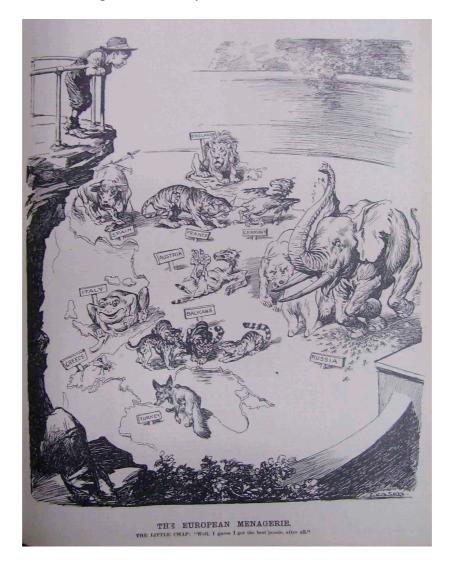# NARRATING THE OTHER:
CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN IN THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS

A qualitative analysis of the 1920s and 1960s

Percy A. Gleason, *The Bulletin*, 27 September 1923

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Doctor of Philosophy

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the evolution, functionality and versatility of constructions of the 'European' and to a lesser extent, of 'Europe, as an integral element of the larger vocabulary of Australian identity formation in press discourses of the 1920s and 1960s. Knowledge of the *Other(s)* and oneself as Australian was (and still is) generated through the processes of minority representation and categorisation. This knowledge germinated within, and was disseminated by, the Australian printed press that served as a preliminary arena within which boundaries of inclusion and exclusion to the imagined national community were drawn. Assessing the press correspondents' deployment of the 'European' and the labels' underpinning attributions, this thesis reveals that the 'European' did not fit neatly into a Manichean divide where representation is constructed through opposition. In contrast to other classifications – 'white' and 'British', in particular – the 'European' stood out as an anomalous category that offered more flexibility in that it allowed for levelling over a range of national, ethnic and cultural cleavages of those subsumed under this label. The thesis shows that it was precisely this malleability that made the 'European' a valuable means to create social cohesion.

This thesis is essentially an investigation into how press correspondents and readers consolidated representations of the 'European' in diverse media contexts to suit contemporary political imperatives. The analysis is sectioned between two decisive periods of radical social and cultural change in Australia that are characterised by intensified nation building. The first section examines the media debates on the settlement of tropical Australia, Southern European immigration and the administration of Australia's territorial dependencies Papua and New Guinea. In each debate, the 'European' emerges as a discursive tool to alternatively describe the multi-ethnic community residing in the north, members of the expatriate community, or dissecting the term along geographical (and assumed racial) lines, as migrants from Northern or Southern Europe. The second section draws comparisons with the first by focusing on the label's deployment and attributions during Australia's transfer of power to its mandated territory of Papua New Guinea, the broadening of the national immigration policy to include European and Asian newcomers and Britain's decision to apply for entry into the European Economic Community that forced Australia to seek new economic partnerships in the Asia-Pacific region. By considering how the 'European'

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has been conceptualised, this thesis demonstrates the label's decisive role in creating a framework in which Australian self-understandings could be forged.

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my original research and has not been submitted towards gaining any other degree. It contains fewer than 100,000 words, exclusive of footnotes and bibliography.

Mandy Kretzschmar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

all the way through, even though this meant that I had to be separated from you. In particular, I am indebted to my mum Gudrun who always supported me in my endeavour and believed that I could complete this project – and everything else I want to achieve. To her this thesis is dedicated.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Australian Citizenship Convention
AITM	Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ANU	Australian National University
ANZAM	Australian, New Zealand and Malayan area
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand and the United States
AWU	Australian Workers Union
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EURATOM	European Atomic Agency
GNC	Good Neighbour Council
GNM	Good Neighbour Movement
IRG	Immigration Reform Group
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NAFTA	North Atlantic Free Trade Area
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NBAC	Noel Butlin Archives Centre
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
PNG	Papua New Guinea
QLD	Queensland
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America

USAGES

I have retained original terminology and spellings in all quotations throughout the thesis if not otherwise indicated.

Please note, a large amount of the primary source material (newspaper articles) does not indicate the author's name, only providing pseudonyms, such as 'W.' or 'Cleveland'. I have maintained these pen names to facilitate the reconstruction of authorial (publishing) patterns. For those articles without authorial references I deploy 'N.N.' (nomen nominandum) in the author's template in the footnotes and bibliography.

I use inverted commas throughout the thesis to specify when I refer to constructions of 'European' or 'Europe'.

For brevity, the term 'Britain', rather than the accurate form 'United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland' is used throughout the thesis.

