solely to its See Yap members. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the majority of elderly Chinese did belong to the See Yap society. But the FCA refused this proviso and eventually established the welfare office at the headquarters of the Chinese Fellowship of Victoria (CFV).<sup>76</sup>

The See Yap working committee like that of its 1854 counterpart<sup>77</sup> consists of a chairman, vice-chairman and a secretary. I was informed by the present President of the Society that 'election' to the office is still being conducted in the 'old' way. The three offices in the present organisation are filled in rotation each year, by committee members of the four sub-societies. This somewhat mechanical election process has caused the See Yap society to project contradictory political sympathies at different periods in time, depending on which of the sub-societies<sup>ies</sup> was in power?<sup>78</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Funded by a Commonwealth Grant-in-Aid Scheme in 1980.

<sup>75</sup> An umbrella organisation, consisting of 10 societies, founded in 1980. Its main aim was to be the voice of the Chinese community in Victoria.

<sup>76</sup> An organisation which prides itself on promoting Chinese culture. It consists of a mixture of largely New Migrants and their families.

<sup>77</sup> See Appendix 1, Clause 4

<sup>78</sup> See Table 5.

Table 5.

1. DONATIONS OF CHINESE COUNTY SOCIETIES IN MELBOURNE, 1901-21

Year	Name of Society	Amount of money donated	Events
1902	Kong Chew	£30	Drought in Kwangtung province.
	See Yap	£25	Drought in Kwangtung province.
1907	See Yap	£100	Famine in Kangsu province.
1915	See Yap	£10	Flood in Kwangtung province.
1917	Kong Chew	£20	Flood in Sungtung province.
1918	Kong Chew	£50	Famine in Kwangtung province.
1919	See Yap	£50	Flood in Kwangtung province.
1920	See Yap	£30	Drought in northern China.
	Kong Chew	£50	Drought in northern China.
	See Yap	£30	Flood in the Ling Ying county, Kwangtung province.
	Ling Ying	£200	ditto.
	Kong Chew	£40	ditto.

Sources: Chinese Times, 1901-1914; 1919-1922. Minutes of the Kong Chew Society and the See Yap Society, Melbourne, 1900-1921. This list is incomplete.

2. MELBOURNE CHINESE COUNTY SOCIETIES AND POLITICAL DONATIONS, 1900-31

Year	Name of Society	Amount of £ donated	Events
1900-	Kong Chew	40	Liang's reform movement.
01	See Yap	200	Liang's reform movement.
1912-	Kong Chew	100	Kwangtung province Patriotic funds.
13	See Yap	40	Loans
	Kong Chew	50	Republic of China Loan Funds.
	See Yap	40	Republic of China Load Funds.
1915	See Yap	\$1000 (Chinese Yuan)	The Chinese Republic government Loan (under President Yuan Shih-kai).
1916	See Yap	30	A republican rebellion against the Yuan government.
1921	Kong Chew	100	The Nationalist government in southern China.
1930-	Kong Chew	1000	The anti-Japanese aggression in northern China.
31	See Yap	1000	ditto.

Sources: Chinese Times, Melbourne, 1902-14; 1919-1921. Minutes of the Kong Chew and See Yap Societies, Melbourne, 1901-1931.



Strictly speaking, the society purports to be a non-political one<sup>79</sup> and has continued to express this claim today. However the circumstances leading to its membership in the Federation of Chinese Associations portray a different picture. When the invitation to join was issued to the See Yap society, the deciding votes were in the hands of the 'right wing' elements.<sup>80</sup> This caused a peculiar situation whereby the parent organisation remained outside the Federation of Chinese Associations but a subsidiary society, the Kong Chew, was recruited as a Federation member. The See Yap's rejection of the offer may have also been influenced in part, by the fact that the Chinese Masonic<sup>?</sup> was a full member of the Federation of Chinese Associations.

My information on the present structure and activities of the Chinese Masonic<sup>?</sup> is scanty and I was unable to confirm my findings at the source. It would appear that the oath of secrecy continues to be enforced among its members.

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79 Appendix 1, Clause 3.

80 The Federation of Chinese Associations (FCA) is commonly regarded by the Chinese and IndoChinese communities as a Communist organisation, despite its constant public denials. It was founded after the period when Australia severed relations with Taiwan and established diplomatic ties with the People's Republic of China. As such, the organisation is seen to entertain only delegates from Peking and to celebrate its National Day.

However, one pertinent fact does emerge: unlike the See Yap society, alignment, past<sup>81</sup> and present, did not coincide with dialect groupings. Members knew one another through secret signs and passwords, a practice which persists today. An informant described three of these signals of recognition - a folded finger in a handshake; an index finger placed part way in a cup of tea and a pair of chopsticks standing vertically in a bowl of rice.

Since the late nineteenth century, the Chinese Masonic society has undergone a few name changes in an effort to improve its public image. Opinion is divided in the Chinese community regarding this new respectability. Some of my informants declare that protection rackets and gambling sessions are 'a thing of the past'; others, however, hold that the Masonic has not changed. 'Why else', they reason, 'are its affairs still veiled in secrecy from the rest of the community'.

Unlike the See Yap's dwindling numbers, it is clear, however, that the Masonic society still has a large following among the restaurant workers in Little Bourke Street. It boasts a membership of 1,000 compared to the See Yap figures of 200 members.<sup>82</sup> The See Yap informants,

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81 The Chinese Times (9 March, 1970), stated that the Melbourne Ghee Hing accepted members from all strata of the Chinese community. The Bendigo Independent (10 July, 1899) described the members as mostly artisans, labourers, hawkers and gardeners, 'a rough, strong-built lot'.

82 I have found that Chinese associations tend to be vague about the state of their membership. The Old Migrants say that their records are kept in deliberate disarray, to 'frustrate' Government interest in their activities - an attitude which can be attributed to their earlier experience in a culturally hostile environment. New Migrant associations base their numbers on a confusing mixture of family units and/or individuals so that any comparison of figures is virtually impossible.

in particular, claim that the popularity of the Masonic Society is due to its fierce loyalty to its members: 'They back you up, no matter what wrong you have done'.

It should be emphasized here that while there is no open animosity between the two oldest Chinese societies today, past confrontations colour their existing views of each other. See Yap informants frequently quote historical<sup>83</sup> rather than recent incidents to support their statements.

The Present situation of the Old Migrants: the legacies of Victorian Chinese society

Now, after a hundred years, only a few physical landmarks remain to record the presence of the early Chinese migrants in Victoria, namely, two grave sites at the Carlton cemetery, the Guan Ti temple in South Melbourne and the headquarters of the See Yap and the Chinese Masonic societies, both of which are located in Little Bourke Street. A fortunate few, mostly merchants, have left behind living legacies in the shape of the first Australian Born Chinese or ABC's. These children, as I detail in the third chapter, are regarded by other Chinese today as a distinct and separate category. Their 'distinctness' is derived to some extent from the privileged position of their parents.

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An example is the incident leading to the establishment of the Bo Leong Society, by the See Yap Organisation. In 1901, the Department of Interior offered rewards up to £10 for information leading to the capture and deportation of illegal Chinese migrants. The Chinese Masonic society was alleged to have defied community censure, and turned in a number of Chinese 'wetbacks'. The Bo Leong Tong was set up initially to offer legal and financial aid to these Chinese.

Because their families had higher incomes than the average early migrants, many of them have had the opportunity to receive post-secondary education, thereby allowing them to be assimilated into the host society.<sup>84</sup>

The impact of the Old Migrants was preserved more in the armoury of derogatory images and stereotypes which have become part of White Australian society and which find expression in the local Australian vocabulary. In the following chapters, one of my concerns is to examine how this residue of cultural attitudes conditions the way the general Australian public react to the present Chinese migrants in their midst.

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<sup>84</sup> See biography of William Ah Ket in the Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol.7, 1891-1936 A-Ch, Melbourne University Press, 1979. He was the co-founder and president of the Sino-Australian Association, the first Australian-Chinese club. He was the only son and fifth child of a storekeeper and tobacco farmer. He won the Supreme Court Judges Prize in 1902 and was admitted to the bar in 1903. In November, 1912, he married Gertrude Victoria Bullock and had two sons - a solicitor and a medical practitioner - as well as two daughters.

CHAPTER TWOTHE TREATMENT OF PRESENT MIGRANTS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

What does being Chinese mean? To the early Chinese sojourners who provided cheap labour for the domestic, pastoral and mining industries of Australia as well as the tropical plantations of South-east Asia, this question did not pose much of a problem. A 'Chinese' was simply a person who fulfilled or conformed to a set of formal criteria, notably that he or she should:

- (a) identify him/herself as a citizen of Imperial China, deriving mainly from the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien;
- (b) speak one of the five main dialects of the Chinese language;
- (c) have a strong preference for the distinctive Chinese cuisine and attire and for the Confucian ethnics of family and lineage loyalty.

Today there are an estimated 24 million Nanyang or overseas Chinese living in a region which stretches from Burma in the west to the Philippines in the east. A Chinese here can be regarded as a possessor of a syncretic culture, partly Chinese and partly <sup>local</sup> ~~indigenous~~ in its inspiration. Within this figure are Chinese who do not speak a word of Chinese, are brought up in a South-east Asian country of their birth - indeed, many have never seen their original motherland - and who live, dress and eat in a manner which would be totally alien to a Chinese fresh from China.

Being Chinese, therefore, in South-east Asia can mean very different things. In one country, a Chinese is anyone who admits to being one; in another country, it may simply mean those who bear a Chinese name. Thus the term 'Chinese' in South-east Asia emerges as a label for varying degrees of political and social status and recedes as a name for a way of life or culture.

At this level, it appears that the post-World War II migrants or Present Migrants cannot be accounted as an ethnic group either culturally or linguistically (see Table 1). Indeed unlike the Old Migrants who belonged to a single speech group (Cantonese), these South-east Asian migrants spoke mutually 'unintelligible' dialects of Chinese. For instance, in the case of those from Indonesia, the main dialect was Hokkien; from Thailand the common tongue was Teo chew; from Hong Kong and Malaysia, mainly Cantonese, and, finally, Mandarin was usually spoken by those from Singapore and Taiwan.

However, at another level these migrants could be said to constitute a category - one which is constructed by the Australian authorities in terms of the application of the selective immigration policies. The policies have evolved from an advocacy of assimilation, to integration and finally to the present recognition and active support of minority cultures.<sup>1</sup> Despite the changes in policy, a points

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<sup>1</sup> For details of Australian migration policies 1901-1984, see Appendices 2 to 6.

Table 1EAST AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN-BORN POPULATION OF AUSTRALIA

<u>South-east Asian</u>	<u>1975 census*</u>	<u>1981 census</u>
Burma	6329	7450
Thailand	1665	3400
Vietnam	2428	42,976
Laos	454	5524
Kampuchea	496	3740
Malaysia	19,881	32,920
Indonesia	9358	12,960
Philippines	5962	16,060
Timor	1834	3780
<u>East Asian</u>		
China	9975	27,590
Hong Kong	8820	16,360
Singapore	8990	12,430
Japan	6254	8360
Korea	1460	4600
Total	93,906	19,210
Others**	940	2000
Grand total	94,846	100,210

Source: Dr. Charles Price, Department of Demography,  
Australian National University.

\* The 1976 census was under-enumerated by an estimated  
2.7 per cent of the population.

\*\* Estimated number of people born on the periphery of  
the region.

system continues to be used to assess an applicant's prospects in Australia (see Table 2). This means that all successful Present Migrants to Australia share a certain level of professional or educational skill, fluency in English, economic background<sup>2</sup> and age.<sup>3</sup> It is evident therefore, that favoured Chinese migrants are those that are deemed assimilable to Australian society:

'... application for entry by well qualified people wanting to settle in Australia will be considered on the basis of their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily and their possession of qualifications which are in fact positively useful to Australia.

... Our primary aim in immigration is a generally integrated and predominantly homogeneous population. A positive element in the latest changes is that which will admit selected non-Europeans capable of becoming Australians ...<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Those who enter under the Business Migration Programme are required to produce economic backing of at least \$200,000.

<sup>3</sup> Highest scores are credited to those between the ages of 25-35. This is highlighted in figures released by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in 1981. They show that the largest age group from Malaysia and Singapore is between 20-34.

<sup>4</sup> Extract from a Statement to Parliament by Mr. Opperman, Minister of Immigration, 9 March, 1966. (Appendix 3.)



### HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS

This leaflet gives more detail about the points system explained in the companion leaflets **Who can migrate to Australia—the main requirements** and **Helping relatives immigrate—a guide for sponsors**.

Australia can accept only a small percentage of those who want to settle here. The Migrant Selection Scheme is designed to select those with the best chance of settling successfully. The same rules apply everywhere so that everyone is considered on the same basis. Working-age applicants must show that they have a good chance of quickly becoming self-supporting.

### WHO IS ASSESSED?

As part of the selection process, a points system is used to determine an applicant's prospects in Australia. The points system applies to:

- ▣ Brothers, sisters and non-dependent children, sponsored under the Family Migration category
- ▣ Un-sponsored people whose occupations are listed under the Occupational Shares System. Because of the small numbers of occupations listed and the limits on the numbers of people admitted for each occupation, entry is competitive. Details are available from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs or from Australian Government Offices overseas.
- ▣ Employer nominees. The points system is applied only to the main income-earner in a family.

### THE POINTS TEST

The points table at right includes explanatory notes on how each factor is assessed. The pass score for Family Migration applicants and employer nominees is 60 points. The pass score for Occupational Shares System applicants is 70 points. Applicants get only one score on each factor. Applicants who are sponsored by a relative who is an Australian citizen receive a bonus of 5 points.

### EMPLOYABILITY SCORE

**NOTE: Applicants are assessed according to their**

- Medium-term occupational prospects in an occupation listed by the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations as one in which there are good prospects for obtaining employment. (A list of these occupations, which are all highly skilled, professional or technical occupations, can be obtained from offices of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in Australia and overseas).
- Previous work experience.
- Need for English language or other employment training.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▣ Immediately employable in a highly skilled, professional or technical occupation designated by the Department of Employment and Industrial Relations as one in which there are good employment prospects</li> <li>▣ Sound and continuous employment experience and requiring no language or other training</li> <li>▣ Sound and continuous employment experience, but requiring limited language or other training</li> <li>▣ Limited experience, but requiring no language or other training</li> <li>▣ Employment arranged by sponsor and accepted by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. (NOTE: The Department will decide whether a job offer is needed for the applicant to achieve a pass score of 60 points. When this happens the Department's overseas office will give the applicant a Confirmation of Offer of Employment form (M61) to send to the sponsor. Offers of employment not on the form M61 will not be accepted and will not score any points)</li> <li>▣ Limited experience, but requiring limited language training</li> <li>▣ Sound and continuous employment experience, but requiring extensive language training</li> <li>▣ Limited experience and requiring extensive language and other training</li> </ul>	<p>25</p> <p>20</p> <p>15</p> <p>15</p> <p>15</p> <p>5</p> <p>5</p> <p>0</p>
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### SKILLS SCORE

**NOTE: Points for skill level are based on the occupation an applicant is qualified for and intends to follow in Australia.**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▣ Recognised professional, technical or trade skills</li> <li>▣ Professional, technical or trade skills not recognised</li> <li>▣ Clerical, administrative and semi-skilled</li> <li>▣ Unskilled</li> </ul>	<p>20</p> <p>10</p> <p>10</p> <p>0</p>
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### EDUCATION SCORE

**NOTE: This is judged on levels of education equating most closely with the Australian system. The levels are:**

- Completed tertiary—successfully completed a course at a university or college of advanced education leading to a Bachelor's degree or higher.
- Full secondary—successfully completed secondary education and gained matriculation to a university or college of advanced education; or completed the first part of secondary education and then completed a course leading to the granting of a technical diploma or certificate at a technical college or a technical and further education (TAFE) institution. In Australia, this would normally involve at least twelve years' schooling.
- First part secondary—successfully completed at least eight years' schooling.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▣ Completed tertiary</li> <li>▣ Full secondary (at least 12 years' schooling)</li> <li>▣ Part secondary (at least 8 years' schooling)</li> <li>▣ Less than 8 years' schooling</li> </ul>	<p>20</p> <p>15</p> <p>10</p> <p>5</p>
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### AGE SCORE

**NOTE: This refers to the age of an applicant at the time of the assessment interview overseas.**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▣ 20-34 years</li> <li>▣ Less than 20, or 35-44</li> <li>▣ 45 years and older</li> </ul>	<p>15</p> <p>10</p> <p>0</p>
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The exact degree of homogeneity was specified by Dr. A.J. Forbes when he was Minister for Immigration in July, 1972:

'Australians do not want self perpetuating enclaves and undigested minorities. They support and require of the Government, policies of integration. They would not support policies aimed at permitting or actively encouraging the migration of substantial groups of different ethnic origins; groups properly proud of their difference and determined to perpetuate it by every possible means.

The purpose of the Australian people is therefore to ensure an essentially homogeneous society. Our objective is social cohesiveness and debate as to what constitutes a 'homogeneous society' or a 'multi-racial society' in solely ethnic terms misses this essential purpose ...

The expression 'homogeneous society', when applied to the aims of the immigration policy is intended to mean a cohesive integrated society, one that is essentially undivided, without permanent minorities and free of avoidable tensions'.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Press Statement by Dr. A.J. Forbes, Minister for Immigration, 31 July, 1972.

In this chapter I focus on the broad characteristics of the Present Migrants. I explore the general treatment meted out to these Chinese in their adopted South-east Asian homelands. This is necessary since the adaptive potential of the Present Migrants to Australian society is affected by the 'degree of discrimination and prejudice' (Glazer, 1976:285) encountered by them in their indigenous South-East Asian countries. I intend to show here and in the following chapters, that this treatment is responsible to a large extent for an adoption of 'protective coloration' (de Vos, 1975:181) by these Chinese migrants in Australia. This is reinforced by the fact that the influx of Present Migrants into Australia began in a period when the integration policy<sup>6</sup> was promoted.

Finally, I direct attention to the effect the Immigration policies have had on the present Chinese family, in particular, the significant changes in intergenerational relations, and the role uncertainty of the aged.

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<sup>6</sup> Both the assimilation and integration policies called for minority groups to merge fully with the dominant Australian society, thereby denying minorities the right to retain their cultural identities. The difference between both policies is that integration calls for both the migrant and the community to help each other in the acculturation process whereas in assimilation, the migrant is left to his own efforts (cf. The Hon. B.M. Snedden QC, MP, address to the Committee for Economic Development of Australia, 26 July, 1969).

The Legacy of the Past: Treatment of Present Migrants  
in South-East Asia.

It is not possible to fully detail the history of the Chinese in South-east Asia. The scope is simply too immense and there is a dearth of published material, especially for countries such as Singapore, Taiwan<sup>7</sup> and Hong Kong.<sup>8</sup> However, the migration of the post-Second World War Chinese to Australia cannot be fully understood without considering the conditions and disabilities faced by them in their adopted homelands.

Like the Old Migrants in Victoria, the early Chinese 'coolies' to South-east Asia were sojourners,<sup>9</sup> men seeking their fortunes during a temporary period of exile. Few Chinese left home in the expectation that there would be no return; none ever went abroad to seek assimilation to an alien culture. They came to South-east Asia with the same goals as those who ventured to the goldfields of Victoria - they sought to save for eventual, ideally early, retirement and repatriation. Industry and frugality were combined to make possible a return to loved ones in China.

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<sup>7</sup> Taiwan is considered an integral part of China, both by the rulers of the island and Mainland China. Thus its inhabitants are not considered to be 'overseas' or Chinese 'migrants'.

<sup>8</sup> The Chinese in Hong Kong are often referred to as 'compatriots' rather than 'overseas' Chinese by the Peking regime, perhaps in a premature celebration of the eventual reabsorption of this area into the Motherland in 1997.

<sup>9</sup> The circulatory migration pattern of the overseas Chinese was abruptly terminated by the birth of the new People's Republic of China in 1949. The Land Reform Act (1950-3) in particular, contributed largely to the problems of these sojourners. It eliminated large land ownership in China, thereby weakening the binding strength of the family and lineage. In fact, most overseas Chinese owned land was confiscated. Fear of reprisal, forced these Chinese to stop being sojourners and settle permanently overseas - in Australia, Asia, Canada and America.

Related to this were the demands of the traditional Chinese lineage system which imposed a financial burden on expatriate members. Remittances from abroad to relatives in China were tangible expressions of family loyalty and duty and were thus regarded as almost compulsory.

These attitudes of the Chinese sojourners insulated them from acculturation and raised barriers of misunderstanding between them and the indigeneous South-east Asians. Their avoidance of any emotional investment in their foreign homelands caused local Asians to conclude that these Chinese in their midst came only to exploit. As landless wage labourers they were barred from many traditional pursuits and the right to own or farm land. Entry into the military or bureaucratic service was similarly all but impossible. Perhaps colonial authorities felt that occupational segregation was a method of rule through division. Whatever the motives, the Chinese were encouraged to succeed in 'middlemen' businesses such as trading or money lending - activities which suited the sojourning Chinese as well, because their capital was not tied up but remained fluid.

The colonial powers in South-east Asia kept the Chinese as a buffer between themselves and the local population.<sup>10</sup> It was generally believed that the Chinese sought to thwart nationalist activities, having comfortably established themselves in a colonial society under Western patronage. In certain South-east Asian countries where extortion from and persecution of Chinese had become almost institutionalised, the winning of independence from colonial domination meant that the mistreatment of Chinese immigrant communities was given a new respectability, as an expression of nationalist sentiment.<sup>11</sup>

Today, the minority situation<sup>12</sup> of the South-east Asian Chinese, largely determines their treatment. This, and Peking's overseas Chinese policy at any given time, are the two main factors which shape Chinese perception of their adopted countries. The crux of the matter is that a more cordial attitude to these 'hua chiao' or overseas Chinese on Peking's part automatically makes them more suspect in countries which may embrace relations with China on a

<sup>10</sup> It was Furnivall (1944), who first called this a 'plural society' - one whereby the whole population was divided into three distinct groups: Europeans, Foreign Orientals and Natives. Each group was accorded different legal rights and privileges and generally speaking the Chinese as 'Foreign Orientals' were in a more favourable position than the indigenous population. Even so, activities and movement of the Chinese in countries like Indonesia was strictly controlled by Dutch colonial laws which actively discouraged the crossing of ethnic boundaries and required the Chinese to show visible badges of their identity by wearing queues. They were physically segregated in specified urban ghettos (wijkenstelsel) and travel outside was restricted. Thus even if the desire to assimilate existed, it was not an easy task (cf. The Siauw Giap, 1966, 1965, 1980).

<sup>11</sup> See Lea E. Williams, 1966 The Future of the Chinese in South-East Asia. New: McGraw Hill.

<sup>12</sup> Overseas Chinese are a majority of the population only in the city state of Singapore, the British colony of Hong Kong and the Portugese administered territory of Macao.

governmental level but fear the influence of Chinese nationalism or socialist ideas internally. To this may be added the relative political impotence of the Chinese everywhere except in Singapore. They may be able to 'buy' a few indigenous politicians to look after their economic interests but their legislative power generally ends there. Despite their minority status, they are reputed to control up to 60 per cent of the trade and commerce in South-east Asia today.<sup>13</sup> Thus, their economic influence is out of all proportion to their actual numbers. This is both their strength and weakness. It explains why they are targets of resentment and discrimination in these countries and why, in spite of this, they have managed to survive and remain in most cases, a viable ethnic group.

To exemplify this I have taken material from Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand, countries where the Chinese hold disproportionate wealth despite their small numbers.<sup>14</sup> These countries provide to some degree, contrasting situations.

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<sup>13</sup> Weekend Australian, 5-6 May, 1984.

<sup>14</sup> In Malaysia the Chinese are a minority so large that they barely qualify for the title. They make up 34.1 per cent of the 12.3 million population (1975 census). In Indonesia, the Chinese form a mere 3 per cent (3.8 million) of the total population of 135 million (1978 census). Recent estimates in Thailand place the Chinese at 6 per cent of the total population of 45 million.

In Malaysia, the Chinese, despite the government backed campaign for Malay centrism - one culture, one language and one citizenry - have managed to remain a visible ethnic group in their own right. This is in contrast to the situation in Indonesia where the Chinese have discovered through conviction or a sense of self preservation that it pays to be as indistinguishable as possible from the local population. This is evidenced in the anti-sinicism, violence and massacres directed towards the Chinese after the attempted coup of 1 October, 1965 - a state of hostility which lasted over two years and involved outbreaks on all the major islands except West Irian.<sup>15</sup>

In neither Malaysia nor Indonesia have the Chinese, in considerable numbers, been assimilated to the point of disappearing as Chinese, although in Indonesia the situation may yet occur.<sup>16</sup> In Thailand, however, mass assimilation has taken place.<sup>17</sup> Initially, assimilation was achieved through intermarriage with local women. Children born of such unions were recognised as Thai citizens.

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<sup>15</sup> For details on anti-Chinese outbreaks, see Mackie, J.A.C. (ed) 1976 'Anti-Chinese Outbreaks in Indonesia 1959-1968' In The Chinese in Indonesia: Five Essays Melbourne: Nelson; Charles A. Coppel 1983, Indonesian Chinese in Crisis, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>16</sup> In December, 1966, the Suharto Government 'urged' its Chinese citizens to take Indonesian names. Over the next two and a half years, according to Government records, over 250,000 Chinese adopted this move (Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June, 1978).

<sup>17</sup> Thailand unlike other South-east Asian countries, was never a colony of Western powers. Moreover, in contrast with Malaysia and Indonesia, its dominant religion was not Islam but Buddhism.



This decreased in significance with the appearance of women in considerable numbers from China after the collapse of the Ching dynasty and the effect this had on kinship loyalties. Repressive measures<sup>18</sup> taken against the Chinese by the Thai government served only to give the Chinese an extra push in the direction of committing themselves to adopt the ways of the host society (Freedman, 1979:19). The bulk of Thai Chinese have what Richard J. Coughlin (1960) termed a 'double identity' that is both Chinese and Thai, with varying emphasis. Thus, in the present situation, there is a small Chinese society alongside Thai society each of which is a distinct entity. A Chinese participates in both, assuming a personal name and language to suit his associates and alignment of the moment.<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, many Thai Chinese shuttle back and forth between the two societies depending on changes in national policy.

I now examine for each of these three countries how Chinese are discriminated <sup>against</sup> in the area of citizenship, Chinese language usage, education and economic opportunities.

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<sup>18</sup> Thailand, because of its independent status in a traditional colonial region plus the fact that its nationalist sentiments peaked in the decade preceding the Second World War has one of the longest imposed restrictions on its Chinese population in South-east Asia. It was the first country in South-east Asia to restrict occupations open to the Chinese (see Skinner, 1957, 1958, 1960 and 1963).

<sup>19</sup> Out of 25 men considered to be the most influential in the Thai business world, 23 were found to be of Chinese descent. Those who were interviewed, admitted to using Thai names in their business dealings (Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 June, 1978; Weekend Australian, 5-6 May, 1984).

### Citizenship

In 1909 the expiring Manchu government of China promulgated a citizenship law for its overseas population. This principal of jus sanguinis stated that any person born of a Chinese father (or Chinese mother, if the father was unknown) was regarded as a Chinese citizen irrespective of birthplace or residence. It created a problem of dual nationality for many Chinese born in South-east Asia. The 1910 Dutch law of jus soli, for instance, imposed the status of Dutch subject on any non-Dutch person born in the Indies of parents who were resident there. This complex situation was resolved in the Bandung conference of Asian and African nations in 1955, which simply abolished the dual nationality status and forced the overseas Chinese to make an unequivocal choice. By then, however, the damage was done. The political loyalty of the Chinese in the eyes of the native population, was called into question. It was further augmented in 1951 when Communist victories in China began to arouse fears of a local Chinese 'red peril'. Moreover, there was the widespread belief that many Chinese who chose to reject their Chinese citizenship did so out of opportunism:

"The Chinese don't mind who holds the cow so long as they can milk it".<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Common saying about Chinese opportunism quoted in Purcell, 1965:462.

'We can divide the Chinese community into three major groups according to their political persuasion, viz:-

- (a) communist (Chinese People's Republic);
  - (b) Kuo Min Tang (Nationalist China);
- and
- (c) those who have no specific opinion so that they don't care whether they are citizens of Indonesia, Communist China or Nationalist China so long as they can do business or trade with a view to profit ...'.<sup>21</sup>

The tendency to regard the Chinese as politically unreliable and 'aliens', is reflected in the legislation governing citizenship in Malaysia and Indonesia.

For instance, under the Federation of 1948, the citizenship legislation in Malaya was from the beginning weighted in favour of its native populace (Malays). Up to Independence in 1957, the fact remained that Malaysians, whether Malayan-born or Muslim immigrants from Indonesia,

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<sup>21</sup> Indonesia, Staf Umum Angkatan Darat - I, In 'Masalah Tionghua' di Indonesia (Djakarta, 1961, as reproduced by Komando Tertinggi, Supreme Command G-5, June, 1967 p. 46).

were regarded as 'subjects of the rulers' and were automatically granted citizenship. The Chinese, Indians and others who were born in the Malay states had to satisfy certain conditions in order to become citizens.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly in Indonesia, in 1945, the Committee for the Investigation of Indonesian Independence, recommended that citizens should be native Indonesians - 'orang-orang bangsa Indonesia asli' - while those of other races - 'orang-orang bangsa' are to be confirmed as citizens by law. Consequently, as with the case in Malaysia, the first citizenship law of the Republic of Indonesia (1946), conferred automatic citizenship only upon its indigenous or 'asli' Indonesians. The other groups like the Chinese, had to satisfy certain further conditions. The term 'asli' not only meant 'indigenous', 'native' and original but also had the sense of 'genuine' or 'authentic'. The wording and substance of the constitution and citizenship rules thus gave colour to the view that the real Indonesians were indigenous and that members of other groups won citizenship by the favour of the Indonesian nation (Coppel, 1983:3).

<sup>22</sup> The Federation of Malaya Agreement stated that a non-Malay, in order to qualify for citizenship had to be:

"a. (i) born before, on or after the appointed day of the Federation and has been resident in any one or more of such territories for not less than 8 out of the 12 years preceding his application; or

(ii) has been a permanent resident immediately preceding his application.

b. The applicant must satisfy the High Commissioner that he is of good character, possesses an adequate knowledge of the Malay or English language, has made a declaration of permanent settlement in the prescribed form, and if his application is approved, that he is willing to take the citizenship oath. In accordance with the recommendation of the Working Committee on application for citizenship he will be required to be of the age of 18 years or over".

(Malayan Union Government Gazette, Kuala Lumpur, 22 January, 1948; and Supplementary of 31 January, 1948).

In Thailand, while all persons born in the country were considered her citizens, a strict quota of alien migration was enforced. Consequently, while Chinese entry in 1947 was 10,000 annually, by January of 1949, the numbers were reduced to 200. Additionally, by allowing Chinese who were already in the country on temporary permits to apply for admission under the quota system, the total annual influx figure was further reduced. Chinese migrants in Thailand were required by the Alien Registration Ordinance in October, 1950, to carry an identity card. Movement was restricted and those who left their places of residence for more than two weeks, had to notify the police (Thompson, 1955:45).

#### Chinese Language Usage and Education

The prevailing belief that the Chinese presence offered an internal Communist threat spilled over into the sphere of Chinese education. Chinese schools were regarded as a medium for the dissemination of Communist propoganda.

As early as 1918, the Private School Act, restricted the teaching of the Chinese language in Thailand to the primary level. But the Sino-Thai Treaty of 1946 gave these Chinese schools a reprieve such that there were about 400 such schools after the Second World War. However, this situation underwent a drastic change the moment the Peking regime flourished. The pre-war policy of aggressive nationalism came into force again and in the four years from 1948 to 1951 the number of Chinese schools was reduced to 50. A number of Chinese teachers were also deported on suspicion of having participated in the anti-government upheaval of November, 1952 (Skinner, 1950:9). The final blow to Chinese education in Thailand was achieved when the Education Department announced in February, 1951 that equal

time had to be given to the Thai language in Chinese schools. Standardized text books were also to be issued.<sup>23</sup>

In the wake of the May 13th racial riots of 1969<sup>24</sup> the Malay dominated government decided to press towards the rapid 'restructuring' of Malaysian society and the development of 'national unity' through the promulgation of the 'Second Malaysia Plan'. It involves, in addition to the correction of the Chinese stranglehold on the economy, the formation of:

'education policies designed to encourage common values and loyalties among all communities and all regions; the cultivation of a sense of dedication to the nation through services of all kinds; the careful development of a national language and literature of art and music; the emergence of truly national symbols and institutions based on the cultures and traditions of the society'.<sup>25</sup>

Given the tremendous importance of education in Malaysia and the rest of the developing world - thereby giving educational issues an even greater emotional salience - it is not surprising that much of the government efforts to enact its 1969 policies has concentrated on this crucial area of education and, in particular, higher education. It should be noted too, that since such policies have been elevated to the level of national ideology, measures are taken to prevent dissent - by declaring them to be officially

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<sup>23</sup> Bangkok Post, 5 February, 1951.

<sup>24</sup> See Fletcher, 1969; Freedman, 1960; Goh, 1971; Mahathir, 1970; Purcell, 1948; Ratnam, 1964.

<sup>25</sup> Government Press, 1971:3.

'sensitive issues'. Criticism of these policies is considered seditious, even on the floor of Parliament (Basham, 1983:59).

Existing universities, such as the University of Malaya at Kuala Lumpur and new ones, namely, the University of Science at Penang, the Universiti Kebangsaan and the Universiti Merdeka, were opened to promote the development of science and higher education in the Malay language. University control over educational policy and enrolment<sup>26</sup> was geared such that Malays and other indigenous peoples would be given greater representation in the university and in particular fields of study (e.g. the sciences), in which they were underrepresented (Mohamed Suffian, 1973:72).

All of this meant a predominance of Malay students in universities: in 1977, out of the 5953 successful applicants,<sup>27</sup> 4457 were Malay, while 1187 were Chinese, 226 Indians and 43 'others'. Since all or nearly all Malays who applied for university admission were accepted for matriculation, it was estimated that some 20,000 non-Malay students were denied places (Fernandez, 1978:53; Lim, 1978:263). This situation was compounded by the fact that the government denied the Chinese community permission to establish a private university to accommodate students who failed to gain admission to state universities - an action that has reaffirmed the feelings of non-Malays that their relative exclusion from higher education stems not from economic necessity but from unexpressed government policy (Das, 1978:28).

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<sup>26</sup> This is clearly reflected in the Malay preference in scholarships and government employment that directly affect the structure of the universities (see Basham, 1983:57-77).

<sup>27</sup> Some 25,998 applied.

This salience of 'race' was also invoked in the government's policy - the Second Malaysia Plan - to readdress the imbalance of wealth among the 'races':

'... This policy involves the modernization of rural life, a rapid and balanced growth of urban activities and the creation of a Malay commercial and industrial community in all categories and at all levels of operation, so that Malays and other indigenous people will become full partners in all aspects of the economic life of the nation'.<sup>28</sup>

To achieve this, multinational corporations, especially foreign companies, are encouraged to hire Malays in executive positions. It is government policy to further ensure that Malays will have 30 per cent equity capital in all business by the end of the next decade.<sup>29</sup> Not surprisingly, this has led to charges of what is locally termed 'Ali Babaism', that is, Chinese companies with token Malay partners.<sup>30</sup>

Entry by the Chinese into the political arena to elevate their situation has proved largely a failure. In Malaysia, the Merdeka agreement<sup>31</sup> to maintain the pre-independence status quo, whereby the Malays retain dominance in agriculture and governmental realms and Chinese, ascendancy in the commercial sector, is a source of endless

<sup>28</sup> Government Press, 1971:1

<sup>29</sup> Far Eastern Economic Review, June, 1978.

<sup>30</sup> Straits Times, 25 March, 1974:10,20.

<sup>31</sup> Purcell, 1965:325-347.



agonizing by members of both ethnic groups. So far, in Malaysia, it has proved effective in preventing large-scale political mobilization on the part of the Chinese.

The achievement of Indonesian independence has presented problems for the Chinese minority. The formation of the Baperki organisation was regarded initially as a good move on the part of the Chinese. It proved a rallying point for those Chinese who accepted the desirability of Indonesian citizenship but wanted to minimise its costs in terms of their traditional way of life. Political participation however entailed political alignment. Thus, in the late Guided Democracy period when politics was increasingly polarized between communists and radical nationalists under the aegis of President Sukarno, on the one hand, and anti-communists under the protection of the army, on the other, the Baperki naturally joined the former camp. Thus, its very success in mobilizing an unprecedentedly large number of Chinese into politics tended to identify the Chinese minority as a whole, with the left. The degree to which the Chinese became identified with the left became a liability when political circumstances changed and, in the intervening years before the New Order of General Suharto,<sup>32</sup> the Chinese were a ready scapegoat for all the country's ills.

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<sup>32</sup> The relative peace of the New Order was shaken by rioting in Jakarta in January, 1974. This has led to a call for 'total assimilation', including conversion to Islam, from certain quarters (Coppel, 1983:176).

Most Chinese organisations and schools were closed down and the Chinese language press was suppressed. Widespread extortion of money from Chinese businessmen were common and in a number of regions Chinese found it expedient to be registered with the immigration authorities as stateless rather than as Chinese nationals. A notable example was Acheh where Chinese were expelled en masse (Coppel, 1983: 150-176).

The overseas Chinese communities thus are interwoven webs of suppression, assimilation, restriction and integration. They found compromises where they could and assimilated where they could not. With increasing political pressure they bought citizenship and took advantage of their native wives' names for registering property or transferred property to their native born children. They changed their names, their attire and in rare cases, their religion. They operated Chinese businesses under local 'patronage'. Yet, in most cases they are regarded as alien and are targets of antagonism and envy. Throughout all of this they remain a small but disproportionately wealthy minority. As such, they have little choice but to come to terms with the government of the day. At the same time, they face the perennial dilemma that too great an identification with the powers that be at a given time, may spell disaster for the minority as a whole, if those powers are overthrown.

All of this underscores the bitter reality of the general situation of South-east Asian migrants or Present Migrants who arrive in Australia. It is not surprising then that these insecure migrants are usually reluctant to 'stand out' from the general populace. In this, they are assisted by the Immigration policies of the day which called for conformity to the mainstream lifestyle and values - a kind of 'protective coloration' (de Vos, 1975:181). This is evidenced by the preference of Anglo-Saxon sounding Christian names among the upwardly mobile Chinese. Ways are found to truncate or Anglicize their middle names. For instance, a Chinese bearing the surname of Lian and the middle names Kit Leng would simply introduce himself as Kit Lian or David Lian instead of Lian Kit Leng.

The reluctance to appear visible and the desire to be considered part of a dominant social group is aided, in a large part, by the workings of the Australian immigration regulations. This can be seen in the changing structure of the Chinese family and in particular, in the decline of the practice of filial piety where the once authoritative position of the aged is undermined. In addition, I compare the residential pattern, sex composition and occupational distribution between the Old and Present Migrants. I therefore focus on who are the Present Migrants in Melbourne.

POSITION OF PRESENT MIGRANTS IN MELBOURNEWho Are The Present Migrants?

There were two major waves of Chinese migration into Australia; before 1966 and after 1966. The movement, distribution, settlement and naturalisation pattern of the first group - Old Migrants - was constrained by the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901.<sup>1</sup> The second wave - of Present Migrants - was triggered by the abolition of the Dictation Test in 1958, and the introduction of the category of 'Distinguished and Highly Qualified' persons.<sup>2</sup>

However, while entry was permitted for Asians 'of distinguished character, achievement and substantial capital', (Ibid.) naturalisation was another matter altogether. A period of 15 years residence was set, so that in October, 1956, when non-Europeans for the first time were deemed eligible for citizenship, few Asians met this stringent requirement.

The Wartime refugees who were repatriated from the Pacific areas during the war years from 1940-46, played an important role in the reduction of the period for naturalisation. From the beginning, the question of the repatriation<sup>3</sup> of these refugees from Australia - the Wartime Refugee Removal Act 1949<sup>4</sup> - became something of a political issue. This is evidenced by the public debates

<sup>1</sup> See Tables 3 - 5 .

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 2, Clause 14 and Address by the Minister for Immigration, Mr. Downer to the Millions Club, Sydney on 9 July, 1958 (Appendix 5 ).

<sup>3</sup> Matters were further complicated in 1951 as a result of internal events in China. By that time the Communists had consolidated their hold over almost the entire mainland therefore making it difficult for the Australian government to deport Chinese migrants who did not wish to return (Choi, 1975:55-60).

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 4 , Part 3 and A.C. Palfreeman (1967), in The Administration of the White Australia Policy.

TABLE 1  
Chinese—Arrivals and Departures, Australia, 1902-1957

Entry category	1902-5	1906-10	1911-15	1916-20	1921-5	1926-30	1931-5	1936-40	1941-5	1946-50	1951-5	1956	1957
Holding permits issued by the States	1,814												
Sec. 3(m) Imm. Restr. Act (1901) wives and families	103												
Sec. 3(n) Imm. Restr. Act (1901) formerly domiciled	2,232												
Formerly domiciled—Admitted after 1906		6,251 <sup>a</sup>	9,995	8,386	6,123 <sup>a</sup>	6,745	2,621	1,837	148 <sup>d</sup>	—	—	—	—
Certificates of exemption	66	246 <sup>a</sup>	280	428	210 <sup>c</sup>	606	678	1,204	2,373	See Table			
Holding passports under 1912 agreement	—	—	35	36	230 <sup>c</sup>	258	148	201	41 <sup>d</sup>	—	—	—	—
Others <sup>e</sup>	206	0	490	426	0	524	510	546	1,770				
Total entry	4,438	7,075	10,800	9,276	8,944	8,033	3,857	3,788	4,332 <sup>a</sup>	5,496 <sup>f</sup>	5,186	1,464	1,416
Departures	0	0	0	10,199	11,031	10,426	5,538	3,870	4,112	6,497 <sup>f</sup>	0	0	0

<sup>a</sup> Not available.  
<sup>b</sup> Include Australian-born Chinese; Chinese naturalized before 1901; pearlers; illegal entrants.  
<sup>c</sup> 1906 not included.  
<sup>d</sup> For 1921 and 1923 only.  
<sup>e</sup> All arrived in 1941.  
<sup>f</sup> Includes 1,471 evacuees, deserting seamen, and persons detained under the National Security Regulations, who arrived in 1941.  
<sup>g</sup> From 1947 a small number of Chinese with British passports were not included in the total Chinese figures.  
Source: Immigration Returns tabled in Parliament under section 17 of the Immigration Act 1901-1949. They have not been tabled since 1957 because there is no comparable requirement in the Migration Act 1958.

TABLE 2  
Use of the Dictation Test to Prevent Entry, 1927-1956

Inclusive periods	1927-31	1932-6	1937-41	1942-6	1947-53	1954-6	Total
Admitted without being subjected to the dictation test							
1. European	379,504	244,441	272,400	71,699	1,249,295	674,914	2,892,253
2. Non-Europeans <sup>a</sup>	13,276	8,520	7,662	16,226 <sup>b</sup>	10,339	7,796	63,819
Refused admission on arrival							
1. Failed the dictation test	172 <sup>c</sup>	39	13	1	5	2	232 <sup>d</sup>
2. On other grounds	173	82	72	15	233	67	642

<sup>a</sup> Excludes Syrians and Palestinians.  
<sup>b</sup> Increase due to wartime refugees.  
<sup>c</sup> Includes 132 Italians subjected to the test in 1930.  
<sup>d</sup> Approximately only one-sixth of these were non-European.  
Source: As for Table 1

TABLE 3  
Chinese in Australia Holding Certificates of Exemption or Temporary Entry Permits in Selected Years (excluding students)

	1938	1948	1953	1957	1963	1965
Overseas Traders	95	100	189	160	83	61
Local Traders	0	29	83	59	66	53
Assistants	204	314	1,241	837	306	210
Café Workers	12	40	271	285	205	208
Substitutes	17	50	85	70	—	—
Wartime Arrivals	—	0	891	766	—	—
Dependants	0	0	720	753	636	598
Visitors	0	0	198	193	370	287
Others	0	0	160	306	379	392
Granted Free Employment	—	—	—	—	1,557	1,350
Distinguished and Highly Qualified	—	—	—	—	17 <sup>a</sup>	11
Total	0	0	3,938	3,426	3,618	3,170

<sup>a</sup> Not available.  
<sup>b</sup> Heads of families.  
Source: Department of Immigration statistics.

on the cases of Sergeant Gamba (1948), Mrs Annie O'Keefe (1949) and Nancy Pasad (1965). As a group, the wartime refugees, were a comparatively insignificant number. At the end of 1955 there were 798 non-Europeans under exemption of whom 772 were Chinese. They were denied the right to introduce their families or assistants into the country.<sup>5</sup>

All of this changed, when in 1966, the non-Europeans were allowed to achieve permanent residence after a five year stay (Palfreeman, 1967:61).

