

特集：第18回厚生政策セミナー

「国際人口移動の新たな局面～『日本モデル』の構築に向けて」

## Some Implications of Recent Global International Migration for Japan: An Australian Perspective

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Australia unlike Japan is a quintessential immigration nation with a half of its population being a permanent or temporary migrant or their Australia-born children. There is strong public support of the positive dimensions of international migration and Australia has become a multicultural society with over 60 birthplace groups with more than 10,000 residents in Australia. Yet at the beginning of the post war period Australia was in some ways similar to contemporary Japan with respect to migration. Less than one in ten Australians were overseas born and over 97 percent were of anglo-celtic ethnicity. Australia was monocultural and strongly opposed to increasing ethnic diversity. Yet over the next six decades this was transformed. With postwar migration Australia's population would currently be 12 million almost 10 million less than the actual population but more importantly it has increased greatly in diversity. This massive change was achieved largely without conflict, a maintenance of social cohesion and huge improvements in prosperity. The paper discusses some of the lessons from the Australian experience which countries who are contemplating increasing migration like Japan could consider.

### INTRODUCTION

Over the postwar period Japan and Australia have represented polar opposites in their policies toward international migration, although both have experienced continued economic growth and a demographic transition to low fertility and ageing populations. Japan has largely eschewed international migration despite developing strong international economic and political linkages, an ageing and shrinking population, substantial shortages of low skilled workers and a pressing need to benefit from the increasing scale and complexity of international migration of skilled workers. Australia, on the other hand, has become a quintessential immigration society. Half of its population is a first or generation migrant. Opinion polls show that Australia (along with Canada) is alone among OECD countries in consistently having a majority of the population being in favour of migration.

It is argued in this paper that international migration is increasing an essential structural element in the global economy and that effective participation in that economy requires some engagement in migration. While Australia has a totally different cultural and historical context, there are some

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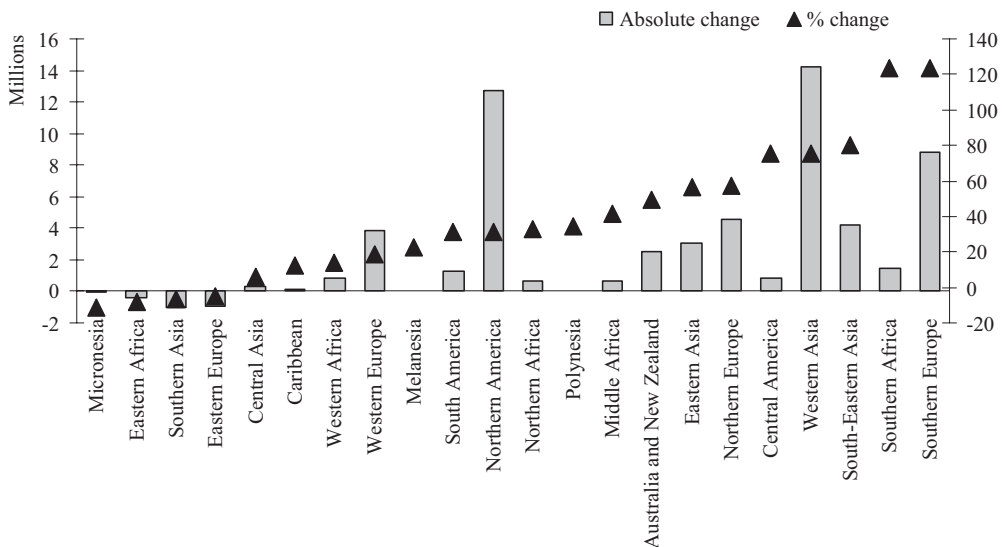
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lessons which can be drawn from the Australian experience which may be useful for Japan as they face a future in which the size of the national population will continue to fall and the workforce age. At the outset, however, it is necessary to outline some of the key recent developments in global international migration, especially as they impinge on the Asian region.

### I. GLOBAL TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

In 2013 the United Nations estimated that 232 million people (3.2 percent of the global population) lived outside their country of birth. Of these, 13.9 percent were in Asian countries while 29.8 percent had moved out of an Asian nation. This compares to Asia being currently home to 55.7 percent of the global population. The United Nations' analysis further identified the Asian region as having some of the fastest growing international migrant populations of any world region (Figure 1). Between 2000 and 2013 the number of immigrants in ASEAN nations, for example, increased by almost 80 percent! Another important feature is that much of the migration is drawn from *within* the region. A World Bank analysis (Ratha *et al.*, 2013, 13) depicted in Figure 2 found that while the number of people identified as emigrants from East Asia and the Pacific increased by 60 percent between 2000 and 2013 to reach 35 million, the proportion of them moving within the region increased from 46 to 48 percent. However, as Figure 2 indicates, the share of those emigrants who moved to East Asian nations decreased from 41 to 37 percent, suggesting that East Asian countries are not taking advantage of immigration to boost their human capital as much as ASEAN nations. In passing we note that the proportion moving to Australia increased from 15.7

