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**Dislocated National Identities and Situated Belonging: A research
case study of contemporary White British Migrants in Western
Australia**

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Abstract

This research explores experiential narratives of national belonging and dislocation. It focuses on a group of contemporary White British migrants to Australia. The research base was Western Australia, with participants being recruited during visits to the region and initial interviews followed up by online contact from the UK. As a post-colonial outlier modelled on a White-Anglo core hegemony, Australia has become home to an increasingly wide spectrum of migrants, with the resulting diversity complicating existing definitions of Australian national belonging. By engaging with literature on migration, nations and national belonging, the thesis challenges theories premised on the demise of traditional nations as enduring communities of belonging. Despite the similitude with the Australian core ethnicity and the degree of invisibility it affords, many research subjects endure an intense and often irreconcilable dislocation from their home nations. They left behind extended families, homes, and all that was familiar. They effectively cut metaphorical umbilical cords with their birth nations and swore allegiance to another by becoming Australian citizens. The study concludes that both acceptance in, and the accepting of, a new context of national belonging is objectively conditional, subjectively emotional, and fundamentally unpredictable. It argues that dislocation from a place of nationally assigned belonging is an emotionally reflexive reality which can manifest in often irreconcilable ways.

Key Words: *belonging, citizen, dislocation, invisibility, migration, national identity, post-colonial.*

List of Abbreviations

CALD – Culturally And Linguistically Different

NESB - Non-English Speaking Background

UK – United Kingdom

URL – Uniform Resource Locator

USA – United States of America

WA – Western Australia

WBDF – Web Based Discussion Forum

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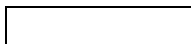
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Chapter One: Introduction

Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty (Mercer, 1990, p.43).

This research questions whether migrant identities assumed to be fixed by birth experience crises of doubt and uncertainty when dislocated from anchors of coherent and assigned national belonging. It explores what having a national identity means for a group of White British migrants who have left extended families, homes and all that is familiar; they have effectively cut metaphorical umbilical cords with their birth nations and sworn allegiance to another by becoming Australian citizens. It questions whether nations defined by territorial boundaries continue to instil a consciousness of identity, duty, security, camaraderie and remain central to a sense of being who we are or, have 'nations become degraded to emotional bonds which give meaning to people's existence based on shared history or culture rather than political citizens that participate in a democracy' (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.22).

By detailing and analysing the experiences of a group of White British migrants to Western Australia this thesis explores changing dimensions and definitions of nations and national belonging. These migrants arrived between 1952 and 2015, a period of significant change affecting Anglo-Australian relations. White British settlers are no longer the most numerous arrivals to this post-colonial immigrant nation and growing dimensions of migrant difference increasingly challenge the historically embedded White British hegemony. The symbolic narratives of this case study group question the assumption that White British migrants simply blend into the Australian nation without experiencing an intense dislocation from belonging somewhere else.

This case study is unique in that it details the experiences of a group of White British migrants to Western Australia over a period of seven decades of unprecedented global economic and cultural transformation. Similar investigations exploring migration patterns between Britain and Australia focus on a more limited spectrum of migrant groups arriving over much shorter

periods. Its findings make a significant original contribution to existing theories considering migration as a catalyst of dislocation, nations as enduring sites of emotional inclusion, and national identities as performative biographies of belonging.

A similitude with the Anglo-Australian ethnic core affords these migrants the privilege of *insider invisibility*. They arrive equipped with advantageous levels of social and cultural capital to ease their transition into new identities of national belonging. English is Australia's first language providing an immediate fluency of communication. The Australian democratic political system is based on the British parliamentary model and historically these are the welcomed White British migrants who even find traffic driving on the left one less hurdle to negotiate! Jayasuriya (1997, p.52) writes 'These are charter group of settlers in the colonies; they present as part of the ethnic core'. However, many of these White British migrants experience the same intense dislocation as culturally and linguistically different *visible outsiders* arriving from other countries of the world. They are integral to the same international flow of de-territorialised travellers arriving daily to unfamiliar destinations to set up new lives, homes, and places of belonging. Realistically many British settlers are completely new to Australia and arrive with emotions of trepidation, insecurity, and dislocation from their established home identities; in fact, many endure a deeply emotional longing for their assigned home nations and when unable to resolve their yearning make the homeward bound return journey.

By interrogating both personal and political constructs of national belonging this study reviews some of the conduits through which symbolic inclusion is sought. It questions why an elective choice of national being does not necessarily lead to social or emotional acceptance in or of a new setting and how the physicality of a home elsewhere, when recalled from a distance, can assume irreplaceable emotional anchors of belonging. This level of contextual framing allows a greater appreciation of why some migrants begin to 'think of themselves as Australian while others resolutely sustain a British identity or hover between the two' (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.17).

I have lived in Western Australia as a temporary migrant and been visiting family there for over four decades. My experiences in this capacity support both insider and outsider perspectives

of the many decisions, emotions and identity challenges experienced in the process of migration. The rates of assimilation and acculturation of relatives and friends to an Australian lifestyle seem exponential. Learned behaviours through imitation and immersion, whether intended or not, inevitably become part of daily scripts. There have been opportunities for reinvention within a new setting to grow new identities, cast off old baggage and be re-fashioned as new Australians. Some migrants actively encourage the change, others cling doggedly to signifiers of their Britishness despite the obvious contextual incongruence. For many, becoming an Australian citizen is just another administrative procedure along with visa applications and change of driving licence. Yet, many first-hand experiences of life in Australia indicate that White British migrants are not a totally invisible and privileged group immune from dislocation in their journeys towards acceptance. In fact, the assumed platform of familiarity and invisibility often exempts this group from many of the emotional, psychological, and social support systems in place for more visible new arrivals. Minority outsider migrant arrivals are often welcomed into established diasporic communities of similitude; this is a multicultural, multi-ethnic settler nation where chain migration¹ is well established within different culturally diverse groups.

The opportunity for reinvention and the realisation of long held dreams prove a powerful motivational force driving migrants to leave their nations of birth and start again in this promised land of opportunity. Yet even recent migrants can find that despite making far more informed choices the actual experience often falls short of the virtual dream; the once banal structures of the crucial invisible cocoon that defines a personal sense of assigned being and belonging² are stripped away from immediate and tangible reach. The ubiquitous use of FaceTime, Skype and other social media platforms can act as a form of temporary bonding and bridging yet can also reinforce the maxim that proximity cannot always be replaced by technology. Vertovec (2010, p.575) argues that maintaining such 'transnational ties weaken(s)

¹ Chain Migration – groups of migrants, often men migrate first, find work then sent money for wives and wider families to migrate. Substantial components of small Greek and Italian villages and towns migrated to Australia in the early post-war years. (Burnley, 2009).

² Assigned belonging – belonging to a particular nation from birth (Guibernau, 2013).

immigrant integration into receiving countries'. It is often the insecurity of dislocation and re-invention, even from a position of established strength, which becomes all too much and the relative ease of return adds weight to the fragile emotional balance of where home really is. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.264) record the emotions of the sometimes-forgotten return migrants who having emigrated on assisted passages during the post-war years and failed to adjust to Australian life:

The Migrants Dilemma

*Of I toss and turn at night, sleep troubled and uneasy.
Back and forth my thoughts they dance, in a maddening crazy frenzy.
The land is good, full of chance, the people kind and friendly.
So, tell me why my wayward heart is always homeward turning.*

Holmes and Burrows (2014) have written of similar emotions expressed by contemporary migrants and their desires to return home, many of them only to return as 'Ping Pong Poms'³ a few years later. In a BBC report, 'Boomerang Poms⁴ flee Australia's Traffic and TV,' Lorkin (2016) records the experiences of returnees and writes that 7,000 British people a year are going back to the UK for good, and nearly half on permanent migration visas return home within five years. These facts and the personal narratives recorded in this thesis are testament to a strong emotional sense of being and belonging tied to place. To belong, to identify with a greater social network where construction sites of common identity can flourish and provide platforms for bonding relationships is arguably a basic human need. This study explores British support groups in Australia and their changing function and format since the initial mass migration of the post-war assisted passage period. The following extract is just one of many examples found on British migrant Web Based Discussion Forums (WBDF) and illustrates that the medium may have changed but the message of dislocation from home remains:

I have been here 4 years, (Prior to this we are from Yorkshire) and to be honest have struggled to make many friends, as a few other members may have experienced some of the friends I have met have returned to the UK and at the moment bar a couple of

³ Ping Pong Poms – British migrants to Australia who return home, only to go back to Australia again.

⁴ Boomerang Poms – British return migrants.

work friends that's pretty much the only friends I have (Extract from PomzinPerth forum, October 2016)

The question of what motivates contemporary British migrants to make Australia their new home and Australian their new national identity is less clear-cut than it was in the immediate post-war era when both governments established a mutually beneficial, jointly funded assisted passage migration scheme. Determined to maintain and grow a White Anglo-Australian nation, Australia offered financial assistance and temporary holding accommodation for mainstream, middle income, skilled and semi-skilled British migrants eager for new opportunities. There was a collective euphoria of escape from a war-damaged Britain where food was rationed and many lived in overcrowded substandard accommodation; a new land beckoned and promised a fresh start. The migration initiative established a self-perpetuating network of 'Ten Pound Poms'⁵, until political and economic changes brought a withdrawal of financial assistance and related benefits in the early 1980s; these measures resulted in a considerable slowing of the one-way flow. More recently, technological innovations in communication and a burgeoning migration industry have replaced governments as agents of passage and transformed the once distant shore into a familiar domestic experience. Australia is so physically and environmentally alien to Britain yet this truly antipodean destination sustains a sense of familiarity and continues to attract a substantial stream of self-funded British migrants.

This thesis is an extension of an earlier research dissertation questioning migrants to Western Australia about their optional adoption or affiliation to an Australian national identity. The research sample for that study was a first-generation migrant group of varied nationalities, ethnicities and cultures with diverse reasons for and perspectives on migration. Though many parallels were evident across the eclectic sample, White British migrants generally showed a greater inherent sense of entitlement and privilege over other groups. Most had a more

⁵ Ten Pound Poms— British migrants who took part in the scheme devised and funded by the Australian and British Governments to help populate Australia. An *assisted passage* scheme, established and operated by the Australian Government, attracted over one million British migrants between 1945 and 1972.

ambivalent attitude towards Australian citizenship and less of a commitment to fully embracing an Australian national identity.

The prompt for this current research came in part from these findings and a long-standing curiosity as to why so many White British migrants, with all their assumed privilege of invisibility, elect to become Australian citizens yet continue to reference their birth nations as their primary homes and principal national identities. The initial intention was to follow up earlier research with a related focus on perceptions of national belonging and identity in second-generation migrants. On reflection, scoping a cohort would have been challenging if the study were to consider an equally wide range of ethnic groups. Also, debates referencing migrant identity, integration, assimilation and segregation have become increasingly salient in recent decades and generated a growing body of academic research. Studies exploring dislocation of more *visible*, less advantaged *out group* migrants from their national belonging are both numerous and extensive within the Australian context, particularly of second-generation groups. A focus on *invisible*, *in-group* migrants who by dint of history form part of the ethnic majority and privileged *insiders* is less typical. Also, as first-generation migrants this group will have more comparative lived experiences of displaced homes somewhere else, whereas a second-generation cohort would inevitably depend on borrowed interpretations. My personal experiences as a temporary migrant to Australia also add valuable insights to the debate.

The study comes at a time when *national* as a primary form of identity is being increasingly questioned: 'Are nationalist politics of belonging still hegemonic at the beginning of the twenty-first century? If so, what kind of nationalism is this? If not, what other political projects of belonging are now competing with nationalism?' (Yuval-Davis, 2009, p.1). In the Australian context, Johnson (2005, p.164) asks if a turning point has been reached in the long-established relationship with Britain. She questions whether the 'hegemonic privilege of White British identity is under threat with national identities having to be reworked in the face of globalisation, loss of Empire and rapid social, economic, and technological change.' Johnson writes that citizenship is now the 'political project of belonging' in this multicultural immigrant

nation. However, I argue that Australia still has some way to go in re-working its model of belonging beyond a White Anglo-Australian core identity, something which Marshall (1985) argues cannot be easily neutralised or equalised by the broad-brush stroke of naturalisation. The following section outlines the structure of this exploration of 'Dislocated National Identities and Situated Belonging in the context of a group of White British Migrants to Australia.'

The Structure

This thesis comprises two distinct sequential sections which are further divided into discrete chapters:

Section One – Methodology, Theory and Contextual Setting.

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduces an outline, focus and context of this research.

Chapter Two: Methodology

This chapter gives a description and justification of the methods used in this ethnographic thesis. It outlines the main Research Design used to consolidate a focus and structure to guide choices of research methodology.

Chapter Three: The Theoretical Review

This chapter critiques both classical theory and appropriate contemporary research to develop a contextual knowledge and understanding of the underlying concepts. The core function of this chapter is to establish a familiarity with working definitions of the key themes used in the analysis and interpretation of research findings. Initially, a review of 'Migration as a process of Dislocation' considers the growing divisions and distinctions encompassed within the theory of migration in an increasingly interconnected and globalised society. An exploration of lifestyle mobility has specific resonance for this case study and a consideration of how migration decisions, though often simply rationalised, can represent a complexity of interwoven determinants.

Next, the chapter provides a critique and debate around the contemporary status of 'Nations and Nation States as Sites of Inclusion' as objective social and political

communities alongside various traditional theoretical definitions. It considers the relevance of nations defined by abiding homogenous cultural characteristics and sited within exclusive territorial limits in a world of increasing global ubiquity and decreasingly powerful individual nation states.

Finally, the section 'National Identities as Performative and Emotional Biographies of Inclusion' examines how nations construct unique identities to confirm member inclusion, which by default also serve to exclude. It explores how the performance of these significant identities can symbolise a deep sense of being and belonging at national, community and personal levels. It considers how belonging is granted at different social and political levels, and how any obstruction to acceptance can prompt intense experiences of dislocation from all that was known and secure.

Chapter Four: Australia the Immigrant Nation

This chapter positions Australia as a nation. It explores relevant theory, chronicled references, researched opinion and fact to detail the historical and contemporary status of the immigrant nation as an abiding destination of choice for British migrants.

The structure of the chapter mirrors the themed sections of the **Theoretical Review**.

First, 'Migration as a Nation building process' reviews the ways in which the nation has been significantly engineered through a series of targeted immigration policies.

Next, the 'The Australian Nation State' considers Australia's journey since Federation in 1901 as a British post-colonial outpost to becoming an independent key player in a contemporary global network of developed nation states.

Finally, 'Identities of Being and Belonging to the Australian Nation' explores the peculiarities of Australian national identity. It considers how these characteristic identities are manufactured, acknowledged and performed in this nation of diverse migrants sharing limited histories and overshadowing a peripheral minority of alienated indigenous people.

Section Two: Analyses and Conclusions – Dislocated National Identities and Situated Belonging

This section presents analyses and interpretations of migrant experiences by documenting journeys towards Australian national belonging from the point of making decisions to migrate, to arrival and the variable levels of adjustment to becoming Australian citizens.

This section has four distinct chapters:

Chapter Five: Leaving Home

This chapter focuses the drivers to migration, the decisions which continue to prompt significant numbers of British people to leave their assigned home nations and select Australia as a migrant destination. It explores Benson and O'Reilly's (2009) theory that a subjective reasoning of migration decisions often represents just the tip of an iceberg when more comprehensive accounts are often difficult to verbalise or even comprehend owing to their temporality. It considers initial stages of dislocation from original homes which may have instigated migration decisions; elements of dissatisfaction with the familiar are balanced against the imaginings of an alternative somewhere else. It details first-hand experiences of leaving a place of security, an assigned national identity, a home, community and family – leaving the known for the unknown. This leads into the next chapter where the imaginings, the dreams and the hopes are challenged by the realities of becoming 'Strangers on the Shore' of Australia.

Chapter Six: Strangers on the Shore

The focus here is a consideration of the complexities of dislocation from the known often only realised after the euphoria of adventure and discovery in a new setting have subsided. Guibernau (2013) writes of the paradox of elective choice being an ongoing reflexive process of inclusion and exclusion at every level. Despite the many inherent cultural similarities and privilege of invisibility, British migrant arrivals often find the security and familiarity of a nationally assigned belonging can be quickly stripped away, with individuals effectively becoming migrant others. Hammerton and Thomson (2005)

describe how migrant experiences of clashing with Australians and other British migrants can exaggerate feelings of dislocation. The perspective of looking back as an outsider to a former home, nation and belonging can prompt images distorted from reality. What part do these images play in promoting the phenomenon of dislocation and does this dislocated identity relate to nation, place, family, or something less tangible and easily vocalised?

The realisation of being migrant outsiders can confirm belonging as a multi-dimensional reality of both acceptance and accepting, and any dislocation from this is often most acutely realised beyond the national level. Jupp (2008), researching migrant community acculturation wrote of migrants intentionally not behaving in ways which attract attention. Migrant narratives detail the significant investments needed to achieve conditions of both acceptance and accepting and how for some, as Holmes and Burrows (2005) suggest, the dislocating experience is so overwhelming that they never in fact resolve their separation from their original place of belonging.

The individual expressions of dislocation considered here lead through to the next section which explores experiences of searching for belonging to a greater national we.

Chapter Seven: Assigned and Elected National Identities

This chapter details the ways in which migrant dislocation can translate into a need for identity confirmation as part of a greater national 'we' deixis.⁶ Personal narratives reveal the relative importance of national identity at times of dislocation, whether claims to such have sincere significance or just function as transitory vehicles to finding insider acceptance. The chapter considers Smith's (1981) traditional functions of national identity alongside Billig's (2005) more contemporary *banal* interpretations. Blunt's (2005) *material geographies* of home give some understanding of different ways

⁶ Words, actions, and phrases which are used within the context of place or particular social groups (Linguistic Study Guide, Cambridge University, 2019).

identities are perceived, performed and constructed as signifiers of insider/outsider boundaries to belonging.

This chapter links closely with the next which considers in greater detail the different ways in which belonging is sought.

Chapter Eight: Dislocated Identities in Search of Belonging

This final analysis chapter considers Skey's (2013, p.64) claim that performance rituals of situated belonging can provide both 'escape from insecurities' and 'order from chaos'. It details ways in which migrants sometimes symbolise and cling to the security of familiar identities of belonging at times of dislocation. It reflects on the significance of hybridised recreations of home and familiarity in foreign environments and questions the extent to which migrants consciously or unconsciously subscribe to performing *Australian*. It uses both first-hand narratives and relevant secondary research to evaluate the significance of electing citizenship as a form of national belonging. These appraisals offer significant insight into the enduring value and status of assigned belonging as opposed to elective citizenship in this multi-cultural nation with a shrinking White Anglo-Australian core.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

This concluding chapter brings together reflections on the theory, migrant narratives and the effectiveness of data collection methodologies to summarise overall findings. It considers the extent to which the main thesis research aims have been concluded and makes suggestions for further avenues to enquiry.

Chapter Two: Methodology

This chapter follows on from the Introduction by summarising the methodological approaches adopted and methods used in designing and executing the research programme for this investigation. It begins by outlining the central research questions before presenting a justification of the methods used in sourcing appropriate material from which to draw meaningful conclusions to this research of *Dislocated National Belonging*.

Research Design

This research uses a case study design, it is an in-depth investigation of a social phenomenon which seeks to make empirical contributions to analogous research and theoretical themes. It adds dimension to existing theory within the respective conceptual frameworks of migration, nations, national identities and belonging. This is a qualitative investigation and sets out to 'illuminate the general by looking at the particular' (Denscombe, 2014, p.150). The study incorporates elements of ethnographic, inductive, experiential and observational methods and its design uses various forms of 'interpretive analysis and meaning making to arrive at non-generalisable conclusions' (Trafford and Lesham, 2012, p.98). The value of bringing these varied approaches together is that they allow for a level of flexibility in this unique case study of White British settler migrants to Western Australia.

The following research questions are tailored to foreground the key concepts explored throughout this thesis:

Are there significant disconnects between the imaginings and realities of migration for White British migrants to Western Australia?

By questioning the first-hand experiences of a sample of White British migrants, this research investigated whether their imaginings of a new life in Australia have been realised. It details many of the historical and ongoing links between Britain and Australia which go some way to explaining how the powerful sense of similitude

between the nations inspires a sense of security through familiarity and has proved a significant driver to migration movements.

To what extent has the status and identity of Australia as an immigrant nation changed within a contemporary world of global interconnectivity?

An extensive exploration of theory and literature provided various objective definitions of nations, their changing status and characteristic identities. Many traditional nations have been transformed by accelerating levels of global interconnectivity. Cultural, economic and political accords now span multiple borders and pose challenge to discrete national homogeneity and sovereignty. Objective definitions set against subjective interpretations from the migrant group prompted the question as to whether an enduring assigned national being and belonging from birth could be replaced by elective citizenship to a different nation state.

What does dislocation from a place of being and belonging mean for a group of White British settler migrants to Australia, and how are such emotions experienced and expressed?

Poignant interpretations of home, belonging and an often hard to verbalise sense of loss give some understanding of the emotions involved in a separation from all that is known and familiar. This investigation explored migrant experiences of dislocation and individual perceptions of success, or indeed failure in finding a new sense of belonging in Australia.

The primary aim of selecting a case study research methodology was to illuminate in detail a set of subjective decisions, why they were made, how they were implemented and with what results (Schramm, 1971). The contextual data gathered in this investigation adds significant empirical dimension to related research investigations. Yin (1989, 2003) suggests that 'to achieve a reliable outcome, a case study needs to be investigated holistically using a range of data sources' (cited in Olsen, 2012, p.16). To this end an exploration of theory, literature and other research sources were used to establish a sound holistic framework of relevant

objective knowledge and understanding. This contextual framework was then used to position empirical research data and develop an analysis from which to draw meaningful conclusions. This research exercise structured the **Theoretical Review**.

The significance of Australian subjectivity was crucial to this investigation in establishing an understanding of the distinctiveness of the post-colonial immigrant nation. Appropriate Australian academic research, literature (both fiction and non-fiction), newspapers, television programmes and other media sources have been interrogated to detail a scene-setting backcloth to this *Fragile Nation* (Ahmed, 2016). This information gives greater contextual specificity to **Australia – the Immigrant Nation**.

Flick (2009) suggests that establishing theoretical and comparative frames of reference allows for appropriate triangulation of information, one of the most relevant and holistic ways to position and secure an in-depth understanding of researched phenomena. With the theoretical and locational settings in place the next step was to project subjective lived experiences onto the objective and abstract themes of migration, nations and identities of belonging. Detailed accounts of very personal migration journeys were collected by both direct and indirect contact during visits to Perth in 2015 and 2016. Once the sample group was established all members completed an initial questionnaire followed by either face-to-face interviews or, where face-to-face meetings proved impossible, telephone calls and emails. All confirmed contacts were followed up by regular online contact on my return to the UK (Appendix 1). The scant detail and reliability of some migrant recollections has been effectively supplemented with empirical data collected by other independent researchers; these provide the contextual props which help give accounts a more rounded and thick description (Geertz, 1973).

As a White British former migrant to Australia with over four decades of insider knowledge my social positioning brought many advantageous insights to the research. It may be argued however, that this same insider empathy and affinity with the target group might have limited my research objectivity and obscured any conclusive outcomes. Flick (2009) suggests the quality of qualitative research may be significantly increased by the minimisation of the role of subjectivity of both the researcher and those under study. Hammersley and Gomm (1997)

write of qualitative research being particularly prone to bias, as the researcher becomes the research instrument. To counter any inherent bias, Miles, and Huberman (1994, p.278) suggest that triangulating independent data from various sources goes some way to increasing 'relative neutrality' (cited in Denscombe, 2014, p.182). Mercer (2007), recognising the dilemma of insider subjectivity suggests that although researcher knowledge is always situated sets of social relations, the terms insider/outsider are not always definitive and should be considered as fluctuating, shifting, and part of a continuum. I argue that both my knowledge of the geographical locus and appreciation of the migrant culture was of particular significance in this case study. My insider/outsider knowledge was embedded in social differences which contributed to the formation of the research topic, the methodology used, and the knowledge gained (Suwankhong and Liangputtong, 2015). These perspectives from different vantage points allow for reflexivity and provide a richer and more nuanced level of interpretation.

This is a micro-scale qualitative study and detailed the narratives of a group of eighteen significant interviewees. Restricting participant numbers allowed for greater insights into subjective interpretations and closer accuracy, scrutiny, and critique of the appropriateness of both classical and current theory. 'For a study to be successful it should provide a three-dimensional picture of relationships, micropolitical issues and patterns of influences' (Yin, 1992, p.7). Detailing socio-economic, political, emotional, and aspirational motivations behind each migration decision at each stage of the process was crucial, otherwise there was a risk of essentialising many disparate experiences. Hammerton and Thomson, (2005, p.16) write that a cohort size needs to be manageable enough to 'illuminate aspects of the migrant experience which might otherwise be disregarded'.

This style of interpersonal research involved building up long term reflective relationships with respondents; it allowed for greater insights into the lives of individuals rather than making generalised assumptions based on limited snapshots in time. I argue that my ongoing insider status supported far more nuanced interpretations and a greater contextual understanding of the various emotions and opinions expressed. Scott and Alwin (1998) advise caution when using long term interpersonal interview techniques as ongoing relationships have the potential

to transform interviewees into performing atypical and often unrepresentative roles, suggesting the probability of the Hawthorne effect.⁷ I was aware that my subjectivity within this methodology could affect outcomes, yet argue that my insider position allowed for more open and detailed dialogue.

The logistical implications of accessing data collection sites halfway across the world imposed inevitable timing constraints for this investigation. The thesis journey from start to completion was planned to extend over a six-year period of part-time study. I started the initial background theoretical research in 2013, and once the University had approved a direct focus and title, I returned to Western Australia for two four-week visits in 2015 and 2016. I used this time in situ to source the case study group and collect the main body of empirical data. The extended period posed a challenge of when to stop collecting and adding new detail and tangents to the cumulative journey. Though contact with most of the group remains ongoing I stopped adding any new research detail at the end of 2019.

I have learned from personal experience that definitions of home, nation and belonging take on altered interpretations at various stages in migration journeys. Many of these migrants still have considerable personal investment in Britain. Their families and senses of belonging are often still rooted *back home*, and most retain British passports giving them a secure sense of optional nationality and a degree of ownership. Images of Britain wax and wane, yet some form of dislocation seems ongoing; comparisons of, and options for *here* or *there* never end for these migrants, even when decisions are finalised.

Much of this study was dependent on collecting retrospective data with interviewees asked for current recollections about past events, experiences and emotions. Scott and Alwin (1998) write of three types of information captured by such retrospective designs: event histories; the cumulation of experiences, and the evaluation or interpretation of experiences. This level of scrutiny suggests limitations to the design as the past is inevitably remembered or constructed

⁷ Hawthorne effect – when individuals modify their behaviours in response to their awareness of being observed. The term was coined in 1958 by Henry A. Landsberger when he was analysing the Hawthorne studies conducted between 1924 and 1932 at the Hawthorne Electric Works factory in Cicero, outside Chicago (Hilda Bastion, Scientific American, 2013).

in the light of the subjective present. This is where, particularly in the case of the post-war child migrants, background triangulation helped sift through remembered events against recorded fact where subjectivity inevitably distorts memories.

Data Collection Location

Western Australia is an ideal location site for this study as it accepts more migrants from the United Kingdom than any other source area. With a population of 2.7 million in 2019, this largest of the Australian states (2.646 million sq.km.) was the fastest growing recording an increase of 2.6% between the 2006 and 2011 census points. 25.9% of all migrant arrivals (31,000) during this period came from the United Kingdom, and the state attracts 25% of all UK migration into Australia.⁸ Also, as a frequent visitor and former resident migrant between 2006 and 2009, I have a substantial social network in the area and have sufficient situated knowledge and understanding of Perth and the South-West region of the State to facilitate and validate this research programme.

Sampling

This qualitative research is dependent on a representative sample of subjective opinions rather than on quantifiable measures to be checked against objective controls. The case study represents a purposive sample of British migrants so parameters needed to be in place to keep the research as a 'self-contained entity with distinct boundaries' (Denscombe, 2014, p.154). I decided on the following criteria when selecting of the case study participants: respondents need to be adult, White British nationals, living in Western Australia and had elected to become Australian citizens. During my first research visit (March 2015) I used a cumulative snowballing technique to source interviewees starting from known contacts. Despite using a non-probability sourcing technique I knew these social network groups were insular and suited my required purposive sample. This self-selecting cumulative approach

⁸ Australian migration figs issued by the Australian Department of Home Affairs.

could have proved problematic in terms of controlling high levels of response, however this turned out not to be an issue. I sourced seven volunteers (Jock, Jean, William, Jane, John, Beverley, and Joanne – all names have been changed to provide anonymity) for full interviews using this initial method of recruitment; the limited response prompted a rethink in methodology. Fortunately, the subsequent search proved an invaluable learning process and added significant dimension to the study, including dispelling the temptation to essentialise White British migrants beyond basic generic parameters. Most of the consequent self-selected samples were recruited through the personal column of a local newspaper in Western Australia⁹ and British migrant Web Based Discussion Forums (WBDF).¹⁰ My experience suggests that most migrants enjoy relating stories of their migration journeys though, as already noted, retrospective accounts can present subjective distortions. Also, as Hine (2005) suggests there may be inherent limitations of neutrality using self-selecting diasporic WBDF where detail could be 'hazardous and shaky' as the impact of electronic media itself may deceive or mislead the researcher. Online forums tend to bring together particular focus groups displaying specific biases and often posters, separated from the restraint of face-to-face interactions, are prone to exaggeration and feel that they have greater licence to express extreme opinions. These, along with other inherent limitations are inevitable in qualitative research dependent on a self-selecting sample.

I harvested five good replies from the newspaper source (Betty, Pauline, Louise, Rose, and George). Unfortunately, George did not proceed to the interview stage. He was initially attracted by our shared surname and was curious as to which branch of the family ancestry I was connected. This may itself be interpreted as symptomatic of dislocation and the need to belong. When he realised that we were not related, George showed no further interest in participation; this was regrettable, as from the limited information submitted, he was one of the post-war young 'single sojourners' (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.248). George

⁹ Bunbury Post newspaper – local free newspaper

¹⁰ WBDF – PomsinPerth, BritzinOz – popular Web Based Discussion Forums set up to assist British migrants intending or already resident in Australia.

would have added an interesting dimension to the cohort. He took assisted passage in his early twenties and travelled around the country, and then later settled and married in Western Australia. On receipt of the questionnaire and suggestions of alternative feedback formats, he became unresponsive and terminated email contact.

I joined two WBDFs popular with both intending and actual migrants. PomsinPerth is very localised to the research area and is partnered with BritzinOz, which gives a greater nationwide perspective. After gaining moderator approval from the forums I posted interviewee request messages, these brought in two willing respondents who were themselves senior moderators (Susan and Joyce - again anonymised). I have maintained membership as both observer and contributor to the forums which have proved excellent sources of information for contemporary experiences. I also set up a Twitter account to track relevant ongoing news and debates both in Western and greater Australia.

Other respondents were sourced by chance, including Ella who is a close relative of a neighbour in the UK. Ella did not fall within the purposive parameter of living in Western Australia yet she added valuable insights as a British *insider* migrant living as an *outsider* to the State. I met Glenda at an exam moderation session in London. She had not migrated to Australia but dreamt of doing so after spending a gap year there. Glenda did not meet the criteria for research respondents, she nevertheless added interesting insights in terms of her perceptions of Australian identities and lifestyles.

Having read a significant amount of Australian-based research, I contacted the Social Sciences Faculty of the University of Western Australia (UWA). Loretta Baldassar¹¹ invited me to attend relevant seminars followed up by informal meetings which gave me a chance to share my research ideas. These events led to meeting a fellow researcher Gillian Abel, and two other contacts - Emily and Emma, made through a visiting lecturer. The University links proved invaluable, they gave me a chance to meet researchers and academics aligned to similar studies being conducted in situ. Their published work has provided some excellent

¹¹ Loretta Baldassar – Professor in the Discipline Group of Anthropology and Sociology at The University of Western Australia.

contextual references. During my return in 2016 I revisited UWA seminars and caught up with respondents recruited earlier. Encouraged by the welcome from the university, I contacted James Hammerton, Alastair Thomson, Catriona Elder and Zuleyka Zavallos, all researchers and writers based at other Australian universities; all have been both supportive and encouraging.

The eclectic range of ages, stages and circumstances of migration within the sample extended my understanding of this gradual and ongoing process of identity dislocation and reconstruction. Many respondents had experienced momentous political, economic and technological changes in the country which Horne (1964) dubbed *'The Lucky Country'*. Four respondents arrived as children with their families in the immediate post-war years as part of the joint Australian and British government sponsored assisted passage programme. Five self-financing respondents arrived in the decades between the 1970s and 2000. A further nine, far more equipped and better-informed recent arrivals, migrated between 2005 and 2015. The quality and range of personal narratives featured have significantly influenced the eventual and ongoing direction of this research and provided a powerful foundation from which to draw meaningful conclusions. By spanning an arrival period of seven decades I was able to make initial judgements as to whether attitudes and opinions had been shaped according to a temporal periodisation. This dimension added something which similar research studies had not included. Hammerton and Thomson's (2005) excellent research of British migrants to Australia features a much larger cohort, but all arrived on or during the post-war assisted passage period.¹²

There are other obvious permutations of difference in my sample, not least gender. With only three male respondents this brought an inevitable imbalance, but as a self-selected group I had limited control over this outcome. It might be argued that my social position as a female of a certain age had influenced the gender imbalance in the sample. Yet as Miller (1981, cited in Dickinson et. al. 2012, p.325) notes, researchers are often too concerned with obtaining

¹² 'Ten Pound Poms: Australia's invisible migrants. Research assignment of post-war assisted passage migrants conducted by Hammerton, J and Thomson, A (2005).

balanced samples of equally or equally sized subgroups, and although such concerns are well-rooted in statistical theory, this can pose practical limitations for those who rely on participant self-selection. Each of the males were part of a family partnership and their journeys both as partners and individuals added significant dimension to the research.

Primary Data Collection

Empirical data were collected using a combination of observations, questionnaires, and directed interviews by either face-to-face contact or through online connections, this allowed for flexibility appropriate to both localised and distanced contact. Patton (1988, p.177) suggests that 'one can usefully mix methods without being limited or inhibited by allegiances to one paradigm or another'.

Beyond the questionnaire/interview approach, I used different observational and experiential methods to collect primary data whilst on location in Western Australia. I took the opportunity to gain an understanding of the current migration process by visiting an Australian migrant recruitment roadshow in Birmingham (UK)¹³ in 2015. There I saw how the migration process was advertised, what employment and lifestyle options were available for prospective migrants and which audience was targeted.

The questionnaire

Using a questionnaire format of both open and closed targeted questions allowed for a standalone method of gathering information and served as a prompt for directing subsequent interviews. By standardising the format of the questionnaire, a common thread of enquiry was maintained from which to draw qualitative comparisons. Objective referents in this study proved difficult to establish beyond basic closed questions such as length of time in Australia, but by using a structured questionnaire all interviewees were able to provide some concrete

¹³ Down Under Live Road Show – Touring/virtual events which make contact between skilled British prospective migrants to Australia and New Zealand with possible employers.

information to cross reference and draw comparisons and conclusions from. Having recently (2011) conducted a questionnaire in the same location on a similar theme for a Masters' dissertation, I was confident that the questions were appropriate. The piloting process checked the validity of the more open questions.¹⁴

The questionnaires were all completed online and used as an entry point for interviewees to assess whether they were willing to share their opinions and experiences further by face-to-face interview or email. Online responses gave more time and space for respondents to reflect on their significant life stories. Denscombe (2014) suggests that people who have nominated themselves for interviews should be given the time to answer openly and honestly about something they have an interest in. For some respondents, contact was entirely through email due to the problematic logistics of meeting up with such considerable distances involved. Those willing to meet up (11) were interviewed either in their homes or at neutral locations in Bunbury and Perth. Initial meetings with respondents not previously known to me (4) lasted between one and two hours; other interviews were conducted in less formal settings and were spaced out over a longer period of time. Once the group were established, initial dialogues were followed up by regular email contact and/or further social catch-up meetings where possible (Appendix 1). Making contact and meeting with most respondents within Australia was an obvious advantage as it involved studying 'things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, cited in Biggam, 2008, p. 86). Email contact with more than half the group (12) has been both regular and frequent giving me a greater insight into their life stories. I have written to all respondents each Christmas and other occasions including Australia Day; I supposed it was at such points a dislocation from home and any expressions of belonging would be most obvious.

Online forums and an ongoing monitoring of Australian media have supplemented any information gathered through questionnaires and interviews. These sources also provide

¹⁴ Master's dissertation – 'Affiliation to and Adoption of Australian Identity' (Blades, 2013).

interesting perspectives on the current drivers to migration and first-hand lived experiences. I have also drawn on relevant responses to parallel questions from my earlier research which validate the significance and abiding strength of emotions attached to national belonging and a place called home.

Data Analysis

Calling a halt to new reading and putting a stop to adding more tangents to this research has certainly been a challenge. However, having scoped out key research questions and collected sufficient primary and secondary data, it was time to position my findings within a substantial analytical framework from which to draw conclusions.

This journey led to a thematic approach following a route similar (with some modifications) to the phases documented by Braun and Clark (2006, cited by Nowell, S. et al. 2017, p.4).¹⁵ After a prolonged period of data collection I was able to document thoughts around potential themes and initial 'descriptive codes' (Saldana, 2007, p.6). As a lone participant observer and former migrant coding was inevitably going to be determined through the filter of my insider lens (Alder and Alder, 1987, cited in Saldana, 2007, p.7). I initially coded according to the structure of the questionnaire – number of years in Australia, etc. As patterns became apparent, I was able to re-code data and group responses into 'emergent categories' (Alder and Alder, 1987, cited in Saldana, 2007, p.7). These generalised categories and systems of coding sometimes proved fluid, and apart from elements of periodisation and gender, the data were best analysed according to overarching themes related to the conceptual framework set out in Chapter One (Migration, Nations and National Belonging). Braun and Clarke (2006, cited by Nowell et al. 2017, p.6) suggest that theme names need to be punchy and give the reader an immediate sense of what the theme is about. Titles and sub-titles within this analysis reflect a sequence of migration journeys from security of birth nations to dislocation, to finding new

¹⁵ Braun and Clarke – Phases of Thematic analysis - involves seven steps: transcription, reading and familiarization, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining, and naming themes, and finalizing the analysis.

places of situated belonging – Leaving Home, Strangers on the Shore, Assigned and Elected National Identities and Dislocated Identities in Search of Belonging. As a sequential analysis, empirical data are included in different themes ‘with some overlap between themes’ (Pope, Ziebland, and Mays, 2000, cited by Nowell et al. 2017, p.6). King (2004, cited by Nowell et al. 2017) suggests direct quotes from participants are an essential component of the final report and aid in the understanding of specific points of interpretation. This gave me scope to use some of the excellent individual contributions recorded. I have interwoven quotes with theory and literature from the chapters in Section One to triangulate and confirm research findings. This method also provided an opportunity to challenge and add to the literature and knowledge of the subject through new theoretical or practical interpretations (Coˆt’e and Turgeon, 2005, cited by Nowell, S. et al 2017).

Ethical considerations

This research is primarily reliant on the voluntary participation of adults who have elected to share their migration stories. Questioning has always been dependent on goodwill and has been designed to avoid any purposeful intrusion into their personal lives. Their names, though obviously not experiences, have been anonymised. These migrants have been eager to relate their experiences and I assured them that they could withdraw as participants at any point, which some indeed have. After gaining ethical approval from Anglia Ruskin University for this research, I have from the outset shared the purpose of the research with all participants and endeavoured to keep them updated with progress and show how their valuable stories were woven into the study. I initially set out a letter of introduction outlining my background and the research purpose to gain participant approval before embarking on the actual data collection. By agreeing to complete questionnaires and enter dialogue about their experiences, all had given informed consent. When joining Web Based discussions, I made clear to moderators my role as a researcher and in fact titled myself as such when posting requests for participant involvement. I have removed any information that could be used to identify forum-users.

This chapter has detailed and justified the methodological processes used in collecting relevant data for this case study research of Dislocated National Identity and Situated Belonging. The next chapter follows on to consider the main theoretical concepts structuring the investigation - Migration, Nations and National Belonging.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Review

This research investigates changing dimensions of national being and belonging; it is positioned within a conceptual framework to include aspects of migration, nations, national identities, and dislocation. These concepts span a wide spectrum of disciplinary theory and are best addressed through a thematic framework integrating various related conventions. This exercise will give appropriate definition, significance and contextual understanding to the variously applied terms of migrants, nations and belonging. Once a definitive knowledge base is established this can then be applied to an analysis which contextualises the responses of my own research subjects and any other comparable research data.

The following headings structure the review, there will however be some inevitable overlap between each discrete section:

Migration as a process of dislocation

This section critiques migration theory and considers why traditional classifications have become increasingly inadequate. It argues that migration can function as a catalyst for dislocation and social change. It examines the premise that though individual migration decisions are often simply rationalised, they represent a complex web of interwoven determinants.

Nations and Nation States as sites of inclusion

The term *nation* has become increasingly applied to myriad collective identities united by often arbitrarily determined criteria. This section critiques debates around the continuing status and often anachronistic functions of territorially bound nations and nation states within a contemporary globalised world. It considers whether a definitive understanding of the term *nation* can be determined to position this research group and the immigrant nation state of Australia, as a united whole.

National Identities as performative and emotional biographies of inclusion

Nations confirm unique identities by constructing boundaries of inclusion which, by definition also serve to exclude. This section considers why and how national identities are scripted, performed and contested as determinants of belonging at national, community and subjective levels. It questions whether national is a significantly enduring identity or one simply used to access security at times of dislocation and could equally be replaced by another.

Migration as a process of dislocation

This review examines the conceptual interplay between the objective structures and subjective agency involved in decision-making processes that lead to both temporary and permanent international migration. The chapter considers a periodisation of the phenomenon as a dynamic process intrinsically linked to social, political and economic change. It contextualises policies which may have prompted members of this research group to migrate, and once there consider their dislocated subjectivity as *insiders* or *outsiders* to this immigrant nation.

These migrants have freely chosen to leave assigned nations, homes and places of belonging; they have elected to become citizens of Australia. In her work on *Belonging*, Guibernau (2013, p.174) outlines the 'inherent freedoms and constraints' involved when choosing alternative forms of belonging and argues that free will is a privilege characteristic of elective rather than assigned identities. Guibernau also cautions that the same freedom entitling choice demands a greater degree of personal independence and commitment. She notes that choice itself can be a paradox which brings tensions of making the wrong decision and possibly losing a security that traditionally assigned identities bestow; hence risking dislocation from known sites of belonging. The agency of free will entails making calculated choices set against changing objective structural boundaries; these judgements form the pivotal *drivers* to international migration (Castles, 2013). The variable weightings of options within the decisive calculations of migration decisions change according to contextual personal and external permutations of social, economic and political forces. The algorithms used in each decision-

making process are the territory of individual migrants. Stockdale (2014, p.161) notes the distinction between the 'decision' to move and the 'reasons for' moving. She suggests there may be multiple drivers to encourage people to migrate but actioning a decision is something proportionately few do.

Most migrations are actioned by a specific 'watershed' moment which is often just the 'tip of an iceberg' suggesting the need for 'in-depth investigations of the biographies of migrants in order to gain an appreciation of the intentions implicated in the migration decision' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.610). This micro-scale study of British migrants to Australia is an 'in-depth investigation' which details the decision-making intentions of individuals, and despite some inevitable duplication avoids an essentialisation based on broad-brush typologies.

Migration theory and changing definitions

Attempts to distil a classification of human migratory movements has historically attracted the interest of multiple academic disciplines. Ravenstein's (1885) eleven laws of migration detail the core principles of why people move (push-pull factors), who moves and where.¹⁶ While these laws still hold true, what has changed is the breadth and nuanced permutations of component characteristics in the interlocking processes of contemporary migration decisions. Massey (1993, p.441) argues that Ravenstein's Laws were of their time and forged during the era of the industrial revolution 'reflecting its particular economic arrangements, social institutions, technology, demography, and politics'. Hatton and Williamson (1998) write that as access to mobility expanded, particularly in the European post-war era of opportunity, a *second age* of migration developed with more varied destinations, bringing the realisation of international travel and re-settlement to a wider spectrum of people. Increased mobility facilitated inter-governmental sponsored programmes where migrant workforces shipped from former colonies filled labour shortages in the mother countries of Empire.¹⁷ Conversely, the

¹⁶ Ravenstein's (1834-1913) – German-English cartographer, geographer, and historian. 11 Laws of Migration (1885).

¹⁷ British Empire – the dominions, colonies, protectorates, mandates, and other territories ruled or administered by the United Kingdom (mother country) and its predecessor states. It began with the overseas possessions and trading posts established by England between the late 16th and early 18th centuries.

reverse movement to former colonies, including Australia, represented some of the largest organised mass migrations of the twentieth century.

Reflecting on the wider environmental impacts of twenty-first century migration, Urry (2007, p.42) details how globalised interconnectivity ushered in a new 'era of fluidity and openness' and 'further changes in transportation, technology and culture make it normal for people to think beyond borders and to cross them frequently'. Here Urry is arguably referencing a *third age* of migration. This image of continual movement and change suggests an increasing temporality to twenty-first century migrations identifying the concept with a significantly more nuanced process beyond the three classic definitions of migrants as refugees, settlers or temporary labourers. This framework of *ages* and changing chronological and contextual settings of migration provides a sound background on which to critique and analyse a periodisation of the stages in which the migrant group in this research arrived in Australia; with the post-war to current periods being best located as *second* merging into *third ages*.

As definitions of migration movements become more complex, so too do theories of contributory drivers. Ravenstein's (1885) first law of migration states that the main push-pull factors are dependent on imbalances of opportunity, usually linked to unequal economic development. Da Vanzo (1981, p.45) adds a further dimension to this basic law by suggesting that where single source and destination areas share almost duplicate cultures, this can act as additional 'location-specific capital' and be a significant contributory driver to migration. Da Vanzo's conclusions were based on theories of return migration, in this study of White British migration to Australia the same concept may be applied with the location-specific capital being Anglo-Celtic ethnicity. Song (2018), writing of contemporary migrant movements, echoes Ravenstein's first law – that most international migrants move to countries with higher levels of opportunity and development than those of their origins. Song adds nuance to this basic law by explaining that contemporary definitions of 'opportunity' and 'development' encompass more than just economic factors, they also include lifestyle opportunities.

Changing migration drivers triggered by pan-global interconnectivity and a growing emphasis on self-improvement are facilitated by increasingly rapid and efficient transport networks.

Contemporary migration decisions have brought far more destination countries into the equation along with changing classifications and attitudes towards different migrant groups. In developing a sociology of migration, Huag (2008) writes of significant social outcomes impacting on both source and destination communities when successful pioneer migrants act as drivers to increasing flows of chain migration. Miller (2016), also considering the social impacts of migration supports the self-determining right of nation states to control immigration. He argues that citizens are more than co-participants in a scheme of social cooperation as 'they also relate to one another as fellow nationals, people who share a broadly similar set of cultural values and a sense of belonging to a particular place' (Miller, 2016, p.52, cited in Song, 2018, p.391). By aligning social impacts alongside migration flows, the boundaries of theory move beyond basic causal definitions. This wider consideration fits well into this research as a case study concerning not just drivers to migration but more importantly the community impacts and consequences of dislocated belonging.

Castles (2010), also writing of the social impacts of migration, calls for a clearer theoretical link between migration and societal change. He argues that migration movements have grown more than ever in the last thirty years because of the accelerated pace of globalisation and suggests a single theory of migration is no longer viable. He argues that 'A conceptual framework for migration studies should take social transformation as its central category' (Castles, 2010, p.1567). Castles (2010, p.1568) claims that using global migration figures alone 'glosses over' the impact that concentrations of migrants have on sending and receiving areas and that the 'settlement of immigrants is concentrated in developed countries and cities creating significant societal change'. Contributing to the 'societal change' are migrants arriving from a more diverse sources and social classes bringing attendant cultures with them. Castles (2010) described how migrants may arrive as refugees or temporary labourers then, once gaining some level of permanency, attract whole families and communities through chain migration creating significant diasporic groups within host national spaces. He suggests that in an increasingly globalised culture of options and transience, temporary rather than permanent migration assumes a greater significance. Castles' (2010) research conclusions

are particularly appropriate to this investigation as they offer a comparative reflection of changing social attitudes to migrants arriving in Australia and Britain over the period of study. Before we assume that the entire world is on the move, Bauman (1998, cited in Castles 2010, p.1567) reminds us that only approximately 3% of the global population have access to move internationally. He notes that beyond the privileged liberal choices of migrants from affluent Western countries most people have neither the economic resources nor political rights to move. Bauman suggests that restrictive border controls have resulted in legal voluntary migration becoming increasingly class based and the postmodern utopia of a borderless world of mobility having not yet dawned. Bauman is suggesting that it still seems appropriate to focus on migration as a process based on inequality and discrimination and controlled and limited by nation-states.

Castles (2010) raises the point that in the first decades of the twenty-first century the dominant political discourse in Western democracies sees migration as a problem that needs to be fixed by restrictive policies. He details two political-structural strategies employed in stemming the flow of unwanted migration. The *repressive* variant of tighter border controls and the *liberal* strategy addressing the root causes of migration. Both management strategies suggest that migration issues are contentious and rarely out of national headlines, particularly in Western democracies where the phenomenon has become highly politicised. Symbols of repressive strategies include restrictive borders controlled by visa entry, with terms and conditions changing in accordance with state economic, cultural and social forward planning. However, in an era of growing trends towards political and economic regionalisation and the globalization of many organisations, the sovereignty of individual states as decision makers of border controls is becoming increasingly challenged. The fragmentation and blurring of power between state, regional and international organisations has brought migratory movements of people into more political realms.¹⁸

¹⁸ The internal freedom of movement between European Community member signatories facilitated by the Schengen Agreement of 1995, for example has sparked significant dispute. Schengen Agreement – a treaty which led to the creation of Europe's Schengen Area, in which internal border checks have been abolished. It

The perceived and actual impacts of migration on societies of both sending and receiving countries have served to fuel growing tensions. Castles and Miller (2014, pp.4–5) write that ‘Quite literally, international migration has changed the face of societies. The commonality of the situation is in the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of many immigrant receiving societies and the dilemmas that arise for states and communities in finding ways to respond to these changes.’ Some right-wing politicians and elements of the media in receiving nations often claim migrants fail to integrate into core cultures by sheltering in ethnic minority diasporas. Conversely, Castles and Miller (2014) describe how many young second-generation migrants often feel excluded from the societies they grow up in and deliberately maintain the minority cultural and religious customs of their first-generation parents as their claims to belonging. Hybrid cultures using a mosaic of borrowed traditions blended into the mainstream are increasingly evident in an age of global interconnectivity. The perception of a failure to assimilate into core cultures of receiving areas is regularly at the forefront of heated debates around migration. Portes (2010, p.1538) claims that the impact of migration is dependent on three main factors: the numbers involved, the duration of the movement and the class composition. Small numbers can be more easily absorbed and tend to impinge on local scales whereas larger volumes, or ‘telluric movements,’ impact more significantly on both sites.¹⁹ Portes notes that short term circular flows of temporary migrants have a negligible impact on core-cultures of receiving countries, with many reinforcing rather than changing existing social structures. By contrast, significant numbers of permanent migrants have a greater impact on both source and host countries, this also works against integration into core communities. In settler immigrant nations like Australia with often contested core cultures and failed assimilation policies, the introduction of multi-cultural policies might be argued to have further encouraged culturally segregated communities.

was signed on 14 June 1985, near the town of Schengen, Luxembourg, by five of the ten member states of the then European Economic Community.

¹⁹ Portes references the Jewish exodus to Palestine after the Second World War and the peopling of settler nations including Australia.

On his final point relating to migrant class, Portes (2010) suggests that those with greater levels of capital, including language proficiency and transferable skills, add to the economic, cultural and social growth of a host country, and prove a greater loss to source countries. Portes argues that those with a greater capacity to protect their cultural traits are ironically more likely to assimilate into the core. It is the 'flows of poorly educated workers that have a more durable impact because of their initial ignorance of the host language and culture and the tendency, especially among migrants from rural origins, to adhere tightly to their customs' (Portes, 2010, p.1540). This latter cohort often settle in large groups in marginal urban areas and can become the targets of community unrest whereas educated, professional migrants are likely to be more cosmopolitan in their outlook and resent being considered part of culturally segregated minority groups (Portes, 2010). Most dimensions of migrant life are represented in the increasingly diverse Australian immigrant nation. The White British migrants in this study group have been welcomed, they have a wealth of transferable social capital allowing them a greater level of freedom and personal choice.

International migration has been increasingly equated with a threat to national security, this has prompted greater surveillance and control of movements across tighter borders. Some international travellers attract more scrutiny than others creating a nuanced form of migrant categorization. The derogatory use of the terms *foreigner* or *migrant* has become common currency in many communities as a boundary marker of othering, particularly when significant concentrations of migrants change the cultural status quo of local neighbourhoods. Castles and Miller (2014) suggest that migration and the resulting ethnic and racial diversity are among the most emotive subjects in contemporary societies. Skey (2008) and Wise (2010) detail how existing long-established communities in London and Sydney express alienation towards recent *other* migrant arrivals. Their research studies serve as illustrations of the perceived status of different migrant groups and how the presence of migrant others impacts on small-scale communities. They also give some understanding as to why the research sample in this investigation, particularly in a contemporary context, show some hesitation in being categorized as migrants, a classification many recognise as loaded with negativity.

Calling for a more far nuanced definition and understanding of the permanent or temporary international movement of people, Castles (2010) suggests migration has become increasingly fragmented along lines of social and economic class where mobility becomes distinct from migration. 'Mobility equalled good, because it was the badge of a modern open society; migration equalled bad because it re-awakens archaic memories of invasion and displacement' (Castles, 2010, p.1566). Castles (2010) argues that increased levels of mobility lead to spiralling numbers of temporary migrations and notes that some analysts suggest abandoning the term migration completely because it is thought to imply just long-term movement from one nation-state to another. This contemporary theme plays very much into the canon of global citizenship which Castles (2010) argues for when disputing the continuing relevance of political belonging being situated in individual nation states.

