CHAPTER TWO

LOCATING THE THEORETICAL SPACE: MIGRATION/IDENTITY AND PLACE-ATTACHMENT.

The first thing Senora Prudencia Linero noticed when she reached the port of Naples was that it had the same smell as the port of Riohacha. She did not tell anyone, of course, since no one would have understood on that senile ocean liner filled to overflowing with Italians from Buenos Aires who were returning to their native land for the first time since the war, but in any case, at the age of seventy-two, and at a distance of eighteen days of heavy seas from her people and her home, she felt less alone, less frightened and remote. …

Every voyage must be like this, she thought, suffering for the first time in her life the sharp pain of being a foreigner, while she leaned on the railing and contemplated the vestiges of so many extinct worlds in the depths of the water. …

<div align="right">(Marquez, 1992:116,118)</div>

Senora Prudencia Linero's observations can be used to link concepts of heritage and the cultural landscape explored in the last chapter with the emotive experience of migration and the way migrants are in heightened states of awareness about identity and place. Unlike the theoretical space in the last chapter which was clearly located at the interface of heritage and cultural landscape theory, theories about migration, identity and place attachment are less clearly demarcated. Thus the original theoretical relationship, Figure 2.1, has been modified to allow for an interpenetrating and overarching theoretical space, the national space, common to both migration and place-attachment enabling a fuller exploration of issues of identity.
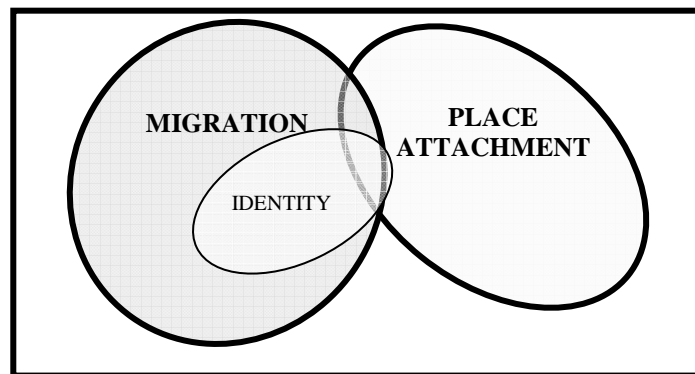
FIGURE 2.1.

Original Theoretical Relationship.

This chapter examines theories of migration, identity and place-attachment by discussing the spatial implications of migration, both for the host country and migrants. In so doing, it explores links between the theories within an overarching and interpenetrating concept of national identity and 'national space'. Figure 2.2 indicates the relationships of the theoretical areas.
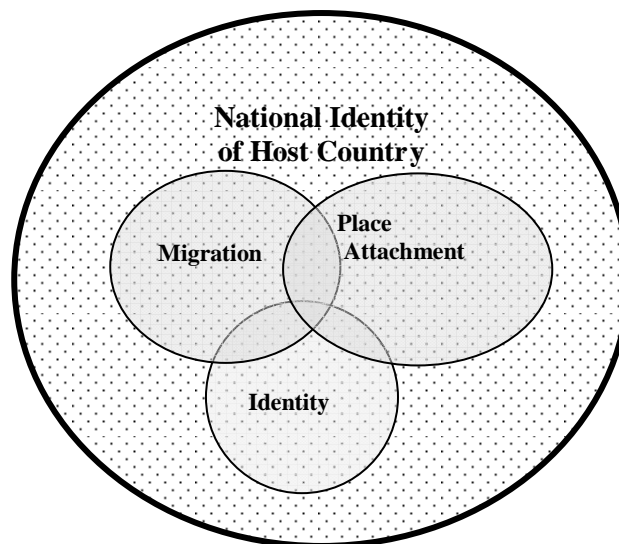

FIGURE 2.2.

Links between Theories of Migration, Place-attachment and Identity

within an Overarching Concept of National Identity.

Migration is the focus of much academic inquiry at the turn of the 21st century where changing political structures and wars have resulted in mass movement of people.

Wider issues about migration are explored by Bhabha (1990), Chambers (1994), Churchman & Mitrani (1998), Featherstone (1993), and Gumpert & Drucker (1998), to name just a few of the many theorists, whereas Australian migration studies tend to focus on the massive movement of people after World War II. In reviewing migration theory, this chapter considers differing historical perspectives about migration to the New World. It also examines theories about the nexus between migration and cultural pluralism, often referred to as multiculturalism, which in Australia, draw from many disciplines. The main historical Australian theorists, Freeman & Jupp (1992), Jordens (1995), Jupp (1988,1992, 1996), and Murphy (1993) provide perspectives of the Australian post-World War II migration project. Castles et al (1988) and Fincher et al (1993) explore the disempowering aspects of the migration program. Extensive work has been done by Burnley (1996,1998) Burnley et al (1997), and Murphy & Watson (1994) on the demographic implications of the migration project, while Thompson's work (1994) brings out particular feminist issues for migrant women. Anderson & Gale (1992), Anderson (1993) and Gunew (1993) note certain appropriations of migrant culture by mainstream Australia, while Lechte & Bottomley (1993) bring out the particular cultural transformations and hybridities associated with migration. The recent work by Hage (1998) moves the migration and multicultural debate into yet another realm, suggesting that the hegemonic cultural location of white Australians can now be challenged fifty years after the post-war migration program.

The concept of place-attachment for migrants, the second theoretical area, brings out Old and New World tensions resulting from nostalgic comparisons between countries. Theories about place loss (Read,1996) and place-attachment (Altmann & Low,1992) provide important insights about particular meanings embedded in migrant places. In Australia, links between migration and place are intimately connected with notions of 'national space'. Bhabha's work (1990) in this area highlights the competing notions of Australian 'national space'. For migrants, the new place assumes dimensions which depend on the host community's ability to accommodate difference. In this regard, comparisons between North America acculturation concepts, namely 'the melting pot' (Ebo,1998; Stipe & Lee,1987) and Australian Anglo-conformity, known as 'assimilation' (Jordens,1995; Murphy, 1993), provide further insights into the elusive phenomenon of 'national space' in New World countries. As well, Freeman & Jupp

(1992) provide perspectives on differences between migration to North America and Australia thus highlighting the particularities of Australian migrant places.

Concepts of identity, the third theoretical area, are fluid both for migrants and the host country. Much of contemporary Australian writing is concerned with the problem of a self-defined Australian identity (Jose, 1988; Malouf,1998). The writer Nicholas Jose's analysis of Australian culture in the *Daedalus Symposium* (1988:313) suggests that Australians are caught in a '*provincial anguish at being divided between two different kinds of home*.' As well, Australians have tended to see their cultural identity as marginal to Europe and New York. This sets up potential resonances with the marginality of migrants. Despite this, or possibly because of this, in Australia, racism and xenophobic parochialism have been played out side by side with the exoticising of the 'other'. To complicate the picture further, new forms of hybridity between migrant and host culture are characteristic of many late 20th century places. The current theories related to these issues are located within cultural studies including the work of Anderson & Gale(1992), Anderson (1993), Chambers (1994), Fincher et al (1993), Hage (1998), Jameson (1991) and Lechte & Bottomley (1993). Of particular significance are the works of Bhabha (1990) and Chambers (1994) which analyse complex issues of hybridity of identity and changing notions of 'national space' as a result of cultural pluralism.

The theoretical space in which to explore concepts of identity is particularly relevant to the *space-in-between,* a quaternary conceptual field with both volume and time (Meyer,1994). Dimensions of the *space-in-between* provide ways to understand multi-layered phenomena, particularly the fertile areas where theories interpenetrate and overlap. The quaternary conceptual field accommodates changes in the concept of 'national space'. *Time* associated with such a field is reflected in changes both within the host country and the migrants as Australia moved from a strongly defended White Australian 'national space' to the current multicultural 'national space' over a period of fifty years.

