Metaphors of Migration

A critical discourse analysis of the intersections between immigration, race and the nation in Australian press reports (1854–2018)

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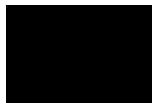
Signature: 

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Abstract

This thesis argues that certain metaphoric tropes of racial Otherness have persistently been used to racialise immigrants as essentially exterior and threatening to the nation. Furthermore, that this construction of immigrant Otherness is, and historically has been, foundational to ethno-nationalist discourses of Australian national identity. Whether as *invasions, floods* or *swarms,* the metaphoric construction of racialised immigrant out-groups has consistently been utilized to naturalise and legitimate an Anglo-white national in-group. To understand these processes of deviant racial Other and national racial Self formation, this thesis offers a diachronic study of metaphors used within the Australian press (1854 to 2018) to frame immigration to Australia, focusing on the press as a key discursive mechanism for the construction of national attitudes and identity. Recognising metaphor as underpinning how perceptions of the world are shaped (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and drawing on over 12,000 instances of metaphor in over 3000 press reports, from 3 major daily newspapers, the thesis takes a Critical Discourse Analysis approach to qualitatively examine the metaphors used to construct both immigrants and the nation.

The scale of the research, encompassing substantial social, economic and political changes, necessitated a historically specific focus to the analysis. During the Pre-Federation period (1854-1900), the intersections between the arrival of Chinese immigrants and settler colonial discourses of belonging (Wolfe, 2006, 2013), and the development of racialised categorisations are examined. I argue that the construction of racial difference through the displacement of deviance from marginal whites onto Chinese immigrants was foundational to the archetypal egalitarian white Australian national ideal and its corollary, the non-white immigrant Other. Analysis of the White Australia period (1901-1971) utilises Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence

(Bourdieu, 1990, 1991) within the context of emergent discourses of whiteness. I examine how Anglo-centred ethno-nationalist understandings of national belonging were (re)created through metaphors which constructed deviant immigrant out-groups antithetically to a normative white national in-group. Examination of the Multicultural Australia period (1972-2018) focuses on the resurgence of metaphors structuring *racial* otherness in the construction of immigration, combining Bourdieu's concept of habitus with Hage's framing of whiteness as a field of national power. I explore how certain persistent metaphors (re)produce a habitus that recognises the centrality of whiteness to the Australian national Self, thereby rendering non-white Australians peripheral within the national imaginary.

The thesis demonstrates the remarkable consistency over the last 165 years in the ways groups of immigrants have been racialised through metaphor. This consistency illustrates how the use of specific negatively structured metaphors creates inter-textual links with preceding discourses of immigrant inferiority, threat and deviance, texturing a racialised logic of equivalence between groups framed as 'undesirable'. Furthermore, it demonstrates that negative immigration metaphors function alongside metaphors that construct the nation to frame ethno-nationalist discourses of belonging, with the immigrant *invasion* of the Australian national *house* continuing to resonate into the present. Together these metaphors help to structure narratives about immigrant Others and the Australian national Self. The ongoing salience of such metaphors underscores the crucial need to understand how these tools produce and reproduce exclusionary ethno-nationalist narratives of Australian identity which continue to permeate contemporary public discourse.

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Authorship Declaration

This thesis contains the following sole-authored works that have been published or prepared for publication.

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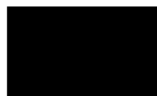
Contains part of Chapter 6

"The Chinese Invasion: Settler Colonialism and the metaphoric construction of race" *Journal of Australian Studies*, under review
Contains part of Chapter 5

Signature: 

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List of Abbreviations

CDA — Critical Discourse Analysis

CMA — Critical Metaphor Analysis

CMT — Critical Metaphor Theory

DHA — Discourse Historical Approach

OED — Oxford English Dictionary

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

> It is the policy of a new country like this to encourage the influx of population from all quarters, and give equal rights and liberties to all, so that there should be no aliens amongst us, but members and citizens of one great united commonwealth. *The Argus*, 29/05/1854

> Next in importance to the late State trials, the subject which seems to excite the greatest attention here is the threatened invasion of this fine colony by a host of "Chinese barbarians." The evil is really beginning to assume a most formidable aspect, and unless some stringent measures be immediately adopted to check the stream of immigration from China which has now set in, the most disastrous consequences will follow. *The Argus*, 10/04/1855

Long before the Australian colonies joined together to form the nation-state of Australia, the discourses of equal rights and liberty that underpinned the nascent nation were being propounded as its key features. Yet while population was to be encouraged *from all quarters*, the arrival of Chinese immigrants during the Gold Rushes of the 1850s provoked paroxysms of anxiety about *the disastrous consequences* that would follow. Despite the hyperbole of the public discourse and the stringent measures this legitimated, the much prophesied disaster never eventuated. This pattern has been repeated periodically over the last 165 years, with a recurrent invasion complex that posits racialised immigrant Others peering covetously over Australia's backyard fence, threatening the inviolability of the Australia's fair and egalitarian national culture. The dissonance between a belief in equal rights and the rejection of immigrant Others has

been mediated by discourses of racial difference and operationalised through an immigration apparatus that delineated desirability according to race.

While the racialised immigration restrictions that sustained the White Australia policy have long been rescinded, within Australia today, there is much evidence of the ongoing existence of racism towards migrants. Immigrants of Arab or Muslim backgrounds are subject to surveillance and suspicion, conceived as a threat, and subject to widespread Islamophobia, both in their treatment by government and the media (Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007; Noble, 2005). Asylum seekers are also portrayed in the press as deviant, as a threat to both the state and to the health of the nation (Jupp, 2002; O' Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008). Such discourses of deviancy and degeneracy contribute to the dehumanisation of immigrants, which is a factor in negative biases against them (Pedersen & Hartley, 2015). Despite this, for much of the Australian population racism is often seen as something that is restricted to 'bad' extreme individuals (Hage, 2000) with the denial of other forms of racism widespread (Nelson, 2013). This refusal to engage with the structural, institutional nature of the racial discourses that structure our society is part of what enables their reproduction, which makes this a particularly pertinent area for research.

1.1.1 Aims and objectives

Attitudes towards immigrants structured around race have been both constituted by and constitutive of specific understandings of what it means to be 'Australian'. Drawing on an understanding of metaphor use as ideological and revealing of the wider conceptual categorisations through which we understand the world (Charteris-Black, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Santa Ana, 2002), the main aim of this thesis is to explore the ways metaphors have been used to construct immigrants as Other and external, with metaphor

functioning as a key by which the wider discourses around immigration can be understood. Furthermore, given that racialised categories of belonging have traditionally been used to construct the nation, a further aim is to explore the intersections between race, immigration and the nation. The final aim, which links most closely to the critical framework of this study, is to account for the persistence of racialised categorisations within a multiracial nation. To achieve these aims, my research objectives are to:

- Compile a corpus of metaphors used to construct immigration and the nation in the Australian press over the last 165 years
- Identify the most widespread metaphors
- Outline the patterns of metaphor use
- Analyse key metaphors and relate these to the wider narratives they are embedded within
- Produce an explanation for the prevalence of specific metaphors

This study employs an innovative approach, utilising Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to incorporate Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) within a sociological framework to analyse the evolving representations of Australia's immigrant Others, commencing with the first large scale arrival of non-white immigrants to Australia in the 1850s, and extending until 2018. This is the first diachronic study that tracks a specific, ideological aspect of immigration discourse over such an extended time period within Australia. Its novel approach, integrating critical metaphor theory within a wider sociological framework, extends the knowledge that exists on how metaphor functions. Moreover, the focus on the development of metaphor generates socially and historically contingent explanations for how metaphors function today, and why certain metaphors remain resonant. This diachronic perspective is essential as discourses of immigrant Otherness

are both historical and institutional; understanding their development and accounting for their persistence are crucial if we are to generate the knowledge by which they can be contested. By examining the metaphors used in the press to frame immigration and the nation over the last 165 years, the research asks what stories are being told when we construct immigrants in certain ways. Moreover, how do these stories about Australia's Others relate to the stories which construct the Australian national Self.

The chapter begins with an outline of the background to the study, covering immigration, nationalism, metaphor and narrative. Next, the purpose and the significance of the research is discussed, followed by an outline of the specific research questions. I then give a brief overview of the methodology before explaining the layout of the thesis that follows.

1.2 Background to study

Immigration was vital for the development of the Australian colonies and widely encouraged. Yet the arrival of large numbers of Chinese migrants to Australia during the goldrush of the 1850s prompted widespread objection to their immigration. Much of the sentiment expressed bears a strong resemblance to the anti-immigration rhetoric present in the press today, with metaphors like *waves* and *hordes* prevalent (Hollinsworth, 1998). Anti-immigration sentiment led to the Federation Immigration Restriction Act 1901, one of the first Acts of the new established Australian nation. While not specifically stating that the aim was to restrict non-white migration, the Act provided the foundations of what became known as the White Australia policy — a set of governmental policies designed to limit immigration to white people and exclude all non-white prospective migrants, which persisted until the 1960s, not officially ending until 1973 (Brawley, 1995; Jupp, 2002; Markus, 1994).

Since the abolition of the White Australia policy, there has been a steady increase in non-white immigration to Australia, particularly from Asia, as well as from the Middle East. However, despite a massive shift in official policy, including the establishment of numerous organisations and initiatives to combat racism and to introduce a 'multicultural' ethic to Australian society, entrenched racial divisions persist (Hollinsworth, 1998; Jupp, 2002).

Immigration restriction was key to the development of white Australian national identity. Whiteness can be understood here as a social construct that is historically contingent and saturated with power (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993; Lake, 2008), rather than merely a physical descriptor. The discourses surrounding race in most nations have historically played a crucial role in defining national identity, and creating a community, whilst simultaneously delimiting the boundaries of belonging and creating very distinct spheres of exclusion (Balibar, 1991b). Within Australia, to be Australian was to be white and British; to be non-white was to be Other and outside (Hollinsworth, 1998). The *imagined communities* through which national identity is constituted are "imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). When imagining Australia, the limits have traditionally been set along racial lines, with a privileging of white Britishness, and a simultaneous dehumanisation of the continent's Indigenous peoples (Hollinsworth, 1998).

Yet the naturalisation of whiteness as a key feature of Australian identity did not represent any tangible or 'true' ethnic or racial basis, with such a proposition impossible for any nation. It is through the construction of nations that populations are racialised, with race deeply imbricated with nationalism. Balibar speaks of the "cycle of historical reciprocity

of nationalism and racism" concluding "racism is constantly emerging out of nationalism, not only towards the exterior but towards the interior" (Balibar, 1991b, p. 53). Thus, while Gellner posits the homogeneity of culture as a key feature of nationalism (Gellner, 1983), this has often been translated as homogeneity of *race*.

National identity, while imagined (Anderson, 1991), is not necessarily imagined consciously. Billig uses the term 'banal nationalism' to describe the myriad subtle, implicit ways in which nationhood and national identity are 'flagged'; from the unnoticed flag hanging on a building to the seemingly innocent 'we' of newspaper discourse (Billig, 1995). The ubiquity of these 'flaggings', combined with a notion of nationalism as extreme or dangerous, means that banal nationalisms are often unnamed and go unnoticed, and so their ideological underpinnings remain unchallenged (Billig, 1995).

Yet while nationalism may be banal, it was not always so. The foundation of Australia is coterminous with the enactment of migration restrictions (Bashford, 2004; Markus, 1994). From Australia's inception, nationalist discourses have been intertwined with discourses of illegitimacy and threat; prior to the banal nationalisms in which Australia is implicitly hailed as white, there were explicit nationalisms when it was emphatically hailed as such. If we take a historical perspective, it is possible to track the development of nationalist discourse, and trace how specific metaphors of exclusion and the narratives of Self and Other they animate became normalised to the extent that they pass unnoticed in daily press reports about migration, as well as tracking the role such narratives play(ed) in the creation of the implicit 'we' of Australia — a 'we' that by definition has an ulterior 'they', who do not belong.

Metaphor is a key feature of discourse around immigration. Chavez has detailed the practices of vilification, negative stereotyping and stigmatisation of Latino migrants that take place in the US press (Chavez, 2013). These metaphoric representations were further explored by Santa Ana who researched newspaper coverage of 'Latinos', demonstrating the political expediency of blaming migrants for wider social problems (Santa Ana, 2002). Similar metaphors were explored in the UK around the 2005 General Election (Charteris-Black, 2004). Charteris-Black identifies several functions of such metaphors, including the legitimation of right-wing political thought as well as the objectification of immigrants, which in turn legitimates certain ways of behaving toward them (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006). The same has been found to be true in a study of immigration metaphors in early twentieth century United States, with widespread use of negative metaphors to legitimate restrictive and hostile policies targeting immigrants (O'Brien, 2003).

Within the Australian context, there has been less analysis of such metaphors. Some of the motivations for and effects of such metaphoric representation have been explored, in particular the justification of restrictive legislation that targets immigrants (Anderson, 2011; Pickering, 2001), as well as the associations of migrants with disease, and of national purity with bodily purity (Anderson, 2011; Inda, 2000). However, an explicit critical discourse analysis has yet to be performed. This is a critical lack as in order to fully understand metaphor usage and choice, it is necessary to study particular instances within their social and historical context (Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 2002); so while similar situations in other countries may be instructive, they cannot fully account for the development and usage of such metaphoric classifications of migrants within the Australian context.

Despite massive social, cultural and political changes, the metaphors used to construct immigrants have remained remarkably consistent, making metaphor is a prime candidate for enquiry. The existing research demonstrates the value of exploring metaphors related to immigration as a means to understand the ways in which restrictive measures are legitimated, and ideas of nationality are constituted in relation to an illegitimate Other. However, it also highlights the importance of context when examining the development and usage of language, indicating the need for further research within the Australian context.

The use of configurations of metaphors constructs narratives. Indeed, “much of the power of the metaphor lies in its capacity to evoke an analogical narrative, without making that narrative so explicit that its aptness can easily be challenged” (Hanne, 2014, p. 1). Yet narratives are neither neutral nor ‘true’ but instead are powerfully productive, accomplishing essential discursive work (Elder, 2007a). Narratives, particularly national narratives, are essentially constructive. They shape ways of thinking about ourselves and others, and the relations between us, organising events into meaningful configurations to enable them to be classified, evaluated and understood (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012; Novitz, 1989; Somers, 1992), with the nation itself a form of narrative (Bhabha, 2013).

Narrative is implicated in the formation of identity, both individual and group. Yet identity, including national identity, is socially constructed, multiple and unstable; a situation in constant flux, characterised by a range of competing identities and underpinned by power relations and struggles (Bhavani & Phoenix, 1994; Hall, 1996b). This process is multi-directional, with national identities “continually and collectively constructed in a complex process of discursive exchange” (Hogan, 2009, p. 3). The available resources within a culture are the means through which identity is constructed,

and the media are a prime site for the provision of narratives to fill this role, while simultaneously delimiting what narratives are available (Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

National identity is created through narratives of the nation. That is, "stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols, and rituals… …which give meaning to the nation" (Hall, 1996b). What it means to be Australian is defined by the narratives, that is the stories, that are told, yet these are always "made *in relation to* other ways of being that are marked as similar or different" (Elder, 2007a, p. 10, emphasis in original). Narratives of the nation's Others are thus essential to narratives of the national Self, with the nationalist project creating "a collective sense of Self defined dialectically by the presence of the Other" (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 145).

Denigration of racialised Others played a central role in the ongoing ideological struggle to assert and legitimate an acceptable 'Australian' national identity. Yet the distinctive feature of settler colonialism is the expropriation of land from the Indigenous owners. This structures settler relations with Indigenous peoples around a logic of elimination, which includes assimilation (Wolfe, 2001). While Indigenous Australians were subjected to profound violence (both symbolic and actual), this assimilability made Indigenous peoples ill-suited to the role of dialectically defined Other — the *outside* cannot be simultaneously internal — which was a role assigned instead to racialised immigrant Others.

Narratives of immigrant threat do powerful work. The *Latino Threat Narrative* describes the processes of differentiation, stigmatisation and Othering produced by the persistent negative, metaphorical presentation of Latinos in the US press (Chavez, 2013). Crucially, narrative here (and within this thesis) does not refer to the narrative structure of individual

news stories within which metaphors are embedded,[1] but rather the wider stories that are being told by certain persistent constructions of the nation and its Others. Yet while Chavez focused on the specificities that differentiated the Latino threat from earlier threats (Chinese, South European, etc), this research is focused on the common elements that unite distinct threat narratives into an overarching narrative of immigrant threat. This is of key importance as narratives of immigrant threat continue to be a key feature of right wing discourse in multiple nations (Hogan & Haltinner, 2017).

Narratives of national identity (and of immigrant threat) gain currency through the press,[2] among other sources. This is because the press laid the foundations for the development of the national imaginary, uniting peoples in a way not possible prior to the development of print technology (Anderson, 1991). It continues to play a crucial role in the (re)production of discourses of nationality and the legitimation of migration restriction; the language used in the press is therefore of critical importance (van Dijk, 1989, 1998). The use of metaphors to stigmatise migrants can be traced back to press reports that are contemporaneous with the earliest non-white migration, with this persisting to the present day, although the objects of such discourse have changed. This language has been used to create a sense of national identity based on exclusion, as well as to justify and legitimate legal and political action that targets migrants. However, within the Australian context there is a lack of research on the specific historical, social and economic contexts that occasioned (and were sanctioned by) such metaphors of migration, or on how their usage developed. It is this lack that the present study aims to address. However, this is a sociological study, not a study of media power or history, with the press utilized as a source of corpus, not as the object of analysis.

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1. This is a distinct form of research (e.g. (Bell, 1991)) which is beyond the scope of this study.
2. While ‘press’ can refer to all print media, both news and entertainment (Conboy, 2001), it is used within this thesis to refer to print news media, specifically newspapers.

1.3 Purpose and significance

"To study the nation through its narrative address does not merely draw attention to its language and rhetoric; it also attempts to alter the conceptual object itself" (Bhabha, 2013, p. 3).

This study is anchored in critical theory. The epistemological underpinning of critical social research is the belief that social relations and practices are animated and maintained through the exercise of power, which is both grounded in and obscured by the workings of ideology (Harvey, 1990). As such, there is a commitment to social change embedded within the analysis. The aim then is to trace the origins of certain persistent metaphoric constructions, to explore how they construct particular narratives of immigrant Others and the nation, and to account for the ongoing currency of metaphors that are rooted in racialised, hierarchical distinctions. Moreover, as Homi Bhabha suggests, by drawing attention to the ways in which the nation is persistently constructed around certain categorisations, the underlying intention is to explore the possibilities for more inclusive ways of imagining the nation.

Initial research into press reports from the 1850s showed that negative metaphors were originally linked to explicitly racist discourse of racial superiority and inherent deviance, which raised the question of when (and if) they became disassociated from such ideology. Since the 1850s there have been massive cultural and political shifts; changing social conditions have typically engendered shifts in the language used in the press to discuss immigrants (Laurie, 2004) yet the use of certain metaphors remains. Metaphoric

descriptions of immigration and immigrants are so widespread that they often pass unnoticed. When the negative implications of such language are noted, the underlying functioning is often left un-interrogated (Pickering, 2001). That is not to criticize existing research, but rather to suggest that this is an area that needs further research. A diachronic study is essential to explain the ongoing utility of metaphoric language to maintain categories of belonging and exclusion within Australian national imaginings, and to account for why, in a (post) multi-cultural society, these classifications retain their efficacy.

Examining how metaphors are used to shape the ways immigration is conceptualised is vital to understand how racialised ideology is reproduced, and the consequences this sanctions. The ubiquity of metaphoric imagery should not blind us to the historical specificity of its usage, nor should commonplace metaphoric designations be dismissed as simply negative language. Every time we describe immigrants as *invaders* or *floods,* we are powerfully restating an idea of immigrants as intrinsically external and Other. Furthermore, the depersonalisation that occurs from conceiving of migrants as undefined masses, as *floods* or *hordes* instead of as individuals, plays a crucial role in the process by which restrictive legislation that marginalises and vilifies whole groups of people on precarious cultural, legal or economic principles are legitimized, and even presented as desirable and beneficial.

Metaphors both reflect and shape the conceptual categories through which our worlds are understood (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphor choice is ideological as the categorisations they impose, rather than neutral or natural, are a reflection of the speaker's positioning (Charteris-Black, 2006); hence, they are also expressions of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991). Yet the ubiquity of metaphor means that this ideological functioning is

often obscured — indeed much of the power of metaphors stems from the *implicit* creation of difference. Hence, partial perspectives are naturalised as neutral and universal, concealing the embedded power relations. As such, metaphors are also prime examples of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991).

Repeated metaphoric constructions coalesce into an overall narrative. These narratives, like the metaphors through which they are constituted, are also naturalised, with their embedded symbolic power (and violence) obscured. There is a need to understand how narratives of immigrant Others work to construct narratives about being Australian, and the purposes served by these processes. Ultimately, it is hoped that this examination will produce the knowledge through which naturalised metaphoric categorisations and the narratives they animate can be contested.

1.4 Research questions

At present, there are many unanswered questions about how immigrants are metaphorically constructed in Australia. Furthermore, any study of immigration needs to also take into consideration the metaphoric framing of the State against which it is constructed. Thus, the first two research questions are:

> RQ1. What metaphors have been used to describe immigrants and immigration in the Australian press since 1850?
>
> RQ2. How is the nation also constructed by metaphor?

Yet metaphoric use did not remain constant. However, there is currently no information about how this usage varied, and if this changed over time — thus the third question is:

RQ3. What are the patterns and variations of metaphor use?

Finally, returning to the links between metaphor, narrative and power, it is necessary to understand not just how the nation and its immigrant Others were constructed, but why: how did this relate to the wider distributions of power within society; how do metaphoric inflected narratives shape discourses of both belonging and exclusion. Thus, the final research question is:

RQ4. How do these patterns and interactions contribute to understandings of what it means to be Australian?

While the first three questions are examined through a critical discourse analytical framework, the final research question, which underpins the others, is interrogated through a wider sociological framework, with the aim of understanding not just the metaphors themselves, but how (and why) the narratives they embody shape particular forms of national identification and exclusion.

1.5 Approach to research

1.5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This research takes a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to the study of metaphor. CDA is an explicitly political practice, focused on revealing the exercise and maintenance of dominance and power through discourse (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1993). Language is examined as a form of social practice, with the interplay between language and power a fundamental part of CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). This is of utmost importance when considering the role of language in constructing discourses

around immigration, as it allows for an examination of the exercise of power within the creation of immigrant out-groups. Van Dijk has focused much of his work on the press, and the manner in which news discourse can legitimate racial inequality within society (van Dijk, 2015), while others have focused on the historical dimension within CDA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009). This research then is focused on both the exercise of power within metaphor usage and the actions and discourses legitimated by this.

1.5.2 Metaphor and CDA

Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) originates in the work of Lakoff and Johnson, who argue that metaphor provides an insight into our wider conceptual systems. Yet while Lakoff and Johnson did not engage with issues of ideology and power, several sociolinguists have combined Lakoff and Johnson's CMT with CDA principles (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Santa Ana, 2002), examining metaphor to reveal the ideological underpinnings that structure our understandings of the social world. Yet while metaphors are coded using sociolinguistic principles, the research is a sociological, not a sociolinguistic, analysis. Therefore, this research utilizes a novel approach, which examines CMT through a wider CDA framework, incorporating this within a sociological analysis of the functioning of metaphor.

1.5.3 Data collection

Data were collected from sample periods of between one and five years, with the aim of capturing as much metaphor use as possible (particularly in the early decades when metaphor use was less common); the average sample period was two to four years. The overall data collection and analysis was divided into three sections that roughly correspond with three distinct phases in Australian immigration history: Pre-Federation, with intermittent and variable immigration restrictions (1854-1900), White Australia,

with strict, universal non-white immigration restrictions (1901-1971), and Multicultural Australia, when race based immigration restrictions were lifted (1972-2018). Data comes from three newspapers for each sample period: *The Argus, The Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*, and *The West Australian* until 1957, with *The Australian* replacing *The Argus* after it closed in 1957. Prior to 1954, all newspapers were accessible on the *Trove* database, and data were collected through Boolean searches combining *immigration* OR *immigrant** OR *migration* OR *migrant** with metaphors previously identified in sociolinguistic analyses of immigration metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2006; O'Brien, 2003; Santa Ana, 1999, 2002), with all press reports logged. Between 1955 and 1996, data were collected via microfilm, with daily editions of each newspaper for each sample period examined, while from 1996, all newspapers were available on the *Factiva* database, with data again collected through Boolean searches.

1.5.4 Data coding and analysis

Once data were collected, linguistic metaphors were coded to conceptual metaphors within NVivo. Linguistic metaphors are metaphoric expressions i.e. *invasion,* while conceptual metaphors are higher level metaphors that link individual linguistic metaphors to an overarching concept,[3] which in the case of *invasion* would be IMMIGRATION as WAR.[4] The study was focused on the use of metaphors within the newspapers' own framing of issues, so no instances of direct or reported speech were coded.[5] Data included all press reports (articles, editorials and opinion pieces) that contained metaphors within their text. After coding, metaphors were analysed using CDA to situate them within their broader discursive context; these findings were then subjected to a wider sociological analysis. Furthermore, a number of other data sources (parliamentary debates, public

[3] Explained further in section 3.4.2.
[4] Conceptual metaphors are capitalised while linguistic metaphors are italicised.
[5] The rationale for this (and its limitations) is discussed in section 4.6.

meetings, letters to the editor and legislation) were sampled for key periods to enable triangulation of the data found.

1.6 Thesis overview

The thesis begins with a chapter on the historical background of the study, commencing with an analysis of racial discourse and the intersections between race and nationalism within Australia in the three research periods. This provides some of the theoretical background to the study, situated within its historical contexts. Following this, I provide a brief history of immigration within the three research periods, and the final part of the chapter covers the press, including a historical summary of each of the newspapers covered in this research. The following chapter provides the broader theoretical background. I explain the approaches to research that underpin the thesis, followed by the analytical framework and the wider sociological framework, in particular Bourdieu's work on power. The data and methods chapter provides details about the data selection, the research methods and corpus compilation. Following this, the results of the research are then divided into three chapters, organised chronologically.

The differing social and historical contexts within each historical period necessitated the use of distinct theoretical frameworks for analysis within each chapter to focus on the distinctive features of metaphor use within each period. The first results chapter covers the Pre-Federation period (1854–1900) and utilises the concepts of settler colonialism (Wolfe, 1999), and critical theory on the colonial construction of race (Stoler, 2002, 2016) to explore the main metaphors within this period. The second results chapter covers the White Australia period (1901–1972) and employs Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence to explore how the symbolic creation of a white nation interacted with the literal creation of the nation as a white space. The final results chapter covers the Multicultural

Australia period (1972–2018) and extends the notion of symbolic violence, whilst also utilising Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* as a means to understand the ongoing potency of ethno-nationalist metaphors within a multicultural nation.

The discussion chapter returns to the notion of narrative and the differing ways that metaphors functioned within this. I consider why the narrative functioned, and continues to function, in specific ways. The conclusion considers some potential points of further research, as well as the potential for negative metaphoric framing to be counteracted.

Chapter 2 Historical background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on three aspects which form the background to the study. As this research is focused on the intersections between race, immigration and the nation, the first section considers the development of racial discourse, defined as "the collective text and talk of society with respect to issues of race" (Doane, 2016, p.256), and its imbrication with nationalism in the three main research periods.[1] The second section covers immigration history; this is necessarily partial, describing the main movements of people that were featured in the press studied. The final section turns to the press, outlining some general features about the media in Australia, before providing a more comprehensive background of the specific newspapers included in this study. However, the chapter turns first to understandings of race.

2.2 Racial Discourse

2.2.1 Background

Race has long been one of the defining features through which our social and political worlds are constructed. This was not always the case, however; the increasing importance of racial theory can be mapped to the rise of colonialism and the need to legitimate the domination and subjugation of 'inferior' peoples. For much of the colonial period, race was thought of as biologically determined and fixed. Humanity was divided into several distinct 'races', each with their own associated physical, moral and character traits, with white Europeans at the top of the scale. These hierarchical notions of humanity linked to prevailing religious beliefs i.e.

1. Pre-Federation (1854-1900), White Australia (1901-1971), Multicultural Australia (1972-2018).

black skin was the Mark of Cain and hence God’s curse, as well as medieval beliefs about the Chain of Being in which all living creatures where linked, from the lowest to the highest (the European male). Such beliefs were incorporated into emerging scientific disciplines such as biology and anthropology, developing and consolidating the concept of race.

Whilst the explanation for biological difference varied, the ‘fact’ that races were distinct was widely accepted (Banton, 1998). Social Darwinism was the term that came to be applied to the worldview that saw the subjugation of inferior races as inevitable, as superior races were naturally evolved to dominate (Fozdar, Wilding, & Hawkins, 2009; Frankenberg, 1993; Hollinsworth, 1998). This belief was an underlying tenet of colonial policy in Australia, with Aboriginal people seen as an inferior, primitive race, that would die out naturally once exposed to the superior European race (Hollinsworth, 1998; Reynolds, 1987), with Darwin himself comparing the “varieties of man” to different species of animal — “the stronger always extirpating the weaker” (Darwin, 1839, p.520).

Although this view held prominence for much of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, the end of the Second World War, combined with de-colonisation in much of the world, and increasing scientific criticism led UNESCO to declare in 1950 that race was a social myth, with no scientific basis (Fozdar et al., 2009). However, racialised thought has persisted, often in the guise of ethnocentrism, called ‘new racism’, based on a belief in cultural superiority (Barker, 1982). While not linked to the biological determinants that characterised earlier racial discourse, different cultures are seen as fixed and unchanging, much as race previously was. Whereas once distinctions were made on the basis of racial characteristics, it is cultures that are now seen as incompatible, with fixed differences that are unsurmountable, which leads to culture or ethnicity serving the same function as race (Hollinsworth, 1998).

Theories of race are problematic for several reasons, the most compelling of which being that they have no scientific basis. This is not to say that race is a fiction — race remains real in the sense that it has real material effects, particularly on those who are negatively constructed by it, but also on those who benefit from a racialised, hierarchical ordering of society (Fozdar et al., 2009; Frankenberg, 1993). A further problem is that whiteness is constituted as a race, although there is no definable 'white' race. Instead whiteness is constituted in relation to a racialised, exoticized Other, which it is not. An idea(l) of whiteness is established that takes its foundation from discourses of degeneracy, irrationality, criminality and 'Otherness', against which the moral, rational, pure, 'normalcy' of whiteness is produced (Said, 1978). Whiteness, in its lack of specification, becomes the normative cultural space against which Other cultures are constituted (Dyer, 1997). As such, "whites are the non-defined definers of other people" (Frankenberg, 1993, p. 197). Yet the boundaries of this category are flexible and liable to change, and the ways in which various groups have been excluded and then included within categories of whiteness or Other reflect this (Frankenberg, 1993).

Racialised systems of thought which privilege a normative conception of whiteness are neither neutral nor harmless. By conceiving of Others as essentially different, whether through biological or cultural determinism, the superiority of the dominant culture is naturalised and maintained, as is the marginalisation of Other cultures within the dominant discourses of a given society (Frankenberg, 1993; Hage, 2000). Other ways of thinking and/or being are seen as marginal, exotic, inferior, whilst the dominant white culture retains its power to dictate the norms and values of social life. This can be thought of as symbolic violence towards non-white peoples. Symbolic power is the power to assert a dominant worldview or symbolic system, which naturalises and legitimises other structures of power within society. When that system

is imposed on Others without the power to resist, it is a form of symbolic violence, which is, in itself, constitutive in maintaining the power relations that permit the symbolic violence in the first place (Bourdieu, 1991).

The construction of whiteness occurs within specific social, historical contexts. Within the US, capitalist economic concerns i.e. labour costs, a monoculture industry, a glut of produce, alongside wider social and political concerns underpinned the construction of whiteness as a social category within seventeenth century Virginia. Despite white and black labourers sharing similarly desperate conditions and concerns, this shift was accomplished by the introduction of 'privileges', although no substantial improvement in conditions, for white workers, and a corresponding stripping of humanity for black workers, against which whiteness and its associated privileges could then be measured (Allen, 1994). This construction of 'whiteness' and 'blackness' was fundamental to the development of slavery within the US.

The complexities of what it meant to be white are further demonstrated by the history of the Irish. Many Irish moved to the US to escape caste oppression and poverty, although they were perceived as racially inferior and analogous to black people, with whom they lived and intermarried. For the Irish, labour concerns and civil unrest led to them choosing whiteness as a means to secure a competitive advantage and improve their own conditions (Ignatiev, 2012). When considering Italian migration to the US, Guglielmo contends that although seen as inferior, Italians always had certain privileges due to their whiteness. He makes the distinction between colour race i.e. black, white and ethnicity race i.e. South Italian, Irish. Indeed, when immigrating, race and colour were two separate categories on migration documents; while Italians may have been considered racially inferior, their colour status also conferred privilege. Specific social and historical conditions, including the second world war, and a wider collapse

of racial/colour categories into the single category of white, led to Italians in the US increasingly being identified as white (Guglielmo, 2004). In each case, the accomplishment of whiteness was acquired in distinct social and economic circumstances.

It is important to note that racialised systems of thought do not exist in a vacuum — they are part of the everyday discourse within a social group, that is communicated within daily conversation and practices. Racial prejudice reflects and sustains the dominance of certain groups; through complex processes of in-group/out-group differentiation, barriers are maintained, which have implications not only for how group member relate to each other, but also how they relate to other groups. Racism as an ideology functions to protect the interests of a dominant group (van Dijk, 1987; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). Van Dijk has demonstrated how individuals' communication on racial issues tends to reproduce the dominant racial prejudice, often centring on negative aspects of immigration, criminality, negative characteristics of migrants and cultural conflicts (van Dijk, 1987); he uses the concept of the *ideological square* to describe the process of positive in-group description and negative out-group description (van Dijk, 1998). Wetherell and Potter go further, demonstrating how the ideological effects of the racial discourse embedded in everyday speech is the legitimation of existing, uneven power relations in society, and the justification of the on-going dominance of the white majority in New Zealand (Wetherell & Potter, 1992). The chapter turns now to the specific racial discourses that shaped immigration in Australia over the last 165 years, outlining how race functioned to shape understandings of nation and belonging in ways that did indeed protect the interests of the dominant group.

2.2.2 Race and early Australian nationalism

The concept of race first became prominent during the eighteenth century when philosophers and scientists began categorising the natural world into different classes according to the 'natural' order of things. In addition to plants and animals, humans were also classified into different varieties, with Linnaeus's (1707–78) classification of lesser to higher varieties based on the biblical conception of a Great Chain of Being (Banton, 1998; Hannaford, 1996). This classification was refined by Blumenbach (1752–1830) who, drawing also on the work of Leclerc[2] (Comte de Buffon, 1707–88), produced a five-fold classification of Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, Malayan (Banton, 1998; Hannaford, 1996). Such theories understood race as a form of lineage and, while they were superseded over time, the classifications they established continued to resonate.

By the mid-nineteenth century, discourse about race was dominated by theories of racial type. These debated whether different races comprised variations of the same species or were biologically distinct species (monogenesis and polygenesis) (Banton, 1998; Hollinsworth, 1998). While the two strands varied on whether different types were able to acclimatise to other regions or the fertility of potential hybrids, they both classified humans into categories such as Caucasian and Mongolian, drawing on earlier classifications. Furthermore, they agreed on type as relatively permanent and inalterable, with cultural differences and social categories arising from biological difference, and antagonism between types innate (Banton, 1998).

Over time, the typological theories of race expounded by writers such as Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816–82) and Robert Knox (1791–1862) were superseded by the work of Charles

[2] Buffon produced a sixfold classification: Lapp Polar, Tartar, South Asian, European, Ethiopian, American (Hannaford, 1996).

Darwin, although conceptions of type persisted for some time (Banton, 1998). Moreover, Gobineau's understanding of race struggle as a feature of history, loathing of miscegenation and insistence that civilisation was reserved for only whites retained its potency (Malik, 1996). While Darwin's theories of evolution superseded beliefs that different races were different species, his theory of natural selection was harnessed to support existing ideas of races possessing higher and lower civilisations, with lesser races destined to 'die out' (Hollinsworth, 1998; Miles, 1989). While such theories have been called Social Darwinism, this was not a unified branch of thought which shared any key concepts, but rather a looser conglomeration of ideas and ideologies, that have been posthumously labelled together as such (Banton, 1998). A key point however is the instability and fluidity of concepts of race in this time — rather than a definite fixed discourse, race was defined by "shifting criteria of assessments, a *changing* set of features from which the essence of race was sought and derived" (Stoler, 2016, p. 244, emphasis in original).

During the 1880s, Social Darwinian modes of thought occasioned racial discourses that saw white Australians engaged in a form of race struggle for survival with the Chinese (Offner, 1988; Trainor, 1994; Walker, 1999), although actual numbers of Chinese were low.[3] In this period, racism became more generalised, with anti-Chinese rhetoric being included in a variety of, at times contradictory, ideologies (something Stoler refers to as the *malleability* of race (Stoler, 2002)), all of which agreed on the Chinese as an inferior race (Trainor, 1994). Such discourses were intricately bound up with a growing colonial identification with whiteness (Lake, 2008), with the Chinese the antithesis of the archetypal white Australian (Fitzgerald, 2007; Irving, 1999). Moreover, there had been a substantial increase in native-born white

[3] Chinese numbers (1881) were: 11,959 in Victoria and 10,205 in NSW (Choi, 1975, p.23), while the total population was: 873,965 for Victoria and 777,025 for NSW (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006). Only Victoria and NSW had any substantial Chinese immigration, due to the discovery of gold.

Australians who identified more closely with Australia than previous generations (Eddy, 1988; Hirst, 2000), many of whom wanted a 'home' of their own (Irving, 1999). However, there was also a deeper sense of British identification, with the colonial context creating a much more unified British identity than existed in Britain (McGregor, 2006; Meaney, 2001).