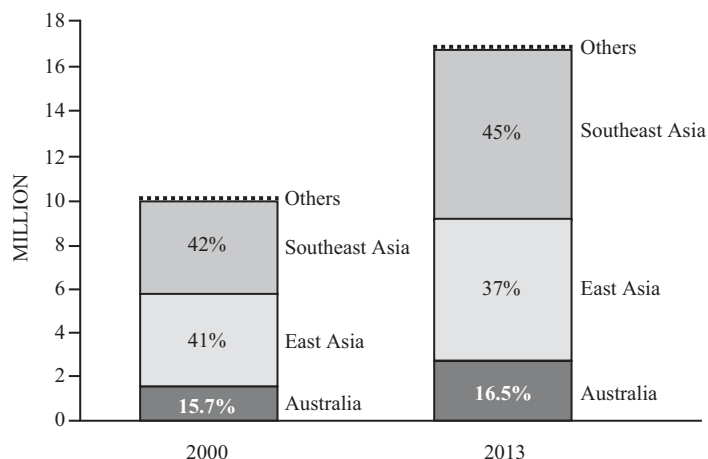
**Figure 1: The Number of International Migrants: Absolute Change and Percentage Change Between 2000 and 2013, by Region**



Source: Unpublished data supplied by United Nations

percent to 16.5 percent. The point is clear then; the Asian region is both an increasingly important destination and an origin of international migrants in the contemporary world but that this dynamism is especially strong on Southeast Asia.

**Figure 2: Numbers of People Moving Within the East Asia-Pacific Region According to Destination, 2000 and 2013**



Source: Ratha *et al.*, 2013, 13

**Table 1: Asia: Immigrants by Origin, 2000 and 2013**

	Within Asia	Outside Asia
2000	23,087,762	22,643,777
2013	28,830,702	40,263,673
Percent Change	24.87	77.81

Source: United Nations, 2013

Table 1 shows the number of persons born in Asian countries living outside their country of birth in 2000 and 2013 divided between those that moved within Asia and those settling outside Asia. It is interesting in Table 1 that while the number of intra-Asia immigrants increased between 2000 and 2013 by 25 percent, the number of Asians moving to other parts of the world increased by 77.8 percent. This was despite this period being of rapid economic development in Asia and reflects, to some extent, the reluctance of several Asian countries to embrace migration as an important structural element in development (Castles, 2003).

## II. AUSTRALIAN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FROM A JAPAN PERSPECTIVE

Australia, located on the edge of Asia, can be described as a quintessentially immigration nation and hence the antitheses of several East Asian nations. Table 2 shows more than half of the

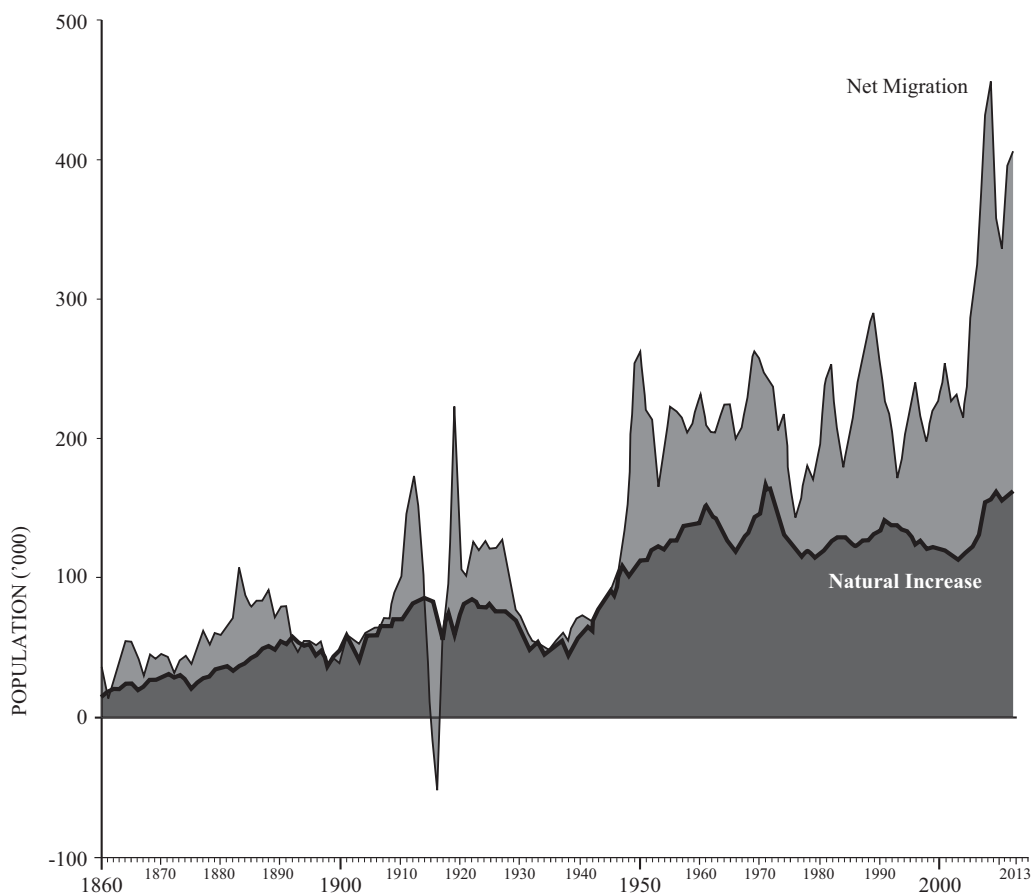
Australian population at any one time are either an immigrant, a child of an immigrant or a temporary resident. Immigration currently accounts for 59.5 percent of national population growth and as Figure 3 shows there is a long history of net migration gains contributing to population growth. Moreover, like Japan, Australia faces ageing of its population so that migration is seen as playing an even more important role in the future as is envisaged in the Department of Treasury's Intergenerational Reports (Costello, 2002, 2004; Department of Treasury, 2007; Swan, 2010).