The themes considered so far suggest international migration, whether permanent or temporary, has become increasingly atomised and largely categorised according to ethnicity, privilege, wealth and class. Divisions align with a widening distinction between the negative connotations surrounding the term migrant in contrast to the positivity of affluent mobility.

Pearson's (2014, p.504, cited in Skey, 2018, p.612) description of 'middling migrants' as relatively affluent, moving between and settling in places which are 'neither completely foreign nor entirely familiar', is particularly appropriate in this study. Conradson and Latham (2005, cited in Skey, 2018, p.613) characterise middling migrants by their status in their home nation as 'often, but not always, well educated, coming from wealthy families but more often than not, appearing to be simply middle class'. Castles (2010, p.1567) describes middling migrants as 'migrants of prosperity' rather than 'austerity', who unlike the unskilled labourers from developing countries of the Global South have used their skills qualifications to facilitate 'lifestyle migration'. By adding the prefix 'lifestyle', the concept of migration is moved into a particularly twenty-first century mode of privileged passage. Benson and O'Reilly (2009, p.611) define lifestyle migration as a 'complex and nuanced phenomenon, varying from one migrant to another, from one location to the next'. They borrow from Gidden's (1991) theme of reflexivity to consider the process as an expression of contemporary consumerism and 'part

of the reflexive project of self in which we unremittingly, but never routinely engage in order to make sense of who we are and our place in the world' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.621). It is at once an 'individualized pursuit and structurally reliant and a response to practical, moral and emotional imperatives' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.613).

Lifestyle migration is tailored to the individual and tends to be temporally categorised according to both engagement and time; it can be full-time or part-time, temporary or permanent and does not demand a level of commitment that would jeopardise a return to a previous way of being. It is all about 'something loosely defined as quality of life' which is a subjective and often emotional reaction to the power of the imagination rather than the actuality often 'beyond the confines of usually developed home nations' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.616). The power of imagination, myth and landscape enhanced by images, stories and existing ties undoubtedly play into migration decisions. '[T]he material and social construction of particular places offering an alternative way of living is crucial . . . revealing the role of imagination, myth and landscape within the decision to migrate' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.618). Wohlfart (2015) writes of migrant dreams existing on two levels. The *explicit* dreams were inspired by holidays in the country and the *implicit* dreams were those held at a sub-conscious level which involve taking aspects of the destination for granted without consciously considering them before migrating. With the exponential growth of social media and interconnectivity, imagining the physicality of migrant destinations becomes less significant.

When writing of contemporary forms of migrant mobility, Castles (2010) considers that the barriers between migration and tourism have become blurred as people travel to destinations to check them out before decisions are made. Yet, the two modes of presence are not always synonymous, and the emotional consequences of migration can only be realised by the actuality. Benson (2014) describes the sense of isolation experienced by British migrants who moved to France to realise their ideal future lifestyles after making frequent visits as tourists. She shows how the role of imagination matched against realisation is an under-researched aspect of the migration process. Hammerton (2017), writing of serial migrants fired by the

adrenaline of the search and imagined new lives, move from country to country establishing shallow temporary roots only to be torn up before moving on to the next dream. Imagination, realisation, and often dislocation play significant roles in the migration decisions for this research group.

All these aspects of migration are considered within the later analysis chapters. The next section considers the context of both origin and destination as sites of national belonging in this exploration of dislocation. It interrogates objective definitions and subjective understandings of both nations and nation states.

Nations and Nation States as sites of inclusion

Do nations matter in an age of globalization?

There is much debate around the continuing significance and indeed relevance, of nations and nation-states as discrete demographic political units in a globalized world of increasing interconnectivity where nation-states have surrendered significant aspects of their sovereignty. Bauman (2011, p.425) considers modern states to have moved from the nation-building stage to that of multicultural belonging where 'a fluidity of membership allied to perpetual population shifts is the norm'. Castles and Davidson (2000, p.viii) debate the contemporary challenges facing the nation-state model and the institution of citizenship to combine all inhabitants into one political community. They argue that in an age of globalisation the 'idea of the citizen who spent most of his or her life in one country and share a common national identity is losing ground.' They detail changing forms of political belonging and citizenship in an age of accelerated migration, cosmopolitanism, and transient lifestyles. As Australians, Castles and Davidson (2000) offer significant contextual insight to this study.

Hobsbawm (1992), reflecting on the changing status of nations, suggests that nation states as traditional anchors of identity were established as functions of nationalism, and that national loyalties now represent only one of many shifting allegiances. Hobsbawm considers the age of nations as homogeneous units of belonging based on language or ethnicity as 'past their

peak' and more aligned to cultural artefacts. He writes of nations retreating, making way for a new supra-national restructuring of the globe where 'nations and nationalisms will be present in history, but in subordinate and often minor roles' (Hobsbawm, 1992, p.192).

On the same theme Elliot (2009, p.334) adds context to the debate by exploring the impact of globalization on traditional societies and examines the processes through which transnational corporations market global brands to transform identities in the 'context of an intensive consumer culture'. He notes how 'massive flows of globalised electronic media can fragment the power of national identity and territorial axes of identity.' Hall (2003, cited in Elliot, 2009, p.336) similarly writes of 'hybrid cultures' created by electronic media and of globalisation having a pluralizing impact distorting homogeneous well-defined national identities in a world of 'new individualism centred on continual self-actualization and instant self-reinvention'. Elliot described how the term *cosmopolitan* has gained currency as an alternative form of identity in globalised settings with ceaseless international flows of people and goods. He cites Beck's theory of the 'Cosmopolitan Vision' as one of shared humanity where 'the living of life is carried out in a milieu of blurring national distinctions and cultural ambiguities' (Elliot, 2009, p.319).

Writing on a theme of national belonging, Guibernau (2013) views cosmopolitan identities as intrinsically bound up with the expansion of globalisation. However, she considers such identities to be fluid, dynamic and the prerogative of a select elite; one of choice unlike a national identity which, in Western societies, we are born into and socialized within specific cultures. Citing Calhoun (2003, p.535), Guibernau outlines the limitations of new cosmopolitan identities as offering 'no new account of solidarity, save the obligations of each human being to all others, they give little weight to belonging' (Guibernau, 2013, p.42).

Yuval-Davis (2009) questions the contemporary significance of national alongside a range of other communities and intersectionalities claiming abiding forms of identity. Aligning with this study, Yuval-Davis considers the territorial dislocation of national groups. However, her research focuses on cultural minorities constructing belonging from dislocation, rather than the ethnic majorities of similitude in this research. Yuval-Davis (2009, p.1) asks: 'Are

nationalist politics of belonging still the hegemonic model of belonging at the beginning of the twenty-first century? And if so what kind of nationalism is this? And if not, what other political projects of belonging are now competing with nationalism?’

Guibernau (2013, pp.1–5) considers ‘identification with a group or community to play a major role in the construction of individual identity by way of inclusion, exclusion, constant re-negotiation, modification and the formation of shifting boundaries which sometimes become fuzzy’. It is these ‘fuzzy’ boundaries and competing forces of being and belonging in a contemporary age of identity confirmation which have often led to confusion and dislocation. Guibernau’s work adds an interesting perspective to this debate, by skilfully applying various theoretical and emotional interpretations of belonging to both current and traditional societies, she explores the changing constructions of objective and subjective national being. She contrasts a ‘belonging by choice’ of contemporary elective identities, with the traditionally assigned identities which lacked individuality in pre-modern nations where ‘lineage, gender, social status and other attributes are all fixed at birth.’ Individuals did not have agency to self-identify or choose to align with a range of communities of belonging as in modern nations. They were not free, yet they were also not isolated, they experienced the security which came with an absolutist state. Guibernau (2013, p.15) quotes Durkheim (1893): ‘The individual in a certain sense did not exist in certain cultures and individuality was not prized’. Guibernau adds that in a globalised society which erodes the constraints of tradition, where belonging by choice brings a degree of freedom and empowerment transcending assigned forms of membership, these forms of elected belonging do not always bring the same certainty and privilege that an insider identity brings. Guibernau argues that the emotional appeal of belonging to the nation as a political community stands as the most powerful agent of mobilisation because from this standpoint it is easier to establish a sharp distinction between those who belong and those who are regarded as enemies or aliens.

This conviction of the emotional power of national belonging was validated during recent political upheavals in two prominent democracies of the Western World. In 2016 the Brexit²⁰ referendum in United Kingdom, and the election of President Trump²¹ in the United States of America signalled a significant move to the national political right of centre and saw a rise to power of individuals who had previously been dismissed as politically flawed. A large part of their winning appeal was based on calls to reclaim national sovereignty and confirm who did and did not belong. New political prophets spoke on platforms engaging those feeling both disenfranchised and disillusioned with their governments. Many saw their very sense of national being shaken by an expansion of globalisation and restrictive legislation beyond their control. They felt threatened by increasing inward flows of migrants with incongruous cultures and multiple allegiances to belonging going unchallenged as they arrived through porous borders. Platformers played on fears that 'the autonomy of nation states is being eroded and votes cast cannot influence key political decisions as they are no longer made by national parliaments' (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.7). A calculated and emotional call to home nationals to take back control of their borders brought into sharp focus the question of whether the sovereignty of nation states and power of national belonging does matter in the twenty-first century. Castles and Davidson (2000) write of nations becoming degraded to merely emotional bonds based on a shared history and culture rather than political citizens who participate in a democracy. The 2016 USA Presidential election and the outcome of Brexit referendum suggest that nations, national belonging and territorial sovereignty do indeed still matter.

This study is not about nationalism per se but does demonstrate how nations and nation states, particularly at times of identity dislocation, can prove enduring sites of power, hegemony and emotional belonging. Elevated levels of migration generated by globalization, the salience of religious fundamentalism and increased challenges to human rights issues all

²⁰ Brexit referendum – vote held by the British government in 2016 to exit the European Union.

²¹ President Trump – Donald Trump, former Republican President of the USA.

leave many previously secure in their political and cultural community untethered and in need of confirmation. If territorial boundaries continue to be drawn to define the extent and governance of individual nation states, then political national belonging, either through elective citizenship or assigned by birth, will remain universal and extant. As Anderson (1991, p.3) writes: 'Nation-ness is the most universally legitimised value in the life of our time'. Building on this narrative, Skey (2010, p.715) suggests that the recent phenomena of questioning national forms of imagination and organisation in an era of rapid globalisation is 'theoretically stimulating'; however, examinations sometimes 'overlook what well established "thick" attachments to the nation can offer disparate individuals, notably in terms of anchoring subjectivity'. Skey's research explores nationalist sentiments of an ethnic majority English group in London who see their sense of belonging, ontological security, national sovereignty and culture being significantly eroded amid increasing levels of immigration. His work is particularly significant in the context of this study as it spotlights microscale opinions of ethnic majorities experiencing a dislocation from their national belonging. Skey's sample similarly comprises an ethnic majority of White Anglo-Celtic origin, however, unlike the group in this study his sample are not challenged by territorial dislocation but by perceived others in relation to their everyday spaces. He argues that identities of national belonging entail both assigned and ongoing processes of negotiation at different interfaces; they are political, cultural and emotional identities of both acceptance and accepting, all in part fundamental to creating a place called home in sites of dislocation. It is the rapid pace and overwhelming scale of twenty-first century globalization and consequent transience that creates community destabilisation and a trend towards the re-ethnicization of cultures at subnational levels.

Exploring the theme further by separating political and emotional national belonging Yuval-Davis (2009, p.10) notes that: 'It is important to differentiate between *belonging* and the *politics of belonging*. Belonging is about an emotional (or even ontological) attachment, about feeling at home.' Her reflection is particularly relevant to this study and endorses Tonnies' (1887) concept of nations operating at two levels: *Gemeinschaft* (community) which suggests

emotional subjectively anchored belonging, and *Gesellschaft* (society) more aligned to state and political ideologies.

This section has summarised various perspectives and interpretations of the enduring power of nations and national belonging. It argues that nations hold less fixed definition and identity in a contemporary globalized world where national boundaries and cultures often lack clear demarcation. It considers how claims to national belonging as sanctuaries of inclusion, or indeed exclusion, in a world of rapid change are gaining currency across a wider spectrum of societies. Having established some understanding of the contemporary status of nations, the next section brings greater clarity to a definition of nations by exploring traditional theories alongside more recent interpretations. It considers how nations can symbolise both objective political entities and subjective communities of emotional belonging.

What are Nations?

Thus, I am driven to the conclusion that no “scientific definition” of the nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and exists (Seton-Watson, 1977, p.5).

Seton-Watson's conclusion provides some insight into the complexity and futility of applying a uniform meaning to what has become an assumed, indeterminate expression of collective human identity. This summative, universal and transferable definition of the phenomenon suggests complexity in its simplicity and could be applied to any community to give any meaning, which may well account for its ubiquitous and casual use. Some of the most considered (rather than accepted) interpretations seem to be characterised by their brevity, leaving the interpretation and application open to specific reconfiguration. As Anderson (1991, p.67) notes: 'Indeed, as we shall see the 'nation' proved an invention on which it was impossible to secure a patent'.

Nations may be loosely defined as socially constructed macro-identities which give meaning and a sense of community to those claiming membership. Some religious groups are

described as nations – cultural, civic, and ethnic groups make such claims; the list goes on. These interpretations all have place and meaning in contemporary mainstream societies. Guibernau (1999 p.125) offers a more certain definition by noting that ‘even though all nations have a national identity not all of them have a state of their own’. This investigation features nations that identify with specific nation states yet within the context of dislocated national belonging. Minority diasporic nations within a greater heterochthonous nation state are also considered.

Nation states are administered by serving governments which determine qualifying membership, or citizenship by some semblance of homogeneity which may be scripted and re-scripted in consonance with political, economic and social change. Nations of people within nation states assume sites of power and hegemony conditioned by legacy or appropriation of sanctioned social capital negotiated along boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. These are essentially theoretical and objective interpretations. The more challenging and meaningful task of this research is to realise a subjective understanding of national belonging and that can only be substantiated using empirical rather than theoretical knowledge.

Poole (1999, p.1) contributes to this debate, and as an Australian much of his work is particularly pertinent to the nuances of this study. He draws on historical and political concepts to critique classical theory. With unembroidered simplicity Poole described how those secure in their sense of national belonging forge a corresponding identity: ‘Without thinking about it, we pick out one stretch of territory and one collection of historical narratives as ours, and we recognise one group of people as fellow members of our nation.’ Though a cursory definition, it is only when this benign and indubitable core identity is dislocated or threatened in some way that closer definition is called for. As Giddens (1985, p.281) notes, nationalist sentiments rise when a ‘sense of ontological security is put in jeopardy by the disruption of routines’. Skey (2010), Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002) draw on contemporary empirical studies to demonstrate how quotidian, banal routines, symbols and emotions performed as representations of national identities create a security and solidarity of belonging. Any

disruption from these certainties can initiate insecurity and dislocation. These points are discussed later once an understanding of the objective term nation is established.

Seton-Watson (1977, pp.3–4) cites Stalin²² as the author one of the most widely disseminated and interpreted definitions of nations, these were briefly distilled to ‘four characteristics: a common language, a common territory, a common economic life and a common mental make-up. No group which did not possess all four was entitled to be considered a nation.’ Stalin’s definitions were written to qualify the politics of time and place, though the first two definitions hold distinct universality. A common language and common territory are primary components of all nations within discretely administered political nation states. Communities negotiate daily life through a common language and governments administer to nations in an official common language. Seton-Watson (1977, p.13) writes ‘in the years after 1789, the problem of finding a unit for the features exercise of popular sovereignty was a real problem and the nation, usually based on language, was the only answer which could have been given at that time’. In his theory of nationalism and the concept of nations, Gellner (1977) writes of the need for common forms of communication and exchange providing the foundation for a dominant cultural homogeneity. He proposed that modern technologies brought by industrialisation necessitated a shared coherence and initiated the expansion of closed communities into wider reaching societies. Considering Gellner’s theory in its literal sense, Poole (1999, p.14) highlights serious conflicts between his ‘one coherent world’ in which ‘one single language describes the world’, by concluding that surely this leaves no place for nationalisms and individual nations within. Poole considers that each nation has its own world, and it is through its language that the national world is described and expressed as a special place. He writes of native languages providing a ‘primary mode of access to the objective world,’ and how this ‘provides a means by which we are able to recognise others who share that mode of access.’ Poole (1999, p. 23) cites Herder and Fichte (1807) in emphasising the role of language as a fundamental

²² Joseph Stalin – was a Georgian revolutionary and Soviet politician who ruled the Soviet Union from the mid-1920s until his death in 1953.

constituent of national identity beyond its function as a 'vehicle for the transmission of ideas'. Anderson (1983, cited in Poole, 1999, p.71) writes of the work of 'vernacularizing lexicographers, grammarians, philologists and literatures' who through the medium of print were able to bring a vast compendium of monolingual dictionaries and interpreted texts to educate a public and strengthen nationalisms. All suggest a common language or form of communication to be a necessary characteristic of individual nations. However, geographically disparate nations also share core languages, these usually symbolise historical links to former political empires; English is spoken across more than sixty nations. This debate links to the investigation because the lingua franca and official language of Australia is English. These British migrants are ensured both ready fluency and significant levels of social capital, undoubtedly influencing their destination choice; a direct transfer from one national belonging to another.

Taking Stalin's reference to common territory as a pre-requisite of a nation, borders are continually drawn and re-drawn to align with national territories. Conflict in defence of these borders continues to claim the ultimate sacrifice of life itself. Guibernau (1999, p.137), acknowledging the 'territorial dimension' of a nation sees territory as a key component when considering how nations imagine or conceive individual identities to separate and distance themselves from others. Territorial borders signal the limits to national homelands with fellow nationals within the boundaries often regarded as more human than outsiders. The objective dimension is clear; however, the subjective perception prompts closer interpretation in multi-cultural, immigrant nations where many citizens acknowledge a territory and nation somewhere else as their first home. A supplementary qualification is that some nominated as outsiders are considered less foreign than others; a fact which underlines the difficulties involved in applying any definitive model of the nation in the context of individual national allegiances that extend beyond fixed borders.

Historically, national territories anchor belonging; they are the physically bounded spaces of national being, assuming an emotional and cultural significance at the heart of a nation.

Expanding on this theme by referring to national homelands as a 'common possession that all members of the nation share,' Poole (1999, p.16) writes of how these very territories, or homelands, depicted in the literature, art and music of nations are often 'endowed with a personality and moral character which complements and sustains the personality and moral character of those who inhabit it'. Symbolic national landscapes have become the icons around which cultures are woven, providing self and community consciousness, recognition and belonging – particularly in culturally diverse settler nations sharing limited histories.

Classical definitions of nations facilitate universal application, yet a definitive interpretation which encompasses contemporary, and particularly immigrant and multicultural nations remains elusive. Symbolic landscapes and a core ethnic lineage lend themselves to a sense of permanence, whereas in a globalised world of rapid mobility and cultural diffusion innovative ways of being and belonging are continually added and integrated into existing national identities. Anderson's (1991, p.7) definition of a nation as an 'imagined community', an invention that continually reshapes itself gives weight to notions of both permanence and fluidity. It may be argued that bounded, enduring traditional nations have been superseded by alternative sites of cultural belonging. Anderson's (1991) emphasis on the nation as an imagined community brings the focus of definition into the realms of culture and the subjective, away from 'the temptation to conceive of the nation as a mere epiphenomenon of more fundamental economic and political causes' (cited in Poole, 1999, p.10). Though challenging Anderson's theory of imagined communities, Poole (1999) agrees it is the very essence of the shared culture and common will that appeals to a contemporary understanding of nations. Anderson (1991, p.15) writes of imagined communities living in 'the image of their communion'; Poole's (1999, p.11) interpretation of this – a group of people who conceive of themselves as belonging to a community and that the conception of belonging informs them of the way they should live and relate to others – gives clarity to the phenomenon. He explains that 'relations between members of the nation are mediated by their mutual recognition that they belong to the same nation,' and this in principle gives each nation its own culture which

is not available to others (Poole, 1999, p.11). There are obvious limitations to this concept in a contemporary world of cultural ubiquity and appropriation where a basic tenet of modern democratic multicultural nations is one of acceptance and toleration towards diversity. It may also be argued that communities other than nations live in the image of their communion. Anderson's (1991) defining characteristics of nations as imagined and performed through community cultures are also common to ethnic and religious communities which span territorial borders. Guibernau (1999, pp.1–2) defines such 'nations without states' as cultural communities sharing a common past, attached to a clearly demarcated territory, wishing to decide upon their political future but lacking a state of their own. It is a nation state that is empowered to administer legislative, economic, education, welfare, defence and many other functions through a shared and agreed language and culture serving to unite the nation. It is the state to which citizens pay their taxes and the government of the state, elected by the people (in a democracy), which aims to unify and practice the common will of its people, and crucially, is the arbiter of who belongs and who does not. 'Without a nation state, nations are less significant and powerful as they are excluded from representation to international organizations and institutions' (Guibernau, 1999, p.1). Reflecting on the changing ways in which traditional states are being re-cast, Guibernau (1999) notes that the preservation and perpetuation of communities with their own distinct cultures in a world in which most political units are larger than national is problematic.

I conclude that the political nation is an objective administrative and legislative construct operating within a national territory through a state-administered framework. The subjective and emotional consciousness of national being and belonging lies within the communities and individuals of the nation itself and that is where the essence of this research lies. The confusion and overlap between nation and nation-state are particularly significant in this research as it considers subjective identities of belonging related to place, which blurs emotional and political understandings. Political sovereignty and identities anchored in national belonging 'have come

to occupy the heart of the political agenda almost everywhere in the world' (Anderson, 1991, p.2).

I conclude that nation states have both internal and external political representations of one or more nations of people living within the same territorially delineated boundaries. It is the physicality of the bounded nation state that provides the theatre for a serving government and its elective nation to build a unique and shared identity, and it is this very territory and the culture woven into it that speaks to the subjective and emotional sense of national belonging.

Returning to the essence of a nation as a homogeneous group McNeill (1986, p.34, cited in Poole, 1999, p.37) claims that a 'nation is simply an ethnic community and nationalism is the principle that rightful sovereignty rests with those who shared a common ethnic heritage'. Taken literally, McNeill suggests that a nation comprises a single ethnic group. So how does McNeill's definition align with multi-ethnic immigrant nations and what is the common ethnic cultural heritage in this context? Smith (1991, cited in Poole, 1999, p.38) expands on the theme by stating that all modern nations have an ethnic core or *ethnie*²³ and as such are historically derivative of pre-modern communities which identify themselves on ethnic lines. Challenging Smith's theory of historical origin, Guibernau (1999) questions how far back in time a given nation must locate their origin in a community, as there is no written rule. Some nations can trace their origins back over many centuries, others can only claim a recent constitution. Guibernau (1999) agrees with the need of an historical dimension when constructing the image of nation – it could represent the cradle where a national character is formed – but argues that this should not be confused with ethnicity.

Poole (1999, p.40), similarly interrogates the concept of single and fixed ethnicities tied to nations by questioning how ethnicity should be defined. He argues ethnicity is not a naturally given human condition but something which is culturally constructed and mediated in innumerable ways. Poole (1999) agrees with the necessity of a common cultural core to bind a nation to a single cause but doubts whether this core is bound up with ethnicity. If ethnicity

²³ *Ethnie* – Anthony D. Smith's (1998) reference to an ethnic core.

'has to do with the centrality of descent in the group's self-understanding,' he asks, then is 'descent' narrowly confined to family or kinship groups, determined by birth, or can it be extended by rules governing entry to the ethnic group such as by marriage? (Poole, 1999, p.39). Poole counters that marrying into another ethnic group will only change cultural norms and not the identity individuals are born with. Smith (1991, cited in Poole, 1999, p. 29) qualifies his notion of descent as a determinant of ethnic communities as ... 'constituted not by lines of physical descent, but by the sense of continuity, shared memory and collective destiny'. In his theory of ethnosymbolism,²⁴ Smith is interpreting ethnicity as a shared culture. The terms ethnicity and culture have become interchangeable and may be understood as one and the same. Developing the same point, Steinberg (1981) contends that ethnic groups are not somehow endowed with a given set of cultural values and practices, ethnicity is something which is continually in process, negotiated, renewed and subject to a variety of social, economic, and political forces. Ryan (2010, p.360) endorses a similar understanding of ethnicity, not rooted in the distant past but a dynamic social process that 'changes both temporally and spatially'. Qualifying this understanding, Eriksen (1993, pp.11–12, cited in Ryan, 2010, p. 360) states 'ethnicity emerges and is made relevant through social situations and encounters' and for 'ethnic identity to come about, the groups must have a minimum contact with each other, and they must entertain ideas of being culturally different from themselves'.

This debate proposes that a nation may encompass many different ethnic groups, each with its characteristic culture yet at the same time co-exist within a greater national culture determined by a core ethnic majority. Dixon (1999) writes of an Anglo-Celtic core culture acting as a holding centre for the Australian nation, this hints at a conflation of ethnicity and race. For Song (2003, p.11), the difficulty of disentangling the two terms lies in the fact that 'the meanings and images associated with each tend to bleed into one another'. Consistent

²⁴ *Ethnosymbolism* – a school of thought in the study of nationalism that stresses the importance of symbols, myths, values and traditions in the formation and persistence of the modern nation state.

with more perennialist theories which emphasise the permanence of nations, Van den Burghe (1978, cited in Song, 2003, p.10) suggests a clearer distinction; he concludes that race is socially defined and based on physical criteria, whereas ethnic groups are based on cultural criteria. Bulmer (1986, cited in Song, 2003, p.11) takes the distinction further by stating that 'race is predicated (however spuriously) on biological groups whereas ethnic groups have more blurred boundaries'.

I conclude from these debates that both ethnicity and race are socially determined; they are politically constructed discrete groups to which individuals either affiliate or are assigned to differentiate or be differentiated from others. Barth (1969, cited in Song, 2003 p. 45) maintains that the discourse of difference is central to our understanding of ethnic boundary keeping, and difference is often invoked to exclude and marginalise outsiders as an essential process of constructing our own identity. Social identities are not exclusive to national belonging but are an integral component of nations and, as Waltzer (1992, cited in Poole, 1999, p.37) notes, 'a national union of culturally diverse elements is the normal condition for most nations'. National belonging, however, does not necessarily equate with social equality. Song (2003, p.15) reflects that in most Western societies ethnicity, race and difference are premised on a classification system in which the relative superiority and inferiority of groups are established with White- Anglo groups positioned as superior.

In a rapidly changing world naturalisation has become the definitive gateway to national acceptance and political belonging. This liberal-democratic conception sanctions formal and legal inclusion to discrete nations sharing common codes of culture, belonging and commitment. Though generic in practice, the processes and conditions of citizenship in each nation state are individually scripted. As Miller (2008, p.374) states: 'In short then the state has a clear right to decide who, if anyone, to admit to its territory and it should frame its policy by considering the interests of its present members'.

Legal membership of a nation state is sanctioned by serving governments and is open to variation both between and within individual countries. Some states practise *jus soli*, where

citizenship is determined by the country of birth, while those with a strong tradition of ethnic nationalism determine citizenship by parental bloodline, or *jus sanguinis*. Others accept a mix of the two.²⁵ Alternatively, national status may be acquired by fulfilling stipulated requirements of naturalisation (citizenship). In its contemporary form citizenship has gained significant currency as Western nation states increasingly open their borders to more culturally diverse groups. The challenge of cementing a politically sovereign nation of people with a common will and shared identity has become increasingly complex. Castles and Davidson (2000, p.2) note: 'The essence of a nation state is the institution of citizenship; the integration of all inhabitants of a territory into the political community, and their political equality as citizens'. Modood (2000, p.54) similarly recognises the role of citizenship in uniting a diverse people: 'To be a citizen, no less than to have just become a citizen is to have a right not just to be recognised but to debate the terms of recognition'. The 1949 Nationality and Citizenship Act of both Australia and Britain was introduced to establish a form of legal control to national belonging in response to the growing volume and diversity of cultures arriving during the early post war years (Castles and Davidson, 2000). Before the Act, smaller volumes of other migrants settled with limited state support, either assimilating into the majority culture or being absorbed into minority diasporas. Citizenship was introduced as a way of homogenizing nations internally by granting equality of rights and obligations for all. Managing equal access to universal rights, however, generates inevitable management dilemmas for serving governments. Accommodating equal access to myriad cultural, social and religious practices creates significant challenges at both national and community levels. Miller (2008) questions the legitimacy of so-called modern states which have a role in protecting their national culture. He argues that if there is no distinct culture to protect, rather multiple representations of pan global cultures all demanding equality, then there is no reason for 'the state to exist as an individual entity' (Miller, 2008, p.375).

²⁵ Jus soli is the most common means a person acquires citizenship of a nation; jus sanguinis is when a person acquires citizenship through their parents or ancestors.

Formal citizenship ceremonies lack the emotional gravitas and enduring tie of national belonging from birth. Requiring 'obedience and loyalty' (Seton-Watson, 1977, p.4) in the context of a rapidly changing, culturally diverse and emotionally dislocated immigrant nation is fraught with political and social complexities. Multicultural, multi-ethnic nation-states are challenged with the task of overcoming vast chasms of difference by finding common elements of centrality to override disparities within. Castles (1992) suggests that the pace of intermingling between different ethnic groups has become so rapid that there is no time for forgetting different histories, which Renan (1882, p.10) saw as 'crucial to establishing a shared national identity'.

Immigrant nation states have the advantage of being able to engineer a national homogeneity through the filter process of admission policies, but they also need to balance economic exigencies and international humanitarian obligations within their calculations. Demonstrating the culturally fragmenting impacts of contemporary migration on European states, Scheffer (2011) notes that every community exists by grace of its borders which have varying degrees of openness, but some demarcation needs to be retained between residents and outsiders. Scheffer cites Waltzer's observation that: 'Nation states are internally inclusive, but towards the outside world they are exclusionary, or at least they do not adhere to the principle of equal treatment. If they did, then everyone who wanted to enter would be allowed in' (1993, 2011, p.99). So, 'what of disparate multicultural nations?' Castles and Davidson (2000, p.29) question when considering the challenges of retaining inclusivity if myriad cultures complicate practices of integration.

From this considered attempt to establish a working definition of the term nation in the context of Australia, Seton-Watson's reflection seems appropriate:

All that I can find to say is that a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation or behave as if they have formed one. It is not necessary that the whole population should so feel, or so behave and it is not dogmatically a minimum percentage of population which must be so affected. When a significant group holds this belief, it possesses a "national consciousness." (1977, p.5).

Seton-Watson could be read as suggesting that nations are essentially subjective community experiences where national belonging is an elective, social and emotional choice. In this sense national belonging can be a site for imagination, invention, exaggeration and myth making. This sentimental, almost optional form of belonging describes the disposition of many dislocated migrants who hold dual nationality, live in closed segregated diaspora or continue to assign their national identity to their birth nation. Whether interpreted as nostalgia or patriotism it seems far from a nationalistic ideology that people would be willing to die for. In this sense national belonging is no more than an optional lifestyle choice and not as Poole (1999, p. 67) suggests, 'an identity that takes priority over all others laden with moral decisions that stand in the way of our more universalistic commitments to humanity'.

In this exploration of theoretical definitions of nations as objective constructs the focus becomes confused with subjective emotional experiences of national belonging. Despite the many generic similarities I determine that nations are circumstantial, provisional and fixed in neither time nor space. When nations and nation states come together then 'the nation is the ground of political sovereignty and that political sovereignty is the right and destiny of the nation' (Poole, 1999, p.9). Nations within nation states determine their individual characteristics through political representation, which Poole considers is broadly determined by morality and politics rather than history or geography. A lack of historical or geographical verification in the concept of nations then surely raises the question of the provenance of the majority ethnic cores in contemporary immigrant nations. Anderson (1991) claims that 'even the most insular nations accept the principle of *naturalisation* no matter how difficult a practice they make it' (cited in Poole, 1999, p.42). However, Poole (1999, p.42) deems Anderson's claim to be far too optimistic given it fails to recognise closure to inclusion, as naturalisation is too often rooted in 'ineluctable facts about ethnic (or racial) origins'.

Immigrant nations engineer their preferred core ethnicity and culture through strict immigration and acculturation policies, though boundaries to inclusion often necessitate adjustment in response to overriding pressures of changing moralities, economics and politics. Reiterating

that no state in the Western world can operate as culturally neutral, Poole (1999, p.120) argues that states conduct legal affairs through an official core language, they exercise authority through rituals and procedures linked to a prescribed and mainstream national culture and that administration and education systems are operated through the medium of one language, one history and one people. Core social constructs and practices become the media of exchange through which national belonging is confirmed daily. The process of constructing unique and recognisable national identities is explored in the next section by considering both political and emotional interpretations and how they necessarily intersect as sites of negotiation and invention. It considers how national identities are orchestrated and performed within and beyond national settings to signify scripts of belonging and questions whether a concerted reprogramming journey in the name of a new national identity serves to instil the same status and stability of belonging as one assimilated from birth.

National Identities as performative and emotional biographies of inclusion

In the words of the Scottish novelist William McIlvanney:

Having a national identity is a bit like having an old insurance policy. You know you've got one somewhere but often you're not entirely sure where it is. And if you're honest, you would have to admit you're pretty vague about what the small print means (The Herald, 6 March 1999).

McIlvanney reflects on the subliminal positioning of national identity compared with the more overt realisation of nominated (and often intersecting) identities. However, when a deeply ingrained cultural habitus is exposed as different in unfamiliar settings an acute sense of dislocation can be experienced. It is the very essence of the symbols, images, routines and practices which materially anchor individuals to communities of familiarity, subjectivity and belonging. Having a 'taken-for-granted' national identity 'offering a reliable framework for making sense of the world and orientating oneself against "others" can confer both psychological status and stability' (Skey, 2010, p.716). Hobsbawm (2000), Scheffer (2011), Guibernau (2013), Yuval-Davis (2009) and Song (2003) write of how replications of

characteristic national practices can instil psychological stability, even if dislocated recreations lack the authenticity of contextual settings. Attempts to juxtapose, blend-in or add on these usually incongruent and deeply cherished traditions can lead to distorted interpretations. It is the forfeiture of security, familiarity and place which disrupts feelings of belonging. Burrows and Holmes (2004) dispute claims that the ability to feel at home beyond one's country of birth has become easier with a decreasing significance of locality within the process of globalisation. Exploring the theme of emotional and elective national being and belonging, Antonsich (2012, p.644) questions 'whether the increasing cultural and ethnic diversification of contemporary societies can lead to the formation of communities of belonging beyond communities of identity'.

Representational identities of nations and states are multiple and various. Different agencies of production and orchestration have the same intent – to unite and instil a sense of pride in national being and belonging. Challenging accepted theoretical framings of nations as primary anchors of identity, Edensor (2002, p.1) writes that 'despite the globalisation of economies, cultures and social processes, the scalar model of identity is believed to be primarily anchored in national space'. This research questions what having a national identity means to this dislocated migrant group and how such identities are claimed and expressed. The investigation is tailored almost exclusively to the variable constructs of an Australian national identity whereas the actual research focus questions the significance and subjective interpretation of national belonging for a group of White British migrants. It questions which national identities migrant groups choose to affiliate with and how they understand, interpret and perform these roles as either genuine moral and philosophical commitments or as cultural codes of political obeisance, attachment, and social allegiance. The structure of this section has been tailored to the consideration (in later chapters) of a group of people who are emotionally, and in many cases, politically invested in two national identities. An initial review of social theory relating to the construction and orchestration of national identities is provided

below while a subjective analysis using contextual examples published by Australian writers is developed in the following chapter.

Orchestrating the Nation

All nations have some semblance of cohesive identity. Since few are neither ethnically nor culturally homogeneous the overwhelming question is 'how disparate groups in one territory can be moulded into a nation?' (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.13). This is particularly challenging for nations undergoing constant redefinition as 'National identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods' (Hobsbawm, 1983, p.2).

The challenge of integrating a nation of eclectic cultures needs to go beyond confirming loyalty to the state at an orchestrated citizenship ceremony. The status of citizenship can be ambiguous; resident non-citizens in some countries may still participate in quasi-national belonging as taxpayers and community members yet are restricted from political participation or representation. Castles and Davidson (2000) claim that this practice negates the basic principle of a liberal democracy which states that all members of society should be included as citizens enjoying full political representation. They use the term *de facto*²⁶ exclusion to describe the plight of significant groups marked by race or ethnicity, including indigenous groups who are denied full participation. These groups may have a right to vote but social, economic and cultural exclusion denies them any real political representation or contribution to the decisions which affect their lives. They are denied *substantial citizenship* which confers equal participation at all levels of society. Castles and Davidson (2000, p.84) also point to the contradiction involved in conflating the status of citizenship and nationality, 'a citizen is an individual abstracted from cultural characteristics and a national is a member of a community with common cultural values'. Balibar (1996) seeks to explain how the egalitarian model of

²⁶ De facto – practices that exist in reality though they are not officially recognized by laws. It is commonly used to refer to what happens in practice, in contrast with de jure, which refers to things that happen according to law.

modern citizenship is compromised as a function of inclusion when offset by a statutory (or hierarchical) pole of nationality and the social division of labour. This has specific relevance in nations dominated by a majority ethnic core of inclusion set against an indigenous peripheral status of exclusion.

Assimilation programmes have been used as nation building strategies in some immigrant countries, including Australia. In theory, the objective modelling of sanctioned cultural behaviours through the medium of a core national language provides a comprehensive guide for imitative performance and compliance leading to foundational equality. Song (2003) explores assimilation programmes and the levels of agency different ethnic groups exercise when establishing identities of belonging and how for some minority groups these are not wholly under their control. Citing Alba (1990) and Waters (1990), Song (2003, p.8) writes of the 'straight-line assimilation model' based on the experiences of White European migrants to the USA gaining their rights and acceptance into the wider society as bona fide Americans. Conversely, Song also refers to groups with cultural, phenotypical or physical characteristics being marked as distinct from an ethnic majority. This group are too often considered unassimilable despite being legal citizens. In practice, fluency in a native language and subscribing to a core national religion or ideology is not always prioritised as a criterion of social acceptance over skin colour or any other discriminating marker.

Confirming a distinct, recognisable and powerful national identity can prove a uniting force for a diverse citizenry and help cultivate a pride and status of belonging. Discrete, yet intrinsically linked constructions of national identity are scripted for multiple audiences then selectively performed by a diverse range of actors with variable motives and obligations to national belonging. Hall (1992, p.5) notes that national identities seem to 'invoke an origin in an historical past with which they continue to correspond'. They are about 'using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being, not who we are or where we have come from so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on the ways we might continue to represent ourselves.' In

multi-cultural and wholly immigrant nations national identities are scripted and cultivated in accordance with a civic understanding of belonging. This involves a collective commitment to a set of laws and principles, as in Habermas's 'constitutional patriotism,' to instil a form of solidarity distinct from both nationalism and cosmopolitanism (cited in Muller, 2008, p.72).

Taking the theme of cultivation, I refer to Smith's (1991) six functions of national identity,²⁷ which could be used to structure an examination of contemporary national identity. The first of these functions is to satisfy a quest for authenticity – where authenticity refers to the traditional ethnic nation. This immediately raises social, political and not least moral questions of the positioning of authentic ethnicity in immigrant nations, including Australia with its core Anglo-Celtic ethnicity and marginalised authentic indigenous peoples. If Smith's authenticity is interpreted as something which holds credibility, genuineness or legitimacy of representation and is devoid of political correctness then incontestable factual images which conjure immediate international recognition in a global arena are best used. These may be a series of unique, yet carefully chosen and often remodelled positive portrayals of the nation, territory and state.

Promoting authentic identities can instil pride, they advertise, influence and gain allegiance in different social, political and economic theatres. This format might be aligned with the practice of *nation branding*. The authentic brand of a nation and its state serve as both an internal uniting force and an external display to promote and differentiate itself on a global stage. National brands are objective constructs designed by politicians, spin doctors and advertising agencies. Re-branding is an ongoing process and often the work of newly appointed governments. One of the most prolific re-branding exercises was that of the UK's New Labour government, elected in 1997, this acquired the soubriquet 'Cool Britannia' (Bradley 2007, p.6). Bradley describes this as a 'frenetic and overly cosmetic' exercise, later followed by a more carefully thought out and historically rooted attempt to define a British Identity.²⁸ White (1981,

²⁷ Anthony D. Smith – *Golden Age and National Renewal of a National Identity* (1997).

²⁸ The re-think was partly prompted by significant social unrest in multicultural communities, reflecting the superficial nature of a national brand in 2001.

p.ix) scorned such constructions as being 'artificially imposed upon a diverse landscape of population, and a variety of untidy social relationships, attitudes and emotions' and that no one version is any truer than another because 'they are all intellectual constructs, neat, tidy, comprehensible and necessarily false'.

Inventing traditions

The next four functions of Smith's (1991) national identity are: to establish a sense of continuity; remind a community of their past greatness and inner worth; to proclaim imminent status reversal, and to mirror a point towards a glorious destiny. These are the invented traditions and 'practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past' (Hobsbawm, 1983, p.1). It is the continuity with the past which poses the biggest challenge in contemporary fragmented multicultural nations sharing limited and often conflicting histories. Bhabha (1990) writes of narrating the nation, a uniting of the nation in virtuous celebration or commemoration where symbols of nation typically become so sanctified and embroidered with passion and sentimentality that actuality and truth often become distorted beyond question. These distorted truths have as much potential to fragment as unite.

For new nations, traditions are literally invented from new histories often combined with adopted and adapted versions from others. Hobsbawm (1983, p.9) writes of the 'entirely new symbols and devices' which came into existence as part of invented traditions of national movements and the creation of states. These are the flags to be waved, emblems to be displayed and anthems to be sung as proclamations of independence and sovereignty designed to command respect and loyalty. National flags represent community significance beyond their physical form as 'bits of coloured cloth' (Guibernau, 2013, p.13). Carrying a national flag at the beginning of the modern Olympic Games; planting a national flag on a newly conquered mountain summit and not least the flag which symbolizes the nations

soldiers die for, all signify a belonging and identity greater than oneself. Every nation state and many stateless nations have their unique flags, anthems, and emblems and often modify their form to reflect political, territorial and cultural change. As well as being emblems of unity these same symbols are sometimes used as boundary markers of insider/outsider belonging to separatist or politically extreme groups. This increasingly widespread practice within Western nations works against building an inclusive national identity or ‘... consolidation of a sense of community among citizens united against an external threat ...’ (Guibernau, 2013, p.152). These expressions of ‘peripheral’ or ‘hot nationalism’ (Billig, 1995, p.8) build a political gap in everyday language and work against a shared civic national identity in multicultural immigrant countries.

Billig (1995, p.8) questions the value of sporadic rituals of emotional outpouring in homages to national belonging; he disputes the convention that ‘national’ is an innate sense of being in everyone only brought out to parade on set occasions. Billig argues that established nations have confidence in their continuity and that nationhood is continually flagged through the media of political discourse, cultural products and newspapers; the ‘unwaved flags are flagging nationalism unintentionally’ (Billig, 1995, p.8). This is banal nationalism, ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced (Billig, 1995). Goode and Stroup (2015, p.718) refer to this same theme of continuity as ‘everyday nationalism – which focuses less on elites and institutions than on the quotidian practices by which ethnic and national identities are elaborated, confirmed, reproduced or challenged’.

Bringing balance to the distinction between daily banal and mass public events Skey (2016, p.144) writes of outbursts of collective celebrations of the nation being ‘examples of ecstatic nationalism’. He sees these celebrations as ways in which the performance of nations can be re-created and ritualised to ‘inform the daily articulation and enactment of banal national identities.’ National celebrations show how ‘identity is being defined, disseminated and challenged in an era that has been characterised by new forms of global production, migration, belonging and imagination’ (Beck 2000 et al. cited in Skey, 2016, p.145). Skey’s work suggests

a need for the day-to-day underpinning of the nation through un-waved flags, alongside occasional ecstatic celebrations of the nation writ large. In this sense, the latter could be seen to reinforce the former which are predicated on ‘a whole series of assumptions about nationhood, the world and “our” place in that world’ (Billig, 1995, p.93, cited in Skey, 2016, p.147). These conclusions are particularly relevant to this study of an immigrant nation in an era of globalisation with an increasingly disparate population. Australia strives to establish an all embracing, homogeneous national identity, a united we under one flag balanced against due reverence to multicultural and minority ethnic representation. Displays of national homogeneity do not however represent equality. Skey (2016), challenging Durkheim’s contention that all public events are integrative and sanction equality, argues they are in fact hierarchical. A claim particularly relevant to Australia, an immigrant nation with a peripheral and ostracised indigenous people.

Sanctioning belonging

Smith’s (1991) final function of a national identity is particularly significant to this research – to locate and re-root the community – the pivotal site of acceptance and accepting. Scripting the terms and characteristics of a national identity is usually the work of state level stakeholders, yet the conditions, regulation and approval of performances lies within communities. It is the public, the designated ethnic majority, those granted citizenship and sanctioned inclusion who are the real arbiters of situated belonging. It is they that have the power to other those committing *un-national* behaviours. These are not high, official, traditional and state orchestrated national events calling for staged reverence but the quotidian and repeated ideological messages which locate and re-root communities. The repeated banalities of nationhood delivered through local media and daily routines are designed to reinforce and instil the particularities of culture, ethnicity and place identity. Their very acknowledgement and approval serve to filter inclusion from exclusion providing a site where subjective accepting of a new belonging is confirmed or rejected. This is where the intangible,

unpredictable, emotional and difficult to verbalise feelings of not being home or home sickness manifest. Hage (1988, p.103) writes of a journey to finding home as 'an ongoing project entailing a sense of hope for the future' and finding a safe space.

Arguing that belonging is a multi-layered and multi-scaled dynamic process, Antonsich (2010) identifies three major facets of belonging. The first - emotional investment in social locations; second - identifications and emotional attachments to various collectives and groupings; and finally - the ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belonging. The suggestion of belonging being multi-layered and multi-scaled is particularly appropriate in finding migrant belonging where individual agency plays a significant role in the process. Destination choices are predicated and actioned according to known facts, but it is the often unpredictable, the unknowns, which create a sense of dislocation. One facet of belonging should follow on easily from another however, the complete set is not always available to all. For many migrants finding belonging often depends on objective barriers beyond their control and whereas situated politics, culture, language, economics, religion and ideologies are negotiable adjustments, subjective micro-scale community acceptance can be less predictable and transactional. Both acceptance to and accepting of situated belonging are essential before a new sense of belonging can be fully realised.

Hierarchies of belonging are intrinsic to every society; however, they are rarely static or enduring. Indeed, they are necessarily 'arenas of struggle,' theatres of competition, combat zones for power between individuals, groups and institutions all attempting to appropriate resources within the social field (Bourdieu, 1998, p.151). Each historical turn brings variable weightings to the framework of power relations. Essentialised groups are positioned along hierarchical axes with specific identities marking variable locations and categorizations in different historical moments (Harding, 1991). Social locations are not eternally fixed or constructed against one power vector, though determinants of ethnicity, race and religion often have more enduring dominance than other criteria.

Most national histories plotting waves of migration describe scales of hostility towards unfamiliar arrivals. Through time and processes of immersion, acculturation and familiarity, newcomers become part of national tapestries and some, feeling empowered by a sense of acceptance, are known to discriminate or pull up the proverbial drawbridge to later arrivals. Migrants equipped with variable levels of social and cultural capital begin constructing new national belongings by seeking acceptance through the appropriation of approved performance. Hogg and Abrams (1988, cited in Billig, p.66) describe three stages in processes of group identification which could equally be applied to migrant acculturation. Firstly, newcomers categorise themselves as part of an ingroup and assign themselves a social identity which distinguishes them from the relevant outgroup. Next, they learn the norms of the ingroup and finally assign the norms of behaviour to themselves thus their behaviour becomes more normative as their category membership becomes increasingly salient. In theory, this process captures the essence of transition to new national being and belonging; in practice however, the journey is far more nuanced, particularly for those identified as outgroups.

Many post-war Western nations have become increasingly multicultural, bringing significant diversity to previously homogeneous landscapes. Migrant arrivals experiencing alienation and dislocation from homes elsewhere seek new national acceptance, yet many often find few anchors of familiarity and shared belonging. Minority diasporas can function as initial sanctuaries where cultural adjustments are significantly scaled down and the security of being an insider cocooned from the immediate outside brings comfort. Diasporas function as uniting projects recreating hybridised symbols of shared home identities, they serve as beacons of acceptance and conditioned credibility. Often awkwardly juxtaposed alongside one another, different diaspora landscapes become normalised parts of world cities mapping waves of both recent and historical migration movements. Stock (2010, p.24) notes: 'At the core of the concept of diaspora lies the image of a remembered home that stands at a distance both temporally and spatially'. Recreations of home may be the focus of a sustained 'ideology of

return' (Brah, 1996, p. 180, cited in Knott and McLoughlin, 2010, p.25) or represent memories of a past home, a cushion of familiarity at points of extreme dislocation. Stock suggests that memories of home are often not merely 'factual reproductions of a fixed past,' they are 'fluid reconstructions' set against different subjective conceptualizations of home (2010, p.24).

This section has reviewed the themes of national identity as objective performances and subjective expressions of emotional belonging. It has discussed many of the ongoing challenges individual nations experience in establishing a distinctive and enduring representation of identity and belonging and how individual migrants may encounter feelings of dislocation when separated from all that is known and secure.

From this Theoretical Review I draw the following conclusions as appropriate to this case study of migrant dislocation from national belonging:

Conclusions

Migration as a process of dislocation

A single theory defining the international movement of people and consequent social, economic, political, and environmental impacts on both source and destination areas is far from adequate (Castles, 2010). At the core of the migration process, no matter the classification, a complex web of pivotal forces between facilitating structures and individual agency remains central to a reasoning of the motivational drivers. Though aspects of structure and agency may explain the actual process of migration, a subjective reflection of where individuals position themselves within a classification of international migration offers a more comprehensive understanding of claims to belonging located in different national spaces.

Migration has become increasingly fragmented along lines of class and privilege rendering some migrants more *visible*, or *invisible* than others (Castles, 2010). Contemporary lifestyle migration is a form of mobility linked to privilege, individuality and a lack commitment to permanence, 'something loosely defined as quality of life' (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009, p.621).

Lifestyle migrants make decisions from positions of 'prosperity' rather than 'austerity' (Abel, 2014, p.85).

Boundaries between tourism and migration can become blurred (Castles, 2010). Dislocation is often experienced from a mismatch between imagined and actual experiences; a difference between *explicit* dreams as experienced through holidays and *implicit* dreams held at a sub-conscious level taking aspects of the destination for granted (Wohlfart, 2015).

Nations and Nation States as sites of inclusion

Despite the attenuating effects of globalisation, the territorial boundedness and exclusive sovereignty of nation states remain compelling anchors of individual identity. Nations are both objective and subjective communities of belonging and have 'proved an invention on which it was impossible to secure a patent' (Anderson, 1991, p.67). Formal membership of a nation state is assigned at birth or gained through elective citizenship, a bureaucratic rather than emotional form of belonging (Castles, 2010). A single and abiding definition of a nation remains elusive in a contemporary world of identity options. I concur with Seton-Watson's (1977, p.5) assertion that: 'A nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation or behave as if they have formed one'.

National Identities as performative and emotional biographies of belonging.

National identities are a behavioural representation of national belonging and can be instilled through sustained habituation, or as a learned performance of acculturation. Identities of inclusion are confirmed by both quotidian, banal (Billig, 1995) representations of unity woven into a backcloth of the everyday, and as ecstatic carnivals (Skey, 2010) of celebration performed to symbolise a national observance of unity.

Nations have become progressively destabilised by the neutralising effects of globalization, and boundaries of national belonging are increasingly claimed and reclaimed along lines of ethnic and cultural homogeneity (Skey, 2010). A continuing in-migration involving diverse

cultures with limited shared histories challenges the scripting of inclusive representations of national identity.

Most contemporary Western nations comprise a hegemonic core ethnic majority with peripheral fragments of increasingly segregated minority cultural diasporas; a complex landscape which often works against national integration. Belonging is clearly a two-way process of sanctioning both objective acceptance and subjective accepting. National belonging may be realised on various levels of acceptance and not all who achieve acceptance on a political or legal level become accepted to or accepting of localised communities. These are the 'combat zones' (Bourdieu, 1998) where the objective rules to membership are appropriated by a discriminating force of insider power; it is here that belonging is found, won or lost.

This review of theoretical concepts provides a fundamental framework in which position Australia as an immigrant nation. It supports an analysis of the expressions of dislocated national belonging expressed by this research group of White British migrants. The next chapter goes some way to contextualising the location of study – a post-colonial nation state with a diverse multicultural immigrant population structured around an historically established White Anglo-Celtic hegemony.

Chapter Four: Australia, the Immigrant Nation

The fundamental objective of this research is to explore subjective understandings of dislocation from home, with the latter being posited as a site of assigned national belonging. It questions whether the same 'sense of meaning and ontological security' (Giddens, 1985, p.281) can be recreated by elective citizenship to another nation located half-way round the world. This chapter explores some historic and ongoing demographic, political and cultural factors which determine the peculiar characteristics of Australia. Drawing on a range of literature specific to Australia, the chapter contextualises some of the key concepts underpinning this research. It gives an insight as to why this contemporary immigrant nation state rates as a first choice for British migrants who seemingly abandon the security of all that is known and loved in the expectation of a better life somewhere else.²⁹

If a nation is to be defined as a discrete unit of population bound by a core ethnicity and cultural homogeneity currently or historically anchored within a territorial state, then this immigrant nation stretches the boundaries of traditional classification and calls for an alternative theory to be scoped. Seton-Watson's (1977, p.5) statement that no 'scientific definition of a nation can be devised' suggests the concept of national belonging to be similarly open to significant interpretation. Yet Anderson's (1991, p.3) contention that 'nation-ness is the most universally legitimised value in the life of our time', underlines the challenge of defining this spatially and socially diverse multicultural society located in a vast island continent as a nation.

The chapter is divided into sections which add place-specific detail to the general themes outlined in the previous chapter. The first section details an historic settling of this immigrant nation fashioned culturally, ethnically, and politically in the image of its colonial motherland.³⁰ The formal federation of six separate British colonies on 1st January 1901 marked the inception of the Australian nation state and from this point forward the significantly engineered nation

²⁹ The United Nations rates Australia as first choice destination for British migrants (Sunday Times, 2019).