This was an unexpected boon to the private overseas students who entered independently for study purposes and had previously been permitted to stay only for the duration of their course. In 1948 there were only 338 private students in Australia, but in 1958 there were almost 5,500 and by 1966 about 11,000. The changes announced in 1966 did not include specific reference to returning students but did allow entry for permanent residence of 'Persons who by former residence in Australia or by association with us have demonstrated an interest in or identification with Australia that should make their future residence here feasible'.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> I do not include this group as part of what I term Present Migrants because of their relatively small number and the fact that they are now widely scattered in all capital cities and not concentrated in any one locality (see Choi, 1975:85).

<sup>6</sup> See Extract from Statement to Parliament by Mr. Opperman, Minister for Immigration, 9 March, 1966 (Appendix 5, Part 3)

Almost 70 per cent of these private students are made up of Chinese from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore (Palfreeman, 1967:41). Competence in English was a prerequisite for a visa and entry into Australian educational institutions. Furthermore, English was either the first or second language in these former British colonies. Thus, as potential migrants, these students, unlike the early migrants, are familiar with the language and a Western lifestyle. Moreover, unconstrained by the sponsorship system of their predecessors, they would be in constant contact with the wider Australian society, through the medium of schools, universities and friendship groups. Since their scholastic qualifications are achieved in Australia, they are better equipped than most groups, to enter the Australian employment sector and are therefore not restricted to Chinese niches. As the Sing Tao, a Chinese daily newspaper published in Sydney, asserts:

Now we have Chinese high up in government. You find them in Rotary and Lions. At almost any hospital there are Chinese doctors and nurses. When they establish a police station in Dixon Street - who knows? - we may even have a Chinese policeman. It is only in sport and politics that we don't seem to have made any impression - yet'.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Quoted in the Bulletin, 16 August, 1983.

Since the Present Asian immigrants are largely white collar,<sup>8</sup> especially in the professional occupations, they are less concentrated into immigrant enclaves and more geographically dispersed than the Old Migrants.

Before the Second World War, most of the Chinese in Victoria were concentrated in the city centres and in urban occupations such as furniture manufacture and laundry work. The city of Melbourne accounted for 63.3 per cent of the total Chinese population in 1921, 52.9 per cent in 1933 and less than 50 per cent since 1947 (Choi, 1975:70). By 1966, the percentage of Chinese in Melbourne city was down to 16.3 per cent, showing a definite trend towards suburbanization, especially in the south-eastern areas (see Table 6 ).

The Present Migrants also differ in two other aspects from their colonial predecessors, namely sex composition and residential integration.

#### Sex composition

The 1901 Immigration Restriction Act promoted a predominantly male Chinese population in Australia, so that although social change in China during the 1920's permitted the emigration of married females, the number of Chinese females remained small in Australia. However, the Australian government's decision to grant naturalization

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<sup>8</sup> The largest proportion of qualified males from Malaysia and Singapore has obtained a bachelor degree and the largest proportion of qualified females has obtained a certificate other than a trade certificate. Nearly half (45 per cent) of employed Malaysians are professional, technical and related workers, while 30 per cent of employed Singaporeans are in these fields (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 'Profile 81').



Table 6 : INTERCENSAL INCREASE OF CHINESE IN METROPOLITAN MELBOURNE, <sup>a</sup> 1947-66 (FULL CHINESE ONLY)  
(Base Year 1947 = 100)

SECTORS	1947 INDEX	1954 INDEX	1961 INDEX	1966 INDEX
<u>Central Sector:</u>				
Melbourne City	554 (100)	770 (139)	942 (170)	995 (180)
City Suburbs <sup>b</sup>	236 (100)	236 (100)	284 (120)	212 (90)
Total Central	790 (100)	1,006 (127)	1,226 (155)	1,207 (153)
<u>Southern Sector:</u>				
Inner Suburbs <sup>c</sup>	182 (100)	357 (196)	949 (521)	1,166 (641)
Outer Suburbs <sup>d</sup>	22 (100)	76 (267)	247 (1123)	479 (2395)
Total Southern	204 (100)	433 (214)	1,196 (586)	1,645 (814)
<u>Eastern Sector:</u>				
Inner Suburbs <sup>e</sup>	107 (100)	376 (351)	907 (847)	967 (904)
Outer Suburbs <sup>f</sup>	20 (100)	83 (415)	268 (1340)	403 (2015)
Total Eastern	127 (100)	459 (361)	1,175 (925)	1,370 (1079)
<u>Northern Sector:</u>				
Inner Suburbs <sup>g</sup>	129 (100)	259 (201)	421 (326)	469 (364)
Outer Suburbs <sup>h</sup>	22 (100)	64 (291)	86 (391)	128 (582)
Total Northern	151 (100)	323 (214)	507 (336)	597 (395)
<u>Western Sector:</u>				
Inner Suburbs <sup>i</sup>	-	11	69	68
Outer Suburbs <sup>j</sup>	13	13	14	29
Total Western	13	24	83	97
Total Melbourne	1,285 (100)	2,245 (175)	4,187 (326)	4,916 (383)

<sup>a</sup> Sectors are Statistical Districts used by the Melbourne Board of Works in their 1954 Planning Scheme: Survey and Analysis, p.16. For the exact suburbs (L.G.A.s) contained in each Sector, see footnotes b-j below. The sectors are further divided into Inner and Outer suburbs (except the Central Sector) to show the large increases to outer suburbs.

<sup>b</sup> Suburbs of Collingwood, Fitzroy, Port Melbourne, Richmond and South Melbourne.

<sup>c</sup> Suburbs of Brighton, Caulfield, Malvern, Prahran and St Kilda.

<sup>d</sup> Suburbs of Berwick (shire), Chelsea, Cranbourne (shire), Dandenong, Springvale, Frankston, Knox (shire) or Fern Tree Gully, Moorabbin, Mordialloc, Mornington (shire), Mulgrave (Waverley), Oakleigh, Sandringham and Sherbrooke (shire).

<sup>e</sup> Suburbs of Camberwell, Hawthorn and Kew.

<sup>f</sup> Suburbs of Boxhill, Croydon, Lilydale (shire), Doncaster and Templestowe, Eltham (shire), Heidelberg and Diamond Valley, Nunawading and Ringwood.

<sup>g</sup> Suburbs of Brunswick, Coburg, Essendon and Northcote.

<sup>h</sup> Suburbs of Broadmeadow, Bulla (shire), Keilor, Preston and Whittlesea (shire).

<sup>i</sup> Suburbs of Footscray and Williamstown.

<sup>j</sup> Suburbs of Altona, Melton (shire), Sunshine, and Werribee (shire)

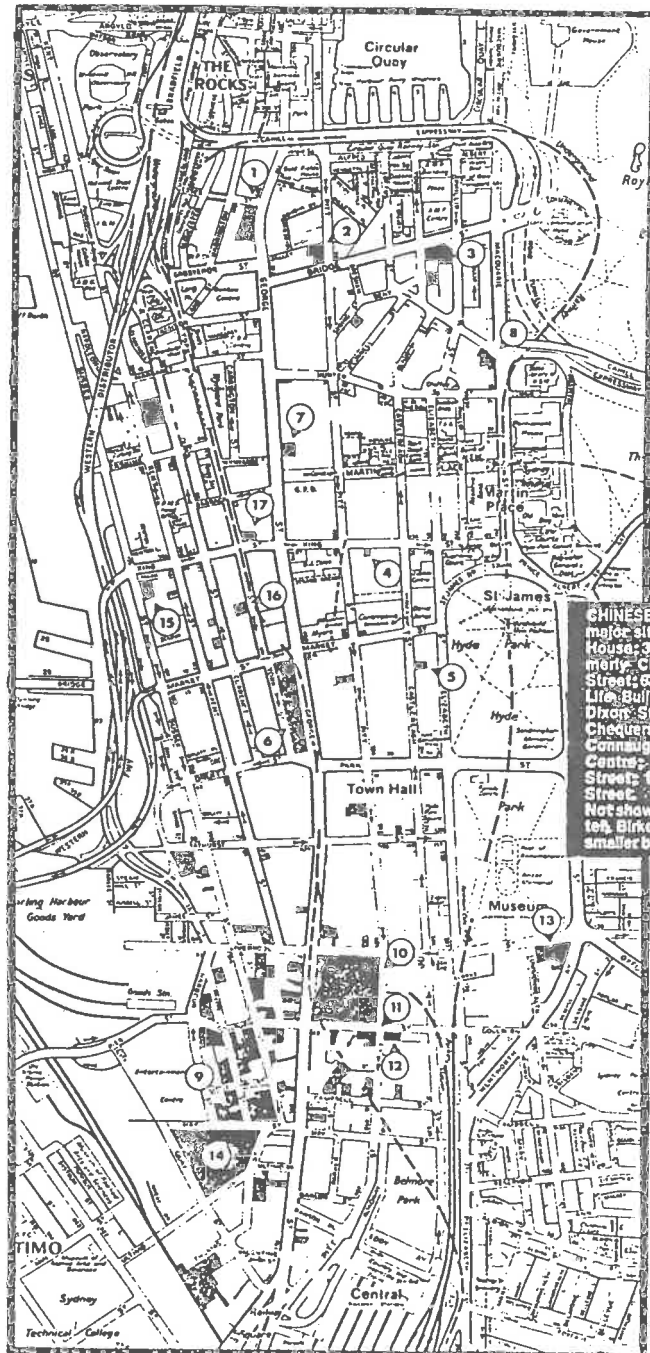
rights to the Chinese in the late 1950's, marked the beginnings of the arrival of the Chinese females to this country. The proportion of males to females in the Chinese population today, is in most cases, an equal one.<sup>9</sup> More importantly, there is the emergence of Chinese family units.

In 1966, the ten suburbs having the most Chinese were listed in ranking order as Camberwell, Hawthorn, St. Kilda, Prahran, Caulfield, Malvern, Kew, Essendon, Coburg and Oakleigh (Choi, 1975:75). In recent years the eastern suburbs of Doncaster, Boxhill and Templestowe can be added to the list. According to a scale of socio-economic ranking, drawn by Lancaster Jones (1967:109), a large number of Chinese are integrated residentially into the wealthier suburbs of Melbourne.

That the Present Migrants have settled in the most desirable locations in Melbourne is indicative of their economic resources. The two maps overleaf give an estimate of Chinese property investment in Melbourne and Sydney. There is also the 'money migration' from Hong Kong, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia. Official figures show that in the first quarter of 1983, overseas Asian investors poured a record 1000 million dollars into Australia with Hong Kong alone accounting for 417 million dollars.

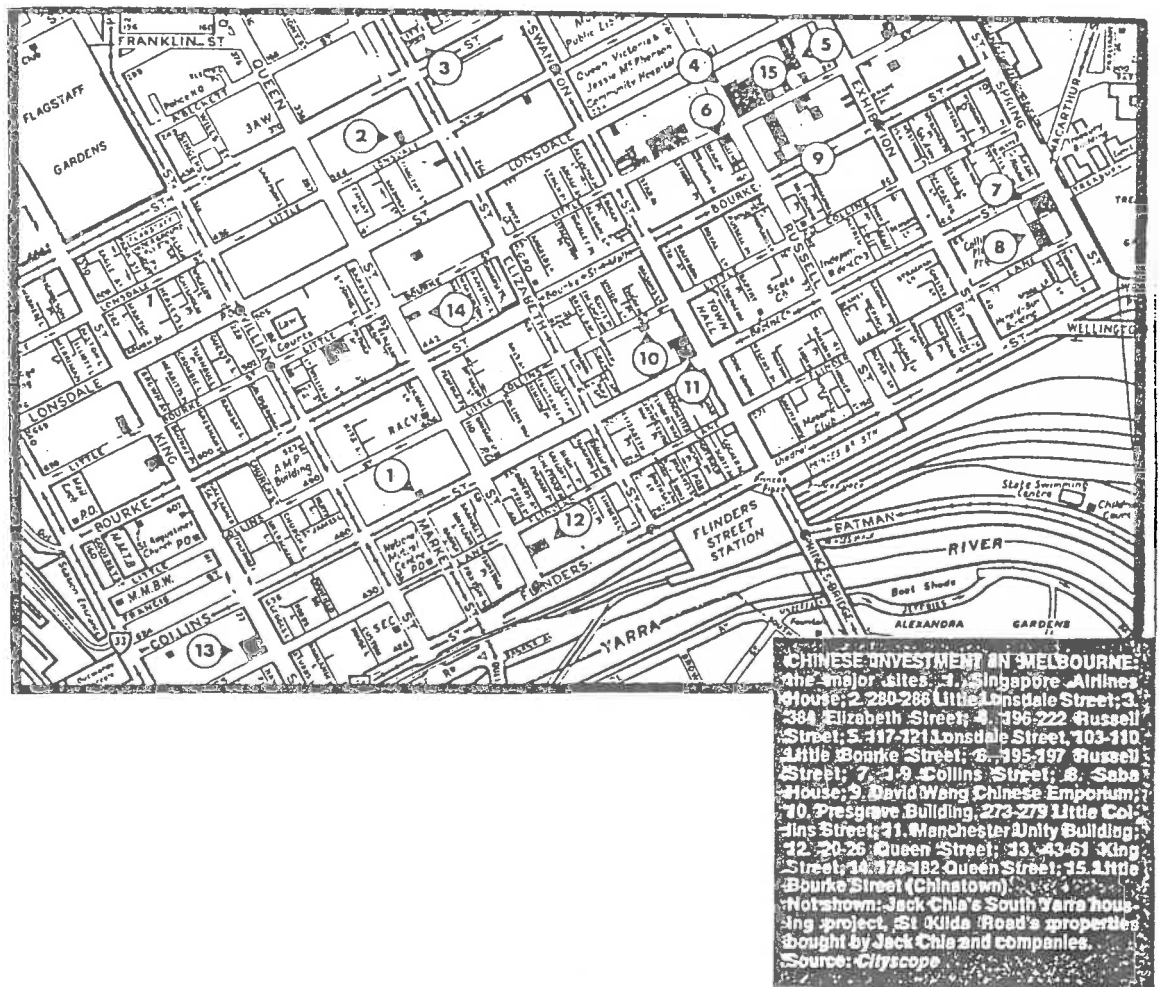
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<sup>9</sup> The male/female ratio for Malaysians is 50:50; the same holds for those from China and Hong Kong. The male/female ratio for Singaporeans is 48:52. No other figures of Asians are available. (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Profile 1981.)



**CHINESE PROPERTY INVESTMENT IN SYDNEY** — the major sites: 1. Regent of Sydney Hotel; 2. Phoenix House; 3. 38-42 Young Street; 4. 135 King Street (formerly Chandris House); 5. 124-128 Castlereagh Street; 6. Queen Victoria Building; 7. National Mutual Life Building; 8. Macquarie House; 9. Chinatown, Dixon Street; 10. Anthony Hordern Building; 11. Chequer Night Club; 12. Mandarin Club; 13. The Connaught; 14. Shangri-La Hotel and Convention Centre; 15. 140-144 Sussex Street; 16. Sussex Street; 16. General Credits House; 17. 58-66 King Street. Not shown: New Chevron Hotel, Hyatt Kingsgate Hotel, Birkenhead Point. Other shaded areas denote smaller buildings in which the Chinese have invested.

Cityscope, 1983.



Cityscope, 1983.

Chinese companies such as the Hong Kong Land and Carrian Group own an estimated 80 major commercial buildings in Sydney's Central Business District (CBD), most of the major hotels and the Franklins supermarked chain in New South Wales. Chinese interests have bought prime residential land in suburbs in every major capital city and cattle stations in the Northern Territory. Since much of the investments are bought under nominee or trust companies the full extent of Chinese holdings in the property market<sup>t</sup> is unknown. However, there is no doubt that Chinese with names such as Ho, Wu, Young, Choy are changing the ownership structure of Australia's glass and concrete assets.<sup>10</sup>

The suburbanization of the Present Migrants has a clear cut effect on their social integration into the wider society. Their children - ABC's - attend schools where students are predominantly Australian. Their wives shop at suburban shopping centres; with Australian neighbours they learn to speak ~~a more idiosyncratic brand~~ of Australian English. Chinese who are Christians attend local churches, rather than commute to the city centres. In fact, the increasing number of Christians within the present Chinese population has an adverse effect on the practice of the rituals of domestic and ancestor worship. (Table 7 and 8).

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<sup>10</sup> Bulletin, 16 August, 1983.

Table 7.

CHINESE IN VICTORIA

YEAR	CONFUCIANS AND BUDDHISTS	CHRISTIANS
1891	71.3%	16.2%
1901	64.0%	28.5%
1911	33.0%	Not available
1921	25.4%	Not available

Census of Victoria, 1891 and 1901  
and Census of the Commonwealth of  
Australia, 1911 and 1921.

Table 8.

CHINESE IN VICTORIA (1981)

	Singapore	Malaysia	China <sup>(b)</sup>
Christian	56.4%	40.4%	36.0%
Buddhist	3.5%	13.7%	6.6%
Hebrew	1.3%	0.2%	1.3%
Muslim	2.3%	3.4%	0.1%
Other <sup>(a)</sup>	36.4%	42.3%	55.5%

NOTE: (a) Includes non-Christian, Inadequately Described,  
No Religion so described, Not Stated.

(b) Includes Hong Kong

Census 1981

The decline of such rituals is not restricted only to the Present Migrants. The Australian Immigration Act Of 1901 created a situation where females were rare and family units even rarer among the Old Migrants. As Freedman (1967:97; 1957:45,220) and Fabre (1935:121) pointed out, the domestic cult of ancestor worship tended to be regulated by the women, adult men taking little part in it. Once, you could enter a Chinese home and likely as not, you would see prominently displayed three porcelain figurines standing side by side on a family altar. They were Lu-hsing, Fu-hsing and Shou-lao, the personifications of Prosperity, Happiness and Longevity.

In Australia, today, this trinity of household gods is no longer worshipped except in very conservative homes and even then only by the very old. In most cases they are preserved not as objects of reverence but for their ornamental value. They are placed in conspicuous positions in the living room on the mantelpiece, among other objects d'art.

As for the 'communal' rituals of ancestor worship, their gradual demise is reflected in the poor attendance at the Guan Gong or See Yap Temple in South Melbourne, the only Chinese temple in Melbourne. It comes to life barely three times a year on the Spring and Autumn rituals of ancestor worship, the birthday of Guan God the main deity and on the Chinese New Year. Even so, attendance tends to be restricted to the Old Migrants and those who are attracted by the free food and refreshments rather than for any religious reasons.

Formerly these rituals of ancestor worship underscored the concept of filial piety and legitimised the structure and continuity of the patrilineal and multigenerational Chinese family, clan and lineage. The decline of such rituals signified a challenge to filial piety and the loss of its sacred and binding character within the family. In short, the Present Migrant Chinese family in Australia has contracted itself to the conjugal couple and their young children - a pattern not dissimilar to the ideal mainstream model of a nuclear family. The elderly are excluded - which is one of the main reasons for their role of uncertainty in the context of Australian society, a drastic reversal of their once authoritative position in the family, clan and lineage.

The family plays a prominent role in the adaptive potential of the ethnic group. As the agent of primary socialization, the family is the conduit, the shaper of the roles its members play in society, the arbiter of morality and the maker of values, beliefs and attitudes that determine how individuals behave in their social interactions (Mithun, 1983:214).

The cultural ideal of the family<sup>11</sup> in Australia is the nuclear or conjugal family with a male head of the household and perhaps some extended relations maintained with other family members so long as these are not marked by interdependent status. The primary dyad is the husband-

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<sup>11</sup> Cultural patterns which differ from this ideal mainstream model are 'deviants' or variants, some more so than others. For instance, if the primary dyad were father-son with or without an extended family it would not be too deviant, as that was historically the European cultural pattern and the traditionally Chinese one as well. The mainstream family has been shifting over time from an authoritarian patriarchal form to an egalitarian friendship model.



wife relationship within the nuclear family of procreation residing in a single independent household (Hsu, 1972; Kelly, 1974:23).

Most Australian families have an egalitarian relationship between husband and wife; children are relatively independent - Hsu (1972) suggests that this fosters self-reliance and individualism among the children. Mainstream families generally foster the 'Protestant ethic' (Weber, 1904) whose major tenets include industry, aggressiveness, competition, speed, perseverance, goal oriented behaviour, future time orientation, literacy, cleanliness, repression of sexuality, thrift, innovation and self-reliance as expressed in a striving for self-sufficiency and individualism. The extent to which different migrant groups have held mainstream beliefs and values, or those approximated to them, have determined in the past, their success in acculturation and ultimately assimilation in Australia.

Historically, the majority of the Old Migrants in Victoria were considered unassimilable, because their cultural beliefs differed in some major elements from mainstream culture. The structure of the traditional Chinese family and clan fostered Chinese passivity, orientation to the past (ancestor worship), dependence on kin and lack of individual social mobility, all of which were detrimental to assimilation (see Appendix 7). Chinese religion and traditions provided continuity and solidarity which met Australian culture with passive indifference. This is evidenced by the Old Migrant's overall resistance to the teachings of Christianity: they in fact viewed such religious conversion as a 'betrayal' (cf. De Vos and Romanucc-Ross, 1975:358).

Further, the Chinese predominance of the father-son dyad and the past to present orientation<sup>12</sup> tended to militate against the development of self-reliant individuals. Even overseas, obedience to authority and dependency relations were encouraged among the Chinese sojourners. This can be observed in the all pervasive influence of the migrant organisations such as the See Yap and Masonic societies as well as the sponsorship system itself. There is also the obedience to the authority of the clan and lineage which calls for regular remittances to the home village in China. Among some of the Present Migrants the primacy of kin ties continue to be emphasized - even today Chinese university graduates frequently remit a substantial portion of their income to their families in Asia.

The most significant difference between the Old and Present Migrants is the changing pattern of the family. Traditional Chinese and South-east Asian social organization valued two forms of ideal residential patterns of the extended family<sup>13</sup> - the stem and the joint family. These

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<sup>12</sup> As seen in the rituals of ancestor worship. The ancestors in their shrines are tended, revered and fed. The living acknowledge them as their superiors, admitting a debt for the gift of their lives and the goodness of those lives for it is believed that ancestors endow their descendants with the merit they have themselves accumulated. In expressing obeisance, the living are made conscious of their membership of the groups within which they worship, the smallest being the domestic family and the largest a higher order lineage (see Arthur P. Wolf, 1974 'Gods Ghosts and Ancestors' In Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society California: Stanford University Press; Freedman, M. (ed) 1967. 'Ancestor Worship: Two Facets of the Chinese Case' In Social Organization : Essays Presented to Raymond Firth, Frank Cass and Co.:London; Hsu, F.L.K., 1971 Under the Ancestors' Shadow: Kinship, Personality and Social Mobility in China, Stanford, California.

<sup>13</sup> See Donald E. Willmott (1960).

are distinguished by the residence of parents and one of their sons, his wife and children in stem families and of parents and two or more sons or daughters with their respective spouses and children in joint families.

Due to the restrictions of the Australian Immigration system, the conjugal pattern of residential preference has developed at an increasing rate among the Present Migrants. It must be noted here that Family Reunion Schemes were not encouraged until 1981. This means that where once aged parents occupied a respected position in a son's house, today the three generation Chinese stem family in Australia has become rare. Children are no longer brought up in the same households with doting grandparents who shower them with affection and transmit traditional Chinese customs often neglected by working parents. In fact, a number of elderly informants has complained that they could not communicate with their grandchildren, most of whom spoke little or no Chinese. Occupational mobility too has removed much of the importance of grandparents whose former role in transmitting vocational knowledge has become increasingly irrelevant in a society stressing universal extrafamilial education and achievement. As R.P. Dore (1958:113) reports, 'The ideal of following in a father's footsteps, is replaced by the ideal of doing better than the father'.

The implementation of the Family Reunion Scheme by the Department of Immigration, at this late stage has resulted in a significant change in the Chinese pattern of family life. Traditionally, in China and in South-east Asia, stem families were formed by the addition of a son's wife to a nuclear family. However, in Australia, in contrast to this, the majority of Present Migrant families is formed by the addition of an aged parent rather than that of a young daughter-in-law. This is of vital social and psychological significance because it makes a great deal of difference / who comes as the 'outsider' to the original unit (see Appendix 7 ).

Additionally, Present Chinese Migrants have begun to place greater emphasis on the recognition of the wife's kin, such that the system is shifting from its traditional patrilineal, patrilocal character to one that is bilateral and bilocal or neolocal (that is, recognising the kin of both spouses and permitting residence with either of their families). This could be due to the increasing status of Chinese women in their men's eyes. Husbands are expected to take an active role in child care:

'My husband cooks on the nights that I go on duty (nursing). He even cleans the toilet - his mother was horrified when I told her about it. She said that, that was women's work!'

In principle, informants admit, the division of labour was flexible and there was considerable sharing of tasks. Financial affairs were managed jointly and equal consultations were taken on all major decisions. Women had a choice in having children and a career after marriage:

'My husband is the only son in his family. We have two daughters. My mother-in-law ... she's at home (in Malaysia) complains that there is no one to carry down the family name. Wants me to try again, for a son. If I were living at home, she could force me but here, I am too far away ... what could she do? We go back once every three years or so depending on if we can afford it. If she nags too much, I won't go back'.

These changes, especially the shift of traditional functions of kinship away from actual kin have resulted in what Masuoka in his study of modern Japan termed the 'rolelessness of the aged' (1962:5). Neglect of the elderly has not yet reached the level it has in American society, but the change from a society that venerated its aged to one that often regards them as superfluous has been confusing and painful for many who are now in their declining years. This dilemma is manifested in the establishment of the Chinese Community Social Service Centre (C.C.S.S.C.). The services offered while diverse -

such as marital crisis, legal aid, language interpretation and others - are mainly directed towards the problem of isolation among the Chinese aged. The very presence of a social worker in the Chinese community is an admission of its failure to 'be able to look after its own'. Once, such problems were handled by the family and lineage and later by the migrant associations among overseas Chinese. The Victorian Elderly Chinese Welfare Society was formed in 1982 in an effort to establish a Home for the Chinese Aged in which the medical and nursing staff would be Chinese. One of the greatest fears of my elderly informants was their inability to communicate their needs to the Australian staff in the private or government-run nursing or retirement homes.

The increasing loss of a clear social role for the aged and their loss of authority in the domestic situation, is indicated by the suicide rate among the Chinese aged. While exact statistics are not available, the reasons for this extreme attempt, given for all the cases which were brought to the notice of the Social Service Centre, were found to be due to domestic friction and the drastic reversal of the position of authority once held by the old. In one case, a 70 year old women, sponsored by her son to Australia, three years ago, attempted to kill herself, three times. She viewed the source of her problems to be her daughter-in-law who resented the presence of an old lady in her home. Eventually she was moved to the garage and virtually abandoned - her son would occasionally sneak food to his mother, late at night, after work in a restaurant.

Finally she was told to leave altogether. Her attempt to throw herself in front of a car, brought her to the attention of the police and welfare officers who failed to understand her as she spoke no English.

In another case, a couple from Hong Kong was sponsored by their children to stay in Australia. Matters went well until the house was sold. An offer by the children to rent the couple a flat of their own was rejected. The father threatened to kill his children for what he perceived as their 'unfilial behaviour', before committing suicide with his wife.

In a third case, a couple was sponsored separately from North China by their children to a single joint household in Melbourne. Shortly thereafter, the wife left with a daughter. This move was swiftly repeated by the other children until only the aged father was left in an empty home with little means for food or rent. He proceeded to track down his scattered children who simply shut the door in his face or shifted quietly soon after his arrival. This situation of 'musical houses' continued until he was eventually forced to seek temporary quarters arranged by the Victorian Elderly Chinese Society.

Clearly then, filial piety in the Melbourne Chinese community was rejected not only in the sense of ancestor worship but the even older notion of filial piety - the duty of physical care and deference for parents in their old age.

In the words of an elderly informant who came to join his married son, in a single household:

'My son doesn't listen to me anymore. I tell him I have eaten more salt than he has rice but does he listen?'<sup>14</sup> He talks back to me and questions my words. Young people in my day do not question older people. No respect, these days. I sold everything so my wife and I can come over to stay and enjoy my grandchildren. What do we find when we come here - my son says I have to stay in the 'granny' flat. What is this granny flat, I say. He said, it is to give him and us more privacy. It has a separate entrance, separate kitchen<sup>15</sup> ... What is this privacy business? I and my wife, we come so we can be a family, a family lives together, eats together. Do we have leprosy that my son and family has to avoid us? I am still healthy, my wife is a little frail but we can walk. What happens to us when we are bedridden?

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<sup>14</sup> Salt is the smallest ingredient in an average Chinese meal. By saying that he has consumed more salt than rice the informant is claiming that he has lived longer than his son. His greater age therefore meant greater wisdom.

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted here that in Taiwan, where the informant once lived, separate stoves are established at a time of family division when brothers divide their father's household, the eldest brother usually inherits the original stove, while the younger sons build new ones in their quarters. Thus the 'fate' of a family, its unity is somehow localized in the stove - family division is commonly referred to as 'Pun-cau' or 'dividing the stove' (cf. Wolf, 1974:133 and Wang, 1974:186).



...You know that we Chinese consider it a great disgrace to stay in a Home. We call it in Chinese, 'Poor Man's Home'. Only if you have no family and no money do you go to one.'

### Summary

In this chapter, I have indicated a general convergence among the Present Migrants to the parental and social values of dominant Australian society through the requirements of the assimilation and integration policies of the day as well as the desire to reduce their visibility in white dominant Australia. The extended family has loosened the hold it once had on the various members of the Chinese kinship group in Melbourne. In its place the nuclear family consisting of husband, wife and their children now takes precedence. Young couples are less dependant on the older generation or on other family members in their age group. Consequently, they are now more independent in decision-making and in choosing their own way of life. They are inclined to move away from family localities. Interaction between kin are less often authoritative and economic but restricted to social and /or emotional relationship.

Social mobility and outward acculturation on their part have diminished many of the distinctive values that have typified their 'coolie' and goldmining brethren . Because of the emphasis on scarce occupational skills in the Immigration selection system, a disproportionate number of these Chinese migrants are largely white collar . This means that they are less concentrated into migrant enclaves and more geographically dispersed than other recent immigrant communities - the Indo-Chinese, for instance.

Thus there has been no new development of Chinese enclaves in Melbourne other than the Little Bourke Street 'Chinatown' which is the bastion of the Old Migrants.

As these Present Migrants become a significant segment of the suburban middle class and raise their Australian born children (ABC) in heterogeneous suburbs, we find that their descendants are sounding more like their middle class Australian and Anglo Saxon neighbours.

In colonial Australia, district organisations and secret societies were formed to help the new Chinese arrival, in the absence of clan and lineage, to construct some sense of order, identity and community in a strange land. However the dispersal of the Present Migrant because of their occupational status, make revitalization of these organisations a slow if not impossible task. Additionally the narrowly defined entry requirements such as proof of descent from a male ancestor in the See Yap region of Kwangtung, China, drastically reduce the number of likely applicants from South-east Asia.



Finally, due to the high degree of professionalism among the Present Migrants, there is a fading, although not total elimination of, past stereotypes of Chinese in demeaning occupations such as 'coolie' labourers, houseboys and laundrymen . This recognition of 'respectability' is vital to these Chinese who have immigrated from South-east Asian countries where their minority status renders them vulnerable to discrimination and mistreatment. It is not surprising then, to note that these Chinese, both Old Migrant and Present Migrant, have reacted swiftly to two events in recent years which seemed to threaten their hard won social acceptability. The first is the Chinatown Project Stage I - a project which, as its name suggests, involves an attempt to turn Little Bourke Street into a Chinese tourist attraction. The second event encompasses the arrival of thousands of Indo-Chinese refugees. Both of these events generated bitter opposition from the Chinese community because they threaten to raise the spectre of an 'Asian Invasion', thereby reviving the problem of racial visibility for the Chinese community. I detail this reaction to an imposed identity from exterior sources in later chapters. Before I address these issues, it is necessary to draw attention to the Australian Born Chinese, <sup>which</sup> I describe in the next chapter.

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THE AUSTRALIAN BORN CHINESE

There are two groups of Australian born Chinese in Melbourne, the descendants of the Old Migrants and those of the later Present Migrants. The first group by reason of the then prevailing Immigration rules, is small (see Table 1). The second group is much larger, following the flood of Chinese migrants entering Australia from the late 1960's onwards.<sup>1</sup> These Australian born Chinese regard themselves and are regarded by both the Chinese and Australian community at large, to be a distinct and separate category. Their 'distinctiveness' is recognised by foreign born Chinese migrants who first coined the term ABC or Australian born Chinese in recognition of the fact that these Chinese view themselves as Australians first, and Chinese second.

I witnessed an instance of this at the news of the America Cup victory by Australia in October, 1983. The response of the three categories in the Chinese community - Old Migrant, Present Migrant and ABC - was illuminating. The foreign born Old Migrant and Present Migrant, exclaimed that, 'They won the cup!'. The Australian born however proclaimed that, 'We won the cup!'.

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<sup>1</sup> There are no figures for Australian born Chinese after 1961 but it is clearly evident that the relaxation of Permanent Residency requirements which allowed the entry of 85,925 Chinese (Census 1981) - excluding the ethnic Chinese from Indo-China - would have produced more offspring than the previous Old Migrant residents.

TABLE I  
Chinese in Australia, 1861-1961

	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961
Australian-born											
Male						824	1,120	1,584	1,924	2,645	2,950
Female						632	906	1,316	1,804	2,222	2,600
<i>Total</i>	*	*	*	*	*	1,456	2,026	2,900	3,728	4,767	5,550
Foreign-born											
Male			38,274	35,523		21,032	14,820	7,727	4,670	6,605	11,287
Female			259	298		285	237	219	746	1,506	3,545
<i>Total</i>	*	*	38,533	35,821	29,907	21,297	15,057	7,946	5,416	8,111	14,832
Total Full Blood	*	*	38,533	35,821	29,907	22,753	17,083	10,846	9,144	12,878	20,382
Mixed Blood	*	*	*	*	3,090	3,019	3,669	3,503	2,950	2,680	3,186
Grand Total	38,000	28,000	38,533	35,821	32,997	25,772	20,752	14,349	12,094	15,558	23,568

\* Not available.

Sources: Commonwealth Census Reports; Commonwealth Year Book, vol. 1 (Canberra, 1907), p. 145; and vol. 18 (1925), pp. 951-6.

### Early ABC in Colonial Australia

The 'distinctiveness' of the ABC's today is largely derived from the special position of their merchant forebears whose wealth, education and outward accommodation to European attire, speech and in some cases, Christianity, rendered them acceptable to white dominated colonial Australia and its exclusionist immigration system (cf. Chapter 1). Their parents' wealth enabled these children to receive an Australian education at private schools and to further their studies in Australian tertiary institutions,<sup>2</sup> thereby making it possible for these early ABCs either to succeed to their fathers' businesses or to enter white collar Australian professions. This widened the gap between the ABC and the rest of the sponsored Chinese sojourners who remained locked into the menial Chinese niches of cooks, waiters, assistants or gardeners.

### Chinese education for ABC in colonial Australia

Initially some Old Migrant parents in colonial Australia sent their Australian born children to their home villages in China to be educated. This practice was halted soon after the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act came into effect. Parents feared the rigid entry laws might prevent their children from returning to Australia (Yong, 1977:211-2).

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<sup>2</sup> In 1933, the Commonwealth Census (Vol.I, 916-17, 946) recorded 1,474 full and mixed Chinese attending schools and universities in Australia. This was 47.6 per cent of the total eligible Chinese student age group, a percentage comparable to the Australian eligible student age group which constituted 48.3 per cent.

In 1908 the Chinese Empire Reform Association launched a campaign to establish a Chinese school for ABC in Sydney and Melbourne.<sup>3</sup> They saw a need for these children to receive a Chinese education, 'in preparation for their future contribution to their motherland'.<sup>4</sup>

In November, 1909, a Chinese evening school was started in Melbourne, with an enrolment of 30 pupils.<sup>5</sup> A further Chinese primary school, the Chung Wah School with an enrolment of 20 pupils was opened in Sydney the following year.<sup>6</sup> Neither school made much headway.

Subsequent attempts in 1913, 1920 and 1925 to either open new schools or to reopen old ones were shortlived.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Tung Wah Times, 11 April, 1908; 13 March, 1909, 15 May, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> Tung Wah Times, 15 May, 1909.  
This move was influenced by the visit of the Chinese Consul-General to Australia, Liang Ian Hsun who tried to foster Chinese political consciousness among the overseas Chinese. In a speech at the Kong Chew Society in Melbourne in 1909 and in subsequent visits the following year, at Ballarat and Bendigo, he stressed the significance of Chinese schools to instil Chinese nationalism and the need for bilingual ABCs to serve China (Chinese Times, 3 April, 1909; 2 April, 1910).

<sup>5</sup> Chinese Times, 6 November, 1909.

<sup>6</sup> Argus, 17 February, 1910.

<sup>7</sup> The Quong Wah School with 50 students began in November, 1913 at Surrey Hills, Sydney. It ceased operation in 1915 and was reopened in 1920 and again in 1925. (Commonwealth Archives Office, P32A1 15/13159 Ng Hung Pui and Chiu Kwok Chun File, Department of External Affairs Memorandum, 13 November, 1913; Facts on the Development of the Australian branch, the Chinese Nationalist Party, p.71; Chinese Republic News 4 April, 1925.) The Chung Wah School in Sydney was reopened in January, 1924 with over 50 students. It barely lasted another year before it finally closed its doors (Tung Wah Times, 19 January, 1924).

While the failure of these schools could be attributed to the lack of permanent teaching staff,<sup>8</sup> the relatively small enrolment of pupils in the Chinese schools compared to the Australian institutions of learning, reflected the cultural bigotry of the period. Like their merchant fathers these ABC needed to function in the wider Australian society. Assimilation was the key to success and in many cases, Chinese culture and Chinese literacy was the price that was paid.

#### ABC organisations in colonial Australia

Their ability to function adequately in the host society served to divorce the ABC from the Chinese communities of their parents. This is apparent in the formation of organisations exclusively for the Australian born. The first, in 1906, was headed by William Ah Ket, a distinguished barrister. It was called the Sino-Australian Organisation.<sup>9</sup> It functioned as a social club for the ABC to meet and discuss business and community problems. A similar organisation was formed in 1912 in Sydney - The Australian Chinese Association.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Yong, 1977:216.

<sup>9</sup> Chinese Times, 8 September, 1909; Yong, 1977:194.

<sup>10</sup> Sun, Sydney, 14 June, 1912. No information is available on this association.



Thus the early ABC are in a privileged position compared to their foreign born peers. Their fathers' wealth gained them an education, entry into the Australian employment market and a degree of respectability not enjoyed by the other Chinese migrants. Their Christian religion admitted them to a new social level. In addition, their fathers' wealth also insulated them from the economic misery and the mire of bureaucratic Australian residency requirements. At the same time, their special treatment by the wider host society coupled with their unfamiliarity with the Chinese language and culture, serve to make them suspect to the rest of the Chinese community. The result of this is the widespread - and persisting - belief among the foreign born Old Migrants and Present Migrants that the ABC 'are arrogant and regard themselves as superior to the rest of the Chinese'.

#### ABC in the second wave of migration (1965-1980s)

The Australian born children of the Present Migrants in the late 1960's to the early '80's, like their early counterparts, attended schools and played with Australian children. They grew up learning the rules of Australian culture not as a superficial secondary accommodation but as their first learning experience. It would seem plausible to hold that these ABC had an easier time absorbing the Australian culture than the first ABCs, since their educated parents came from mainly ex-British Commonwealth countries, enjoyed an urban lifestyle and were already committed to a capitalist society.

As the medium of instruction in the Australian education system is English, Chinese parents speak English to their pre-school children so as to better prepare them for school. One Chinese parent confided with considerable apprehension that he and other parents were concerned over their Australian born children who are unable or barely able to speak their own language:

'It is a dilemma but what could we do if we want our children to fit into this society? The teacher told my wife to stop talking to our son in Cantonese or he won't be able to catch up with the other Aussie kids in class'.

My research in Melbourne has indicated that once the Australian born child reaches schooling age, he or she simply refuses to speak Chinese. Often I have seen young children and teenagers conducting an English-Chinese conversation with their parents; the parents speaking Chinese while the children reply in English.

#### ABC and Chinese language classes in present day Melbourne

In spite of this, there are 11 Chinese 'schools' in Melbourne. This recent proliferation of 'schools' has come about with the introduction of the Ethnic School Programme in 1983. It states that:

'... any organisation or ethnic community group which establishes a part time ethnic school to provide a programme of instruction in a community language and culture can apply for a grant ...'.

Encouraged by the grant of \$30 per student, annually, three Chinese organisations namely the See Yap, the Chinese Fellowship of Victoria (CFV) and the Chinese Association of Victoria (CAV), have decided to hold weekend classes for children of its members.<sup>11</sup>

Since these classes have existed for, at most, three years, it is difficult to discern their full effects on the Australian born children. The parents are, in general, fairly enthusiastic. As one parent commented:

'The course is after all free. I drop my children - three of them - off on Saturday morning about 9 a.m. and pick them up about 11.30. We take turns. I have a neighbour and his kids go too so we have a carpool. It is better than babysitting ... we get peace and quiet, my wife and I, for one morning a week.

... The lessons, well, I don't expect much. At least my children know they are Chinese and the older two can write their name, properly...'

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<sup>11</sup> The other Chinese schools situated in what is considered 'migrant' suburbs in Melbourne, namely Richmond, Abbotsford, Camberwell, East Melbourne, Mitcham, Footscray, Springvale and Essendon, cater mainly for Indo-Chinese and Timorese pupils.

The ages of the children in these classes are between six to ten years. Older teenagers and adults are rare. There is however an advanced adult class in the CFV, the only one of its kind, to my knowledge. Most schools organise the classes into four succeeding years: children are advanced yearly, regardless of academic ability. This however is no fault of the teachers, since there is no homework or tests. An exception is the CFV school which holds one or two major tests a year. As the administrator of the See Yap school pointed out:

'This not a proper school. We cannot force the children to come nor make them do homework or sit for exams. Parents complain that children have to cope with their normal school work without having Chinese homework. The children come two hours a week, either on Saturday and Sunday. There is not much time so we try to cram as much as possible, like forcefeeding. We are happy if after these classes, the children can understand, or better still, speak in everyday conversation ...'.

Absenteeism among pupils is high, especially during the end of term normal school examinations and the three month long vacation. The situation is compounded by inexperienced teachers, a lack of a formal syllabus and noisy classrooms.

The teachers receive no pay. Some are given transport expenses. Few have formal qualifications; most have studied Chinese for a few years in a Chinese school in South-east Asia. The turnover of teaching staff is high since they are mainly women with time on their hands or recent arrivals who are temporarily unemployed.

The lack of a syllabus means that the teachers are left very much to their own devices. Books are provided by the school, without charge, to the pupils. They are published in Hong Kong, Taiwan and China and as such their contents are frequently puzzling to the Australian born children who have no conception of an Asian bazaar or a 'Flower Day' Festival.

There are about 20 pupils to a class. They learn by rote - this, I was told by one of the teachers, was the method of instruction in South-east Asian Chinese schools. Consequently, lessons are often a two hour<sup>12</sup> mechanical recitation of the text by selected individuals or the whole class.

Classes are conducted in adjoining rooms or in a single hall partitioned by a screen. The sound of one reading class often disturbs the concentration of the adjoining classes. This is further augmented by bored children who keep up a constant background of chatter - in English.<sup>13</sup> As one teacher commented ruefully:

'You can always tell who is the teacher.

She is the one with the loudest voice'.

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<sup>12</sup> They have a 15 minute recess. Pupils also spent time copying words from the blackboard which they repeat endlessly for one or two pages.

<sup>13</sup> Pupils are constantly admonished to speak only Cantonese or Mandarin during school hours, a rule which is openly defied by pupils.

It is evident that these foreign born and ABC find the Chinese classes less than commendable. 'Boring' and 'useless' are frequently heard adjectives. If the weekend scenes of protesting, wheedling and whining children are anything to judge by, the classes are not popular.