In the move towards an imagined Australian identity, while the 1890s saw a surge of interest in Australian literature and art (Eddy, 1988; Hirst, 2004; Irving, 1999; McGregor, 2006), Britain remained the dominant source of myth, history and achievement through which the national imaginary was constituted for white Australians (McGregor, 2006; Meaney, 2001). This, at times contradictory positioning, resulted in a range of identifications as variously Australian, British/Anglo-Saxon and white. Whiteness came to be perceived as both a signifier of kinship (Irving, 1999) and a defensive strategy against external threats (Cole, 1971a, 1971b).

This construction of whiteness was dependent on the exclusion of the Chinese and other non-white races; through the dialectical construction of racial alterity, white racial purity obtained its significance. Exclusion was envisaged as foundational to national identity and enacted in the name of democracy (Offner, 1988), necessary for both the preservation of the existing Australian society and the creation of a fairer, more equitable future society, possible only if *lower* races were excluded (Hirst, 2000). Whites were believed to possess a higher civilisation, with exclusion essential for the preservation of racial purity (Cole, 1971a). Who did *not* belong to Australian society was as important as who did (Irving, 1999), with white racial solidarity fortifying social solidarity, and Chinese exclusion the key to the inclusion of all others (Cole, 1971a; Offner, 1988). This definition of unique national characteristics in relation to Others, emphasising commonality while downplaying difference, as in the identification with

whiteness, was part of the discursive construction of national identity (Hall, 1996b), with a belief in the homogeneity of culture essential to conceptions of nation (Gellner, 1987, 1997).

These processes of exclusion found their highest expression in the White Australia policy. It has been claimed that 'White Australia' was primarily an expression of social values of egalitarianism and freedom, with the Chinese excluded due to the belief that they were incapable of assimilation and participation in a free, democratic society (Birrell, 1995). However, Fitzgerald provides a thorough account of how discourses around the Chinese and their incompatibility with 'Australian' values were constructed and maintained, despite a wealth of contradictory evidence, as a means to perpetuate a belief in white Australian distinctiveness. He concludes "The servile Chinaman served as an inverted template of the free and equal white man" (2007, p. 33). Popular support for a 'White Australia' united heterogenous elements of society (Moran, 2005) providing widespread motivation for Federation (Hirst, 2000). The policy was adopted by all three major parties, including the Labor movement (Hirst, 2000; Yarwood, 1964), with the exclusion of 'lower' races transformed into a virtue and a matter of ethics (Cole, 1971a; Offner, 1988).

Anti-Chinese sentiment was grounded in discourses of threat. Chinese were perceived as a cultural menace, fundamentally unable to assimilate (Irving, 1999), a source of pollution and contamination, and a danger to morality and health (Irving, 1999; Offner, 1988; Trainor, 1994). Invasion narratives were a key trope of contemporaneous literature (Irving, 1999; Walker, 1999), with an ongoing preoccupation with Asian invasion and white annihilation (Walker, 1999). Yet this Asian menace discourse, which by the 1890s included Japan (Offner, 1988; Price, 1974), was often more metaphorical, referring to cultural rather than physical annihilation (Irving, 1999). A contrasting discourse was of Chinese passivity and servility,

which also rendered them ineligible for admission into the Australian national imaginary; the antiquity of Chinese culture was contrasted with the dynamism of modern, Australian culture, with the two seen as irrevocably, diametrically opposed (Fitzgerald, 2007). Thus, discourses around the Chinese oscillated between viewing them in terms of inherent deviance and as hardworking and disciplined, with both representing threat (Price, 1974; Walker, 1999).

There were many motivations for Federation. These included the desire for identity and status, and to unite the colonies (Hirst, 2000), the belief in egalitarian civic ideals and social values (Birrell, 1995), and notions of social justice (Eddy, 1988). Yet the exclusion of the Chinese and other non-white races, and the racist ideology underpinning this, proved to be one of the main catalysts by which Federation was accomplished (Trainor, 1994), with Hirst concluding: "Federation was not needed to make the White Australia policy, but the policy was the most popular expression of the nation ideal that inspired federation" (Hirst, 2000, p.22). This *nation ideal*, dialectically constructed against the Chinese Other with whiteness as its fundamental, uniting feature, was enshrined in the White Australian nation that followed.

2.2.3 Whiteness, nationalism and White Australia

Any discussion of White Australia needs to be situated within the context of the explicit identification with whiteness that occurred in the decades around Federation. In response to challenges to the dominance of white races articulated through anti-colonial struggles and demands for equal rights, there resulted a more strident assertion of whiteness, and the inception of a form of binary thinking that classified the world into white and non-white. All other races, ethnicities and nationalities were aggregated into the singular categorisation of non-white, replacing the multitude of racial types that characterised the previous centuries (Lake, 2007, 2008).

This binary redefined the world into self-governing white-man's countries, and governed non-white countries, (Lake, 2007, 2008), with whiteness used to assert right of ownership over the colonised world (Carey, Boucher, & Ellinghaus, 2007). Whiteness became the dominant mode of personal and political identification, structuring an imagined transnational community of whiteness, legitimising white domination, enforced through technologies of border control and restriction in white man's countries, and imperial governance in non-white countries (Carey et al., 2007; Lake, 2007, 2008). This was mostly clearly demonstrated in the Dominions, the semi-independent white former British colonies: Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia, all of which attempted to enact control over their populations, although only New Zealand matched Australia's exclusion of non-white races (Jupp, 2002; Lake, 2008).

Yet the development of whiteness, like other racial categorisations, remained fluid and historically specific, functioning in differing ways across different locations (Carey et al., 2007). Within Australia, Irish Catholics were initially seen as racially inferior, believed to be of Africanoid stock, with parallels drawn between Irish and Indigenous Australians. Yet the move towards Federation from the 1880s and the resultant need for a homogenous white population, resulted in their re-categorisation as white and assimilation into the white race (Stratton, 2004).

The White Australia policy received widespread support from other white nations. Australia was seen as conducting a bold experiment, attempting to create a land for the higher races, with Australians determined not to make the mistakes of other nations (Lake, 2008; Walker, 2003). The push for a white man's land drew on Charles Pearson's *National Life and Character: a forecast* (1893) in which Pearson predicted that yellow and brown races would gain power,

eventually overthrowing the white race. The fears this inspired were key to the discourses of race and whiteness that circulated the globe at the turn of the century (Lake, 2008). Australia drew inspiration and support from other white countries, in particular the Dominions; seen as sharing a superior racial heritage and culture, the White Australia policy aimed to preserve white racial purity, and provide a home for the white man, removed from the dangers of race degeneration from contact with lesser races (Lake, 2008; Walker, 2003).

These fears were also turned inwards, with eugenic practices in Australia, focused on 'racial hygiene' in order to protect the nation from racial degeneration, reaching a peak in the 1920s (Carey, 2007). The eugenics movement, which was widespread across the UK, Europe and the US from the late nineteenth century, was focused on the improvement of national populations through the promotion of reproduction for certain groups and the prohibition (i.e. through sterilisation) of other 'unfit' groups breeding. While unfit groups included those suffering from mental illness or epilepsy, degeneracy was most commonly focused around race, with proscriptions around 'interbreeding' with 'inferior' racial stock, although such beliefs dissipated in the wake of Nazi atrocities (Hannaford, 1996).

The identification with whiteness also functioned as a form of defence against other, non-white peoples (Shiells, 2009). The threat of Asia was invoked to escalate the process of nation building, with Australians persuaded that they would need to fight to secure their possession of the country (Walker, 2003), with threats of 'Chinese invasion', either peaceful or military often invoked (Price, 1974). This threat was foundational to the new Australian nation, with Alfred Deakin (2nd Australian Prime Minister) stating in parliament: "We here find ourselves touching the profoundest instinct of individual or nation — the instinct of self-preservation — for it is nothing less than the national manhood, the national character, and the national future

that are at stake” (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 12th September 1901, p. 4804 (Alfred Deakin)). While a month earlier, Edmund Barton (1st Australian Prime Minister), with a copy of *National Life and Character* in hand, had quoted Pearson in parliament:

> We know that if national existence is sacrificed to the working of a few mines and sugar plantations, it is not the Englishman in Australia alone, but the whole civilized world that will be the losers…We are guarding the last part of the world in which the higher races can live and increase freely for the higher civilization (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 7th August 1901, 1901, p. 3503 (Edmund Barton)).

This threat reconfigured the image of Australia within the national imaginary, creating “an opportunity to move Australia from the margins of world interest to somewhere near the centre of an intensifying battle for space and racial advancement” (Walker, 2003, p. 40).

There were nonetheless differences between how British and other white immigrants were understood. The metaphorical kinship community of the Australian nation was consistently being redefined in relation to, at different times, Britishness; Anglo-Saxonness; whiteness; and as the new Australian race (Shiells, 2009). These shifting racial categorisations testify to the slipperiness and instability of racial categories, and the ideological work necessary to shore up racialised discourses of national identity (Shiells, 2009). Whiteness often formed the underlay to these discourses, linking Australians with the wider white world, in addition to uniting all Australians in a singular, national consciousness (Shiells, 2009). Yet the ‘white’ in White Australia was primarily an Anglo whiteness, constructed around a British-originating ideal.

The boundaries of whiteness expanded during the post-WW2 period. Previously suspect European *races* became accepted as *racially* white, although this did not erase the emphasis on Anglo-whiteness, with belonging increasingly oriented around ethnicity. For Southern Europeans, whiteness, more than a natural attribute, was something conferred after detailed physical examination (Pugliese, 2002) while White Australia remained *culturally* aligned around Anglo-whiteness. This cultural orientation was evident in the shift towards multiculturalism which again recalibrated racial discourses within Australia.

2.2.4 Multiculturalism and Nationalism

The end of White Australia saw a reformulation of ideas about race. Whereas race had previously signified biological capacity for culture, newer understandings theorised cultures as inherently discrete and potentially incompatible, with race a signifier of cultural difference. The rhetoric of ethnicity and culture functioned in place of race, while speaking of race explicitly became taboo (Stratton, 1998). This was accompanied by an official turn towards multiculturalism as a policy for managing 'cultural' difference (Jupp, 2002; Moran, 2011). Implemented in response to the failure of European groups to 'properly' assimilate, multiculturalism was initially conceived of as managing *ethnic* rather than racial difference, with the vast majority of immigrants in the 1970s *racially* white although ethnically Other. Hence, race was doubly excluded from multiculturalism, both through the separation of race from culture and the understanding that *ethnics* were nonetheless white (Stratton, 1998). Yet this shift did not resolve racialised discourses, functioning instead to obscure them.

Multiculturalism within Australia has been criticised for the emphasis it places on cultural difference. This stems from an understanding of culture as fixed and immutable, with immigrants understood as belonging to distinct ethnic groups to which they are expected to

remain faithful, resulting in an inherent, unresolvable tension between minority ethnicity and national identity (Ang, 2014). Ang concludes "In this sense, multiculturalism, while ostensibly based on an inclusive ethos in the national (Australian) culture, simultaneously represents a declaration of the permanence and solidity of cultural difference" (Ang, 2014, p. 1190/1191). Ghassan Hage also critiques the limited inclusion offered by multiculturalism in Australia, seeing it as another elaboration of white supremacy. Through a sense of 'governmental belonging' white Australians still feel empowered to dictate the limits of belonging for non-white Australians, with minority ethnic cultures valued only insofar as they provide enrichment for the dominant, white culture (Hage, 2000). Non-white Australians who accept 'Australian values' while downplaying their own ethnicity are granted a form of 'honorary whiteness'— a conditional form of acceptance that reaffirms the primacy of the white-Anglo core (Stratton, 2011). Throughout, the dominant white, Anglo group retains its privilege through language, culture and institutions (Forrest & Dunn, 2006).The sense of 'us' and 'them' engendered by this approach was most manifestly displayed in the success of Prime Minister John Howard's repeated declarations of "*We* decide who comes to this country" (Ang, 2003).

The success of One Nation in 1996 and the increasingly nationalistic tone taken by Prime Minister John Howard (1996–2007), culminating in *Tampa,*[4] can be understood as a backlash against multiculturalism. The Coalition election win in 1996 marked a shift from notions of civic nationalism that had accompanied the earlier years of multiculturalism, towards what has been called *regressive nationalism* — a combination of older ethno-nationalist ideas, alongside an incorporation of neo-liberal economic policies (Pitty & Leach, 2004, p. 97). Fears about a loss of cultural hegemony by the white majority engendered a resurgent emphasis on the dominant white culture; although White Australia policies were no longer explicitly viable,

4. Discussed below in section 2.3.4.

there was intense anxiety about preserving the *culture* of White Australia (Ang, 2003; Hage, 2003). Thus, racialised distinctions re-emerged in the guise of culture. Furthermore, multicultural discourse failed to address Indigenous Australians' "uniquely originary status" (Wolfe, 2013, p. 7) instead reiterating settler-colonial dominance (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). While there had been an increasing marginalisation of 'the racial strand of White paranoia' (Hage, 2003, p. 57), this did not disappear, resurfacing in Pauline Hanson's calls for those "from ethnic backgrounds to join *mainstream* Australia" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 10th September 1996, p. 3862 (Pauline Hanson)).

PM John Howard helped (re)orient Australian nationalism around whiteness. By reframing national identity around shared 'Australian values' stemming from Australia's Anglo-Celtic heritage and Judeo-Christian values, to which immigrants were expected to adhere, he re-articulated assimilation as integration (Johnson, 2007), (re)focusing the emphasis of multiculturalism onto national identity, with white paranoia at its core (Hage, 2003). This emphasis on Christian morality as an essential Australian trait, differentiated between white/European immigrants perceived as sharing a common Judeo-Christian value system, and immigrants from other cultures, whose racial difference was believed to signify moral difference and thus cultural difference and incompatibility (Stratton, 1999). The substitution of ethnicity for race resulted in a pluralism centred on culture while the legal and political structures remained British (Stratton, 1998). Where immigrants were permitted access, their contributions were limited to "cosmetic decoration" (Turner, 2008, p. 578). This draws on a long history of British ancestry being "associated with the 'core' or 'dominant' culture" with white Anglos holding "the reigns of cultural and economic power " (Forrest & Dunn, 2006, p. 213) perpetuating the privilege of the dominant, British-originating group. All of which has led some to question "whether the old White Australia has undergone a fundamental change of

heart or whether these changes were largely strategic, designed to preserve the privileges that White Australians had come to expect, but to avoid appearing racist and exclusionary in doing so" (Jayasuriya, Walker, & Gothard, 2003, p. 2). This question is a crucial one that the current research attempts to answer. Prior to this however, the chapter turns to the immigration history that accompanied the debates outlined above.

2.3 Immigration

This section outlines a brief history of the periods under study. Yet covering 165 years, this can only be partial, touching on the key points in relation to the findings of the research, with the aim of being to contextualise the analysis that follows in the data chapters. It commences with a brief overview of Chinese immigration from the 1850s, with the Chinese the focal point of negative metaphors. Following this, key aspects of the White Australia policy are outlined, with a particular emphasis on Italian immigration, which was the main focus for negative metaphors within the White Australia period.

The final section, covering the Multicultural period, is the most partial as in the decades since the end of the White Australia policy, there have been multiple, distinct movements of different groups of immigrants. Moreover, the Australian immigration system developed significantly in relation to both internal and external pressures, generating a wide range of anxieties. This section begins with a very brief overview of changing immigration patterns within this period. Following this, given that approximately 70% of threat metaphors in this period were applied to asylum seekers, a more detailed background of asylum seeker immigration is provided. While it can be argued that seeking asylum does not constitute immigration per se, the government has persistently framed it as a form of 'illegal' or 'economic' immigration. Furthermore, as this research will demonstrate, asylum seeker immigration has been

discursively constructed comparably to other forms of undesirable, racialised immigration. However, this section turns first to the early immigration of the Chinese.

2.3.1 Pre-Federation (1854–1900)

Large scale migration of Chinese to Australia began with the Gold Rushes of the 1850s. From only a couple of thousand in the early 1850s, numbers rose to 12,986 in NSW and 24,724 in Victoria by 1861[5] (Choi, 1975, p. 22). As a settler colony, predicated on the occupation and dispossession of Aboriginal lands, the arrival of the Chinese was not the first racially coded encounter of the colonists. Yet while the exclusion of the Chinese and segregation of Aboriginal peoples shared some similarities (Hollinsworth, 1998), with race the main category through which national identity was understood (Moran, 2005), settler relations with the two groups were fundamentally different, being structured around dominance of land with Aboriginal peoples while with the Chinese they were structured through concerns about labour (Wolfe, 2001).

Anti-Chinese sentiment was couched in terms of their difference and inferiority. Chinese generally travelled under a form of sponsorship[6] (Fitzgerald, 2007), with extensive familial obligations in China, sending money home and often leaving once they had finished working. They rarely brought women with them, instead living closely together and working long hours. While they often did not compete directly with the colonists, instead reworking old ground for minor yields, the miners nonetheless objected to their different methods of working, in particular their alleged wastage of water, although these objections are suspect as several anti-Chinese riots happened at times of water excess (Connolly, 1978). The Chinese were accused

[5] Total population in 1861 was: 539,764 for Victoria, 357,362 for NSW (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006).
6. The credit-ticket system.

of being practically slaves, with complaints about the unfair advantage accrued by their frugal and ‘clannish’ working and living style, and that they left with their wealth instead of returning it to the local economy (Choi, 1975; Markus, 1979; Price, 1974; Willard, 1967).

Comparisons to slavery linked the anti-Chinese movement with the pre-existing antipathy towards convict transportation. The anti-convict movement saw convict transportation, framed as a form of slavery, as incompatible with the establishment of a free society (Blackton, 1955), with widespread hostility to cheap labour (Price, 1974), convict or otherwise. While the vast majority of Chinese arrivals were in fact free, the linking of the Chinese with slavery was part of an ideological process by which they were disqualified from belonging within the free colonies (Fitzgerald, 2007).

Objections to the Chinese resulted in several anti-Chinese actions, with Chinese miners attacked and expelled from their diggings. Such disputes engendered a sense of camaraderie among miners (Price, 1974), with increased solidarity stemming from the exclusion of the Chinese (Cole, 1971a; Offner, 1988), resulting in a shift of loyalties from the old world to the new, and the appearance of a nascent nationalism (Blackton, 1955). One result of the anti-Chinese riots was the formation of anti-Chinese leagues, which played a significant role in anti-Chinese agitation, and the passing of restrictive legislation (Markus, 1979). While there was contemporaneous debate about the morality of such actions, based on notions of equity, humanitarianism and the abilities of the Chinese (Willard, 1967), over time, objections dwindled as a consensus developed on the inherent undesirability of the Chinese.

Post-gold rush, the numbers of Chinese in the colonies dropped dramatically (Choi, 1975). Anti-Chinese feeling in NSW and Victoria dissipated and restrictions on Chinese migration

were repealed. However, from the late 1870s there was a renewed surge in anti-Chinese rhetoric, particularly in Queensland where a seamen's strike against Chinese sailors gave the unions fresh momentum (Willard, 1967). While arguments were made that Chinese workers would supress white working class wages, such objections were never purely economic, as there were no suggestions the Chinese be paid comparable wages to Australians, with opposition also based on social, political and racial grounds (Curthoys, 1978). Consequently, the 1880s saw a resurgence in anti-Chinese sentiment in the eastern colonies, ostensibly due to a slight increase in Chinese numbers. Such changes were intimately bound up with the shift toward Federation, with racial ideology central to moves to define a distinct Australian national identity (Trainor, 1994). Despite an initial push in WA to import more Chinese labourers[7] to meet labour demands, the discovery of gold in 1885 brought WA into the fold (Price, 1974), with the colonies, through a series of intercontinental conferences, legislating jointly against any further arrival of Chinese.

Consequently, through the 1890s, the number of Chinese immigrants decreased. However, the numbers of other non-European migrants, in particular Afghans and Indians, increased.[8] Their presence generated similar anti-migrant discourses, with the new migrants seen as undesirable, incompatible and in need of restriction (Markey, 1978). Fears about the growing power of Japan and dissatisfaction with the 1894 Anglo-Japanese treaty were also significant, despite the small number of Japanese migrants[9] (Walker, 1999; Yarwood, 1964). Approaching Federation, there was increasing involvement by the trade unions, which controlled the White Australia Association, as well as the Labor party, both of which framed virulent anti-migration rhetoric in terms of labour protection, appealing to Australian workers as the builders of the

[7] Asian migrant labourers were widely described in the press and parliament as 'coolies' — a term now recognised as offensive.
[8] Accurate numbers of arrivals are hard to find as many were British subjects.
[9] Most of whom worked in the pearling industry.

new nation (Markus, 1979). Such claims were bolstered by the depression and general strikes of the 1890s (Trainor, 1994), with prejudice and economic interest harnessed together to effect political change (Offner, 1988). By the turn of the century, there was almost universal agreement as to the undesirability of any non-European immigration, paving the way for Federation and a White Australia.

2.3.2 White Australia (1901–1971)

The explicit exclusion of non-white races from Australia was accomplished by the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) (Palfreeman, 1967). Known as the White Australia policy, the legislation made no specific reference to race; exclusion was instituted via a dictation test of 50 words in any prescribed European language[10] — the preferred method of exclusion for the British government (Lake, 2008; Yarwood, 1958). Within the new Australian parliament, the dictation test was furiously contested, with the Labor party pushing for explicit prohibition while merchants and shipping interests opposed exclusion (Yarwood, 1958). Although originally specifying any European language, Japanese protests prompted the change (1905) to 'any prescribed language', although no non-European language was ever prescribed (Palfreeman, 1967).

Consequently, despite the Anglo-Japanese alliance (1901–1921), there remained fears in Australia about Asia, which intensified after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war (1905) (Cochrane, 2018; Lake, 2008). Japan was deeply offended by the White Australia policy, yet Australia was unwavering on total exclusion. Fears over Japan led Australia to enter the first World War, with Australian PM Billy Hughes (1916–1923) convinced that only through fighting, could they ensure the future of White Australia (Cochrane, 2018). Japan also

10. Which no-one passed after 1909.

fought, hoping their assistance would result in their recognition as equals and an easing of restrictions on the movement of Japanese nationals (Cochrane, 2018).

After the war, the Paris Peace Conference (1919) saw the inception of the League of Nations and the formulation of a covenant promoting international peace and security.[11] As part of the covenant, Japan desired the inclusion of a racial equality clause (Lake, 2008). Billy Hughes fought vehemently against this, convinced it would lead to challenges to the White Australia Policy (Lake, 2008; Langfield, 1999b). While leaders of other Dominion countries and the US were equally opposed to the clause, they happily let Australia take responsibility for its refusal (Brawley, 1995; Cochrane, 2018; Lake, 2008). The clause was defeated, and Billy Hughes returned home victorious (Cochrane, 2018), having successfully defended White Australia in the global arena.

Following this reassertion of the importance of White Australia, there was a renewed identification with Britishness in the 1920s, and a stronger emphasis on ties with the 'Mother Country'.[12] Britain was perceived as the most desirable source country for immigrants, with British immigration encouraged (Langfield, 1999b). Britain also wished to consolidate the Dominions into a self-sufficient Empire, with British subjects moving to the Dominions perceived as strengthening the Empire's outposts, and thousands of British settlers provided with free or subsidised passage to Australia (Langfield, 1999b). The 1920s and 1930s also saw greatly increased emphasis on purity of race and the protection against racial degeneration, with a conflation of whiteness with cleanliness (Carey, 2007). This purity was perceived as endangered by the arrival of Italians during the 1920s, generating widespread anxiety, resulting in amendments to the Immigration Act (1925), to limit Italian immigration (Tavan, 2005).

11. Signed 1920.
12. Wider Anglo-Saxon identification decreased after WW1 as Germans had become enemies (Lake, 2013).

Italians occupied a complicated position in Australia's racial hierarchy during this period. At the beginning of the twentieth century, they were permitted entry to Australia, yet their whiteness was suspect. From the late 1890s, Italians were seen as analogous to "Kanakas"[13] as a source of cheap, manual labour, with both at the bottom of the employment hierarchy (Andreoni, 2003; Dewhirst, 2008). Northern and southern Italians were believed to be distinct races, with the northern elites racially superior to the browner, poorer southerners (Dewhirst, 2008). Such distinctions originated in Italy, with Southern Italians framed as savage and criminal, and this degeneracy attributed to their racial ancestry (Pugliese, 2002); generally, the Italians recruited for labour in Australia were rural, southern peasants (Moraes-Gorecki, 1994).

After implementation of the Immigration Restriction Act (1901), Italians were sought after as manual labourers, particularly in Queensland and the North, yet their presence activated a host of racial anxieties. The lingering belief that white men were not adapted to work in tropical climates undermined Italian claims to whiteness (Dewhirst, 2008). After the assimilation of the Irish into the community of whiteness and the exclusion of Asians, Italians became the focus of racial concern, with their work practices, family values and skin colour all subject to critique (Dewhirst, 2008). As a source of cheap labour however, they were highly desirable to employers, but disliked by unions as a threat to Anglo-Celtic workers (Moraes-Gorecki, 1994). The changes to US immigration law in 1924, restricting Southern European migration, led to fears of increased numbers moving to Australia, precipitating further restrictions on 'White Aliens' entering Australia (Langfield, 1999a).

13. 'Kanakas' were Pacific Islanders brought to work in Queensland sugar plantations during the nineteenth century, whose presence was denigrated as a threat to White Australia. Legislation introduced in 1901 prohibited their immigration after 1904, and stipulated their deportation from 1906 (Hunt, 1978). While the term is sometimes used in Australia by descendants of Pacific Islanders to self-identify, the term is widely recognized elsewhere as offensive (Andreoni, 2009).

The second world war resulted in changes in the way the White Australia policy was perceived and implemented. Internationally, Japanese successes in the war severely eroded the prestige of whiteness within the Asian and colonial worlds (Lake, 2008). There was increased criticism of White Australia, particularly from Asian nations, which had a detrimental effect on Australian foreign relations, while the gaining of independence by a number of former colonies and their consequent formation of a voting block in the UN, applied further pressure on white settler colonies (Brawley, 1995; Tavan, 2005). Nevertheless, Australia maintained the policy, although this was articulated in terms of economic measures, with a downplaying of the term 'White Australia' (Tavan, 2005). Other countries implemented token quotas or legislation to give the appearance of greater racial openness, further isolating Australia (Brawley, 1995). Yet while some Australians, in particular the Communist party and some church leaders, questioned the policy, the majority remained supportive,[14] seeing it as symbolising the nation (Brawley, 1995; Tavan, 2005).

In order to sustain the white population, Australia embarked on a mass immigration program. The "Populate or Perish" mantra led to large numbers of European migrants and thousands of displaced persons (DPs) being accepted (Kirk, 2008). The aim was the preservation of some degree of racial homogeneity and the sustenance of the dominant British culture (Kirk, 2008; Walker, 2003). A policy of assimilation characterised this period, yet this was marked by ambivalence — imprinted within the absorption of Others was the underlying fear that whiteness itself might be lost (Elder, 2003). But while white migrants were accepted, non-white people were still excluded; 900 wartime refugees of Asian origins were targeted by the War-time Refugees Removal Bill, and forcibly repatriated when they refused to leave Australia.

14. A Gallup Poll in 1948 found 57% in favour of complete exclusion of non-Europeans (Tavan, 2005, p. 66).

Several high-profile cases garnered widespread attention (Palfreeman, 1967), with opposition, both internationally and from certain sections of the Australian press, to such rigid execution of the policy (Johanson, 1962; Tavan, 2005). However, Arthur Calwell, the Immigration Minister who oversaw the post-war migration program, was strongly pro-White Australia (Kirk, 2008) and adamant that there could be no exceptions (Palfreeman, 1967; Tavan, 2005).

The 1950s saw limited reforms made to the White Australia Policy, although Australia was still perceived negatively due to the racial connotations of its immigration policy (Brawley, 1995; Tavan, 2005). In 1958, the dictation test was abolished, and a few years later, restrictions on non-white migrants qualifying for naturalisation were eased (Kirk, 2008; Palfreeman, 1967). Yet results of these changes were not publicised for fears of a public backlash (Brawley, 1995; Tavan, 2005). The growing numbers of European migrants living in Australia by the late 1950s alongside the increasing importance of Japan and China as trading partners also drove a range of social and economic changes, with many increasingly questioning the policy (Tavan, 2005).

The Immigration Reform Group (IRG)[15] played a key role in highlighting growing dissatisfaction with the White Australia policy. A small group of professionals, based at Melbourne University, they focused on policy alternatives (Tavan, 2005). A pamphlet entitled *Control or Colour Bar,* published in 1960,[16] made the case for changing the policy, articulated around the policy's immorality, the detrimental cultural effects on Australia, and the harmful effects the policy had on Australia's international reputation, with the policy widely perceived as highly offensive (The Immigration Reform Group, 1962) and Australians seen as racist (Kirk, 2008). Advocating controlled non-discriminatory immigration, the IRG helped

15. Formed in 1959, their activities decreased by the mid 1960s, although they reformed in the late 1960s to write *Australia and the Non-White Migrant* (Tavan, 2005).
16. Published as a book in 1962.

precipitate growing domestic opposition to the policy (Tavan, 2005). In 1965 Labor officially withdrew its commitment to White Australia (Brawley, 1995), with the policy finally abolished after the Whitlam Government was elected in December 1972[17] (Brawley, 1995).

2.3.3 Multicultural Australia (1972–2018)

There have been substantial changes in the national origins of the immigrants Australia has admitted since the end of the White Australia Policy. Non-white immigration and population have increased consistently, particularly from Asia (Productivity Commission, 2016, p. 121), with the immigration program characterised by a much greater diversity of immigrants. During this period immigration policy changed in a number of ways.

A key point was the abolition of assisted passages, a form of social engineering designed to keep Australia white (Jupp, 2002), which brought 875,000 British and European immigrants to Australia during the 1960s (Jupp, 2002, p. 23). This was part of a wider shift in the engineering of society, away from assistance and towards processes of selection and exclusion (Jupp, 2002). Immigration applications moved to a points based system (introduced in 1979), followed by a change in emphasis from family reunion towards skilled migration implemented by the Coalition government from 1996 (Jupp, 2002), with skilled migration visa grants eclipsing family reunion visas from 1997–98, rising to double the number within ten years (Phillips, Klapdor, & Simon-Davies, 2010, p. 13). This marks a distinct change from the White Australia period, when there was an almost insatiable demand for any British immigrants, who were welcomed metaphorically as *kith and kin*.

17. The policy was fully dismantled by 1973.

The national origins of immigrants also changed, with increasing numbers of non-white immigrants. Despite this, the United Kingdom continued to be the biggest provider of immigrants until 1996, when it was overtaken by New Zealand (Jupp, 2002, p. 15). The highest percentage of overseas-born Australians still originate from England, although this has declined from 25.5% in 2001, to 17.7% in 2016, while the total percentage of overseas-born Australians rose in the same period from 21.7% to 26.3% (Simon-Davies, 2018, p. 6). During the 1970s and 1980s, most non-Australian born citizens came from Europe, with almost no non-European countries featuring in the top ten countries of origin for overseas-born Australians.[18] However, immigration from Asian countries increased from the 1990s resulting in six Asian countries[19] in the top ten by the 2016 census (Simon-Davies & McGann, 2018, p. 6). While such a profound shift in the composition of immigrants to Australia indicates a significant rupture with the White Australia policy, such changes have not been without issue.

These changing demographics of immigration were accompanied by a shift towards multiculturalism. Initially, multiculturalism engendered a range of policies and enterprises which emphasised the value of cultural difference, involving immigrant groups within the civic community, although it has been noted that these were conceived of as a means to manage migrant diversity rather than promote cultural retention (Jupp, 2002). Instead Australian multiculturalism was a nation building policy, focused on individuals rather than groups as the bearers of cultural identity and difference, being both "a policy for immigrants" and "a vision of a new kind of Australian society" (Moran, 2017, p. 169). The severing of many of the affective ties with the United Kingdom in the 1960s and 1970s and the "relatively sudden collapse of Britishness as a credible totem of civic and sentimental allegiance" (Curran & Ward,

18. In 1981, Lebanon featured, Vietnam featured in 1986 (Simon-Davies & McGann, 2018, p. 6) — both of these attributable to arrivals of refugees.
19. China, India, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Sri Lanka.

2010) had left Australia somewhat adrift. This resulted in a 'new nationalism' (Curran & Ward, 2010), with multiculturalism going some way towards filling that void (Moran, 2017), in a large part enabled by the European background of most immigrants at the onset of the policy, with multiculturalism initially concerned with the management of ethnic diversity within the white race (Moran, 2017; Stratton, 1999).

However, support for multiculturalism declined as the number of non-white immigrants increased. In addition, shifts towards deregulation, privatisation and neo-liberal forms of government from the 1980s resulted in increasingly insecure work conditions, decreased social support and changing class identifications, with these societal and economic changes increasingly conflated with immigration and race (Aslan, 2009; Castles, 1999; Hage, 2003; Paternoster, 2018). Geoffrey Blainey, a well-respected academic, received both extensive opprobrium and wide-spread support for his condemnation of Asian immigration in 1984, although it has been noted that what was exceptional was not his comments but the prominence these were given in the public sphere (Hage, 2003). Blainey's position was further legitimised by John Howard, then leader of the Opposition, in 1988 when he suggested that Asian immigration needed to be slowed to allow greater "absorption". While his statement initially lost him the leadership of his party, his stance marked the end of bipartisan support for multiculturalism as policy (Jupp, 2002), resulting in a return to prominence of what Hage has named 'paranoid nationalism' (2003, p. 64).

Yet despite the rebranding of multiculturalism as 'Australian multiculturalism', focused on 'Australian values' under John Howard's government (1996–2007), the reduction in official multicultural policy and institutions, and the retreat from much of the associated political rhetoric and symbolism, multiculturalism remains a feature of Australian society (Moran,

2017). Research suggests that for many Australians, multiculturalism and diversity remains a focus for how they perceive Australia, although notably such diversity is conceived of in terms of individuals rather than groups, with the latter arousing suspicion (Brett & Moran, 2006). It has been argued that “the resilience of Australian multiculturalism, and its public acceptance, is related to the way that it has emphasised unity along with diversity and successfully combined multiculturalism with the commitment to an increasingly open and inclusive national identity” (Moran, 2017, p. 271). The extent to which Australian national identity is indeed ‘open and inclusive’ is one of the foci of this research. However, one aspect of immigration where there has often been a vociferous lack of openness and inclusivity has been for asylum seekers who arrive by boat. Thus, it is to the history of asylum seeker arrivals that the chapter turns to next.

2.3.4 Asylum Seekers

Immediately post-WW2, Australia accepted 170,000 Displaced Persons (DPs) from European camps, constituting the largest group of non-British immigrants in such a limited time frame (Jupp, 2002, p. 12). Since then, Australia has accepted several thousand refugees annually through the UNHCR resettlement program, in addition to issuing several thousand more visas under a separate Special Humanitarian Program (SHP), often to relatives of those already settled in Australia (Karlsen, 2016). However, Australia’s openness to accepting refugees was challenged with the arrival of asylum seeker boats from Vietnam in 1976, known as the first *wave.*[20] While approximately 2000 Vietnamese arrived by boat between 1976 and 1982 (Betts, 2001), over 15,000 were resettled directly from camps as part of a program instituted by PM Malcolm Fraser’s government, intended to discourage asylum seekers from travelling by boat (Mares, 2002; Marr & Wilkinson, 2003). Despite this, the overwhelming image of Vietnamese

20. A standardised metaphor to describe immigration. Discussed in more detail in section 7.3.1.

refugees was of 'boat people' arriving en masse on the north coast (Elder, 2003). The boat arrivals were intensely political, coinciding with an election in December 1977, with opinion polls suggesting that the majority of people[21] believed that arrivals should be limited or stopped (Betts, 2001, p.40). Yet the Fraser government focused on regulating as opposed to stopping the asylum seekers, and the government's rhetoric was substantially more sympathetic than later governments (Peterie, 2016).

The second *wave* of asylum seeker boats,[22] mainly from China and Cambodia, averaged 300 arrivals per year (Betts, 2001, p.36). In response, the government instituted a policy of mandatory detention for all arrivals, opening a detention centre in Port Hedland (1991) (Jupp, 2002. Temporary protection visas (TPVs) were also instituted (1990) for Chinese students affected by the Tiananmen Square massacre (1989), although this system was abolished in 1992 with the affected students granted permanent residency (Jupp, 2002). While TPVs were re-instituted in 1996 after the election of the Coalition government, for most asylum seekers, temporary protection was replaced by permanent residence once successful in their applications.

This third *wave*, coming predominantly from Afghanistan and Iraq, commenced in 1999, with greatly increased numbers.[23] The origins of the asylum seekers resulted in their conflation with existing anti-Islamic sentiment in Australia, focused on Muslim criminality and deviance, particularly in several Sydney suburbs (Poynting, 2002). When the *Tampa*, a Norwegian ship with 438 rescued asylum seekers on board, entered Australia waters, PM John Howard prevented them from landing, sending the SAS to intercept them, and creating an international

21. 80% in 1977, 90% in 1979.
[22] Beginning in 1989, lasting approximately 10 years.
23. Over 8,000 between 1999 and 2001 (Hugo, 2002, p. 34).

outcry in the process (Mares, 2002; Marr and Wilkinson, 2003). Despite this, domestically, his actions met with widespread bipartisan approval, which increased after the US terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001. In the post 9/11 environment, the government conflated asylum seekers with terrorism, articulating restrictions on their immigration within the context of the global war on terror. Consequently, a host of restrictive immigration measures, named the Pacific Solution, were instituted, including off-shore processing of asylum-seeker claims, the excision of several islands from Australia's migration zone, and a military operation (Operation Relex) with boat 'pushbacks' aimed at preventing boats from reaching Australian waters (Hugo, 2002; Mares, 2002; Marr & Wilkinson, 2003). The government retroactively legalised its actions with 'Border Protection' legislation alongside amendments to existing legislation (Every & Augoustinos, 2008b).