**Table 2: Australia: A Country of Immigration**

- 27 percent born overseas in 2011
- 20 percent Australia-born with an overseas-born parent(s) in 2011
- 1,142,560 persons temporarily present at 31 March 2014
- Without postwar migration the Australian population would be less than 13 million compared with 23.3 million in 2013

Source: ABS 2011 Census; DIBP, 2014

**Figure 3: Australia: Natural Increase and Net Migration, 1860-2013**



Source: ABS; Borrie, 1994

An important impact of immigration in Australia has been its impact on the cultural diversity of its population. Table 3 shows that at the 2011 Population Census, almost a fifth of Australian households spoke a language other than English at home, while 28.7 percent indicated that they were of non-Anglo Celtic ancestry.

Australia is one of the world's nations most influenced by migration and with one of the most diverse populations. As Japan discusses the whole issue of whether it embraces migration to assist in national economic development and offsetting the effects of ageing, it is interesting to look at the situation in Australia a generation ago. In 1947, at the end of World War II, Australia's migration situation was nothing like that described above. Table 4 indicates that only 9.8 percent of Australians were foreign-born and of those, 7.9 percent were born in an English-speaking nation. Moreover, of the 1.9 percent born in more diverse contexts, almost all were from Southern and Eastern Europe or were Europeans born to continental parents in Asian nations. Hence in Australia less than a tenth of the population were migrants and the society was overwhelmingly monocultural, dominated by people of Anglo Celtic heritage. The main element of diversity was the 51,048 Aboriginal population – 0.67 percent of the total.

**Table 3: Indicators of Australian Diversity, 2011**

Indicator	Percent
Born overseas	26.1
Born overseas in CALD country	16.6
Australia-born with an overseas-born parent	18.8
Speaks language other than English at home	19.2
Ancestry (multi response) in a CALD country	28.7
Ancestry (multi response) in an Asian country	9.9
Non-Christian religion	22.3
Indigenous population	2.6
No. of birthplace groups with 10,000+	67
No. of birthplace groups with 1,000+	133
No. of indigenous persons	548,369

Source: ABS 2011 Census

**Table 4: Australia's Population in 1947**

Birthplace	Number	Percent
Australia	6,835,171	90.2
Overseas	744,187	9.8
Born in UK, Ireland, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and USA	601,036	7.9
Other Birthplace	143,151	1.9
Total	7,579,358	100.0

Source: Australian Census of 1947

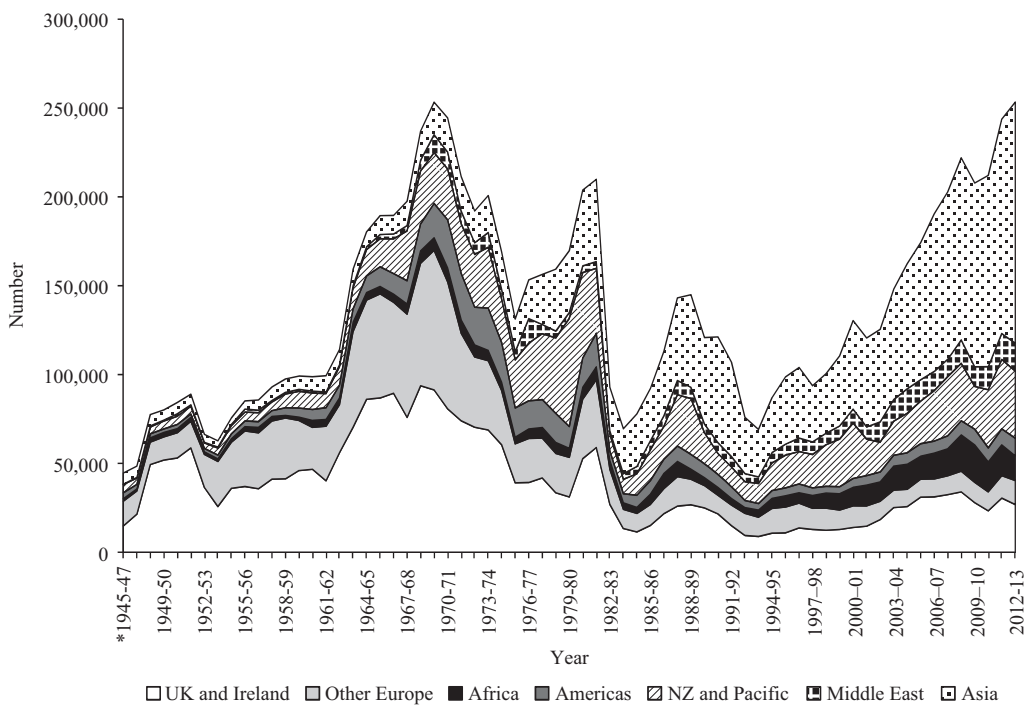
As Japan discusses internally the potential impacts of increased immigration, it could be useful to examine Australia's postwar international migration history. Australia's immigration situation in 1947 was not too different to the contemporary Japanese situation, both with respect to the relative significance of migrants in the population and in terms of the strong cultural homogeneity. The latter issue appears to dominate much of the policy and public discussion on future international migration in Japan and it is relevant that this issue was equally prominent in the immediate postwar years as Australia also was contemplating a significant increase in international migration (Jupp, 2002; Borrie, 1994; Price, 1979).