At present, there is a significant absence of older teenagers among the pupils. Parents from South-East Asia are anxious that their children should not experience sanctions from the dominant society even if it means diminishing their Chinese identity while fulfilling Australian roles. As one Present Migrant father concluded:

'I do not want my child (ABC) to be half and half. He will have problems then. Let him grow up Australian. This is Australia, after all not China. Let him be good in English, study hard, be somebody. Then, when he is older, let him choose. He can find his Chinese heritage, if he wants to. I can force him to go (to Chinese classes) when he is small but to drag him there is no use when he doesn't want to learn ...'.

#### Intermarriage

My research also shows that there is a tendency for Australian born Chinese to intermarry or marry Australians rather than foreign born Chinese.<sup>14</sup> For the

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<sup>14</sup> C.Y. Choi (1975) in a sample survey which he conducted among the Melbourne Chinese in 1968 discovered a similar high trend of intermarriage. Among his ABC, 32 out of 61 married non-Chinese wives.

Australian born offspring of the Old Migrants, it was a circumstance somewhat beyond their control - there were simply no single Chinese foreign born women allowed entry into Australia after 1903. The high ratio of intermarriage among their part Chinese descendants is not unexpected, being products of mixed marriages they are not subject to parental disapproval about marrying outside their ethnic boundaries. As early as 1901 there were 3090 part Chinese in Australia, a figure which increased to a maximum of 3669 by 1921. There was a steady decline after this until 1954 when it was estimated that there were only 2680. However, by 1961, the last year for which separate figures were available in the Census, the numbers had increased to 3186. (Rivett, 1975:193).

Like their early counterparts, the Australian born children of the Present Migrants confront and absorb mainstream Australian culture, once they are of school age. Susie, a nineteen year old ABC explains:

'My parents migrated twenty years ago. I was born here, second child in a family of three. I attended the local primary and state school where there were few Asians. In fact I am the only Asian in class and my best friend, still is, an Italian girl. ... I don't date Asian boys because I don't like their attitude - you are a woman, what do you know! It is not just that I don't find Asians appealing. I can't talk to them.

I speak some See Yap but it's not that. We don't think alike. All my life I am surrounded by Australians ... I am Australian. I eat, think, speak and behave just like an Aussie so oneday I will marry an Australian even though my parents and their friends say I will have 'funny' children ...'.

If intermarriage is a useful measure of the assimilation process<sup>15</sup> (Adams, 1937; Price and Zubrzycki, 1962) then the ABCs have taken an important step away from their own primary group. It is even more significant considering the fundamental aspect of the family in Chinese society.

These Australian born children of the Present Migrants maintain their social aloofness in clubs such as the Dai Loong (meaning 'Big Dragon') Association and the Young Chinese League.

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<sup>15</sup> There are opposing views to this argument. Marcson (1950-1) has suggested that intermarriage might be a function of factors other than assimilation. Richardson (1962) maintained that friction in mixed marriages hindered rather than increased the rate of assimilation. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) concluded that far from weakening religious identity, intermarriage between different religious groups may result in an increase in the number of one of the groups.



A final point which emerges is the unusual 'surnames'<sup>16</sup> borne by some of the prominent Australian born Chinese families in Melbourne, families which trace their descent from wealthy Chinese merchants in colonial Victoria. A notable example is the 'surname' Wing Young - Australian born descendants give themselves names such as Jeffrey Wing Young or Tom Wing Young. This error was probably committed initially by colonial Australians who were unfamiliar with the Chinese method of writing their names, which was the reverse of the Australian one. Accordingly Wing Young which was in fact the given name of an ancestor, was erroneously taken to be the surname - and consequently perpetuated by the subsequent Australian born generation who failed to recognise the error because of their illiteracy in Chinese.

It is no wonder then that the Chinese community consider these Australian born Chinese in their midst, a distinct and disparate category. To the other Chinese they appear to share with them the same racial characteristics; but in all other aspects, they appear as Australians.

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<sup>16</sup> There are only a few hundred surnames in common use in the whole of China. They are inherited patrilineally and ideally form exogamous units, the idea being that all those who have the same name are ultimately descended from the same patrilineal ancestor, even though the actual lines of descent may be unknown.

CHAPTER FIVECHINESE ORGANISATIONS IN MELBOURNE

Ever since the influx of the Present Migrants to Australia in the late 1960's, the Chinese in Melbourne, have used the symbolic labels of 'Peking', and 'Taiwan', as a means of differentiating between the Old and Present Migrant factions. I do not include the Australian born Chinese in this overview since the general consensus among the Melbourne Chinese is that these Australian born children identify themselves with their country of birth rather than with their ancestral homeland.

The Old Migrants use the labels 'Peking' or 'China', not in any sense to refer to political ideologies, but because they were born in the villages of southern Kwangtung. Most have little love for the Communist regime whose take over and anti-capitalist policies forced their temporary sojourning overseas to become permanent. I do not claim that these Melbourne Chinese are not politically active - they are, or were, active in the affairs of monarchistic China and, in fact, Melbourne was deemed a Republican stronghold, one which campaigned for reforms and modernization and openly denounced the monarchy in China.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yong reported on the activities of the Melbourne Chinese Empire Reform Association founded in 1900. It ceased to function in 1904 and was revived the same year. It was rejuvenated again in 1909 calling itself the Chinese Reform Association. Also included is the Young China League formed in 1911, a group within the China Reform Association which raised funds and promoted the teachings of Dr Sun Yat Sen. In 1914 both groups were eventually incorporated into the Chinese Nationalistic League which adopted the name of the Kuo Min Tang in 1921. (Yong, 1977: Chapter 7-9).

Similarly the Present Migrants with their harsh experiences in South-east Asia, demonstrated their anti-Communist attitudes in Australia, by professing their support for Taiwan. Their enthusiasm was influenced in no small part by Australia's official recognition of Taiwan.

The situation in the Melbourne Chinese community was fairly clearcut. The Old Migrants opted for 'Peking', the Present Migrants for capitalist 'Taiwan' and the Australian Born Chinese were mainly indifferent. This is reflected in the various Chinese organisations in Melbourne. Thus organisations such as the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne made up mainly of former University students would celebrate the Double Ten - the anniversary of the tenth day of the tenth month in 1911 when Dr Sun Yat Set overthrew the Manchu dynasty. Old Migrant organisations like the Masonic society would honour an earlier anniversary, namely October 1st, an event which commemorates Mao Tse tung's victory over Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces in 1949.

This situation was disrupted in 1972 when Australia established diplomatic relations with the Peking regime, thereby severing official relations with Taiwan. The impact of this on the Chinese community in Melbourne was significant. The Present Migrants, in particular, were in a dilemma. Some factions and organisations decided in the interests of expediency to follow the dictates of the host government; others saw this as an all too frequent instance whereby a change of government meant a

change of policy and too great an identification with one or the other might generate unpleasant consequences if the political circumstances were to alter (cf. Chapter 2). Associations such as the Chinese Professional and Businessman's Association and the Chinese Association of Victoria fall into the first category of those who acquiesced in Australia's foreign policy. Their membership consists mainly of the 'elite' in the Chinese community - doctors, lawyers, restaurant owners with engineering and accountancy degrees, and other professionals whose jobs bring them in greater contact with the wider society. They are therefore reluctant to draw sanction from the dominant segment.

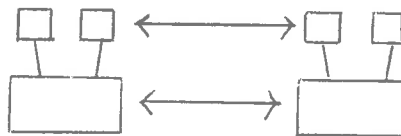
The second category of Present Migrant organisations consist of those like the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne who for reasons I have mentioned earlier, have decided to retain their former symbolic label of differentiation - 'Taiwan'. In this group too, are societies like the Hong Kong Club, referred to, contemptuously by other Chinese associations, as 'Mickey Mouse' or 'shell' societies. This derogatory term of reference is partly due to the small and ineffectual membership and partly to its neutral stance.

In addition, there is a third group, organisations which were rejuvenated by the new policy of tolerance towards the People's Republic of China. The Chinese Unity Association is a perfect example. It was formed in the early 1950's but died an early death due to its 'illegal'

promotion of Chinese cultural activities and friendship between the Peking and Australian governments. In 1973, the Association was resurrected and now boasts a mixed membership of Old and Present Migrants. It also openly sponsors cultural visits from Peking and entertains its trade delegates.

The important point here is that the modes of expressing opposition and recognition between the Old and Present Migrants have been rendered ineffectual by the change in Australia's diplomatic design.

I intend to draw attention in this chapter to the segmentary form of organisations in the Chinese community. The blurring of boundaries between the Old and Present Migrants has allowed certain Chinese organisations to form alignments with other Chinese organisations, alignments which would once have been anathema to them. These segmentary alignments are inclusively rather than hierarchically ordered:



Parkin~~/~~ (1974) in his study of Luo, Kikuya and Hausa associations in Africa suggested that the interests of an ethnic group might be advanced through a seemingly harmless network of kinship relations. However, formal structures such as congregational associations are needed to provide the actual mobilization of the residentially and occupationally dispersed members, into an interest or

pressure group. The ideology of the associations might be expressed in a wide variety of cultural idioms and activities such as religion, unilateral descent, welfare, recreation and others (Ibid:149-150).

I argue here that like the Kikuyu and Luo associations, the previously recreational, welfare, and non-political Chinese associations, used their 'indigenous' symbols to promote, recruit and organise a defence against the threat of Chinese visibility generated by the Chinatown Project Stage I, in 1975.

I also touch on the problem of the definition of ethnic boundaries, as understood by members of the community : when there is a dominant group, does its definition take precedence over those of others, leaving minorities little freedom to make their own distinctions?

The way in which differences between the organisations of the Old and Present Migrants are handled and by whom will also be examined in the following discussion of the activities and functions of the Chinese organisations in Melbourne.

#### Structure and leadership in Old Migrant Organisations.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, nearly all the Chinese migrants to Victoria were homogeneous, deriving from the coastal province of Kwangtung, China and belong to a single dialect group, Cantonese. Provenance and speech were used to order this Old Migrant community.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>2</sup> The exceptions were the secret societies whose methods of recruitment were unknown to the general public.

structures of the Chinese organisations which existed then were simple : recruitment was based on whether one came from the Cantonese speaking See Yap districts of Kwangtung.

These 'hui kuan'<sup>3</sup> associations like the See Yap society provided charity for the needy and tickets home for the aged or transients as well as advice to those with problems which could not be handled individually. Their leaders settled differences between individual members or community segments and represented their community at higher levels, sometimes acting on behalf of individual members in the case of a justified dispute with members of other communities. Offences, especially against members of the same community might be punished and redress given. In short they kept the peace in the Victorian Chinese community. In addition, they donated large sums for disaster relief or political action in China. They made policy decisions which affected the affairs of the entire community and even had what amounted to foreign relations with the government of China.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Meaning that they had a hall where feasts could be held, rooms that could be rented to transients and single members and a special burial area in the local cemetery.

<sup>4</sup> At first the Chinese imperial government of the nineteenth century made some attempt to control its emigration flow by imposing the death penalty for Chinese settling abroad. Thus once these Chinese left their home country, they were forgotten by their government. It was only in the twentieth century that moves were made to protect Chinese living overseas. Political parties in China competed for the support of compatriots living outside China. The Kuomintang mounted a campaign to bring them back to the party fold and after 1949, the Communist government also realised the political and economic potential of overseas Chinese. It established an extensive administrative machine to record, oversee and offer protection to expatriots and their relatives still in China (S. Fitzgerald, 1972; Yarwood, 1967).

While much of their power in the Chinese community today is diminished, certain aspects of the Old Migrant associations have not changed. Recruitment is still based on the narrowly defined 'chee guan'<sup>5</sup> and the structure of leadership remains the same.

While soliciting wide membership, these organisations are headed by a small group which holds all power not unlike that of a board of directors of a large stock company where directors control and represent large blocks of shareholders. A perfect example is the four sub organisations that make up the See Yap society in which each of the leaders takes turns to serve as President. Nominally, the leaders are elected, or appointed for definite terms, but they are often returned unopposed and nothing so crude as open campaigning occurs. Participation in one Old Migrant organisation is no bar to participation in other Old Migrant organisations since the bodies in question cater for a mass membership. Moreover some leaders are active in more than one association.

The names and manifest functions of these associations are chosen more with an eye towards official government regulations than anything else and are sometimes irrelevant to their primary role in the community, thereby camouflaging their true structural and functional position.

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<sup>5</sup> Every Chinese has a native place, the area of China where his lineage is localised and where his ancestors are buried and worshipped. He may have never seen it, having been born elsewhere in China or abroad, but he knows it as the place where his father or forefathers originated. This native place or 'chee guan' is permanent and cannot be changed. It is ascribed or inherited like a surname or lineage membership.



The Masonic society, for instance, believed by many in the Chinese community today, to be a secret society, styles itself a social and fraternal organisation.

Criteria for leadership in these associations was and is based on wealth and its concomitant prestige. Officers of these Old Migrant organisations in Victoria, are supposed to be elected from the membership, but in fact, only the wealthy are considered. This Old Migrant community in colonial and present Victoria is, in short, a plutocracy in which wealth breeds prestige and power. The elite of the Old Migrants are exclusively based on wealth or its derivatives, the only other criteria being education in the language of the government which is an asset to some highly placed leaders. In the past, these leaders acted as mediators and informal brokers between the Australian government and the Chinese people in a system not unlike that of the Kapitan China.<sup>6</sup> Now, however their role is reduced to representation of a segment of the Chinese community - that of the Old Migrants.

#### Structure and leadership in Present Migrant organisations.

Unlike the early 'coolies' in Australia, the Present Migrants are far from homogeneous in terms of their origin or speech group, although they do share certain

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<sup>6</sup> An arrangement of indirect rule first used by the Dutch in Indonesia and by the British for brief periods in their colonies. (cf. Wong, 1963). In colonial Victoria, a Victorian Chinese protectorate was formed for Chinese mines. They lived in special compounds controlled by Chinese 'captains' who kept order inside the compound, presided over Chinese civil matters and collected Chinese taxes for the Australian government (Cronin, 1982:Chapter 5).

characteristics as 'well qualified entrants' in the Australian immigration selection category (cf. Chapter 2). They come from diverse backgrounds in South-east Asia and belong to at least four dialect groups. Their forefathers were Cantonese from the neighbourhood of Kwangtung; Hainanese from Hainan Island, Hakka from the scattered inland areas of Northern Kwangtung and Southern Fukien; Hokkien from near Amoy and Teochiu from the Swatow area.<sup>7</sup> Thus Present Migrant organisations are not based on the narrowly defined criteria of provenance or speech. It is doubtful too whether some of these overseas born migrants are aware of their home villages in China. The exception are the Cantonese speaking Chinese from Hong Kong who, like the early coolie labourers, hail from the See Yap region. In fact, if the Present Migrants could be said to possess a common language, it is English.

The names of the Present Migrant organisations usually provide clues as to the function they serve or the kind of members they recruit (see Table 1). The general criteria<sup>on</sup> for entry is that one has to be Chinese. All of the known organisations style themselves as social and cultural societies. Others like the Chinese Fellowship, Kong Chew and Australian Asian Community Welfare Association do offer welfare facilities for its own members. Since the advent of a Chinese social worker for

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<sup>7</sup> Except for Hakka, which means literally 'guests' or 'gypsies', the speakers of whom are concentrated in discontinuous areas, the dialects spoken are associated with discrete localities in China.

TABLE 1

## CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS IN MELBOURNE\*

<u>SOCIETY</u>	<u>AIMS</u>	<u>MEMBERSHIP**</u>	<u>SYMBOLIC LABEL</u>
1. Chinese Masonic	Former anti-monastic. At present, presumably, social.	Old migrants. About 200 members.	'Peking'
2. Kong Chew (one of the 4 sub-organisations of the See Yap Society)	Social/Welfare Oldest Chinese Association in Victoria.	Old migrants. Small number from Hong Kong. About 2-300.	'Peking'
3. Chinese Fellowship of Victoria (C.F.V.)	Social/Welfare	Mixture. Mostly Present Migrants from Malaysia and Singapore. About 200.	'Peking'
4. Chinese Unity	Social	Mixture. Between 100-200.	'Peking'
5. Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne (C.Y.S.M.)	Social/Cultural	A.B.C. Mostly former University graduates from Hong Kong. About 2-300.	'Taiwan'
6. Chinese Professional and Businessman's Association (C.P.B.A.)	Social	Professionals and restaurant owners/managers. An elitist organisation. About 150	'Peking'
7. Hong Kong Club	Social	Remnants of Hong Kong University Students club. 20-50 members.	Neutral
8. Young Chinese League	Social/Cultural	A.B.C. only. Main cultural activity - dragon dance. 100 members.	Neutral
9. Chinese Association of Victoria (C.A.V.)	Social/Cultural	Mainly Malaysian, Singaporean professionals. Youngest association Largest membership strength, 1-2000.	'Peking'
<u>Associate members (less than 50 members or full Chinese membership).</u>			
10. Australian Asian Community Welfare Association (AACWA)	Social/Welfare	Used to consist of other Asian members. Now mostly Asian and Australian spouses.	Neutral
11. Dai Loong (meaning 'Big Dragon')	Cultural. Concerns only with the upkeep of the dragon.	A.B.C. only. About 20 members.	Neutral

\* In 1979 all of these associations were incorporated under the Federation of Chinese Associations (FCA)

\*\* Membership figures are estimates. There is no uniform method of calculating the numbers; some associations consider them in family units; others in individuals.

the general Chinese community in 1981, however, most welfare problems have been referred to the Chinese Community Social Service Centre.

Leadership in Present Migrant organisations.

Like the Old Migrant organisations, leadership in Present Migrant organisations is invested in those who possess wealth, education and rapport with the existing administration. Education here, however, involves mainly Western education, an ability to speak English fluently. My observations have shown that almost the only people who attend the infrequent meetings, including elections, are the rich and/or the ambitious. The Kong Chew society holds a massive banquet in conjunction with the election in an effort to induce greater participation from its members. However, as with the Old Migrants societies, the same people are often re-elected or reassigned to different positions on the committee. The Secretary of the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne and the President of the Chinese Fellowship of Victoria have held their respective positions for over 15 years. Moreover, leadership of the various Present Migrant organisations in Melbourne tends to be interlocked, so that most leaders have active positions in other organisations, at different levels. For instance, the current President of the Federation of Chinese Associations is also a committee member of the Chinese Professional and Businessman's Association and an ordinary member of the Chinese Association of Victoria and the Chinese Masonic Society, all of which project the symbolic idiom of Peking. Thus while multiple membership exists,

they are restricted to organisations which are not diametrically opposed. A member of the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne which embraces 'Taiwan', would not be a member of the Chinese Masonic Society which is an Old Migrant organisation in the 'Peking' faction.

Hence leaders in both the Old and Present Migrant communities possess similar qualities: wealth, prestige, ambition and education. The elite is comprised almost entirely of men who associate with Australians as equals or near equals. There have been only two women in Present Migrant associations.

Present Migrant leaders, however, because of their Western education and fluency in English move with greater confidence in Australian society. At the same time, this advantage becomes an electoral liability in the Old Migrant community. Similarly, Old Migrant leaders face the opposite situation. They are confident in Chinese - Cantonese - and though they may speak and understand English they are not fluent in it. The Australian born Chinese, on the other hand, are fluent in English but like their Present Migrant parents, fall short of the Chinese language qualification. In the words of a Present Migrant:

'They (ABC) are Chinese but they don't speak Chinese so you can say that they are not really Chinese as such, but of Chinese descent'.

However, as I pointed out earlier, leadership in the Chinese community is partly achieved and partly ascribed. And this is the crux of the problem among the Chinese, even today.

So far, no single leader has emerged to unite the Old Migrants, the Present Migrants and the Australian born Chinese. What appeals to one faction is unacceptable to another. However, the general Australian public and, in particular, the State and Federal government regard the Chinese as an undifferentiated mass. Thus, since leadership in the Chinese community is also ascribed, that is, ascribed by the Australian administration, a situation can arise whereby an individual may be recognised as a leader of the Chinese community by the State government when, in reality, he is a leader of only a faction in the community. I detail this instance in the following discussion of the Chinatown Project Stage I.

The 'Chinatown' Project.

In June, 1975 Councillor David Wang announced his plan 'to develop an area in Little Bourke Street, roughly between Swanston and Exhibition Streets as a distinctive Chinese quarter ... since it is after all home to 8000 Chinese in Melbourne'.<sup>8</sup> His ideas included the setting up of four archways at the intersections bounding this area, street decorations in the form of lanterns and banners, open-air Chinese restaurants, Chinese shops, markets and mini emporiums manned by only Chinese workers dressed in 'traditional clothing', so that it would have 'an authentic look' (Ibid.). His ideas were later expanded to include cultural promotions and festivals such as the Chinese New Year and even a Miss Chinatown quest.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Australian, 17 June, 1975.

<sup>9</sup> Australian News Bulletin, 14 October, 1975, Volume 10, Number 40, p.9-10; Melbourne Times, 30 June, 1976.

The plans for this officially labelled 'Chinatown Project' were said to have the approval of the State Government, the Melbourne City Council and local Chinese businesses. The Lord Mayor of Melbourne, Councillor Ron Walker gave public support to the scheme.<sup>10</sup> The entire cost was initially estimated to be \$200,000, half of which consisted of contributions from the State Government.<sup>11</sup> The Melbourne Chinese objected vehemently to this development. The President of the Chinese Fellowship of Victoria protested that:

'... The Chinese community should be treated as Australians and with dignity. Is it advisable to single out one community for commercialism?

... It could turn us into laughing stock.

... The name Chinatown itself is inappropriate. We are all Australians. Why should we be singled out as something special.

... We want to integrate. We want to do exactly what we are doing. Certainly we have our heritage but it should not be emphasized to attract attention ...'<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The Age, 2 September, 1975.

<sup>11</sup> It eventually totalled \$303,517.59 which was only sufficient for the erecting of the four archways and 20 clusters of street lights (Town Clerk's Office, File No. 75/2886).

<sup>12</sup> The Age, 19 January, 1976.

Similarly, the President of the Chinese Unity Association declared his organisations distaste for the whole idea of a Chinatown:

'It is going to give people a wrong impression of the Chinese people. This is the twentieth century, so why should the (Melbourne) council introduce something which will make people think of a man with a funny looking face and a pigtail pulling a rickshaw.

... some of our older members still wear traditional dress and believe in Buddha but this doesn't mean they prefer the old ways. The younger ones are beginning to see it is useful to learn Cantonese or Mandarin...<sup>13</sup>

The Secretary of the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne affirmed that 'the old image of the opium smoking, mahjong playing Chinese in Australia'<sup>14</sup> has vanished:

'Most of the third generation Australian born Chinese don't even speak a word of Chinese and I doubt if any of the old opium-smoking types are still alive, let alone smoking. The Chinese have integrated completely into the Australian society ... Up until recently a lot of young people would go to Hong Kong to get a bride but

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<sup>13</sup> The Australian, 28 August, 1976.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



even that has almost stopped now. They are becoming Westernised now, and in a way it is good. In a way it is sad too. It would be a shame if they gave up the old family traditions of links between father and son and respect for the old ones.<sup>15</sup>

It is highly significant that these migrant organisations were quick to stress their comfortable absorption into the Australian way of life, considering that since the advent of the Labor Government in 1972, a totally new migrant policy has been evolved, one that is expressed in the language of 'multiculturalism'. Equally it became unfashionable to be seen to discriminate against Australians who could not claim an English speaking background. With the shading of integration into multiculturalism, Australians from immigrant backgrounds are given the right to sustain old world cultural traditions if they so choose, the right to obtain equal access to social resources and the right to be represented at all political levels.<sup>16</sup> It is clear, therefore that the desire of the Chinese migrants to remain 'invisible' stems from their harsh experiences of racial xenophobia in early insular Australia and South-east Asia (cf. Chapter 1 and 2).

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<sup>15</sup> The Australian, 28 August, 1976.

<sup>16</sup> For details of official policy on multiculturalism see:

- (1) Multiculturalism and its Implications for Immigration Policy 1979, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- (2) Multiculturalism for all Australians 1982, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- (3) National Consultations on Multiculturalism and Citizenship Report 1982, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

This external threat of Chinese visibility was considered serious enough to cause a temporary alignment of three major organisations in Melbourne - the Chinese Fellowship of Victoria, the Chinese Unity Association and the Chinese Masonic Society. They called themselves the Melbourne Chinatown Project Study Committee and proceeded to run a campaign to halt the new 'refurbishing of Little Bourke Street'.<sup>17</sup> Leaflets entitled 'Look to the future, say NO to the Chinatown Project' were distributed. Grievances were addressed to three parties, the 'Chinese Community'; the 'Rate Payers and Residents of Little Bourke Street'; and the 'Australian Citizen and Overseas Tourist'. In effect, the pamphlets reiterated the offensiveness of the project, emphasizing the non-authenticity<sup>18</sup> of the finished product, the distasteful consequences of Chinese citizens being regarded 'as curiosities - different, queer, quaint - a side show or Luna Park for all and sundry', the revival of old stereotypes of ridicule such as 'Chinaman', and the various inconveniences of maintenance, possible vandalism and increased indirect taxes on the general public. It further

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<sup>17</sup> Descriptive comment of Councillor Wang quoted in The Australian, 28 August, 1976.

<sup>18</sup> Councillor David Wang constantly stressed the authentic aspect of the project. The architect, Mr. T.W. Chu and Councillor Wang made a special trip to Peking and the Canton Trade Fair in order to obtain the real - 'Made in China' - decorations (The Herald, 9 April, 1976; The Sun, 10 April, 1976).

stressed that the Chinese community was not consulted before the plans were set in motion.<sup>19</sup>

The Chinese Fellowship and the Chinese Unity are classified by Melbourne Chinese as Present Migrant organisations although both contains a small number of Old Migrant members. The Masonic is an Old Migrant organisation. On the surface, it would appear that they were too different to align. However all three organisations are sympathetic towards Peking - the Chinese Masonic because of a kind of sentimental or nostalgic nationalism; the Chinese Unity because it is now no longer considered a subversive act and the Chinese Fellowship of Victoria because it is expedient to do so. This common ground enabled the three previously dissimilar - or more correctly two similar and one dissimilar - societies to regroup to face a general threat. It is further significant that other organisations like the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne which was also opposed to the Chinatown scheme were not involved directly with the Melbourne Chinatown Project Study Committee. Instead, members of other organisations were invited as individuals and owners of property in Little Bourke Street to join the Melbourne Chinatown Project Study Committee directly. Their separate and disparate loyalties to their various opposing organisations are thus subsumed under the overarching

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<sup>19</sup> In a letter to the Herald, the President of the Kong Chew Society, Mr. W.G. Lam, insisted that 'no notice of intention to develop the project was sent to the rate payers and occupiers of the area by the Council until 5 March, 1976, by which time the design and date of completion - in three months time - had already been set (Herald, 19 March, 1976; Melbourne Times, 30 June, 1976). The Lord Mayor however, maintained that 60 members of the Chinese community were invited to a preview of the plans on 25 February, 1976 (The Age, 19 January, 1976).

structure of a new unity, albeit one which is fragile, since it would cease to function if the external threat were to disappear.

Despite the gathering opposition to the proposed development of a major tourist attraction in Little Bourke Street, by the Chinese in addition to other Australian groups - such as the Victorian Council of Social Services - the Melbourne City Council continued to back the scheme. The Lord Mayor, Councillor Walker, who at the start of the project avowed that 'not one brick will be placed without consultation with the Chinese community',<sup>20</sup> now described the critics on the Melbourne Chinatown Project Study Committee as an 'oversensitive splinter group'.<sup>21</sup>

The Melbourne Chinatown Project Study Committee<sup>22</sup> accused the Melbourne Town Council of ignoring other sections of the Chinese community, by accepting the recommendation and consulting with only one organisation,<sup>23</sup> the Chinese Professional and Businessman's Association, which is headed by Councillor David Wang. Such charges and others of 'token representation in the Chinatown Committee',<sup>24</sup> which is the body responsible for the development of the project, were either ignored or deferred:<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The Sun, 21 January, 1976.

<sup>21</sup> Melbourne Times, 30 June, 1976.

<sup>22</sup> It is also recorded as the Victorian Chinatown Project Study Committee in Town Clerk Files no. 75/2886.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from J.S. Heng and K.M. Leong, Secretaries of the Victorian Chinatown Project Study Committee to the Town Clerk, Melbourne City Council, 27 April, 1976.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Memorandum (No.21) Building and Town Planning Committee, Report No. 34, 29 September, 1975; Town Clerk Office File no. 75/2886.

'While sympathetic to your Committee's obvious concern as to the effects that the Chinatown project would have on your people, the Council's Finance Committee was of the opinion that the support from the project was such as to warrant its continuation'.<sup>26</sup>

The Melbourne City Council and State administration continue to maintain that:

'... the project was originally proposed by the Chinese community of Melbourne and it was designed primarily to provide a type of Chinatown which was expected to have a large tourist potential, as it has in San Francisco and many other cities around the world ...

... The Melbourne project was an initiative of the Chinese community which was taken up by the Melbourne City Council'.<sup>27</sup> (My underlining)

Consequently, despite the ~~mere~~<sup>extent</sup> of government red tape, the letters of protest from Chinese organisations and non-Chinese businesses who complained of the temporary closure of the street, the impediment of semitrailers by the overhead arches, the escalating costs due to the

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. Letter dated 29 July, 1976.

<sup>27</sup> Reply by Mr. Hamer, Premier and Treasurer of Victoria to Mr. Doube, Member for Albert Park on the setting up of a 'Disney style presentation of Chinatown in Little Bourke Street' (Questions Without Notice, 2 October, 1975 in City of Melbourne, Town Clerk File no: 75/2886).

various changes of material and design<sup>28</sup> and even a 'black' ban by the Australian Builders and Labourers Federation on the eve of the opening night,<sup>29</sup> the Chinatown Project endured and was opened by The Lord Mayor, Councillor Ron Walker, in his last days of office on 27 August, 1976. The final cost of the project was \$88,092.58 above the approved \$260,000<sup>30</sup> and included only part of the proposed project: the four archways and the clusters of mercury vapour street lamps. Even so, the Little Bourke Street arches have no supporting pillars. An Asian publication described the finished product as 'hanging menacingly in mid-air, attached by clumsy side buttresses onto adjacent buildings ... giving the appearance of structural insecurity'.<sup>31</sup> It further quoted a local trader who compared the ornamental arches to 'cars without wheels' (Ibid.).

Three months after the opening of the new Chinatown, Stage I, The Sun<sup>32</sup> reported the capitulation of the Melbourne City Council. It alleged that the City Council had agreed to refrain from proceeding further to Stage II in return for the lifting of a ban on the first stage by the Builders and Labourers Federation on the

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<sup>28</sup> The legality of the archways had to be resolved as there were no provisions under the Local Government Act to permit the Town Council to erect such structures. Steel instead of aluminium barriers were proposed and the original pagoda structure of the archways had to be scrapped as Little Bourke Street was too narrow for supporting pillars (Town Clerk for Public Works and Traffic Committee, Chinese Pagodas, Little Bourke Street, 9 December, 1975, File no. 75/2886).

<sup>29</sup> Herald, 27 August, 1976.

<sup>30</sup> Town Clerk File, additional Report no. 87, 75/2886/60.

<sup>31</sup> The Asian, Volume 1, No. 12, April/May, 1978.

<sup>32</sup> The Sun, 27 November, 1976.

opening night of the Stage I. The Second Stage was to have involved the restoration of buildings along Little Bourke Street.<sup>33</sup> The files of the Melbourne Town Clerk Office, gave no reason for the sudden abandonment of its pet project, merely registering the recommendation.<sup>34</sup>

Why did the Melbourne City Council and Victorian State Government persist in their 'revitalisation' of Little Bourke Street, in the face of all the opposition? Part of the reason, it would appear, was political ambition. Councillor Walker made no secret of his desire to 'retire' to a Federal seat, after his two terms of office as Lord Mayor.<sup>35</sup> On one of the last days of his term of office, he was photographed 'awakening' a Chinese lion (Ibid.). A second reason for the generosity of funds from the coffers of the Melbourne City Council and Victorian Government is the new attitude of ethnic diversity in the multiculturalist migrant policy. A third reason, and one which concerns the Chinese community, lies in the way the Australian administration regards the Chinese people and, in particular, their leaders.

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<sup>33</sup> Chinatown Project Stage II was revived in January, 1984 by the Victorian Tourist Commission headed by Mr. Don Dunstan. It was kept a very low key affair and called for the establishment of a Chinese museum and an open air street market and food stalls. A steering committee of 12 members was appointed, of which three were from the Chinese community -- one member from the Federation of Chinese Associations, another from the Chinese Professional and Businessman's Association and the third from the Melbourne Chinatown Project Study Committee.

<sup>34</sup> Report No. 87, City of Melbourne Town Clerk Office File no. 75/2886/60.

<sup>35</sup> Herald, 28 August, 1976.

In their view, the Chinese are an undifferentiated mass, hence, when the late Councillor Wang approached the Mayor's office with his plans, he and his organisation, the Chinese Professional and Businessman's Association, were not only regarded as an association, but THE association. Additionally David Wang was regarded as THE leader of the Chinese community, rather than A leader of a faction of the Chinese community. Admittedly Councillor Wang bore all the surface qualities of leadership, in the eyes of the Australian administration. Melbourne writer, Peter Livingstone, in 1964, described him 'as the owner of one business, the managing director of others and a director of a fourth'. He was also prominently featured in Trengove's series of 'Migrants at the Top'<sup>36</sup> in which his occupation was listed as importer, exporter, identor, manufacturer and director. His Toorak home, described appropriately as a 'mansion', is constantly featured as a showpiece in the ladies section of the newspapers.<sup>37</sup> A classic 'rags to riches' success story, Mr. Wang arrived in Australia in the early 1940's, with assets totalling 31 pounds, 14 shillings and sixpence and, in two decades, he had become a leading businessman<sup>38</sup> and was described in the Encyclopedia Britannica (1965) as one of the first two Asians to be appointed Justice of the Peace. He was elected to the Melbourne City Council in 1969. In short, Councillor Wang holds all the symbols of leadership - power, wealth and

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<sup>36</sup> The Sun, 28 July, 1965.

<sup>37</sup> The Age, 19 July, 1983.

<sup>38</sup> Melbourne Sun, 24 April, 1971.



prestige. Furthermore his political appointments, his business accomplishments, his home address and lifestyle identify him with the Establishment. His rapport with the wider Australian society accounts, therefore, for much of his ascribed leadership of the Chinese community.

As mentioned earlier, the Chinese in Melbourne, both Old and Present Migrants, look for leaders within the terms of the 'kapitan China' paradigm. It would therefore appear that Councillor Wang qualifies easily for this position. However, this is not so, for several reasons. Firstly, he was born in Shanghai, China. To the Old Migrants who were Cantonese from the See Yap region, this made him an interloper. This situation is acerbated by his former occupation as an intelligence officer in Nationalist China, which hardly appealed to those Present Migrant organisations who purport to be in the 'Taiwan' faction. His marriage to an Australian born <sup>woman</sup> further sets him apart from the Chinese migrant community. Furthermore, the prominent presence of the Wang Emporium in Little Bourke Street has convinced many Chinese businessmen that his 'Chinatown' venture is not altogether an altruistic gesture. And, finally, the Chinese Professional and Businessman's Association has attracted its fair share of criticism because of the elitist nature of its membership - only professionals and businessmen of a managerial or upper managerial level are recruited. It is inevitable that as the President of such a distinguished group of people, the Australian bureaucracy is firmly convinced of the legitimacy of his leadership.

To sum up, the Melbourne City Council and Victorian Government, have imposed an external boundary on the Chinese in Melbourne, by their creation of a Little Bourke Street 'Chinatown'. In reality, the Melbourne Chinese have no territorial focus. The area now known as 'Chinatown' is basically a commercial area where Chinese grocers, wholesalers, novelty goods stores and cafes abound. The street serves as a social centre in so far as Chinese families are among those who come often to visit the restaurants.

Here too are the headquarters of the various Old Migrant societies - the See Yap, Chinese Masonic and the recently completed Kong Chew building. The majority of these are neither as vital nor as active as they once were and they draw their support from the older, single Chinese men who no longer live in the area. These clubs emphasize division rather than unity among the Chinese - divisions which may be 'political' or linguistic since the Chinese living in Australia today come from countries other than China and often speak different languages or dialects.

It is true that in the days after the Victorian gold rushes, Little Bourke Street was a Chinatown in that it was a place where a new Chinese arrival could find accommodation, work and individuals who spoke the same dialect and appreciated his background, as well as being a valuable source of information about survival in the host society. The Present Migrants, however, who were selected because they represented an ideal source of migrants who could blend easily into the Australian way of life, did not need this respite from the continuous strains of life in a different culture.

Like the sponge cakes and lamb chops which were forced down the throats of bemused newcomers by the ladies of the Good Neighbour Movement of the late 1940's, the Melbourne City Council and Victorian Government, were determined to establish a 'Chinatown' over the protests and objections of the majority of the Chinese community. Their decision to proceed at all costs was influenced by various factors - internal politics, the incorrect perception of the nature of the leadership and factions among the Melbourne Chinese, as well as the new promotion of cultural diversity expressed in 'multiculturalism'.

I have shown that in some contexts, opponents in one situation may be allies in another. Gluckman (1958) in his Analysis of A Social Situation in Modern Zululand concluded that conflict in one set of relations are offset by cohesion in another - disunity at one level is crosscut by unity at another. Moreover, as has often been pointed out, conflict may reinforce group cohesion because each side seeks to mobilize support for its own view. In the words of Breton (1964:199):

'The arousal of public interest in the life of the group probably results in greater cohesiveness of the group ... (and in fact) issues which divide sub groups within the entire community will also have the effect of keeping the personal relations within the ethnic boundaries. The attachments of the members of each sub-group will be strengthened. To the extent that they

become polarized on the issues facing the group, associations with individuals who are not members of the ethnic group will be less appealing, unless they could become allies'.

Thus, changing political conditions between Australia and the People's Republic of China have rendered ambiguous the symbolic mode of differentiation between the two major factions of Old and Present Migrants and their organisations. This in turn has allowed certain groups and organisations to unite under the legitimacy of a common symbolic label - 'Peking' - thereby forming a pressure group against the threat of a Chinatown in Little Bourke Street.

In the next chapter, I focus on the strong negative element in the reaction of the Chinese to the presence of the 'boat people' in Melbourne. As Australians worried about these refugees changing the character of Australian society, the established Chinese community feared that the Indo-Chinese would arouse anti-Asian feelings. They therefore involved themselves in efforts which would decrease the impact of the ethnic stigma by maintaining an ethnic boundary between the Chinese and Indo-Chinese communities. I examine the process whereby the Chinese emphasize and signal this ethnic dichotomy by stressing such outward signs as their markedly different immigration entry requirements, lifestyle, occupation and command of English, all of which were elevated on to a moral plane of 'respectability'.

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CHAPTER SIX

THE CHINESE RESPONSE TO THE PRESENCE OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEES

A decade ago the then Minister of Immigration, Mr. Grassby announced that the White Australia policy was dead:

'Give me a shovel and I will bury it'.

In September, 1984, Foreign Minister Bill Hayden commented on these changes in a remarkable speech:

'I think inevitably we will become dominantly a Eurasian country. I am talking about 200 years time perhaps. That is a process which is under way ...'

'... The very fact that I have been able to say this so often without the flood of letters one used to receive for expressing views critical of the White Australia policy in the 1960's is an indication that it (Australia) is already in that process.'

However, this new form of multiculturalism has engendered a less than positive response in the Chinese community in Melbourne which includes both Present and Old Migrants. As a recent article in the Advertiser<sup>1</sup> concluded:

'(The Chinese) are a discreet<sup>te</sup> group of people ... discreet<sup>te</sup> by being quiet and prudent.

... despite the familiar distinction provided by both their food and physical appearance (they) have learnt how to merge, to fit in so well you hardly know they are there ... without threatening anyone, without worrying about the complexities of political power, totally without fuss'.

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<sup>1</sup> August 31, 1985.

The new Chinese arrivals in Victoria continue to seek to qualify themselves as full participants in Australian society. In order to obtain this membership they take over roles which are defined by the main segment's culture and abandon roles which are defined by Chinese cultural traditions. In short, they involve themselves conspicuously in what is commonly known as the assimilation process, by adopting a lifestyle which would align them with the 'mainstream morality' of the dominant white Australian society (cf. Hannerz, 1969:34).

In this chapter I explore the reasons behind the unusual 'discre<sup>te</sup>tness' on the part of the Chinese Community in Melbourne, in the face of this new expression of ethnic tolerance. I focus on the 'stigma' (Goffman, 1963) of inferiority, a consequence of the minority situation of the Chinese in South-east Asia and colonial Australia (cf. Chapter 1 and 2). Particular attention will be paid to the Chinese response to the advent of the Vietnamese in Australia - which took the form of the establishment and maintenance of a rigid boundary between the Chinese and Vietnamese community.

#### The minority position of Chinese in South-east Asia

History, before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, depicts the Chinese as a widely dispersed, linguistically and even culturally divided people, traditionally organised in kin or lineage groups. Today, overseas Chinese enjoy full citizenship in South-east Asia but their real position, in most countries, is that of an ethnic minority. This means that the inclusive social system of these countries which embrace several ethnic groups is so organised that interaction between members of

the different groups of this kind 'takes place within the framework of the dominant majority groups' statuses and institutions where identity as a minority member gives no basis for action' (Barth, 1969:13)

The minority position of Chinese 'coolies' in colonial Australia.

The discrimination meted out to the early Chinese sojourners in Australia continue to reinforce this. Since their colonial predecessors of the last century saw the movement of Chinese into South-east Asia, Australians have had visions of being overwhelmed by mass movements of Asians into Australia and of losing control of their country. These fears were, of course, confirmed by the arrival of large numbers of Chinese who made their way to the Australian goldfields around the 1850's. Ethnic stereotyping on the part of colonial white Australia deposited premises not only for inter-ethnic interaction but also shaped internal relationships within the Chinese community, for instance, a reluctance to activate ethnic status:

'It may be foolish prejudice that neither reason nor religious principle can justify but we cannot get over our repugnance to the race (Chinese), whose tawny parchment coloured skins, black hair, lank and coarse, no beards, oblique eyes and high cheek bones distinguish them so widely from ourselves, and place them so far beneath our recognised standards of manliness and beauty'.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The Illustrated Sydney News, 21 December, 1878.

In Chinese-Australian confrontations, the Chinese were subjected to dominance and rejection which were expressed in social attitudes which pervaded Australian institutions, formal and informal, ranging from folk stereotyping<sup>3</sup> to the constituted legal institutions (cf. Chapter 1). Chinese behaviour patterns created by and consistent with the minority situation were traditionally perceived by Australians as demonstrating Chinese national character: Chinese were viewed as uniquely enslaved to an idolatrous ancient tradition, politically servile, morally depraved and loathsomely diseased.

The 'policy' of discreet<sup>to</sup>ness of present day Chinese in Australia.

Under the disability of this 'stigmatized' ethnic identity in their adopted South-east Asian homelands and colonial Australia, it is not surprising that the Old and Present Chinese migrants are reluctant to abandon their 'policy of discreet<sup>to</sup>ness' even in an era which saw the introduction of the Anti-Discrimination and Equal Opportunities Bill.<sup>4</sup> For Old Migrants it was a group formulated policy of discreetness as evidenced by the rules of organisations such as See Yap which cautioned specific behaviour towards the host society. Present Migrants do not have a group formulated policy per se. They rarely discussed politics,

<sup>3</sup> Sydney Baker (1945) in his study of the Australian language listed such derogatory expressions as 'Chow', 'Chow-Chow' (a synonym for cow), 'Chinkie', 'Paddy', 'Pat Pong', 'Dingbat', 'Canary', 'Dink', 'John', 'Johnny', 'John Chinaman', 'Mad as a Chinaman', 'Meaner than a goldfield Chinaman' and 'Awkward as a Chow on a bike.'