Following the election of a Labor government in 2007, the Pacific Solution was repealed, with the closure of offshore processing facilities (Phillips & Spinks, 2013). However, an increase in asylum seeker arrivals[24] meant that by 2012, asylum seekers were again a focus of political discourse. Within this period, anti-asylum seeker discourse was articulated in terms of stopping people smuggling and preventing deaths at sea,[25] and was used to justify a militarised response (Little & Vaughan-Williams, 2017; Peterie, 2017). Paralleling the Pacific Solution in 2001, this political discourse was conducted in terms of national security, again culminating in a militarized operation, Operation Sovereign Borders, implemented by the newly elected Coalition Government in 2013. In addition, legislation was enacted that ensured that no asylum seekers arriving by boat would be allowed to settle in Australia (McKay, Hall, & Lippi, 2017).

24. 17,204 in 2012 (Phillips, 2017, p. 3).
25. Border Crossing Observatory estimate 1,184 asylum seekers died between 2009 and 2013(Weber, Randolf, & Powell, 2019, p. 1).

2.4 The Media

This final section turns to the press covered within this study. The media plays a crucial role within the formulation of discourses surrounding national identity (Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl, Rodger, & Liebhart, 2009). Research shows that the media in Australia have traditionally been characterized by a number of features, being almost exclusively white controlled, with a distinct lack of representation by non-white minorities, be they Indigenous or immigrant (Jakubowicz et al., 1994). Despite increasing numbers of non-white immigrants over recent decades, a 2020 report found that over 75% of presenters, commentators and reporters on free-to-air networks have an Anglo-Celtic background, while only 11% have an Indigenous or non-European background.[26] When counting ethnicity by number of appearances, the presence of non-European or Indigenous presenters shrinks to 6%. Moreover, 100% of national news directors have an Anglo-Celtic background, and 97% of senior news management staff are white (Anglo-Celtic or European) (Media Diversity Australia, 2020).

This lack of access to the production of media content can, and does, lead to the perpetuation of negative stereotypes of non-white peoples, as well as the consolidation of specific representations of Australian-ness that maintain certain idea(l)s, whilst excluding others (Jakubowicz et al., 1994). Whilst the research done so far provides illuminating snapshots of how the media functions in this manner (Jakubowicz et al., 1994; O' Doherty & Augoustinos, 2008), there has been no thorough mapping of how these discourses have been repeatedly, and specifically mobilized by the media throughout Australia's history, as part of an ongoing process national identity creation. Discourses about race and migration link to earlier

[26] Numbers of non-white presenters are inflated by the inclusion of SBS, a channel providing multicultural and multilingual services.

discourses; it is from these that they derive much of their authority, and it is for this reason their historical specificity and linkages are of importance (Fairclough, 2003).

Despite the historical linkages between migration discourses, the actual language used to construct immigrants was subject to change (Laurie, 2004). However certain expressions, in particular metaphors such as *invasion* and *influx,* have not only persisted but have become conventionalised to the point of normalcy. This is particularly relevant, as research shows that when particular readings of a metaphor become socially established, other potential readings are limited (Charteris-Black, 2004), the relational crossover implied by such metaphoric association become normalised and the semantic associations become confirmed (Santa Ana, 2002); thus it becomes 'normal' to think of immigrants as *invaders*.

2.4.1 The Press

Newspapers are of particular interest when it comes to the (re)production of discourse around ethnic groups. Research has shown that the vast majority of 'facts' that people draw on for legitimacy in their everyday communication about this topic are drawn from media reports, not based on personal experience with van Dijk concluding:

> Even when the media do not formulate negative opinions themselves, they provide a definition of the ethnic situation that makes such negative inferences not only possible but also plausible. In this way, they both pre-formulate prejudice and reinforce the partial models of the ethnic situation that are acquired by personal experiences, hearsay, and socialization (van Dijk, 1987, p. 46).

The effect of circulating or enabling negative stories is that it legitimizes restrictions, making such actions defensible.

News is neither neutral nor natural but is socially constructed, according to a widely shared and accepted set of 'news values', through which the 'newsworthiness' of a story is established (Hall, 1978). In addition, partly due to time and economic constraints and partly due to concerns with 'objectivity' and 'fact', news is heavily dependent on sources, either official government or industry sources or elite individuals with privileged access to the media (Fowler, 1991; Fulton, 2005; Hall, 1978; van Dijk, 1987). Van Dijk's work on the reporting of race in newspapers in the UK clearly elucidates the link between newspapers and "the institutional reproduction of racism" (2015, p. 23). He traces the strategies by which the press helps to legitimise the dominance of a specific group, namely the white and powerful, and demonstrates how, through control of the means of representation as well as privileged access to said representation, elites within society dictate and shape the agenda by which news is set. Viewing print news as a discourse that continually reproduces ideology, he demonstrates how the ideology that is reproduced reflects and shapes the dominant ideology within society, and functions to maintain discriminatory social structures in a way that would not be overtly possible (van Dijk, 2015). Santa Ana's work on metaphor is also underpinned by an understanding of the press as naturalising "the institutionally legitimated view" of social issues (2002, p. 53). It is this understanding of the press that engendered the choice of press reports as a source of corpus.

It is also the press' role in discourses of nationalism that makes them a prime source of data. Newspapers, through the private yet multiply replicated ceremony of their reading, help to configure the national imaginary (Anderson, 1991). This function extends further than even the choice of story or the perspectives from which they are framed with Anderson concluding that: "the very conception of the newspaper implies refraction of even 'world events' into a specific

imagined world of vernacular readers" (Anderson, 1991, p. 63). Newspapers then both construct and are constructed by the community in which they are embedded.

The backgrounds of the newspapers focused on are outlined below. However, this study is not focused on media power or on demonstrating the ideological underpinnings of news discourse within individual newspapers. Instead, drawing on the recognition of the press as productive of news discourse, with this both ideological and institutional (Santa Ana 2002; van Dijk 2015), the following section demonstrates that the chosen newspapers were/are widely read, established press, and are thus a reliable source of corpus.

2.4.2 The Sydney Morning Herald

Founded in 1831, *The Sydney Morning Herald*[27] *(SMH)* is the oldest, continually running newspaper in Australia. Bought in 1841 by Charles Kemp and John Fairfax, from 1853 it was the sole property of the Fairfax family, marking the beginning of a press dynasty that lasted until 2011 when the Fairfax family sold the last of their shares in the media company that bore their name. John Fairfax was a committed Protestant Christian, who supported the British Monarchy, middle class values and free market capitalism, with his personal values suffusing the paper he helmed (Souter, 1992). During the pre-Federation times, *The SMH* was a staunch supporter of the established order, strongly supportive of landholders and merchants and opposed to universal male suffrage (Young, 2019), with its conservatism leading to it being nickname 'Granny' in the 1850s (Souter, 1992, p.32). Although it prided itself on being free from political propaganda, it was generally perceived as a Liberal paper, and was strongly anti-Labor when the party was established, calling the it the nation's "greatest peril" (Young, 2019, p. 42).

27. Originally called The Sydney Herald, its name changed in 1842.

This anti-Labor bias continued through most of the twentieth century, with *The SMH* only backing Labor once in a Federal Election, prior to its support of Bob Hawke in 1984,[28] and never supporting them in State elections (Bowman, 1988). Despite repeated insistence that *The SMH* was not a Liberal paper, the Fairfaxes, for the most part, were politically and socially aligned with the Liberals, although their professed philosophy were "liberal principles in a free market society" (Bowman, 1988, p. 117), rather than pro-Liberal party. For the greater part of *The SMH's* existence, there was a Fairfax at the head of the Fairfax company, and their political views and priorities were therefore often the views and priorities of the paper (Bowman, 1988). This ongoing Liberal affiliation may be a reason why, when Labor were in power (Bob Hawke (PM 1983–91) then Paul Keating (PM 1991–96)), despite *The SMH* supporting Hawke's bid for PM, Labor developed a much stronger affinity with Rupert Murdoch, failing to intervene when, in 1987, he wrested control of 60–70% of capital city newspaper circulation (Bowman, 1988; Manne, 2013).

In terms of influence, from the 1920s *The SMH* retained almost all of Sydney's classified ads, making it a veritable gold mine (Souter, 1992). Fairfax's influence continued to grow through the 1950s, during which period it diversified, acquiring new newspapers, magazines, as well as moving into television and radio (Souter, 1992). From the 1960s, it began to be overtaken by more progressive press, becoming seen as increasingly conservative under the stewardship of Warwick Fairfax. However, it remained influential, gaining partial and finally full control of Melbourne's *The Age* between 1966 and 1984 (Souter, 1992). *The SMH* fought strongly against Murdoch's bid for *HWT (Herald and Weekly Times),* although they were unsuccessful in stopping him (Souter, 1992). Murdoch's increased power, alongside an attempt by Warwick

28. It supported Arthur Calwell in 1961.

Fairfax Jr in 1987 to reinstate family control over *The SMH* by re-privatising the newspaper (which ended in receivership in late 1990), weakened the company and marked the end of the Fairfax family's direct control of the paper (Souter, 1992) although Fairfax Media retained control. In 2018, Fairfax Media and the Nine Entertainment Company merged into one company known as Nine, now the biggest domestic media company in Australia (McDuling, 2018). In addition, *The SMH* changed format to tabloid in 2013 (Souter, 2013). Since the 1980s, the paper has increasingly targeted a younger market (Souter, 1992), and is now seen as generally centrist politically (Glynn, 2016), having backed both the Coalition and Labor at elections over the last 30 years, including backing Labor's Bill Shorten in his failed attempt to win the 2019 Federal Election. As the most progressive of the newspapers covered in this study, *The SMH* has nonetheless been fairly consistently aligned with the business and political classes as opposed to any real working-class concerns.

2.4.3 The Argus

Established in Melbourne in 1846, just 12 years after the founding of the city, *The Argus* was the premier newspaper of its time (Dunstan, 2003). Initially fairly radical, and sympathetic towards miners' issues, its stance began to shift after the Eureka Stockade rebellion in 1854, when a number of miners died (Young, 2019). It rapidly developed into a much more conservative newspaper, known as 'The Times of the Southern Hemisphere', and was recognised as Australia's leading newspaper in terms of both status and quality (Dunstan, 2003). Much like the *SMH*, it was also an Anglophile newspaper, supportive of the British monarchy and the established order, in particular the wealthy elite (Dunstan, 2003; Young, 2019).

Reliant on steamships for overseas news, colonial newspapers engaged in ‘time wars’, with each struggling to publish more recent news than their rivals. The establishment of a telegraphic link between Europe and Australia in 1872, while costing a substantial amount to use, greatly increased the commercial value of up-to-date, exclusive news (Putnis, 2010). However, the costs of telegraphic news, provided further justification for the maintenance of *The Argus* as an elite publication (Cryle, 2003). *The Argus*’ shift to the right after Eureka had left a political vacuum that was swiftly filled by *The Age*, an ongoing rival. But despite losses in circulation, *The Argus* remained successful for the first decades of the twentieth century. However, financial losses and a subsequent change in format from broadsheet to tabloid led to the newspaper being sold and finally closed in 1957 (Dunstan, 2003). Despite this, *The Argus* was undoubtedly one of the premier newspapers of its time.

2.4.4 The West Australian

Founded in 1833, *The West Australian* is the second oldest newspaper in continuous publication in Australia (Battye, 1985). Originally called *The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal,* it was published by Charles Macfaull although, with a population of only 4,547 for the entire state of Western Australia in 1846, the circulation was limited (Battye, 1985). Upon Macfaull’s death, the newspaper passed to the Shenton family, who ran it until Arthur Shenton’s death in 1871. Following this, the newspaper was run by a syndicate of business men, with the name changed to *The West Australian Times* in 1874 (Bolton, 2009). In 1879, the name was changed to *The West Australian,* and it was acquired by Mr Charles Harper (Mercer, 1958) becoming a morning daily in 1885 (Bolton, 2009). However, it was the involvement of Sir Winthrop Hackett as partner from 1883, and editor from 1887, that had the most influence on the direction of the newspaper (Battye, 1985).

Hackett's aim was to elevate *The West Australian* to the same standing as *The Argus* and *The Sydney Morning Herald.* To achieve this, he oversaw consistent technical and structural improvements to the newspaper (Battye, 1985). As a result, by the 1890s, *The West Australian* was WA's premier newspaper, a role it retains to this day. After Hackett's death in 1916, the newspaper was managed by his estate until its purchase in 1926 by West Australian Newspapers Ltd. (Bolton, 2009). The company was taken over by the Herald and Weekly Times (HWT) in 1969, with *The West Australian* being sold to Robert Holmes a Court's Bell Group in 1987 as part of the deal that allowed Rupert Murdoch to take control of HWT (Bolton, 2009; Bowman, 1988). While the Bell Group was sold to Alan Bond in 1988, his financial issues resulted in *The West Australian* being passed to a public company, West Australian Newspapers Holdings (WAN), in 1992 (Bolton, 2009). WAN merged with Seven Media Group in 2011 resulting in Seven West Media, one of Australia's largest media companies.

In its early years, *The Perth Gazette* was perceived as being a mouthpiece for the government's point of view and seen as rather staid (De Garis, 1981), being characterised by a rival paper in 1837 as "of sombre taste and singular dullness… the tool of a party who considered it better to say nothing than tell the truth" (quoted in Hay, 1981, p. 604). Upon taking ownership, Charles Harper's intention for the newspaper was "to make it the public spearhead of all activities designed to promote the development of the State and, particularly, the development of the agricultural and pastoral industries" (Mercer, 1958, p. 198). Unlike many other press proprietors, Harper respected the distinction between proprietor and editor, with the two roles mostly co-existing harmoniously (Mercer, 1958). By the 1890s, *The West Australian* was highly influential "expressing a balanced and sober conservatism" (Bolton, 2009, p. 918). This tradition continued with a report in 1959 finding the paper to be "in general sympathy with Liberal aims" (Mayer, 1968). The newspaper remains reasonably conservative in tone due to

both its connections with the business community in WA (Seven West is based in Perth) and its strong advertising base (Bolton, 2009).

2.4.5 The Australian

Founded in Canberra by Rupert Murdoch in 1964, *The Australian* is the youngest, and arguably most controversial newspaper in this study. Intended as the first properly national paper for Australia, the paper focused on attaining a broad, liberal readership, rather than specialising in regional politics (Cryle, 2008), rapidly becoming one of the three major broadsheets in Australia (the others were *SMH* and *The Age*) (Glynn, 2016). *The Australian* has become the most influential newspaper for the political classes, with even its most fervent detractors seeing it as too powerful to disregard (Manne, 2013). The paper's journey to the key role it now occupies was due to the force of its proprietor, Rupert Murdoch. Unlike other newspapers, which may have some semblance of distance between the editorial staff and proprietor, Murdoch's control of the direction and content of the newspapers in his News Corp. Group is legendary (Manne, 2011). For example, a Guardian investigation discovered that all 175 Murdoch titles around the world had an editorial line in support of the Iraq invasion of 2003, reflecting Murdoch's own position on the issue (Manne, 2011). Speaking of *The Australian,* Robert Manne says: "It is an unusually ideological paper, committed to advancing the causes of neoliberalism in economics and neoconservatism in the sphere of foreign policy"(Manne, 2011, p. 3). But it was not always so.

Through the late 1960s, and into the beginning of the 1970s, *The Australian* was a liberal newspaper, known for progressive views on race and colonialism, being vigorously opposed to the Vietnam War, as well as for supporting female journalists and hiring the first Aboriginal journalist. It also had a strong focus on arts and culture, with a dedicated team of cultural

commentators, as well as a propensity to push back against censorship laws, both State and Federal (Cryle, 2008). Much of this liberal attitude has been credited to the influence of the editor, Adrian Deamer and, while such views caused tension with Murdoch, they resonated with much of the paper's younger readership (Cryle, 2008). However, Deamer was fired by Murdoch in 1971, and from the mid 1970s, the paper began to shift further to right, with Murdoch's views increasingly prominent. The paper's vehement anti Whitlam coverage over the 1975 Federal Election led Whitlam to accuse Murdoch of interference, a charge he denied. Nonetheless, journalists at the paper went on strike in December 1975 protesting "very deliberate and blatant bias in the presentation of the news" (Cryle, 2008, p. 139). While the strike was resolved, the criticism of Gough Whitlam continued until his resignation in 1977 (Cryle, 2008).

After the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the paper fully embraced Cold War and anti-union rhetoric (Cryle, 2008, 2012), and by the 1980s, the paper was a bastion of US conservatism. Despite his conservative leanings, Murdoch was still willing to support Labor[29] when it suited his interests. It was Labor NSW Premier Neville Wran (1976–86) who, on establishing Lotto, made Kerry Packer[30] and Rupert Murdoch two of the three partners responsible for running Lotto; in return both men supported Wran in their papers (Bowman, 1988). While it was Malcolm Fraser's Liberal government (1975–1983) which brought in special legislation, known as the Murdoch amendment, to allow Murdoch to continue owning television licences when he was resident overseas (Bowman, 1988), it was Bob Hawke's Labor government (1983–1991) which oversaw Murdoch's takeover of *HWT* group. Although there were new measures introduced to prevent cross media ownership of both television and press within any capital region, the legislation did nothing to stop the consolidation of two-thirds of the nation's

29. He supported Gough Whitlam in 1972, before turning away from him in the following election.
30. Another influential newspaper proprietor.

press within the hands of one man, who by that point was no longer an Australian citizen (Bowman, 1988; Manne, 2011).

This concentration of power has not limited Murdoch's tendency to promote his own political worldview. Instead, the force of Murdoch's ideological beliefs are expressed more strongly than ever (Manne, 2011). While *The Australian* was strongly supportive of PM John Howard (1996–2007), in particular his economic policies, as well as his uptake of 'culture war battles' against the political left, the newspaper also at times ran stories detrimental to him, for example, breaking the truth of the Children Overboard scandal[31] (Manne, 2011). For the most part, however, Howard could rely on Murdoch support. While initially tentatively supportive of Labor PM Kevin Rudd (2007–2010), the paper later campaigned voraciously against him, playing a key role in his downfall (Manne, 2011). He also 'waged a protracted war' on the legitimacy of PM Julia Gillard's (2010–13) minority government (Cryle, 2012, p.42), and is highly combative towards anyone who dares to criticise him (Cryle, 2012).

What has become clear is that Murdoch supports a neoliberal form of governance, that allows greater concentration of wealth and power in the hands of private individuals, with less governmental control, and consistently supports those politicians that he sees as most willing to provide him with this, although he downplays the extent of his influence (Bowman, 1988). Furthermore, the extent of his reach and power means that both sides of the political spectrum are fearful of crossing him (Bowman, 1988). All of which has led Robert Manne to conclude that: "in the guise of a traditional broadsheet newspaper, *The Australian* has turned itself into a player in national politics without there being any means by which its actions can be held to account" (Manne, 2011, p. 114). Thus, while a relative newcomer when compared to the other

31. Howard government ministers made claims, later proven to be false, that asylum seekers had thrown their children overboard to force their rescue (Mares, 2002; Marr & Wilkinson, 2003).

papers within the study, as the foremost national newspaper, the inclusion of *The Australian* was essential.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided background on the forms of racialised discourse that existed within Australia over the study period. While this changed over time, the issue of race has consistently been both fundamental and problematic. I then provided an outline of immigration history and discourse, outlining some of the links between race, immigration and nationalism. Finally, I outlined the historical context of the press as the main source of corpus within this project. All of these aspects are essential to keep in mind for the analysis that follows as they help to situate the results within their wider social and historical contexts. Prior to this though, the thesis turns to the theoretical background of the research.

Chapter 3 Theoretical background

3.1 Introduction

This is a sociological study examining the use of metaphors within several leading Australian newspapers over a 165-year period, The aim is to explore how metaphors are used to construct immigrants as external and Other, alongside the intersections that exist between race, immigration and the nation. The project builds on previous work on metaphor yet, due to the sociological focus of the research and the time span covered, it also diverges from previous studies, resulting in a novel synthesis of methods, using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to integrate Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) within a sociological framework, which allows metaphors to be examined within their wider social, historical and political contexts. Moreover, the extended time period allows for a diachronic study of how certain metaphors have evolved within the Australian context, which can help account for their ongoing resonance.

The aim of this chapter is to lay out the theoretical background of the research, with particular focus on the critical aims. The chapter begins by outlining the methodological approach of the research, situating this in both the approaches to research and its epistemological foundations. Following this, the analytical framework is outlined, with an account of both Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) and some key analytical foci of CDA, both of which are combined to form the analytical basis for the research. The final section turns to the intersections between discourse, ideology and power, which are integral in all approaches to CDA, with a specific focus on Bourdieu, whose work underpins the wider sociological analysis of this study.

3.2 Methodological approach

3.2.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is social research conducted through a study of language, both written and spoken, with the aim of understanding language within its social context. Analysis may include detailed linguistic analysis of texts, or may be conducted more broadly, not just by linguists, but by researchers from a range of disciplines, including social sciences, education and the humanities (Fairclough, 2003; Johnstone, 2017). Discourse here can be understood as "meaningful symbolic behaviour. Discourse is language-in-action" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2), with the aim of analysis being to decode this symbolism. This symbolic focus differentiates discourse analysis from language analysis in that, rather than studying language as an abstract system, there is an emphasis on the knowledge of language that people utilise in their language use (Johnstone, 2017). Discourse analysis can be used to answer questions about linguistic features and structures, social relations, communication and more, while the analysis itself can focus on micro-structures, such as words or phrases, or meta structures, i.e. aspects such as narrative or persuasive discourse. Furthermore, it can encompass both qualitative and quantitative approaches, or a combination of the two, but is predominantly focused on actual instances of language use as opposed to an ideal type (Johnstone, 2017).

While many forms of discourse analysis are purely focused on linguistic analysis, within the social sciences, there has been an increasing emphasis on a critical perspective as a means to answer questions about power and how it functions (Fairclough, 2003; Johnstone, 2017). Such perspectives often draw on an understanding of discourse as not just an element of social life, but as "a site of meaningful social differences, of conflict and struggle" with a concern for the "social-structural effects" this entails (Blommaert, 2005, p. 4). In this context, discourse can be understood both "as itself (part of) social practice, discourse as a form of action, as

something people do to or for or with each other” as well as “in the Foucauldian sense, discourse as a way of representing social practice(s), as a form of knowledge, as the things people say about social practice(s)” (van Leeuwen, 1993, p. 193). It is this dual focus of discourse that forms the basis of critical discourse analysis, and the foundation for this research.

3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

This research project takes a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodological approach. CDA, despite its name, is not a specified method of discourse analysis. Rather, it refers to a diverse range of both analytical approaches and objects of analysis. However, several common features can be identified: a focus on issues of power and dominance, alongside a problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach, and a critical commitment (Fairclough, 1998; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). As an explicitly political practice, focused on revealing the exercise and maintenance of dominance and power by elites through discourse, CDA allows for the interrogation of texts[1] in terms of the functions they serve and the ideologies they embody (van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2003). A key concept is power, understood here as social power, located in privileged access to resources and manifested in control of both action and cognition (van Dijk, 1993). Power has implications not just for what people do but also for how they think, with power manifested in “persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to *change the mind of others in one's own interests”* (van Dijk, 1993, p. 254 emphasis in original). Thus, through the exercise of power, dominance can be legitimised, and unequal power relations naturalised.

1. Fairclough defines texts as: “Written and printed texts…transcripts of (spoken) conversations and interviews… television programmes and web- pages. We might say that any actual instance of language in use is a ‘text’ — though even that is too limited, because texts such as television programmes involve not only language but also visual images and sound effects” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3).

CDA combines specific linguistic analysis of texts with a focus on the "'order of discourse', the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). Hence, language is examined as a form of social practice, one seen as both constituted by and constitutive of social reality (Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl, Rodger, & Liebhart, 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). This focus on language as a form of discourse, imbued with social power, is what differentiates CDA from other forms of discourse analysis that focus more on specific linguistic analysis without reference to the wider social and ideological contexts of its usage. Instead, the interplay between language and power are integral to any approach of CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2016); relations of power are central, with language and social power entwined in multiple ways (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). When considering the role of language in shaping discourses around migration, such a focus in of utmost importance as it allows for the interrogation of the exercise of power within the creation of the migrant out-group.

A prime focus for CDA has been news discourse as a key site for the enactment of social power and the discursive (re)creation of difference, particularly with regards to race and immigration (van Dijk, 1998, 2015). News discourse is seen as distinct from advertising or entertainment, however it does encompass "the broad range of stories, features, and genres that makes up 'news'" (Cotter, 2001, p. 417). News plays a crucial role in the "construction of the dominant consensus" with news media one of the key providers of "the public discourse in which everyday conversations are coherently embedded" (van Dijk, 1987, p. 40). Public and private discourse are mutually sustaining: "The mass media reproduce and reconstruct the ethnic attitudes and discourses of social members and groups, and, conversely, everyday talk presupposes and refers to the many forms of public discourse that are produced by the many

institutions of society" (van Dijk, 1987, p. 40). Thus, the mass media play a key role in the (re)production of discourses around immigration and race.

News texts are of interest as they encode "values and ideologies that impact on and reflect the larger world" (Cotter, 2001, p. 416). This is particularly true for "socially and ideologically prominent topics" leading van Dijk to conclude "because the media provide the daily discourse input for most adult citizens, their role as prevailing discourse and attitude context for thought and text about ethnic groups is probably unsurpassed by any other institutional or public source of communication" (van Dijk, 1987, p. 41). Much of van Dijk's work examines the strategies through which social power is exercised, especially concerning immigrants, with a focus on "the sometimes subtle role of news discourse in the maintenance and legitimation of ethnic inequality in society" (van Dijk, 2015, p. xii). Thus, the press is often a focus for CDA, with this accounting for the choice of press reports as a source of corpus.

3.3 Approaches to research

In order to undertake critical discourse analysis, it is necessary to identify the theories of the social world which inform the approach to analysis. In my case this is embedded within critical theory, in which the construction of social reality is linked to power, and is inherently unequal, privileging certain powerful groups whilst disadvantaging and marginalising others. Understanding how this inequality is obscured, naturalised and reproduced within social practice is fundamental to critical theory, with Harvey summarising the critical analytic process as "one of deconstructing taken-for-granted concepts and theoretical relationships by asking how these taken-for-granted elements actually relate to wider oppressive structures and how these legitimate and conceal their oppressive mechanisms" (Harvey, 1990, p. 32).

Critical theory originates from the work of the Frankfurt School, a group of scholars associated with the Institute for Social Research in 1930s Germany comprising, among others, Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin, and later Jurgen Habermas (Hudson, 2011). Critical theory has an agenda of social change, particularly regarding unmasking the workings of the dominant ideologies within a given society. Within CDA, the ontological underpinning of critical theory is often critical realism (Fairclough, 2005). Critical realism stems from the work of Bhaskar (Bhaskar, 2008), and makes a clear distinction between ontology, which refers to the nature of reality, and epistemology, our knowledge of reality. Despite the social world being socially constructed, individuals may have partial or situated knowledge of it as it is pre-constructed, existing prior to our involvement in it. It is therefore essential to avoid the 'epistemic fallacy' of confusing epistemology with ontology (Bhaskar, 2008; Fairclough, 2005), as our knowledge of reality is not necessarily congruent with the nature of reality. Critical realism then aims to understand and explain social processes and events as their underlying function is often concealed (Fairclough, 2005). Critical realist research is therefore most commonly aligned with qualitative research methods as a means to engage with the deeper insight into social life that language can provide (Price & Martin, 2018).

That is not to suggest that because this research is located within a critical realist paradigm it is wedded solely to qualitative methods. In fact, this research takes a mixed methods approach which sees both qualitative and quantitative methods as complementary, with the research questions driving the methods chosen as opposed to any inbuilt methodological bias (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005). As my research questions were concerned with both what the main metaphors for constructing migrants were, and then an examination of how and why these functioned, it was necessary to incorporate a mixed methods approach. The rationale for choosing such an approach was 'development', which refers to the results of one method of

analysis informing the next, and was one of the 5 purposes of mixed methods identified by Green, Caracelli and Graham (quoted in (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005, p. 384). Thus, when conducting analysis, I began with quantitative analysis to discover the frequency of metaphors, which then provided the basis for further, qualitative analysis of the more common metaphors. While the bulk of the analysis conducted was qualitative, the initial quantitative analysis was key to identifying the metaphors for qualitative analysis. Furthermore, the inclusion of the quantitative component enhanced the external validity of the study as the basis for qualitative analysis of metaphor was data, not researcher, driven. The orientation to theory was abductive, moving between data and theory (Wodak, 2002, p. 70), with the aim of both generating a theory to account for the results encountered, whilst also verifying hypotheses that arose from this (May, 2010).

A further component of a critical approach to research is the view that researchers themselves are not the detached, impartial observers that more positivist theorists believe (Corbetta, 2003). This theory of knowledge known as 'standpoint epistemology' rejects methodological approaches focused on the creation of impartial, unbiased knowledge as unfeasible (Hudson, 2011). All researchers approach their subject with certain inherent beliefs and biases which influence the topics they choose to study, the questions they ask and the interpretations they make. The proposed research project is no different. Discourse analysis is a critical practice with a political agenda; within it there is a commitment to social change, and a belief that the potential for research is, by laying bare the inequalities of social structures and the practices that sustain them, to enable a reimagining of the social order, or some form of social change (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 2015). As Frankenberg says: "Knowledge about a situation is a critical tool in dismantling it" (1993, p. 10).

Within this research there is both a political orientation and a personal one. My own positioning is as a mixed-race, double immigrant — born to an immigrant family in the UK, I have since emigrated to Australia. Growing up in the UK during the 1980s, being called a ‘Paki’ and told to ‘go home’ was a daily occurrence. My not actually being from Pakistan was inconsequential — ‘Paki’ was a generic term of abuse for all brown immigrants at that time, which encapsulated an entire discourse of Otherness, inferiority and disgust, summarised by Hanif Kureishi in an interview as “when you were called a ‘Paki’, you really were scum” (MacCabe, 1999, p.45). Being subject to daily racial abuse and exclusion is brutalising — it affects the way you understand yourself and your place in the world.

My initial inspiration for this research project came during my BA, when researching ethnicity and the media, and examining press reports around each iteration of the UK’s immigration restriction legislation. I discovered that although the specific groups of immigrants targeted and the wider social, political and economic contexts varied, something about the rhetoric remained essentially the same. This was revelational; I realised that the negative rhetoric that had consistently been directed at me as a brown immigrant was much less personal and had much wider implications than the specificity of ‘Paki scum’ would suggest. In one sense, this was liberating, but it also made me want to understand how and why racialising discourses functioned.

After moving to Australia, I found that my positioning here is substantially more privileged than it was in the UK. As a fairly light-skinned brown person, my racial ambiguity fails to cohere with any of the clearer racial categorisations that predominate within Australian society. Within urban areas I am sometimes mistaken for an ethnic (Italian/Greek) rather than a racial Other, although this is less so in rural areas. I possess extensive ‘national capital’ (Hage, 1998),

including a British accent, name, education and passport, and when questioned about my origins, saying ‘I’m British’ is often sufficient.[2] This puts me in a unique position as a researcher — I am both insider and outsider. This has implications for how research is conducted; there are numerous debates around the role of researchers as insider or outsider, how positioning affects research, and who should be allowed to research different groups (Bell; 1996; Bola, 1996; Fozdar, 2014; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1996). While these considerations are more generally applied to research with active participants, they also have resonance for archival research (Innes, 2009; Munro, 1994).

Yet when covering the range of immigrant groups and histories that this thesis does, there is the question of what constitutes an insider. Depending on perspective, this could be someone designated an *invader* or *queue-jumper,* a racialised non-white (or white) immigrant or perhaps even their descendants. It is clear that there is not one position from which to speak for all of these groups. With this in mind, I would say that my background as a brown immigrant with lifelong experience of being the object of exclusionary racialised/ing discourses underpins the critical aims of my research, and together with my positioning as a brown immigrant Australian, constitutes me as an insider. However, my more privileged positioning within Australia, where I have rarely been the object of the discourses described, gives me a certain distance — here I am also an outsider. The history and the immigration patterns described were entirely new to me although the vehemence of the anti-immigration discourse within my data was not.

Underlying my research is the desire to understand how discourses of Otherness function; how language is imbricated with power, shaping the ways in which we are understood and the extent

[2] I do still periodically get asked ‘Where are you *really* from?’

to which we are allowed to belong. One reason I am more comfortable in Australia than the UK is that it is easier feeling like you do not quite belong in a country that you were not born and raised in. I want to understand, therefore, how brown immigrants like me living in multicultural societies, continue to be largely invisible within ideas of national identity, despite the presence of multicultural rhetoric through which we are ostensibly included. And I would like to contribute to the knowledge that enables new ways of imagining the national Self that do not inflict the damage that traditional imaginings often have.

3.4 Analytical framework

3.4.1 Overview

This project was conceived to explore the ways discourses around immigration, in particular non-white immigration, have evolved over the last 165 years. Several established newspapers were chosen as an accessible source of corpus, which could then be analysed for the main themes. However, conducting a diachronic study over a large time period is a daunting task; the various aspects of news discourse studied within CDA are diverse, including generic structure, discourse structure, lexical items, propositions, and so on (Fairclough et al., 2011; van Dijk, 1998) each of which could potentially fill several theses. While many lexical elaborations of discourse are often analysed in relation to each other,[3] one powerful aspect of news (and wider) discourse which can be usefully analysed discretely is metaphor.

Several socio-linguists have combined Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore the ways metaphors function to shape contemporary discourses around migrants and migration (Charteris-Black, 2006; Santa Ana, 1999, 2002; van

3. E.g. a focus on semantic relations examines the various relationships between sentences and clauses (Fairclough, 2003).

Teeffelen, 1994), with older usage in the US also being analysed (O'Brien, 2003). Van Dijk highlights the role of cognitive processes in mediating between the micro level of text and the macro level of dominance and power (van Dijk 1993). Metaphors are a cognitive means of making sense of the world, and as such, are a prime example of the unit of language that should be studied within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Charteris-Black 2004). The ubiquity of metaphor combined with the implicit nature of its structuring of social events and actors makes it a potent element of social practice. This is particularly so when focused on understanding the ideological underpinnings of discourses around immigrants and immigration.

Whilst much of the prior research on metaphor has been more sociolinguistic-based than purely CDA focused, it nonetheless highlights the importance of metaphor use within the press, particularly concerning the construction of a racially defined immigrant out-group and the legitimation of unequal power relations. It also provides the sociolinguistic foundations for a wider CDA field of study. Hence, this project extends CMT by incorporating it within a sociological framework; the researcher is not a socio-linguist, and the intention is not to provide a comprehensive socio-linguistic analysis of the metaphors identified. The project uses socio-linguistic analytical principles to identify metaphors, which are then further interrogated through a CDA analytical framework, with the metaphors functioning as a key by which the wider discourses around migration can be unlocked. These discourses are then analysed within their social, historical and political context, with the aim being to account for why certain narratives around immigration, and their related metaphors, have persisted within the Australian context.

3.4.2 Metaphor Theory

Metaphor analysis

Lakoff and Johnson contend that metaphor is central to the ways we conceptualise the world, with our basic bodily interactions and understanding providing an experiential basis by which more complex concepts are understood (1980). This works through a process of transference, whereby aspects of a more concrete semantic source domain are mapped onto a more abstract semantic target domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). A famous example of this is the conceptual metaphor LOVE is MADNESS, whereby aspects of the semantic source domain, madness, get mapped onto the semantic target domain, love, resulting in a variety of expressions such as 'I'm *crazy* about her', 'She *drives me out of my mind'* 'He's *mad* about her' (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 49). This mapping transfers aspects from the domain of madness, including "loss of control…externally imposed…irrational actions", onto the domain of love (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 27), as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Conceptual mapping of the LOVE is MADNESS conceptual metaphor[4]

CONCEPTUAL vs LINGUISTIC METAPHORS		
Conceptual metaphor (CAPITALISED): LOVE is MADNESS		
Conceptual mapping:		
Semantic Source Domain of MADNESS	→	Semantic Target Domain of LOVE
1) loss of self-control	→	1) loss of self-control
2) irrational behaviour	→	2) irrational behaviour
3) externally imposed	→	3) externally imposed
Linguistic metaphors (*italicised)* :		
crazy	→	I'm *crazy* about her
out of my mind	→	She drives me *out of my mind*
mad	→	He's *mad* about her

[4]. Adapted from Santa Ana (2002, p.27).

However, by their nature, metaphors are partial, focusing on one aspect while obscuring others. Hence there are often multiple conceptual metaphors to understand a concept. For example: LOVE is MAGIC — she *cast her spell* over me; LOVE is WAR — She *fought for* him; LOVE is a PATIENT — The marriage is *dead;* LOVE is a PHYSICAL FORCE — There were *sparks* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 49). This partiality leads to metaphors functioning within networks of metaphorical concepts, interacting with each other. When discussing metaphors, it is necessary to differentiate between linguistic metaphors i.e. *crazy* in 'I'm *crazy* about her' and conceptual metaphors, which are the higher level metaphors that capture the patterns of thought underlying the conceptual mapping, in this instance LOVE is WAR[5] (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

For Lakoff and Johnson metaphor not only structures the way we speak, but also the way we think. They contend that metaphorical concepts shape the ways we perceive the world and our relationship within it, with our conceptual system central to determining our 'everyday realities'. Yet while we may not be aware of our conceptual systems, we can attain an insight to this through examining language; as they say: "Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). This perspective hints at the value of metaphor for critical discourse analysts; engaged with unmasking the obscured nature of discourse, metaphor can function as means to gain access to the often unknown and generally unacknowledged conceptual systems structuring the production of knowledge, although Lakoff and Johnson do not themselves engage with an explicitly critical agenda within their work.

