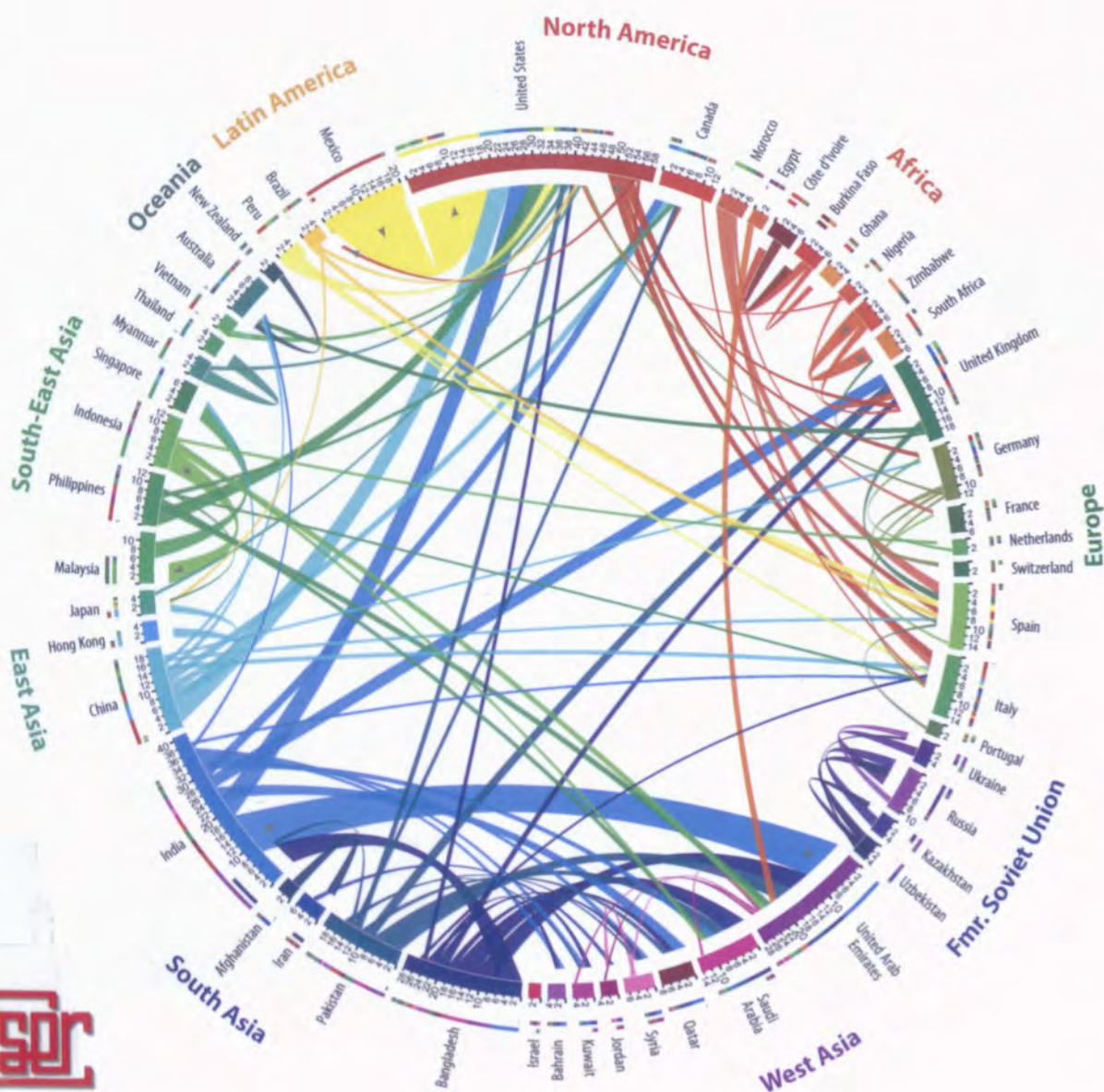


International Migration: The Discussion Continues

SHIFTING ROLES AND IDENTITIES WITHIN SOCIETIES
AND WITHIN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
THE CASE OF AUSTRALIA

Tony Paganoni



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Wittgenstein Centre

FOR DEMOGRAPHY AND
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INTRODUCTION

Ideally, one would like to think that international migration was attended by something resembling a conversation across nations, conducted, as it were, in a world-wide public arena. In recent times as migration has increased public commentaries of one sort or another regarding it have gained momentum, which is not to say there was silence on this matter in the past but only that past discussion was more subdued and with less participation on a world-wide scale.

For a public conversation to be successful, productive and mutually beneficial, the participation of all people concerned is of paramount importance. It would be detrimental to all participants if the absence of some sections of the community from this exchange were to jeopardise the very foundations of the communal living of all members of a society, whether the well-established members or newcomers to it. However, in regard to migration, one cannot hide the feeling that the majority of the public pronouncements made are **about** migrants, and that if we were to attempt a census of the declarations, notifications, policies, suggestions, surveys and studies on the topic, we would see that the migrants' opinions, ideas and suggestions are much more contained and, by comparison, considerably fewer in number and influence.

The fact that there is unequal participation in an important matter that concerns the well-being of any society, or of the international community, should not be seen as a disaster. And yet it is important to maintain participation on a fairly even level because issues which are so often publicly debated, such as security, sovereignty, socio-political cohesion or lack of it, etc., need the cooperation of all. In the case of migration, however, the presence, almost everywhere, of undocumented persons, mostly seen as uninvited guests, poses an added challenge to existing national or international concerns about order and tranquillity.

The biggest challenge is to engage all members of society in an exchange of views, and in order for that exchange to be meaningful and creative, no efforts should be spared in actively promoting a partnership, or co-authorship as some people have called it,¹ instead of ignoring the globalisation of the excluded.²

The following discussion, therefore, will look at the current aspects of a truly international phenomenon, which is what migrations are, before turning to the shifting roles and identities in both societies and churches, with particular regard to the experience of Australian society and, more specifically, of the Catholic Church in Australia where, in the wake of increased immigration over the last half-century, society has been facing the challenges of ever-greater diversity.

1 Kim, Peter Sungjin, *Becoming colourfully human: a Pastoral Theology of the immigrant and the community* (doctoral dissertation), Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, 2003. See the interesting Chapter, "A hermeneutic of Co-Authoring", pp. 192-98.

2 Cruz, Gemma Tulud, "Between identity and security: theological implications of migration in the context of globalization", in *Theological Studies*, 69, 2008, 270.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION FLOWS

Statistics, causes and characteristics

In prefacing the fourth edition of *The Age of Migration, International Population Movements in the Modern world*,³ Stephen Castles states,

*Much has changed in the world since publication of the first edition (1993), yet the book's central argument remains the same. International population movements are reconfiguring states and societies around the world in ways that affect bilateral and regional relations, national identity and sovereignty... International migration is reaching new heights today. As a key dynamic within globalisation, migration is an essential part of economic and social change, and is contributing to a fundamental transformation of the international political order... There is a strong tendency towards intergovernmental collaboration to improve control of migration, but little willingness to cooperate to improve the rights of migrants.*⁴

The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) data indicates that there were some 214 million international migrants worldwide in 2010.⁵ This compares with just 156 million migrants in 1990. However, since global population has grown at the same time, the share of migrants in the world population has not changed much, increasing from 2.9 per cent in 1990 to 3.1 per cent in 2010.⁶

3 Castles, Stephen and Miller, Mark, *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Palgrave MacMillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2009.

4 Ibid., Preface to the 4th edition, XII.

5 See the interesting insertion "International migration 2009", published by the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, in Battistella, Graziano (a cura di), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, S. Paolo, Milano, 2010.

6 Castles, Stephen, "The Forces driving Global Migration", in *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 34, 2, 2013, 122.

Reliable sources of statistics are listed in Daniel G. Groody.⁷

Migration has always been part of human history since its origin. But today, due to widespread changes precipitated by globalisation, more people are migrating than ever before. Groody, an attentive theologian, spells out some interesting details: many of these migrants are forcibly uprooted:⁸ approximately 30–40 million are undocumented,⁹ 24 million are internally displaced, and almost 10 million are refugees.¹⁰

These flows of people precipitate conflict and controversy; they affect not only migrants themselves, but receiving communities as well, making migration an increasingly volatile and contentious political issue. The clash of cultures, identities, and religions, along with debates over economics, resources, and rights, has polarized public discourse, making the migration debate convoluted and confused. Not only does rhetoric about immigration conflate, if not manipulate, multiple issues like national security and human insecurity, sovereign rights and human rights, civil law and natural law, but the disciplines governing the debate have not given us the concepts necessary to move beyond unfruitful, polemical discourse so as to reach the core issues. Categories such as legality and illegality, the documented

7 Groody, Daniel G., "Crossing the Divide: Foundation of a Theology of Migration and Refugees", in *Theological Studies*, 70, 2009, 638, footnote 2: Some of the most important sources on migration statistics come from the World Bank (www.worldbank.org), the International Organization of Migration (IOM, www.iom.int/jahia/jsp/index.jsp), the International Labor Organization (ILO, www.ilo.org/global/lang-en/index.htm), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, www.unhcr.org), United Theological Studies 70 (2009), United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA; see especially *Trends in Total Migration Stock: The 2005 Revision*, www.un.org/esa/population/publications/migration/UN_Migrant_Stock_Documentation_2005.pdf), and the Global Commission for International Migration (GCIM, www.gcim.org/en/). See in particular *Migration in an Interconnected World: Report of the Global Commission for International Migration*, (Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration) 83–85, available at www.gcim.org/attachements/gcim-complete-report-2005. The different "Causes of Migration" are also discussed in Snyder, Susanna, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church. Explorations in Practical, Pastoral and Empirical Theology*, Ashgate, Surrey (Eng.), 2012, pp.52–58.

8 Rogers, Rosemarie and Copeland, Emily, *Forced Migration. Policy Issues in the Post-Cold War World*, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford (Mass.), 1993.

9 Report of the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development, *Unauthorised Migration: an Economic Development Response*, Washington, July 1990. For the following Asian countries: Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, see Battistella, Graziano and Asis, Maruja M. B., *Unauthorized Migration in Southeast Asia*, The Scalabrini Migration Center, Manila, 2003.

10 Some refugee areas are analysed in Ferris, Elizabeth G., *Refugees, Migrants and Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Era*, WCC Publications, Geneva, 1993.

and the un-documented, citizen and alien, not only fail to come to terms with a new global reality, but they also leave gaping areas of injustice in their wake. Some argue that tougher enforcement will resolve the problem. Forced migration is more often a symptom of deeper issues related to human crises, ranging from poverty, persecution, and underdevelopment, to widespread socio-political and economic changes such as nation-building and industrial expansion, and to global events like wars, and natural disasters.¹¹ As A. Betts reminds us, most migration flows exist on a “spectrum between volition and coercion” and are motivated by a mixture of economic and political factors.¹²

According to the 2005 report of the GCIM (Global Commission on International Migration, U.N.), the factors determining migration include:

1. **Wage disparities:** 45.7% of people in Sub-Saharan Africa, 14.4% in South Asia, and 10.4% in Latin America and the Caribbean earn less than \$1 per day. Daniel G. Groody remarked in his 2008 report that,
*The difference in income between the richest and poorest countries was 3 to 1 in 1820, 11 to 1 in 1913, 35 to 1 in 1950, 44 to 1 in 1973, and 72 to 1 in 1992. Current research indicates that the economic trends continue to diverge;*¹³
2. **unemployment rates:** 12.2% in the Middle East and North Africa, 10.9% in Sub-Saharan Africa, and 6.6% in industrialized economies;¹⁴
3. **differentials in life expectancy:** 58 years in low-income countries, and 78 years in high-income countries;
4. **literacy level:** 58% women and 68% men illiterate in low-income countries,

11 According to a report “Benvenuti all’inferno”, in *In Terris. Online International Newspaper*, the UNHCR estimates that close to 3500 perished in the Mediterranean sea last year. And close to two thousand since the beginning of this year.

12 Betts, A., *Forced Migration and Global Politics*, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden (Mass.) and Oxford, 2009, p. 4.

13 Groody, Daniel G., “Globalizing Solidarity: Christian Anthropology and the Challenge of Human Liberation”, in *Theological Studies*, 69, 2008, 257-58.

14 “While proportionally small, the number of people migrating from the Third World to Western industrialized countries is significant. Until the 1960s, 80% of immigrants to the United States, Canada, and Australia came from other industrialized countries. By the end of the 1980s, 82% came from developing countries... reflecting a shift towards Latin American and Asian Immigration since the 1960s... Southern European countries, which have traditionally supplied workers in large numbers to northern Europe are increasingly becoming hosts to growing numbers of migrants from Northern Africa and Eastern Europe”. See Doty, Roxanne Lynn, *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies. Statecraft, desire and the politics of exclusion*, Routledge, London, 2003, pp. 3-4.

almost full literacy in high-income countries; 76% primary school enrolment in low-income countries, almost full enrolment in high-income countries;

5. **demographic gradients:** on average 5.4 children born to each woman in Sub-Saharan Africa, compared with 3.8 in the Arab World, 2.5 in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 1.4 in Europe.¹⁵ Ageing is prevalent in most western countries.¹⁶

In an in-depth analysis of contemporary flows, Graeme Hugo detailed the salient features of the “new international mobility”, as he called it. He contended that “the nature of the migration itself is changing so that the lessons of the past with respect to coping with that diversity may no longer be appropriate”.¹⁷ Here is a summarised listing of Hugo’s insights:¹⁸

1. It is occurring on an increasing scale.

There is no doubt that more people are moving between nations, to the extent that the majority of nations are either receiving or sending countries. The reasons for the increased number of people moving is explained by S. Castles.¹⁹ Not counting permanent settlers, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) confirms an increase in the number of countries hiring foreign workers to have risen from 42 in 1970 to 90 in 1990. They estimate there are around 100 million migrant workers world-wide. These figures undoubtedly underestimate the amount of movement, since data collection systems are poor and much mobility that occurs is clandestine.

2. It is involving a wider diversity of ethnic and cultural groups.

The major direction of movement is now from low-income to high-income nations. There are substantial migrations out of the world’s largest countries of China

15 Groody, Daniel G., “Crossing the Divide: Foundations of a Theology of Migration and Refugees”, op. cit., 638-40. See “Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action”, 84, www.gcim.org/attachements/gcim-complete-report-2005.pdf. See Meissner, Doris M., *International Migration Challenges in a New Era*, The Trilateral Commission, New York, 1993.

16 Paganoni, Tony, “Recognizing the dignity of ageing. Implications for Italian Elderly Migrants in Australia”, in *Studi Emigrazione*, LI, 194, (aprile-giugno 2014), 244-75.

17 Hugo, Graeme, *Migrants in Society: Diversity and Cohesion*, a Paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, 2005, p. 1.

18 Ibid., pp. 1-7.

19 “The rapid growth in inequality between the ‘advanced countries’ and ‘the rest of the world’ is often referred to as North-South inequality... Overall, therefore, globalization has led not only to a growing gulf between North and South, but also to increased inequality within each region”, in Castles, S., et.al. *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Palgrave McMillan, New York, 2006, p. 55.

and India, but virtually all low-income nations experience it to a greater or lesser extent. The much greater involvement of Asia, Africa and Latin America in global immigration is increasing the cultural diversity of migration flows.

3. The replacement of more or less permanent migration by circulation as the dominant paradigm of global migration.

It is now much more possible for people to work in one nation while keeping their “home” in another country than was ever the case previously. Moreover, the cheapening of international telephone communication and the emergence of the internet has enabled temporary migrants to maintain intimate and regular contact with their home area. This does not mean permanent settlement is insignificant. Indeed it has increased and often is associated with migrants’ maintaining strong relationships with their origin countries. However, the new reality is that more people are living and working in one country but still call another country home; many of their family members remain there and they maintain a fundamental commitment to the homeland.

4. The emergence of transnationalism and transnational communities.

Linked to the increasing degree of circularity in international movement has been the emergence of transnationalism which refers to the multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the boundaries of nation states. While such long-distance ties have a lengthy history, new technologies in transport and communication have facilitated greater speed, efficiency and intimacy in such connections and relationships. A new concept of transnational migration is emerging, however, that questions this long-held conceptualisation of immigrants, suggesting that in both the U.S. and Europe increasing numbers of migrants are best understood as “transmigrants”.

5. The increasing significance of diaspora.

As indicated above there has been increasing interest in diaspora. The term has been employed in a number of contexts, mostly with two focuses: the classical diaspora as in the Jewish case and the more contemporary form, marked by transnationalism and globalisation. In the contemporary context, with the acceleration in international mobility, the term has been used more broadly to encompass expatriate populations who are living outside their home countries. While classical diasporas have a long history, the growth of the internet and other forms of international communication has made it easier for expatriates to maintain regular contact with their homes and with other elements in the diaspora. This raises crucial issues about individual identity and where people’s primary allegiances lie. The growing significance of diaspora in the contemporary world is reflected in the statement that it is impossible to understand the sociology of many nations without consideration of their diaspora.

6. The importance of spatial dimensions and global cities.

While the unit of analysis of international population movement is usually the nation state, it is important to recognise that migrants are drawn from, and disproportionately attracted to, particular regions of those nations. Hence, the impacts of migration are concentrated in those particular areas. The changes in global migration patterns have coincided with (and are related to) the emergence of “global” or “world” cities.²⁰ It is the largest metropolitan areas in countries that are most tightly linked into the global economy which are the predominant targets of international migrants: of the highly-skilled professionals, managers and entrepreneurs, as well as of less-skilled migrants. Moreover, in these cities labour-market segmentation is occurring with the creation of many low-status, low-income and low-security service jobs which are eschewed by the native population and open up opportunities for less-skilled migrants. Hence these cities are absorbing a greater proportion of all migrants.

7. There is an increasing polarisation or bifurcation in international migration.

Another of the new dimensions of international migration has been what Castles and Miller (2003) refer to as a “bifurcation”. On the one hand, mobility of highly-skilled professionals, managers and entrepreneurs between countries has been greatly facilitated by streamlining visa application systems, etc. On the other hand, the movement of less-advantaged groups has become increasingly constrained by the erection of greater barriers to entry than was the case in the past. Hence, while the option to move may be there for many of the poor and the unskilled, they are often confronted by greater barriers than is the case for the empowered elite-skilled groups. Accordingly, many are forced into becoming irregular migrants, while others are subject to crippling transaction costs in the migration process and substantial barriers to their inclusion at their destination.

8. Social networks have proliferated and increased in significance.

It is clear that most international migrants do not move in situations of great uncertainty. Most move to places where they have family or friends, their social capital. The exponential expansion in global migration in the last two decades has seen a proliferation of these social networks linking potential migrants in low-income countries to friends or relatives in high-income countries. Social networks are a key intermediary in new migrants’ interaction with, and adjustment to, the host society as well as an essential element in the maintenance and operation of

20 Golini, Antonio and Strozza, Salvatore, “Immigration and foreign people in six Italian metropolitan areas”, in *Studi Emigrazione*, XXXV, (marzo 1998), 129, 65-87.

diaspora. Networks have important social, psychological, cultural, religious and economic functions which are rarely considered in the development of policy towards migration and migrants.

9. There is a proliferating global immigration industry.

As with networks, this industry involves complex webs linking communities of origin and those of destination but not involving family. It is the complex group of migration agents, brokers, lawyers, travel providers, officials, housing providers, document forgers, middle-men and women, remittance media, etc. who facilitate migration to, and adjustment at, the destination.²¹ They operate both within and beyond the law. But what is baffling law-makers and enforcers is the trade of human beings: it is as world-wide as migratory movements, according to the second report of the United Nations, and far more prevalent than would appear from the actual statistics gathered from national governments, according to the executive director of Unodc, Yury Dedotov.²² The people involved in this trade are too often dismissed as people smugglers, although that group is of significance. The fact is that there is a whole range of actors beyond officials and family who play crucial roles in the migration and adjustment processes.

10. There is an increasing involvement of women in migration.

Another of the abiding myths relating to migration is that it has involved mainly men and that when women move it is largely as “passive” followers of men. This has never been true and is especially not relevant in the contemporary migration scene where there is extensive and increasing involvement of women. Too much of the migration research remains gender-blind, or, even worse, relegates women to the category of “associational” migrants, even though their independent migration is clearly gathering pace. The fact that women do often move for marriage, domestic duties and jobs in entertainment or the sex industry means they are uniquely vulnerable to exploitation.

21 Even in Australia there has been an escalation of the number of migration agents recently. See the government publication: “Migration agent statistics – October/December 2012. Total number of registered migration agents as at 31 Dec. 2012.”

22 “Il volto moderno delle schiavitù” Il Secondo Rapporto ONU sulla tratta degli Esseri Umani, in *Settimana. Attualità Pastorale*, Dec. 14, 2014, 3.

The concluding remarks of G. Hugo are worth quoting:

*With all of these forces in operation and the intensification of globalisation forces strengthening interdependencies and linkages between nations, it is apparent that international migration is going to continue and increase. Moreover several of these structural features operate to a degree independently from fluctuations in economic conditions and of the policies and programmes initiated by receiving countries. Hence, it is difficult to see any realistic future scenario other than one which sees high-income nations experiencing increased ethnic and cultural heterogeneity over the early years of the twenty first century. This makes it all the more important for those countries to develop effective ways of coping with this increased diversity.*²³

Shifts and new key concepts

Because of the indisputable complexities and fast-changing scenarios of people's movements across the globe, it is evident that any discussion is equally complicated by a multiplicity of factors, such as different perspectives, opinions, prejudices, policies, religions,²⁴ etc., being put forward in an effort to manage the unsettling march of migrants which is provoking considerable stress and anxiety. The same sentiments were echoed by the former Secretary of the United Nations, Kofi Annan,

*It is time to take a more comprehensive look at the various dimensions of the migration issue which now involves hundreds of millions of people and affects countries of origin, transit and destination. We need to understand better the causes of international flows of people and their complex interrelationship with development (Kofi Annan, Report of the Secretary General, A/57/387).*²⁵

In other words, it is not only national boundaries that have become blurred and no longer clear. It is also the case in the understanding and consequent policies adopted by both sending and receiving countries, in the highly commendable attempts by

23 Hugo, Graeme, "Migrants in Society: Diversity and Cohesion". A Paper prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), Sept. 2005, p. 11.

24 See Part I: "Religious Traditions and Migrations", in *International Migration Review*, 30, (Spring 1996), 113, 7-90.

25 Cited in Blay, Sam, "Restrictive trends in migration flows: a Postcard from Australia", in *JMRI*, Vol. 2, 1, 29.

the academic world to clear away misapprehensions and unfounded fears,²⁶ and, lastly, in the highly meritorious groundwork undertaken by the ever-increasing number of NGOs, humanitarian organizations and Christian groups that, during the actual delivery of services, suffer from equivocations and surprising twists and turns in the saga of international migrations.

As Alejandro Portes remarks, after reviewing the state of the art in terms of research,

*Because of rising public interest in immigration, greater priority has been given to the field by the media, foundations, and government agencies. This is both a blessing and a curse, as the new availability of resources has also given rise to a babel of voices seeking access to them. Applied research has its functions, but it can also lead the field astray by focusing on superficial issues and bureaucratically defined problems. The pressure for 'policy relevant' results should not distract us from the painstaking development of concepts and propositions that alone can advance social science knowledge and provide a sound basis for both public understanding of immigration and policies that do not backfire on their original goal.*²⁷

Concerning the reason for putting together a grand theory of immigration, the same author goes on to state categorically that

*different areas that compose this field are so disparate that they can only be unified at a highly abstract and probably vacuous level.*²⁸

The demographic and economic demand factors for migrants are likely to remain strong in the North, but states may have to work towards a new migration order based not on a one-sided power monopoly, but on cooperation between origin and destination states and all the social groups affected. It will become crucial to reconceptualise migration not as a problem to be solved through strict control, but as a normal part of global change and development, in which decision-makers should aim to minimise potentially negative effects and to help realise the potential benefits for the migrants, as well as for the economies and the societies involved.²⁹

26 See, for example, Cesareo, Vincenzo, "Le Migrazioni, risorsa per lo sviluppo e la cooperazione", in *Studi Emigrazione*, XXXV, (marzo 1998), 129, 49-65.

27 Portes, Alejandro, "Immigration theory for a new century: Some Problems and Opportunities", in *IMR*, Vol. 31, (Winter 1997), 820.

28 *Ibid.*, 810.

29 See also the interesting article by Castles, S., "The Forces driving Global Migration", *op. cit.*, 122-40.

An important step towards fairer and more effective migration policies is a fundamental change in attitude. Trying to reconcile the many conflicting interests (national governments, employers, recruiters, travel agents, coyotes, banks, money changers and the receiving community) will not get us anywhere.

It is important to see migration not as a threat to state security, but as a result of the human insecurity that arises through global inequality.³⁰ Throughout human history, people have migrated in order to improve their livelihoods and to gain greater security. Migration is an important aspect of human development.

This idea corresponds with Amartya Sen's principle of "development as freedom".³¹ In order to make this concrete, Sen turns to the concept of human capability. As cited by Stephen Castles:

*Sen explains the ability of human beings to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance the substantive choices they have. Sen argued that average income growth – which can hide huge inequalities – should not be the focus of analysis, but rather the question of whether the real capabilities of people to control their own lives have expanded.*³²

However one may understand how it could be put into action by people moving across national and continental boundaries, the notion of development as freedom may remain, particularly on the practical level, an engaging intuition.

When one compares the factors driving international migration³³ with the forces stopping it,³⁴ fearing it and contesting the irruption of migrants and refugees into national communities, one cannot hide the sense of inequality in the effective power of the parties concerned. That is, the accumulated knowledge about potential or real migrants is enormously defective in quantity or availability. The receiving country's perspective has been given far more attention than the sending countries'

30 See Camilleri, Reno, "South-North Migration policies. Recent International achievements", in *Studi Emigrazione*, XXXIV, (giugno 1997), 126, 195-225.

31 Sen, A, *Development as Freedom*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.

32 Cited in Castles, S. et al., *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, op.cit. p. 70.

33 See the listing of "drivers", as S. Castles so aptly names them: Neo-Liberal Globalisation and Social Transformation, Inequality, State Security and Human Security, Technology, Labour Demand, Demographic Change, Politics, Law and Governance, The Social Dynamic of Migration, the "Migration Industry", in "The Forces driving Global Migration", op.cit., 122-40.

34 See Richard Cooke, "Nope, Nope, Nope. Australia and the war on refugees", in *The Monthly*, (August 2015), 19-27.

perspectives. The anthropological³⁵ aspect of the many migrants crisscrossing the globe, with their convulsive narratives, has been relegated to far fewer attempts at mapping out the real story from within. In terms of real participation in a worldwide conversation, one would be tempted to say that the real troops have not been heard at all! There are some notable, exceptions as, for example, on the border between Mexico and the United States of America.³⁶

Sad to say, globalization³⁷ contains the inherent contradiction of producing both a North-South gap, and also, at the same time, the technological and cultural means of overcoming this gap. Transnational networks in all their guises will undermine migration control, as long as it is based on a national logic and separated from mainstream policies on aid, trade, development and governance. The EU example (and it is not the only one) shows that even the most advanced supranational body has still a long way to go in overcoming this national control logic.

Does the discussion need to change?

What kind of exchange should we be engaging in? If at the level of formal and informal discussion, and also in media reports, the pros and cons of migration have not been neglected, at the more familiar, all-inclusive level which is usually reflected in a conversation between friends and acquaintances, there has certainly been less frequent mention of the topic.

Conversation is a form of interactive, spontaneous communication between two or more people. Typically it occurs in spoken communication, but some written exchanges may also be referred to as conversations. The development of conversational skills and etiquette is an important part of socialization. But ordinary rules can be broken or twisted to one's own advantage.