Theoretical Approaches to Migration

Because of the need to understand the complex changes in Australia's migration policy, the predominant theorists about migration in this study are historians. There are also important spatial implications related to migration which are vital to any understanding

of the places migrant make as they attempt to settle in the new country. In order to shed light on the spatial changes, different theoretical positions about marginality are interpolated throughout this section.

Another aspect to consider is the difference between internal migration within Europe and migration to the New World including comparisons between migrating to North America or Australia. Because this study concentrates on the Australian post-World present War II migration project, the historical background mainly emphasises 1947 to the present. Figure 2.3 highlights the areas under discussion in this section.
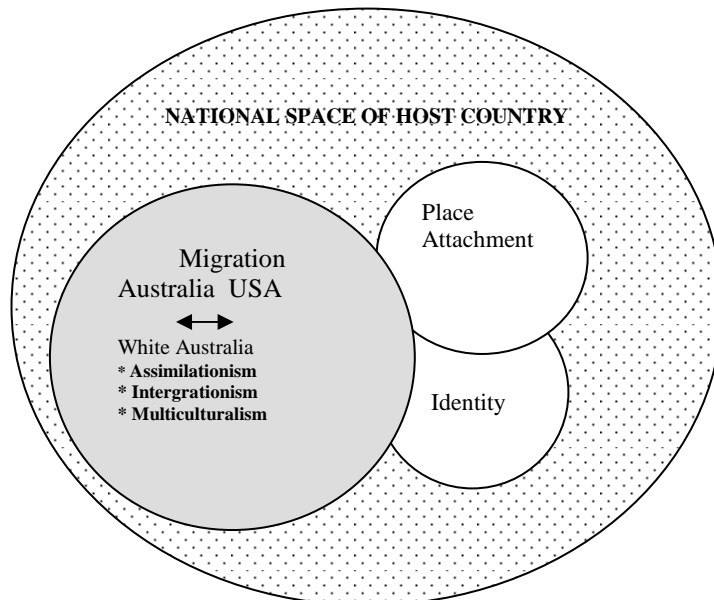

FIGURE 2.3.

Migration, Theoretical Issues.

The Migrant – A New World Essential

Historians (Jupp,1988; Murphy,1993) indicate that 20th century international migration reflects the history of modern capitalism whose seeds lie in the discovery of the New World; an event which prompted European nations to incorporate vast new lands and their associated wealth. This could only be achieved by the emigration of potential settlers, the use of convicts and slaves having been abolished by 1840s. New settlers were to develop and manage the colonies under the tight control of European nation-states. In contrast to cross-border migrations within Europe, migration to the New World involved trans-oceanic journeys over vast distances to relatively unknown places. Immigrants to the New World were, therefore, confronted with dramatic severance from

their home country and an overpowering sense of loss. Freeman and Jupp (1992) and Murphy (1993) propose that it was predominantly the demographic crises of the 18th century and the 19th century development of industrialised European nation-states which provided the incentive for emigration to such distant lands. Emerging industrial capitalism required free and mobile labour and a self-sufficient trading system where the industrial base was in Europe and markets and sources of supplies were in the colonies. As a result, the New World was seen as a place where enterprising people could create new lives, North America being the '*model of a receiving country*' (Murphy,1993: 65).

Comparisons between migration to Australia and North America bring out the differences in migration experiences and associated spatial responses in each country. Such spatial implications highlight differing notions of 'frontier space', 'marginal space' and 'national space'. In Australia, tensions around national identity and who should occupy the 'national space' were and continue to be directly related to migration policies.

Migration to Australia: Politics of Race and Class

New World Comparisons

Jupp (1988) and Murphy (1993) point out that immigration has been an integral feature of Australian life since first occupation by Europeans because the colonisers needed a workforce. Although emigrants flocked from Europe to the New World, Australia was not a common destination. Thorpe (1996) explores the perceived inadequacies of Aboriginal labour and how the need for a workforce prompted many discussions about possible black or Chinese indentured labour. White occupation of Australia, however, occurred when the general sentiment was against slavery or variations of it, so immigration was the only answer for the required workforce.

In terms of migrant place-making in Australia, it is important to look at why North America was the preferred choice for the many emigrants from Britain and Europe. Freeman and Jupp (1992) suggest that there were five main reasons. First, North America was closer. Second, it had a history of immigration from the early 17th century, thus for emigrants there was a known European presence in the new land. Third, because of the general productivity of the land, there was an opportunity for

small landholdings enabling continuity of European land husbandry traditions. Fourth, by the 19th century there was a well-developed agricultural and industrial economy which guaranteed employment for immigrants. Fifth, the ideological construct of American society had great appeal and ensured that there would be no restrictions on the basis of race or religion.

Migration to Australia differed in all five points. First, the distance from Europe was vast. Second, European occupation was recent, as a result little was known about the new colony. Third, productivity from the land was difficult resulting in a relatively small number of very large, privately owned holdings. This meant that there was little opportunity for the Old World tradition of small farms (Thorpe,1996). Fourth, during the 19th century the economy was based on primary production and resource exploitation, which, in the main, provided only manual employment opportunities for immigrants. Fifth, the colony was British and as Murphy (1993) points out, there was a clear preference for white British immigrants in the belief that that this would encourage the development of a '*culturally superior*' colony. The differences between North America and Australia have spatial implications which have affected the act of migrant place-making in each country.

Frontier Space, Migrant Space, National Space

Freeman and Jupp (1992) note that there were two significant spatial outcomes of migration to North America and Australia in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The first was the notion of frontier societies and their associated sense of infinite space or 'frontier space'. In North America, this perception gradually receded as settlers occupied the whole continent forming dispersed close-knit settlements. Freeman and Jupp consider 'frontier space' in North America was '*an egalitarian force*' (1992:12). In contrast, the concept of 'frontier space' in Australian was the 'interior' which was forbidding and apparently unprofitable. Australian 'frontier space' tended to foster conflict and social divisions because only a few people had vast land holdings. This inevitably created a stratified society (Thorpe,1996). Resulting tensions led to working class solidarity; an issue which continually influenced migration policies in Australia. Interestingly, because the predominant settlements were and continue to be coastal and urban, the concept of a 'frontier space' has persisted in Australia, the romance about

which continued to entice migrants in the 20th century. The adventure of an Australian frontier comes through in the all case studies in this thesis.

The second outcome was the concept of New World 'national space' and again there were strong contrasts between North America and Australia. Bhabha's (1990) ideas of 'national space' suggest that social realities of nations or national identity are not necessarily the certainties presented in some histories. Instead he suggests they are transitional and responsive to larger cultural systems which often precede the formation of a nation. This was particularly true for the colonial enterprise. Initially migrant settlers in the New World could only occupy 'marginal space' because the 'national space' was always in Europe. The European 'national space' changed with emerging nation-states. This was often associated with a desire to get rid of unwanted people. One effective means of achieving this was to encourage emigration. Over time there was an equal growth in nationalism in New World countries. Nationalism in North America was underpinned by a willingness to accept all newcomers; an ideology which was seen as a '*shining beacon of democracy*' (Freeman and Jupp,1992:15). In Australia, the 'national space' was exclusive. Migrants were only acceptable if they had the capacity to be absorbed into the British-based Anglo-Celtic culture and all migrants were expected to relinquish their former culture. Unlike the United States, the long domination of the Anglo-Irish resulted in an exceptionally homogeneous Australian society. This was particularly the case by 1947, when the massive post-war migration program was introduced. Bhabha (1990) provides a post-colonial argument for the Australian situation pointing out that controlling marginal space, in this case the space of non-British migrants, prevents interference in the project of 'progress' within an homogeneous 'deep nation'. He suggests this control justifies and validates '*authoritarian and normalizing tendencies within cultures in the name of national interest*' (1990:4). Australia developed a highly selective concept of 'national space,' embodied in the policy known as 'White Australia'. This thesis suggests that notions of 'frontier space', 'marginal space' and 'national space' have played a central role in the phenomenon of migrant place-making in Australia.