5. Conceptual metaphors are capitalised while linguistic metaphors are italicised.

Critiques of metaphor analysis

While Lakoff and Johnson's work is widely and deservedly recognised as seminal, they have been criticised for their method of data collection, which is self-generated from their own knowledge as opposed to naturally occurring (Santa Ana, 2002). Such a method may be appropriate for outlining the workings of metaphor, but when analysing its role in the (re)production of discourse, there is need for a naturally occurring corpus on which to base analysis. If discourse is understood as a social practice and as "meaningful symbolic behaviour" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2), then it is crucial to base analysis on instances of real language use as a means to understand the ways such practice is enacted, and to decode the symbolism of this.

Lakoff and Johnson have also been criticised for their lack of engagement with issues of ideology and power, with Charteris-Black pointing out that while metaphor use is ubiquitous, the choice of specific metaphor is ideological, serving a persuasive function (Charteris-Black, 2004). This is of particular interest when approaching metaphor from a critical perspective. As the social construction of reality is linked to power, then examining metaphors for their persuasive function is a means to uncover the power relations that animate discourse. Depending on the manner of their usage, metaphors can be said to function as ideological tools through which unequal power relations are naturalised and a particular construction of social reality is promoted.

Metaphor analysis and CDA

However, within the field of socio-linguistics, several theorists have incorporated Lakoff and Johnson's Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) within a CDA framework (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Santa Ana, 2002). Integrating the conceptual structuring of reality within

a wider discursive context, they use naturally occurring data to examine metaphor usage to reveal the ideological underpinnings of the ways our understandings of the social world are structured. This focus drew attention to metaphor as a key component in the (re)production of power relations and, thus, the discursive structuring of social reality.

Santa Ana's approach to metaphor draws on both Lakoff and Johnson's Critical Metaphor Theory (CMT) and van Dijk's approach to CDA, while Charteris-Black has developed the Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) method, which also draws on (CMT), integrated within a CDA framework. As the research does not attempt a full socio-linguistic analysis of the metaphors, aspects of both approaches were found to work complementarily. Both agree on the need for a naturally occurring corpus, as a means to uncover latent meanings within metaphor usage and reveal embedded ideological perspectives which are often obscured (Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 2002). Both also agree on the use of combined quantitative and qualitative data analysis, with quantitative analysis allowing for the identification of key metaphors, which are then further analysed qualitatively to ascertain their ideological function (Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 2002), with this combination also employed in my research.

Metaphor, race, nationalism and identity

There are a number of common conceptual metaphors used to structure discourses around immigrants, which position them as intrinsically threatening to the nation they are moving into. Santa Ana uses the term 'ontology' when describing the way in which such metaphors function (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 74). When explaining the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATERS he says:

> It is a coupling and mapping of the semantic ontology of DANGEROUS WATERS onto the domain of IMMIGRATION. It establishes semantic associations of the meaning

> domains, taking the well-developed framework of everyday knowledge of floods and tides and imposing it onto an entirely human activity (Santa Ana, 2002, pp. 74–75).

These mappings are repeatedly reinforced by each use of the metaphor with the highlighted aspects of the source domain, in this case DANGEROUS WATERS, becoming naturalised as features of the target domain, IMMIGRATION (Santa Ana, 2002). Thus, conceptualising of migrants as *floods* or *invasions* becomes conventionalised, often passing without remark. This highlights the way discourse is both constituted by and constitutive of social reality: the metaphor is chosen as immigrants are understood to be in some way threatening, yet through its use, immigrants are discursively reconstituted as an overwhelming, unstoppable threat, which in turn leads to the metaphor being further used, as the threat has been re-established.

In addition to IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATERS, there are multiple other conventionalised linguistic metaphors used to describe migrants. Other conceptual metaphors Santa Ana identified, which were also found in this research, included IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL, as ENEMY, as CRIMINAL or as DISEASE, (Santa Ana, 2002). Whether as *invasions, swarms* or *hordes,* immigrants are constructed as threatening and external to the nation. This allows for an implicit creation of immigrant difference, without explicit acknowledgement of the basis for such structuring; the undesirability of certain migrants can be flagged without the basis for their undesirability having to be explicitly stated. Indeed, in many cases this undesirability may not even be consciously considered by the users of such metaphors, as the conceptual nature of metaphors allows them to express deeply held understandings about the nature of social relations, which may not necessarily have been articulated into clear, non-metaphoric expression.

When discussing the ARGUMENT is WAR metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson say:

> Our conventional ways of talking about arguments presuppose a metaphor we are hardly ever conscious of. The metaphor is not merely in the words we use — it is in our very concept of an argument. The language of argument is not poetic, fanciful, or rhetorical; it is literal. We talk about arguments that way because we conceive of them that way — and we act according to the way we conceive of things (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5).

If we apply this insight to metaphors about immigration, it suggests that complex and potentially contradictory beliefs about the nature of race, nationality and belonging, may find their expression in the labelling of migrants as *invasions* or *swarms;* they are understood as naturally inferior or dangerous or external, and often a combination of all three, even if this is not explicitly, non-metaphorically expressed. This is reinforced by much research on such metaphors which suggests that they are generally applied to groups perceived as racially Other (Charteris-Black, 2006; O'Brien, 2003; Reisgl & Wodak, 2001; Santa Ana, 2002). Whether asylum seekers and 'illegal immigrants' (Charteris-Black, 2006), immigrants from Asia, the Middle East, Africa or South America (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), Latino immigrants to the US (Santa Ana, 2002) or immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe at the end of the nineteenth century[6] (O'Brien, 2003), the target of negative metaphoric construction has overwhelming been racialised groups. This suggests that certain immigration metaphors may be a means of signifying racial difference, with race the basis for the threat, inferiority and exteriority ascribed to immigrants. If so, this implicates discourses of race with discourses of national identity.

Hence, a prime concept for consideration is the ways discourses about immigration are bound up with discourses about race, nationalism and identity. Through the construction of excluded

6. Seen as racially distinct Northern European.

out-groups, the national in-group is also discursively constructed; the nation is, to a large extent, imagined in opposition to who it is not. As stated above, certain conceptual metaphors appear to be a feature of anti-migrant discourse in various parts of the world (Charteris-Black, 2006; O'Brien, 2003; Reisigl, 2001; Santa Ana, 2002), with such metaphors also related to the ways in which the nation is discursively constructed, commonly as a house, body or other form of container (Charteris-Black, 2006; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Santa Ana, 2002). Indeed, many of the key metaphors that structure migrants as external or Other are reliant on a corresponding metaphoric construction of the nation for their intelligibility; for example, if migrants are a *flood,* there needs to be a corresponding entity, the nation container most commonly expressed as the *nation-house,* which they are imperilling (Santa Ana, 2002).

Yet these metaphoric discourses are not the only way in which migrants are conceived. Not all immigration is constructed as undesirable and the boundaries of national belonging are subject to change and contestation. Migrant groups that may at one point be deemed undesirable can later find themselves encompassed within the boundaries of the imagined nation, although such transformations have also historically been racially as well as nationally defined (Guglielmo, 2004; Ignatiev, 2012).

Within the Australian context, we find that some of the contemporary metaphors used to describe migration bear a remarkable similarity to metaphors found as early as the 1850s. For example, Pauline Hanson's famous claim that "we are in danger of being swamped by Asians" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 10th September 1996, p. 3862) mirrors language found throughout the pre-Federation period, with the following appearing in 1854:

> The probabilities are in favor of such a *tide* of Chinese immigration setting in, as may even *swamp* the Anglo-Saxon population altogether, supposing its rate of increase not to be greatly augmented[i]

Metaphors like *swamp, flood* and *invasion* are not simply words to describe immigration. They position immigrants as essentially external to the nation, which is itself simultaneously discursively flagged. Such discourses were invoked at specific points in times, and in specific social and political contexts in order to achieve specific purposes. Thus, the discourses of race, belonging and nation exemplified by these metaphors, far from being static or fixed, needed to be continually (re)produced in response to perceived threats, and it is this ongoing process that is of interest. In order to understand these evolving historical, social and political contexts of metaphor use, the identified metaphors were analysed using a CDA analytical approach, which is outlined next.

3.4.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Overview

While the approaches to metaphor described above have incorporated CDA principles, their analysis remains firmly grounded within linguistics, with language as their primary focus. However, this study is a sociological rather than a sociolinguistic analysis; while it examines language as productive and rooted in power, being both constituted by and constitutive of social reality, the main focus is on understanding *society* through the language by which it is (re)produced by, not vice versa. This focus underpins many approaches to CDA, with CDA encompassing a range of analytical tools, which address various aspects of discourse. Yet while many approaches touch on metaphor use, there is no single approach that is fully focused on metaphor. Hence, this study utilises aspects of a number of CDA approaches. As the underlying principles of CDA have already been discussed, the following section outlines the key analytical foci of my CDA framework.

Argumentation strategies

Argumentation strategies are the means by which the evaluations made about various social actors or events, whether positive or negative, are then justified (Reisigl, 2001). Argumentation strategies are employed to persuade readers that claims of truth and rightness are valid (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). It is through such strategies that the undesirability of immigrants, or the need for their exclusion may be justified. Within argumentation strategies, *topos* refers to the parts of argumentation that connect the argument with the conclusion, thus justifying the transition to conclusion. Recurring habitually, they are 'socially-conventionalised' and while not always expressed explicitly, they can be made such by the use of conditionals (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 35). For example, one common topos identified in the research is the topos of threat/danger. This can be summarised by the conditional: *if something is dangerous, it shouldn't be done* (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 77).

However, to be rational, argumentation must adhere to a set of rules, the breach of which result in a number of 'fallacies' (Reisigl, 2001; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Yet, in order to ascertain the validity of the topoi encountered within my data, it would be necessary to engage in a wider discursive analysis of the text the metaphor is embedded within. Given that the corpus comprises a large number of disassociated metaphors, while it is crucial to identify the topos in which metaphors are embedded, whether these are topoi or fallacies is indiscernible. This is not of major significance, as an argumentation strategy that presents immigration as a threat, depends less on 'fact' and more on both perspective and linguistic realisation to be judged as topos or fallacy. But regardless of this, the situation of immigration within the domain of threat is unchanged.

Intensification/Mitigation strategies

A further focus is intensification and mitigation strategies. These refer to the manner in which propositions are modified and made either stronger or weaker. Intensification strategies can work to increase out-group marginalisation by heightening the perception of difference or threat; hence a *raging flood* invokes a greater fear response than simply a *flood.* Likewise, mitigation strategies can reduce the impact of a proposition, thus a *gentle stream of migrants* would weaken the threat level associated with migration. To examine intensification and mitigation strategies for metaphors, the focus is on collocates, in particular adjectives, verbs or other metaphors, as well as the overall semantic prosody[7] of collocations.

An associated form of mitigation is minimisation, in particular euphemism. This refers to the replacement of unpleasant words/concepts with more palatable terms, which can be done to shift blame, hide responsibility or minimalize negative acts (Reisigl, 2001). An example of this would be the use of the metaphoric *sending home* to describe forcibly repatriation of refugees. Highlighting such examples of euphemism can demonstrate the techniques by which the exercise of repressive power is masked by presenting such (arguably illegal) actions as something more agreeable. Again, this speaks to in- and out- group formation, with the minimisation of negative in-group representation.

Macro strategies

Discourses around the creation of national identity are dependent on four macro-strategies/functions. These have been identified as the construction of social reality, the justification of the social status quo, with the related sub-strategy of perpetuation, the transformation of the social status quo, and finally the destruction or dismantling of the social

7. Used to refer to the overall tenor of the varied collocates of a term, as either positive or negative (Stubbs, 1996).

status quo (Reisigl, 2001; Wodak et al., 2009). Thus, analysis is focused on examining the conceptual metaphors by which social groups are described in terms of the wider macro-strategies this serves. For example, metaphors which construct a specific migrant group as different, inferior or dangerous (i.e. within a topos of threat) can then be related to a macro-strategy, for instance the justification of their exclusion.

Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity

Another relevant aspect of CDA is intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Intertextuality refers to the manner in which texts draw upon each other for the legitimacy and authority (Wodak, 2008). Interdiscursivity functions in a similar way referring, instead, to the ways in which discourses link to each other, again building the same authoritative linkages (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2008). Utilising certain negative metaphors to construct migrants reframes and re-articulates earlier and contemporaneous discourses of migration and race, drawing on them for reinforcement and validation, and in turn, reinforcing and validating. It is this intertextuality and interdiscursivity that facilitates the ongoing creation of a narrative around immigrants.

Triangulation

A final focus is on the historical dimension of the object of analysis. This can be two-fold, encompassing both the historical background in which discursive events occur, as well as an examination of diachronic change of genres (Reisigl, 2001; Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; Wodak et al., 2009). Genre in this context refers to the socially conventionalised patterns of communication which aim to fulfil specific social purposes (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). While newspaper reports are a specific genre, this may link or overlap with other genres, such as political speeches, press conferences, interviews, as well as legislative acts, reports, official decisions etc. (Wodak, 2002). This emphasis on the wider historical background means that a

further focus of this research is triangulation. That is the incorporation of analysis of as many genres[8] as possible to reduce the risk of critical biasing (Reisigl, 2001). This enables a clearer understanding of how different discourses around a specific issue may develop, particularly with regards to the social actors involved and their particular social interests (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016).

In summary then, to focus on metaphor, I have utilized aspects of a number of CDA methods. This synthesis of metaphor theory and CDA provides an innovative approach by which existing socio-linguistic analysis of metaphor can be integrated into a wider sociological framework that takes into account the evolving historical contexts of metaphor use. As such, this combination is the most appropriate means by which to answer my research questions. The chapter turns now to the wider sociological framework of the research.

3.5 Discourse, Ideology and Power

Central to all approaches of CDA are the intersections between discourse, ideology and power. These also underpin this research's wider sociological framework. Discourse as a theory gained currency with Foucault, who saw discourse as the knowledge produced by various disciplines which are embodied in the institutions of society, and which are constantly working upon individuals to produce healthy, sane and docile bodies, who can be governed. All discourse is produced by power (Foucault, 1980); however, discourse is not easy to define — Foucault himself produced multiple definitions within his writings (Wodak, 2008). Within CDA, discourse has been theorized as one of the social practices that mediate the relationship between social structures, which are more abstract, and social events, including texts; that is the ways

[8] Genre in this context refers to the socially conventionalised patterns of communication which aim to fulfil specific social purposes (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 27).

of acting, representing and being that produce and reproduce the relationship between society at its structural level, and the way in which social reality is lived and experienced (Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011). As social realities can be multiple dependent on social positioning, so discourses are multiple; each one a means of representation for some facet of social life (Fairclough et al., 2011). However, within any society certain discourses achieve dominance, and it is these dominant discourses that are of interest when examining how the exclusion of certain groups contributes to the sustenance of dominant group interests, in particular within ideas of national identity.

Linked to discourse is the role of ideology. Ideology can be described as "representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation" (Fairclough, 2003, p.9). Not all discourse is explicitly ideological, yet ideology is maintained through discourse, making it important to identify where ideology is at work by examining the interpretation of texts and their social effects (Fairclough et al., 2011; van Dijk, 1998). In analysing the production of racialised systems of thoughts, the aim is to examine the ideological function these systems served and the causal effects they had on social relations and events. Van Dijk is clear about the ways in which ideology functions in relation to dominant social groups through "the *co-ordination* of the social practices of group members for the effective realisation of the goals of a social group, and the protection of its interests" (1998, p. 24). Ideology therefore has a very clear role in the perpetuation of established social orders.

The pattern of systematic, institutionalised discrimination that has characterised racially constituted social relations in Australia can be understood as being both constitutive of and constituted by the ideological nature of the discourses surrounding race. "Ideologies are

discursive constructions, so the question of ideology is part of the question of how discourse relates to other moments of social practices" (Chouliaraki, 1999, p. 26); consequently, the link between ideology and discourse, and how they link to the social practices that maintained specific social relations in Australia is a primary concern. However, imbricated with discourse and ideology are issues of power, with the interaction between the three the cornerstone of CDA (Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

Foucault's approach to knowledge and power has already been mentioned, and whilst this is a good starting point, his view of power as a complex, self-sustaining network, in which we are all enmeshed is too theoretical, and does not go far enough into exploring the ways in which the interests of certain groups are maintained at the expense of others (Foucault, 1980; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Wodak, 2008). Gramsci's notion of hegemony is also relevant, as it focuses on how dominant power relations are maintained, not only through coercion, but also through the manufacturing of consent by creating a 'common-sense' consensus (Martin, 1998; Wodak, 2008); thus we can examine the hegemonic function served by newspapers that reflect and reproduce the dominant discourses circulating within society by examining the tools, in this case metaphor, by which they do so. While it would be simplistic to suggest there is one dominant ideology which is transmitted top-down throughout the media, preferential access to the media is granted to the more elite in society, with the press particularly reliant on official sources (Fowler, 1991; Hall, 1978; van Dijk, 1987). Therefore, the media often (re)produce beliefs and ways of thinking that support the dominant groups within society.

3.5.1 Bourdieu and power

A key theoretical framework for this research has been the work of Bourdieu, much of whose work has focused on the role of language and its implication within systems of power

(Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu uses the concept of capital to describe the various forms in which power is manifested. Hence, there is *economic capital,* which equates to money, property rights, etc; *cultural capital,* which is possession of cultural knowledge and information; and *social capital,* which is the network of social relationships which provide access to other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1992, 2018 (1986)). Related to all three forms of capital is a fourth form, *symbolic capital,* which is "the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that *recognize* its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 119). That is, symbolic capital is the status that accrues from possession of other forms of capital that have been recognised as significant and legitimate by others.

Linked to symbolic capital is the notion of symbolic violence, which can be understood as the naturalisation of imbalanced power relations which is facilitated by the misrecognition of forms of capital as having *symbolic* value. Unlike physical violence, symbolic violence is not necessarily inflicted intentionally, stemming instead from the power relations that structure society. Most notably, Bourdieu defines symbolic violence as "the *violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity"*[9] (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167) — that is, symbolic systems are internalised, and hence agents are complicit within the exercise of symbolic violence.

This internalisation occurs through what Bourdieu has named *habitus*. Habitus is defined as "the durable and transposable systems of schemata of perception, appreciation, and action that result from the institution of the social in the body (or in biological individuals)" (Bourdieu, 1992, pp. 126–127). It is within habitus that capital, particularly cultural capital, can become

9. All emphases in Bourdieu quotes in originals.

embodied as internalized dispositions (Bourdieu, 2013). The habitus is historically and socially produced, and is inculcated through the objective conditions in which an individual is situated, functioning to create dispositions which are therefore compatible with the conditions through which it was created and, as a result, also fairly consistently reproducing the objective conditions in which it was produced. Through this process, improbable practices are rendered unthinkable "by a kind of necessity, that is, to refuse what is anyway denied and to will the inevitable" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54).

Habitus is "not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of the internalization of the division into social classes" (Bourdieu, 2013, p.166). That is, underlying the practices and perceptions through which we recreate divisions within the social world, is the internalization of the principles of division. Bourdieu goes on to state "the most fundamental oppositions in the structure (high/low, rich/poor etc.) tend to establish themselves as the fundamental structuring principles of practices and the perception of practices" (Bourdieu, 2013, p.167). Yet while Bourdieu has focused on class, others have usefully extended the concept to include the idea of a *white habitus* (Bonilla-Silva, 2003) or a *racial habitus* (Perry, 2012; Sallaz, 2010), asserting that race is also one of the fundamental oppositions within the social structure, with racialised divisions of the social structure internalized as a 'fundamental structuring principle.'

Bonilla-Silva describes white people as 'navigating' within a *white habitus,* which he defines as "a set of primary networks and associations with other whites that reinforces the racial order by fostering racial solidarity among whites and negative effect toward racial 'others'" (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p.16). Thus, race structures an individual's perceptions and actions; yet this is underpinned by the internalization of the principle of race as a legitimate and concrete social

division — this is how habitus is both a structuring structure and a structured structure. More than simply internalizing fundamental social divisions, be these class, race, gender, etc, we internalize the *ways* in which these are structured socially. Thus, while a white habitus will differ from say, a brown habitus, with our social (racial) positioning determining where we stand in relation to the social division of the world in terms of race, we will all still nonetheless have internalized not only that race is a logical division, but also that there is a hierarchical structuring of value attached to race, even if we are consciously opposed to this (or our positioning within this).

Connected to habitus is the notion of the field. Bourdieu defines fields as: "systems of objective relations which are the product of the institution of the social in things or in mechanisms that have the quasi reality of physical objects" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 127) — that is, the external social structures through which social reality is constructed. Thus, while habitus are internalised dispositions, the field relates to social relations, practices and networks; it is through the interaction with the field that the habitus is constituted, and vice versa. Through the interrelated concepts of habitus and field, Bourdieu attempts to the resolve the traditional cleft between structure and agency. Although habitus is an evolving set of dispositions, these function in reference to specific situations, with the interaction with different stimuli or a differently structured field potentially producing diametrically different outcomes (Bourdieu, 1992), making any understanding of the discourse produced by habitus dependent also on identifying the field against which it is constructed.

Importantly, just as the habitus is constantly evolving and interacting with the fields through which it is produced, so any given field itself is also "a *field of struggles"* (Bourdieu, 1992, p.

101) to control and define the capital which is articulated within the field. This is the key feature of fields:

> *a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field.* It confers a power over the field, over the materialized or embodied instruments of production and reproduction whose distribution constitutes the very structure of the field, and over the regularities and the rules which define the ordinary functioning of the field, and thereby over the profits engendered in it (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 101).

Thus, fields are arenas of struggle for control of specific forms of capital; furthermore, the boundaries of a particular field, and the delimitation of the legitimate capital that constitutes it are a site of contestation. Thus, fields and habitus are interrelated, with an understanding of both essential for any analysis of symbolic violence, making all three a main sociological focus for this research.

3.5.2 Why Bourdieu?

Our positioning as researchers invariably affects the sorts of questions that we ask of the data we encounter. My interest in symbolic violence and habitus is undeniably influenced by my own experiences of racialising discourse. I remember, in my 20s, reading Hanif Kureishi's account of the shame he felt at the word 'Paki' (Kureishi, 1986) and having an intensely uncomfortable jolt of recognition. Although I had never articulated it, I realised that shame was exactly what I felt when encountering the term. The realisation that I had so deeply internalised the discourses of Otherness and inferiority encapsulated by the epithet triggered further shame, and anger. This is how symbolic violence works — symbolic structures which naturalize arbitrary, yet powerful, distinctions that support dominant groups are internalised. Although I objectively know that 'Paki' is just a word and can completely repudiate hierarchical structures and discourses of race that construct me as inferior, there is nonetheless an internalisation of

inferiority, exteriority and Otherness. This comes, in part, from the myriad flaggings of Otherness (symbolic violence), which legitimate the racialised hierarchies (which are both historical and institutional) that structure our social world, with habitus providing a compelling sociological explanation for how these external structures of racial alterity become internalized.

Critical theory is anchored by a belief in the emancipatory power of research and the potential for social change. Hence, it is not enough to understand how racial Others are constructed, it is also necessary to explore how these processes function not just *upon* but also *within* those objectified by them. I am interested in symbolic violence, not just academically, but with the very personal understanding that symbolic violence does real damage, that continues to resonate once it has been internalised. For example, earlier drafts of this thesis had the arguments buried deep after the presentation of the data. My work was also extremely impersonal, with no sense of myself as a researcher within the thesis. Despite my belief in critical theory, and that all knowledge production is situated rather than 'pure', I was extremely reticent about including information about my background within the thesis, or making claims about race without first providing a full, 'objective' presentation of the 'facts'.

On reflection, I realised that this stems from a lifetime of having experiences of racism diminished or dismissed. As a result, my *instinctive* response is to present issues of race as objectively as possible, without any suggestion that my own experiences might somehow have 'tainted' the issue, as non-white people who highlight the functioning of racism are frequently dismissed as 'making it all about race' — ironically, by bringing up race, we become the racists. Speaking of race is thus a precarious prospect — "describing the problem of racism can mean being treated as if you have created the problem" (Ahmed, 2012, p.152). In my experience, white people are often more receptive to hearing about racism from other white people and will

more readily believe an account that has a white witness, often questioning non-white people's subjective accounts. My fear then, when including my own subjectivity as a researcher, was (and to an extent still is) that by situating myself as a brown immigrant, I am potentially detracting from work. Instead, I wanted the research to speak for itself; Ahmed speaks of this as "institutional passing" (Ahmed, 2012, p.158)

Yet this withholding of positioning to somehow increase the work's validity reinforces the belief that there is some form of 'pure' knowledge; that un-situated research (or rather research which issues from the dominant, hegemonic subject position of whiteness) is more valid, and that non-white subjectivity can potentially damage the value of the research — all of which is the opposite of my intentions and my intellectual positioning. I believe in and am committed to a critical approach to research. Yet my habitus, that is the internalised dispositions inculcated through my myriad interactions with social structures and relations throughout my life, shapes my perceptions and practices, impelling me to write from a neutral perspective, thereby unconsciously recreating and reinforcing the very beliefs and structures through which I consciously know that I am marginalised. This is what Bourdieu means by symbolic violence being the violence that is enacted with the agent's complicity, and this complicity is so engrained within the habitus that recognising it is difficult, even for a researcher engaged in critical social theory, and moving beyond this is difficult and uncomfortable work. With this in mind, the focus on symbolic violence and habitus can be understood as my positioning as a researcher shaping the questions asked within my research, while my (recent) realisation of my own ongoing internalisation of racialised symbolic violence (within work that explicitly focuses on racialised symbolic violence!), only reinforces my belief that this is a necessary and valuable line of enquiry.

3.5.3 Race, racialisation and power

Race is a key focus of this study. Yet as discussed in section 2.2, understandings of race have shifted dramatically over the period under study. Within the nineteenth century there were a number of taxonomies, based on perceived biological and related cultural differences (Banton, 1998; Hannaford, 1996), which divided 'man' into several discrete types, each of which was referred to as a 'race' i.e. Mongolian, Caucasian, etc. While such taxonomies reflected a hierarchical understanding of race, the growth of Social Darwinism resulted in a shift away from these typological theories of race, towards a more generalised understanding of existing power hierarchies as reflective of the relative inferiority or superiority of races — hence, the dominance of the white, or Caucasian, race was perceived as demonstrating their racial superiority (Banton, 1998).

This shift corresponded with the wider transnational identification with whiteness that occurred as a result of colonial expansion (Lake, 2008). Races came to be understood in terms of colour, with whiteness, blackness, and yellowness functioning as markers for a wide range of biological and cultural attributes and aptitudes. However, while from the late 1880s there was a much greater emphasis on the 'white race', this did not subsume other understandings of race. Indeed, within late nineteenth and early twentieth century, race was used flexibly to refer to a range of, at times overlapping, groupings. Hence, within Australia white settlers were referred to as the white race, the British race, the Anglo-Saxon race or the Nordic race (Shiells, 2009). Such categorisations were also applied to immigrants, with Italians being referred to both as the Italian race, and with Southern Italians distinguished as the Mediterranean or Southern European race. Yet despite being distinguished from the Nordic or Alpine European races, Italians were often still (tentatively) understood as belonging to the white race, although their racial positioning was not commensurate with other Northern European races (whose positioning was likewise not commensurate with the Anglo-Saxon or British race).

These competing understandings of race are further complicated by the shift away from biological understandings of race towards culture as a signifier of difference. While ethnicity, which classifies groups in cultural terms and relies on self-identification (Banton, 1998), has replaced the more diverse racial attributions within any given 'race' i.e. Italian, Greek, British as different 'white' ethnicities, race still functions in a wider sense to distinguish 'whiteness' from other perceived 'races' i.e. Asian, although differences are understood as cultural rather than biological (Stratton, 1999). This makes providing a singular definition of race for the purposes of this study somewhat problematic.

Rather than embracing a particular understanding of race, this research is focused on racialisation — that is "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice or group" (Omi and Winant quoted in Hollinsworth, 1998, p. 42). The slipperiness of race as a concept, with multiple taxonomies and elaborations, means that utilising a singular definition for this research would be retroactively applying a coherence that did not exist. Rather then, the aim is to explore how metaphors ascribed 'racial' meaning to different groups, articulating changing and overlapping conceptions of race. Throughout its shifting invocations, race (and by extension, racialisation) was imbricated with power, constructing both in- and out-groups, and legitimating and naturalising the power distributions embedded within them. It is these processes of racialisation then and the power relations underlying them, that the present study aims to address.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided background on the methodological framework alongside the critical aims of this research. I then outlined the analytical framework, with details on both metaphor theory and the CDA analytical foci. Finally, the chapter provided an outline of the wider

sociological framework, which is strongly focused on the intersections between discourse, ideology and power, with a particular emphasis on the work of Bourdieu. Alongside this, I have included my own reasons for the questions asked and the focus taken. This theoretical background underpins the analysis that follows in the bulk of the thesis. Prior to this, the following chapter provides details of the data and research methods.

Chapter 4 Data and Methods

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the data selection and research methods of the study. I begin with the selection of both newspapers and press reports. Next, the research questions are revisited and explained, followed by the explication of the research methods, encompassing both data coding and analysis. Information on corpus compilation follows with an explanation of data searching methods and then the sampling periods. Finally, some limitations of the study are covered, and I discuss the ethics of the research.

4.2 Data

4.2.1 Selection of newspapers

The data originates from four newspapers[1] and covers three Australian States: Western Australia, New South Wales and Victoria. For the pre-Federation period (prior to 1901), all were separate colonies[2] and independent of each other, with separate laws and legislative bodies, as well as differing experiences of migration. This differential structuring of society led to the research being structured into three main collection phases which corresponded with three distinct phases in Australian immigration history: Pre-Federation (1854–1900), White Australia (1901–1971) and Multicultural Australia (1972–2018).[3] When choosing which publications to cover, a fairly conservative, widely-read broadsheet newspaper was chosen as a source of corpus, as representative of the established press within each State.

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1. Three newspapers were used at any given time.
2. Colonial Australia comprised 6 colonies: New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland, Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania. On 1st Jan 1901 they united to form the Commonwealth of Australia.
3. The rationale for this is discussed in section 4.5 below.

While a comparison between a conservative and a more populist newspaper, or a broadsheet and a tabloid, may also have yielded rich data, in order to be able to make generalisations and/or comparisons across States, comparable data sources needed to be used. Migrant press would also have given an alternative perspective, but the focus on understanding how particular metaphors construct immigrant Otherness meant that these were also excluded in favour of press that would have had a greater readership within 'mainstream' society. Data come from: *The Sydney Morning Herald, The Argus, The West Australian*, and *The Australian,* with in-text citations for press extracts abbreviated to *SMH, Argus, WA* and *Australian.*[4] All four newspapers were originally traditional broadsheets although *The Argus* changed to a tabloid in 1942, *The West Australian* changed in 1947, *The SMH* changed in 2013.

The three initial newspapers represented the leading newspapers within their respective States, two of which have been in continuous existence for the entire research period, making them continuous, reliable data sources. The exception is *The Argus* which, while undoubtedly the premier newspaper at its inception, was closed in 1957. An alternative would have been *The Age,* which was also considered; a contemporary of *The Argus*, it is still running, making it a continuous source of data. However, it was acquired by Fairfax Media partially in 1966 and fully by 1983 (Souter, 1992), and for some time the content of *The Age* and *The SMH* have been extremely similar, making it inappropriate as a separate source for the final decades of the study. Moreover, the impact of *The Australian,* outlined in the historical background chapter, in particular its influence across the political spectrum (Bowman, 1988), meant that failure to include it in a project of this nature would have represented a missed opportunity to capture a particularly strong source of data. Details on the selection of specific data follows.

[4] Full citations are provided in endnotes.

4.2.2 Selection of data

With a research period extending from 1854 to 2018, choosing which aspects of the press to sample was not straightforward. Over the period covered, the role of the press has evolved, encompassing multiple, overlapping functions. In addition, the ways in which the news was structured has changed due to political, economic and social concerns and influences (Conboy, 2010). Contemporary distinctions between news, features and opinions were not always clearly demarcated. Furthermore, the depth of such distinctions is questionable, with Conboy concluding that "One of the tasks of the newspaper is to close down a potentially infinite heteroglossia into a unified editorial voice but one which still may *appear* to draw on the energies of a multiplicity of voices and attitudes" (Conboy, 2010, p. 6, emphasis added). After detailed consideration, the decision was made to include all press reports, that is all news, features, editorials and opinion pieces, within the specified press chosen.

The inclusion of all press reports was partly due to difficulties with classification of different news genres. While within the contemporary press, distinctions are made between various news genres, in press dating back to the 1850s, it is exceedingly difficult to classify a report as news or feature,[5] as both contained very similar language, and the only classifiable distinction was whether they were about a specific event or a more general rumination on the topic. Even this distinction was complicated by the inclusion in reports about specific events of more general ruminations on the nature of immigration, and reference to specific events in more general discussion pieces. Opinion pieces from known commentators were much less a feature of

5. Items were not explicitly categorised as any particular genre. Furthermore, there is no indication within the newspapers themselves that such classifications even existed within early colonial press.

earlier newspapers, becoming prominent with the advent of by-lines in the 1960s (Bowman, 1988).

Another issue with the colonial press was the liberal use of the editorial 'we' within reports stated to be by 'a correspondent'. Indeed, many press reports which could be classified as news features were indistinguishable from what would now be considered as editorials; it appears journalists in the earlier colonial press would write as the voice of the newspaper, undermining any attempt to analyse their work as a separate category from editorials. Data were collected via the online database *Trove*. While the user interface does have the option to search for editorials, a search conducted for 'editorial' with no further limitations for *The SMH, The Argus* and *The West Australian* between 1850 and 1950 returned only 14 items.[6] Thus, it was also impossible to differentiate between news and editorials in this fashion.

Data collection was separated into three distinct phases. While in the last data collection phase (Multicultural Australia 1972–2018), press genres (i.e. feature, commentary, editorial) tended to be more fixed, the issues in distinguishing between news and feature, editorial and feature, and the late occurrence of opinion pieces, led to the inclusion of all news, features, opinion pieces and editorials.[7] When trying to assign older, unlabelled news items to discrete genres, much of the time, distinctions were so unclear and thus subjective as to preclude meaningful analysis. Moreover, given the changing style, emphasis and importance of various news genres over the time period covered, making such distinctions did not necessarily add any value to the research.

6. None relevant.
7. Where genre is provided by the newspaper, this is included in article reference details in Endnotes.

This does not mean that all content within the newspaper was analysed; rather that analysis was focused on press reports produced by the newspaper that reported on and discussed immigration and immigrants to Australia. Further items such as verbatim accounts of public meetings or legislative debates,[8] shipping notices, letters to the editor or international news items about immigration to other countries that made no reference to Australia, were all excluded from analysis. Samples of these items, in particular accounts of public meetings, legislative debates and letters to the editor, were collected to allow for triangulation of data.

It is crucial to note that this study does not make the claim that the metaphors identified were the only manner in which migration was spoken about, or that such usage was constant. Rather, it is interested in exploring the periods of higher metaphor use, and accounting for how and why migration was constructed in such ways, while not drawing any definitive conclusions about the periods in which it was not. Furthermore, this is a sociological study — several established newspapers were chosen as a source of corpus, not to explore the ideological underpinnings of the specific newspapers themselves; the study is not focused on press ownership or media power. Press reports are viewed as presenting "the institutionally legitimated view" of issues (Santa Ana 2002, p. 53) and utilized to access the wider discourses metaphors are embedded in. Thus, individual authors, press owners or specific genres of press reports were immaterial, with the focus on the cumulative discursive effect of specific metaphoric forms of representation found across the press. Through triangulation, other sources of data were sampled and analysed to situate the metaphors identified within the press in the wider, cross-genre discourses around immigration in which they were located. To understand these immigration discourses, the research was focused around several questions, which are outlined next.

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8. Common in the 1800s.

4.3 Research Questions

The research questions are underpinned by the understanding that metaphor structures the conceptual systems through which social reality is understood, and that such conceptual framings are historically and socially contingent. This analysis of metaphor aims to explore the ways immigrant Others were constructed, alongside the implications this had for the national Self. Thus, the first two research questions are:

> RQ1. What metaphors have been used to describe immigrants and immigration in the Australian press since 1850?
>
> RQ2. How is the nation also constructed by metaphor?

Within each data collection phase, all metaphors were identified and coded within NVivo using CMT principles. Having coded all linguistic metaphors to conceptual metaphors, the main conceptual metaphors[9] for each period were identified. While a large number of conceptual metaphors were identified, the constraints of the study meant that only the most common main conceptual metaphors could be focused on. Following this, the research asked:

> RQ3. What are the patterns and variations of metaphor use?

Significantly, the main metaphors used to construct immigration remained constant throughout the entire 160 year period. Primarily, immigration was constructed through the IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER conceptual metaphor, with IMMIGRATION as

9. Those with the highest number of occurrences.

WAR/IMMIGRANT as ENEMY the secondary[10] conceptual metaphor. In addition, IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL, as SAVAGE, as SUB-HUMAN, alongside a number of other conceptual metaphors, (re)appeared at different points throughout the research. Yet metaphors did not appear consistently in every sample period. Furthermore, they were not always applied to the same immigrants, with different groups being metaphorically constructed as *floods, influxes* or *invasions* at different historical periods.

Therefore, the research identified the points when metaphor use increased or decreased, as well as who was being constructed by these metaphors. This included at different times: Chinese miners, Afghans and Syrian traders, Italian farm workers, asylum seekers and an increasing generalised, racialised category of *immigrant.*[11] It was then necessary to explain why specific groups were metaphorically 'targeted' at specific points. This entailed incorporating metaphor use within its wider historical, social and political context. As such, it was possible to distinguish how the metaphoric constructions of both the nation and its Others were reflective of wider discursive structures. It was also possible to identify the macro strategies that metaphor use embodied, in particular the manner in which groups were *constructed* as Other, alongside the policies and actions that were *legitimated* by these metaphoric constructions. To ensure that the data was valid, a range of other data sources were sampled at points of high use.