35 See the interesting Chapter 2: "Migrazione ed identità etnica, nazionale e culturale: una lettura antropologica", in Parolin, Gaetano, *Chiesa Postconciliare e Migrazioni. Quale teologia per la missione con i migranti*, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma, 2010, pp. 109-87.

36 See the interesting chapter by G. Campese "The Crucified People at the U.S.-Mexico border" in Groody, Daniel G. and Campese, Gioacchino, *A Promised Land, a Perilous Journey. Theological Perspectives on Migration*, Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana (US), 2008, pp. 271-99.

37 For an assessment of the positive dimensions of globalization, see Wolf, Martin, *Why Globalization Works*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2004. For an exploration of its negative dimensions, see Falk, Richard, Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park, 1999.

“Conversational narcissism” is a term used by Charles Derber. In his book,³⁸ Derber observed that “the social support system in America is relatively weak, and this leads people to compete mightily for attention. In social situations, they tend to steer the conversation away from others and toward themselves.

Conversational narcissism is the key manifestation of the dominant attention-getting psychology in America, he wrote. It occurs in informal conversations among friends, family and co-workers. The profusion of popular literature about listening and the etiquette of managing those who talk constantly about themselves suggests its pervasiveness in everyday life.

What Derber³⁹ describes as “conversational narcissism” often occurs subtly rather than overtly because it is prudent to avoid being judged an egotist.

Be this as it may, regarding the situation within the international or national movements of people, one major factor stands out very clearly: actions speak louder than words. If at the level of recognition and/or acknowledgement of migrants some gross inequalities and imbalances have occurred and are still occurring, the assessment changes considerably when one looks at the actual input made by migrants into social and cultural transformation of the host societies.

Past and recent discussions or conversations

Within the limited praxis of conversation, let us introduce the traditional difference between discussions and deliberations. In the affluent western countries, the distribution of attention has been somewhat lopsided, misguided or monopolized by both organized groupings and/or institutions. This is not a recent phenomenon by any means.

It is interesting to observe that since the time of Greek and Roman civilizations considerable discussion has been held regarding the status and role of strangers.⁴⁰ Stelio Fongaro, among others, details some of the typologies, both positive

38 Derber, Charles, *The Pursuit of Attention: Power and Ego in Everyday Life*, Oxford University Press, New York (2nd Ed.), 2000.

39 “Without attention being exchanged and distributed, there is no social life”, *ibid*.

40 There is a biblical distinction between aliens and foreigners, as Stelio Fongaro remarks: “The alien (ger) was a person who ... followed legal procedures to obtain recognized standing.” See also James Frank’s “Complementary Critiques: Two Biblical Scholars tackle the immigration debate”, p. 52 *The Review of Faith and International Affairs*, 9:1, 2011, 95-97. DOI: 10.1080/15570274.2011.543627. The link for this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2011.543627>.

and negative, most commonly used in Greece and Rome before the advent of Christianity.⁴¹ He does so by citing several ancient literary works.⁴² In ancient Greece, an attitude of openness alternated with clear signals of entrenchments within one's own privileges.⁴³ A. J. Toynbee states that Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would never have been possible without the contribution of overseas Greek communities.⁴⁴

The same alternating currents are present in the history of the Roman Empire. The status of all inhabitants of Rome was practically defined along three lines: the *ius latii* (or *latinitas*) with full rights, a lessened form of belonging and enjoyment of rights bestowed on the Italici and the inhabitants of Roman colonies, and the pilgrims who had no rights whatsoever, unless they came under the patronage of a fully-fledged Roman citizen.⁴⁵ In this regard, S. Fongaro reviews some of the most outstanding Christian thinkers, such as John Chrisostom, Thomas Aquinas, Augustine and Ambrose of Milan, before turning to the most representative writers in Italian Literature.⁴⁶

During the last century a variety of systematic policies has been put into place. Each receiving country has had its own way of regulating the settlement of newcomers.⁴⁷ A leading role in the formulation of policies has been pursued by a discrete number of countries, such as the USA, Canada and Australia, lands where permanent migrants could start their new journey towards full inclusion (citizenship). The most often-quoted, discussed and debated forms of incorporation (though not the only ones⁴⁸) have been the following:

41 Fongaro, Stelio, *Lo Straniero. Antologia della letteratura classica e italiana*, CSERPE, Basilea, 1985, pp. 11-13.

42 Ibid., pp. 41-105.

43 De Sanctis, G., *Storia dei Greci*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1942, pp. 176-79.

44 Toynbee, A.J. *Le civiltà nella storia*, Einaudi, Torino, 1950, p. 152.

45 Fongaro, S., *Lo Straniero*, op.cit., pp. 31-38.

46 Ibid., pp. 119-545.

47 The U.S. experience has been analysed by Bojas, George J., *Friends or Strangers. The Impact of Immigrants on the U.S. Economy*, Basic Books, New York, 1990, pp. 1-274 (of particular interest is Chapter 13 "Implications for Policy", pp. 218-28). A classic history of Immigration to the United States and the reception faced by immigrants in this country is given by Jones, Allen, in *American Immigration*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960. The Media's attitude about immigration is treated in Simon, Rita J., *Public Opinion and the Immigrant: Print Media coverage, 1880-1980*, Heath, Lexington, Mass.: D.C., 1985.

48 See Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu, *Limits of Citizenship. Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994. He lists four modes of incorporation: corporatist, liberal, statist and fragmented.

1. **Assimilation:** that is, the incorporation of migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation in which migrants are expected to give up distinctive linguistic, cultural and social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population. Immigrants would be expected to simply obliterate their home cultures in order to become, in the course of time, indistinguishable from the rest of the population. Even if delegitimized as a theory,⁴⁹ there is evidence, according to some authors, of a return to it.⁵⁰
2. **Integration:** This refers to a process of mutual accommodation involving immigrants and the majority population.⁵¹ Immigrants are expected to cease over time to be distinctive in culture and behaviour but there is also some adaptation on the part of the host society. Australia, Canada and the United States have adopted aspects of this approach in the period after assimilationist approaches were rejected.

In an in-depth analysis of the way integration came to be used and misused in European countries,⁵² Adrian Favell does not mince words:

What should be asked first is how and why this disparate range of state policies, laws, local initiatives and societal dispositions - which could in theory be implemented by all kinds of agencies and at all kinds of levels - comes to be thought of and described as a single nation-state's overall strategy or policy of 'integration'. But who or what is integrating whom and with what? This is by no means such an obvious question to answer: unless we simply take, as far too many social scientists still do, the state and a society as the unproblematic, unchallenged backdrops to these debates and processes. For sure, when political actors and policy intellectuals talk about 'integration', they are inevitably thinking about integration into one, single, indivisible (national) 'state', and one,

49 Rumbaut, Ruben G., "Assimilation and its discontents: Between rhetoric and reality", in *International Migration Review*, 31, (Winter 1997), 120, 923-61.

50 Brubaker, W.R., "The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and its sequels in France, Germany and the United States", in Joppke, C. and Morawska, E. (eds), *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, Palgrave MacMillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2003, pp. 39-58. And see Freeman, G.P., "Immigrant Incorporation in Western Democracies", in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2004, 945-69. See also, Alba, Richard and Nee, Victor, "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration", in *IMR*, vol. 31, 120, (Winter 1997), 826-74.

51 See also Stalker, Peter, "Integration - Assimilation and Multiculturalism", in *The Work of Strangers: a Survey of international labour migration*, ILO, Geneva, 1994, pp. 72-75.

52 See the report about Catholic migrants from Ireland, the Commonwealth, Europe and the wider world by Eade, John, "From Strangers to Neighbors", in *The Tablet*, January 31, 2015, 10.

simple, unitary (national) 'society'. But it is precisely the assumptions behind this term that we should be examining. Political language is performative: people are always trying to create the phenomenon of which they are speaking.⁵³

3. **Multiculturalism:** This was very popular in the 1980s. It recognises rights to cultural maintenance and community formation and it links these to social equality and protection from discrimination. But, as S. Castles points out,⁵⁴ multiculturalism implicitly assumed that migration would lead to permanent settlement and to the birth of second and subsequent generations who are both citizens and nationals. According to Lois Foster and David Stockley,

*Unless disparities (class and ethnicity) are examined, our understanding of the present is naïve or at best partial and we are unable to move beyond the present to even conceptualise what may lie ahead.*⁵⁵

Most migration and settlement experiences lived by migrants still fit into one of these three models and, more often than not, are a mixture of them.⁵⁶ Hence the need to offer suitable forms of counselling.⁵⁷ However, in recent times, over the last two decades or so, academics have been turning their attention to a new way of being a migrant in the world of today:⁵⁸

53 Favell, Adrian, "Integration policy and integration research in Europe: a review and critique", Report prepared for the Carnegie Endowment *Comparative Citizenship Project* (June/Nov 1999), p. 3. The essay was published in: *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, edited by Aleinikoff, T. Alexander and Klusmeyer, Doug, Washington, DC: Brookings Institute/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001, pp. 349-99.

54 Castles, Stephen, "Transnational Communities: A New Form of Social relations under Conditions of Globalization?", in Reitz, Jeffrey G. (ed.), *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants*, Centre for Comparative Immigration studies at the University of California, San Diego, 2003, p. 437.

55 Foster, Lois and Stockley, David, (eds), *Multiculturalism: The changing Australian Paradigm*, Colourways Press, Clevedon, England, 1984, pp. 130-31. See Chapter 3 ("The emergence of the concept of multiculturalism 1972-1982") and Chapter 4 ("Multiculturalism as concept and policy: dilemmas in Australia"), pp. 51-86 and 88-130.

56 Gans, Herbert J., "Toward a reconciliation of 'Assimilation' and 'Pluralism': The Interplay of acculturation and Ethnic Retention", in *IMR*, 31, (Winter 1997), 120, 875-93.

57 See the Multicultural aspects of Counselling Series edited by Pedersen, Paul and, more specifically, Locke, Don C., *Increasing Multicultural Understanding*, Sage Publications, London, 1992.

58 See the special issue "Transnational Migration: International Perspectives", in *IMR*, vol. 37, 143, (Fall 2003), 561-892.

4. **Transnationalism:**⁵⁹ partly as an offshoot of multiculturalism and partly as a consequence of improvements in communication and travel arrangements, international migrants engage in a wide variety of cultural maintenance and community identification by maintaining cross-border affiliations for a long time, thus recasting their primary loyalties across several national borders or territories. This development in migrants' incorporation is examined at some length by S. Castles.⁶⁰ Even citizenship policy is being transformed in response to transnationalism with more than a half of the world's nations now recognising dual citizenship. Some authors have coined new words, such as glo-cal (global and local) and glocalism.⁶¹ Transnationalism obviously involves people having commitments of various kinds to more than a single nation so that individuals have varying identities, commitments and affiliations with countries of origin and destination.⁶² It is like having and/or maintaining one's feet in one territory and one's mind and heart somewhere else. This is particularly applicable to the growing phenomenon of movement of labourers and professionals to multiple destinations.⁶³

59 See several illuminating articles in *IMR's* Special Issue: *Transnational Migration: International Perspectives*, 37, (Fall 2003), 143, 565-893. See also Ambrosini, Maurizio, "Transnazionalismo", in Battistella Graziano (ed.), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, SIMI e San Paolo, Cinisello Balsamo (Mi.), 2010, pp. 1065-72. M. Ambrosini likens transnazionalismo to a "cantiere aperto" (on-going building site).

60 Seven features of contemporary international flows are presented by Castles, Stephen, "Transnational Communities: A New Form of Social Relations under Conditions of Globalization?", in Reitz, Jeffrey G., *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants*, op. cit., pp. 429-45. In the same volume see also Reitz, Jeffrey G., "Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants: Research Themes, Emerging Theories, and Methodological Issues", pp. 1-21. See also the special issue of *IMR* "Transnational migration: International Perspectives", by Levitt, Peggy et al. (eds), vol. 37, 143, (Fall 2003).

61 Bassetti, Pietro and Janni, Paolo, *Italic Identity in Pluralistic Contexts. Toward the development of Intercultural Competencies*, The Council of Research in Values and Philosophy, 2004.

62 See Boncompagni, Adriano, *The World is just like a village. Globalization and Transnationalism of Italian Migrants from Tuscany in Western Australia*, European Press Academic Publishing, Fucecchio-Firenze (Italy), 2001, and Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu, *Limits of Citizenship*, op.cit.,

63 Martin, Philip, "Managing International Migration: Temporary Workers Programmes for the 21st Century", a Paper given during the International Symposium on International Migration and Development, Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations Secretariat, Turin, Italy, 28-30 June, 2006.

5. **Risk-taking:**⁶⁴ This ground-breaking category is introduced mostly on the basis of almost daily reports which are published in the media⁶⁵ or discussed by international organizations⁶⁶ such as the World Bank⁶⁷ regarding thousands of drownings in the Mediterranean (Island of Lampedusa and Southern coast of Spain,⁶⁸ notably around Gibraltar), off the northern coasts of Australia, and a sustained number of deaths on the US-Mexican borders. The areas mentioned are not the only ones witnessing fatalities of this kind. As a result of restrictions pursued by European countries and by the United States in the name of security, particularly after 9/11, new, costly measures have been adopted, viz.,

*The IMO reports that the 25 richest nations of the world spend some 25-30 billion dollars per year on the enforcement of migration controls and related administrative measures. But the cost is more tragic in human terms.*⁶⁹

64 Crawley, Heaven, "Europe's war on migrants – while we argue thousands perish in the Mediterranean", in *The Conversation*, 18 April 2015, with detailed routes that migrants follow around the Mediterranean sea. See also the informative presentation by G. Campese in his Master's thesis (*Una Chiesa Missionaria nell'era delle Migrazioni*, Pontificia Università Urbaniana, Roma, 2014, pp. 66-73) where he writes about migrants being seen at the forefront of risk-taking.

65 See, for example Altman, Alex "The Other Border. Undocumented immigrants are dying in large numbers as they try to evade road checkpoints in Texas counties north of the U.S. – Mexico Border", in *Time*, vol. 185, no.21, 2015, 28-35; Beech/Aceh, Hannah, "The nowhere people. Thousands of migrants have fled oppression in Burma only to meet death on the seas – or face an uncertain future in refugee camps", in *Time*, vol. 185, no. 22, 2015, 18-22.

66 SIMN (Scalabrini International Migration Network) was present at the United Nations, attending an event organized by the IOM New York, January 16, 2015. On the morning of Thursday, January 15, 2015, at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York, a meeting was convened by the International Organization for Migration [IOM] entitled "Migrants in Crisis". This is a critical issue at a time when the frequency and scale of conflicts and natural disasters is expanding and is increasingly affecting migrant populations living or passing through an affected country. The event was attended by representatives of UN agencies, as well as governments and civilian citizens working to address the phenomenon of human mobility. See @simn E-Newsletter Scalabrini International Migration Network February 25, 2015.

67 World Development Report. *Risk and opportunity. Managing risk for Development*. The World Bank, Washington, DC, 2013.

68 See United Nations, Economic and Social Council, E/CN.4/2002/NGO/45.

69 Blay, Sam, "Restrictive Trends in Migration Flows", op. cit., 33-34.

These tragic events are by no means new.⁷⁰ What is new is their frightening escalation in frequency, intensity and demographic composition⁷¹ and their geographical scattering.

Amidst the plethora of competing voices and opinions filling the public arena with discussions, debates, governments' policies and interventions, NGOs' advocacy programs,⁷² civil and religious leaders' statements, the migrants' voices and stories don't seem to be able to find their public space.⁷³ All that is happening in most cases is that somebody else other than the interested parties is being heard: the whistle of disgust, outcry, complacency or approval is almost always in the hands of non-participants and/or concerned observers.

70 See "L'amara Favola delle Migrazioni (Sorry Tale of Migrations): Mattmark, Marcinelle, Monongah". A symposium held on the occasion of the launch of *Studi Emigrazione* 196, Centro Studi Emigrazione, Rome, 13.2.2015.

71 See the frequent reports of the sizeable number of unaccompanied minors attempting to cross the US-Mexican border.

72 See for example Scalabrini Migration Center, *Directory of NGOs for Migrants in Asia*, Scalabrini Migration Center, Quezon City (Phil.), 1994.

73 See footnotes 12 and 13 in Snyder, Susanna, *Asylum-seeking, Migration and Church. Explorations in Practical, Pastoral and Empirical Theology*, Ashgate, Surrey (Eng.), 2012, p. 25.

IMPACT ON BOTH SENDING AND RECEIVING COUNTRIES

Remittances⁷⁴

Barriers and restrictions feature prominently in many affluent nations, and regional and national responses differ considerably in the formulation of their political strategies.⁷⁵ Yet the fact remains that millions of people leave their homeland and make their way into new societies, by either legal or illegal means.

One of the most quantifiable aspects of benefits derived from international flows of migrants and workers is the remittance flowing to families living in the country of origin.⁷⁶ Remittances are playing an increasingly large role in the economies of many countries, contributing to economic growth and to the livelihood of less prosperous people (though generally not to the poorest of the poor). Undoubtedly, it is an economic betterment sustained by international migrants, occurring from the baseline upwards and representing several times the amount of official developmental assistance.⁷⁷ Are migrant remittances increasingly replacing the role of foreign aid?⁷⁸

Not all remittances originate from wealthy countries. According to recent estimates, South-South remittances represent 10 to 29 percent of total remittances received in developing countries. According to World Bank estimates, remittances totalled US\$ 414 billion in 2009, of which US\$ 316 billion went to developing countries that involved

74 See the informative presentation "Rimesse" by Marco Zupi, in Battistella, Graziano (a cura di), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op.cit., pp. 908-19. See also the increased interest by the World Bank: *Report on the Remittance Agenda of the G20* - http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTFINANCIALSECTOR/Resources/282884-1400093105293/GPFI_Remittances_Report_Final072014.pdf.

75 See several chapters in Massey, Douglas S., *Worlds in motion. Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millenium*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998.

76 See Stalker, Peter, *The Work of Strangers*, op. cit., pp. 122-28.

77 Castles, S. et al., *The Age of Migration. International Population movements in the Modern World*, op. cit., p. 75.

78 Bohning, W. R. and Schloeter-Paredes, M.L., *Aid in place of Migration*, ILO, Geneva, 1994.

192 million migrant workers. For some individual recipient countries, remittances can be as high as a third of their GDP.⁷⁹ The world Bank notes that, during the Global Financial Crisis, remittance flows “have remained more resilient compared with private debt and equity flows and foreign direct investment”.⁸⁰

Top recipient countries of remittances (in billions of US Dollars)⁸¹

Country	Remittances 2009	Remittances 2010	Remittances 2011	Remittances 2012	Remittances 2013
 India	49.20	53.48	62.50	68.82	69.97
 China	41.60	52.46	61.58	57.99	59.49
 Philippines	19.96	21.56	23.05	24.61	26.70
 France	16.06	19.46	22.56	22.05	23.34
 Mexico	22.08	22.08	23.59	23.37	23.02
 Nigeria	18.37	19.82	20.62	20.63	20.89
 Egypt	7.15	12.45	14.32	19.24	17.83
 Germany	12.34	12.79	14.52	15.14	15.20
 Pakistan	8.72	9.69	12.26	14.01	14.63
 Bangladesh	10.74	11.28	12.96	14.24	13.86
 Belgium	10.44	10.29	10.98	10.16	11.11
 Vietnam	6.02	8.26	8.60	10.00	11.00
 Ukraine	5.94	6.54	7.82	8.45	9.67
 Spain	8.95	9.10	9.92	9.66	9.58
 Indonesia	6.79	6.92	6.92	7.21	7.62

Note: These are the 15 largest recipient countries of remittances only for the year 2013. World Bank data is used for all countries and years.

As a share of GDP, the top recipients of remittances in 2013 were Timor-Leste (216.6%), Tajikistan (42.1%), Kyrgyzstan (31.5%), Nepal (28.8%), Moldova (24.9%), Lesotho (24.4%), Samoa (23.8%), Haiti (21.1%), Armenia (21.0%), Gambia (19.8%), Liberia (18.5%), Lebanon (17.0%), Honduras (16.9%), El Salvador (16.4%), Kosovo (16.1%), and Jamaica (15.0%).

⁷⁹ “The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that in 2009, recorded remittances were nearly three times the amount of official aid and almost as large as direct foreign investment flows to developing countries”. In Swing, Lacy William, *The Director General’s Report to the Council*, IOM, Geneva, 2010, p. 3.

⁸⁰ The World Bank, *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011 (2nd Ed.)*, Washington, DC 20433, p. 17.

⁸¹ Annual Remittances Data, updated as of October 2014, inflows (current US\$). World Bank

It would be a little difficult to compute the added remittances in “kind”, evidently underrated,⁸² as well as the transfer of tangible, but unquantifiable, technical know-how, accumulated during the migrants’ overseas experience. The magnitude of remittances and their contribution to economic and social development was already noticed several decades ago.⁸³ Their volume has grown exponentially since then. The same growth has been recorded over the last decade in Australia.⁸⁴ It has spurred increased relations between interested countries, without necessarily striking a healthy balance of power:

International migration often takes place in bilateral relationships characterised by domination and subordination, with origin countries occupying the latter role...Moreover, origin country governments sometimes collude with the governments of receiving states in maintenance of the status quo unfavourable to, if not oppressive of, migrants. The acquiescence of origin country governments is linked to views that emigration (of workers) is a safety valve that relieves unemployment, generates remittances that may promote development and, hence, decrease political tensions.⁸⁵

Remittances have also had a stimulating effect on the size of the international workforce moving to foreign destinations.⁸⁶

82 “The proportion of income brought home in kind varies greatly from one country to another. Remittances in kind have been reported at up to 10% of remittances in Yemen, 17% in Pakistan, and 24% among the Caribbean cane-cutters returning to Florida. A survey of 600 Filipino overseas workers, for example, showed that only 40% of transfers came through formal banking channels, with the rest brought during home visits (15%), money couriers (22%) and 23% in kind.”

83 See Fred Arnold’s, “The Contribution of Remittances to Economic and Social Development”, in Kritz, Mary M. et al., *International Migration Systems*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, Chapter 12, pp. 205-20.

84 Davis, Kevin and Jenkinson, Martin, Australian Centre for Financial Studies, *Remittances: their Role, Trends and Australian Opportunities*, 2012, p. 18.

85 See Castles, S., et al., *The Age of Migration. International Population movements in the Modern World*, op.cit., 2014, p. 298.

86 For specific country reports on the impact of remittances, please see bibliography sources in Arnold, Fred, “The Contribution of Remittances to Economic and Social Development”, op. cit., pp. 217-20.

Development in either the sending or receiving country is not automatically linked to migration, but in some situations the short-term impacts of labour migration on sending countries have been considerable.⁸⁷ Rather, as S. Castles argues, migration savings and remittances can reinforce already existing developmental trends, but it cannot by itself remove obstacles to structural development such as corruption, nepotism, or failing institutions. If development in countries of origin takes a positive turn and if countries of destination create legal channels for migration and integration policies that favour socio-economic mobility of migrants, thus avoiding their marginalization, then migrants' remittances can add impetus to socio-economic improvement. As S. Castles reiterates,

*As much as conditions in origin societies will affect migrants' decisions to stay or return, conditions in receiving countries will affect migrants' capabilities and aspirations to engage with or return to origin societies.*⁸⁸

In a concise summation of both theoretical and practical analyses of whether, how and when migrant flows could be linked to development, Andrea Stocchiero concludes that,

*An effective governance of migration for development 'here and there' ought to rethink one's own paradigms of ad hoc policies and consequential actions, flowing from the acknowledgement and recognition of the role of migrant workers and the prevailing conditions under which they operate.*⁸⁹

The enormity of money transfers can account for the rise of commercialisation of migration, particularly seen in the level of recruitment fees charged to departing workers. Both the over-bureaucratisation and commercialisation of migrant flows have been seen as responsible for

Gradual reduction of the potential gains from labor migration. Commercial recruiters tend to charge fees which the market will bear while complex

87 See Appleyard, Reginald T., "Migration and development: Myths and Reality", in *International Migration Review*, 23, (Fall 1989), 87, 486-500. See also Keely, Charles B. and Tran, Bao Nga, "Remittances from Labor Migration: Evaluations, Performance and Implications", in *IMR*, 23, (Fall 1989), 87, 500-26.

88 Castles, S. et al., *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World* (5th ed.), 2014, p. 82. See also Yang, D., "Migrant Remittances", in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 25, 3, 129-51, and the resourceful Web Anthology on Migrants' Remittances and Development (www.ssrc.org/programs/web-anthology).

89 Stocchiero, Andrea, "Sviluppo e Migrazioni", in Battistella, Graziano (a cura di), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op. cit., p. 1014.

*regulations of governments, often requiring excessive documentation, merely raise the costs of emigration to the worker.*⁹⁰

Benefits from migrants' earnings

It would be grossly optimistic if we were to attribute an overall positive result arising from migrants' employment: a 'win-win-win' outcome such as a win for migrants through earning higher wages abroad, a win for receiving countries through additional workers who expand employment and economic output, and for the sending countries via greater remittances and the return of workers who have gained skills abroad. Whereas the remittances in cash and kind record a very positive growth, the same could not be said for an important issue, such as migrants' rights.

The development and selective acceptance and implementation of international instruments (ILO and UN in particular) regarding the rights of migrants has had a tortuous history. For example, the International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICMR), adopted by the General Assembly of the UN in 1990, sets out a very broad set of rights for migrants, including those living and/or working abroad illegally. The ICMR has become a cornerstone of the "rights-based approach" to migration advocated by many international and national organizations concerned with the protection of migrants. The essential elements of a rights-based approach include the observance of international human rights norms, including equality and non-discrimination, standard setting and accountability, the recognition of migrants as subjects and holders of rights, the participation of communities and the integration of a gender, ethnic and child's rights perspective.

Could the following equation be accurate: that with more skilled migrants (professional, sporting and actors/actresses), there is greater adherence to rights, whereas for migrants with fewer or no skills, there is lesser observance of rights?⁹¹ In actual fact, countries and employers seeking to attract skilled workers are likely to grant them not only high wages but also substantial rights, generating a positive relationship between the number of highly-skilled migrants and their rights.

90 Abella, I. Manolo, "Contemporary Labour Migration from Asia: Policies and Perspectives of Sending Countries", in Mary M. Kritz et al., *International Migration Systems*, op. cit., pp. 276-77.

91 See the interesting chapter "Labor market segments and Earnings Disparities", in Reitz, Jeffrey G., *Warmth of the Welcome. The Social Causes of Economic Success for Immigrants in Different Nations and Cities*, Westview Press, Colorado, 1998, pp. 149-204.

In contrast, the demand for low-skilled migrant workers is likely to be coupled with a lesser regard for their rights. There is an almost unlimited supply of migrants to high-income countries willing to accept low-skilled jobs with wages and employment conditions significantly lower than those mandated by local laws and international norms. Migrants, whose frame of reference is the labour market in their countries of origin, may not attract equal treatment in the labour markets of high-income countries.

From the employer's point of view, more employment rights for workers generally means increased labour costs, generating a numbers-rights trade-off. This trade-off rests entirely on the judgment of employers and may impact negatively on the workers, and it can be expected to hold in any competitive labour market.

In comparing incomes of immigrants, Ivan Light⁹² in his review of J.G. Reitz's volume compares it with the views expressed by Sassen Saskia. He also makes some relevant remarks about the plight of seasonal workers in California,

Immigrant garment workers and itinerant harvest hands in the Golden State receive no medical benefits. Unfortunately, their wages are inadequate to buy their own medical care in the open market. As a result, these full-time workers are medically indigent. When low-paid immigrant workers become sick, they turn to public emergency rooms for free care. Then the government complains that immigrants are paying less into the state taxes than they are taking out in free medical care, and urges reduction in their public welfare access. In this system, the losers are the taxpayers; the victims are the immigrant workers; the beneficiaries are the employers of low-wage immigrants. The immigrants are victims because their full-time labour does not produce a subsistence wage. The employers are beneficiaries because they pay less than a living wage to their immigrant employees. The taxpayers are the losers because they subsidise the employers' wages bill.⁹³

92 See I. Light's review of Jeffrey G. Reitz's *Warmth of the Welcome*, in the *Journal of Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 28, no. 4 (July 1999), 382-84.