White Australia to White Nation

Freeman and Jupp indicate that the 19th century '*proletarianization of the rural population*' (1992:12) resulted in working class solidarity in the Australian colonies.

This led to complex relationships between the cohesion of Australian labour movements and immigration policies. Murphy (1993) supports this observation indicating that during this period, migrants had been mostly British, although a few non-British migrants had been encouraged, including the Germans with skills in wine-making and olive-growing. Also some Southern and Eastern Europeans came to work in the cane fields. It was the Chinese migrants who had arrived in the 1850s to work the gold fields who were the bone of contention by 1901 when the separate colonies became a federated nation. Chinese migrants were predominantly male, diligent, kept to themselves and were willing to work for low wages. Migration was thus seen as threatening to the Australian labour movement. Murphy (1993) and Thorpe (1996) indicate that these were perceived threats only, as the actual profile of non-indigenous Australians in 1901 was predominantly Anglo-Celtic.

It was a racist agenda rather than independence from Britain that was characteristic of the climate immediately preceding the federation of separate colonial States into one Australian nation. This resulted in intense debates about the profile of the new nation. Again Bhabha's (1990) insights provide explanations for the policies developed at the birth of the Australian nation. He suggests the language and rhetoric about 'nation' indicate certain constructed fields of meaning. In this case, 'White Australia' was the most popular symbol for the new national identity exemplified by the '*Australian Briton*' (Murphy,1993:28). Another factor emerging at this time was the alarm in Britain at the awakening of Asia; a phenomenon which had the potential to challenge European world supremacy (Murphy,1993). As a result, when the new parliament debated immigration, one of their earliest debates, the agenda was caught up in the sensitive issues of defence as well as labour protectionism. The debate was distinctly racist, namely a desire to keep out Asians, Africans and Pacific Islanders. Thus Bhabha's (1990:2) suggestion that '*the ambivalent figure of the nation is a problem of its transitional history and its conceptual indeterminancy*' has been continually played out in Australian migration policies.

Politics of race and class set the context for the migration profile of Australia preceding the post-World War II period. Australia at this time was a deeply conservative society living out the remnants of a British colonial cultural system. As Castles et al (1988) indicate, Australia was unusually homogeneous because of the persistent culture of racism, both towards migrants and the indigenous people. Thus when the government

of the day was faced with the need to embark upon a massive migration program to provide a work-force for its proposed industrial projects, it recognised this inherent cultural conservatism and the sanctity of a phenomenon known as the 'Australian way of life'. To address this, voters were reassured that most migrants would be British (Murphy,1993) thus ensuring the continuity of a White Australian 'national space'.

Once again Australia was not the first choice for British migrants, most going to United States or Canada. Jordens (1995), Jupp (1992) and Murphy (1993) detail why the government, already heavily committed to the new industrial projects and fuelled by post-war rhetoric of 'populate or perish', opened the possibility of accepting migrants from the Mediterranean countries and Northern Europe. Within the context of 'White Australia' this was obviously contentious so the government reassured Australian voters that such Non English Speaking migrants would become 'Australian' under the policy of 'Assimilation'. To achieve assimilation, no provisions for housing were made on the assumption that migrants would be absorbed into the suburbs. A well meaning, but naïve and uninformed, volunteer organisation, known as the 'Good Neighbour Movement', would facilitate this process (Murphy,1993). The results revealed in this study indicate that the very policies aimed at ensuring that non-British migrants blended into Australian cities resulted in isolating migrants into perceived enclaves, despite living beside Australians. As will be discussed later, the 'enclave' in Australian cities had particular characteristics.

Cultural theorists such as Shields in his study, *Places on the Margin* (1991) and Chambers in his study on *Migration, Culture, Identity* (1994) augment the historical perspective with cultural anthropological insights. Shields highlights issues of marginal status which he suggests, whether geographical or social, carries '*the image and stigma of marginality'* (1991:3). Australia, as a nation-state, was marginal both culturally and geographically at this time, a situation which may have contributed to the particular fear of cultural difference. One can draw further insights from Chambers who points out '…*in the gap between connections and differences, we can begin to unwind the self-reflexive national idiom and its xenophobic refusal of external referents in its formation'* (1994:28). Because Australians were not comfortable with 'differences', the key to the formation of their 'self-reflexive national idiom' was the Australian Briton and the British migrant. As a result, in contrast to the treatment of those who were 'different', the British migrants were to be given every incentive to come to Australia

including family accommodation, guaranteed employment, and assisted passage. This situation persisted until the mid 1950s by which time many British migrants found that, as conditions improved in England, they wished to return. Other migrants, many of whom were refugees, could not return to their countries. The return of the British further consolidated the conception of migrants in Australia as 'different'. Thus the much-celebrated cultural pluralism in Australian cities today lay in the discriminatory practices of fifty years ago.

The Spatial Implications of the Policy of Assimilation- 1947-1963.

The history of migration from 1947 to the present is driven by three distinct phases in government migration policies, Assimilation, Integration, Multiculturalism. This study suggests that during each of these periods particular types of migrant places developed. Using the work of Jordens (1995), Jupp (1988, 1992,1994, 1996) and Murphy (1993), a close examination of the policies developed during these three periods provides insights into the changing nature of migrant places. As well, phenomenology, as expounded by Polkinghorne (1989), Seamon (1993), Spiegelberg (1982), and Valle & Harding (1989), provides alternative modes of understanding the migrants' experiences, namely what one goes through in leaving one's country in order to settle in another.

There were distinct experiences associated with arriving in Australia. In the period between 1947-1963, migrants arrived by ship, so the wharves in major cities became places redolent with memories of arriving in a strange place, being greeted by little known relatives or migrant agents, and being subjected to the procedures which determined where migrants would go after arrival. Jordens (1995), Jupp (1992) and Murphy (1993) document the history of this period, which was characterised by migrants being taken to 'reception centres' to be processed and in many cases dispersed to sites of employment related to the new industries. Refugees and non-British migrants were required to work for two years in places nominated by the government. Many were sent to the Snowy Mountain Hydro-electricity Scheme. Others were sent to remote mining towns or coastal steel mills and ports, but most settled in larger cities, working in factories. These were often places of humiliation because, for non-British migrants, professional qualifications were not recognised. Shields (1991.4), drawing from Said's (1978) notion of 'positional superiority', suggests that the social definition of marginality is intimately linked with the concept that modes of social interaction

between marginal groups is seen as '*low culture*'. In the 1950s, migrants in Australia tended to occupy marginal space regardless of their education, qualifications or social class.

Apart from places of work, other expressions of marginality evolved from housing policies where those non-British migrants who had paid their own passage, were

expected to find accommodation in Australian cities currently experiencing severe housing shortages (Jordens,1995). As a result, sponsoring relatives and migrant groups developed networks to provide immediate accommodation. In some communities where migrants were predominantly single men, a system of boarding houses and clubs grew up in tightly-knit neighbourhoods. In other cases, a system of shared houses arose, often with migrants being exploited by landlords, both Australians and members of migrant groups. Thus during the period of assimilation policies, migrants were expected to relinquish their cultural difference and become New Australians.