INTRODUCTION

> The historical connections between Europe and Australia are profound. Europe has nurtured Western civilisation. Australia has inherited, embraced and adapted that great civilisational tradition. […] Europeans have settled all over the globe. The contribution of Europeans to Australia has been so strong that it almost seems redundant to mention it.[1]
>
> *- Kevin Rudd, former Australian Prime Minister (2008) -*

The 'European' has always been a construction, a carefully nurtured invention. Since Herodotus, the label has become a tool to mark both affinity and difference, to align or to distance, and it has been used primarily by those who considered themselves part of this imagined category.[2] When English philosopher Francis Bacon wrote about "we Europeans" (nos Europai) in 1623, he readily assumed that his audience would understand and relate with this form of identification.[3] By then, discourses regarding the notion of 'Europe' had been formed, and the term 'European' had gained wider currency and common linguistic usage.[4] As a frame of reference, the 'European' offered the flexibility and plasticity often lacking in other labels, because the category was able to move across a range of national, ethnic and cultural cleavages. However, the 'European' never gained the same significance as other labels of collective identification, such as national, religious or ethnic (and even racial) categories. With the age of imperial expansion, the phrase nevertheless has been transplanted to other parts of the globe, where the term 'European' has been frequently used and bestowed with new meanings by a variety of people, adding layers upon layers of complexity to the labels' understandings. The 'European' has been forged not only by those who feel that they belong to this category, but also by those who have encountered it, and those who have shed such affiliations, and formed new self-understandings as they settled outside of 'Europe'. Kevin Rudd's speech is an example of the complexity, malleability and rhetorical proficiency of the European label. In emphasising the contribution of

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[1] Kevin Rudd, "Speech: A Change of Climate - a New Approach to Australia-Europe Relations." Speech presented at the European Centre Policy Briefing, Brussels, April 2, 2008, http://pmrudd.archive.dpmc.gov.au/node/5872 , accessed October 28, 2011.

[2] Wolfgang Schmale, "Die Konstruktion Des Homo Europaeus," *Comparare* 1(2001): 165.

[3] Francis Bacon as quoted in John R. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*, (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), 3.

[4] Gerard Delanty, *Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1995), 38.

Europeans to Australia, in the past and the present, he simultaneously creates the idea of a unified earlier grouping of people that settled and colonised this part of the world, and also addresses what he perceives to be the existing European community of today, speaking reverently of their political and economic collaboration with Australia. However, as we see in Rudd's concluding remark, the category 'European' has often been used in an unquestioned way, as an undeniable given; I believe that such usage of the term has to be called into question.

<center>*</center>

This thesis examines textual constructions of the 'European', and to a lesser extent, of 'Europe', in Australian press discourses of the 1920s and 1960s. It follows the assumption that the 'European' served as an integral element of a larger vocabulary of Australian identity formation. Whereas other categorisations – such as 'white' and 'British' – have been interrogated closely as markers of difference and belonging that functioned to maintain privilege and power in relation to those considered outside these labels, the 'European' still remains unattended to in Australian historical scholarship. This is surprising with regard to the frequent, widespread and deliberate deployment of the category – for example, in legislative texts, political correspondence, travel literature and press publications – which suggests that the 'European' and 'Europe' hold a specific position in the cultural logic of Australian collective identity.

Knowledge of the *Other(s)*, and of what constitutes an Australian, was (and still is) generated through the processes of separation and categorisation. More precisely, I argue that the 'European' is part of Australia's social imaginary (i.e. "that common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy").[5] This knowledge was, for example, germinated within, and disseminated by, the Australian printed press, a communication network that served as one preliminary site within which the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion that shaped the imagined national community were drawn. A reading of these eclectic texts will show that the attribution 'European' has never been fixed or stable, but has always been ambiguous and contradictory, taking many figurations. For example, in the Australian context, the 'European' has been used to define a moral role model, an efficient worker, a violent

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[5] Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries*, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 23.

coloniser, an undesired immigrant, or an economic competitor, whether within or outside of Australia's geographical realm. Indeed, the 'European' has to be viewed as a 'nascent' label (in the making) that served context-specific purposes for those who applied the term and dressed it with meaning. Notions of the 'European' and 'Europe' that emerged in these discourses did not reflect the identities that those subsumed under this category – for example, continental European immigrants, the expatriate community in Papua New Guinea, and the multi-ethnic population in the Australian north – negotiated for themselves. However, the communicated knowledge about these 'imagined Europeans' had the potential to shape public opinion about and responses to those ascribed, while also assisting in the process of defining, through the creation of an opposite, what it meant to be Australian. It is thus indeed relevant and timely to investigate the array of meanings attributed to the 'European', as well as the practice of deploying this category of identification to narrate a sense of Australian community. This analysis will reveal how these processes of 'invention' are embedded in larger narratives about colonisation and decolonisation, race relations, assimilation and modernisation.