³⁰ Colonial Motherland – colonial Metropole or central country to colonies – Britain in this case.

came into being. White (1981, p.2) offers a sense of the journey of peopling the nation when he wrote of Dampier's (1698) description of 'the poor winking people of New Holland' at the end of the seventeenth century; the 'Hell upon Earth' penal colony of Botany Bay³¹ in the mid-nineteenth century and the present-day thriving contemporary multicultural society with one of the most stable economies in the world, in little more than two hundred years since federation. The controversial discovery and consequent settlement of what is now Australia by the British in 1770 largely determined the characteristics of this contemporary nation and offers some understanding of the enduring affiliation British migrants have with the country. The question, however, remains as to whether the abiding coupling is still powerful enough to ensure a seamless transfer from one emotional and political place of belonging called 'home' to another.

From *Terra Nullius* to Settler Nation

The original British territorial claim to Australia in the late eighteenth century as *terra nullius* was deemed just and went unchallenged.³² Disparate indigenous kinship and itinerant groups already settled in isolated pockets of the ancient landmass had no obligation to, or concept of, Western ideologies or sovereign claims to territory. Land for these semi-nomadic aboriginal people signified an embodiment of spiritual and cultural meaning, a resource to be nurtured and respected within their traditional closed ecosystem. Modern industrial British settlers brought different value systems, interpretations of land occupancy and ownership. Boundaries were drawn, fences erected, separate colonial territories were mapped and named displacing many of the estimated 300,000–350,000 indigenous peoples (Poole, 1999, p.129).

The new colonies were administered from the metropolitan centre of Empire in London and managed through locally based governors until they became independently governed States

³¹ Botany Bay – On 29 April 1770, Botany Bay was the site of James Cook's first landing of HMS Endeavour on the land mass of Australia, first set up as a penal colony for British felons.

³² Terra Nullius – a Latin expression meaning "nobody's land". It was a principle sometimes used in international law to justify claims that territory may be acquired by a state's occupation of it.

and Territories in the late nineteenth century. Later, the British Penal system,³³ Poor Laws,³⁴ and the Empire Settlement Act³⁵ became drivers to organised immigration which relieved Britain of excess urban and convict stock along with increasing numbers of rural poor (Jupp, 2004, pp.13–17). These first migrants, many exiled for their low morals and criminal behaviour, provided Australia with a ready labour supply to build an infrastructure for the developing colonies. White (1981, p.22) cites writers of the time warning of the ‘convict stain’ infecting subsequent free settlers with the contagion that lacked integrity and honour and the malaise being passed down through generations. Contemporary social commentators trying to capture an essence of archetypical Australia, describe a male-dominated classless society where codes of ‘fair go,’ ‘mate-ship,’ brashness, and a general lack of reverence for authority dominate. Some credit these peculiarities to have originated from convict stock and the pioneering settlers. There is still a certain kudos in being able to trace family ancestry back to a transported felon and a burgeoning celebrity folk law industry surrounds notorious outlaws including Ned Kelly.³⁶ This confirmation of ancestral bloodlines and valorisation of heroes, even if of dubious character, symbolises claims of belonging and the weaving together of myths and legends of national heritage which Smith (1991) argues represents the historical dimension that all nations need.

The White Australia Policy introduced in 1901 signalled a preferred British White ethnicity for the new Nation State, and the task of engineering a homogeneous Australian nation fit for the

³³ British Penal System – Convicts were shipped to the British colonies like America, Australia, and Van Diemen’s Land (Tasmania).

³⁴ Poor Laws – British system of supporting the poor of the parish and later (1770 onwards) many poor were transported to British colonies.

³⁵ Empire Settlement Act 1922 – The Empire Settlement Act 1922 was a landmark in the history of Australian immigration, especially for its encouragement of child and youth migration. During the 1920s, there were new immigration agreements between State and Commonwealth governments within Australia, between the British and Australian governments and between government and non-government organisations. (Find&Connect – History of Australian Orphanages).

³⁶ Ned Kelly – Ned Kelly was an Australian bushranger, outlaw, gang leader and convicted police murderer. One of the last bushrangers, and by far the most famous, he is best known for wearing a suit of bulletproof armour during his final shootout with the police.

future began.³⁷ At the time of federation 98% of the population were White Anglo-Celts with a strongly hegemonic English culture. Any Celtic immigrant stock gradually became more Anglicised, sharing a social and economic life in which only English was spoken. Free settler migrants began arriving in the early twentieth century as part of an initial assisted passage programme managed by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission.³⁸ Among them were skilled business entrepreneurs hoping to capitalise on the opportunities developing colonies had to offer including ‘ample space, with such inviting varieties of soil and climate, with such vast stores of hidden wealth under the soil’ (Parkes, 1890, p.1, cited in Jupp, 2004, p.108); in fact, many of the same life-changing possibilities and dreams of reinvention which beckon migrants to Australia today. Pioneering farmers were drawn by the prospect of opening-up vast tracts of cheap and untamed land; many were successful, but equally many failed and whole families left stranded in unfamiliar and alien environments became destitute with no hope of return. Small numbers of migrants from other sources attracted by Gold Rushes³⁹ and other pioneering opportunities set up independent diasporic settlements rather than integrating into the mainstream Anglo-Celtic community; a pattern still evident in twenty-first century Australia.

From the time of federation until the final years of the twentieth century, successive Australian governments have determined a nation building model of *jus soli* closely aligned with *jus sanguinis* based on a self-perpetuating White Anglo-Celtic ethnicity. Henry Parkes (1890, p.1, cited in Jupp, 2004, p.108), in a nation-building speech coined the phrase ‘the crimson thread of kinship’ to describe the Anglo-Celtic bloodlines which tied colonial subjects together; this directly excluded indigenous aboriginal peoples, Asians and non-white Anglo any others who

³⁷ White Policy 1901 – The term White Australia policy is widely used to encapsulate a set of historical policies that aimed to forbid people of non-European ethnic origin, especially Asians (primarily Chinese) and Pacific Islanders from immigrating to Australia, starting in 1901

³⁸ Colonial Land and Emigration Commission – created in 1840 to undertake the duties of two earlier and overlapping authorities which were both under the supervision of the secretary of state.

³⁹ Gold Rushes – On February 12, 1851, a prospector discovered flecks of gold in a waterhole near Bathurst, New South Wales (NSW), Australia. Soon, even more gold was discovered in what would become the neighbouring state of Victoria. This began the Australian Gold Rush, which had a profound impact on the country’s national identity.

contributed towards building the Australian nation. British administrative, political, legal, and economic models were replicated in this new setting. Yet though the country was encumbered with 'European cultural baggage' (White, 1981, p.ix), Australia has long been regarded as free of the British social class system; in its place is an egalitarian structure which Horne (1964) argued has contributed to stifling enterprise. Horne (1964, p.18) wrote of Australia in the mid-twentieth century being one of the 'most egalitarian of countries, untroubled by obvious class distinctions, caste or communal domination, the tensions of racialism or the horrors of autocracy'. He considered Australia to be a nation which thrived on an ideology of fraternalism rather than a society which strives for emulation, which can bring its own pernicious effects. However, as later sections illustrate, the 'tensions of racialism' that Horne declares Australia as 'untroubled' by, are most definitely alive and well. Reflecting on Horne's 'Lucky Country,' Bryant (2013) agrees with many of the cynical observations, but Bryant also depicts a rapidly changing and forward-looking country responding to twenty-first century global forces.

The work of both Horne and Bryant add significant insight to this investigation; they select similar themes in their characterisations of the Australian nation yet from different temporal perspectives spanning the period from which this migrant sample has been drawn. The families arriving on post-war assisted passage would have come to a far more monocultural Anglo-Australian nation where 'Australians are bereft of feelings of difference' (Horne, 1964, p.55); whereas those migrating after 1980 would be better acquainted with 'The Slow Death of British Australia' (Bryant, 2013, p.3).

The Paradox of a 'Western nation on the edge of Asia'

Moran (2005, p.1) depicts Australia as 'a nation born of globalization, a fragment of Empire in the New World', a nation rooted in territory – 'the first and only nation spanning a whole continent'. The combination of forces Moran cites as moulding the Australian nation – globalization, empire, and territory – neatly encapsulate the characteristics of this largely immigrant society. Australia draws significantly on its exclusive physicality as an island continent, and its geographical isolation positioned between the South Pacific and Indian

oceans. These spatial characteristics and its political status as a British post-colonial settler nation contribute significantly to determining the abiding features of contemporary Australia. Maravillas (cited in Elder and Moore, 2012, p.17) described Australia as in a 'state of vertigo induced by its paradoxical position as a Western nation on the edge of Asia'. The incongruous positioning of a sizeable White Anglo-Celtic majority nation in a Southern hemisphere continent over 11,000 miles from Britain, has attracted significant political and sociological analysis. Jupp (1986, cited in Dixon, 1999, p.35) writes of the continuing status of post-colonial Australia as part of the British Empire with a predominantly White-Anglo identity. He notes that the British population and culture became so dominant and entrenched by 1940 that Australia had become 'what no other nation in the world could claim to be – a truly British Anglo-Celtic society', and that Britain herself had 'never attained such a degree of homogenisation and uniformity'. This unique hybrid Anglo-Celtic ethnicity has been 'drawn in almost equal proportions from the Anglo-Saxon (English) and Celtic populations of Britain (Irish, Scottish, Cornish, Welsh and Manx),' an outcome of selective immigration and spatial isolation (Jupp, 1986, cited in Dixon, 1999, p.35). The immigration policies of Australia have historically been determined by ideologies of imperialism, racism, utilitarianism, rationalism and finally, recent humanitarian policies. However, within a contemporary and rapidly globalizing world where market forces assume increasing levels of pan-global power, political, economic, and cultural change is evident. There has been a determined drift away from the British motherland and an increased investment and political involvement from other areas, not least the rapidly developing countries of nearby Asia.

The Changing Complexion of the Immigrant Nation

Since the end of the Second World War the White Australia Policy has been gradually dismantled giving way to a far more ethnically mixed nation. Australia's more recent history of settlement reflects a rapidly transforming multicultural nation where new settlers have arrived in significant enough numbers to form characteristic groups defined by markers of race, ethnicity, religion, culture, and social status. Yet, the social structure within the nation remains

much the same with a clear hierarchy of White *invisible* migrants being far more accepted than the phenotypically *visible* Culturally And Linguistically Different (CALD) arrivals. Abel (2014, p.1) wrote of invisibility in Australia resting on assumptions of homogeneity with the British population, ethnic similitude with the host nation, relative affluence and a lingering sense of British imperial legacies that inform views and choices in the world. Ongoing challenges posed in the management of an increasingly diverse nation have triggered cyclical government sanctioned strategies of both inclusion and exclusion in the drive to establish a homogeneous embodiment of a single Australian nation and culture. Castles and Davidson (2000, p.9) write 'the speed at which new ethnic minorities have emerged has confounded policy makers and undermined laws and practices concerned with integration and citizenship'. Selective immigration policies, visas, citizenship, settlement rights and welfare support are used to determine who is and who is not welcome to Australia. Jupp (2007, p.6) argues that without this level of planning 'the modern, urbanised and affluent society of today could not have been created'. He writes of how the managed immigration policies of successive governments since federation have rested on 'three pillars – the maintenance of British hegemony and 'white' domination; the strengthening of Australia economically and militarily by selective immigration; and the State control of these processes (2007, p.6)'.

The Australian experience of the Second World War brought significant changes to its nation building model. Calwell,⁴⁰ the nation's first Immigration Minister, in his call to 'populate or perish' sent out a warning to Australians to populate the sparsely settled country with British stock. He proposed an annual population growth rate of 2%, with half coming through migration according to a '10 to 1 model', 10 Britons for every one alien. The intention was to continue building on the White Anglo-Celt core nation. Calwell warned of the perceived ongoing threat of mass Chinese in-migration - 'We have 25 years at most to populate this country before the yellow races are down on us' (cited in Jupp, 2007, pp.11–12). The urgency surrounding these impending fears prompted the introduction of the Ten Pound Assisted

⁴⁰ Arthur Calwell – appointed under the Chifley Labour government in 1945 as Australia's first Minister of Immigration.

Passage scheme,⁴¹ a jointly funded venture between the Australian and British governments. This was one of the largest planned migrations of the twentieth century and attracted over one and a half million British migrants. Unlike ethnic minority groups, these White post-war British migrants were barely distinguishable from the resident Anglo-Australian population, who at the time were all British subjects. Jupp (2007, p.10) summarises the structure of the nation - 'By 1947, the non-European population, other than indigenous aboriginals, was just 0.25% of the total. Australia had become one of the whitest countries in the world outside north-western Europe.'

The first ship bringing post-war British assisted passage migrants docked in Freemantle in November 1947 carrying two hundred ex-military service builders travelling on free passage.⁴² These first arrivals had fought alongside Anglo-Australians in the Second World War and were ethnically and culturally the same; they would add to the Australian labour force and assimilate well. Next came a succession of British ships carrying civilian migrants, Ten Pound Poms, fulfilling immigration minister Calwell's pledge that 90% of all migrants would be White British. Wills (2004, p.333) describes how British migrants were 'embraced and deployed as salves for anxiety about Australian national identity and notions of community'. She writes of the whole episode and 'story about post WW11 migration to Australia as a process of outward embrace by the host nation and of the invisibility of the migrant; and of the way the migrant identity is replaced on arrival in a new country' (2004, p.334). This was a story about gender and national identity, about the role of women in the post-war reconstruction of notions of home.

Following the initial success of the assisted passage, White British immigrant numbers decreased significantly in the mid-1950s prompting the introduction of more generously funded and less stringent initiatives including the Bring out a Briton⁴³ programme in 1957.

⁴¹ Assisted passage – a scheme devised and funded by the Australian and British Governments to help populate Australia. An assisted passage scheme, established and operated by the Australian Government, attracted over one million British migrants between 1945 and 1972.

⁴² Largs Bay – first ship used to transport British migrants to Australia during the Assisted Passage era.

⁴³ Bring out a Briton – In 1957, the Australian Government launched a new assisted migration scheme aimed at bolstering the proportion of British migrants entering Australia. The 'Bring out a Briton' campaign was directed

When subsequent population growth rates failed to meet set targets, a further reluctant change in migration policy extended an invitation to mainland Northern Europeans; these were people of similar physical appearance and would maintain a sense of migrant invisibility. The search for new migrants was later extended to Southern Europe and the subsequent arrival of olive-skinned Italian and Greek migrants put the prized White status quo and social hierarchy under further pressure to change. Migration policies became increasingly expansive and multi-dimensional opening social hierarchies to ongoing positional adjustments.

Castles and Zappalla (1998, cited in Jupp, 2004, p.30) describe how the British brought ethnic and class conflicts with them in the early twentieth century, how trade union rulings adopted from Britain worked against importing cheap coolie labour to Australia. This kept low-skilled Irish Catholic migrant labourers positioned near the bottom of the social hierarchy; however, the arrival of Southern Europeans in this period of post-war expansion saw the socially shunned Irish move up the scale of social acceptance. The Multicultural Policies⁴⁴ of the mid-seventies accelerated the arrival of increasingly diverse migrant groups, confirming an ongoing sequential progression of earlier arrivals up the ladder of social acceptance, though the position of the indigenous aboriginal peoples remained cemented on the lowest rung.

Australia was a founding member of the jointly formed peace seeking organisation the United Nations,⁴⁵ which in 1945 demanded that its member states protect the human rights of, and make commitments towards, displaced peoples. All member countries were bound to accept quotas of refugees seeking asylum. This directive did not sit well with serving Immigration Minister Holt (1950, cited in Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.9), who declared 'this is a British community, and we want to keep it British'.⁴⁶ The often-draconian immigration policies

at the Australian public rather than, as in previous migration campaigns, the potential migrants and the Government called on community groups to address public anxiety about the high proportion of non-British European migrants entering Australia.

⁴⁴ Multicultural Policies – a series of policies introduced by the Whitlam Government (1972–75) to abolish forms of racial prejudice.

⁴⁵ United Nations – Founded in 1945 the United Nations is an intergovernmental organization that aims to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

⁴⁶ Harold Holt – an Australian politician who served as the 17th Prime Minister of Australia, in office from 1966.

of successive Australian governments have been both condemned and scorned by more liberal Western nation states, particularly regarding their hard line on refugee intake. Australia has found inventive ways to keep unwelcome refugees at bay in offshore detention centres, euphemistically known as the 'Pacific Solution.'⁴⁷ The policy was clearly a vote-winner and one that many recent British migrants wholeheartedly support, particularly as growing numbers of Western European governments experience pressures from sections of their own populations to control levels of immigration through seemingly porous borders.

As a nation dependent on immigration, Australia has been found wanting in its welcome to asylum seekers, particularly those arriving in dangerously un-seaworthy boats. Refugees and asylum seekers are increasingly appraised not only according to inherent prejudices of race, religion, and ethnicity, but also by mode of arrival. The Australian politically right-leaning tabloid press are a match for any national daily newspaper in promoting and reinforcing xenophobic messages against those deemed unfit to be included in their nation. The Sydney Morning Herald (20/10/2013) denounced 'Illegal maritime arrivals trying to gain refuge in Australia'. These negative messages broadcast daily to the nation are all part of the same inclusion/exclusion agenda which Tajfel (1979, cited in Billig, 1995, p.66) details when describing how nations produce flattering stereotypes of themselves against negative stereotypes of others. Countering this, a humorous cartoon posted in response to the hysteria around unwelcome 'boat people' depicts an aboriginal stating 'Problem with boat people??? We had that problem too.'⁴⁸ This cynical play on boat people gives some insight into how migrant acceptance is influenced by the societal framing of ingroups and outgroups, which is both conditional and successional.

The practice of othering in Australian society has long positioned White Anglo-Australians at the core of control. In his essay 'Preserving White Hegemony, Stratton (2011) explains how a race-based class system has been maintained in Australia since the Second World War, with

⁴⁷ Pacific Solution – name given to the Australian government policy of transporting asylum seekers to detention centres on Pacific islands, initially implemented by the Howard government (2001–2007).

⁴⁸ (DIYLOL.COM, <http://www.pmslweb.com/the-blog/funny-straya-cheers-from-the-land-down-under/24-funny-aboriginal-meme/>).

the core middle class remaining predominantly White and of Anglo-Celtic descent. He details how a visa entry system introduced in 1958 maintained this status quo and tracks changes in visa controls through the neoliberal government policies which continued to extol a White Anglo-Celtic core.⁴⁹

The long treasured bilateral relationship between Australia and Britain came under significant tension when the United Kingdom joined the European Economic Community in 1973.⁵⁰ Australia lost a valuable agricultural export trading partner which prompted a switch in economic focus to manufacturing and mineral extraction. The arrival of an increasing number of non-whites, non-European skilled migrants supporting these new industries marked a further fracturing of British dominance. Policies of visa control premised on race and ethnicity had become anachronistic, detrimental to the economic growth of the country and at odds with the increasingly multicultural profile of the nation. Visas became increasingly skills based rather than family focused, a change exemplified by the introduction of the 457 Sills Visa in 1996.⁵¹ One of the most attractive elements of this visa was that it shifted the responsibility of monitoring and funding from the government to employers. These were temporary visas dependent on job availability and candidate suitability, which fitted well into government neoliberal policies of the time. Student visas with a similar underlying ethos shifted funding and welfare responsibilities to higher education institutions and ensured that a skilled workforce schooled in an Australian culture and speaking English would raise the profile of migrants from non-British source areas; these are the New Australians.⁵² This change in focus from primarily White Anglo-Celtic permanent settlers perpetuating the national ethnic core to transitory and often circular migrant movements from all over the globe brought significant changes to the Australian nation building model.

⁴⁹ The 1958 Migration Act replaced the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, which had formed the basis of the White Australia policy. The 1958 Act has been amended several times.

⁵⁰ European Economic Community later became the European Economic Union, a trading agreement set up in 1993 – between 27 European countries.

⁵¹ 457 Skills Visa – a temporary workplace visa issued by an employer for a particular skill.

⁵² New Australians – non-British migrants who arrived after the Second World War mainly from other European countries.

This summary has outlined some of the key policies successive Australian governments have used to engineer an ethnically homogeneous population then, out of economic necessity, promote diversity through multicultural policies. This change in direction prompts the question of how fundamental ethnicity and culture are to a definition of the Australian nation.

Australian Ethnicity

Given McNeill's (1986, cited in Poole, 1999, p.37) premise that a 'nation is simply an ethnic community and nationalism is the principle that rightful sovereignty rests with those who share a common ethnic heritage', I suggest that definitions of nations as ethnic communities with a common heritage needs closer scrutiny in the context of multicultural Australia. McNeill's definition cannot be easily applied to this immigrant nation which encompasses a multiplicity of diverse ethnic groups within its territorial base. Smith's (1981) contention that all modern nations have an ethnic core or *ethnie* historically derivative of pre-modern communities identified by ethnic lines, could be justified in this case if taking British Anglo-Celts as the ethnic majority of Australia. However, as Guibernau counters when challenging Smith's (1981) theory, there needs to be a clearer dimension of historical time and how far back an ethnic community needs to go. If the common ethnic heritage must rest on indigeneity and 'pre-modern communities' (Smith, 1981), then surely the marginalised indigenous Aboriginal groups form the ethnic core of the Australian nation. Aboriginal groups can trace their pre-modern indigeneity back over four thousand years yet certainly do not represent the accepted ethnic core of the Australian nation. In fact, up until the 1967 census this ostracized group had been recorded as part of the Australian flora and fauna.

Poole's (1999, p.40) proposal that ethnicity is not a naturally given human condition but something which is 'culturally constructed and mediated in innumerable diverse ways' helps to underline the dependencies between ethnicity, nation and territory. Poole (1999, p.41) notes that the supposed ethnic base of Australia - British Anglo-Celtic - is itself a 'uniquely invented ethnic category'. Dixon (1999, pp.3–6) emphasises the role of the Anglo-Celtic core culture in sustaining social coherence and acting as a holding centre for the Australian nation, a pre-

condition for effective political agency on a day-to-day level. Dixon acknowledges the need of a core ethnicity to build national allegiance, particularly in the case of Australia as 'no other Western country has experienced such a rapid demographic transformation upon such a small and relatively homogeneous a base.' For Dixon, a core culture has a stabilising influence amid rapid demographic, economic and political transformations. Taking Dixon's views alongside Smith's criteria of a nation having an ethnic core and defining itself in terms of origins and stories of its founding fathers, Poole argues that poly-ethnic Australia then must indeed be a nation. Poole describes how the Australian nation, with its invented Anglo-Celtic ethnic core was first extended in the post-war years to include other European countries, then immigrants from other parts of the world and finally the indigenous inhabitants of the country. In this Poole recognises that ethnicities are continually under construction and mediation in the same way that nations are subject to change and open interpretation in light of ongoing political struggles and debates.

This debate is returning to the seemingly unavoidable use of the terms culture and ethnicity as interchangeable descriptors which can create confusion and pose questions of originality. Culture is a dynamic concept and by its nature can be learned and replicated. Taking Poole's point that ethnicities are also continually under construction and mediated, then arguably ethnicity can also be considered a learned behaviour. Song (2003, p.11) suggests that 'ethnicity is something which is continually in process, negotiated, renewed and subject to a variety of social, economic and political forces.' Erikson (1993, pp.11–12, cited in Ryan, 2010, p.360) offering a further critique of ethnicity writes that for 'ethnic identity to come about, the groups must have a minimum contact with each other, and they must entertain ideas of being culturally different from themselves'. This interpretation proposes that ethnic identities have discrete origins with uniquely inherent cultures invested in national belonging, and that individuals may adopt a range of cultures and access an elected identity beyond their abiding assigned ethnicity.

Taking the debate further in relation to this investigation, any discussion of a White Anglo-Australian core culture in a multicultural immigrant nation, with a marginalised aboriginal

population, cannot avoid the question of race and racial hierarchies within national ethnicities. Recalling an earlier debate, I concluded that ethnicity and race were essentially socially determined and politically constructed discrete groups to which individuals either affiliate or are assigned to differentiate or be differentiated from others. Culture on the other hand is a transitional medium of communication through which identities are expressed and confirmed. Culture is a process, an elective performance open to imitation and dependent on actor agency and inclination; it requires no precise ethnicity or race to garner allegiance. Grant (1987, p.44) claims that culture, '... has never been anything but the ongoing project of articulating, negotiating, denying, fearing, ritualizing, narrating the self-in-the-other and the other-in-the-self'. Cultural identity is therefore a production which is never fully completed; it is always in process and constituted within, not outside representation (Hall, 1990, p.222). Cultural performances are moderated and mediated by global, religious, economic, and social forces and their practice determine levels of community acceptance or rejection. The historically rooted Anglo-Celtic core culture of Australia has become increasingly fragmented and refashioned by various competing ubiquitous cultural identities on offer in this twenty-first century of interconnectivity. Waterhouse (2003, cited in Onken, 2009, p.3) identifies a level of individuality in the Australian character which rather than having developed as an organic process or been imposed by superior cultures, is the result of cultural transmissions between different groups inside the nation and, furthermore, the reworking of cultural influx to make it something of its own.

The Australian nation comprises many different ethnic groups, each with its characteristic identity, co-existing within a nationally imposed, top-down culture determined and administered by a core ethnic majority. Dixon's (1999) point of the need for a core culture to act as a holding centre for a nation, and the fact that she sees the Australian core as the White Anglo-Celt culture again suggests an inevitable conflation of ethnicity, race, and culture. The next section considers the different ways in which Australian belonging is sanctioned within this hierarchical, diverse nation of migrants.

Sanctioning National Belonging

Australian national belonging has historically been predicated on British subjectivity. *British* is itself a loaded term and some British colonial subjects, including Aboriginal Australians, have been typically defined by race and ethnicity rather than nationality. As a nation of increasingly diverse ethnicities and cultures, Australia's multi-tiered system of belonging needs ongoing management and negotiation if a core culture is to be maintained. Skrbis, Baldasar and Poynting (2007, p.261) write of Australian belonging as an ongoing process of 'doing belonging'. *Australian* is enacted, displayed, paraded, often exaggerated, and articulated in the jargon of essentialism and authenticity where individuals get caught up in a continuing dialectic of seeking and granting acceptance.

Successive Australian governments have imposed different strategies of cultural assimilation since the Second World War in the drive to establish a homogeneous nation from its rapidly expanding and diverse immigrant population.⁵³ For those overseeing the project of nation-building, these practices may seem well-intentioned and logical. Song's (2003, p.6) reference to the 'straight-line assimilation model' based on the experiences of White European migrants to the USA reflects distinct parallels. Most White British migrants to Australia have made a relatively smooth transition to national belonging, yet, as Song notes in the USA, the integration of non-white and ethnic minority groups has not always been successful. Jupp (2004) describes how the practice of assimilation has been variably applied in Australia and often used as a weapon of xenophobia, or racism in extreme cases. Any group with cultural, phenotypical, or physical characteristics marking them as distinct from the majority White Australians of British heritage were in many cases, regarded by as unassimilable. Jupp (2004) cites convincing evidence of early attempts to breed out the indigenous Aboriginals as they obviously could not be excluded by immigration policies. In practice, fluency in speaking English and being Christian have not always been prioritised as criteria of social acceptance over skin colour in this socially engineered nation. Hage (1998) writes of levels of power within

⁵³ Cultural Assimilation – the process in which a minority group or culture comes to resemble a society's majority group or assume the values, behaviours, and beliefs of another group.

a national field being gauged by the accumulation of national capital, including language acquisition; though there will always be limits to belonging when it is the White Australians who form the 'aristocracy of the field' (Bourdieu, 1986, cited in Hage, 1998, p.61).

The legal status of national belonging to immigrant nations can be secured by naturalisation, however procedural citizenship does not always bring social equality. T.M. Marshall (1986, cited in Castles and Zappalla, 1998, p.104) explored the contradiction between formal political equality and the persistence of economic and social inequality in capitalist states like Australia. Song (2003, p.15) suggests that a hierarchical classification system operates in most Western countries in which the relative superiority and inferiority of groups are established, with White nationals are usually considered as superior. This premise has been paramount in the engineering of the Australian nation, and many would conclude it has never gone away. Hage (1998, p.62) echoes this conclusion when he writes of the White Anglo Australian aristocracy 'whose rich possession and deployment of dominant capital appears as an intrinsic natural disposition'. The translation of multi-cultural policy through to urban interfaces, where over 90% of Australians live, is not without its problems. Miller (2008, p.371) describes the relationship between immigrants and resident citizens in receiving states as being quasi-contractual, where each side claims certain rights against the other but has certain obligations in turn. It is at this juncture that terms of community acceptance are interpreted, contested, and negotiated. Miller (2008, p.371) points out that some of the obligations will be enshrined in law but many of the 'normative requirements cannot sensibly be cast in legal form' and are open to interpretation and power brokerage at community level'.

The status of citizenship is in theory one of equal rights and responsibilities which places demands on public policy to ensure equal access to service provision. It is the concept of rights rather than responsibilities which causes disagreement and cultural clashes, particularly in multicultural immigrant nations with peripheral autochthonic minorities where an historical bias towards one ethnic group determines the scripting of terms of citizenship. Australia has long had its denizens and culturally segregated diasporas, within this setting changing communities can unsettle experiences of home, being and belonging. Wise's (2010)

ethnographic study details the cultural clashes she witnessed in a Sydney suburb between a growing Chinese community and long-established resident White British settlers. Wise draws effectively on the symbolic interactionist theories of Goffman (1959) and Bourdieu (1986) to describe how micro-scale negative interactions became a source of unintended racism and cultural clashes.

Periods of global instability inevitably add to increased rates and volumes of migration and often emphasise an interface between biased allegiances to social, economic, cultural, and religious identities beyond those of ethnicity or citizenship. A number of terror attacks in the first decades of the twenty-first century have brought an increased public focus on migrants displaying any overt public allegiance with religious rather than civic identities; minority groups are often confronted by questions of national loyalty.⁵⁴ Zavallós (2008) records narratives of second-generation Turkish Muslim and Latin American migrant women in Melbourne who share their experiences, emotions and allegiances of ethnic, religious and national identities and of their obscured belonging in Australia. The title of Zavallós's writing encapsulates this dislocation – "I'm Not Your Typical Blond-Haired, Blue-Eyed Skippy". Bhabha (1994) uses the term hybrid to describe modes of belonging experienced by second and subsequent migrant generations who use a blend of cultural practices and beliefs, with one identity taking preference over another at different strategic points in their lives. Such displays of cultural competence are often perceived as negative slights against a national ethnic majority, particularly when emphasised as an action of alienation foregrounding minority ethnicities or religions over citizenship. Many of Zavallós's interviewees consider themselves as outsiders to what they see as a very gendered and White Australian society; interestingly expressing less sanctioned belonging than their first-generation migrant parents. Reinforced minority cultural practices can act to further segregate rather than integrate communities in multicultural nations like Australia. Skrbis's (2007) research of young Lebanese Australians suggests that

⁵⁴ Terror attacks – term used to describe an attack by terrorists of cultural, religious, or ideological minorities against the status quo within a country. The Bali bombing of 2002 was of particular note as 98 Australians were killed, the highest death toll from a single country.

second generations often lay a stronger claim to their ancestral heritage because they have no first-hand knowledge of the negative experiences of a home which their parents left behind. Hage (1998, p.51), as a first-generation Lebanese migrant details the mismatch between formal legislation of multicultural policy promoting racial equality and the community level translations of insider/outsider belonging; the 'incompatibility between the state's formal acceptance of new citizens and the dominant, culturally defined community within the nation'. He writes of a home being more a structure of feelings than a house-like construct; a home is made up of fragmentary images of what a homely nation should be rather than explicit formulations. Soutphommasane (2012, p.81), of Vietnamese heritage, in his appropriately titled book '*Don't go back to where you came from*', explains how Australian multicultural policies have created discrimination and prejudice by placing an Anglo-Celtic culture at the core of a national identity while quarantining immigrants and other ethnic cultures on its periphery.

These examples variously attribute race, ethnicity, gender, culture, and social capital as central to levels of sanctioned acceptance and belonging in this country which many still consider modelled on a White-Anglo, heterosexual, masculine hegemony. Within this framework the normative process of othering determines discrete identity groups, social fragmentation and acknowledged hierarchies; all of which are not conducive to equality and homogeneity in nations as communities of belonging. Melleuish (1995, cited in Stokes, 1999, p.51), when writing of universal obligations suggests how a community with a common identity and a feeling of being and belonging will generate a sense of obligation to its members, and will bring people together. However, Melleuish also emphasizes the discord between the theoretical and lived experience at neighborhood level. Bringing this into context Rutherford (2000) in her study of the Australian nationalist political party One Nation,⁵⁵ reflects on their laudable campaign claims to stand for all that is good and moral about Australia.⁵⁶ The Party

⁵⁵ One Party – The One Australia Party was a minor Australian political party led by Pauline Hanson that was registered on 19 December 1995 and deregistered on 31 May 1999.

promoted values of neighborliness and generosity to others in time of need coupled with a spirit of equality, a classless society rejecting visible hierarchies. Yet, as Rutherford (2000, p.8) notes, the One Nation 'good neighbor can only be found within a small hand-held mirror, and if we slip outside the mirror's frame, aggression is waiting for us'.

This summary has considered both historical and contemporary debates around claims to sanctioned belonging in this immigrant nation struggling to define its own identity. The Australian nation is a dynamic complex of disparate communities and social spaces, arenas where various interconnected fields (Bourdieu, 1985) of belonging exist in a semi-autonomous system. Differentiated fields of intersectionality are woven into and across social communities to position variable hierarchies of sanctioned belonging. However, social communities are neither static nor enduring but necessarily arenas of struggle (Bourdieu, 1985). For Bourdieu, they are theatres of competition, combat zones for status and power between individuals, groups and institutions all attempting to appropriate capital and resources. A fitting descriptor for the temporal and spatial dynamism of sanctioned belonging in this nation that admits approximately 190,000 new immigrants annually.⁵⁷

The following section explores the process of gaining Australian citizenship and considers the elective status as a form of national belonging against the often emotionally laden, assigned identity of belonging by birth.

Elective Belonging by Citizenship

The relationship of the individual to the nation-state is often conceived by theorists in terms of either an emotional ethno-cultural bond (to the traditional 'nation'), or a civic legal-rational connection (to the 'state'). Such a distinction is fundamentally problematic for settler nations with diverse migrant populations (Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p. 127).

Legal or formal citizenship of Australia, symbolized by having an Australian passport may be acquired at birth, by descent, adoption or granted through naturalisation. However, the status of 'substantial citizenship' granting full rights and equal chances of participation, is clearly not

⁵⁷ 190,000 new immigrants enter annually, Immigration Department of Australian Parliament.

open to all citizens (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.84). Castles and Zappalla (1998, p.316) describe the Australian citizenship model as 'an oscillation from conservative models of by gone British hegemony to neo-liberalist models based on perceived needs of Australian business as part of a global capital'. The section below outlines some of these oscillations, their causes and consequences.

The nation building model preferencing British national families became increasingly untenable in mid-twentieth century and led to setting up a two-class system of immigration. In the early post-war period most British and White migrants of Anglo-Celtic descent from the Dominions, along with some Northern Europeans admitted as political refugees, came to Australia on assisted passages and were given temporary settlement support. Southern Europeans and others from Non-English-Speaking Backgrounds (NESB) arrived and settled independently in separate ethnic and cultural diasporas. If these NESB minority numbers remained proportionately low and lived independently in closed communities then all was manageable; however, as Castles and Zappalla (1998, p.271) write, this 'communitarian logic' of settlement worked against the philosophy of embracing a multicultural society. Few NESB migrant groups were assimilating into the mainstream Australian nation, they were increasingly developing ethnic enclaves with their own culturally specific services. Castles and Davidson (2000, p.82) note that in situations like this, excluded minorities tend to constitute themselves as collectives, sometimes using the very symbols of exclusion as a focus for resistance; this same form of racialization can lead to political mobilization. The Citizenship Act of 1948 was regarded the necessary solution to nation building and bonding; if all migrants became Australian citizens, then a national homogeneity and shared allegiance to the state should prevail. Up until this point all Australians and British migrants were simply British, this left too many outliers to a homogeneous model of nationhood. Citizenship would confer a harmonious egalitarianism and operate without significant challenges; however, this view was far too optimistic.

All nation states have structures of inequality arranged around ethnicities, cultures, class, race, or religions. The established hegemony within this White Anglo-Australian nation was too

firmly entrenched to be changed by the mere granting of citizenship. Initial qualification to apply for citizenship was itself biased; people who did not have the status of being British subjects, were not Irish Citizens or protected persons, were categorised as aliens. They had no voting, welfare or property rights and had to be resident in Australia for five years before they could even apply for citizenship. The qualifying term of compulsory residency was (until 1984) perhaps the most inequitable and variable restriction among many other less obvious discriminatory measures when applying for citizenship.⁵⁸ Castles and Zappalla (1998, p.317) note that a democratic citizenship cannot flourish in a society based on exclusion. There must be inclusion and communication across difference which encourages 'active citizenship,' effectively requiring contributions from all citizens rather than individuals just making demands on the state.

The status and process of securing citizenship was and continues to be fraught with complexities which in the eyes of many limit its capacity to be anything other than a confirmation of legal belonging. Naturalization is not compulsory for residency rights or access to many services that fully-fledged citizens enjoy. Castles and Zapalla (1998) highlight some incongruities within the system since its inception. They consider one of the major drawbacks to instilling significance and gravitas when becoming a naturalized member of the Australian nation is the lack of an historically uniting event; the country is not even a republic. A referendum in 1999 proposing that Australia should become a republic was defeated when a 55% majority voted against the change. This result alone offers a significant reflection of the enduring ties and loyalties many Australians still hold in being part of the perceived stalwart British establishment. Castles (1988, cited in Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p.129) proposes a far more global outlook for Australian citizenship when arguing for a democratic and civic commitment to the nation rather than 'nostalgic versions of patriotism based more or less explicitly on an Anglo-Celtic heritage'. The obvious incongruity of migrants renouncing their

⁵⁸ Compulsory residency – Australian permanent residents are residents of Australia who hold a permanent visa but are not citizens of Australia. They have to serve a variable amount of time 'compulsory residency' before applying for citizenship.

countries of birth, swearing an oath of allegiance to a foreign monarch, and having an Australian passport which clearly stated that they were British Citizens, became more contentious. This division was further compounded by migrants arriving from British Dominions, they were already British subjects and had access to full voting rights. Changes in the wording of the passport in 1964 from a British to an Australian citizen were made as a moderate response to these incongruities, but the physical passport remained British. Five years later a change to the naturalization ceremony wording stating that citizens became Australian with the status of being British rather than British subjects, was further recognition of the need to move away from the rigid Anglo-Australian model of citizenship.

By the mid-1980s Asian countries became an increasing source of migrant arrivals (Appendix 2), the nation was redefined as an inclusive Australian ethnic model comprising several ethno-cultural communities tenuously held together by a set of overarching national values. A National Agenda for Multicultural Australia in 1989 presented a definition of multiculturalism together with eight goals that the government should pursue to move away from an ethnic group model of belonging to a uniform citizenship model.⁵⁹ . As a response to the growing needs of a diverse population many mainstream services were adapted and all migrants were encouraged to apply for legal citizenship; they no longer needed to ape or adopt Anglo-Australian values and cultural practices. An unforeseen shortcoming of this new model of inclusion however was that there was no real need to become a citizen, lawful permanent residents could access most rights and services. Indeed, a growing reluctance to applying for naturalisation became increasingly evident. British and New Zealand migrant residents particularly had no reason to become Australian citizens as they already held almost full rights and by 1991 only 50% had been naturalized. Ethnic minority uptake in the same period was 70%; however, as numbers of non-British heritage migrant arrivals increased, their resistance

⁵⁹ Eight goals of Multiculturalism – goals set out in the National Agenda for Australian Multiculturalism 1989.

to naturalization also grew. In a concerted campaign to promote uptake the 'Year of the Citizen' 1989–94, brought some measure of success.⁶⁰

The codes and conventions regulating Australian citizenship are open to ongoing adjustment; they need to respond to changing demographic, political and economic circumstances. The Australian government launched a promotion drive in 2003 encouraging people to pledge their allegiance to the country by registering for citizenship, they used the slogan 'there has never been a better time to become an Australian citizen' (Australian Government). This signalled a drive to stronger unity and commitment from this remarkably diverse nation of migrants in the wake of a decade of global terrorist attacks. The Howard Liberal-National coalition government (1996–2007)⁶¹ scripted a more patriotic version of Australian citizenship, intended to stimulate more social cohesion and effective nation-building (Jupp, 2007b; Tilbury, 2007). This newer version aimed a redirection of Australian national identity away from inclusive multiculturalism towards more exclusive monoculturalism emphasising Australian values. In a nation rallying speech Howard claimed 'mateship' to be one of the enduring values of what he variously called the Australian 'way' or national 'character' embodied in Australia's 'fair go' laconic egalitarianism (Sydney Morning Herald, 25/12/14).

Howard's somewhat hackneyed choice of terms was not included in the wording of the new version of Australian naturalisation, but measures were introduced to make the process of gaining citizenship more challenging. New applicants were required to demonstrate specific language skills and completion a controversial written test became compulsory.⁶² Further changes to this dynamic model of naturalisation were made in 2018; from this point all migrants must have lived lawfully in Australia for at least four years before applying for citizenship. Visas granted for initial entry and period of stay remain the first of many filters before getting to the naturalization application. The outlier to all these moves towards

⁶⁰ Year of the Citizen – Issued annually on Australia Day the Awards reward and recognise individuals and organisations that have made a noteworthy contribution to a local community.

⁶¹ John Howard – 25th Prime Minister of Australia and Leader of the Liberal Party, 1996–2007.

⁶² Citizenship written test – introduced in 2007 to assess the applicants' adequate knowledge of Australia, the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship and basic knowledge of the English language.

inclusivity remains the indigenous Aboriginal people, who despite fulfilling every criterion of national and civic belonging continue to fall beyond most boundaries of recognised social inclusion. Mick Dodson, aboriginal barrister, academic and representative of indigenous affairs spoke of changes to citizenship conditions as an 'empty shell' for his people as limited voting rights and representation continued to silence their voices (1997, cited in Castles and Zappalla, 1998, p.281).

Castles and Zappalla (1998, p.285), writing at the end of the twentieth century, suggest that Australian naturalisation procedures were some of the most liberal in the world, 'from a country of *jus soli* erring to *jus sanguinis* Australia had become a country whose rules were so open and policies so apt for the globalized twenty-first century world to be proposed as a model for the new world'. Castles and Davidson (2000) identify a need to shed the nexus between nationality and citizenship and develop a civic rather than culturally bound notion of citizenship, one which is dependent on the principle of territoriality in the Australian State, where all enjoy equal rights regardless of their origins. Horne, writing in the mid-1960s, also recognises the need to move away from a national identity modelled on race and ethnicity to one based on political institutions, values and habits and a pledge of adoption from all. He contends that a failure to recognise an all-inclusive multicultural model of citizenship would encourage a return to a racist model. Former British politician Roy Jenkins echoes the same sentiments when writing of multicultural societies, he argues that a public culture should not be a 'flattening process of assimilation' but must recognise 'cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (1966, cited in Evans, 2013, p.4).

Poole (1999, p.117), debating the possible parameters of a citizenship, of cultural tolerance and liberalism in multicultural immigrant nations, questions the viability of a nation state effecting a public policy of cultural neutrality where one conception of 'ways of life' should not be favoured over another. He reflects on John Stuart Mill's belief that it is not possible for a genuinely liberal and democratic state to be culturally neutral. Poole (1999, p.119) concludes that there must be a public policy through which a nation state performs its key functions, and that cultural identities and practices outside the mainstream must be considered as matters of

private concern, much the same as religion: 'Any State which is appropriate for a modern industrial, market society must provide a unified educational and administrative system which will inevitably favour one culture over others'. Kukathas (1992, cited in Poole 1999, p.120) goes further by pointing to the stagnating effects of government policies which seek to protect minority cultures within the greater national society. He argues that cultures should not be static features as if preserved in perpetuity, rather they need to adapt to survive and that minority groups must subscribe to the dominant culture if they are to take part in the economic, social, and political life of the nation.

One might argue that myriad experimental policies of selective migration, assimilation, acculturation and multiculturalism have unintentionally encouraged the growth and maintenance of closed minority diaspora communities; enclaves where cultures, traditions and languages have been not only preserved but re-invented, often beyond recognition from their original source. Kukathas (1992) regards any state support for such groups operating beyond the mainstream culture as 'complicit in their cultural marginalisation' (cited in Poole, 1999, p. 120). In the name of liberal egalitarianism, this accusation has been levelled at several Western democratic states struggling to acknowledge and respect an increasing rate of 'superdiversity' of within their nations (Vertovec, 2007). These superdiverse nations are 'distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants' (Vertovec, 2007, p.1024). It might be argued that if the state functions to protect and perpetuate one culture, then surely liberal justice demands that it protect and perpetuate others. Kukathas's theory of cultural marginalisation is illustrated in practice by Australia's treatment of its Aboriginal people. These people are acknowledged as a separate cultural group and afforded considerable levels of state support yet are still often prevented from being fully integrated members of society leading to significant cultural marginalisation. It might be argued that any acknowledgement of a cultural group within a greater nation will promote both essentialism and enforce hegemony. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995, p.27) write of indigenous peoples of settler nations such as Australia as the 'cause

celebres' of post colonialism, falling into the trap of essentialism set for them by an imperial discourse resulting in their ultimate marginalisation which 'reinscribes the binarism of centre/margin'. This fact re-enforces Kukathas's point and describes a hegemony which restricts the assimilation of minority groups into the dominant national community, thus limiting the totalising effect of national celebrations.

This debate sheds light on the limitations of using citizenship as a vehicle to achieve harmonious cultural homogeneity in multi-cultural nations, including Australia. The Whitlam government's hopes of multicultural inclusivity were severely tested when the Howard Liberal-National coalition came into power and cut back on service provision for minority cultural groups.⁶³ The increased electoral support for the nationalist One Nation Party in the 1990s was further evidence of a failure to promote an equitable and fully functioning multicultural society racism, something Horne warned of as far back as 1964.

At this point I revisit a key theme of this investigation, whether an emotional sense of being and belonging assigned at birth to one nation can be easily transferred to elective citizenship of another. With so many permutations of belonging and citizenship in Australia any sense of finding a secure sense national being arguably feels uncertain. Extreme and shifting anomalies exist between different forms of national being while for those committing to full citizenship, the highly developed rights of quasi-citizens make the legal status less robust. Australian citizens can hold dual citizenship, which may explain why for some migrants first loyalties to home and belonging lie somewhere else. Fozdar and Spittles (2010) bring subjective insight into the way citizenship is viewed in Australia by critiquing two studies which explored migrant perceptions of citizenship. One by Betts and Birrell (2007, cited in Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p.128), claimed that 'most Australians envisage citizenship in terms of a monocultural patriotic commitment'. The other, conducted by the government Department for Immigration and Citizenship concluded a 'proceduralist' approach most common, whereby membership is defined by adherence to laws and procedures of the state rather than by loyalty

⁶³ Whitlam, Gough (Labour PM, 1972–75).

and patriotism. Fozdar and Spittles (2010, p.136) found a combination of the two approaches in independently researched interviews, from these they suggested that in a multicultural nation, citizenship could not be used effectively to improve social cohesion until a more 'inclusive conceptualisation of national identity is articulated, one that recognises both a degree of affective connection to others (not based on exclusionist fellow-feeling) and is also focused on the rights of all within a tolerant civic polity'. They quote examples from collected interviews illustrating the variable uptake of citizenship among migrants and demonstrated that for many visible minorities Australian 'national identity is still conceived as being white and Anglo-Saxon, making the transition from *other* to *national* (let alone citizen) difficult' (Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p.138). Some interviewees reflected on the purely procedural function of taking citizenship as a function of access, referring to how much easier it was to get through customs when 'they see you are holding an Australian passport' (Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p.138).

If elective citizenship proves little more than a procedure to national membership what other symbols of belonging can bring this immigrant nation together? The next section explores the ways in which cultural identity is promoted by this essentially civic nation. It considers what an Australian national identity is and whether a single identity can represent such a diverse nation.

Constructing an Australian National Identity

Citizenship granted through naturalisation does not call for an emotional investment, yet the distinctive culture of a scripted national identity can instil a powerful energy to bring people together as one mutual community. Poole (1999, p.16) suggests that a national identity gives individuals a 'conception of who they are' and 'defines them as members of a specific nation'. Sharing a national identity instils a collective national consciousness, transcends contemporary divisions, addresses diversity, disparity, historical subjugation and has the power to unite all as one egalitarian unit. A tall order for this immigrant nation of subjugated indigenous people and disparate migrant citizens with many referencing their birth nations as

their primary sites of belonging. Walter (1992, cited in Onken, 2009, p.3) writes that the question of what the 'real' Australian identity is will never be solved; nevertheless, opposing ideas are put under the same national 'cloche' where any differences should 'transcend contemporary divisions'. However, the question of who the architects of this persuasive cloche that reworks Australian culture are remains contentious. Vale (2008, p.9), when writing of the process of scripting a national identity, highlights the role a state plays in its production and confirmation: 'National Identity is not a natural attribute that proceeds statehood but a process that must be cultivated for a long time after a regime has gained political power'.

Moran (2005, p.23) considers the centralising role the Australian state has played in building and orchestrating its national society and identity, suggesting that its agency is unprecedented. With its unique history as a penal colony and settler society of diverse pioneering groups having little cause to cooperate, Moran reasoned that the only way to advance a united Australian nation amidst such a discordant environment was by 'dint of collective action.' The newly formed Australian State (1901) linked the incongruous parts of the country into one national whole by managing land settlement, funded road building along with rail and irrigation systems. The State has maintained its ongoing concern in uniting the disparate parts of this island continent, with successive Australian political leaders actively articulating a national identity as a mainstay of their political policies. Stokes (1997, p.3), critical of this political strategy suggests that a single national identity and heritage amid such divergence affirms a lack of self-confidence, and the quest for such an all-embracing identity is as much about what Australia ought to be than what it actually is. Prime Minister Keating⁶⁴ made the development of a clear and coherent national identity one of his manifesto goals when in government. He embraced Australia's 'special identity as a nation which very much comes from the fact that it has no single heritage and reflects a weaving together of diverse cultures' (1994, cited in Stokes, 1997, p.3). John Howard, as then opposition leader, was less prescriptive about tying a fixed definition to Australian national identity yet disavowed a

⁶⁴ Keating, Paul (Labour PM, 1991–96).

multicultural identity and stressed a celebration of long-standing affiliations with the United Kingdom. Howard diplomatically stated: 'National identity develops in an organic way over time. Constant debate about identity implies that we don't already have one, or worse, that it is somehow inadequate' (Headland Speech, 1995). Prime Minister Rudd⁶⁵ proved more reluctant to engage in forwarding a definition of national identity and 'sought a different inflection for Australian identity through his declaration of support for the Stolen Generation in 2008' (Jacobs, 2011, p.83). By promoting increased links with Asia through culture, business, and trade Rudd also put less focus on an anachronistic identity based on the British model. Prime Minister Turnbull⁶⁶ again emphasised the need of a more inclusive identity: "It's not the colour of your skin or your face, or your ethnic background. We do not define our national identity by reference to race, religion, ethnicity" (2017, SBS News). These references reflect the point that any confirmation of national identity and belonging linked to ethnicity is cyclical, typically polarised, and dependent on contextual social and political persuasions. Post-colonial immigrant nation states are contemporary constructs and have limited recourse to traditional and inclusive ethnic identities. Indeed, herein lies the confusion of maintaining the habituated Anglo-Celtic core identity within the concept of a multicultural Australia.

The next section explores the various invented traditions and icons used to represent and personify the desirous characteristics of Australian identities. These often-superficial constructs substitute more traditional customs celebrated by long established nations with shared and continuous histories.

Invented traditions and iconic heroes

Invented traditions are scripted and performed as models of preferred cultures; they resonate with symbols, customs, historical narratives and characterisations of a territory and nation which people can call their own. Bhabha (1990, cited in Elder, 2007, p. 29) writes of traditional practices as 'narrating the nation'; a national orchestration of emotion uniting all in virtuous

⁶⁵ Kevin Rudd – Australian Labour Prime Minister 2007-2010.

⁶⁶ Malcom Turnbull – Australian Liberal Prime Minister 2015-2018.

celebration or commemoration where symbols of the nation 'typically become so sanctified and embroidered with passion and sentimentality that actuality and truth often become distorted beyond question'. These are the 'invented traditions,' Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983, p.1) write of as a 'set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past'. A challenging task for this immigrant nation where establishing a single representation of Australian cultural identity which has not been borrowed or hybridised is problematic. Australia cannot 'garner from recourse to tradition, history and the idea of a common past' (Calhoun, 1994, p.93); yet as Elder (2007, p. 29) notes, 'if Australians stop narrating the story of being Australian, then being Australian will no longer exist as a concept'.

Any truly representative single script representing a national consciousness of Australia must address the complex political, social and moral controversies at play in this culturally diverse, often segregated nation dominated by a White Anglo-Celtic hegemony. Shared narratives and their intended role of uniting, personifying and endorsing notable virtues inevitably include myths, legends and tragedies woven around events which become ritualised and revered representations of the nation. Representative caricatures build on honourable heroes to promote shared values and moralities and encourage reverence from fellow nationals. White (1981, p.64) describes the historically evolving caricature of the quintessential Australian role model with reflective humour, he characterises such national icons with physical, racial, moral, social and psychologically defined traits as products of the nineteenth-century intellectual landscape. White writes of an obsession for characterisation dominating the science of the day. He reflects on social Darwinism enjoying a wide currency among the early Anglo settlers of Australia, and how The Australian Type (almost distorted from human form by competing ideologies) evolved as a representation of all that real Australians should aspire to. The desirous image has inevitably changed over time and White traces a mutation of the iconic form which, despite Australia being an immigrant nation in continual cultural transition, seems to retain its male, White Anglo-Saxon embodiment of physical strength and reliability. Elder

(2007), a contemporary of a far more racially mixed Australia, agrees with White that the dominant ideas of being Australian are invented and continue to be organised around a desire for land and a fear of others who may claim it resulting in a deep ambivalence about belonging to this space. Elder humorously cites Ward's *Australian Legend* (1958),⁶⁷ when ironically exploring the myth of the Aussie bloke as the typical Australian, yet she also reflects that the image still has strong resonance in contemporary Australian culture. She (2007, p.138) uses irony to convey images of a more factual representation of the typical Australian of the twenty-first century multicultural nation,⁶⁸ but recognises that 'securing a strong story about non-indigenous white belonging is an important aspect of Australian national identity narratives'; and that 'these narratives privilege non-indigeneity, Whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality'.