93 *Ibid.*, 384.

TRANSFORMATIONS

Even if less quantifiable when compared to earnings, savings and remittances, the impact of migrants on both sending⁹⁴ and receiving societies, or on multiple societies when circular migratory movements occur, is much more far-reaching and lasting, and somehow unpredictable, for both the newcomers and the citizens of any given country.⁹⁵

Migration is a mixed blessing. Both for receiving societies and sending communities. There is a need to avoid identifying western or northern countries as receivers of migrants, and developing southern countries as senders of them. In reality, many countries both receive and send significant numbers of migrants abroad.

In the countries of origin, especially at the household level, financial investments are made to migrate, while high hopes for a multiplier effect are entertained. But these may turn out to be short-lived, particularly in the case of the unskilled and refugees.

The transformation occurring in origin societies focuses initially on aspirations⁹⁶ within the household or barrio level.⁹⁷ If met with regular remittances, these tend to generate the necessary proof that working and living abroad is indeed very rewarding and offers further enticement “to opt in” for neighbours and relatives. In the course of time, after having met emergencies at the household level, remittances may spark off micro-level projects of development. Generally, for the migrant worker, the place of origin remains a constant source in terms of social and cultural connections.⁹⁸

94 Gunatilleke, Godfrey, *The Impact of Labour Migration on Households. A Comparative Study in seven Asian Countries*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo, 1992.

95 See Chapter 7, “The Economic performance of Migrants”, in Stark, Oded, *The Migration of Labor*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1991, pp. 369-96.

96 See the case of Filipino Seafarers in Morales, Valentin Mendoza, *The Social Imaginaries of Filipino Seafarers: Exploring the Undertows and Their Creative Potentials*, (Thesis), Department of Sociology College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, 2015.

97 The present author noticed, while working in the Philippines (1982-1991), that the responsibility for providing financial backing to offset migration expenses was, in some cases, undertaken by a whole village, and not only by the family or extended family. See also Chapter 2: “Why people move”, in Stalker, Peter, *The Work of Strangers*, op.cit., pp. 21-41, and the Chapter “Cohesive and connected communities create resilience”, in World Development Report, *Risk and Opportunity Managing Risk for Development*, The World Bank, Washington, DC, 2013, pp. 139-62.

98 Morone, Tommaso, “Il ritorno simbolico: il luogo d’origine come punto d’orientamento sociale e culturale”, in *Studi Emigrazione*, XXXV, (giugno 1998), 130, 317-23.

Despite significant benefits for individuals and communities, migration savings alone cannot, however, remove structural development obstacles. Usually remittances do not automatically alleviate poverty, though this depends on who migrates. As migration is a selective process, most international remittances flow neither to the poorest members of communities nor to the poorest countries, according to S. Castles.⁹⁹ At the national level, the inflow of remittances may provide a reliable source of foreign currency, more than other capital flows to developing countries.

In receiving societies, migrants are most often met with ambiguity.¹⁰⁰ Demographers and economists speak about “two-thirds of society”, in which the top two strata are affluent and the bottom third is poor, and this latter is often marked by ghettoization of the disadvantaged and the rise of racism. The difference may be summed up in terms of inclusion and exclusion. The included are all those who fit into the self-image of a prosperous democratic society. The excluded are those who live in the shadows: these are the people needed to do the menial jobs in industry and the services and who do not fit into the majority model. This latter group includes nationals and immigrants, with the excluded being made up mostly of immigrants. Nowhere is this more evident than in some of the mega cities, such as, for example, New York, Los Angeles, Paris, London and Sydney. In the same cities, the deprivations experienced by the immigrants’ second generation may partially explain frequent cases of social unrest.¹⁰¹

Studies abound on the implications of this for receiving societies. According to Portes, however, the impacts on origin countries are even more profound.¹⁰² It may suffice to say that for receiving societies, the issues most widely discussed are the formation of ethnic communities, or ethnic ghettos or enclaves; hence the current debates on ethnicity, race and racism, gender, culture and identity, state and nation.¹⁰³

99 S. Castles, et al., *The Age of Migration*. op. cit., p. 75.

100 “Emigrants make considerable sacrifices to travel in search of work, but when they arrive they have yet more obstacles to overcome. They face multiple forms of discrimination: in the work they do, the wages they earn, their chances of promotion, and their risk of unemployment”. See P. Stalker, *The Work of Strangers*: op. cit., p. 95.

101 See the special issue of *IMR*: “The future of the Second Generation: the Integration of Migrant Youth in six European countries” by Crul, Mauryce and Vermeulen, Hans (eds), vol. 37, 144, (Winter 2003).

102 Portes, A., “Migration and Social Change: some conceptual reflections”, in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36:10, 1537-63.

103 Given the extensive bibliography, it is suggested that references be consulted in listed bibliographies in publications such as S. Castles (2014), Jeffrey G. Reitz (1998 and 2003), Mary M. Kritz et al., (1983); and also several issues of the *International Migration Review*: 87, 105, 120, 143; *Studi Emigrazione* 178, 143, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130 and *Quaderni SIMI*, issues 1-8.

After overcoming bureaucratic pitfalls in the country of origin, the departing migrant labourer's level of expectation may then receive severe setbacks on reaching the destination. Jeffrey G. Reitz details and discusses at some length four institutional areas affecting the terms of Immigrant Entry: the skill selectivity of immigration policy, Education and the Accumulation of credentials by the native born, labour market segments and earning disparities, and the welfare state.¹⁰⁴

Three major hurdles face the immigrant, once landed in a destination country whether or not of his or her choice, particularly if the immigrant is unskilled or sans papiers: these are the migration policies of the adopted country, the settlement and integration processes as organised by institutional authorities, and the social apparatus of services offered by socially-minded institutions.

Economic Development only?

Behind the workings of these three agencies, and the migrant's expectations, looms the idea of **development**, pursued by all these in different ways, for different communities and with divergent sets of goals and expectations. However, the quest for freedom and development may also be hampered by circumstances where the complete deprivation of freedom, the ugly face of under-development, may take the upper-hand. Ironically so, because these are the situations where basic human rights – civil, political, social and economic – are not being protected by their own political community and no other community may be willing to offer asylum. If the duty of protection is not provided by national communities, then it moves on to be the duty of the international community.¹⁰⁵

In all this movement of migrants across borders and of initial casual acquaintance with and by local authorities, there remains a high degree of unpredictability. This is to be found, first and foremost, in the psychic, intentional domain and drive of the migrant person. Religious motivations and practices play a significant role in the mobilisation of inner resources.¹⁰⁶ According to Daniel G. Groody,

Defining the migrant and refugee first and foremost in terms of imago Dei roots such persons in the world very differently than if they are principally defined as social and political problems or as illegal aliens; the theological terms include a

104 Reitz, Jeffrey G., *Warmth of the Welcome*. op. cit., pp. 69-223.

105 Hollenbach, David (ed.), *Driven from Home. Protecting the Right of Forced Migrants*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, 2010.

106 Levitt, Peggy, "You know, Abraham was really the first immigrant: Religion and Transnational Migration", in *IMR*, Vol. 37, 3, (Fall 2003), 847-73.

*set of moral demands as well. Without adequate consideration of the humanity of the migrant, it is impossible to construct just policies ordered to the common good and to the benefit of society's weakest members. The fact that in our current global economy it is easier for a coffee bean to cross borders than those who cultivate it raises serious questions about how our economy is structured and ordered.*¹⁰⁷

Unfortunately, this remains an understudied and under-reported aspect of the migration experience. The migrant's level of determination will greatly bear upon the ultimate results for both origin and receiving country.

There is no country in the world with a system of completely open borders, of come and go as you wish.¹⁰⁸ Even at the time of the great colonisations of people moving mostly from Europe to the Americas,¹⁰⁹ regulations were not unknown. Today, even in the best of circumstances, such as they exist in Australia, Canada and the U.S., safety nets or stratification systems are very much the order of the day.

These reflect a lopsided view of the undercurrents, which, according to Sen,¹¹⁰ support the primordial quest for freedom as people crisscross our globe in ever-increasing numbers. That is, a greater ability to choose, with the ensuing level of order and disorder.¹¹¹ See, for instance, the existence of obstacles, both on the home front and in the countries of destination: for example, discriminatory practices based on the cultural difference of newcomers from the dominant group and on the industrial function migrants are expected to take on in expanding economies. The ambivalence of protecting national institutions and cultural integrity on the one hand and of maximising labour supply on the other is responsible for confining migrants to their economic role by not facilitating their access to citizenship. Alluding to the US experience in resettling migrants, S. Tomasi states:

107 Groody, Daniel G., "Crossing the Divide: Foundation of a theology of migration and refugees", in *Theological Studies*, 70, 2009, 638-67. See the analysis by Jacqueline Hagan and Helen Rose Ebaugh that draws upon the experience of migratory and religious history of a Transnational Maya group in both Guatemala and Houston, in "Calling upon the sacred: Migrants' use of Religion in the Migration Process", in *IMR*, vol. 37, 4, (Winter 2003), 1145-162.

108 See Chapter 9: "Defending the Borders", in P. Stalker, *The Work of Strangers*, op. cit., pp. 137-55.

109 Stearns, Peter N., *Cultures in Motion. Mapping key contacts and their Imprints in World History*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2001, pp. 56-62.

110 See the interesting chapter, "No easy road to Freedom: engendering and enculturating Forced Migration", in Hollenbach, David, *Driven from Home*, op. cit., pp. 71-97.

111 See *IMR* special Issue: "Ethics, Migration, and Global Stewardship", vol. 30, 113, (Spring 1996).

*If the core periphery model in the movement of manpower is utilised, it appears that the farther away the periphery is in terms of skills and culture, the easier the control of the migrants at the core and the more difficult their access to participation in the socio-political life...*¹¹²

Along with physical barriers, these safety nets, as they are called in receiving countries, may partly explain why a considerable number of refugees is being housed in Third World countries at the moment. More discussion is needed to avoid overly technical interpretation of the legal distinction between so-called refugees and economic migrants. Reference is here made to the well-known international legal yardstick for refugees defined by the UN Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.¹¹³

Human Desire¹¹⁴

And while the pursuit of development is the driving element behind both origin and receiving countries and their institutional entities governing the flows in and out, long before departure and long after the arrival of international migrants there lies behind both migrants and natives, hidden but real, the word **desire**. It is the combination of dreams, expectations and hopes entertained by migrants yesterday and today.¹¹⁵ According to a recent Gallup poll finding,

Every day, migrants leave their homelands behind for new lives in other countries. Reflecting this desire, rather than the reality of the numbers that actually migrate, Gallup finds about 15% of the world's adults would like to move to another

112 Tomasi, S., "Socio-political participation of Migrants in the Receiving Countries", in Kritz, Mary M. et al., (eds), *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements*, Centre for Migration Studies (CMS), New York, 1983, p. 321.

113 See also O'Neill, R. William and Spohn, William C., "Rights of Passage: the Ethics of Immigration and Refugee Policy", in *Theological Studies*, 59, 1, 1998, 85.

114 See Schroeder, Tim, "Desire", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), forthcoming URL <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2015/entries/desire>.

115 Hoerder, Dirk and Rossler, Horst (eds), *Distant Magnets. Expectations and realities in the Immigrant Experience, 1840-1930*, Holmes and Meier, New York, 1993.

*country permanently if they had the chance. This translates to roughly 700 million worldwide -- more than the entire adult population of North and South America combined.*¹¹⁶

If our world is full of desires,¹¹⁷ it is equally loaded with their curtailment: developed countries need workers, both the highly-skilled and IT specialists, but also the lower-skilled, who will harvest fruit and vegetables, do cleaning jobs and look after the elderly. But these (low-skilled migrants and refugees¹¹⁸) are perceived as a problem, even a threat. That's why policy-making bodies will aim at controlling their movements to maximise the benefits and keep the wheels of essential services turning. Yet, in the formulation and implementation of such deterrent and restrictive policies, national governments face powerful transnational forces and domestic interests.

After admitting that the elusive and slippery concept of desire has hardly been mentioned, Roxanne Lynn Doty goes on to explain

*This is unfortunate because I think it underlies so many practices that aim to create order, to banish ambiguity, to create stability and fixedness, statecraft being exemplary among these practices. This silence, this unconscious censoring of desire, takes on the importance of a scream that echoes throughout the many diverse sites where statecraft does its work; from the journals of academia to the offices of government leaders to the streets of major cities and small rural villages to the many border crossing areas in our globalised world.*¹¹⁹

Most of the news-making events on the international level (such as terrorism, the drug trade, the global transmission of infectious diseases, movements of goods, capital and services...) evoke desire for a foundation that does not fall apart.

116 Esipova, Neli and Ray, Julie, "Nearly 700 Million Worldwide Desire to Migrate Permanently. U.S. tops desired destination countries". A more detailed discussion by the same authors with detailed regional differences regarding preferred destination countries is found in "The World's Potential Migrants: Who They Are, Where They Want to Go, and Why It Matters", Gallup Poll, 2010-2011 (www.gallup.com).

117 Cai, Ruohong et al., "International Migration Desires related to subjective well-being", in *IZA Journal of Migration*, 2014, 3, 8, 2-20. See also Sopranzetti, Claudio, "Burning red desires: Asian migrants and the politics of desire in contemporary Thailand", in *South East Asia Research*, 20, 3, 2012, 361-79.

118 Castles, S., et al., see Chapter 10: "Migrants and minorities in the Labour Force", in *The Age of Migration*, op.cit., pp. 221-45.

119 Doty, Roxanne Lynn, *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies. Statecraft, desire and the politics of exclusion*, Routledge, New York, 2003, p. 2.

Needless to say, people are very different from money, cigarettes or automobiles and the consequences of their movements have more profound effects on societies.

However, the real benefits that have been observed are overshadowed by fears evinced by the local population of an underlying risk factor ("our walls are made of plastic").

*They're not ignorant of the range of intellectual, artistic, culinary¹²⁰ and commercial influences that have enriched their countries, particularly their cities. But for the most part they can't get over the fear that immigrants dilute their local and national cultures.*¹²¹

This fear is sustaining a concept of the state which, in the world of increased globalization, with its negative undercurrents,¹²² as mentioned before, runs the risk of becoming irrelevant. That is, the state becomes a never-to-be-fully realized ideal, promising an identity beyond ambivalence, a foundation that holds, a ground that will not give way beneath one's feet, instead of grounds always in flux and never quite fixed.¹²³ September 11 may have exacerbated these fears, but these fears were already present in all western societies. In both government and societal structures, practices reflecting statecraft have been implicated in a contemporary form of racism. That's why, in her concluding remarks, Roxanne Lynn Doty says:

*I have offered an understanding of the state as a desire for order, a desire to overcome ambiguity and uncertainty. Such an understanding moves radically away from conceptualizations that reify 'the state' as a completed accomplishment, a concrete entity, a closed totality...The state as the movement of desire adds a dynamic element to our understanding and expands the idea of statecraft to encompass all of the social realm.*¹²⁴

No matter how different or misconstrued, desire is under the skin of all people, of both optimists and pessimists. Could it be the most shared basis for a conversation aimed at understanding and sorting out one another's views and options?

120 Curry, for example, is now the British national dish. See footnote 15 in Snyder, Susanna, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church*. op. cit., p. 92.

121 Shehnaz, Suterwalla et al., "Immigration and Reality – Europe has a choice: Abandon zero Immigration or let its labor market suffer" in *Newsweek*, Jan. 28, 2001.

122 See "Dangers and Differences in a globalizing World", in Doty, Roxanne Lynn, *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies*, op. cit., pp.18-32.

123 See "Conclusion: Migration in the Twenty-first Century", in Castles, S., op. cit., pp. 317-32.

124 Doty, Roxanne L., *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies*, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

Conclusion

In the contemporary arena of international migration flows, a considerable shift has occurred in many societies, and it is still occurring in both roles and identities. It seems as if action in the theatre of international relations is the result of observable and quantifiable realities as well as of unpredictable, ever-changing and invisible motivations and stimuli which, by their very nature, remain latent. This is the reason why the dialogues across the various sectors of society must not only continue but improve, and involve migrants' and refugees' groupings much more effectively. In their quest for global development, it would be worth keeping in mind S. Castles' words that:

*Most minorities are formed by a combination of other-definition and self-definition. Other-definition refers to various forms of exclusion and discrimination (or racism). Self-definition has a dual character. It included assertion and recreation of ethnic identity, centred upon pre-migration cultural symbols and practices. It also included political mobilization against exclusion and discrimination, using cultural symbols and practices in an instrumental way.*¹²⁵

The biggest challenge in the understanding and governance of contemporary migration flows has a twofold aspect; first, the inner, intangible reality that we have briefly touched upon in discussing desire, and, secondly, spurred by the globalization of information available to the most distant corners of the world, the movement of people in ways that are more constant, fluid and massive than ever before.¹²⁶ The result has been a gigantic metamorphosis in the demography of some nations.¹²⁷

Under both aspects, a revolutionary transformation is bound to occur: the migrant person should take centre stage, in his/her struggle to come to terms with his/her aspirations, as well as with "the other" fears and anxieties, as seen from a migrant

125 Castles, S., *The Age of Migration*, (4th ed.), p. 48.

126 Viccars, Che, "Temporary Employment in Australia", in *International Migration*, XXXI, 2/3, 1993, 285-300.

127 Mercatornet.com, on Tuesday March 10, 2015, published the report entitled "U.S. Population in 2060". It is a report released by the US Census Bureau providing some in-depth analysis of the US population and its predicted changes through to 2060. Some of its highlights include the following: - The US population is expected to grow more slowly in the coming decades, when compared to the previous century; the US is becoming less white. By 2020 more than half of the nation's children will be part of a minority ethnic group. By 2060 only 36% of children under the age of 18 will be white compared with the current 52%. Over half (56%) of the nation's population as a whole will be made up of minorities in 2060, up to 38% today.

perspective. This move runs counter to an established pattern: the category “the other”, whatever he/she or they might be, has been almost exclusively referred to the newcomers, alerting advanced societies to mark their territory, to “exteriorise their interior”, in order to determine who belongs and who doesn’t. In the process, there have been obvious contradictions occurring. Marianne Constable notes,

*...how the illegality of immigrants identifies their status as persons to be one of exclusion from the political sphere of rights, whereas illegality when referring to citizens or legal residents refers to specific acts and not the person... However, there is often a slippage between the categories of illegal immigrant and legal immigrant. Both get constructed as ‘other’ to those who naturally belong and become associated with a host of dangers and disorders.*¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND MIGRATION

A mixed balance sheet

The official Directory of the Catholic Church¹²⁹ lists all services and places of worship, with detailed statistics about the number of the faithful, its Priests, Bishops and Cardinals, and it shows its outreach throughout the world. Some countries and continents are better served than others, but the missionary nature of the Church has guaranteed that, even in the most isolated places of the world, the Church is present.

In the course of Church history, discussions¹³⁰ about pilgrim people, foreigners and strangers have given rise to a multiplicity of statements and decrees, some more important than others,¹³¹ usually issued by Church authorities and at times overlooked by its subordinates. My perception is that the Catholic Church, of all Christian denominations and world religions, has been the most vocal and outspoken about migration issues and migrants'

129 Secretary of State, *Annuario Pontificio 2010*. Vatican City: Vatican Publishing House.

130 See the special issue of *Quaderni SIMI* "Chiesa e Migrazioni", Urbaniana University Press, Roma, 2005, 5-236, which examines several aspects of the Church's guidelines and thinking. See also Parolin, Gaetano, "Chiesa e Mobilità Umana", in Battistella, Graziano (a cura di), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op. cit., pp. 127-34.

131 De Paolis, Velasio, "Aspetti Canonici del magistero della S. Sede sulla mobilità umana", in Pontificia Commissione per la Pastorale delle Migrazioni e del Turismo, *Chiesa e Mobilità Umana. Documenti della Santa Sede dal 1883 al 1983*, a cura di Tassello, Graziano e Favero, Luigi, 1985, pp. XXXI-XLIX. See also Tassello, Graziano et al. (eds), "Filosofia e Teologia in contesto migratorio. Un aggiornamento bibliografico", in *Studi Emigrazione*, XXXVIII, (settembre 2001), 143, 655-740, and *Scienze teologiche e mobilità umana. Excursus Bibliografico (1980-1997)*, 128 (dicembre 1997).

hardships, both physical and moral.¹³² This is not to say that other Christian denominations and/or religions have been silent or unconcerned.¹³³ Far from it.

However, despite the endorsement one could give concerning the number of statements from the Catholic Church on this topic, and its outspokenness on migration issues, the same endorsement could not be given about the effectiveness of these statements in bringing about the necessary solutions to either institutionalised or personal anti-migrant/immigrant sentiments or the tragic conditions experienced by people on the move. While commendable efforts towards advocacy and concrete programs have been made by the Church community, much more remains to be done.¹³⁴

Some of the most common features of international migration flows have been identified above, one of these being their almost unpredictable movements and paths, notwithstanding the increased control of frontiers and territories by legitimate authorities. The inclusion of "risk" as a significant category also draws attention to the fact that persons, groups or institutions within the Catholic Church who stand by the migrants become themselves, by necessity, part of that risk. For people assisting contemporary migrants, particularly around national frontiers, the risks on the ground have multiplied.

Recently another lacuna or serious omission has been acknowledged. Possibly delayed by the Church's realization that it had a role to support a fairly solid network of pastoral care agencies set up in most countries, some theologians, alert to the incessant, erratic nature of today's migratory flows, and to the discussions in academic circles which were attempting to find systematic ways of dealing with the problem, began to suggest that the official branches of theology should take a closer view.

132 See for example Baggio, Fabio and Pettenà, Maurizio (eds), *Caring for Migrants. A Collection of Church Documents on the Pastoral Care of Migrants*, St Paul's, Strathfield (NSW), 2009, pp. 1229; Tassello, Graziano and Favero, Luigi (a cura di), *Chiesa e Mobilità Umana*. op. cit.

See also Quaderni SIMI, "Missione con i migranti. Missione della Chiesa" (a cura di G. Campese and D. Groody), Urbaniana University Press, Roma, 2007, 5-206. See also Groody, D. G. and Campese, G. (eds), *A Promised Land, A Perilous Journey. Theological Perspectives on Migration*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana 2008.

133 Garcia, Jaume Flaquer, *Itinerant Lives: Notes on an inter-religious theology of migration*, Edicion Rondas, Barcelona, 2007, pp. 1-30. Garcia briefly examines the Jewish, Muslim and Christian traditions.

134 See for example, the case of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches in the Netherlands remaining largely unaffected by immigrant Christians, in Fredericks, Martha Th. and Pruiksma, Nienke, "Journeying towards Multiculturalism? The relationship between Immigrant Christians and Dutch Indigenous Churches", in *Journal of Religion in Europe*, 3, 2010, 125-54.

The discussions that had been engaging academic personalities and government or inter-governmental high-ranking officials and had resulted, as we have seen, in a multiplicity of publications, and the establishment of migration study centres and specialised courses in many Universities, had had very limited resonance in the Church's theological faculties and their academic literature.

Gioacchino Campese delineates what can be regarded as the comprehensive achievements and experience with pilgrims gained by the Church community since its inception. First of all, the sense of hospitality, stemming from biblical injunctions;¹³⁵ the historical developments associated with the various directions and statements (not a few) issued by the teaching authority of the Church, particularly in relation to the maintenance of the Catholic faith by migrants;¹³⁶ the defence, not always approved or accepted by political parties or governments in different countries, of the dignity and rights of migrants;¹³⁷ the initial but growing development of a biblical and ethical interpretation of migratory movements. The challenge is to read the Bible within the context of international migration, and to see the migrants as new biblical agents, as carriers of salvation and redemption.¹³⁸

The same author cautions about two potential failings which may re-occur. First of all, the lack of a cultural mediation between the established cultural trappings in any given region of the Catholic world and the newcomers' "extravagant" forms that are summed up in the phenomenon called popular religion.¹³⁹ Judging a priori or from a critical distance, the popular religious expressions of newcomers may

135 See Snyder, S., *Asylum-seeking, Migration and the Church*, op. cit. By the same author, see also, "Encountering asylum-seekers: an ethic of fear or faith?", in *Studies in Christian Ethics*, 24, 3, 2011, 350-66.

136 Tomasi, S. and Rosoli, G. (eds), *Scalabrini e le migrazioni moderne. Scritti e carteggi*, SEI, Torino, 1997.

137 Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., *God's heart has not borders. How religious activists are working for immigrant rights*, University of California Press, Berkeley, CA, 2008; see also by the same author, "Gender and Migration scholarship: an overview from a 21st century perspective", in *Migraciones Internacionales* 6, 2011, 219-33.

138 See Fumagalli, F., "Leggere la Bibbia nel contesto migratorio", in *Studi Emigrazione*, 47, 178, 2010, 291-316, and Groody, D. G., "Jesus and the undocumented Immigrant: a spiritual geography of a crucified people", in *Theological Studies*, 70, 2009, 298-316.

139 Campese, G., "Religione popolare", in Battistella, G., *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op. cit., 876-87; see also Durand, J. and Massey, S.S., *Miracles on the Border. Retablos of Mexican migrants to the United States*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson AZ, 1995. See also Chapter 2 "The Socio-Religious Situation of the Italians in the United States", and Chapter 3 "The Socio-Religious Situation of the Italians in Argentina", in Paganoni, A., *Valiant Struggles and Benign Neglect. Italians, Church and Religious Societies in Diaspora. The Australian Experience from 1950 to 2000*, CMS, New York, 2003, pp. 15-59 and 59-85.

turn out to be rather superficial and unwise. Patient and open dialogue will build understanding and appreciation and both sides will benefit, thus preventing an uncritical and passive acceptance and/or rejection.

Shifting Realities and Models of the Church

But by far the most decisive and striking shift that is occurring is in the area of “models of the Church”, according to the title of a book written by an outstanding theologian.¹⁴⁰ And when we follow A. Dulles and consider models of the Church which lie behind both institutional and ground-level responses by the Church, we come close to the bare bones of the Church’s identity. Darrell Jackson elaborates:

*In his discussion of models of the Church, Avery Dulles (2000) offers six models that tend to reflect this rather settled pattern: the Church as Institution, Community, Sacrament, Herald, Servant, and School of Discipleship. John Driver (1997) offers twelve images of the church in mission, arranged in three major groups, the first of which, the ‘Pilgrim Church’, makes reference to the church as ‘The Way’, as ‘Sojourner’, and as ‘The Poor’. More recently, the work of Michael Frost (2006) has taken up the metaphor of exile as a way of understanding the mode of being of the church.*¹⁴¹

In our case, what could be more easily stated is this: why not combine the classical trajectory from God, through the Church to the world with the inverted trajectory, equally plausible: from the world in motion,¹⁴² through the Church, to God Himself?¹⁴³

140 Dulles, A., *Models of the Church*, Doubleday, New York, 1987.

141 Jackson, Darrell, “Europe and the Migrant experience: Transforming integration”, in *Transformations*, 28, 1 (Jan. 2011), p. 15.

142 Massey, Douglas S. et al., *Worlds in Motion. Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millenium*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998.

143 Diaz, M. H., “On loving strangers: encountering the mystery of God in the face of migrants”, in *Word and World*, 29, 3, 2009, 234-42. See also Nava, Alex, “God in desert: Searching for the divine in the midst of death”, in Groody, Daniel and Campese, G., (eds), *A Promised Land. A Perilous journey. Theological Perspectives on Migration*, op. cit., pp. 62-76.