This thesis is guided by two inter-related aims. First, in dissecting how the 'European', as a category of classification and differentiation, was constructed and bestowed with meaning in different, contemporaneous Australian media debates, this thesis seeks to uncover the label's shifting boundaries. Assessing the press correspondents' ascriptions, this thesis will reveal that the 'European' did not fit neatly into a Manichean divide, where representation is constructed through opposition. In contrast to other classifications – 'white' and 'British', in particular – the 'European' stood out as an anomalous category, which levelled over a range of national, ethnic and cultural cleavages, and proved adaptable enough to identify and manage a variety of populations simultaneously and across time. More specifically, the 'European' served as a blanket-term that could operate to either emphasise belonging or to highlight demarcation with regard to understandings of being 'Australian'. While the national identification as 'Australian' often implied a certain congruency with the ascriptions 'white' and 'British', to be 'Australian' did not necessarily, but could (partially), include the idea of being 'European'. Following this, constructions of the 'European' were in constant flux and barely tangible, eluding a consistent form. I argue that it was precisely this malleability, versatility and flexibility that made the 'European', and to some degree 'Europe', a valuable means to create social cohesion.

Second, this study considers the agendas of those who were engaged in the production and deployment of representations of the 'European' and 'Europe'. My thesis is not only concerned with *how* the categories 'European' and 'Europe' were strategically used and furnished with positive and negative connotations, but also with *why* the press gave preference to these labels in particular discourses. In uncovering the motivations of those who 'imagined' the 'European', we can gain an understanding about the power relations structuring these labels, as much as about the deeply ingrained anxieties that were present in the national imaginary, and that propelled efforts to protect and legitimise particular entitlements. Further, this examination will demonstrate how the 'European' featured in larger classificatory regimes of the press and the state during the decades under examination. The hypothesis around which this study is organised is that the 'European' gradually shifts in the Australian social imaginary from being constructed as part of the *Self* to being seen as an *Other* among *Others*, without being understood this way completely.

To reconstruct the versatility and development of the 'European's' narration in Australia's past, this study will examine and compare press literature – and their entailing debates – from the 1920s and the 1960s. The selection of these timeframes has been guided by the assumption that military involvement in global contests for power constitute, as historians claim, "defining moments of nationalism".[6] In Australia, the war gave unforeseen stimulus to the formation of new notions of nationhood.[7] More explicitly, involvement in military conflict impacted upon the direction and regulation of migration flows into the country. While conflict disrupted and paralysed migratory movements, in the war's immediate aftermath such movement was highly regulated and carefully planned, prompting heated discussions about who was to be granted entry to the imagined national community. During the 1920s, security concerns shaped the direction of the Australian government's domestic and foreign policies, which were focused on ambitious settlement projects to legitimise claim to the entire island-nation, in particular its sparsely populated tropical parts. Concurrent with this move to fortify and populate Australia's borders was the push to populate these peripheral regions with migrants of British and Northern European heritage, who were preferred over Southern European

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[6] David Lowe, *Menzies and The "Great World Struggle": Australia's Cold War 1948-1954*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999), 19.

[7] Ken S. Inglis, "The Term 'Australian'," in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, ed. James Jupp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 756.

arrivals, in a way that reinforced the ideal of a 'White (British) Australia'. In addition, Australia gained greater independence in foreign affairs, despite continuity in the nature of imperial relations, being accredited by the British with the role of a mandatory power in Papua and New Guinea. Instead of focusing on the immediate period following the Second World War, I have selected the 1960s. By then, Australia's shift in its national immigration policy – prompted by the decision to organise a mass migration program from Europe – bore fruit, as these migrants gradually left their 'cultural imprint' on Australian society. Moreover, the 1960s saw a further dismantling of the White Australia policy, as well as a push toward decolonisation of Papua New Guinea, and Britain's turn towards Europe and away from the Commonwealth. To varying degrees, each of these developments would provide catalysts for the articulation of new, less exclusive Australian self-understandings. The selected decades thus mark decisive periods of radical social and cultural change in Australia, and are characterised by intensified nation building, and a remoulding of the 'national' mythology.