The clearly demarcated identity types recognised by White (1981), Ward (1958) and Elder (2007) among others, serve as a framework to understanding how inventive licence can construct narratives of a social hierarchy and give credence to racial and ethnic hegemony, even in a contemporary multicultural Australia. The following statement by former Prime Minister John Howard on the question of Australian-ness is manifestly scripted in the nationalist terms earlier described by White (1981, p. viii) 'to inspire confidence, strength and hope of an equal welcome for all migrants':

The truth is people want to come to this country because they want to be Australians (but) the irony is that there is no such institution or code that lays down the test of Australian-ness. Such is the nature of our free society (January 25th, 2006, National Press Club Speech).

There is in fact a *code* which lays down the test of Australian-ness, the code of citizenship, which all migrants wanting permanent legal residency must complete. As for a *free society*, this is open to wide interpretation and probably best viewed away from political platforms. Howard's speech and adopted invented traditions are targeted at establishing what Canovan

⁶⁷ Russell Ward's 'Australian Legend' written in 1958, describing the iconic Aussie Bloke.

⁶⁸ Hou Leong's 1995 image of a Chinese Australian citizen embracing a typically blond Anglo-Australian attractive female.

(1996, p.71, cited in Zavallós, 2006, p.44) argues is a sense of nationhood, of national belonging fostered through a combination of political power, including participation in democracy, and a common kinship which she terms 'familial'. Canovan suggests that the fusion of the political and the familial creates an enduring 'we,' a peoplehood that can form the basis of a strong and stable body politic and give the state unity, legitimacy, and permanence to drive collective action and make us aware about the welfare of our fellow national members because it is our state. Zavallós (2006), Hage (1998) and many other contemporary writers belong to ethnic minority groups and would probably consider this a rather optimistic view of peoplehood in Australia.

Orchestrating the Nation

Any drive to a collective performance of the Australian nation modelled around the hegemonic status of an Anglo-Celtic ethnic majority amidst a wide spectrum of ethnic minority others is clearly an anachronism. Such inequality creates controversy, particularly when ritualising or inventing traditions built around momentous historical events seen through conflicting cultural lenses. The debate over 'black armband view of histories' (Blainey, 1993, cited in Dixon, 1999, p.3) which quickly became politicised in Australia, is just one example of myopic and biased views of historical fact and opinion.⁶⁹ 'When we look at ideas about national identity, we need to ask not whether they are true or false, but what their function is, whose creation they are and whose interests they serve' (White, 1981, p.viii). In his critique of Durkheim's assertion that all public events are integrative, Skey (2010) argues that they are in fact hierarchical, as is illustrated in this immigrant nation with its peripheral and ostracised indigenous Aboriginals. The classic case of biased interpretation is the celebration of Australia Day, which marks the arrival of the first British fleets in 1788. Aboriginal peoples conversely reflect on the same January 26th as Invasion Day, marking the beginning of the extended

⁶⁹ Black armband histories – a phrase first used by Australian historian Geoffrey Blainey in his 1993 *Sir John Latham Memorial Lecture* to describe views of history which, he believed, posited that "much of [pre-multicultural] Australian history had been a disgrace" and which focused mainly on the treatment of minority groups (especially Aboriginal people).

period of dispossession subjugation, genocide, violence, and policies of extreme control under British rule. Kev Carmody (1995, cited in Elder, 2007, p.241), an aboriginal composer, when asked for his thoughts on Australia Day pointed out that 'victors recall history from a different standpoint from the vanquished'. Several other days of national celebration have totally different meanings for different ethnic groups in Australia, many of whom have loyalties beyond those of their adopted country. An added complication for immigrant nations with a commitment to respect all ethnic groups is the status of minority cultural traditions, celebrations and rituals and whether inclusion into the mainstream should be approved, particularly when, as Poole (1999) suggests, they seem to contradict the politics, morality, and sentiments of the majority.

It is the acting out and ritual practice of conventions seeking to inculcate values and norms of behaviour by repetition form the all-important observances of nationhood which aim to promote national integration. Using this theme, Anderson (1983, p.10) emphasises the power of ritual repetition, of community practices such as singing national anthems, no matter how banal the words and mediocre the tune, considering how their repetition can create a sense of unity. Yet, as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983, p.4) caution invented traditions cannot in themselves forge a national community out of an ethnically diverse population. White (1981, p. 13) reminds us that: 'Australia as an idea was a European invention' and the source of many borrowed traditions which often clash with other cultures. Nevertheless, it is these very rituals which act for Kapferer (1988, p.208) as the religion of the secular Australian nation replacing traditional religions yet taking over many of their characteristic rights and symbols; he refers to the Anzac War memorial in Canberra as an example of a national shrine that 'sacralises the secular'. Curthoys (1996, p.174) also reflects on the power of the Anzac story to unite in a national outpouring of pride and emotion: 'In the story of Anzac lies the emotional locus of Australian narratives of nation'. The image of the young innocent Anzac soldier, the brave 'Aussie digger' giving his life for the nation, lies at the heart of the 'Anzac spirit' and has created an effective model of disciplinary practices of good citizenship. The Anzac Day story has become part of the national school curriculum where the account is repeated to engender

'courage, endurance, duty, mateship, good humour and the survival of a sense of worth' (Buchanan, 1999, p.27). Anzac Day is a national holiday marked by marches and parades around memorials and cenotaphs throughout the country where children also march with the medals of their veteran or deceased grandfathers perpetuating the image of youth and innocence of the young men sacrificed in the name of the nation. Unfortunately, the mythologizing and creation of saint-like paragons of virtue, unless woven into a tapestry dated beyond the reach of living history are too easily laid open to scrutiny. Elder (2007, p.72) examines the Anzac rituals and stories which 'have mythologised the experience of the Australian soldier at war' and have worked to produce a homogeneous Anzac (Blades, 2021, p.72). Buchanan (1999, p.27) writes of this mythologizing replacing 'the complexity of human acts with the simplicity of essences', of the seductive power of the homogeneous 'cult of Anzac' and how the 'inclusive national narrative of harmony and unity has always been deeply fractured and constantly contested'. As Curthoys (1996, p.178) observes: 'These White national narratives are not altogether straight forward, they have their shadow, their dangerous supplement, which lie inside the story threatening to undo them'. Elder (2007, p.249) questions 'how ideas of Australian-ness would be changed' if the stories of post-traumatic stress disorder, the experiences of women raped in war, and the abuse and disrespect for Aboriginal soldiers were put at the centre of the public story. But, as she concludes, what would be lost is the usefulness of the day 'as an uncomplicated nationalistic story that can be deployed to reinforce a very narrow sense of shared history and future' (Elder, 2007, p.249).

Beyond ethnic bias other critics point to the gender imbalance in national stories which tend to depict men or valorise male experiences as typically Australian. Feminist writers, including Dixson and Schaffer (p. 3, cited in Elder, 2007, p. 65), consider Russell Ward's description of the 'Aussie bloke' as the archetypal Australian, and ask: 'Why is Australian tradition so resolutely blind to women?'

A shift in focus away from the archetypical white male Australian hero was the well-intentioned introduction of nominating an Australian of the Year.⁷⁰ This award profiles leading citizens as role models and reflects the changing demographics of the Australian nation; it signals an attempt to move beyond the anachronistic and much contested stereotypical images. The awards honours highly respected Australians who ignite discussion and change on issues of national importance. The Australian of the Year 'offers an insight into Australian identity, reflecting the nation's evolving relationship with world, the role of sport in Australian culture, the impact of multiculturalism and the special status of Australia's Indigenous people' (Australian Government). Though worthy in its cause, critics have accused successive Australian governments of using the award as another meaningless gesture of tokenism in an essentially segregated nation.

National days pepper the Australian calendar and aim to reinforce and unite the nation under one flag and one anthem by establishing shared histories as national reference points. These constant performances of national unity are symptomatic of a nation fractured along lines of disunity. Elder (2007, p.239), in her critical review of the incongruity of Australian national events and public holidays scathingly hails the country as: 'The Land of the Long Weekend'. This description gives some indication of the numerous celebratory days and the government fervour to create a sense of inclusive 'Australian-ness.' Elder expands on exemplars of these moments of national unification and challenges accepted interpretations of events worthy of national celebration or commemoration in a nation of disparate cultures, ethnicities, religions and histories. She writes of a telling illustration of the fragmentation of national celebrations including those witnessed at the 1988 Sydney Harbour bicentennial celebrations; a replica of the First Fleet⁷¹ arrived and was welcomed by thousands of waving fans on one side the foreshore and thousands of hissing protesters crying out for recognition of Indigenous land sovereignty on the other.

⁷⁰ Australian of the Year – introduced by the Australian government in 1960.

⁷¹ First Fleet – Fleet of British ships arriving at Port Jackson, New South Wales (1788) and the raising of the Flag of Great Britain at Sydney Cove by Governor Arthur Phillip.

Invented traditions are orchestrated as a measure of national bonding, their interpretation of however is not always embraced with the gravitas of purpose and emotion intended. In a Street View Survey conducted in Perth in 2012 on Australia Day, respondents were asked 'what it is to be Australian?' (South West Times, 26/01/2012). A selection of responses below shows the variable interpretations at community levels:

It means helping out people for no other reason than you can. Looking out for Friends and family and sharing a beer with them on Australia Day.

I think it is about family, friends and the water and taking the boat out.

It is about being happy, healthy and the one to help others.

Spending time with the family and friends and having a barbecue on the foreshore. Not being drunk and violent.

I think it is the place where everyone gets a fair go and where everyone is accepted.

It's about being proud to be Australian, going to the beach and looking out for your mates.

These comments illustrate the distinction between emotionally lived and politically scripted national being and belonging; they validate Ferres and Meredyth's (2001) contention that communities are best bound together when they engage in non-formal activities, even if they are initiated by formal celebrations. Establishing an all-embracing and harmonised multicultural national identity for this immigrant nation with its established Anglo-Celtic core is far from a seamless. The translation of policy through to urban interfaces where over 90 per cent of Australians live is challenging. Elder (2007, p.260) captures something of this essence: 'The idea of being Australian is not an innate feeling. For the idea of Australia to have particular meanings, these meanings must be produced against all other possible meanings.' Dauvergne (2005, p.24) also captures the significance of 'meaning' in her reflections on identity: 'a sense of identity gives meaning to life and this meaning has a collective aspect to the extent that identity is derived from comparisons of oneself with others'. It is these comparisons, the quotidian behaviours, the banalities, and codes of being Australian or Un-Australian which sanction community being and belonging. The following section gives some

insight into the lived experiences of sanctioning or denying being and belonging to this nation – of acceptance or rejection of being Australian or Un-Australian.

Australian National Being and Belonging

A constant backcloth of often subtle nationalist themes feeding through Australian national media and culture reinforces messages of inclusion or exclusion, acceptance or rejection to a receptive audience seeking confirmation of their own being, belonging and collective consciousness. The 'proud to be Australian' t-shirts, the 'Australian' or 'Un-Australian' ways of doing things, are all 'scripts of belonging' (Calgar, cited by Vertovec, 2010, p.578) which invite challenge. However, though these continual reminders of how to be *Australian* serve to engage a national code of being and belonging, it is not for all and not all are amenable to the message. 'Un-Australian' is an alienating descriptor used freely in political and community settings to describe what is judged to be unacceptable behaviour and character traits. What the term really means and who has command over its designation is vague, a question explored by Phillips and Smith (2001). They align the reasoning behind the phenomenon to postcolonial theory in that 'any positive value constructs its own antithesis. Running in parallel with any concept of the national, then we should expect to find a shadowing discourse of the un-national, non-national or anti-national' (2001, p.325). Phillips and Smith conducted a series of interviews across an eclectic range of Australians questioning what or who they understood to be Un-Australian. They concluded that the actual definition was exclusively open to insider interpretation and subject to modification as cultural and social boundaries become redefined. In the early post-war years, it was non-Whites, non-British, communists, aliens and the 'Yellow Peril'⁷² who were labelled as Un-Australian; earlier, in the 1920s and 1930s Irish Catholics and the unemployed were marked by the derogatory term. Lowenthal (1978, p.20, cited in Phillips and Smith, 2001, p.324) reflected that 'Australian tradition has been so heroic or anti-heroic ... that Australians almost automatically view historical events as good or evil, fit to

⁷² Yellow Peril – a metaphor that represents the peoples of East Asia as an existential danger to the Western world – particularly Australia and refers to mainly those of Chinese origin at the time.

praise or blame, to mourn or celebrate'. More recent interpretations of the term Un-Australian show a sensitivity and political correctness in its definition. Phillips and Smith (2001, p.326) write of most politicians being uneasy about using the term because of its consonance with racist views. They write of an interview report in the *Melbourne Age* newspaper where Pauline Hanson, Leader of the nationalist One Nation Party, was the only interviewee happy about its use on the political platform (McGregor, 1998, p.4, cited in Phillips and Smith, 2001, p.326).⁷³ Phillips and Smith write of other references to Un-Australian behaviours in their research, and that sometimes those nominated were White men – a dramatic turnaround from the infallible heroic White male Australian figure – the *Digger*, the pioneer, the sports man.⁷⁴ From these results they concluded that White males had not become a new target group of othering but that behavioral and moral flaws rather than race and ethnicity were now under greater scrutiny in multicultural Australia. They also suggested the fact that White males as a group were nominated was symptomatic of their over-representation in public life. The Un-Australian behaviours ascribed to these individuals included being 'divisive', 'domineering', 'arrogant' and 'selfish' – all characteristics conflicting with the conservative codes and attributes that inform the mantra and mainstay of egalitarian Australian nation building: 'mateship, anti-authoritarianism, not thinking you are better than anyone else, cutting down "tall poppies" and believing the importance of everyone pulling together for the good of Australia' (Kapferer, 1988, cited in Phillips and Smith, 2001, p.329). These virtues reflect the same classless society stifled by a lack of individual ambition that Horne scorned in his seminal book *Lucky Country* (1964), lucky that it had managed to progress so far with such limited ambition, vision, or resourcefulness. Globalization, an accelerated market economy, international competition, an increasingly multicultural population, and a more skilled workforce have changed Australia's economic and political settings along with its ambitions. However, the Un-

⁷³ Pauline Hanson – Leader of the Australian right wing One Party.

⁷⁴ Ocker, digger – Australian slang terms for white male characters in the Australian military.

Australian label remains ubiquitous with tailored definitions cast by the self-righteous when marking their interpretations of social boundaries.

Depictions of national role models and sanctioned behaviors are orchestrated and reproduced as part of banal daily scripts (Billig, 1995), particularly in this nation struggling to confirm its shifting identity. This daily flagging of the nation establishes nationalism as an endemic condition which Billig warns is wrong, even if it does symbolise a reassuring sense of normality. National anthems, products overtly stamped with their home-grown provenance, flags, national teams, national ceremonies, national days, bumper stickers, T-shirts, hats, the list goes on, all pledging and reiterating the national way. These representations not only model ways in how to be included within the national family, but also serve to stigmatize those excluded from membership. Fozdar, Spittles and Hartley (2011) put Billig's caution to the test when conducting an indicative study gauging the national allegiance of a sample of individuals who had adopted the increasingly popular practice of flying Australian car flags on Australia Day. Results demonstrate an overwhelmingly positive correlation between car-flag-flying and exclusionary nationalism. They found that flag-flyers rated highly on measures of patriotism and nationalism, felt more negativity towards Muslims and asylum seekers and more positivity towards a White Australia policy. The same group felt their cultural values endangered by liberal multicultural policies and had nativist visions of Australian identity, and while being positive about diversity, they were more likely to feel that migrants should assimilate into the core Anglo-Australian culture. These observations and use of the terms migrants, Muslims, and asylum seekers as boundary markers of exclusion and othering in a predominantly immigrant nation is somewhat ironic; it evidences claims to an assumed power and hegemony based on established if spurious claims to nativist belonging.

Hage (1998) reinforces this sense of asymmetrical power when writing of two distinct groups within the nation: those who feel entitled to make such judgements and others who are subjected to their managerial gaze. Hage writes of the 'domesticated other' and the assumption that some people in the nation have the power to determine 'how many' of the 'other' should be allowed entry to Australia implying that there is an acceptable level of 'just-

right' as well as the possibility of 'not enough' (Hage, 1998, p.112). This concept of control seems to have been endemic, not only through strict immigration policies but clearly at community levels where minority groups are essential to the functioning of society. Morley (2000, p.223), examining the role of hierarchical agency within communities, writes the presence of otherness is necessary to the functioning of dominant forms of life and that otherness must be kept in its place rather than being excluded.

Elder (2007, p.34), when exploring unequal levels of power through an analysis of the 2000 Sydney Olympics writes that national stories of being Australian are not of equal value; they are both provisional and exclusionary, even towards autochthonic nationals. When describing the opening ceremony depicting a story of the Australian nation, Elder unpacks the impossible task of presenting a single narrative for a country of many diverse histories, cultures, and ethnicities; but notes that the favoured agenda was clear. 'It is easy to centralise particular stories,' and in this telling, it was the heroic 'bush bloke' and all he represents as dominant with indigenous people, multiculturalism, land, nature, and harmony forming the peripheral backcloth; demonstrating that 'the battle for nationhood is a battle for hegemony by which a part claims to speak for the whole nation and to represent the national essence (Billig, 1995, p.27).

Elder (2007, p.181) explores the other ways in which daily stories of being Australian are played out through sport, art, cinema, and music and 'seek to instruct and encourage feelings of Australia-ness' by positioning desired virtues of identity central to a spectrum of narratives. The skills of sports teams or individual players are conflated with a definition of the nation and it is the nation rather than individual competitor that triumphs or is disgraced by outcomes. 'Sport acts as a pivot around which many stories of being Australian are created' (Elder, 2009, p.297). Elder (2009, p.288) features news headlines proclaiming, 'Australia triumphant' rather than 'Australian sports team wins'. An allegiance to national home sporting teams is universal, but in the absence other bonding features defining this nation, 'sport still works as a central way in which Australian-ness is produced and marketed' (Elder, 2009, p.288). Sport is not only used as a vehicle to model the virtues of nation-ness, but unlike many other Australian national

institutions it is far more egalitarian in its inclusion policies towards minorities who would probably be excluded from other representations of the nation. Kell's (2000, p.27, cited in Elder, 2007, p.295) observation that 'there is (in sport) an assumption that merit will win out against social and economic barriers to participation and prosperity', reinforces the aspirational dream of the classless society where 'working class boys and girls have made good'. This egalitarianism, however, does not always translate to spectators in sporting arenas where ethnic and racial tensions all too frequently demonstrate that a presumed social equality has a very tenuous grip. A more egalitarian and familiar way of depicting Australian identity and belonging, particularly to the outside world, is through images of the Australian landscape – 'marking out the land as Australian works by representing particular peoples as belonging – this can sometimes be indigenous peoples; at other times it is non-indigenous people' (Elder, 2007, p.238).

This chapter gives an account of the complexity of making any fixed or discrete definition of this post-colonial immigrant nation defined largely by its territory. It gives insight into why this disparate nation of Australia, positioned some 11,000 miles from the UK, continues to be a destination of choice for British settler migrants.

Conclusions

I conclude that the Australian immigrant nation is in a state of vertigo (Maravillas, 2012) and subject to rapid and ongoing redefinition. It does not replicate any one theoretical model, endorsing Anderson's (1983, p.67) view that a 'nation proves an invention on which it is impossible to secure a patent'. Conditions of Australian national being and belonging are routinely renegotiated in line with changing ideological, political, and economic forces, and different migrant profiles inevitably get caught up in a vortex of instability.

The multi-tiered hierarchy of national belonging in Australia has been historically predicated on British subjectivity, which despite being increasingly challenged by a growing internal diversity cannot be easily neutralised or equalised by the broad-brush stroke of naturalisation (Hage, 1998). Ways of being Australian or Un-Australian are exclusively open to insider

interpretation and modification as cultural and social boundaries are redefined; with any favoured virtues of identity positioned central to a spectrum of narratives (Elder, 2007).

Australia has increasingly become a state with 'a civic form of national identity that does not require shared history, culture, or traditions, nor exclusive (and exclusionist) fellow-feeling for one's compatriots over and above others' (Betts, 2002, p.57). Australian national identity is essentially dynamic, largely state orchestrated and uniquely invented from borrowed traditions modified to fit an alien landscape of a largely disparate multicultural society (White, 1981). Concrete and definitive identities arguably hold limited intrinsic value or historical boundedness and any such claim could prove threatening to both political and economic stability.

The Australian landscape provides a neutral, dynamic and multifarious palate for image makers to draw on and design a particularly unique identity for this country. It is these immediately recognisable, iconic visual images that represent identities of located belonging in the absence of shared human histories. These enduring features source the myths, legends and symbols of the nation while a truly representative cultural identity proves increasingly difficult to frame.

This research case study investigates migrant experiences of dislocation from the security assigned identities attached to home nations somewhere else. The analyses chapters in the next section authenticate first-hand experiences of dislocation by considering the narratives of a group of British White Anglo-Celtic migrants arriving in Australia over a period of some seven decades since the end of the Second World War. The analyses use a blend of Australian literature, empirical research, and personal narratives to consider why these British migrants leave their home nations in search of a new life in Australia. They question whether the migrants arrive as outsiders to the nation or as 'White-Anglo aristocracy, whose rich possession and deployment of dominant capital appears as an intrinsic natural disposition' (Hage, 1998, p.62).

The chapters compare assigned and elective forms of national belonging through migrant lenses and assess whether migrants feel an 'ethno-cultural bond' or just a 'civic legal-rational

connection' to the Australian State (Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p.127). They consider the commitment these British migrants make to performing Australian (Elder, 2007) and the extent to which they retain their British national identities.

Section Two – Analysis and Interpretation: Dislocated National Identities and Situated Belonging

Introduction

This investigation considers the phenomenon of dislocated national identity and situated belonging through the experiences of contemporary White British migrants to Australia. Though many obvious parallels could be drawn between this and other migrant groups dislocated from sites of national belonging, the personal narratives detailed in this thesis, including my own experiences illustrate that every human story is indeed unique. Migrants in this research group have been arriving in Australia since the end of the Second World War, a period of unprecedented global economic, social and cultural transformation.

The political status of nation states within a global arena of increasingly international power has changed significantly in recent decades threatening long-held certainties and emotional attachments to national belonging. Global interconnectivity has ushered in a 'new era of fluidity and openness' which makes it normal for people to 'think beyond borders and cross them frequently,' making migration more temporary with people constantly on the move (Urry, 2007, cited in Castles, 2017, p.5). It might be argued that many of these changes instigated migration decisions for this research group, suggesting a distinct periodisation marked by chronological events within the timeframe of this investigation. The post-war period of assisted passage marked a significant era of mass migration. Later, the availability of relatively affordable air fares from the mid-1970s onwards facilitated a new mobility trend, and travel became more mainstream tapping into a wider network of destinations and broadening migrant choice to new sites and a growing trend towards lifestyle migration. British settler migrants opted for destinations beyond the familiar post-colonial Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Though valid in the context of wider ranging theories of globalisation, actual temporal boundaries of migration patterns tend to blur when applied to the nuances of micro-scale studies such as this. Unlike the era of post-war assisted passage subsequent migration movements detailed in this investigation are less well demarcated by the parameters of single events; they are rather part of an interlocking continuum related to changing political, economic and social

factors which are incidental rather than fundamental to driving such a sizeable migration from a single source. Hence, beyond the early post-war arrivals, any attempts to place respondents into discrete groups within narrow time or event demarcations has proved inappropriate for the purposes of this research.

Considering the momentous upheavals which have inevitably impacted on formerly secure identities and assured pathways to belonging, it seems appropriate to contextualise individual experiences, particularly as some of the interviewees arrived as children during the post-war assisted passage period and were reliant on distant memories, many distorted through the filter of parental narratives. To this end the analyses have been supplemented by secondary research sources which go some way to setting both temporal and contextual frameworks in which individual narratives can be positioned. I have also woven in my personal experiences as a recent lifestyle migrant to both authenticate and detail where appropriate. The analyses chapters map out different migration stages from initial decision making, to arrival in Australia, to finally establishing variable levels of belonging amid the uncertainties of dislocation. This sequential format supports a clearer understanding of individual narratives and a possible explanation for the variable levels of adaption to new situated belonging.

The thematic chapters are:

Leaving Home – Migration decisions

This chapter explores some of the initial experiences of dislocation from homes, families and the security of assigned belonging which led to this British group to make their migration decisions. It considers a range of external variables which may have influenced decision making at different periodic stages and examines why Australia remains an abiding destination for British settler migrants. This initial analysis leads into the next chapter, where the imaginings, the dreams and the hopes of migrants are tested by the realities of becoming Strangers on the Shore of Australia.

Strangers on the Shore

For many of these British migrants arriving in Australia is often their first realisation of separation from all that is known and secure. Despite an almost certain assurance of *invisibility*, many new arrivals soon realise that dislocation from an assigned place of being and belonging is an emotional, as well as physical reality. This chapter considers how dimensions of both acceptance to and accepting of new national belonging can prove a deeply dislocating experience and one which many never actually resolve.

The individual expressions of dislocation considered in this chapter lead through to the next, which evaluates different viewpoints and perspectives of national identities.

Assigned and Elected National Identities

This chapter considers the ways in which national identities are understood, interpreted and valued from both insider and outsider perspectives. It details the ways in which claims to national identities can act as emotional expressions of belonging, particularly at points of dislocation. The chapter links closely with the next which considers in greater detail the different ways in which belonging is sought.

Dislocated Identities in Search of Belonging

When separated from national homes and all that is known and secure, symbols of former belonging can bring a sense of certainty and comfort at points of dislocation. Most settlers eventually become acculturated and adopt expressions of Australian identity, however on their journey to a new national belonging, many recreate hybridised versions of their British identities to ease anxieties of separation. This chapter details some of the often-banal ways in which national identities are both claimed and expressed.

These different expressions give some indication of the enduring value and status of an assigned belonging as opposed to elective citizenship as a form of national being in this multi-cultural nation with a shrinking White Anglo-Celtic core.

Chapter Five: Leaving Home, Migration Decisions

Migration takes place when a comparison of the outcomes of either staying at the place of origin or at the place of destination reveals the latter alternative to be more attractive. (Huag, 2008, v.34: 4, p.587).

Migration decisions are often ambiguous, sometimes erratic and almost never easy to fully rationalise; yet Australia still proves a more attractive 'alternative' than 'staying in the place of origin' for thousands of British migrants every year. Despite Australia's physical distance its familiarity and similitude with the Anglo-Australian nation offers the promise of an almost seamless transfer which can act as a significant driver to migration decisions.

Why Australia?

Song (2018) observes that in proportional terms the number of contemporary migrants as a percentage of world population has not significantly changed in recent decades, however actual numbers, directions of flow and concentrations have. This investigation considers migrant movements between the immediate post-war period (1945 onwards) to the present day from the same source – Britain, to the same destination – Australia. The direction of flow in this case has not changed though the same cannot be said for the concentrations and indeed numbers arriving from Britain since the immediate post-war period (Appendix 2).

Hammerton (2017, p.8) notes that despite the intensity of global migration since the 1970s the British remain the most numerous in their propensity to emigrate voluntarily and to live abroad permanently. He suggests that the reason for this peculiarity is historical with the British Empire exerting its influence long after it ceased to exist, particularly in Australia where the 'colonial dividend,' including English as the lingua franca proves a main attraction. Castles (2013, p.116), commenting on future trends predicts that current changing global patterns of migration will affect Australia significantly. He suggests that increasing global competition for skilled personnel from North American and European countries will attract many more migrants while at the same time Asian countries look to retain and attract more of their workforce. Castles predicts that the Australian government and employers will no longer be

able to 'pick and choose' from a 'large pool of people with requisite skills;' it will lose its competitive advantage. Despite Castles' predictions, this study considers the drivers to date which have motivated this research group to migrate. As previously suggested, demarcating flows into neatly phased units according to external chronological determinants suggests these markers are the sole drivers rather than the result of complex decision-making processes which have considered 'the outcomes of either staying at the place of origin or at the place of destination' (Huag, 2008, p.587). The post-war assisted passage scheme proved a significant impetus but I argue it only played a bit part in eventual migration decisions. The section below considers why Australia continues to be such a magnetic driving force pulling so many hopeful British migrants to its shores.

Australia, the Promised Land?

According to the *Business Insider* (2015) Australia continues to be the number one destination for British migrants:

Australia — 1,277,474 expats. With 21,000 miles worth of coastline, Australia is the No. 1 choice for those who want to live near the beach. The country has only a population of 22 million and boasts plenty of space for a high standard of living and outdoor activities.

Beyond the obvious colonial ties the largest stimulus to this modern migration route was the introduction of the colloquially acknowledged Ten Pound Pom scheme. Operating between 1945 and 1982, the scheme combined with similar short-term initiatives, including Bring out a Briton, to attract over a million British migrants to Australia. This was the last large scale subsidised preferential voluntary migration scheme between any two countries. The assisted passage established a normalisation of migration for working-class Britain raising aspirations of self-improvement for families, couples and 'single sojourners in search of adventure.' (Hammerton, 2017, p.55). Subsequent migrations have either been fully funded by migrants or by employers sponsoring prospective skilled employees by offering subsidised travel and settlement costs in exchange for visas guaranteeing periods of employment.

Australia is perceived as familiar, part of Britain's (and Britons') historical narrative; an immigrant nation with an Anglo-Celtic core imagined as an easily attainable El Dorado for these invisible migrants. Despite dismantling the White Australia Policy in 1973 and an increased emphasis towards a skills-based and multicultural in-take, this is not a destination that demands a significant change of habitus, just a repositioning within the field (Bourdieu, 1986). Abel, a fellow researcher and interviewee based at the UWA⁷⁵ speaks of her own migration as:

Something I had not done. So easy was the decision, it did not feel like we had moved 12,000 miles from our roots, family and friends, we always knew the escape route was there (Abel, 2015).

The language and culture are virtually the same; indeed, everything seems the same apart from the location and a climate affording an attractive outdoor lifestyle. All sound reasons in support of a positive migration decision. Susan from the study group arrived with her husband and two children in 2007 and cited a main driver to her migration as "*Easier to settle than most other countries because of the English language and British heritage*". She went on to explain:

....English speaking – I am a nurse and wanted to continue my career. Mental Health Nursing is primarily about communication, it would have been more difficult to get my MH qualifications recognised in the US for example.

Another British migrant nurse interviewed by Abel (2014, p.165), also suggested that English-speaking was important as a migration driver along with the Australian climate, particularly in Perth, replicating annual their holidays in Spain:

And well, we needed to go somewhere they spoke English basically, so Spain was kind of, although it was a lot closer, was kind of out of the picture. we were craving that lifestyle of eating out on the veranda etc.

Expanding levels of interconnectivity plus increased consumption of television and social media have all played significant roles in feeding the imaginings of the Australian lifestyle for

⁷⁵ UWA – University of Western Australia, Perth.

would-be migrants. Benson (2009, p.3) writes of the power of imagination as a key driver in the process of migration: '[T]he material and social construction of particular places offering an alternative way of living is crucial . . . revealing the role of imagination, myth and landscape within the decision to migrate'. For decades carefully targeted and choreographed films, soap operas and reality television shows have fired up imaginings towards preferred futures for British migrants, with Australia seemingly given far more directed airtime than any other probable destination. The whole genre of drawing obvious parallels between the two locations serves to convince would be migrants that moving to Australia would be just a short step to a life-changing experience. It would enhance rather than completely change a nationally ingrained cultural habitus. Enticing, if somewhat exaggerated, visual images of possible futures were first put into motion pictures in the early post-war decades. In 1959, the Australian Department of Immigration broadcast a state-sponsored film called *The Way We Live*.⁷⁶ This was designed to give reassurance with respect to every possible question that an anxious, yet ideal, British migrant family could ask of their chosen destination. The nuclear family of mother, father and three children each played out their cameo role in extolling the wonderful opportunities on offer in the perfect destination where a conventional British lifestyle could be transplanted onto a land of sunshine and opportunity. Depicting a family of three children suggested that larger families were encouraged (if they were White Anglo-Celts) and there was room to grow, which all played into Calwell's 'populate or perish' message.⁷⁷ Images of these early productions and advertising campaigns along with other imaginings were recalled by some of my interview group who arrived as children of post-war assisted passage migrants:

I do remember as a child seeing adverts on the tv about life in Australia for children, ie riding to school on a horse and eating steak for breakfast every day (turns out this was not true! (Pauline)).

⁷⁶ *The Way We Live* – programme televised to the British public to attract more migrants.

⁷⁷ 'Populate or Perish' – The first Australian [Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell](#), promoted mass immigration with the slogan "populate or perish".

On the other hand Rose, the daughter of Traveller parents,⁷⁸ had different expectations having not been exposed to the advertising hype:

When we were docking in Port Adelaide, as a child I expected to see Palm trees and aboriginals in traditional dress with spears. I don't know if I was disappointed or surprised.

A succession of serials broadcast on British television in the 1970s including *The Sullivans*, was superseded and updated by popular soap operas of the 1980s slotting comfortably in with *EastEnders* and *Coronation Street*. *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* all tapped into a sense of familiarity, of everyday life, so viewers imagine Australia as less exotic and more home-from-home.⁷⁹ The squawking cockatoos, parrots and constant sunshine backcloths were overlaid by the regular human dramas of jealousy, love, anger, deceit and teenage crushes. Life in Ramsey Street was just so familiar.⁸⁰ One of the respondents, Emily, was sure of what Australia would be like because “*I'd also grown-up watching Home and Away and Neighbours (Australian Soap Operas) so knew it was very beachy and outdoorsy.*”

More recently the reality television show *New Life Down Under*, though mindful of more restrictive broadcasting guidelines and a more savvy and interconnected audience, again focuses on viewer imaginings of a new life in Australia (in much the same way as *The Way We Live* in the 1950s). Producers have carefully considered the psychology of migrant imaginings and matched them against a more cautious and informed audience conscious of the realities of life, risk taking and balancing the ideal against practical concerns. The comparative cost of housing, living, availability of employment, salaries, lifestyle and crucially the anguish of leaving loved ones behind are considered. Successful television must use drama to draw audiences in and true to a tried-and-tested formula, protagonists are often depicted as having reached a crisis-point in their lives while being very open about their innermost personal feelings, even to the point of crying in front of millions of viewers. This links

⁷⁸ Travellers – refers to itinerant groups, and may mean: Romanichal *Travellers*, or more commonly referred to as English *Travellers* or English Gypsies, who are a Romani ethnic group with Romani origin.

⁷⁹ Soap operas – British and Australian daily/weekly televised serial programmes.

⁸⁰ Ramsey Street – central location in the Australian soap opera *Neighbours*.

in with Benson's (2009) tip of the iceberg stage; a crisis-point that the audience easily relates to: lack of quality family time, lack of sunshine, acting out one's long-held dreams, family break-ups, wanting a better future for one's children, getting away from all the ills of the Britain including (though seldom openly stated) the supposed impact of migrants on local communities. The new destination is sampled for a week then condensed for television viewing into an hour-long programme with all the props in place. The show is punctuated by participants spinning a double-sided card to show flags of either Australia or the UK as their chosen destination at the end of each experience. This gives the viewing audience a chance to vicariously sample the anxiety of migration decisions and guess whether, or not, the protagonists are going to become members of the *Wanted Down Under*. Even better, we now have *Wanted Down Under Revisited* which keeps us in touch with the reality of the chosen families and their decisions. The formula of the programme targeting middling migrants, somewhere between precariat labourers and elite business professionals, arguably conspires to generate a sustained flow of skilled, mainly White British families into Australia. Participants earn celebrity status, not only because of the television exposure but by their very decision to emigrate to the land of sunshine, barbeques, beaches and surfing; they have made a statement and have set themselves apart. One post on a popular Web-Based Discussion Forum echoes this very point:

I am different, judge by my selfies and FaceBook posts. I feel it's a need to post the photos on FacePoke so all their 'mates back home' can be impressed by their new life (Bebbs, 2018, PomsinPerth).

Millions of British viewers watch reality migration programmes and experience Australian life by proxy, yet as Benson (2012, p.1689) suggests, 'The desire for a particular migration destination reflects collective imaginings, while the act of migration requires that individuals have the capital – social, cultural and economic to undertake a particular move'. The capital Benson writes of can apply to any group of migrants in any proportion, but this lifestyle genre of migration undoubtedly makes a statement of individuality though it is not without risks bound

up in the tall poppy syndrome⁸¹. Making migration decisions public invites opinion with comments ranging from admiration to envy, scorn and even contempt. My husband and I noticed the increased interest and attention we received when we planned to set up our retirement home in Australia; we went right up in the popularity stakes. Strangers we had never met before sought us out and wanted to hear our story; they told us their related stories about a relative or acquaintance who had emigrated to Australia – after all, we may well meet them at a BBQ or while surfing and must be sure to remind them of our new joint friendship. We had made a statement of social and financial capital; we were footloose, we were mobile, we were going to live the dream. Scott (2006, p.1123), writing of mobility, states ‘whether migration, a temporary sojourn, travel and tourism, second-home ownership or simply experience through transnational media is now a dominant feature of middle-class reproduction’. We were now middle-class celebrities and our decision to sell up and return to our permanent home in the Britain four years later brought equal, though less upfront attention. We had failed, we “*couldn’t stick it*,” “*never had it in us really*” and those who sat in judgement knew we “*were not up to it*”; they would have or did stay. We certainly did not reflect on the experience as one of failure but a fantastic experience.

Our temporary dalliance with Australia may be described as an expression of lifestyle mobility. Benson and O’Reilly (2009; Benson, 2013b) characterise this phenomenon as representative of a small group who are relatively affluent and generally second homeowners who have accrued the capital and assets in one location to facilitate life in another. We were retirees, mortgage free and had good occupational pensions, as well as a secure home base in the UK; we did not have to face the dilemma of securing our presence legally by becoming Australian citizens. We were British, we had privilege. We did it because we could, because the system based on historical ties between Australia and Britain allowed us to. On reflection, our house in Australia was probably little more than a holiday home, a consumer vanity project; though it had originally been built for retirement migration we had a get out clause. We were

⁸¹ A particularly Australian term of discrediting someone who stands apart from others after achieving notable wealth or prominence (Oxford Languages Dictionary).

following a dream held for over thirty years and if like many British migrants we had gone there to work and build a new life with our children, things may have been less transient and temporary – something we will never know.

One interviewee who emigrated in 1984 and did stay said of newly arriving migrants: *“I can always tell within a few weeks whether they will make it or not”*. What this essential ‘make it’ quality is seemed difficult to verbalise, yet William’s migration story reveals the many sacrifices and commitments he and his close family made, including those left at home in Britain. This was not an easy separation, particularly when communication with home was restricted to fortnightly aerogrammes and rare telephone calls. A more recent migrant Josh, writing on a WBDF, feels he needs to justify what others may see as failure:

*‘I’ve been here 3 years now and have to say I am bored ****less now, we come here on holiday first before we made the move .. the first year here was like a holiday we went everywhere and was busy buying everything for the house (expensive), the second year was right what’s next? Then you start to get homesick now and then because the first year we had seen most of what was worth seeing and everything is expensive so unless you earn good money forget it , they say the weathers lovely the beaches are pretty yeah they are but it’s not everything because half the time your at work all the hours god give you and try finding a beach bar ??? With some music??? ,we are now moving back to the uk good luck to anyone moving here your need it I guarantee after 3 years your know what I am talking about. Perth is like a dumb blond-good to look at but no substance’ (Josh, 2018, PomsinPerth).*

Josh’s frank expression of the actuality not always matching the imaginings are similarly, if more eloquently, recognised in Benson’s (2009) research work in the Lott region of France. Benson relates experiences of migrant isolation being complicated by ongoing attachments to people and places elsewhere.

The migration process has changed significantly since the post-war assisted passage scheme which managed the passage of the early arrivals in the research group. Neoliberal economic reforms in the 1980s signalled a distinct distancing of government involvement with migration. A privatised migration industry increasingly facilitated by rapidly developing global communication systems moved largely beyond embassy bases to online networking platforms at an exponential rate. Any Google search for Migration to Australia will yield literally

thousands of companies promoting and endorsing their services as the most efficient, usually substantiated by customer appraisals. The official Australian Government website is often tucked away somewhere way down the list after the many imposters with remarkably similar URLs.⁸² Migration agents are often the first port of call as they will, for a handsome fee, advise on the likely success of migration applications and available visas. Agents are the initial filter before hopes and dreams start to materialise. Once the proverbial ball starts rolling then the doors open to the next enterprising feeders spawned from the industry all pedalling their wares for medical certification, managing finances, finding accommodation, finding work, moving furniture, even learning how to speak 'Australian.' Migration roadshows, including *Down Under Live!* are part of the same industry that regularly tours British venues to promote Australia as a migration destination; these are a likely next step for would-be migrants inspired by the imaginings of a new life in a new setting.

Down Under Live! is your best guide to moving to Australia - and it's here in the UK. Presented in a friendly and helpful atmosphere, we will answer all your questions and help make your dream a reality. Buy tickets for our 2019 Events and dream under a different set of stars. We aim to provide all the support and help you need in preparing for a new life in a new country.

Individual Australian states, keen to attract skilled migrants to key services, often promote recruitment opportunities.⁸³ Abel (2014, p.52) analysed the recruitment promotions posted in London hospitals, including one inviting nurses to:

'Screw working in Staines. Hello Adelaide. Fine wine, fine weather, fine jobs, fine universities, fine weather, fine food, fine houses, oh and did I mention fine wine and fine weather? (SA Government, 2010)'

Beyond the recruitment posters the roadshows and the slick television programmes, more recent migrants are likely to sign up and post questions on WBDFs where those all too important questions can be asked of fellow migrants and moderators:

⁸² URLs – incorporates the domain name, along with other detailed information, to create a complete address (or "web address") to direct a browser to a specific page online called a web page. In essence it's a set of directions and every web page has a unique one.

⁸³ South Australia State advertising for medical professionals.

Poster - *Does anyone have any experience/advice on these areas and positive/negative on certain schools? Are there any suburbs to the west of Jandakot that anyone could recommend?*

Response - *We live in Leeming and have done so since our arrival 12 years ago. I'm a little biased in that I think it's a great suburb, the primary schools in the area all have good reputations.*

Poster - *'Hi and thank you -Do you have any areas that are a no-no? I'm finding that the hardest thing, because in the UK (the area you grew up in), you know the 'dodgy' areas that you deffo wouldn't want to live in, but without the experience of living in Perth for any length of time it is so hard to know where to avoid...'*

(Extracts from Poms in Perth WBDF January 2019).

Australia has been the preferred destination for millions of British migrants since the end of the Second World War. However, despite the enticement of the post-war assisted passage and the many lifestyle attractions of the country proportionately few in fact make the migration move. The next section explores what separates this migrant study group from the majority who do not make a permanent move by questioning the drivers which motivated their migration decisions.

Drivers to Migration

These are not forced migrations where an outsider status is summarily assigned. These migrants have location-specific capital (Da Vanzo, 1980) and are effectively privileged insiders making choices. However, as Guibernau (2013, p.34) cautions, choice itself can be a paradox as it demands a greater degree of commitment with the inherent tensions of making the wrong decision and losing the secure confines of traditional belonging potentially leading to a sense of dislocation. As alluded to earlier, Benson (2009) suggests that the watershed decision to migrate is often the tip of an iceberg representing many competing underlying drivers. The assisted passage scheme was one clear event parameter acting as a watershed stimulus to over a million British migrants and, though no other single driver can be so clearly defined, Hammerton (2017) suggests that other notable political, economic and social changes in recent British history may have contributed significantly to emigration decisions. Hammerton argues that the rise in social mobility stimulated by increased access to tertiary education and

the subsequent transition of many young graduates from traditionally working-class backgrounds into middle-class professions, has fuelled increased migration. Newly acquired professional passports encourage a widening of aspirations and spatial horizons. Cheaper, faster travel options to remoter destinations in the late 1960s developed new mindsets of mobility. Hammerton (2017, p.7) notes that a rising tide of multinational corporate employment since the 1970s increasingly attracted many well-qualified graduates to explore the world with some becoming serial expatriates – previously the preserve of the middle and upper classes in British colonial postings. Indeed, many of the migrants in this study have used their professional and skills qualifications to facilitate their move to becoming permanent Australian citizens.

Hammerton (2017) details how the consequences of strongly held political ideologies came increasingly into play as key push drivers in the post-war decades. Though, as we will see it is the subjective consequences of political decisions which trigger the tip of the iceberg drivers rather than an opposition to wholesale ideological disputes. Hammerton writes of a sizeable number of skilled working-class migrants who lost employment in Britain under the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher.⁸⁴ Jock, in my research group, thought himself one of ‘Thatcher’s refugees’ (Hammerton, 2017, p.82) after losing his job as an industrial chemist in Glasgow: *“I was made redundant and it looked like we’d have to leave Scotland anyway to find a job. I had been looking for over a year as I knew redundancy was coming. Mrs T got the blame.”*

Unsurprisingly, few migrants suggested they were attracted to Australia by its political ideology. Bryant (2014, p.15), a former BBC political correspondent in Australia, writes in his scathing account of Australian politicians that ‘Australians are embarrassed by the inferior quality of daily Canberra fare’ and that Parliament House now ‘vies for those *only in Australia* slots once reserved for ravenous crocs’.

⁸⁴ Margaret Thatcher – Controversial British Conservative Prime Minister between 1979 and 1990. Her decisions led the closure of many nationalised British industries.

Self-improvement or self-fulfilment, whether in search of a place of safety or something which may be broadly described as an improved lifestyle, has always proved a key driver to migration. As Bryant (2014, p.11) puts it: 'Australia is not known for selling its inventions round the world, but its lifestyle has become a major export'. Some of the earliest arrivals in my research express these sentiments:

My family migrated to Australia in 1964 from Southampton, arrived on December 29th of that year. We are a large family from Liverpool England who came here to Australia for the lifestyle and opportunity to better our lives (Pauline).

Abel (2014) concludes that contemporary lifestyle migration has become just another consumer choice. She notes how in recent decades there has been an increasing focus on introspective individualism and self-gratification, with lifestyle migration framed as just another purchase option. This theme of consumerism aligns with Benson and O'Reilly's (2009, p.3) suggestion that lifestyle migration is aligned with the privilege and increased choice afforded by higher levels of social and financial capital. They write of '[T]he material and social construction of particular places offering an alternative way of living as crucial within the decision to migrate.' Though access to lifestyle migration may be the preserve of the (relatively) more affluent, in the case of Australia – with all its inherent familiarity – I would contend that Featherstone's (1991, p.86) observations are particularly relevant: 'the preoccupation with customising a lifestyle and a stylistic self-consciousness are not just for the young and affluent: consumer culture publicity suggests that we all have room for self-improvement and self-expression whatever our age or class origins' (cited in Abel, 2014, p.72). Like most retirement migrants, my husband and I had the financial capital to buy land, build a house and fully furnish it. As Abel suggests, this is not just about self-gratification but about setting us apart from the rest – the irony being that by setting ourselves apart via conspicuous consumption we just became part of another group and in the process temporarily lost much of what could not be bought, including the emotional security of a place of belonging. True to form, our consumerism was just another transient moment and once the euphoria of the project had subsided we were left dislocated from our home and attendant feelings of belonging. Our familiarity with the country as a holiday destination, plus our relative affluence,

had made it seem all so possible. We had been driven by both 'explicit' dreams inspired by holidays in Australia and 'implicit' dreams held at a sub-conscious level which involved taking aspects of the destination for granted without consciously considering them before we migrated (Wohlfart, 2015, p.154).

As the power of social media and interconnectivity exploded in the digital age, the *explicitness*, the physicality of migrant destinations has become available at the touch of a button, as are increasingly affordable holidays. Our return flights to Perth in 1986 were more expensive than they were thirty years later in 2016; again, this keys into the theme of competitive consumerism and increasing access for all. Almost everything, including house purchases and the establishing of social networks or employment interviews can be completed online. However, what remains as a figment of the imagination and can only be realised by the actuality are the emotional consequences of migration. Benson (2009) identifies the role of imagination matched against realisation as an under-researched aspect of the migration process. This study goes some way to addressing this gap.

Hammerton (2017), records narratives of serial migrants who, seemingly fired by the adrenaline of the search for imagined new lives, move from country to country establishing shallow temporary roots only to be torn up before moving on to the next dream. Holmes and Burrows (2004) write of 'Ping Pong Poms', British lifestyle migrants who have chosen Australia as their migrant destination only to return, then migrate again. They dispute the assertion that the ability to feel at home beyond one's country of birth has become easier owing to a decrease in the significance of locality (due to processes of globalisation). They describe the overwhelming experience of being at home, and how the emotional reflexivity involved in the migration process is not about managing emotions according to rules but by often difficult to voice and hard to control feelings further complicated by uncertainty about what they should feel. Hammerton (2017), exploring the related theme of transience and societal instability brought through elective choice considers how an increased lack of commitment to once-binding marital and family relationships of permanence often instigates migration decisions. One of the respondents in my group cited marital breakdown as the main driver of her

migration. Joyce had originally migrated as a child on assisted passage and returned to England in her early twenties where she married and settled into family life. Unfortunately, when her marriage hit a bad patch she returned to her family in Western Australia where, as a single parent, she thought she would feel a stronger sense of belonging.

Joyce's story exhibits different motivations for her migration at different life stages, confirming why the identification of discrete groups of migrants according to generic or periodised drivers proves challenging. All migrants, though some more reluctant than others, have made their individual migration decisions. They have deemed 'the latter alternative to be more attractive' (Huag, 2008, p.587), secure in the knowledge that a get-out clause is available. This is not a journey of no-return for these White British migrants, they are *insiders* making elective choices; they have privilege. This prerogative of entitlement would suggest even greater flows of British migrants to Australia, however, as Bauman (1998) has argued, only 3% (updated to 3.4%, 2017, UN) of global population have the ability or indeed inclination to migrate, making this cohort relatively small.

The following section considers personal narratives in greater detail explaining why this group had both the ability and inclination to make positive migration decisions.

So why them?

The attractive post-war assisted passage initiative of the period proved a tip of the iceberg decider for many British migrants; other reasons, or the remaining 90% of the iceberg drivers, comprise a combination of subjective, yet generic, motivating forces carrying variable weightings at different points in migrant life cycles. The predominant driver underlying all voluntary migrations entails personal choice based on an interplay between the perceived and the imagined, a decision 'more likely to be stimulated by a sense of heightened expectations rather than desperation' (Benson, 2013, p.1).

The earliest arrivals in my research sample came to Australia as children and were dependent on memories of second-hand accounts to explain their choice of family migration decisions. Understandably, these responses were sometimes unclear; as Hammerton and Thomson

(2005, p.8) point out: ‘... memory stories also tell us about the identity of the narrator at the time of telling and about the meaning and significance of migration in his or her life story’. In the context of individual migration journeys, responses are also stage-dependent – stages which themselves are not necessarily time-related. Faced with the reality of separation from home and a corresponding sense of belonging the overwhelming feeling of dislocation can cause migrants to lose sight of the original reasons which led to their momentous decision. In their research of assisted passage migrants, Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p. 65) identify migration drivers with chronologically specific factors, including ‘a strong encouragement from Australia’ (22%) and ‘disillusioned with post-war Britain’ (11%). Five of my respondents came to Australia as children in the early post-war decades. Their narratives, along with those collated by Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.9), provide a contextual understanding of the main drivers behind what came to be known as the ‘largest peace time mass migration of the twentieth century’. These assisted passage migrant narratives are particularly significant to this study of dislocated identity as the post-war period was a time of heightened national pride and belonging: ‘the flags, the soldiers fighting for the British nation, street parties, patriotic songs, Vera Lynn ‘there’ll always be an England,’ the Queen’s coronation in 1953’ (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.267). These are the bonding ‘invented traditions’ Hobsbawm (1983, p.11) described as ‘emotionally and symbolically signs of club membership’; the symbols through which nations claim identity and sovereignty and command instantaneous respect and loyalty (cited in Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.17). Historically embedded colonial ties between Britain and Australia were more closely defined by the Second World War as allied troops fought alongside one another in a war against a common enemy. Australia was popularly perceived as just an extension of Britain where the British were not regarded as real immigrants.

This close alliance, along with the fact that Australia was often imagined as Britain with a better climate, less rigid social class divisions and limitless opportunities fed into government publicity which sought to drive the pull force for post-war mass migration to Australia. Many

British soldiers returning home took advantage of the skills retraining programmes and free passage to emigrate to Australia.

The drive towards making a momentous journey into what was, for most the unknown, seemed more secure and compelling when part of a group rather than as an individual. Most communities, particularly in urban and industrial working-class areas, were targeted by advertising campaigns to attract new recruits. My father-in-law speaks fondly of many friends and colleagues from the foundry he worked at in the East Midlands responding to the call to start a new life in Australia. Tempted by the spirit of group euphoria this cautious man, even at a time of easy passage and encouragement of secure employment, did not become one of the Ten Pound Poms. He relates stories of those who “*didn’t make it*” and the very few who “*did*” to almost justify his decision. He did not fail. He, like the vast majority, even with all the incentives on offer, just did not answer the call.

Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.2) quote migrants who did make the journey and spoke of ‘the deprivation that the war brought made me want more’. The reason why some made the move successfully and my father-in-law just flirted with the idea temporarily could be explained by a multitude of reasons: different age, different stage or just a different attitude to life. With no one decision more worthy than another, some made the move and others did not. Some regretted the move, particularly assisted-passage migrants who were expected to stay for at least two years or reimburse the costs of travel. In fact, over 25% of post-war migrants thought the cost of return worth it and came home with their hopes and dreams in tatters (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.302). Obviously, for these returnees, the imaginings and realities did not match up. For my father-in-law, the carefully considered drivers were obviously not strong enough a force.