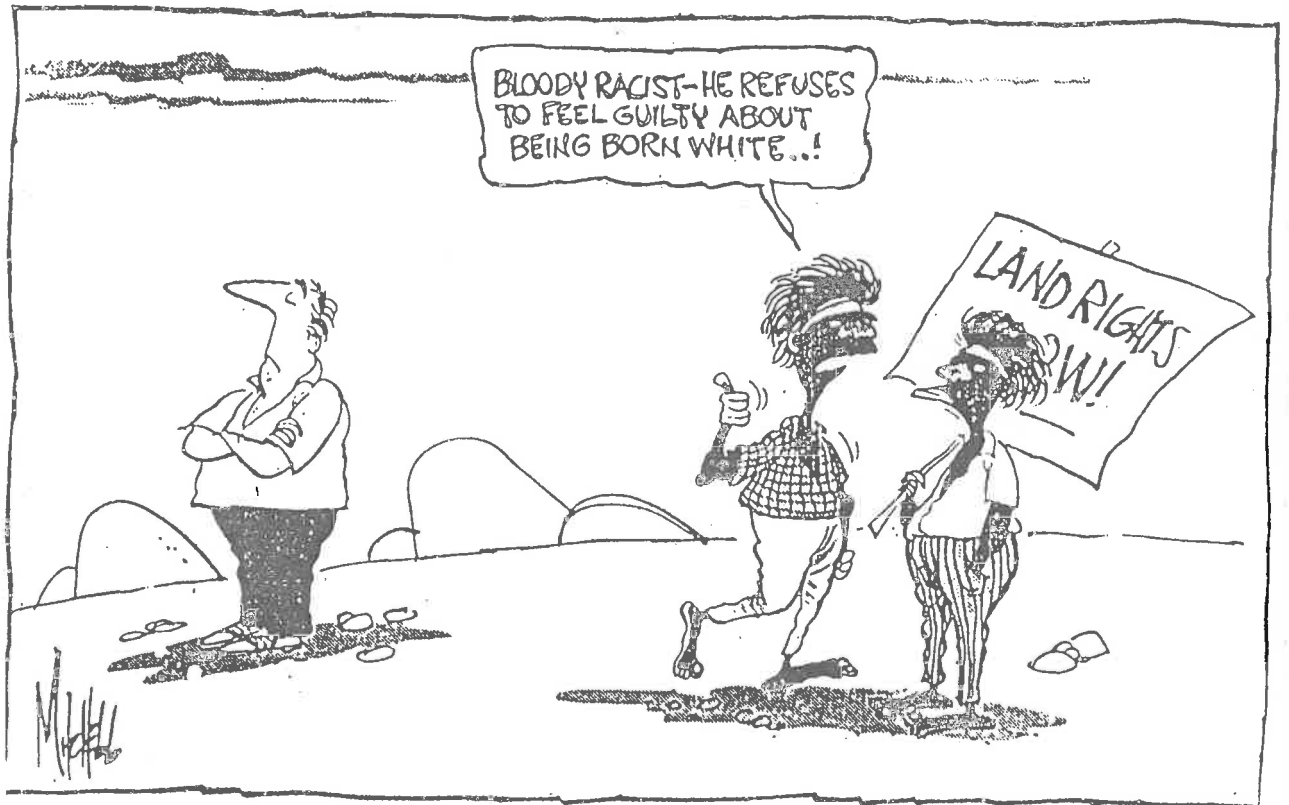
<sup>4</sup> It replaced the Sex and Racial Discrimination Acts and the Handicapped Persons Equal Opportunity Act. It was introduced in August, 1984 and stated that it was unlawful to discriminate against another person on the basis of sex, marital status, pregnancy, sexuality, physical impairment or race.





The Advertiser, 24 August, 1984.

and even then only among intimate friends and relations ; a consequence of the various sedition Acts in their previous countries of residence. Any changes in their ambivalent attitude were halted by the arrival since 1975, of over 88,000 Indo-Chinese refugees to Australia. The lingering insecurity in the Australian psyche - the fear of an Asian invasion - was invoked and was exacerbated by the publication of bald statistics and by mistakes in early settlement programmes which led to the concentration of large groups of Indo-Chinese refugees in a few Australian suburbs. This insecurity was compounded by the movements within the country to rid Australia of some relics of its British past such as the Union Jack on the nation's flag, as well as by the sensitive issue of Aboriginal land rights. Promoted by Australia's large numbers of post-war, non-European migrants, and helped along by Australia's changing relationship with Britain, multiculturalism preceded the large influx of Asian migrants in the late 1970's. With its emphasis on the teaching of languages other than English, changing the flag, deleting reference to the Queen of England in Australia's oath of allegiance and encouraging migrants to retain their original heritage, multiculturalism has instilled uncertainty and resentment in certain segments of Australian society. The visibility and alien customs of the Vietnamese refugees, as with the early Chinese coolies and goldminers, have given opponents of multiculturalism the impression that Asians are launching a further onslaught on their British heritage. Coupled with this, Asian immigration has burgeoned at a time of record high unemployment and, despite government optimism,



The Australian, 1 December, 1983.

grim economic prospects. Australia's average annual economic growth rate for the 1970's was 3.6 per cent compared with a South-east Asian average of 8 per cent. Figures from the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission<sup>5</sup> show that in a five year period from 1976 to 1981, the Vietnamese population has seen a tremendous increase of over 12,000 members, thirty per cent of whom are concentrated in Melbourne (see Tables 1 and 2). The other Asian groups cannot match these numbers. Clearly then, the sudden surge of Vietnamese migrants created a visibility problem, not only for the former but for all Asians in Melbourne:

'To the majority of Australians these people are usually socially defined as either migrant Asians, or Indo-Chinese refugees; seldom are they perceived of as being Vietnamese, Lao or Kampuchean, still less as either Chinese, Khmer or Hmong. In fact for some observers they are all Vietnamese ...'.<sup>6</sup>

It is the last which is of greatest concern to the Chinese community - that an 'imperative' (Barth, 1969:13) identity may be ascribed to all Asians by the general Australian public.

The maintenance of the ethnic boundary between the Chinese and the Vietnamese communities which I shall proceed to describe should be viewed against this general background and has been created in the context of ambivalent cultural tolerance.

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<sup>5</sup> Annual Report 1983.

<sup>6</sup> Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission Preliminary Report; 19 October, 1983.

Table 1

<u>Refugee Arrival</u>			<u>Australia</u>			
			<u>Malaysia and Singapore Combined</u>			
<u>Period</u>	<u>Assisted</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Period</u>	<u>Other*</u>	<u>Total</u>
1966-1970	7446	-	7466	1970	1501	1501
1976	865	3231	4096	} Not Available		
1977	2202	7272	9474			
1978	8790	1682	10472			
1979	14639	2418	17057	1979	10047	10047
1980	19875	1817	21692	1980	8053	8053

\*Grant of assisted passages are restricted to refugees and skilled workers in demand in Australia.

Australia Year Book 1981, No.65  
(Australian Bureau of Statistics,  
Canberra)

Table 2

	<u>Victoria</u>	
<u>Asia</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1981</u>
Burma	813	858
China	4,162	5,520
Hong Kong	2,097	3,505
India	11,227	12,466
Indonesia	1,820	2,279
Japan	1,406	1,929
Korea	230	391
Laos	94	1,103
Malaysia	5,495	9,928
Singapore	1,829	2,438
Taiwan	81	223
Thailand	320	716
Timor	367	1,256
Vietnam	379	12,841

Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission  
Annual Report 1983

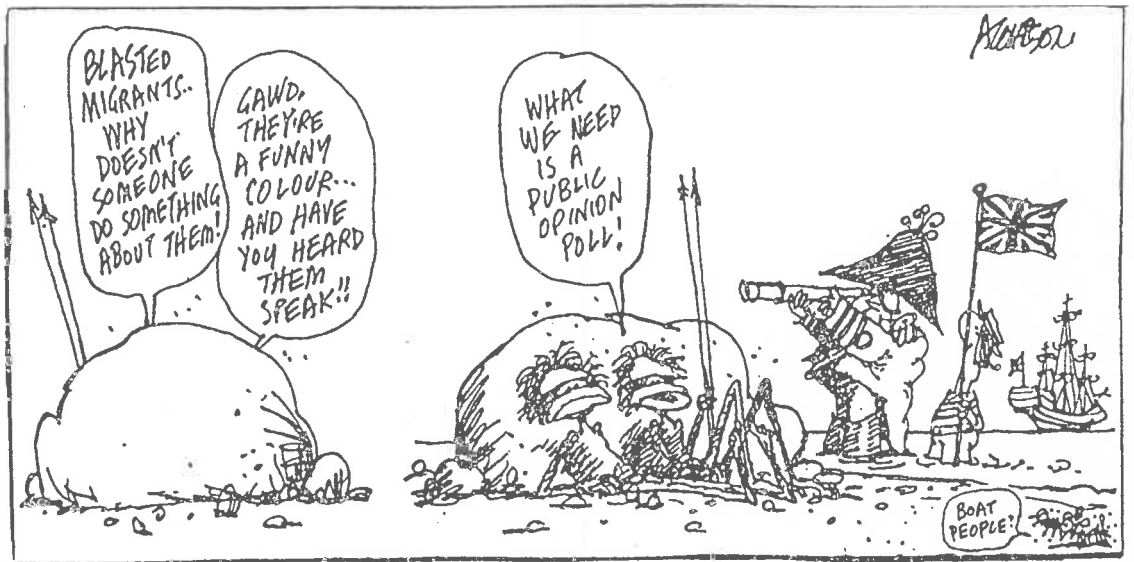
Barth argued that by concentrating on 'what is socially effective', ethnicity becomes a principle of social organisation (1969:13). But the 'socially effective' turns on a self-ascribed and other ascribed membership ~~to~~<sup>of</sup> an ethnic category which 'classifies a person in terms of his basic most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background' (Barth, 1969:13). Ethnic categories therefore form because people utilize these ascriptive identities in their relationship with others. The assumed identity is based upon certain diacritica which the actors are able to recognise and these imply some evaluation of the behaviour of the persons so categorized, in terms of what people expect of them, by reason of the label they have attached to them. In accordance with Mitchell (1956 and 1970), I see a direct connection between ethnic classification and the use of stereotypes. The stereotype~~s~~ of Vietnamese identity and characteristics held by the Chinese community ~~are~~<sup>is</sup> based on partial knowledge. It is:

'built up around some aspect of behaviour real or imaginary which is deemed to be characteristic of the group in question and which becomes the basis for the evaluation of individuals belonging to that group as well as of the group as a whole'.<sup>7</sup>

This is seen very clearly in the fact that many of the stereotypes held by my Chinese informants are derived from media sources. Such ethnic categories are highly emotive and reflect what Epstein (1978:Preface) has termed the 'affective dimension of ethnicity'.

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<sup>7</sup> Epstein, 1978:12



The Advertiser, 22 May, 1984.

The fear of being labelled a racist is new in Australian society. The White Australia policy was once subscribed to openly as a virtue - the stuff of patriotism, as the following statements reveal:

'... the cultivation of an Australian sentiment based on the maintenance of racial purity and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self reliant community'<sup>8</sup>

'To open our doors to uncontrolled coloured migration is to destroy everything that we have ever stood for, everything that makes Australia worth living in ... Coloured people are people we cannot call brothers'.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Objectives of the Federal Labor Party, 1905

<sup>9</sup> A statement made by Mr. H.B. Gullet, former Chief Government Whip and former Ambassador to Greece in June, 1971.



The Australian Public Opinion (The Gallup) Polls conducted in August, 1984, on national attitudes towards Asian entry, revealed that over 60 per cent of those surveyed, disapproved<sup>10</sup> of the migration traffic from Asia (see Table 3), 28 per cent expressed approval while 12 per cent

<sup>10</sup> However I stress here that the questions which were asked may have been different from the results that were reported. For instance, in 1984 the polls in fact indicated a majority opposition to not only the current level of Asian immigration - 57-62 per cent - but also to the level of immigration from all sources - 58-64 per cent. That this has not been appreciated very widely is largely due to the polling organisations themselves, their clients or both. In March, 1984 while McNair Gallup Polls was asking about Asian immigration for one client, it was asking about immigration as such for another; for neither did it ask about both. In May of the same year when McNair was asked about both for publication it simply headed its press release '62 per cent Disapprove Increasing Proportion of Migrants from Asia'. Similarly, The Melbourne Herald, the principle vehicle for McNair Gallup, headlined its front page lead as 'Migrant Poll Shock. Asian Quota Too High, Say 62 per cent' (11 May, 1984).

In Sydney where the Sun-Herald is McNair's client, the front page read 'More Asian Migrants? 62 per cent of Aussies Say No' (20 May, 1984).

By Contrast, the Morgan Gallup Poll released its May and June findings under the heading 'Too Many Immigrants Coming to Australia'. However the Bulletin, which pays for the poll chose to headline it more closely to the current debate 'Strong reaction to nature of migrant intake', under an anti-Asian immigration graffiti photographed at the University of N.S.W. It went on to claim that on evidence of the polls the debate started by Blainey had hardened anti-immigration feeling, 'especially anti-Asian feeling' (Bulletin, 17 July, 1984, p.29).

While none of the polls has seen fit to say so in their press releases, information made available to subscribers by the Morgan poll suggest that more than 80 per cent of those wanting fewer Asian migrants in 1984 disapproved equally of other migrants. According to McNair the anti-Asian and anti-immigration groups are virtually interchangeable.

Since such knowledge remains hidden to general readers my Chinese informants are aware of only what they read from the newspapers and have interpreted their contents accordingly.

MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	June qtr 1983
Vietnam				2,411	8,314	12,796	12,460	12,285	8,383	2,598
Philippines	756	1,106	1,127	1,904	1,197	1,578	2,588	2,969	3,094	674
Cambodia					414	310	1,348	1,741	2,263	1,861
Malaysia	917	1,113	1,443	2,039	1,981	1,489	1,772	2,157	2,122	462
India	1,992	1,290	797	965	1,000	844	883	1,215	1,622	448
Hongkong	1,400	748	978	1,398	1,408	908	724	1,001	1,354	284
China							1,456	1,368	1,073	356
Lebanon	3,178	1,400	5,849	8,869	1,502	1,068				
Others	9,043	8,062	8,970	8,301	7,127	6,658	7,137	8,765	7,260	1,580
Total Asians	17,286	13,719	19,164	25,887	22,942	25,651	28,368	31,501	27,171	8,263
Total Intake	21,324	54,117	18,317	75,640	68,419	72,230	94,562	116,735	107,171	20,483
Asian settlers as % of total intake	14	25	33	34	34	36	30	27	27	40

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

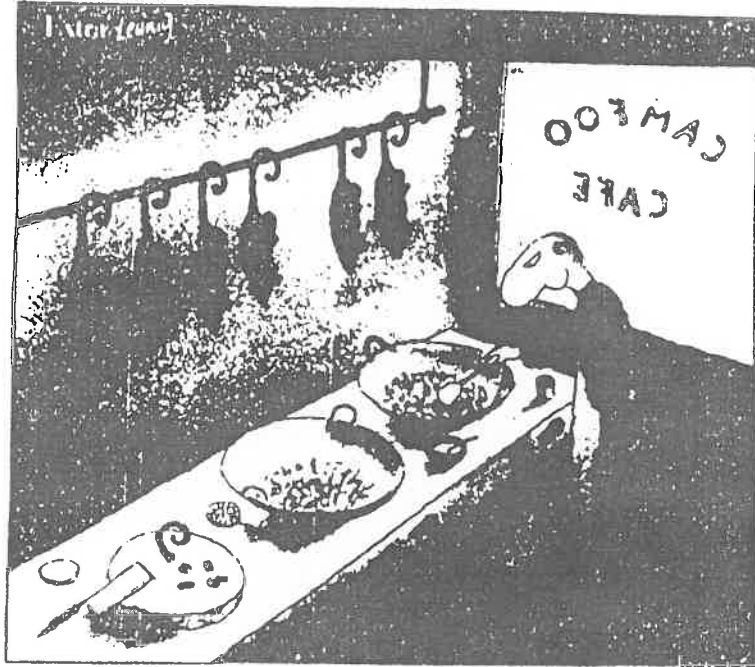
remained uncertain. Those who disapproved mentioned concern over racial problems and Asians displacing Australians in employment opportunities. Researchers assert that the poll showed Australians were now saying about Asians what they had said about middle European immigrants to Australia after the Second World War. A new generation of graffiti writers has substituted the 'Out Wogs!' and 'Go home Balts' of the 1950's with 'Out Slants' and 'go home Reffos'. The unemployment rate among South-east Asians is 18.7 per cent, almost double that of other ethnic groups, according to figures released by the Department of Immigration in March, 1984.

The Chinese community, however, is concerned that the experiences of the Vietnamese refugees will serve as a graphic example of history repeating itself. They see parallels between what is reported by the media about the Indo-Chinese refugees and what was said of the Old Migrants in the days of colonial Australia. It would take little, in their view, for a blanket ascription to be imposed by the wider Australian society, on all Asians. Chinese restaurant owners, for instance, in July, 1983 were indignant over a press report entitled 'Dog eating disgusts most Viets'<sup>11</sup> which provoked a 'possum scare'. It was strongly rumoured that Chinese restaurants were serving disguised possum meat to their unsuspecting clientele. This in turn prompted a Leunig cartoon which bore an uncomfortable resemblance to an earlier caricature of the Chinese diet<sup>12</sup> (see Figures 1&2)

<sup>11</sup> Melbourne Age, 8 March, 1983

<sup>12</sup> Brunton Stephens in 'My Other Chinese Cook' retold an old outback story about a Chinese cook whose delicious delicacies were found to be made from a litter of puppies. From this yarn came the Australian expression 'No more puppy, no more pie'.

Figure 1



Age, 30 July, 1983.

Figure 2



A CELESTIAL DELICACY

HOW-QUA-A-TSCHA: "I say; how much you cook him for—that one cat?"  
 YOUNG PERSON: "Cook: the cat, sir!"  
 HOW-QUA-A-TSCHA: "Yes, you subbee? Roast em cat—no eat em cat—very good."  
 YOUNG PERSON: "Lawk, sir; the cat ain't to be henten.—(aside)—Did never hary one see sich Cannibal Inguns."

The belief that Celestial diets extended to cats, dogs and even rodents was widespread and prompted the "Joke" cartoon reprinted below from Melbourne "Punch" of 1855.

Chinese maintenance of ethnic boundaries against Vietnamese intrusion.

The Chinese in Melbourne when questioned on their perception of the Vietnamese presence, liked to dwell on their differences in 'lifestyle' (cf. Hannerz, 1969:13). They describe themselves as 'respectables' and are concerned with the maintenance of the boundary between themselves and those (Vietnamese) whom they conceive of as 'undesirables'. The most common self references among the Chinese are simply such expressions as 'Chinese people like us', 'we professionals' or 'middle class Chinese like us'. All of these imply that they are 'model citizens' compared to the Vietnamese who, as 'undesirables', are to be characterized collectively by spontaneous brawls, dole bludging and not infrequent trouble with the law. They acclaim proudly that they were selected mainly on the basis of professional or business qualifications. All were required to fulfil the stringent requirements of English language fluency, marketable (mainly professional) skills, monetary backing and above all the capability of 'becoming Australians'.<sup>13</sup> Points had to be scored in the selection procedure. The refugees, however, were assessed under the Special Humanitarian programme which spared them from these procedures.

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<sup>13</sup> For greater detail on the Migration Act of 1901, 1955, 1956, 1966, NUMAS and the present family reunion policy see Appendices 2-6. Despite the fluctuation in policy, all of them stressed the 'desirability of the applicant to adjust to Australian society'. The term integration was used until the onset of multi-culturalism in the late 1970's whereby the term 'settlement prospects' was substituted.

Stereotypes of Vietnamese in the media, as perceived by Chinese in Melbourne.

This meant, in their view, that criminal elements were not barred from entry as evidenced by frequent media reports of Vietnamese secret societies and protection rackets.<sup>14</sup> The Australians, according to the Chinese community in Melbourne, have always held fears of this type of organized criminal activity with each wave of migrants. They once feared that the Italians would bring the Mafia to Australia and that the Yugoslavs would continue political vendettas against each other. Similarly, Australians feared that the Vietnamese would bring into the country the crime and corruption of the war-torn Saigon in the 1960's and 70's. These fears were confirmed in the Chinese community in Melbourne in 1981 when an unsuccessful attempt was made by some unknown Vietnamese, to intimidate certain businesses in Little Bourke Street. In early 1983, a further attempt to extort money from a local Chinese cinema resulted in a fatal stabbing. Another attempt in the following year to take over a private gambling session was averted by the arrival of the police, whereat all parties concerned simply vanished.

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<sup>14</sup> See 'Gangs harass refugees', The Advertiser, 15 January, 1985; 'Gangland link in murder - police', The Sun, 14 February, 1984; 'Mystery on gun victim', The Sun, 19 December, 1983; 'Third man on murder charge', The Age, 13 April, 1984.

As one informant pointed out:

'Life is cheap to these Vietnamese. They fight at a drop of a hat. Long ago, when you see a group of Italians at a street corner, you give them a wide detour. Now, it's the Vietnamese... they use everything, knife, axe, bicycle chain ... and they fight dirty too ...'.

The image of knife brandishing Vietnamese youths was grist for the popular press:

'One has only to pick up a newspaper and you can read all about Saigon cowboys and missing fingers...'<sup>15</sup>

Indeed front page news such as 'Vietnamese Battle It Out'<sup>16</sup> and 'Refugees in Australia raise funds for Vietnamese Guerillas',<sup>17</sup> and others in a similar vein, were not uncommon. Special news features depicting their lives in migrant hostels, also paint a picture of violence. A white resident in one of the housing estates recalled that in the past three years at North Richmond, which is commonly known in Melbourne as 'Little Saigon' or 'Little Vietnam', tenants have seen:

'19 robberies, 25 assaults occasioning actual bodily harm, 9 woundings, 11 indecent assaults and 4 rapes'.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> The Advertiser, 15 January, 1985 reported a 'gangland execution' which supposedly bore all the hallmarks of a Vietnamese protection racket. The victim had a finger severed as a warning to other reluctant clients.

<sup>16</sup> The Asian, Vol. II, 3 September, 1978

<sup>17</sup> The Advertiser, 12 January, 1985

<sup>18</sup> The Age, 'Lowering the tension in the high rises', 11 April 1984.

Collingwood police were quoted in another separate feature as saying that the Indo-Chinese residents were apt to take matters into their own hands:

'There are instances where they have done mutilations. They have a reputation for using meat cleavers to protect themselves and to settle disputes ...

... They look small but there is a certain amount of fear of them. They must be able to look after themselves or they wouldn't be here in the first place ...'<sup>19</sup>

The Chinese in Melbourne assert that they are fully aware of the fact that the Australian media vacillate in their portrayal of the Indo-Chinese refugees as those ill-adjusted to Australian society. They are, in contradiction, also presented as people who should appeal to our humanitarian instincts. Such presentations are perhaps tinged by a national sense of guilt for the suffering wreaked on Indo-China. These articles are usually accompanied by photographs of exhausted parents, crying babies and hungry, wide-eyed children straggling into crowded refugee holding camps or putting ashore after long dangerous voyages in tiny sampans. Their content reflect the heart rending titles such as, 'Refugees of despair and hope';<sup>20</sup> 'Escape from Saigon';<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The Age, 24 March, 1984 'Co-existence on the racial front line'.

<sup>20</sup> The Advertiser, 27 October, 1984

<sup>21</sup> The Advertiser, 27 October, 1984.



'The brave smiles that hide Asia's tragedy';<sup>22</sup> and 'Refugees, light on luggage, heavy on hope'.<sup>23</sup> They speak of the horrors of the oppressive Hanoi regime, their often miraculous escape, the loss of loved ones left behind, the sense of alienation in a Western society and their determination to make the best of things. As such, the stereotype ascribed to the Vietnamese by the general Australian public, as interpreted by the Chinese community, would seem to be not a fully negative one. However, the Chinese are quick to point out that the Government's open-handedness towards the refugees in the form of various financial aid programmes, social welfare benefits and migrant grants,<sup>24</sup> on both State and Federal levels, may be socializing these refugees to adopt strategies which emphasize their limited financial resources and their ascribed disadvantaged position. Financial aid awards such as the Community Employment Program and Migrant Welfare Grants are determined by an assessment of need (see wording of advertisement, Figure 3). Thus it is not impossible that at present the Vietnamese recognise that it is their refugee status which affords access to certain resources. As the President of the Federation of Chinese Associations admitted:

'... Why do they need us? Mention the magic word 'refugee' and the Government gives them everything. We Chinese have only one representative in the Victorian Ethnic



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<sup>22</sup> The Weekend Australian, 12-13 January, 1985.

<sup>23</sup> The Age, 25 February, 1984.

<sup>24</sup> For full details see Appendix 8.

Figure 3

**CEP**  
**COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM**

Applications are invited from Community Groups, Local Government Authorities and State Government Departments and Instrumentalities who wish to participate as project sponsors under the Community Employment Program (CEP), to be funded in the 1985/86 financial year. CEP aims to assist *unemployed persons who are most disadvantaged* in the labour market through the funding of *labour intensive projects* of social and economic benefit to the community.


Applications will be considered on a comparative basis against the objectives of the Program, details of which are outlined in the Program Guidelines.

Organizations wishing their projects to be considered early in the 1985/86 financial year are strongly advised to submit their projects by 30 June 1985.


Further information including Program Guidelines and Application Forms are available through the:

**CEP SECRETARIAT**  
GPO BOX 9844, ADELAIDE 5001  
Phone (08) 223 4077  
Applications close: 30 JUNE 1985

*Jointly administered by the Federal and State Governments.*



*Prime Minister  
of Australia*  
**R.J.L. HAWKE**



*Premier of  
South Australia*  
**J.C. BANNON**

## MIGRANT WELFARE GRANTS

**TO NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS  
OF BETWEEN \$25 370 - \$37 170  
- A YEAR FOR THREE YEARS**

The Commonwealth Government provides financial assistance to non-government organisations towards the costs of employing social welfare workers to assist migrants.

The Grant-in-Aid Scheme serves as a bridge between special on-arrival services for migrants and community services available to all Australian residents. Grants are for three years on the principle that each Grant-in-Aid has a short term objective of removing some degree of disadvantage from migrants and ethnic communities. Applicants for re-award are required to report the impact of the previous grant in meeting identified needs and propose developments or extensions of services. All applications are judged on the relative needs of the group to be assisted and the capacity of a particular organisation to meet those needs. The total number of grants available is constrained by budgetary resources.

The Government encourages projects which will assist ethnic groups to establish and strengthen their own activities. Special consideration is given to meeting the greatest and most pressing needs, so services aimed at recently arrived and less well-established communities will get priority. The needs of established communities are also recognised; applications on behalf of these groups should emphasise the ways in which the proposed work program will assist migrants in gaining equal access to community resources.

Applications must be lodged by **14 JUNE 1985** with the **Regional Director, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs** in the nearest capital city.

Guidelines on eligibility and conditions of grant will be available at Regional Offices of the Department.



**AUSTRALIAN DEPARTMENT  
OF IMMIGRATION AND  
ETHNIC AFFAIRS**

(E43)203+45

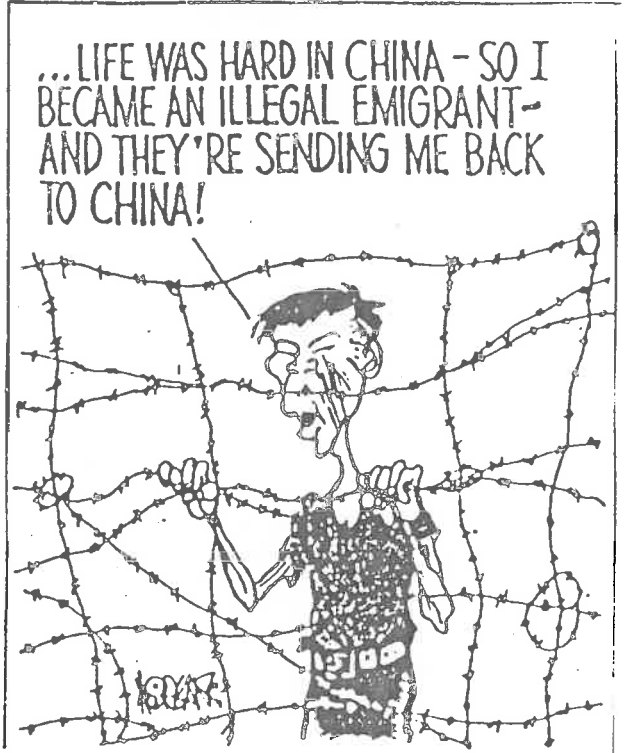
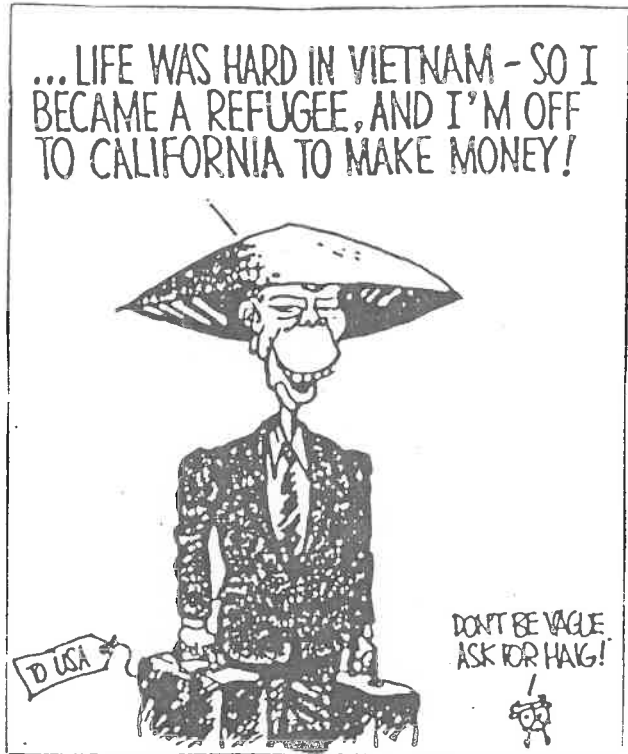
Affairs Commission, in the area of community relations. The Viets have three, Health and Welfare, Education and Settlement. Three out of seven committees. They also have five social workers while we have only one and how long have we been here compared to them ... The Federation has a grant-in-aid of over \$20,000 whereas the Tung Fung Dance Troupe got \$80,000 just to buy costumes and equipment. We even had to write our own Chinese text for the Driver's license, last year, whereas the Motor Registration did it for the Vietnamese...'

Economic or political refugees?

There is also the growing conviction among the Chinese in Melbourne that since the early eighties, the refugees who arrive in Australia are fleeing hardship rather than persecution.<sup>25</sup> By the rules of the United Nations a refugee is defined as a 'person who is unable to return to his country because of persecution or a well founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion'. Most Vietnamese who fall into these categories have long since left the country, according to my informants, but the refugee programme rolls on unchanged.

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<sup>25</sup> On the Schildberger radio programme (3LO Melbourne, 21 June, 1984) Blainey said, 'Large numbers of the refugees who are coming here are economic migrants; the Vietnamese government wants to get rid of them because they're Chinese ... There's nothing to stop them - most of them - staying in Vietnam and if the family reunions have to take place, many of them should be taking place in Vietnam'. The conviction among Chinese of refugees being economic rather than political immigrants, may be derived from this programme.



Far Eastern Economic Review, July 17, 1981.

As one Chinese engineer put it:

'Australia is running a shuttle service for them. There is no way to really screen those leaving Indo-China. Where are you going to find papers in a country which has been at war for 50 long years. Why, you can make up any story and even make up a family unit if you want to. Who's to know? Besides who doesn't want to go to America or Australia. You just can't starve. If you have no job, the government feed you; sick, Medibank pay your bills. Why I have heard of refugees pooling their dole together just like the Italian and Greek migrants used to do. After some time, they start a business, buy a car. This is Paradise. Why I read the other day somewhere in the papers that it is costing the Government \$2500 per refugee, mind you, for the first three months, when they arrive here...'

Nevertheless, the Chinese community recognise that the Vietnamese in identifying themselves as an ethnically deprived minority, are consciously or unconsciously stressing the negative attributes of this status, which is precisely the reason why the Victorian Chinese are determined to maintain a social distance between the two ethnic communities.

### The Blainey Debate

Their caution is well founded in the light of Australia's foremost historian Geoffrey Blainey's recent warning of the 'Asianisation of Australia'.<sup>26</sup> He claimed:

'that Asians were being given powerful precedence in the nation's immigration policy'.<sup>27</sup>

and warned that such continued entry of Asians at the present rate could 'weaken or explode'<sup>28</sup> the tolerance extended to immigrants over the past 30 years. While Professor Blainey may have been attempting to call for a reasoned debate, others holding more extreme views have come out of the woodwork to follow his banner. One of the more vocal ones is the 'Stop the Asian Invasion'<sup>29</sup> campaign launched by the Australian National Action group which has branches in every state and publishes an array of books, posters and stickers. Another is Mr. Bruce Ruxton, head of the Victorian Returned Services League (RSL) who had, in previous years maintained a strong pro-Anglo Saxon

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<sup>26</sup> Blainey first spoke on Asian migration to the Warrnambool Rotarians in March, 1984. In a speech which was reportedly on the multi-culturalism in Australia's past and its success in accommodating successive waves of immigrants, he added his view that there were now too many immigrants from Asia, a development which he believed could undermine racial tolerance. He subsequently elaborated these beliefs in speeches, radio and television interviews and publications, culminating in his book All for Australia (1984) Methuen Haynes, North Ryde. For a comprehensive survey of relevant press items on Asian migration see Appendix 9.

<sup>27</sup> The Sun, 14 October, 1983; Advertiser, 12 May and 14 August, 1984; The Age, 19 March, 1984.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The Age, 24 March, 1984; Advertiser, 26 March, 1984; The Age, 27 March, 1984.



'The Asianisation of Australia.'

Age, 20 March, 1984.

migration policy:

'... Last year (I said) we wanted a massive Vietnam migration like we want a hole in the head - and my position has not changed ...'<sup>30</sup>

'... The recent recruitment of migrants and Vietnamese must surely be one of the most shameful acts of the Government considering the huge estimates of people unemployed in this country'.<sup>31</sup>

Mr Ruxton, in the midst of the 'hysteria'<sup>32</sup> caused by the Blainey debate called for a pro-Caucasion policy to be adopted by the R.S.L. at the organisation's national congress. While the Victorian motion was defeated,<sup>33</sup> three other resolutions were passed. Pressure was to be exerted on the Federal government to increase the quota of migrants from the United Kingdom, to cease immigration until a significant reduction in unemployment and improvement in the economy are achieved and, finally, to disallow any Asian enclave in Australia.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The Herald, 7 July, 1982

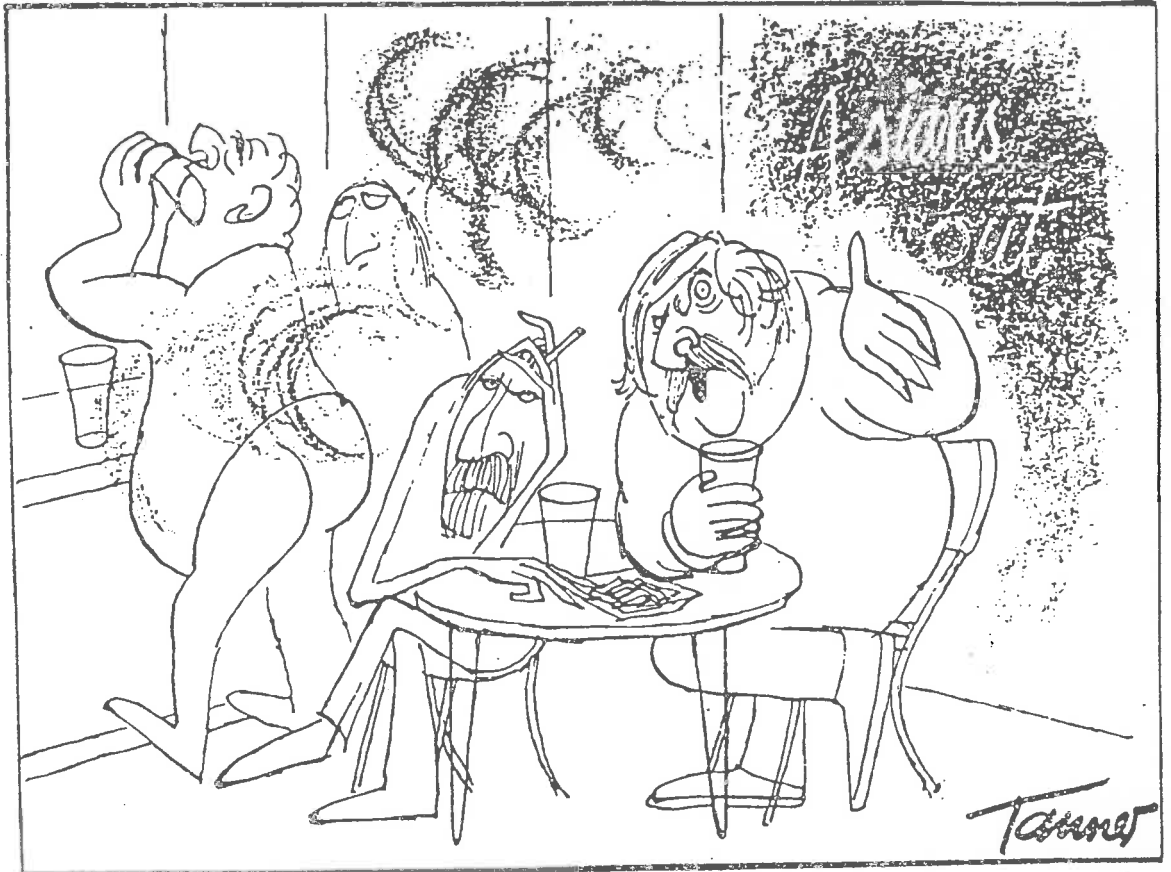
<sup>31</sup> The Age, 20 December, 1982

<sup>32</sup> The Minister of Ethnic Affairs, Mr. Sumner in the opening address for the biennial conference for the Asian Studies Association of Australia conference in Adelaide, appealed for a more rational approach to the widely publicised views of Professor Blainey - 'Stop this hysteria' (see Advertiser, 14 May, 1984 for details of speech).

<sup>33</sup> The motion was defeated 9-6 against after the National President Sir William Keys argued that such a move would discredit the organisation and bring accusations of going back to the White Australia policy. However, interjections of 'traitor' were leveled, after the motion was defeated, despite support by the N.S.W. and W.A. branches.

<sup>34</sup> Advertiser, 6 September, 1984.





"They don't understand the difference between cultural heritage and racism!"

Age, 5 March, 1984.

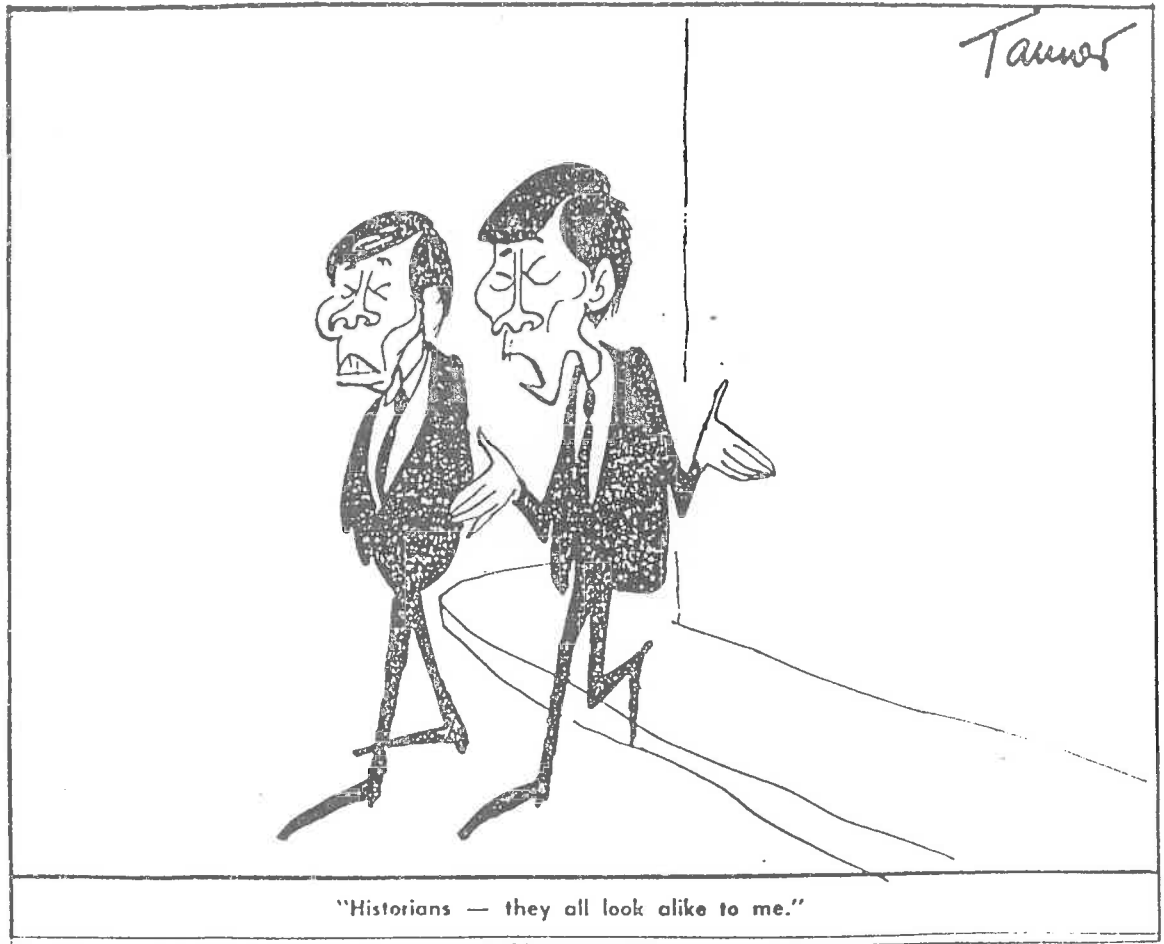
The Blainey debate provoked what an Advertiser columnist called a 'racial bushfire':

'The Average Australian, if that be not a mythical beast, is by standards of others a tolerant being so guilelessly tolerant, if only by inertia, that by an unfortunate irony we are easy prey to shysteristic intolerance. We tend to get on well with the people next door, be they of Anglo Saxon or other origins, even original Australian and will blithely tolerate the tinder being spread around by the lunatic fringes of social opinion; but only until careless matches are tossed. Then whoosh ... Thus has the average Australian been stirred from happy tolerance into such silly arguments as Asians taking away our jobs ... or such reactionary arguments as 'We need more Europeans not Asians ...'.<sup>35</sup>

It brought arguments and counter arguments from such diverse sources as the Minister of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr. West, the Prime Minister, Mr. Hawke and his opposite partner in the Liberal Party, Mr. Peacock, numerous academics, journalists, church members, ethnic and multi-cultural bodies and a deluge of letters from the public.

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<sup>35</sup> Advertiser, 22 May, 1984.

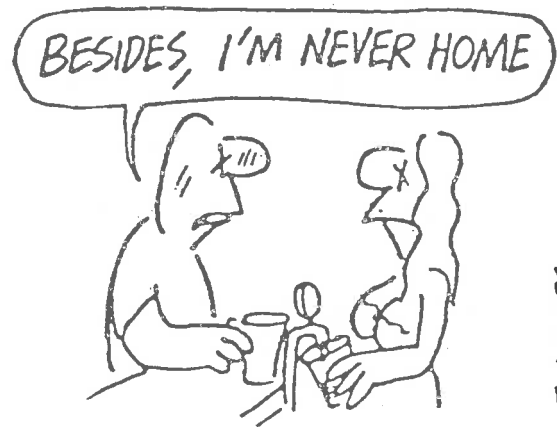


Age, 23 March, 1984.

In June, 1984, at the height of the public debate, the Advertiser published the results of a series of group discussions conducted by the SSC and B. Lintas advertising agency on 'different nationalities living in Australia'. It was entitled 'Racism and the people's view'. It claimed that before the Blainey debate, the Australian attitude towards Asians was 'apathetic tolerance mixed with prejudice'. Research conducted after the furore of arguments showed that Asians were regarded as 'different, they did not want to integrate and they were a threat for the future' in particular, to education and employment for white Australians. The Chairperson of the Australian Human Rights Commission, Dame Roma Mitchell, was reported to have said that the survey verified observations she had made of the 'rise of racism in Australia in the past three months'.<sup>36</sup> The deterioration in the public's image of Asians can be seen in the 50 per cent drop in donations for both the Indo-China Refugee Association of South Australia and Austcare. Volunteer collectors were abused and one donation envelope was returned with three bullets and a message 'that will take care of three of them'.<sup>37</sup> The Study also showed what it calls a 'ladder of respectability' with British migrants at the top followed by Italians and Greeks. Jews, Yugoslavs, Dutch and Japanese were next, followed by what respondents in the survey considered the 'ghetto races' of Lebanese and Turks. The Vietnamese migrants were placed last while the Aborigines were not even on it.