The origin of this thesis lays in the project *Imagined Europeans*, which was undertaken at the Department of Modern History and Department of European Ethnology at the Humboldt University in Berlin, the Centre for Higher Education at the University of Leipzig, and the German Museum, Munich between the years 2006 and 2009. This thesis forms a part of this broader study. The project took a fresh approach to the study of the 'European', interrogating the ways the 'European' was constructed, the roles it performed, the discourses and practices that supported it, and the implications of these constructions for those considered 'European'. Individual studies linked to this project have examined the 'European', for example, in industrial research; as an essential measurement to design cars; and as an agriculturalist in government-policy making in France. The edited collection *Der Europäer - Ein Konstrukt* (2009) has summarised some of the research findings of the *Imagined Europeans* project, and outlines the framework through which I have undertaken this study.[8] My thesis seeks to add to this project in a threefold way: first, I study constructions of the 'European' from an explicitly external (i.e. Australian) perspective, and question the meaning they hold for an audience geographically located outside of Europe; second, I analyse the media as one significant site in which these constructions are negotiated; and thirdly, I offer a

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[8] Lorraine Bluche, Veronika Lipphardt, and Kiran K. Patel, eds., *Der Europäer - Ein Konstrukt. Wissensbestände, Diskurse, Praktiken*, (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009).

historical account of constructions of the 'European', with an emphasis on examining the evolution and metamorphosis of this label. This study's position at the intersection of Australian and European history initiated the idea of undertaking this study as a *cotutelle de thèse* between the University of Leipzig and Macquarie University, Sydney.

Literature Review

This thesis argues that a study of the constructions of the 'European' and 'Europe' has much to offer to our understanding of the historical production of the collective self-definitions of Australians. In this study, I assume that the 'European' is likewise a strategic "figuration of identity and power", as Australian historians have shown 'whiteness' to be.[9] Dipesh Chakrabarty's groundbreaking study *Provincializing Europe* (2000) has explored how the mythical figure of Europe saturates postcolonial thought.[10] Further, in his article *The Making of Homo Europaeus* (2001), Wolfgang Schmale traces the advent of ideas of the 'European' back to antiquity, asserting that the 'European' was a historical subject whose emergence and manifestations are in need of documentation and historical explanation.[11] This argument is propounded in an increasing number of scholarly publications that have both studied the historical formation of a European self-understanding[12], and turned their analytical gaze to representations of 'Europe'.[13] This research field has been enlarged as historians place greater emphasis on

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[9] Leigh Boucher, Jane Carey, and Katherine Ellinghaus, "Re-Orienting Whiteness: A New Agenda for the Field," in *Re-Orienting Whiteness*, ed. Leigh Boucher, Jane Carey, and Katherine Ellinghaus (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 5.

[10] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[11] Schmale, "Die Konstruktion Des Homo Europaeus."

[12] See in particular Hartmut Kaelble's works on the historical formation of a European self-understanding: Hartmut Kaelble, *Selbstverständnis Und Gesellschaft Der Europäer. Aspekte Der Sozialen Und Kulturellen Europäisierung Im Späten 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2008).; Hartmut Kaelble, "Das Europäische Selbstverständnis Und Die Europäische Öffentlichkeit Im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Transnationale Öffentlichkeiten Und Identitäten Im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alexander Schmidt-Gernig, Martin Kirsch, and Hartmut Kaelble (Frankfurt/ Main: Campus, 2002).; Hartmut Kaelble, *Europäer Über Europa. Die Entstehung Des Europäischen Selbstverständnisses Im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2001).; See further Rüdiger Hohls, Iris Schröder, and Hannes Siegrist, eds., *Europa Und Die Europäer. Quellen Und Essays Zur Modernen Europäischen Geschichte; Festschrift Für Hartmut Kaelble Zum 65. Geburtstag*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005).

[13] Luisa Passerini studies European identity through the lens of emotion. She is also concerned with representations of the feminine myth of *Europa*. See: Luisa Passerini, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe. Imagination and Politics between the Wars*, (London: Tauris, 1999).; Luisa Passerini, *Figures D'Europe/ Images and Myths of Europe*, (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2003).; Michael Wintle has published on the visual iconography that was used to represent Europe. See: Michael Wintle, *Europa and the Bull, Europe, and European Studies: Visual Images as Historical Source Material*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004).; There has also been a tendency to examine representations of Europe in media texts, often with a preference for comparing British and German sources, as illustrated in the works of Priska Jones,

how the *Other* features within the process of imagining 'Europe'.[14] However, within these studies, 'Europe' is rarely seen as an *Other*, and there is a disproportional focus on 'Europe', while the 'European' has been neglected. Furthermore, historians have so far been reluctant to devote their attention to places and communities beyond the geographical entity 'Europe', where the imagined 'European' evolved as a device within a larger rhetoric of identity formation and nation building. In adopting an Australian perspective, this thesis seeks to add a much-needed perspective to the study of the 'European' (and 'Europe'), and in doing so, aims to contribute to the histories of Europe and Australia alike.