Having established that metaphors were used to construct specific groups in particular ways at certain times, the wider question that underpinned everything was *why.* In particular, what purpose this served; how this related to wider power distributions, and why certain metaphoric

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10. Primary refers to the most common conceptual metaphor, secondary refers to other higher frequency conceptual metaphors, while occasional refers to lower frequency conceptual metaphors. See Appendix for the primary, secondary and occasional metaphors for each period.
9. Other immigrants were also metaphorically constructed, although limitations with time and space meant only the most prominent groups could be focused on.

framings have persisted, even when both the targets and conditions of their use have changed. This continuity suggests that metaphors used to construct both immigration and the nation do important discursive work. All of which leads into the final question:

> RQ4. How do these patterns and interactions contribute to understandings of what it means to be Australian?

Through examining the metaphors used, we can examine how the use of certain metaphors to frame specific groups, then classifies them within conceptual structures of interiority and belonging or, more commonly, exteriority and threat, with these structures aligned with understandings of the nation and national belonging. Finally, through the integration of wider sociological theory, in particular the work of Bourdieu, the research connects metaphor use and the narratives animated by this with the workings of power within specific contexts. Each data chapter makes a series of arguments for why metaphor use functioned in specific ways in each period, while the discussion chapter integrates this analysis within a wider consideration of the discursive work accomplished by a narrative of immigrant threat. The specific research methods by which these questions are answered are expounded in the following section.

4.4 Research methods

4.4.1 Overview

In order to operationalise my research questions, it was necessary to employ a two-fold analytical method drawing on the conceptual foundations outlined in the analytical framework. To collect data, it was necessary to identify relevant metaphors. This proceeded inductively with metaphors initially identified and then coded using CMT approaches to metaphor. Utilising recognised socio-linguistic practice was a means to ensure a robust identification

process, while also building on existing research. A socio-linguistic perspective can function to explain precisely the way metaphor functions as a means of social construction within a specified period (Charteris-Black, 2006; Santa Ana, 2002); it can also account for diachronic change of particular metaphors, as Chilton has done for the house metaphor in political discourse (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993). Yet trying to account for 165 years of evolving metaphoric discourse around a particular subject, encompassing the range of metaphors included in this study, would be extremely difficult as, by its nature, such a large data set lacks the specificity that socio-linguistic analysis requires.

However, the aim of this research is to utilise metaphors as a means to understand the wider discourses they are embedded in. For example, how describing immigrants as animals or conceiving of immigration in terms of war then structures the ways in which immigrants, and conversely the nation, are understood. Furthermore, how a discursive (re)production of immigrants as inferior, Other or deviant relates to the ways in which the national subject was produced and understood. Therefore, metaphors were analysed through a CDA framework and subjected to a broader, sociological analysis, which aimed to situate metaphor use within a wider social, historical and political context. Both methods and the ways in which they were integrated are outlined below

4.4.2 Data Coding

This research takes as a starting point, Charteris-Black's promotion of a tripartite model for metaphor analysis: identification, interpretation and explanation, although my application of this model encompasses aspects of both CMA and Santa Ana's method.

Identification

Once a press report containing metaphors had been identified,[12] it was read carefully to check the presence of metaphors, and all metaphors found were noted, alongside the date, title, and a brief description of content, in an Excel spreadsheet. Charteris-Black asserts that any word can be metaphoric depending on its context and the speaker's intentions. Thus, he employs a set of linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive criteria to classify metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004), identifying a wide range of conceptual metaphors. Such fine-grained analysis, however, is dependent on a corpus that is both computer-based, with associated search tools, and pre-defined. For a corpus created inductively, on the basis of metaphor identification, it was necessary to begin by searching for previously identified metaphors applied to immigration and immigrants (Charteris-Black, 2006; O'Brien, 2003; Santa Ana, 1999, 2002), for example *invasion, flood, herd,* with a close reading of each report eliciting further metaphors, which were then also then searched for.

Interpretation

While identification also involves a measure of interpretation, at this stage, linguistic metaphors were interpreted in terms of the wider conceptual metaphors to which they belonged. This also proceeded inductively, beginning with the grouping of metaphors into conceptual metaphors when coding in NVivo, at the end of each data collection phase.[13] Conceptual metaphors are higher level metaphors that link individual metaphors to an overarching concept (Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 2002), for example *invader, battalion* and *incursion* could all be understood as instances of the IMMIGRATION as WAR conceptual metaphor. Metaphors regarding immigration and immigrants have been well documented (Charteris-

12. Detailed below.
13. When coding in NVivo, each report was reread and checked for metaphors, with any changes noted.

Black, 2006; O'Brien, 2003; Santa Ana, 1999, 2002), as have metaphors to understand the nation (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Santa Ana, 2002); thus, initial identification of many conceptual metaphors was reasonably straightforward.

Other metaphors were grouped together in a conceptual metaphor of my own devising; for instance, *barbarians, pagans, tribes, hordes, inferior races* were all labelled under IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE. To decide on a conceptual metaphor, all metaphors that appeared to share a similar central theme were grouped within a conceptual metaphor that seemed to most clearly indicate the underlying conceptual mapping. While this process can be seen as somewhat subjective, when describing how to formulate conceptual metaphors, Santa Ana states:

> a cognitive mapping will be characterised at a level of abstraction that permits a central type to which things apply if they are perceived similarly, as well as less central cases. Consequently, the most adequate mapping should encompass both more general and more specific linguistic expressions. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that labelling of a metaphoric mapping serves primarily as a mnemonic identification (2002, p. 45).

Thus, conceptual metaphors were chosen that seemed to best encompass the mapping suggested by a group of similar metaphors. However, this was carried out reflexively, with conceptual metaphors subject to refinement or reformulation as necessary. For example, in the Pre-Federation period there were a number of metaphors about the savagery of immigrants (with the dialectical construction of savage versus civilised) labelled under the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE. However, this changed in the White Australia period alongside changing discourses of race; rather than a range of set races at varying stages along a civilisation to savagery continuum, there was a shift to a binary understanding of

white/superior versus non-white/inferior, with whiteness aligned with humanity (Lake, 2007, 2008), and a corresponding decrease in constructions of immigrant *savagery.* As such, the conceptual metaphor to which *inferior races* was aligned was reformulated in the White Australia period to IMMIGRANT as SUB-HUMAN, as this captured the conceptual mapping more accurately.

Further to coding in NVivo, conceptual metaphors were then subjected to an initial analysis. Metaphors function by a cognitive process of transference from a semantic source domain to a semantic target domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Santa Ana, 2002). Such mappings include an entire assemblage of relations, including knowledge, properties, behaviour and interrelationships, all of which are transferred from the source domain (Charteris-Black, 2004). Santa Ana speaks of the ontology of a metaphor when elucidating the specific mappings of key conceptual metaphors (Santa Ana, 2002). Aggregated data for the entire period was analysed, with the ontology for each conceptual metaphor outlined, against which individual metaphors could be tested to examine the effectiveness of the mapping. Again, this proceeded reflexively, with conceptual metaphors reformulated if they failed to account for all the individual metaphors, or with some metaphors recoded to a new conceptual metaphor that provided a more precise account of the transferences.

Table 4.1 Total number of conceptual and linguistic metaphors within each data collection phase: Pre-Federation, White Australia and Multicultural Australia

LINGUISTIC AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS BY PHASE			
	Pre-Federation	*White Australia*	*Multicultural Australia*
Conceptual metaphors	*20*	*25*	*28*
Linguistic metaphors	*154*	*329*	*472*

In total, in each data collection phase, between 20 and 28 conceptual metaphors were identified,[14] i.e. IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL, with hundreds of individual linguistic metaphors i.e. swarms, herds, teeming (see Table 4.1). The following section outlines the data analysis process

4.4.3 Data Analysis

Explanation

Charteris-Black's final stage of metaphor analysis is explanation. Yet from the sociological perspective of this research, it is at this point that data analysis begins. Charteris-Black defines explanation as identifying their "social role in persuasion" (2004, p. 39). Metaphors are cognitive categorisations by which our worlds are made comprehensible (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980); yet these are not neutral and as such can provide an insight into the ideological aspects of the conceptual systems through which our social worlds are structured (Charteris-Black, 2006). Of particular interest is the role of metaphor in legitimating actions as well as the underlying value systems expressed (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006; Santa Ana 2002). These perspectives have influenced my explanation of metaphor, in particular the actions that are legitimated by the metaphoric conceptualisation of groups as dangerous, deviant, intrinsically external or Other. Furthermore, the ontology[15] of certain conceptual metaphors is incorporated into the analysis, to illustrate their functioning. However, it is in the explanation stage that I turn primarily to my CDA analytical framework as a means to integrate metaphor within a wider framework of social analysis.

14. Some conceptual metaphors were found in every period i.e. IMMIGRATION as WAR, IMMIGRATION as
15. The specific mappings from semantic source domain to semantic target domain of conceptual metaphors (Santa Ana, 2002).

Argumentation strategies

A key focus was the argumentation strategies by which immigration and immigrants were constructed. A large number of common topoi for argumentation about immigrants and social exclusion have been previously identified, including the topos of threat, the topos of burden, and the topos of culture (Reisigl, 2001). A key question for my research was which topoi metaphors were situated within. For example, the IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER conceptual metaphor is located within a topos of immigrant threat. Remembering that topoi can be made explicit by the use of conditionals, the topos of migrant threat can be summarised by the conditional: *if immigrants are a threat, they should be some protection against them*. Drawing on this, I asked what conclusions were then justified by the use of this topos. At this point, the argumentation strategy was linked to the macro strategy (outlined below); so, we could understand a topos of migrant threat as working to construct an immigrant out-group or to justify the exclusion of immigrants, or potentially both.

Macro Strategies

Following on from the argumentation strategies, the next stage of explanation incorporates the macro strategies. It is not enough to explain the construction of migrant Otherness without referring this to the wider purposes this serves. Constructive strategies build and establish distinct groups, while justification and perpetuation strategies can help maintain these identities, particularly when they are under threat (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Questions that I asked of the data included what kind of social reality is constructed by the metaphoric framing of immigrants and immigration; how the nation is constructed. Furthermore, how various social conditions are perpetuated or justified by the use of metaphors. At this point, the analysis incorporated Bourdieu's work on power and symbolic violence, to situate these processes within their social and historical contexts.

Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

A further process in examining a range of press reports was exploring how these texts did not function in isolation, but rather made critical linkages with each other, with these linkages create a logic of equivalence between texts (Fairclough, 2003). Hence, one of the foci of analysis was examining where texts made linkages with other texts, highlighting these and accounting for why. When examining the interdiscursivity of discourses about different types of migrants, my focus was on how discourses draw upon each other for legitimacy, and highlighting the way metaphor use facilitates this. This links strongly to the one of the underlying aims which is to produce an explanation for the persistence of particular metaphors.

Triangulation

A final stage of analysis was triangulation. While it would be impossible to conduct detailed analysis of a range of genres for the entire period covered, I sampled other genres at key points where possible, including legislation, parliamentary debates, speeches, public meetings and letters to the editor, with the aim of drawing out the intertextuality between the various genres (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). When choosing other genres to sample, my aim was to get as wide a range as possible. The choice, particularly in the earlier research periods, was also based on availability. A key point to note is that while many of the metaphors found are features of anti-immigrant discourse in other parts of the world, the focus of this thesis is purely on how metaphors developed and were used in the Australian context so no international genres were sampled.

Triangulation can also apply to methods and theory. Within this research, metaphor analysis is incorporated with CDA; this was then incorporated within a wider sociological analysis that

included Bourdieu's work on symbolic violence and habitus, nationalism, racism, alongside theories of settler colonialism, and the colonial construction of race. As such, my analysis attempts, through a multi-faceted theoretical framework, to elucidate the workings of metaphors around immigration and the nation. The following section describes the compilation of the corpus from which the metaphors were drawn

4.5 Corpus compilation

4.5.1 Data searches

Data collection was divided into three periods, which corresponded with three distinct phases in Australian immigration history. The first was Pre-Federation (1854–1900); this allowed the analysis of differences between colonies, with immigration controls variable over both time and place — this phase ended with the federation of Australia into an independent nation-state on 1st January, 1901. The second was White Australia (1901–1971); this phase had highly restrictive legislation for non-white immigration, differing substantially from the period that followed — this phase ended with the official abolition of the White Australia policy which occurred when the Whitlam government was elected in 1972. The final phase can be termed Multicultural Australia (1972–2018); this period saw a major shift in how both immigration and society were perceived, with the onset of official policies of multiculturalism — the cut-off for this phase was 2018 as that was when data collection for the project ended. It is acknowledged that during this time, support for multiculturalism at the policy level has waxed and waned. As such, the three data collection phases corresponded with major social and political shifts within Australia and were deemed the most appropriate manner by which to separate data collection.

Data were initially collected via the online database Trove*,* a searchable database which has digitised copies of all major (and most minor) Australian newspapers from their founding until the mid 1950s. As it had been noted that metaphors were a feature of nineteenth century anti-Chinese rhetoric (Hollinsworth, 1998), I used paired search terms such as *Chinese* and *Invasion* to conduct a Boolean search of the three target newspapers (*SMH, The Argus, The West Australian)* for the 1850s. This initial search produced a large number of metaphor-rich articles, with all linguistic metaphors being added to a list of search terms. Data collection then proceeded via Boolean searches of *Immigration, migration, immigrant*, migrant** paired with each individual linguistic metaphor, alongside other common metaphors from sociolinguistic studies on immigration metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 1999, 2002). Any new linguistic metaphors discovered were then added to this list of search terms. Each newspaper was searched individually for each sample period, with copies of all articles downloaded and the details logged.

Between the mid-1950s and mid-1990s, when *Trove*'s coverage ceased and with no alternative database, data were collected via microfilm searches. However, this was extremely time consuming due to the large amount of data that needed to be checked, with daily editions of each newspaper for each sample period examined, and all articles containing metaphors logged and saved. Consequently, sample periods were limited to two years. From mid-1996, all three newspapers were accessible on the *Factiva* database, a searchable online database of digitised newspapers which has a similar user interface to *Trove*. Hence the same search method as outlined for *Trove* was used*.* Thus, the project encompasses three distinct means of data collection, although the search methods for *Trove* and *Factiva* were identical. After data collection for the first data collection phase, data were coded and subjected to an initial analysis prior to collection for the second phase, with this process repeated prior to collection for the

third phase. When compiling the corpus for analysis, it was necessary to proceed inductively in both the choice of search terms and the times and lengths of sample periods.

In order to determine data collection periods, several high instance metaphors identified in the first search period were searched for and points of high metaphor usage were noted. Metaphor usage in the 1800s was extremely intermittent, with some periods showing extremely high metaphor usage, while large periods showed little or none. As my aim was to understand the use of metaphor, all years of high usage were sampled, resulting in search periods of length varying from 1 to 5 years, although the majority of sample periods were between two and four years. After WW2, metaphor usage was comparatively low and relatively stable; thus, points of interest were chosen. During the final research period, metaphor usage was consistently high so again points of interest were chosen. These are outlined in the sections that follow.

The total numbers of articles and individual metaphoric instances are shown in Table 4.2. It has already been noted that each research period contained between 20 and 28 conceptual metaphors, and many more linguistic metaphors (see Table 4.1); the table below refers to the total number of press reports and individual metaphoric instances within each period. More details about each data collection period follows.

Table 4.2 Total number of press reports and instances of metaphor within each data collection phase: Pre-Federation, White Australia and Multicultural Australia

PRESS REPORTS AND INDIVIDUAL METAPHORS BY PHASE				
	Pre-Federation	*White Australia*	*Multicultural Australia*	*TOTAL*
Press reports	*240*	*356*	*2,585*	3181
Metaphors	*1256*	*2161*	*8630*	12047

4.5.2 Pre-Federation 1854–1900

All data for this period were collected via the database *Trove*. Paired search terms were used to search the 1850s, with a proliferation of articles in 1855 and several in the year preceding and year following; thus 1854–1856 comprised the first period. Articles were checked for relevance, with anything substantial pertaining to migration downloaded and logged. This search process was repeated for each decade to identify sample periods, resulting in data being gathered from six periods (see Table 4.3). During the 1860s, metaphor usage was practically non-existent, excepting 1861 which had a small spike; thus, 1861 was sampled. Likewise, the 1870s showed only occasional metaphor usage, while the 1880s saw a spike at both the beginning of the decade and in 1887–88. Thus, the 1870s were excluded and sample periods were chosen for 1880–81 and 1887–88. The final decade saw a spike in 1893 followed by a gradual increase towards the end of the century. Thus, 1893 and then 1898–99 were chosen as the final two sample periods. In total, 240 press reports provided 1265 individual metaphoric references (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Total number of press reports and metaphoric instances by sample period between 1854 and 1900

NUMBER OF PRESS REPORTS AND INSTANCE OF METAPHOR - PRE-FEDERATION (1854-1900)							
	1854-1856	1861	1880-1881	1887-1888	1893	1898-1899	Total
Press reports	54	21	36	65	35	29	240
Instances of metaphor	336	105	160	296	209	159	1265

4.5.3 White Australia 1901–1971

Data collection for this period was less straightforward. For the first 50 years, articles were collected via *Trove*; the three newspapers for this period were *The Argus, The Sydney Morning Herald (SMH)*, and *The West Australian*. Articles were located by keyword searches, as in the previous collection period, and all relevant articles were logged. From the 1950s it was

necessary to change to microfilms, which entailed viewing every newspaper in the sample period.[16] In addition, *The Argus* stopped production in 1957. However, 1964 saw the inception of *The Australian*, the first national newspaper in Australia. Coming at a point when there was greater unity between states, it provided an opportunity to get a broader, national perspective.

Again, sample periods were identified inductively through searching to locate periods of higher instances of metaphor usage within each decade, commencing in 1901, with a total of 8 periods identified. The first sample period encompassed the founding of the Commonwealth and the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) and saw higher metaphor usage than the following years. The periods before and after WW1 saw considerably higher metaphor usage than the war years, with metaphor use (as well as immigration) dropping dramatically during the war period. Thus, the period immediately preceding the war was sampled. The 1920s saw relatively high numbers of metaphors over the entire decade, peaking in 1925, resulting in a five-year sample period. The period immediately preceding the second world war was the last period that showed a higher number of metaphors, resulting in the 1937–9 sample period. After this point, metaphor usage was lower and reasonably consistent, so periods of interest were chosen.[17] The post-war period, at the height of the *Populate or Perish* push, is covered, commencing when the first DPs arrived in 1947. The years immediately preceding the abolition of the dictation test in 1958 were sampled, as well as the 1965–66 period when Labor abolished White Australia from its official platform, and the Liberal government removed differential restrictions on non-Europeans qualifying for residency. In total, 356 press reports provided 2161 instances of metaphor (see Table 4.4).

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16. This did not lead to higher levels of metaphors than had been identified by keyword searches.
17. Between the end of *Trove*'s coverage (1954) and the commencement of *Factiva*'s (1996), *The SMH* online archive was used to check metaphor frequency, although database restrictions meant that data from *The SMH* still had to be collected via microfilm.

Table 4.4 Total number of press reports and metaphoric instances by sample period between 1901 and 1971

NUMBER OF PRESS REPORTS AND INSTANCES OF METAPHOR - WHITE AUSTRALIA (1901-1971)								
	1901-1902	1910-1913	1921-1926	1937-1939	1947-1949	1955-1957	1965-1966	TOTAL
Press reports	50	52	70	37	43	61	43	356
Instances of metaphor	244	436	636	305	202	213	125	2161

4.5.4 Multicultural Australia 1972–2018

Press reports for this period were collected via microfilm for the initial sample periods, switching to *Factiva* from the mid-1990s. As all years showed high levels of metaphor usage, points of interest were chosen. The first sample period covers 1972–73, when the White Australia Policy was finally abolished, making this technically the borderline between the two periods. The next period corresponds with the arrival of the first refugee boats in 1977. Other key points were the Migration Amendment Act 1989, the origin of the One Nation party and John Howard's election in 1996, *Tampa*, the terrorist attacks of September 11th and the Bali bombings in 2001–02, the Citizenship Act in 2007, the reopening of Manus Island and Nauru in 2012, with the last period bringing the research as up to date as possible. As there was a much larger amount of data for the final period, search periods were limited to two years each, with a total of 8 periods covered. Despite these limitations, a total of 2,585 press reports were logged, containing 8,630 metaphors (see Table 4.5). The following section discusses the wider limitations of the study.

Table 4.5 Total number of press reports and metaphoric instances by sample period between 1972 and 2018

NUMBER OF PRESS REPORTS AND INSTANCE OF METAPHOR - MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA (1972-2018)									
	1972-1973	1977-1978	1988-1989	1996-1997	2001-2002	2006-2007	2012-2013	2017-2018	TOTAL
Press reports	86	245	292	276	479	262	587	358	2585
Instances of metaphor	309	637	856	927	1691	760	2109	1341	8630

4.6 Limitations

The main limitations to this research were in data selection and access. Given that the project covers such an extensive period, there was no single means to access all the data needed. *Trove* has digitised all Australian newspapers until the mid 1950s, and the decision to locate articles through key-word searches as opposed to examining every newspaper for a sample period was taken primarily due to the user interface of the site. The advanced search facility is structured around search terms, with a number of filters, with results produced as articles, not entire editions of the newspaper. This was not necessarily a hindrance as images of newspapers were often of poor quality[18]; in addition, they comprised large pages with very small print, with numerous advertisements. Searching every page for relevant articles would have been prohibitively time-consuming. A limitation of this search method was the poor quality images of some of the old newspapers, which the word recognition software of *Trove* was unable to read. Thus, reports which may have been relevant may not have been identified. However, this poor quality would have also hindered identification of relevant reports whether searching entire newspapers online (had this been possible) or on microfilm.

The alternative would be to have used microfilms for the entire project, but this raised a number of other issues. Firstly, the microfilms of newspapers 150 years old were much worse quality than the digitised versions on *Trove*. This was due to the age of the microfilms themselves, as well as the microfiche machines, which were also old and cumbersome to use. Thus, it is unlikely that the results would have been as thorough, as a sample of microfilms from 1850s found that large chunks were entirely illegible. In addition, searching every edition of a

18. Likely due to the age of the original newspapers that were digitised.

newspaper within a sample period took an inordinate amount of time, so it would not have been possible to conduct research over such an extended time period.

Another limitation concerned the identification of new metaphors. While the list of search terms was compiled inductively, at points, new linguistic metaphors were identified in later periods, which then needed to be searched for retroactively in previous periods. As all metaphors were coded in NVivo at the end of each data collection period, it was then possible to conduct a text search through NVivo of data collected from the Pre-Federation or White Australia period for new linguistic metaphors encountered in later sample periods.[19] A limitation of this, however, was the poor quality of some newspaper articles in *Trove*; these relied on pattern recognition software in order to produce a text version of the newspaper article, which could at times be gibberish. While it was possible to go in and correct the text version, this was extremely time consuming and so only relevant portions of text were modified. A similar issue occurred with data collected via microfilm; due to the age of both the microfiche machines, and the microfilms themselves, the press reports collected were of too poor quality to be readable by NVivo or other text recognition software. Therefore, these had to be retyped by hand, and for longer articles, only relevant portions were done. As a result, it is not possible to state definitively that metaphors encountered later in the research project were never present in early periods. However, some high frequency, previously unidentified metaphors noted in later search periods[20] were also searched for directly on *Trove*, to check if they had been present prior to the 1950s.

A final limitation results from one of the choices made in the first sample period. Given that a large number of press reports purely contained verbatim accounts of meetings or speeches, I

19. This was only done for higher frequency linguistic metaphors not occasional occurrences.
20. For example, *intake.*

decided to exclude all instances of direct or directly reported speech, as inclusion of all meetings and speeches would have resulted in an inordinate amount of data. However, paraphrased speech was included as this level of re-contextualisation allowed for some input by the newspaper. While in later periods, press reports often contained smaller quotes that may have benefitted from inclusion in analysis, this decision was adhered to in the interests of continuity. Consequently, repeated references to Pauline Hanson's claims of being *swamped by Asians,* or frequent reporting of Immigration Minister Ruddock's description of asylum seekers as *queue-jumpers* were omitted. Yet direct and reported speech within press reports, and even the decision to include such quotes, helped shape discourses around immigration. Hence, whilst this exclusion was necessary both for continuity and to limit data to a manageable size, it was nonetheless a significant limitation. The final section turns now to issues of ethics within the research design.

4.7 Research ethics

Every research project has its own ethical dilemmas. As this study is dealing with historical research and analysis, the ethical issues it raises are different from many other sociological projects, but ethical issues nonetheless still exist. Historical documents are not 'pure' or neutral; the manner of their production, the subjects and subjectivities contained within them, the knowledge they produce and the questions we ask of them — all of these are ethical issues that raise ethical concerns. While there are no 'live' human subjects with whom to negotiate consent and meaning, that doesn't mean that there are no subjects — this research still focuses on actual people, albeit no longer living. There is a need to 'listen' to these voices, to see the people in the texts as real (McKee & Porter, 2012). These people may well still have living descendants, who may in turn be affected. Furthermore, the subjects themselves, whilst dead, are still owed

an ethical consideration — their inability to give consent does not mean that consent should be assumed.

Moore speaks of the "conflict of interest that can exist between researcher and participant, even when the participant is dead" (2010, p. 268). Gallois uses the term 'presentism' to discuss the mistake of applying present morals to past situations, without taking into consideration how understandings of moral concepts could, and often would have been fundamentally different (2011). In dealing with this issue then, it seems a two-pronged approach is appropriate, in which it is necessary to divide potential subjects into two separate groups with separate ethical considerations and separate responses.

The first group could be classified as private citizens — these are people who may be quoted in the newspapers giving personal opinions. For this group, I applied a principalist approach (Israel, 2015); respect for autonomy and non-maleficence for both subjects and their descendants outweighing justice as criteria for not publishing potentially damaging material about them. This does not mean not using the data, but anonymising it so as to avoid the weight of contemporary judgement on subjects whose subjectivities would have been formed in conditions so profoundly different from the world in which we now find ourselves, it could be considered unethical to expose them to such scrutiny.

The second group could be classified as public figures — these are public officials, representatives of the institutions that govern. Their statements are not personal opinions, but public statements made within their capacity as instruments of state power. These published statements were made as a means to propagate a certain ideological position that upheld the position of the state. As such, this group does not have the same right to privacy as the first.

Here a critical approach is necessary, which interrogates the processes of power and domination within a society and attempts to expose how these processes structured society and its subjects (Israel, 2015). The ethical consideration here is not to protect privacy but examine how these statements and newspaper articles were used to support certain structures of dominance and to dehumanise and delegitimise non-acceptable 'subjects.' An ethical approach is one that lays bare these hidden structures and restores agency to 'non-subjects.'

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided details of the data collection, the research questions, data analysis and corpus compilation. I have also considered some of the limitations and ethics of the study. The thesis turns now to the presentation of data. The results are structured in three chapters which correspond with the three data collection phases, and which follow logically into each other. As the first widespread non-white immigration occurred in the 1800s, the first chapter examines the Pre-Federation period, and considers how race came to be metaphorically structured in colonial Australia.

Chapter 5 Pre-Federation Australia (1854–1900): the construction of race

5.1 Introduction

Consideration of the metaphoric framing of immigration is only comprehensible in the context of the State, most commonly the nation-*state,* against which it is constructed. The emphasis on the *state* is crucial, as the entity responsible for the legal and political structures through which immigration could be interdicted or controlled. Yet nations and states are not coterminous, with nationalism[1] functioning to both create a state from a pre-existing nation, and to create a nation within a pre-existing state (Seton-Watson, 1977). While the identification of states is relatively straightforward, the discerning of a nation is less so, although there is some consensus of the nation as an 'imagined' community (Anderson, 1991, p. 6), one in which a substantial body of people 'consider themselves to form a nation' (Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 5). As a colonial possession, in order for Australia to assert the autonomy necessary to become a state, it first had to move towards becoming a nation and it is this process that is the focus of this chapter.

While the nations enshrined within nation-states "always loom out of an immemorial past" (Anderson, 1991, p. 11), this is complicated within colonial constructs, where an imagined past does not correspond with a territorial present. This was particularly true of settler colonies which, unlike other colonial ventures that sought to dominate colonised peoples for the extraction of surplus value from their labour and resources, was centred on the expropriation of land for the settler group and the elimination of its native inhabitants (Wolfe, 2001, 2006). This expropriation was underpinned by an assertion of rights to the land (Wolfe, 2013), given

1. A highly contested term, understood here as both a 'doctrine about the character, interests, rights and duties of nations' and 'an organised political movement, designed to further the alleged aims and interests of nations' (Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 3).

expression within Australia through the fiction of *terra nullius* (Edmonds & Carey, 2016) and the ideological justification that white colonial settlers could make better use of the land (Wolfe, 2006), with alleged Aboriginal nomadism used to render Indigenous peoples' prior ownership and land rights invalid (Wolfe, 2001). This claim to land was foundational to settler identity with Wolfe concluding: "Settlers are not born. They are made in the dispossessing, a ceaseless obligation that has to be maintained across the generations if the Natives are not to come back. Along with the land, then, come identity, selfhood, family, belonging, all the qualities that make us fight" (Wolfe, 2013, p. 1).

Settler colonial identity is therefore inextricable from the land it seeks to claim, with the settler "territorialised in unprecedented ways" (Veracini, 2010, p. 80). Yet the trauma of settler societies, stemming in part from the foundational genocide, resulted in ongoing anxieties over settler legitimacy (Veracini, 2010). The *logic of elimination* (Wolfe, 2001) that characterised settler relations with the original Indigenous inhabitants was underpinned by the alleged superiority of settlers' territorial claims, yet the arrival of Chinese immigrants during the gold rush of the 1850s diminished such clear distinctions, triggering further anxieties. In this chapter I argue that the presence of immigrant Others, neither Indigenous nor settler, complicated settler claims to the land, with this shaping the ways immigrants (and settlers) were metaphorically constructed. Through metaphors of threat and deviance, Chinese immigrants were constructed as a racialised, deviant out-group, with this explicitly legitimating their exclusion from the colonies, while simultaneously implicitly legitimating settler colonial occupation.

Settler societies, whilst founded on invasion and dispossession, were nonetheless idealistic enterprises, underpinned by the desire for a more equitable society (Lake, 2018a; Veracini,

2010). Increasingly, settler colonial identity was animated by notions of social and political equality, and the establishment of a nation in which the stratified class distinctions of England were left behind (Lake, 2018b). Indeed, it was through universal (white) male suffrage[2] and the doctrine of equality for all men that the colonies distinguished themselves from the 'mother country'. Yet alongside such sentiments was the structural invasion of Australia[3] and the exclusion of racialised Others. When considering the shift towards liberalism in late nineteenth century Australia, Lake has concluded: "In their espousal of the twin ideals of political equality and racial exclusion, these English-speaking democracies were extensions of the British world but also repudiations of the economic, social, and political hierarchies that defined Britain itself" (Lake, 2018a, p. 12).

Yet these twin ideals of equality and exclusion are less contradictory than initial appearances. Mehta suggests that racial exclusion is inherent within liberalism, with the universal 'natural' attributes that qualify all men as bearers of humanity, in fact complex expressions of socially inculcated, hierarchical and exclusionary dispositions and practices (Mehta, 1990). This made "cultural literacy and competence" the "de facto criteria by which racial membership was assigned" (Stoler, 2002, p. 17). Other racial groups, that did not possess the same 'natural' attributes were excluded from the category of man, and exempted from the protections it afforded, as demonstrated by the scale of colonial dispossession across the globe. As Wolfe has surmised about the extermination of Indigenous peoples in the United States "Race enabled the 'men' being destroyed to be separable from the 'man' in humanity" (Wolfe, 2001, p. 876).

Racial distinctions were therefore intrinsic to the liberal language of political equality, particularly within settler colonies, legitimating the dispossession of 'lesser' races. Within the

2. Rights not obtained in Britain until WW1 (Lake, 2018a).
3. Wolfe states: "settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event" (2006, p. 388).

United States, it has been suggested that slavery, with its exclusion of the black 'race' from humanity, played a key role in instituting the political language of freedom for whites (Morgan, 1972). I argue that the Chinese played a comparable role in the language of equality that increasingly came to dominate white Australian settler identity with its emphasis on liberal democracy. The construction of a racial Other exempted from common bonds of humanity, simultaneously constructed the white Australia settler group, unified in their desire for an egalitarian political democracy, levelling earlier class-based distinctions in the process. During the 1850s, previously class-based metaphors became tools by which the Chinese were racialised. This was a dialectical process as "ascribing real or imagined biological characteristics with meaning to define the Other necessarily entails defining the Self by the same criteria" (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 101). Through the metaphoric racialisation of the Chinese immigrant out-group, the settler colonial in-group was also racialised, with this providing the foundations for the nascent Australian nationalist sentiment that developed in this period.

The chapter begins with the metaphors used to frame the nation, demonstrating how the first nation metaphors were constructed in relation to racialised immigrant Others, which in turn gave metaphoric shape to the nation. The chapter then provides an overview of the main immigration metaphors within this period, demonstrating how conceptual metaphors based in a topos of threat constructed the Chinese as intrinsically dangerous and external to the settler colonial in-group, while conceptual metaphors within a topos of deviance constructed Chinese immigrants as savages or animals, in contrast to the dialectical construction of settler colonial civilisation and humanity. Furthermore, I argue that war metaphors functioned to displace the foundational invasion of the territory, allowing white settlers to enact their 'indigeneity'.

Following this, the chapter then examines two main points of metaphor use. Commencing with the arrival of the Chinese in the 1850s, the chapter demonstrates how the Chinese were metaphorically racialised, with the deviance of lower-class whites displaced onto the Chinese. Stoler uses the term *racecraft* to describe racial discourses' "capacity and potential to work through sedimented and familiar cultural representations of and relations of subjugation that simultaneously tap into and feed the emergence of new ones" (Stoler, 2016, p. 249). This racialising transference of deviance and threat, was essential for burgeoning understandings of white settler identity. Yet racial distinctions are inherently unstable, necessitating the ongoing creation of racial difference. Following this, the chapter moves to the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the movement towards Federation and nationhood, demonstrating how constructions of immigrant Others, both implicitly and explicitly, constructed a sense of nation centred around whiteness. The chapter turns first to the metaphors by which the nation first came to be constructed, demonstrating the necessity of immigrant Others for the construction of the nation(al).

5.2 Nation Metaphors

Metaphors do not function in isolation; they are only comprehensible in relation to other metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Thus, a conceptual metaphor like IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATERS functions in relation to an associated metaphor; for water to be dangerous, there must be an entity it threatens — a container which it is external to, whose integrity it imperils. As the threat from immigration is most commonly conceived of in national terms, the corresponding metaphor structures the nation as a form of container, most commonly as a house or a body (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006; Santa Ana,1999, 2002; Chilton & Ilyin, 1993). Structuring an understanding of the nation as inherently bounded, self-contained and discrete clearly resonates with notions of nationalism, which emphasise the need for

correspondence between political and cultural boundaries (Gellner, 1983, 1997), while also binding together the people 'contained' within against 'outsiders' who are threatening to *invade* the established boundaries.

Yet 1850s Australia was a collection of colonies; thus, the earliest metaphors were concerned with the *open doors* of the colony-house. However, the turn towards Federation was accompanied by increasing invocations of an Australian nation-house. This shift, from colonies considering themselves individual houses towards being a singular entity, occurred more consistently from 1887, reflecting the wider shift towards colonies viewing themselves as part of a self-contained nation, eventuating in Federation. The ideological importance of a united continent to settler colonial identity cannot be underestimated, with Australia's first PM Edmund Barton stating: "a continent for a nation and a nation for a continent" (quoted in McGregor, 2006, p. 494). Gellner has also spoken of "the symbolism of land" within "the emotional poetry of nationalism" (Gellner, 1997, p. 48), with this particularly true for settler colonial territorial claims.

5.2.1 NATION as HOUSE

While there were some HOUSE metaphors in the 1854–56 period, they were generally applied to the colony:

> Our present law has proved almost inoperative, and is evaded as systematically as the law forbidding Sunday trading in public houses -— the *back door* is crowded, though the *front door* is *locked* (*Argus*, 1856).[ii]

However, from 1887 the metaphoric framing of NATION as HOUSE became commonplace:

> An *influx* at any one point of the continent would be a *menace* to the whole, and it is useless to close the *front doors* of our principal ports if the *back door* of the continent at Port Darwin is to remain always *open* (*SMH*, 1899).[iii]

> He still desired to secure concerted action to resist the attempts of Chinese to enter Australia, by every *door*; indeed, by every *crevice* (*Argus*, 1993).[iv]

The nation is constructed as a house, with various ports functioning as *doors* into the interior. Framed in terms of security, an immigrant *influx* is conceived of as a *menace* that needs to be *resisted,* with this requiring united action. Through invocations of a singular, contained, national *house,* settler claims were naturalised; the shared dangers of the *open back door,* subtly flagged the nation into existence (Billig, 1995).

5.2.2 NATION as BODY/IMMIGRATION as DISEASE

In addition to NATION as HOUSE metaphors, the 1890s also saw increasing NATION as BODY metaphors. While the metaphor *blood* had been present since the 1850s, functioning synonymously with race, it was only in the 1890s that there occurred a range of references to body parts, suggesting a much stronger conception of the nation as an entire body. More than the nation-house, which may have different rooms, a garden and gates, the nation-body is a fully integrated, organic entity, able to function as an independent whole, its parts fully interdependent and inseparable. This framing of the nation demonstrates an ideological evolvement from earlier periods, when individual colonies formed the unit of identification and intercolonial differences were perceived as more significant than intercolonial ties. This

increased resonance is discussed in Chapter 6, when the NATION-BODY became the primary metaphor for constructing the new Australian nation.