The Spatial Implications of the Period of Integration - 1964 - 1972

By the mid 1960s, there were problems with 'assimilationist' policies. The migrant project was certainly building Australia's industrial strength and providing employment. To that extent the project was successful. But the desire to make migrants into Australians who would be absorbed into the fabric of Australian society was not working. Because migrants had been brought in to work in industry with no provision for housing and minimal provision for English tuition, it was inevitable that migrant enclaves formed around industrial areas and inner-city areas where housing was cheap. Such enclaves had particularities which, while bearing all the hallmarks of marginality, were different to the concept of ghettos in Europe and North America. Jupp (1992) describe these places as zones of transition. Unlike North American ghettos, the enclaves were not associated with crime or racism. There were, however, a number of social problems for migrant groups who were becoming increasingly isolated and marginalised by the mainstream society. Murphy (1993) indicates that by this stage, migrants were so disenchanted with the lack of fulfilment of promises for a better life in Australia that many were returning to their original countries.

Concern about this at government level prompted new policies about migration which came under the umbrella of 'Integration' (Jordens,1995; Jupp,1996; Murphy,1993). By the early 1960s the Australian government was competing with other countries for immigrants. As a result they were forced to consider migrants from areas previously excluded because of perceived difficulties in assimilation. In the process of negotiating on a world stage for immigrants, Murphy (1993) observes that Australian government officials realised that their policies were considered anachronistic and inappropriate. Migration practice throughout the world in the 1960s was one which acknowledged diversity; whereas Australia was widely known for its discriminatory 'white Australia policy'. This particularly acted against Australia's desire to forge links with Asia. Australia clearly needed to revise its immigration policy which meant better services for migrants on arrival and broadening of the notion of who were acceptable migrants. During the Period of Integration, Australia accepted immigrants from Lebanon and Turkey as well as India, Malaysia, China and South America (Jupp,1988; Murphy,1993). The implications of the need for more equity for migrants meant that Australian society had to acknowledge its diverse composition, the very phenomenon that Australia had tried to avoid. Although there was a growing acceptance of the non-British migrant presence, the 'Australian way of life' was still a sacred icon. Despite this, during the Integration Period, migrant places became more visible.

The government decided to revise its immigration policies in a cautious but significant way. Instead of maintaining the patronising position exemplified by the Good Neighbour Movement, the government created welfare grants which migrant community agencies could administer within their own communities. This empowered migrant groups and increased their political voice. As well, the government re-assessed its policies on overseas professional qualifications thus enabling many migrants to move from factory work into their own professions (Jupp,1992; Murphy,1993). In the light of these changes it was clear to migrant groups that by the mid 1960s, mainstream Australians were ready to accept the presence of non-British migrants and to accept evidence of different cultural practices. Such cautious acceptance of the migrant presence while maintaining the 'Australian way of life', continued until 1972 when Australia moved into a third set of migration policies known as the 'Period of Multiculturalism'. The changes during this period reflect other theoretical positions about marginality. Stallybrass and White (1986) look at how marginal or 'low' culture

can assume a desired aspect by the mainstream in the form of an 'exoticized other'. Shields (1991:5) takes this observation further by representing the phenomenon as contradictory, where the marginal is reviled and despised while at the same time being '*constitutive of the imaginary and emotional repertoires of the dominant culture*,' in other words, exotic and possibly even erotic. This concept of 'exoticizing and eroticizing' the other is explored more fully in discussions about identity and place.

The Spatial Implications of the Period of Multiculturalism (1973 - 1995).

It took until 1970 for the Australian Labour Party (ALP) to realise that working class solidarity existed just as strongly in migrants of non English speaking background as it did amongst 'white' Australians. The ALP wooed the migrant vote and their success in the 1972 elections was in part attributable to this vote (Jordens,1995; Jupp,1992; Murphy,1993). In 1973, along with the change in government there was also a major global change resulting from the recession in world trade following the slump in oil prices. As well, the plight of refugees from Lebanon and Vietnam had to be addressed. This was to have a marked impact on immigration issues in Australia. Firstly, it brought to an end the economic boom which had been the rationale for the immigration policy and secondly, Australia accepted its obligation to take in refugees from Asia and Lebanon. The new Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby, an Italian migrant, had a history of activism about migrant issues. In 1973 he was the first person to use the term 'multiculturalism' in Australia (Jupp,1988; Jordens,1995; Murphy, 1993); a term that was comfortably accepted by the mainstream community by this time. It was the Liberal Coalition, however, who consolidated the concept of Australia as a 'multicultural society' through the introduction of the Galbally System (1978). Under this system, the migrant intake was increased, particularly the refugees from Indo-China and Lebanon; but in terms of marginality, there was an interesting shift. Both Jupp (1992) and Murphy (1993) detail how the Liberal Government sought the support of ethnic community leaders because the Liberal platform inevitably meant the abandoning of welfare measures introduced by the former government. To address this the Liberal government redefined multiculturalism by emphasising cultural pluralism and the key role that ethnic organisations could play in providing welfare to their communities through a system of government grants.

Jupp (1992) describes how the new government's changes included a redefinition of the Australian identity as an ethnically diverse society. The government set up the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) with programs which provoked the mainstream Australian community to become interested in the cultural pluralism within its midst. As Murphy (1993) explains, the new government system was a clever strategy which simultaneously legitimated the concept of an ethnically diverse society, cut government expenditure and provided greater social control over minority groups through a system of grants.

In 1984 Australia went into a minor recession during which the Great Immigration Debate started, fuelled by the historian, Geoffrey Blainey, and his rhetoric about the Asianisation of Australia. Although Blainey appeared to get public support which prompted the government to cut funding to migrant groups and abolish the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, it was a misreading of Australian public sentiment. As a result, some marginal seats in larger cities were threatened. The government responded rapidly by establishing the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the National Agenda for Multicultural Australia; such was the change in Australian cultural values. In 1996, with another change in government, the policies changed. Again migration issues were conflated with unemployment. Migration became the key focus of a new party, the 'One Nation' party, with an explicitly racist platform. Current policies about migration occupy an ambiguous zone. While not explicit, there is implicit racism and protectionism concurrent with the acceptance that Australia is now a culturally pluralist society.

The different eras of migration policies clearly influenced the way migrants settled into Australia. Burnley (1996,1998), Burnley et al (1997), and Murphy & Watson (1994) have documented this process demographically, but, it is worth noting that there were unique characteristics to the Australian post-World War II program. Castles et al (1988) comment that Australia's program was of incomparable size internationally. What distinguished it from other migration programs was the fact that it was a First World society with a low birth rate using a migration program to double its size in forty years. No other country accepted so many immigrants in this period relative to the size of the existing population, if one discounts the establishment of the state of Israel (Churchman & Mitrani,1998). No other nation-state had been as actively involved in the recruitment

of immigrants, nor had the sources of immigrants been so diverse (Castles et al,1988; Jupp,1996).