This migration was and for most people still is, about lifestyle and finding a new place of belonging rather than finding new and improved employment, including maintaining professional pride or parity of status with previous occupations. Many of Hammerton and Thomson’s (2005, p.6) respondents spoke of their careers as something they were willing to sacrifice when migrating: ‘I think you have to be prepared to accept what you find, be prepared

to do anything that comes along'. Though employment is not a main driver for most, it may be a facilitator to migration. When I interviewed Jock about his migration drivers, he explained how he had heard at a migration promotion exhibition that there were *"plenty of science opportunities in growing mining industries in Western Australia."* Though Jock *"did not find the decision difficult"* to migrate, he found that his family did *"not qualify for assisted passage as my qualifications as an industrial chemist were not, at that time, being particularly sought."* He was forced to give up on his career as an industrial chemist and, when asked about availability of employment in Perth when he arrived, said *"It only took a month to find a job,"* but *"I really mean jobs not careers because I became an EHO (Environmental Health Officer) to be guaranteed employment, not to advance myself. I doubt if I really ever overcame my redundancy. I considered my career as such finished then."* Notwithstanding Jock's account, Hammerton (2017, p.85) describes how many of 'Thatcher's refugees' prospered after the initial shock of losing jobs, conversely becoming 'Thatcher's beneficiaries'. Jock consoled himself that *"Every cloud has a silver lining. The cost of living here was much less expensive than in Scotland"*.

Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.65) note that some 24% of their assisted passage research group cited 'problems at work' as a main driver to migration, suggesting a mass movement driven by unemployment; in fact, there were high levels of employment in Britain during the period of post-war reconstruction. Appleyard's (1964) survey of British assisted-passage migrants observes that most were keen to change their socio-economic setting rather than socio-economic status. These were not people who planned to build 'empires in the antipodes.' Indeed, few of them planned to change their occupations (cited in Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.214). For many it was the offer of employment in a new lifestyle environment that may well have prompted nominating 'problems at work' as a main driver. I suggest the 'problem' to have been one of subjective dissatisfaction, with Australia perceived as the panacea to all problems.

John, emigrating with his family in 2007, identified issues connected with work as being one of the main contributory drivers to his migration decision. He complained of how government policies had impacted on his work when Tony Blair's New Labour government (1997–2007) established open border agreements allowing migrants from European Union countries into Britain.⁸⁵ As a skilled craftsman in the building trade, John started his apprenticeship with an established builder when leaving school. While the business was both successful and profitable affording John and his family a good standard of living, he was increasingly losing out on work to East European builders who undercut the quotes given by local firms. With no foreseeable decline in the competition, John and his wife made their migration decision. Problems with work were of course just one factor among many, but John identified this as a main driver particularly as at the time Western Australia was going through a building boom fuelled by high wages from the lucrative mining industries. Building skills were given a high rating on the visa points system and John secured work easily; he was considered a prize catch by local builders for his experience in a range of related skills. When talking about the comparisons with his work back in the UK, John considered his well-honed skills working with listed buildings and fine architecture in the UK of little use in this area of Australia where a *"she'll be right"* attitude allowed little time for the care and skill of a master builder. However, remembering that emigration for the family was more about lifestyle than work, John was willing to make sacrifices if it brought in a good living.

Brian and Joanne emigrated from the Birmingham area in 2006, also citing dissatisfaction with (Brian's) work as a main reason for the move. As a skilled electrician, Brian worked long hours at various sites around the UK which involved significant travelling depriving him of quality time with his young family. Joanne, when asked for a reason as to why they had emigrated, said: *"Being able to spend time together as a family, my husband worked away all week and we only had weekends."* They emigrated on an employer-sponsored visa offered by a

⁸⁵ European Union freedom of movement policy 2004 – Freedom of movement and residence for persons in the EU is the cornerstone of Union citizenship, established by the Treaty of Maastricht 1992.

company based in Bunbury, WA.⁸⁶ Brian worked locally and only during weekdays, leaving evenings and weekends to catch up on family life. This same scenario is played out in several of the reality show editions of a 'New Life Down Under,' where a lack of quality family time drives couples almost to the point of divorce (making a move to Australia seem even more attractive).

These few case studies illustrate how dissatisfaction centred on employment issues can prove a significant driving force to emigration, but for many is just part of 'projects of self-fashioning' (Conradson and Latham, 2005, p.290). Unlike those early post-war years where particular skills were a less significant part of the migration acceptance process, a change introduced with the 1958 Migration Act brought a more discriminating universal visa scheme.⁸⁷ This widened the range of acceptable migrants beyond the confines of Britain and eventually Europe, with entry being limited to those who could contribute to the economic growth of the country and assimilate into Australian society. Visa regulations change frequently and subdivisions within categories are adjusted to the needs of each individual state and areas within. WBDFs often contain posts concerning employment regulations linked with visas and some of the following extracts from PomsinPerth (2018) give a real-life snapshot of the challenges of fitting the imagined dream with reality of employment visas.

'Visas are based on skills, so one of you needs to have a skill that is on the skilled lists. However, in order to be deemed to be skilled, the main applicant needs to pass a skills assessment, which is an assessment of formal qualification / training and post qualification experience. You need to score a minimum of 65 points. Points are awarded for a range of things such as age, qualifications and language. The latter is a bit of a funny one, as if British, you don't need to pass a test to prove you have the required English, but, if you want points for it you do. Hence, most people find they have to pass an English exam such as ielts to boost their points as the more points the better. Then, check you pass the other criteria such as age (maximum is 45), health and character.'

'Hi I have over 15 years experience in plastering here in England. I understand that it is not the same type of plastering that is done in Australia. Can anyone explain the difference and is it easy to pick up. I am a decorator by trade and this is what I am basing my visa application on. Any info would be greatly appreciated, many thanks.'

⁸⁶ Employer sponsored visa – 457 - a temporary workplace visa issued by an employer for a particular skill.

⁸⁷ Migration Act 1958 – The Act replaced the [Immigration Restriction Act 1901](#), which had formed the basis of the [White Australia policy](#), abolishing the infamous "dictation test", as well as removing many of the other discriminatory provisions in the 1901 Act.

The significant normalisation of the British ex-patriot presence in Australia arguably affords a sense of privilege and welcome, even for those offering relatively low-level skills, as shown in the following post:

'Hi I was just wondering if there is a demand for lawn maintenance? If so what is the average cost to have your grass cut. Thanks

The writer of this post seems to assume he does not have to match visa skills restrictions – after all, he is British! What reaction would he get as an ethnic minority migrant seeking employment in Britain as a lawnmower? Skey (2008) writes of conditions of belonging, which this poster obviously feels he has in Australia. Surprisingly, there were no replies to this post. The foundations of these conditions of belonging were arguably established by historical links with Britain, the White Australia Policy and the Assisted Passage Programme which deemed it a priority that migrants should be White British, willing to settle permanently and grow their families as Australian citizens. Many prospective migrants saw the strictly enforced restrictions on race, ethnicity and health as a distinct attraction and a main driving force. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.90) detail narratives of assisted passage migrants who cite a dissatisfaction with the post-war government recruitment drive in the Caribbean Commonwealth countries and a seemingly disproportionate number of arrivals from different ethnic backgrounds in many already overcrowded areas of British cities.⁸⁸ Australia would be different and for some the strict migration policies made the decision to leave Britain more compelling.

Post-war Australia applied strict rulings on the well-being of prospective migrants. Indeed, successive governments have been consistent in their desire to filter out applicants who may have health problems and be a burden to the state. Hammerton and Thomson (2005) record many stories where medical issues restricted migration. Sandy and Douglas, a Scottish couple I interviewed in earlier research, had applied to emigrate as a nurse and a paramedic in 1990 and both had skills rated high on the visa requirement list. Their application was delayed as

⁸⁸ Caribbean Commonwealth countries – the *Commonwealth Caribbean* is the region of the *Caribbean* with English-speaking nations and territories, which once constituted the *Caribbean* portion of the British Empire and is now part of the *Commonwealth of Nations*.

Sandy was expecting their first baby and the immigration authorities wanted to make sure the baby was born without disabilities which may require expensive and life-long medical support. Despite these negative experiences some of my interviewees of the post-war era related a different interpretation and remembered the health benefits of migration as being a main driver. Many spoke about doctors in the UK encouraging families with asthmatic children or parents to migrate to the more conducive Australian climate. However, this was a period of desperate need when Australia, intent on engineering an almost wholly White-Anglo ethnic core, could not afford to be too selective. Notably, the two respondents below arrived at a point when the numbers of preferred British migrants were waning. Rose recalled her parents' migration decision being partly prompted by a medical diagnosis:

We migrated to Australia for the climate as my sister suffered with bronchitis all of her early years and the doctors informed my parents that the British climate was not good for her, strangely being as she was born there.

Louise, who arrived as a child in the early 1960s, also stated that family emigration was partly driven by a medical diagnosis: *"My Mother has asthma and it was suggested her asthma would improve in Western Australia"*.

With the familiarity of Australia established and a welcoming hand outstretched to skilled, healthy British migrants, particularly if they are White, I argue it is the attraction of a new imagined lifestyle, no matter how subjectively interpreted, that is the most compelling driving force. In contending that the element of choice and decision making in the whole process feeds into the concept of 'Lifestyle migration' as a form of contemporary consumer consumption, Abel (2014, p.12) links the phenomenon to post-modern theories of self and consumption being 'used to move us beyond spaces where we are all we can be'.

Lifestyle Migration as a consumer choice

Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.13) write of the early post-war decades being an era of new-found consumerism which brought a sense of liberation to working classes where 'status became equated more with levels of consumption rather than affiliated to a mode of

production'. Horizons were expanding, low budget all-in-one holidays to Spain and other relatively far-flung destinations were packaged by an expanding tourist industry promising sun, sea and sangria, all feeding into a euphoria of lifestyle consumerism. Appleyard (1964, p. 145), conducting a survey of British migrants in the 1960s, notes that: '73% had already travelled outside the UK, either during military service or on private visits' and that 'overseas experiences may well be an important characteristic of the emigrant compared with the non-emigrant population'. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.41) record how returnees from overseas war postings or National Service were among the many who applied for assisted passage emigration.⁸⁹ The experience of travel widens horizons, raises expectations and arguably has acted as a significant driver to many migration decisions. Abel (2014, p.153) concluded that, in the context of the British imaginary, Australia is frequently portrayed as an 'ocean-side paradise linked with lifestyle aspirations and overseas holidays'.

The gap-year phenomenon affords an opportunity for would-be migrants to go beyond a short holiday experience.⁹⁰ I interviewed former gap-year traveller, Glenda, who said she had spent a year in Australia holidaying and working on a student visa. Now married with children, Glenda spoke of being desperate to return. Unfortunately however, her husband did not share her dreams:

I was based in Sydney I had a years' working holiday Visa. I had had worked as an early years professional before my degree and so I became a nanny. I lived in, which was great and meant I earned more than others and also had very limited outgoings. The family was based in Watsons bay - which I loved and given the chance I would live there again. I then spent 4 months driving down the east coast - sunshine and gold coasts and up through the centre so went to Canberra, Melbourne, Adelaide, Coober Pedy, Uluru and finished in Brisbane. We also manage a trip up to port Douglas as well (2018).

Another interviewee, Ella, also inspired by an earlier working holiday experience did convert her dream into an informed reality of migration fifteen years later:

⁸⁹ National Service – compulsory and came into force in January 1949-1960 and meant that all physically fit males between the ages of 17 and 21 had to serve in one of the armed forces for an 18-month period. They then remained on the reserve list for another four years.

⁹⁰ Gap-year phenomenon – a period, typically an academic year, taken by a student as a break between school and university or college education.

I had travelled around Australia 15 years previously as a backpacker. Although my travels were more integrated in Australian lifestyle than most, I would say. By this I mean, I had lived with Australians in their homes. Worked with them and not just partied my time away like most do.

I spent 8 months in central Queensland on a sheep station, with salt of the earth people. This experience changed me forever. It was this feeling of mate ship that I knew my return to OZ was going to be OK. I knew the Australian culture was going to suit me. A lot of people have no idea. You can read all the books in the world, but you have to love the culture of this country to get it. It's not just the beaches, surf (although it helps).

These two respondents describe a sense of setting themselves apart from mainstream holiday makers and gap-year backpackers; they moved beyond the well-trodden track of youth hostels, fruit picking and meeting up with like-minded travellers doing the standard circuit of 'must-see' Australian sights. For Ella and Glenda, their extended holiday experiences acted as positive drivers towards future migration decisions and link in with Castles' (2010) assertion that the barrier between migration and tourism is blurred as more people visit destinations to check them out before decisions are made. Ella did migrate and, although her early experiences were invaluable in helping her make a more informed decision, they were not pivotal drivers. When asked why she decided to migrate she replied:

I can't really specify a reason other than my partner was already in the process of obtaining a visa when I met him. I can say it wasn't to follow him! I had a fantastic career, friends, great family and everything to stay for, yet I never (and still to this day) ever questioned or doubted my choice.

Sometimes emigration dreams like Glenda's, remain just that – rosy visions of what could have been, often more satisfying than the actuality as some other migration stories suggest. Previous experience of a country obviously serves to inform any migration decision but how well it prepares migrants for the reality of life in a different setting is never certain. Having spent over twenty years visiting family in Western Australia, my husband and I felt we were well ahead in the experience stakes compared with those who decide to migrate after just one holiday. However, the reality, as with most imaginings, is often a far cry from the dreams. Having only visited during northern hemisphere summers (Australian winters), we had not imagined the glorious postcard sunshine that would send temperatures soaring beyond an

unrelenting forty-plus-centigrade average for endless weeks; only to be followed by typhoon-strength winds demolishing buildings and ripping up trees by their roots. Extreme summer temperatures meant a lot of sitting inside with blinds drawn and aircon at full blast! We also could not remember anyone explaining why so many vehicles were adorned by elaborate roof bars. We soon learned they are not just about macho displays of sparkling chrome but safety barriers against serious damage from kangaroo collisions. The sizeable animals are attracted to vehicle headlights, particularly at dusk and dawn in rural areas. That was enough to keep us safely at home most evenings and early mornings locked away like prisoners in our dream home emphasising that mismatch between the 'explicit' and 'implicit' imaginings Wohlfart (2015) writes of.

Posters on the WBDFs write of holiday experiences which can serve as a significant driving force to migrate to this land of dreams: *'Just arrived back from Australia after a wonderful 4 weeks site seeing and lazy days on the beaches!.im desperate to go back and want to relocate to Perth'* (PomsinPerth, 2018). When asked, most migrants in my sample had little, if any, first-hand knowledge of Australia suggesting that push factors in relation to Britain alone were strong enough to drive the move or the imaginings based on snippets of information supplemented by advertisers selling the dream proved convincing. Responses were significantly different according to the period of migrating, availability of information, connections to friends and families in Australia or in the case of some reluctant recruits, how much they really wanted to know. Few respondents mentioned making migration decisions based on a previously successful settlement of family or friends, even those arriving in the decades following the initial post-war settlement boom; this fact conflicts with Hammerton and Thomson's (2005, p.43) findings of frequent cases of chain migration in post-war assisted passage migrants. The anomaly may be explained by my limited sample size or the fact that my respondents span a much wider timescale of arrival across which conditions of admission have changed significantly. The post-war assisted passage scheme included a family sponsor clause as a primary qualification of acceptance. Relatives or close friends nominated as sponsors were expected to accommodate newly arriving migrants rather than using

government-funded hostels. In fact, few of my research group had any real knowledge of Australia let alone having relatives or knowing anyone there. Joanne and Brian, arriving in 2004, were among the exceptions who had travelled to the country and had contact with a family member:

We did as much research as we could, even flew out twice to check it out. We did watch all the programmes on TV and use online communities to answer lots of questions we had. We were lucky that my Father already lived here so that helped us initially.

The opportunity for a pre-migration reconnaissance was out of the question for most early migrants, particularly those arriving on the post-war assisted passage. Most had not even strayed from home shores before departing on momentous journeys on the old British ocean liners re-fitted to carry the assisted passage passengers. Betty, who I interviewed, said: “As we came out in 1952 the only way knowing about Australia was from printed matter or letters. There may have been films or newsreels, I’m not sure.” Pauline, who also arrived as a child in 1964, responded to my question about previous knowledge of Australia by saying:

I suspect my parents accessed the literature that was available. We did not have any family in Australia, my parents went to Graylands hostel and the children in our family that were school age went to Fairbridge Farm school.

This period of separation from parents reflects the level of mass organisation the Australian government faced in accommodating such large numbers of newcomers and must have been reminiscent of war-time evacuation for many of the children. Louise’s family also arrived on assisted passages and was completely new to Australia:

We had no friends or family here. We had no idea what life would be like in Newdegate in the wheatbelt. But I remember my father made us learn the names of all the states and the capitals.

Rose arrived almost twenty years after the end of war. Her parents were travellers in Britain. They did not research or have any previous knowledge of life in Australia, but the family were: “familiar with arriving at new places and did not consider prior knowledge of a place a necessity.”

Moving beyond the post-war years, information became more available, recruiting offices supplied brochures; television programmes, soap operas and films of life in Australia were

becoming regular features and more informed details of actual experiences were relayed to encourage, or in some cases, discourage newcomers. Despite the increased availability of information, some interviewees arriving in the 1980s recalled having limited previous knowledge of their chosen destination. Jean, when asked, replied:

Probably NOT though we did attend an Open Day at Australia House in Glasgow - a spur of the moment decision when we saw a sign advertising it on the way home from my husband's brother's wedding in September 1980! No friends or family here then.

William and Jane, who migrated in 1984, recalled the same lack of awareness:

No, we were not really well informed 30 years ago [this added to the adventure of it all] but things have changed since then. Very little research was made only calling at the local library accessing dated information. Certainly didn't use online communities or use an agent. No friends or family in WA.

Jock expressed much the same sentiments: *"No. I borrowed a tourist book from the library about Perth, which was not much help really apart from extolling the beauty of Kings Park and the Swan River! After our interview in Edinburgh we received more information in a small booklet."* Jock's reasoning (below) as to why he was attracted to Perth gives some insight into the many decision-making processes involved in confirming migration choices. His reference to other parties involved in his selection of Perth as a favoured location suggest a shared responsibility if the realities of the migration destination were not as imagined.

We chose WA as we thought Perth was a much smaller city than Sydney or Melbourne and may be easier to navigate. I had some info from a customer in Aberdeen who had been here on holiday and said houses were cheap and there were science opportunities in the mining industry. He did not mention that you had to buy land to put these houses on!

The availability of information increased exponentially with technological advances in communication. Emma, who arrived in Perth in 2006, explained: *"We did a bit of research. Subscribed to Outbound Australia Newspaper, looked online at housing. We used an agent to assist with our visas. Nick had a brother here, but we didn't really involve him."*

Susan and her family, who arrived in 2007 had been to Australia but not WA, relished the adventure of migration. When asked about having previous knowledge of the area, she stated:

Not really, forums were in their infancy and whilst having visited the East coast of Australia, the West was sight unseen and we didn't know anyone here. I have a brother (limited contact), in QLD – but we decided that if we were making such a move, we

had to look at what we wanted and what we felt would be successful. WA appealed to us more than any other state.

Interestingly, Susan is now a senior moderator on the WBDF Poms in Perth and actively supports potential and confirmed British migrants by providing them with first-hand, informed knowledge.

The responses suggest that the imaginings of Australia as a migration destination were strong enough to drive these individuals; interviewees almost did not want to find anything which would make them question or dissuade from their decision. Emily, the only single sojourner arrived in 2012, by which time there was much more information available; her response echoed an almost hedonistic desire for adventure into the unknown:

I read Lonely Planet Australia and had the idea that I'd visit my Uncle in Perth and see what happens. I looked at maps but until I travelled in WA I hadn't appreciated how vast it is. I'd also grown up watching Home and Away and Neighbours (Australian Soap Operas) so knew it was very beachy and outdoorsy. No online communities and although most of my friends had been travelling in Australia after college, they all started on the East coast and ran out of money before WA! I talked to Uncle and cousin and having them here helped.

She travelled on a student visa envisioning a gap-year experience: “(I) Had wanted to travel for 10 years, I came into some money (when my mum sold family home) and decided it was ‘now or never’. Didn’t plan to leave indefinitely so it wasn’t a big decision at the time.” Emily had a safety net: an uncle and cousin were there to help if things went wrong. Lily, having married an Australian after meeting in London three years previously, came to Perth in 2015 and was certainly well prepared before she made her migration decision:

My now husband and I came out on a holiday prior to the decision so that I could experience what it was like. He obviously prepared me immensely as he was very hopeful that I would want to move here. I sought information from friends who had previously been out to Perth to work and I contacted the recruitment officer at the children’s hospital for information about job applications.

These responses reflect a range of attitudes to making informed migration decisions, from extreme caution to an almost careless abandon in search of adventure driven by imaginings of the idyllic life in the perfect setting. No matter where individuals fit on this spectrum, there is a certain comfort in knowing that Australia is a familiar, secure and safe place to live out

dreams within a controlled environment – and just like on the television, you can return home if all fails. For most British migrants, the decision is a lifestyle choice which, as with most consumer goods, can be returned if it fails to satisfy. Careful consumers wanting to do their research thoroughly before buying into the migration product are particularly well served by WBDFs proffering personalised and immediate responses. These act as the product reviews contemporary consumers have become so accustomed to. They facilitate the exchange of both official advice and first-hand experience regarding the realities of visa restrictions, work availability, cost of living and all the other real facts of life for migrants. Even if they do burst the bubble of hopes and dreams, these testimonials prepare for the realities. Forums tend to serve middling migrants, the group who arguably experience more anxiety about such large-scale decisions; they have more to lose and need to be more certain than well-resourced elite migrants. It is the middling migrants who are usually motivated by stronger drivers. It is they that need to find work, sell homes, organise transport for themselves and belongings, abandon families and close communities and may not be physically able to be with their loved ones again.

In contrast, Alexa and Tom, two professionals I interviewed in earlier research, would have cast a cynical eye at the programme *New Life Down Under*. They would not be taking selfies to post on FaceBook showing their barbeques and pools. They would not be posting relatively banal messages on WBDF without a care for punctuation – they are elite migrants. Tom holds an executive post at an international bank in Melbourne, which may equally have been in Singapore, Hong Kong or London. The driving force for this family was a lucrative relocation package, including accommodation in gated housing community in an upmarket area of the city; assistance with private school fees for the children and subsidised business-class flights home. They did not have to sell their house in Britain nor risk not settling in Australia as they could move to any other destination which had a branch of the bank Tom worked for. These are the cosmopolitans who Bauman (1998, p.74) describes as ‘the new economic elites who are able to cross borders at will while the poor are meant to stay at home’. Bauman describes how elite migrants tend to live in enclaves with other elite migrants and put down few anchors

in their transient lives. Tom and Alexa have in fact been settled in Melbourne for ten years but know that they can easily relocate and exercise the same level of social capital at another global destination of their choice. In contrast, the middling migrants I interviewed were offered fewer if any such privileges through employer visas and often found their positions insecure, meaning their Australian visas are not assured. There is undoubtedly a lot more at stake for middling migrants, triggering greater levels of anxiety and consequent engagement with forums, television programmes and migrant roadshows. The drivers for middling migrants must be weighed with greater levels of accuracy than those of elite migrants as, for the former, there is more to lose and finding a home and sense of belonging is a higher-stakes risk.

Who is in the driving seat?

The initial driving and final decision to migrate is often taken by one family member in the hope of convincing their partner and wider family of its merits. Original decisions often have a significant influence on securing a commitment to finding homes and belonging in different local and national settings. The magnitude of such a life-changing decision can bring many formerly unseen dimensions to the fore in family relations and test them in a way as never before within the safe cocoon of familiar surroundings. Hammerton (2017, p.127) writes of 'trailing spouses' reluctantly following partners living out their dreams of migration. He relates heart wrenching stories telling of spouses or children who were neither party to, or in agreement with migration decisions and who may never come to terms with the loss of extended family, home and the sense of belonging they felt in Britain. Some families fall apart, others grow closer. William was the decision-maker in the migration move which took him and Jane away from their extended supportive families. After many years of pining for home punctuated by irregular aerogrammes from the family, the couple grew closer in their isolation and formed strong surrogate family bonds with other dislocated migrants, providing a different family and sense of belonging. Once their children grew up as Australians and had children of their own, Jane came to feel that her roots were then firmly established in Western Australia – this was her home. Jock, the proud Scot who migrated in 1984, considered on reflection the

pain he must have caused to those left at home. He spoke of the guilt he continues to feel about leaving his parents and taking his children away from their extended family to follow his migration dream. As a grandparent himself now, he is more aware of the heartache his parents must have endured not seeing their grandchildren growing up. One of the drivers suggested by Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.65) is 'Opportunities for Family and Children', though children obviously have limited awareness of the decision-making process. Louise was far from convinced by her father insisting she would have a better future in Australia: *"I didn't want to leave as I'd just been accepted to a boarding school and was looking forward to it."*

Pauline spoke of her enduring hope to return to Liverpool after being brought to Australia as a child. She rationalises that the move was made for good reasons but has been unable to satiate that need to belong to where she came from: *"I came with my parents. They migrated so us children had greater opportunities when we grew up. They did not want to raise us in a state housing commission environment and to mix with unemployed uneducated people."*

John and his wife Beverly felt they made a joint decision in driving their migration in 2007, but each have since questioned the other in the depths of those alternating periods of homesickness. Significantly, their eldest son, one of their main reasons for migrating, as they felt Australia offered him a better future, has never felt his sense of belonging confirmed and has now returned to live with his grandmother in Britain.

Narratives from the interview group show a general, if initially uncertain sense of family unity and support through migration decisions, periods of dislocation and homesickness. Hammerton (2017, p.14) writes of social changes by the end of the twentieth century 'facilitating a more discretionary form of migration' and a 'more introspective form of individualism with an unprecedented focus on the self'. As I had not found any unresolved family rifts between those driving the migration decisions and those trailing, I explored some web posts under the thread 'Homesick' to see if there was evidence of what Hammerton notes as 'an inward and unhealthy focus on the self.' One somewhat extreme post may have been more telling of the repplier rather than a real reflection of an unhealthy focus on the self:

Poster: 'I have always wanted to live abroad and have loved visiting Australia in the past. Anna is a little less keen, but I'm working on that.' Alex.

Reply: 'Ditch her mate, get yourself over here and meet an aussie bird!'

A more supportive and probably realistic reply followed:

I am going to give a note of caution on persuading your wife. This is a very risky thing to do. Migrating is incredibly stressful on a relationship even when it is easy and both are wanting to do it. When one isn't as keen, I have seen more than one couple land in the divorce court as a result.

The driving seat to migration is often jointly occupied against the force of leaving a wider family back on home ground, something Jock realised much later after the event. Holmes and Burrows (2012) in a review of discussion forums, identified three key emotional factors emerging in the phenomenon of return migration. The main factor entailed feeling obliged to be near family in the United Kingdom. In this sense, families left behind may be said to work as back-seat drivers against migration decisions. Forum posts show many examples of parents being emotional back-seat drivers against migration. This example is an objective, yet supportive, reply to an emotionally torn poster:

I'm sorry your family don't seem supportive of your decision. It's never going to be easy for everyone to understand or support your decision but I would hope they would respect and love you enough to allow you to follow it regardless of how they feel about it. Should you go - hell yes, if you want to, it's your life, you take the best opportunities that come your way and if in the process you upset someone then so be it. To be a successful migrant you have to be incredibly self-sufficient and quite selfish otherwise you would go down in a crumpled heap. Is it fair for your parents to play the guilt card? Good luck, there are no easy answers unfortunately! (PomsinPerth, 2017).

This first analysis chapter details some fundamental drivers responsible for transforming migration dreams into realistic journeys for significant numbers of White British settler migrants to Australia. It determines that migration decisions are confirmed after considering subjective opposing push and pull forces, '*a comparison of the outcomes of either staying at the place of origin or at the place of destination*' (Huag, 2008, v.34: 4, p.587). The empirical data in this case study conclude that initial migration decisions are actioned by elements of dissatisfaction or dislocate with existent sites of being and belonging. In fact, dislocated

national identity is a reality for many of these migrants before even departing their '*place of origin*.'

The acknowledged familiarity of post-colonial Australia and the similitude with the Anglo-Australian nation promise a seamless transfer of social and cultural capital from the *place of origin* to the *place of destination* for many British migrants. The historically embedded relationship and relative ease of passage between the two countries, especially in the immediate decades following the Second World War, have made this migration route particularly accessible. Yet despite these special arrangements proportionately few British citizens actually migrate to Australia. For those that do, their reasons for leaving home, family and all that is known are often ambiguous, sometimes erratic and almost never easy to rationalise. This case study demonstrates that dislocation from a place of being is a reflexive and difficult to verbalise emotional expression of non- belonging.

The next chapter, *Strangers on the Shore*, considers some of the realities of arriving in Australia as migrant outsiders. By exploring and analysing some very poignant narratives of migrant arrivals the chapter illustrates that for many, the realities of the destination of choice do not always match up to promised hopes and dreams. It suggests that for many an original sense of dislocation from assigned nations may not be easily resolved and return journeys are soon made; alternatively, many embark on a life Hammerton (2017) refers to as serial migration, constantly fired by an adrenaline in search for imagined new belonging.

Chapter Six: Strangers on the Shore

The tension between familiarity and strangeness is a central theme in the British migrant experience of Australia. Because the invisible migrants spoke English and came from a country with elements of common culture, it was all too easily assumed that they would have few problems living in Australia (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.124).

This chapter follows on from the previous by considering individual experiences of migrant arrival in Australia. It challenges the presumption that White British migrants, though in possession of significant 'location-specific capital' (Da Vanzo, 1980), transfer seamlessly to identities of situated belonging. It argues that often these British, as many other migrants, arrive with dislocated outsider identities as *Strangers on the Shore*.

As an immigrant nation working towards establishing its own homogeneous identity since federation in 1901, Australia has carefully orchestrated its social, cultural and ethnic characteristics through its immigration policies. As it becomes increasingly independent of its former colonial motherland, the government has used changing incentives to attract and accept different migrant profiles leading to a significant destabilisation of the longstanding White-Anglo policy. Attitudes to these significant changes are reflected in the narratives of interviewees, lending this section to a possible periodisation dependent on variable perceptions of insider/outsider privilege. I argue that acceptance as a migrant settler in this immigrant nation manifests on three main levels: Australian state acceptance, scrutinised through government immigration and visa controls; community acceptance, largely dictated by objective hierarchical controls, and finally subjective acceptance or accepting of a new belonging. All three levels, jointly or individually, have the potential to generate significant experiences of dislocation for newly arriving migrants.

The following analysis is structured according to these three levels of acceptance, it details experiences of this *invisible migrant* group and demonstrates how dislocation may be both experienced and compounded.

The Australian Embrace

The British are the charter group of settlers, as the dominant group in the colonies, they prescribe the criteria and basis for the inclusion and exclusion of other groups (Jayasuriya, 1997, p. 52, cited in Abel, 2014, p.33).

The reassuring welcome, the replication of British culture and a predominantly White Anglo-Celtic ethnic core work together to establish a cocoon of security and familiarity. This context of established similitude has prompted continuous flows of British arrivals mindful that the perceived stigma of being migrant *others* won't apply to them. This privilege of invisibility and familiarity is expressed by Abel (2014, p.30), reflecting on her own migration, as: "*Something I had not done. So easy was the decision.*"

The earliest arrivals in this research group - Betty, Pauline, Rose and Louise - came with their families on post-war assisted passages. Even these migrants, restricted by costs and the availability of return transport knew an escape route back home would always be an option. Assisted passengers were required to stay for a minimum of two years, otherwise they faced the financial penalties of repaying the outward travel costs and their own return fares. Betty arrived with her family in 1952, just five years after the introduction of the scheme. The family were welcomed to the growing nation, they fulfilled the necessary criteria as desired White British stock. A distant relative had nominated them. Betty recalled clear memories of arriving at nine years old:

We were nominated and came on a ship that only had nominated passengers. It was an old troop ship converted to only take "ten-pound poms"!! My grandmother's cousin lived in Perth, Western Australia and was prepared to nominate the family so we came to Western Australia. I was always of the opinion that if there had been a relative in New Zealand or Canada then we would have gone there.

The final part of Betty's recollection reflects a privilege of choice, a pervading mood of opportunity and a chance of reinvention for families emerging from the privations of the Second World War. A welcome ease of acceptance waited in the predominantly White

dominions of the shrinking British Empire.⁹¹ There was no need to offer transferrable employment skills, just a willingness to work and assimilate. The main priorities were to be White British, in good health, of good character, not a member of an extreme political group and ideally with growing families (or of breeding age) and an intention to settle. Work was available and most migrants adapted. Betty described how:

In 1952 my Dad got a job as the pay clerk at a sawmill. This was down beyond Manjimup at Shannon River. My Mum probably found it more difficult, but I can't remember her ever complaining. The family story is about her cooking on a wood stove and wanting to know how to turn it on as she had only ever cooked with gas or electricity!

Pauline arrived with her family in January 1964 and when asked about her migration route she replied: “Assisted passage, no job arrangement, my father had to find work when he got here”. Pauline’s family proved the enterprising, hard-working migrants Australia was looking to recruit. She explained:

My parents eventually bought their own business in Bunbury called ‘The Bunbury Bistro Wine Saloon’ and did very well and after a few years built their own home on a big block of land. Us kids all went to the local catholic schools.

Rose’s family arrived later in 1964. Her story signals a distinct easing of early restrictions to British entry. Rose explained: “My parents are travellers. More my mum’s side, but dad’s stepfather was also part of the British travellers. My mum’s dad was pure British gypsy.” Reflecting on the adjustments made to admission policies, Hassam (2007, p.818) describes how public debate in the 1960s focused on the future of Australia as a British country. The immigration minister at the time was ‘caught between an establishment intent on maintaining the British character of Australia through an inflow of people of British stock and New Australians, Australians of European descent who objected to British preference’.⁹² By relaxing the requirements of the original assisted passage, Australia hoped to stimulate the waning numbers of British migrants compared with the increasing volumes of Italian, Dutch,

⁹¹ British Empire – The British Empire was the dominions, colonies, protectorates, mandates, and other territories ruled or administered by the United Kingdom and its predecessor states. It began with the overseas possessions and trading posts established by England between the late 16th and early 18th centuries.

⁹² Immigration minister Athol Townley – Australian Immigration Minister 1951–63.

Greek and other Western European newcomers. Rose recalled landing in Adelaide, South Australia. Her early impressions of arrival reflect how it may have been easier for children as dependants to adapt to outsider status:

I arrived in Australia, by ship, the Fair Star, June 16th, 1964, 2 weeks prior to my 8th birthday, July 1..... We docked at Adelaide It was all very different. I think due to my transient history I adapted to the new environment fairly easily. School was interesting. I had trouble understanding some of the terminology used. The teachers were unforgiving. I just had to get on and learn.

Rose hints that her history of a transient lifestyle probably prepared her for adapting to change and finding new ways of belonging in unknown environments. Her familiarity with change may have mitigated Rose's experiences of dislocation. Her perceptions of home were probably less tied to a specific place. The distinctiveness of Rose's story is testament to the value of microscale qualitative investigations where the nuances of individual narratives can be given appropriate consideration.

Relaxing the restrictions of the earlier assisted passage brought inevitable change. Definitions of home and experiences of dislocation may have also changed, but this is too broad a conclusion to draw from a sample defined by objective criteria yet considered according to their subjective and often unpredictable emotions.

Louise's family migrated in 1964, they had failed to qualify for the initial assisted passage. The family were granted assisted passage under the Bring out a Briton campaign which incentivised resident Anglo-Australian and British migrant communities to act as hosts for new settlers. Hassam (2007, p.820) cites a report in the *Melbourne Herald* (January 1957) which noted with alarm how 'new British communities in Australia were less dynamic than European migrant communities in driving further migration'. By matching hopeful British migrants with sponsors offering work and accommodation, the inflow was expected to increase. Unfortunately, the *ad hoc* way in which the scheme offered incentives to sponsors was open to abuse on many fronts, as Louise's story testifies:

We were originally sponsored by a farmer in South Australia. But after a severe bush fire in the district all paperwork was lost and that fell through. My parents advertised for a sponsor again and a man from WA agreed to sponsor us. In 1964 they had no way of knowing that the sponsor would turn out to be 'a little bit crazy' and that we would end up miles from anywhere with no house and no job.

Louise's story reflects a desperation beyond the headlines of the *Australian Embrace*. Arriving on Australian shores was probably the family's first significant realisation of the gravity of their migration decision. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.115) describe outward-bound migrant voyages as 'a liminal period as the migrants moved between two countries and two lives, temporary homelessness, one door closed behind them and another not yet opened, "our own little bubble in time and space"'. For many travellers however, this was also an exciting adventure and a first taste of exoticism. Pauline described her journey:

It was a 3 week boat trip on the Fairstar, a Sitmar Line cruiser. It was an amazing journey (down through the Suez Canal) and I had a fantastic experience, having the run of the ship and plenty to do, along with silver service, Chinese waiters at our table and the freedom to choose anything to eat off the menu. We stopped on the equator and King Neptune came aboard, we also had Christmas on the boat and we each received a Christmas present from the captain and crew.

Pauline also recalled the destabilising effects of arrival: "*We arrived in the port of Fremantle, where reality set in.*" Betty similarly recalled: "*Thinking back on where and how my parents settled I think the reality of life here could never have been prepared for.*" Hammerton and Thomson (2005, pp.117–122) relate stories of passengers 'dreading leaving the safety of the ship', yet 'had to get off the boat that connected them with England and home and plant feet in Australia'. Many were appalled by the 'intrusive rigour with which Australian officials protected their shores in 1959 – medical officials inspected fingernails for ridging which show the side effects of TB – tell-tale rashes etc.' (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.120). Assisted passengers without sponsors were nominated by the Commonwealth office and housed temporarily in hostels.⁹³ These were usually spartan ex-army barracks where families were separated on arrival – not the welcome most migrants imagined. Pauline spoke of their first accommodation arrangements on arrival:

⁹³ Commonwealth – a political association of countries, almost all from the former British Empire.

The five eldest children were whisked off to Fairbridge Farm school in Pinjarra (an orphanage and child migrant farm), Western Australia and my parents and 2 youngest siblings being taken off to Graylands Migrant Hostel. The distance between Fairbridge and Graylands is about an hour. We stayed in our separate residences for about 5 months while my mum and dad got settled and found employment. We eventually ended up reunited in Bunbury, Western Australia and lived in a state housing commission house.

Most post-war migrants had left better living conditions in Britain. Clement Attlee's Labour government built more than a million homes, 80% of which were local authority houses with affordable rents.⁹⁴ The New Towns Commission, set up in the 1961, provided new modern homes away from the overcrowded and war-damaged cities.⁹⁵ Complaints about the Australian hostel conditions triggered significant resentment from many of the hosts who assumed that British migrants had all come from war-damaged slums. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p. 167) quote some of the descriptions voiced about the Australian hostels: 'Butlins without the laughs; I always say this, now I know what a refugee feels like'. Far from the embrace supposedly afforded to all post-war British migrants, many were labelled as 'whingeing Poms,' a derogatory term targeted specifically at English migrants of the post-war era.⁹⁶ Jupp (2004, p.7), in his research of post-war Australian migration, notes that the terms British and English had been unduly conflated obscuring the sizeable contingent of Irish, Scottish and Welsh migrants from the British mainland. He writes of Scottish and Irish migrants protesting that they were most certainly not whingeing English Poms (Jupp, 2004, p.112). There seems a certain irony in the fact that these British migrants voluntarily deserted their national roots yet when in estranged settings fiercely re-claim their assigned national identities as distancing strategies within the invisible majority. I argue that these claims to discrete national identities are expressions of dislocation, they signal a need to belong to something known and secure.

⁹⁴ Clement Atlee – Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1945 to 1951 and Leader of the Labour Party from 1935 to 1955.

⁹⁵ New Towns – The new towns in the United Kingdom were planned under the powers of the New Towns Act 1946 and later acts to relocate populations in poor or bombed-out housing following the Second World War.

⁹⁶ Whinging Poms – derogatory name given to English assisted passage migrants describing their dissatisfaction with the accommodation offered them in Australia.

The assisted passage scheme was completely phased out by early 1982. Significant changes to Australian migration policies were introduced in the Galbally Report of 1977 which stated 'migrant assistance was discussed and delivered predominantly to non-British migrants' (Jupp, 2007, p.84).⁹⁷ Subsequent migrant arrivals were prioritised according to a variable points system determined by the ongoing demands of the growing Australian economy.⁹⁸ This new focus on migrant intake triggered an exponential growth in community services, government-funded support and legislation geared towards more visible settlers. Many British migrants viewed these new support systems for other arrivals as measures of positive discrimination against them. However, even during this period of staged change, some settlement support was still available for newly arriving British migrants. Jock and Jean arrived in 1982 and despite not qualifying for assisted passage the Australian government offered them temporary accommodation and basic services as stepping-stones to permanent settlement. They were welcomed to Noalimba⁹⁹ reception centre for British settlers. This was significantly better than the ex-army barracks offered to the post-war assisted passage arrivals. Jock explained:

We had no family or friends here then and booked into the Noalimba Migrant Reception Centre in Bateman, where we were allocated two adjoining bedrooms. We were very pleased with the advice and support received there and met others in the same boat as ourselves, some of whom remain good friends to this day.

The reception centre advised on car and house purchases, social security systems, health care provision, employment, schools and many other essential community services. William

⁹⁷ Galbally Report – Melbourne lawyer set out to ensure equal opportunity and equality of access to services for all members of society:

- that everyone should be able to maintain their own culture and be encouraged to understand others'.
- that the needs of migrants, while they should ideally be met by mainstream programs and services, should in the short term be specially targeted in order to ensure equality of access and provision; and
- that services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, with an emphasis on self-help to enable migrants to become self-reliant quickly.

⁹⁸ Points system – qualifying points towards migration from the Australian government. Points are awarded for skills, fluency in the English language among other factors.

⁹⁹ Noalimba – reception centre for migrants at Bateman on the outskirts of Perth, WA.

and Jane also stayed at Noalimba when they arrived in Perth. Jock, Jean, William, Jane and many other fellow migrants at the centre went on to buy their first Australian homes in the exclusively British suburb of Victoria Park in Perth. Most of these house purchases were made with preferential mortgages arranged at Noalimba. The impulse for new settlers to seek security in similitude with replications of home and community can prove an overwhelmingly force at points of dislocation, even for these invisible migrants. At the time of interview Jock and Jean still lived in the same house, some 30 years after migrating, though the area was no longer exclusively British. Jock described how the demographic profile of the community changed significantly as new, more visible migrants arrived. He explained how newcomers had altered the physical environment by installing dislocated replications of their own cultural repertoires. For Jock, this successional process of migrant settlement has brought a marked sense of disconnect to many formally established communities:

This area used to be nicknamed Pommie Valley it is now nicknamed Little Asia and it certainly seems to house more Asians and Africans than Brits these days. As numbers of visible migrants increase areas such as where we live are becoming migrant dominant.

Jock is clearly using the term “*migrant*” as an expression of distancing, identifying recent arrivals as *outsiders*. In a later section, Jock reflects empathetically on the process of building segregated exclusive ethnic community diasporas. This is what he and fellow British nationals did when they first arrived.

This sample of first-hand reflections gives some insight into the impact of changing migration patterns between Britain and Australia since the Second World War. Despite continuing to present as the largest single national group of new arrivals, the once favourable exclusivity Australia offered to White British immigrants has changed. Castles et al. (2013, p.117) note that Australian ‘planned migration intake has been a constant for some sixty-five years, but policies and attitudes have been far from static’. They suggest that an ageing demographic and deficit of skilled workers signal a need for migration growth and that Britain will no longer serve as the main source. The Australian immigrant nation is one of the most ethnically, culturally and religiously diverse in the world. The country has moved on from its post-war

determination to fashion a core nation from White British settlers, it has become an increasingly attractive destination to a wider spectrum of potential migrants. The Shortage Skills Occupation List for 2019 nominates over two hundred possible openings from bricklayers to barristers, carpenters to cardiologists, targeting skills not ethnicity.¹⁰⁰ Castles et al. (2013, p.117) write that this process of change is part of 'a crucial definition of Australia's position in the post-colonial world'.

I conclude that migrant acceptance into Australia is now carefully managed according to the changing economic needs of the nation, though White British settlers, the charter group (Jayasuriya, 1997), continue to make up a significant proportion of newcomers (Appendix 2). For these British migrants, gaining acceptance should be no more than a sideways adjustment within this predominantly White Australian-Anglo habitus, yet they too often arrive as outsiders to communities and must earn acceptance. It is within communities that character, morality, culture and personality are scrutinised for appropriate fit. It is here that a dislocation from all that is known and secure is most likely to become a reality and new arrivals are typically prompted into more urgent and inventive ways of adapting to belonging. The next section interrogates the premise that acceptance is probably hardest won at community levels.

Community Acceptance

Burke and Stets (2009, cited in Guibernau, 2013, p.36) write that group membership depends 'not on what one *is*, but rather on what one *does*' and furthermore, that the verification of behaviours is 'a mechanism to maintain the boundaries of the group'. Insider/outsider groups function at nuanced levels within communities where individual identities and behaviours are more obvious and open to direct scrutiny. Behavioural characteristics within White Anglo homogeneity evidence regional variations and can prompt perceptions of strangeness leading to internal discrimination. 'British' is not an ethnicity, so an assumed ethnic similitude with the Australian core does not always guarantee that White British migrants simply blend in (Jupp, 2004, p.7).

¹⁰⁰ Occupational Skills shortage list – current required skills to gain visa entry to Australia.

The mass migration of the assisted passage period brought a semblance of presumed similitude, White British migrants settled in predominantly White Anglo-Australian communities. Most British migrants accessed migration through the assisted passage; many were skilled tradespeople though few were professional or had experienced formal education beyond compulsory school age. This assumed core homogeneity, however, has since been destabilised. Migrants have been arriving from increasingly diverse backgrounds, and the ending of the assisted passage scheme has brought additional change. Contemporary British arrivals are more likely to be categorised as relatively affluent ‘middling migrants’ ‘moving in and settling between places which are neither completely foreign nor entirely familiar’ (Skey, 2018, p.608). Their privilege of affluence and invisibility equips them with enough independent agency and capital to facilitate immediate adjustment and acceptance within the communities they choose. They may actively promote their membership of a settled community or not; they have choices.

All interviewees in this study are White British, with more recent arrivals described as middling migrants. Yet within that very homogeneity some migrants, and significantly the early assisted passage children, were acutely aware of presenting as visible on arrival. The four members of the group who arrived as child migrants had been shielded from the responsibilities of major decision making, yet their accounts tell of how they were exposed to acute experiences of dislocation from places of belonging. They too had to navigate their way through as strangers, outsiders in this new country. Pauline had clear memories of not suffering discrimination as such but when asked whether her family blended in with the community where they settled, she replied:

No we didn't blend in easily or feel invisible as we are a family of red heads with fair skin, so we stuck out! We did not lose our accents either which was a constant source of teasing.

Rose on the other hand felt that she did fit in: *“My colouring was ok as I tend to have an olive complexion (more ancestry on dad's side. His great gran was Maltese).”* This comment prompted me to question of ethnic make-up of the suburb of Adelaide where Rose grew up.

South Australia has a sizeable Italian diaspora. Rose's invisibility of skin colour probably did not relate to White Anglo-Australians, she grew up in an Italian community.¹⁰¹ Rose also spoke of deciding "*at a very young age to practise Aussie language. Getting pronunciation correct, copying all the other kids the way they spoke.*" Here Rose is suggesting the *Aussie language* and its pronunciation was the lingua franca of acceptance and verbal invisibility in this multicultural nation of segregated diasporas.

When I asked Betty if she felt she blended in as a child she replied: "*As a child you just do what everyone else does and so you fit in.*" Like Rose, Betty was a child looking for acceptance and invisibility rather than difference, sentiments which reflected the assimilation policies of early post-war Australia. Jupp (2002, p.20) noted that the official advice for migrants was 'not to behave in a way which would attract attention'.

More recent British migrants to Australia have left a far less ethnically and culturally homogenous nation, difference has become commonplace. For some respondents these higher levels of diversity in their home nations were cited as main migration drivers, even though they have chosen to migrate to one of the most multicultural countries in the world.¹⁰²

I asked more recent arrivals if they had experienced any form of community discrimination when arriving in Australia, whether they blended in well and whether they considered themselves invisible insiders or visible outsiders. Beverley and her family arrived in 2009 to a very culturally diverse Perth yet spoke of not wanting to "*open her mouth*" in social settings as she would be recognised as a "*Pom*". Beverley and her family had not made this life-changing decision to leave Britain and become outsiders, she wanted to be an Australian insider. She explained that after joining online discussion forums to find local information, the family decided to take a rental property in Butler, one of the many English migrant enclaves in Perth

¹⁰¹ Italian diaspora in Adelaide over 30,000 migrants arriving there between 1950-1970. By 2011, Italians still comprised the largest non-English speaking background group in South Australia with over 90% living in Adelaide.

¹⁰² Australia is one of most multicultural in the world, with over 270 different ethnic ancestries represented in the population.

standing apart from “*real*” Australian communities. When questioned about “*real*” Australian communities and pointing out that the only real Australians are Aboriginal people, Beverley responded: *“they (Aboriginals) are ok in the outback and we have visited them on their reserves, I have great respect for them but not those who come and live in the towns and cities devaluing property prices as they sit round all day doing nothing and drinking grog.”* A city of exclusive ethnic suburbs and communities of ostracised indigenous aboriginals was not the Australia Beverley’s family had planned for. This initial perception had proved a significant dislocating experience for them. They had not made a life-changing decision to leave Britain and become outsiders, they wanted to be part of the real Australia. The family subsequently relocated to Bunbury, a small regional city in the South-West with a high proportion of established White-Anglo Australians, with Australian accents. These were the “*real*” Australian communities.

Another interviewee, Joanne, had also settled in Bunbury and when asked if her family had ever experienced any outsider discrimination she said: *“We just feel we belong. We blended in easily, we didn’t feel visible in any way.”* Not surprising in an area of White-Anglo ethnic similitude. Unlike Beverley, most adult interviewees seemed generally more confident in expressions of their dislocated national identity. I asked William if he had faced any community discrimination as a migrant. *“No never,”* he responded. *“But then I have always believed when in Rome etc ... so accepted changes without saying well in Wales we don’t do it like that!”* Did William feel they blended in well? *“After a short while yes. Initially there was an ‘adjusting’ period in getting used to colloquialism phrases or happenings such as the importance of Melbourne Cup Day!”* This was more a sideways shift for William and his family within the same cultural habitus, rather than a significant transformation.

These group narratives suggest that White Anglo migrants suffer proportionately limited community level discrimination. They are privileged insiders having to make minor adjustments. Joyce spoke of a different form of discrimination when arriving as a single parent in 1991 reflecting her struggles of fitting in with her local community:

In the early 1990s there was a lot of stigma about being a single parent and I initially found it hard to make friends at work because of this. Sarcastic comments and being not spoken to unless it was a work issue just wore me down in the end and forced me to move on.

Joyce's plight could well have related to her being a single parent and her employment status rather than her ethnicity or being a migrant. This was a time when single divorcee parenthood was probably considered out of place in a nation promoting itself on the core values of stable nuclear families. Joyce experienced the raw face of community scrutiny. She also recalled her combative reaction to being identified as English:

Yes, I have been subjected to verbal abuse for being a 'Pom,' but I think that says more about the abuser than it does about me, so I just ignored it or smiled sweetly and laughed as if they were making a joke. I don't feel part of any "in" or "out" group as I just don't buy into that sort of thing. If someone needs to feel part of an "in" crowd to be happy, well good on them. I am me and do not subscribe to that mentality or attitude. Like me or don't like me.... take me as I am.

I asked Joyce whether she considered herself invisible as a White British migrant: *"I have never heard this expression before. I don't think any migrants are invisible, although some are more prominent than others because of skin colour and/or language."*

Ella spoke of experiences of community acceptance from different stages of her life in Australia. She had lived in rural communities as a single traveller and now some fifteen years later she lived as a married Australian citizen in a relatively urban setting:

I spent 8 months in central Queensland on a sheep station, with salt of the earth people. This experience changed me forever. It was this feeling of mateship that I knew my return to OZ was going to be OK. I knew the Australian culture was going to suit me. A lot of people have no idea. You can read all the books in the world, but you have to love the culture of this country to get it. It's not just the beaches, surf (although it helps).

Ella then reflected on some more recent experiences when asked about discrimination towards her as a British migrant:

Yup. A lot. Particularly in situations to do with buying things or getting quotes to do jobs. You feel they hear the accent and stick an extra \$1000 bucks on. Assume you are straight off the boat. However, I think this is the normal and my assumption is wrong. But yes, I do feel it.

When asked if she felt blended in well, she replied: *“Until you open your mouth.”* Ella’s response demonstrates how accents alone can serve as discriminators in an increasingly diverse and segregated immigrant nation where visual identities become confused by the sheer volume of permutations of difference.

Susan arrived in Perth in 2007, I asked her whether she felt part of the *in* or *out-group*. She replied: *“Never been discriminated against – didn’t know there was an in or out group ... but as I don’t feel out, I guess I’m in??”* Susan certainly is *in* as a professional White Anglo-Australian living in prestigious suburb of Perth where discrimination is more likely to be based on class status rather than accent. Susan is invisible.

These first-hand responses suggest that any definitive statement of migrant discrimination according to periodisation-based time of arrival in Australia lacks rigor. Beverley arrived in 2009 and felt her status as an outsider *Pom* was as much of an issue as Debbie’s similar experience as a child in the 1960s. Though with such a limited sample size I cannot justify any robust conclusions from these findings. It would be impossible to essentialise every experience at neighbourhood or community level where relationships are largely dependent on multiple permutations of insider/outsider definition. There was clearly a greater sense of the need to fit in from those interviewees who arrived as children. An interesting comparative study could consider responses from children arriving in Australia more recently, most would have a greater command of a ubiquitous global culture. These young migrants may not be such obvious outsiders in the context of an immigrant nation of difference, they are the globally interconnected generation.

Though not children, responses from the two most recent arrivals in the group provide a more contemporary reflection. Emily (arrived in 2011), reflected on her experiences of discrimination the context of regional settings in this vast nation:

Never faced any of that. I’m lucky and have never had any directed at me (and I would never really expect it – I think because there are so many different cultural groups where I live – Broome – that it’s normal to be a migrant. Having said that I know in the past in Broome there was a strict hierarchy of migrants from Whites, next Japanese, then other Asian and at the bottom of course Aboriginals! But it isn’t quite like that today.