Australian historians have interrogated the historical development, definition and deployment of other categorisations – 'white' and 'British' in particular – in Australian settler society, and have also highlighted the significance of these categories in the problematic search for national self-definition. But there is as yet no study that has been exclusively concerned with notions of the 'European', and the label's functionality and significance as an axis along which differentiation and belonging could be negotiated in the Australian context. Few scholars have recognised the 'European' as being part of a larger rhetoric of identification, and attempted to assess its utility; even less have remarked upon the category's flexibility and plasticity, a versatility that, I will argue, has been exploited by interest groups to suit their political imperatives. David Dutton and Ann Curthoys have acknowledged and started to explore the potential of examining the 'European', but mainly as part of larger studies dedicated to Australian immigration history and the problematic issue of 'racialising' specific groups of arrivals.[15] Their initial

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Andreas Musolff and Susan Rößner. – See: Priska Jones, *Europa in Der Karikatur. Deutsche Und Britische Darstellungen Im 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt: Campus, 2009).; Andreas Musolff, *Mirror Images of Europe. Metaphors in the Public Debate About Europe in Britain and Germany*, (München: Iudicium, 2000).; Susan Rößner, *Die Geschichte Europas Schreiben - Europäische Historiker Und Ihr Europabild Im 20. Jahrhundert*, (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009).

[14] Notable works include: Iver B. Neumann, *Uses of the Other: "The East" In European Identity Formation*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).; Iver B. Neumann and Jennifer M. Welsh, "The Other in European Self-Definition: An Addendum to the Literature on International Society," *Review of International Studies* 17, no. 4 (1991).; Jürgen Osterhammel, *Europa Um 1900: Auf Der Suche Nach Einer Sicht "Von Außen"*, (Bochum: Schriften der Bibliothek des Ruhrgebiets, 2008).; Bo Stråth, *Europe and the Other and Europe as the Other*, (Bruxelles: Lang, 2000).; Michael Wintle, ed. *Imagining Europe. Europe and European Civilisation as Seen from Its Margins and by the Rest of the World, in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Bruxelles: Lang, 2008).

[15] Dutton has examined the racialisation of Continental European migrants in Australia during the interwar years. See David Dutton, *One of Us?: A Century of Australian Citizenship*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002).; Ann Curthoys has been concerned with the connections and cleavages between white, European and British identities. See Ann Curthoys, "White, British, and European: Historicising Identity in Settler

focus remains with the category 'whiteness' and its central importance to the formation of Australian identities in the first half of the twentieth century. So far, the only book-length study of this subject has been undertaken by Georgia Shiells. In her doctoral thesis, she examines the construction of continental European immigrants in intellectual, political and labour movement discourses between 1901 and 1939.[16] However, her focus is on the questionable racial status of these immigrants, and the implications of racial ideas held about continental Europeans in Australian society, for example, in directing the development of Australia's immigration policy during the interwar years. Indeed, the surveyed studies examine the European primarily as an existing being rather than an imagined construct.

These scholarly explorations indicate that the under-examined study of constructions of the 'European' is situated at the intersection of three discrete fields of academic inquiry in Australian history: studies concerned with Australia's search for national identity; 'whiteness' studies; and studies of Australia's immigration history. With their publication *The Unknown Nation* (2010), James Curran and Stuart Ward offer the most recent contribution to a long line of scholarship on Australian nationalism, an ascendant theme in Australian historiography since the 1950s and 1960s.[17] These studies seek to unravel the historical relations with Britain; to emphasise (and question) Australia's debt to the idea of Britishness; and to consider the implications of the sudden deprivation of these identity-establishing coordinates in the second half of the twentieth century.[18] Curran and Ward's assessment of Australian responses to the loss of

Colonies," in *Creating White Australia*, ed. Jane Carey and Claire McLisky (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2009).

[16] Georgia Shiells' works focus on the category 'white alien'- meaning continental European immigrants - and its significance in negotiating the exclusivity of Australia's restrictive immigration policy. See for example: Georgia Shiells, "White Aliens: Continental European Immigrants in White Australia, 1901-1939" (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2008).; Georgia Shiells, "Beyond Black and White Caricatures: Depictions of British and Non-British 'Whites' in the Brisbane 'Worker', 1924-26," in *Historicising Whiteness: Transnational Perspectives on the Construction of an Identity*, ed. Jane Carey, Leigh Boucher, and Katherine Ellinghaus (Melbourne: RMIT Publishing, 2007).; Georgia Shiells, "The Puzzles of White Australia: 'White Alien' Immigration Policies, 1918-25," *Traffic* 9 (2007).

[17] James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia after Empire*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010).