There was also a related increase in IMMIGRATION as DISEASE metaphors and associated medical metaphors as prophylaxis against the threat. Within this, initially implicitly, but later explicitly, Federation became framed as the *cure.* Schön's notion of the generative metaphor stipulates that the metaphoric framing of an issue in turn delimits the possible responses (1979) and this was perfectly illustrated by the disease/remedy framing applied to migration and the proffered responses to it.

Whether as a house or body, the metaphors against which immigration was structured constructed the national in-group as a self-contained whole to which immigrants were intrinsically external and threatening. Yet it was only through the immigrant out-group, 'the constitutive outside'(Hall, 1996a, pp. 4–5), that the nation-house was constituted. Only through closing the doors did the house exist — thus immigrant Others gave shape to the nation. The chapter turns now to the metaphors used to construct immigrants and their dialectical construction of the national Self.

5.3 Immigrant/Immigration Metaphors

The vast majority of metaphors identified referred directly to immigrants or immigration, often appearing together, structuring immigration in an amalgamation of negative terms. The main metaphors are illustrated in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Immigrant and Immigration metaphors in *The Argus, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1854 and 1900

IMMIGRANT/IMMIGRATION METAPHORS PRE-FEDERATION 1854-1900		
Type	*Source Domain*	*Example*
Primary	DANGEROUS WATER	*Influx, swamp, flood, pour*
Secondary	WAR	*Invasion, hordes, overrun, host*
Other main	SAVAGE	*Barbarians, pagans, heathens, tribe*
	ANIMAL	*Teeming, flocking, herds, ants*
	SYNECDOCHE	*John Chinaman, yellow, coloured*
Occasional	DISEASE	*Contamination, plague, filth*
	NATURAL DISASTER	*Earthquake, eruption, calamity*
	MIXED MEANING	*Irruption, infiltration, overwhelm*
	RUBBISH	*Offscouring, scum, offal, dregs*

While most metaphors were observed across the time period studied, their numbers varied. DANGEROUS WATER metaphors were dominant across every sample period, with WAR secondary for all but one period. However, ANIMAL and SAVAGE metaphors were most common in the initial period, being used to racialise both the Chinese and the settlers, declining once the binarising boundaries between whiteness and non-whiteness had begun to crystallise (see Figure 5.1).

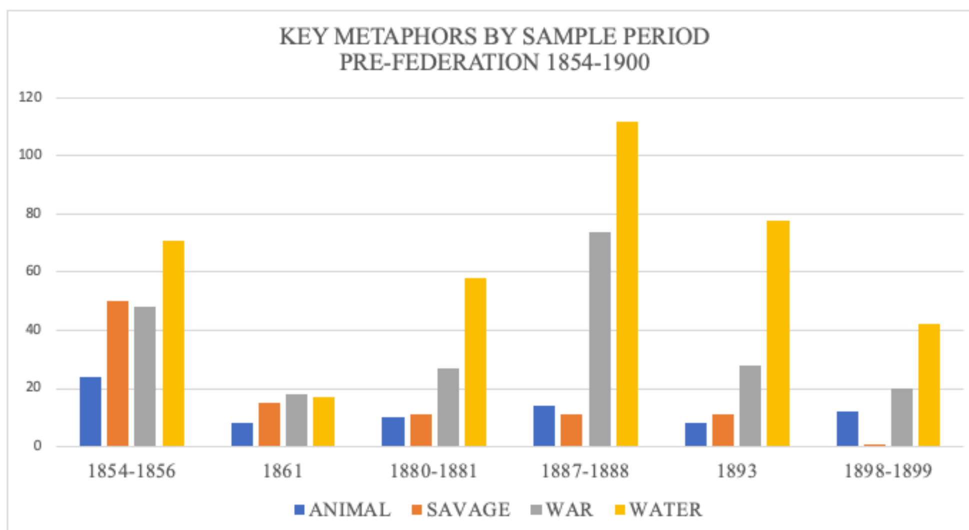

Figure 5.1 Number of ANIMAL, SAVAGE, WAR & WATER metaphors by sample period in *The Argus, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1854 and 1900

The most common conceptual metaphors IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATERS and IMMIGRATION as WAR were highly persuasive in positioning immigrants as essentially exterior to and threatening of the colony or nation. Whether as *influxes* about to *swamp* the nation, or as *hordes of invaders,* immigrants were constructed as a dangerous, undifferentiated mass. Both relied heavily on implicit container metaphors, increasingly based around the nation and generated powerful fear responses, eliciting a strong, racialised identification. As constructive strategies, based in a topos of immigrant threat (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2002), Chinese immigrants were negatively constructed as an out-group, in contrast to a settler colonial in-group.

5.3.1 IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATERS

The dominant metaphoric theme within the 1850–1900 time period was the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATERS (Santa Ana, 2002). This mapped the semantic source domain, dangerous water, onto the semantic target domain, immigration (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 The metaphoric mapping of the IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER conceptual metaphor

IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER METAPHORIC MAPPING		
Conceptual metaphor: IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER		
Conceptual mapping:		
Semantic Source Domain of DANGEROUS WATER	→	Semantic Target Domain of IMMIGRATION
1) singular fluid mass	→	1) singular fluid mass
2) difficult/impossible to control	→	2) difficult/impossible to control
3) destructive of land or property		3) destructive of (national) land or property
4) threatening to indivdual's lives	→	4) threatening to national life
Linguistic metaphors:		
influx	→	A vast *influx* of Chinese is coming
swamp	→	We are being *swamped* by foreigners
flood	→	The country will be *flooded* by immigrants

This conceptual mapping of dangerous water onto immigration allows for the following associations:

a) water is a singular, fluid mass, hence immigrants become a singular mass, their individuality obscured;

b) water can be difficult or impossible to control, hence immigration is understood as inherently difficult/impossible to control;

c) water, in particular flood water, is destructive of land or property, thus immigration is seen as destructive of national land i.e. the country, or national property i.e. the culture possessed by the nation;

d) dangerous waters can be threatening to individuals' lives, with immigration constructed as threatening to national life.

Metaphors structure (and reflect) the way people understand something. By focusing on one aspect, they automatically obscure others (Goatly, 2011; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Within IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER metaphors, any possible benefits of Chinese immigration were obscured — immigrants were presented in fully negative and dangerous terms. Furthermore, in structuring the way something is understood, metaphors also structure the potential responses (Schön, 1979). The prescribed responses to *influxes, floods* and *pouring tides* is protection; barriers need to be erected, restrictive measures to be taken.

Influx

The primary immigration metaphor was *influx*. While *influx* can refer to an inflow of not just fluids, but also other elements such as air, light, heat etc (OED), it can also be used to specifically describe water as in "The flowing of a river or stream *into* another river, a lake, or the sea; the point at which this takes place, the mouth of a river" (OED). The overwhelming

use of *influx* in conjunction with other WATER metaphors, alongside Santa Ana's[4] designation of *influx* as a DANGEROUS WATER metaphor (Santa Ana, 1999, 2002) have led me to also categorise it as a WATER metaphor. While not intrinsically negative, in this period *influx,* through its collocates, conceptualised immigration as threatening and potentially overwhelming:

> *A vast influx* of Chinese was daily coming, and the question was, whether they should be admitted (*Argus,* 1855).[v]

> But the great social questions arising out of *a vast influx* of an *inferior race*, having no sympathies in common with the people whose soil they inhabit, and drawing after them *countless hordes* from *a population practically inexhaustible*, are of infinite moment (*SMH,* 1855).[vi]

The pairing of *influx* with terms emphasising volume such as *a vast influx* or *countless hordes* is an intensification strategy, (Wodak, 2009), strengthening the metaphoric impact. The Chinese *inferior race* are disparaged for having nothing in common *with the people* (the settlers) *whose soil they inhabit*. *Soil* has a particularly strong resonance with notions of national identity and belonging (Bauman, 1992). Chinese immigration is explicitly constructed in relation to settlers' claims to the land, with such territoriality "settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). From the commencement of anti-Chinese rhetoric, Chinese exteriority was used to flag white settler interiority or belonging.

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4. Upon whose work this project builds.

Furthermore, *influx* was not limited to Chinese migrants. From the 1890s, *influx* was used to refer to Syrians, Indian and even Jewish migrants,[5] with all the established associations transferred to the new immigrants, constructing them as undesirable, threatening and external.

> But *the threatened influx* of *an inferior* class of immigrants,[6] and such as tends to the *moral and physical deterioration* of the *European stock* that has made Australia its *home*, appeals to a higher sense than that of mere personal gain, and a movement in the direction of staying *such influx* will probably obtain many recruits from all classes of society (*SMH,* 1893).[vii]

The *inferiority* of the immigrants is directly juxtaposed with the *European stock* at *home* in Australia. Stoler has concluded "racism was not a colonial reflex, fashioned to deal with the distant Other, but part of the making of Europeans themselves" (Stoler, 2002, p. 144). This can be seen in the subsumption of *all classes of society* within the wider category of *European stock* when compared to Other, *inferior immigrants*, highlighting the manner in which racial Otherness was a means to define white racial solidarity. Furthermore, the threat from the *influx* is defined in terms of *moral and physical deterioration* — thus, immigrants are constructed as not only inferior but as fundamentally incapable of co-existence with the *European stock* without permanent, irreconcilable damage.

Other DANGEROUS WATER metaphors

There were also a range of other DANGEROUS WATER metaphors; the most common were *Pour, Stream, Swamp, Flood, Tide* and *Flow.* WATER metaphors often appeared in combination

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5. Who also began to be racialised as non-white within Australia in this period (Stratton, 1996).
6. Referring to Syrian and Indian immigration.

with each other and other non-WATER metaphors, and were intensified with adjectives or verbs that flagged the continued or persistent nature of the volume and movement:

> The comparative proximity of the Chinese empire to Australia, and its power to *pour down* upon our land *vast hordes* of its people (*Argus,* 1888).[viii]

> It is impossible to estimate the extent of the evil that must arise to the colony if the *tide* of this dangerous immigration from China should be allowed to *flow unrestrained* *(Argus,* 1855).[ix]

> If any *considerable stream* of immigration was to set in here from China, we need hardly say that there would be no difficulty whatever in *swamping* the European population in this colony altogether (*SMH,* 1887).[x]

> it is obvious that unless something is quickly done to restrict the *stream* of Chinese immigration, the *tide* will eventually discomfit, if it does not *overwhelm* us (*WA,* 1893).[xi]

Whether as *vast hordes* that *pour down* or as a *considerable stream* that can *swamp* or *overwhelm,* the Chinese are constructed as a vast mass, intrinsically exterior to but threatening of the colonies. This puts Chinese immigration in direct opposition to the land they threaten, which is then flagged (Billig, 1995) as belonging to the *European population* or simply *us.* There is a further statement of territoriality through the use of *our land,* again highlighting how Chinese immigration was negatively constructed in relation to settlers' claims to land.

While all DANGEROUS WATER metaphors were observed over the entire period, their usage changed over time. In the 1854–55 period, *pour* and *stream* were the most commonly used — at a time when Chinese migration was at its highest point, this emphasis on volume is unsurprising. During the 1880s, however, there was a shift to *swamp,* and *flood* which are more closely connected with higher-level container metaphors, the reasons for which are discussed below (section 5.5.1.2).

5.3.2 IMMIGRATION as WAR

The second most prevalent conceptual metaphor over the Pre-Federation period, was IMMIGRATION as WAR, which mapped the semantic source domain, war onto the semantic target domain of water (see Table 5.3)

Table 5.3 The metaphoric mapping of the IMMIGRATION as WAR conceptual metaphor

IMMIGRATION as WAR METAPHORIC MAPPING		
Conceptual metaphor: IMMIGRATION as WAR		
Conceptual mapping:		
Semantic Source Domain of WAR	→	Semantic Target Domain of IMMIGRATION
1) site of conflict	→	1) site of conflict
2) provoked by hostile/aggressive adversaries	→	2) immigrants as hostile/aggressive adversaries
3) about control of resources/worldview	→	3) about control of resources/worldview
4) presumes an enemy	→	4) immigrants constructed as enemies
Linguistic metaphors:		
invasion	→	The *invasion* of an alien race
overrun	→	We will not *submit* to being *overrun*
hordes	→	The *invasion* of this colony by Tartar *hordes*

The conceptual mapping again entails the transference of various associations:

a) war is a conflict provoked by hostile and aggressive adversaries; thus, migration is understood as a site of conflict provoked by migrants, who are by nature hostile and aggressive;

b) war is about control of resources and the power to assert a particular world view; thus, migration is framed comparably, with migrants threatening both;

c) war always presumes an enemy; therefore, migrants are constructed as enemies.

Such mappings include an entire assemblage of relations, including knowledge, properties, behaviour and interrelationships, all of which are transferred from the source domain (Charteris-Black, 2004). Through a topos of threat, immigrants are explicitly framed as enemies, constructing the colonists as a unified in-group against a clearly defined out-group, with exclusion justified (van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 2009). Through the construction of the Chinese Other, there was the dialectical construction of the settler Self.

Invasion

Almost half of all WAR metaphors were a variation on *invade/invasion,* mostly using the noun *invasion* instead of the verb *invade* or the person noun *invader.* The use of *invasion* takes a process, people immigrating (invading) and, through nominalisation, transforms it into an entity. Nominalisation "is a resource for generalizing and abstracting… … but can also obfuscate agency and responsibility" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 220).Within this context, the effect is to obscure the individual intentions and agency of Chinese people moving to Australia into an undifferentiated, undesirable actuality. Significantly, the use of *invasion* presumes a conscious, targeted act of aggression although nominalisation circumvents the need to demonstrate individual intentionality. Instead, questions about how, why or crucially *if* they are *invading* are foreclosed, and the *invasion* is transformed into a fact. This justifies defence, structuring all potential responses in terms of security, protection and counterattack.

Invasion metaphors are prevalent in anti-immigration rhetoric in many parts of the world (Charteris-Black, 2006; Inda, 2000; Santa Ana, 2002), having a particular resonance with discourses of nationalism. There are a host of assumptions embedded within an *invasion* metaphor: existential assumptions — that there is such a thing as a nation, that there are people who *naturally* belong; as well as propositional assumptions — that it is possible to be invaded, that an invasion can and is taking place; and finally value assumptions — that this is bad and dangerous (Fairclough, 2003). Similar assumptions also underpin beliefs in nationalism (Gellner, 1983, 1997). As such, metaphors of invasion are also instances of banal nationalism[7] (Billig, 1995); in stating that a country is being invaded by outsiders, there is the implicit flagging of the nation, and the national in-group, as existing.

> We feel convinced, however, that nine out of every ten people are firmly convinced that we have a right to regulate their immigration — to *defend ourselves* against anything like an *invasion* on a large scale -— and that not only does the right exist, but that it is our duty to exercise it (*Argus,* 1880).[xii]

> An *invasion* of "*shoals*" of Chinamen of the lower classes could in no circumstances be desirable (*WA,* 1880)[xiii]

> That our sea-board should be open to the *invasion* of an *alien* race is a matter of national concern (*WA,* 1893).[xiv]

[7] Which perhaps accounts for their prevalence in immigration discourse in other countries also (Charteris-Black, 2006; Santa Ana, 2002).

Defence from *invasion* was constructed as not only a *right* but a *duty,* with such duty increasingly framed as a *national concern.* Chinese *invaders* were further constructed as *shoals (*flagging both WATER and ANIMAL metaphors) or *aliens,* and *lower class* to boot.

The use of *invasion* within a settler-colonial context is particularly salient. Settler claims to territory were dependent on the elimination of Indigenous peoples, alongside a disavowal of this violence of dispossession, the inherent trauma of which generated ongoing anxieties about legitimacy (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Through the displacement of *invasion* onto the Chinese, there was an erasure of the colonies' foundational violence, alongside an affirmation of settler legitimacy. Thus, there is the repeated use of the deixis of nation (Billig, 1995): *our sea-board, our land, we* laying further proprietorial claim to the territory being invaded.

The role that the fear of Asian invasion has consistently played within the Australian national imaginary has been widely noted (Burke, 2008; Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Papastergiadis, 2004; Walker, 1999). I suggest that this is, in part, due to the displacement of settler colonial anxiety. Freud speaks of displacement in terms of a *substitutive idea* which "on the one hand is connected by association with the rejected idea, and, on the other, has escaped repression by reason of its remoteness from that idea." Thus, we can think of the Chinese *invasion* as substituting the repressed recognition of the foundational invasion. This *substitutive idea* i.e. the *Chinese* invasion "permits the still uninhibitable development of anxiety to be rationalised" (Freud, 1984, p. 185) — that is, it allows for the rationalisation of an inescapable settler colonial anxiety through its substitution. The metaphoric nature of the *invasion* makes it a potent tool for displacement. There is no explicit substitution of actual *invasion* for *invasion,* but rather through the IMMIGRATION as WAR conceptual metaphor, ontological correspondences about war, and particularly invasion, get mapped onto the more abstract domain of

immigration. As such, anxieties can be metaphorically displaced onto immigration without explicitly triggering the repressed foundational invasion trauma.

Other WAR metaphors

While a variety of WAR metaphors were observed,[8] the majority appeared occasionally and included: *hosts, incursion, enemy, army, vanguard* and *troops*. Two metaphors which occurred more frequently were *hordes* and *overrun. Hordes* suggests a tribe of warriors; thus, while a WAR metaphor, it also triggers IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE entailments (see below). Likewise, *overrun,* functions as a military metaphor, suggesting *invasion* and *occupation*, but also refers to water *inundation* or *swamping,* thereby activating IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER entailments. It is possibly the double connotations of these metaphors that accounted for their prevalence. WAR metaphors were often used in combination with each other, intensifying their impact through powerful metaphoric associations:

> She had sent *us detachments* from her *teeming* millions, struggling, hither at first, in *single file*, and then *trooping* in so thick and fast that *we* became alarmed (*SMH,* 1898).[xv]

> It is one thing to be hospitable to the stranger; it is another to *submit* to be *overrun*. At a certain point hospitality gives place to *self-preservation (SMH,* 1881).[xvi]

> *We* have made up *our* minds not to be *overrun* by the Chinese or any other *inferior* race, and no proposal to relax the precautions which serve to *keep back* the threatened Chinese *invasion* would be listened to for a moment (*SMH,* 1887).[xvii]

8. 20 linguistic metaphors.

A vivid picture is produced of an endless army descending on the country with *teeming millions,* who first arrive in *single file* but later are *trooping in thick and fast,* suggesting numbers of arrivals were escalating *alarmingly.* The racial *inferiority* of the Chinese is invoked both explicitly and implicitly (through the ANIMAL metaphor *teeming*), with WAR metaphors directly linked to *self-preservation* and a clear differentiation between the Chinese *they (*or *She — in contrast to the masculinity of the settler colonies)* and the settler *we.* Settler *hospitality* is constructed in relation to Chinese *strangers* flagging their respective roles as *occupant/host* of the national house and interloper, again naturalising settler occupation. As with explicit *invasion* metaphors, there is a displacement of violence, with this maybe accounting for the richness of WAR metaphors, which revealed the true violence of the frontier.

5.3.3 Other prominent metaphors

The other main conceptual metaphors used to discuss immigration were IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE, IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL as well as a group referred to as Synecdoche, which used individual markers to refer to migrants as a unified, homogenous mass.[9] Whereas DANGEROUS WATERS and WAR metaphors posit migrants as inherently external and threatening, the following metaphors structured migrants in negative relations to the colonists, constructing antithetical identities for the two groups (Wodak, 2009). When immigrants' savageness was flagged it implicitly flagged the civilisation of the colonists. Likewise, their bestial nature was also a flagging of the humanity of the colonists. The use of metonymic devices such as *John*[10] to refer to all Chinese migrants, or *yellow* to highlight visible points of difference, reiterated and strengthened whiteness as a category for racial identification. Through such constructions, the superiority and humanity of the colonists was preserved while

9. For less common conceptual metaphors see Appendix.
10. Perhaps in contrast to *John Bull* to refer to Englishmen.

simultaneously justifying the enactment of inhumane or uncivilised treatment and restrictions (Charteris-Black, 2006). The racialised framing of migrants as animals or savages and the embedded reiteration of the opposite qualities in the settlers, was structured by the process of negative out-group, positive in-group characterisation (van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 2009), a process known as 'the ideological square'(van Dijk, 1998), increasing in-group identification and out-group marginalisation.

IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE

IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE metaphors constructed the Chinese as *barbarians, pagans, tribes, heathens,* alongside references to them as *inferior* or *lower races.* Stripping immigrants of their civilisation legitimated treatment that would have been denied those falling within the bounds of humanity. The vast majority of diverse IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE metaphors appeared during the initial period (see Figure 5.1) and clearly differentiated the Chinese as a distinct racial type (Banton, 1998) drawing on existing 'scientific' taxonomies of race, combined with extensive references to their immorality.

> The diffusion of such *immoralities* as are the necessary accompaniment of these *barbarians* among a community such as ours cannot but be attended with the most vitiating results (*Argus,* 1855).[xviii]

> I speak from personal observation, when I state, the morality of Chinese emigrants to be of *a fearfully low character* — the morality of the *heathen* (*Argus,* 1855).[xix]

Despite these negative characterisations of the Chinese racial type, it has been noted that most discourse around racial Others within the colonial context, was based more on the political and

social requirements of settlers than either scientific belief or actual observation (Banton, 1998), with the Chinese/Australian encounter no different (Fitzgerald, 2007). Discussions of immorality and deviance had previously been embedded within anti-convict discourses. Yet SAVAGE metaphors displaced immorality from lower-class white immigrants onto the Chinese, unifying white colonials within the *community such as ours,* and obscuring the fact that immorality and *fearfully low character* had been widely attributed to lower-class, in particular convict, whites just a few years earlier (Elbourne, 2003; McKenzie, 2003).

From the 1880s, the most common SAVAGE metaphor was *inferior races,* with explicit references to Chinese immorality and the evils of their migration similarly dissipating.[11] This reflects the evolution of ideas about race that occurred from the 1880s onwards, with the increasing prevalence of Social Darwinism, and with whiteness constructed in opposition to all other non-white, and thus inferior, races (Lake, 2008; Price, 1974). This marks a decisive shift from earlier considerations of convict or lower-class immorality. By the 1880s, white deviance had largely been effaced by non-white (immigrant) deviance through the ascendant discourses of white superiority, rendering earlier discursive moves to displace immorality onto the bodies of immigrants redundant.

Significantly, all instances of *inferior race* occurred in reports with at least two or more other metaphors. These were never limited to SAVAGE metaphors, but included the full range of DANGEROUS WATER, WAR, ANIMAL and other, less common, metaphors. While not every report with metaphoric framing of immigrants contained mention of *inferior races,* those that did tended to have a high metaphoric content generally, suggesting a link between negative metaphoric framing of immigrants and understandings of them as *inferior*. This is significant

11. Although a wider range of SAVAGE metaphors reappeared to characterise Syrian and Indian migration in the 1890s.

when considering the ongoing presence of many of these metaphors — from their earliest uses, they were used to construct immigrants in terms of (racial) inferiority.

IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL

A further trope was the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL. Framing immigrants as animals works similarly to SAVAGE metaphors, except instead of partially removing their humanity, it strips it away entirely. Such metaphors "embody a practical orientation. They are carriers of a "manual" with complete "what to do" instructions" (Hage, 2017, p. 10). Through the construction of immigrants as animals, specific ways of dealing with them are prescribed.

The metaphors were diverse including: *species, specimens, creatures, locusts, pests, stock*[12] and *thoroughbred,* with many occurring only occasionally. More common were *flocking, ants, herd, migratory* and *teeming*, and the primary linguistic metaphor was *swarm,* appearing in every sample period. Many ANIMAL metaphors emphasised the vast innumerable nature of immigrants, constructing them as uncontrollable, *swarming* insects:

> They will come fast enough of themselves. The good things of the new land having become once known to them, they will *swarm* to and fro like *a nest of ants*, as long as there is a load to be carried, or a foot of ground to be cultivated (*SMH,* 1855).[xx]

> in many places they now *swarm* upon *our* auriferous lands like *a cloud of locusts*, to the exclusion of *our own* people (*SMH,* 1861).[xxi]

[12] Stock was often used to refer to racial type, not always negatively. It was much more common in the White Australia period and is discussed in more detail in section 6.3.8.

The image evoked is of an excessive pest, spreading out like an infestation. *Swarming* metaphors link strongly to the management of national space, revealing the desire for control of innumerable racial Others (Hage, 2000). The second extract, referring to Chinese immigrants as *a cloud of locusts* that *swarm,* recalls biblical plagues, while the repeated use of deixis *our, our own* strongly constructs a defined human group from which the Chinese are excluded. Paradoxically, it was Chinese industriousness that resulted in their comparison with insects (Connolly, 1978), with their deviance and dehumanisation invoked due to their work ethic, not its lack. This demonstrates what Stoler has called racism's "essentialized malleable and substitutable range" leading her to conclude: "Racial essentialism may be constant but its content is *not*" (Stoler, 2016, p. 239, emphasis in original). This *malleability* is further demonstrated by other references that evoked images of domesticated animals:

> The tendency of Mongolians is to *herd* together in large cities in defiance of sanitary laws, and to the disgust of decent people (*Argus,* 1881).[xxii]

> Our people are so apt to take their ideas of the Chinese nation from the patient, *plodding specimens* they see in this country, that they forget the real facts of the case. China is undergoing a great change (*Argus,* 1881).[xxiii]

There is a stripping of humanity, and a reduction of people to unthinking, indistinguishable *herds*[13] of animals, incapable of rational thought, with limited emotion or feelings. These animal-like characteristics are said to account for their tolerance of conditions that would *disgust decent people.* Again, Chinese lack of humanity is used to highlight settler morality, with the positive representation of the settler in-group constructed implicitly in contrast to the

13. Usually applied to domesticated animals, *herd* can apply to any large group of mammals.

negative representation of the immigrant out-group (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1998). The discursive framing of Chinese as *herds*, draws on an image of the Chinese as hardworking and compliant; while less explicitly derogatory than *swarming* metaphors, it reflects the discourse of Chinese as passive and incapable of independence that provided justification for their exclusion from a free, egalitarian Australia (Fitzgerald, 2007). Thus, such metaphors functioned as "not just an "observational racist category" but a declaration of intent" (Hage, 2017, p. 11).

Synecdoche

Another form of metaphoric framing was metonymy, in particular synecdoche, which refers to the use of a part to refer to a whole. Metonymies "enable the speakers to conjure away responsible, involved or affected actors (whether victims or perpetrators), or to keep them in the semantic background" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 58). The most common metonymic expression was the use of *John* or *John Chinaman,* which was a popular way to refer to the Chinese in both the US and Australia throughout the nineteenth century. Based on Orientalist fiction of the time and bearing no resemblance to the realities of Chinese migration, the figure of *John* was a stock trope of Chinese discourse (Fitzgerald, 2007).

> We observe that *John Chinaman carries* his *objectionable* practices with him (*Argus,* 1856).[xxiv]

> With his usual sagacity, *John* has discovered that the Ovens diggings possess capital fossicking ground, and the result is that we are being literally *overrun* with these "*oriental oddities*" (*Argus,* 1856).[xxv]

John is a *particularising synecdoche*, typical of stereotyping and prejudice, common until the 1950s in formal discourse, whereby “groups of social actors are presupposed to be homogeneous and are selectively ascribed a specific, allegedly shared, either negative or positive feature, trait, mentality and so on” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 63). *John* took singular verbs, reducing all Chinese immigrants to a unified, undistinguishable mass — immigrants were de-individuated, presumed to share the same character, outlook and habits. Thus, *John* was the repository of all of the Chinese’s alleged *objectionable practices,* the reductive nature of the singular verbs obscuring the diversity and complexity of Chinese migrants. Even when the plurality of the Chinese was acknowledged, they were reduced to *oriental oddities.* While references to *John* were most common in the 1854–56 period, they persisted throughout the entirety of the Pre-Federation period.

The other common form of metonymic reference was, from the 1880s, *yellow,* and in the 1890s, *coloured,* to signify the innate difference of immigrants. This correlates with an increase in the term *white* to describe settlers (Price, 1974), and to structure ethnocentric discourses of identity (Cole, 1971a). The use of colours is a form of *somatisation,* that is “the linguistic construction of social actors by synecdochisingly picking out a part or characteristic of their body” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 53). Somatisation is a form of objectification, used widely as a means for racialisation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001); the use of *yellow* or *coloured* racialises immigrants as non-white. In the first extract below, the Chinese question is stated to be an economic one, yet the Chinese are still referred to as *the yellow intruder.*

> That is really the grievance of those who are loudest in their demand for the exclusion of the *yellow intruder*. The Chinese question is an economic question, and for that reason it is a political one (*SMH,* 1881).[xxvi]

> We used to hope that the stringent provisions of the Chinese Restriction Act had delivered us from the *yellow peril (SMH,* 1898).[xxvii]

> Would not somebody come and tell them what this *yellow monster* with *the head* and *the tail* at one end of his precious body had ever done for Australia, beyond picking up the gold and leaving in its stead poverty and vice? (*Argus,* 1887).[xxviii]

Yellow is repeatedly collocated with hostile nouns to describe the Chinese; hence *peril, intruder* and even *monster.* The pairing of the metonymic signifier of difference *yellow,* with such nouns restates the essentially negative nature of the Other; they look different, they are different. The Chinese ponytail, providing another visible, persistently noted signifier of difference was used to highlight the perversity of the Chinese *monster,* with both *head and tail* together, in defiance of the laws of nature. Such perversity found its expression in the *poverty and vice* that the monster left behind.

Colour or *coloured,* appearing in response to the migration of Afghan, Syrian and Indians in the 1890s, was used less descriptively than *yellow,* being restricted to *coloured races, coloured population,* and occasionally *the coloured problem.* Nonetheless, its repeated appearances in the 1890s, highlights the power emergent discourses of whiteness had for establishing the boundaries of acceptability (Lake, 2008). Whether as *yellow* or *coloured*, groups were constructed in terms that underscored their non-whiteness. As whiteness was increasingly constructed as the repository for morality, righteousness and civilisation, non-whiteness signified the opposite of all these qualities. Through the negative Other representation in the use of somatising terms, there was also an implicit positive self-representation embedded in

the whiteness against which other colours were constructed (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1998). Other metonymic signifiers of difference used in this period were *rice-eaters, almond-eyed* and *saffron-hued.*

Through the construction of Chinese (and other non-white migrant) difference, whiteness was created as a legitimate category of racial identification, with racial unity supporting social unity (Offner, 1988). The main conceptual metaphors outlined here can be understood as constructive of non-white migrants as racially Other, while simultaneously constructing settlers as a white in-group. This construction of antithetical racial difference was a justification strategy to legitimate exclusion and discrimination and a perpetuation strategy to maintain the social status quo of racial differentiation and hierarchy (Wodak, 2009). Through these strategies, the inequality of the power relations that structured relations within colonial Australia were masked. This allowed for the development of a society based on an identification with whiteness and the promotion of egalitarianism and fair play whilst simultaneously excluding those constructed as unfit to participate. The chapter turns now to the ways in which metaphors were first used to construct Chinese racial difference, with the metaphors becoming racialised themselves in the process. This is then linked to the corresponding rehabilitation of lower-class whites which was essential for the intertwined discourses of whiteness and Australian egalitarianism that followed in later decades.

5.4 The racialisation of the Chinese

The most substantial use of metaphors was in *The Argus* between 1854–1856. Precipitated by the goldrush, the Chinese population increased dramatically, with the Chinese rapidly becoming the subject of extensive debate and newspaper coverage. Victoria was the first state

to pass immigration restriction legislation in 1855,[14] with the number of Chinese in the state increasing from 2,314 in early 1854 to 17,000 by mid 1855 (Choi, 1975, p. 19), and a concomitant increase in hostility towards them. Reduced yields on the goldfields, combined with an increased presence of Chinese resulted in greater competition for the available ground (Markus, 1979).[15] As a highly visible minority, the Chinese bore the brunt of the miners' frustration, resulting in an unprecedented paroxysm of anti-Chinese rhetoric.

The Argus itself had initially been a fairly radical newspaper, strongly supportive of the gold miners, and known for often inflammatory comment. However, the Eureka Stockade (1854) marked the beginning of the paper's shift towards a more conservative mindset (Young, 2019), although this was not immediate, and in the run-up to the new legislation, *The Argus* was firmly supportive of the miners' push for immigration restriction. While there were some anti-Chinese press reports in 1854, it was between April and June 1855 that a dense cluster of anti-Chinese reports appeared. These tended to be overwhelmingly negative in tone and had excessive use of metaphors, with the Chinese often talked about as *animals, invasions, floods* and *hordes* simultaneously.

The character and nature of the Chinese was a large part of many reports. This took different forms; one tactic was to disassociate the Chinese immigrants from 'real' Chinese, hence they were often referred to as *Mongols* or *Tartars*. The use of *Mongol*, with its association with Genghis Khan's warring hordes, may have represented a form of slippage with *Mongolian,* which was the designated racial type of the Chinese in nineteenth-century racial discourse (Banton, 1998), and a common means to describe them throughout the period. However, the

14. *An Act to Make Provisions for Certain Immigrants.*
15. Average earnings of diggers decreased from approximately $780 in 1852 to $284 in 1854 (Markus, 1979, p. 21).

shortening of the term would have generated a host of associations about the savagery of the immigrants, a preoccupation of the period, making it unlikely that such slippage was purely accidental.

Racialised discourses around the Chinese were the product of specific political and economic circumstances, and the social relations engendered by these. Whilst such discourses took place against an underlying framework of biological racial difference, their elaboration into specific anti-Chinese rhetoric was generated within a context of working class economic insecurity amid wider concerns about working class morality and settler legitimacy (Elbourne, 2003; McKenzie, 2003). By racialising the Chinese in terms of inferiority and deviance, the economic hardship and frustration of the working classes, alongside the class-based concerns about morality of the middle classes, could all be redirected towards an easily identifiable, visible minority. Omi and Winant (1986) describe racialisation as

> the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice or group. Racialisation is an ideological process, an historically specific one. Racial ideology is constructed from pre-existing conceptual (or, if one prefers, 'discursive') elements and emerges from the struggles of competing political projects and ideas seeking to articulate similar elements differently (quoted in Hollinsworth, 1998, p. 42).

Within 1855, the racialisation of the Chinese is clearly observable within *The Argus*. To illustrate this, there follows an analysis of the metaphors within a representative press report of that time, published in May 1855. Strongly opposed to Chinese migration, it refers to the debate on the proposed legislation. The second paragraph begins:

> Colonists those Chinese can never be; and those philanthropists who argue that it would be unchristian-like to interdict Chinese immigration, would be chary in coming forward to advocate the *intermingling* of the *Saxon blood* with *a debased Tartar race.*[xxix]

Saxon blood is used as a metonymic signifier of the racial distinctiveness of the colonists; used in juxtaposition with a *debased Tartar race*, it signifies the colonist as pure, and the immigrant as contaminant. This concept of contamination is intrinsically destabilising as it "both confirms and calls into question the discreteness of human kinds" (Stoler, 2016, p. 261). Through the potential contamination of *Saxon blood,* the racial distinctions signified are undermined. Thus, from the very commencement of Chinese racialisation, the instability of the underlying categories is revealed, revealing the need for racial boundaries to be (re)stated and foreshadowing the ongoing discursive work that would be necessary to maintain these conceptual categorisations.

The article continues:

> The presence of twenty thousand Chinese, amid a population of but three hundred thousand colonists, is a subject of *alarm*. In the face of large monthly additions to the *objectionable element*, we are told, though we dislike and abhor these *Tartar irruptions*, that we must *submit*, and that Tartars have as good right to *overrun* Victoria as the colonists to occupy it.[xxx]

The metaphor of a *Tartar* or Chinese *irruption* was common in this time. *Irruption* can have two meanings: either a form of violent invasion or a sudden increase in an animal population (OED). This makes *irruption* a particularly potent metaphor for describing the Chinese, as it

activates both ANIMAL and *invasion* metaphoric entailments, a double metaphoric sting. Both aspects of the *irruption* metaphor are then emphasized by the metaphor *overrun*, another metaphor that can be interpreted in terms of both an invasion, with the country occupied by enemies or an excessive spread of animals or plants: a garden can be overrun by pests or weeds.

A little further down the same paragraph continues:

> Would *Unogua* the *tallow*[16] faced, *Twankay*, with the *pig-tail*, or *Chow Chow* of the willow pattern, be acceptable suitors for colonial maidens? Would *Chopsticks* be a good son-in law, or pride of British race tolerate or admit within its family circle the *offscourings* of China?[xxxi]

Like *John Chinaman,* the use of names like *Chopsticks* was a common metonymic device to refer to all of the Chinese, taking singular verbs, and reducing all migrants to a single entity. Using fictional 'Chinese' names (Fitzgerald, 2007) was a way to de-individuate and diminish the Chinese into a ridiculous, racialised, stereotype. Notably, these are contrasted with *colonial maidens* — within colonial discourse, white women figured "as bearers of a redefined colonial morality" (Stoler, 2002, p. 57) — with the suggestion of sexual union between white women and Chinese males an intolerable affront to the *pride of British race.* The construction of Chinese sexual deviance and threat had particular resonance within the settler colonial context, obscuring and displacing the sexual violence committed by white settler men against Indigenous women (Wolfe, 1999). In addition, the Chinese are referred to as *offscourings*, meaning both literal rubbish and, in biblical use, people 'despised and cast aside as rubbish'

16. A yellow substance made from animal fat.

(OED). The combined metonymic and metaphoric impact of the question is to designate the Chinese as a worthless mass of potentially biblical proportions.

The paragraph continues:

> It is needless to answer. There would be *a seething mess* of our *Tartar* population condemned to celibacy, and prone to crime, which they look on as habit.[xxxii]

Seething can describe boiling liquid, intense anger or rapid/hectic movement, although its earliest uses refer to boiling (OED), suggesting that this was its original (non-metaphoric) meaning. Lakoff and Johnson talk about anger in the experiential sense of increased body temperature, hence the conceptual metaphor that ANGER is HEAT i.e. *It made my blood boil*. This is often thought of as ANGER is A HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER, which relates to the BODY as CONTAINER ontological metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Describing the population as *a seething mess* suggests an uncontrollable, dangerous entity, with the potential to boil over; this effect is compounded by the use of *mess* in place of the more common 'mass', which would have been more suggestive of crowds than danger. The metaphors are then explicitly linked to Chinese criminality and deviance.