Contemporary Spatiality of Migrant Groups

A comparison between the different manifestations of migration in Australian cities and North American cities draws attention to the need to understand place-making and spatiality issues for migrant groups. Since the 1950s, the particular migrant issue for North American cities focused on the internal migration of Afro-Caribbean Americans from the southern states to the north. More recently this has also included Hispanic migration. The main concern in North America has been the development of urban ghettoes. Australian cities have absorbed the impact of migrants and internal migrations of Aboriginal communities differently. Although marginal groups such as migrants and and Aboriginal communities have tended to occupy inner-city areas, for Australians, there has not been the strong anti-urban sentiment that pervades North American cultural values. As a result, most Australians have tended to live in cities and sustain the vigour of inner suburban/urban areas by new waves of migrant groups and, more recently, middle-class gentrifiers. Also unlike American cities, the migrant areas have tended to accommodate diverse migrant groups as well as Aboriginal peoples and lower socio-economic Anglo-Australians. Despite the sense of marginality experienced by migrants in inner-city enclaves, there has, in fact, been persistent heterogeneity. Thus apparent divisions into specific migrant enclaves have been superficial. It is interesting to observe that superficially North America appears to be a heterogeneous nation, but this heterogeneity is actually a mosaic of quite distinct ethnic enclaves and ghettoes (Stipe & Lee,1987). In contrast, the Australian nation, while appearing to be predominantly Anglo-Celtic, has heterogeneous communities made up of many different ethnic groups, Anglo-Australians and Aboriginal Australians. The presumed homogeneity of Australian culture along with the supposed hegemony of White Australians has been challenged strongly by Hage in his recent polemic *White Nation* (1998). Hage has undertaken a Bourdieu-ian analysis of the construction of the Australian 'national space' at the close of the 20th century. In this analysis, which looks at cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu,1991), Hage points out that 'national space' can be understood as the site for cultural capital which includes accumulated nationalities as well as '*sanctified and valued* [differing] *social and physical cultural styles and dispositions'*(1998:53). He extends the Bourdieu-ian analysis further by

suggesting that within the nation, it is *'national belonging that constitutes the symbolic capital.'*(1998:53).   Hage maintains that this model allows for a more subtle understanding of cultural dominance within Australia than the usual binaries of *'Anglo - ethnic; dominant – dominated'* because notions of 'belonging' in Australia today are not so clearly constructed around the *'Anglo-ethnic divide'*(1998:49).

Bhabha (1990) also explores these issues where they relate to marginal groups and concepts of nation. He speaks of the counter-narratives of nation which destabilise the *'ideological manoeuvres through which "imagined communities" are given essentialist identities'*(1990:298). In Australia such essentialist identities are evident in revitalised Chinatowns. This situation in terms of migrants in Australia is explored further in the discussion on identity and place later in this chapter. Of particular interest, however, is Bhabha's discussion about the paradox of modern territoriality or 'nation space' where there is a desire to represent the nation as one people while at the same time recognising *'the liminal point'* or threshold where the spatial boundaries are differentiated; namely *'a contentious internal liminality that provides space for the minority, the exilic, the marginal, and the emergent'* (1990:300). In his study on *Migrancy, Culture, Identity,* Chambers claims the *'modern metropolitan figure is the migrant'*(1994:23), a concept which challenges and subverts the tradition of a 'White Australia'. Contemporary spatiality for the migrant and the host country is also informed by Chambers observation that any nation in the early 21st century must *'accept, interrogate and undermine any simple or uncomplicated sense of origins, traditions …*[because] *we are inevitably confronted with mixed histories, composite languages ... that are also central to our* [the mainstream] *history'* (1994:17).

Thus, over time Australian migration policies have resulted in migrants being marginal groups with predictable spatial outcomes. More recently, however, post-colonial and post-modern theories of marginality highlight the shift in perceptions of marginality and difference. The theoretical positions discussed so far have mainly focussed on policy issues about migration. There is, however, an equally important area of theory which examines the actual experience of migration and its associated place loss and place-attachment.

Place-Attachment

While political policies and their variations from one country to another clearly have an effect on the experience of migration within each country, there are certain experiences that are common to all migrants. They include loss of place, the power of memory, the issues of place-attachment, both old and new, and the intangible heritage associated with cultural practices and ways of life. Figure 2.4 repeats the link between migration and identity, this time highlighting theories on place-attachment. Locating these theoretical areas within the 'national space' of the host country, brings out the particular issue of what kind of places are acceptable within this 'national space'.
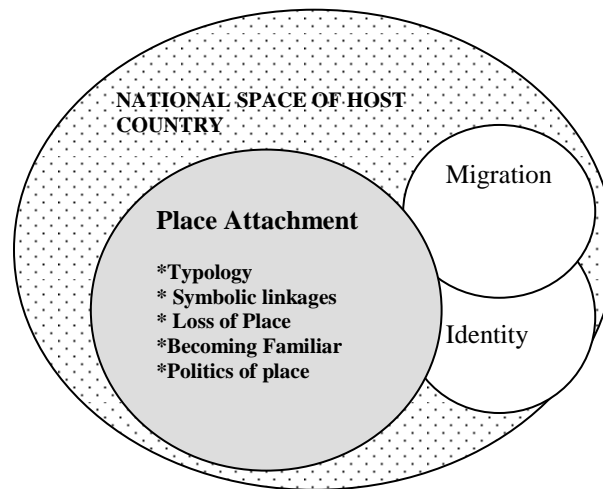
FIGURE 2.4.

Place Attachment, Theories and Issues

Research into place-attachment has highlighted how people affiliate and attach themselves to new situations. In the 1970s, people-environment research, predominantly positivist, began to explore personal space (Sommers,1969), territoriality (Greenbie,1981) and environmental meaning (Kaplan & Kaplan,1978). Although Shields suggests this research was '*culturally naïve positivist environmental image research*'(1991:7), he nevertheless agrees that these studies provided a legacy of human responses to place. In contrast, the work of phenomenologists (Buttimer & Seamons,1980; Relph,1976; Seamon,1982; Tuan,1974) reveals a consensus that place-attachment is a complex phenomenon. It consists of many inseparable, integral and mutually defining features which not only acknowledge effect, emotion, and feeling but also include knowledge, beliefs, behaviour and action.

More recently, Low, an environmental psychologist (Altman & Low,1992), has argued for a cultural definition of place-attachment which accepts that, for most people, the attachment involves transformations of experiences of spaces into culturally meaningful and shared symbols, at which stage 'space' becomes 'place'. An important aspect of this definition is that where place-attachment occurs, there is a symbolic relationship between a particular group and the place. This attachment may be evoked by culturally-valued experiences, but it may also derive meaning from other socio-political and cultural sources; all of which is pertinent to migrant place-attachment.

Low proposes a typology of cultural place-attachment which she has derived from six symbolic linkages of people to land; genealogical, loss, economic, cosmological, pilgrimage and narrative. Table 2.1 explains the symbolic linkages.

TABLE 2.1.

Symbolic Linkages of People and Land.

1.*Genealogical* linkage to land through history and family linkage,
2.Linkage through *loss of land* or destruction of continuity,
3.*Economic* linkage to land through ownership, inheritance and politics,
4.*Cosmological* linkage through religious, spiritual or mythological relationships,
5.Linkage through *secular pilgrimage* and celebratory cultural events,
6.*Narrative* linkage through storytelling and place-naming.

Source: Altman & Low, 1992:166.

Low states that along with the six symbolic linkages, there is a process of place-attachment which occurs simply by living in a place and making it familiar. Genealogical attachment to place and loss of place are mutually dependent for migrants, particularly migrants who have come from traditional peasant communities where the family relationship to place has been established for centuries. Often place-attachment is so strong that people from the same village aggregate together in the new country as is the case with some Italian migrant groups in Australia. Low (1992) draws from studies on Spanish American place-attachment which reveal similar genealogical connections of people with place (Pitt-Rivers,1971; Behar,1986; Fernandez,1988). Other research on Spanish American place-attachment shows that genealogical attachment can even be transferred from a village to an urban context, such as the new suburbs of some Mexican cities (Logan, 1984). Logan's work is interesting as similar genealogical transfers from rural to urban places are evident among some Australian migrant communities, particularly Italian and Greek communities.

The concept of loss of place and its associated bereavement has been documented by North American work on the residents of the West End of Boston (Fried,1963; Gans, 1982; Greenbie,1981). There have also been studies on relocating people into new towns which give insights into loss of place, these include work in Nigeria (Marris, 1962), in England (Young & Wilmott,1957) and Lima, Peru (Lobo,1983). More recently place loss within Australia has been explored by Read (1996). Such studies

cover a range of cultural groups. With the fall of communist Europe and the ability of migrants to return to their former countries, a new collection of migrant autobiographies are emerging, giving further insights into the sense of loss that migration to Australia involved (Riemer,1992; Varga,1994).