[18] The scholarship on the formation of Australian national identity is comprehensive. Notable works include: James Curran, *The Power of Speech: Australian Prime Ministers Defining the National Image*, (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2004).; Miriam Dixson, *The Imaginary Australian: Anglo-Celts and Identity, 1788 to the Present*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 1999).; Justin Healey, *Australia's National Identity*, (Balmain, N.S.W.: Spinney Press, 2000).; Ann-Mari Jordens, *Redefining Australians: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity*, (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1995).; Geoffrey Stokes, *Politics of Identity in Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).; Kosmas Tsokhas,

Britishness as a defining national myth since the 1960s – following the same vein of reasoning as Richard White[19] and Neville Meaney[20] – concludes on the somewhat unrewarding note that 'Australianness' is yet to be definitely defined, as the cyclical 'reinvention' of the imagined national community continues. However, Curran and Ward agree that tracing and dissecting the array of past articulations of Australian community, and examining the way in which segments of society embraced an 'Australian' identification and bestowed it with meaning, remains a crucial undertaking, which would help address prevailing contemporary problems of community and identity. Scholars undertaking research in the field of 'whiteness' and 'race nationalism' have investigated a plethora of cultural, racial and ethnic categories of difference and belonging – 'white'[21], 'British'[22], 'Anglo-Saxon'[23] – considering their malleability and their entangled use within discourses of national reinvention. Recently, Georgia Shiells[24] has suggested a closer liaison between Australian 'whiteness studies' and the field of Australian

Making a Nation State: Cultural Identity, Economic Nationalism and Sexuality in Australian History, (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2001).

[19] Richard White's classic *Inventing Australia* (1981) provides an early, but still valuable, example of a scholarly engagement with images of Australian identity produced between 1688 and 1980. Rejecting Russel Ward's approach of trying to uncover *one true* national identity, White repeatedly emphasised the multiplicity of these 'inventions', and the need to examine their function rather than to question their cultural truth. See Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981).

[20] Neville Meaney, "Britishness and Australian Identity. The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography," *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 116 (2001).

[21] A rich vein of Australian scholarship on the historical dimensions of 'whiteness' has emerged during the past decade. Recently, historians have broadened the scope of the field by both examining the global context in which ideas of 'whiteness' emerged and circulated, as Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds do, and by adopting a transnational approach, as followed by Leigh Boucher and Katherine Ellinghaus in their edited volume. See in detail: Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*, New ed., (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2005).; Leigh Boucher, Jane Carey, and Katherine Ellinghaus, eds., *Re-Orienting Whiteness*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2009).; Jane Carey and Claire McLisky, eds., *Creating White Australia*, (Sydney University Press,2009).; Jane Carey, Leigh Boucher, and Katherine Ellinghaus, eds., *Historicising Whiteness: Transnational Perspectives on the Construction of an Identity*, (Melbourne, Vic: RMIT Publishing, 2007).; Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[22] On the historical significance of Britishness, and its implications for Australian nationalism: Peter Cochrane, "Britishness in Australia," *Voices* 6, no. 3 (1996-97).; Deborah Gare, "Britishness in Recent Australian Historiography," *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 4 (2000).; Russell McGregor, "The Necessity of Britishness: Ethno-Cultural Roots of Australian Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 3 (2006).; Meaney, "Britishness and Australian Identity. The Problem of Nationalism in Australian History and Historiography."; Geoffrey Partington, *The Australian Nation: Its British and Irish Roots*, (Kew, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1994).; Stuart Ward, *Australia and the British Embrace: The Demise of the Imperial Ideal*, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001).; Deryck M. Schreuder and Stuart Ward, eds., *Australia's Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[23] Peter Cochrane has charted the use of the term 'Anglo-Saxon', its complementary and competing attributions, in the Australian context. See Peter Cochrane, "Anglo-Saxonness: Ancestors and Identity," *Communal/ Plural: Journal of Transnational and Cross-Cultural Studies* 4(1994).

[24] Georgia Shiells, "Immigration History and Whiteness Studies: American and Australian Approaches Compared," *History Compass* 8, no. 8 (2010).

immigration history, pointing to a similar trend in American historical scholarship.[25] She argues that by drawing on the new insights of Australian 'whiteness studies' – which are a product of the fact that scholars have pushed the boundaries of the field, adopting a transnational approach and also investigating the global reach of 'whiteness' – the research agenda of Australian immigration history could be broadened.[26] Shiells is especially concerned with the problematic of the precarious racial status of European continental migrants, particularly those from fringe areas of Southern and Eastern Europe, who were often not considered 'white enough' to enter Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth century. This thesis draws on the surveyed array of Australian scholarship, which provides the contextual framework and a set of tools for my historical analysis of the 'European'.