The situation in Australia in 1947 has some parallels with contemporary Japan. Firstly, there was a high level of concern of the need for population growth. The slogan of 'populate or perish' dominated the discourse of policy makers and the community more generally (Jupp, 2002, 10). Secondly, there was an overwhelming concern for maintenance of a 'British Australia'. It was only after extended public discussion and an ever-worsening shortage of workers which threatened to stall Australia's rapid postwar economic growth that there was any relenting on this issue and then it was extremely limited and hedged with conditions. The restriction of Australian immigration to people from English-speaking nations, especially those who were British, changed tentatively in 1949. In that year Australia, for the first time, provided assisted passage to non-British migrants. Some 170,000 Displaced Persons who fled their countries (Poland, the Baltic countries, Hungary) during the Nazi or subsequent Russian invasion and were housed in camps in Europe were settled in Australia. However, they had to sign an agreement to work in a job and place designated by the Government for at least the first two years. The experience of the 'DPs' was clearly watched and it was found that not only were there no clashes, a breakdown in social cohesion or a threat of any kind to Australian society but they made important and significant economic contributions.

In fact, the DPs gave the government confidence to seek immigrants from elsewhere in Europe to help fill the continuing labour market shortages during the Australian 'long boom' of the 1950s and 1960s when manufacturing urban based employment expanded rapidly. Figure 4 shows how, with each postwar decade, the background of immigrants to Australia became more diverse. In the 1950s the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Greece, Malta and the former Yugoslavia all became significant origins of immigrants. However, the 'White Australia' Policy still very largely prevailed, although the 'British Australia' restrictions had been expanded to be a 'Caucasian or White Australia'. The White Australia Policy, in fact, had its origins in the very earliest days of Australian federation in 1901 when the Immigration Restriction Act was one of the first actions of the new national government. This remained intact until 1958 when it was replaced by a new Migration Act (Jupp, 2002, 8).

The widening of the spectrum of countries from which Australia drew settlers continued into Turkey and the Middle East in the late 1960s and in the early 1970s the White Australia Policy was finally dismantled altogether. In fact, there had been gradual modifications made throughout the

**Figure 4: Australia: Settler Arrivals by Region of Last Residence, 1947-96 and Permanent Additions by Region of Birth, 1997-2013**



\*July 1945 to June 1947

Note: Middle East includes North Africa from 1996-97.

Source: DIBP data

postwar period and its final abolition did not lead to an immediate change. In fact, many aspects of 'British Australia' influenced migration with assisted passage being restricted to settlers from the UK and British citizens being accorded full citizenship rights upon arrival. However, Figure 4 indicates that the UK remained the origin of almost half of immigrants up to the 1970s. However, the diagram also shows the step by step, gradual increase in diversity of the intake. Substantial immigration from Asia began with the inflow of refugees from Vietnam and, to a lesser extent, Cambodia and Laos in the late 1970s and 1980s. They were joined by migrants from Southeast Asia – Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines, and then in the 1990s and 2000s China and India became major origins of permanent migrants. Another important step in increased diversity was the influx of mainly refugees but also including some highly skilled groups like doctors from Sub Saharan Africa. There was a long history of African migration but hitherto it was almost totally white South Africans. By 2001 one in ten Australians were of Asian ancestry, whereas in 1947 it would have been a fraction of a single percent.

From a Japan perspective, there are a number of interesting features of this transformation within the lifetime of the present writer:

- It was achieved by and large without any violence. There have been isolated incidents and it remains a contested area, but there is no evidence of a widespread breakdown in social cohesion, and violent incidents have been limited.
- There was no 'destruction', 'swamping' or 'crowding out' of Australia's British heritage. As Jupp (2002, 5) puts it:
 

'(Although Australia) is certainly much more multicultural than it was fifty years ago ... it is still a much more "British" society than either Canada or the United States'.
- The government has maintained a high level of control over the number and composition of the migrant intake using an administrative system, not dissimilar to that employed in Japan. Indeed, much of the positive attitudes of Australians about the migration are based on a confidence that the immigration is controlled.
- Migration has been and remains one of the most contested areas of Australian public policy but there have also been long periods when there has been total bipartisanship between the two sides of politics in the nation.