Even the peripheries of the world - and international migrations are a very good example indeed - could somehow manifest traces of the Invisible!¹⁴⁴

The observation made twenty years ago by Francis Elvey was very pertinent then and it is much more so now. He was cautioning that,

*We need to develop ways and means to respond to contemporary mobility, a task which has just begun. The first step might be to take time to look around and accept that, while we live in a society clearly marked by human mobility, many of our conceptions and ideas about the Church and the consequent ministerial activities stem from a kind of world that is clearly gone.*¹⁴⁵

Francis Elvey is echoing what Malcolm Muggeridge¹⁴⁶ once remarked: “‘Never forget,’ a stranger said to me once in the lobby of the Midland Hotel in Manchester, ‘that only dead fish swim with the stream’”. After having called for greater attention to and precision regarding empirical data on the human and anthropological aspects of migration flows, both G. Parolin¹⁴⁷ and G. Campese¹⁴⁸ call for a greater re-alignment between human mobility and theology, of a step-up in interest and concern on the part of theological faculties, journals and forums. In the past, geographical and historical interpretation and activity was fairly dominant, given the existence and a plurality of missions and missionaries in the so-called “mission territories”, with the western nations supplying most of the personnel or, in the case of trans-Atlantic flows, accompanying their own nationals to the new territories in North and South America. The reversal of flows, that is from the globalised south to the rich nations

144 “By relying on economic considerations in driving the decision to migrate and social explanations for sustaining the process, theories on international migration have overlooked the cultural context of migration. More specifically, they have not addressed the role of religion in the migration process, especially the spiritual resources it provides for some immigrant populations in the decision to migrate and the psychological effects of this on migrants’ commitment to endure the hardship of the migration”, Hagan, Jaqueline and Ebaugh, Helen Rose, “Calling upon the sacred: Migrants’ Use of Religion in the Migration process”, op. cit., 1145-163.

145 Elvey, F. M. “Ministry in a World of Mobility”, in *New Theology Review*, 7, 1994, 47-71. See also G. Campese, “But I see that somebody is missing: ecclesiology and exclusion in the context of Immigration”, in Doyle, D.M. et al. (eds) *Ecclesiology and Exclusion. Boundaries of being and belonging in postmodern times*, Orbis Book, Maryknoll, NY, 2012, pp. 71-91.

146 Thomas Malcolm Muggeridge (24 March 1903 – 14 November 1990) was an English journalist, author, media personality, and satirist. He stimulated debate about Catholic theology. In his later years he became a religious and moral campaigner.

147 Parolin, Gaetano, *Chiesa Postconciliare e Migrazioni. Quale teologia per la missione con i migranti*, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma, 2010.

148 Campese, Gioacchino,cs, *Una Chiesa Missionaria nell'era delle Migrazioni*, op. cit.

of the north,¹⁴⁹ has meant that so many things have changed direction and that God, like the ever-wandering Aramean,¹⁵⁰ has also found new companions.¹⁵¹ It is the transition, according to Hanciles,¹⁵² from *witnessing* to *with-nessing*, which could be taken to mean being with migrants in a spirit of friendship and good human relationships, and then of drawing inspiration from their struggles and vicissitudes.

This emerging intuition and speculation is adding new impetus to the idea that migrants are not only recipients of a cultural-religious heritage, born and bred in the West, but are themselves carrying the “seeds of the Word”, as the Second Vatican Council taught, and, as a result, become free, responsible agents of transformation in our globalised world, and in the Church’s increasing urgency to explore and further extend its universal character. According to a prolific writer on the subject, S. B. Bevans, we need to entertain a prophetic vision,¹⁵³ while also being alert and attentive to what is happening, for example, in the poor suburbs of our major cities.

In spite of their living and working conditions, the inhabitants of these suburbs show, according to Bevans, a remarkable ability to cope with socio-cultural differences. True, they may be accused, and rightly so, of importing political or religious conflicts experienced in their homeland before migrating. But because of their migration experience, they have also accumulated a degree of mental and psychological flexibility in dealing with different milieux. A classic example of their newly found capability to rally together is found in the mega or Pentecostal churches in some of the major cities of Europe. They bear resemblance to the historical experiment of the mono-cultural and mono-lingual “national parishes” in the United States of America in the 19th - 20th

149 Walls, A.F., “Afterword: Christian Mission in a Five-hundred-year context”, in Walls, A.F. and Ross, C. (eds), *Mission in the 21st Century. Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, Darton Longman and Todd, London, 2008, pp. 193-204.

150 Bentoglio, G., *Mio padre era un arameo errante... Temi di teologia biblica sulla mobilità umana*, Urbaniana University Press, Città del Vaticano, 2006.

151 Hanciles, J.J., “Migrants as missionaries, missionaries as outsiders: reflection on African Christian presence in western societies”, in *Mission Studies*, 30, 2013, 74-82.

152 Hanciles, J.J., “Beyond Christendom: African Migration and Transformation in Global Christianity”, in *Studies in World Christianity*, 10, 1, 2004, 93-113, and “The future of Missiology as a discipline: a view from the non-western world”, in *Missiology*, 42, 2, 2014, 121-38.

153 Bevans, *Prophetic Dialogue. Reflections of Christian Mission today*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY, 2011.

centuries, which are partially replicated today by Latinos living in the USA.¹⁵⁴ And native-born people may label them as “African” or “Latino” Churches, forgetting that Africa is a mosaic of religions and cultures. These new church communities, according to Bevans, are displaying a good degree of mission awareness and orientation.

If hospitality¹⁵⁵ “is not to change people, but to offer them a space where change can take place”,¹⁵⁶ this “creating space” process can be achieved, yes, through an increased level of attention, motivated by serious theological enquiry, sustained by a “with-nessing process”, i.e., “going fifty-fifty”, accompanying migrants and sharing with them in perilous situations¹⁵⁷ or in fairly normal pastoral situations.¹⁵⁸ Alongside existing “think-tanks”, such as centres for Hispanic ministry, and an increase in the number of theologians¹⁵⁹ and theological centres that are focusing on Latino culture and theology, the goals of “The story of Humane Borders” are significant:

Humane Borders, moved by faith, will work to create a just and humane border environment. Members will respond with humanitarian assistance to those who are risking their lives and safety crossing the U.S. border with Mexico. We encourage the creation of public policies towards a humane, non-militarised

154 Kanter, D., “Making Mexican parishes: ethnic succession in Chicago churches 1947-1977”, in *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 30, 1, 2012, 35-58. A critical assessment of some of the policies pursued by the U.S. Church is discussed by Dominique Peridans, “What are they thinking? A look at Roman Catholic doctrine on Immigration”, *Backgrounder* (Oct. 2012), Center for Immigration Studies, Washington.

155 See the informative article by Morfino, Mauro Maria, “Amate dunque il forestiero...Deut. 10,19. Per una cultura dell’ospitalità educata dalla Bibbia”, in *Dialogo*, Alghero-Bosa, 16-17, 2011, with a fairly extensive bibliography on biblical sources.

156 Nouwen, Henri J. M., *Reaching out: The three Movements of the Spiritual Life*, Doubleday, New York, 1975, p. 71.

157 Groody, Daniel G., and Campese, Gioacchino, *A Promised Land, a Perilous Journey*, op. cit.

158 See the “Pastoral Migratoria”, the innovative pastoral leadership program, run by the archdiocese of Chicago. Established in 2008, through a broad consultative process, it has trained 200 lay leaders and been implemented in 40 Hispanic and 10 Polish parishes and is actively supported by over 100 non-immigrant parishes. A new study out of Boston College shows an increasing number of Catholic parishes serving Latinos, matching the explosive growth of this sub-population in churches. Catholics look different from the way they did half a century ago -- and so do their values. See “Immigrants cause shift in the prototypical ‘Catholic experience’” by Tara Garcia Mathewson, in *Cathnews*, April 10, 2015.

159 See a listing in the preface of Groody, Daniel G. and Campese, G., *A Promised Land*, op. cit., XXII.

*border with legalized work opportunities for migrants in the U.S. and legitimate economic opportunities in migrants' countries of origin. We welcome all persons of good faith.*¹⁶⁰

Some of the eight core points of action suggested by Humane Borders are very revealing, such as: placing water in the desert to prevent dehydration deaths; challenging the current border policy, working as bi-nationally and as cooperatively as possible, and utilizing the media to tell the story of the plight of the migrant.¹⁶¹

One shouldn't assume that such comprehensive efforts exhibited in the United States of America, with their high moments being acted out on the US-Mexican border, are being replicated in other similarly troublesome parts in the world! These efforts exist in all continents, but often without the same high level of attention and cooperative concern.

Conclusion

Our discussion about the Catholic Church's efforts to come to terms with international migration flows has followed a different trajectory from that of civil societies and institutions. In the latter case, as we saw earlier, the intensification of human flows across national and continental boundaries has given rise to a multiplicity of attempts to channel them systematically into the receiving countries. The role of interested academics has been pivotal in the sense of offering, first, a good grasp of the fast-changing nature of these flows, and then of suggesting policies meant to solve the problems associated with the incorporation of new arrivals and/or new workers. This type of discussion, mostly of a technical nature, has largely sidestepped the real stories and dramas about the dynamic world of migrants, as increasingly reported by the media, and has above all understated the migrants' enrichment and aid to both receiving and sending societies.

On the other hand, the Catholic Church in the course of her history has reiterated ancient teachings contained in the Bible¹⁶² and, in the tradition of the Church, set up a credible network of agencies providing care at close range. But the Church has hardly been able to resolve to any great extent the problems of migrants in their country of origin, and furthermore, to offset the adverse effects of integration

160 Hoover, Robin, "The Story of Humane Borders", in Groody, Daniel G. and Campese G., *A Promised Land*, op. cit., p. 162.

161 Ibid., p. 163.

162 Ruiz, Jean-Pierre, *Readings from the Edges: The Bible and People on the Move*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 2011.

processes dominated by resistance, racism and sometimes utter rejection in most receiving nations. It is an area where the sign “don’t trespass” is put up, where Church organizations should not “mix with or play politics”. This is a frequent accusation labelled against the Church.

At the same time, the Church cannot avoid the responsibility of searching and proposing what is most appropriate for the common good of migrant people. In the least “Catholic” of all continents, Asia, the Bishops have spoken out repeatedly; according to Jonathan Y. Tan,

*the FABC is convinced that its theology of migration needs to pay close attention to the intercultural and interreligious implications of migration and integrate the intercultural and interreligious dimensions in its pastoral care of migrants.*¹⁶³

And similar statements fit in very well with the insistence on human rights.¹⁶⁴ It would be helpful to move beyond the confines of legitimate concerns, as reflected in statements in the arena of practical activities which greatly benefit the migrant persons. And instead from the ground floor, so to speak, of multiple encounters move in the direction Katalina Tahaafe-Williams suggests in the final chapter of her thesis “Multicultural Ministry: a tool for transforming ecclesial aspirations into ecclesial practice”.¹⁶⁵

An international atlas or syllabus of all Church agencies, as they come face to face with the unending saga of migrants (for example: type of services given and their underlying reasons, collaboration with other agencies, practical benefits accrued to migrants, lessons learned, difficulties encountered...) would be very helpful in quantifying the real output of the Church’s work, and would offer the basis for enhancing the Church’s presence with people on the move and attracting the attention of, and shaping the political decisions of, governments and international organizations. Even a limited re-alignment of practical concerns by the Church(es) and government leaders could greatly benefit the ordinary migrant person in his/her struggle for recognition. A starting point could be acknowledging their tremendous drive to offset economic inequalities at home and to turn receiving societies into

163 Tan, Jonathan Y., “Migration in Asia and its Missiological Implications: Insights from the Migration Theology of the Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conference (FABC)”, in *Mission Studies*, 29, 2012, 60.

164 Battistella, Graziano, “Migration and human dignity: From Policies of Exclusion to Policies based on Human Rights”, in Groody, Daniel and Campese, Gioacchino, (eds), *A Promised Land*, op. cit., pp. 177-92.

165 Tahaafe-Williams, Katalina, “A Multicultural Church? Multicultural Ministry as a tool for building the Multicultural Church” (thesis), University of Birmingham, 2012.

more colourfully human ones.¹⁶⁶ Otherwise, notwithstanding the good will of many people, migrants in general will continue to remain on the margins of big decision-making bodies or elites.

As stated elsewhere, any real transformation driven by international movements of people will work from the bottom up rather than in the reverse direction. The World Bank has labelled migration as “one of the determining forces of the 21st century”.¹⁶⁷ It will penetrate the outer suburbs of the main cities and establish a local “give and take” pattern that will lead to the formation of new-look communities. In “Demographic changes affecting church now an emerging reality for nation,”¹⁶⁸ Brookings Institute Senior Fellow William Frey, a demographer and trend-spotting expert, outlines some of the truths that can be gleaned from the U.S. census data that are discussed in his new book.¹⁶⁹ He summarises his findings as follows:

For one thing, a majority of Americans in all races and ethnic groups now live in the suburbs, not in the central cities. This was true of Asians by the 1990 census, and of Hispanics in the 2000 census. The 2010 census showed that 51 percent of all African-Americans now live in suburban jurisdictions... How the country responds to these demographic changes, both in policy and in politics, will determine the direction of the United States in the generations to come...

Frey said he is optimistic about the ability of Americans to adapt to these changes, adding that Americans’ self-interest will guide the nation... “Older Americans need to have the young generation succeed,” he added, noting that the younger generation is increasingly non-white and the older generation is predominantly white; 85% of all Americans aged 85 and over are white, while only 51% of today’s children under the age of 5 are white.

Both the Church and government in the U.S face the same challenge. The same trends and a similar challenge are relevant in Australia as well. To a lesser degree, the same trend is noticeable in some European nations.

166 Kim, Peter Sungjin, *Becoming colourfully human*, op.cit.. Of particular interest is Chapter 9: “Becoming colourfully human Together – Implications for Pastoral Practice”, pp. 238-82.

167 <http://www.un.org/esa/policy/wess/wesp.html>.

168 Written by www.catholicsentinel.org on 30 December 2014. Posted in *News from the World*.

169 Frey, William H., *Diversity Explosion. How new racial demographics are remaking America*. The Brookings Institute Press, New York, 2014.

THE CASE OF AUSTRALIA

So far, in our discussion about international migrants, their effect on many national economies, along with a variety of socio-cultural adaptations and dissimilar responses from both civil and religious societies (Church), we have moved from quantitative data to qualitative considerations, such as transformations occurring in the area of the much-debated issue of development, and of an emerging value-system and guide called desire. In the case of Australia, we shall adopt a reverse approach and begin with some sweeping notions.

Australian Society

There is something very unique about Australia: its relatively recent colonization by the British and yet the fact that it has been peopled from time immemorial by the Aborigines; its geographical distance, “down under”, and yet its umbilical cord tied to the United Kingdom and its parliamentary rule; its scattered population over a very vast territory and yet a society with one of the highest urbanization levels in the world; its cosmopolitan population (see Appendix 1 “birthplace by age”), with its diverse background hailing from practically almost all nations in the world, as can be seen from the table in Appendix 2 “birthplace by year of arrival”.

Statistical data indicates that, since the early 1960s, Australia, out of all the major English-speaking countries such as the U.S., Canada and Britain, has been recording a marked percentage of overseas-born in the ratio between overseas- and locally-born.

No matter where they come from, all of them are working and struggling together for the construction of the same society, free, so far, from major upheavals;¹⁷⁰ and, most significantly, they are anchored to the almost invisible moorings of a multi-layered and multi-faceted sense of identity,¹⁷¹ striving to see the relevance of it all, amidst ongoing demographic changes initiated by the latest new waves of migrants

170 Senghaas, Dieter, *The Clash Within Civilisations: Coming to Terms with Cultural Conflicts*, Routledge, London, 2002, p. 147.

171 This is also reflected in the use of typically Australian slang or proverbs. See Aciobanitei, Maria “Paremiological Aspects in the Construction of National Identity”, in *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 63, 2012, 276-82.

from Asia and other continents. And, as many before them, they too are accompanied by a strong sense of being split between two places, languages, identities and emotional settings.¹⁷²

Nations are more than geopolitical entities. They are, to quote Benedict Anderson,¹⁷³ “imagined communities”, constituted in part by cultural representations of national belonging, or discourses of national identity.¹⁷⁴

Julianne Schultz is to be applauded for the relevance of her recent statement:

*Australia today is very different to the place I grew up in:¹⁷⁵ our culture has changed and is changing, but public discussion is still framed by old tropes. We need a new shorthand to capture the reality and potential of Australia in the 21st century – one that synthesises the past and casts it forward with insight into what makes this place and its people unique.*¹⁷⁶

This uniqueness factor could easily be applied to many other nations or states in the world, but not in the same way that one can claim it for Australia, as we shall see in the course of our discussion. This feeling is so beautifully captured by Miriam Dixon, in her concluding remarks:

*I have aimed to encourage an ‘integrated’ debate around identity, locating it in the force field of the core culture and the tension between cohesion and fragmentation... Writing this book is itself an exercise both in ‘integrated’ identity debate and in what, at a social and historical level, it might be like to come to terms with the imaginary. Even to attempt an approach to the imaginary is to expand the capacity for reflection and agency, which is the ability to act upon insight.*¹⁷⁷

172 Tannenbaum, Michal and Tseng, Jenny, “Which one is Ithaca? Multilingualism and a sense of identity among third culture kids”, in *International Journal of Multilingualism* (2014), downloaded from Flinders University, 18.2.2015.

173 Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London and New York, 1983.

174 Hogan, Jackie (2010) “Gendered and racialised discourses of national identity in Baz Luhrmann’s Australia”, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 34:1, 63-77. To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14443050903522069>.

175 As she says: “I was not born here, but I have been living in Australia, in a sort of on and off fashion, since the late 1960s.” See Schultz, Julianne, “A hybrid Australia, where identity has a multi-layered crunch”, in *The Conversation*, 12 December, 2014.

176 Ibid.

177 Dixon, Miriam, *The Imaginary Australian. Anglo-Celts and Identity 1788 to the Present*, UNSW Press, 1999, p. 162.

One the most popular assumptions is that the world is divided into nations, each with its distinctive history, heritage, customs, religion(s) and language. Peter Stalker makes a relevant observation:

The United Nations help to confirm this perception. But the 180 or so members (close to 200 now) of the United Nations are not nations at all: they are States. And even a State is surprisingly difficult to define. It cannot be the land, since many territories have changed hands between different States (and the same territory may simultaneously be claimed by different States). Nor is it the government, since elected officials change on a regular basis. Nor is it the 'people' since these may be divided into many different ethnic groups. Yet it is difficult to disentangle from any of these. What the State seems to be is a legal entity, a system of authority, backed up by force, which stipulates both its citizens' relationship to each other and the borders which mark the limits of its powers.¹⁷⁸

And the same author goes on to further clarify,

A nation... is not a legal entity... whether Aborigine, German, or Irish has some sense of fraternity – however this is arrived at... And each nation holds itself to be distinct and independent of all others... Since they are self-defining and subject to change they are very difficult to enumerate, but some estimates suggest that globally there are between 4,000 and 8,000 nations, peoples or ethnic groups.¹⁷⁹

The ideal situation would be for each nation to have its own state! Realities are, however, enormously different: there is a gigantic mismatch between the two. Perhaps this explains why the accepted basis of international classification is now the "nation-state". The state-minded people may maintain the myth that they are home to just one nation. In reality, in most nations, and particularly so in Australia, they are multi-nations, no matter how many efforts are undertaken to create some national identity through anthems, heroes, past historical events. In the words of Peter Stalker, it is the case of "emperor and clothes". There are plenty of clothes, but no emperor!

In this general sea of uncertainty and dubiousness about one's own *ubi consistam* there is the anchor of citizenship, to be acquired either through naturalization, or the two main options of *ius sanguinis* or *ius solis*. This latter is a golden opportunity for some people,

178 Stalker, Peter, *The Work of Strangers*, op. cit., p. 61.

179 Ibid., p. 61.

...many Mexican women in the last days of their pregnancies cross the border to have their children born in the United States. The U.S.-Mexican border between Brownsville and Laredo is dotted with the clinics of some 130 parteras, midwives who charge between \$ 200 and \$ 700 to deliver each tiny new American citizen.¹⁸⁰

The search for identity: old and new paradigms

Obviously the multiple faces of identity is a big issue. Take, for example, the efforts by historians to address changes of national symbols, mythology and collective values and traditions which may or may not include reference to a greater organization, such as the European Community, or new economic blocs in both North and South America, but whose central concern is the continuing process of re-imagining the nation.¹⁸¹ Or the self-critique espoused by some historians, when writing histories on the use of nation and/or national identity.¹⁸² Or the interaction between citizenship

180 Ibid., p. 64.

181 Tonkin, Elizabeth and McDonald, Maryon (eds), *History and Ethnicity*, Routledge, London, 1989. See also Greenfield, Liah and Eastwood, Jonathan, "National Identity", in Boix, Charles and Stokes, Susan C. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford, 2009. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566020.003.0011

182 Daniel Woolf's concluding remarks are worth mentioning: "This essay has ranged over a wide variety of periods and national or otherwise-grouped historiographies. It began from the premise that the comparison of historiographies over time and across national and language boundaries is, as Georg Iggers has urged, a worthwhile and necessary task, but it also has asked whether or not, in an age in which nationalism is virtually synonymous with intolerance and often violence, we should continue to organize our classification of historical literature along national lines. There are surely other ways to organize historiography—modern encyclopedic works routinely combine national entries with conceptual, methodological, and transnational ones ('the Annales School', 'Cliometrics', 'Postmodernism'). And the enormous literature on the nation and nationalism, predominantly by social scientists rather than historiographers, has for the most part warned against the usefulness of terms like 'nation' or 'nationalism' for early periods. Against this I have argued that there are certainly reasons for declining to use nation-related vocabulary in some instances, but that it is erroneous to base this choice on the purely chronological ground of 'time in which the history was written', both because there is no clear agreement as to when such categories become useful, and because there are other and much more complex reasons for paying attention to the nation. If it is the case that any historian, past or present, makes choices—as to the entity to be studied, his or her own primary affiliation, the time period to be covered, and the manner in which the entity is constituted—and if a further choice, among those historians who do deal in some way with nations or ethnicities, is to defend that entity-constitution on the basis of a particular integrative strategy, then there is already plenty of reason to defend a concept such as 'ancient Chinese historiography' or 'Egyptian historiography'." See also Wang, Q. Edward and Fillafer, Franz (eds), "Of Nations, Nationalism and National identity: Reflections on the Historiographic Organization of the Past", in *The many faces of Clio. Cross-cultural Approaches to Historiography*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2006, p. 93.

and ethnic identity.¹⁸³ Identity is indeed a Janus-faced reality.¹⁸⁴ It is often linked to perceptions of ourselves, remarks by others, however fair or unfair they may be, and also, in many cases, stereotyping which may not reflect fairly or accurately what identity might be. The identity of a country is even trickier.¹⁸⁵ It is “annoyingly intangible” (Julianne Schultz) and subject to different winds.¹⁸⁶ Yet it is nurtured on the personal level, it is something we rightfully participate in, while being supported by collective organizations and reinforced by the adoption and public expression of national symbols and customs.¹⁸⁷ It is fairly clear that the amalgamation of the three levels is an enormous challenge, particularly in the world of today, when over the years so many societies keep re-arranging their composition, historical legacies and dreams about their future.¹⁸⁸

Regardless of whether we investigate the personal, collective or national level,¹⁸⁹ the existing patterns or memories of earlier periods, events and persons, coupled with a shared continuity on the part of successive generations or members of the same family, should normally lead to a collective belief in a common destiny. Living and breathing with diversity does not occur in a vacuum, nor

183 Fuller-Rowell, Thomas E. et al., “National Identity and Perceived Discrimination Predict Changes in Ethnic Identity Commitment: Evidence from a Longitudinal Study of Latino College Students”, in *Applied Psychology: an International Review*, 2013, 62 (3), 406–26.

184 **Janus** is the minor Roman god of choices, doorways, beginnings, and endings.

185 McCrone, David and Beechhofer, Frank, “Claiming National Identity”, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 6, (June 2010), 921–48. Using the British and Scottish Social Attitudes surveys 2006, this article examines the willingness of people living and born in England and Scotland to accept or reject claims to national identity made by those living in but not born in the appropriate territory.

186 Rose, Michael, “The Crisis of identity: the rise of racism highlights a growing sense of insecurity”, in *Maclean's*, 110.15 (Apr. 14, 1997), 28. www2.macleans.ca.

187 Cousins, Sarah, “Contemporary Australia. National Identity”, Paper for the National Centre for Australian Studies, Monash University, 2005.

188 See Blainey, Geoffrey, “I see parts of history with fresh eyes”, in *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, February 21–22, 2015, pp. 20–23. Blainey re-examines Australia’s past – and amends some of his long-held views. See the analysis of subjective citizenship in Sindic, Denis, “Psychological Citizenship and Applied Social Psychology”, in *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 21, 2011, 202–14.

189 See the interesting chapter of Rowse, Tim and Moran, Albert “‘Peculiarly Australian’- The Political Construction of Cultural Identity”, in Encel, S. and Bryson, L. (eds), *Australian Society. Sociological Essays*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1984. See also Moran, Anthony “Multiculturalism as nation-building in Australia: Inclusive national identity and the embrace of diversity”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34, 12, 2011, 2153–172.

is it supported by the establishment.¹⁹⁰ There can be no collective cultural (national) identity without shared memories or a sense of continuity on the part of those who belong to that family, collectivity or national community.¹⁹¹

For each of these real forces, there are also anti-forces or anti-bodies favouring either one of the three levels mentioned or of slowly annihilating the other for the sake of self-preservation. This is the root cause of ethnic conflicts and cleansing.¹⁹² Or, alternatively, in the best of circumstances, a balance between the three levels is maintained, moulded by external circumstances as well as by internal forces. However dominant the nation and its national identification, even in times of persecution or attempted annihilation, human beings tend to keep a multiplicity of allegiances. These may be spread across religious affiliations, class distinctions and ethnic groupings in a true mosaic of many different colours.

With the increased level of “servings” generated and publicised by the globalised exchange of goods and products, the following question becomes pressing: Can there be a truly cosmopolitan culture, one that is genuinely “post-national” in form, and content? We are seeing an immense and rapid growth of communications and information technology, spanning the globe and being responsible for an increase in literacy, mass education and the level of desire for a better way of life.¹⁹³ There is also, on the other hand, a conscious retention of national differences in literature, history and the arts. And governments may actively intervene to try to change popular perceptions of their identity.

The revival of ethnic myths, memories and traditions, both within and beyond the process of westernization and globalization, reminds us of the fundamentally memory-less nature of any cosmopolitan culture created today. But cultures are not

190 “... Normative patterns of behaviour, systems of belief and notions of identity develop, persist, decline and change within a context of structural relations. In capitalist societies, the enduring structures are class relations. Changing cultural forms are generated in the reproduction of these relations, in resistance to their reproduction, and in their transformation”. See De Lepervanche, Marie “Immigrants and Ethnic Groups”, in Encel, S. and Bryson, L., (eds), *Australian Society*, op. cit., pp. 170-229 at 217.

191 See Chapter 6: “Culture and Organizations: Getting things done in a Multicultural World”, in Griswold, Wendy, *Cultures and Societies in a Changing World*, Pine Forge Press, London, 1994, pp. 116-38.

192 Major Alex Osborn British Army (2005) The “Clash of Civilisations, Thesis as a Tool for Explaining Conflicts in the Contemporary World”, *Defence Studies*, 5:3, 394-400. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14702430500492849>.

193 Zajda, Joseph et al. (eds), “Nation-Building, Identity and Citizenship Education”: Cross-cultural Perspectives, Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research. Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, 2009.

artificially made, they are tied to specific peoples, places and periods and bound to historical identities. Because if they are artificially made, as in the creation of a cosmopolitan culture, that culture must still work with materials destined for the very projects it seeks to replace: the national or collective identities that it seeks to eradicate.