<sup>36</sup> The Australian, 18 June, 1984 p.3.

<sup>37</sup> The Australian, 22 October, 1984.



TANBERG

Age, 23 March, 1984.

An earlier ANOP attitude survey based on 24 group discussions with young Australians between the ages of 15 to 24, also arrived at similar sentiments:

'Why can they come in the country and get handouts here?'

'Bloody reffos, I hate them!'<sup>38</sup>

Initially the Chinese community in Melbourne regarded these media reports with wary interest. While terms such as 'South-east Asians' and 'Asians' were bandied about in the public debate, most of the racist statements were directed towards the refugees. This situation changed when the Age published a front page article entitled 'China's special offer:- non strike labourers at bargain prices'.<sup>39</sup> A further article within was entitled 'China's latest export: 'coolies' for currency'. Another article,<sup>40</sup> two months later, further revived the 'Yellow peril' and 'White Australia' memories of colonial Australia. It suggested that trade relations with Japan were affected by Australia's attitude both past and present towards Asian migrants. The Chinese readers were perturbed, however, at the two sketches included in the text. One showed a pair of ragged, diseased Chinese children and the other was a reprint of a famous sketch depicting the Lambing Flat goldfield riots. The last had a special significance for

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<sup>38</sup> Advertiser, 10 May, 1984

<sup>39</sup> The Age, 29 March, 1984

<sup>40</sup> It was entitled 'Black memories of our white policy' Advertiser, 25 May, 1984.

Geoffrey Blainey has been reported as referring to the mid nineteenth century anti-Chinese movement with its violent attacks on Chinese gold seekers as an indication that immigration policies which are 'out of step with the public opinion' can lead to greater racial intolerance and conflict ABC TV programme (Pressure Point) May, 1984. See Our Side of the Country: The Story of Victoria (1984); The Rush that Never Ended (1903) and A Land Half Won (1980).



Age, 29 March, 1984.

the Old Migrants. It was the worst anti-Chinese riot in Australia. It happened near Young in 1861 where a mob of 3,000, bearing firearms and flags, accompanied by fifers and drummers, attacked a few hundred defenceless Chinese diggers. Many died while others who refused to reveal their caches of gold were buried alive in holes. When the rioters were tried at Goulburn, a white jury acquitted all but one, while the crowd sang 'Rule Britannia, Britannia rules the waves - No more Chinamen in New South Wales'.<sup>41</sup>

The Chinese in Australia are vulnerable. As one informant put it:

'We are like a banana. No matter how 'white' you try to be inside, think the white way, live, eat - the skin is still yellow. Look at the ABC's, they are totally Australian, yet they are still Chinese. You can't escape it. Your whole face is still yellow'.

They are concerned that the activities and presence of the Vietnamese will revive sinophobic fears in the Australian public, fears which may reach the old 'yellow peril' proportions. For decades, Australian newspapers and Protestant missionaries have developed and spread conceptions of Chinese deceit, cunning, idolatry, despotism, xenophobia, cruelty, infanticide, intellectual and sexual perversity. This negative image is preserved in the one

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<sup>41</sup> Sydney News, 5 August, 1880. Donald Friend (1956) in Hillendia recorded that Chinese religious ceremonies at Hill End were often marred by local louts who would attend in order to get any handouts of rice wine that were going, or to jeer and sing the old Lambing Flat riot parody.





Norman Lindsay Cartoon, Circa. 1916.

Reprinted in The Advertiser, 25 May, 1984.



*"The terrified Asiatics scarcely made any resistance"*

The Lambing Flat Massacre of 1891.  
 (The Illustrated Sydney News, 5 August, 1880)  
 Reprinted in The Advertiser, 25 May, 1984.

syllabled words of abuse which are part of the Australian language of today. The Chinese fear that the activities of the secret societies of the Vietnamese refugees may be perceived to be similar to the supposed activities of the Chinese Masonic - 'Chinese Triad' - society. As it is, vague rumours of drug dealing are circulating in the Melbourne Chinese community due to the recent murder of a Sydney restaurant owner, Stanley Wong, and the arrest of his daughter, Tina Wong, in connection with a heroin ring.<sup>42</sup> It is not surprising then that the Chinese in Melbourne feel the need to differentiate themselves from the Vietnamese. This is seen in the ritual play during Chinese New Year where the Vietnamese are welcome as onlookers but barred from participating in the ritual and public display of Chinese ethnic identity - the lion and dragon dances. It should be noted here that the Chinese do regard the Vietnamese as heterogeneous, broadly divided into ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese Vietnamese. They see the second group as being 'just like us in many ways'.

'They eat Chinese food, speak Cantonese,

Teochew or Hakka. In fact they are Chinese.'

Overtures have been made to the Chinese Vietnamese by Chinese organisations like the See Yap Society. Moreover, a small number of prominent Chinese are on the committee of the Richmond School Parents Association. Despite its

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<sup>42</sup> Miss Wong died on 23 March this year without knowing that she had been cleared of nine charges involving the importation of high grade heroin. Her lover, David Yung of the House of Chow in Adelaide and a Thai jeweller, Charven Rirasatikwere found guilty and sentenced to a non-parole period of 14 and 12 years respectively. (Advertiser, 1 November, 1985).



This cartoon from "Touchstone", Melbourne, in 1870, depicts an 'auction' of white girls to Chinese.

Those who think the image of wicked Orientals chasing innocent white girls was a figment of the 19th Century Australian imagination and a thing of the past, might like to ponder the cartoon reprinted below. It appeared in the Sydney "Sunday Mirror" on May 9, 1971.



"I say, Blogsworthy, are they members?"

somewhat odd name, it is a fully functioning Chinese Vietnamese association and incorporates the Tung Fung Dance Troupe. Nevertheless, as indicated, the majority of the New Chinese migrants have urban professional backgrounds and their expectations and aspirations have been shaped by their pasts. Furthermore, the Old Migrants feel that the classifications by the Australian public of 'Vietnamese refugees' debase the integrity and value of their own Chinese heritages.

### Summary

To analyse the formation of ethnic categories and boundaries and the social organisation of ethnic groups a relational frame of reference is needed, one where those 'objective' phenomena, loosely termed 'cultural or behavioural traits' here, can be singled out. The basic axiom for such a study is that ethnic groups are social categories which provide a basis for status ascription and consequently inter-ethnic relations are organised with reference to such statuses (cf. Epstein, 1978).

My material shows a situation where the ethnic identity of a certain community was threatened by the imposition of a general, 'imperative', negative identity. This imposition has definite implications in inter-ethnic relations. As the Chinese define it, Australians perceive a conspicuous lack of contrasting traits between Chinese and Vietnamese migrants. The consistent public use of labels such as 'reffos' (especially during the Blainey debate) indicate that ethnic identity is a topic of importance in the relationship between persons carrying contrasting as

well as similar identities. Both Chinese and Vietnamese migrants, for example, hold Australian citizenship. It is fairly evident then that few of the 'traits' may be classified (by the wider Australian society) as contrasting 'traits' with reference to ethnic provenance; even the mother tongue dichotomy could not be used as a contrast since over 90 per cent of the refugees are of ethnic Chinese origin. The language of symbols which relates to this identity cleavage is rich and finely shaded. However, I have been able to understand and analyse only the gross forms of these symbols and their differentiating significance. The language of symbols then must be understood in a local social context: I was faced with the difficult task of understanding the local mode of valuation and interpretation of general behaviour expressed in such terms as education, standard of living and respect for the law.

A few Vietnamese behaviour patterns were quickly seen as Vietnamese idiosyncrasies in the sensationalised media reports. The Vietnamese were portrayed as inferior in moral standards and performance and, in the terminology of the welfare state, they indirectly constitute a category of the handicapped, in that Vietnamese language and culture appear to seriously hinder the individual in participating and benefiting from the wider host society. This at least was the consensus of the Melbourne Chinese community. Under the threat of a general, stigmatized, Asian identity, members of the Chinese population sought to qualify themselves as full members of Australian society. This also implies deliberate avoidance of behaviour patterns classified as Vietnamese and, as far as possible,

disassociation from these people. When interaction with such people was unavoidable, it was done in terms of Chinese idioms or in protected encounters and settings such as the Chinese New Year festival in Little Bourke Street (Chinatown).

The Chinese I met in Melbourne made efforts to underline their 'middle class' lifestyle in the eastern 'Australian' suburbs of Melbourne<sup>43</sup> such as Kew, Camberwell and Caulfield. Many liked to stress that they were integrated, professionally, residentially and socially into Australian society. In addition, they liked to dwell on their enviable record of avoiding police attention before the advent of the refugees.<sup>44</sup> In short, they appeared to me to have an absolute obsession with their 'respectability' and regaled me for hours with accounts of how the Vietnamese visibility had lowered the image of Asians in Australian society.

All of this was communicated in English, which all the Present Migrants spoke quite well<sup>45</sup>, though most had an Asian accent.

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<sup>43</sup> The eastern suburbs were ranked the highest in socio-economic status (see F. Lancaster Jones, 1967:109). The Vietnamese were found mainly in the central or western suburbs which were ranked the lowest.

<sup>44</sup> Ronald Francis (1981) in Migrant Crime in Australia said that Chinese and Jews were very much underrepresented in the criminal system and, that in his tour of every Australian jurisdiction, he had never seen a Chinese face.

<sup>45</sup> The Old Migrants tended to be more at home with the Cantonese dialect.



Age, 20 March, 1984.

I have taken these themes to be more than mere conventional conversational discourse. The recurrent management of these themes coupled with the fact that they stressed an ethnic differentiation in the population, led me to look upon them as a vital part of a process of presentation of identity (Goffman, 1959). Chinese ethnic identity should not be regarded as a private matter. There is a continual and sometimes heated debate going on about what is proper or improper identity management.

As I have already observed, stereotypes serve to reinforce one's perceptions of others, but by their very nature they also imply a definition of oneself; they always carry, at least implicitly, a two-way evaluation. Thus, by displaying preference for a 'mainstream' lifestyle - comfortable homes, white collar jobs, respect for the law, usage of English in the public sphere - the Chinese are very ostentatiously acting out what they regard as mainstream Australian identity in an ambiguous context of fluctuating ethnic tolerance.



RITUALS OF ANCESTOR WORSHIP AMONG THE OLD MIGRANTS

In this chapter I focus on the present day rituals of ancestor worship. These rituals once embodied the principle of filial piety and legitimated the concept of the traditional patrilineal Chinese family and society.

At first glance, it would seem that this strict hierarchy of power, whereby authority is invested in the oldest effective male, continues to be promoted in the present day rituals of ancestor worship. I intend to show how this is manifested in the organisation and site of the ritual, in particular, in the architectural conception of the temple.

However, certain small modifications in the ritual have given new meaning to the ritual in the context of Australian society.

Rituals of ancestor worship are held by the See Yap Society three times a year in Melbourne for its deceased members. It policed the lives of the early Chinese sojourners from arrival to departure - it is recognised in Melbourne today as a society which represents the Old Migrants.

These religious ceremonies do not have 'names', as ~~we know it~~ <sup>such</sup>. They are referred to, by the participants, by the date or season of their occurrence. So the first festival of ancestor worship which is held on the beginning of the third month in the Chinese calendar - Spring in China - is simply called a 'Spring ritual' or 'Choon Chai' in Cantonese. It is also known as 'Cheng Meng' which means 'Clear and Bright', a description of the Spring weather. Accordingly, the second festival, held on the ninth day of the ninth month, which is in Autumn, is referred to as such - 'Autumn ritual' or 'Chow Chai'.

The third 'festival' is known by its date - the 'Fifteenth Day of the Seventh Month Ritual'. However Western sources, possibly because of the clumsy nature of this title, have chosen to call it the 'Festival of the Hungry Ghosts' or 'All Souls' Day.' It must be pointed out that even today among the overseas Chinese, the festival is still called by its date-name. But for the purposes of this study the term 'All Souls' Day' will be used, to distinguish it from the two Spring and Autumn Rituals. According to my informants, the Spring and Autumn festivals are restricted to individual or family worship of kin, while it is only on the third occasion that universal sacrifices are conducted to assuage the hunger of, and gain the gratitude of, all spirits, relatives and non-relatives.

The ritual is divided into two parts: the first takes place at the cemetery in Carlton, followed by the second at the See Yap temple in South Melbourne.

The first stage of the ritual takes place at a rebuilt subsection of the Carlton Chinese cemetery. A number of the graves were so neglected that this rebuilding was necessary in 1972. A central grave head and altar entitled 'Overseas Chinese Ancestral Grave' was set up to incorporate these forgotten deceased. Since some of the markings on the original tomb were impossible to decipher, the new communal plot consisted of stone tablets which bore common Chinese names, that is, no surnames (Photograph 1).



Photographs 1 and 2 portray the first stage of the rituals of ancestor worship at the Chinese section of the Carlton cemetery - a sacrifice to those who died during the Victorian goldrush era.

Candles and joss sticks are lit in front of the main altar followed by an offering of wine and the burning of paper offerings. A sacrifice of three kinds of cooked meat is made. The animals are whole and chicken, pig and fish are the usual choices. Beef is offered only for royalty. Fruits such as oranges, apples and even dumplings are included. Joss sticks are also placed all around the communal plot - everything is done in a matter of fact manner. There are no specified roles. At the Spring ritual the President and a helper lit the joss sticks while another helper and the butcher who provided the meat poured the wine. In the Autumn ritual, it was the President who poured the wine and burnt the paper sacrifices while others handled the joss sticks. The only factor in common in both these rituals was that they were conducted by men, old men. Women were excluded. In the Autumn ritual a woman hitched a ride to the cemetery in the See Yap cars but she was ignored throughout the entire morning. Her sacrifice of cut meat, wine and food was offered separately, on its own (see Photograph 2).

The entire sequence was repeated at another section of the Carlton cemetery which housed the more recent Chinese dead. Again the uncut meat, fruit and wine were placed in front of a large altar located in an open shelter. Joss sticks were burnt at all the surrounding graves. Wine was poured and the 'yim poh' or paper offerings burnt (Photographs 3 and 4).

3



4



Photographs 3 and 4 denote the second stage of rituals of ancestor worship: sacrifice to the recent dead.

The number 'three' is repeated throughout the ritual: there are three animal sacrifices, three cups of wine with three pairs of chopsticks next to them. Even the joss sticks are multiples of three - that is, it is acceptable to light three, nine or 27 in number. The paper offerings are of three kinds, there is gold and silver which represent coinage and finally blank rectangular pieces of paper which were once scattered to indicate the paths to the underworld. These 'kai chee-in' ( 冥錢 ) were necessary as Chinese spirits were credited with little intelligence and no powers of penetration. This is partly why the ceremonies are always conducted before nightfall since the spirits, on returning to the cemetery after their release for the day, would have great difficulty in penetrating the closed city gates of ancient Chinese cities.

Today, however, due to littering laws, the kai chee-in is merely placed on top of the tombstones.

Money and, for the All Souls' Day only, paper clothes, are offered to the deceased because it was believed that Hell was organised on exactly the same lines as the Imperial administration of justice with its magistrates, wardens and tormentors. All were credited with the same greed as their earthly counterparts and, thus, worshippers dispensed coinage to their ancestors to ameliorate their treatment.



Since the descendants are unaware of the ultimate destination of their ancestors, no chances are taken - the three cups of wine are poured, one after the other on the ground to indicate sacrifice to those who have gone to Hell; following this, the joss sticks are lighted, so that their smoke on rising, will carry the same messages, should the said ancestors have ascended instead.

The candles, even in number (two or four), appear to have no significance other than to create light.

The food sacrifices are taken by a small truck to the temple where they are placed before the main altar. Burning of the joss sticks, candles and yim poh, together with the spilling of the wine is conducted all over again. Further yim poh and joss sticks are burnt at the adjoining old ancestral 'chapel'. The latter houses about 80,000 ancestral tablets of bygone Chinese migrants of the gold mining days. No food is offered here. (Photographs 5 & 6)

However, both food and paper sacrifices, including the burning of joss sticks, are conducted at the new ancestral building which houses the more recent dead.

It is essential to focus our attention here on the temple of Guan Gong - for it illuminates very clearly Chinese conceptions of the supernatural. It reveals that the relationship between gods and their human worshippers is conceptualized in terms of the structure of the traditional Chinese household.

5



Old Ancestral 'Chapel'

6



New Ancestral Hall. The red wooden tablets are those of the recent dead. They are placed on the lowest shelf on the wall. Successive dead are mounted on higher shelves until the uppermost shelf is reached.



### The Guan Ti Temple and the Reproduction of the Family

The temple of Guan Gong is and was the only Chinese temple in Melbourne. The main building was constructed in 1866 and an extension to the right was added in 1901. (Figure 1.)

An archway separates the outer and inner gates of the temple. Two raised steps lead to a pair of stone lions. The male lion has a forepaw on a ball; its female counterpart is accompanied by a cub. They are the sacred guardians of the temple. Overhead, on the roof of the main hall, are a pair of fishes and a pair of mythical creatures known as kilin.

Fish are regarded by the Chinese as emblems of wealth. It is a play upon words alike or similar in sound and taken to be the same in meaning - thus 'fish' here is taken to mean 'Yu' that is, 'abundance'. Due to their reproductive capabilities, fish are also depicted as symbols of regeneration and signs of connubial bliss. And, finally, as one of the official eight Buddhist emblems,<sup>1</sup> they are natural amulets against the forces of evil.

The temple proper is made up of four structures namely, a main hall, a secondary hall to its left and an old and new ancestral 'chapel' to its right.

The main hall houses the major god, Guan Ti. He was a great general, believed to have lived in the time of the Three Kingdoms (later than dynasty, 221-227 B.C.). His chief virtue, however, was his absolute loyalty to his master. In fact, he was styled the 'loyal and true'.

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<sup>1</sup> The other seven are the wheel, conch shell, canopy, umbrella, lotus, jar and the endless knot.

LEFT

LAYOUT OF GUAN TI MEW

RIGHT

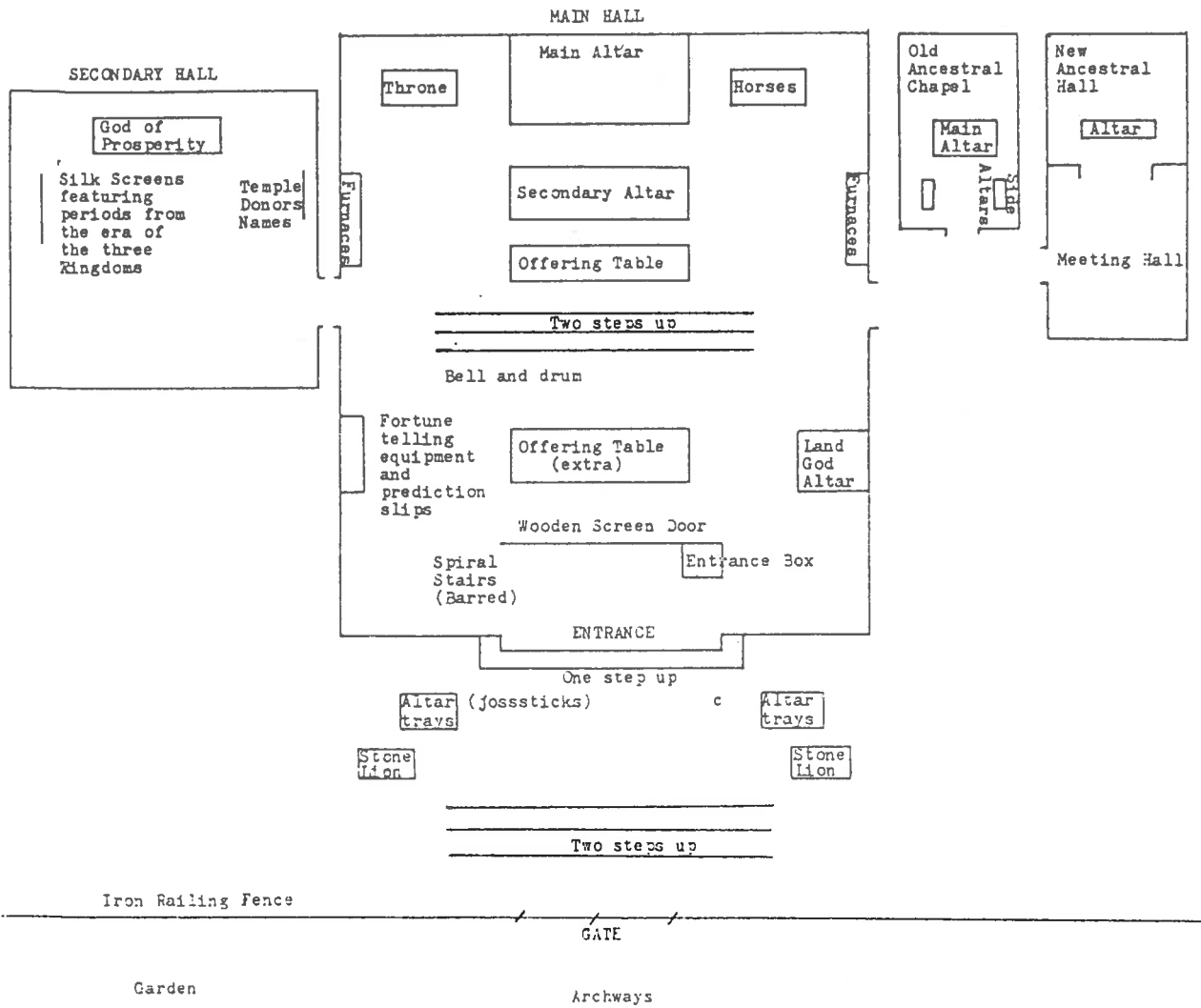


Figure 1.

His exploits were romanticised in the San Kuo Chih Yen-i which comprised a hundred and twenty chapters. In 1594 A.D. he was deified by the Ming Emperor Shen-tsang (MacGowan, 1906:133). Guan Ti was mostly worshipped as the God of War and money-making enterprises. In addition, he was often viewed as an overseer of fraternal ties- especially those of social organisations and secret societies.

On entering the main hall, one is immediately faced with a circular wooden screen door. This elaborately carved barrier is opened only on special occasions or for important persons. The average worshipper has to make a detour around it. A small altar can be seen to the right of this door. It is dedicated to the spirit of the land on which the temple stands. On the opposite side of the hall is a pigeonholed cupboard containing the fortune telling equipment - 'kow pui' and 'kow cheem', as well as the numbered prediction slips.

A huge drum rests a few feet from this cupboard. In the days of the Imperial courts, an ordinary person would sound the drums to summon the guards. They, in turn, carry his petition to the magistrate within. The drum in the temple serves a similar purpose - to awaken the weary God or Gods to the endless pleas of the supplicants.

Next is the offering table. On it are the usual fruits, cakes and cooked meats.

The secondary altar follows. It has a number of decorated gilded tubular candles and large black incense sticks in elaborate holders. An incense burner, with a carved lion on the lid, has a central position on the altar. It is also used to hold joss sticks. This altar has a practical purpose. It serves to reduce the human traffic around the vicinity of the main altar on festive occasions. In short, it acts as an extension of the main altar for the placement of joss sticks and personal offerings.

The main altar is situated at the far end of the hall. It is made of basalt and marble. A silk screen depicts the image of Guan Ti, accompanied by his son Guan Peng and a subordinate officer Chang. All the trappings of a General are represented here. His legendary horse, Red Rabbit and his favourite weapon, a halberd called the Green Dragon, are given places of honour in a small altar by the side of the major one. A smaller horse, belonging, presumably to one of Guan Ti's subordinates, stands slightly behind his famed steed. On the other side of this altar, is the God's throne, complete with his personal flags and official seal. Along the walls on both sides of the main altar are the banners, fans and weapons of Guan Ti's standard bearers and personal bodyguards. (Photographs 7 & 8)

Like the secondary altar, there is a similar paraphernalia of candle holders, vases, incense burners and tiny oil lamps. However these ritual vessels are on a more elaborate scale. There are also heavily carved camphorwood screens which hang from the ceiling and line the sides of the major altar. All of these are covered by a thin layer of gold.



Altar of main deity, Guan Ti



Altar of horses : Red Rabbit and unknown horse.

The Chinese mystics believed that gold grew by a kind of natural evolution. It was the perfected essence of mountain rock, which changed into quick silver after a thousand years. This mercury is regarded as 'yin' or the female principal of nature. It remains in liquid form until acted upon by the sun or the masculine force (yang), before being converted into gold. Gold, therefore, is viewed as a measure of the superlative. For instance, the small bound feet of women were called 'Golden lilies'; the lights of the Imperial Palace were called the 'Golden Lily Candelabra' and one of the highest honours conferred upon a minister by the Emperor, was to be escorted home by light bearers. The Manchu's named their dynasty Kin or Golden and for that matter, the great Mongol host that invaded Russia called themselves the Golden Horde (W.E. Griffs, 1911:38-39).

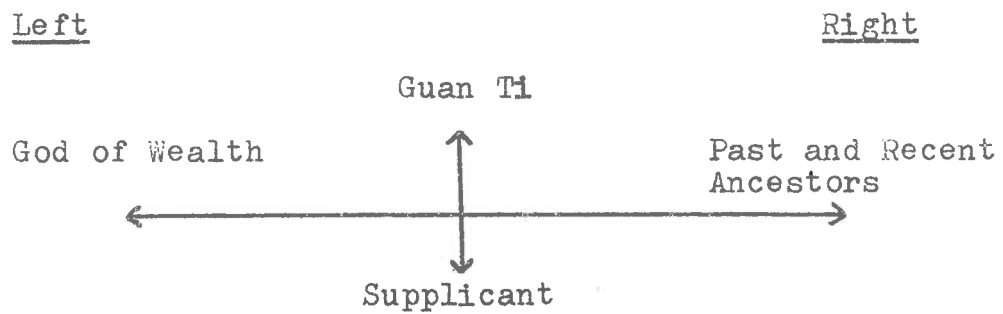
Thus the Chinese make their religious images, altars and temple furnishings, a blaze of golden glory. It is unfortunate that smoke, generated by the ever burning joss sticks, candles and incense, has reduced much of this effect in the central altar. But the overall result is still an impressive one.

If one considered the structure of architectural space, the vision of the average worshipper is thus brought to focus on the main altar. This dramatizing of the main shrine is also enhanced by the positioning of Guan Ti and the minor deities. The smaller, left hall is occupied by the God of Wealth and the other two halls to the right are devoted to the worship of ancestors. (Photograph 9)



Altar of the God of Wealth.  
Note elaborate carvings of  
camphorwood in the foreground.

Therefore, in terms of the symbolic organization of space, the basic layout is clear. Firstly, it expresses and reproduces two sets of relationships. On the one hand, taking the central altar as the focus, the space from it to the entrance, could be said to represent the relationship between Guan Ti and his supplicants. On the other hand, there is the structure of relationship between Guan Ti and the minor deities, as indicated by the positioning of the halls. These two kinds of relationships: that between god and man; and between the gods themselves, can be presented as two axes resembling the structure of the temple itself:



Hence these relationships can be placed in a hierarchical order of Guan Ti, minor deities and man. This is most clearly expressed by the central position of Guan Ti, the meeting point of the two axes. In short, the structure of the temple emphasizes, not so much man's supplication to Guan Ti but rather, man's acknowledgement of the moral order inherent in the relationship of gods to the natural world. Embodied in this order is the cultural idea of the divine influence of gods in punishing the wrong and rewarding the good with prosperity and long life (Yao, 1983:183-4).



Worship in the temple, then, is a culturally significant act which reproduces the structure of relationship between god and man and the related moral order. It is in this sense that, in accordance with ancient Chinese religious belief, the ritual offerings and the maintenance of the temple ensure communal harmony and prosperity.

Note, also, that the layout of the Chinese temple is itself structured by the central principles of the patriarchal model.

In Melbourne, among the early Chinese migrants, Guan Ti was regarded as the patron deity looking after the welfare of the community. In fact, he is referred to by the local people as 'Guan Gong' or literally 'Grandfather Guan' and never by his formal title. The kinship metaphor quite simply makes the relationship between Guan Ti and the Chinese community analogous to that between father (or male ancestors) and family.

The structural congruity between the temple and the 'family' can be more aptly illustrated by examining the architecture of a traditional Chinese household. The stress here is not on the physical similarity of the layout but on the conception. The traditional Chinese household usually consists of a 'U' shaped compound.

Right

Left

Tail Room	Yee-fong	Cheng-tang	Tai-fong	Kitchen
Added Wing	Entrance			Added Wing

On entering, by way of the open end of the 'U', through the compound, one finds the main hall - the 'cheng tang' which is the social and ritual centre of the house. It is here that:

'... the family receives the guests, and it is here that they worship their ancestors and the gods enshrined on their domestic altar. Images of the gods and the ancestral tablets are located on a high table facing the door and open end of the 'U', the gods at the stage left in position of honour, the ancestors on their right.'<sup>2</sup>

On either side of the cheng tang are rooms or 'fong': the first on the left is the 'tai-fong' or the first bedroom. This is the parents' room until the eldest son marries at which point it is taken over by him and his wife while his parents move over to the 'yee-fong', 'the second room', directly to the right of the cheng tang. The kitchen is located at the left end of the house, to give easy access to the women (either the mother or the first daughter-in-law who lives in the tai-fong. The other room at the other end of the house - the tail room - is usually designated as a bedroom for the younger unmarried children, a guest room or a store room. After the death of the parents, the eldest son would be allocated the tai fong and the original kitchen, while the yee fong and the tail room would most likely go to the second son. If there are more than two sons, the house would be extended by the addition of wings.

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<sup>2</sup> Wang, 1974:184.

Again, in accordance with the principle of seniority, the left wing will go to the third son and the right to the fourth son.

Thus, the layout of the Chinese household has a basic structure formed by five rooms. It should be noted that the distribution of the rooms or 'fong' significantly reflect the order of relationships within the family. In other words, the difference in power between the father, the eldest son and the younger son(s) is reflected in architectural terms by the relative positions of the rooms, running in the order of precedence from left to right.

Further, the cheng tang remains the common property regardless of the changes taking place in the family. In a sense, it could be said that symbolically, the 'tang' represents a cultural continuity of the family or lineage, under the benevolent 'eyes' of the ancestors.

The 'fong' and the 'tang' constitute here a category of architectural space, reproducing the key relationships in the patri-familial cultural model. The male sibling relationship is articulated in the allocation of the fong. The authority of the father in the patri-filial relationship is constantly reiterated by the dominant focus of the 'cheng tang' which, as the centre of the ancestral shrine and family worship, provides the crucial ideological image.

The Guan Ti Mew (Mew = Temple) is essentially similar in layout to the structure of the classical Chinese domestic household. In addition to the similar 'U' shaped structure, there is the crucial structural conception in the representations of the cheng tang, fong and the various altars.

Firstly, both the main altar and the cheng tang are the dominant focus of the architecture and each provides the respective ritual centres which reproduce the key principles of Chinese religious belief and the family.

Secondly, Chinese culture designates the left as a position of honour, which, in the temple context, would be the altar of the God of Wealth and in the domestic context, the tai fong. On the right, the allocations of the ancestral altars and in the domestic context, the 'yee fong' similarly give expression to the structure of relationship under the domination of the patron deity and father (and male ancestors) respectively. In short, therefore the temple hierarchy or ritual protocol of Guan Gong, minor deity (God of Wealth - this would, in the Chinese context, be situated at the left of the main altar) and ancestors (to the right of the main altar) is maintained (see Figures 2 and 3.)



So far, we have seen that the organisation of rituals of ancestor worship appear to have changed little. It is true that much of the elaborate pomp and ceremony have been trimmed which can be attributed to the lack of ritual specialists and ritual items available in Australia - there is only one shop which caters for this in Melbourne.

However, while the specifics may not be observed the generalities are followed. Fruit is offered with cheerful disregard for its symbolic meaning. Five, for instance is regarded as a sacred number and fruits should, by strict ritual procedure, reflect that figure. As during Chinese New Year, all religious items are offered on a principal of punning. The word for oranges in Chinese is pronounced to mean gold or prosperity; apples mean harmony, peaches denote long life, pomegranates, half-opened, denote fecundity. Even flowers and plants are highly significant. The 'three graceful friends' or the plum, prune and bamboo, are used to denote friends who remain constant in adversity.

So, while supplicants offer toffee, biscuits, pears, grapes and whatever fruit is in season, in place of, or as well as, oranges and apples, they are still offering fruits or items which are sweet and/or round. Further, with this in mind, they offer paper sacrifices marked 'sow' or long life, for all occasions from Chinese New Year to the worship of the dead.

And finally, of course, the entire ritual of veneration climaxes in the temple, a site whose physical conception, as I have noted, matches that of the traditional Chinese household.

However, I argue here that the ritual of ancestor worship in Melbourne has blurred the division between certain specific categories which gives new meaning to the worship thereby making it something more or less, depending on how one looks at it, than merely a ritual which legitimates filial piety.

There are three significant changes to the ritual. The results of these changes suggest two points.

Firstly, in these rituals the focal social element is men and, in particular, old men. It is these men who conduct and provide the elements for the ritual. In this situation, the ritual does more than focus on the exclusiveness of men; it mobilises them in opposition to the young (this will also be seen in the later chapter on symbolic rivalry among the Chinese New Year lion and dragon teams). If, therefore, we were to take account of the operational aspect of this ritual including not only what the Chinese say about it but what they do with it in its meaning, we must allow that it distinguishes the aged as a social category and indicates their solidarity.

Secondly, previous categories which in the past were clearly differentiated, are now made ambiguous in the ritual. Gods are treated as ancestors. Ghosts are also elevated to the category of ancestors which makes the relationship of ghosts to gods a problematic one. Rituals of ancestor worship are therefore not reinforcing the past notion of filial piety but are showing that the strict adherence to 'chin' (closeness) and 'su' (distance) are no longer

applicable in this new social landscape. The old are aware that they can no longer demand deference or obedience on the basis of their age or position in the family hierarchy. The hierarchy no longer exists. The identification of status is therefore no longer based only on the traditional values of age, generation and gender.

### Ritual Protocol

While not strictly observed, there are rules on the number of prostrations to which each of the gods is entitled. A petitioner would need to prostrate less to the God of Wealth, for instance, than to the main god Guan Ti.

The placement of joss sticks is conducted on the same lines for the highest ranking to the lowest.

The worshippers at the Guan Ti Mew are rarely aware of the correct sequence of action. While all are aware of the main altar, the secondary/alternate altar confuses most people. Joss sticks are stuck cheerily wherever supplicants can spot an incense burner. Given 17 sticks at the door, some less adept worshippers find themselves with left over joss sticks in hand. It is, therefore, not unusual to find joss sticks thrown into the furnaces which are meant for paper sacrifices, or stuck through the paws of the stone lions which guard the entrance into the Temple.



Freedman, (1967:99) suggested that 'the ancestor although dead is a person with rights and duties; the ghost also dead is a person with neither rights nor duties'. The one is usually a kinsman, the other always a stranger.

In other words, there are two classes of the supernatural namely, ghosts and ancestors. Whether a particular spirit is viewed as one or the other depends on the point of view of a person. One man's ancestor is another man's ghost.

In Melbourne, however, the See Yap ritual of ancestor worship includes both Spring, Autumn and All Souls' Day. They observe no difference between the kin and non-kin rituals. Instead of the two mutually exclusive categories made up of agnatic ascendants and everyone else, there is a single continuum that extends from those people to whom one is obligated by descent to those to whom one owes no obligation at all.

Wolf, (1974:182) asserted in 'Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors' that money offerings separated the supernatural into three categories. The gods were offered gold money, the ancestors, silver, and the ghosts receive a handout, usually that of clothes.

In Melbourne, with the blurring of the categories, ancestors and ghosts receive both gold and silver offerings.

Finally, according to my informants, eating and the exchange of food in China and elsewhere are considered socially significant acts. The family is commonly defined as people who 'eat together' and it is often in terms of food that a family expresses its relations with other people. Thus, while most families would give a bowl of food to a beggar, he is never invited into the home to eat but squats outside the back door and leaves his bowl on the threshold when he has finished his meal. Eating implies an intimacy and a degree of social equality (cf. Wolf, 1974).

The offering of food made to the various forms of the supernatural express the same social distinction. As kinsmen and people with whom one is on intimate terms, the ancestors are offered food very much in the same form as family guests. Food is presented in the form of fully prepared dishes which always includes cooked rice and utensils. The offering to ancestors are then meals in both form and intent. Wolf (1974:177) confirms this. He argues that offerings to the gods also included elements of a meal but it is considered presumptuous for a supplicant to issue an invitation to a deity to dine. Thus, offerings to gods usually consist of three or five kinds of meat namely duck, pork and fish. Gods' food is cooked, but never seasoned or sliced. Furthermore, Wolf states, the only items on the table aside from the offerings themselves are three cups of wine and a bowl of fruit. There are no eating utensils, no spices and most significantly, no rice, since offerings to gods are essentially gifts while offerings to ancestors are meals.

In the ritual of ancestor worship in Melbourne, offerings to the ancestors are also rendered to the gods. Moreover, utensils are provided for the gods, thereby, reducing the offering from a 'gift' to a meal.

Thus, tensions between the older and younger Chinese generations in a domestic situation, as described in Chapter 2, are reflected in the rituals of ancestor worship. Just as the former hierarchical position of gods, ghosts and ancestors is eroded, the authoritative position of the aged over the young, has also been eroded and replaced by a new equality. This diminishing of filial piety is further enacted in the ritual challenge of the lion and dragon dances on the occasion of Chinese New Year. I treat this festival as a social situation for analysis in the next and final chapter.

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CHAPTER EIGHTCHINESE NEW YEAR IN LITTLE BOURKE STREET: A UNITYWITHIN A DIVERSITY

In this final chapter I focus on the Chinese New Year celebrations in the area designated as Melbourne's 'Chinatown'. I intend to detail how this single festival encapsulates all the <sup>leb</sup>principal~~s~~ and contradictions which underlie and order the Chinese community in Melbourne. It is not only the most notable event in the Chinese calendar but more important, it is also the one day of the year when Chinese ethnicity is literally paraded in the streets of Melbourne.

To the wider Australian public and the hundreds of curious tourists, the Chinese New Year is an enactment of 'multiculturalism' - the expression of cultural differences in one of the periodic celebrations of ethnicity applauded and patronised by political and community leaders. It is a lavish show of diverse Chinese cultural pursuits ranging from Chinese brush painting, culinary arts, martial skills, acupuncture, Chinese instrumental music, folk dancing to an Asian food fair. The greatest attraction, which I shall concentrate on, is the lion and dragon dances.

To the Chinese community, Chinese New Year is a statement of conformity. It demonstrates cultural pluralism of a controlled, modest, unthreatening kind, cut off from the world of class conflicts, divergent interests and power struggles in Australian society. These displays of the

quaint and the exotic are presented under a carefully constructed facade of a Chinese 'community'. Undue tensions between Old Migrant, Present Migrant and Australian born organisations are contained under the umbrella of a united front, namely, the Federation of Chinese Associations. Ethnic boundaries are drawn to exclude other Asian communities such as the Indo-Chinese, who may threaten the 'respectability' of the Chinese community.

I detail in the following pages how the cracks in the Chinese community were 'papered over' to present a facade of unity and contrast what is shown to the Australian public and what in reality occurs behind the scenes and in the presence of the Chinese community. I raise the crucial question as to whether or not a Chinese community exists, given the vast differences between the Old Migrant, Present Migrant and their Australian born children.

First, I describe the lion and dragon dances. They are traditional dances, but rather like the Kalela Dance described by Mitchell (1956) these lion and dragon dances have acquired new meaning and new significance among the Chinese in Melbourne.

#### The 'Lion' Dance

There are two varieties of 'lions' in the 'lion' dance or 'moe see'. They are the Northern 'lion' and the Southern variety.

The Northern 'lion' is called a 'kilin'. It is a mythical creature composed of the body of a deer, and the tail of an ox. It is believed to have a life span of a

thousand years. The male of the species is called a 'ki', the female 'lin', so that the term 'kilin' is generally used for the entire species. It is sometimes referred to as a 'nean'. Chinese New Year in Cantonese - 'guo nean' - simply means the passing of the 'nean', a creature which terrorised the Chinese countryside for a time until it was halted permanently. Chinese New Year, therefore, celebrates the killing of a creature which destroyed life and crops. Its passing meant the renewal of all life, the promise of hope and abundance, the beginning of a new year of prosperity.

The Southern model bears greater similarity to its <sup>?</sup>feline relative. Its forehead is domed with large bulging eyes. It has a curly mane and a trifid tail instead of the tufted appendage of a real lion. My informants claim the Southern 'lion' was modelled on the Shih Tsu, the Chinese lion dog. It was regarded as a guardian of temples, palaces and other sacred areas. Since it repelled evil, it was eventually regarded as a herald of good fortune. Chinese houses and businesses would invite the creature to cavort at the entrances, thereby bringing luck to the occupants.

Since the majority of the Chinese in Melbourne and their forefathers originate from the south of China, the Southern model is danced in Little Bourke Street. The only way to tell the difference between the two varieties, is that the Northern 'lion', originating from a region with

more severe winters, has a horn, scales and a long coat of fur, while the Southern counterpart bears a close resemblance to a short-haired, Pekinese dog.

The lion dance is performed by a martial arts team as the dance demands great strength and acrobatic skills. Additionally, the lion dances to symbolically mark off its territory. It therefore challenges any intruder on its turf until one lion retires defeated or 'dead'. A lion is symbolically 'dead' when its skin is shredded or its performers too weak or injured to continue.

The lion is made of various lengths of coloured silk sewn together. The dance team is composed of two men under the 'skin', one carrying the head, and the other manipulating the hind quarters. Both men have to function as a single unit throughout the leaps, rolls, contortions and somersaults that comprise the dance. It is made more difficult by the fact that the lion sometimes performs all these acrobatics, balanced on a bamboo pole, at the height of a double storey building.

The dance begins with the lion lying comatose. It is asleep and has to be ritually awakened. A performer slips quickly into the skin, lifting the head, at chest level, his feet thrust out on either side, to represent the lion's legs. The back quarters of the creature remain quiescent, the silk or tail portion resting on the ground. The 'bleeding' ceremony takes place. This consists of a brush dipped in chicken blood being stroked lightly over all the movable parts of the sleeping 'lion' - the open mouth,

the eyes, the ears, jowls, head or horn, neck, the forepaws and the tail. In Cantonese, the ritual of awakening is called 'deem ching' which means 'dotting the pupils'

(點睛).

The 'bleeding' completed, the 'lion' awakes, accompanied by the clash of symbols and the heavy beat of the kettledrums. The rhythm of the drums controls the movement and leaps of the 'lion'. Firecrackers are thrown before or after every dance to ward off evil spirits. It also appears to have the secondary purpose of crowd control. A dozen or so members of the martial arts school often act as crowd controllers, using long bamboo poles to cordon off the press of people.

The pack of firecrackers used reflects the order of ancient Chinese society. There is, first of all, the yellow or imperial cracker which represents the Emperor. Then come the various green coloured ones which denote the nobility and various other judicial ranks. The rest are red, denoting the common populace. Nowadays the firecrackers are of a uniform colour - red - perhaps, according to an informant, to signify a new equality. However, the general Chinese consensus is that this colour is possibly more in keeping with the red - good fortune - aspect of Chinese New Year.

The real test of skills comes when the lion is especially invited to dance or 'pick the green' at the entrance of a home or the front of a commercial business.



The 'green' is a sum of money in crisp new bank notes tied in the shape of a fan or arranged in a single row, crowned by a lettuce leaf. The currency is either exposed or enclosed in a red packet - 'hoong pow'. In keeping with the principal<sup>le</sup> of punning which underlies Chinese ritual, the lettuce is taken, not to mean a fresh vegetable, but 'health' or 'vigour' on this auspicious occasion<sup>1</sup> (Photographs 1 and 2).