### III. SOME POTENTIAL LESSONS FROM THE AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCE

Every nation has the sovereign right to develop its own policies on international migration which best meet their own economic needs, cultural maintenance and development and international obligations. Moreover each country has its own unique set of cultural, geographical, economic and social circumstances which must shape migration policy. Nevertheless, this is an area where countries *can* learn from each other, not only in terms of adopting best practice but avoiding the many and varied pitfalls that can be associated with international migration. There is, however, a fairly general consensus that (Jupp, 2002, 2) 'Australian immigration and multicultural policy has been a success', despite the fact that it remains a much contested area within Australia. Moreover, as was pointed out earlier, there are at least two parallels in the contemporary international migration discourse in Japan and that in Australia at the close of World War II. What are some of the dimensions of Australian post World War II international migration which may have some resonance should Japan choose to open itself more to international migration?

The first lesson relates to the highly controlled and planned nature of Australian migration. This has been greatly facilitated by Australia's island geography and its geographical isolation which has made border control more feasible, especially during the modern era of electronic surveillance of borders. Yet Japan too has an island geography and in many ways already exercises a high level of control of who comes into the nation. However, Australia has clearly tied the migration program and its control to the economic planning needs of the nation and integrated migration into its economic planning. Indeed over the last two decades the program has become even more tightly focused in this way.



Since the 1970s Australia has identified four channels under which foreigners can apply to settle in Australia:

- (a) Skilled workers – groups with training or skills in shortage in the Australian labour market.
- (b) Family migrants who were related to earlier generations of migrants.
- (c) Refugee-humanitarian migrants who were recognised under the UNHCR 1952 Convention.
- (d) Others, mainly New Zealanders who have more or less free access to settle in Australia under a specially negotiated Trans Tasman Agreement.

For each group, except New Zealanders the government sets a planning level after consultation with stakeholders such as state governments, employers, unions and community organisations. As Table 5 indicates, such is the high degree of close management of Australian migration there is almost an exact correspondence between the planning levels and the actual outcomes of the numbers of settlers in each category.

**Table 5: Australia: Planned Levels and Outcomes of Different Migration Settler Visa Categories, 2011-13**

	2011-12		2012-13	
	Planning Level	Outcome	Planning Level	Outcome
Family	58,600	58,604	60,185	60,185
Skill	125,750	125,755	128,950	128,973
Special	650	639	845	842
Total	185,000	184,998	190,000	190,000
Humanitarian	13,750	13,759	20,000	20,019

Source: DIBP

The migration program is increasingly dominated by the 'skill' part as migration has become more closely integrated with economic planning. A central part of the skill program is a Points Assessment Test whereby intending settlers are assigned points associated with education/training, work experience, age, English language ability and other labour market attributes. A moving cut-off level is recognised above which settlers are accepted. Similarly, the family migration stream has varied over time in the nature of the relationship to the Australian-based family member which would enable entrance to Australia. While there have been many modifications over the years to the way in which each of the four streams has operated, it still forms the basis of the Australian permanent settlement system.

Figure 5 shows how the migration has become increasingly focused on skill with the percentage of all settlers in this category increasing from 29.1 percent in 1993-94 to 69.6 percent in 2005-06. Increasing employers have been brought into the selection process with priority being given to applicants who already have a job in Australia.

A related aspect of the success of the Australian migration program is the strong tradition of evidence-driven policy. Australia's programs and policies are constantly being fine-tuned in

**Figure 5: Australia: Migration Program Outcome by Stream and Non-Program Migration, 1976-7 to 2012-13**



Source: DIAC, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIAC, *Immigration Update*, various issues; DIAC, 2012 and 2013

response to changes in the global, regional and national economy but also research findings. One example of this is increased research into the economic impact of migration. Table 6, for example, presents the results of modelling done for the Australian government of the fiscal impact of various categories of immigrants over a twenty year period. This shows that the fiscal contribution of immigrants increases over time and that it is greater for skilled migrants than other categories.

Another element is the strong institutional structure supporting the development and management of the migration program. For most of the postwar period there has been a separate ministry (and a place in the cabinet) and federal government department devoted to migration and settlement. In addition, it has developed a cadre of migration professionals who are responsible for the development of migration policy and its operationalisation as well as the instruments to support them. It has arguably the most complete collection of stock and flow statistics on migration into and out of the country (Hugo, 2004a) and uses this to have a strong tradition of evidence-driven policy. There has also been a readiness of government, both conservative and more liberal, to modify policy in response to external and internal developments.

One of the features of Australian international migration policy in the postwar period which undoubtedly has contributed to its relative success is that while there were dramatic shifts they were introduced gradually. The doyen of immigration research in Australia, Professor Charles Price

**Table 6: Migrant's Net Impact on the Australian Government Budget by Visa Category, 2010-11 (A\$million)**

Visa category	Visa grants in 2010-11	Net fiscal impact (A\$ million)				
		Period of settlement in Australia (years)				
		1	2	3	10	20
<b>Family Stream</b>						
Parent	8 499	-7.7	-5.6	-6.0	-7.7	-9.4
Partner and other	46 044	-16.8	76.9	48.2	244.1	242.3
<b>Family Stream total</b>	<b>54 543</b>	<b>212.3</b>	<b>60.0</b>	<b>43.0</b>	<b>200.9</b>	<b>146.4</b>
<b>Skill Stream</b>						
Skilled Independent	36 167	163.0	223.3	283.7	384.2	439.5
Skilled Australian Sponsored	9 117	5.4	12.2	13.0	17.3	21.1
State/Territory Sponsored	16 175	68.3	80.2	86.6	104.7	138.1
Business Skills	7 796	44.9	44.3	46.2	33.2	24.1
Employer Sponsored	44 345	465.9	478.8	485.7	493.3	530.8
<b>Skill Stream total</b>	<b>113 725</b>	<b>747.4</b>	<b>838.7</b>	<b>915.1</b>	<b>1 032.8</b>	<b>1 153.6</b>
<b>Humanitarian Stream</b>						
<b>Humanitarian Stream</b>	<b>13 799</b>	<b>-247.3</b>	<b>-69.4</b>	<b>-62.0</b>	<b>-12.3</b>	<b>48.4</b>
Total fiscal impact of permanent migration	182 067	712.4	829.2	896.1	1 221.4	1 348.5
Business Long Stay visa	90 120	889.3	954.5	383.1	441.0	585.9