A little further down, the paragraph closes with:

> In religion, in morality, in social and in political views, there is nothing that is not *repugnant* to colonial institution in the *invasion* of this colony by *Tartar hordes*.[xxxiii]

The nominalized *invasion* frames Chinese migration, with its displacement of foundational colonial violence. Yet rather than framing the Chinese as an *army*, they are referred to as *hordes*. A *horde* is a tribal group of warriors (OED); still fighters and invaders, but less civilized and, by implication, more barbaric. This fits with the *seething* metaphor, reinforcing the perception of the migrants as dangerous and uncontrollable.

The article then goes onto consider and dismiss objections to migration restriction saying:

> International law did not previse such a thing as a peaceful *influx* of *Tartars*, in thousands and tens of thousands, upon a young country like this, or the *pouring in* of *a constant stream of contamination*, against the will of the majority of the people.[xxxiv]

Influx suggests the flowing in of a mass of people; this entailment is compounded by the phrase *the pouring in of a constant stream of contamination*. Within one phrase there is a double WATER metaphor, both *pouring in* and *constant stream*, all activations of the IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER conceptual metaphor. Hence, there is a triple metaphoric evocation of the migrants as a dangerous, uncontrollable mass, threatening the *young country,* an early reference to the nation. The threat posed is restated by *contamination* after *stream*. *Contamination* is a metaphoric reference to the COLONY as BODY — the immigrants as external pollutants that threaten its inviolability.

A little further down, explaining why the British treaty with China is inapplicable, is written:

> this is an occasion beyond anything contemplated by treaty, the provisions of which would not go the extent of *extinguishing a nation* for friendship's sake, or *threaten* its integrity by *unloosing migratory hordes*, to maintain amicable relationship.[xxxv]

The reiteration of *hordes* is collocated with *unloosing*, suggesting that the *hordes* will be set free to go wherever they want, reiterating the threat signified by the earlier WATER metaphors. *Migratory* activates the IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL metaphor, whilst simultaneously reminding the reader that the hordes are coming to stay. The use of both *extinguish* and *threaten* intensifies the threat posed; *extinguish,* meaning to put out, quench or to put a total end to (OED), is particularly replete with danger. This danger is constructed in relation to the *nation* — *nation* is resonant here — not corresponding with a State it can only refer to the *imagined* settler community (Anderson, 1991).

Within one report there is IMMIGRATION as WAR and as DANGEROUS WATERS, IMMIGRANT as DISEASE, as RUBBISH, and as ANIMAL. This clusters of inter-related metaphors, used in intensely negatively reports, only appeared in this three-month period surrounding the passing of Victoria's anti-Chinese legislation in June 1855. Both before and after this, the frequency and density of metaphors, as well as the negative tenor of the reports was greatly reduced. This were a particular type of representation that was mobilized in specific circumstances. Such negative metaphors structured the way in which people thought and spoke about the Chinese as a 'problem,' which in turn structured the appropriate responses (Schön, 1979), in this case restrictive legislation.

The Rehabilitation of Lower-Class Whites

The role of prior anti-convict sentiment is crucial to understanding the language used to frame the Chinese, as well as explaining its potency. Anti-Chinese rhetoric mirrored earlier, anti-convict sentiment, ostensibly grounded in a similar antipathy to any form of cheap labour (Burgmann, 1978; Price, 1974). Growing opposition attended the transportation of convicts to Australia, with convict labour tarnishing the reputation of the colonies within English metropolitan society (McKenzie, 2003). Focused on immorality and degeneracy, convicts as the lowest-class, most degraded members of society were a focus for middle-class anxiety, while economic competition within the labour market increasingly became a focus of working-class fears (Elbourne, 2003; McKenzie, 2003). Yet it was the emphasis on moral objections that provided a unifying cover under which diverse anti-convict interests could be articulated. Through a repudiation of convict immorality, other immigrants were able to assert their own morality (McKenzie, 2003), with convicts and paupers reviled as the lowest members of society. After the arrival of the Chinese, their undesirability was articulated in the same terms as those already ascribed to the most undesirable members of settler society (Burgmann, 1978). Unsurprisingly then, comparable metaphoric language was found in an article about convicts printed just months before the article above:

> The people of Victoria are of one heart and one mind on the subject of *Convict* Prevention. All are awake to the *calamity* with which their country is *threatened.* Even where there is but little apprehension of the *evil* in its more comprehensive aspect, there arises from the instinct of *self-preservation,* a determination that the *invasion* of the country by a band of ten thousand *crime-stained ruffians* shall be *resisted*…

> It is the duty of everyone who values his property and his life, the welfare of his family, and the reputation of his adopted country, to protest, by his presence at the meeting, against this country being laid open to *an unrestrained incursion* of *felons*…
>
> If *the threatened influx* of a hardened and degraded population be arrested, the future history of the colony may be expected to prove brighter than the most sanguine can anticipate.[xxxvi]

Were you to replace *convict* with *Chines*e, *crime-stained ruffians* with *pig-tailed barbarians', felons* with *Tartar* the article could pass as any of a multitude that were published in the following months, with terms like *threat, evil, invasion, influx, degraded* and *incursion* all commonplace in articles about the Chinese. *Crime-stained* is particularly evocative, highlighting the fears that convicts would 'stain the character of the colony'[xxxvii] as part of the discourses of moral contamination that had come to dominate discussions of transportation (McKenzie, 2003, p. 18).

It is this emphasis on convict immorality and deviance that can explain why the Chinese were so readily constructed as deviant and Other. Settler colonial identity was premised on a superior claim to the land being appropriated (Wolfe, 2013), yet this was undermined by the perceived deviance of some settlers, particularly convicts (Elbourne, 2003; McKenzie, 2003). The ongoing anxieties this generated alongside the wider anxieties of legitimacy that attended the settler colonial project (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2013) were further challenged by the arrival of the Chinese. Compared to the settlers, the Chinese worked longer hours, and survived on fewer resources, being better able to extract value from the land itself, with Chinese industriousness as opposed to deviance being the major cause for concern (Connolly, 1978), despite the popular expression of objection in terms of Chinese immorality and deviance. Given also the

geographical proximity to China and the greater numbers of Chinese, there was a strong potential for the Chinese to stake a more valid claim to the land. Such fears were powerfully expressed at the time, with the following appearing in a report excoriating white treatment of 'Aborigines' printed in *The Argus* in 1956.[17]

> We have often asked ourselves, by what means we justified the invasion of this country. No good man will advocate such invasion simply on the ground of superior might. Our answer has been—we fancy that the answer of every fair-dealing man must be—that we take the country from the blacks, because we can put it to better uses than they would do. But do we put it to the best possible uses? And, if a race were to present themselves who would take measures to apply the country to still better purposes, are we prepared to resign it to them? Take care how you answer, most magnanimous Caucasian! You may find yourself on the horns of a dilemma! A race presents itself. John Chinaman knocks loudly at the door. He shows that he cultivates his own land more perfectly than any people upon earth. He shows that foot for foot he gets a greater produce than any other man. His horticulture exceeds that even of our Coles and Rules. So nicely does he value the efficacy of manures that he sells urine in the streets in quantities as small as a half-pint. Be his small patrimony land—he raises two or three crops within the year! Be it water, there is a duck to every square yard! Be it neither land or water—and lo! it teems with rice! Caucasian, the best use to which you put nineteen–twentieths of your land is to feed one sheep to the three acres. Room for the Mongolian! You resist! You extirpate the black because he does not thoroughly develop the resources of the country! You resist the invasion of the celestial, although he greatly excels yourself in that respect! See then where we land you, most excellent Pure-blood!

17. Later reprinted in *The SMH.*

> Your sole title is might after all! And in what respect does that present you better than as a powerful but unreasoning brute?[xxxviii]

The report is suffused with anxieties about settler colonial legitimacy. The *invasion,* explicitly stated as such, is justified in the name of better use, which is the argument of every *fair-dealing man.* It is this *fairness* — which will become a key criterion in discourses of Australian nationalism — which is then unsettled by the treatment of the Chinese. Crucially, the writer expounds Chinese agricultural abilities at some length. The alleged rootlessness of Aboriginal peoples was a key factor in white settler claims, with agriculture "with its life-sustaining connectedness to land… a potent symbol of settler-colonial identity" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 396). This made Chinese superior aptitude for agriculture an existential threat to the nature of settler control, their presence undermining settler claims to land, with this explicitly understood at the time. Thus, the construction of the Chinese as racially Other and inferior served a dual purpose: both invalidating the legitimacy of Chinese claims, while simultaneously elevating the position of the white settler, as even the lowest white man was comparably superior to the Chinese. This had particular resonance — within Britain, the urban working-classes were marginalised from the ideal of whiteness that developed in this period, and subject to racial ambivalence (Bonnett, 1998). Hence, racialised discourse was intrinsically political, with lower-class settler moral deviance displaced onto the bodies of Chinese immigrants, bolstering the superiority of settler claims to land and fortifying lower-class settler claims to whiteness itself.

This displacement of deviance from convicts to the Chinese can account for the richness of negative metaphoric framing that occurred once the Chinese were deemed 'undesirable', with the language already used to describe 'undesirable' lower-class 'whites' quickly harnessed to denigrate the Chinese. This is *racecraft* — that is the way "sedimented and familiar cultural

representations of and relations of subjugation… simultaneously tap into and feed the emergence of new ones" (Stoler, 2016, p. 249), evident in the transference of deviance from undesirable lower-class whites onto the Chinese. However, from the point such metaphoric language became widely applied to Chinese migrants, it was not observed in reports about white immigration. Therefore, what was initially a class-based grammar of undesirability and deviance rapidly became codified as racially specific, and the metaphors signifiers of racial Otherness. It is crucial to note, therefore, that while anti-Chinese rhetoric may have drawn on existing race theory, its specific elaboration on the Victorian goldfields was not simply the repetition of well-known 'facts' of race, but an ideological process focused on the creation of difference, that drew on pre-existing discourses and language of deviance.

Similar processes of racialisation appeared at two other points within this Pre-Federation period (1854–1900). In WA, there was a proliferation of anti-Chinese sentiment in the 1887–88 period, after discovery of gold in the Kimberley. Prior to this, very few metaphors (or references to the Chinese) were found, and the few articles that did appear were neutral or positive.[18] However, from 1887 there were numerous articles containing the same metaphorically rich denigration of the Chinese as in 1850s Victoria, racialising the Chinese as deviant and threatening. Furthermore, in the 1890s, there was metaphoric denigration of other, non-white non-Chinese immigrants. Focused on Indians, Syrians and Afghans, this also followed the pattern outlined, with a comparable use of a wide range of metaphors to construct immigrants as deviant and threatening. This metaphoric racialisation was not limited to the press studied as a sample of other data demonstrates.

18. Prior to the discovery of gold, Chinese immigration was still seen as necessary for WA, and articles often spoke of the benefits of Chinese workers to employers and the State.

5.4.1 Other data sources from 1854–1856

While *The Argus* was strongly anti-Chinese within the 1854–56 period, the same level of antipathy was not found in either *The SMH* or *The West Australian.* This ambivalence was reflected within the wider range of data examined for this period. For instance, letters to the editor were often supportive of Chinese immigration as both a source of labour and an economic boon, although these did not contain metaphoric references so are not included.[19] Despite this, there were a number of letters strongly supportive of *The Argus'* position. One, referring to *these detestable pagans,* went on to state:

> his countrymen have the satisfaction of knowing that they do not belong to *an inferior race,* are Christians, and last, though not least, British subjects; and that, in common with the rest of their fellow-colonists, they do not desire to see the colony *swamped by these Tartar hordes*, still less would they wish any *mixture of their Celtic blood* with them (*Argus,* 1855). [xxxix]

Racial inferiority is contrasted with *Christianity* and *Britishness*, while the savagery of the Chinese is repeatedly stated as both *detestable pagans* and *Tartar hordes.* The *inferior Tartar hordes* are constructed as Other in opposition to the fellow *countrymen,* who are rendered *normal* through the comparison (Billig, 1995; Ferguson, 1998). Finally, there is the invocation of the metonymic *blood,* functioning as a synonym for race, revealing the inherent instability of racial categories which could indeed be *mixed*, and strongly mirroring the language in *The Argus* at that time.

Public meetings were a stronger source of metaphors,[20] with the stated purpose of one meeting: "taking into consideration the serious consequences, political, moral, and social, likely to result

19. Highlighting that even in the 1850s, such language was recognisably negative.
20. Likely because meetings were in protest at Chinese immigration.

from *the vast influx* of Chinamen, mostly of the *lowest grade*, into this colony" (*The Age,*[21] 1855).[xl] In another, Blumenbach's system of racial classification was explicitly expressed by a speaker who, when justifying the need "to *protect our own people* from being *contaminated and swamped"* stated:

> Writers on the human race divided the whole human family into five great divisions: — Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, North American Indian, and African. The Anglo-Saxons sprang from the first-named; the Chinese from the second. We were not of *one blood* literally. We were from the *superior*; they from an *inferior* source (*The Age,* 1855).[xli]

Again, there is the use of *blood* as a signifier of racial distinctiveness, with the mixing of blood a source of *contamination.* There is the double use of deixis, *our own people,* flagging a homogenous community constituted against a racial Other. Billig has linked such deixis to the construction of the nation (Billig, 1995) and, while this is not explicitly harnessed to a clearly defined nation, stirrings of nationalist sentiment, that is "sentiments of … potential solidarity" (Haas, 1997, p. 43), are evident. Through the comparison with the *inferior source,* all those originating from the *superior source* are united, with earlier class-based divisions of immorality and deviance overridden by wider race-based distinctions.

Within the Victorian Legislative Council, metaphors were also prominent when Chinese immigration restriction legislation was debated. This was often articulated around a Chinese *influx* with one MP speaking of "the *immense influx of Chinese… …swamping* the European population" (Victoria, *Debates,* Legislative Council, 30th May 1855(Mr. O'Shanassy)), while another spoke of needing to "*protect* this colony from any *influx of Chinese"* (Victoria, *Debates,* Legislative Council, 30th May 1855 (Colonel Anderson)). This focus on protection

21. Another Victorian newspaper.

featured strongly with one MP stating: “the State was quite justified, in s*elf-defence*, in preventing the *irruption*” (Victoria, *Debates,* Legislative Council, 30th May 1855 (Mr. F. Murphy)) while another said: “The law of God called upon the colonists to *protect* themselves from such *barbarians*, and the law of nations allowed it” (Victoria, *Debates,* Legislative Council, 30th May 1855 (Mr. Smith)). Thus, the metaphoric Chinese threat was explicitly linked to legal and moral rights to *self-defence.* The invocation of Chinese savagery was also expressed in racial terms with another MP stating: “let it not be a possession for any but those of the *Anglo-Saxon race*… …it was by no means the wish of the people of this country to see it *overrun* by these *hordes of barbarians*” (Victoria, *Debates,* Legislative Council, 30th May 1855 (Mr. Mollison)). Again, there is the unifying of the settlers as members of the *Anglo-Saxon race* in opposition to *hordes of barbarians.*

Within this period then, the racialisation of the Chinese drew on existing typological theories of race, yet it was the pre-existing metaphoric language of threat and deviance that gave shape to the ways in which these differences were understood. The strength of the negative focus on the Chinese can be understood within the context of settler colonial anxieties about legitimacy as both delegitimising Chinese claims to the land, whilst simultaneously bolstering settler claims. This was achieved through the displacement of lower-class immorality and deviance onto the Chinese, which allowed for the rehabilitation of the lowest-class settlers. This rehabilitation facilitated the increasing identification around whiteness which accompanied the push towards nationalism later in the century, and it is to this that the chapter turns to next.

5.5 The shift towards nationalism

From the 1880s a much clearer sense of Australian identity is evident. While a “separate and distinguishable Australian nationalism” may have only emerged after Federation (Eddy, 1988,

p. 135), during the 1880s there was an intensifying desire for self-government within the colonies. Yet while the claim to the land was premised on the elimination of Indigenous Australians, there was also a symbolic need for indigeneity to distinguish the colony from Britain (Wolfe, 2006, 2013), resulting in a proliferation of art and literature extolling the distinctive virtues of Australia and Australian identity (Eddy, 1988). Increasingly, the Australian identity constructed was bound up with the wider discourses of whiteness that were circulating the colonial world (Lake, 2008). Yet within Australia this had a particular emphasis on equality and egalitarianism, shaped in part by the role Chinese immigrants had been cast in, which facilitated the erasure of the class distinctions that had shaped life in Britain, and were still identifiable in earlier Australian concerns about lower class immorality. As in other parts of the world, it was through the colonial encounter that colonists became defined as 'white men' (Lake, 2018b).

Through the displacement of deviance onto the racialised bodies of the Chinese, the white lower classes were rehabilitated, evidenced, in part, by the transformation of metaphors of class-deviance into metaphors of race. Renan speaks of forgetting as "an essential factor in the creation of the nation" (Renan, 1996, p. 50), and this forgetting is apparent in the erasure of discourses around moral contamination from low-class whites (McKenzie, 2003), and the consolidation of whiteness around the myth of the quintessential, egalitarian Australian male, made possible by this displacement of immorality. This clarification of Australian identity was accompanied by a resurgence of negative rhetoric around the Chinese from the late 1870s, with Chinese immigrants universally constructed as undesirable and in need of prohibition, in contrast to the debates about equity, Chinese ability and humanitarianism that had attended their early prohibition (Willard, 1967).

By 1880, the movement of Chinese into other trades, in particular furniture making, precipitated a renewed onslaught led by trade unions and anti-Chinese leagues, with racism “an integral part of overall Labor ideology” (Markey, 1978, p. 66). The situation worsened in 1887 after a visit by two Chinese Commissioners. The notion was propagated by anti-Chinese agitators that their true intention was to pave the way for increased Chinese migration, leading to renewed fears of Chinese invasion (Trainor, 1994) and further anti-Chinese meetings (Choi, 1975). There was also ongoing public controversy about fraudulent use of naturalisation papers exempting Chinese holders from immigration restrictions. Consequently, when *The Afghan* arrived in Melbourne (1888), with 268 Chinese passengers, the government refused to allow them to disembark.[xlii] The ship progressed to Sydney where, in the face of mass public protests, it was refused permission to land. While these actions were later judged illegal by the Supreme Court, they received massive public support (Hirst, 2000). The NSW government, led by Henry Parkes (NSW Premier), and in defiance of British wishes, rushed through legislation further restricting Chinese migration (Markus, 1994), an action that has been likened to a declaration of independence (Hirst, 2000). This led to the ‘Chinese Question’ taking over the upcoming Intercolonial conference, with the colonies passing similar legislation to interdict further Chinese migration.

Much of the anti-Chinese rhetoric focused on labour, with the conviction that cheap Chinese labour was antithetical to the development of an egalitarian and fair democracy (Willard, 1967). However, this assertion is greatly undermined by the refusal to allow Chinese to join the unions themselves (Burgmann, 1978) or the lack of any lobbying for equal pay (Curthoys, 1978). Henry Parkes was vehemently anti-Chinese, although he claimed that this was because of Chinese inability to participate in democracy due to their essential difference (Price, 1974), coining the metaphor of the *crimson thread of kinship* to define the links between Australians

and the wider British community which formed the foundations of national belonging (Cole, 1971a; Eddy, 1988). Hence, while debates were ostensibly centred around labour, these were underpinned by the belief that the Chinese were *racially* incapable of participation in the egalitarian democratic Australian ideal.

Yet there was no objective truth to these racialised discourses of Chinese incapability. Similarly to the 1850s, the ideological necessity for the construction of Chinese racial Otherness was the role they played in constructing discourses of Australian-ness. Gellner defines nationalism as "a political principle which maintains that similarity of culture is the basic social bond" (Gellner, 1997, p. 3). This emphasis on "homogeneity of culture" as "*the* political bond" (Gellner, 1997, p. 29) means that within nationalist stirrings, culture becomes "perceptible and significant. The wrong and alien culture becomes menacing" (Gellner, 1987, p. 16). The Chinese, as the repository of immorality, threat and deviance, allowed for the imagined homogeneity of a moral, egalitarian, white Australian culture, yet Chinese culture was also transformed in the process into an alien, menacing culture. Thus, Chinese deviance was foundational to an imagined white Australian identity, helping to mediate the ambivalence of the settler colonial project, by allowing both an identification with Australia and a disavowal of the violence of invasion. Through the supremacy of whiteness, it was possible to imagine a nation both natively Australian and racially distinct.

5.5.1 The metaphoric maintenance of racial difference

Within *The Argus* and *SMH*, the 1880s were marked by a reduction in the range of metaphors in favour of a reliance on several, naturalized tropes (Santa Ana, 2002), with *influx* and *invasion* the two most prevalent metaphors. By this point, both newspapers were well-established, conservative newspapers, committed to maintaining the established social order (Young, 2019).

This may account for their lack of the more vivid metaphoric designation of the Chinese observable in the anti-Chinese meetings of the time, which was often portrayed as working-class concern.

Both *invasion* and *influx* increased in prevalence during the 1880s and were accompanied by a corresponding increase in explicit NATION as HOUSE metaphors. The effect of this was twofold; in addition to framing the migrants as external to the nation, there was an associated flagging of the nation (Billig, 1995), and the belongingness of the colonists. In stating who was not part of the society, there was always an implicit flagging of who did belong, constructed along lines of racial difference.

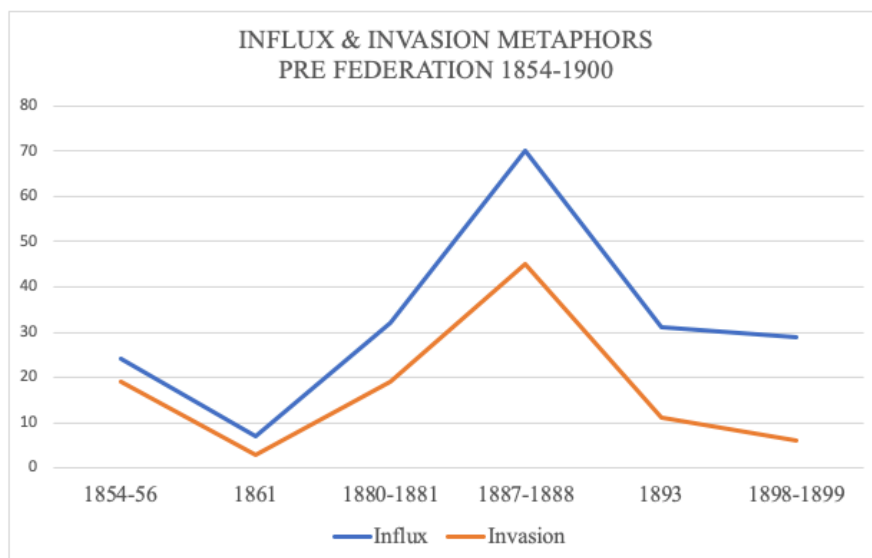

Figure 5.2 Number of *Influx* and *Invasion* metaphors in *The Argus, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1854 and 1900

Influx

While *influx* appeared extensively across all sample periods, it peaked in 1887–88 (see Figure 5.2). This was partly due to immigration restriction legislation in NSW (1881) being titled the *Influx of Chinese Restriction Act*; thus, legally, the movement of Chinese into the colony was

designated as an *influx*. Furthermore, it became a stereotypical way of referring to the Chinese, with its use widespread across all three newspapers. As noted earlier, *influx* was the dominant WATER metaphor, yet its usage increased, from just over a third of WATER metaphors in 1854–56, to two-thirds by the 1880s, and comprising the majority by 1898–99. In addition, while initially only applied to the Chinese, when confronted with other non-white immigration, the metaphor was also applied, indicating its versatility.

Other DANGEROUS WATER metaphors

In the 1887–1888 period, *swamp* and *flood* were both prolific. Both are explicitly destructive verbs (and nouns) that suggest that the country will be submerged or overwhelmed by the Chinese, with the British population lost under a vast liquid mass.

> No one, of course, wants to see *a great influx* of Chinese; no one would like to see Australia, or any part of it, *swamped* by Chinese or foreign races of any kind.[xliii]

> On the other hand, the British Government could reply that when the treaties were negotiated, the *swamping* of any British colony by a *flood* of Chinese immigration was not even dreamed of.[xliv]

> They were convinced that an attempt was being made to *flood* Australia with Chinese, and thousands would shortly be landed here unless restrictive measures were adopted[xlv]

> When the English Ministers realise the Australian position, and become aware of the fixed determination of the people not to be *swamped* by an *inferior race*, it will scarcely be in their power to refuse help[xlvi]

Swamps had a particular resonance in colonial discourse; known as 'black waters', they represented untamed locations of fear, disgust and decay. Furthermore, *swamps* were perceived as agriculturally useless lands, which was the antithesis of settler colonial discourses of civilisation (Giblett, 1996, 2009). Many of Australia's capital cities, including Perth, Sydney and Melbourne, were founded in areas that included wetlands and swamps which needed to be drained, with the eradication of swamps intrinsically linked to the project of modernity (Giblett, 1996, 2009). When expressing fears of Australia being *swamped* there is the sense of contamination alongside invocations of savagery, with both racial purity (constructed in opposition to racial *foreignness* and *inferiority)* and the project of civilis(ed/ing) Australia itself under threat. *Flood* is no less evocative, suggesting an inundation of biblical proportions, completely overwhelming the settler population. Whether being *swamped* or *flooded,* there was a sense of being completely overwhelmed.

Invasion

The nominalised *invasion* also became a standard way of discussing the Chinese. As with *influx,* framing Chinese migration as an *invasion* established it in adversarial terms. To *invade* made the Chinese enemies, external to the settlers, who were implicitly flagged as belonging (Billig, 1995). Whilst omnipresent over the 50-year period, the number of *invasion* metaphors fluctuated. Overall, two-thirds of *invasion* metaphors occurred within the 1880s. In addition, while *invasion* metaphors were only 40% of WAR metaphors in 1854–1856, by the 1880s they accounted for approximately two-thirds of all such metaphors, although they dropped in prevalence again in the 1890s. Thus, we can say that *invasion* metaphors increased proportionally during the 1880s, both in relation to other time periods, and in relation to other WAR metaphors. Much like *influx, invasion* was subject to a process of naturalisation, with the

range of metaphors used to construct the Chinese decreasing to several, well-known tropes. However, there was a proportional increase in other WAR metaphors in the following decade, suggesting that this was not the only reason for *invasion's* prevalence during the 1880s.

The reactivated rhetoric of Chinese invasion by the anti-Chinese leagues in response to the Commissioners' visit undoubtedly played a role, as did the wider invasion narratives widespread within popular literature of the time, with the threat of *invasion* specifically linked to the Chinese within the national imagination (Walker, 1999). On a deeper level, the displacement of the *invasion* of Australia away from the colonial British encounter and onto Chinese immigrants allowed settlers to claim the country for themselves, mitigating anxieties about belonging and legitimacy (Veracini, 2010), and facilitating the assertion of settler nationalism (Wolfe, 2006). Veracini speaks of a colonial inversion with regards to Aboriginal Australians "where indigenous people are nomadified and settlers can perform their indigenisation and express their nativism" (Veracini, 2010, p. 79). This indigenisation is also apparent in *invasion* narratives about Chinese immigrants, through which settler nativism was then legitimated. Indeed, it was in the 1880s that the figure of the settler Australian native was cemented, most explicitly demonstrated in the exponential growth in membership of the Australian Natives Association (ANA) during this period, a strongly anti-Chinese organisation (Hirst, 2000; Markey, 1978; Price, 1974).

5.5.2 The utility of racial difference

The 1880s was the decade when the logistical reasoning that provided the underpinning for Federation was promulgated, and the necessity for united, colonial action came to be widely accepted, largely in response to Chinese immigration. While differences existed between the colonies on trade policies and tariffs (Hirst, 2000; Trainor, 1994), the restriction of Chinese

immigration provided common ground. Thus, alongside the underlying support that the *invasion* trope provided for settler-nationalist claims, the Chinese were utilised practically as a specific threat to justify joint action as well as providing a point of ideological agreement that cut across the "complex variety of local 'patriotisms'"(Eddy, 1988, p. 135) that emerged in this period. *Invasion* was a fitting metaphor, embodying well-established discourses of threat and generating powerful fear emotions (Charteris-Black, 2006) — its persuasive function engendered a strong sense of racial identification that eclipsed intra-colonial differences.

Yet while there was a strong reliance on naturalised tropes like *invasion* and *influx* within two of the newspapers studied, *The West Australian* featured extensive, vivid metaphoric racialisation of the Chinese in the 1887–88 sample period, in contrast to 1880–81 when Chinese immigration was still being advocated. Furthermore, anti-Chinese meetings and letters both provide evidence of liberal use of a wide range of explicitly negative metaphors, demonstrating that categorisations of racial difference were neither uniform nor universal. It is to these more vivid characterisations that the chapter turns to next.

5.5.3 Other data sources 1887–1888

In contrast to 1855, there was an abundance of metaphoric data within the 1887–1888 period.[22] Anti-Chinese meetings were conducted regularly, in towns and suburbs across the country.[23] A major focus was protesting 'the *influx* of the Chinese'[xlvii], with the Chinese *influx* repeatedly framed as a danger to Australian society. This danger was articulated less in terms of savagery (although there were still references to *barbarians* and *hordes),* and more in terms of intrinsic deviance and unclean-ness, with references to the Chinese as "a pest and a scourge"[xlviii], and a

22. Extracts are from a range of press.
23. A search on *Trove* produced 100s of newspaper reports covering anti-Chinese meetings. Extracts are direct or repeated quotes taken from newspaper coverage of meetings.

"plague"[xlix]. Wolfe has extended Mary Douglas' notion of dirt as matter out of place to race, with people *out of place* perceived as inherently dirty (Wolfe, 2013). Increasingly the Chinese were referred to in terms of filth and contamination, marking them as out of place, not belonging. There was also increased reference to the Chinese as an "invasion",[l] with an Australian man's duty "defending *his* country from such a deplorable *plague* and *curse* as the Chinese *invasion*"[li]. Here the displacement of invasion from settler to immigrant is complete, with the Chinese invading *his country,* the speaker claiming the nation as his own.

Notably, anti-Chinese metaphors were much more commonly articulated in national terms with one speaker highlighting the Chinese "question" as: "a great national one, which should be immediately taken up by the whole of the Australian colonies with a view of totally exterminating the *yellow agony*."[lii] The use of *yellow* in place of the earlier *John,* reveals the discursive shift towards whiteness (Lake, 2008), with racial attributes increasingly articulated in terms of colour. The nation-house featured prominently, with "the country as the *home* of a white race,"[liii] (again the prominence of whiteness), and the Chinese "like rank weeds in a beautiful garden, they wanted rooting out."[liv] There was also reference to the nation-body with anti-Chinese measures "preserving the life blood of our nationality"[lv] and the Chinese "a race that *young* Australia should not be contaminated by."[lvi] Such invocations of the nation-body were also implicit in the multiple references to the Chinese plague — not only were the Chinese marked as matter out of place and thus dirty, but the contained nation-body was also flagged.

Letters to the editor about the Chinese were often placed under the heading The "Chinese" or "Mongolian"[24] Invasion, with references to "the menace of an invasion"[lvii] alongside frequent invocations of "an influx of this degraded race"[lviii]. There were also further WATER metaphors

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24. Highlighting the ongoing relevance of 'scientific' taxonomies of racial type despite the wider shift towards Social Darwinist principles.

with fears about "the current *tide*...which may soon become a *flood*"[lix] and that the country would be "*flooded* with their low-class coolies."[lx] These metaphors were at times also linked to references of filth and deviance with the Chinese referred to as: "the *leprous and yellow tide of pestilence and corruptio*n that has been steadily setting towards, and *threatening to overflow,* the rich lands of Australia for years past."[lxi] The preoccupation with contamination highlights the instability of race, with the contaminating potential of the Chinese, undermining understandings of racial discreteness (Stoler, 2016), which in turn accounted for the ongoing discursive work necessary to maintain racial categorisations. There were also ANIMAL metaphors with the need "to prevent the *swarming* into the country"[lxii] alongside invocations of the nation-house, with the overarching sentiment summed up by one writer who stated: "We as a race cannot live in the same *national home* as the Chinese without enormous damage, moral, social, and financial."[lxiii] This strongly constructs the *national home,* that is the nation, as a racially distinct space, with the presence of the Chinese as explicitly and *enormously damaging.*

When debating anti-Chinese legislation, in both Victoria and NSW, there were repeated references to both an *influx* and an *invasion,* although there was not the range of metaphors observed in both meetings and letters. In Victoria, the two metaphors were often used simultaneously, with one speaker referring to: "a large *influx* of Chinese into this colony. We do not intend to allow the colony to be *invaded* by *an alien race*" (Victoria, *Debates,* Legislative Assembly, 6th December 1888, p. 2359 (Mr. Andrews)), while another stated: "Clause 6 rendered Victoria quite safe from *an influx of Chinese* by sea, and this clause was necessary to render the colony equally safe from *invasion* by land" (Victoria, *Debates,* Legislative Assembly, 6th December 1888, p. 2371 (Mr. Laurens).) In NSW, the Chinese were referred to as "this Chinese invasion" (NSW, *Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 5th July 1888,

p. 6131 (Mr Melville)), and an "*influx"* (NSW, *Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 5th July 1888, p. 6128 (Henry Parkes)), with one MP stating: "Any legislation restricting the *influx* of Chinese into the colony will always receive the support of public opinion" (NSW, *Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 5th July 1888, p. 6129 (Mr Toohey)). The repeated use of *influx* in NSW mirrors the language in the legislation itself, which speaks of "protection of the Colony of New South Wales from the disturbances and national dangers which may arise from the *influx* of Chinese"(Chinese Restriction and Regulation Act, 1888).

The wider range of metaphors found in meetings and letters speaks to the manner in which constructions of race intersected with a range of political agendas and social groups, with the construction of racial difference fluid and processual rather than definite and complete. The use of a smaller range of metaphors within two of the newspapers studied, both of which were pro-Federation (Osborne, 2001) and already in agreement on the necessity of Chinese exclusion, mirrored the language found in parliament. In contrast, within *The West Australian,* the construction of racial difference was both new and contextual, resulting in a more explicit elaboration of racial discourse, expressed through the racialised grammar that had developed in response to the Chinese.

5.6 Discussion

There are several points that need to be highlighted from the analysis above. The first is that metaphor usage to frame migrants was always ideological (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2006). Much like the wider discourses around race, metaphors were mobilised for specific ideological purposes and did not represent any objective 'truth'. Furthermore, particularly vivid and extensive metaphoric framing occurred during periods when specific immigrant groups were initially problematized. While it has been noted that Australia lacked a pre-existing racial

vocabulary at the time of the first large-scale Chinese migration (Fitzgerald, 2007), the existing language of deviance was repurposed for the job. In the process, the metaphors themselves became racialised through their incorporation within the discourses of race and racial difference that they helped to shape. In addition, such language was not used merely to define the problem, but also to promote particular means for solving it. Hence, metaphoric language found its strongest expression when newspapers were specifically advocating restrictive legislation.

However, the use of metaphors also changed over time. Once a threat had been established, metaphor usage decreased to a smaller number of stereotypical, naturalized tropes. These functioned as a short-hand, triggering the associated entailments without the need for their explicit expression. Yet during such periods, there was still a much wider range of metaphor to be found in anti-Chinese meetings and popular press, although this was often dismissed as excessive and hyperbolic by the more serious press, calling to mind Billig's work on how extreme forms of nationalism are vilified and, through this, everyday nationalism and its workings is obscured (1995). Indeed, for all the hyperbole of the anti-Chinese meetings, it was through the multiple subtle mentions of the nation, both implicitly through *influx* and *invasion* metaphors and explicitly with the appearance of nation metaphors, that the nation was steadily flagged into existence during the last two decades of the century.

The construction of the Chinese Other served several, related purposes. Initially, anti-Chinese sentiment offered a means for colonial Australia to rehabilitate itself from the 'convict stain' by replacing deviant lower-class whites with deviant racialised Others, on the bottom strata of society, who likewise threatened to 'stain' the nation (Fitzgerald, 2007), against whom all white settlers could be favourably judged. This displacement of deviance had profound resonance,

particularly with the working classes against whom charges of deviance were most likely to be levelled, and whose purported immorality had strained the legitimacy of the moral superiority on which white settler claims were based (Elbourne, 2003; McKenzie, 2003). This displacement served to neutralise the destabilising impact of the arrival of Chinese immigrants with a potentially superior claim to land use, bolstering the strength of white settler claims to land, while simultaneously delegitimising any potential Chinese claims.

Yet it was in the 1880s that both the doctrine of white equality and discourses of racial exclusion were solidified, facilitating the emergence of the 'Australian' national characteristics of egalitarianism, equality and liberal democracy that began to take hold towards the end of the century. The strength of anti-convict sentiment demonstrates that Australian society was preoccupied with deviance and morality, with distinctions mapped onto class in varying configurations. It is facile to suggest that these preoccupations evaporated once the nation awakened to the 'true' nature of egalitarian Australia (despite the potency of metaphors of *national awakenings* within naturalising notions of nationalism (Gellner, 1997, p. 8)). Instead these distinctions were displaced, engendering a belief in white superiority, with an emphasis on egalitarianism expunging the contradictions. The displacement of deviance onto the Chinese, both the deviance and immorality of the lower classes, and the violent deviance of dispossession, enabled the nationalist construction of egalitarian white Australia, which would not have been possible with the recognition and inclusion of morally deviant or violent whiteness.