Emily's comment about Broome as a place where "*it's normal to be a migrant*" suggests a commonplace in diversity (Wessendorf, 2014) where migrants from super-diverse (Vertovec, 2007) backgrounds live with a sense of civility towards diversity. When asked about her *invisibility* Emily replied:

Absolutely! That really makes a lot of sense. I definitely have a very 'English' accent but so many Australians assume I'm Australian, they must hear it so often it almost blends in. It's really 'normal' to be a British 'ex pat' here (although that is a phrase I never usually use!).

When Emily says she is assumed to be Australian because she has an English accent, this reinforces the perception of a normalisation of Anglo-core ethnicity and culture in Australia.

Lily arrived in 2015 and married into a family of established British migrants. Her in-laws migrated from Wales in 1984 and share her equally pronounced Welsh accent. When asked about discrimination, Lily replied: "*Not really, I suppose as I already had friends here that I had met whilst living in London and my husband's family are here, so it seemed a natural transition.*" However, Lily did speak about her experiences of professional discrimination in her Australian hospital workplace. I referred Lily to Abel's (2014) research findings of migrant British nurses who had also complained of work-place discrimination and feeling de-skilled in Australian hospitals. Lily wrote:

It's very interesting to hear that I'm not the only British nurse who feels de-skilled! Myself and a few British colleagues feel this way but didn't realise it was so common, I was so confident in my skills when I worked in ED in London... now I question myself every time I'm doing something that I've not done in a while. I miss my job in London EVERY day and would go back in a heartbeat if I could.

This perceived discrimination could equally be explained by different work-place practices within different professional hierarchies and structures. Lily clearly had expectations of parity between Australian and British hospitals. This experience of workplace negativity magnified Lily's feelings of dislocation from her home and sense of belonging: "*I would go back in a heartbeat if I could.*" Lily may have felt professional dislocation but did not speak of any other significant discrimination as a migrant in Australia. I reasoned that Lily was just speaking of her professional life rather than really wanting to go back, though the option of return is open

to her. Lily is a privileged White British lifestyle migrant with the skills and ethnicity that give her significant transnational currency.

These narratives suggest that community-level discrimination towards British migrants is transitory, easily navigated and unlikely to be the cause of significant dislocation. For many more visible migrants however, alienation and experiences of disconnection in this majority White Anglo-Australian nation can last a lifetime. The tone of the following extract goes some way to endorsing the suggestion that despite a considerable number of British ex-pats living overseas many distance themselves from the contemporary understanding of the term migrant.

Yes, British people migrate too. In 2015, 4.9 million people born in Britain lived in other countries. From the Costa Del Sol to Kyoto, the volume of British expats (a.k.a immigrants) living abroad makes Britain the 10th largest source of migrants around the world. Out of all EU countries, the UK has the most citizens living abroad. (World Economic Forum, 2018)

The next section seeks to develop a contextual understanding of the term migrant in Australia.

So, who are Australia's migrants, the real 'strangers on the shore'?

If invisibility precludes the White British in Australia from being real migrants, then who are the migrants? Castles (2010, p.1567), arguing for a re-definition of the blanket term 'migration', writes of how the human movement of people from one country to another has become increasingly fragmented along lines of social and economic class where 'mobility' becomes distinct from migration. 'Mobility equals good because it represents the badge of an open-society, migration equals bad because it reawakens archaic memories of invasion and displacement.' This is an immigrant nation where one in four Australians are born overseas and one in two have a parent born overseas. Migrant identities are variously marked by differences of skin colour, language, culture and religion, though as Wills (2004, p. 339) notes: 'Britons were less migrants than transplants to British settlements overseas.' Abel (2014, p. 35) suggests that little has changed at a community level in this multicultural immigrant nation and there is still a distinct hierarchy where White invisible migrants are more acceptable than

phenotypically different others. She writes that 'invisibility rests on assumptions of homogeneity within the British population, ethnic similitude with the host nation, relative affluence and a lingering sense of Imperial legacies that informs views and choices in the world.'

I asked the group whether they identify as migrants and responses reflected a range of perceptions from innate privilege to an empathetic understanding of the contemporary political implications of migration as 'a problem that needs to be fixed' (Castles, 2010, p.1527). Castles describes how migration has become a dominant part of Western political discourse in recent decades and suggests that the main variants of control: 'repressive border controls,' or 'liberal strategies addressing root causes', are strategies which divide public opinion.

Jean emigrated from Scotland in 1981 and her response, though not overtly xenophobic, reflect a sense of British privilege. When asked if she considered herself a migrant to Australia, she said: *"Probably not, but only because English is the official language here and everything else has seemed much like Britain - up until the last few years anyway."* If speaking Australian-English and having an Anglo-Australian culture are the determinants of not being a migrant, then this poses several questions including why so many second and third generation Australian-born citizens with ethnic minority heritage are asked which country they come from. Zavalos (2002), in her research of identity and belonging in minority group second-generation Australians evidenced this point in the title of her work – *"You Have to be Anglo and Not Look Like Me"*.

When I asked Jock about his migrant status, he gave a different response to his wife, Jean:

I know I am one(migrant) and try to remember that when meeting others who are more easy to identify. Being a migrant in Australia, particularly in the main cities is easy as almost everyone seems to be in the same boat. At times one can play spot the Aussie and many of them are just second or third generation with parents or grandparents still alive.

Conversely, Joyce's response to the question hints at a greater negativity towards migrant status – *"Yes I am a migrant, can't get away from that"* – suggesting Joyce would rather not be classed as a migrant. Jean and Joyce are of a similar age and have been in Australia for

several decades, so their reactions may be related to recent demographic changes in this now superdiverse multi-cultural nation. They emigrated to a predominantly White-Anglo Australia at a time when migrant difference was just beginning to change the face of local communities in Britain. However, making assumptions that attitudes to migrant others can be sequentially periodised according to the age or time of arrival of these British migrants is open to challenge, not least because of the limited number in the sample. Interestingly, respondents migrating as children over fifty years ago did offer essentially different opinions. I asked Betty who arrived in 1952, whether she considered herself a migrant. She replied: “*Yes, and very proud of being an immigrant. All of us have ancestors who came to Australia as immigrants unless you’re aboriginal.*” Pauline arrived in 1964 and simply replied “yes” to the question. Louise, in Western Australia for fifty-one years said:

Yes, always, and when having discussions about immigration I always feel, remember, and say that I too am an immigrant. I find some long-term immigrants are hostile to our current wave of immigration and totally forget that they were once the unpopular group.

Betty, Pauline and Louise grew up within this immigrant nation as it gradually changed its complexion with each new wave of migration. They had not come as adults with fixed notions of being British and the status this brings in Australia. When expanding on their initial comments they gave a greater insight into their comparatively egalitarian attitudes. Louise has been married to an Italian-Australian immigrant for over forty years. It was far less common in earlier decades for minority immigrants in Australia to marry outside their national diasporic community. Betty qualified this when she reflected on her children and their marriage partners. Her comment ties in with Portes and Shaffer’s (2007) research on institutionally complete ethnic enclaves in the USA suggesting that enclaves last no more than two or three generations.

Our 3 children have partners from Italy, Australia and the Philippines and our grandchildren look very different from each other. This is normal amongst many families. The idea of Italians only marrying Italians changes after a couple of generations as it does with other migrant groups.

These responses from Jock, Betty and Louise reflect empathy, compassion and positivity towards other migrants. This more altruistic attitude aligns with an observation noted by Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.346) in their research of post-war migrants: 'British migrants were more tolerant towards immigrants of other backgrounds than were native-born Australians'. However, the cynic may argue that these interviewees have sanctioned inclusion and thereby speak from a position of assured strength. Hage (1998, p.64) writes of ethnic minority group migrants in Australia striving to accumulate the necessary social capital of the 'aristocracy' and '... the very fact of this acquired capital being accumulated leads to its devaluation relative to those who posit themselves to have inherited it or to possess it innately without having to accumulate it'. This is a nation striving to forge its national identity amid ongoing rapid demographic change yet still seems very much defined by cultural segregation and a hierarchical society centred on a core of White Anglo-Australians.

When asked of their migrant status other respondents simply replied "yes" or "yes *sometimes*." They were perhaps being more sanguine about their status and responding from a position of inherent privilege. They would not face the same discrimination as more visible minority migrants. As Castles and Miller (2010) suggest, if their migrant status were perceived a threat to national security and community cohesion, they would be more likely distinguish themselves from the other.

Emily gave a particularly refreshing response which seemed consistent with a standard dictionary definition but devoid of comparison or hints of privilege:

I've never actually considered myself an immigrant but now I think of it, of course I am. I was just travelling to begin with and just ended up staying so it didn't feel like a big transfer from there to here ... I just never went home!

Continuing with the theme of perceptions of migrant identity, I widened the questioning to gauge attitudes towards multicultural policies in Australia. Some respondents had cited social change in Britain spurred by an increasingly visible migrant presence to be a driver of their migration decisions. John spoke of competition from migrant Polish builders "*back home*" since Poland joined the European Union. William related some of the changes he noticed when he

went back to visit Britain: *“Of course, the multicultural change in particularly the cities – like London and they all have local accents!”*

I explored these perceptions further by asking respondents whether Australia, as an immigrant nation that officially abandoned its White Policy in 1973, had managed the transition to multicultural integration well. William’s response (punctuated with emphatic exclamation marks) suggests a strong comparative justification for his migration decision:

I think it has been more successful than the UK has! There are always discriminations against different nationalities but generally Australia has tried to ‘control’ immigration and when certain people are here, they soon learn that it is not all handouts!

I argue William’s comment is about more than multicultural integration and reflects an alienation vis-à-vis more disadvantaged arrivals, migrants of austerity rather than British migrants of prosperity (Castles, 2010). Other responses inevitably prompted a comparison with the UK and other wealthy Western nations. Pauline, who had migrated as a child, commented on Australia’s success in bringing about multicultural integration: *“Yes, as much as any other country.”* Joyce endorsed Australia’s success:

In many ways yes Australia has been successful in integrating migrant communities, and this is evidenced by the number of different nationalities living harmoniously here, the various different types of restaurants, food shops, the number of “mixed” marriages/relationships/ friendships etc. But again, I think this is the same as any other country in the civilized world.

Several other respondents voiced similar confident comparisons. Susan replied:

I do find Australia more multicultural and more harmonious – but this may be purely down to the areas I have been and my own suburb. My children’s friendship groups have often mirrored the united nations with so many nationalities – they’ve learned about different cultures, celebrations, acceptance and diversity and this is mirrored by the adults we have met, so I think they are getting something right.

Some respondents aligned with Castles’ (Castles et al., 2014, p.3) views that ‘migration and the resulting ethnic and racial diversity are among the most emotive subjects in contemporary society’ and that ‘Quite literally international migration has changed the face of societies’. A few hinted at increasing cultural clashes in cities where communities often become more segregated. Wise (2006) details the extremes of this issue when she writes of the growing conflicts between a newly established Chinese community in a formerly English suburb of

Melbourne. Betty contextualises her claims by recognising that city areas were perhaps an anomaly and not totally representative – *“As good as any other country. It depends which part of Australia you go to as some inner-city suburbs have problems with a multicultural society.”*

Ella was similarly critical of poor cultural integration in her local city of Brisbane:

Tough one to answer. Multicultural we might be, integrated, no. There are clearly defined areas where particular groups of migrants live around Brisbane metro. You literally drive into their world. Queensland is still very white and certainly where we live you don't see hardly any obvious multicultural apart from the restaurants on the seafront and the Chinese and Japanese tourists in the surf with full clothing on!! A long way to go on so many levels.

Portes (2007, cited in Van Hear, 2010, p.1532) identifies three determining factors when considering levels of migrant integration into host communities – the numbers involved, the duration of movement and the social class of new arrivals. When significant numbers of migrants from one ethnic or religious group settle in minority diasporic communities, they are less likely to integrate. Numerous closely abutting segregated diasporas are evident in most large global cities, particularly when the core ethnicity of the host country is totally alien to diasporic groups. All new arrivals are seeking identities of belonging in sites of dislocation. If separate ethnic communities become established, effectively changing the characteristics of the physical community, then integration into a core culture is going to be less likely. Portes (2007) notes that those migrants with more cultural capital, language proficiency and transferable skills are more likely to assimilate into core cultures. Conversely, flows of less educated workers with poor language and transferrable skills are less likely to integrate. They are more likely to adhere to traditional customs, settle in poorer marginal areas and become the target of discrimination and community unrest (Portes, 2007).

Shifting and politically charged landscapes of migration often bring deeply held opinions of demographic hierarchy to the fore. Joanne hinted at this in her response when asked about multicultural integration in Australia: *“Yes at the moment, if they keep their rules and regulations intact and only allow people that actually can offer something to the Country then it should be OK.”* Jock expressed his feelings of concern tinged with a hint of understandable resignation at the loss of integration in his area:

Up till fairly recently I would say yes. As numbers of visible migrants increase areas such as where we live are becoming migrant dominated. This is resulting in strong schools, clubs, churches, and shops such that the need for integration by the migrants is limited. Particularly allowing separate schools is an issue for both the migrant kids and the Aussie kids. Parents deserve the support and friendship such things provide but children should be adopting the ways of the new country. As Aus has always had a strong Catholic school system it is very difficult to prevent other groups establishing their own.

Joyce also noted a recent change in the harmony of the demographic mix:

Up until recently I'd say multiculturalism has worked well here, but perhaps only because white English-speaking migrants still made up the majority. I think racism has now reared its ugly head due to more and more non-white migrants who choose not to integrate or learn English and want to impose here the laws of the country from which they came, particularly many (though what exact percentage I could not say) Muslims, though no doubt that is due to those people having "loud voices" even though they may be in the minority of Muslim migrants.

Soutphomassane (2012, p.63) contextualises Joyce's statement when he writes of a substantial number of Australians regarding the word 'multiculturalism' as a synonym for Muslims; 'despite representing only 2.2% (2011) of the population'. He reflects on a pervasive Australian view of how multiculturalism had worked well in the 1970s to 1990s but there was no longer a guarantee of this when a small minority reject the West while living in Western societies and were 'too comfortable with cultural difference' (Henderson, 2010, cited in Soutphomassane, 2012, p.62).

Emily as a recent migrant, gave a situational insight into the greater acceptance of multiculturalism in some areas of Australia where skills were valued above ethnicity. Her comment hints at a different hierarchical structure rather than an equality within diversity:

In a way I suppose so, even when the white Australia policy was in force, it was not enforced in Broome due to the need for Asian indentured workers for pearling – white divers didn't appear to have the lung capacity or nerve for diving like the Asians and as a result there were many deaths when the policy initially was introduced (White Divers of Broome)– as it didn't work it was abandoned.

Abandoning the White Australia policy in favour of skills-based visas and introducing multicultural entry policies reflects an ongoing reshaping of perceptions and a re-structuring of an anachronistic social hierarchy. Emily gave an example of how negative perceptions can be orchestrated by Australian media outlets. She cites one of the most recent divisive issues

in Australia: *“Boat People, and the fear mongering built up by the government and media, turning desperate refugees into monsters.”* When I asked Louise about the success of Australian multicultural integration, replied: *“Generally I think yes! But I think the wave of boat people arriving recently has really split Australians.”* Joyce spoke at length, making clear how her perceptions of the same persecuted group had been shaped:

However very many Australians are concerned about the ‘boat people,’ ‘asylum seekers,’ ‘illegal immigrants’ whatever you want to call them, who attempt to come to Australia by nefarious methods. Whilst genuine refugees are truly welcomed and deserve help, what really is causing issues are the number who arrive here with no identifying paperwork, on boats, on planes, and who end up spending a long time in detention centres at the taxpayers expense until their cases are investigated.

As a member of the United Nations, Australia is obliged to offer asylum to an annually agreed quota of refugees and asylum seekers. Unfortunately, the political rhetoric of different key figures in the Australian government, including former Prime Minister Howard (1996–2007) – who famously stated: ‘We will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come’ (The Guardian, 2007) – has done much to shape public perceptions. Some respondents, taking a lead from the tabloids spoke passionately about ‘Boat People’ and how they should be *“bombed out of the water.”* Critics of the refugees see them as people trying to gain entry to Australia via the back door, whereas most other migrants have worked long and hard to gain access. Migration had not come easy or cheap to these White British migrants. They spoke of making many sacrifices that brought privileges which anybody just arriving on a boat seeking asylum should not be entitled; particularly if they were expecting to be supported by Australian taxes. This is not a level playing field, it is a select club where belonging must be earned.

These White British respondents, though not elite cosmopolitans, identify themselves as migrants of prosperity rather than austerity. They are the middling migrants which Conradson and Latham (2005) characterize as ‘often, but not always well educated and may come from wealthy families, but more than often they appear to be simply middleclass’ (cited in Skey, 2018, p.614). Class, education, and wealth divisions are all relative, particularly in a country which purports to have no class system. These contemporary British newcomers are lifestyle

consumers of mobility who distance themselves from migrant others. They increasingly see moving to another country as an informed purchase and are more accepting of transience because they have options. Though as Castles (2013, p.116) notes, Australia is still a predominantly settler country and most migrants will become Australian citizens. Castles (2013, p.116) also writes of a 'growing trend of temporary migrants who increasingly keep a foothold in two homelands and tend to have transnational identities failing to develop a strong sense of belonging'. Australian contemporary lifestyle migration is a significant customer purchase with much at stake. If things do not go to plan, then these consumers have rights, they can return having incurred limited losses. If they fail to find a sense of belonging and acceptance in Australia, many will simply return. The decision is theirs.

Accepting: does the reality match up to the dream? Where is home?

Belonging is a two-way process, that of acceptance and accepting and is structured according to a hierarchical framework. Those deemed to be accepted define themselves against others who are not. Most newly arriving migrants, equipped with variable levels of social capital begin constructing an unfamiliar national belonging by seeking approval and *acceptance* through acculturation and assimilation. Not all migrants choose to culturally belong to host nations finding easier integration and acceptance in multicultural diasporas. Even if, or when, migrants do subscribe to the culture of resident nations, it is the accepting stage which is a far more complex and uncertain journey; it is less predictable, more emotional and dependent on a wide spectrum of often unforeseen and intangible variables.

Members of this research group have been arriving in Australia since 1952, during the *second* (Hatton and Williamson, 1998, cited in Castles, 2018) and *third ages* of migration (Urry, 2007, cited in Castles, 2018). Urry writes of the third age as an era of fluidity and openness where changes in transport, technology and culture make it normal for people to think and move beyond borders making reverse migration decisions easier. They can return home. For assisted-passage migrants the process involved far less decision making – the embrace of Australia offered arranged passage, accommodation, and almost guaranteed employment.

Later third-age arrivals, and those towards the end of the second age had to take greater ownership of their choices with more decisions and possible errors to make. Holmes and Burrows (2004) reviewing web-based discussion forums note that a sizeable number of British migrants to Australia return before taking citizenship. They identified three key emotional factors emerging from the phenomenon of return migration: feeling obliged to be near family in the United Kingdom; feelings of homesickness or a lack of belonging and feeling disappointed that the dream life they were in search of had not materialised. Holmes and Burrows (2004, p.115) dispute the claim that 'the ability to feel at home beyond one's country of birth has become easier due to a decrease in importance of locality within the globalisation process'. They describe the overwhelming experience of being at home and how the emotional reflexivity involved in the migration process is not about managing emotions according to rules but by 'often difficult to voice and hard to control feelings further complicated over uncertainty about what they should feel;' an emotional dislocation the migrants just cannot explain. These are people who took a risk and deliberately went in search of a new and better life.

I asked respondents whether the reality of coming to Australia had lived up to their dreams and whether, after the novelty had worn off, they had discovered that a better life is not determined by an 'instant gratification of rather shallow desires' but by a 'complex of feelings' (Holmes and Burrows, 2004, p.115). Unlike the respondents interviewed by Holmes and Burrows these individuals had stayed, though most were clearly aware of the complex of feelings which they were not prepared for yet pragmatically rationalised gains and losses. William said: *"Yes the reality has lived up to the dream! The heartache of leaving family has been difficult but job opportunities, earning a better living have meant it has been affordable to visit family, or host families."* Lily felt: *"The lifestyle has definitely lived up to my expectations however nothing can prepare you for the isolation and loneliness you feel from being away from your family and friends."* Ella said that for her and her husband the reality had certainly lived up to their dream, but she recognised the sacrifices made as well:

Far beyond for us. This is our reality and I never take it for granted. However, we have worked, sweated blood and tears to get to this point 10 years down the line. Emotion is something you cannot prepare for. Living here is easy, but I think missing family is a big one, if you are close to them. I noticed it most when we had our daughter and there were no grandparents around to share the wonder or babysitting!!!

Joyce spoke of Australia as the place she wanted to bring up her kids, yet also recognises the downsides: *"You cannot describe homesickness to anyone, but for me it was an internal 'hurt' that would come and go without notice. It took about 2 years before I felt I was over the homesickness, but at any time during that two years I often felt that I would walk back to England if it was possible"*. Joyce talked about what she particularly missed: *"It was the small things like not being able to buy Hula Hoops, or just pop next door for a coffee with my close friend, they were the undoing of me."* Jock described how his dream all centred on getting a job: *"I did not dream of coming to Aus I dreamt of having a job. It is hard to prepare for losing contact with family and friends."*

These responses speak of the mundane, the nostalgic and repetitive banalities which make up the everyday of home nations (Billig, 1995). Any expressions of loss arguably signal a dislocation from the routines of belonging. All respondents were attracted by the imaginings of a fresh start – be it Lily's lifestyle, Jock's dream of a job, cheaper houses and cars or William's better jobs. They are also aware of the 'complex of feelings' that cannot be prepared for and which have overwhelmed and driven so many to return.

Holmes and Burrows (2004) suggest that finding belonging somewhere after the novelty of newness has ebbed away is about a feeling of being at home, which is an emotional rather than pragmatic judgement and far from automatic in a new location. Hage (1998, p.40) writes of a 'home being more a structure of feelings than a physical house-like construct and is made up of fragmentary images of what a homely nation should be rather than explicit formulations'. Had my respondents found their sense of belonging and accepted Australia as their home? I questioned their understanding of what and where home was for them. Interestingly, the terms home and belonging were not necessarily considered as the same by all respondents. Pauline, having been in Australia for over fifty years said:

Home for me is Perth, Western Australia purely because I have lived there for so long. I do not feel any emotional pull to Perth though apart from my daughter and my grandchildren live there. I don't totally feel at home in Perth and I don't feel I belong in Liverpool either. I think the disconnection from Liverpool at a young age upset my sense of belonging anywhere.

Pauline clearly understands home as a physical place, somewhere where her family are and where she has lived for many years but does not posit any emotional sense of belonging there, or in fact anywhere. Yuval-Davis (2009, p.10) identifies different forms of belonging and recognises, like Holmes and Burrows (2004), a complex of emotions involved in feeling belonging: 'It is important to differentiate between belonging and the politics of belonging. Belonging is about an emotional (or even ontological) attachment, about feeling at home.' Pauline is an Australian citizen, she is politically, ethnically and socially an insider, yet emotionally an outsider, despite having been in Australia over fifty years. Pauline described her dreams: "My dream is to live in the UK for a year to finally sort out my feelings of where I belong." She considered: "This sense of not quite belonging I liken to walking around in a bit of a bubble, I look the same as everyone else but there is an invisible barrier that somehow stops full integration." Pauline's story reflects a heartfelt sense of dislocation, one that even she cannot comprehend and certainly proves difficult to compartmentalise using discrete categories or phases.

Louise on the other hand, seemed more certain of where she belongs: "Home is Australia because I've lived and worked here for so long and most of my friends and family are here. I know how things 'work' here and in that way feel comfortable." For Louise it is the familiarity, community and culture which engender the feelings of home. Betty, having been in Australia the longest, was clear:

Home is Western Australia as that's where our children and grandchildren are. We live near them and are part of their lives. I also have cousins who live in Bunbury. Home is wherever my family and extended family live. Home is not England, though it is my heritage.

Betty separates out the difference between home and heritage. You have a heritage – a culture, something that belongs to you by birth but is not necessarily an emotional tie. Betty

obviously felt a strong sense of home and belonging vested in her family, an emotional attachment. Other interviewees expressed a similar identification of home with family. William was certain about where his home is: *"Australia – Friends and our grown-up family around us."* Ella also felt her home to be: *"Australia. Without a beat. Home is here where I take a breath and it makes me happy. It's also where my little family has been created."* Others were less certain. Emma said: *"I have two homes really, but Australia is more of a home for us and we don't have a house in the UK anymore. Home is where my family is and where I feel secure."* Joanne, on the other hand, was comfortable with two locations: *"I have two homes, my one here in Australia with my husband and sons, and then I have my sister and father back in the UK so when I go back it's a very easy adjustment."*

Most respondents linked home with family, a few defined it as the indescribable emotion of belonging in the same way Pauline so movingly expressed. Lily was also very sure about where her home is: *"Home is Wales. It's where my family are and where I grew up. Where I have the fondest childhood memories and where I became who I am."* This was an interesting response given that Lily has a husband, children and extended family of in-laws in Perth yet still regards Wales, where her parents and siblings live, as her home which challenges Rowe's (2005) theory that 'belongings are conditioned by our bodies and where they are placed on the globe' (cited in Yuval-Davis, 2009, p.10); or it may also confirm the theory in that a separation from Wales affirms for Lily that is where her home is. For many, developing feelings of home and belonging takes time and Lily may feel differently a few years down the line as her own children grow in their home, Australia. Jock and Jean explained how it had taken them time: *"I think we had been living here for about 30 years before we said, when returning from a UK holiday, that we were going HOME"*.

Shall we stay or shall we go?

These interviewee responses suggest that home is a very personal and often deeply emotional place of belonging which for many is determined by where their families are. There is a sense of dislocation in many responses suggesting a pervasive theme of transience. This is an

immigrant nation with many diverse and isolated communities. Susan, in an earlier response said: “.... *people we met were very interested in our journey, why we chose Aus, if we like it, and would we go back.*” The questioning of migrants like Susan as to whether they would ‘go back’ is crucial in discussions of home, belonging, accepting and dislocation. Recalling our migration experience, both Australians and fellow migrants often asked my husband and I if we were going to stay. We reflected on these questions as symptomatic of a greater impermanence and insecurity associated with contemporary migration decisions. There seemed a need on the part of the questioner to confirm their own sense of belonging and their own migration decision. We found this need for confirmation and sense of in-group, out-group discrimination unsettling. The relative ease of return engenders a sense of instability, dislocation and less need of long-term commitment. We, as privileged migrants had choices and as Guibernau (2013, p.174) points out, choice itself can be a paradox, bringing the tension of making the wrong decision. The same theme of free will plays into Abel’s (2014) theory of contemporary British migration to Australia being just another transient consumer choice. In an earlier research assignment I interviewed a far more eclectic group of first-generation migrants to Australia and for the majority of non-British interviewees, there was no question of return, the ‘grass’ was indeed ‘greener.’¹⁰³ British interviewees were far more ambivalent, suggesting greater levels of privileged choice, familiarity and relative ease of transition: “*like something I had not done*” (Abel, 2014, p.30).

Hammerton (2017, p.7) uses the terms ‘serial migrants’ and ‘modern nomads’ to highlight the growing fluidity of many twenty-first century migrations. He suggests that an apparent recent revolution in migration and mobility reflects deeper changes in modern society, not least a rise in prosperity, mobility, and consequent consumer lifestyle. Choices are less permanent with return migrants wearing ‘badges of expatriate experience, as more worldly-wise citizens of the world.’ Hammerton and Thomson’s (2005, p.302) research on post-war assisted passage migrants features less affluent people with fewer choices, yet some 25 % of assisted-passage

¹⁰³ MA research assignment – Master’s Research dissertation on Affiliation and Adoption of Australian Identity by First Generation Migrants to Australia.

migrants returned permanently to Britain, often enduring 'a sense of anticlimax or even failure'. Most assisted passage migrants were middle-income, working-class families with limited resources. Financial credit was less available, debt less socially acceptable and there was no FaceTime, text messaging or even regular telephone calls to maintain contact with home. Migration decisions were more permanent and dislocation from home was for many something to be endured.

Reflecting on changing migration ages, perceptions of home, belonging and migrant returns, I questioned whether a distinct periodization in terms of permanency was evident. The four members of the group who came as children left a post-war Britain with a more clearly defined class structure. These were working-class families with many renting local authority housing, presumably with less in way of material possessions than more contemporary lifestyle migrants. For these families, migration would arguably represent less of a financial commitment. Pauline's family came from Liverpool: *"We have been here 50 years and left a council house"*. Her parents had migrated to elevate the family's status and though she had some natural curiosity about returning, the mindset of family self-improvement was clear: *"They did not want to raise us in a state housing commission environment and to mix with unemployed uneducated people."* The question of return for Pauline's family was not up for discussion. She explained how: *"In 50 years I have only been back 3 of times. Western Australia is isolated, and we don't have the opportunity to travel overseas much as it is very expensive."* Lack of access, isolation and consequent costs during the post-war austerity years made migration decisions more binding and options to return less likely. Pauline had grown up in Australia. She was less attached to Liverpool than her older siblings who probably had clearer memories of a home left behind. Yet she has a natural curiosity about Liverpool: *"But when I go back to Liverpool for a holiday, I can see that I have a much better life in Australia. The question is would I have got myself out of the economic situation I was in in Liverpool and made a good life for myself in England?"* This was an unknown that Pauline's family were not willing to contemplate, yet the whole family retain dual citizenship. Betty's parents, the earliest arrivals in the group, were homeowners and had a bigger financial decision to make: *"Mum*

and Dad sold their house in Aylesbury.” Betty reflected on their determination: “They came here with the idea of just getting on and making the best of whatever happened. My Dad’s mother died in 1959 and there was no way that my Dad could have afforded to go back for the funeral, and I think that was quite an emotional time”. Louise, who also travelled out as a child on assisted passage said: “My parents didn’t own their house in UK but were able to buy their first house in Australind in 1967 or 1968”. For Louise’s family there was no question of return. Louise is now established in a more economically mobile Australian society with more choice, her next comment reflects this change: “Back in 1964 I think we definitely had more opportunities here in WA. But since then obviously things have changed and one of my sons lives in UK where he has more education opportunities than he would have here.”

The conditions of assisted passage proved a strong incentive for these early arrivals to stay. Self-funded passengers arriving later have no time limits unless their entry was granted through restricted employment visas. I asked some of these later arrivals if they had made significant commitments to leave Britain and make Australia their long-term place of belonging. Jock and Jean were self-funded migrants, they did not qualify for assistance and flew into Perth in 1982. When asked about commitments to stay in Australia, Jock said:

We did sell our house in Scotland and brought all our worldly goods with us. We decided to stick it out for at least five. years then decide whether to stay or return to UK. I did know of someone who had been in Aus for 11 years and had returned to England for kids to go to University and was allowing them to decide! I didn’t understand at the time, I do now.

William and Jane also made the commitment to sell their home in Cardiff and were helped with a generous low-interest mortgage to buy their home in Perth. Jock explained the different mindset about home ownership in Australia and retaining that dream of returning home, if only for a holiday:

The need for home ownership was much higher here with government housing hard to obtain. We have never fully adopted the Aus view of a home being an investment. We see it as a place to live. That and a commitment to saving from the first pay to ensure we would be able to go home on holiday within 5 years has resulted in us being possibly wealthier than might have occurred in the UK.

Once these families had made house purchases and children were settled into schools, they felt a commitment to stay, going back was not an option though homesickness was certainly a reality. When asked about going back to Scotland Jock replied: *“Although neither of our children would choose to go back to live in UK, I think they would have been just as happy there as here.”* Whereas for William there was never any wavering over the decision: *“We would never return to UK now. Yes, we believe that WA has given the whole family better career opportunities and lifestyle.”*

The complexity of the task for more recent arrivals who had used expensive migration agents, came through arranged employment, or taken on the mammoth task of making all their own preparations from a distance, was surely not a commitment they would make only to return. The cost of the visas and necessary bonds are considerable, plus shipping belongings over, finding and setting up new homes, jobs and schools, all contribute to making the decision more challenging. Contemporary lifestyle migration may be, as Abel (2014) suggests, just another form of consumerism, but it is certainly hugely taxing both financially and emotionally. My husband and I sold up, we came back, but for us it was just a retirement project, we had a British home and family to come back to.

Susan who arrived in 2007, said: *“We were always committed to this being a long term/permanent move our British passports have expired”*. Susan and her family had certainly made their long-term commitment, though some more recent arrivals were not so sure. John (a builder) and his family have enjoyed their life in Australia since migrating in 2007. He has established a good business, they have surfed, they have bought the symbolic boat and barbeque. They have driven across the Nullarbor desert, they have camped in the outback and visited Aboriginal reserves.¹⁰⁴ Why would they want to return? I received a catch-up email from Beverley. (2019):

¹⁰⁴ The Nullarbor Plain is part of the area of flat, almost treeless, arid, or semi-arid country of southern Australia, located on the Great Australian Bight coast with the Great Victoria Desert to its north.

More big news... so as a family (well it took John a few weeks to come round to the idea) we are moving back to Thorney next April/ May with 2 dogs and 3 cars extra and hoping mortgage free too. 😊

After 12 years in this hot but been kind to us country it's time to start another journey. We have plans to travel UK and Europe for holidays and of course to be back home where we belong with family and friends.

The final few words encapsulate perhaps the most significant driving force bringing British migrants back from this antipodean promised land. My husband and I felt a similar pull to return. We had built a beautiful house which was never a home; we had friends and extended family there but not our sons.

Emily, the single young traveller who settled into a good job and lifestyle in Broome, has returned to the UK. Her email suggests that a sense of belonging, home and close family proved an overwhelming driving force in the context of her return:

I had a wonderful 5 weeks in the UK over Christmas, catching up with lots of family and old friends but mostly spending time with my mum, my brother and 2 nephews. I must say since returning to Broome at the end of January I've felt quite homesick and am now at a point where I am applying for jobs in the UK. The thought of early evening 'tea- time', fresh English country air and being in the same time zone as all those people who are the most special in my world is quite thrilling!!

For these return migrants, the realities have undoubtedly replaced the imaginings of living in Australia. Their imaginings have repositioned England as the dream destination, a move arguably premised on more informed decisions and a careful weighing of known pros and cons. Holmes and Burrows (2012, p.109) note 'that the most common reasons for return migration are feelings of obligation, loss and displacement'. The definitions of home, belonging and reasons for return explored here cite family as a fundamental component. This extract from the WBDF, PomsinPerth, again echoes the significance of family ties in decisions to return home:

Most successful migrants are those who already live some distance from family and don't see them all that often. They adapt well because it's not that much of a change. However, people who interact closely with family in the UK, suddenly find a huge hole in their lives when they get to Australia. (PIP, 2018).

Holmes and Burrows (2012, pp.109–110) develop the return factors involving family into a concept of 'emotional reflexivity': 'This emotional reflexivity is an embodied and cognitive

process of interpreting and acting on one's own and others' feelings in shaping one's life. It is a mode of reflexivity in which relations to others are central' and 'by understanding the importance of emotions in people's decisions about return migration, policy can better attend to the realities of more mobile lives.' They write of Ping Pong Poms or Boomerang migrants who migrate, then return, only to migrate again. Hammerton (2017, p.20) reasons that such 'mindsets of mobility' are an outcome of changing patterns of migration and travel. He argues that migration has become democratised and, rather than being a one-way ticket, is now a discretionary choice of continuous movement. Later, when Emily had returned to the UK, I asked whether she had any views on Ping Pong Poms, those serial migrants who shuttled between Britain and Australia. My question came in February 2018, when she had taken a job working for the National Trust out on the windswept Norfolk coast where she was suffering from biting cold easterly winds. She replied:

I used to think ping pong poms to-ing and fro-ing was ridiculous planning/forethought but actually can understand it now. I see it as extreme indecision when you so badly want things that are poles apart combined with a sense of things you should be doing, but not so black and white as that! (If that makes sense!) Do you know any?!
Emily x

I do know of at least one family and reasoned that Emily may now be another as she dropped out of contact when I guessed she may be questioning the decision she made to move back. Like pets, families are not just for Christmas and all those dislocating reasons which prompt people to migrate in the first place often remain where they were originally left behind.

This second analysis chapter provides significant insight into the theme of dislocated national identities and situated belonging by examining first-hand experiences of migrants to Australia where migration imaginings are tested against the realities of arrival. It concludes that despite inherent advantages of *invisibility*, many migrants find dimensions of difference within similitude become all too apparent when the security of home and belonging is stripped away. It confirms that the realities of leaving a place of assigned national being and belonging can provoke many unforeseen experiences of dislocation and that nationalist sentiments often rise

when a 'sense of ontological security is put in jeopardy by the disruption of routines' (Giddens, 1985, p.281).

The historical and ongoing links between Australia and Britain afford these migrant newcomers a distinct latitude of choice, however, as Guibernau (2013) writes, elective choice itself can be a paradox, an ongoing reflexive process of inclusion and exclusion at every level. Gaining acceptance as insiders to the Australian nation should be no more than a sideways shift within the predominantly White Anglo-Australian habitus, however, this chapter concludes that interactions at community level can induce a succession of perplexing uncertainties and confuse the dichotomy of acceptance to and a subjective accepting of a new place of belonging. It concludes that for many migrants dislocation presents as a difficult- to-verbalise complex of emotions which most resolve over time; while others, failing to find a sense of belonging, make the return journey to their original starting point.

This analysis further concludes that in an era where 'transportation, technology and culture make it normal for people to think beyond borders and to cross them frequently' (Urry, 2007, p.42), the privilege of elective choice presents a further paradox by inducing a sense of transience where the commitments made to permanent settlement become less binding. Many poignant narratives confirm that no matter the level of preparation, the imaginings invested in dreams can only play a bit-part in the actuality of the greater migration experience.

The chapter concludes that changes in the status and identity of Australia as an immigrant nation in the seven decades since the post-war assisted passage have threatened previously secure ties with Britain. The Australian economy is now structured according to the needs of a nation competing on a stage of contemporary global capitalism. Different migrant categories, cultures, ethnicities and complexions have shifted the boundaries of insider/outsider status; yet few of these White British consumers of lifestyle mobility have truly reframed their perceptions of the nation's identity or who 'Australia's strangers on the shore' really are.

The next chapter considers Australia's national identity, its changing role and often-anachronistic interpretation in a world of high-speed interconnectivity and multicultural ubiquity. It details how claims to former home nations confirm a deeply emotional sense of belonging for many migrants experiencing the anxieties of dislocation. It considers how national identities are subjectively understood and interpreted and whether dislocation from an assigned belonging from birth to one nation can be easily replaced by an elective designation to another.

Chapter Seven: Assigned and Elected National Identities

Despite the globalisation of economies, cultures and social processes, the scalar model of identity is believed to be primarily anchored in national space (Edensor, 2002, p.1).

In this chapter I argue that for many migrants claims to an identity ‘anchored in national space’ is indeed a significant ‘natural entity’ beyond ‘a social and cultural construct’ (Edensor, 2002, p.1). Building on the theme of migrant acceptance and acceptance discussed previously, this chapter details how claims to and performances of characteristic national identities can signal a deeply enduring sense of belonging. At the same time, an overt display of these nationally recognised practices can provoke discrimination and prompt acute emotions of dislocation. The chapter considers how peculiarities of both assigned and elected national identities are determined, perceived and articulated from both insider and outsider perspectives.

What is a National Identity?

Having a national identity is a bit like having an old insurance policy. You know you've got one somewhere but often you're not entirely sure where it is. And if you're honest, you would have to admit you're pretty vague about what the small print means (McIlvanney, The Herald, 6 March 1999).

Theoretically and politically national identities are variously defined by characteristics of homogeneity. It might be ethnicity, language, loyalty and commitment to a group of like-minded people, shared ideologies, birthplace, family heritage or purely by an organisation of individuals within physical territories designated as nation states sharing behaviours cultivated through mutual habituation. A subjective interpretation of what McIlvanney's ‘*small print*’ in these ‘*old insurance policies*’ means however is inevitably weighted with personal bias and emotion. Billig (1995, p.8), takes a similarly pragmatic view of the positioning of a national identity suggesting it to be a phenomenon called to the fore during celebrations or commemorations, yet remaining for most of the time a latent or ‘banal’ feature of social communities. Using the analogy of a mobile phone which for most of the time lies dormant in a pocket, Billig suggests that it is only when it rings that a ‘patriotic identity is connected.’ He

argues that aside from these periodic calls of assertive confirmation, the more banal and quotidian signifiers of national identities become integrated into habitual personal identities, making recognition of the different intrinsic parts perplexing. I suggest that for migrants experiencing a dislocation from the familiarity of a home and assigned belonging, the ring tone of their patriotic identity sounds more frequently, yet when challenged to distinguish their particular identities descriptions often resort to 'banal and quotidian signifiers' (Billig, 1995, p.8).

Blunt (2005, p. 506, cited in Skey, 2011, p.236) suggests that separation from familiar 'material geographies' of home can assign the concept of national identity to the physicality of remembered places and poignant sensual experiences. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.133) capture something of this physicality when describing how symbols of national belonging become embedded in personal identities. They write of identities being 'anchored in the familiar, sensual signposts of the natural world, colours, smells and sounds; the brightness of the sun and the position of the stars; the taste of fruit and the feeling of the rain' and that 'migrants are often profoundly disorientated in their new surroundings.' Every year thousands of White British lifestyle migrants make informed decisions to leave their material geographies of home and places of assigned national identity and apply for elective citizenship of Australia. Most arrive secure in the expectation of seamless identity transition between nations characterised by ethnic and cultural similitude, 'it will be just like Britain but with sunshine' (Holmes and Burrows, 2005, p.106). When elaborating on her migration decision, Emma said of Australia: *".... the weather makes you feel happier which is good for the mind. Don't get many grey days."* What did Emma miss about Britain? *"We miss the familiarity of things like Asda and the history and quaintness. I also miss the snowy days."* Emma's response was clearly a comparison of material geographies, of identity being anchored in the physicality of place and being spatially fixed.

Following on from these different assignments of national identities I questioned the relative significance of the ambiguous construct national identity, and whether in 'an age of mobility

and globalised interconnectivity ushering in a new era of fluidity and openness' (Urry, 2007, p.42), there has been a shift away from electing national as a primary anchor of identity.

Does having a National Identity Matter?

Smith (1991, p.38) argues that the objective function of a national identity is 'to establish a sense of continuity, remind a community of their past greatness and hence inner worth, to proclaim imminent status reversal and to mirror a point towards a glorious destiny'. Using this logic, national identities act as symbolic vehicles of communitarian homogeneity coded to unite individuals into a single nation; with national celebrations engineered to confirm a unifying sense of attachment and shared allegiance. Members of this research group had left their nations of assigned identity and elected to become Australian citizens. Does having an identity tied to a national place matter? Does a national identity 'remind them of their past greatness' or 'point towards a glorious destiny' (Smith, 1991, p.38)?

This group have been arriving in Australia throughout a period of unprecedented economic, technological and societal change facilitating a more interconnected world where distances and divides between places and cultures have effectively shrunk. Song (2003) considers twenty-first century globalisation and the consequent interconnectivity to have had significant impacts on ethnic cultures and national identities. She questions whether 'the compressing of time and space forces a juxtaposition and gradual homogenisation of cultures, civilizations and social practices dictated by the West' (Latouch, 1996, cited in Song, 2003, p.113). However, drawing on Hall et al. (1992, p.75, cited in Song, 2003, p.113), Song suggests that globalization can also reinforce social and cultural prejudices along with national boundaries while simultaneously creating shared cultural and social spaces in which there is an evolving hybridization of ideas, values, knowledge and institutions. Song's last point applies particularly well to Australia with its relatively shallow, borrowed and hybridised identity parading falteringly alongside the many rich historic national cultures brought by its diverse and dislocated migrant citizenry coveting imagery of a home elsewhere. National identity does indeed matter to these

migrants far from home and as Skey (2010, p.716) reflects, taken for granted national identities offer 'a reliable framework for making sense of the world and orientating oneself towards others and may confer both psychological stability and status'.

I explored some of these taken-for-granted national identities with interviewees to gauge their opinions. I speculated that responses would reflect some sense of periodisation by assuming that long-standing resident interviewees would cling less to their British national identity. Pauline's response quickly dispelled that illusion. Pauline migrated as a child and had been in the country over fifty years. She most definitely still felt British and would not consider changing her national identity: *"No I would not find it easy to change my Nationality to Australian. I would feel like a traitor to myself if I did that."* Pauline is an Australian citizen with an Australian passport, her response emphasises the dichotomy between a substantive emotional assigned belonging and formally elected political citizenship. Pauline earlier spoke of not feeling a sense of belonging and reasoned that may be related to her leaving Britain at, *"a young age (which) upset my sense of belonging anywhere."* Her sense of national belonging does indeed seem a 'natural entity' beyond 'a social and cultural construct' (Edensor, 2002, p.1).

Leading on from Pauline's comment I questioned whether national identities could be simply elected, conditioned by immersion into symbolic performances and internalized as Guibernau (2013, p.127) suggests. Or does a national identity assigned from birth ingrain an indelible emotional sense of belonging? Hall (1992, p.5) argues that 'national identities seem to invoke an origin in an historical past with which they continue to correspond'; arguably presenting the nations of Britain with their long-recorded histories and well-worn traditions, as possessing more robust and enduring identities than those of the Australian engineered immigrant nation with its short and certainly contested history. Betty, the first arrival in the interview group, made a personal and very poignant contribution to the debate of national identities by invoking an historical past. She said:

I am Australian with British and Scottish heritage. As I was growing up, I don't think I really worried about it but having done family history for many, many years the emphasis has changed from feeling Australian.

When asked whether she thought whether national identity mattered, she replied:

National Identity does matter, and it must be difficult for some races to settle here. As I was 9 when we arrived, I went to school and learnt Australian history, songs etc and just became Australian.

Betty separates out the heritage of her identity assigned at birth from her immigrant situated context: “*Home is not England, though it is my heritage.*” Her Australian identity is a learned performance through decades of cultural immersion. Betty also recognises the significance of her ethnic privilege and similitude when she writes of the difficulty of “*some races*” settling “*here.*” Johnson (2002, p.164) elaborates on this point by describing how national identity in Australia ‘is premised on a subordination of others’ and continues to pivot around a diasporic identity of the White British colonial settlers rather than the colonised indigenous peoples. Though dislocated in her own way the ability to rationalise a separation of heritage (assigned) and learned (elected) identities suggests Betty has a more secure and pragmatic sense of her national identity than Pauline who would feel “*like a traitor*” if she changed her English nationality to Australian.

Louise arrived in 1964 when she was thirteen years old and was very certain of her national identity. “*I’m Australian*” she stated. When asked whether she thought having a national identity was important, Louise reflected a change in attitude over time, or indeed a reflection of how culturally divided Australia had become:

No, it doesn’t matter to me, and I think it does a lot to divide us all. At 13 it was quite difficult, but I worked hard at becoming Australian and achieved it pretty quickly I think.

Louise again refers to the performance aspect of national identity as something which can be learned as from a script. Jock, arriving as an adult in 1981 expressed a similar sentiment of the divisiveness of national identities, he wanted “*to be a true internationalist, just a human being*”. However, mindful of privileging pragmatic reality over an emotional idealist dream Jock said “*but my heart always tells me I am Scottish. I used to be a Scot who lived in Britain I am now Scot who lives in Australia.*” For Jock, his assigned national identity from birth clearly

endures beyond any physical or contextual dislocation. Jock highlighted an interesting generational interpretation of national identities when he described his children:

My son, Jamie likes having Scottish 'roots' but prefers to live here. My daughter, having been born here (though "made in Scotland") does not identify herself as other than Australian and says she could never see herself living in UK at all and is so glad she was born here.

Jamie was not available for interview but his sentiments suggest parallels may be drawn between his claim to "roots," Betty's "heritage" and Pauline's "belonging." Pauline's expression of an insatiable need for an identity attached to place implies an emotional depth to her understanding, whereas Jamie and Betty contextualise their sense of national identity as just part of their history which makes them who they are.

I asked if Jock thought national identity mattered. Again, he combined idealism and realism in his response:

I think national identity should be kept for sporting achievement only. I was always happy to resolve our differences with the other Brits on the Soccer, Rugby or other sporting fields. So much less traumatic than war. Life would be so much better if everyone just accepted they were part of the human race and arbitrary country borders and rules were eliminated. Easy to say but impossible to achieve.

William brought both situational and emotional definition to his answers: "*It does depend on whom you are talking to or what event attending. I/we will always be Welsh emotionally, but we are Australians!*" When asked whether national identities mattered his pragmatism reflected privilege: "*No it doesn't really as we can have dual nationality. It would be harder if we were asked to choose.*" William's comments arguably suggest that these settler migrants can reconcile the two national identities they evidently possess. One emotionally attached and assigned from birth in England, Scotland or Wales and one administratively elected by being Australian citizens. Emily, one of the most recent arrivals, expressed less ambivalence about her national identity: "*I find myself referring to myself in the following ways - I'm English and also British. I'm always from England never Britain. And never Australian!*" When asked whether she thought having a national identity mattered she replied: "*Yes in a way I feel like it does matter, I guess it must as I would not want to change my national identity. I still identify*

as *British*.” Emily introduces a complex emotional interpretation when positioning her national identity. She is “*never from Britain*,” but “*always England*,” yet she is “*English*” and “*British*” but “*never Australian*.” The link between the physicality of a national place and having a national identity attached to a country or a political unit of countries suggests significant confusion, yet Emily is very certain about never being Australian despite taking citizenship.

When asked about her national identity Ella gave a similarly interesting response, again separating out the emotional from the political and situational: “*This is a weird one. I am Australian in nature and I support all Australian sport (even when playing England) but I will always carry England in my heart. I don’t regard myself as British, never have. Only English.*”

Earlier Ella spoke of national identities being defined by behavioural or cultural characteristics: “*British humour*” and “*British work ethic*.” Here Ella claims to be “*Australian in nature*” yet is emotionally vested in “*England*” and is not “*British*.” Amid this dislocated confusion I questioned whether national identity mattered to Ella:

Yes it matters (national identity), but should it be top of the list? Probably not. Before I received my citizenship here, I always felt like the POM abroad. Still am to some, but they are in a minority. I am proud to be called an Australian and I write it on everything unless it's specified country of birth. It's important to me to feel I belong, and I think national identity helps in that formally.

Ella’s response is an insightful reflection of the emotions many migrants experience at times of dislocation during which both insider and outsider identities may be claimed. She acknowledges that her assigned identity is bound up with her country of birth and that she is sometimes made to feel like a “POM.” Yet Ella also recognises her growing Australian identity as a mark of situated belonging, particularly since taking citizenship and being formally recognised as such. Ella, like William, Susan and Jock mentioned the significance of signalling one’s national identity in the sporting arena, an allegiance which sends a strong message of loyalty and patriotism to Australia. When asked about her national identity, Susan said: “*English born Australian*.” She thought a national identity was important as “*it gives you a sense of belonging*.” Susan expressed a clear understanding of the dilemma of trying to forge a national homogeneity in this immigrant nation:

Australia is diverse and the people I have met that weren't born here seem to have a shared desire of wanting to 'fit in.' Australia itself and that commonness has made it really quite easy to identify as being Australian.

For Susan the binding essence of the Australian nation is its diversity and a desire of its people to *'fit in'* rather than an identity of homogeneity based on ethnicity, shared history or birthplace. Susan's sentiments of *"a desire to want to fit in"* to this immigrant nation is reflected in the Australian citizenship ceremony:

*From this time forward, under God, I pledge my loyalty to **Australia** and its People, whose democratic beliefs I share, whose rights and liberties I respect, and whose laws I will uphold and obey.'* (A person may choose to make the Pledge With or without the **words** 'under God. **Australian Citizenship Act 1948**)

A theory of nations forged from ceremonial pledges of loyalty and wanting to *"fit in"* broadens the spectrum of definition considerably. Arguably, a scripted citizenship ceremony is a necessary process of engineering homogeneity out of considerable dissimilitude in immigrant nations like Australia. Citizenship is an elected form of national belonging compared with one assigned from birth (Guibernau, 2013). These different yet fundamentally similar interpretations of national identities show how political and emotional forms of belonging often intersect and boundaries blur with assigned identities co-existing alongside those elected through situated belonging. Curthoys (1998) claims that ethnicity (which might be interpreted as an assigned identity) rather than citizenship or a specific national identity is central to our sense of being and belonging. The interview responses generally concurred with Curthoys' account and for many, an elective identity could not replace one assigned at birth; citizenship seems no more than an administrative token of national being rather than emotional belonging. Joanne stated: *"I'm proud to be both English and Australian"* and *"fortunately I don't have to choose."* Joanne, like other White British national migrants, have the privilege of choice. They can stake a claim to being Australian, British, English, Scottish, Welsh or any combination they wish. This privilege echoes Waters (1990) theme of ethnic options where migrants can choose to identify with their ethnic ancestry (or not) as a lifestyle choice. As Betty commented: *"I am Australian with British and Scottish heritage."*

These narratives reflect some of the fundamental complexities in resolving subjective definitions of a national identity. In the absence of consensus most respondents stressed that belonging to and identifying as part of a greater national whole is important, if not central, to defining their sense of personal integrity. This group have all elected to become Australian citizens and many describe how they have adopted Australian ways, colloquialisms or sporting teams as part of embracing their new national belonging; *“fortunately don’t have to choose”* (Joanne) between an Australian and British identities. I questioned how these separate identities are presented and understood. I explored subjective understandings of uniquely British behaviours by asking interviewees if they were aware of their national identities on arrival or whether certain events prompted their awareness.

Dislocated British Identities

I think meeting lots of different nationalities made me feel more British, so yes as soon as I arrived, however I was initially, not quite ashamed or embarrassed but a milder version – maybe aware of the awful opinion other nations have of the British and the destruction they’ve caused around the world. I no longer feel like that and appreciate things about the UK and feel that being British is a part of who I am! (Emily, arriving in 2010).