Source: DIAC, 2012, 110

characterised Australian postwar immigration as being similar to a python feeding – each new group of migrants were introduced and then allowed to digest and adjust before a new group was introduced. Thus Figure 4 demonstrated how the previously almost totally British intake was first extended to Displaced Persons from Eastern Europe, then other Western Europe and Southern European origins, then to the Middle East, then to Asia and finally Sub Saharan Africa. This took place over six decades.

There has been a strong policy of 'taking the community with' government decisions by each new phase being given time to gain acceptance. Accordingly, as

in Canada, there has been a generally high acceptance of the overall positive impacts of migration compared with other European nations as is shown in Table 7. A recent study of 6,088 South Australians in metropolitan and rural areas found 87.7 percent believed cultural diversity was a

**Table 7: Selected Nations: Percent of Population That Believes Immigration Has a Negative Impact on Their Country, 2011**

Country	%
Belgium	72
South Africa	70
Russia	69
Great Britain	64
Turkey	57
United States	56
Italy	56
Spain	56
India	43
Canada	39
Saudi Arabia	38
Sweden	37
Australia	31
Brazil	30
Indonesia	30

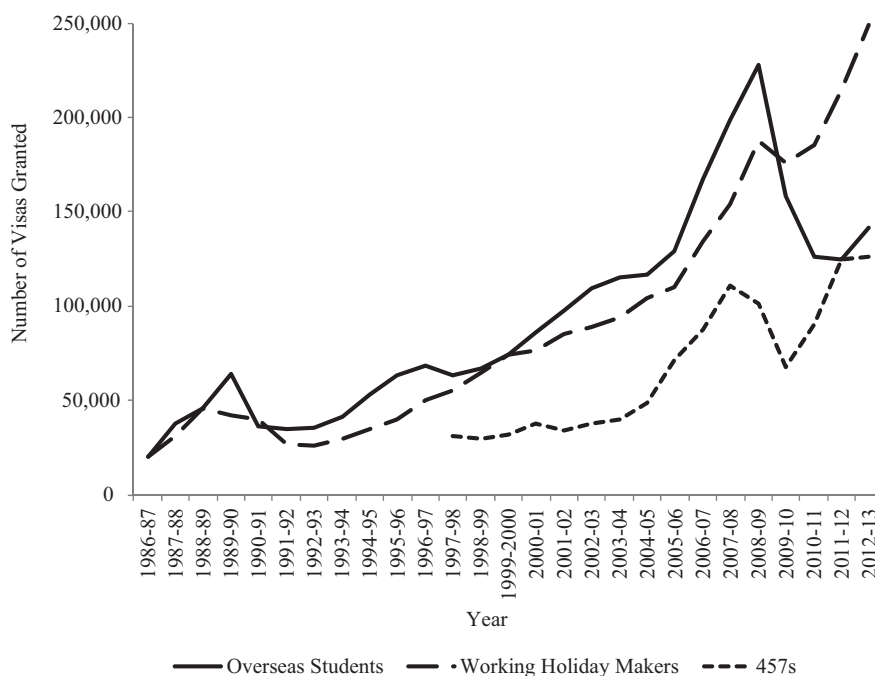
Source: Ipsos MORI Global Advisor Survey, June 2011

positive influence on the community (Government of South Australia, 2008). Clearly a key element in the transformation from 'White Australia' to 'Multicultural Australia' was the fact that the changes were made in steps rather than making a sudden 180 degree change in policy. The transformation was achieved in a number of incremental steps rather than a single shift. In making these changes the government tended to take the community along with them since community attitudes were changing also as education levels increased, the benefits of multicultural migration became manifest in Australia's society and economy and more Australians had direct interaction with people from different cultural backgrounds.