Great effort is made to dangle the lure in an awkward place either on the ground or high up in the air. The size of the lion's head makes it difficult for the creature to bow or crouch. 'Green' dangled above ground forces the lead performer to climb a pole, and carry his cumbersome 'skin' with him, a feat which requires both balance and strength. Fruits and vegetables - oranges or a head of lettuce - are sometimes placed next to the 'hoong pow'. In a particular instance I witnessed, an offering was made of two dozen packages of chocolate milk. The lion is required to 'swallow' the food and show the evidence of its ingestion by scattering shredded portions of the meal over the heads of the watching crowd.

### The Dragon Dance

The 'Dai Loong' or Big Dragon in Melbourne is a magnificent spectacle. It holds the current title in the Guinness Book of Records as the biggest dragon in the world, outside China. It is 300 feet long, with a covering of 6,000 mirrored scales embedded between stripes of bright

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<sup>1</sup> Lettuce (生菜) pronounced as 'sang choi' is taken to mean (生猛) pronounced 'sang mang'.



Picking the 'green' in Little Bourke Street. Note the Chinatown arches and clusters of mercury street lamps in the background.

2



The 'green' - crisp new notes tied in a fan shaped red packet, attached to a lettuce leaf and a string of firecrackers. The last is optional.

satin, gold silk and rabbit fur. Its body and tail consists of a long length of silk cut in waves of blue, red, orange and green and hung with fine tassles and bells (Photographs 3 and 4).

In Chinese tradition, the dragon is of great cosmological significance and is the immortal symbol of power incarnate. It is also the bringer of rain and its presence is greeted with joy as it ensures a bountiful harvest. Thus, to the Chinese, the dragon is a creature to be blessed rather than feared.<sup>2</sup>

The sheer size and weight of the Dai Loong has made it impossible for the dragon to be danced in Little Bourke Street. Consequently, the dragon 'dance' in Melbourne is in actual fact a dragon parade, escorted by men holding spears and banners and young children dressed in traditional costume with baskets of artificial flowers. The dragon 'chases' a colourful ball of silk which represents his pearl of immortality.

In an earlier Chinese New Year parade, rain caused the colours of the silk to run. The one hundred participants who formed the 'legs' of the dragon were half-smothered by the wet and dripping skin. Several participants recalled dye streaking their hair and faces. Despite the discomfort and slippery footing, the dragon parade was forced to continue because the size of the crowd, the narrow streets, and the enormous length and girth of the dragon prevented it from turning back.

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 10 for a fuller exposition of the cosmological and symbolic significance of the dragon.

3

Dai Loong.  
Note presence  
of Australians,  
part Chinese  
and Australian  
born  
participants.



4

The 'breath' of  
the dragon  
created by  
firecrackers.



The lion and dragon performances are traditional dances, that is, they date back to ancient China and have been performed with varying skills and little differences for over three hundred years. On the surface, there would be little to differentiate between the dances in Little Bourke Street and any overseas Chinese community in South-east Asia. However, the lion and dragon dances are given new meaning in the context of the Melbourne Chinese community. They are more than just an exotic display of Chinese ethnicity. They are a symbolic representation of the three major Chinese divisions in Melbourne. The Masonic lion represents the Old Migrants, the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne's lion represents the Present Migrants and the dragon belongs to the ABC societies of the Dai Loong Association and the Young Chinese League.

Their attempts to eclipse each other's efforts in the Chinese New Year celebration demonstrates the underlying tension between the old and the young Chinese in Australia. At a higher level, the ritual play of the lions and dragon in Little Bourke Street are attempts by each organisation and faction to establish leadership in the presence of the Chinese and wider community.

In 1955, the Chinese Masonic Society performed the first lion dance in Melbourne, on the Sunday after the Chinese New Year.<sup>3</sup> Since it was the only society to dance a lion - a visible symbol of Chinese ethnicity - leadership was ascribed to them by the general public.

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<sup>3</sup> Unlike other overseas Chinese communities, the public celebration of the Chinese New Year in Australia depends on the various Town Councils. Permits are required since an area has to be cordoned off to local traffic.



In 1970, the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne produced a lion, which had black and white markings, a stark contrast to the colourful Masonic lion. Replies to my query as to the significance of the colouring were revealing. The Vice President of the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne asserted that the zebra-like stripes denoted 'individualism, not one of the common herd, a fierce unfriendly leader'. Members of the Old Migrant associations gave a different answer. Some claimed that it denoted a 'sui see' (睚眦) a mountain lion which is rarely seen by humans. This species is believed to be a lazy one and spends much of its time asleep. Other Old Migrants simply declared that such markings denote a young or immature lion.

In Chinese terms, the presence of another lion on the scene is a loss of face for the Masonic Society. It is, together with the See Yap Society, one of the oldest Chinese associations in Melbourne, as well as Australia. In comparison, the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne is less than 20 years old. This move by the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne, not only implies another contender for the ascribed leadership of the Chinese community, but an undermining of the previously inviolate authority of the aged over the young. Rivalry and competition between the 'Peking' and 'Taiwan' camps have entered a new phase.

For a time matters remained in abeyance. Both factions took great care to dance their lion teams on different days. By tradition, the Chinese New Year encompasses a celebration of 15 days, so the chances of the two rival teams meeting 'accidentally' was low. Neither side was anxious to provoke a traditional lion fight.

In 1979, the situation was further complicated by the advent of a Chinese dragon onto the scene of Chinese festivities in Little Bourke Street. The idea was first proposed by the Director of the Moomba Festival. The Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne was initially approached as a suitable candidate but it was the Young Chinese League which responded favourably to the proposal. Since the Australian born members only organisation was still in its infancy, the Melbourne City Council was approached for funds. Councillor David Wang ran a public appeal for the Dai Loong Foundation, asking for donations from both Chinese and Australian sources.<sup>4</sup>

A number of factors entered into the way the general Chinese community perceived the Dai Loong. Clearly, because the Dragon was 'owned' by the Young Chinese League and the Dai Loong Association (which was formed solely for the upkeep and maintenance of the dragon), the creature was regarded as a representative of the Australian-born Chinese, who are themselves regarded by other Chinese as being a somewhat distinct group of Chinese. On another level, the idea of the dragon not being fully Chinese, was reinforced by the fact that a large part of the funds donated for the purchase of the dragon, came from Australian sources. Like the Chinatown arches, publicity sources for the project, heavily stressed the authenticity of the dragon. It was to be made in Fat Shan, billed as the 'traditional birthplace

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<sup>4</sup> The Asian, Volume 1, No. 9, December, 1978.

of the best Cantonese dragons<sup>5</sup>. Councillor Wang announced that Peking gave special permission for the factory to be reopened, the first time since the cultural revolution, thirty years ago, for the express purpose of manufacturing the Melbourne dragon (Ibid.). A consequence of this was that the Chinese and general public began to associate the dragon with Wang Enterprises. This ambiguity of the 'Chinese' dragon is reflected in the difficult task of finding volunteers in the Chinese community to be the dragon's legs. Each year an advertisement is placed in the local newspaper calling for 'legs' (see Figure 1). In the 1984 event, I witnessed a last minute canvassing of the crowds to make up the required numbers.

Like the Masonic and Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne lions, the Dai Loong performance during Chinese New Year was a solitary one, unmarred by the presence of its rivals. Its merits were obvious. Symbolically, it was the chief of all the mythical creatures and clearly outranked the lions. Its sheer size and grandeur made it a more memorable sight to the Australian public. Its success can be measured by the fact that it has made a regular appearance in every Moomba Festival since its inception. It was also invited to star in the televised Victorian bicentennial concert, in the segment on the Chinese contribution to Victorian history. Thus, whatever reservations the general Chinese public may have concerning the Dai Loong and its Australian-born sponsors, the wider society does not share this view. The dragon is synonymous with the Chinese community and the Chinese New Year. It is worth noting that

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<sup>5</sup> The Asian, Volume 2, No. 1, 1978.



Figure 1

..... Help make a happy New Year



..... Beynon Louey, 11, and his ceremonial lion are on the lookout — for legs.

Melbourne's Dai Loong Association wants 100 pairs of legs to carry the dragon Dai Loong to celebrate Chinese New Year.

New Year's Day is today, but the ritual celebrations will be held in Little Bourke St at 11.30 a.m. on Sunday.

The association wants males over 16 to be at the corner of Little Bourke St. and Cohen Place at 10 a.m. on Sunday. Teenagers are also needed, to carry banners and lanterns.

The lion will lead the procession and swallow gifts of money hung from the roofs of Chinese traders to bring good luck.

Half of the lion's takings will go to the Royal Melbourne and Children's hospitals.

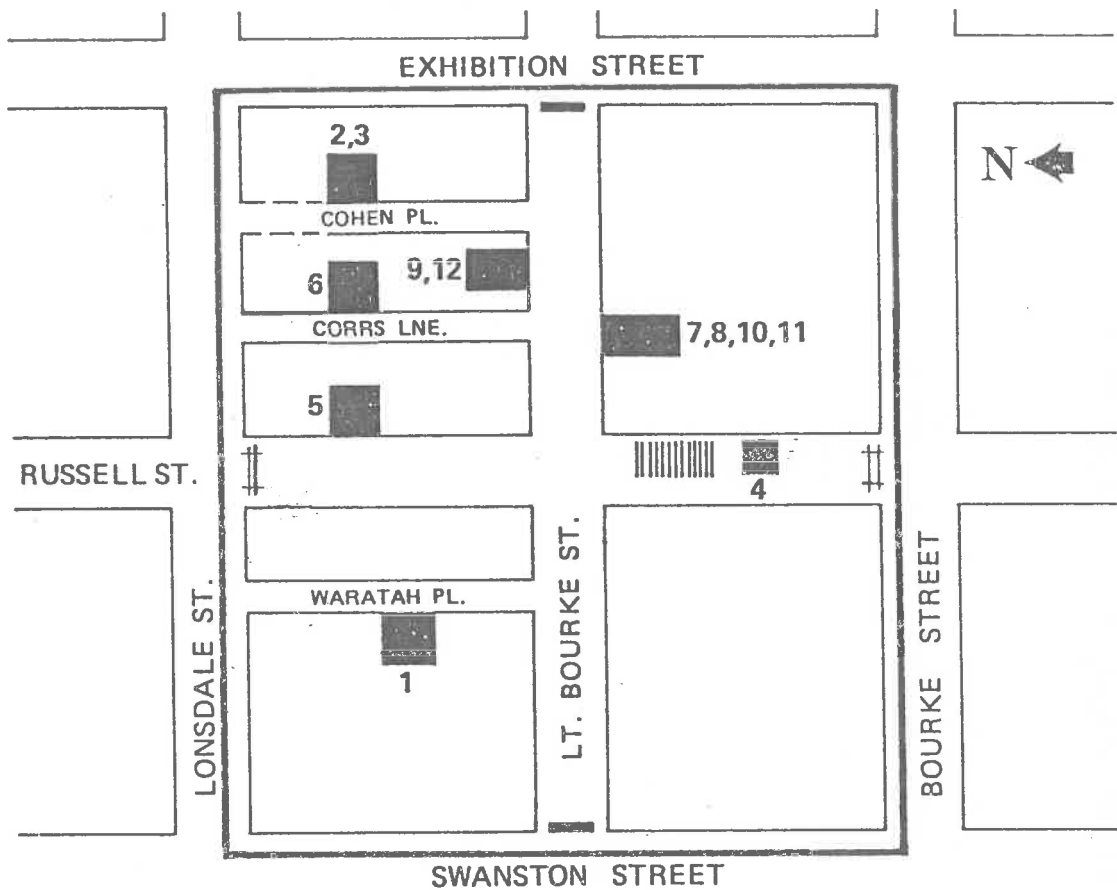
the author of a booklet which sketches a brief history of Chinese in Colonial Victoria - a booklet which will be part of the exhibit in the Chinese museum of the Chinatown Project Stage II - was told by the Australian publishers to include a dragon, regardless of the fact that there was no historical evidence to support its presence. Melbourne did not have a dragon until recent years, although Bendigo has had a 'Sun Loong' for over 80 years.<sup>6</sup>

The Federation of Chinese Associations, an umbrella organisation of 11 member societies was founded in 1979, in an effort to give a single voice to the Chinese community. Detractors claim that it is not a true representation of the community but there is no doubt that the FCA did manage to bring together the three rival groups in a single united presentation of a Chinese New Year in 1981, and the subsequent years.

Antagonisms between Old Migrant, Present Migrant and ABC organisations were muted wherever possible. Routes for the lion and dragon teams were carefully plotted (Figure 2). One lion would be awakened fifteen minutes earlier than the other, and at a different starting point, such that one lion team would move clockwise while the other would go anti-clockwise. The size of the dragon prevents it from moving inside the Chinatown area so it snakes around the periphery of the square made up by Exhibition, Lonsdale,

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<sup>6</sup> The Asian, Volume 2, No. 1, 1978.



Key:

1. Chinese Masonic Society Lion 'awakens' in Waratah Place.
  2. Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne Lions 'awaken' in Cohen Place.
  3. The Dai Loong 'awakens' in Cohen Place (in an area away from the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne Lions)
  4. Stage - Ethnic Chinese Vietnamese Lion.
- 5-12  
Displays and exhibitions of Chinese brush paintings, culinary arts, martial arts, games and instrumental music.
- ≡≡≡ Street barricades
- No entry to vehicles

Swanston and Bourke Streets. It is possible to infer here that the path taken by the dragon - the boundary which marks off 'Chinatown' from the host society - is symbolic of both the ambiguity of the Chinese dragon and the 'Australianization' of the Australian born Chinese in the Chinese community.

Far from creating an ideal solution, the FCA, in fact, introduced a further note of confusion into the Melbourne events. The Federation does not have any funds of its own.<sup>7</sup> It owns no property and does not even have a headquarters. Thus, whenever a special project occurs, the FCA would try to canvass funds and manpower from one of its member organisations. Similarly, the larger member organisations take turns to co-ordinate the activities of the Chinese New Year Festival. Consequently, there have been expressions of discontentment among some of the organisations which do the major share of the work behind the scenes, leaving the Federation to claim the credit and the ascribed leadership of the Chinese community.

So far the attempt to present a united front to the wider society has been successful. Attempts on the part of a Present Migrant organisation to fly a Taiwanese flag were deterred. An Australian flag was substituted in its stead. But the cracks in the facade remain. The Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne, as co-ordinator of the 1984 Chinese New Year, unveiled a new second lion on the day itself, one which is as colourful as the Masonic lion.

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<sup>7</sup> It has a Government grant-in-aid which goes towards the upkeep of the Chinese Social Worker.

They also issued new T-shirts to their members with a tiny print of the Taiwanese flag on the sleeve. In the program for the Chinese New Year, the Chinese Masonic, Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne and the Dai Loong were listed as having organised the Festival. The Federation of Chinese Associations, however, was listed in smaller print as one of a number of fifteen organisations which took part in the occasion.

Certain points can be made. First, there is indeed factionalisation among the Chinese in Melbourne but the conflicts and grievances which are expressed through factions are themselves managed and contained, sometimes by other factions, such as the Federation of Chinese Associations, and, at other times, by the respective factions themselves. For instance, the Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne introduced a second lion into an already confused situation. However, the colours of this new lion are similar but not too similar to the Masonic lion - there are differences in the brow and whiskers, for instance (see Photographs 5 and 6). Another instance is the careful timing and plotting of the routes so that there are no embarrassing confrontations. An informant recalled that on an earlier Chinese New Year occasion, delays caused two of the rival lion teams to meet. Neither side would give way to the other. A face-saving solution was finally achieved when both lion teams agreed to back off simultaneously from the scene. Even businesses in Little Bourke Street are circumspect in their



Chinese Masonic Lion



The Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne lions.  
Note the slight variation in colour between the  
new Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne lion (right)  
and the Chinese Masonic lion (above).

handling of the Chinese lions. Some owners of these businesses are members of either Old Migrant or Present Migrant societies and, therefore, owe their loyalty to a specific faction. In this case, one lion is invited 'to pick the green' at their homes or offices. Others, who belong to 'neutral' organisations, would invite both lion teams. Each team would be allowed to pick its own 'green'. The timing was important - clients were careful to issue invitations at different times and to ensure two sets of 'hoong pow' in case of the unexpected meeting. By tradition, only one 'hoong pow' is offered per residence and lion teams are invited to 'fight' in the physical presence of the Chinese and wider community for the prize. To the victor goes not only the monetary spoils, but the symbolic domination of the Chinese community.

Secondly there are various contradictions in the overall Chinese New Year Festival. The Chinese Masonic, Chinese Youth Society of Melbourne and Dai Loong are fighting for more than just community representation. They represent within themselves all that is 'traditional', 'modified' and 'new' respectively. Yet they are using a traditional mode of symbolic expression and conducting the conflict in the traditional domain of 'Chinatown', the abode of the Old Migrants in colonial Victoria.

Furthermore, on the one hand, Chinese New Year is a display of a sense of a Chinese community since, at present, all three lions and dragon are performing on the same day under the direction of a single umbrella organisation. On the other hand, the various displays of

'one-upmanship' between the Old Migrant, Present Migrant and ABC organisations indicate divisiveness within the community.

A final contradiction lies in the fact that these symbolic displays of divisiveness only have meaning to the Chinese community and remain, and are kept covert, from the wider Australian public. To the general public, an extra lion on the scene is taken as merely an added tourist attraction. In a sense, it can be said that the Chinese community is presenting a lie in the guise of a truth. So while the Chinese are not united in all purposes, they are united in a single purpose, that of presenting a unity - within a diversity - when confronting the Australian and other communities.

As to the question of whether the Chinese have a sense of community, the answer has to be in the affirmative. The very contention for representation among the three categories imply that the Chinese are determined to emphasize the Chineseness of Chinese New Year. The ethnic Vietnamese and Australians are excluded from playing major roles in the various cultural activities, although Australians are found in the minor role of 'legs' for the Chinese dragon. But ethnic boundary maintenance is extended to encompass the ethnic Vietnamese whose own lion dances outside Chinatown and in the outlying Melbourne suburbs. They are welcome, but only as visitors not as participants.

However, the ethnic Chinese Vietnamese, were allowed entry, for the first time, in 1984. The Northern Lion Dance Group of Victoria, as its name suggests, presented



a kilin (see Photograph 7). However, most significantly the performance was excluded from the Chinese ritual space in Little Bourke Street. The kilin had to dance on a stage, as part of other cultural acts like the Tai Chi Ch'uan demonstration of shadow boxing - away from the ritual power play on the ground and thus marking a perceived though lesser ethnic difference.

### Conclusion

If there is a single word to describe the processes affecting ethnic identity in Melbourne, it is that of assimilation. It would appear to be a surprising assertion considering the present bipartisan endorsement of multiculturalism:

'All members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services; every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures.'<sup>8</sup>

However, I argue here that the various dilutions of assimilationism, since the first break in the White Australia policy in 1966, are more apparent than real. As such, the Chinese Migrants in Australia, hardened by their experiences of perjorative treatment in colonial Victoria and multiracial South-east Asia, are cynical about Al

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<sup>8</sup> Review of Post Arrival Program and Services for Migrants. In Migrant Services Programs Report, 1978, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.



The Northern lion - kilin;  
danced by the ethnic Chinese  
Vietnamese as a stage act  
during Chinese New Year in  
Little Bourke Street.

Grassby's concept of a 'family of nations'. I intend to show that not even the first break in the White Australia policy in 1966 heralded the disappearance of the ideal of total conformity and a homogenous society, from the official policies towards migrants.

As the Sydney historian George Arnold Wood explained in 1917:

'White Australia is not an opinion; it is the watchword or war cry of a tiny garrison which holds the long frontier of the white world in front of the multitudinous and expansive peoples of Asia'.<sup>9</sup>

Any sense of special identity that Australians possessed had largely sprung from a belief and fear that they were the 'white guard' holding the pass against a hostile world of 'millions of brown men, ambitious, arrogant and poor' who were only waiting for the right moment 'to overrun Australia'.<sup>10</sup>

In May, 1945 Arthur Calwell echoed these sentiments:

'I wonder how many of us have ever thought how much we Australians are like the koalas. We both belong to dying races and both are well on the way to becoming museum pieces along with the extinct moa and the great auk'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> R.M. Crawford, 1975:310.

<sup>10</sup> Hornadge, 1976:104.

<sup>11</sup> Calwell, 1945:1.

Calwell's statement came as Australia reluctantly began to contemplate the previously unthinkable. In 1945 an insular nation of 7 million knew that it was 'very largely British. In blood, ... Australians claimed that they were the most British of all'<sup>12</sup> and understood that such 'qualities as Australians have are ... only drawn from the British race'.<sup>13</sup>

But a new immigration policy did not confine itself to British stock but would instead allow into Australia previously abhorred 'foreigners'. Calwell, however, assured the nation that 'every foreign migrant' would be outmatched by ten from Britain.<sup>14</sup>

In 1958, the Menzies Government abandoned the Dictation Test which had been mainly used to exclude Asians. In 1966, and earlier in 1956, racial restrictions were relaxed and a greater number of professionally qualified non-Europeans admitted. The status of non-Europeans already in Australia was brought into line with that of non-British residents. In 1966, it was officially announced that in future immigrants would be evaluated according to their 'suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily, their possession of qualifications which are in fact positively useful in Australia' though it was also emphasized that this did not permit 'large scale admission of workers from Asia'.<sup>15</sup> But Chinese migrants in Melbourne

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<sup>12</sup> A. Grenfell Price, 1945:97.

<sup>13</sup> Bean, 1945:99.

<sup>14</sup> Fitzhardinge, 1949:11

<sup>15</sup> See Palfreeman (1967), Yarwood (1968) and London (1970). On the administration of the White Australia policy and attitudes towards non-European immigration.

live with the actual reality of multiculturalism, one which continues to have an element of assimilation because all migrants are expected to learn to function in the common aspects of society that enshrine some core social and political values which are manifested in, for example, language, legal system and political structures.

Take the English language. In the days of assimilation, it is understandable that the chief aim of government was to assimilate migrants through the compulsory use of English. The Department of Immigration carefully explained to all newcomers that 'they should speak English at all times to help them become absorbed into the community more quickly'.<sup>16</sup>

Much of the change in 1966 was only on paper. Now Asians could be admitted technically, but they would not be - only a small elite of 'well qualified' entrants (Present Migrants) made the grade. Opperman, Minister of Immigration, did little more than what Grenfell Price and Borrie had suggested back in 1945 and 1949, change the 'somewhat unfortunate' name of the White Australia Policy and replace it with something innocuous like the Australian Immigration Policy.<sup>17</sup>

The early 1970's did represent a break with much of the past, especially when the boat people began to steer their vessels into Darwin harbour. But for many, the conversion to cultural pluralism was partial at best.

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<sup>16</sup> Department of Immigration 1949, 'Employers! Want help? How you may obtain Europeans Migrant Labour', Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

<sup>17</sup> Price, 1945:44; Borrie, 1949:76.

Racial hierarchies remain intact in many minds. A.J. Forbes, the last Liberal Minister for Immigration before the Whitlam years lamented that Labor's immigration policy 'reduced the supply of good quality British migrants of European descent'.

He wanted continued discrimination in their favour since,

'What is wrong with treating differently people who are differently placed? What is wrong with discrimination when there are valid overwhelming reasons to discriminate?'<sup>18</sup>

In 1973, the Country Party's D.T. McVeigh addressed the Parliament:

'Based as we are on a predominantly British heritage it is reasonable to expect and to ask that other ethnic groups have to fulfil a longer term of residence to absorb our ethos, to grow accustomed to our customs and to do things in the Australian way'.<sup>19</sup>

Even as late as 1980, Ian MacPhee, (Minister for Immigration, 1979-82) explained to a conference on multiculturalism that:

'It is after all the British heritage and tradition which enabled all present tonight to meet on terms of complete equality, even though our origins are many'.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Australia, House of Representatives, Debates, 1973, No. 83:1909.

<sup>19</sup> Australia, House of Representatives, Debates, 1973, No. 83:1914.

<sup>20</sup> Sydney Morning Herald, 7 July, 1980.

Although many still believe - judging by the furore of the Blainey debate in 1984 - that 'the value of British migrants cannot be overstated'<sup>21</sup> it became unfashionable to say so. In schools the same policy was endorsed:

'the child must learn to think in English from the start ... It is the avenue to mutual understanding. It is the key to the success of the whole immigration project... English must be spoken to the pupils, by them, all day and every day, in every activity, in school and out of it'.<sup>22</sup>

Even with the onset of multiculturalism, Australians continue to view such ethnic schools with considerable suspicion. As late as 1974, a report to the Director of Primary Education in Victoria observed that:

'The present after hours ethnic school system only encourages a deep sense of independence by migrants drawing them further away from any form of integration with the rest of the community'.<sup>23</sup>

The first problem can be put quite succinctly. Cultural pluralism is promoted at a level of ideology which ignores structural implications. There is little attempt to relate the values embodied in cultural diversity to the more

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<sup>21</sup> Australia, House of Representatives, Debates, 1967, No. 56:947.

<sup>22</sup> J.I. Martin, 1978:85, 89.

<sup>23</sup> F. Lewins, 1980:31.

widespread and emotionally charged fear of structural pluralism, a fear that is conveyed through denigratory references to 'Chinatown', and 'Little Vietnam'!

An official statement on cultural pluralism aptly highlights the problem. This is a chapter on 'The education of migrant children' in the Schools Commission Report of June, 1975. The Report began with the assertion that 'Australia is a multi-cultural society' and that the multi-cultural reality needed to be 'reflected in the school curricula - languages, social studies, history, literature, the arts and craft - in staffing and in school organisation'. However, the Commission does not recommend giving financial support to ethnic schools nor does it make funds available for teaching migrant languages in schools.

Australia now seems to accept community languages - they can be studied for the Higher School Certificate although not necessarily without some penalty, as was indicated by the 1982 debacle in New South Wales when community language candidates had their marks scaled down.

Thus, it would seem that migrants can receive some instruction in their own culture so long as all is finally dedicated to an integration into the Australian nation.

The same line of assimilation is applied to migrant politics. Immigrants, as far as politics are concerned, must be truncated beings, born anew in Australia and adapted to the Australian way of decision making and power broking. Old world politics are not to be imported



or tolerated in Australia. In 1963 A.R. Downer, responding to accusations that extremist Croation activists were at work in Australia, declared that no one wanted this country 'to be made a springboard for future European battles'. He also said that there is no reason for extremism since Australia offered immigrants 'a new life - a life we hope will be in many aspects better, and not just a continuation of the old life, the old prejudices and the old hatreds which we hope they will leave behind in the Old World'.<sup>24</sup> In his 1978 Meredith Memorial lecture Professor Zubrzycki affirmed that:

'Multiculturalism ... does not stand for ethnic separatism and by the same token it does not mean the existence of ethnically based political groups with activities aimed at the country of origin which might be incompatible with the foreign policies and interests espoused by any democratically elected government of Australia'.<sup>25</sup>

In December 1981, Senator Misha Lajovic echoed the same refrain in his address to a conference at the Australian National University, adding that migrants only wanted to be left alone.

The real issue facing Chinese migrants and other migrants in Australia is that multiculturalism does not spell out how much structural pluralism Australian society is willing to maintain and legitimise in its pursuit of

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<sup>24</sup> Australia, House of Representatives, Debates, 1963, No. 40:2010.

<sup>25</sup> J. Zubrzycki, 1978:8.

cultural pluralism. Even the 1982 Zubrzycki Report, 'Multiculturalism for all Australians', is not only ambiguous but confused on this issue. It emphatically rejects 'separate development' and asserts that social cohesion is a major goal of multicultural Australia. It goes on to say that:

'It is conscious of the difficulty of drawing a distinction between group specific structures that are undesirably separatist and others that play a legitimate part in the maintenance and dissemination of particular cultures or in the support of minority groups'.<sup>26</sup>

There is a need, therefore, to distinguish between the private and public spheres of life. An emphasis on food, language, religious observances, family life and recreational pursuits may help to preserve ethnic identity and give greater emotional security to individual ethnic groups. At the same time, these cultural aspects do not necessarily enhance or assist the migrant to cope with the political realities of Australian life and to receive a share of the social rewards of society at large. In fact, access to the public domain may be impeded by such aspects of social and cultural life.

The history of migration has taught the Chinese a different lesson from the theoretical ideals propounded in official policies in relation to migrants. They are not so

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<sup>26</sup> Zubrzycki, 1982:29-30.

naive as to believe that there is such a thing as a 'commonly accepted way of life'<sup>27</sup> or that its creation is a national ideal. To them the spectre of assimilation still stalks the land.

Anti-Chinese agitators branded the Old Chinese Migrants as dangerous exotics and emphasized their racial and cultural differences from the white population. Their pagan religion, their strange tongue, their supposed immorality, their opium addiction, their crowded housing and low standards of hygiene as well as their distinctive physical appearance all marked them off from 'respectable' white society. The only ones who were deemed 'acceptable', were the ones who assimilated in language, education and lifestyle. The racial stereotypes and slurs generated in this period returned to haunt the Present Migrants in the 1970's and 80's, despite their seeming assimilation into most aspects of Australian life. It was not a free choice. The immigration policies of the period propounded that this carefully selected group was to blend into white Australian society without raising undue tension. Their background of racial antagonism in South-east Asia, taught them to conform when needed and to adopt protective colouration to remain 'invisible', at all costs. This is reflected in their sanction of a Chinatown and their insistence on the maintenance of an ethnic division between the Chinese community and the highly visible Vietnamese community. A further indication is that most members of the Chinese community neither wish nor are actively working to

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<sup>27</sup> B.H. Travers, Speech Day Report to SCEGS, 1981.

acquire power in the Australian political arena. Further evidence of their desire to remain discrete is the Present Migrant's emphasis on the English language as their marker of distinction from the Old Migrants. Unfamiliar language is the most audible sign of alienness in Australia as confirmed by the Government policy of English classes for migrants. Again, the ones who are deemed acceptable by the host society are the ones who acquire mainstream values and lifestyles in middle class suburban Australia.

It is the concern of Old Migrants and Present Migrant parents that their Australian born children do not remain 'outsiders' in Australia. Their aspiration for their children to move closer to equality with white Australians has resulted in many of these Australian Born Chinese being unable to speak, read or write Chinese. This, in turn, has caused these Australian born children to be less adept in their home culture - which has caused them to be regarded negatively by other foreign-born Chinese. There is also doubt as to whether the achievement of competence in Australian mainstream culture or 'passing' as De Vos and Wagatsuma (1967) describes it, is sufficient to eradicate the stigma of their ethnicity. Thus, the Australian Born Chinese in Melbourne today faces a cruel choice. If he seeks to assimilate into the values and lifestyle of dominant white Australia, he risks social estrangement and sanctions from the Chinese community. On the other hand, if he clings to his Chinese heritage, his access to niches in the host society may be restricted. Assimilation according to Reitz

(1980:95) is in fact 'the process of becoming a member of an ethnic group for which by virtue of ancestry, one is ineligible'. Thus, the Australian Born Chinese stands on the periphery; he is an 'outsider' - in either the Chinese or Australian community.

In multicultural Australia today, 'my brother Jack' may turn out to be Lebanese, Greek, Polish or even Ethiopian. However as the ditty goes:

'If I were the son of an Englishman,  
I'd really be an Aussie,  
I could be a High Court Judge  
Or an actor on the telie,  
I could be a Union Boss  
Or co-star with Skippy  
I could even be Prime Minister  
Or comment on the footy  
If I was the son of an Englishman  
I'd really be an Aussie'.<sup>28</sup>

#### Theoretical Concerns

The argument of this thesis has been particularly informed by the discussions of ethnicity presented in the works of Barth (1969), Mitchell (1956, 1959, 1966, 1974), Cohen (1969), Epstein (1978), Hannerz (1969) and Parkin (1969).

For the Old Migrants in colonial Victoria, who were socially vulnerable and physically visible, ethnicity was always relevant and in Barth's terms, an imperative which overrode all situations. Self definition for these

<sup>28</sup> Zervos, 1980-81:32.

alien Chinese was secondary as the individual had little or no choice about his ethnic group reference in situations which involved the wider Australian society. As Hannerz (1969) in his portrayal of the ghetto-specific man pointed out, ethnic group boundaries are determined by the dominant group. This is illustrated graphically also, in the instance of the Chinatown Project of 1975, in which I have shown, white Australia imposing a definition of 'Chinese'. Moreover, the homogeneous Old Migrants among themselves, in Barth's (1969:15) terms, 'played interactional games according to the same rules'. It was simply an in or out dichotomy: either one was a co-ethnic - born in the See Yap region - or one was not.

I used this ethnic categorization in later chapters as a role discriminatory attribute - an argument which Mitchell (1966) and later Parkin (1969) drew attention to. The Chinese community during the Blainey controversy, situationally and selectively perceived the Vietnamese refugees in ways which were supportive of Chinese superiority, in an effort to distance themselves from what they perceive to be the high visibility of the Vietnamese community.

Cohen (1969) perceived ethnicity as arising from the strife between ethnic groups in the course of which their members emphasize their identity and exclusiveness. While I accept the main thrust of his argument - as shown in my treatment of the confrontation between the Chinese and Vietnamese community - I have also considered non-conflictful situations, such as the occasion of Chinese New Year where organisations in dispute with one another, at or below the

level of the community, muted their antagonisms in order that the whole community might be seen by the wider society, to be united and acting together and this 'unity' was conceptualized in cultural, not political terms.

I maintain strongly, at this point, that ethnicity may be employed strategically to impose a generalized moral obligation which serves to incorporate dissident members or factions in a group, at the possible expense of outsiders. Ethnicity here extends beyond situational selection where the general interests of a group are served by ethnic solidarity.

It follows therefore, that I do not regard Barth's conception of an 'imperative' identity and Mitchell's conception of ethnicity as being situationally negotiable as mutually incompatible.

As my fieldwork reveals, ethnicity is a matter of degree. Mitchell (1956) reported this in his work on social distance scales. I suggest strongly here that starting from Mitchell's <sup>position</sup> ~~s,~~ we can perceive that there are varying constraints on the extent of the negotiability of an ethnic identity depending upon the structure of the situation. In some situations the constraints are such that there is no or hardly any, possibility for the negotiation of an ethnic identity, as evidenced by the White Australia policy. Other situations have fewer constraints and are more open. The Chinese ethnic category during Chinese New Year was expanded to include not only the three major Chinese factions in the community but also the ethnic Chinese Vietnamese, but its boundaries were drawn to exclude the ethnic Vietnamese.

Thus the constraints which determine the extent of the negotiability of an ethnic identity vary from one social situation to another. The question for an anthropologist to explore therefore, is not how 'ethnicity' is or should be defined in an absolute sense but the nature and types of constraints which operate in social situations to produce particular constructions of an ethnic identity.

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APPENDIX 1ABRIDGED RULES OF THE SEE YAP SOCIETY (1854)\*

1. This Society has been set up to unite fellow-members originating from the four counties of Toi Shan, Sun Hui, Yan Ping and Hoi Ping and residing in Victoria and it has therefore been given the name of the Four Counties Society.
2. In the present initial period of its establishment this Society will temporarily have its office in the premises of the Kong Chew Society, but later, when ample funds are available, a site for putting up a building for the Society will be purchased.
3. This Society unites fellow-countrymen from the four districts for the basic purpose of sustaining their well-being, promoting their culture, and conducting various benevolent activities; it shall not concern itself with anything that is not in accordance with these general aims of the Society.
4. As the Society has to attend to a great number of matters, there shall be established for the time being, the offices of President, Assistant President, and Secretary, with the responsibility for each of these offices falling upon men recommended in turn by each of the four districts, so as to ensure a responsible administration.
5. Whenever the officers of this Society perform activities on its behalf, they ought to be paid back for their expenses so as to recompense them.
6. The officers of this Society shall summon each year fellow-members from the four counties to a general election meeting: in order to ensure responsible administration the offices must not be held consecutively.
7. Whenever this Society has to deal with serious trouble, acquisition and disposal of property, and charitable matters, irrespective of whether these are of a major or minor nature, the Secretary shall convoke a meeting of fellow-members from the four counties for a decision by majority.
8. In the future, when the Society has ample funds, it shall devise ways and means of building a temple and keeping it in repair in order to honour departed worthies.
9. In the future, when this Society has ample funds, it shall devise ways and means of building a number of ancestral shrines and shall conduct spring and autumn sacrificial ceremonies in commemoration of departed companions.
10. Whenever a fellow-member contracts a disease and has to return to China, each member of this Society shall, in accordance with circumstances, contribute to his return fare.

11. This Society shall render all possible assistance whenever and wherever there occur cases of famine and flood, in such charitable activities as the maintenance of hospitals.
12. The current expenses of this Society shall be supported by fellow-members, each contributing of his own free will.
13. When the Society has to make payments of moneys, the Secretary shall call a meeting of fellow-members to deliberate upon and authorise the necessary expenditure; no public moneys shall be used without such deliberation except for charitable purposes; if there happen to be surplus funds, these can be given for safekeeping or used to acquire property so as to yield interest; if there happens to be a case necessitating the subscription of a large sum of money towards some cause or public welfare, the Secretary shall convoke a meeting of fellow-members from the Four Counties (to consider) the question of selling some property and using the proceeds for rendering assistance.
14. The yearly interest earned by this Society shall, after deduction of current expenses, be allotted for charity and public welfare, and the officers and members of the Society must not seek private advantage or personal gain.

Dated the 4th year of Ham-fung the 1st day of  
the 5th month (1854)

Names of places in this document are translated according  
to Cantonese pronunciation.

APPENDIX 2Summary of Conditions under which non-Europeans may  
Enter Australia for Temporary or Semi-permanent Stay,  
Issued by the Department of Immigration, October, 1956.Part I - Eligible Categories

## 1. Merchants

Asians who are bona fide merchants in a position to engage in overseas trade between Australia and the East or the Pacific Islands to the value of at least £10,000 per annum may be admitted and allowed to stay so long as they maintain their status as merchants.

## 2. Assistants for Merchants' Businesses

Persons in Australia as merchants under the conditions outlined in Paragraph 1 may introduce Asian assistants if the distinctive nature of the businesses makes necessary the services of such assistants. Australian firms trading with the East or Pacific Islands may introduce Asians for the conduct of correspondence in Asian languages.

## 3. Maidservants and Governesses for Merchants' Households

A merchant whose annual overseas trade amounts to £20,000 or more may introduce an Asian maidservant for work in his household, and an Asian governess for his children.

## 4. Assistants for 'Local Traders'

The term 'local trader' denotes an Asian born abroad but domiciled (i.e. not under immigration restriction) in Australia and engaged in business of a local character, instead of in overseas trade. Such businessmen may now introduce Asian assistants only if the distinctive nature of their business necessitates imported Asian assistants.

## 5. Chefs and Assistants for Asian Cafes

The proprietor of a good class cafe serving predominantly Asian meals may introduce a chef or an assistant for each £5,000 turnover attributable to such meals. The proprietor may be either Australian or foreign-born, free of immigration restrictions or under exemption (with the exception of persons referred to in paragraph 18 below).

## 6. Assistants for Market Gardeners

The previously existing general authority for the entry of Asian assistants for market gardens conducted by Asians no longer exists, but provision remains for such assistance in any case where the individual garden is meeting a real need and can provide a suitable living for an assistant as well as for the proprietor.

## 7. 'Substitutes'

Temporary substitutes may be admitted, for a maximum period of two years, to carry on Asian business concerns, cafes or gardens while the proprietors are absent from Australia.

## 8. Wives, Children and Fianceses of Asians

Asian merchants and local traders, and their assistants employed in executive capacities, may bring their wives and children (under 16) to Australia. The families are allowed to stay as long as the breadwinner is here; Fianceses of such Asians are admissable for marriage here; Note: As a result of reciprocal arrangement with the Indian Government dating from 1919, the families of Indians, Pakistanis and Ceylonese residing permanently in Australia are admissable to Australia without immigration restriction.

## 9. Mothers and Fathers of Asians in Australia

The entry may be authorized of the Asian parents over 50 years of age of Australian born persons or domiciled residents, and the aged widowed mothers of Asians under exemption who are eligible to bring their wives and families hers (see paragraph 8).

## 10. Asian Wives, Minor Children and Fianceses of Australian Citizens, of other British Subjects Permanently Resident in Australia; and Asian Wives and Minor Children of British Subjects of Wholly European Descent Residing Overseas

These may be admitted if of satisfactory standing and education and likely to have no difficulty in adapting themselves in a European community.

The Asian spouses of Australian citizens are eligible for naturalization, subject to the normal provisions of the Nationality and Citizenship Act.

## 11. Grant of Permanent Residence to Asians

Asians who have resided in Australia for a minimum period of fifteen years, who have abided by the conditions of their admission, are of good character and have an adequate knowledge of English, may now be permitted to remain in Australia for permanent residence. Once permanent residence is granted to an Asian he may then apply for naturalization or registration as an Australian citizen.

## 12. Visitors

- (i) Non-Europeans are admitted for business visits of six months (renewable for one similar period) if they are executives of business houses engaged in substantial overseas trade.
- (ii) Those of good standing and with adequate funds are admitted for tourist visits of six months, renewable for one similar period.
- (iii) Theatrical artists, boxers and many other categories are admitted for the periods necessary.

## 13. Students

Asians may enter Australia as students for full-time primary, secondary, or tertiary studies leading to examinations, subject to satisfactory arrangements for enrolment at a suitable educational institution, accommodation, payment of expenses and, in the case of young children, guardianship. The maximum age limit for primary students is 15 and for secondary students 19 years. No age limits have been fixed for tertiary students. The students are permitted to stay for the duration of their courses provided they are found to be regular in attendance and satisfactory in behaviour and to be making satisfactory progress in their studies.

## 14. Distinguished or Highly Qualified Asians - Entry for Extended Stay

The following categories may be considered for entry and for extended stay - i.e. under certificates of exemption valid for seven years and renewable for similar periods-

- (a) Asian or Pacific nationals fitted to fill professional or high grade technical positions for which qualified local residents are not available.
- (b) Those who have taken educational courses in Australia, have spent at least five years in their own countries subsequent to the completion of their course, and have proved qualifications from which the Australian community would benefit.

- (c) Persons possessing outstanding cultural or other attainments which would be an asset to this country.
- (d) Persons with substantial capital which they are prepared to invest in Australian commerce or industry and which would be used to develop Australian export trade, particularly to Asian and Pacific countries. In this case, the term 'substantial capital' to be interpreted in its narrow sense, intended to mean that the individual concerned has at his disposal sufficient means to enable him to establish or engage in business on a scale that would produce results of real economic value to the Commonwealth. Persons wishing to invest substantial sums in already existing businesses but who would not assist in the further development of Australian industry, would not be covered by this heading.
- (e) Asians otherwise distinguished in Government, the professions or international or humanitarian service.

The following may also be admitted for the shorter periods necessary:

- (f) Asian and Pacific nationals of good standing who wish to secure training with established Australian firms of standing in Australian business methods.
- (g) Asian and Pacific nationals with a good educational background who wish to secure specialized training in techniques that would afford them opportunities to assist in the development of industry in their own countries but which is not available to them in their homeland.

#### Part II - General Notes

15. In deciding whether a person of a mixed race is to be regarded as a European, or as eligible for entry only under the above rules relating to non-Europeans, the practice is to require that before applicants are accepted as European -

- (i) they must satisfy the Department by their appearance that they are of 75% European origin; and that they will have no difficulty in being accepted as Europeans in Australia;

- (ii) they must be fully European in upbringing, outlook, mode of dress and way of living;
- (iii) in cases where it becomes known, e.g. by the applicant's own statement that one of the applicant's parents is fully non-European his ability to satisfy conditions (i) and (ii) shall not entitle him to admission.

The parents and young (under 16) brothers and sisters of permanent residents in Australia are exempted from the requirement of European appearance, in cases where circumstances warrant this and at the discretion of the Minister.

16. Persons coming here for long periods - e.g. students - are required to undergo full medical (including radiological) examination, but not short term visitors.

17. Persons who are admitted under rules existing before those stated in paragraphs 2 to 13 above are permitted to stay as long as they or their employers comply with the previous rules.

18. Certain persons (mainly those who came here before or during the war as evacuees and some other Asians who cannot return to their homelands) have been allowed to stay although not falling within the categories outlined in Paragraphs 1-13, subject to their being of good character, etc. Such persons are free in their choice of occupation but are kept 'under exemption' and are not entitled to introduce other Asians as assistants, substitutes, or otherwise, and are not permitted to introduce their Asian wives and families.

19. In any case where an Asian admitted under certificate of exemption fails to abide by the conditions of his admission the Minister may cancel the certificate of exemption and order a deportation order. No court proceedings are required in such circumstances.

APPENDIX 3Extract from a Summary of Policy Prepared by the  
Department of Immigration, 1 May 1965.