Low's concept of 'cosmological' attachment to place has been explored in depth by Norberg-Schulz (1980) in his study on *Genius Loci: Towards the Phenomenology of Architecture*. Greenbie (1981) in his study, *Spaces,* also explores sacred places and their meanings. Migrants have great difficulty in reconciling the cosmological aspects of myth and symbol of place in the host country. Although the Asian practice of Feng Shui has been brought to the new countries together with shrines and sacred plants which are incorporated into houses, the profound attachment of place and its mythology remains in the original country. Instead rituals associated with worship, festivals and other ceremonies, although carried out in public places in a similar manner to the country of origin, develop a 'secular' and 'narrative' form of place-attachment. Such ambiguous values about spiritual place-attachment are brought out in the case studies in this thesis. Low's 'economic', 'secular' and 'narrative' linkages are all strong in migrant places but they are not necessarily known about outside migrant communities. Such lack of knowledge often results in planning decisions which are insensitive to cultural difference or stereotype ethnicity.

More recent work on place-attachment, in particular the politics of marginal groups, by Dolores Hayden in her book *The Power of Place* (1995) draws from the organisation she established called ' Power of Place'. This was an activist group seeking to make manifest in urban public landscapes such issues as women's and ethnic history using collaborative public art projects. Through these projects, some of the forgotten aspects of place, particularly where they related to minority groups, were made visible. She highlights the role that public space can play in cultural identity and how urban landscapes are '*storehouses of social memories'*. For Hayden, the power of place means the '*power of ordinary landscapes to nurture citizen's public memories'* (1995:9). In contrast, the politics of identity and place have been explored by Keith and Pile (1993) and Jackson (1989), focusing on the political repression of minority groups in Britain. Hayden is interested in place-attachment as heritage. She points out that in an ethnically-diverse city such as Los Angeles, race, gender and neighbourhood are poorly represented as reasons for preservation of the built environment. She argues for

the rights of minority groups to be represented in the urban built environment in the form of public history or urban preservation. Hayden broadens the notion of place attachment to include those places associated with pain and humiliation. She point out that '*coming to terms with ethnic history in the landscape requires engaging with bitter experiences, as well as the indifference and denial surrounding them*' (1995:22). In Australia many migrant places are associated with building the post war industrial strength. Such industrial places were strongly associated with difficult experiences for migrants, particularly as all migrants worked on the factory floor regardless of qualifications.

Hayden uses Los Angeles as a model for understanding the new urban hybridity, much of which exists as '*fragile traces*' which may be too vulnerable to survive economically and physically (1995:100). There are many parallels with the work that Hayden has been doing in United States and the work in this study. There are, however, significant points of departure. The research undertaken for this study has focused primarily on revealing how experiences of migration are evident in places in Australia, whereas Hayden is interested in the political implications of empowerment for minority groups through the urban cultural landscape. In Australia, similar concerns about ethnicity and empowerment have focused on education, health and welfare (Castles et al, 1988), but the concept of migrant places has not been explored.

Migrant Identity, Theories and Issues.

Constructions of an Australian identity have always been fertile fields for political opportunism and the current focus on multiculturalism as a representation of Australian identity contains many aspects of such opportunism. Figure 2.5 repeats the theoretical model, this time emphasising identity and its strong conceptual link to national identity including the ability of the 'national space' of the host country to accommodate difference.
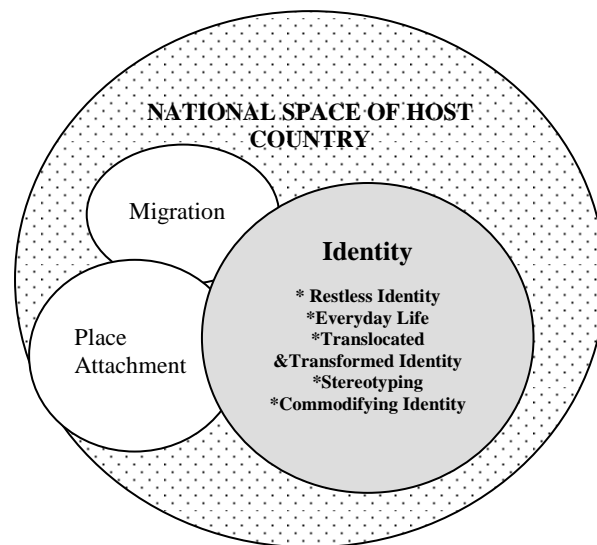
FIGURE 2.5.

Migrant Identity, Theoretical Issues

There are a number of aspects of migration which impinge on concepts of identity. They include the restlessness involved in the migrant experience, the significance of everyday life, and insights provided by different forms of migrant cultural production.

The concept of migration has been renamed 'migrancy' by Chambers (1994:3). He points out

> *...migrancy is a discontinuous state of being...it is a journey of restless interrogation...the belief in the power of origins to define the finality of our passage is dispersed by perpetual movement and transmutations...history is harvested, assembled, made to speak, re-membered, re-read, re-written.*

This representation of migration as a state of uncertainty and change, is also brought out by the feminist writer, Kristeva in her study, *Strangers to Ourselves* (1991). The concept of how we see the 'other' is as pertinent to the migrant as it is to citizens of the host country. Chambers (1994) and Kristeva (1991) suggest that there is not a simple symbolic externalisation of the 'other', but rather a '*condition of dialogue in which different powers, histories, limits and language that permit the process of othering to occur, are inscribed.*'(Chambers, 1994:12). This involves ceaseless negotiations between cultures and complex configurations of meaning and power. The cultural disruption experienced by migrants has particular resonances in Australia where cultural discontinuity is true for most Australians, including those Aboriginal Australians who have been forcibly separated from their land and families.

As stated before, using the concept of a theoretical *space-in-between* as a quaternary conceptual field allows for the inter-weaving between the host and migrant culture over time. Since 1947, the relationship between identity and migration has moved from the need to conceal differences, where the migrant was expected to relinquish their former identity, to celebrations of difference under the rhetoric of multiculturalism. Thus the notion of identity for migrants needs to be seen within the context of the three phases of the Australian post-World War II program.

Migrant identity evokes a particular cross-cultural character caused by the experience of leaving one culture, derived from a particular physical context and cultural history, to establish oneself in another culture, different both in physical and historical context. Migrants brings memories of cultural identities which often become frozen in time – transported identities. In parallel with this, migrant identities also become transformed in the Australian context due to the influences of the Australian way of life, altered seasons, and responses to assimilation - transformed identities.

Reflections of such issues are evident in much of the cultural production of late 20th century Australia. Susan Varga (1994) and Andrew Riemer (1992,1993) are examples of numerous authors writing autobiographically of their experiences as migrants in Australia. Interestingly, Varga and Reimer turn the notion of marginality around by revealing the patronising gaze that some migrants have of the host as a young society in a culturally raw New World. Other works such as those of the artist, Imants Tillers, and photographer, William Yang, explore the cross-cultural hybridity derived from living with two cultural allegiances. They exemplify Chambers' speculations on hybridity where '…*the migrant's sense of being rootless, of living between worlds, between a lost past and a non-integrated present, is perhaps the most fitting metaphor of the (post)modern condition*.' (1994:27).