Another feature of postwar Australian immigration policy which has contributed to its success is its *flexibility*. There are over 200 visa classes and subclasses by which a person may enter Australia and these are constantly changing in response to global and national events, processes and forces. A good example of this flexibility was the introduction of a number of avenues for temporary migration. Whereas in the first five postwar decades Australian immigration policy was focused almost exclusively on attracting *permanent* settlers and there was strong bipartisan opposition to temporary and contract worker programs. However, increasingly settlement migration was perceived by employers as too slow and inflexible a tool to compete effectively in global high skill labour markets. Accordingly, in 1997 the 457 Temporary Business Entry Visa was introduced. It is similar to the HIB visa in the United States, is initiated by employers and is not capped and is even more focused on skill than the permanent migration program. Research has shown it has been generally quite successful (Khoo, Voight-Graf, McDonald and Hugo, 2007). However, the 457 program has come under intense scrutiny in recent times with some employers being accused of misusing the scheme to displace Australian workers, especially in some regional areas. The union movement (Australian Manufacturing Workers Union, 2006) has raised issues of migrant workers being ready to settle for lower wages as well as occupational health and safety issues covered by lack of ability to speak English. A Parliamentary Inquiry (Joint Standing Committee on Migration, 2007, 2) made a number of recommendations to improve procedures associated with the program. Nevertheless, Figure 6 shows that the number of new 457s continued to increase rapidly so that in 2007-08, 61,390 new applications were lodged and in mid 2008 there were 134,238 457s working in Australia. The onset of the Global Financial Crisis saw the number of new applications fall to 54,810 in 2008-09 but they have subsequently recovered to real record numbers in 2013.

Another element of success in the Australian immigration program relates to political engagement. Australia has three tiers of government – national, state/territory (of which there are 8) and local (667). Since Federation in 1901 Australian immigration and settlement policy and programs have been largely the responsibility of the national government. Under Section 5.51 (xxvii) of the Australian Constitution it is empowered to legislate for immigration. Prior to Federation, states (then separate colonies) organised immigration control, assisted passages and settlement services and continued to do so (in cooperation with the Commonwealth) and the end

**Figure 6: Australia: Temporary Migration, 1986-87 to 2012-13**



Source: DIAC, *Population Flows: Immigration Aspects*, various issues; DIAC, *Annual Report*, various issues

of World War 1 when the national government took full control of immigration and settlement (Jupp, 2002, 67-68).

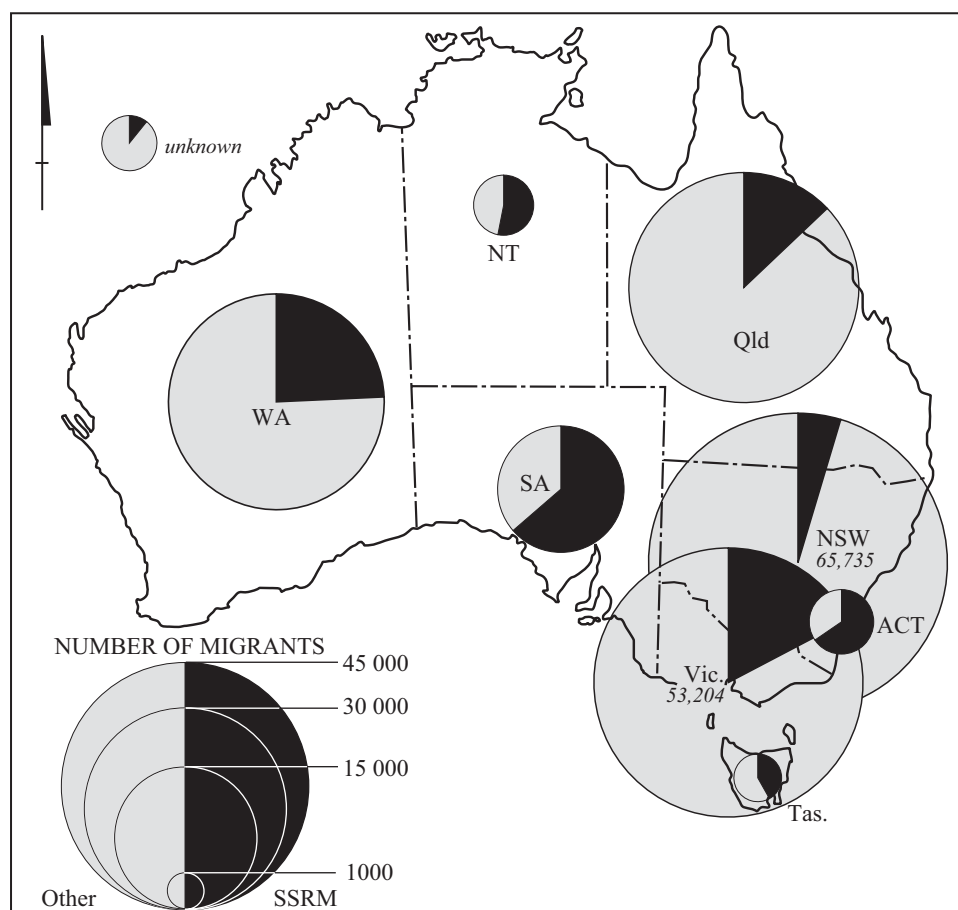
The broad outlines of population policy are set by the elected national government. Each major political party in Australia has a policy statement relating to levels, types and composition of international migration. This forms part of the platform presented by the parties before each national election. For the party which wins government this policy statement provides the broad objectives of the immigration program over the next three years as well as longer term considerations. In fact there has been little difference in the policies of the major parties for much of the post-war period although in recent years approaches toward asylum seekers have some significant differences. In general, however, many aspects of post-war immigration policy in Australia have had bipartisan approval.