Historical scholarship on *imagined communities* and collective representation is also of relevance to this study. Benedict Anderson developed the former concept in 1983, arguing that nations are socially constructed communities, imagined by those who consider themselves members of this group.[27] The idea that nations are deliberately constructed with the intention to meet political and economic imperatives has also featured in the seminal texts of Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm.[28] This thesis adopts their approach, by analysing the 'European' as an invented collective category that is deployed to meet the needs of specific Australian interest groups. In doing so, this study also draws on the growing body of literature concerned with representations of the *Self* and *Other*(s) in colonial and post-colonial contexts.[29] In his introduction to the edited

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[25] Several publications by American historians have discussed the process by which specific groups of migrants became 'white', pointing out that the concepts of race are by no means fixed, but subject to alteration over time. See, for example: Margaret L. Andersen, "Whitewashing Race: A Critical Perspective on Whiteness," in *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, ed. Ashley W. Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (New York: Routledge, 2003).; Thomas Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).; Matthew Frye-Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).; David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working-Class*, (London: Verso, 1991).

[26] Shiells, "Immigration History and Whiteness Studies: American and Australian Approaches Compared."

[27] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. 2006 ed., (London: Verso, 1983).

[28] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).; Terence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[29] The scholarship on representations and *Othering* is voluminous. Individual works that have been consulted for this study will be discussed in the literature reviews of the respective chapters. In general, I have relied on recent German historical scholarship on representations that has been widened by a range of publications by the collaborative research centre (SFB) 640, located at Humboldt University, Berlin, see,

volume *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder: Repräsentationen Sozialer Ordnungen im Wandel* (2008), Jörg Baberowski defines representations as a means of communicating knowledge in a way that establishes and maintains the social order; this understanding of representations exposes their constructed nature and their dependence upon underlying relations of power.[30] This study attempts to contribute to this vein of scholarship by examining the construct of the 'European' from an Australian perspective, an approach that has so far escaped wider academic notice.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is composed of seven chapters, and follows a chronological structure. Chapter One will establish the conceptual framework for this study. To examine the formation of representations of the 'European' and 'Europe', I must first discuss the concepts of representations and *Othering*, and their significance in processes of collective identification. In detail, I will focus on the works of Edward Said, Stuart Hall and Benedict Anderson. Furthermore, this chapter specifies the methodological approach and details the selection of primary sources; I also justify my decision to examine weekly newspapers. The chapter situates the selected journals in the Australian media landscape of the 1920s and 1960s, directing attention to the paper's political stance, editorial boards, structure, and thematic coverage.

The analysis chapters are divided into two sections, which cover the 1920s and 1960s respectively. Each section, comprising three chapters, is framed with an introduction and a conclusion. Both introductions outline the historical context in which the media debates occurred and the research questions that will be addressed, concluding with a brief summary of the press debates. The conclusions at the end of each section draw together the research findings for the decade under examination. Chapter Two offers a critical reading of the press debate concerned with the national project of settling and cultivating the Australian north during the 1920s. Despite scientific evidence that 'white' Australians could live and work in the tropical climate without becoming subject to mental or physical degradation, reservations prevailed, casting doubt upon the

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for example Jörg Baberowski, David Feest, and Maike Lehmann, eds., *Dem Anderen Begegnen. Eigene Und Fremde Repräsentationen in Sozialen Gemeinschaften*, (Frankfurt/ Main: Campus, 2009).

[30] Jörg Baberowski, "Selbstbilder Und Fremdbilder: Repräsentation Sozialer Ordnungen Im Wandel," in *Selbstbilder Und Fremdbilder. Repräsentation Sozialer Ordnungen Im Wandel*, ed. Jörg Baberowski, Hartmut Kaelble, and Jürgen Schriewer (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008), 12.

applicability of Australia's restrictive immigration legislation to the entire island-nation. In their dealings with this issue, press correspondents, as well as politicians and medical scientists, became tied up in the struggle to justify the exclusivity of 'White Australia'. This chapter examines how media agents (and readers) deployed the label 'European' as a tool of identification to mobilise support for the development of the north by highlighting the past shortcomings of the region. Although it is shown that categorisations such as 'white' and 'coloured' were utilised more frequently (and at times, synonymously), journalists deliberately resorted to the term 'European' to label segments of the multi-ethnic population in the north, and thus to defend the existence of a 'white' monopoly in employment. In doing so, the 'European' could be associated with notions of literacy, morality and industriousness.