A common representation of cultural pluralism in Australia today is one where the process of migration and settlement results in successful adaptation. Migrants add their distinctive cultural practices to Australian culture, a process which simultaneously provides continuity with their country of origin and at the same time diversity to Australian society. This representation assumes that migrants are members of homogeneous ethnic communities. It ignores the diversity of migrants from any one country of origin, including their class, education level, whether they are urban or rural

people, reasons for migrating, political affiliations and so on (Fincher et al,1993; Morrissey et al,1991). While the success of the migrant project is the favoured political representation, it avoids acknowledging the experiences migrants have in trying to settle into a different and sometimes hostile culture. Experiences involve creating places to live, finding employment, sustaining religious practices and creating leisure in a strange place.

Thus the concept of identity in the migration project is an elusive phenomenon and is often misunderstood. Not only do human geographers and cultural critics challenge the stereotypes embedded in notions of multiculturalism, other cultural theorists argue that the concept has emerged within a post-modern context and therefore needs to be understood within post-modern terms. Jameson (1991) describes post-modern values as requiring constant negotiation and reflection so that inner contradictions and inconsistencies can be acknowledged and included in the discourse. This is highly relevant to urban planning and interpretations of migrant place-making.

Planning processes in many Australian cities show the difficulties in reconciling inconsistencies and sustaining continuous negotiations. Added to which, the growing use of planning incentives to promote stereotyped decorative evidence of particular migrant groups in the large Australian cities are examples of the superficial notions of migrant cultural identity. The migrant experience is a far more substantial aspect of migrant culture, namely the cultural identity which emerges from experiences of everyday life in the new country. The impulse for the appropriation of ethnic character, often driven by tourism entrepreneurs (both within and outside migrant groups) is an example of Jameson's (1991) representation of the post-modernism of late capitalism.

With pressures for multinational consumption of ethnic identity, it is even more important to understand the complexity of cultural identity in multicultural Australia and the nature of 'social significance' (Johnston,1992) as it relates to migrant places. Fincher et al (1993) suggest that the concept of migrant culture is one which involves the actual 'recomposition' of cultural identity or reconstituting of cultures. This is in strong contrast to Jameson's 'reprocessing' of cultural images. Fincher et al (1993) highlight that the process of finding employment, establishing families, linking into social support systems already in the new country, getting qualifications accepted, accessing government agencies are all 'recompositions' of culture in the new country.

These are just as important as adjusting to Australian cultural values and norms. Fincher et al (1993) suggest more apt representations of cultural pluralism reveal cultural renegotiation processes. These processes bring out subtle readings of migrant places in Australia such as '…*greetings in airport lounges, waiting at Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) offices, vans delivering bundles of fabric to public housing high-rise flats. These are the images of culture in the experience of material life as lived daily'.(* Fincher et al,1993:108). According to Fincher et al, it is the study of contests and strategies associated with settlement which provide the most fertile understandings of cultural diversity in Australia.

Lechte and Bottomley (1993:27) suggest that migrant identity can be described as *'the interweaving and collage effect'* which they call *'The Post-modern.'* They suggest that the earlier status of migrants in Australia , that is, located between the Anglo-insider and non-Anglo outsider has been subverted as boundaries between insiders and outsiders shift in contemporary multicultural Australia. The current rhetoric about multiculturalism assumes that there are clear boundaries between homogeneous migrant groups. Lechte & Bottomley suggest that this attitude has arisen from an Australian culture which has used British culture as the identity of the host society while placing other migrants into racist categories of foreignness such as *'Continental'*, or *'Asian'* or *'Middle-Eastern'*(1993:32). Hage's (1998) Bourdieu-ian analysis confirms their speculations. The concept of an Australian multicultural society is recent and as Lechte & Bottomley (1993:32) so eloquently express

> *…we are witnessing the incessant interweaving of practices; practices producing meanings which burn brightly for a moment only to die away in the wake of new meanings. A model for a multicultural society is not feasible because any model - as an objectification - must lay claim to a degree of transcendence (that is, a capacity to objectify) that would contradict the very (multicultural) reality it was supposed to represent.*

Lechte & Bottomley call this the collage/montage effect which focuses on the *'synchronic level of living history'* rather than the objectified history of historians. This is echoed by Bhabha (1990) where the concept of 'national space' as a space of *'people-at-one'* is called into question. Bhabha suggests that once the thresholds or 'liminality' of 'national space' are accepted, then concepts of difference move from outside to within. He suggests that at this point *'The national subject splits the ethnographic perspective of culture's contemporaneity and provides both a theoretical position and a narrative authority for marginal voices or minority discourse'* (1990:301).

Where do migrant identities sit in this 'incessant interweaving' of meanings? It is clear that simplified versions of ethnic difference are inadequate. When models of the multicultural society are put forward by politicians and planners, they reveal that multiculturalism and migrant identity in Australia has been institutionalised through a range of programs as an officially endorsed set of principles designed to manage 'ethnic diversity'. Not only does this raise issues of ethnic stereotyping, it also fails to accommodate the dynamic nature of Australian society in the early 21st century. Determining the 'social significance' of places thus becomes particularly challenging. Cultural theorists (Bhabha,1990; Lechte & Bottomley,1993) point out that heritage interpretations in multicultural cities are not only past histories recalled in the imagination but also material relations that exist in the present. My study attempts to explore such issues working with the unstable boundaries generated by migrant community interpretations of their own values related to places. This is exemplified in the case study chapters where the understanding of synchronic levels of living history come through repeatedly in conversations about valued places.

The impulse for this work is timely because so called 'ethnic precincts' in Australian cities have become the focus of many architectural and planning schemes designed to enhance 'ethnic identity'. Objectifying the 'ethnic identity' by the outsider - designers and planners reflecting presumed Anglo-Celt Australian values - denies the dynamic nature of cultural pluralism and ignores the depth of meaning embedded in these places.

Chinatowns in major Australian cities exemplify these issues. Kay Anderson's (1993) study of Australian Chinatowns highlights how there is support from both political parties for particular forms of 'ghettoism' which accord with Anglo-Australian notions of 'otherness' and difference. She challenges the use of 'ethnic precincts' as a signification of Australia as multicultural. Her work on Chinatowns can be augmented by similar re-interpretations of Italian and Vietnamese precincts for the tourist gaze. Anderson points out that the planning and design profession in Australia define and fashion Chinatowns in ways that reveals more about Australian interpretations of 'Chineseness' in Western settings than about such places containing attributes of the East. While this can be confirmed, nevertheless, the Chinese communities in Australia have also been powerful agents in their own community development. The complexity of power relationships in Australian communities questions much of the current discourse on ethnicity and place, most of which is derived from the United States

(Hayden,1995) and the United Kingdom (Jackson 1989, 1993, Keith & Pile 1993). In the case of multicultural communities in Australia there are distinct spatial arrangements and place images which relate to the experience of migration, but they are not totally reflections of marginality. Instead there are dynamic intersections of culture, power and the sense of being multicultural. Cultural studies theorists have looked at the problems of generalisations about the dominant ideology position (Hage,1998). Such propositions suggest that there is unilateral control of an empowered centre which is '*monolithic and incontestable*' (Anderson, 1993:74). This is not true of Chinatowns, Italian precincts or Vietnamese centres in Sydney and Melbourne where many commercial interests are Chinese, Italian and Vietnamese and have participated in the orientalising and exoticizing their precincts thus exploiting the projection of 'difference' as part of the spoils of multiculturalism.

A Foucauldian reading (Foucault,1972) reveals the need to deconstruct the complex place representations in Australian 'ethnic' community places. Although there have been critiques of reified notions of culture and ethnicity in cultural studies, it has only recently been acknowledged in the paradigm of official multiculturalism. The emotions expressed at the 1995 UN Global Diversity Conference in Sydney, where heated and passionate debates occurred between the leaders of peak immigrant groups who had fashioned the 1974 -5 multicultural policies and those who sought to revise the paradigm to allow for the collage/montage intersections of different cultures within Australia (personal observation.1995), bear witness to this.