Moreover, while political power in immigration resides with the national government, it is recognised that the other tiers of government also have a major stake in the process, especially the settlement dimensions. Accordingly there are efforts to engage with states and territories, and to a lesser extent, local government. There are a number of ways in which this has been achieved and most states now have state government offices of immigration and of multiculturalism. A particular development, however, has been the *State Specific and Regional Migration Schemes* (SSRM)

which now accounted for around a fifth of all skilled migrants. This program facilitates employers, state and local governments and families in designated lagging economic regions to sponsor immigrants without the immigrants having to fully meet the stringent requirements of the Australian Points Assessment Scheme. There are an array of visa categories available under the scheme (Hugo, 2008).

The impact of the program is evident in Figure 7 which shows the different mixes of SSRM and other immigrants in each state and territory in 2010-11. The state of South Australia, for example, has been lagging economically for decades and has been especially active in the SSRM program (Hugo, 2008). On the other hand New South Wales, the major destination of international migrants, has very few SSRM migrants. Indeed the overall proportion of migrants settling in New South Wales has declined under the impact of the program.

**Figure 7: Australia: Permanent Additions by State According to Whether they are State Specific and Regional Migration Scheme Migrants or Other Migrants, 2010-11**



Source: DIAC, unpublished data

A final element to be considered in the success of postwar migration in Australia relates to issues of social cohesion. Debate about issues of social cohesion and the adjustment of immigrants have waxed and waned in Australia. A watershed in settlement policy was the release in 1978 of the Galbally Report on Migrant Services and Programs'. This advocated a shift in government settlement policy from the 'melting pot' assimilation emphasis which prevailed in the first three postwar decades toward multiculturalism. They advocated the development of ethnic specific welfare and ethnic media services and cultural and language maintenance among immigrant groups. The report provided the foundation for Australia's settlement policy over the succeeding decades. It developed a set of guiding principles that are still relevant although government and community support of multiculturalism as a policy has fluctuated over the succeeding years (Jupp, 2002, 87).

- All members of society must have an equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services.
- Every person should be able to maintain their culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures.
- Needs of migrants should in general be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision.
- Services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant quickly.

Multiculturalism in Australia has taken a distinctive form (Jupp, 2002; Jupp and Clyne, 2011) focusing more on service provision than settlement and language maintenance.

As in other parts of the world, multiculturalism came under attack in Australia during the last two decades, especially during the conservative government of Prime Minister John Howard (1996-2007). Jupp and Clyne (2011, xvi-xvii) argue that the contestation of multiculturalism derived from:

- The collision between liberal democracy and Islamic fundamentalism.
- Resistance to continuing, increasingly and frequently uncontrolled immigration from poorer countries.
- Economic and social problems such as the Global Financial Crisis.
- Poverty and dislocation in some areas of concentration of migrants.
- Perceptions that the distinct civilisations and cultures built upon a European basis are losing their pre-eminence.
- Rapidly changing social structures and belief systems which creates anxiety.

As a result there was an increased focus in government pronouncements on 'integration' which reached a peak in the introduction of a compulsory 'citizenship test' which immigrants seeking

Australian citizenship were required to pass.

Australia has been relatively free of ethnic-based violence. There have been isolated instances such as the Cronulla riots in 2005 when a group of people waving Australian flags attacked people of 'Middle Eastern Appearance' on a Sydney beach. In 2009 attacks on Indian students in Melbourne were interpreted by some as having an ethnic dimension. The current Australian government has restated its commitment to a policy of multiculturalism and each of the states and territories have government multiculturalism agencies and Migrant Resource Centres. Hence multiculturalism remains the basis of government settlement policy in Australia despite the challenges it has faced.

## CONCLUSION

It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of international migration in Australia's contemporary economy, society, demography and culture. Few countries have been more influenced by migration but few also have such a highly managed immigration intake. Australia has a complex immigration system involving an experienced cadre of migration professionals, a sophisticated use of technology and a comprehensive, timely and focused data collection system. Like other nations, Australia has anti-migration elements in the political system and the society more widely. Yet within a generation there has been a transformation from a society in which over 95 percent of the population were of Anglo Celtic origin to one where they make up less than three quarters. The Australian population would be more than 10 million less than at present if postwar immigration had not occurred and it would lack cultural diversity. Currently, 2.3 percent of the population are of indigenous origin and a further 27.5 percent have a non-Anglo Celtic origin. At the 2011 census there were 67 birthplace groups with more than 10,000 persons in Australia and 19.2 percent of the population spoke a language other than English at home. Planned immigration has transformed Australia during the postwar period.

While Australia has had isolated ethnic based violence, racist elements remain in the population, discrimination remains in the workplace and in society more generally it is difficult to argue against the proposition that a balanced Australian postwar migration has been massively successful. What can be distilled from this experience that could be used by other countries such as Japan? This paper has attempted to raise a number of these dimensions which may or may not have resonance in Japan. However, perhaps the most important message is one which is encapsulated in the present writer's lived life experience. He was born into the western suburbs of Adelaide in an Australia with small numbers of migrants and fiercely monoculturally British who could account for more than 95 percent of the population. His children, however, are growing up in a very different context with half of the population a migrant or the child of an immigrant and with many of their friends being from other parts of the world. Their food is influenced by a range of cultures, they have



relatives born in Asia, they have learned to speak an Asian language. Yet the society retains much of its foundations and social cohesion remains strong. There has been no violence or destruction of culture.

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