The role of memory, exercised and shared within a community, is pivotal in the formation of identity. And migrants are not certainly the weakest category in the utilization of memories! Memory, commemoration and transmission of messages and experiences imply a community, because without the bonds of a community, the sharing of memories would serve little, if any, purpose. Past and present dilemmas do not originate with the memory work shared within and outside its own grouping. Rather, problems are mostly associated with their interpretations and political use. The public arena can either turn them into tokens of respect or change them into ethnocentric and racist ideologies.¹⁹⁴

In the face of this impending threat, it is opportune that different identities and cultures come and sit around the same table. The call to interculturality is the call to listen, to learn and rethink initially “our” and “their” good qualities as well “our” and “their” possible deficiencies, with a view to avoiding unilateral understandings.¹⁹⁵ It is a commitment to work together with other cultures and historical identities.¹⁹⁶

As Raul Fornet-Betancourt observes:

*Interculturality comes up with a concept of identity as a process open to ameliorating the human person, at the personal and community level, sidestepping an inconsistent hybridism or provincial fundamentalism. Further clarifications can occur within each cultural identity, as long as it maintains a healthy mood to dialogue and is open to a common growth leading to an inclusive sense of universality, where space will be found for all differences.*¹⁹⁷

194 Bowser, Benjamin P. (ed.), *Racism and Anti-racism in World Perspective*, Sage Publications, London, 1995. The book examines both the nature of racism and some geographical areas where it persists. See also Ponterotto, Joseph G. and Pedersen, Paul B., *Preventing Prejudice. A Guide for Counsellors and Educators*, Sage Publications, London, 1993.

195 See the four characteristics of Australian culture, as listed in Schultz, Julianne, “A hybrid Australia, where identity has a multi-layered crunch”, in *The Conversation*, 12 December 2014.

196 Espin, Orlando O., *Grace and Humanness. Theological reflections because of culture*, Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 2007, pp. 1-50.

197 Fornet-Betancourt, Raul, “Identità”, in Battistella, Graziano (a cura di), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op. cit., pp. 533-37. See also Selim, Abou, *Diritti e Culture dell'uomo*, SEI, Torino, 1995.

This is undoubtedly a form of spirituality, in the sense of believing that the open space, wherein all cultural forms can take their rightful place, points in the direction of the Infinite Space.¹⁹⁸ In Australia, starting with the Aborigines.¹⁹⁹

The downside of history

History books are full of events that were clearly detrimental to the utilization of space, be it territorial, moral, cultural or religious. Any honest discussion cannot overlook the dark side of human society: the transgressions, deceptions and damages. Australian history is no exception. In an age that has been hypnotised by achievement and success, the preferred version of history will necessarily be triumphant and self-validating; it has become somewhat fashionable to deprecate anyone, the so-called “professional purveyor of guilt”, who focuses on the negative aspects of our past. What’s the real reason for overlooking the darker stuff? It’s as if it were unnecessarily morose to dig up bad memories or anything that might dent personal or national self-confidence. But the best way to repeat past omissions or misdemeanours is to simply forget them.²⁰⁰

Inevitably with the birth and development of nation-states or of national communities, events occur which, in hindsight, offer very definite clues to what should have been done at the time when the deed or deeds actually happened. The great mistakes of Australian history are diverse and varied, both in their nature and consequences.²⁰¹ The culture of indigenous Australia was methodically swept away by the first and subsequent generations of colonisers, perhaps motivated by misguided philosophical principles of the “Age of Enlightenment” in Europe.²⁰²

The first occupying British fleet sailed into Sydney harbour in 1788. But it was not until the 10th of October 1835, almost fifty years after the first fleet dropped anchor in Sydney’s harbour, that Governor Bourke reinforced the doctrine of *terra*

198 Santerini, Milena, “Intercultura”, in Battistella, Graziano (a cura di), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op. cit., pp. 544-51.

199 <http://members.optusnet.com.au/virgothomas/space/abobelie>.

200 See a listing of mistakes in the Introduction to Crotty, Martin and Roberts, David Andrew (eds), *The great mistakes of Australian History*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2006, p. 3.

201 Ibid., p. 6.

202 Jackson, Hugh, *Australians and the Christian God. An historical Study*, Mosaic Press, Preston (Vic.), 2013, pp. 19-45.

nullius,²⁰³ i.e., that the land belonged to no one prior to the British Crown's taking possession of it. Aboriginal people therefore could not sell or assign the land, nor could an individual person acquire it, other than through distribution by the Crown. As the interior was explored and mapped, squatters and free settlers followed, eager to take up land. Wherever Europeans went Aboriginal people were pushed from their homelands. John Batman, one of the pioneers in the founding of Victoria, who first settled at Port Phillip, failed in his attempt to buy the land from the Aboriginal people through a treaty. The grabbing of land belonging to "no one" was matched by the subsequent treatment of the "Stolen Generations": both moves were rather harsh by any standard or measure of judgement. Some time would pass before the granting of civil rights with citizenship came to Aborigines in 1965.

It is only recently that we have become aware of the role and meaning of land for the original inhabitants of Australia, as being not a commodity but a living sacred reality.²⁰⁴ For Aboriginal people the relationship with land is much deeper: there exists a spiritual, physical, social and cultural connection.²⁰⁵ **The land owns Aboriginal people** and every aspect of their lives is connected to it. Aboriginal law and spirituality are intertwined with the land, the people and creation, and this forms their culture and sovereignty.²⁰⁶

According to Felicity Meaking, a much more sustained effort should be made in relation to indigenous languages,

It is important that we know that Australia is a nation of over 250 Australian Indigenous languages, not just one. It is also important that all Australians

203 See Roberts, David Andrew, "They would speedily abandon the country to the new comers: The denial of Aboriginal Rights" in Crotty, Martin and Roberts, David Andrew, *The Great Mistakes of Australian History*, op. cit., pp.14.-31. According to reliable sources, the original document dispatched to Governor Bourke has not been located. Instead, there exists a copy from the Colonial Office of the British Government which is currently in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, U.K.

204 Willey, Keith, *When the sky fell down. The Destruction of the Tribes of the Sydney Region 1788-1850s*, Collins, Sydney, 1979.

205 King, Victoria, "Embodied perceptions; Aboriginal expressions of place", in Cameron, John, *Changing places. Re-imagining Australia*, Longueville Books, Double Bay (NSW), 2003, pp. 286-96.

206 "It was not just that they were prior owners; the land was necessary to the continuation of their culture. A (former) Aboriginal priest Pat Dodson explained to a Catholic Conference: 'Land is the generation point of existence; it's the spirit from which Aboriginal existence comes. It's a place, a living thing made up of sky, of clouds, of rivers, of trees, of the wind, of the sand, and of the Spirit that has created all those things; the Spirit that has planted my own spirit there, my own country...It belongs to me; I belong to the land; I rest in it; I come from there'", in Grimshaw, Patricia et al., *Creating a Nation*, McPhee Gribble Publishers, Ringwood (Vic.), 1994, p. 298.

*are able to name some of these, particularly the ones in our local areas. Increasing the visibility and awareness of Indigenous languages will help our nation understand the rich cultural pluralism that existed before the arrival of Europeans and continues today.*²⁰⁷

And this hallowed and sacred experience has lasted millennia. According to C. Anderson, a contributor to a well-known Encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origin in Australia,

*In spite of some spectacular assertions of very early dates, the most sophisticated and reliable evidence obtained from radio-carbon dates indicates that human beings were definitely present throughout much of Greater Australia from about 41000 BP (before the present)...Given that it takes time for people to travel through, and learn to live in, new environments, human beings must have begun their occupation of Greater Australia before 38000-41000 BP. Just how long before this period human beings first came remains the subject of energetic speculation.*²⁰⁸

The fact that violent conflict and resistance occurred is well-known. In the words of Darren Crimshaw,

*The history of injustices against Aboriginal people has also fortunately begun to be told and understood. This (until very recently hidden) history was recognised by Manning Clark and told most extensively by Henry Reynolds. Reynolds began with the landmark, 'The other side of the Frontier', about Aboriginal resistance, and followed up with other books exposing our idealised (peaceful) version of the past...it is appropriate to acknowledge the exploitation of their land and labor, their suffering from disease and undeclared war, the extinction of Tasmanian Aborigines, the expectation others would die out, child removals of the 'stolen generation' and the slow recognition of Aborigines as citizens and voters.*²⁰⁹

207 Meaking, Felicity, "Some Australian Indigenous Languages you should know", in *The Conversation*, May 8, 2015.

208 Anderson, Chris, "The Indigenous People", in Jupp, James (ed.), *The Australian People. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origin*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 4-15.

209 Crimshaw, Darren, "The Emerging Church: Spirituality and Worship Reading Guide", in *Zadok papers*, (Autumn 2007), p. 13.

The record of the number of fatalities is as slanted and one-sided as that of the occupation of the land and of a cultural heritage unknown by the colonisers.²¹⁰ Obviously, Australian Aborigines perceived the European arrival in their own terms and in line with their own culture and society. It remains to be seen whether such contacts, which in the past have had an enormous impact, even if mostly negative, will pave the way for a more amicable and fruitful rapprochement.²¹¹

Another example of past mistakes is the treatment in more recent times of "*The enemy within*".²¹² During both the First and the Second World Wars, thousands of Australian citizens or residents were deprived of their rights and treated as prisoners of a war that was being fought thousands of miles away.²¹³

The implementation of this policy was closely aligned to the alternating fortunes and progress of the war, including the threatened invasion by the Japanese. During WW II, as Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien details,

8100 Australian residents were interned, 1914 of whom were counted as Germans, 4911 as Italians, 1114 Japanese and 161 others...There were 229 Australian-born adult citizens who were interned and most of them were

210 "Overall, 2000-2500 Europeans were killed by Aborigines during the major period of settlement; probably ten times that number of Aboriginal people were killed during the same period... it is difficult to characterise this as a generalised resistance to settlement. Except in certain areas for particular reasons, Aborigines generally attacked Europeans because of their specific actions, such as trespassing on restricted sites, unlawful interference with Aboriginal women, or as revenge for a previous European attack", *ibid.*, p. 11.

211 Brennan, Frank, "Justice for Aboriginal Australians", in *Vision for Australia. National goals and directions incorporated*, An Albatross Book, Sutherland, NSW, 1987, pp. 51-73.

212 Martinuzzi O'Brien, Ilma, "The enemy within: wartime internment of enemy aliens", in Crotty, Martin and Roberts, David Andrew (eds), *The great mistakes of Australian History*, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-55. See also the more recent publications by the same author, *The Internment Diaries of Mario Sardi*, Lucerne Press, Alphington, Vic., 2013, and "Italians in Ingham and Innisfail in World War II: selective and not mass internment?" in *Spunti e Ricerche*, vol. 24, 2001, 75-91. Other biographies or historical accounts are those of Desmond O'Connor, *No need to be afraid. Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, SA, 1996, Ch. 7 "War and Internment"; Claudio Alcorso, *The Wind you say. An Italian in Australia. The true story of an inspirational life*, Angus and Robertson, Pymble (Sydney), 1993; Osvaldo Bonutto, *A Migrant's Story: The Struggle and success of an Italian Australian, 1920s-1960s*, St Lucia University Press, Brisbane, 1994, and Peter Dalseno, *Sugar, tears and Eyeties*, Boolarong Publications, Bowen Hills, Brisbane, 1994. For the internment experience in WA, see Adele Nardizzi, *Italian Internment in Western Australia during the Second World War* (thesis), University of Notre Dame, Perth, WA, 2006.

213 In the words of Michael McKernan: It was as if Australians "so heavily committed to the war emotionally, needed to manufacture a war close at hand", quoted in Crotty and Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

assigned the nationality of their ancestors, rather than their legal nationality as British subjects. The 'Italians' included the Australian-born who were British subjects by birth, and naturalised British subjects of Italian origin, Italian citizens, Albanians, Ethiopians, and one French. Other Europeans who were classed as 'Germans' included the Australian-born who were British subjects by birth, the naturalised British subjects of German and Australian origin, German and Austrian citizens, Russians, some French, Finns, Egyptians, Danes, Swiss, Dutch and Romanians: all together, the 'Germans' comprised people who were born in a total of 36 different countries.²¹⁴

The comments of the then Prime Minister, Robert Menzies are most relevant. He was, he said, well aware,

*that we have, perhaps, not been without experience in the past of some want of understanding, by rigid minds closed with authority, of the rights and privileges of ordinary people.*²¹⁵

Martinuzzi O'Brien goes on to draw a parallel with the anti-terrorism laws in force against people illegally entering the country. In the case of control orders, under Commonwealth legislation, any individual can be held under control orders for up to ten years. How long should "reasonable suspicion" last?

The third example regards one of the most popular realities, a national passion in Australia: sport. Every country of the world likes some sports which may not even be played in other countries. Australian people are avid followers of "footy", which covers every game from uniquely Australian AFL to rugby union. Many of these sporting activities have an international following with their own organizations, while others have and retain a very local flavour.

Loring M. Danforth²¹⁶ demonstrates that sport, like literature, is a fertile site from which to narrate the nation. Just two decades ago, in Melbourne there was an attempt to de-ethnicize soccer.

In what The Age, Melbourne's leading newspaper, called 'a bold attempt to revolutionize soccer' (1992), the Australian Soccer Federation decided to ban all teams with 'foreign' or 'ethnic' names from the National Soccer League. No team would be allowed to play in the 1992-93 season if it carried the name of

214 Martinuzzi O'Brien, Ilma, "The enemy within: wartime internment of enemy aliens", op. cit., pp. 148-49.

215 Ibid., p. 145.

216 Danforth, Loring M., "Is the 'World Game' an 'Ethnic Game' or an 'Aussie Game'? Narrating the Nation in Australian Soccer", in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (May, 2001), 363-87.

a foreign country, state, or place or any name with 'political implications' (The Age 1992). Instead, teams would be required to use the names of the districts in which their home grounds were located. Names like Hellas and Makedonia would be eliminated and replaced by names like South Melbourne and Preston. In this way, the Federation hoped to ensure that place of residence in Australia, not country of origin in the Balkans, would determine club membership. The Commissioner of the Australian Soccer Federation, Sam Papasavas, justified the decision by saying: 'The public perception is that we're a 'wog' sport and that we won't be accepted by the establishment nor achieve our marketing goals because of that perception' (Schwab 1992:27). To be successful, in other words, soccer needed 'an acceptable image of Australianness'. The drive to transform a multicultural (and therefore 'un-Australian') soccer league composed of 'ethnic' (and therefore 'un-Australian') clubs into a 'monocultural' (and therefore 'Australian') league is based on a narrative of traditional Australian ethnic nationalism according to which Australia is, or should be, a monocultural Anglo-Celtic nation.²¹⁷

According to this narrative, the cohesion and unity of the Australian nation is threatened by people who wave Greek, Macedonian, or Italian flags and anchor some of their feelings in Clubs named Hellas or Makedonia or Juventus.

In a more humorous vein, one commentator suggested that if the commissioners of the Australian Soccer Federation really wanted to enhance the popularity of soccer in Australia, they should not stop at mere "cosmetic surgery". If they were really interested in increasing attendance at soccer matches, commissioners should consider changing their own names (Papasavas and Labozzetta), banning players with ethnic names (Blago Jevic and Van Blerk), or even forbidding the consumption of ethnic food (pizza and souvlaki) at all soccer matches. Many columnists and editors in English-language newspapers supported the right of "ethnic clubs" to use whatever names they chose. Titles were forthright: "Let Soccer Keep Its Identity"; "Soccer Australia Pushes Its Vanilla Vision".²¹⁸

The National Soccer League, in other words, was a genuinely hybrid cultural form characterized by difference and contradiction, rather than purity and cohesion. This very hybridity made it unassimilable into an essentialist, ethnic nationalist narrative of Australia.

217 Ibid., p. 373.

218 Ibid., p. 374.

By the late 1990s, the campaign to “de-ethnicize” the sport of soccer in Australia seemed to have succeeded. The weaker “ethnic clubs” like Preston Makedonia and Heidelberg Alexander had been forced out of the league and replaced by new “mainstream” clubs. In addition, the Australian national soccer team was enjoying unprecedented media attention as it fought to qualify for the 1998 World Cup Finals.

These developments offer important insights into the process of narrating the nation in Australian soccer. The fact that a league produced to conform to a narrative of traditional Australian ethnic nationalism was then marketed as the epitome of Australian multiculturalism demonstrates both the continued power and the serious limitations of a unitary narrative of the Australian nation. It also indicates that only a very weak and superficial form of multiculturalism is acceptable in Australian society. Finally, it illustrates what Bhabha has called ‘the ambivalence of the nation as a narrative strategy and an apparatus of power’ (1990b:292).²¹⁹

These three examples of past mistakes (but they are not the only ones)²²⁰ - “terra nullius”, “enemy aliens” and “the National Soccer Federation” - have left us with outcomes that have to be regarded as sub-optimal, if not disastrous.

It would be highly presumptuous to point the finger at and pronounce definitive sentence on the deeds of our forebears and contemporaries, on the assumption (hardly to be proved conclusively) that Australia would have been a better place if different choices had been made. Such thinking would scarcely amount to anything more than futile and indulgent fantasy. They faced, as we do, their own dilemmas and their ability to choose the best course of action was at times severely clouded by anxieties, such as the protection of their own security and safety (territory) at the expense of others. An outcome which is not exclusive to Australia, when compared to less successful integration in some European countries.²²¹

219 Ibid., p. 376.

220 See Crotty, Martin and Roberts, David Andrew (eds), *The great mistakes of Australian History*, op. cit. The thirteen chapters in the book detail and report on thirteen “great mistakes” in Australia’s past.

221 Kurther, Hermann and Schmitter, Barbara Heisler, “Immigrant Integration: Comparative Evidence from the United States and Germany”, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 32, 1, 2009, 139-70; also Bright, Richard Alba, “U.S. Blurred Boundaries: Second generation assimilation in France, Germany and the United States”, Dept. of Sociology, The University of Albany, SUNY; Brubaker, Roger, “The return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and its sequels in France, Germany and the United States”, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2001, vol. 24, no. 4, 531-48.

But one thing is undeniable: their dilemmas have somehow fine-tuned our own, making a “unitary national identity” a problem we still wrestle with.²²² As Sarah Maddison states in a recent paper,

*this article considers the dimensions of historical, collective guilt, and explores the implications of that guilt for contemporary national identity in postcolonial nations. It argues that until a nation is able to deal with social psychological barriers to addressing historical injustice, it is likely to construct and maintain a narrow and defensive form of nationalism.*²²³

That is the reason why, before tackling incorporation and globalization problems, Jeffrey G. Reitz and others speak about “Pre-existing Ethnic and Race Relations in Host Societies”.²²⁴ And we should be thinking about the likely repercussions in the future.²²⁵

We are still seeking solutions to Aborigines’ disadvantage and yet idolising their art; combating a war on terrorism that, at the moment, is difficult to anticipate where it

222 The lead article for the first issue of the Australian edition of *Time* (mid-1986), when it describes a naturalization ceremony, remarks: “They will leave, after a supper of tea... and go forth into a country of neat nature strips and confused national identity. Just as the different accents merge into an indecipherable whole as eleven voices repeat the oath, Australia today is a cultural casserole, a mixture of nationalities joined more by geography than ideology. In a year of consensus, a time of self-examination, and two years before the centennial, a time of self-congratulation, we are a people unsure not only where we are going but also who we are”. See Castles, S, et al., *Mistaken Identity, Multiculturalism, and the demise of Nationalism in Australia*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1988, pp. 101-102.

223 Maddison, Sarah, “Postcolonial Guilt and national Identity: Historical Injustice and the Australian settler state”, *Social Identities* Vol. 18, No. 6, November 2012, 695-709. The same claim that confronting (unavoidable) information about unjust or immoral acts committed by members of a social group to which we belong is highly unpleasant and can pose a threat to social and national identity is supported by a number of authors, such as Roccas, Sonia, Klan, Yechiel, and Liviatan, Ido, “Exonerating cognitions, group identification and personal predictors of collective guilt among Jewish-Israelis”, in Branscombe, Nyla and Doosje, Bertjan (eds) *Collective guilt: International perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 130-47; Augoustinos, Martha and Le Conteur, Amanda, “On whether to apologise to Indigenous Australians: The denial of white guilt”, in Branscombe and Doosie (eds), *ibid.*, pp. 236-61; David C. Williams, “In praise of guilt: How the yearning for moral purity blocks reparations for Native Americans”, in Lenzerini, Federico (ed.) *Reparations for Indigenous peoples: International and comparative perspectives*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2008, pp. 229-49; McGarty, Craig and Blüch, Ana-Maria, “Refining the meaning of the ‘collective’ in collective guilt: Harm, guilt and the Apology in Australia” in Branscombe and Doosie (eds), *Collective Guilt*, op. cit., pp. 112-29.

224 Reitz, Jeffrey G., *Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants*, Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California, San Diego, 2003, pp. 21-151.

225 Opeskin, Brian, “Managing International Migration in Australia: Human rights and the ‘Last Major redoubt of Unfettered National Sovereignty’”, in *International Migration Review*, 46, 3 (Fall 2012), 551-85.

will lead us, and yet taking pride in the fact that so far Australian society has been fairly immune from violent attacks, save a recent violent attack in a Sydney café and another on two police officers in Melbourne; we have modestly improved our recognition that migrants can play a vital contribution to the progress of Australian society and yet we make entry into Australia a testing process,²²⁶ particularly strenuous for refugees.²²⁷

In Australia, as in other western countries, the insecurity and the related desire for order seem to have reached a new level of intensity in recent years, particularly after the events of September 11. Hardly a day goes by that one doesn't read headlines attesting to the potential dangers of immigration and the renewed efforts to keep "them" out.²²⁸ Or at least to minimise the immigrants' impact on the level of employment.²²⁹ However, the story, as in any other discussion, may corroborate the statement that, if there is a downside to history, there is, by equal right, an upside for both the national economy, international trade as well as national cohesion.²³⁰

226 One of the salient features surrounding contemporary migration flows, according to Graeme Hugo, is the "Proliferating global immigration industry". The growth of migration agents in Australia has been steady. See "Migration Agent Activity report", in *Quarterly Report on the provision of Immigration Assistance in Australia*, July-September 2014, Quarter 1, pp. 1-10.

227 See Blay, Sam, "Restrictive Trends in Migration Flows: a Postcard from Australia", in *JMRI*, 2, 1, 29-42. See also Brennan, Frank, "Human rights as a challenge to National Policies that Exclude Refugees" (pp. 97-108) and Tomasi, Silvano, "Human Rights as a framework for Advocacy on behalf of the Displaced: the Approach of the Catholic Church", in Hollenbach, David (ed.), *Driven from Home*, op. cit.

228 Articles abound such as "Europe's unwelcome Guests", in Maria Margaronis, *The Nation*, May 27, 2001, 14-20.

229 See the note "The Impact of Recent Immigration on the Australian Workforce" by Bob Birrell and Ernest Healy, in Centre for Population and Urban Research-February 2013, and see also Birrell and Healy *Immigration overshoot*, Centre for Population and Urban Research, Monash University, Nov. 2012. A different opinion is expressed by Hsiao-chuan Chang, in "The Impact of Immigration on the wage differential in Australia", Dept. of Economics, Melbourne University Research, Paper no. 859: "There is no evidence that immigration exerts significant downward pressure on the unskilled wage", extract, p. 2. A good command of English may have an impact on both the level of employment and the frequency of inter-racial marriages. See Guven, Cahit and Islamd, Asadul, "Age at Migration, Language Proficiency and Socio-economic Outcomes: Evidence from Australia", Dept. of Economics, Monash University, Discussion Paper 18/13.

230 Mankit, Sydney, *The Impact of International Migration on International Trade: An Empirical Study of Australian Migrant Intake from Asian Countries* (Thesis), degree of Doctor of Philosophy, School of Applied Economics, Faculty of Business and Law, Victoria University, Melbourne, Australia, May 2008.

The brighter side of history and culture

In “A Hybrid Australia, where identity has a multilayered crunch”,²³¹ Julianne Schultz²³² wisely comments that:

While there is a lot of chat on social media, the traditional platforms have shrunk. Stimulating an inclusive national conversation may be easier than ever, but drawing meaningful lessons from it is harder. Societies such as Australia, where more than a quarter of the population was born overseas, are well suited to this global age in which people, ideas and dollars move with great ease and enormous speed. But success also depends on a clear sense of identity. The shorthand we have used in the past no longer captures the reality of what being Australian means in the 21st century. Unless we can redefine this, we run the risk of becoming irrelevant.

Promoters of tourism and airlines will thrive on clichés, such as bush, beer, beach, animal rarities and sometimes, not as often as they should, on Aboriginal art to emphasise the uniqueness of Australia. This is the reason why we should never judge a country by its brochures. Publicity through promotional materials is being made of indigenous values and icons, which most of us do not understand, and images of the great outback, such as in *Crocodile Dundee*, where very few of us live, and even those few living in the open spaces are continually, visually and emotionally, connected with city life.

And, yet, notwithstanding rising unemployment and concerns about economic performance and possible welfare dependency,²³³ contemporary Australians have not reacted negatively to the immigration intake and temporary migrant numbers.²³⁴ Their assessment is not without a good foundation, in relation to international trade,

231 See *Conversation*, 12 december, 2014.

232 Professor Julianne Schultz AM (born 1956) is an Australian academic, journalist and author and/or editor of more than thirty books and is also the founding editor of Australian literary journal *Griffith Review*. She is currently a Professor at Griffith University's Centre for Public Culture and Ideas and is Chair of the Queensland Design Council. She is also the librettist to two operas composed by her brother, Andrew Schultz, titled *Black River* and *Going into Shadows*.

233 Khoo, Siew-Ean, “Correlates of welfare dependency among immigrants in Australia”, in *International Migration Review*, 28, (Spring 1994), 105, 68-93.

234 “In the past year temporary immigrants (679,333) outnumbered permanent immigrants (201,850) by a ratio of around three to one. Some 253,047 of these were foreign students, with working holiday makers (222,922) and temporary long-stay business visas (125,070), mostly on 457 visas, taking up most of the other temporary migrant places”. See Jock Collins, “The changing face of Australian Immigration”, in *The Conversation*, 8 June 2013.

particularly to Asian countries;²³⁵ in relation to the impact on Australia's ageing population;²³⁶ in relation to presumed "job grabbing" ²³⁷ or decompression of wages by immigrants;²³⁸ in relation to the overall crime and imprisonment rates which are consistently lower for the "overseas born" than those for the "native born";²³⁹ and, lastly, in relation to the human, social, and natural and produced capital generated by migrants. The team of researchers led by Kerry Carrington is quite definite in their assessment:

The main conclusion to be drawn from this study is that the social benefits of migration far outweigh the costs, especially in the longer term. The evidence that is available overwhelmingly supports the view that migrants to Australia have made and continue to make substantial contributions to Australia's stock of human, social and produced capital. Most migrants have come to Australia to work, produce, and fill skills shortages. In addition, migrants are generally healthier than the resident population providing a further boost to human capital stocks. The migrant presence has also substantially increased the range and viability of available recreational and cultural activities for all Australians. Australia is characterised by relatively high levels of inter-marriage between migrants and the Australia-born, and this fact alone is evidence of the success of migration outcomes. These factors encourage most migrants to embrace Australian society, its political and cultural norms and through participation in various aspects of community life.²⁴⁰

Australians have defied predictions and trends prevalent elsewhere, particularly in Europe. Just 35% consider that the intake at the moment is too high (the lowest proportion of the seven Scanlon Foundation national surveys), while 58% agree

235 Lung, Sidney Mankit, "The Impact of International Migration on International Trade: an empirical study of Australian migrant intake from Asian countries" (thesis), Victoria University, 2008.

236 McDonald, Peter and Kippen, Rebecca, "The Impact of Immigration on the ageing of Australia's population" (Paper), Commonwealth of Australia, 1999.