The present policy provides, inter alia, that:

- non-Europeans, who are the spouses, unmarried minor children and aged parents of Australian citizens, or of British subjects having residence status in Australia, may be admitted for residence;
- a European British subject proceeding to Australia for residence may be accompanied by his non-European spouse and unmarried minor children;
- non-Europeans who have been admitted in certain categories with temporary residence status may, after completing 15 years residence, qualify to apply for residence status and subsequently for citizenship;
- in addition to those non-Europeans admitted with temporary residence status for commerce and trade, provision has been made for the admission on a selective basis for a long term stay of highly qualified and distinguished people;
- included in this latter category would be those non-Europeans who have taken educational courses at the tertiary level in Australia, who have spent at least five years in their own countries after having completed their courses, and who have qualifications from which the Australian community would benefit;
- those non-Europeans, whose continued residence in Australia was induced by political events in their own countries, have been permitted to remain here indefinitely.

Extract from a Statement to Parliament by Mr. Opperman,  
Minister for Immigration, 9 March 1966.

When, in 1956, the Government reviewed the policy, which had been followed since Federation, of not admitting persons of non-European origin for permanent residence, it introduced several significant reforms. Those people already settled here became eligible to be naturalized; the admission for permanent residence of immediate relatives of Australian citizens was authorized; and it was made possible for highly-qualified people to come here for indefinite stay, though under temporary permits. Then, in 1957, it was decided that non-Europeans who had been admitted on temporary permits could be naturalized after fifteen years' stay. In 1964, the rules governing the entry of persons of mixed descent were eased.

The Government has now decided upon two further measures which the House will recognize as important but as not departing from the fundamental principles of our immigration policy.



First, it has been decided that non-European people who are already here under temporary permit but are likely to be here indefinitely, should not have to wait fifteen years before applying for residence status and for Australian citizenship; but should be able to apply after five years' residence, so ending a situation often criticized for its effect on individuals and families.

This does not of course mean that everyone admitted to Australia for limited temporary residence is entitled to stay here indefinitely. Every country makes separate provision for temporary entry as distinct from the entry of settlers. For example, I must emphasize it would be quite wrong and most unfair to the development of countries whence they came to offer to the 12,000 Asian students in Australia the right to settle here after five years' study. The objective of admitting these young people, to use educational facilities which are both expensive to the Australian Government and in great demand, is to help the students' homelands by increasing their numbers of qualified people.

The Government's decision, therefore, does not relate to people expected to leave Australia after limited temporary residence but does apply to those who have been here for long periods or who are likely to be allowed to stay indefinitely. The two main examples of people affected by the elimination of the fifteen-year rule are:

- the highly qualified Asians admitted in recent years for 'indefinite stay' but on temporary entry permits;
- Chinese admitted before 1956 who, if they left Australia, could only go back to Communist China; by a decision of the Government in 1956, they were allowed to stay on but, lacking the status of settlers and citizens, have been unable to bring their wives and children here.

I am very glad to say that one important benefit of the Government's decision to abolish the so-called 'fifteen-year rule' will be to enable many families who have been separated for some years to be reunited much sooner than would have been possible under the previous rule.

The second decision is that applications for entry by well-qualified people wishing to settle in Australia will be considered on the basis of their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily, and their possession of qualifications which are in fact positively useful to Australia. They will be able after five years' stay on temporary permits, to apply for resident status and citizenship. They will be able to bring their immediate families with them on first arrival.

No annual quota is contemplated. The number of people entering (though limited relative to our total population) will be somewhat greater than previously; but will be controlled by the careful assessment of the individual's qualifications, and the basic aim of preserving a homogeneous population will be maintained. The changes are, of course, not intended to meet general labour shortages or to permit the large-scale admission of workers from Asia; but the widening of eligibility will help to fill some of Australia's special needs.

Examples of those who, under the new decision, will be admitted in numbers greater than previously are:

Persons with specialized technical skills for appointments for which local residents are not available.

Persons of high attainment in the arts and sciences, or of prominent achievement in other ways.

Persons nominated by responsible authorities or institutions for specific important professional appointments, which otherwise would remain unfilled.

Executives, technicians, and other specialists who have spent substantial periods in Australia - for example, with the branches here of large Asian companies - and who have qualifications or experience in positive demand here.

Businessmen who in their own countries have been engaged in substantial international trading and would be able to carry on such trade from Australia.

Persons who have been of particular and lasting help to Australia's interest abroad in trade, or in other ways.

Persons who by former residence in Australia or by association with us have demonstrated an interest in or identification with Australia that should make their future residence here feasible.

Applications by such persons and others in comparable circumstances will be eligible for consideration on an individual basis. Those admitted will be able to apply for resident status and citizenship after five years' stay.

Where the Governments of other countries may be concerned over loss of qualified people, there will be appropriate consultation, as Australia must not contradict the aims of the Colombo Plan and other efforts to help such countries' development.

With the same objective, the programme of allowing young people to come from other countries as students will continue. Greater effort is to be made to ensure that courses undertaken will be of recognized value to the students' homelands when they return there. In view of the need to ensure most effective use of scarce places at our Universities and other institutions, the intending students' ability to undertake his course successfully will be examined carefully at time of application for entry; and his progress will be assessed annually.

Honourable Members on both sides of the House have frequently and generously stressed that humanity and discretion have marked the handling of individual cases in the immigration field generally. This, I can assure the House, will be continued - always with Australia's interests in view, always in the hope of showing sympathy and consideration to men and women in difficulty, always avoiding unnecessary disclosure of private confidences or misfortunes. Representations from any responsible source will be carefully considered.

APPENDIX 4RELEVANT CLAUSES FROM THE STATUTES1. Immigration Act 1901-1949

3. (1) The immigration into the Commonwealth of the persons described in any of the following paragraphs of this section (hereinafter called 'prohibited immigrants') is prohibited, namely:

- (a) any person who fails to pass the dictation test: that is to say, who, when an officer of person duly authorized in writing by an officer dictates to him not less than fifty words in any prescribed language, fails to write them out in that language in the presence of the officer or authorized person.

No regulation prescribing any language or languages shall have any force until it has been laid before both Houses of the Parliament for thirty days, and before or after the expiration of such thirty days, both Houses of the Parliament, by a resolution, of which notice has been given, have agreed to such regulation;

But the following are excepted: (inter alia)

- (h) Any person possessed of a certificate of exemption as prescribed in force for the time being;

4. (1) The Minister or an authorized officer may issue a certificate of exemption in the prescribed form authorizing the person named in the certificate (being a prohibited immigrant or an immigrant who may be required to pass the dictation test) to enter or remain in the Commonwealth, and the person named in the certificate shall not, while the certificate is in force, be subject to any of the provisions of this Act restricting entry into or stay in the Commonwealth.

(2) The certificate shall be expressed to be in force for a specified period only, but the period may be extended from time to time by the Minister or by an authorized officer.

(3) Any such certificate may at any time be cancelled by the Minister by writing under his hand.

(4) Upon the expiration or cancellation of any such certificate, the Minister may declare the person named in the certificate to be a prohibited immigrant and that person may thereupon be deported from the Commonwealth in pursuance of an order of the Minister.

5. (2) Any immigrant may at any time within five years after he has entered the Commonwealth be required to pass the dictation test, and shall if he fails to do so be deemed to be a prohibited immigrant offending against this Act.

7. Every prohibited immigrant entering or found within the Commonwealth in contravention or evasion of this Act and every person who, by virtue of this Act, is deemed to be a prohibited immigrant offending against this Act shall be guilty of an offence against this Act, and shall be liable upon summary conviction to imprisonment for not more than six months, and in addition to or substitution for such imprisonment shall be liable pursuant to any order of the Minister to be deported from the Commonwealth.

## 2. Migration Act 1958

4. (4) Notwithstanding the repeals effected by this section -

(a) a certificate of exemption in force under the Immigration Act 1901-1949 immediately before the date of commencement of this Part shall, for all purposes of this Act, be deemed to be a temporary entry permit granted under this Act to the person specified in the certificate and authorizing that person to remain in Australia for a period ending on the date on which the certificate would have expired if this Act had not been passed;

6. (1) An immigrant who, not being the holder of an entry permit that is in force, enters Australia thereupon becomes a prohibited immigrant.

(2) An officer may, in accordance with this section and at the request or with the consent of an immigrant, grant to the immigrant an entry permit.

(3) An entry permit shall be in a form approved by the Minister and shall be expressed to permit the person to whom it is granted to enter Australia or to remain in Australia or both.

(6) An entry permit that is intended to operate as a temporary entry permit shall be expressed to authorize the person to whom it relates to remain in Australia for a specified period only, and such a permit may be granted subject to conditions.

7. (1) The Minister may, in his absolute discretion, cancel a temporary entry permit at any time by writing under his hand.

(2) At any time while a temporary entry permit is in force or after the expiration or cancellation of a temporary entry permit, a further entry permit may, at the request of the holder, be granted to the holder and, where such a further entry permit is granted while a temporary entry permit is in force, the further entry permit shall come into force only upon the expiration or cancellation of the existing entry permit.

(3) Upon the expiration or cancellation of a temporary entry permit, the person who was the holder of the permit becomes a prohibited immigrant unless a further entry permit applicable to him comes into force upon that expiration or cancellation.

(4) Notwithstanding section ten of this Act, a person who has become a prohibited immigrant by virtue of the last preceding sub-section ceases to be a prohibited immigrant at the expiration of a period of five years from the time at which he became a prohibited immigrant unless, at the expiration of that period, a deportation order in relation to him is in force.

10. A person who has become a prohibited immigrant ceases to be a prohibited immigrant if and when an entry permit or further entry permit is granted to him, and not otherwise.

18. The Minister may order the deportation of a person who is a prohibited immigrant under any provision of this Act.

### 3. War-time Refugees Removal Act 1949

4. (1) This Act shall apply to every person -

- (a) who entered Australia during the period of hostilities and is an alien;
- (b) who, during the period of hostilities, entered Australia as a place of refuge, by reason of the occupation, or threatened occupation, of any place by an enemy, and has not left Australia since he so entered; or
- (c) who, during the period of hostilities, entered Australia by reason of any other circumstances attributable to the existence of hostilities and has not left Australia since he so entered.

(2) The Minister may, by writing under his hand, certify that a person named in the certificate is a person specified in paragraph (a), (b) or (c) of the last preceding sub-section and any such certificate shall, for the purposes of this Act (including any proceedings arising under this Act or in which a question arises as to the application of this Act to any person), be prima facie evidence of the fact so certified.

5. The Minister may, at any time within twelve months after the commencement of this Act, make an order for the deportation of a person to whom this Act applied and that person shall be deported in accordance with this Act.

9. An officer may, without warrant, arrest a person reasonably supposed to be a deportee and a person shall not resist or prevent any such arrest.

Penalty: One hundred pounds or imprisonment for six months.

APPENDIX 5POLICY DECLARATIONS

1. Address by the Minister for Immigration, Mr. Downer, to the Millions Club, Sydney, on 9 July, 1958.

In recent months, voices have been raised in the universities, in various pulpits, and in one or two newspapers, urging the admission of an annual quota of Asians. Every enlightened person, and certainly the Government, realizes the importance of our Asian neighbours, with some of whom we have many ties, and a vast community of interests. I do not think Australia has been backward since the war in acknowledging this in practical form. One of the principal tenets of the Government's foreign policy has been to break down barriers between Australia and Asia, and no one man has contributed so much to this by his own exertions as my colleague, Mr. Casey. Let me remind you of just a few of the things we have already done. The idea of the Colombo Plan originated in Australia. We have established diplomatic missions in all of the countries of East and South-east Asia except Communist China and her satellites. We have encouraged students from a variety of Asian countries to enrol in our universities. We have invited Press delegations to come and see us in our own homes, in our everyday lives. We are naturally anxious to trade with the East; our former enemy, Japan, is the second largest buyer of our wool, and last year we agreed to take more of her products in return. Over and above any of these things, Australia has shown a genuine desire to help our Asian friends in their tremendous problems of development, or raising their standards of living, or rehabilitating their economies. And considering that we ourselves are an under-developed country, with an insatiable demand for overseas capital, for ever bedevilled by uncertain rainfall and remoteness from world markets, I think we can fairly claim that our record in Australia since the war has been a good one: friendly, co-operative, as generous as our limited circumstances have allowed. We are thus continually demonstrating our goodwill towards our Asian allies and neighbours. How far would an immigration quota apportioned amongst these nations assist in their own problems? Their population is increasing at the rate of many millions a year. Would a quota of 100 Indians, the same number of Pakistanis, an equal number of Indonesians, a sprinkling of Ceylonese, a handful of Malays, a proportion of Thais, reduce in any appreciable way their internal population pressures? The question has only to be asked to answer itself. Again, how would a quota be apportioned? Would you allot the same number to India as to Pakistan?



India has five times as many inhabitants as Pakistan, yet Pakistan besides being a Commonwealth country, is also a fellow-member of SEATO, and rather closer to us in international questions. Yet do you think these nations would be satisfied with an equal allocation of numbers? The same difficulties might arise between our friends in Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and Thailand - the latter being another partner in SEATO. Another problem you would have to decide is who to include within the quota. Obviously, you would start with the Commonwealth powers. Thereafter, no doubt, you would follow the atlas through Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, the Philippines. But further north? Would those advocating an Asian quota say we should take settlers from Red China? and how would they feel about an intake of Japanese each year? Yet logically, if we admit the principle of a quota, it would occasion marked offence to discriminate against 600 million Chinese and 100 million Japanese. After all, it is this very discrimination that is disturbing the critics of our present policy. And a limited discrimination ought to be just as objectionable to these critics as a general discrimination: for I am sure that public opinion in Australia would never countenance for a moment a regular stream of migrants from Communist China and her subordinate States such as North Vietnam and North Korea.

I want to suggest another aspect, which is nearly always overlooked, of this delicate problem. Every nation, surely, should have the right to determine its own racial composition. This is one of the most fundamental rights of civilized living. Reduced to personal terms, it is the right each of us insists on to say who he will allow to live in his own house. And this is an internationally accepted prerogative. The Asian countries themselves are in the forefront of those who prescribe most meticulous immigration restrictions. Consider the exclusion of Chinese from the Philippines; ask the Ceylonese Government about their prohibition of Indians into Ceylon; remember the barriers between India and Pakistan, what freedom of movement, still less residence, does Peking allow? If any of us, as British subjects, desired to settle in any of these countries, we could do so only for a strictly limited period, and only after obtaining permission on the most explicit and restricted terms. In actual fact, there is very little difference between their practice and ours. Moreover, people tend to forget that Australia admits Asians for a variety of purposes, often for long periods, sometimes for life. There are now well over 5,000 Asian students at our universities. We welcome them warmly; and as our teaching and accommodation facilities expand I hope their numbers will grow. We permit ungrudgingly the entry of Asian wives and husbands of Australians. We allowed over 800 Asian war refugees to remain here for ever. We have permitted approximately 850 Asians, mainly Chinese, who cannot safely return to China on account of their being opposed to Communism, to make Australia their home.

Oriental merchants and traders are granted long years of residence here. We have also another rule whereby Asians who are lawfully admitted in the first place, and who remain in Australia over 15 years, and who participate in the community life, may stay on indefinitely and become naturalized. Finally, we have no objection to Asians of distinguished character and achievement coming to live amongst us. Indeed, we welcome them, and several have already signified their intention of accepting our hospitality. In terms of figures, all this adds up to about 11,000 Asians in Australia today. Half of these are students; half are to all intents and purposes permanent residents. If we substituted this discretionary policy for a strictly calculated quota, the Asian countries would find that the balance of advantage would turn against them, and that the present policy operates more to their benefit than the alternative proposed.

For myself, I have only the friendliest feelings towards our Asian neighbours. I have from time to time travelled in many of these countries, and during the war spent over four years in Malaya. Australians I believe, do not suffer from feelings of racial superiority or colour consciousness. During the war, nothing could have been easier in my own experience, than the relations between our soldiers and the Malays and Southern Chinese. These sentiments have truly been continued through these years of prickly peace. What Australia must do is to help the nations of Asia towards higher living standards, assist them in their own colossal social and economic tasks, develop a much wider understanding of their religions and cultures, buttress them in their resistance to Communism. As an underdeveloped power ourselves, our capacity is not equal with out desire; but whatever assistance we proffer must be real, genuine and substantial. For these reasons I believe an Asian quota would prove illusory, and instead of alleviating existing problems would only create new ones, and in doing so would harm the very people we are seeking to befriend.

2. Extract from an Explanation of Australian Immigration Policy Prepared by the Department of Immigration, 1 May 1965.

#### Homogeneous population

Australia's immigration policy is based on the need to maintain a predominantly homogeneous population. It is hoped in this way to avoid difficult social and economic problems.

## Integration

It is fundamental to the policy that those people coming to Australia for residence should be capable, both economically and socially, of ready integration into the community. Consequently, preference is given to persons of European origin. Australia is not alone in seeking, as a matter of prudence, general homogeneity as a basis of economic, social and cultural integration. It is the right and duty of every nation to determine its own demographic composition.

## Discretionary

The Australian practice is not one of the total exclusion of persons of other than European origin. The immigration laws governing residence in Australia permit the Minister to exercise discretion. The policy so administered takes into account the qualifications of persons wishing to settle here and the merits of each case, including considerations of a humanitarian nature and broad national interest.

### 3. Extract from a Statement to Parliament by Mr. Opperman, Minister for Immigration, 9 March 1966.

Every country has not only a right to its own immigration policy but a heavy duty and a vital responsibility to administer it in the interests of its own people. Our neighbours and friends all have immigration policies that are based on their own interests and are intended to benefit their own people and future. All include elements of control of entry and residence, some with strict numerical and national limitations. No Government is to be reproached for aspects of its immigration system developed for its needs and derived from its social history, political traditions and constitutional arrangements. No responsible Government condones illegality or deceit, which are poor gateways indeed for the entry of new settlers.

Our programmes and policies have likewise emerged from our history, our respect for law and order and our response to our special needs. Our primary aim in immigration is a generally integrated and predominantly homogeneous population. A positive element in the latest changes is that which will admit selected non-Europeans capable of becoming Australians and joining in our national development. Both the policy and the rules and procedures by which it is effected cannot remain static and must be constantly reviewed. Though redefined from time to time, they must be administered in accordance with the law, on principles decided by the Government, with justice to individuals and for the future welfare of the Australian people as a whole.

These will continue to be the main elements in Australia's immigration policy.

APPENDIX 6The New Immigration PolicyAustralia's migrant assessment system.

In a statement to Parliament on 29 October, 1981, the then Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr. Macphee, outlined the new migration policy which came into effect on 19 April, 1982. The policy was developed following extensive consultations with migrant communities and other interest groups and persons throughout Australia (Review '81, page 17). The policy puts emphasis on family migration and on applicants possessing skills in demand in Australia. It seeks to reconcile labour market considerations with family reunion aims and humanitarian obligations. The policy is applied in a non-discriminatory manner, worldwide.

The new migrant selection system, replacing NUMAS (Numerical Multifactor Assessment System) involves a numerical economic-employment assessment and a non-numerical assessment of settlement prospects.

The economic/employment assessment is an objective assessment which allocates points for a number of factors. It is designed to test an applicant's prospects of obtaining employment and being able to support himself and his family in Australia.

The factors in the economic/employment assessment and the range of points applying to each factor are:

Factor	Points
<u>Skills</u>	
Professional, technical and skilled workers	10
Professional, technical and skilled workers whose qualifications are not fully recognised.	6
Service occupations	4
Clerical, commercial and administrative occupations	3
Semi-skilled workers	2
Rural workers	0
Unskilled workers	0
<u>Occupational demand</u>	
Shortage	28
Minor shortage	24
Balance	18
Minor oversupply	0
Oversupply	0
<u>Arranged employment</u>	
Employment nominees	10
Other arranged employment	8

Factor	Points
<u>Age</u>	
25-35	8
23-24 and 36-37	6
20-22 and 38-39	4
Less than 20 and 40-45	2
46 and over	0
<u>English</u>	
Ability to read and converse with complete fluency	6
Ability to read and converse satisfactorily	5
Limited English only or the capacity to learn English	4
No significant knowledge and no capacity to learn	0
<u>Education</u>	
Completed tertiary	8
Full secondary	6
First part secondary	4
Completed primary	2
Less than completed primary	0
<u>Other occupational attributes</u>	
Outstanding	10
Good	8
Satisfactory	5
Low employment prospects	0
<u>Economic viability</u>	
Excellent	20
Good	15
Satisfactory	10
Likely to encounter minor short term problems	5
Likely to encounter major long term problems	0
Fully sponsored	25
<u>Growth area</u>	
Intention of applicant to settle in designated growth area	6

Applicants must obtain sixty points to pass. Non-dependent children, brothers and sisters who are fully sponsored (see 'sponsorship' below) automatically score twenty-five points on the economic viability factor.

The settlement assessment involves the selection officer making a judgement on the settlement prospects of an applicant and rating the applicant as outstanding, good, satisfactory, unsatisfactory or a serious settlement risk. An applicant must be rated satisfactory or better to be accepted for migration. The factors considered in making this assessment include ability to cope with migration, capacity to adjust to Australian society and family support and cohesion.

### Sponsorship

To be eligible for the migration concessions available in the family migration category, applicants must be sponsored by their Australian relatives. Sponsors are required to provide support for their relatives after arrival in Australia and demonstrate the capacity to provide the promised support. The requirements vary according to age, relationship and economic prospects of the person being considered for migration and range from sponsors arranging initial accommodation and providing general settlement advice and assistance to arranging employment for the migrant and providing accommodation and financial support for a year or more.

### Migration categories

The five eligibility categories of the new policy are:

(1) Family migration

The NUMAS family reunion category has been expanded to extend the concessions to working age parents, non-dependent children and brothers and sisters of Australian residents. These concessions are in return for relatives in Australia providing support through sponsorship.

Parents of working age no longer need to be assessed under the points system provided the sponsoring son or daughter in Australia arranges employment and provides a full sponsorship.

Brothers, sisters and non-dependent children have to undergo the economic/employment assessment, but receive significant bonus points if their relatives in Australia can provide support for their first year year and can arrange a job for them (they receive twenty-five points on the economic viability factor if fully sponsored and eight points for an offer of employment).

The entry conditions for those family reunion groups covered by previous policy - spouses, dependent children, retired parents and some smaller groups of persons - remain essentially the same.

## (2) Labour shortage and business migration

People with an occupation in demand in Australia, a sound proposition for a business enterprise here or who are nominated by an Australian employer for a vacancy that cannot be filled from the local workforce are considered for migrant entry in the labour shortage and business migration category. Applicants in this category must undergo economic/employment and settlement assessments.

## (3) Independent migration

Persons without either close relatives here or a skill in demand are generally not considered for migration. However, the policy provides for the admission of a limited number of outstanding applicants of obvious benefit to Australia, who are not eligible for consideration in other categories.

## (4) Refugees and special humanitarian programs

The policy makes continuing provision for the entry of refugees and other humanitarian cases (page 56).

## (5) Special eligibility

People with special creative and sporting talents and self-supporting retirees are considered in this category.

New Zealand citizens - pages 50, 55.

### Employment Nomination Scheme

The Employment Nomination Scheme (ENS) is an important component of Australia's migration program. It is designed to provide a prompt and responsive means of assisting Australian employers to recruit workers from overseas who are not readily available in Australia, while safeguarding vacancies which are suitable for Australian residents and ensuring that overseas recruitment does not diminish employers' domestic training efforts. For a nomination to be accepted, an employer must first demonstrate that he has adequately tested the local labour market and that he is unable to fill the position from the local workforce.

The success of the scheme is closely linked to the speed with which the Department is able to respond to the needs of employers. To minimise delays, employment nominations are handled with priority, both at Australian processing offices and overseas posts.

### Business Migration Program

Through the Business Migration Program (BMP), the Australian Government aims to attract people with capital and business expertise who will stimulate the Australian economy through the introduction of new enterprises, technologies and ideas.

Business migrants boost the economy in a variety of ways:

- ° the creation of new employment opportunities;
- ° the introduction of new industries and technologies; and
- ° the expansion of Australia's overseas markets.

In 1981-82, overseas businessmen were showing increasing interest in migration to Australia. Coupled with streamlined procedures and selective promotional activity, a steady increase in BMP approvals is anticipated.

### Review of BMP, ENS

A review of the Business Migration Program and the Employment Nomination Scheme was completed by the Department and recommendations on policies and procedures were under consideration.

The BMP report emphasised the importance of business migration to Australia, and recommended a more professional and flexible approach to handling BMP cases.

The ENS report recommended clearer guidelines to reinforce the labour shortage objectives of the scheme and to prevent possible abuses.

Source: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs  
'Review of Activities to 30 June, 1982'.



APPENDIX 7

The traditional Chinese family and clan was structured on the principle of the Five Cardinal Relations. It fixed the degree and depth of affection, loyalty and respect between family members according to an established scale based on the proximity of kinship, age and gender. Through the workings of this hierarchy of status and authority, every person in the kinship group was assigned a fixed position identified by a complex nomenclature system. All members in a senior generation enjoyed higher status than in a junior generation. Within the same generation, older members took precedence over younger ones. This meant that ego would be under heavier pressure from members closer to him in physical age than members of the same generation and age seniority but more distant to him in kinship. Ego's relation to a patrilineal relative was closer therefore, than a corresponding matrilineal relative. Women were kept in roles of submission and dependancy through forced seclusion, imposed illiteracy, lack of occupational opportunities or control over material rights and repressive marriage customs. By the code of kinship, the strongest affection was fostered between parents and children especially the sons. Obedience to parents was absolute and enforced by both legal ruling and clan regulations. Power of the old over the young, as evidenced by infanticide was legitimised by the operation of filial piety and the veneration of the aged. The rituals of ancestor worship promoted the continuity of these practices and those principles that underlined the structure of the Chinese family, clan and lineage. Ch'u (1961:20) even marshalled legal laws to show under what circumstances, a man can kill his son. The father had absolute authority over the family property and even adult children could not live apart from their parents without permission. Only a male could be head of the family although an adult son continues to obey his mother. Since most Chinese were illiterate, the elders were indeed a repository of wisdom and useful lore (Ibid:21). My South-east Asian informants agreed that while infanticide is unknown, parents and grandparents are still deferred to in family councils. In the case of the last two, grandparents have the final word in most arguments.

Thus the stability of the traditional Chinese family was achieved at the expense of the young and the women. The all pervasive influence of the family in Chinese traditional society was possible because it occupied a central position not only in the area of social organisation but was also a unit of production in agriculture, commerce and industry. Acquisition of goods, income, property management, labour division and consumption was handled along the same lines of kinship, age and gender. The few

social organisations which existed outside the family were themselves structured in terms of the same, or simulated, kinship ties. For a more detailed picture see C.K. Yang, 1965 'Chinese Communist Society, the Family and the Village', Massachusetts:Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press; Han-yi Feng, 1937 'The Chinese Kinship System'. In Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2 July; Chu Tung-tune, 1944 'Law and Chinese Society' Kunming.

In the original pattern of family life the subservient and vulnerable position of the daughter-in-law is heavily underscored at every instance. From the beginning, her status as a 'stranger' to the family is stressed by the payment of the betrothal or 'body' price. It compels her to recognise the authority and superiority of her new parents-in-law who have chosen her as a fitting wife for their son. The happiness and welfare of the parents and lineage must remain at all times, above that of the newly wedded couple - hence free choice on the part of sons is frowned upon. It is the submission of a young wife to the males of her new family, her mother-in-law and to a lesser degree, other females in the older generation which make it possible for the traditional family to easily assimilate a new female member into its intimate life, thereby preventing the breaking off, by the young wife and husband into an independent family unit. It is clearly evident then that in a marriage, it is the daughter-in-law who is the outsider and is therefore required to be accommodating.

While wives in South-east Asia are no longer subjected to such relentless supervision, my informants claim that the power of the mother-in-law remains relatively formidable because of the multigenerational households. Barren wives or those that produce only daughters continue to face neglect and the threat of infidelity by husbands. Divorce is generally considered socially unacceptable while full time working mothers face censure from family and relatives.

APPENDIX 8Settlement Services Provided for RefugeesMigrant Centres

The majority of refugees, when they first arrive in Australia, is housed in Migrant Centres, which are run by the Commonwealth Accommodation and Catering Services Limited (CACS). There are 14 such Centres operating, 4 in Sydney, 4 in Melbourne, 1 in Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Darwin and Hobart, and 1 on the coast of New South Wales, at Fairy Meadow.

Families are entitled to stay for 12 months, childless couples 6 months and single people 3 months. Extensions of these periods may be applied for to a Committee of Review in extenuating circumstances. Payment for the first seven days is met by the Government. However, then the resident becomes eligible for special Social Security Benefits, and the tariff is met partly by deductions from benefits and partly by direct Government subsidy.

Facilities provided at the Migrant Centres are:

English Tuition: On arrival, English courses are available at all Migrant Centres for refugees. Course lengths are varied to meet the needs of participants and may last from five to approximately ten weeks full-time or the equivalent made up of full-time and/or part-time. These courses are designed for survival English.

Orientation: Settlement Officers at the Centres provide information and orientation sessions, which include matters such as employment, housing, law, health, finance, social security, Telephone Interpreter Service, etc. Other orientation activities include conversation groups, craft, etc.

Health Care: Nursing Sisters are available at all Centres and doctors visit Centres on a regular basis, except where Centres are very close to medical practitioners' rooms. Indochinese refugees receive comprehensive medical screening during their first weeks in residence. Dental care is also provided.

Welfare: The Centres provide welfare services and these include, assessment of clothing needs of refugees; and initial interviews in which matters such as Medibank, documentation, general health assessment, family allowances, schooling, advice on welfare services available, contacts in case of future needs, nomination of relatives overseas and problems the refugees may have, are dealt with. Social Security Benefits are paid to refugees residing in the Centres.

Employment: Officers from the Commonwealth Employment Service provide assistance to residents seeking work and employment counselling at the Centres except in South Australia, Tasmania and the Northern Territory, in these Centres visits are made by officers regularly or as required. Residents who wish to have trade or professional qualifications assessed are referred by Employment Officers to local trade councils or the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications.

Housing: An Accommodation Advisory Service is provided in all Centres. Housing Officers keep a comprehensive listing of accommodation available for either purchase or letting, and act as intermediaries between residents, real estate agencies and State Housing Commissions. Migrant flats located in mainland capital cities are also available to refugees once they have left the Centre. Rental for these flats is paid by the occupants and the Housing Officer controls the occupancy.

The Committee for Allocation of Loan Funds to Refugees from Indo-China (CALFRIC): Loans are available for Indochinese refugees and, more recently, refugees from Eastern Europe, from the loan scheme operated by CALFRIC. Money is available only to refugees resident at a Migrant Centre and the maximum loan is \$600 for families, \$300 for married couples and \$100 for single people.

In the first five months of 1981, loans were issued at the rate of 207 loans per month, at an average rate of \$426 per loan. The fund is run by voluntary agencies, is interest-free and operates on a revolving basis. The repayment period is normally two years. Its operating capital is some \$1,363,000.

Interpreter Service: Multilingual and bilingual staff are employed as interpreters to assist in communication with residents.

Facilities for Children: Houseparents are employed by CACS to be responsible for Unattached Children classified under the Guardianship of Children Act. Child minding services are provided and include Child Care Centres for children aged over two and up to school age, and Child Watching, a facility provided for children up to two years of age.

Catering: All meals are provided at the Migrant Centres. At the Centres in Darwin and Hobart cooking is done by the residents. Asian meals are included on the menus.

Recreation: Youth recreation is provided for and includes indoor and outdoor facilities. Playgrounds are provided for younger children. Youth leaders are appointed and coordinate activities with other clubs. Adult recreation facilities are available at only two Centres.

Hosting and Friendship Scheme: This scheme provides a means by which the host community can befriend and assist newly arrived migrants and refugees. Individuals or groups in the community are put in contact with refugee families by the Settlement Officer at Migrant Centres or by the community co-ordinator.

#### Community Refugee Settlement Scheme (CRSS)

This Scheme was established by the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and enables the Australian community to be involved in settling refugees by sponsoring Indochinese (and Eastern European) refugees. Offers of settlement are tested for viability, including the matters mentioned below, the schooling of children, and eventual establishment in the community. By October 1981, 2995 Indochinese had been settled in Australia under this Scheme.

Refugees who do not go to a Migrant Centre on their arrival in Australia are placed in private accommodation arranged by sponsors, friends or relatives. Accommodation must be arranged close to the hosts and preferably within reasonable proximity of others of similar ethnic background. Sponsors should be aware of welfare and health services in the proposed settlement area.

The period for which CRSS sponsors are required to support refugees varies with the circumstances, but six months is regarded as a reasonable time. The same government assistance is available for these refugees, i.e. health checks, social welfare benefits, English language training etc., but it is the responsibility of the sponsor to direct and assist the refugees in these matters. Participants in the CRSS are responsible for income maintenance and are expected to help find employment for refugees. Refugees with insufficient means of support may apply for special benefits from the Department of Social Security. Periodic follow-up visits are made to the refugees by bilingual staff from the DIEA.

Indochinese refugees already settled in Australia may sponsor individuals to join them in Australia. As at August 1981 some 60 percent of CRSS applications were for personal nominations, the majority of these was for family reunion.

#### Other sponsorship

The other way of bringing Indochinese refugees into Australia is through the local Migrant Settlement Council. Individuals, church groups, or community groups may make offers which are assessed by Migrant Settlement Councils in each State and Territory before they are accepted. The requirements for acceptance are guarantees of accommodation, employment and general support.

### Hosting and friendship schemes

Hosting schemes operate while refugees are still living in the Migrant Centres, as previously mentioned, in the form of organised outings and providing friendship and emotional support. Support groups or individuals befriend refugees, and also help them once they have left the Centre, with welfare matters, housing, etc., and generally with living in a new community. Community groups also offer to help families in a less formal way and offers to assist in this way are handled by Settlement Officers at the Centres.

### Voluntary agencies

Many voluntary agencies are engaged in refugee settlement and assistance, and have regular contact with the DIEA through the Departmental Committee on Refugees and through their applications for Grants-in-Aid, and aid schemes provided by the Commonwealth Government which enable them to employ social/welfare workers in programs for settlement of migrants and refugees. Subsidies of up to \$5000 are also available to agencies for one-off migrant projects to assist with settlement.

### Social Welfare

DIEA welfare staff provide welfare programs to assist migrants to settle in the community. They assess the needs of individual refugees and ethnic groups, develop a comprehensive overview of the resources available, co-ordinate community services, promote awareness of refugee needs among service providers, develop and provide services and feedback to the DIEA on emerging resettlement issues.

### Special services for refugees

**Social Security Payments:** Refugees are entitled to payment of a special benefit, for the first four weeks after their arrival in Australia, after which they must apply for Social Security Benefits in the usual way.

**Education Allowance:** Refugees undertaking full-time English language classes are eligible for an Education Allowance under the Adult Migrant Education Program conducted by the DIEA which is equivalent to Unemployment Benefit.

**Clothing Allowance:** The DIEA administers a scheme to refund voluntary agencies for supply of personal requisites and clothing given on the basis of need up to the amount of \$50 per refugee.

Education for Refugee Children: A Commonwealth Contingency Program for Refugee Children gives special assistance to government and non-government schools for language/orientation programs for school age children newly arrived in Australia. From 1975 to the end of 1980, approximately \$7.2 million was made available and in 1980-81 \$2,335,257 was expended on the operation of this Program during the first half of the year.

Facilities available to refugees and migrants

English Courses: Provided by Adult Migrant Education.

Migrant Resource Centres: Provide a base for ethnic communities to work from, facilities for cultural activities, etc.

Telephone Interpreter Service: Provides interpreting, information and referral services by means of the telephone.

Translation Services: This service facilitates communication between non-English speakers and government departments and instrumentalities, and translation of material relevant to government administration, and personal documents related to settlement.

Refugees are also entitled to a range of benefits, pensions and allowances on the same basis as any other individual. These include:

- Unemployment Benefit;
- Social Welfare Benefits; and
- Education Allowances.

Report from the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence 1982 entitled 'Indochinese Refugee Resettlement - Australia's Involvement'.

APPENDIX 9

It is important to stress here that there are ambiguities arising from what actually constitutes Professor Geoffrey Blainey's views about Asian immigration. Firstly there were two general sources of information about his views: what he said and what he wrote himself and what he was reported to have said. The last was sometimes more exaggerated than the former. For instance, he was reported to have claimed that unless Asian immigration was reduced, Australians would face the same racist problems as Britain in 10 or 15 years (Australian, 3 April, 1984). Such a statement did not appear in his writing. Further, his own words on this subject had an ambiguous quality which made analysis difficult. Some comments to the media were apparently off-the-cuff and were inconsistent with others.

Until fairly late in the controversy, it was in fact unclear to whom Blainey referred by the term 'Asian'. In his original speech at Warrnambool he spoke of 'Vietnamese and Kampuchean refugees' and 'Vietnamese and other South-east Asians' (quoted in All for Australia 1984: 25). His book spoke variously of Asians, Indo Chinese refugees and the Third World generally. In a radio discussion with Henry Reynolds, Blainey denied any uncertainty about what he meant by 'Asia'; he pointed out that he used the term in the geographical sense, employed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (3AK Melbourne, 4 October, 1984). Thus his Asia reached from Cyprus, Turkey, Lebanon and Israel in the west to Korea, Japan and the Philippines in the east. Reynolds asked whether this meant that Blainey believed too many immigrants were coming also from Turkey, Lebanon, Israel and other west Asian nations, to which Blainey replied 'Yes'. Finally, for an experienced historian, Blainey often failed to identify what evidence he had for his assertions in both his books and his newspaper articles. Nevertheless the merits of his material is not in question here but the fact that he initiated a widespread public controversy on a delicate issue.



Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
19.3.84	Immigration policy questioned	The Standard, Warrnambool	Report
19.3.84	Tolerance of Asian migrants 'weakens'	The Telegraph, Brisbane	Report
19.3.84	Hatred fear over Asian immigrants- Blainey	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
19.3.84	Asian entry threatens tolerance: Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	Report
20.3.84	Now it is Phillip's law on immigration	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
20.3.84	Asians comment a meaningless aside, says Blainey	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
20.3.84	Cut Asian intake, warns Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
20.3.84	Immigration Policies criticised	The Australian	Report
20.3.84	Professor Blainey explains himself	The Age, Melbourne	Report
20.3.84	Asian intake seen as a threat to tolerances	Canberra Times	Report
20.3.84	Is Asian migration straining tolerance?	Ballarat Courier	Editorial
20.3.84	Curb Indo-Chinese Intake-Historian	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
20.3.84	Historian rebuked over comments on Asian migration	Ballarat Courier	Report
20.3.84	The Asianisation of Australia (by GB) (includes) Article by Geoffrey Blainey Riposte by Minister Stewart West	The Age, Melbourne	Article
20.3.84	Prisoners of our map, as well as our past (by GB)	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
20.3.84	New face of our society	The Herald, Melbourne	Editorial
21.3.84	Minister chides Blainey on Asian migrants	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
21.3.84	Migrants! what those involved say	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
21.3.84	Timely warning	The West Australian	Editorial
21.3.84	The Asianisation of Australia is not 'inevitable' (by GB)	The West Australian	Article
21.3.84	We're no threat- Vietnamese	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
21.3.84	Racism 'may lead to UK-style riots'	The Advertiser, Adelaide	Report
21.3.84	Blainey's 'Asian Australia'	Sydney Morning Herald	Editorial

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
21.3.84	UN Association warns of racial violence in Australia	Canberra Times	Report
21.3.84	Migration without fear or prejudice	The Age, Melbourne	Editorial
21.3.84	Dr Law urges migrant curb	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
21.3.84	Immigration: time for sensible debate	The Australian	Editorial
21.3.84	Brixton-style race riots on doorstep, says group	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
22.3.84	'We are not discriminating against Britons'	West Australian	Report
22.3.84	Trade is a migration key: West	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
22.3.84	Asianised Australia?	The Advertiser	Editorial
22.3.84	No Asian favour- West	Daily News	Report
22.3.84	Multiracial Australia	Canberra Times	Editorial
22.3.84	Migration policy defended	Border Morning Mail, Albury	Report
22.3.84	Minister backs Asian migrants	Ballarat Courier	Report
22.3.84	The dangers of immigration	Courier-Mail	Editorial
22.3.84	A case of colour bias, says West	The Age, Melbourne	Report
22.3.84	Migrant level no problem: Peacock	Courier-Mail	Report
23.3.84	Blainey stirs a sleeping issue	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
23.3.84	Asians top the unemployed	The Age, Melbourne	Report
24.3.84	50 million Aussies- Hayden aim (includes Blainey comment)	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
24.3.84	Blainey's spark lights racial fire	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
24.3.84	Hayden rocks migrant boat	The West Australian	Report
24.3.84	Facts, Values and Asian immigration	The Age, Melbourne	Article
24.3.84	Asian immigrants the latest victims of 'me' politics	The Age, Melbourne	Article
24.3.84	Co-existence on the racial 'front line'	The Age, Melbourne	Reports
24.3.84	Multi-racial 50 million- Hayden	Courier-Mail	Report
25.3.84	Blacks a reminder: we're all immigrants	Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Article

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
25.3.84	Out of the race	Sunday Times, Perth	Article
25.3.84	'On the Inside' column	Sunday Telegraph, Sydney	Article
25.3.84	The Asian Debate	Sunday Mail	Editorial
26.3.84	We have come a long, long way	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
26.3.84	Our migrant problem is queried	The Mirror, Sydney	Report
27.3.84	Blainey's views draw fresh attacks	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
27.3.84	Ahead of public opinion	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Editorial
29.3.84	Viet priest laments remark on migrants	Catholic Advocate, Melbourne	Article
30.3.84	Asian intake seen as threat to tolerance	Canberra Times	Report
30.3.84	Whom do we want?	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
31.3.84	Wide range of public reaction (includes comment by GB)	Sunday Mail	Report
03.4.84	My critics advocate a surrender- Australia policy, says Blainey	The Australian	Report
03.4.84	'Surrender Australia' is new line: Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	Report
03.4.84	Influx of asians provokes jobless	Daily Sun, Brisbane	Report
03.4.84	Blainey's migration blast	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
03.4.84	Australia for the Asians (by GB)	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
03.4.84	Migration idea fuzzy: historian	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
03.4.84	Blainey says policy vague	West Australian	Report
04.4.84	THC in call for brake on migrants	Geelong Advertiser	Report
04.4.84	Debate stirs 'fear and alarm'	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
05.4.84	Migrant ban call rapped	Geelong Advertiser	Report
05.4.84	Blainey support	The Land Magazine	Article
06.4.84	Reassess migration mix call	Canberra Times	Report
06.4.84	Migration mix needs reassessing- Hodgman	The Australian	Report
06.4.84	How far do we go with Asia? (by GB)	The Sun, Melbourne	Article
06.4.84	Cut immigration, say 89pc of (mostly migrant) car builders	Sydney Morning Herald	Report

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
09.4.84	Bitter harvest	The News, Adelaide	Editorial
09.4.84	Discrimination and migration	Newcastle Herald	Editorial
12.4.84	Asian migrants must not be discriminated against (translated summary)	Sing Tao Jih Pao*(Aust ed.)	Report on letter
12.4.84	White Australia policy stirs in its grave	The Age, Melbourne	Article
18.4.84	Not the best policy- Professor	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
27.4.84	Hawke defends migrants policy	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
28.4.84	Story of the state	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
28.4.84	Hawke Government 'most anti-British'	Courier Mail, Brisbane	Report
28.4.84	Blainey attacks migration policy as most anti-British	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
28.4.84	Blainey says Hawke Govt 'anti-British'	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
30.4.84	The Blainey Debate	Sydney Morning Herald	Editorial
30.4.84	Our migrant policy	The Mercury, Hobart	Editorial
01.5.84	Blainey: Stifling debate recipe for disaster	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
07.5.84	Poll backs less Asian migration	Canberra Times	Report
10.5.84	'Unemployed pay for migrant influx'	The Australian	Report
10.5.84	Turning the tables on a cynical Mr Peacock	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
10.5.84	Peacock in bid to end row over migration (including comment by GB)	The Australian	Report
10.5.84	Mr Peacock hits on race	Sydney Morning Herald	Editorial
10.5.84	Blainey: why I'm not a racists	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
10.5.84	The risk of being branded a racist (by GB)	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Article
10.5.84	Racism a word that blackmails our leaders (by GB)	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
10.5.84	Australia's untouchable ideas on migration (by GB)	Canberra Times	Article
10.5.84	Disarm this race discord	The Herald, Melbourne	Editorial
10.5.84	Fed up with hypocrisy	The Land Magazine	Article