Chapter Three reiterates the argument that textual inventions of the 'European' were useful in forging and articulating Australian identities, not only in the debate about permanently populating Australia's tropical regions, but simultaneously in the dispute over preferred migrants. The chapter examines the coverage of Continental European migration to Australia in the aftermath of the First World War, with a focus on press reactions to the inflow of those identified as 'Southern Europeans'. Press correspondents readily subscribed to the racial classification of Europe's inhabitants, as propagated by contemporary racial theorists. The chapter argues that discrimination took a new direction in Australia, narrowing access to Australian citizenship by excluding those considered 'white alien's. Here, the category 'European' was further demarcated along geographical (or assumed racial) lines, to specify someone as an immigrant from either Northern or Southern Europe. The chapter offers insight into how different press outlets concealed their preferences for particular ethnicities by emphasising other characteristics of migrant candidates, such as occupation, health and education level. The labour press in particular exploited the idea of the '(Southern) European' as a threat to 'white worker's standards'. It is hypothesised that the label 'European' was deployed increasingly as a 'territorial category' in official language, varying in its level of inclusiveness.

Chapter Four shifts its geographical focus to Australia's external territorial holdings of Papua and New Guinea. I argue that the Australian mainland press deliberately chose the label 'European' to identify the settler population, which administered the territories on behalf of the Australian government. The chapter suggests

that the 'European' served as a signifier of western civilisation that operated to legitimise the maintenance of Australian rule in this region. In this context, the 'European' was linked to ideas of superiority, morality and intellectual capability. However, the analysis of representations appearing in the labour and conservative press reveals that the behaviours displayed by the settler society in Papua and New Guinea were not necessarily congruous with those that Australian mainland journalists wanted to craft onto the figure of the 'European'. Thus, press correspondents were forced to articulate competing ideas of the 'European', praising those that served as a role model to the indigenous population, and condemning 'fallible Europeans' and their deviant behaviour for threatening the success of Australia's civilising project. The section concludes by summarising the diversity of the label's attributions in the 1920s, emphasising how the category operated to sustain Australian self-understandings that were shaped by British race patriotism and a firmly held belief in 'white superiority'.

In Chapter Five, which begins the analysis of the 1960s, I continue a closer reading of how the European label operated in the media coverage of Australia's governance of Papua New Guinea (PNG). I suggest that the 'European' emerges more clearly as a category of identification than in the previous decade. The press closely followed the increasing pressure put upon Australian policymakers to implement measures that allowed for the territories' development toward political independence. As in the 1920s, the category 'European' still served to codify knowledge of the expatriate community as an authority over the indigenous population. This chapter explores the formation of a new rhetoric of belonging, since racial categorisations had been discredited in the recent past. I argue that the rearticulation of what it meant to be 'European' in PNG exemplifies Australia's broader struggle over national redefinition in the 1960s, which marked a careful distancing from the previous monolithic 'white' British self-understanding, and created the new dilemma of finding its replacement.

Chapter Six examines the revision of Australia's immigration policy in the post-war era. In 1945, Arthur Calwell, Australia's first Minister for Immigration, announced the launch of a large-scale immigration scheme from Continental Europe. Post-war reconstruction required labourers in order to expand and diversify Australian industries. This chapter engages with the media's labelling of migrants as 'European' and 'non-European', and retraces how the media reported on their integration into Australian

society. Thus, the chapter ties in with the earlier media debate over Continental European immigration to Australia in the 1920s, reiterating the argument that the arrival of 'non-British' migrants was seen to pose a challenge to Australia's ethnic homogeneity. My analysis suggests that the development of the category 'European' mirrors the evolution of Australian self-understandings, as the diverse migrant intake and the migrants' influence upon Australian society necessitated a revision of collective cultural identities.

Finally, Chapter Seven addresses the evolution of the Anglo-Australian relationship in the early 1960s, as Britain turned away from the Commonwealth and towards Europe in order to ensure its political and economic future. Australian policymakers had to come to terms with the dismantling of traditional imperial ties; they also had to forge new trade partnerships with Asia and North America. The chapter examines the national press' reporting on Britain's decision to lodge a first application to the European Economic Community, and the failure of these attempts in 1963 and 1967 as a consequence of French vetoes. It is argued that the 'European', and to a greater extent 'Europe', were frequently utilised cultural constructs, signifying a threatening *Other* that intervened with traditional Commonwealth bonds. For Australian media correspondents, both categories – the 'European' as much as the imagined community of 'Europe' – served to marginalise specific European ethnic and national groups. Thus, despite the more frequent use of the label 'Europe', the chapter ties into the overall narrative followed in this thesis that these cultural constructions served identity-building purposes. By examining these representations in detail, the chapter addresses the question of how Australian self-understandings changed in the press coverage as a result of Britain's aspirations toward Europe, and traces the inner conflict between national self-interest and imperial sentiment that marked the 1960s as a watershed period in Anglo-Australian relations.