Emily has clearly developed a different awareness and appreciation of her British identity over time. Her comment echoes the emotions of many migrants expressing their dislocation from assigned British identities and places called home, which often assume a greater emotional significance when viewed from afar. Emily does not give clear definition to how her British identity manifests only that she feels *“more British”* by meeting other nationalities and that being British is a more significant part of who she is. She is arguably reflecting the complexity of subjectively separating out ‘national’ from ‘personal’ identities when both combine to be part of the same habitus of *“who I am”* (Billig, 1995, p.8).

I questioned other interviewees on how their British Identities were recognised in the predominantly English speaking ethnically White Anglo-Australian immigrant nation. Pauline explained how arriving as an assisted passage child in 1965: *“I have always been aware that*

I am British living in Australia. At school I was called a Pom and reminded daily about my accent and how different I was. During the early post-war years British assisted passage migrants were often marked as ‘significant others’ (Guibernau, 2013, p.13) by their relatively marginal difference in a predominantly White Anglo-Australia. In more recent years Australia has welcomed migrants from a wider range of countries, changing the complexion of the nation and widening the spectrum of insider/outsider boundaries. Hage (1998) notes, Australia is a nation fraught with an asymmetry of social othering where White Anglos can make their identity statements without fear of discrimination. Notwithstanding Hage’s views, for many British migrants, incongruity within similitude can still act as a marker of outsider identity and prompt dislocation. Taking Pauline’s point of being marked as British by her “*accent*,” I questioned whether accent, dialect and intonation of the same English language continues to signal significant outsider identity. Ella arriving some fifty years after Pauline, referenced her accent as flagging her British outsider identity:

At work and with friends I don’t even think about it. Sometimes when I go somewhere new and open my mouth someone will ask where I am from, or if I am having a nice holiday! That reminds me.

Ella suggests that strongly rooted national accents always identify migrant origins and can sometimes be perceived as an obstacle to integration. Jock, the Scot living in Perth, was far more comfortable with his accent: *“I have never been mistaken for Australian due to my still-strong Scottish accent.”* Jock felt his accent had not been a barrier to acceptance commenting: *“I did find it easy to blend in.”* Joanne similarly felt at ease presenting her British regional accent: *“As my husband and I still have strong West Midland accents we often get asked where we are from, but most people say how lovely it is to hear a different accent.”*

These responses indicate that accent is a significant discriminator of British identity in this nation modelled on a White- Anglo ethnic core. Yet cultural immersion changes speech styles, particularly in children, signalling that accent is a more arbitrary indicator of national identity. Ella felt that her English accent marked her British identity *“less and less over time, especially*

now my little girl has an Australian accent!" Betty spoke of the chameleon-like nature of her children's accents when in different national settings:

In 1977 we went to live in England for just over 4 years. We lived in Bristol and our children though born in Australia soon acquired Bristolian accents. When we returned to Australia the children at school thought that our children were English because of their funny accent. When we lived in Bristol people said we were Australian because of our accent. We soon learnt not to compare England and Australia and to just become English.

Susan added an interesting tangent on the issue of situational accents acting as identity markers: *"I'm reminded of being British when people ask where my accent is from (usually Brits)."* Susan suggests other British migrants, with insider knowledge can detect not only her national but also her regional identity within Britain. Pauline spoke of coming to Australia with a strong Liverpudlian accent and felt doubly defined as an outsider by *"the constant teasing,"* not only as a Pom by Australians but also as a *"Scouser"*¹⁰⁵ by fellow British migrants. Lily told of how her Welsh regional accent had already defined her outsider identity in London:

I have always felt Welsh/British especially due to having an obvious accent. Having lived in London for 5 years prior to emigrating, I was used to people acknowledging my accent therefore moving to Perth felt no different.

These responses show the significant power of spoken dialects and accents to present and position national and regional identities. However, as shown above, vernacular styles also have the potential to identify class distinctions to those with insider awareness. Beverley spoke of not wanting to be recognised as a *"Pom"* by *"opening her mouth"* and was also concerned about *"the children coming home from school with Manchester accents!"* when they lived in a predominantly British suburb in Perth with a high concentration of migrants from Manchester. Beverley was reflecting her insider view of the British regional vernacular. Fox (2004, p.73) described the relative power of Linguistic Class Codes in the English language and how pronunciation and choice of terms can denote social class. For most lifestyle migrants emigration is about improving status, providing a better environment for children at a formative

¹⁰⁵ Scouser – Scouse is an accent and dialect of English originating in the northwest county of Merseyside.

time of their lives, they do not want a strongly regional and coarse British accent to hinder this transformation.

Does Australia have regional dialects which are used to position and code social identities? It might be argued that instead of linguistic regionalism, variable dialectical forms of Australian-English derive from the many different ethnic and cultural expressions of sporadic diasporic settings in this immigrant nation. All spoken languages are aggregates of adopted and adapted cultural and etymological influences over time and constantly undergo modification. Ella spoke of the rapid increase of American cultural influences in Australia, particularly in the “*Eastern States*” and of “*Americanisms becoming part of everyday conversations.*” These noted changes are indicative of the cultural artefacts passing through an interconnected world arguably diminishing the significance of language codes as determinants of class, region or nation. As Elliot (2009, p.334) notes, ‘massive flows of globalised electronic media can fragment the power of national identity and territorial axes of identity’. This post-national prophecy suggests the ascendancy of a universal language and culture of communication beyond territorial nations. Yet Australian-English, with its idiosyncratic intonation and liberal use of slang and colloquialism is nationally positioned providing ‘a means by which we are able to recognise others who share that mode of access as a form of identity’ (Guibernau, 2013, p.124).

This dislocated migrant group suggest that their dialect, accent and intonation serve to locate their British national, regional and class identities; yet these are not indelibly fixed and can gradually mutate into situated hybrid forms. Betty described how her children, whether intentionally or not, changed their dialectic identity through immersion and reproduction in different national settings. Beverley and Ella, who were clearly aware of their British accents - “*Unless I lose the UK accent, I will always feel slightly off-side*” (Ella) – noted the significance of performing or fronting behavioural codes of belonging through sharing Australian dialects (Goffman, 1990, p.24). Emily similarly reflected on the changes situated belonging had brought to her language: “*I haven’t tried to change my language, but I am aware I have picked up a few Aussie phrases, such as, ‘pretty’ instead of very or quite.*” Guibernau (2013, p.127)

described how 'individuals socialised within a distinct culture tend to internalize its symbols, values, beliefs and customs as forming part of themselves'. Indeed, Emily considered how an unconscious internalization of Australianisms was gradually transforming what she recognised as performing her British identity.

Despite these somewhat gradual and quotidian steps towards presenting an Australian identity, many migrants continue to affirm their national belonging somewhere else. This group are all Australian citizens yet most reference Australian identity in the third person plural – “*they*” rather than “*we*” – which in its own way reflects a sense of outsider distancing. They have options, they have dual nationality and can choose their belonging. The next section considers migrant perceptions of Australian identity and the extent to which these juxtapose with characterisations portrayed through the lens of Australian literature.

Perceptions of an Australian Identity

An Australian loves to win, support his mate and knock him down if he gets too big for his boots! As Oscar Wilde would say- good friends stab you in the front. That's very Australian! (Ella).

If the task of defining a specific and static identity for any nation is challenging, the complexity of distilling representative images for one undergoing exponential demographic change seems near impossible. This is a diverse and ethnically disparate nation where long-established borrowings from anachronistic folklore and invented tradition prove increasingly unrepresentative of contemporary Australia. Johnson (2002, p.164) describes how Anglo-Australians in this multi-cultural immigrant nation 'are left with the dilemmas of how to articulate their own identity and the national identity they helped to shape in a situation in which their privilege is under threat'. Hall's (1992, p.5) rationale that national identities should '... not be about who we are or where we come from so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on the ways we might continue to represent ourselves', aligns well with a more egalitarian and inclusive Australian identity. This is a multicultural nation in rapid transition. Habermas (1994, cited by Muller, 2008, p.72) suggests Australia

should be a site where national identities are scripted in accordance with a civic understanding of belonging involving a collective commitment to a set of laws and principles as in 'constitutional patriotism'. Emma delivered an almost rehearsed and positively motivational response when asked to characterise the Australian identity. She does not borrow from invented caricatures but is closer to the civic principles forwarded by Hall and Habermas, when stating:

Australian National Identity to me means supporting and believing in the country and its values. Being Australian means becoming a citizen to show your commitment and holding a passport.

Ella, having lived in the country for a short period as a single traveller then returned almost a decade later as a married woman, has a perhaps more informed view of Australian identity from different situational perspectives. The nation has become less British, more multi-cultural and increasingly responsive to its role as a significant player on the world stage in an era of interconnected globalisation. Ella articulated an interesting viewpoint on the rapid demographic and cultural changes shaping Australian identity:

Australians of 2015 are different to 1992. A generation had made a huge difference. The core of OZ is mate ship and give it a go. I believe this is still the foundation. However, the need for independence means they shy away from heritage. Particularly with UK. The American influence shocked me beyond anything else on my return in 2005. It's a shame. I think Australia thinks it has an identity, yet it's confused somewhat by this desire to be free of the old. In its quest for this, rather than embracing the old and using it as a foundation, it has replaced it with USA ideals. Not good. Media has played a massive part in this as the networks are USA based/ joint owned.

Arriving as an outsider on separate occasions has arguably given Ella an opportunity to observe Australian culture more objectively than migrants who have been long term residents immersed in the cultural evolution she describes. The caveat in the case of Ella's reflections on change may be her positionality and, more specifically, altered perceptions bound up with change in status, age and the diverse locations where she lived – rural outback to a built-up settlement near a state capital. All contemporary immigrant nations, not least Australia, undergo significant cultural adjustment with every new wave of immigrants, economic trends and the consequent trading partners reaching its borders. Allowing for all these considerations,

Ella had observed an exponential rate of change impacting the core Australian identity, particularly in the Eastern rather Western States where: *“sure they have the modern city and wealth from the mining. But everything about WA is still based on where they came from. USA influence not so much.”* All nations have regional disparities, not least between rural and urban areas, yet dissimilitude in this centrally engineered nation located in a vast continental territory is often extreme. Trying to distil a single representative identity from marginalised indigenous aboriginals living on outback reserves, a core ethnicity of White Anglo-Australians and the many representations of multicultural immigrant diasporas in Australian cities, seems something of an impossible struggle and must surely go beyond iconic caricatures drawn from literature.

Pauline has been a resident of WA for over fifty continuous years and as a relative insider confirmed how successive flows of different cultural influences have complicated a definitive Australian identity:

I don't think there is a real Australian National Identity because there are so many races living here and the land was set up only a few hundred years ago from migrants. I suppose if I had to answer the question, I would say we live in a free democratic society of sun loving people who are friendly and have overall a positive outlook.

Most respondents were challenged to describe an Australian Identity though many spoke of a confident nation with a shared positive outlook and a love for the country where so many different races and cultures live in harmony. When asked this question Joanne replied: *“This is a tough one. Not sure what it is to be Australian other than being proud of where you belong.”* William, reflecting on the changing demography of most contemporary nations, answered along similar lines: *“Difficult to describe, is there an accepted identity of any nation these days with so much multicultural mix in the world? But for me it is maybe just living, loving and proud to be Australian.”* Susan also spoke of pride, reflecting on the success of the pioneering spirit which built the country: *“I find Australians proud of what they have achieved as a country, I feel that they are independent and a great sense of unity/matship.”*

Joyce gave a more detailed summary which again spoke of being proud, having a sense of ownership and of being a member of the nation she had elected to join, something she had not experienced with her British identity. She does, however, allude to an insider power which gives her the right to sanction belonging by identifying what, in her opinion, constitutes outsider identity:

What is the Australian national identity? In my view it is the way that Australians will give anyone a chance, or "a fair go" as the saying says. There is not the class system that exists in UK, based on your bloodline. Instead it is more about "making good" and "making money." I have found Australians to be very tolerant of others and their differences, nationality, religion etc., with the one exception over the past few years of followers of Islam. Australians on the whole seem a lot less stressed and worried about "keeping up with the Joneses." They work hard, but also play hard and the spirit of "mateship" and supporting your friends/family is very strong. I think this all comes from the fact that so many of us Australians come from so many different countries and cultures, and to get on and make a life, we have all just been tolerant of any differences others have. Australians are generally very generous people too, and giving, either money or time, to help out in times of emergency is very strong.

Louise recognised the same folkloric descriptors of Australian Identity, yet also noted a discriminatory line of intolerance: *"Easy going, egalitarian, giving everyone a fair go (unless you arrive on a boat of course), a bit of a larrikin."* Jock, the libertarian Scot divides the legendary image of Australian identity from the perceived reality. He also reflects on a particularly negative, yet seemingly acceptable view of the ingrained hegemony within the nation:

I have never been aware of a true Aussie identity. The image of the Aussie perpetrated in the press of a free-wheeling larrikin who excels at sport and beer drinking possibly exists as a subculture but is not predominant. I have maintained that the difference between a European Aussie and an indigenous Aussie is that the former requires a million dollars in the bank before they sit under a tree drinking all day. The reality for me is that most "Aussies" are migrants be they British, Greek, Italian, Asian and more recently Indian or African.

In this multicultural immigrant nation where exclusivity is challenged by diversity a national identity can surely be no more than a set of behavioural and cultural ideals defined by the terms of citizenship. In the wake of global terrorist attacks the Howard government scripted a version of Australian citizenship intended to stimulate more social cohesion and effective nation-building by emphasising 'Australian values' (Jupp, 2007b; Tilbury, 2007). Howard

claimed 'mateship' as one of the enduring values of what he variously called the Australian 'way' or national 'character', embodied in Australia's 'fair go' laconic egalitarianism' (Sydney Morning Herald, 25/12/14).

This iconic spirit of mateship celebrated as an abiding characteristic of Australian identity, is however often notably lacking as the nation becomes increasingly fractured along lines of cultural difference. Emily disputes that such a worthy attribute should be heralded as a wholly national characteristic:

This may perhaps be unfair, but I notice a national hypocrisy, they talk of 'mateship' and 'fairgoes' but are comfortable with the marginalisation of those who are not seen as fitting in. I have experienced a great deal of racism in Australia by Australians. Particularly to the Aboriginal and indigenous people of Australia, and often its quite accepted' (Emily).

This British migrant group was clearly challenged to define an Australian identity without borrowing from appealing sound bites; most recognised the impossibility of determining a single descriptor for this diverse immigrant nation with 'differential modalities of national belonging structured around a hierarchical power of ethnic identity overriding any equalities granted by legal citizenship' (Hage, 1998, p.51). A classical identity for this contemporary immigrant nation, fractured by hierarchical divisions and divided loyalties to homes somewhere else, seems both anachronistic and unrepresentative.

The next section moves on from the quest for a definitive Australian identity to consider the status of Being Australian, and whether, as Hage (1998) suggests belonging is structured around a hierarchical power of ethnic identity.

Hierarchies within National Belonging

Moving away from the outmoded iconic images of Australian Identity, Elder (2007, p.2) writes of the more contemporary, functional and arbitrary status of 'Being Australian' where shifting boundaries of belonging are determined by insider privilege. Elder describes the term as a complex notion of power which extends well beyond the concepts of citizenship to influence aspects of life that may seem unconnected to a formal national identity. She reflects on how

being 'Australian' or 'un-Australian' forms a discretionary boundary of socially acceptable behaviour. Elder considers how definitions of being Australian are open to a significant breadth of interpretation, orchestration and manipulation and how scripts of belonging are coded as a device to include or exclude accordingly. Hage (1998, pp.53–64), a Lebanese-Australian, writes through the lens of ethnic minority status and sees some groups as more national than others by positioning themselves as the arbiters of national belonging, identity, culture and space. These are the aristocracy who can access both the material benefits of group membership and determine the conditions of belonging. They possess greater 'national cultural capital,' 'sanctified and valued social, physical and cultural styles and dispositions' (Hage, 1998, p.54). White British immigrants arrive with greater levels of inherited cultural capital, they are part of Hage's aristocracy. Elder (2007, p.6) shows how Australian national identity privileges 'elements of non-indigeneity, whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality'; with all images exuding power and dominance in a way that few other national identities can. She suggests that the 'legend of being an Australian has built a picture of Australian-ness as being as golden as youth, larrikin nonchalance and unpretentious courage' (Elder, 2007, p.5). However, Elder also suggests that little is made of the not so courageous: the soldiers who shot themselves in the foot rather than go back to the frontline; those who committed war crimes and others who suffered post-traumatic stress disorder – in short, those who did not fit into the heroic story. Following on from Elder's and earlier portrayals, I asked interviewees about their perceptions of maleness and whiteness as being iconic of Australian identity. I couched the question in comparative terms with Britain to gauge whether responses reflected an image of Australian as a national identity largely invested in a male, White power base. The majority simply replied "No" to any marked difference or gave similar negative responses. Others were far more reflective and considered the significant cultural and demographic changes which had affected both the UK and Australia since their migration. Jock showed a certain anachronistic naivety of demographic changes in his remembered image of Scotland: *"No, I don't find it so. Gendered is certainly similar, racist is hard to compare due to the limited racial differences in Scotland."* Jock's response does not elaborate on how gendered the

Scotland he remembered was. It may have been a very misogynistic culture which he could have been part of and in fact “*similar*” to Australia, which is why he “*did not find it so*” different. He also spoke of limited racial differences in Scotland which again is debatable in the case in many Scottish towns and cities today. Yet contemporary change in Scotland may be very localised and comparatively insignificant in relation to the exponential change in Jock’s Victoria Park neighbourhood in Perth, or generally in the Australian multicultural nation.

Louise arrived in 1964 to quite a different demographic landscape and certainly noticed the contrast, though is uncertain about a contemporary comparison. She said:

I don’t spend enough time in the UK to compare. Australia in the 60’s and 70’s was sexist. It makes me cringe to remember the way I was talked to and treated when I worked in offices back then. Racism against indigenous people was very common then and is still heard often. But things are changing, and I think this next generation will generally be more tolerant and better educated about these things.

Ella also holds out hope of the next generation changing the perception of a racist and misogynistic Australian identity. She attributes the generational change to be consequence of “*travelled*” experiences, rather than the insular, inward-looking and “*sexist*” outlook of older Australian generations:

Absolutely! Not sure if it is more than UK, but they generally don’t hide it as much. Also, I would say it’s generation 50+ that are more sexist. The younger generation are better traveled and are more equal on so many levels, they have learnt the error of their fathers and it’s created a much better social environment for women.

Susan commented on the hubristic, brash nature of Australian cultural identity: “*I think it is less PC than Britain which can be a good and bad thing as things might come across as being sexist – but I haven’t found it overtly so.*” As temporary migrants my husband and I certainly saw signs of that brashness, almost arrogance displayed on T-shirts and car stickers in Perth emblazoning a coarse response to any criticism of the nation: ‘If you don’t like it F--- off back where you came from!.’ On the question of racism, Susan gave an interesting comparative viewpoint: “*I come from Oldham (England), a place which had racial riots so in comparison with living there, I haven’t observed more racism here.*”

Emily was very aware of blatant gender and racial issues (re-enforced by the media) where she lived in Broome, W.A:

Very much so. Sexist through jokes in the media and every day. 'Boat People' and the fear mongering built up by the government and media, turning desperate refugees into monsters. The inherent racism surrounding indigenous Australians and the very negative attitude towards them.

Lily, the most recent arrival in the group felt she experienced less awareness of racism and sexism in Australia but does compare the UK favourably by saying: *"I've not really ever thought about it however the same sex marriage debacle definitely made me feel grateful to come from a country where it is legal."* Same-sex marriage was legalised in 2014 in England and Wales and 2017 in Australia.

This third analysis chapter contributes significant dimension to the central research theme of this thesis by questioning the role of national identities and how claims to one above another are expressed. The analysis confirms that these migrant individuals claim a strong sense of attachment to their assigned national identities whilst searching for anchors of belonging somewhere else. It illustrates the many emotional challenges involved in shifting away from 'well established thick attachments to the nation' and anchoring national subjectivity to somewhere imagined and less well known (Skey, 2010, p.715). This chapter concludes that after exiting the security and familiarity of one place of national being to seek belonging in another, significant elements of one identity must be forfeited before another can be fully embraced.

By considering elements of objective and often anachronistic Australian literature alongside subjective contemporary experiences, the chapter confirms the impossibility of ascribing a classic model of identity, character traits and typologies to an entire nation. Australia is an immigrant nation undergoing exponential change at a rapid rate; this post-colonial nation fashioned on a model of White-Anglo hegemony is now home to over five hundred different ethnicities posing a challenge to homogeneity. I conclude that perceptions of Australian national identity are positioned within a framework of folklore, hierarchical bias and the variable

prerequisites of 'Australian' and 'Un- Australian' behavioural codes, which necessarily cut across ethnic divides.

This case study of White British migrants to Australia suggests that any sincere performance or symbolic display of a particular national identity represents a claim to insider belonging. These expressions of nationhood are learned behaviours acquired through acculturation, unlike distinctive identities classified according to ethnicity or race. Despite recording many emotional reactions suggesting assigned national belonging to be deeply rooted and indelibly fixed, I conclude that national identities are essentially cultural behaviours which can hold significant poignancy at times of dislocation from all that is known and secure. These rehearsed characterisations are typical of both assigned and elected national belonging and are therefore interchangeable.

The next chapter considers variable migrant commitments to concepts of situated belonging and the diverse ways in which individuals work towards becoming Australian. It explores the ways in which migrants cling to secure foundations of known identities at different stages of dislocation as vehicles of continuity before journeying into the relative unknown. It questions whether dislocation from one nation can be replaced by an equally enduring attachment and commitment to another.

Chapter Eight: Dislocated Identities in Search of Belonging

Various identities tend to coexist at a time, and their relevance moves and switches according to individual needs, external demands, and expectations (Guibernau, 2013, p.1).

The previous chapter concluded that national identities are both objectively scripted and subjectively interpreted expressions of 'well established thick attachments to a nation' (Skey, 2010). They are essentially symbolic representations of individual sovereign nations. This final analysis chapter argues that claims to national belonging become particularly salient at points of dislocation from all that is known and secure. It contends that migrant identities often move and switch to reinterpret scripts of belonging '*according to individual needs, external demands, and expectations*' (Guibernau, 2013, p.1).

These White-Anglo migrants have significant amounts of privilege and cultural capital so arguably need make less 'commitment to the common good;' unlike migrant groups marked by difference where 'dislocation that lasts a lifetime' (Puri, interviewing British Asians, BBC, 2019).

Re-negotiating Belonging

Migrant dislocation from a place of national we deictic can prompt a need for some form of group affinity, an entry point where symbolic expressions of belonging prove comforting. Guibernau (2013, p.1) states:

Identification with a group or community plays a major role in the construction of individual identity by way of inclusion, exclusion and constant re-negotiation, modification and the formation of shifting boundaries which sometimes become fuzzy.

It is these 'fuzzy' boundaries of inclusion and exclusion that arguably lead to dislocation and heightened claims to formerly assigned national identities. Guibernau (2013, p.172) argues that: 'Belonging breaks the individual's sense of isolation and provides psychological support, which is crucial to overcome uncertainty'. Membership of a group, whether defined by nation, culture, ethnicity or religion provides a sense of shared identity, of symbolic community recognition and managed security at times of dislocation. During the post-war assisted

passage era the Australian nation was dominated by a White-Anglo core creating a greater sense of ethnic and national similitude for British migrants. Jupp (2007, pp.10–30) noted that by 1947 ‘Australia had become one of the ‘whitest’ countries in the world outside North-West Europe’. The engineered ethnic hierarchy was safeguarded by the White Australia Policy and the ‘British had few problems of acceptance, employment or language skills.’ At the pinnacle of the social hierarchy were White Anglo-Australians and Anglo-Celts followed by White Irish Catholics occupying ‘an ambiguous position as White, European insiders, but cultural outsiders’ (Ryan, 2007, p.416). Next came other Europeans (increasingly post 1950s) and White immigrants from other British dominion. These were followed by migrant others (including Asians, Africans) and finally the lowest position was, and arguably still is, occupied by Australian Aboriginals. Skey (2010, p.717) suggests that this hierarchy ordering the structuring of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in the British Isles is predominantly defined in relation to Empire and colonisation. An entrenched hegemony that transferred to the Australian demographic model.

The relatively small numbers of ethnic minority immigrants to Australia have historically tended to gravitate into cultural diasporas. Betty evidenced this when speaking of Italian diasporas in her local area: *“The idea of Italians only marrying Italians only changes after a couple of generations as it does with other migrant groups.”* Many first-generation migrants in minority diasporas never move towards full integration resulting in increased cultural segregation and expressions of belonging being conditioned by homes beyond Australia. While my husband and I were building our house in Australia one Italian sub-contractor working with us had been in the country over forty years yet spoke very little English. The White Anglo-Australian project manager apologised saying: *“I know he is a little Ding, but he is our little Ding and does a good job.”*¹⁰⁶ This illustration of ethnic and cultural marginalisation of what Hage (1998, p.115) refers to as the ‘domesticated other’ is not uncommon in privileged White-Anglo Australian society.

¹⁰⁶ The term ‘Ding’ has various derogatory interpretations in Australian slang including dog (dingo) – in this case used to describe someone of Italian origin.

Relatively isolated cultural diasporas are part of the tapestry of many contemporary nations challenged by building a national homogeneity out of disparity. With its engineered White-Anglo hegemony and continuing cultural and political ties with Britain, Australia certainly does seem in a state of vertigo (Maravillas, 2012). Despite government assimilation policies, a unifying and static Australian identity increasingly lacks definition. The hybridised White British version interwoven with a multitude of minority ethnic representations and add-ons according to the political persuasion of the day, arguably works against an agreed and effective national unity. This somewhat amorphous condition often prompts new arrivals to seek out alternative ways of belonging or cling to the security of their formerly assigned national identities.

Ethnically White British migrants should have less need to hold onto their national identities, they identify as part of the aristocracy (Hage, 1998) and are included rather than excluded. The contract painter referred to above is ethnically White European, he is an Australian citizen yet by remaining socially and culturally within his close-knit Italian diaspora the boundaries to his national belonging are *fuzzy* (Guibernau, 2013). Most of the Interview group expressed an emotional claim to some form of British belonging or being comfortable with dual citizenship. I argue that despite their White British dividend and seemingly less fuzzy boundaries to belonging, many migrants in this study are not totally immune from feelings of acute dislocation from their assigned national identities. Most gradually assimilate to hybridised versions of Australian belonging but like many other fledgling explorers feeling their way they too need the support of familiarity, shared codes and empathetic knowledge of a home somewhere else.

Earlier post-war assisted passage migrants experienced a comparatively gradual step-change progression to new national belonging. This was a joint adventure bringing a sense of group affinity, camaraderie and kinship; they shared hopes, dreams and sometimes despair in this large-scale centrally planned migration exercise. They shared the experience of an extended ocean voyage where an initial cultural and social adjustment to new identities could be gradually processed and friendship communities formed. This was a managed and staged transition; they were all in it together. Official committees, sponsors and relatives waited at

quaysides to greet the welcomed new arrivals. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.334) write of the myriad social institutions and clubs, many with national themes set up to provide a sense of belonging to migrants experiencing dislocation from home. These were 'often short-lived organizations, which thrived briefly among migrants motivated by homesickness and a desire for like-minded company' and were more about a need of friendship and inclusion rather than touchstones of patriotism. Themed organisations facilitate convenient beacons of security during storms of dislocation echoing Giddens' (1985, p.281) assertion that nationalist sentiments rise up when a 'sense of ontological security is put in jeopardy by the disruption of routines'. Skey (2008), Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002) draw on contemporary studies to demonstrate how quotidian and banal routines, symbols and emotions performed and understood without obvious intention in the name of nations can create security and a solidarity of belonging. Conversely, any disruption from these certainties can initiate dislocation. Hammerton and Thomson (2005, p.143) reference the Union Jack club in Melbourne in 1959 which advertised its presence by questioning 'Are you lonely, do you want to see someone?'. Some assisted passage migrants welcomed such clubs and communities during periods of dislocation, others considered them 'inward-looking havens for the disaffected.'

Is 'national' the only sanctuary of belonging?

... in a contemporary globalised society, the constraints of tradition are eroded and belonging by choice brings a degree of freedom, and there is a greater level of empowerment to transcend assigned forms of national membership (Guibernau, 2013, p.127).

I questioned respondents about whether they had joined nationally themed clubs and examined responses chronologically (according to arrival dates) to assess whether the need to belong to a community defined by nationality had been transcended over time. Betty (the earliest arrival) said her family did not join a specifically British national group on arrival but

they had joined an Anglican congregation in Perth.¹⁰⁷ The family were practising Anglicans in England and saw the church as a continuation of their community identity. When re-interviewed in 2016 Betty still had strong attachments to her local church, affirming a lifelong commitment to her extended familial group. This was Betty's first and abiding social group in Australia, a pan-global yet predominantly British religious nation which eased the passage of dislocation for her family. Membership of religious nations without states (Guibernau, 1998) represent 'communities of belonging' (Guibernau, 2013, p.110) for many. Sometimes however a 'tension between church and nation' reflects the 'struggle between two powerful institutions willing to acquire and maintain people's loyalty and define people's identity – in particular, their collective identity' (Guibernau, 2013, p.110). Not everyone aligns to a particular religion whereas a national belonging from birth is universal and is the form of identity central to this research.

Other early arrivals - Pauline, Louise and Rose did not remember (or their families had not joined) any formal British national, church or social groups. When asked if he had sought membership of any British-themed communities Jock, who arrived in the Australian post-assimilation period¹⁰⁸ replied:

No. I have never felt the need to belong to a British community, but perhaps that is because we chose to buy a house in the same vicinity as some of the British friends we made at Noalimba. This area used to be nicknamed Pommie Valley, as rumour has it that a lot of houses were built around here after WWII to accommodate British migrants. We do occasionally attend Britfest type activities, but there are not that many to attend. I think they help integration as I feel most people relate best to those of similar background and experience.

William and Jane having also spent their initial arrival period in Noalimba, felt no need to join any home nation gatherings, they made British friends at the reception centre. Joyce arrived in 1991 and showed greater awareness of how national support communities can hinder integration:

¹⁰⁷ Anglican – identity of the Church of England following the English Reformation.

¹⁰⁸ Assimilation Policies were used in Australia 1951–62, initially to assimilate Aboriginal groups and migrant others into the Anglo-Celtic culture. Post 1962, integration policies replaced assimilation as part of the dismantling of the White Australia Policy and later introduction of an integrated multicultural approach (Australian Law Reform Commission, Australian Government).

I do not attend any of these types of activities as I think it doesn't help with assimilation into Australian way of life. I do have some English/European friends in Perth, but the majority of my friends are Australian.

Joyce uses the term *assimilation* in place of integration, the wording used in my question, which suggests a commonplace misunderstanding of the different political strategies. The often-duplicated terms are crucially different in the context of this nation of immigrants. Assimilation policies were introduced by the government in a drive to create one nation of people enjoying the same rights and privileges whilst accepting the customs and beliefs of the core Anglo-Australian culture. Integration policies later replaced assimilation as a way of encouraging the increasingly diverse range of immigrants to integrate into the dominant Australian society whilst retaining elements of their own cultures.

The previous chapter gave some insight into migrant claims to British identities, challenging Guibernau's (2013, p.10) suggestion that contemporary 'global citizens' are more likely to have 'a greater level of empowerment to transcend assigned forms of national membership'. Some responses evidenced a more acquiescent attitude towards belonging in Australia, yet I question the commitment or indeed requirement to making significant realignments when "*Fortunately there are so many British migrants and their descendants here that for us membership is not really required*" (Jock). Joanne, who arrived in 2008, said:

I don't belong to any groups, I do have English friends, but then I have friends from all over. I think if you stay with the British Community when you move it could hinder your integration. You need to mix with everyone. Otherwise, what's the point in coming out here?

The final part of Joanne's response was intriguing. When quizzed further on that "*point*" Joanne explained that when arriving as an outsider to this immigrant nation there is a "*need to be open minded, embrace all the country has to offer and assimilate.*" This is a new and exciting adventure in a land of opportunity. New scripts of belonging and identity can be fashioned and old ones cast off, or at least selected from. Joanne and her family had settled in a predominantly White, professional, middle-class private housing development where she felt: "*We just feel we belong. We blended in easily.....*" Joanne's friend Beverley is of a

similar age and stage in her migration journey from England, they understood one another. They were critical of British migrants who: *“are on Facebook to people back home all the time; never go out, they listen to BBC Radio 1 online all day and order things from M&S”*. Joanne and Beverley were determined to make that sideways shift in the narrow confines of their social field from English to Australian (Bourdieu, 1985).

When asking Emma about joining British groups in Australia her answer reflected life in a Perth suburb which, as with many other cities, is defined by segregated pockets of ethnic similitude: *“We are not members of any group but do have lots of English friends, more so than Australian friends as we live in a very English area.”* The Northern suburbs of Perth have large concentrations of British migrants, as detailed by the following extract from ‘PerthNow’ online website:

Mindarie is the epicentre of a cluster of northern coastal suburbs that the British High Commission in Canberra recognises as the biggest concentration of Brits outside the UK’ (21/7/2012).

Perth is a dynamic city undergoing constant demographic change but as suggested, moving to a British enclave in the city may present less dislocation than moving to another region of Britain. Emily migrated in 2010 and is based in Broome on the Northern Coast of WA, over 2000 kilometres and 24 hours’ drive time from Perth (much more an Australian Outback¹⁰⁹ destination rather than a world city). When asked about being a member of a British community support group Emily, gave an insightful response:

I’m not myself. I do think it’s important to create a balance with things like this. Having support when in a strange/different place is good and important as long as it does not stop people from living their lives in the country they are in (I mean not trying to create mini England in Australia and trying to emulate ‘homeland’). I certainly feel there is a danger when people are exclusively involved in British Community groups.

Abel (2014) explores similar dynamics in her research on British nurses who have recently migrated to Perth. The nurses spoke of a loss of friendship networks and spontaneity in relationships when moving to Perth; yet some also recognised the isolating effects of British

¹⁰⁹ Australian Outback – area of Australia, usually the interior away from the coast where over 90% of the Australian population live.

community groups where migrants can become 'trapped in that identity' (2014 p.75). These sentiments suggest that a defining ethnicity or national identity can prove both comforting and constricting at different stages of resettlement. Nazroo and Karlsen (2003, p 928) suggest that 'Ethnicity is just one part of who we are and should not be viewed as operating independently of other elements' (cited in Ryan, 2007, p.420).

Virtual Belonging

I asked Susan whether she was a member of a British-based group. She gave a short but enlightening response which confirmed that nationally exclusive community support groups were still very much out there but in a different guise. She replied: "*I moderate on migrant forums;*" these are Web Based Discussion Forums (WBDF) which provide:

..... a social network for people moving and emigrating to Australia. Members and Migration Agents provide free advice on obtaining Visas for Australia (Pomsinoz, 2010).

These forums offer far more than visa advice. They facilitate comprehensive support systems for migrants before and after arrival outstripping their dated forerunners which were confined to physical buildings, face-to-face meetings and set times. The worldwide web is now a primary medium of communication, time zones are not an issue, advice and friendship are always there. No matter your language, dialect, or appearance you can share your innermost fears and joys in relative anonymity. Wilson and Peterson (2002, p.456, cited in Abel 2016, p.98) liken WBDFs to the 'virtual village squares' described in more traditional ethnographies, 'a continuum of communities, identities, and networks'. Many British migrants to Australia use WBDFs tailored for 'Poms' or 'Brits' to find kindred spirits who will know, understand and immediately relate to the tastes, sounds, smells, idiosyncrasies and nuances of home. Those experiencing dislocation want to reconnect, be part of the group which just knows how they feel and can guide them through difference and incongruity. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1993, p.6) write of how 'membership in ethnic collectivities provides individuals with a sense of roots and is often a pivotal element in their understanding of 'who I am'.

Despite having completed all their migration research and preparation, for many migrants experiencing low points, only a sense of national kinship can ease dislocation. Forums sometimes facilitate meet-ups, suggesting virtual contact is not always enough; these gatherings represent a more targeted form of earlier community support groups. Just like dating sites, member FaceBook profiles can be scrutinised first and decisions made as to whether you want to commit to meeting people from back home – ironically, the place you moved to get away from! The following posts demonstrate how national allegiance can provide a comforting sense of familiarity and security for migrants dislocated their roots of belonging:

[Posted April 29, 2018](#)

Hello, me and my partner live in West Perth, both 28 and wanted to know if there is any poms out there looking to meet some new people. Been here for 4 years now and applied for PR (Permanent Residence) in January.

[Posted February 21, 2018](#)

Hey everyone, me and my husband have been here now for 7 years, our friends group is very limited but would love to meet new people especially people from the Uk.

[Devonpoms21](#)

*Hey everyone,
First time on here, we looking to extent our social circle of friends I'm 31 my husband is 37. Love being here and definitely not homesick but really missing not having a network of people like I did back home. Anyone got any advice on the best ways to meet new people?*

Some forum posters were keen not only to catch up with other migrants from the UK but sought out people from specific national backgrounds:

[Posted July 9, 2012](#)

*Since being in Perth I have come across a lot of **English** and just about every second person seems to be **Irish** but where are all the **Scottish**? I have only met 1 or 2 and very rarely hear a Scottish accent on the street!!*

[Posted July 9, 2012](#)

.....umm could that be because you are in Australia and not Scotland.....Try Kinross, North of the River, plenty there! There is actually loads down here Secret Harbour/Mandurah way too!

[Posted July 16, 2012](#)

Hiya ,I've been the same as yourself hardly met any scots .Think it really must depend where you live we're in Scarborough since December and met 1 other scot .Anyone having problems with people understanding the accent -I'm from Ayrshire but I really don t sound like somebody from chewin the fat!

[Posted July 16, 2012](#)

We are also from Ayrshire and hardly met any scot's. Most of the friends I've made are English. The scots must all be hiding somewhere ;-)

[Posted July 9, 2012](#)

I'm moving over in August - heading to Clarkson to start with - where are you based? Where are you fae! am fae Govanhill. I lived in Shawlands before I moved out here. I used to work in the locksmiths in Shawlands lol!

The next post in response to the one above probably shows a sense of desperation in looking for kinship – if not through nationality then through location and skill set!

[Posted February 14, 2018](#)

yeah, not many Scots. We are locksmiths as well but Kiwi and English. We are from Osborne park at which one did you work in?

These posts signal dislocation from an assigned national place of being and belonging. The exchange of dialects and knowledge of localised districts bring home closer, these codes are exclusive to fellow nationals. It is not only the Scots who search for kinship:

[Posted March 10, 2012](#)

any one know if Perth has a welsh club/ meet ups. soooo missing the six nations get togethors .

[Posted March 10, 2012](#)

hiya , I'm from wales but only been here since dec and got 2 kiddies so don't get out much , where in wales u from?

As with the Scottish posters, local place origin as well as nation becomes significant as a symbol of group belonging:

[Posted March 11, 2012](#)

Ye it's fab, we from port talbot I've not met many welsh yet lol...

[Posted March 11, 2012](#)

Me and my boyfriend are coming to Perth in May - from Port Talbot too!! (Baglan) We will have to arrange a meet up when we get there!

These extracts again lend validation to Guibernau's (2013, p.33) premise that 'elective' identities to a nation do not always bring the same certainty and privilege as those 'assigned' from birth. Kinship attachments, shared interests and amplified representations of home nation identities can lend emotional security and a sense of belonging at times of dislocation. Yet as with all diasporas, the retracing of old ethnic boundaries can impede social integration and the realisation of a new national belonging.

Hybridised Recreations of Home

Despite being the 'charter group' (Jupp, 2007, p 8) of new arrivals, many British migrants feel materially dislocated from all that, with a (selective) backward glance to what is remembered, is known and loved. It is the forfeiture of symbols of familiarity and contextual place security which often disrupt a sense of belonging and can prompt bizarre hybridised re-interpretations of traditions. Hannerz (2002) suggests that recreations of home are contrastive, being linked to a notion of what it is to be away from home. He contends that a sense of 'rootedness in a socio-geographic site can be constructed as intensely imagined affiliation with a distant locale where self-realisation can occur' (cited in Yuval-Davis, 2012, p.11). The incongruous Christmas in July celebrations; anachronistic wearing of leeks and daffodils by the Welsh expatriots on St David's Day;¹¹⁰ Scottish celebration of Hogmanay¹¹¹ and the everyday homage to the many high street Irish Bars are arguably all recreations born out of dislocation. These rituals provide a sense of identity, ownership and belonging no matter the lack of authenticity when performed beyond vernacular settings. These symbols of home nations are relatively benign and unlikely to cause offence reflecting the similitude and the assumed invisibility of British migrants. These are not aggressive and defiant expressions difference, just passive calls to a home somewhere else.

Some Usernames on WBDFs shout dislocation and a need of recognition at times of separation from home. Devonpoms21, and the discussion thread titled Scottishtartan8, are just two of many examples of posts signalling home identities. Other British expats want to show their home allegiance in more visible, if less overtly nationalistic ways with vehicle licence plates. With a population of just 2.7 million (2019), Western Australia has almost as many vehicles, 2.6 million (abs.au.gov), and personalised registration plates are readily available. This has literally given licence to an easily affordable way of advertising dislocated group allegiances. Particularly noticeable in the predominantly British NOR (North of the River)

¹¹⁰ St. David's Day – March 1st celebration of Welsh patron saint.

¹¹¹ Hogmanay – the Scots word for the last day of the year and is synonymous with the celebration of the New Year in the Scottish manner.

suburbs in Perth licence plates blazoning support for home football teams: MANU 1; HORNETS; WOLVES; CELTIC, are few among the many all making statements of identity and dislocation from a home somewhere else.

Another somewhat banal practice of expats away from their home nation is to search for recognisable foods to savour a taste of home. 'Taffy's Sweet Store' in Bunbury, near our Australian home, was immediately (if embarrassingly) recognisable to me as advertising a Welsh (South) national belonging. I speculated whether the name of the shop was about the proprietor's dislocation, a beacon of home to Welsh migrants, a marketing ploy or more likely a combination of all. The following WBDF posts illustrate the lengths that some migrants will go to in their quest for a taste of home:

[Posted April 12, 2015](#)

Q: 'Where can I buy and authentic Melton Mowbray pie in the vicinity of Perth?'

R 'While living out there 8 years I couldn't find one but try the Boat Shed markets – best cheeses in WA and the curries taste just like the British ones.'

R1: 'Where are you? There's a good Scottish butcher in Currumbie – likely you won't find a MM pie round here.'

R2: 'Never found one that tasted right'

R3: 'If you are after a pork pie try Vietnamese pork rolls instead. Unless it is important it isn't going to be MM is it? Protected status and all that.'

Q: 'It's a MM type one I want – why don't they sell them here? They sell them in Asda, Tesco and M&S back home and lovely crunchy pastry. A guy told me here that the pastry was doughy because of the flour – another one said it was because of the climate.'

R3: 'My husband bought a couple of pies which he reckoned were ok from Hobart. I looked up where they sell them here and the Boat Shed in Cottesloe does. Advertising blurb says they are like a genuine British MM pie making them in the same classic shape.'

R2: 'Got tired of looking for one so now make my own – got to have HP sauce on it though'.

R5: 'Never understood the pork pie but then I am from Cornwall, the origin of the food from gods.'

I questioned interviewees about whether they recreate or search out any translocated traditions from their home nation. Most laid claim to maintaining and often exaggerating links.

In fact, some emphasise their heritage by maintaining many more regionalised home traditions than their families still living in Britain. William had recreated a childhood familial tradition by establishing a practice of being addressed as Gi (a derivation of the Welsh word for grandfather) by his newly born grandchildren in Perth. Interestingly, though he had called his own grandfather Gi, his own children had called his father (their grandfather in Wales) 'Gramps,' not 'Gi.' I wondered whether the recreation of the title 'Gi' in this dislocated setting will become an 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm, 1983) for future generations of the family despite his children and subsequent generations having Australian assigned identities.

Joyce spoke of some of the dislocated British rituals in her home:

I am very much a royalist and support the monarchy 100%, and when it was the Queens Jubilee recently, sat in my family room with the TV switched to Foxtel watching all the celebrations live as they happened. I will add that my son and daughter, although they were 5 and 8 when they emigrated here, still also are royalists and we sat watching all the Jubilee footage dressed in red, white, and blue with Union Jacks hung around the room.

Joyce of course can be as much of a royalist here as she was in Britain (though she confessed to not being so) as Queen Elizabeth II remains Head of State in Australia. Royal matters are cultural continuum for British migrants to Australia as comments on recent (2019–2020) royal affairs suggest: *"I think the press and media should leave them alone!"* (Kaye, migrated in 1984, commenting on Prince Harry and Meghan Markel). *"What a disgraceful way to carry on, makes you ashamed to be English"* (Carol, migrated 1991, referring to the Prince Andrew/Jeffrey Epstein allegations).¹¹²

I found an interesting and somewhat heated exchange around the Brexit debate on a WBDF. This led me to question how such passion could be ignited from a political decision and external debate which may not even affect these ex-patriot migrants:

¹¹² Harry and Meghan– the Duke and Duchess of Sussex – Royals that have broken away from duties representing the Royal family.

Poster1: 'Boris may throw the north a bone of two. But brexit is pursuing free market economics, which is Thatcherism. Please explain how Thatcherism has benefited the north. **The south did brilliantly out of Thatcherism, as it will out of brexit.** But the north is screwed.'

Poster 2: 'hold on a minute.....I thought we were all screwed due to Brexit.....there was nothing good gonna come from it we were just too thick to realise'

I wondered whether the reference to the political period of Thatcherism reflected personal experience and a possible push factor to migration, as detailed by Hammerton (2017, p.82). Alternatively, this could just be an academic debate between two independent observers of modern British politics, though the bolded statements and the use of *we* reveals a level of invested emotion.

WBDFs allow for the venting of diverse opinions through a medium of relative anonymity. That said, a significant, if somewhat anachronistic, interest in home nation politics can be provoked by dislocation. Some respondents confessed to having little interest in politics while in Britain but felt strongly that the United Kingdom should leave the Europe Union because of all the *"butter mountains"* (circa 1984).¹¹³ I was curious to know whether this dislocated and somewhat outdated opinion was characteristic of a particular age/stage group, so I asked Lily, the youngest and most recent migrant arrival about the Brexit debate. She replied: *"As I didn't vote I feel it would be hypocritical of me to comment."* It would be far from statistically valid to draw any generalised conclusions about expressions of dislocation from these few opinions beyond noting some interesting observations. Yet by verbalising more than a passing interest in British current affairs these respondents are staking some level of claim to a home nation left behind.

Hybridised displays of heritage can serve as boundary markers of belonging, of insiders against outsiders within this immigrant nation of complex diversity. Australia has an inclusive policy of accepting and celebrating difference where 'every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand

¹¹³ Butter mountains – supply_surplus of [butter](#) produced in the [European Economic Community](#) because of [government interventionism](#) that began in the 1970s.

and embrace other cultures' (Jupp, 2007, p.84). In theory this affords free licence to any expression of home origins but in reality, many such displays can create conflict in local communities. Joyce said: *"I think racism has now reared its ugly head due to more and more non-white migrants who choose not to integrate or learn English and want to impose here the laws of the country from which they came."* Bradley (1996, pp.25–6, cited in Song, 2003, p.14) suggests that many minority diasporic behaviours are 'a defence against the action of others or when an individual is conscious of being defined in a negative way'. In contrast, expressions of British heritage are considered relatively benign. Waters (1990, cited in Song, 2003, p.14) describes displays of British heritage and ancestry in the USA as 'episodic, and for the most part, superficial'.

These White British migrants, already equipped with significant levels of insider identity, have elected to become Australian citizens. Most have only ever known their assigned British nationalities. Do they take proceduralist or patriotic (Fozdar and Spittles, 2010) views of their newly elected status as Australian citizens? How committed are they to performing Australian as part of their situated belonging?

Towards Australian Situated Belonging

National being and belonging describes a presence, a physicality and identity which eventually assumes dimensions of an almost subliminal daily habitus. The everyday lived experience of national belonging becomes 'so entrenched and taken-for-granted' and that 'the ideological habits, by which our nations are reproduced as nations, are unnamed and therefore go unnoticed' (Billig, 1995, p.6). This cannot always be easily replicated in another setting as it takes a conscious effort to learn and perform new cultures, symbols and often unfamiliar behavioural codes. Reflecting on Guibernau's (2009) theories of internalizing cultural symbols, I questioned the extent to which these respondents had internalised Australian culture. Almost all respondents, despite the lack of clear definition, were confident they had largely retained their British identities though subjective interpretations varied.

Jock was sure when he said: *"I am no less aware of being British now than I was 34 years ago"*; a confident response yet with little clarity of definition. For William and Jane, they recognised some transition over time: *"Time has changed our/my thoughts of being British. Obviously in sporting events one may choose what to be but as time has gone on I/we consider myself to be an Australian generally."* The theme of sporting allegiance defining a national identity is one Susan also referred to: *"I'm less aware of being British. My father-in-law thinks that we should all support England, but for us we support the players we see every day/week, people we know and feel are ours."* These changing loyalties are indicative of the magnitude sport holds as a symbol of national unity in this immigrant nation struggling to define a unifying homogeneity beyond citizenship. For many migrants adopting an allegiance to Australian sporting teams is an indication of becoming *"less aware of being British."* Betty's comment encapsulates what her waning British and growing Australian national allegiance meant to her: *"To be happy when Australia beats the English cricket team or any other world team. Sport is part of our culture."*

Sport certainly is part of the Australian culture with practically every community, no matter how small or remote having inclusive sporting facilities to cater for all age groups. These sports clubs act as social bonding sites. William and Jane recalled their experience of community sport from the two years they lived in Kulin in the Wheat Belt¹¹⁴ (as part of their Country Service).¹¹⁵ Located three hundred kilometres east of Perth, with a population of less than four hundred, the small community welcomed the family to their tennis, cricket, hockey, bowling and badminton teams. These experiences echo Elder's assertion that 'Sport acts as a pivot around which many stories of being Australian are created.' (2007, p.297).

¹¹⁴ Wheat Belt – one of nine regions of Western Australia defined as an administrative area and a vernacular term for the area converted to agriculture during colonisation.

¹¹⁵ Country Service – period of two-three years that government employees (teachers, doctors, nurses, etc.) had to spend in remoter rural areas before they were allowed permanent postings in urban centres. Seen as a way of getting essential services out to less desirable areas.

Beyond changing allegiances to sporting teams and modifying modes of speech, Ella articulated how she felt her identity had altered in some ways yet remained steadfastly British in others:

Going back to the UK made me realise how un British I am these days. Saying that, I have a very strong life and work ethic that is etched into my soul. Whether this is bred from British mentality or just me, I am not so sure. British humour is still the best. I notice my Aussie friends are normally travelled and have spent time in UK, they get my sense of humour.

Ella's comments about "humour" and possibly "strong life and work ethic" suggest a favourable casting of British, compared with perceptions of Australian, identities. I explore whether individual behavioural proclivities could be characterised as national rather than personal in a later section – **Performing Situated Belonging**. The next section gauges the levels of commitment these migrants have made to their newly elective national identity and whether situated belonging can replace their assigned birth identities.

Choosing to become an Australian citizen

The emotional appeal of belonging to the nation as a political community stands as the most powerful agent of mobilisation because from this standpoint it is easier to establish a sharp distinction between those who belong and those who are regarded as enemies or aliens (Guibernau, 2013, p.19).

This chapter has considered the variable commitments these migrants have made to re-negotiating their national belonging. They are the aristocracy (Hage, 1998), they have options and all have freely elected to become Australian citizens. Castles and Davidson (2000) argue that though both assigned and elected identities represent legal membership of a nation, a citizen is not a facsimile of a national.

A citizen is an individual abstracted from cultural characteristics and a national is a member of a community with common cultural values (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.84).

Castles and Davidson's theory of division is clear, though in practice there are often significant overlaps leading to a confusion of terms. The Australian Nationality and Citizenship Act 1949 was passed in response to growing levels of in-migration and especially the arrival of people

from varied cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Until this point all Australians were British nationals. This mode of diasporic British nationality generated increasing numbers of outliers to models of nationhood based ethnic or cultural homogeneity. Citizenship became an effective tool of inclusion in Australia though the established hegemony of White Anglo-Australians was arguably far too entrenched to be easily neutralised. This legal status of national belonging should be above cultural difference yet exists only in the context of nation states which are based on cultural specificity – on the belief in being different from other nations (Castles and Davidson, 2000).

Many Australian migrants retain dual nationality and argue that they retain both passports for ease of travel, ‘they see you are holding an Australian passport and let you through’ (Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p.137). I suggest a resolute grip on dual documents acts as a fail-safe, a get-out clause, a guarantee that they have choices. Emily summed up the emotion she attached to her dual status: *“I most certainly have dual citizenship – I feel like (but don’t know for sure) that I would feel as if I was betraying myself or giving up a part of me if I had to relinquish my British citizenship. I have not yet closed my English bank account – it somehow makes my move seem so final.”* This was a *“betrayal too far,”* as Emily explains later. When asked whether it was important for him to identify as an Australian citizen or British national, Jock said:

Right now, I’d say it didn’t matter as I do not have to choose. I would find it extremely difficult TO choose and I only found it easy to become an Australian citizen because I could still retain my British citizenship. We became Australian Citizens in 1984, though I still often wonder if we would have done so if we had been required to give up our British citizenship to do so. Fortunately, we did not have to.

William voiced the much the same sentiments: *“No it doesn’t really as we can have dual nationality. It would be harder if we were asked to choose.”* Joanne and her family, arriving in 2008, felt:

... it was strange changing to Australian especially when I saw it on my passport, but to be honest this is part of the Journey, we are creating a pathway for our boys and their future family, they have the choice now where they want to live and we are really proud of ourselves for giving them that.

I assumed Joanne and her family had retained their dual passports which she later confirmed: *"We have made a commitment, we now have Citizenship however, we have kept our UK passports and will renew them too. Just to make life a little easier when visiting the UK."*

Judging from these responses I conclude that most of these migrants have a deeply emotional attachment to their British nationality and that for them Australian citizenship is a purely bureaucratic, functional and proceduralist exercise geared to accessing degrees of insider privilege.

The status and process of securing citizenship is often considered fraught with complexities that devalue its capacity to be anything other than a proceduralist membership of the nation.