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
11.5.84	Immigration: The mean men must not defeat the vision	The Age, Melbourne	Article
11.5.84	Racist debate?	The Examiner, Launceston	Editorial
11.5.84	Vexing issue of migration changes	The Courier	Editorial
11.5.84	It's just good old fashioned racism	The Courier	Article
11.5.84	The flames of hatred flare again	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
11.5.84	Race debate reveals Libs' politics of desperation	The Age, Melbourne	Article
11.5.84	A professor of sociology states that immigration policy must be based on equality (translated summary)	Sing Tao Jih Pao*(Aust. ed.)	Report
11.5.84	Caution needed on migration	The Age, Melbourne	Editorial
11.5.84	Unwanted conflict	Daily Telegraph, Sydney	Editorial
11.5.84	Talking sense on racism	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Editorial
11.5.84	PM provides figures on origin of migrants	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
12.5.84	Academics criticise Blainey	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
12.5.84	Comic tales of the shell-shocked public servants	The Australian	Article
12.5.84	Asian immigration and democratic traditions	The Age, Melbourne	Article
12.5.84	Through the statistical toe, things are much the same	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
12.5.84	Immigration: a matter of preference and circumstance	The West Australian	Report
12.5.84	The Asian issue: desperation ends a grand conspiracy	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
12.5.84	Migration and racism	Canberra Times	Editorial
12.5.84	Weapon of two syllables used in war of words (by GB)	The Advertiser	Article
12.5.84	Blainey view rejected by colleagues	Canberra Times	Report
13.5.84	Jobless lift is biggest fear	Sunday Telegraph	Report
13.5.84	Prejudice shows a loss of logic	The Sun Herald	Article
14.5.84	'Stop this hysteria'	The Advertiser	Report

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
14.5.84	Racism and migration	The Advertiser	Editorial
14.5.84	Ross-Edwards attacks Blainey's critics	The Age, Melbourne	Report
15.5.84	Sack the Immigration Minister, Peacock says. Inset: Criticism of Blainey 'insulting'	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
16.5.84	Peacock serves unity on a platter	The Advertiser	Article
16.5.84	Immigration and our interests	The Advertiser	Article
17.5.84	Our winter games far from sporting	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
18.5.84	Calling up the darkest fears in the national psyche	The National Times	Article
18.5.84	What's wrong with debate?	Country Life, Brisbane	Article
18.5.84	Latent racism surfaced after Blainey's comments, says survey	The Age, Melbourne	Report
18.5.84	Blainey's stand not our view-academics	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
19.5.84	Blow for Blainey. Colleagues reject stand	The West Australian	Report
19.5.84	24 colleagues disagree with Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	Report
19.5.84	Blainey's views 'his own'	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
19.5.84	Uni 23 'no' to Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
19.5.84	Migrant poll shock	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
19.5.84	The issue that divides the nation	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
20.5.84	More Asian Migrants? 62 per cent of Aussies say 'No'	Sun-Herald, Sydney	Report
21.5.84	Australia wants less Asian immigration	Bangkok Post	Report
21.5.84	Migrants: no switch says West	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
21.5.84	Too many Asian migrants, according to poll	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
21.5.84	Poll fuels Asian migration debate	The Advertiser	Report
21.5.84	Stewart West stands firm in Asian storm	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
21.5.84	Grave dangers in anti-racist laws	The Age, Melbourne	Article
21.5.84	Wanted-a Solomon	The Herald, Melbourne	Editorial
22,5,84	A place in The Sun	The Sun, Melbourne	Article
22.5.84	Handling this sensitive issue	Courier-Mail	Editorial
22.5.84	Racial bushfire	The Advertiser	Editorial

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
22.5.84	Migration debate is off course	The Age, Melbourne	Editorial
22.5.84	Immigration policy	Cairns Post	Editorial
23.5.84	Dangerous to say we're a part of Asia: Blainey	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
23.5.84	Were the polls wrong?	The Telegraph, Brisbane	Article
23.5.84	Blainey rebuff by department	The Australian	Report
25.5.84	A view from inside	The Age, Melbourne	Article
26.5.84	Migrant study hits 'outbursts'	The Age, Melbourne	Report
26.5.84	Unpopular regimes thrust down the throats of impotent voters	The Australian	Article
26.5.84	'Australian Commentary' (translated summary)	Wiadomosci Polskie*	Report
26.5.84	Asia and that dangerous myth (by GB)	The Advertiser	Article
28.5.84	Hawke warns Australia against racial intolerance	The Australian	Report
29.5.84	Australia's rising intake of Asians stirs up debate	Bangkok Post	Report
29.5.84	'Stop the Asian Intake'	Daily News, Perth	Letters
01.6.84	Standing firm on migration	The Advertiser	Editorial
08.6.84	PM 'divisive' on Asians, Says Blainey	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
08.6.84	Blainey defends Asian views	The Herald, Melbourne	Interview
08.6.84	PM attacked on Asian policy	Daily News	Report
08.6.84	Asians integrate better: study	The Age, Melbourne	Report
09.6.84	Blainey re-enters migrants debate	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
09.6.84	Blainey re-enters debate	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
09.6.84	West stands by policy after new attack by Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	Report
09.6.84	Hawke must justify immigration policy or change it, says Blainey	The Australian	Report
09.6.84	Migrant policy 'out of tune'	Canberra Times	Report
09.6.84	Poll ignored, says Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
09.6.84	Asian migration election issue	The Courier, Ballarat	Report
09.6.84	Blainey: I'm still in the right	The West Australian	Report

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
09.6.84	Blainey again hits at migration policy	The Examiner	Report
10.6.84	Australia's untouchable ideas on immigration	Canberra Times	Article
11.6.84	Asian born migrants 'integrate quickly'	The Advertiser	Report
12.6.84	Hodgman says he, Blainey agree	The Age, Melbourne	Report
12.6.84	Migration: policy out of step	Burnie Advocate	Report
13.6.84	Protesters plan picket for Blainey seminar	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
16.6.84	Immigration issues causes TV audience row	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
18.6.84	Racism on the rise?	The Advertiser	Editorial
18.6.84	Hearts harden towards Asians	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
18.6.84	Migration row spurs resurgence of racism	The Australian	Report
18.6.84	Debate fuels racist feelings	Illawarra Mercury	Report
19.6.84	Three arrested in anti-Blainey rally	The Age, Melbourne	Report
19.6.84	Blainey hits out at demo stirrers	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
19.6.84	Students in uproar over Blainey	The West Australian	Report
19.6.84	Three arrested in protest against Prof Blainey	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
19.6.84	Violence erupts over 'racist hate'	The Advertiser	Report
19.6.84	Blainey chooses to ignore demonstration	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
19.6.84	Racial protest at Blainey seminar	Daily Telegraph, Sydney	Report
19.6.84	Wild demo in Asia row	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
19.6.84	Bully tactics won't work- Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
19.6.84	Protest against Blainey sparks campus violence	The Australian	Report
19.6.84	Stirring the pot	The Herald, Melbourne	Editorial
19.6.84	Blainey lecture theatre stormed	Canberra Times	Report
19.6.84	3 arrests halt Blainey protest	Daily Sun	Report
20.6.84	Blainey to hecklers: I will not be bullied	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
20.6.84	Policy a poll issue says Prof	Daily Sun	Report
20.6.84	No, Prof Blainey, we're still immature	(Sydney Morning Herald)	Article
20.6.84	Rowdy Sydney protest at 'anti-Asian' views	Canberra Times	Report
20.6.84	Blainey talk: two arrested	Daily Telegraph	Report



Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
20.6.84	Policy a poll issue says prof	Daily Sun	Report
20.6.84	Blainey Protest	The Examiner	Editorial
20.6.84	Mob jostles Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	Report
20.6.84	Protesters confront Blainey in Sydney	The Age, Melbourne	Report
20.6.84	New race demo greets Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
20.6.84	In defence of Blainey	Bendigo Advertiser	Editorial
21.6.84	Migrant debate has degenerated	The Mercury, Hobart	Editorial
21.6.84	Blainey should take stock	The Advertiser	Editorial
21.6.84	Immigration: controversy continued (translated summary)	La Fiamma*	Report
21.6.84	Asia row professor defended	The News	Report
21.6.84	Blainey's right to speak defended	The West Australian	Report
21.6.84	Peacock defends Blainey's views	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
21.6.84	Prof Blainey presses on	Sydney Morning Herald	Editorial
21.6.84	Fair go call for Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
22.6.84	Anyone for racism?	El Telegraf*	Editorial
22.6.84	When bigotry shifts from Right to Left	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
22.6.84	Opposition plan to press ahead on race issue	National Times	Article
22.6.84	Blainey ignoring the facts- West	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
22.6.84	Clash over immigration	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
22.6.84	Blainey receives another blast	The West Australian	Report
23.6.84	Blainey 'out on a limb'	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
23.6.84	Feds to ignore Blainey	Daily Sun	Report
23.6.84	West attacks Blainey view	The West Australian	Report
23.6.84	Blainey stirs, rather than mixes, the pot	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
24.6.84	Respectable prof rouses the rabble	Sunday Times	Article
24.6.84	Hostility should be deplored	Sunday Observer, Melbourne	Editorial
25.6.84	Opposition's Immigration Programme (translated summary)	La Fiamma*	Report
25.6.84	(translated summary with no title)	Il Globo*	Report
25.6.84	Keneally, Zubrzycki join Blainey criticism	The Age, Melbourne	Report

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
26.6.84	'Statistical aberration' on migrants	Canberra Times	Report
27.6.84	Blainey and the right to debate	The Age, Melbourne	Article
27.6.84	Churches urged to counter racism	The Age, Melbourne	Report
27.6.84	Friend, there's a racist close behind you	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
27.6.84	Church leader slams racism	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
28.6.84	Churchman calls for stand on racism	The West Australian	Report
28.6.84	Two fined over Blainey demo	The Age, Melbourne	Report
28.6.84	Blainey demo 2 on bond	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
28.6.84	Dear Geoffrey...	The Advertiser	Article
29.6.84	Dangerous arguments unleash dangerous passions, Geoffrey	Courier Mail	Article
29.6.84	But where do you draw the immigration lines?	The Examiner	Article
30.6.84	Blainey ignored migration facts, claims minister	The Advertiser	Report
30.6.84	Blainey ignored migration facts, claims minister	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
July 84	Fall out from the migration debate	Asian Bureau Australia Newsletter	
01.7.84	Preparing way for extreme Right	Burnie Advocate	Article
03.7.84	Blainey to put his point of view	The Bulletin	Report
03.7.84	Blainey sees a threat emerge to free speech	The Bulletin	Article
04.7.84	Blainey to speak	Daily Sun	Report
05.7.84	Asian fear could tear nation apart	Daily Sun	Report
06.7.84	Demonstrators chant as Blainey sneaks through	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
06.7.84	Blainey dodges uni protestors	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
06.7.84	'Racist' gibes	Telegraph, Brisbane	Report
06.7.84	Asian immigration debate remains a burning issue	Financial Review	Article
07.7.84	'Go home you Abo Hindu Jew'	Newcastle Herald	Article
07.7.84	Blainey cancels two talks at university	The Age, Melbourne	Report
07.7.84	There's a racist close behind you	Weekend News, Perth	Article

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
08.7.84	Can Hawke fly with a crook wing? (includes section on GB)	Sunday Telegraph	Article
09.7.84	Migration: a media beat-up?	Sydney Morning Herald (Pink Guide)	Article
09.7.84	Unfair tactics	Telegraph	Editorial
09.7.84	In Arabic:(AIMA refutes Prof. Blainey's attacks)	El Telegraf*	Report
11.7.84	The case against Professor Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	Article
13.7.84	Hawke says Blainey's views on Asians were in error (ALP Nat Conf)	Financial Review	Report
13.7.84	Peacock broke pledge, says PM	The Age, Melbourne	Report
13.7.84	Return your months' pay to uni- colleague	The Age, Melbourne	Report
17.7.84	Strong reaction to nature of migrant intake	The Bulletin	Report
21.7.84	Ordinary settlers	The Age, Melbourne	Article
23.7.84	Blainey book's launch may coincide with poll	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
24.7.84	Migration row flares again	The West Australian	Report
24.7.84	Blainey quits last Government position	The Age, Melbourne	Report
24.7.84	Blainey renews immigration call	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
24.7.84	Blainey quits Govt post in immigration clash	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
24.7.84	Minister attacks on immigration	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
24.7.84	People frightened to speak: Blainey	The Advertiser	Report
24.7.84	Opposition 'currying favour with racists'	The Advertiser	Report
24.7.84	Racismo, inmigracion y poblamiento	El Espanol en Australia*	Editorial
24.7.84	Blainey hits back at Minister	Daily News	Report
25.7.84	Opposition attracting support from racists, says Wran	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
25.7.84	Witch-hunt, says Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
25.7.84	Labour using violent language on immigration, says Peacock	The Age, Melbourne	Report
25.7.84	Peacock counters in migrant row	The West Australian	Report
25.7.84	Blainey takes Cohen to task	The Examiner	Report

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
26.7.84	Blainey 'not responsible'	The News	Report
27.7.84	Speak up and be damned	The Herald, Melbourne	Editorial
27.7.84	Blainey and the right to debate	The Age, Melbourne	Article
27.7.84	Blainey replies	Financial Review	Report
27.7.84	Sacked Minister sure of MP Senate seat (includes Blainey item)	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
29.7.84	Archbishop's migrant stand	Canberra Times	Report
30.7.84	WA Libs call for race poll	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
01.8.84	Inverse McCarthyism	The Australian	Editorial
01.8.84	Blainey 'paving extremists' way'	The Australian	Report
01.8.84	Blainey arguments under fire	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
01.8.84	Blainey viewed as pawn of Right	West Australian	Report
01.8.84	Blainey 'unwittingly' helping right-wing extremists	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
01.8.84	RSL: Blainey denied right to speak out	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
02.8.84	Migration helps economy: report	The Age, Melbourne	Report
02.8.84	Uni study points to migration benefits	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
04.8.84	Immigration row pitches professors against each other	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
04.8.84	Immigration	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
06.8.84	Franca arena a Melbourne: "Oggi il multiculturalismo resta l'unica alternativa"	Il Globo*	Report
09.8.84	Society wrong on Blainey	The Land Magazine	Article
10.8.84	Blainey defended (by Ronald Macdonald)	B&T Adv., Marketing & Media Weekly	Report
10.8.84	Hawke attacks 'racist attitudes'	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
11.8.84	Geoffrey Blainey: 'I wont be bullied into silence'	New Idea	Interview
13.8.84	Hawke says Blainey's views on Asians were in error (ALP Nat Conf)	Financial Review	Report
14.8.84	Blainey urged to stand as a Senate independent	The Age, Melbourne	Report

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
14.8.84	Later arrivals go to bottom of migrant ladder, report argues	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
15.8.84	I may stand- Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
15.8.84	Blainey looks to politics	The Advertiser	Report
15.8.84	Blainey urged to stand for Senate	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
15.8.84	Blainey considers politics	The Australian	Report
15.8.84	Report: We are more tolerant	The West Australian	Report
18.8.84	Intake of Asians to continue	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
24.8.84	Asian row 'too hot to handle'	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
24.8.84	Policy aspects	Australian Jewish News	Report
24.8.84	'Racism' tilt on...racism	Australian Jewish News	Report
27.8.84	Mr Howard and the immigration debate	Financial Review	Editorial
27.8.84	Poll shows increased opposition to migration, but not racially based	The Age, Melbourne	Article
27.8.84	Historians to rekindle migration debate	The Age, Melbourne	Report
27.8.84	Anti-Asian feeling a myth: Liffman	The Age, Melbourne	Article
27.8.84	Poll dodges crucial questions: Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	Article
27.8.84	Poll:60% worry on migration	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
27.8.84	It's a warning- Blainey	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
28.8.84	The public speaks	The Herald, Melbourne	Editorial
28.8.84	European migrants favored (with inset remarks by GB)	The Advertiser	Report
28.8.84	Conclusions widely differ on migration	Canberra Times	Report
28.8.84	'Too tough' on Blainey (with insert)	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
28.8.84	New Blainey call on immigration control	Examiner	Report
30.8.84	The ethnic mix- a recipe for trouble(by GB)	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
30.8.84	Speaking out for Australia	The Advocate, Burnie	Editorial
30.8.84	'We don't realise how passionately Asians feel about their dilemma' (by GB)	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
31.8.84	The multicultural beast of burden	The Herald, Melbourne	Editorial

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
31.8.84	The agony of being unwelcome in our new country(by GB)	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Article
31.8.84	Don't forget the black days of White Australia	The Herald, Melbourne	Article
01.9.84	How can Professor Blainey say we are taking too many refugees?	Sydney Morning Herald	Article
02.9.84	Victoria, migration and the making of the nation	The Age, Melbourne	Book Review
03.9.84	Vergogna dell'Australia il tentativo di lotta al multiculturalismo	Il Globo*	Report
05.9.84	Blainey views under new fire	The West Australian	Report
05.9.84	The Blainey factor and the role of the historian	The Australian	Report
05.9.84	How can Professor Blainey say we are taking too many refugees?	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Article/Letter
05.9.84	How can we say too many refugees?	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Article
07.9.84	Migration debate flares once more	The Australian	Editorial
08.9.84	Commission 'inflammatory'-Professor	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
08.9.84	Blainey under fire again	Weekend News, Perth	Report
08.9.84	Report hits Blainey's role in Asia controversy	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
08.9.84	Our migrant intake 'not anti-British'	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
08.9.84	Mr West answers his critics	The Age, Melbourne	Editorial
08.9.84	Racial issues	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Editorial
08.9.84	Before and after Blainey	The Sun, Melbourne	Article
10.9.84	Academic challenges Blainey	The West Australian	Report
10.9.84	Report on migrants critical of Blainey	Sydney Morning Herald	Report
10.9.84	Migration: the counter attack	Sydney Morning Herald	Editorial
10.9.84	Blainey slams ethnic report	The Sun, Melbourne	Report
10.9.84	Migrant selection report released	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report
10.9.84	Blainey hits out at his critics	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Report

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Type of Material
14.9.84	Phobias if (in Clancy column)	National Times	Article
21.9.84	Blainey wrong on Asians- Diplomat	The Herald, Melbourne	Report
24.9.84	Blainey says he's not a racist	The Advocate	Report
24.9.84	Immigration: a world view	Sydney Morning Herald	Editorial
26.9.84	Menzies would have won- Blainey	The West Australian	Report
27.9.84	Why can't they face up to migrant issue? (by GB)	The Herald, Melbourne	Article/Column
27.9.84	Government is 'in retreat' on Asian immigration issue (by GB)	Daily News	Article/Column
28.9.84	Propaganda from a government in ragged retreat (by GB)	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Article/Column
No Date	Migrant policy ahead of opinion-Lib	The Mercury, Hobart	Report
No Date	Multicultural Australia: now and then	No source	Report
No Date	The dangers of immigration	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Editorial
No Date	Weapon of two syllables used in war of words (by GB)	(The Advertiser)	Article

\*Papers published in non-English languages.

#### Letters to the Editor

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
20.3.84	Front page bias(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Barbara Mullcock, Kensington
20.3.84	Naive remarks(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Hong Ling, Clayton South
20.3.84	Falling backwards(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Cowen Tucker, Surrey Hills
20.3.84	Proud label(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Constance B Little, Swan Reach
20.3.84	Asian migrants	The Herald, Melbourne	George CK Teo, Bayswater
21.3.84	Move on(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Jeff Pressing, Northcote
21.3.84	Gentle natures(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Val Williams, Sunshine

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
21.3.84	Inevitable explosion(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Mary Benson Pascoe, Vale South
21.3.84	Blainey gives authority to fears of a minority	The Age, Melbourne	Michael Liffman, Ecumenical Migration Centre
21.3.84	Community outrage	The Age, Melbourne	Anthony Bonnici, Ethnic Communities C of Vic
21.3.84	Immigration to Australia	Canberra Times	John Bennett, Carlton Vic
22.3.84	Most hide their real views(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Valerie Newland, Greensborough
22.3.84	Majority view(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Henry Nash, Carlton
22.3.84	Government enlightened(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Dennis Leach, Belgrave
22.3.84	Comments distorted	The Age, Melbourne	Meg Henderson, Lower Templestowe
22.3.84	Ignore topping	The Age, Melbourne	Jane Monk, Brunswick
22.3.84	Not racist	The Age, Melbourne	Mark Scott, Kinglake West
22.3.84	Distract attention	The Age, Melbourne	Rod Matthews, Glen Iris
22.3.84	We're all migrants	The Age, Melbourne	Sobby Girgio, East Brunswick
22.3.84	Blainey a friend	The Age, Melbourne	Fred Archer, Armadale
22.3.84	Tolerance warning	The Age, Melbourne	Dianne Buckley, Ascot Vale
22.3.84	Old lesson	The Age, Melbourne	John Llewellyn, Mont Albert
22.3.84	Asian migration	Sydney Morning Herald	Justine Burden and others, Wahroonga, NSW
23.3.84	No title(FF)	The Sun, Melbourne	Michael Negri, Box Hill
23.3.84	Imagined tolerance(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Elizabeth Hunt, Hexham
23.3.84	Where's the work?(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	David Wilson, Frankston
23.3.84	Halt it(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	David Bliss, Camberwell
23.3.84	Start here(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Edna Pritchett, Armadale
23.3.84	Intake of Asians	The West Australian	I Higgins, Innales
23.3.84	Reader's views on the Blainey view	The Age, Melbourne	14 letters, somewhat abridged
23.3.84	No title(FF)	The Sun, Melbourne	Clare Bragge, Richmond
23.3.84	No title(FF)	The Sun, Melbourne	John Bennett, Carlton
23.3.84	No title(FF)	The Sun, Melbourne	Dennis Whyte, Lilydale



Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
24.3.84	Warning on Asian migration	The Australian	Christopher D Bantick, Oakleigh
24.3.84	Current loss	The Australian	Richard Krygier, Double Bay, NSW
24.3.84	Maintain the fight against racism	Sydney Morning Herald	Brian Castro, Springwood, NSW
24.3.84	Blainey is right	Sydney Morning Herald	L.E. North Sydney, NSW
24.3.84	Who is Australian?	Weekend News	Asian migrant
26.3.84	What Australian culture is in need of protection?	The Age, Melbourne	Paul R Bartrop, Carnegie
26.3.84	Andrew Guild(disclaimer)	The Age, Melbourne	Andrew Guild, Toorak
26.3.84	Unwanted sight(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	John Hendrix, Broadmeadows
26.3.84	Alien culture	The Age, Melbourne	John McDonald, East Melbourne
26.3.84	No title(IB)	The Australian	Leonie Gale, East Brunswick, Vic
27.3.84	No title(IB)	The Australian	Pillan Rimmer, Ferntree Gully, Vic
27.3.84	Blainey warning was overdue, patriotic	The Age, Melbourne	A Psalti, Melbourne Assembly District Council, National Party of Victoria
27.3.84	Intolerable tolerance	The Age, Melbourne	George Mora, South Yarra
28.3.84	The debate over Asians	The Australian	Drilan Seggie, Uni of Newcastle
28.3.84	No title	The Australian	Paul A Cullen, Austcare and Refugee Council of Australia
28.3.84	No title	The Australian	Dr DE Ingram, Aust. Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations
28.3.84	No title	The Australian	Stephen Martin-Kellow, Mt Lawley, WA
28.3.84	No title	The Australian	Lewis S Bevis, Beecroft, NSW
28.3.84	Reputations at stake	The Australian	Dr Alan Hughes, President, Vic Council for Civil Liberties
28.3.84	It is time to remember our immigrant ancestors	The Age, Melbourne	June Factor, Kew
29.3.84	Asian migrants	The Herald, Melbourne	Elizabeth Phillips, Wattle Glen
30.3.84	Flashpoint warning	The Australian	Rev D Clarnette, Esperance, WA

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
30.3.84	'Newly-arrived migrants enrich job opportunities by creating demand'	The Advertiser	B Krumins, SA Ethnic Affairs Commission
30.3.84	More on migration	The Herald, Melbourne	C James, Ormond
31.3.84	Try befriending the Asians	The Australian	R J Rowbury, Canberra
31.3.84	No title	The Australian	Alan Moore, Cammeray, NSW
31.3.84	No title(IB)	The Australian	BM Wheelton, Mont Albert, Vic
31.3.84	No title(IB)	The Australian	Ian McCabe, Balga, WA
31.3.84	No title(IB)	The Australian	Clive Bush, South Yarra, Vic
31.3.84	Asian invasion	Weekend News	Mary Dilton, Mosman(sic)
02.4.84	Asian migration	Sydney Morning Herald	GP Courtney, Potts Point, NSW
02.4.84	Please justify	The Australian	Michael Hackett, North Epping NSW
03.4.84	Character flaw	The Australian	Sylvia Monk, Southport QLD
04.4.84	Find balance on migration	Mountain District Free Press, Belgrave, Vic	Peter White MP
05.4.84	Humanity and harmony	The Herald, Melbourne	Jeremy Long, Human Rights Commission
06.4.84	Ocker ignorance	Sydney Morning Herald	Dr HM Healy, Uni of Wollongong
06.4.84	Immigration policies	The Mercury, Hobart	Isi J Leibler, Executive Council of Australian Jewry
07.4.84	Danger on the Asian debate	The Australian	Christopher D Gilbert, Canberra
07.4.84	No title(IB)	The Australian	Brenda McIntyre, Inglewood, WA
07.4.84	No title (IB)	The Australian	Howard D Kiel, Toorak, Vic
07.4.84	No title(IB)	The Australian	Alan Silver, Canberra
07.4.84	Noble gesture to Asians	The Australian	Dr Purusotama Bilimoria, Deakin University
09.4.84	'Food production limits migration'	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	H Brien, Fig Tree Pocket, QLD
09.4.84	Migration policy	The Herald, Melbourne	John Bennett, Carlton
10.4.84	Immigration policy	Canberra Times	Isi J Leibler, Executive Council of Australian Jewry

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
10.4.84	Ahead of time?	The Herald, Melbourne	Mrs IE Lloyd, Frankston
17.4.84	Asian migrants	The Herald, Melbourne	Morley Pereira, Glen Waverley
04.5.84	Migration policy	The Mercury, Hobart	Mrs JF Brown, Sandy Bay
11.5.84	Immigration discussion has got out of hand	The Age, Melbourne	James Dunn, pres Human Rights Commission
11.5.84	Cheap strategy	The Age, Melbourne	Kevin Wong Hoy, North Melbourne
12.5.84	Migrant debate	The Age, Melbourne	NR White, Chisholm Inst of Techn
14.5.84	Migration policies	The Mercury, Hobart	RA Watson, Margate
14.5.84	The terrible dogs of racism now unleashed	Canberra Times	AJ Grassby, Aranda
14.5.84	No title	Canberra Times	James Dunn, Human Rights Council of Australia
14.5.84	Settle migrants into Toorak	The Herald, Melbourne	Doug Poad, Knoxfield
14.5.84	Harmony their course	The Herald, Melbourne	CA Bennetts, East Doncaster
14.5.84	Success Formula(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Rod Mathews, Glen Iris
14.5.84	Above reproach(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Kevin Banks, Hawthorn
15.5.84	MP's loath to be frank on immigration issue	The Age, Melbourne	I Blair, Mitcham
15.5.84	Blainey illogical in racist in racist theories on immigration	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Justin Moloney, West End
16.5.84	Immigration policy (covers 3 letters)	The Mercury, Hobart	AT O'Flaherty, Blackmans Bay Max Brett, Rosny Point TW Stainier, Sandy Bay
16.5.84	Immigration debate now out of hand	Sydney Morning Herald	James Dunn, Pres Human Rights Council of Australia
16.5.84	The Kelly view	Sydney Morning Herald	John Meredith, Thirlmere, NSW

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
16.5.84	Stop all immigration	The Examiner	M Wright, Invermay
17.5.84	Racism and Australia's immigration policy	Canberra Times	Charles A Price, ANU AH Borthwick, Griffith Mrs I Brill, Garran JL Forace, Kambah JE Oldham, Narrabundah
17.5.84	Can a leopard change its spots?	Country Life	Handley Wilson, Redland Bay
18.5.84	Let's do justice to Asians	The Herald, Melbourne	Sam Pinzone, Kew Ethnic Branch, Liberal Party
18.5.84	Too hard on herself	The Herald, Melbourne	Maureen Morgan, Geelong
18.5.84	Blainey is correct	The Herald, Melbourne	Elizabeth Phillips, Wattle Glen
19.5.84	Immigration policy	The Age, Melbourne	IG Robertson + 23 staff members, Uni of Melb
20.5.84	Hats off, Lid's off!	Sun-Herald	J d'L Holmes, Marulan
20.5.84	Not racist	Sun-Herald	Elizabeth Phillips, Wattle Glen
20.5.84	Big Brother	Sun-Herald	Frank E Mansell, Big Brother Movement Ltd
21.5.84	NSW takes unfair share of migrants	Sydney Morning Herald	Michael Easson, Labour Council of NSW
21.5.84	Visa manipulation	Sydney Morning Herald	Mark Oberhollenzer, Springwood
21.5.84	Why so few Brits?	Sydney Morning Herald	Prof AH Pollarn, Northwood
21.5.84	We abjure racism	Sydney Morning Herald	NG Valderrama, Philippines Consul-Genera.
22.5.84	Cause for concern	The Age, Melbourne	Anthony Michell, Mt Waverley
22.5.84	Wise nannies	The Age, Melbourne	Peter Ryan, Carlton
23.5.84	Nothing logical	The Age, Melbourne	Frank Ford, Sunshine
23.5.84	Welcome newcomers(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Geoff Ballard, Rosanna
23.5.84	Immigration row	The Age, Melbourne	Sergio Marini, Wantirna

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
23.5.84	The bluster and the grandstanding	The Herald, Melbourne	John Launder, Oakleigh
23.5.84	The ivory towers	The Herald, Melbourne	Pat McGrath, Kyneton
23.5.84	The migrants who pay their own way	The Herald, Melbourne	S Fan, Templestowe
23.5.84	A battle of wills	The Herald, Melbourne	DG Bews, Sandringham
23.5.84	Enough is enough	The Herald, Melbourne	Mrs Penny Trebilcock, Ferny Creek
23.5.84	The total counts	The Herald, Melbourne	Damien Brown, Kensington
23.5.84	Let's keep a concensus	The Herald, Melbourne	IJ Leibler, Aust Council Aust Jewry
23.5.84	Hidden bluster	The Herald, Melbourne	David Griffiths
23.5.84	Second place	The Herald, Melbourne	Ken Miles, Thomson
25.5.84	Figures wrong	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	R James, Maroochydore
25.5.84	Continued immigration not imperative for Australia	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	KN Bremmer, Rainworth
25.5.84	Why at all?	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Edmond Ho, Jamboree Heights
25.5.84	Anyone now	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	M Pask, West Chermside
25.5.84	Continued immigration not imperative for Aust(4 letters)	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	
28.5.84	Migration, land claims	The West Australian	N Bicks, Attadale
29.5.84	'Stop the Asian Intake'	Daily News, Perth	
05.6.84	Stressing an Asian principle	The Herald, Melbourne	Yau Wei Chen, Bayswater
05.6.84	People and poverty	The Herald, Melbourne	WA Lewis, North Balwyn
07.6.84	Racial Balance	Sydney Morning Herald	AJ Grassby, Aranda, ACT
13.6.84	Migrants by choice	The Herald, Melbourne	David Chen, Glen Iris
21.6.84	Unbiased reporting	The Age, Melbourne	Ruth Williams, Metung
22.6.84	Hostile actions against Blainey to be deplored	The Age, Melbourne	John H Lechte, Parkville
23.6.84	Dangerous arguments unleash dangerous passions, Geoffrey	The Herald, Melbourne	Open letter by Thomas Keneally

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
23.6.84	Dismiss them	The Australian	John Goldsmith, Armadale, WA
23.6.84	Control immigration(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Patricia Myers, Cranbourne
23.6.84	No title(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Edward Dugdale, Canterbury
23.6.84	Ins and Outs(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Paul Prentice, North Fitzroy
23.6.84	Missed the mark(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Neil Tupper, Rosanna
23.6.84	Gross distortions	The Age, Melbourne	Alec Kahu, Stop the Racists Committee
25.6.84	Sad reflection	The Australian	Christopher D Bantick, Oakleigh, Vic
26.6.84	No title(FF)	The Sun, Melbourne	Stem the Flow, Mallacoota
26.6.84	No title(FF)	The Sun, Melbourne	Ex-Digger, Sunbury
26.6.84	No title(FF)	The Sun, Melbourne	Racistand Proud, Maribynong
26.6.84	Attacks a threat to our rights	Telegraph	John Bennett, no address, only org
26.6.84	The Blainey debate:let's desist	Sydney Morning Herald	Prof WR Geddes, Uni of Sydney
26.6.84	Go underground	Sydney Morning Herald	James MacLeod, Annandale
26.6.84	Unjust attacks	Sydney Morning Herald	RH Gustard, Gladesville
26.6.84	Gentle but extreme	Sydney Morning Herald	Peter Shergold, Uni of NSW
27.6.84	The Immigration Debate (7 letters)	Sunday Mail, Brisbane	Letters
27.6.84	Attacks a threat to our rights	Daily Sun, Brisbane	John Bennett, Australian Civil Liberties Union
28.6.84	Blainey views on migration	Canberra Times	D. Yuille, Downer
30.6.84	Blainey: intelligent comment is needed	Sydney Morning Herald	Lillian Gadd, Balmain
30.4.84	Free Speech	The Age, Melbourne	John Bennett, Australian Civil Liberties Spokesman
30.6.84	Far removed	Sydney Morning Herald	Walter Bass, Turrumurra
30.6.84	Our home	Sydney Morning Herald	Beryl Butters, Oatley
02.7.84	Blainey defended	The Examiner	Senator Brian Archer

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
03.7.84	Own kind(AA)	The Age, Melbourne	Chris Harman, Kensington
04.7.84	Blainey was right to air his fears on 'problem'	The Age, Melbourne	DJ O'Hearn, Uni of Melbourne
10.7.84	No title	The Herald, Melbourne	Rev Dr DB Clarke, Dynnyrne, Tas
10.7.84	Asian studies	The Age, Melbourne	CA Coppel, Uni of Melbourne
10.7.84	SA 'backs refugees'	The News	Kevin Liston, Indo-China Refugee Association (SA)
11.7.84	Support for Blainey- a great Australian	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	RT O'Bryan, Buderim
11.7.84	Opinion on right	Daily Sun	I Davey, Lindrum, Qld
11.7.84	Bully tactics	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Stephen Westbrook, Toowong
16.7.84	Facts on Blainey	The Age, Melbourne	A Kahn, Stop the Racists C'tee, North Melbourne
18.7.84	Issues to debate	The Age, Melbourne	J Fogarty, Fairfield
19.7.84	Two worlds	The Age, Melbourne	RN Wheeler, Surrey Hills
23.7.84	Don't stir the pot on immigration	The Age, Melbourne	Isobal Tipping, Box Hill
23.7.84	Complex issues	The Age, Melbourne	JH Lechte, Parkville
24.7.84	Blainey's View	The Bulletin	RJ O'Bryen, Buderim, Qld
28.7.84	No title	The Sun, Melbourne	E Suell, Printing & Kindred Industries Union(Vic) and Keep Printing in Australia Committee(Vic)
01.8.84	Test for Blainey	The Australian	Gillian Ross, Macquarie Uni
03.8.84	Free speech?		R Gouch, South Yarra, Vic
07.8.84	Bewildered by Blainey	The Bulletin	K Rivett, Aust Institute of Multicultural Affairs
09.8.84	Migration polls	The Age, Melbourne	MJ Ronan, Chisholm Inst of Technology
16.8.84	No more racism please!	The Sun, Sydney	Name supplied, Camperdown
21.8.84	With hindsight	The Australian	George Mora, South Yarra, Vic
04.9.84	The Blainey line	Daily News, Perth	PF Mullaloo

Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
04.9.84	'Drain' exaggerated	The Herald, Melbourne	K Rivett, Aust Institute of Multicultural Affairs
05.9.84	Blainey could help settlers	Sydney Morning Herald	Ron Witten, Wollongong
05.9.84	Scapegoats	Sydney Morning Herald	Ho Yeoh, St Marys
05.9.84	Blainey view questionable	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	T.R. Whitton, Kenmore
05.9.84	Who is calling?	The Herald, Melbourne	Bruce Anderson, Hawthorn, Vic
05.9.84	No title (IB)	The Australian	Brenda Ford, Sydney
06.9.84	Racial concern	The Australian	John Ryan, Victorian Council of Civil Liberties
06.9.84	Blainey fears confuse our society	Sydney Morning Herald	P Totaro, Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW
07.9.84	Blainey views lack vision	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Senator Michael Macklin
07.9.84	Hatred incited	The Herald, Melbourne	John Ryan, Victorian Council of Civil Liberties
08.9.84	No title	The Australian	John Phillips, Wattle Glen, Vic
08.9.84	Give them time	Sydney Morning Herald	Jack Healey, Ebbing
10.9.84	Media should have listened	Daily News	Robin Linke, Immigration Control Council (WA)
10.9.84	Visitors fare abuse	Daily News	John Rogers, East Perth
10.9.84	How many refugees?	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	John Bolt, Spring Hill
11.9.84	Blainey was unbiased	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Ida Lewis, South Perth
11.9.84	Blainey's view has support	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	GW Greaves, Stafford Heights, Qld
12.9.84	Blainey case prompts review of historian's role	The Australian	Christofer Bantick, Oakleigh, Vic
12.9.84	Hatred incited	The Herald, Melbourne	John Ryan, Parkville
12.9.84	Macho man and patriots	The Herald, Melbourne	Ein Jones, Coleraine
12.9.84	Blainey's view	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	Guido Vogels, Bullcreek
14.9.84	Modest intake of refugees	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	K Rivett, Aust Institute of Multicultural Affairs
14.9.84	Asian attitudes	The Age, Melbourne	W Jegorow Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia



Date	Title/Caption	Source	Author of Letter
16.9.84	Threat to social cohesion in Blainey debate	Independent, Perth	Chris Earth, Mt Lawley
17.9.84	Blainey to blame	The Australian	W Jegorow, Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia
19.9.84	Whose preference	Sydney Morning Herald	J Phillips, Artarmon
19.9.84	What about 'old Aussies'?	The Herald, Melbourne	DG Bews, Sandringham
20.9.84	Too much to ask?	The Australian	Rosemary de Meyrick, Glenrowan, Vic
21.9.84	Institute is not a faithful echo	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	K Rivett, Aust Institute of Multicultural Affairs
22.9.84	Blainey again	Sydney Morning Herald	Franca Arena, Sydney
23.9.84	Immigration policy	Canberra Times	W Jegorow, Sydney
<u>Letters to the Editor by G Blainey</u>			
22.3.84	\$1,000 confusion	The Age, Melbourne	
18.9.84	Strange response on immigration issue	Courier-Mail, Brisbane	
19.9.84	Immigration policy hard to defend	The Herald, Melbourne	
19.9.84	The cost of Asian immigration	Sydney Morning Herald	
21.9.84	New migrants' interests put before Australia	The Age, Melbourne	
25.9.84	Blainey's view on immigration	The West Australian	
25.9.84	Blainey view on ethnic lobby	The Australian	

AA = "Access Age"  
FF = "Fifty-fifty"  
IB = "In brief"

Source: Foreign Language Media Papers and Letters to the Editor are derived from A. Markus and M.C. Ricklefs, ed., (1985: 119-142).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHINESE DRAGON

The Chinese dragon in all its varieties is well worthy of study. It<sup>1</sup> is a divinely endowed creature, holding within itself, all the power known to life. On sculpture, painting, dress and flag, it is almost always present, being chief of the four supernatural animals in Chinese mythology (the others are the unicorn, phoenix and tortoise). It is therefore carved in iron, bronze, stone and porcelain on gateways, posts, temple ornaments, any place where water sprouts, flows or is stored such as wells, fountains, eaves and conduits. Thus it is a symbol not only of power but of guardianship.

Monarchistic China itself, is known as the Land of the Dragons and bears this symbol of power on her flag. The Son of Heaven, the Emperor, his ministers and all imperial attributes are associated with this creature. The Imperial Throne of China has a yellow dragon carved in the richest wood and rarest stones. It is called the Dragon's Seat. The Emperor's face is the Dragon's Countenance and his carriage, the Dragon's Chariot.

There are nine or ten varieties of this mythical creature, which carries in his structure, all the forces of life, with their powers of motion and of destruction. Of one variety, for instance, it was written that 'When earth is piled up in the mountains, wind and rain arise, but when water comes together into streams the Kiao dragon comes into being'.

Chief of all scaly 'reptiles', the dragon wields the power of transformation. It can render itself visible or invisible at pleasure. It lives partly in the waters of the earth and partly in the waters above the earth. In the Spring, it ascends to the clouds, in the Autumn, it buries itself in the watery depths. At will, it can shrink to the size of a silkworm or swell until it fills the space of Heaven and Earth.

In art, it is usually portrayed partly hidden, in cloud or mist, rather than fully visible.

The dragon can climb, fly, crawl and run. It has tooth, claw, wing, tail and thus, every equipment belonging to animal (beast), bird, fish or reptile. He has the head of a camel, horns of a deer, eyes of a rabbit, ears of a cow, neck of a snake, belly of a frog, scales of a carp, claws of a hawk and the pads (paws) of a tiger. Of the four varieties of principal dragons, the celestial one guards the mansions of the gods and supports them so that

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<sup>1</sup> By right 'it' should be read as 'he', since the Chinese dragon was the essence of the male principal, Yang, (the Phoenix represents the Yin). Thus all wedding invitations up to the present portray the Dragon and Phoenix, the symbol of male and female, yang and yin, husband and wife, to be joined in perfect harmony.

they do not collapse. The spiritual dragon causes winds to blow and produce rain; the dragon of earth marks out the courses of rivers and streams. There is even a bob-tailed dragon that sports in the whirlwind and is credited with destroying houses and cities.

The dragon is associated with Springtime and the eastern quarter of the Heavens (the phoenix is allotted the southern quadrant while the unicorn and the tortoise has dominion in the west and north respectively). In popular Chinese fairytales, there are Four Dragon Kings, each reigning over one of the four seas which form the border of the habitable earth. There is also a dragon which does not mount up to heaven and another without horns. The name of the Riu Kiu Islands in China, means Sleeping Dragon denoting one which has not risen to the skies. Most honoured of all, is the yellow dragon - it has five claws, rather than the usual four, and can be used only by the Emperor or on Imperial property.

Unlike European lore, where the hero overcomes and slays the dragon thereby depicting the dragon as an enemy of man, in China such creatures are associated with happy omens and permanent blessing - this can be seen in the annual procession of the Dragon in the Chinese New Year. Its nobler side is seen especially in relation to water, as mentioned before. Life, fertility, food, comfort and beauty is believed to come from the cloud of rain. (These 'sweet influences' that are dropped from the skies and the mountains are therefore for man's happiness.)

Accordingly, the dragon is also the symbol of what is most precious. It is believed that pearls endowed with magic, blessing and immortality are carried by the dragons upon their foreheads. One of the most common representations on works of art is that of the two dragons that are struggling or guarding the pearls. It is said to be a symbolic portrayal of the titanic struggle of the forces of nature as manifested in storms, cyclones, earthquakes etc, or to put it another way, the phenomena of the skies, oceans and land. (It is interesting to note that the moon is sometimes seen as a precious pearl among the morning clouds and is associated with the pulses of the ocean which makes one wonder if the Chinese were aware of the theory of tides and effect of the moon upon it!). The dragon here is used as a symbol of commerce and fortunate voyages

On a lighter note, the dragon loves music and can be diverted by the sound of a lute. Successful students at examinations are called dragons and the emblem of their success is either the tiger or the dragon.

In short the dragon is a composite creature, the symbol of that which the impious may not trifle with, and whose powers none may mock or defy. Yet for all its living concrete force, it is mainly seen as a power for good:

The Dragon (龍) )

I am unquenchable fire  
 The centre of all energy  
 The stout heroic heart  
 I am truth and light  
 I hold power and glory in my sway  
 My presence  
 Disperses dark clouds  
 I have been chosen  
 To tame the Fates

I AM THE DRAGON

Source: W.E. Griffs,  
 1911; Rev. J. Macgowan,  
 1906.

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