237 Parasnis, Jaai et al., "The impact of Immigration on native workers in Australia" (Paper), Monash University, Caulfield (Vic.),

238 Chang, Hsiao-chuan, "The impact of Immigration on the wage differential in Australia", Research Paper no. 859, Melbourne University, 2002.

239 Francis, R.D., *Birthplace, Migration and Crime. The Australian Experience*. Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2014.

240 Carrington, Kerry et al., "The Social Costs and Benefits of Migration into Australia", Centre for Applied Research in Social Sciences, University of New England, (NSW), April 2007.

that it is about right or too low.²⁴¹ This open-mindedness is severely reduced when people are being asked about boat arrivals and illegal entries:²⁴² less than 30% of the population support permanent settlement in Australia for boat arrivals. And yet, no major survey has been undertaken to assess the positive or negative adjustment process of the boat arrivals who, since becoming eligible for acceptance, have become permanent residents in Australia.

Andrew Markus of the Pratt Foundation Research at Monash University, notes that

The majority of Australians view their country as an immigration nation, and there is broad acceptance of the consequent cultural diversity. In the 2013 survey, 84% of respondents agreed that multiculturalism 'has been good for Australia'; 75% agreed that it 'benefits the economic development of Australia'; and 71% agreed that it 'encourages immigrants to become part of Australia'.²⁴³

An equally positive assessment is made in a study published by a team of researchers led by Kerry Carrington, when they state:

Migrants contribute in positive ways to the productive diversity of Australia through investment in housing, in the transformation of urban areas, the creation of new businesses, the supply of products, the provision of new and different skills, and through other types of entrepreneurial activities. From the perspective of the host country, migration contributes substantially to Australia's capacity for innovation, productive diversity and economic prosperity, opening up valuable cultural and business opportunities with the rest of the world. As an island continent in the southern hemisphere the benefits to Australia, while incalculable, clearly have been enormous... Most social costs associated with migration are short term and generally arise from the integration phase of the settlement process. While issues such as lack of English proficiency, cultural integration, infrastructure inadequacies and religious fundamentalism were

241 Markus, Andrew, "Continuity and Change: Australian Option in a time of stress and fear", in *The Conversation*, 29 October 2014.

242 Stokes, Patrick, "Drowning mercy: why we fear the boats", in *The Conversation*, 26 July 2013. In the same mood a former Labor Party President, Barry Jones, writes in "Is care for Refugees the greatest moral challenge of our time?", *Mercatornet*, August 1, 2013: "I have been dismayed that, for more than a decade, populist politics (and reporting) have produced a deformed debate on refugees".

243 Markus, Andrew, "Tracking social cohesion and cultural diversity in the media", in *The Conversation*, Oct. 25, 2013.

*raised as matters of concern to the host community in the focus groups, it is difficult, on the basis of the interview data, to gauge the actual social costs involved.*²⁴⁴

In the search for what is “peculiarly Australian”,²⁴⁵ one should be mindful of the fact that contemporary realities, as we have seen earlier, indicate that national identity and cohesion is not so much a product framed in terms of external threats. Furthermore, as Australia prepares to live the “Asian Century”, perhaps efforts should be mounted to create opportunities, as if living in a “continental classroom”, to learn from one another, to win friends and to have friends in Asia.²⁴⁶

And the best way is to start with Asian migrants in Australia.²⁴⁷ Australians may resemble “insular internationalists” who travel but are seen to ignore the world, according to Michael Wesley, a keen foreign policy mind.²⁴⁸ A particular brand of inclusive behaviour should be promoted at home. According to an ABC old-timer (31 years of service),

244 Carrington, Kerry et al. (eds), “The Social Costs and Benefits of Migration into Australia”, op. cit.

245 Tim Rowse and Albert Moran, “‘Peculiarly Australian’ - The Political Construction of Cultural Identity”, in Encel, S. et al., *Australian Society. Introductory Essays*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 229-79.

246 In the late 1980s, Ma Wei Pin, Regional Secretary of the Asian-Pacific International Union of Food and Allied Workers’ Association stated: “Coming from societies that are the fastest growing in the world they bring skills, experience in management and entrepreneur capabilities that only come from working in such economic hothouses... Their societies are in the throes of modernization politics and the process is throwing up emigrants of various kinds. Their entry into Australian society will increase Australia’s understanding of its Asian neighbour on the one hand and on the other hand increase Australia’s acceptability in the Asian neighbourhood, all of which enhances Australia’s chances of a successful economic link-up with the fastest growing economic region in the world.” See Pin, Ma Wei, “Immigration: It’s about Australia’s place in the world”, in Easson, Michael (ed.), *Australia and Immigration: able to grow?* Pluto Press, Leichhardt, (NSW), 1990, p. 146. See also several contributions by different authors in Chapters V, VI, VII and VIII in Beaumont, J., *Where to Now? Australia’s identity in the Nineties*, The Federation Press, Annandale (NSW), 1993, pp. 83-206.

247 Clark, Juliet “Perceptions of Australian cultural identity among Asian Australians”, in *Australasian Journal of Social Issues*, 42, 3 (Spring 2007): “the main causality of these findings is that transnational citizens from particular social backgrounds not only hold local and global identification but also in some cases identify strongly with the national”, p. 303. See also the presentation by Anthony Milner, “Australian-Asian Perceptions”, in Beaumont, J. (ed.), *Where to now? Australia’s identity in the Nineties*, op.cit., pp. 122-32.

248 Broinowski, Alison, “The ‘lucky, lazy country’ shows how not to win friends in Asia”, in *The Conversation*, 12 October 2011.

*The ABC content makers group has the lowest percentage of NESB people – at only 8.3%. Of course that figure may well get even lower after the recent job losses at Australia Network and Radio Australia, which, as part of ABC International, is a division with one of the highest ratios of NESB staff... We need to see more diversity on our screen, we need to hear different voices and we need to see different names on opinion pieces and articles online to reflect Australia today.*²⁴⁹

The task of “Managing cultural diversity at work”,²⁵⁰ or anywhere else for that matter, is not a simple task. How to manage a culturally diverse workforce well will depend upon a number of factors which relate to the nature of the organization itself and the socio-cultural context in which it operates. Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis²⁵¹ are even more forthright:

*Instead of the singular corporate culture that produces excellent ghettos, we must thrive on internal variety and permeable boundaries. Instead of conflict resolution which leads to sublimated frustration, we need to build on productive dissonance. Instead of self-directed teams that find themselves engaged in introspective self-policing, we need multiple, overlapping, fluid, task-focused work groups. Instead of quality assurance which turns into quantity surveillance, we need to focus on value intangibles. Instead of benchmarking which forces mindless conformity, we need to create a culture of creativity that comes up with quirky solutions and that is capable of going, beyond, around or at a tangent to prevailing standards.*²⁵²

To be harnessed successfully and productively in the social sphere, diversity, and above all human diversity not just technical skills, must be known, appreciated and welcomed for what it is. And not for what it appears to be or anyone wants it to be.

249 Vatsikopoulos, Helen, “Whose Australian Stories? Cultural diversity at the ABC”, in *The Conversation*, 23 July 2014.

250 Ansari, Khizar Humayun and Jackson, June, *Managing Cultural Diversity at work*, Kogan Page, London, 1995.

251 See Cope, Bill and Kalantzis, Mary, “Productive Diversity”, in Jupp, James, *The Australian People. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origin*, op. cit., pp. 818-23. The same authors explain (just citing the three main headings): productive diversity translates into workplace practices in the following way: 1. being close to clients means recognising their differences; 2. markets are not level playing-fields; 3. good management involves creating a pluralistic corporate culture.

252 Cope, Bill and Kalantzis, Mary, *Productive Diversity. A new, Australian Model for Work and Management*, Pluto Press, Annandale (NSW), 1997, p. 16.

We need strategic optimism.²⁵³

However, “strategic optimism”, like any other human quality, needs to be motivated and nourished by sustained efforts at harnessing the new cultural visions embodied in such diverse migration flows as have landed in Australia. The often repeated or quoted statement that Australia is a “nation of immigrants” needs to be embraced clearly in its varied interpretations, inner workings and practical consequences. It may evolve only when the right ingredients are utilised.

In the three or four decades following World War Two, a huge number of publications appeared, studying and surveying the adjustment processes of mostly European migrants; this was produced either within the confines of particular groups²⁵⁴ or framed within their collective experience, or else undertaken by individuals or institutional forces (such as universities and centres for migration studies)²⁵⁵ which are interested in assessing the migrants’ impact on the Australian economy and nation. The Anglo-dominated mono-cultural society visible in 1945²⁵⁶ gradually gave way to a situation, which, in the 1980s and 1990s, was definitely shifting: the English-speaking mono-cultural majority could not avoid interacting with substantial ethnic minorities of European origin and, from the 1980s onwards, increasingly

253 Ibid., p. 282.

254 A rough census of all publications about the Italian community in Australia (first generation and their descendants) would indicate that approximately 750 titles have been published in book form, monographs, articles in specialised journals etc. See, for example, Castles, S. et al. (eds), *Australia's Italians. Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, Fondazione Agnelli, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1992 and Genovesi, Pietro and Musolino, Walter (eds), *In Search of the Italian Australian into the New Millenium. Conference; Proceedings Melbourne, 24-26 May 2000*, Gro-Set, Melbourne, 2000 (bibliography on pp. 842-76). Numerous articles have been published in *Studi Emigrazione* and *Altreltalie*. The role played by the Italian press in Australia is examined in Mascitelli, Bruno and Battiston, Simone, *Il Globo. Fifty Years of an Italian Newspaper in Australia*, Connorcourt Publishing, Ballan (Vic.), 2009.

255 See the informative and detailed presentation of many different ethnic groups, including Aborigines and the British, in Jupp, James (ed.), *The Australian people. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their origins*, op. cit.. The Encyclopedia was one of the most important and successful publications of the bicentennial year and this second, revised edition marked the centenary of Federation (2001). 125 ethnic groups are presented in the Encyclopedia by different experts. See the very useful and extensive bibliography, pp. 868-930.

256 Evans, Raymond, “The White Australia Policy”, in Jupp, James (ed.), *ibid.*, pp. 44-49.

with those of Asian, South American and African origin. This heterogeneity has led to a recognition of plural or multicultural Australia, with the earlier Anglo-Celtic component being supplemented by many non-English speaking groups.²⁵⁷

In this process of mutual adjustment, of trying to look again beyond one's own cultural visions and paradigms, as in any schooling process, clearly not all participants (cultural minorities²⁵⁸ and majority) received sufficient attention. As the majority owns and controls institutional forces, so the relative weakness of a minority exposes it to being pressured towards assimilation, as in the case of the Veneti in Melbourne.²⁵⁹ Multiculturalism at the level of increased variety of restaurants, markets and shopping arcades, in the architecture of some buildings and in art galleries or similar venues, is one thing, but all that does not necessarily meet the needs of non-English speakers in the workplace, nor in educational, cultural and religious institutions. My personal assessment in relation to this has already been stated:

*The pressure exercised by the majority towards assimilation is a fact, regardless of its purpose. To limit it would require special efforts, a 'positive discrimination', the intentional protection of minorities. This kind of action can only be expected where the majority regards the safeguarding of the minority and equal opportunities for it as a moral, cultural or social gain. All too often that is not the case.*²⁶⁰

The same point is made rather forcefully by Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland and Robert Urquhart:

Assessments of Australia's imported human resources purely as commodities akin to goods that can be purchased in a supermarket, conducted in a conceptually-confined perspective of economic reductionism, ignore the social and cultural as well as economic values immigrants do or potentially can contribute to the development of skills and to the production process. Because human production, be it material or mental, is a cultural product, the full value of that production

257 See the concluding chapter of Foster, Lois and Stockley, David, *Multiculturalism: The Changing Australian Paradigm*, op. cit., pp. 130-43.

258 There are two very enlightening articles: Baubock, Rainer "Cultural Minority Rights for Immigrants", and Parekh, Bhikhu, "Minority Practices and Principles of Toleration", in *International Migration Review*, 30, (Spring 1996), 113, 203-50 and 251-85.

259 See for example Clemens, A., *Crossing the Boundaries. The Veneti in Melbourne, 1937-1997* (thesis), Melbourne, Dept. of History, University of Melbourne, 1997.

260 Paganoni, Anthony, *Valiant Struggles and Benign Neglect. Italians, Church and Religious Societies in Diaspora. The Australian Experience from 1950 to 2000*, Center for Migration Studies, New York, 2003, p. 148.

*cannot be realised without cultural acceptance by, and cultural transformation of, the social environment in which the production has taken place. That social environment has to include the environment of the social institutions through which the command over resources through time is exercised. In other words, for society to achieve the full potential of the human resources imported through immigration, conditions need to be created for cultural transformation to encompass the entire social structure.*²⁶¹

The National Multicultural Conference held at the suggestion of the then Commissioner for Community relations, the Hon. A.J. Grassby in the 1970s, highlighted the fact that a combined coalition of community interests might have been anticipated as the direction to take. The national gathering was preceded by a series of conferences at the state level lasting three years. Aside from insisting that school students learn about the cultural backgrounds and languages of their “new” classmates, concern was also expressed over the tardiness of welfare services, of hospitals and medical practitioners, of the media in granting adequate recognition to the varying cultural patterns fairly widespread in Australia.²⁶² From some of the conferences there emerged task forces and other educational bodies emerged, committed to following through with action:

*By 1979 one such Task Force in Canberra was proposing a follow-up to the earlier ACT conference, in the form of a national gathering to examine the prospects of multiculturalism reshaping community life Australia-wide in the 1980s. The venture was conceived not only as much broader than the earlier State conferences in the sweep of its agenda but also in its target audience: no longer the small band of campaigners, but, it was hoped, the leadership echelons of all segments of Australian life.*²⁶³

261 Jamrozik, Adam et al., *Social Change and cultural transformation in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1995, p. 179. That immigrants' entrepreneurial spirit may be an antidote to economic downturn is demonstrated by a report on immigrants' entrepreneurial activities in Italy. Supported by IDOS, Chamber of commerce and IOM, the report indicates that while a downward trend has hit Italian firms (-1.6%), there has been an increase of 9.5% between 2011 and 2013. See “L'Italia delle imprese è sempre più straniera”, in *Settimana*, 7 settembre 2014, n. 30, 7. See also Jaai Parani, et al. *The Impact of Immigration on Native Workers in Australia*, Department of Economics, Monash University, Caulfield, (Vic), 31-45, Australia.

262 Phillips, Donald J., and Houston, Jim (eds), *Australian Multicultural Society. Identity, communication and decision making*, Dove Communications, Blackburn (Vic.), 1984, IX-XII.

263 Ibid., X.

Aside from these ground-breaking and innovative moves at the government level, there were some publications which made a very serious attempt to expand the knowledge of migrant communities beyond the usual clichés in the 1970s and 1980s.

Des Storer dealt with the differences of language and culture by examining the family structure and systems of Italian, Yugoslav, Greek, Turkish, Lebanese, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Vietnamese and Aboriginal groupings:

Social workers, police, youth workers, doctors, nurses, teachers and other services all face clients of whom one quarter were born overseas (approx. 55% of them non-English) and a further 20% of whom have at least one parent born overseas. Though language is a problem it is not a major one. To their credit, many professionals recognise that beyond language barriers lies a vast ignorance and insensitivity to different value systems deeply entrenched and dearly held. There are other professionals of course who are unaware of their ignorance or who feel that 'migrants' must in any case give up their old value systems and learn to accept the 'Australian way'. The assimilation thrust, as comically portrayed in 'They're a Weird Mob', still holds widespread sway.²⁶⁴

The thrust of another publication was a snap-shot of the many angles of a multicultural society:

...this collection of readings was never planned at a university or by a committee, but was a natural by-product of an occasion of great significance to the 500 people involved in it: an historic conference (July 1980) which brought together people from every State and Territory in Australia, and from a great range of occupational backgrounds, meeting in the national capital to mark the decade of the 1980s, but taking a hard look at the prospects and problems of multiculturalism.²⁶⁵

In theorising about and assessing a number of official policies undertaken in Australia since the end of World War II, Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey note that in a relatively "quiet place" such as Australia much is happening:

264 Storer, Des (ed.), *Ethnic Family Values in Australia*, Prentice-Hall of Australia, 1985, Foreword IX. See also the informative volume by Cox, David R., *Welfare Practice in a Multicultural Society*, Prentice Hall, London, 1989. The publication is the result of the author's experience in field work: 17 years as a social worker and 10 as a teacher of social workers.

265 Phillips, Donald J. and Houston, Jim, *Australian Multicultural Society. Identity, communication, decision-making*, Dove Communications, Blackburn (Vic.), 1984, Preface, VII.

Here, perhaps more than almost any other country on earth and for reasons peculiar and accidental to its modern history, is the site of a uniquely 'advanced' series of processes which overlay each other: internationalisation / regionalisation / localization. These forces seemingly tugging in opposite directions, have shaped themselves into a crucible of experimentation. The experiences and practical implementation by no means constitute a polished set of findings. Rather they are an attempt to solve epochal dilemmas in an environment less inhibited than many others by the baggage of nationalism.²⁶⁶

Conclusion

Australia is often referred to as the "newest continent", on the basis of its relatively recent discovery by then British colonial powers. But its geographical location becomes rather immaterial, when one takes into consideration its present "workshop facilities", where the whole wide world lives in miniature, due to the intake of migrants from all over the globe. No one wants to obscure the "great mistakes of Australian History", with their emphasis on territorial rights and safety.²⁶⁷ Every national community throughout the world has recorded a number of ups and downs, and one should not swing the pendulum towards a consuming sense of national guilt and shame. Rather, this is the time to actively promote a strategy of optimism,²⁶⁸ mapping out a path of confidence and active citizenship, relying on the many cultures and identities in motion all across Australia. This "re-thinking,

266 Castles, Stephen, et al., *Mistaken Identity*, op. cit., p. 188.

267 See the reflections in "Mark your territory", in Doty, Roxanne Lynn, *Anti-Immigrantism in Western Democracies*, op. cit., pp. 32-44.

268 Cope, Bill and Kalantzis, Mary, *Productive Diversity. A New, Australian Model for Work and Management*, op. cit., p. 282.

re-visiting and re-shuffling”²⁶⁹ of both policies and understandings,²⁷⁰ coupled with a successive and continual “brewing” of different points of view and lifestyles, is the sign that migrants are active agents of transformation, aside from filling known gaps in Australia’s ageing population and labour market,²⁷¹ and of a sense of culture:

*We are a country not without culture, but without a sense of culture. That distinction is crucial. Australia does not lack art, artists or audiences. But as a nation we find it hard to see culture in any but consumerist terms. Debates about cultural value degenerate into stoushes over personal preference – Schoenberg symphonies versus school concerts, elitism versus equity. Lack of catholicity of taste transmutes into cultural rigidity, even intolerance. For all the talk about a technologically connected world and the Asian century, the drivers of our national imagination feel querulous and underpowered.*²⁷²

Wherever they go, but particularly in Australia, migrants carry with them the determination to succeed.²⁷³ “Migrants strike gold in Aussie population rush” was the title of an article which appeared recently:

269 See the Chapter “Conclusion: Re-thinking the Paradigm of multiculturalism”, in Foster, Lois and Stockley, David, *Multiculturalism*, op., cit., pp. 130-43. See also “Cultural Transformation: The Australian Search for Identity”, in Jamrozik, Adam, et al., *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, op. cit., pp. 207-31. At the time the book was published, the authors were of the opinion that “the transformation has been more extensive in those sections of society where Australian-born people have come into direct contact with the immigrant population in the course of their everyday life, in the workplace and in the towns and suburbs in which they live. Indeed, in working-class communities certain signs of transformation are visible in the patterns of everyday life, but in the middle-class suburbs and in the core institutions little, if any, change has taken place”, pp. 207-8.

270 Foster, L. E and Stockley, D. M., “Multiculturalism in the Australian Educational Context: Policy and the Management of knowledge”, paper presented to a conference on “The origins and operations of Educational Systems” sponsored by the Sociology of Education Committee of the International Sociological Association, Paris, 1980.

271 Paganoni, Anthony, “Recognising the dignity of ageing, implications for Italian elderly migrants in Australia”, in *Studi migrazione*, no. 194 (aprile-giugno 2014), 244-75. See also McDonald, Peter and Kippen, Rebecca, *The Impact of Immigration on the Ageing of Australia’s Population*, May 1999 - Paper. See also McDonald, Peter and Temple, Jeromy, *The long-term effects of Ageing and Immigration upon Labour Supply and per Capita Gross Domestic Product: Australia 2012-2062*, Canberra, October 2013.

272 Meyrick, Julian, “Does Australia get culture”, in *The Conversation*, 27 October 2013, 4-5.

273 For a more in-depth analysis, see Chapter 1: “Social Causes of the Economic Success of Immigrants”, in Reitz, Jeffrey G., *Warmth of the Welcome*, op. cit., pp. 3-44.

Sixty years of multiculturalism have led to Australia now having its highest proportion (28.1%) of foreign-born residents since the gold rush (29% in 1894).²⁷⁴

Surveys and studies are rather repetitious in supporting the view that the more outward-looking and dynamic persons in their countries of origin leave in search of a better future. As pointed out earlier, it would be highly beneficial if at the level of mutual and deeply-felt desires locally-born and migrants could come to a happy accord. Back in the 1970s, Jerzy Zubrzycki, the chairman of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, expressed his deep longing and far-sighted vision in the following words:

I look forward to the day when history books will tell us that Australia became freely accepted by the nations of Asia as one of us; that Australia became a multi-racial society and that the nation's resources were used for the first time to make possible the reign of justice and compassion in our part of the world.²⁷⁵

The on-going search for national identity calls for both an internal and an external dimension of the self in both native-born and foreign-born.²⁷⁶ In our globalised world, both are necessary, whether they be at the personal, group or national level. Internal events are of interest to neighbouring countries for the same reason that events in those countries are of interest to Australia. And for that reason, it will be difficult for Australia not to be mindful of the fact that potential migrants in many densely populated countries in Asia regard Australia as a *terra semi-nullius*.

The Catholic Church in Australia

Its uniqueness

An understanding of the term “catholicity” is of paramount importance when we speak of the Catholic Church in Australia, whether we view it as a geographically-bounded reality, as nothing more than an extension of the universal Catholic Church, or rather as a spiritual and yet organizational entity which, while reflecting its world-wide reach and ethos, has also developed its own momentum, rhythm and peculiar

274 Gothe-Snape, Jackson, in *The Advertiser*, Friday January 30, 2015, p. 9.

275 Cited in Jamrozik, Adam, et al., *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, op. cit., pp. 227-28.

276 Mackie, Fiona, “The Ethnic self”, in Beilharz, Peter and Hogan, Trevor (eds), *Social self, Global Culture. An Introduction to Sociological Ideas*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.32-42.

identity. According to a well-known Italian theologian,²⁷⁷ recent developments within the Church and the world have stretched the known boundaries of catholicity. On the basis of an insightful theological sense of the universality of the Triune God, the whole world has come to be seen and experienced as a celebration of life, in its many, infinite forms. This prophetic vision has embraced the whole world through the issuing of several documents at the Second Vatican Council. As a result, the prophetic role of every baptised Catholic has been unleashed and local communities are being mobilised to read the “sign of the times” around them.²⁷⁸

This has meant adopting a creative approach to that many-splendoured thing called diversity, even at the level of religious belonging (see Appendix 3 “birthplace by religion”); diversity of cultures, of rites, of moods, and of expression, all of which have become part of the cultural heritage of Christianity, and, at times, have recaptured and reconsidered its “old” values. Some of these discoveries of both old and new treasures have not been without great disputes and controversies which have characterised the history of the Catholic community in many parts of the world.²⁷⁹ And they also feature prominently in our contemporary Catholic world. We live in a world that is constantly changing and re-formulating its options at political, cultural and religious levels.

This is where the unique make-up of local churches comes into play. The legitimate local differences are not only those that have been sanctioned by the central authority, but those incorporating all the stimuli that keep appearing on the local turf of communities, which have become increasingly multicultural. This will inevitably create tension between the centre and the peripheries and within the peripheries themselves. Believers will do well to keep in mind that, even if the seeds of the Word have been sown in the world, both within and outside the Church, their ultimate source is the same. Uniqueness and universality have, according to a Judeo-Christian view, only ONE source.

It is not the intention here to scan all the different philosophical and theological approaches existing within the Catholic Church, or in the colourful ecumenical

277 Sartori, Luigi, “Cattolicità”, in Barbaglio, Giuseppe, et al. (eds), *Teologia. Dizionario*, San Paolo, Cinisello Balsamo, Milano, 2002, pp. 180-98.

278 See the interesting collage of experiences by many ethnic groups in Australia in Richmond, Helen and Yank Myong Ank, *Crossing Borders. Shaping faith, ministry and identity in Multicultural Australia*, UCA Assembly, Sydney, 2006.

279 See the enlightening discussions by several philosophers and sociologists in Werbner, Pnina and Modood, Tariq, *Debating Cultural Hybridity. Multi-cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, Zed books, London, 2000. Of particular interest is the chapter “From Complex Culture to Cultural Complexity”, by Hans-Rudolf Wicker, pp. 29-46.

scene of the Christian Churches (interpretation of Holy Scripture and of several historical developments, such as the Reformation, for example). An unalterable fact remains true for all differences: unless they are expressed, discussed at the local and general level, adopted and implemented, how can the urgings of the Spirit be seen as relevant, and become a sign? Obviously this requires as a necessary prior condition that in order to trade one's own gifts with other human realities, a community must develop some of its charismatic qualities over the course of time.

And in order to simplify our discussion regarding the Catholic Church vis-à-vis international migrants the following three connected questions would seem helpful. For the Church and also for individual Catholics, first and foremost will not be so much the question asked of any migrant, particularly by civil officials, "*what are you good at?*" that will be of interest and concern, but rather "*who are you?*" and more markedly "*what can we achieve together?*".

The onus and the honour to ensure that this common endeavour progresses well rests on the sending and receiving Churches.²⁸⁰ There is no scarcity of official (Papal and Bishops' conferences) and semi-official pronouncements (individual Bishops and/or religious organizations) in this regard.²⁸¹ And yet, as Graziano Tassello observes,²⁸² notwithstanding the increasing number of pastoral workers involved with the many forms of contemporary human mobility, there is hardly any handbook to guide and support the workers in the field. This lack of practical and concrete guidelines seems to arise from the fact that many still believe that the care of migrants is the result mostly of social aid being made available, instead of focusing on the migrant person as the theological locus of catholicity in the Church. In other words, the migrant is not confined to the passive role of being a recipient of services offered by any

280 Tassello, Graziano Giovanni, "Chiesa di destinazione", and "Chiesa di origine", in Battistella, Graziano (ed.), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, SIMI and San Paolo, 2010, pp. 122-24 and 125-27.

281 See the extensive collection of some of the most important statements issued by various Church authorities in Tassello, Graziano Giovanni, et al., *Enchiridion della Chiesa per le Migrazioni. Documenti magisteriali ed ecumenici sulla pastorale della mobilità umana (1887-2000)*, EDB, Bologna, 2001. See also Baggio, Fabio and Pettenà, Maurizio (eds), *Caring for Migrants. A collection of Church documents on the Pastoral Care of Migrants*, St Paul's, Strathfield (NSW), 2009, which contains a section on "Australian Bishops Documents" pp. 965-1100. See a similar earlier publication of documents: *Pontificia Commissione per la Pastorale delle Migrazioni e Turismo*, in Tassello, Graziano and Favero, Luigi (eds), *Chiesa e Mobilità Umana. Documenti della Santa Sede dal 1883 al 1983*, op. cit. Regarding central Europe, see Egger, Kurt, *Chiesa e Minoranze Etniche. Documenti delle Chiese locali dell'Europa centro-occidentale*, Edizioni Dehoniane, Bologna, 1997.