The issue of identity embedded in Australian migrant places requires close study. Cultural critics such as Zukin (1988,1992,1995), Harvey (1989) and Nagar & Leitner (1998) highlight how the processes of urban redevelopment in contemporary cities reveal complex alliances between culture, politics and capital. My study suggests that the way 'ethnic' identity is represented within Australian cities needs critical evaluation. Using Chinatowns as an example which could equally be applied to revised Italian, Greek or Vietnamese precincts, revitalised urban precincts are '*being sanitised and adapted to dominant Anglo conceptions* [of difference]' (Anderson,1993:80). There is also evidence of collusion within migrant groups to represent nostalgic and sanitised representation of migrant cultures. The Chinese developers have avoided the history of the Chinese in Australia, excluding stories of humiliations, successes, stories of segregation and of assimilation, and the complex changes in values within the

Australian-Chinese community; all stories of Chinese heritage in Australia. Migrant heritage places associated with these stories are at risk of being lost in current redevelopments. There is a risk that rhetorical modes of multiculturalism expressed by planners, architects, developers, politicians, ethnic community spokespersons and tourist entrepreneurs will create '*orientalist imaginings of a quaint corner of the Far East'* (Anderson,1993:80)   or 'Little Italy's', or 'new Saigon' which are pallid representations of the richness embedded in the identity of different migrant places. As Jameson (1991) points out, they are stereotyped representation of otherness and post-modern parodies of ethnic difference. The consumption of ethnicity undermines the opportunity of migrant groups to discover their own identity within Australia and determine whether they wish to keep evidence of this heritage for future generations of Australians.

Thus in considering migration, place and identity one must recognise the vulnerability of migrant places in terms of a number of forces. These are the constant pressure for redevelopment in urban areas, the stereotyping and commodifying of ethnicity for tourism and finally the lack of understanding about the complexity of cultural pluralism with its blendings, interweavings, and changing values.

Summary

As the chapter has unfolded, each of the theoretical areas has been explored, but it is where the theories overlap that opportunities for new understanding lie. My study suggests that the zone between migration and place attachment is where we can understand how different migrant places have been created during the changes in migration policies. These are the places which tell the story of the process of settling into a new country and making the unfamiliar, familiar. In the space between place attachment and identity, nostalgia for former countries has resulted in translocated culture and place. Often these places continue as frozen moments in time. The overlap between migration and identity provides insights into the cultural transformations which occur as a result of living in a new country. However, there is a particularly significant site in these overlapping theories and that is the dense area where all intersect and react with the host country's concept of 'national space'. The resulting collage/montage effect can be described as multicultural hybridity or a new form of 'national space'. Figure 2.6 summarises the fine-grained theoretical relationships of migration, identity

and place attachment within the concept of national space. These occur within the overarching framework of the four bodies of theory.
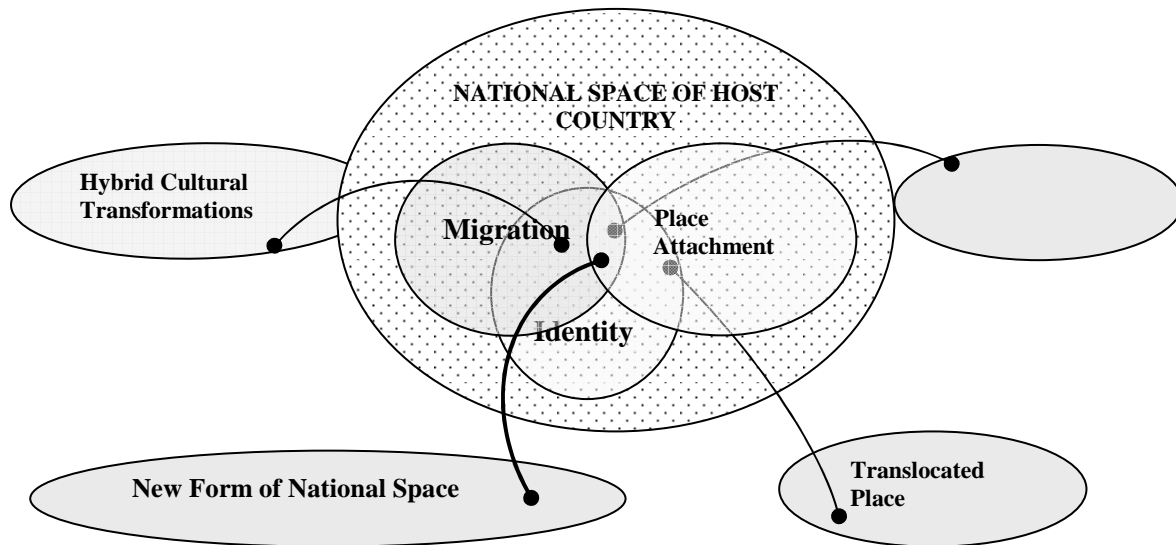
FIGURE 2.6.

Summary of Fine-grained Theoretical Relationships between

Migration, Identity and Place attachment within Concepts of National Space.

The theoretical position that I have adopted in order to undertake a hermeneutic study of values related to places created by different migrant groups draws from the composite of theory explained in the last two chapters, shown in Figure 2.7. The methodology to be used and the justification for such methods are explained in the following chapter.
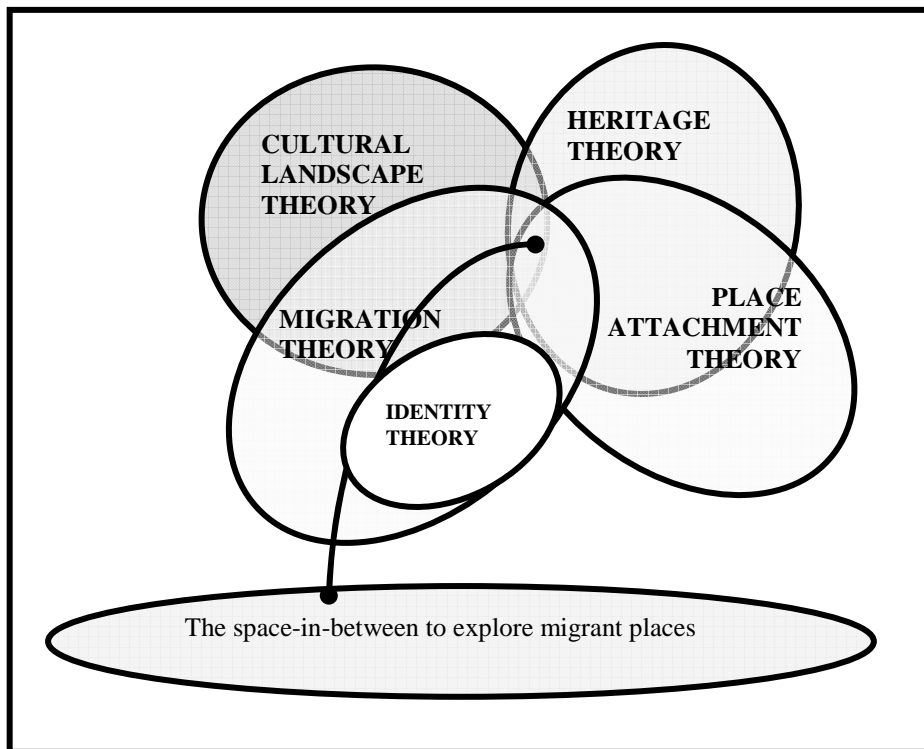
FIGURE 2.7.

Restatement of Overarching Theoretical Relationships