I asked interviewees about their decisions to commit to citizenship of Australia. Rose, one of the early arrivals (1964), echoed the assured and discretionary attitude to citizenship that many White British migrants held at the time:

Citizenship was not something encouraged in the early years of migration. Permanent residency came easily as a time factor. I took my citizenship in 1995. It was while my parents were on one of their many returns to the UK. I got a bee in my bonnet over something and realised that Australia was my home country, with no desire to live elsewhere at that time.

Conversely Betty, the group's earliest arrival (in 1952), described her family as having more patriotic commitment and certainty about their decision: *"Dad applied for citizenship in 1955, and my brother and I were on that application"*. Louise, arriving at the same time as Rose, describes the functional role of citizenship as a flag of convenience rather than a patriotic ethno-cultural bond to the nation: *"We all became Australian citizens at different times. I was naturalised in 1974 because my husband and I were planning a working holiday in Europe. I'm a dual national and have both passports."*

A commitment to Australian citizenship increased significantly in later arrivals, but again there was a sentiment of it being a just proxy procedural status to legal nationality – an elected rather than assigned identity. William, who emigrated in 1984 and took citizenship in 1987 said: *"I wanted to join the Australian Territorial Army to earn extra cash and had to become an Australian national"*. Apart from Rose: *"... and realised that Australia was my home*

country,” and Susan: “We were always committed to this being a long term/permanent move. We gained citizenship 2 years after our arrival. Our British passports have expired”, group responses tell of a proceduralist positioning of citizenship where patriotic assigned identity to a home somewhere else can be retained by simply renewing your passport.

Emily, one of the most recent arrivals (2010), endorsed a proceduralist approach and provided some insight into the increasing complexity and bureaucracy of gaining citizenship:

I spent 1 year travelling then returned on 2nd working holiday visa, then before that was over, I committed to a regional sponsorship migration scheme (which I think no longer exists?) This was a 2 year commitment which entitled me to Permanent Residency immediately; I have since become a citizen!

Citizenship status is regarded as less optional for recent migrants to Australia. Lily arrived in 2015 and gave some idea of the process and reason why she was applying:

I currently have PR (Permanent Residence) and still have my British passport however will probably apply for citizenship when I am eligible; mostly because I believe it is difficult to leave and return (even for holidays) after a certain amount of time. You need to apply for a resident return visa.

Recent WBDF (PomsinPerth) posts highlight the variable experiences of applying for citizenship:

Has anyone applied for citizenship lately?

Posted August 13, 2018

You sit down in front of a computer terminal and tick some boxes on the screen. I was in and out of that room in less than two minutes with a 100% score. When I did mine, there were some people who failed but they were all non-native English speakers. They were given a bit of time to revise in the waiting room and then allowed to re-sit the test. The main thing to remember for the interview is to take as much paperwork with you as you can. There is a checklist on the interview appointment letter.

Posted August 14, 2018

*I have heard its an 18 month wait??
Surely not?*

Posted August 15, 2018

*18 months would sound about right.
Found out the hard way when had to also shell out for Resident Return Visas when leaving the country for a holiday. grrrr. Cheers guys
In this day and age, how do they justify this? Is this now the norm does anyone know or a short term thing?*

And I am guessing that its then another wait for the actual ceremony?

Posted August 15, 2018

I think they justify it because, well, there's no competition.

[Posted August 21, 2018](#)

We're only 18 months in and will be applying for citizenship as soon as we can. A longer wait means we'll have to pay a few terms of uni as we can't apply for hecs without being a citizen I think?

[Posted August 21, 2018](#)

Correct. Do allow though two years for processing as like visas, processing citizenship applications has blown out.

These posts reflect some of the anxieties many migrants experience in gaining citizenship and the cost implications if they fail to do so. Citizenship is no longer an optional extra for those wanting to settle in Australia but a legal and financial necessity. This is a tangible reminder of the differences between assigned and elected national belonging which may significantly add to insecurities and consequent dislocation. The first post echoes Balibar's (2010) reference to a statutory hierarchical pole of nationality in the context of completing online citizenship tests. Betts and Birrell (2007, p.47, cited in Fozdar and Spittles, 2010, p.142) conclude that 'the Australian citizenship model of belonging is not just a question of tolerant individuals living side-by-side in a law-abiding fashion and most definitely it does not involve embracing diversity'. Vasta (2013) reaches a similar conclusion from her London-based research exploring levels of social cohesion in contemporary democratic immigrant nations. She also acknowledges the need for a shared sense of national belonging if individuals are to be responsible citizens. For the White British migrants in this group sharing a history, a socio-cultural and phenotypical similitude with the core majority population, the transition to Australian belonging should be no more than a side-ways shift within the same social field. Unfortunately for many British migrants, the assumed integration often falls short of actuality and many continue to experience an intense dislocation from home.

This review of elective citizenship as a legal pledge of national belonging illustrates how emotional ties to a place of assigned birth identity can serve to complicate and obstruct integration in immigrant nations. Despite any confusion of loyalties to national belonging, some form of situated acculturation is inevitable and is sometimes actively sought out. The next section considers how 'Australian' as a symbolic identity of belonging is performed. It assesses the role of orchestrated celebrations as social bonding exercises to promote national unity

where belonging is 'not only reflected on but constituted and reconstituted' (Couldry, 2003, p.33, cited in Skey, 2005, p.147).

Performing Situated Belonging

Performing the nation can be through a wide variety of recognisable and interlinked practices (participating, witnessing, viewing); and by partaking in such performances it might seem obvious to argue that the individuals involved are simply acknowledging the continuing significance of the nation to their own sense of identity (Skey, 2005, p.148).

It is Skey's point of '*continuing significance*' which emphasises the disparity between the historically enduring nations of Britain and the relatively recently established immigrant nation of Australia. The Australian national calendar is peppered with celebrations of increasingly diverse customs and cultural traditions. As outlined in the chapter **Australia: the Immigrant Nation**, many of the celebrations cause as much division as unity. Skey (2013, p.64) illustrates how performing rituals of situated belonging can provide 'escape from insecurities' and 'order from chaos', notably during periods of social change and dislocation. Conversely Vasta (2013, p.197) considers how the same national performances can have more segregating than integrating power. She suggests that not performing risks a 'perceived lack of integration' and 'creates fears about whether newcomers are developing a shared sense of belonging to the national identity.' Vasta also argues that migrants who have a sense of belonging to more than one symbolic or material locality remain in isolating cells and lack a sense of belonging and commitment to the common good, which in turn can compromise cohesion in immigrant nations.

Learning new codes of situated belonging can be a steep curve to ascend. Hogg and Abrams (1988, cited in Billig, 1995, p.66) identify three stages in processes of group identification: firstly, newcomers categorise themselves as part of an ingroup and assign themselves a social identity which distinguishes them from the relevant outgroup; next, they learn the norms of the ingroup and finally, they assign the norms of behaviour to themselves; thus, their behaviour becomes more normative as their category membership becomes more salient. This

description captures the theory of progression towards performing situated belonging but the practice is far more nuanced, particularly in a globalised world where national is just one of many social identities. This group of White British migrants, many of whom entered predominantly British enclaves on arrival may well follow Hogg and Abrams' stages on a local community scale; but for them to achieve insider belonging on a national level the transitional stages are arguably considerably shorter than for other new arrivals.

I questioned interviewees about their commitment to 'performing Australian.' Did they work towards situated belonging and national inclusion or were they trapped in isolating cells (Vasta, 2013)? Some were content to maintain their home nation identities, they have options, these are the privileged aristocracy of the migrant intake. Their migration intentions were to settle permanently. They have all become Australian citizens and their inherent privilege affords them a considerable latitude of engagement; though all have made some level of adaptive commitment and episodic display of belonging situating them beyond the small minority of denizens who do not, according to Pakulski and Tranter's (2005, p.205) analysis of the 1995 ISSP¹¹⁶ survey of Australian attitudes to macro-social attachments.

The earliest arrivals in the group had grown up as Australians. They were acculturated through school and neighbourhood communities during their formative years. Betty spoke of her experience as a child migrant feeling a greater need to fit in: *"As a child you just do what everyone else does and so you fit in."* The fact that children would have proportionately less situated knowledge of their birth countries, thus, less to unlearn or duplicate, may be significant in the process of acculturation. Pauline described those early post-war years: *"The British and Australian customs are basically the same, so integration from that point of view was easy for us British family."* In contrast, most of the interviewees starting their Australian lives as adults felt more acceptance of difference and less need to change established behaviours. Jock was at ease with his Scottish accent and felt no compulsion to make significant changes:

¹¹⁶ ISSP survey – International Social Service Programme established in Australia in 1984 – conducts surveys on diverse aspects of social sciences.

No, I haven't tried to fit in. I have adopted many Aussie speech idioms although my Scottish accents still baffles many youngsters. I never felt the need to seek out ways to belong. As a Scot I have been accepted everywhere. Many people here have Scottish heritage.

Jock's self-confidence of unity within diversity in his work environment reflects a spirit of adaptive belonging without the need for deliberate performance. For Jock, the immigrant nation does not have one identity but a mix of peoples and cultures from many countries:

Work probably gave me an opportunity to meet a wider range of people than might otherwise have happened. When I retired my EHO colleagues were an Eritrean, a Jew, two English ladies who came here as kids, two Vietnamese, one Chinese from Hong Kong, one Chinese from Singapore and two Aussies one with a Scottish Grandmother the other an Irish grandmother.

Contrasting with Jock's pride in his Scottish heritage, Beverley perceived her "Pommie" accent as being less acceptable. Beverley may see an Australian accent as an integral and necessary part of performing her new situated belonging, she wanted to fit in rather than stand apart. William and Jane showed a similar discretionary attitude to Jock when it came to fitting in: "We/I didn't purposely seek out ways of belonging but having young children grow up in Australia has helped enormously to fit in!" Did they change their social behaviour to fit in? "Yes I believe one has to change to fit the social and cultural behaviour. Simple things like taking food to dinners when invited." Not a huge cultural change then for William and Jane, just sideways shift of custom. Susan also noted relatively benign adaptations similarly centred around her social life: "We have a far more active social life than we did in the UK, mix of nationalities in our friendship group, but I don't think it's changed our behaviours or we've adopted anything in particular in order to fit in." William and Jane make the point about how having young children growing up in Australia "has helped enormously," but do not unpack their reasoning. Joyce gave more detail on how her children became an important link to driving her cultural adjustment to fit in:

I joined every parent club the school had – volunteered in the classroom – joined various sports and dance clubs so my children were meeting as many new people as possible. If migrants really want to assimilate into life in Australia, they need to go out there and look for ways to meet people and not stay in their own little "bubble" and mixing with only people from their own country, background etc.

Joanne also recognised the value of having children and work as access routes to belonging: *“Working and having children definitely help with the integration, it makes you part of the community.”* Joanne was also determined in her response to ‘fitting in’: *“I think wherever you move to its important to try and fit in and adopt some of the social customs. I think I have just been made more aware that life is what you make it and we all have pathways to follow, it’s up to us to choose the one that’s right for us.”* Joanne’s comment, like Jock’s, was a clear endorsement of Betts and Birrell’s (2007, p.47) views on what the Australian nation should be: ‘. . . a union of people who have something like a family feeling for each other’. As Joyce notes, *“we are all migrants to Australia and we all want to identify as one nation, so we all take a bit of something from each other. As the song goes, “We are One, but we are Many – We are Australian.”*

To perform belonging in this diverse immigrant nation suggests unstructured inclusion through some form of adaptative behaviour. I questioned the extent to which performing a British Identity could be changed by adapting to situated belonging in Australia. Ella responded: *“I have a very strong life and work ethic that is etched into my soul. Whether this is bred from British mentality or just me, I am not so sure.”* Was this a comparison with a perceived performance of an Australian national attitude to work? Reflecting on classical narratives of Australian-ness, Ward’s ‘Australian Legend’ (1958, cited in Elder, 2007, p.3), characterises a typical Aussie bloke with ‘no impulse to work hard’. I discovered Ward’s caricature was not totally unfounded in the commonly coined term, ‘she’ll be right,’ referring to a less than conscientious attitude to work. So does performing Australian involve Ella changing her *“British mentality to work”*? There may be some structural changes to work-place practices when moving to a different country, but within that framework I questioned whether ethics and values are altered. Some migrants spoke of being challenged by the unhurried Australian lifestyle and found any modification of their way of life untenable. Charles, a migrant acquaintance returned to Switzerland with his family within a year of emigrating saying he could no longer tolerate the indolent and careless attitude of Australian workmen and did not want his children growing up with similar mindsets. My husband and I experienced a

lackadaisical attitude from many tradesmen, some of them British ex-pats, but certainly not enough to characterise the performance of a whole nation. I suggest Charles's reasons for returning home went far deeper than a set of characterisations White (1981, p.xi) scorned as being 'artificially imposed upon a diverse landscape of population, with no one version any truer than another because 'they are all intellectual constructs, neat, tidy, comprehensible and necessarily false'.

I questioned how involved the group had become with the many celebrations of the Australian nation. Joyce reflected the multicultural mix of Australia in her reply:

I have adopted all Australian social customs, from Australia Day to Anzac Day, New Year Fireworks etc, and wherever I am in Australia at the time I attend functions to celebrate these or hold something at my home for family and friends. Hard to say what individual social interaction changed my behavior/outlook to fit in with Australians. It was a mixture of just wanting to feel at home here and researching why things were celebrated and joining in.

Emily spoke of attending episodic performances of the nation but showed a greater investment in the local community of Broome: *"I attend ANZAC services I'm more interested in becoming part of the community of where I live, than Australia as a whole really."* Emily reflected on the value of community commitment in the process of integration: *"Work has made it easier to feel part of the community also. This really helped integration into the community, of both the place I lived in and also the town itself."*

Ella stated she had not purposely sought out ways of performing to fit in to the Australian nation:

No, not at all to fit in! We do it because we want to! It's just easier to do it here. You don't have to sit down the pub keeping warm by the fire, because the sun is shining and being outside is the core of life here. In Queensland anyway!

Ella's response reflects the privilege of Hage's (1998, p.53) aristocracy as those who can access both the material benefits of group membership and determine the conditions of belonging, possessing a greater 'national cultural capital', 'sanctified and valued social and physical cultural styles and dispositions'. Ella concluded: *"Yes having children helps as you naturally get involved in the day to day of school life and everything that goes with that. Integration into life is just that, regardless of country."*

These are privileged lifestyle migrants, they have choices, they can belong or not and determine the ways in which they want to engage. Benson and O'Reilly (2009, p. 610) write of contemporary lifestyle migration as a form of mobility linked to privilege, individuality and a lack commitment to permanence, 'something loosely defined as quality of life'. Many British migrants choose Australia for the lifestyle attracted by the sun, sea, surf, barbeques and the shorter working hours allowing for more family time. Ella referred to a lifestyle culture which is just "*easier to do here*" rather than making a commitment to performing Australian. Lily expressed the same sentiments, saying: "*I have definitely jumped into a fitness/outdoors healthy lifestyle as the nice weather definitely helps with wanting to look and feel good, we socialise outdoors a lot more than we would in the UK.*"

Emily also recognised changes she made in her lifestyle when adapting to the Australian environment, rather than the nation:

The beach is a much larger part of my life than in England – I am much closer to it here. And my attitude to distances has greatly been affected by living in the North-West in particular, I now think nothing of driving 2 hours to the next town, or even 7 hours to get somewhere!

Emily noted her necessary adaptation to the environment: "*In Broome it gets so hot that my clothes are uncomfortable, so my wardrobe has changed but not so I can blend in!*" In the final part of Emily's comment, she distances herself from the implication she has changed her behaviour to blend in or perform Australian.

These situated performances closely aligned with the cultural norms that Elder (2007, p.2) references as Australian and Un-Australian socially acceptable behaviours. This group of White British migrants have high levels of insider privilege, they can determine degrees of engagement. Gerrard, writing in the Western Australian magazine *Whinging Poms* (cited in Abel, 2014), cynically encapsulates the attitude many British migrants (Posies) have towards performing Australian:

A true Posie holds dual nationality ... is entitled to flit between cultural traits, accents, attitude and support for sporting teams without any need for consistency or explanation, and while the vast majority of Posies never went to the theatre while we lived in Britain, at least we could have done which allows us to feel culturally superior to true Aussies (2008, p.93).

Setting Gerrard's somewhat hubristic tone aside, this section underlines the disconnect between imaginings and realities of migration for this group of White British settlers. By reflecting on individual rather than characteristic experiences, this chapter makes a significant contribution to the central theme of dislocated national identity and situated belonging. The analysis endorses earlier findings that despite an inherent invisibility and significant levels of cultural capital, many of these welcomed British migrants experience an intense and often unexpected dislocation from their origins of assigned being and belonging. It concludes that these privileged migrants who can freely parade their dislocated identities and loyalties to somewhere (Waters, 1990, cited in Song, 2003) else also acknowledge the need to re-negotiate and validate some form of re-assigned belonging. Many welcome construction sites of similitude and hybridised recreations of forfeited homes to offer immediate fluency, familiarity and respite when challenged by dislocation; however, many also recognise the isolating effects of such sites (Lacey, 2004, cited in Ryan, 2007). This chapter confirms that though most British settler migrants make a commitment to elective citizenship, this is usually no more than a functional legal requirement lacking the enduring and often emotional investment of an assigned national belonging from birth. Finally, it concludes that perceptions of migration success or indeed failure are gauged against an ability to manage deeply held emotional dislocation against the ability to resolve a sense of situated belonging.

This final analysis chapter leads onto a summary of the main findings of this study of Dislocated National Identities and Situated Belonging.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

This final chapter reflects on the thesis research process and draws together comprehensive conclusions to this exploration of *Dislocated National Belonging*. The structure is sequential starting with the background to the investigation, followed by the research questions, main findings, chapter summaries and limitations of the study.

Background

This research was prompted by a long-standing curiosity as to why so many White British migrants, with their assumed privilege of invisibility, become Australian citizens yet continue to reference their birth nations as their primary homes and principal national identities. The once firmly embedded historical ties between the post-colonial nation and its former motherland have become significantly frayed in recent decades, yet Australia remains a destination of first choice for many British settler migrants. Contemporary British arrivals now comprise just part of a larger flow of new migrant settlers arriving from many other areas of the world. Yet, an embedded and somewhat anachronistic, social hierarchy centred on White Anglo-Australian hegemony still ensures a conscious distancing between this invisible charter group and other more visible other arrivals (Jayasuriya, 1997).

This research considers these apparent anomalies and what dislocation from an assigned national being and belonging means for a group of White British migrants who have left their home nations and all that was secure to become Australian citizens. These compelling migration narratives make a significant empirical contribution to existing theories of migration, nations and national belonging. Members of the case study group have been arriving in Australia over a period of seven decades since the end of the Second World War, a fact which adds significant originality to this research. Similar investigations exploring migration patterns between Britain and Australia, including Hammerton and Thomson's *Ten Pound Poms* (2005), focus on more limited groups of migrants arriving over much shorter periods. Australia has experienced some momentous political, economic, technological and culture changes during

these decades, with each major development incentivising different forms and volumes of immigration. This investigation offers original insight and exemplification to debates about migrant dislocation and as a recent temporary migrant to Australia myself I bring both insider and outsider subjectivity to the discussions.

Research Questions

The primary objective of this research was to appraise experiences of dislocation from embedded and secure sites of national belonging. It questioned whether a cultural and ethnic similitude with the core Australian nation precludes these White British migrants from any crises of doubt, uncertainty and dislocation when separated from the coherence and stability of their assigned British national belonging.

The following questions structured the enquiry:

Are there significant disconnects between the imaginings and realities of migration for White British migrants to Western Australia?

By questioning the first-hand experiences of a sample of White British migrants, this research investigated whether their imaginings of a new life in Australia have been realised. It details many of the historical and ongoing links between Britain and Australia which go some way to explaining how the strong sense of similitude between the nations inspires a sense of security through familiarity and has proved a significant driver to migration movements.

To what extent has the status and identity of Australia as an immigrant nation changed within a contemporary world of global interconnectivity?

An extensive exploration of theory and literature provided various objective definitions of nations, their changing status and characteristic identities. Many traditional nations have been transformed by accelerating levels of global interconnectivity. Cultural, economic and political accords now span multiple borders and pose challenge to

discrete national homogeneity and sovereignty. Objective definitions set against subjective interpretations from the migrant group prompted the question as to whether an enduring assigned national being and belonging from birth can be replaced by elective citizenship to a different nation state.

What does dislocation from a place of being and belonging mean for a group of White British settler migrants to Australia and how are such emotions experienced and expressed?

Poignant interpretations of home, belonging and an often hard to verbalise sense of loss give some understanding of the emotions involved in a separation from all that is known and familiar. This investigation explores migrant experiences of dislocation and individual perceptions of success, or indeed failure in finding a new sense of belonging in Australia.

Main Findings

This case study research set out to 'illuminate the general by looking at the particular' (Denscombe, 2014, p.150). Its design used various forms of 'interpretive analysis and meaning making to arrive at essentially non-generalisable conclusions' (Trafford and Lesham, 2012, p.98). The thesis findings make significant empirical contributions to existing research investigations exploring - migration as a catalyst of dislocation, nations as enduring sites of emotional inclusion and national identities as performative biographies of belonging.

The research found that the often-inescapable mismatches between imagined dreams and certain realities of migration have the potential to ignite daunting emotions of loss, separation and dislocation from all that is known and secure. This claim built on existing research exploring dimensions of contemporary lifestyle migration where 'the desire for a particular migration destination reflects collective imaginings' (Benson, 2012, p.1689). The collective imaginings of these British migrants for a new and better life in Australia have been driven largely by an enduring familiarity and cultural similitude with the post-colonial nation. The many

heartfelt expressions of loss and separation from all that is known and secure contributed powerful empirical detail to existing research explorations of the mismatch between the imaginings and reality of migration. Wohlfart (2004), in her exploration of lifestyle migration to New Zealand writes of both *implicit* dreams, where knowledge of a destination is held at a sub-conscious level and *explicit* dreams based on holiday experiences, with both playing significant roles in driving migration decisions.

This thesis claimed that dislocation from a place of nationally assigned belonging is an emotionally reflexive reality which can manifest in unpredictable and often irreconcilable ways which sometimes prompt return journeys home. This claim builds on Holmes and Burrows' (2004) research of 'Boomerang Migrants', where British settler migrants made return journeys back from Australia when their migration dreams of a new belonging were not realised. Holmes and Burrows write of migrant belonging being an emotional reaction rather than pragmatic judgement and far from automatic in a new location. Their conclusion, along with my findings, dispute Rowe's (2005) theory that 'belongings are conditioned by our bodies and where they are placed on the globe' (cited in Yuval-Davis, 2009, p.10).

This research challenged claims that 'the ability to feel at home beyond one's country of birth has become easier due to a decrease in importance of locality within the globalisation process' (Holmes and Burrows, 2004, p.115). Some of the younger, more recent arrivals in the case study group, contemporaries of modern globalised processes, expressed compelling experiences of dislocation from their original homes and told of plans for return journeys. These findings built on Holmes and Burrows' (2012, p.109) concept of emotional reflexivity where relations to others are central to feeling a sense of belonging - 'the most common reasons for return migration are feelings of obligation, loss and displacement'. I concluded that for the individuals in this group, migration is not about 'instant gratification of rather shallow desires' but more about a 'complex of feelings' which are often difficult to rationalise (Holmes and Burrows, 2004, p.115).

This research claimed that both acceptance to and accepting of a new national belonging is objectively conditional, subjectively emotional and fundamentally unpredictable. It challenged

speculative claims of the demise of discrete national belonging in favour of a Cosmopolitan Vision where 'the living of life is carried out in a milieu of blurring national distinctions and cultural ambiguities' (Beck, 1994, cited in Elliot, 2009, p. 319). This thesis supported Calhoun's (2003) view that though cosmopolitan identities are intrinsically tied to expanding globalisation, they offer 'no new account of solidarity, save the obligations of each human being to all others, they give little weight to belonging' (cited in Guibernau, 2013, p.420).

The research found that separation from secure anchors of home can bring the essentially objective, enumerated political status of national being into the realms of an intensely emotional expression of belonging. It recognised the complex of emotions involved in feeling a sense of national belonging and supported Yuval-Davis's conclusions that 'it is important to differentiate between belonging and the politics of belonging' (Yuval-Davis, 2009, p. 10). For these migrants 'belonging is about an emotional (or even ontological) attachment, about feeling at home' (Yuval-Davis, 2009, p.10). This research supported Skey's (2010, p.715) understanding of the significance of national belonging when he writes that shifting away from 'well established thick attachments to the nation' and anchoring national subjectivity to somewhere imagined and less known are sometimes impossible to engineer.

This thesis explored different categories of national belonging and concluded that for this migrant group, an assigned identity from birth rather than elective citizenship was central to their sense of national being and belonging. Most migrants expressed some level of insecurity when questioned about surrendering their British passports and nationally assigned identities to fully embrace Australian citizenship. It found that for most migrants that the former could not be easily replaced by elective designation to the latter. These claims build on Guibernau's (2013, p.174) research exploring the 'inherent freedoms and constraints' involved when choosing alternative forms of belonging. Guibernau argues that free will is a privilege characteristic of elective rather than assigned identities. She writes that the advantage of free will and choice can be a paradox as it presents tensions of making wrong decisions and possibly losing a security that traditionally assigned identities bestow; hence risking dislocation from known sites of belonging.

This research has made significant empirical contributions to ongoing debates around definitions of nations, and conditions of acceptance to a national belonging. These British migrants share an ethnic and cultural similitude with a host nation which guarantees acceptance at state level, however, it was often within smaller scale communities that a 'narcissism of small differences' (Freud, 1917) became evident and acted as a trigger to dislocation. These findings build on Antonsich's(2010) theory of belonging as a multi-layered and multi-scaled dynamic process where belonging becomes a two-way process of sanctioning both objective acceptance and subjective accepting. They found that often at this two-way juncture exaggerated and hybridised expressions of collective identity were used to signal boundaries between insider and outsider belonging. It is here that recreations of home signalled a sustained 'ideology of return' (Brah, 1996, p.180), or simply represented memories of a past home and acted as a cushion of familiarity at points of extreme dislocation. The findings support the premise that subjectively 'nations have become degraded to emotional bonds which give meaning to people's existence based on shared history or culture, rather than political citizens that participate in a democracy' (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.22). This research builds on claims that symbolic national identities lend a sense of meaning, security and give an impression of belonging for those dislocated from all that is known and familiar; they offer 'a reliable framework for making sense of the world and orientating oneself towards 'others' and may confer both psychological stability and status' (Skey, 2010, p.716).

Finally, this research claimed that dislocation from a place of belonging may last a lifetime, it is not a necessarily static experience or one which can be easily periodised or gendered. Dislocation presents along a spectrum of emotional intensity where responses waver erratically during journeys towards finding situated belonging and a place called home.

Chapter Summaries

Section One

Chapter Two: Methodology

This chapter described and explained the methodology used in this qualitative case study investigation of a sample of White British migrants to Australia and how it was essentially coordinated from a distance. It reasoned why Western Australia was selected as the research location and explained how participants were sourced and interviewed. It described how a background theoretical knowledge of the main conceptual themes structuring the thesis was first established then used to position and analyse the significant migrant narratives collected during empirical research.

The chapter considered some fundamental limitations of the methodologies used, including the collection of empirical data in what is essentially long-distance research. It explained how contextual props from independent studies were used to supplement participant recollections to give more rounded thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973).

Chapter Three: Theoretical Review

This chapter explored the key theoretical concepts structuring the investigation - migration as a process of dislocation; nations and nation states as sites of inclusion and national identities as performative and emotional biographies of inclusion. Appropriate theory and literature from this exercise were later used to framework the investigation.

From the first section I concluded that at the core of the migration process, no matter the classification, a complex web of pivotal forces encompassing both facilitating structures and individual agency remain central motivational drivers (Castles, 2010). I found that though aspects of structure and agency may explain the actual process of migration, a subjective reflection of where individuals position themselves as migrants offers a more comprehensive understanding of claims to belonging in different national spaces. My research confirmed that migration has become increasingly fragmented along lines of class and privilege rendering some migrants more *visible* than others (Castles, 2010). Boundaries between tourism and

migration have become increasingly blurred (Castles, 2010) and dislocation is often experienced from a mismatch between imagined and actual experiences. Wohlfart, (2015) endorses this same mismatch when writing of *explicit* dreams conjured up from holiday experiences and *implicit* dreams held at a sub-conscious level taking aspects of the destination for granted.

I concluded that migration for members of this British group may best be described as a form of lifestyle mobility (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009) with the privilege of making decisions from positions of 'prosperity' rather than 'austerity' (Abel, 2014, p.85). Their move to Australia was essentially about a lifestyle adjustment made within the security of a place of cultural and ethnic similitude 'neither completely foreign nor entirely familiar' (Pearson, 2014, cited in Skey, 2018, p.612).

Next, I reviewed several often-polarised theoretical debates around definitions of nations and nation states. I considered the continuing significance and indeed relevance of nation-states as discrete demographic political units in a globalized world of increasing interconnectivity where many have surrendered significant aspects of their sovereignty. Bauman (2011, p.425) writes of modern states moving from the nation-building stage to that of multicultural belonging where 'a fluidity of membership allied to perpetual population shifts is the norm'. I concluded the most suitable application for this research to be that nations within states are both objectively political and subjectively emotional communities of belonging, 'an invention on which it was impossible to secure a patent' (Anderson, 1983, p.67). Furthermore, it is the physicality and boundedness of nation-states within designated territories that provide the theatre for governments and elective nations to build and share unique identities. It is this very territory and the culture woven into nation-states that speak to the subjective and emotional sense of national belonging.

From the final section - National Identities as performative and emotional biographies of inclusion - I concluded that national identities are behavioural representations of national belonging. National identities are confirmed and reinforced by both 'banal' (Billig, 1995) representations woven into a backcloth of the everyday and by scheduled performances in

the form of 'ecstatic carnivals' (Skey, 2010, p.715). Yet in those nation states where populations share allegiances to multiple identities of belonging, overt celebrations of a national cultural homogeneity have the potential to become combat zones rather than symbols of unity (Bourdieu, 1998).

I concluded that as sovereign states become progressively destabilised by the neutralising effects of globalization, 'thick attachments' anchoring subjectivity to individual nations are being increasingly claimed and reclaimed according to ethnic and cultural homogeneity (Skey, 2010, p.715). In contemporary immigrant nations, structured around core ethnic majorities, the objective rules of belonging are appropriated and scripted by a discriminating force of insider power. Continuing in-migrations of diverse cultures setting up increasingly segregated diasporas pose significant challenge to national integration and the scripting of an inclusive national identity.

Chapter Four: Australia the Immigrant Nation

This scene setting chapter outlined the extent to which **the status and identity of Australia as an immigrant nation changed within a contemporary world of global interconnectivity**. By contextualising the historical and ongoing relationship between this post-colonial dominion and its former motherland, this chapter gave an insight as to why the antipodean outlier remains an abiding destination for British settler migrants.

I found Australia to be a dynamic immigrant nation undergoing significant political, economic and cultural transition as it gradually frees itself from ties with the former British Empire (Jupp, 2007); yet hierarchies of national belonging in this multicultural immigrant nation remain predicated around White British subjectivity. This hegemonic structure is something which Marshall (1985) writes, cannot be easily neutralised, or equalised by the broad-brush stroke of naturalisation. The Australian government routinely renegotiate the civic and legal conditions of national belonging in line with changing ideological, political, and economic forces, with different migrant profiles inevitably getting caught up in a vortex of instability.

Australia is significantly challenged in its attempts to define an embracing homogeneous national identity from its internal mosaic of difference when traditional representations of Australian-ness are manifestly scripted in nationalist terms (White, 1981, p.viii). Contemporary Australian national identities are essentially dynamic, they are largely state-orchestrated and uniquely invented from borrowed traditions modified to fit an alien landscape of a diverse multicultural society. Concrete and definitive identities arguably hold limited intrinsic value or historical boundedness and any claim to a single homogeneous identity could prove threatening to political, economic and social stability. Castles and Davidson (2000, p.viii) suggest that 'idea of the citizen who spent most of his or her life in one country and share a common national identity is losing ground'. Betts (2002, p.57) offers a concise definition of Australia as a model of a state without a nation, 'a civic form of national identity that does not require shared history, culture, or traditions, nor exclusive (and exclusionist) fellow-feeling for one's compatriots over and above others'. I concluded that the Australian nation is in a constant 'state of vertigo' (Maravillas, 2012) and subject to rapid and ongoing redefinition.

These essentially theoretical chapters establish a contextual backcloth on which to position this group of White British migrants commanding significant *location specific capital* (Da Vanza, 1980) in Australia. They are the welcomed *voluntary* migrants of *prosperity* rather than *austerity* (Castles, 2010). They are intentionally settler rather temporary transient migrants. They are insiders, the *invisible aristocrats* (Hage, 1998) of the migration flow rather than the less welcome *visible* outsiders. They are essentially lifestyle passengers of privilege sharing a similitude with the Australian core ethnicity, a status which is becoming increasingly challenged.

Section Two: Analysis

The analyses chapters drew on the experiences of this case study group of White British migrants from key points in their journeys towards situated belonging in Australia. They considered how and why initial migration decisions were made, experiences of arrival and

being relative outsiders with realisations of dislocation to performances of new or recreated hybridised identities of belonging. It is from these analyses that I drew the main research conclusions and confirmed the significant empirical contributions this research makes to exiting studies of migration, nations and dislocation from national belonging.

Chapter Five: Leaving Home

This first analysis chapter began to assess whether there are **significant disconnects between the imaginings and realities of migration for White British migrants to Western Australia?** It concluded that migration decisions are confirmed after considering subjective opposing forces, '*a comparison of the outcomes of either staying at the place of origin or at the place of destination*' (Huag, 2008, v.34: 4, p.587). The chapter explored how elements of dissatisfaction with the familiar balanced against the imaginings of an alternative somewhere else can initiate feelings of dislocation and trigger migration decisions. It detailed how one *tip of the iceberg* (Benson, 2009) event can confirm decisions to migrate, even if reasons seem trite and difficult to justify in isolation – 'because it's sunny and the fruit is nice' (Oliver, 2007). It detailed some of the imaginings that *drive* (Castles and Davidson, 2000) significant numbers of White British nationals to leave their assigned home nations and select Australia as a migrant destination. The acknowledged familiarity of post-colonial Australia and high levels of location specific capital (Da Vanza, 1980) promise a seamless transfer from the *place of origin* to the *place of destination* for many British migrants.

Personal recollections detailed how the assisted passage arrangements between Britain and Australia acted as significant drivers for many post-war migrants. More recent independently funded arrivals offered a wider range of drivers to reason their decisions. The chapter detailed how Australian television dramas, promotional roadshows and holiday experiences which have become so familiar to British audiences worked to drive the imaginings of migration – '[T]he material and social construction of particular places offering an alternative way of living.

.... revealing the role of imagination, myth and landscape within the decision to migrate' (Benson, 2009, p.3).

From this chapter I concluded that initial migration decisions are usually actioned by elements of dissatisfaction or dislocate with existent sites of being and belonging. In fact, dislocated national identity is a reality for many of these migrants before even departing their '*place of origin.*'

This case study demonstrated that dislocation from a place of being is a reactionary and often difficult to verbalise emotional expression of non- belonging.

Chapter Six: Strangers on the Shore

This second analysis chapter provided significant insight into the theme of dislocated national identities and situated belonging by examining first-hand experiences of migrants to Australia where migration imaginings are tested against the realities of arrival. It considered the complexities of dislocation from the known and the realities after the euphoria of imaginings have subsided. It detailed some **significant disconnects between the imaginings and realities of migration for White British migrants to Western Australia.**

It showed how 'a sense of ontological security is put in jeopardy' by migration (Giddens, 1985, p.281). It explored what **dislocation from a place of being and belonging mean for a group of White British settler migrants to Australia and how these such emotions experienced and expressed.**

The narratives of migrant experiences confirmed that situated belonging is a multidimensional reality of both acceptance to and acceptance of on many different levels. They supported Guibernau's (2013) assertion that the paradox of elective choice is an ongoing reflexive process of inclusion and exclusion at every level. For these British migrants, gaining insider acceptance to both nation and communities in this hierarchical society of difference should be no more than a sideways shift in a shared habitus (Bourdieu, 1985). This research, however, reflected ways in which the dominant White-Anglo ethnicity can become stratified by dimensions of insider power. Despite national acceptance being sanctioned by objective

criteria, effective situated belonging is often sanctioned at community level where experiences of outsider discrimination can prompt, or compound dislocation. Many migrant arrivals found that once the security and familiarity of a nationally assigned belonging was stripped away, minor differences often confirmed their outsider status. Outsider realisation, however, was usually temporary for these White British passengers of privilege in a post-colonial nation where the structuring of self and other is often defined in relation to Empire and colonisation (Skey, 2010, p.717).

This chapter concluded that inevitable changes in the seven decades since the post-war assisted passage have threatened previously secure ties with Britain - **the status and identity of Australia as an immigrant nation has changed within a contemporary world of global interconnectivity**. Australia's economy is now structured according to the needs of a nation competing on a stage of contemporary global capitalism. Characterisations of migrant alterity within Australia undergo constant redefinition depending on changing demographic, political and economic circumstances; yet the social marginalisation of some more visible minority groups remains constant. Many responses reflected a clear sense of insider power by distancing themselves from migrant *others*. Few of these White British consumers of lifestyle mobility have truly reframed their perceptions of who Australia's 'strangers on the shore' really are.

Beyond being accepted to, this chapter detailed how a subjective 'accepting of' can prove equally challenging and induce a succession of perplexing uncertainties. Some migrants failed to accept their new belonging validating Holmes and Burrows' (2004, p.115) challenge to the opinion that 'the ability to feel at home beyond one's country of birth has become easier due to a decrease in importance of locality within the globalisation process'. Many British migrants return home discovering that a better life is not determined by 'instant gratification of rather shallow desires' but by a 'complex of feelings.' One of the most compelling return factors cited was family connections which Holmes and Burrows refer to as a concept of 'emotional reflexivity' (2012, pp.109–110). At least one interviewee in the group had returned home – a 'Boomerang Pom' – and has probably now returned to Australia again – a 'Ping Pong Pom.'

This illustrated a phenomenon which Hammerton (2017, p.20) labels contemporary 'mindsets of mobility', where migration has become more democratised and perceived as a discretionary choice of continuous movement. In an era where 'transportation, technology and culture make it normal for people to think beyond borders and to cross them frequently' (Urry, 2007, p.42), the privilege of elective choice presents a paradox by inducing a sense of transience where the commitments made to permanent settlement become less binding.

Many poignant narratives confirmed that no matter the level of preparation, the imaginings invested in dreams can only play a bit-part in the actuality of the greater migration experience.

I concluded that until migration becomes a lived experience of physical separation, few appreciate that 'belonging anchored in a national place with familial relationships is an internal, personal, often difficult to verbalise emotional condition of personal identity' (Giddens, 1985, p.281).

Chapter Seven: Assigned and Elected National Identities

This chapter explored the theme of dislocation by detailing the ways migrants seek confirmation of belonging to a greater national 'we' deixis. It considered the relative importance of national identities at times of dislocation and whether claims to these identities have genuine significance or just act as transitory vehicles to finding acceptance. It offered some insight into how different national identities are perceived and interpreted and largely confirms Guibernau's (2013, p.33) claim that elective identities to a nation do not always bring the same privilege and certainty as those assigned from birth.

Interview responses suggested collective identities recognised as national are clearer to determine from an outsider perspective. Most respondents offered images of Australian national identity whether within the context of every day banal, contemporary interpretations (Billig, 2005), or more formal and traditional representations (Smith, 1981) woven from myth and legend. Migrants in this case study positioned themselves as objective observers, outsiders to this nation which cannot 'garner (its national identity) from recourse to tradition,

history and the idea of a common past' (Calhoun, 1994, p.93). Respondents were particularly familiar with popular narratives which 'privilege non-indigeneity, Whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality (Elder, 2009, p. 4), suggesting Australian national identity to be no more than shallow constructs and 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawm, 1983). These perceptions were positioned within a framework of folklore, hierarchical bias and the variable prerequisites of 'Australian' and 'Un-Australian' behavioural codes, which cut across ethnic divides (Elder, 2009).

Perceptions of British national identities proved less certain; those offered confirmed that claims to former nations symbolise a deeply emotional sense of belonging. Many interviewees experienced anxieties of separation from their home nations and deployed symbols of group membership to endorse insider/outsider boundaries to belonging and salve compelling experiences of dislocation.

I concluded that when shifting away from 'well established thick attachments to the nation' and anchoring assigned national subjectivity to somewhere imagined and less known, there must be a significant forfeit of elements of one identity before another can be fully embraced (Skey (2010, p.715).

Chapter Eight: Dislocated Identities in Search of Belonging

This final analysis chapter considered Skey's (2013, p.64) assertion that performance rituals of situated belonging can provide both 'escape from insecurities' and 'order from chaos' and how belonging is sometimes sought through reclaiming and symbolising the security of known identities at times of dislocation. The chapter described how claims to former nations are used to materially anchor individuals to communities of familiarity, subjectivity and belonging. Symbolic performances support Skey's (2010, p.716) claim of the value of having a 'taken-for-granted' national identity and how it may offer 'a reliable framework for making sense of the world and orientating oneself against others' to 'confer both psychological status and stability'. The perspective of looking back as an outsider to a former home, nation and belonging can prompt images distorted from reality and many of the hybridised re-enactments are just 'fluid

reconstructions' set against different subjective conceptualizations of home (Stock, 2010, p. 25). This posed a certain irony in that these migrants voluntarily left home nations and all that was familiar, became Australian citizens, yet fiercely re-claimed their former identities as both symbols of belonging and strategies of distancing. These privileged migrants freely paraded their dislocated identities and loyalties to somewhere else as symbols of group membership confirming insider/outsider boundaries (Waters, 1990).

This chapter confirmed that uprooting identities of assigned being and belonging to seek situated inclusion in different national communities can be unpredictable, deeply emotional journeys of dislocation which take no account of inherent privilege. Many migrants welcomed construction sites of similitude and hybridised recreations of forfeited homes to offer immediate fluency, familiarity and respite when challenged by dislocation (Lacey, 2004). However, many also recognised the isolating effects of such sites and the need to re-negotiate and validate some form of re-assigned belonging.

The chapter found that for many migrants the official status of elective citizenship is both temporary and interchangeable, acting as no more than a legitimised flag of convenience. This finding confirmed Castles and Davidson's (2000, p.84) assertion that 'a citizen is an individual abstracted from cultural characteristics and a national is a member of a community with common cultural values'. Australian citizenship for most was more about securing a lifestyle preference, a functional legal requirement lacking the enduring emotional investment of an assigned national belonging from birth.

I concluded that an adoption of and affiliation to a new identity tied to a national place can be a long and emotional journey which may never be fully completed. Transnational belonging, dislocation and return migration are symptomatic of enduring bonds which lifestyle migration decisions sometimes fail to consider (Holmes and Burrows, 1994). Few respondents in this research were immune from a sense of dislocation from a home somewhere else and there were no neat divisions dependent on age, migration stage, gender, or circumstance.

This final point was particularly significant in illustrating dislocation as an unpredictable and essentially emotional outcome of migration which remains relatively under researched.

Limitations of the Research

Much of this research was coordinated remotely bringing inevitable limitations to the methodology, though I argue counterbalances to most constraints. Ethnographic studies are best researched in situ and the physical distances involved in this investigation meant that face-to-face interviews were confined to two visits to Perth (2015 and 2016). Data gathered during these visits were supplemented by online contact. I argue that the subsequent flow of emails and monitoring of WBDF over a protracted period gave a greater insight into the lives and opinions of these British migrants.

My insider/outsider subjectivity and selective moderation of responses presented both limitations and advantages. Flick (2009) considers the quality of qualitative research may be significantly increased by the minimisation of the role of subjectivity of both the researcher and those under study. Hammersley and Gomm (1997) similarly write of qualitative research being particularly prone to bias as the researcher is the research instrument. To counter any inherent bias Miles and Huberman (1994, p.278) suggest triangulating independent data from different sources goes some way to increasing 'relative neutrality'. Recognising the dilemma of the role, Mercer (2007) suggests that though researcher knowledge is always situated sets of social relations, it seems that the terms insider/outsider are not always definitive and should rather be considered as fluctuating, shifting and part of a continuum. I argue that my knowledge of the area and experience of migrant culture embedded in social differences is of particular significance to this case study. My insider/outsider perspective contributed significantly to the design of the research topic, the methodology used and the knowledge gained (Suwankhong and Liamputtong, 2015). Being positioned in different vantage points allows for reflexivity which in turn provides a richer and more nuanced level of interpretation.

This is a micro-scale qualitative study detailing the narratives of eighteen significant interviewees; using a relatively small sample of interviewees may be argued to lack statistical verification. However, I argue that restricted numbers allow for more detailed subjective interpretations and closer accuracy, scrutiny and critique in the application and appropriateness of both classical and current theory. Its design used various forms

‘interpretive analysis and meaning making to arrive at essentially non-generalisable conclusions’ (Trafford and Lesham, 2012, p.98).

Yin (1992, p.7) notes that ‘For a study to be successful it should provide a three-dimensional picture of relationships, micropolitical issues and patterns of influences’. Detailing the socio-economic, political, emotional and aspirational motivations behind each migration decision at each stage of the process was crucial, otherwise the risk of essentialising many disparate experiences become apparent. To this end the cohort size needed to be manageable enough to ‘illuminate aspects of the migrant experience which might otherwise be disregarded’ (Hammerton and Thomson, 2005, p.16).

Sourcing the sample group brought its own unforeseen issues beyond the limited numbers. There was an imbalance in gender representation and this proved difficult to address. Yet, as Miller (1981, cited in Dickinson et. al. 2012, p.325) notes, researchers are often too concerned with obtaining balanced samples, equally – or nearly equally – sized subgroups and although such a concern is well-rooted in statistical theory, it can pose practical limitations for those who rely largely on participant self-selection. As a counterbalance I argue that having one group of respondents representing a protracted period of migration – from post-war assisted passage through to the current decade of when research data was collected – added significantly more important dimension to the research.

This research inevitably involved building up long-term, reflective relationships allowing for a greater insight and access into the lives of individuals rather than basing assumptions on limited snapshots in time. Scott and Alwin (1998) advise caution when using such interview techniques as ongoing relationships have the potential to transform interviewees into performing atypical roles unrepresentative of the intended sample, suggesting the probability of the Hawthorne effect. I was aware my subjectivity within this method could affect possible outcomes yet argue that my insider position allows for more open dialogue.

All research investigations pose inevitable timing implications, particularly when collecting qualitative data – this journey from start to completion was planned to extend over a six-year period. A draw-back of allocating a lengthy time frame to this cumulative journey was when to

stop collecting data adding new detail and tangents. The initial research started in 2013 and I soon learned that within even short periods attitudes can quickly change with definitions of home, nation and belonging taking on altered interpretations at different stages. Many of these migrants still had considerable personal investment in Britain. Most retained British passports giving a secure sense of optional nationality and a degree of ownership which encouraged ongoing comparisons. Images of Britain waxed and waned, yet some form of dislocation seemed ongoing with comparisons and options of *here* or *there* arguably never ending for these migrants even when decisions are finalised.

This study was significantly dependent on collecting retrospective data with interviewees asked for current recollections about past events, experiences and emotions. Scott and Alwin (1998) write of three types of information captured by such retrospective designs – event histories, the cumulation of experiences and the evaluation or interpretation of experiences. This level of scrutiny suggests limitations to the design as the past is inevitably remembered or constructed in the light of the subjective present. This was where, particularly in the case of the post-war child migrants, background triangulation helped sift through remembered events against recorded fact. Subjectivity inevitably distorts memories, even of intimately shared experiences and by limiting interviewees to a microscale cohort everybody has their voice within the greater story.

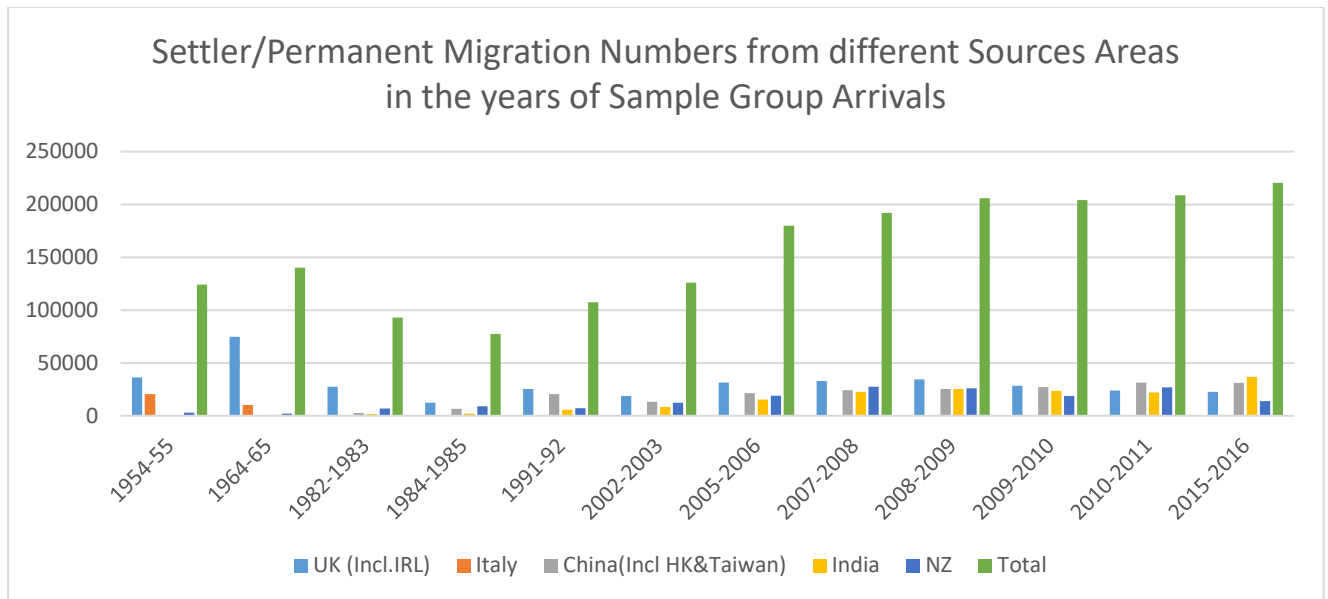
Further Research avenues

This is an ethnographic case study of a group of first-generation British migrants to Western Australia. It details different, often unexpected experiences of being dislocated from the security of homes and assigned national belonging. Further research avenues might take similar British groups representing different periods of arrival to Australian locations. For example, contemporary migrants arriving post-2020 may well hold different perceptions of nations as primary identities of belonging in this era of globalised interconnectivity and cultural ubiquity.

The natural extension of this research, however, would be to develop a longitudinal approach and revisit the same theme of dislocation with the same cohort some years after their first interviews in 2015/2016. Research activities designed to elucidate self-reflective comparisons over time might include asking participants to revisit their earlier statements ten years later in the light of both their situated belonging and the changing political, economic and demographic status of the Australian nation. This would introduce a structured temporal aspect to any changing attitudes of their British assigned identities and their situated elective identities as Australian citizens. This alone would be an interesting and worthwhile research exercise, but an added dimension may extend these reflexive discussions to include significant others. Shared reflections on narratives of identity with interfamilial others for example, would provide more rich data and enable me to examine and refine my original thesis findings. How would the participants reflect on their responses in the presence of another family member, particularly a son or daughter representing a second-generation cohort? What does national belonging mean to this group, many who have been acculturated into second-hand perceptions of sentimentalised and hybridised identities of homes somewhere else? Would there be significant mismatches between their own sense of Australian national belonging and those of their parents? Do symbolic displays of their Australian national identities offer them 'a reliable framework for making sense of the world and orientating oneself towards others' (Skey, 2010, p.716) in the same way their parents have called on their British identities to reason their sense of national belonging at points of dislocation from all that is known and secure?

Appendix I - Migrant Group - number of catch-up meetings and emails exchanged.			
Name	Joined group		Catch-ups 2016 - 2019
	2015	2016	in Australia In the UK emails
Betty	*		* 10
Pauline	*		10
Rose	*		* 10
Louise	*		10
Jock	*		* 10
Jean	*		* 10
William	*		* * 10
Jane	*		* * 200+
Joyce	*		* 10
Emma	*		6
Ella	*		15
Joanne	*		** 10
Brian	*		* 10
Beverley	*		** * 12
John	*		** * 14
Emily	*		12
Lily		*	* * 20

Totals	17	1	12 5 379 +



Source – Australian Government Department of Home Affairs.

(All totals for China include Taiwan and Hong Kong to account for changing political status of the Special Administrative Regions).

This chart represents the changing patterns of Settler migration to Australia during the years in which the interviewees arrived. It charts the main contributing single source countries during the period covered. The changes are reflective of changing immigration policies. The Assisted Passage scheme operated from 1945-1972 attracting White British Families. The Bring out a Briton scheme was launched in 1957 to boost declining migration figures, it relaxed some earlier restrictions to British applicants and figures rose in line.

During these early stages, there were a significant number of Italian migrants, many attracted by chain migration to existing diasporas; others were admitted during the same period as part of the post-war Displaced Persons¹¹⁷ scheme to bring more Europeans to Australia in the 'populate or perish' drive.

1972 saw the end of the Assisted Passage, and 1973 marked the end of the 'White Australia Policy' and the introduction of Multicultural Australia. Most British migrants were self-funding from this point onwards.

The chart shows a significant rise in immigrant totals; a declined yet steady number of both British and New Zealand migrants; Italian migrants have become almost insignificant and there has been an exponential rate of increase in migrants from India and the Chinese regions reflecting Australia's increasing drift away from its previously dominant White-Anglo ethnic core.

Arrival Dates of Interviewees linking with the chart entries above.

1954-55 – Betty

2007-2008 – Susan.

1964-1965 – Rose, Pauline, Louise

1982-83 – Jock and Jean

1984-85 – William and Jane

1991-92 - Joyce

2002-03 – Emma

2005-06 - Ella

2008-09 – Joanne and Brian

2009-10 – Beverley and John

2010-11 - Emily

2015-16 - Lily

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¹¹⁷ Under the Displaced Persons Program, Australia accepted 170,000 displaced persons over 5 years, the largest number of non-British migrants in that time frame in the history of Australian migration (<https://www.destinationaustralia.gov.au>)

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