282 Tassello, Graziano G., "Pastorale dei Migranti", in Battistella, G., *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op. cit., pp. 794-806.

local church, but should be seen as a subject and active agent of transformation. The migrant is the bearer of good news, as the new locus theologicus.²⁸³

This emerging view is still a work in progress. The migrant becomes a manifestation of the universality of the Church, compelling local communities to welcome diversity and together with new arrivals work towards that unity, which does not coincide with uniformity, but ultimately is the outcome of the Spirit who works for all and in all.²⁸⁴ So any local Church becomes a living study group, where all views, opinions and suggestions are welcome, where the “centre” (majority culture) mixes, lives and dreams with the “periphery” (minority cultures) and vice versa.²⁸⁵

It is the best and most productive Conversation anyone can have. Undoubtedly, a successful outcome implies and suggests that certain channels of information have been or are being utilised to the best possible advantage. First and foremost, the media.

Publications and Journals: their narratives concerning migration

There has been a sizeable number of books written about the history of the Catholic Community in Australia. Heading the list is Patrick O’Farrell,²⁸⁶ followed by Noemi Turner,²⁸⁷ Edmund Campion,²⁸⁸ Roger C. Thompson²⁸⁹ and others, supplemented by authors who have restricted their historical narratives to the state level, such as

283 Pohl, D., *Making room. Recovering hospitality as a Christian tradition*, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1999. Ruggieri, G., “Lo straniero: una considerazione teologica”, in *Servizio Migranti*, 2 (marzo-aprile 2002), 129-35. Convegno Nazionale delle Missioni Cattoliche Italiane di Svizzera e Germania, Zurigo, 16-20 settembre 2002, in *Quaderno Servizio Migranti*, 41, 2003, 109-30.

284 Parolin, Gaetano, *Chiesa Postconciliare e Migrazioni. Quale Teologia per la Missione con i Migranti*, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma, 2010; Campese, Gioacchino, *Una Chiesa Missionaria nell’era delle Migrazioni*. op. cit.

285 John Paul II, *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, as quoted in Tassello, Graziano G., “Pastorale dei Migranti”, op. cit., p. 803.

286 O’Farrell, Patrick, *The Catholic Church and Community. An Australian History*, University of NSW Press, Kensington (NSW), 1985. The same author has collated the experiences of Irish settlers and their descendants in Australia in three books. An unequalled record, when compared to other ethnic groups! The most representative of the three publications is *The Irish in Australia*, New South Wales University Press, Kensington, 1993.

287 Turner, Noemi, *Catholics in Australia. A Social History*, Collins Dove, North Blackburn (Vic.), 1992. See chapter 27 (vol. II) “Catholic Migrants”, pp. 183-205.

288 Campion, E., *Australian Catholics*, Viking, Melbourne, 1987.

289 Thompson, Roger C., *Religion in Australia. A History*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994.

Margaret M. Press for South Australia;²⁹⁰ for a focus on the Italian community's struggles in adjusting to life down under see Adrian Pittarello,²⁹¹ Anthony Paganoni,²⁹² etc. Other books have been published regarding the specific role of immigrants in Australian Church(es).²⁹³ In the *Journal of the Australian Catholic Historical Society* stories abound about bishops and their initiatives, different religious (congregations) and lay groupings, such as the St Vincent de Paul, and different personalities, such as Bob Santamaria, J.J. Terry, Julian Tennyson Woods. Much less reporting has been done about particular communities, in either urban or rural settings, with scant attention being given to the people in the pews, now mostly vacated and re-filled to some extent with new immigrants, as we will see from relevant statistics a little further on.

A quick search in the holdings of several Catholic libraries in Australia shows that Christian journals have, in the course of the last few decades, given some attention to immigrants' adaptation to the Australian Church (T. Kelly,²⁹⁴ Frank Lewins,²⁹⁵

290 Press, Margaret M., *From our broken toil: South Australian Catholics 1836-1905*, Catholic Archdiocese of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1986.

291 Pittarello, Adrian, "Soup without salt": *The Australian Catholic Church and the Italian Migrant. A comparative Study in the Sociology of Religion*, Centre for Migration Studies, Sydney, 1980.

292 Paganoni, Anthony, *Valiant Struggles and Benign Neglect. Italians, Church and Religious Societies in Diaspora. The Australian Experience from 1950 to 2000*, op. cit., and *The Pastoral Care of Italians in Australia: Memory and Prophecy*, Connorcourt Publishing, Ballan (Vic.), 2007.

293 Lewins, Frank, *The Myth of the Universal Church*, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1978; Houston, Jim, *The Cultured Pearl. Australian Readings in Cross-Cultural Theology and Mission*, Victorian Council of Churches, Melbourne, 1986; Mechan, Frank, *The Church and Migrants (1946-1987)*, St Joan of Arc Press, Haberfield (NSW), 1991.

294 Kelly, Tony, "Praxis and Pragmatism in an Australian Theology", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, LXXI, 3, 261-74.

295 Lewins, Frank, "Ethnic Diversity within Australian Catholicism: a Comparative and Theoretical Analysis", in *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 12, 2, 126-36; "Ethnicity as Process: some considerations of Italian Catholics", in *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 11, 3, 15-18; and "Continuity and Change in a religious organization: some aspects of the Australian Catholic Church", in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 16, 4 (1977), 371-82.

H.M. O'Leary,²⁹⁶ A. Patience,²⁹⁷ Judith M. Woodward,²⁹⁸ Mary Nosedá,²⁹⁹ Anthony Paganoni,³⁰⁰ Michael Kelly,³⁰¹ Adrian Pittarello,³⁰² Anthony Cappello,³⁰³ Gabrielle Johnston,³⁰⁴ Monica Tolcvay,³⁰⁵ Keith Briant,³⁰⁶ Philip Hughes³⁰⁷), to which several papers of the now defunct CICR in Melbourne and CMSS in Sydney may be added. Of late, more scrutiny on the issue of refugees, and compelling reasons for more

296 O'Leary, H. M., "Legislation on Migrant Care", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, XLVIII, 2, 127-51.

297 Patience, A., "Towards a Theology of the Australian Multicultural Experience", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 65, 4, 423-40.

298 Woodward, Judith M., "A personal view of Australian Catholicism and culture today", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, LXXIV, 1, 1997, 59.

299 Nosedá, Mary, "Belonging to the Catholic Church in contemporary Australia", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 85, 4 (Oct. 2008); "The relationship of the Catholic Church to Vietnamese migrant women in Australia", in *Pointers*, 13, 3 (Sept. 2003), 10-13.

300 Paganoni, Anthony, "The role of pastoral workers in the new Code of Canon Law and according to the mind of the Church", in *People on the Move*, 19, 54, 1989, 262-80; "The Italian Community in Australia. Historical Notes on Pastoral Care, its development to date and future options", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 84, 2, 2007, 185-203; "Ethnic Ministry in Australia: History, Present realities and Future Options", in *Compass, a Review of Topical Theology*, 39, 3, (Spring 2005), 9-17; and "The Italian Experience", *Compass*, 37, 3, (Spring 2003).

301 Kelly, Michael, "Problems associated with ministering in Italian Parishes", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 1, 1979.

302 Pittarello, Adrian, "Migrants and the Catholic Church in Australia", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 65, 2 (April 1988), 141-58 and "Australian Immigration and the Church: new perspectives", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 70, 3, (July 1993), 305-13.

303 Cappello, Anthony, "Italian Catholics. Evolving with the Church?", in *Compass, Theology Review*, 35, 4, (Summer 2001).

304 Johnston, Gabrielle, "Ways of belonging: Socio-Religious Identities within Catholicism", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 1998, vol. 75.

305 Tolcvay, Monica, "Community and Church: the Italian problem in Australia during the inter-war years", in Ata, Abe W. (ed.), *Catholic and Catholicism in Contemporary Australia. Challenges and Achievements*, David Lovell Publishing, Melbourne, 2012, pp. 85-95.

306 Briant, Keith, "The impact of migration on the Australian Church and her ministry in a culturally diverse context" and "Migration related concerns for the Church in Australia", in *Journal of Theology and Ministry*, 33, 2008, 47-52 and 55-62.

307 Hughes, Philip, "The Impact of recent immigration on religious groups in Australia", in *Pointers* 22, 4 (Dec. 2012), 1-8.

humane and just treatment for them, has come to the fore.³⁰⁸ There is no substitute for self-promotional ventures aimed at spreading knowledge, cultivating one's own historical heritage and describing the initial difficulties encountered after arrival in Australia.³⁰⁹ The case of the Jewish community is very indicative and most outstanding for the number of their publications.³¹⁰

Systematic theology should be urged to turn its efforts to theologizing about migration flows into Australia, in a much more intentional and organised manner, and indeed it is an unavoidable task for Australian theological centres to encourage this. Theological enquiry stems from and takes shape within a notable historical and cultural situation.³¹¹ There cannot be any escape from it.³¹² Unless theological activity wants to pitch its tent in inaccessible territories! Mieth Dietman and Lisa Sowle Cahill, in prefacing the special issue of *Concilium*, state plainly that

More and more people on this earth are being forced to move...In this context there is already talk of a new global migration... In addition to the usual problems (work permits, issues of integration and inculturation and basic human needs) there is a mentality problem: resistance to the distress of others

308 See, for example, Clutterbuck, Martin, "The Ethics of current asylum seeker policy: who gets the life raft?", in *Interface: a Forum for Theology in the World*, 5, 2 (Oct. 2002); Brennan, Frank, "Australian Refugee Policy: rationale and issues", *ibid.*; Murphy, Kerry, "Refugees in Australia: the unwanted stranger?", in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 79 (April 2002); Mansour, Francis, "Welcome the Stranger: reflections shared at a parish gathering on Refugees' and Migrants' Sunday", in *Compass Theology Review*, 39, 4 (Summer 2004); Hamilton, Andrew, "The invisible worm: Australian treatment of asylum seekers", *Compass Theology Review*, 36, 1 (Autumn 2002).

309 Goldlust, John, "Jews", in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origin*, op. cit., pp. 525-47. See also Getzler, Israel, *Neither toleration nor Favour. The Australian Chapter of Jewish Emancipation*, Melbourne University Press, 1970; Levi, J.S. and Bergman, F.G.J., *Australian genesis. Jewish convicts and Settlers 1788-1850*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1974.

310 This can be seen in numerous articles published in *Menorah: Australian Journal of Jewish Studies*.

311 See the interesting chapter "On the way to a performative and Liberation Theology", in Snyder, Susanna, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church*, op. cit., pp. 15-34. "Practical Theology" and "Pastoral Theology" are often used interchangeably. The terms "theological reflection" and "contextual theology" are also used to indicate this methodological approach.

312 Bof, Giampiero, "Teologia", in Barbaglio, Giuseppe, et al., *Teologia Dizionario*, op. cit., pp. 1601-674.

*if it is to the detriment of one's own life is a form of human misconduct which is widely prevalent. Furthermore, exploitation of the issue of foreigners plays a major role in irrational incitement to xenophobia and ethnocentricity.*³¹³

The reluctance of the theological community to methodically scan and probe international migration flows may be due to the multiplicity of problems associated with the movements of people, but also to a certain resistance in Church institutions of higher learning to view pastoral praxis as the discipline committed to translating into everyday pastoral activity the principles and suggestions flowing from revealed data and dogmatic textbooks. The historical analysis of the relationship existing between biblical and dogmatic theology and pastoral undertakings has been presented by the theologian M. Midali.³¹⁴ It is very important to emphasise, at this moment, the inseparable nature that binds biblical studies and dogmatic theology with pastoral theology. The three of them stand on an equal footing. In the words of Christoph Theobald, "honouring the whole of the Christian experience as a way of living in the world, called, as we are, to multiply the uniqueness of the Only ONE (Christ) with the uniqueness of many others".³¹⁵

But the single most crucial factor for not heeding the injunction of Exodus "know the heart of a stranger" may be due to the fact that migration flows change very rapidly and unexpectedly. Transformations will occur in the map of migration, as revolutionary change will also alter existing patterns in more established communities.

The Catholic Church in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s was still enjoying a good standing, in terms of church participation, and European migrants were often looked upon as peripheral to the Catholic community. Who would then have anticipated that, slowly but surely, the newest waves of Catholic migrants would have taken the upper hand in actively supporting their Catholic Church? Recent trends reported and analysed by Bob Dixon indicate that:

Without migrants, church attendance (14% of Australia's 5.1 million Catholics at Mass each week, compared to 29.4% of Catholic migrants) and levels of satisfaction (1.4 times more likely to say they grew in faith and 2.8 times more likely to follow someone who was drifting away from church) would be much

313 Mieth, Dietmar and Cahill, Lisa Sowle, "Editorial", in *Concilium*, Special issue on Migrants and Refugees, SMC Press, London, 1993/4, VII.

314 Midali, M., "Teologia Pastorale", in Giuseppe Barbaglio et al. (eds), in *Teologia Dizionario*, op.cit., 1726-739.

315 Theobald, Christoph, *Il cristianesimo come stile. Un modo di fare teologia nella postmodernità*, Edizioni Dehoniane, Bologna, 2009, 4 vols. Citation in vol. 2, p. 769.

*lower...Because of their presence in the parish, liturgy is more vibrant and there's a greater sense of faith and spirituality.*³¹⁶

The same condition seems to be prevalent across the Tasman Sea in the Anglican community. Michael Lawrence reports that

*Recent headlines in 'Challenge Weekly' point to spiritual renewal with headlines like 'Ethnic, migrant groups supply profile growth' ... 'New Kiwis hold key to revival'... 'Transplanted Christianity has arrived along with culture and language'... 'Ethnic churches are spread throughout the main centres. ... Some are mainline churches, while many are independent.'*³¹⁷

Against the backdrop of one of the most secularised countries in the world, such as Australia,³¹⁸ and addressing some contemporary dilemmas for Australian Catholicism, Angela Shanahan expresses the same views when she states:

*The new face of Australian Catholicism is largely Asian, Vietnamese, Filipinos and Indians, particularly in city congregations. Along with this is a revival in conservative practices in Australia, particularly among these groups. This seems to be an indication of something that is obvious across the world.*³¹⁹

All these "new faces"³²⁰ in the pews carry within them a different historical experience of the sacred, of the presence of God in their lives. The following graph sets out the trends in Mass attendance over the last fifteen years.

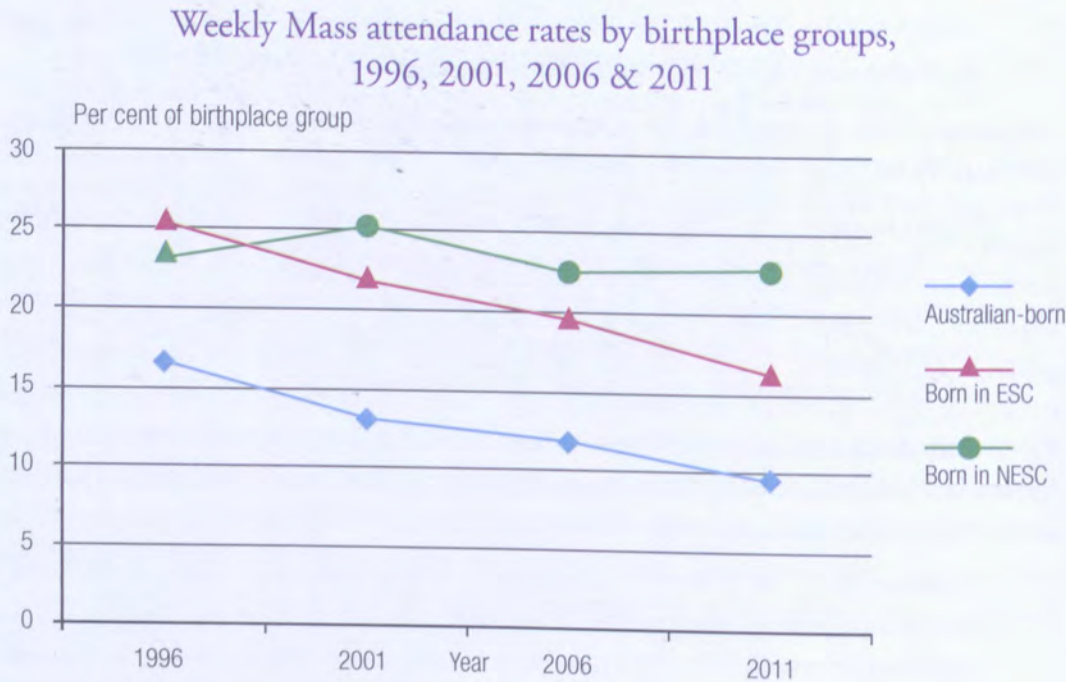
316 Zwartz, Barney, "Catholic Church kept vital, thanks to migrants", in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 7, 2009.

317 Lawrence, Michael, "The Migrant Challenge", in *Anglican Taonga*, (Easter 2007), no. 24, 42.

318 Lyons, Adrian, *Imaging Believing. Explorations in Contemporary Faith*, David Lovell Publishing, Melbourne, 2003, particularly Chapter 18: "Church-related unbelief", pp. 177-88.

319 Shanahan, Angela, "New Wave of Conservatism as migrants bolster Catholic Church", in *The Australian*, May 28, 2011. The mega-churches in Europe and new theological and pastoral trends, particularly evident in the U.S.A. bear great similarity.

320 Collins, Jack, "The changing face of Australian immigration", in *The Conversation*, June 8, 2013.



ESC: English Speaking Countries NESC: Non-English Speaking Countries
Sources: Catholic Church Life Survey 1996 and National Church Life Survey 2001, 2006 & 2011
National Counts of Attendance 2001, 2006 & 2011. Mass count estimates 1996. Australian Censuses 1996 - 2011

A similar demographic revolution is happening within parishes in the American Catholic Church, where Catholics from Latin American countries have produced enormous shifts.

A new study out of Boston College shows an increasing number of Catholic parishes serving Latinos, matching the explosive growth of this sub-population in churches. Catholics look different from the way they did half a century ago -- and so do their values.

Hoffman Ospino, a Boston College Assistant Professor, served as the principal investigator for a national study of parishes serving Latino Catholics, who make up 40 percent of the total U.S. Catholic population. Ospino found most of these parishes serve a population dominated by immigrants. The Catholic experience in the United States, Ospino said at a recent Boston College panel, has fundamentally changed from being a white, middle-class experience to an immigrant, working-class experience, and it has come with a set of tensions about how to respond.³²¹ These collective pressures or desires, both for the immigrant and the local church, are detailed in chapter nine of Peter Sungjin Kim's thesis. For the immigrant,

321 Mathewson, Tara Garcia, "Panel: Immigrants cause shift in the prototypical 'Catholic experience'" Apr. 6, 2015.

*This discussion of the implications for the care of the immigrant is based on the five themes of the immigrant theological anthropology derived from the last chapter: 1) the sacredness of humanity; 2) an autobiographical mandate; 3) the provisional nature of life; 4) the dynamic of self-serving love; 5) the role of the family. Each of these themes is correlated to one of the following dimensions of pastoral practice: 1) advocacy; 2) agency; 3) reframing; 4) hospitality; 5) empowerment. It is important to note that these concepts cannot be treated exclusively of each other but should necessarily be understood as sharing conceptual boundaries.*³²²

As far as the local church community is concerned, Peter Kim goes on to specify the main challenges as follows:

*The implications of the theological reflection undertaken in this study can be summarized in five ways. Using the conceptual framework of co-authoring, I present the implications for the church's care of the immigrant in the following order: 1) pastoral co-authoring; 2) liturgical co-authoring; 3) vocational co-authoring; 4) educational co-authoring, and 5) political co-authoring.*³²³

Conclusion

The Great Revelation of God was the result of people's experiences, of both rejection and acceptance, before appearing as reported in the sacred texts. The migrants' mental and spiritual heritage runs the risk of remaining un-reported or under-reported, aside from some celebratory moments. And even if some progress has been made since the turn of the century,³²⁴ the opinion of Jacqueline Hagan and Helen Rose Ebaugh is still applicable:

*The role of religion in the stages of the migration process has been overlooked by both immigration and sociology of religion scholars.*³²⁵

There is an explanation for this vacuum, according to Gioacchino Campese:

Precisely because the movements of persons and entire peoples are ubiquitous in the Bible, biblical exegesis and theology showed early an interest in these

322 Kim, Peter Sungjim, *Becoming colourfully human: A Pastoral Theology of the Immigrant and the Community* (Thesis), Princeton Theological seminary, Princeton, 2003, pp. 238-39.

323 Ibid., p. 252.

324 See, for example, the extensive bibliography in Snyder, Susanna, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and Church*, op.cit.

325 Hagan, Jacqueline and Ebaugh, Helen Rose, "Calling upon the Sacred: Migrants' use of religion in the Migration process", op.cit.

*questions. The same has not happened in the field of systematic theology, which has either totally ignored or found it difficult to include the issues related to human mobility in its agenda. Perhaps this happened because for years migration was usually considered a social phenomenon having little or nothing to do with a systematic reflection on Christian faith.*³²⁶

After having canvassed the available literature written in Australia on the subject of migration, a ground-breaking and innovative approach has been taken by Gemma Tulud Cruz.³²⁷ Her concluding remarks are worth quoting:

*...migration is not only rearranging human geography and redefining cultures and religions; it is also reshaping identities and subjectivities. It is not only bringing new forms of oppression; it is also paving other paths to human survival and liberation. This dialectic between oppression and survival towards liberation provides gifts and challenges for theology on many fronts, making migration a valuable place in articulating contemporary forms of understanding and forging relationship with the sacred.*³²⁸

A recasting of pastoral realities and of the vision³²⁹ supporting pastoral workers and migrant chaplains would be greatly beneficial to the local church, as long as theological faculties opened up to new insights coming from a sizeable number of publications overseas,³³⁰ but even more poignantly were motivated by local developments in the mosaic of Christian denominations and world religions, and

326 Campese, Gioacchino, "The Irruption of Migrants. Theology of Migration in the 21st century", in *Theological Studies*, 73, 2012, 3-32.

327 Cruz, Gemma Tulud, "Migration as Locus Theologicus", in *Colloquium*, 46, 1, 2010, 87-100. See also "Between identity and security: theological implications of migration in the context of globalization", in *Theological Studies* 69, 2008, 358-75.

328 Cruz, G. Tulud, "Migration as Locus Theologicus", op. cit., p. 100.

329 Bevans, Stephen, "Wisdom from the Margins. Systematic Theology and the Missiological Imagination", in *CTSA Proceedings*, 56, 2001, pp. 21-42

330 See the bibliography listed at the end of the essay by Gioacchino Campese, "Teologia delle Migrazioni", in Battistella, Graziano (ed.), *Migrazioni. Dizionario Socio-Pastorale*, op. cit., pp. 1026-27. Extensive bibliographies are published in: Parolin, Gaetano, *Chiesa Postconciliare e Migrazioni. Quale teologia per la missione con i migranti*, Ed., Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma, 2010, pp. 497-537; Campese, Gioacchino, *Una Chiesa Missionaria nell'era delle Migrazioni*, op. cit., pp. 377-416; Tassello, Graziano, "Teologia Pastorale e Migrazioni", in *Studi Emigrazione*, 47, 178, 2010, 444-70 and the bibliography in Kim, Peter Sungjim, "Becoming colourfully human", op. cit., pp. 283-93; Snyder, Susanna, *Asylum-Seeking, Migration and the Church*, op. cit., pp. 219-85.

the ever-growing diversification within the ranks of the Catholic community in Australia - as can be seen from the table on "religious affiliation" detailing the level of religious affiliation for the major Christian denominations and world religions.

That this hybridity facing religious institutions and particularly the Catholic Church in Australia may not turn out to be a passing fad is guaranteed by the belief that international migration flows are going to be with us for a while yet. And, predictably, Australia will continue to be a magnet for an increasing number of migrants, both skilled and unskilled.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

If we wish to define our discussion so far as a conversation, we will find that it suffers from two major handicaps: the first is that there is no generally-accepted definition of conversation: it mutates according to culture, and to the needs and moods of any particular moment, or of formal and informal setting, which can be interchangeable, according to the participants. We know it involves at least two people. And this brings us to the second challenge. Our discussion has potentially been held with millions and millions of different people, gifted with an unending assortment of personal and collective expectations, but all of them united by the same driving force, called desire, to ameliorate their lives and the lives of their immediate families.

Conversations are social interactions and therefore depend on social conventions and on the principle of mutual cooperation. It is clear that failure to adhere to the golden rule of mutual interest and communication may lead to a deterioration, and eventually spell the end of the acquaintance.

That a new type of conversation with migrants has become necessary is the central argument of the present attempt at understanding the inner and barely discernible dynamics of international migrations. As already reviewed, migrant remittances, while not being central to developmental policies in poor countries, do reinforce and accelerate greater economic mobility at the household level in developing countries; and in developed countries they are responsible for filling the low positions in the labour market and, most importantly, operating a radical change in the demographic composition of affluent societies. It is the quality of the sentiments expressed in ground-level conversation that will lead to improvements in international relations and bode well for the future.

In the case of international migration flows, the risk is certainly not that of a dwindling number of participants. We have cited the increasing number of migrants on the international routes. More importantly, there is a much bigger pool of potential migrants. According to key findings from Gallup's research:

- Nearly 700 million adults say they would like to migrate to another country permanently if they could — nearly four times the total number of adults and children that the United Nations estimates has already migrated. The U.S. is the No. 1 desired destination.
- Education and age are universal factors in people's desire to migrate: Young people and those with secondary education or higher are the most likely to want to migrate. Both factors have a bearing on some people's choices about where they would like to move.
- People who are underemployed are the most likely to want to migrate, but employment status doesn't matter as much to some as it does to others. In addition, employee engagement — a worker's emotional attachment to his or her workplace — can be a factor.
- Gallup's Potential Net Migration Index suggests that if all adults worldwide who would like to migrate moved where they wanted, many developed countries could be overwhelmed and developing nations could lose valuable human capital. Highly developed countries could see a much larger influx of young people than of educated people.
- Regardless of a country's level of human development, the presence of transnational social networks has a significant positive relationship to the desire to migrate.³³¹

The fact that migration flows are going to reach new heights in both their numerical consistency and their increased diversification is not part of a future prediction. It is an unavoidable fact. Much more difficult to anticipate will be the degree of intensification within regional and intra-national destinations. New technologies in the world of instant communication, coupled with conversations within households in both first-and third-world countries will ensure that the fire of desire will keep burning even more intensely.

The earlier discussion on migrant remittances reveals that the massive injection of savings into ailing economies far surpasses foreign aid, the financial packages set aside by affluent national governments for the relief of under-developed countries. But, while foreign aid allocations are often preceded by official announcements underlying the good will of cash-rich governments, the story is not the same with migrant remittances. Their transformative power at the ground level, however, is far more effective and “awakening” than any form of foreign aid.

331 Esipova, Neli, Ray, Julie and Srinivasan, Rajesh, *The World's Potential Migrants: who they are, where they want to go, and why it matters*, Gallup World Headquarters, 2010-2011.

But by far the greater and more lasting transformation is occurring within the ever-increasing hybridism of communities and neighbourhoods: cultural mixings and crossings become routine in the context of globalising trends.

Social sciences have long dwelt on “complex cultures”, “cultural complexity”, “multicultural realities and practices”, “the quest for interculturality”, and in the process provoked a host of possibilities, verifications, surveys and opinions in the course of the last few decades. The current fascination with cultural hybridity hides an elusive paradox: while being pervasive, it tends to diminish and overturn well-established theories and discourses about identity and cultural differences.³³²

The positive feature of hybridity is that it invariably acknowledges that identity is the summation of differences, no matter how imperfect that collation may turn out to be. Nikos Papastergiadis underlines the fact that

*Hybridity is not confined to a cataloguing of differences. Its ‘unity’ is not found in the sum of its parts, but emerges from the process of opening what Homi Bhabha has called a third space within which other elements encounter and transform each other.*³³³

We definitely need a strategy of optimism, a third space, a willingness to undertake a journey, as pilgrims do.³³⁴ Hope is definitely not the same thing as optimism. It is not the conviction that something will turn out well, but the certainty that something makes sense, regardless of how it turns out.

In our dealing with migrants and refugees and in their dealing with other people on the move or with more established inhabitants of the same planet in any given area, the same truth applies. I’ll never know all there is to know about you just as you will never know all there is to know about me. Humans are by nature rather too complicated to be understood fully. So, we can choose either to approach our fellow human beings with suspicion or to approach them with an open mind, a dash of optimism. The third question posed earlier is appropriate here: “What can we do together?” and the reply might be: “*Start by doing what is necessary; then do what’s possible; and suddenly you are doing the impossible*” (St Francis of Assisi).

332 Werbner, Pnina and Modood, Tariq, (eds), *Debating Cultural Hybridity*. op. cit.

333 Papastergiadis, Nikos, “Tracing Hybridity in Theory”, *ibid.*, p. 258.

334 Harrigan, Neil Patrick, *The Spirituality of Pilgrims: A Study of an Australian experience of El Camino de Santiago de Compostella*, MA, Australian Catholic University, Fitzroy (Vic.), 2010.

APPENDIX 1 - Birthplace by Age, 1996, 2001, 2006 & 2011

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	1996			
	0-19	20-59	60+	Total
Australia	4,489,922	6,896,344	1,841,494	13,227,760
New Zealand	48,799	218,007	24,604	291,410
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	54,811	714,679	303,071	1,072,561
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	3,752	34,376	13,355	51,483
Italy	1,892	129,116	107,324	238,332
Malta	742	36,426	13,723	50,891
Netherlands	1,892	54,591	31,358	87,841
Germany ¹	4,247	71,974	34,083	110,304
Austria	--	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	13,006	123,980	38,498	175,484
Poland	5,092	31,513	28,547	65,152
Hungary	--	--	--	--
Other Eastern Europe	8,204	49,988	48,644	106,836
Other Europe	11,372	174,525	72,066	257,963
Vietnam	22,404	117,611	11,021	151,036
Philippines	20,453	66,940	5,615	93,008
Indonesia	--	--	--	--
Malaysia	--	--	--	--
Other South-East Asia	41,530	154,645	16,105	212,280
India	9,091	54,667	13,764	77,522
Sri Lanka	12,132	48,405	7,483	68,020
China (except Hong Kong & Taiwan)				
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	50,017	174,450	29,726	254,193
Korea, Republic of (South)				
Egypt	--	--	--	--
Lebanon	5,784	56,655	7,821	70,260
Other Middle East & North Africa	16,959	86,410	19,109	122,478
South Africa	--	--	--	--
Mauritius	1,535	12,702	2,809	17,046
North America	14,848	52,633	7,454	74,935
Chile	3,368	18,703	1,759	23,830
Other South America & Central America	8,605	35,360	4,166	48,131
Other	32,908	132,808	14,967	180,683
Inadequately described/Not stated	204,082	282,882	136,281	623,245
Total	5,087,447	9,830,390	2,834,847	17,752,684

Notes

--: These countries were not among the birthplaces for which data was acquired in these years.

1. The 1996 figures for Germany are for the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).

2. The 1996 figures are for Yugoslavia.

Source of data: Australian Bureau of Statistics - Census of Population and Housing, 1996, 2001, 2006 & 2011.

Table prepared by the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference Pastoral Research Office; www.pro.catholic.org.au
National Catholic Census Project

APPENDIX 1

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2001			
	0-19	20-59	60+	Total
Australia	4,458,532	7,211,979	1,959,176	13,629,687
New Zealand	58,736	262,445	34,474	355,655
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	44,272	656,753	335,227	1,036,252
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	2,425	33,209	14,601	50,235
Italy	1,545	96,063	121,080	218,688
Malta	360	29,513	17,092	46,965
Netherlands	1,430	46,398	35,411	83,239
Germany ¹	3,968	63,713	40,533	108,214
Austria	--	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	14,885	112,794	46,945	174,624
Poland	2,381	30,243	25,430	58,054
Hungary	487	9,535	12,776	22,798
Other Eastern Europe	9,260	113,607	101,471	224,338
Other Europe	7,157	73,707	29,189	110,053
Vietnam	11,090	129,575	14,180	154,845
Philippines	17,519	79,300	7,098	103,917
Indonesia	9,806	32,438	4,910	47,154
Malaysia	10,263	61,207	7,366	78,836
Other South-East Asia	16,831	85,210	10,419	112,460
India	11,284	67,539	16,666	95,489
Sri Lanka	6,796	38,608	8,003	53,407
China (except Hong Kong & Taiwan)	19,333	97,522	27,942	144,797
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	14,376	48,307	4,463	67,146
Korea, Republic of (South)	9,657	26,623	2,638	38,918
Egypt	2,031	20,024	11,395	33,450
Lebanon	4,407	56,547	10,374	71,328
Other Middle East & North Africa	18,535	78,168	12,430	109,133
South Africa	16,556	53,644	9,194	79,394
Mauritius	992	12,577	3,404	16,973
North America	15,014	57,593	8,759	81,366
Chile	2,221	18,451	2,730	23,402
Other South America & Central America	6,620	42,268	7,071	55,959
Other	39,324	174,806	16,120	230,250
Inadequately described/Not stated	399,426	451,246	201,091	1,051,763
Total	5,237,519	10,371,612	3,159,658	18,768,789

APPENDIX 1

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2006			
	0-19	20-59	60+	Total
Australia	4,608,094	7,328,427	2,136,639	14,073,160
New Zealand	61,189	281,230	47,047	389,466
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	56,155	593,077	367,636	1,016,868
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	2,593	44,210	24,742	71,545
Italy	1,435	71,866	125,834	199,135
Malta	--	--	--	--
Netherlands	--	--	--	--
Germany ¹	--	--	--	--
Austria	--	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	8,759	83,977	41,719	134,455
Poland	1,226	28,779	22,248	52,253
Hungary	--	--	--	--
Other Eastern Europe	8,752	119,857	135,727	264,336
Other Europe	13,098	179,598	146,642	339,338
Vietnam	6,783	136,387	16,674	159,844
Philippines	15,624	94,913	10,000	120,537
Indonesia	7,807	37,537	5,634	50,978
Malaysia	9,464	71,679	11,198	92,341
Other South-East Asia	16,453	99,420	13,022	128,895
India	16,571	108,970	21,561	147,102
Sri Lanka	6,166	45,599	10,486	62,251
China (except Hong Kong and Taiwan)	22,526	153,931	32,407	208,864
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	11,089	55,560	5,159	71,808
Korea, Republic of (South)	11,287	37,741	3,737	52,765
Egypt	--	--	--	--
Lebanon	3,254	57,606	13,993	74,853
Other Middle East and North Africa	29,504	116,250	29,943	175,697
South Africa	20,686	70,258	13,191	104,135
Mauritius	769	13,069	4,337	18,175
North America	16,659	65,216	11,961	93,836
Chile	1,123	17,552	4,625	23,300
Other South America & Central America	4,940	47,814	10,098	62,852
Other	45,600	222,183	21,798	289,581
Inadequately described/Not stated	286,502	776,023	314,392	1,376,917
Total	5,294,108	10,958,729	3,602,450	19,855,287

APPENDIX 1

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2011			
	0-19	20-59	60+	Total
Australia	4,797,020	7,703,706	2,521,060	15,021,786
New Zealand	75,860	337,913	69,612	483,385
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	77,740	575,464	425,272	1,078,476
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	4,841	56,332	28,735	89,908
Italy	1,659	47,964	135,782	185,405
Malta	319	13,271	27,685	41,275
Netherlands	2,307	24,897	48,842	76,046
Germany ¹	4,628	42,229	61,146	108,003
Austria	441	5,500	11,071	17,012
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	4,910	80,418	57,989	143,317
Poland	805	26,007	21,873	48,685
Hungary	371	6,548	12,173	19,092
Other Eastern Europe	4,372	57,091	43,115	104,578
Other Europe	9,011	97,282	112,954	219,247
Vietnam	8,952	151,442	24,645	185,039
Philippines	24,403	128,663	18,167	171,233
Indonesia	8,358	46,710	8,091	63,159
Malaysia	12,029	85,421	18,747	116,197
Other South-East Asia	22,129	124,046	20,066	166,241
India	31,151	235,270	28,940	295,361
Sri Lanka	8,880	62,368	15,164	86,412
China (except Hong Kong & Taiwan)	27,730	249,760	43,761	321,251
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	7,999	57,248	9,709	74,956
Korea, Republic of (South)	12,213	56,948	5,378	74,539
Egypt	2,989	17,814	15,725	36,528
Lebanon	2,835	55,028	18,588	76,451
Other Middle East & North Africa	31,967	136,784	24,137	192,888
South Africa	27,637	97,615	20,434	145,686
Mauritius	1,488	16,054	5,749	23,291
North America	20,500	78,160	17,770	116,430
Chile	975	16,921	7,044	24,940
Other South America & Central America	5,413	62,764	14,202	82,379
Other	59,869	317,892	35,269	413,030
Inadequately described/Not stated	248,007	667,986	289,500	1,205,493
Total	5,549,808	11,739,516	4,218,395	21,507,719

APPENDIX 2 - Birthplace by Year of Arrival, 1996, 2001, 2006 & 2011

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	1996				
	Arrived more than 10 years prior to Census	Arrived 5 to 10 years prior to Census	Arrived in the four years prior to Census	Not stated/Not applicable	Total
Australia	-	-	-	13,227,760	13,227,760
New Zealand	153,733	85,613	41,793	10,271	291,410
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	890,028	106,325	42,266	33,942	1,072,561
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	35,252	10,853	3,779	1,599	51,483
Italy	224,920	2,835	1,684	8,893	238,332
Malta	48,146	971	262	1,512	50,891
Netherlands	81,844	2,501	1,692	1,804	87,841
Germany ¹	97,784	6,363	3,593	2,564	110,304
Austria	--	--	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	132,622	16,813	20,617	5,432	175,484
Poland	49,854	11,188	2,219	1,891	65,152
Hungary	--	--	--	--	--
Other Eastern Europe	75,688	18,707	9,644	2,797	106,836
Other Europe	222,838	17,434	8,664	9,027	257,963
Vietnam	74,388	55,259	17,101	4,288	151,036
Philippines	28,735	46,883	14,197	3,193	93,008
Indonesia	--	--	--	--	--
Malaysia	--	--	--	--	--
Other South-East Asia	96,211	62,044	47,053	6,972	212,280
India	40,011	21,759	13,929	1,823	77,522
Sri Lanka	23,978	26,855	15,171	2,016	68,020
China (except Hong Kong & Taiwan)	64,807	112,573	63,736	13,077	254,193
Hong Kong (SAR of China)					
Korea, Republic of (South)					
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--
Lebanon	48,404	14,992	4,151	2,713	70,260
Other Middle East & North Africa	70,554	29,338	18,777	3,809	122,478
South Africa	--	--	--	--	--
Mauritius	11,341	4,749	574	382	17,046
North America	41,190	14,968	15,512	3,265	74,935
Chile	15,409	7,042	883	496	23,830
Other South America & Central America	26,741	15,999	4,118	1,273	48,131
Other	91,047	55,007	28,985	5,644	180,683
Inadequately described/Not stated	3,647	1,097	674	617,827	623,245
Total	2,649,172	748,168	381,074	13,974,270	17,752,684

Notes

--: These countries were not among the birthplaces for which data was acquired in these years.

1. The 1996 figures for Germany are for the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).

2. The 1996 figures are for Yugoslavia.

Source of data: Australian Bureau of Statistics - Census of Population and Housing, 1996, 2001, 2006 & 2011.

Table prepared by the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference Pastoral Research Office; www.pro.catholic.org.au
National Catholic Census Project

APPENDIX 2

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2001				
	Arrived more than 10 years prior to Census	Arrived 5 to 10 years prior to Census	Arrived in the four years prior to Census	Not stated/Not applicable	Total
Australia	97	38	24	13,629,528	13,629,687
New Zealand	203,187	61,387	70,592	20,489	355,655
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	873,651	66,708	46,983	48,910	1,036,252
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	39,355	4,210	4,556	2,114	50,235
Italy	201,975	2,178	1,623	12,912	218,688
Malta	44,355	317	209	2,084	46,965
Netherlands	75,920	2,261	2,287	2,771	83,239
Germany ¹	94,147	5,297	4,858	3,912	108,214
Austria	--	--	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	123,010	28,323	16,851	6,440	174,624
Poland	49,793	5,200	1,065	1,996	58,054
Hungary	20,737	858	431	772	22,798
Other Eastern Europe	183,557	20,031	9,581	11,169	224,338
Other Europe	87,125	8,642	9,849	4,437	110,053
Vietnam	103,854	34,868	8,569	7,554	154,845
Philippines	59,399	27,353	13,141	4,024	103,917
Indonesia	17,063	11,375	16,389	2,327	47,154
Malaysia	52,735	10,870	12,103	3,128	78,836
Other South-East Asia	64,683	23,344	19,042	5,391	112,460
India	48,816	23,418	20,232	3,023	95,489
Sri Lanka	30,244	14,346	7,092	1,725	53,407
China (except Hong Kong & Taiwan)	65,384	43,467	29,361	6,585	144,797
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	34,488	20,714	9,311	2,633	67,146
Korea, Republic of (South)	13,974	9,559	12,095	3,290	38,918
Egypt	27,004	3,780	1,505	1,161	33,450
Lebanon	55,065	7,964	4,037	4,262	71,328
Other Middle East & North Africa	55,674	27,347	20,106	6,006	109,133
South Africa	41,370	14,433	20,578	3,013	79,394
Mauritius	14,427	983	965	598	16,973
North America	46,348	14,829	16,352	3,837	81,366
Chile	20,092	1,848	772	690	23,402
Other South America & Central America	38,753	9,432	5,619	2,155	55,959
Other	103,563	59,387	53,470	13,830	230,250
Inadequately described/Not stated	9,474	3,617	2,115	1,036,557	1,051,763
Total	2,899,319	568,384	441,763	14,859,323	18,768,789

APPENDIX 2

Australia - All Persons

2006

Birthplace	Arrived more than 10 years prior to Census	Arrived 5 to 10 years prior to Census	Arrived in the four years prior to Census	Not stated/Not applicable	Total
Australia	101	54	36	14,072,969	14,073,160
New Zealand	217,918	91,751	56,716	23,081	389,466
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	814,480	76,241	77,494	48,653	1,016,868
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	55,990	6,707	6,254	2,594	71,545
Italy	182,438	2,402	1,857	12,438	199,135
Malta	--	--	--	--	--
Netherlands	--	--	--	--	--
Germany ¹	--	--	--	--	--
Austria	--	--	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	101,286	24,601	3,928	4,640	134,455
Poland	45,927	2,550	1,756	2,020	52,253
Hungary	--	--	--	--	--
Other Eastern Europe	222,260	20,426	8,785	12,865	264,336
Other Europe	286,111	20,544	19,747	12,936	339,338
Vietnam	124,893	16,324	9,077	9,550	159,844
Philippines	76,280	22,272	17,059	4,926	120,537
Indonesia	20,165	16,772	11,855	2,186	50,978
Malaysia	57,827	13,502	17,475	3,537	92,341
Other South-East Asia	75,528	23,571	23,089	6,707	128,895
India	61,318	31,956	48,409	5,419	147,102
Sri Lanka	38,128	12,842	9,162	2,119	62,251
China (except Hong Kong & Taiwan)	87,304	59,614	51,528	10,418	208,864
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	46,175	14,294	8,763	2,576	71,808
Korea, Republic of (South)	17,529	14,062	16,220	4,954	52,765
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--
Lebanon	58,251	7,633	4,298	4,671	74,853
Other Middle East & North Africa	95,713	37,617	34,652	7,715	175,697
South Africa	45,878	33,949	20,981	3,327	104,135
Mauritius	14,360	1,398	1,828	589	18,175
North America	51,394	19,150	19,027	4,265	93,836
Chile	20,511	1,221	873	695	23,300
Other South America & Central America	43,485	8,229	8,691	2,447	62,852
Other	131,193	76,862	66,097	15,429	289,581
Inadequately described/Not stated	6,157	1,712	1,302	1,367,746	1,376,917
Total	2,998,600	658,256	546,959	15,651,472	19,855,287

APPENDIX 2

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2011				
	Arrived more than 10 years prior to Census	Arrived 5 to 10 years prior to Census	Arrived in the four years prior to Census	Not stated/Not applicable	Total
Australia	111	60	60	15,021,555	15,021,786
New Zealand	275,486	99,120	81,152	27,627	483,385
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	804,790	136,968	86,432	50,286	1,078,476
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	57,470	11,435	17,746	3,257	89,908
Italy	166,324	3,178	3,156	12,747	185,405
Malta	38,749	498	232	1,796	41,275
Netherlands	66,287	4,228	2,999	2,532	76,046
Germany ¹	87,072	9,583	7,260	4,088	108,003
Austria	15,055	737	510	710	17,012
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	125,667	10,171	2,871	4,608	143,317
Poland	41,702	3,248	1,790	1,945	48,685
Hungary	16,405	1,064	864	759	19,092
Other Eastern Europe	78,873	13,373	8,462	3,870	104,578
Other Europe	181,354	13,819	14,387	9,687	219,247
Vietnam	137,900	19,170	17,764	10,205	185,039
Philippines	92,532	36,665	36,146	5,890	171,233
Indonesia	30,787	16,152	13,619	2,601	63,159
Malaysia	65,429	23,879	23,155	3,734	116,197
Other South-East Asia	89,780	36,617	32,573	7,271	166,241
India	80,234	103,162	102,110	9,855	295,361
Sri Lanka	46,202	19,731	17,512	2,967	86,412
China (except Hong Kong & Taiwan)	123,524	97,221	86,295	14,211	321,251
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	53,165	11,477	7,853	2,461	74,956
Korea, Republic of (South)	26,869	23,357	19,413	4,900	74,539
Egypt	27,746	4,550	2,890	1,342	36,528
Lebanon	61,051	7,929	3,326	4,145	76,451
Other Middle East & North Africa	91,881	52,727	39,069	9,211	192,888
South Africa	67,092	43,843	31,063	3,688	145,686
Mauritius	14,751	3,704	4,155	681	23,291
North America	61,207	25,161	25,499	4,563	116,430
Chile	21,113	1,358	1,698	771	24,940
Other South America & Central America	47,794	15,523	16,308	2,754	82,379
Other	182,044	118,802	92,564	19,620	413,030
Inadequately described/Not stated	5,833	1,481	994	1,197,185	1,205,493
Total	3,282,279	969,991	801,927	16,453,522	21,507,719

APPENDIX 3 - Birthplace by Religion, 1996, 2001, 2006 & 2011

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	1996		
	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Total
Australia	3,578,910	9,648,850	13,227,760
New Zealand	44,812	246,598	291,410
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	129,141	943,420	1,072,561
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	37,577	13,906	51,483
Italy	221,895	16,437	238,332
Malta	47,249	3,642	50,891
Netherlands	30,451	57,390	87,841
Germany ¹	32,253	78,051	110,304
Austria	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	70,642	104,842	175,484
Poland	49,468	15,684	65,152
Hungary	--	--	--
Other Eastern Europe	35,005	71,831	106,836
Other Europe	54,589	203,374	257,963
Vietnam	33,988	117,048	151,036
Philippines	76,419	16,589	93,008
Indonesia	--	--	--
Malaysia	--	--	--
Other South-East Asia	41,505	170,775	212,280
India	27,749	49,773	77,522
Sri Lanka	16,929	51,091	68,020
China (except Hong Kong and Taiwan)			
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	26,680	227,513	254,193
Korea, Republic of (South)			
Egypt	--	--	--
Lebanon	28,112	42,148	70,260
Other Middle East and North Africa	23,615	98,863	122,478
South Africa	--	--	--
Mauritius	14,127	2,919	17,046
North America	15,469	59,466	74,935
Chile	16,491	7,339	23,830
Other South America and Central America	31,923	16,208	48,131
Other	38,367	142,316	180,683
Inadequately described/Not stated	75,688	547,557	623,245
Total	4,799,054	12,953,630	17,752,684

Notes

--: These countries were not among the birthplaces for which data was acquired in these years.

1. The 1996 figures for Germany are for the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany).

2. The 1996 figures are for Yugoslavia.

Source of data: Australian Bureau of Statistics - Census of Population and Housing, 1996, 2001, 2006 & 2011.
Table prepared by the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference Pastoral Research Office; www.pro.catholic.org.au
National Catholic Census Project

APPENDIX 3

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2001		
	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Total
Australia	3,705,151	9,924,536	13,629,687
New Zealand	54,858	300,797	355,655
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	128,158	908,094	1,036,252
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	36,862	13,373	50,235
Italy	203,351	15,337	218,688
Malta	43,544	3,421	46,965
Netherlands	28,693	54,546	83,239
Germany ¹	31,755	76,459	108,214
Austria	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	61,872	112,752	174,624
Poland	43,661	14,393	58,054
Hungary	12,917	9,881	22,798
Other Eastern Europe	26,488	197,850	224,338
Other Europe	51,426	58,627	110,053
Vietnam	34,300	120,545	154,845
Philippines	84,248	19,669	103,917
Indonesia	13,473	33,681	47,154
Malaysia	13,322	65,514	78,836
Other South-East Asia	19,748	92,712	112,460
India	29,574	65,915	95,489
Sri Lanka	15,550	37,857	53,407
China (except Hong Kong and Taiwan)	7,174	137,623	144,797
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	11,322	55,824	67,146
Korea, Republic of (South)	9,703	29,215	38,918
Egypt	9,024	24,426	33,450
Lebanon	28,054	43,274	71,328
Other Middle East and North Africa	17,815	91,318	109,133
South Africa	13,223	66,171	79,394
Mauritius	13,734	3,239	16,973
North America	16,903	64,463	81,366
Chile	15,790	7,612	23,402
Other South America and Central America	35,727	20,232	55,959
Other	33,099	197,151	230,250
Inadequately described/Not stated	150,980	900,783	1,051,763
Total	5,001,499	13,767,290	18,768,789

APPENDIX 3

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2006		
	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Total
Australia	3,829,524	10,243,636	14,073,160
New Zealand	59,622	329,844	389,466
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	125,934	890,934	1,016,868
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	41,659	29,886	71,545
Italy	184,236	14,899	199,135
Malta	--	--	--
Netherlands	--	--	--
Germany ¹	--	--	--
Austria	--	--	--
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	46,321	88,134	134,455
Poland	39,479	12,774	52,253
Hungary	--	--	--
Other Eastern Europe	45,240	219,096	264,336
Other Europe	148,364	190,974	339,338
Vietnam	35,408	124,436	159,844
Philippines	96,565	23,972	120,537
Indonesia	14,508	36,470	50,978
Malaysia	14,485	77,856	92,341
Other South-East Asia	21,077	107,818	128,895
India	34,501	112,601	147,102
Sri Lanka	16,771	45,480	62,251
China (except Hong Kong and Taiwan)	8,489	200,375	208,864
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	11,315	60,493	71,808
Korea, Republic of (South)	12,791	39,974	52,765
Egypt	--	--	--
Lebanon	29,199	45,654	74,853
Other Middle East and North Africa	36,861	138,836	175,697
South Africa	16,035	88,100	104,135
Mauritius	14,091	4,084	18,175
North America	19,396	74,440	93,836
Chile	15,486	7,814	23,300
Other South America and Central America	40,112	22,740	62,852
Other	38,445	251,136	289,581
Inadequately described/Not stated	130,980	1,245,937	1,376,917
Total	5,126,894	14,728,393	19,855,287

APPENDIX 3

Australia - All Persons

Birthplace	2011		
	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Total
Australia	4,065,107	10,956,679	15,021,786
New Zealand	73,146	410,239	483,385
United Kingdom (except Northern Ireland)	137,206	941,270	1,078,476
Ireland (including Northern Ireland)	56,315	33,593	89,908
Italy	168,809	16,596	185,405
Malta	37,815	3,460	41,275
Netherlands	24,858	51,188	76,046
Germany ¹	30,482	77,521	108,003
Austria	9,731	7,281	17,012
Croatia and other former Yugoslavia ²	49,201	94,116	143,317
Poland	36,117	12,568	48,685
Hungary	10,429	8,663	19,092
Other Eastern Europe	23,184	81,394	104,578
Other Europe	41,887	177,360	219,247
Vietnam	39,890	145,149	185,039
Philippines	134,660	36,573	171,233
Indonesia	16,818	46,341	63,159
Malaysia	16,790	99,407	116,197
Other South-East Asia	22,977	143,264	166,241
India	48,202	247,159	295,361
Sri Lanka	20,218	66,194	86,412
China (except Hong Kong and Taiwan)	11,277	309,974	321,251
Hong Kong (SAR of China)	11,141	63,815	74,956
Korea, Republic of (South)	16,705	57,834	74,539
Egypt	7,986	28,542	36,528
Lebanon	28,009	48,442	76,451
Other Middle East and North Africa	35,762	157,126	192,888
South Africa	19,977	125,709	145,686
Mauritius	16,078	7,213	23,291
North America	22,742	93,688	116,430
Chile	15,839	9,101	24,940
Other South America and Central America	51,623	30,756	82,379
Other	47,900	365,130	413,030
Inadequately described/Not stated	90,385	1,115,108	1,205,493
Total	5,439,266	16,068,453	21,507,719

APPENDIX 4 - Religious Affiliation, 1996-2011

Australia - All Persons

Religious Affiliation	1996	2001	2006	2011	% Change 1996-2011
Anglican	3,903,324	3,881,162	3,718,247	3,679,907	-5.7
Baptist	295,178	309,205	316,741	352,497	19.4
Brethren	22,063	19,353	24,226	21,731	-1.5
Catholic	4,798,950	5,001,624	5,126,884	5,439,267	13.3
Churches of Christ	75,023	61,335	54,818	49,687	-33.8
Eastern Orthodox	497,015	529,444	544,163	563,072	13.3
Jehovah's Witnesses	83,414	81,069	80,918	85,635	2.7
Latter-day Saints	45,112	49,915	53,199	59,769	32.5
Lutheran	249,989	250,365	251,103	251,930	0.8
Oriental Christians	31,342	36,324	40,899	51,849	65.4
Pentecostal	174,720	194,592	219,692	237,986	36.2
Presbyterian and Reformed	675,534	637,530	596,667	599,515	-11.3
Salvation Army	74,145	71,423	64,200	60,163	-18.9
Seventh-day Adventist	52,655	53,844	55,252	63,002	19.7
Uniting Church	1,334,917	1,248,674	1,135,427	1,065,794	-20.2
Other Christian	269,383	338,483	403,392	568,855	111.2
Total Christian	12,582,764	12,764,342	12,685,828	13,150,671	4.5
Aboriginal	-	5,224	5,378	7,361	-
Buddhism	199,812	357,813	418,756	528,978	164.7
Hinduism	67,279	95,473	148,123	275,535	309.5
Islam	200,885	281,578	340,393	476,290	137.1
Judaism	79,805	83,993	88,829	97,336	22.0
Other religious groups	68,647	84,607	103,649	160,833	134.3
Total Other religion	616,428	908,688	1,105,128	1,546,335	150.9
No religion	2,948,888	2,905,993	3,706,555	4,796,786	62.7
Other religious affiliation	54,614	354,628	133,820	174,281	219.1
Not stated	1,550,585	1,835,598	2,223,958	1,839,649	18.6
Total population	17,753,279	18,769,249	19,855,289	21,507,716	21.1

Source of data: Australian Bureau of Statistics - Census of Population and Housing, 1996, 2001, 2006 & 2011.

Table prepared by the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference Pastoral Research Office; www.pro.catholic.org.au
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