This displacement functioned because the racialisation of the Chinese Other was also how the settler colonial Self was dialectically racialised. Thus, constructions of the Chinese as *animals* or *savages* also constructed settler humanity and civilisation, whilst constructions of the

Chinese as intrinsically external and threatening, simultaneously constructed settlers as innately internal or 'native', legitimising the protection of 'their' land. It has been noted that anti-Chinese rhetoric was mobilised in a range of ideological structures from different classes and sectors of society (Trainor, 1994), being used to unite disparate factions within a broader coalition of whiteness. Yet while the agendas to which racial rhetoric was harnessed varied substantially, the underlying concepts of racial distinctiveness and white superiority remained politically resonant, with this reflected in the persistence of certain metaphors to construct racialised Others, constructing a racialised white Self in the process. Hence, regardless of the grounds on which different groups of non-white immigrants were found objectionable, constructing them as an *influx, invasion* or *herd,* helped situate both immigrants and settlers within established hierarchies of racial difference.

While the need for mutual legislation to counter the perceived risk from Chinese migration is seen as a practical and logistical driver for Federation, it does not account for the growth of nationalised feeling within this period. It has been suggested that there was little need for Federation to restrict immigration, which had already been achieved through the legislation of the 1880s, with the push for Federation representing instead a deeper desire for national belonging (Hirst, 2004). Embedded within the persistent metaphoric framing of an external, threatening, unassimilable Other, was a consistent reiteration of the kinship and equivalence between white, British settlers as the primary basis for identification, as opposed to colonial or class-based ties. Hence, it can be argued that the consistent framing of an external Other, in metaphors that flagged, both implicitly and explicitly, the existence of a unified Nation/House was part of the ideological work necessary for the inculcation of national consciousness, suggesting an elective affinity between the two (Weber, 1930).

It remains impossible however to completely disassociate this growth of nationalised feeling from the desire to restrict racial Others. While there was no practical need to federate in order to restrict Chinese immigration (Hirst, 2004), there was still a psychic need for control. White Australian settler identity was constructed in relation to the Indigenous nomad that was to be replaced and the deviant racialised Other, that needed to be excluded (Wolfe, 2001, 2006, 2013). Lack of control over Chinese immigration represented an existential threat to settlers' ideas of self. Undoubtedly, as Hirst suggests, there was a desire to belong to something more, but settlers also desired the right to exclude, not only legally which had been accomplished, but also morally, in the name of whiteness. The right to define themselves as white men became inextricable from the right to define themselves as a nation. This speaks to the strength of ethno-nationalism that had taken hold in this period. Conceiving of national bonds in terms of shared ethnicity, history and culture (Ignatieff, 1993; Pitty & Leach, 2004), Australian ethno-nationalism centred belonging on Anglo-Saxon racial origins, British history and the uniquely evolving Australian culture — a fiercely exclusionary nationalism that underpinned the move to Federation.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the growth of Australian nationalism was built upon a racialised white Self constructed in relation to a racialised Chinese Other. This process began in the 1850s, with the initial racialisation of the Chinese, and intensified from the 1880s. I have further argued that the form of nationalism that developed in Australia, centred around egalitarianism, would not have been possible without a means to displace the deviance of both class and invasion, which the presence of the Chinese facilitated. Yet there was nothing natural or inevitable about the enmity felt towards the Chinese. Economic disadvantage and competition for limited resources initially resulted in antagonism towards a visible minority,

which was quickly incorporated within racialised/ing discourses of deviance and threat. While biological explanations of racial difference were harnessed to support these discourses, the racisms of the nineteenth century were "built not on the sure-footed classifications of science but on a potent set of cultural and affective criteria"(Stoler, 2016, p. 260).

The resultant racial categorisations, both of whiteness and Otherness, were therefore inherently volatile, mutable and culturally contingent. The ongoing use of metaphors to consistently (re)construct racial deviance and Otherness, and by extension its opposite, whiteness, speaks to the work necessary to shore up racial categorisations. This ideological work emanated from a wide range of factions in society, serving a variety of political aims, and used to advance multiple, at times contradictory, interests. In the process, whiteness, and the associated exclusion of non-white Others upon which it was based, was transformed into a national ideal, providing solidarity and racial identification, laying the foundations of an envisioned cultural homogeneity essential for the national imaginary (Gellner, 1987, 1997). It is this national imaginary, and manner in which it developed, that the next chapter considers.

Chapter 6 White Australia (1901–1971): the maintenance of race

6.1 Introduction

Australia became a nation on 1st January 1901, with the restriction of non-white immigration enshrined in the Immigration Restriction Act (1901), one of the founding Acts of the new national parliament. The White Australia Policy, which the Act embodied, would shape Australia's first 70 years of nationhood until it was officially repealed in 1973. Stemming from a universalising identification with Anglo-Saxon whiteness and distinguished by the particularising 'Australian' emphasis on egalitarianism and equality that had united the colonies in the move towards Federation, Australian nationalism was strongly rooted in racialised distinctions. It is these decades when whiteness (or non-whiteness) was explicitly invoked in both the national Self and its immigrant Other that are the focus of this chapter.

The designation of Australia as a sovereign state was not the inevitable expression of a well-established cultural community but rather an act of political will, whereby settlers with an occupation of less than 120 years carefully and deliberately formed a nation. All nation-states may be new but they are commonly linked to pre-established nations (Anderson, 2006). Yet Australia was established as a new nation, consciously engineered to achieve a higher national purpose which would transcend the pitfalls that had befallen other nations (Lake, 2008). The initiation of the nation was marked by a sense of novelty, potential and purpose, alongside a commitment to the historical British race myth, from whence the new nation was imagined to have emerged.

The press was one of the principal means through which the new nation and the form it took was (re)produced. Anderson speaks of newspapers as providing “the technical means for ‘representing’ the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation” (Anderson, 2006, p. 25). And the kind of community that the nation was to be was a matter of ongoing political, social and economic concern, with debate conveyed (and conducted) through the press. Nations are imagined as ‘inherently limited’ (Anderson, 2006, p. 6), and it was through these *limits* that the White Australian nation was produced. Within the press, both explicitly through discussion of White Australia and immigration, and implicitly through the ways in which the nation and immigrants were linguistically constructed, the nation, through its limits, was continually being redefined and re-articulated. As noted in the previous chapter, the nationalism that developed in Australia was strongly rooted in ethno-nationalism — that is a belief in national bonds grounded in shared ethnicity, culture and history (Gellner, 1983; Ignatieff, 1993; Pitty & Leach, 2004).

Yet there was nothing inevitable or natural about the form that Australian nationalism took. “The triumph of a particular nationalism is seldom achieved without the defeat of alternative nationalisms and other ways of imagining peoplehood” (Billig, 1995, p. 28). The triumph of White Australian nationalism was achieved through the exercise of power and assertion of dominance. Turning to Bourdieu’s work on power, the creation of the Australian nation can be understood as a form of symbolic production, underwritten by the construction of particular fields of power (Bourdieu & Farage, 1994). In other words, through the economic and coercive power endowed by the process of nation-state creation, the founders of the new Australian State were also engaged in the creation of forms of symbolic power, to define the categorisations and limits of the imagined community. Hence, the “common forms and categories of perception and appreciation, social frameworks of perceptions, of understanding or of memory” (Bourdieu & Farage,

1994, p. 13) inculcated by the new nation-state were a reflection of the power relations on which the nation was founded. The political function of these symbolic systems, which were both structured by and structuring of the reality in which they were embedded, was "as instruments which help to ensure that one class dominates another" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167); thus, as instruments of symbolic violence.

This understanding of the symbolic creation of the Australian nation state underpins the analysis that follows. Language is a key tool for symbolic production and hence symbolic violence. Bourdieu speaks of language as possessing "the power to produce existence by producing the collectively recognized, and thus realized, representation of existence" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 42); language is therefore an elaboration of symbolic power. The language used to construct immigrants masks "ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 8), which are reproduced within the press (van Dijk, 1987, 1998). In this chapter I argue that metaphoric representations were harnessed to create specific understandings of Australian-ness that reflected and sustained the (Anglo-white) power base that gave rise to them. Metaphoric constructions of immigrants helped delineate the *imagined limits* of the nation, both through who was imagined as belonging and, equally, who was excluded.

While still a young nation, and an even younger nation-state, Australia nonetheless had a sense of its own history as an offshoot of the British nation. Thus, in addition to the explicit ways in which the nation's limits were imagined, whether through the designation of certain groups as *invaders* or others as *kith and kin,* there were also multiple implicit constructions of the nation. This "continual 'flagging', or reminding, of nationhood" (Billig, 1995, p. 8) functioned in tandem with more explicit nationalist constructions. The press played a key role through the use of deixis — the 'us' and 'we' of the nation —

alongside other similarly subtle invocations of the national space (Billig, 1995, p. 174). I argue that banal flaggings of the nation worked in conjunction with the metaphors outlined to normatively construct the nation as an Anglo-white space.

The previous chapter argued that creation of a racialised (non-white) immigrant Other was essential for the creation of a racialised (white) national Self. Yet this is complicated by the Immigration Restriction Act which proscribed non-white immigration. While Asian immigrants were still of concern in the early decades of White Australia, with many of the same Pre-Federation metaphors, during the 1920s there was a noticeable shift towards a new immigrant Other. Increased Italian immigration alongside pre-existing ambivalence about their racial attributes intersected with a renewed identification with Britishness and emphasis on racial purity; consequently, Italians became the focal point for racial anxieties. During this period, Italians were racialised as non-white through the same metaphors used to racialise other non-white groups, which only dissipated once legislative restrictions had been enacted.

Yet despite the anti-Italian rhetoric of the 1920s, for the most part, immigration was seen as desirable, with (white) immigration actively encouraged. While Britain was perceived as the most desirable *source* for immigrants, by the late 1940s European immigration was also being actively encouraged. Yet there remained a differentiation between European and British immigrants, with Anglo-white immigrants metaphorically constructed differentially to other white immigrants. I contend that, due to the lack of non-white immigrant Others, non-Anglo-white immigrants functioned as the Other against which the Anglo-white national Self was constructed, with this engendering the emphasis on the *Anglo* within the White Australian national imaginary.

The symbolic creation of the nation gave shape to the ways in which immigrants were understood and vice versa. The chapter begins therefore with an examination of how the nation was metaphorically framed. It then turns to the metaphoric framing of immigrants, and how this interacted with understandings of the nation. Two main narratives emerge: of external threat to the nation, and of nation building. These were intertwined, with the building of the nation constantly imperilled by racial threat. The chapter then turns to the racialisation of Italians within the 1920s, demonstrating that negative metaphors were used as signifiers of racial Otherness. As the majority of metaphors found were in the pre-WW2 period, this provides the main focus of the chapter. The chapter turns first, however, to the metaphors used to construct the nation.

6.2 Constructing the nation

The creation of the nation-state of Australia was not only an act of political will but also an act of imagination. Emerging from the nationalistic yearnings of the previous decades, the symbolic creation of the newly formed nation embodied the political and cultural desires of its founders. While this was explicitly expressed through the doctrine of White Australia, the extent to which these convictions permeated the underlying conceptual systems structuring how the nation and, by extension, immigrants, were understood, can be discovered by examining the metaphors through which the nation was (re)created.

Returning to Anderson's insight of nations imagined as "both inherently limited and sovereign" (1991, p. 6), we can understand these limits as being metaphorically expressed through the NATION as CONTAINER conceptual metaphor. However, in contrast to the Pre-Federation period, when NATION as HOUSE was the foremost expression of the nation container, within White Australia, the NATION as BODY conceptual metaphor became the primary nation metaphor.

6.2.1 NATION as BODY

The higher-level conceptual metaphor NATION as BODY is not only *limited* but also *sovereign*; we possess complete control over our bodies. When speaking of nations as bodies, multiple aspects of corporeality are invoked, and in the process "the associated frames of reference for bodies become part of the inherent logic of the metaphor; disease and health, strength and weakness, burden and relief are all available for conceptual use" (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 258). The NATION as BODY concept has been dated back to Hobbes' formulation within *Leviathan* of the state as a man (Chilton, 1996); furthermore, early sociologists such as Durkheim employed an organism metaphor to describe society (Santa Ana, 2002). While the accuracy of the metaphor has been criticised, as societies comprise multiple groups with conflicting interests, the ideological impact of the body metaphor is the legitimation of unequal power relations within the social status quo (Santa Ana, 2002).

The NATION as BODY conceptual metaphor constructed a unified, social body, legitimately ruled by its *head,* with proclamations about the nation-body, issued by the *voice* of the nation, naturalising partial, interested perspectives as universal. The invoking of the nation-body was then a powerful expression of symbolic power, through which the perspectives, interests and aims of certain elite groups were naturalised (Bourdieu, 1991). Within White Australia, the exclusion of non-white bodies (and the eugenic policing of white bodies) was consistently propounded as a defining feature of the new nation. As a means to consolidate diverse interests, whiteness functioned as a social adhesive, effacing deeper social and class divisions. The invoking of the nation as a contained body functioned similarly, also effacing deeper divisions with the metaphor structuring a cohesive, harmonious and self-sustaining social organism.

The focus on whiteness, particularly within the early decades of the White Australia period, meant that non-white immigrants were understood as corporeally deviant. Their skin colour, the shape of their eyes, their entire racially inscribed bodies were perceived as threatening the *purity* of the young white nation, with such visual markers used "to (poorly) index the colonial and affective attributes on which these folk theories of difference were based" (Stoler, 2002, p. 154). It is these corporeal manifestations of the constructed threats to whiteness that may account for the emphasis on a corporeal metaphor to frame the nation — the white nation-body constructed in opposition to all of the non-white bodies, through which its defining and unifying logic was easily grasped and naturalised.

This nation-body was therefore a white body, with whiteness the defining feature for the imagined limits. This was expressed through the degrees to which immigrants were perceived as *absorbable;* while Anglo-white immigration was easily *absorbed*, and hence beneficial to the national in-group, the *absorbability* of other migrants was questioned, with non-white bodies almost pathogenic to the white nation-body, justifying their exclusion. This often found expression in debates about the *absorptive* capacity of the nation-body.

While for the first half of the century, *absorb* was the primary linguistic metaphor, this was eclipsed by *intake* in later decades. In addition, there was a range of occasional metaphors which made reference to all aspects of the nation-body: *eyes, face, mouth, feet, hands, head, heart, arms, shoulders, skeleton, voice, etcetera*.

Absorb

The lack of non-white immigration allowed for an understanding of the nation as a singular, white body, and a major focus of immigration policy and debate was ensuring it remained this way. O'Brien (2003) has described the metaphoric structuring of undesirable immigrants in early twentieth century US as *indigestible food*. In contrast, the migration of desirable immigrants to Australia resulted in them being seen as *digestible food,* able to be *absorbed* into the nation-body. Thus, a great number of articles on immigration were concerned with the *absorptive* capacity of the nation-body. Yet the *absorbability* of Italians within the 1920s was the subject of much debate, suggesting that they too were perceived as 'indigestible'.

Initially articles were positive about the potential to *absorb* migrants, particularly British ones:

> Australia is capable of *absorbing* an almost indefinite number of men of British *stock (Argus,* 1912).[lxiv]

However, contemplation of Chinese immigration provoked a different response:

> The rationale of exclusion is obvious. If *absorption* were possible, it would involve the *degradation of the race (WA,* 1913).[lxv]

While *British stock* was infinitely and easily absorbable into the nation-body, absorption of the Chinese was dangerous and perhaps impossible. More than simply indigestible, the Chinese were almost pathogenic with explicitly degenerative effects, necessitating their

total exclusion from the white nation-body lest they *degrade* it with their inferior *racial* characteristics.

This structuring of *absorbable* and *un-absorbable* immigration clearly demarcated Asian immigrants from other, mostly British, immigration. However, from the 1920s there was also questioning of Italian *absorbability:*

> *Our* desire to graduate the *influx* according to *our* capacity to *absorb* it must not be construed as a reflection upon their nations or themselves. They were our Allies in the war. The majority of them make industrious and thrifty citizens. But the right of a country to control the elements of its own population is universally recognised, and *we* are entitled to take the steps required to maintain *our racial homogeneity (SMH,* 1925).[lxvi]

> It is acknowledged that they are good workers as a rule, used to country life and pursuits, temperate and thrifty: but, on the other hand, they have the reputation of being clannish, quarrelsome, quick to violence and difficult to *absorb* and that their very thriftiness is in a way, a menace to the freer spending Australian, enabling them to undersell their labour (*Argus,* 1925).[lxvii]

In the first extract, the Italian is posited as being specifically outside of Australia's *racial homogeneity,* with this calling into question their ability to be *absorbed*. There is repeated use of *our* and *we;* this use of deixis flags the nation — it "invokes the national 'we' and places 'us' within 'our' homeland" (Billig, 1995, p. 107). Through, every reference to *us, our* and *we*, the nation was consistently being (re)produced. In the second extract, we find some of the same arguments that were used against the Chinese i.e. *clannishness*, being

overly *thrifty* and thus able to *undersell their labour*. These criticisms are structured by a disclaimer through which there is an avoidance of negative self-presentation, despite the criticism that follows (van Dijk, 1998) — hence, they are *good workers, temperate, thrifty; but...*

Appearing in an article entitled *Immigrants and race efficiency,* Italians were being clearly structured as racially distinct immigrants, which had cultural implications that would impede their successful *absorption* into the white nation-body. Notions of differential cultural capacity were an inherent part of early racial discourse (Stoler, 2002). Thus, while not as pathogenic as the Chinese, there was a strong sense of ambivalence about Italians' racial attributes, as demonstrated by the use of disclaimers alongside the stated need to protect the *racial homogeneity* of Australia.

From the 1930s, most immigrants were seen as potentially *absorbable*, including sometimes Italians, although this did not prevent their internment during the war (Saunders, 1994). However, while European immigrants were more widely accepted from the late 1940s when the Displaced Persons migration program brought thousands to Australia, *absorption* was still contingent on the preservation of British dominance, with one article stating:

> Carefully selected foreign migrants, brought here by such a route and *absorbed* into a country where there is already a *steady stream* of English speaking immigrants, would give us the strength of numbers without impairing our homogeneity (*Argus,* 1948).[lxviii]

Absorption of *foreign migrants* was counterbalanced by *a steady stream* of British, which was guaranteed to maintain *homogeneity*; notably, homogeneity was no longer being expressed in explicitly racial terms, although the underlying implication remained.

By the 1950s references to homogeneity and foreign or *alien* immigrants had mostly disappeared with immigrants perceived as a necessary resource, and the general sentiment being:

> It is necessary to keep up the *flow* to the maximum figure which the nation can *absorb* without discomfort *(SMH,* 1955).[lxix]

This calls to mind the *indigestibility* of immigrants (O'Brien, 2003), with too many causing *discomfort,* which contrasted with how British immigration was perceived, with another article stating:

> Priority goes to British migrants. But since we cannot get as many as we want in any event, we must continue to look farther afield among peoples who can be most readily assimilated. So far as the German migrants are concerned, experience in the *absorption* of more than 40,000 since 1950 should dispose of any doubts on that score (*WA,* 1956).[lxx]

This suggests that *absorption* signalled assimilation, with the most easily assimilated peoples, the most easily *absorbed*. Less assimilable groups caused some digestive *discomfort* but were palatable if numbers were maintained at a level that allowed for their eventual absorption/assimilation into the nation-body.

> Just as the food we ingest benefits us in large part because it is distributed throughout the body, that which is not easily digested by or absorbed within the body is viewed as discomforting or even a threat to health… This is just as true of the social body as it is of the individual organism (O'Brien, 2003, p. 36).

Thus, *absorption* metaphors flagged the nation-body as a racially and culturally homogenous (and harmonious) entity, potentially disrupted by the presence of non-Anglo racial groups. It has been noted that post WW2 assimilation policies were a new means for sustaining Australian ethno-nationalism (Pitty & Leach, 2004), and *absorption* metaphors support this. Embedded within *absorption/*assimilation is the centrality of the white-Anglo in-group, which can account for its potency within the White Australia period.

Intake

Intake was the secondary NATION as BODY metaphor,[1] occurring predominantly after WW2. The *Populate or Perish* mantra shifted immigration from predominantly British originating to much large numbers of Europeans (Kirk, 2008; Walker, 2003). This change also coincided with the wider rejection of explicit racism in the wake of its association with Nazi atrocities (Jayasuriya, 2012). Thus, *absorption,* which structured the nation in terms of racial homogeneity, was eclipsed by the less explicit, *intake,* which simply referred to the act of taking in, or that which was received internally (OED).[2]

Schon (1979) uses the concept of the generative metaphor to demonstrate how the metaphoric framing of an issue in turn delimits the potential responses. This is evident

1. While primarily used to refer to the taking in of a substance internally, *intake* can also refer to water or plumbing. Metaphors often have multiple interpretations (i.e. overrun) with their meanings elicited from the context of their use.
2. *Intake* can refer to the nation-body's action in bringing in immigrants, but can also refer to the immigrants themselves, i.e. the *(im)migrant* or *(im)migration intake* and the *intake of (im)migrants.*

when we consider framing immigration in terms of *absorption,* which then demarcates acceptable immigration in terms of *absorbability* (assimilability). During the 1950s, while large numbers of Europeans immigrated, they were still expected to assimilate to the existing Anglo-Australian culture (Jupp, 2002). This is demonstrated by the manner in which *intake* functioned, initially being used in tandem with *absorb:*

> *We* should halt or curtail *our intake* of immigrants until *we* have readjusted in strength and can *absorb* in strength (*Argus,* 1955).[lxxi]

> *We* took 10,000 migrants last year—more than in 1954 and 1953— but the Commonwealth realised six months ago that something had happened to *our absorptive capacity* and the *intake* of migrants this year has been much smaller (*WA,* 1956).[lxxii]

In both extracts there are double BODY metaphors, *intake* and *absorb*. There is also repeated use of national deixis (Billig, 1995) with the pronouns *we* and *our* flagging the implied national community. The *strength (*or lack thereof) of the national *we* is stated as the reason to *halt or curtail* the *intake*. This need for control to maintain the strength of the nation-body strongly evokes earlier constructions of the debilitating impacts of *indigestible* immigrants, with these intertextual links (Wodak et al., 2009) further strengthened by the use of *absorb.* In the second extract, *our absorptive capacity* is explicitly linked to *the intake of migrants,* who are firmly structured outside the *our* of the nation.

However, alongside the growing problematisation of White Australia in the 1960s, and the official shift in policy from assimilation to integration, was a reduction in framing

immigration in terms of *absorption* into the white nation-body. As the explicit emphasis on racial attributes which characterised *absorption* discourses became less acceptable, the less explicit *intake,* which did not flag assimilation to the same extent, gained prominence. Thus, while immigration was still demarcated in terms of difference, this was not necessarily contingent on the potential for assimilation. Consequently, the majority of references were less emotive, functioning more as a descriptor with fewer embedded entailments; the number of instances also dropped. Consider:

> The effect of the increased *intake* is tempered by the sudden jump in the number of migrants leaving (*SMH,* 1966).[lxxiii]

> Thus, the intake of migrants in the post-war period has been approximately 50 per cent British and 50 per cent non-British (*Australian,*1965).[lxxiv]

The manner *intake* was used in the 1960s, without the same level of deixis, suggests less emphasis on homogeneity than had characterised immigration previously. Instead, there is a neutrality to *intake* that suggests a shift away from racially structured discourses of belonging and exclusion within the nation-body, and a decrease in explicit ethno-nationalism.

6.2.2 NATION as HOUSE

The symbolic creation of the nation was also expressed through metaphors constructing the nation as a house. Functioning as a constructive strategy, by which the national in-group was constituted, it also constructed the immigrant out-group to whom the *door* needed to be *opened*. While this out-group was not necessarily racially incompatible, they were still perceived as distinct from the British-originating, national in-group. Such

metaphors can be understood as instance of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995), with a persistent, unremarked flagging of the British ethno-national community as the true inhabitants of the nation-house. The NATION as HOUSE conceptual metaphor, in addition to being implicit in many DANGEROUS WATER and WAR metaphors (Santa Ana, 2002), was also expressed explicitly, with 178 occurrences. A higher-level container metaphor, it conceives of the nation as a singular bounded domestic dwelling, in which the population lives, with doors and gates through which non-residents enter or are barred; a national *home,* although the metaphor *home* only appeared a handful of times.

Door and Gate

Common linguistic metaphors were variations on *door* or *gate*, alongside references to *guests, tenants, walls, keys, hosts, neighbours* and other occasional metaphors.

Table 6.1 Numbers and collocations of *Door/Gate* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

DOOR/GATE — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971					
Places		***People***			
Australian/British 38	**Rest of the world 24**	**Australian/British 3**	**European — 24**	**Non-European — 33**	**Non-Specified — 21**
Australia, Our / The Commonwealth, England, The Dominons, Darwin	U.S. , China, South & Central America, Asia, Hong Kong, Other nations around the Pacific, New Caledonia	British migrants, Migrants of British stock	Europeans, Southern Europeans, European races/migrants, Italians, Mediterranean races, Migrant refugees, Desirable Europeans, Best working blood of Europe, Northern Italians, Surplus of Europe, Overcrowded Europeans, Refugees	Coloured races, Asians/Asiatics, Japanese, Uganda Asians, Asiatic colony, Asia, Teeming millions, Battalions of Chinese immigrants, Races of the Orient, Influx of Orientalism, Stream of Asian immigration, Migrants from Asia, Asian Migration, Coloured immigration, Racial trouble, Non-White people	Immigrants, Foreigners, White men/races, Aliens, All-comers, Strangers, Aliens, Tide of emigration, Migration, Everyone of every race, A million newcomers, Possible sources of trouble

As Table 6.1 shows, the highest number of door/gate references were to Australia, followed by the US. Of the people to whom the doors were opened/closed, only 3 were specifically British, while over two-thirds were explicitly not (either European or non-European) and the rest were non-specified, although a number of these were obviously not British *(foreigners, aliens, strangers).* These figures demonstrate that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the nation's *doors* / *gates* were *opened (or closed)* to

those seen as external to the nation, namely the non-British. Thus, the nation-house can be understood as being imagined, not just as a physically bounded location, but also a racial/cultural community, making it a potent elaboration of symbolic power.

Found throughout the period, *door/gate* metaphors peaked in the 1920s, when they also referred to the United States, with the American experience harnessed as justification for proposed immigration restrictions against Italians. *Opening the door* had a different association depending on the decade in which it was used. In the first quarter of the century it was used to highlight threat:[3]

> *we* may ask ourselves whether we are on right lines when *we open our doors* to the incoming of the Mediterranean races, whose *innate racial characteristics* are so diverse from *our own*, and whose intermarriage with *our people* can result only in a *weakening* rather than a strengthening of *our own racial stock (SMH,* 1923).[lxxv]

Personal pronouns are of great importance in the discursive construction of nations and national identity, in particular *we,* although there is a distinction between a speaker and/or addressee inclusive or exclusive *we* (De Cillia, Reisigl, & Wodak, 1999). Yet in most constructions of the nation-house found in the press, both the speaker and addressee (or reader) were included within the national *we,* which was constructed in relation to an external Other. In the extract above, repeated use of *we* and *our* powerfully constructs the national in-group in contrast to the *Mediterranean races,* who are *innately, racially* different and, through their *weakening* capacity, inferior. *Our own racial stock* links to notions of racial purity and contemporaneous racial ideology, yet the *weakening* potential

3. Asian in the first two decades, European in the 1920s.

of the *Mediterranean races* also highlights the inherent instability of such categories, both confirming them and calling them into question (Stoler, 2016), as with the Chinese 70 years earlier.

Yet 30 years later, while the national *we* persisted, there was less agreement on the degenerative effects of Southern European immigration:

> Here in Australia, between the wars, the *door was wide open* to Southern Europeans as well as British. As a nation *we* took no *ill-effect* from that experience (*WA,* 1957).[lxxvi]

In contrast to the explicit construction of Mediterranean racial difference that marked the 1920s*,* by the 1950s, Southern Europeans were discussed more dispassionately, with an associated reduction in metaphor (although note the subtle flagging of the nation-body through the reference to illness). HOUSE metaphors decreased further in the 1960s, mirroring the reduced number of explicit nation-body metaphors in this period noted above. While the construction of the nation in exclusionary terms may partly have decreased due to the emphasis on *racial* difference that characterised the White Australia period falling out of favour in the final years of the policy, the resurgence of these metaphors in the Multicultural period suggest it was also due to the lack of a perceived *racial* Other.

6.2.3 NATION as FAMILY

A more explicitly ethno-nationalist structuring of the nation was as a family, with immigrants from Britain or the Dominions framed through familial metaphors. National psychology is often anchored around a subconscious belief, inculcated through nationalist

discourse, that all members of the national group share a common origin, and have evolved distinctly from other national groups. This underlying conviction of nationalist thinking has led Gellner to conclude: “It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round” (Gellner, 1983, p. 55). Such ethno-nationalism often finds expression in familial metaphors (Connor, 1993). In the Australian context, this was commonly articulated through the terms *kindred* or *kith and kin* to describe immigrants from Britain.

Through references to the desirability of *our own kith and kin* and other familial framings, Australians were constructed as part of a wider, white British family. These constructive strategies shaped the differential way migrants were valued, with *kindred* or *British stock* perceived as more beneficial than other migrants. Constructed in relation to Britishness, the flagging of certain immigrants was also an implicit flagging of the nation. Again, constructive strategies also functioned as justification strategies. If certain immigrants were constructed as desirable, that also justified the emphasis on their continued migration over other, less desirable, immigrants.

Kindred/Kith and Kin

Kindred/kith and kin only appeared between the 1910s and 1940s, with most instances collocated with *our own* — the double possessive signifying the strength of the imagined bonds. Used to refer to British immigrants, it collocated with *encourage, welcome, prefer, attract* and other similarly positive verbs. The sentiment is summed up in the extract below:

> Against the danger of being *swamped* by immigrants of the type we do not want the only effective remedy is, as quickly as we can, to *fill our vacant spaces* with *our own kith and kin (WA,* 1925).[lxxvii]

The notion of *kinship* is central to discourses of ethno-nationalism, serving to bond groups together (Hobsbawm, 1992). Calls to *fill our vacant spaces with our own kith and kin* speaks powerfully to the centrality of Anglo-national identity, with Australia still discursively created within an ethnic British imaginary, reflecting the renewed emphasis on British immigration within the post WW1 period (Langfield, 1999b). As a means of ensuring the continuance of White Australia, immigration was necessary, yet the perceived incompatibility of biologically, and therefore culturally inferior migrants engendered a focus on *our own kin* as the desired *source* of population, both as defence and for future development of the nation.

Other FAMILY metaphors

There were a range of other FAMILY metaphors, with *mother/mother country* used to refer to Britain, the most common, as well as *parent, siblings, brothers, sisters, children* and *family.* Commonly used to frame the relationship between Britain and Australia, but also between Australia and the Dominions, they constructed a wider family to which Australia belonged, reiterating the British race myth. The form of ethno-nationalism that predominated in post-Federation Australia has been called *imperial nationalism,* drawing on a perceived Anglo-Saxon unity with other countries within the British Empire (Pitty & Leach, 2004), with this reflected in familial metaphors. Notably, they were less prevalent after the 1940s and, like most metaphors constructing racial difference, absent by the 1960s.

Nation metaphors were then expressions of symbolic power, through which racially differentiated ideas of belonging and exclusion centred on an Anglo-white 'core' were metaphorically expressed and naturalised. This symbolic power is also evident when we consider the ways in which immigration and immigrants themselves were constructed. Surprisingly, although nation metaphors were more commonly framed around the nation-body, immigration metaphors were more often related to the nation-house, with WATER and WAR the primary and secondary conceptual metaphors for this period; it is to these metaphors that the chapter turns next.

6.3 Constructing immigrants

6.3.1 Explicit threat

During the first decades of the twentieth century, there was a global preoccupation with population and space. While the desirability of white Australia was unquestioned, there were doubts about the ability of Australians to make a strong enough argument to justify their possession of the continent, particularly the 'empty' north (Walker, 2003). Over-population was widely perceived as a leading cause of war and political instability and hence a justification for territorial expansion, with underpopulated countries the natural outlet for relieving population pressure in other parts of the world, and immigration restriction acts seen internationally as insular and self-serving (Bashford, 2007a). Possession of uncultivated lands was also ethically questionable, with the cultivation of land perceived as a world issue, necessary to maximise food production for a world population facing food shortages (Bashford, 2007b). While in Australia's case, the obligation to admit other races was mainly restricted to Europeans due to concerns about racial homogeneity, discussions about the tropical north and its suitability for white settlement undermined the legitimacy of Australia's possession of the region, raising the

spectre that Japan or China could, legitimately, demand the ceding of the territory (Bashford, 2007a). As a settler colonial nation, fears of illegitimacy had a powerful effect.

This is most clearly reflected in metaphors that structured immigration within the already well-established narrative of immigrant threat. While in the initial years of the century, the preoccupation was still with Asia, by the 1920s there was a noticeable shift towards the metaphoric framing of Italians in similar ways. Threat was most commonly expressed through IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER or IMMIGRATION as WAR conceptual metaphors.

6.3.2 IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER

Influx

As in the previous period, WATER metaphors were most commonly [4] used to frame immigration. Of these, *influx* was the most prevalent, occurring predominantly prior to WW2. *Influx* is most commonly an instance of the IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER conceptual metaphor (Santa Ana, 2002), although this research demonstrates that it can also structure IMMIGRATION as FLOWING WATER, depending on the overall semantic prosody[5] of its usage. As the previous chapter demonstrated, prior to Federation, *influx* had become a standardized way to construct Chinese and other racially undesirable immigration.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, 70% of instances referred directly to Asian, Afghan or alien/undesirable immigration more generally. However, 30% framed Italian and/or Greek migration; this is significant as it was the first time since the cessation

4. 644 of 2,161 instances of metaphor
5. Refers to the collocates of a term as either positive or negative (Stubbs, 1996).

of convict transportation that such language was used to designate European immigration as undesirable. Things were complicated in the 1910s when *influx* was used neutrally to describe mass migration, often as a positive occurrence i.e.

> The *influx* has been steadily increasing, and last year the new arrivals numbered over 14,000, but we have room for many thousands, and many tens of thousands, more (*SMH,* 1913).[lxxviii]

While conceiving of a large ingress of external *arrivals,* these were not perceived negatively. There was, however, a resurgence of the DANGEROUS WATER entailments in the 1920s, when the use of *influx* reached a peak, with 59 instances, used to refer to both Asians and Italians specifically, or Southern or Eastern Europeans more generally. The sentiment is captured below:

> The general impression is that these immigrants from the Mediterranean littoral are not in all respects the most desirable additions, and that an *influx* in numbers bodes a certain amount of *danger* to the country we live in. It is not an *attack* against a White Australia but something akin to it (*Argus,* 1925).[lxxix]

Southern Europeans were perceived as threatening the inviolability of white Australia in much the same ways as Asians. The *danger* posed was more limited, yet the *influx* was still framed as something *akin to* an *attack* — it is this coupling with a WAR metaphor that emphasises the negative connotations of the *influx.* While minimisation strategies often function to replace negative terms with something more pleasant (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), in this case the minimisation speciously attributed negative actions which could

not be explicitly stated: Italian immigration was not a *danger* or *attack*, yet through metaphor, it was constructed as such.

By the 1930s, despite still being used negatively to frame Southern European immigration, there were also several usages of *influx* with a positive semantic prosody to describe general immigration. From the late 1940s, its use was neutral (except regarding Asians) with overall usage dropping substantially, although there was still a differentiation between British and other European immigration:

> If the requisite number of British people cannot be induced or assisted to come here, then the *influx* of foreign migrants should be slowed down, to preserve the 50–50 proportion (*SMH,* 1956).[lxxx]

While not always demonstrating negative semantic prosody, it was almost always used to refer to people who were seen as external to the boundaries of the Australian nation, as demonstrated by Table 6.2 below, which shows the terms collocated with *influx*.[6]

Table 6.2 Numbers and collocations of *Influx* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

INFLUX — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971			
Non-European — 40	**European — 79**	**Non-Specified — 40**	**British — 6**
Asians/Asiatics, Chinese, Coloured people/persons, Afghans, Non-European migrants, Hindoo/Indians, Japanese, Eastern races, Non-white people, Coolie labour, African/Asiatic blood, African & Pakistani immigrants, Yellow races, Orientalism, Alien hordes	Italian, Southern Europeans, Aliens, Foreigners/Foreign migrants, Greeks/Yugoslavs, European migrants, Foreign/Continental workers, Non-British migrants/stock, Russians, Swedes & Norwegians	Migrants, Population, People, Immigration, Newcomers, Desirable migrants, Workmen/Employment seekers, A good class of migrants, Citizens, Overseas settlers, White men, Cheap labour	Britons, British migrants, Migration from Britain, Young shoots of British stock

6. Terms are listed in order of frequency, with most common first. Indirect collocations are not listed.

Almost three quarters of the nouns specifically designated non-British migrants, with most of the remainder generalised terms appearing in the post WW2 migration push, often used in contrast with British immigration, as demonstrated above. Significantly, of 181 instances of *influx*, only 6 referred specifically to British immigrants. Given that, during this period, most immigration was from Britain, the fact that this was almost never referred to as an *influx* indicates that the term was generally applied to those seen as differentiated from the Australian national in-group in a way that British people were not. This draws on an implicit understanding of the Australia as a defined community of culture (Meaney, 2001) that includes Britain, but excludes other nationalities. Much like the opening and closing of doors to the nation-house, there is a subtle, implicit flagging (Billig, 1995) of the Australian national in-group constructed through racial parameters, making the *immigrant influx* another expression of symbolic power.

Flood

The secondary IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER metaphor, *flood,* was often used, during the 1920s, to describe undesirable European immigration to the United States and the example this provided for Australia.[7] The framing of Southern and Eastern Europeans through metaphors of threat and deviance was widespread in the US press of this time, with immigrants constructed metaphorically in terms of natural catastrophes, war and disease (O'Brien, 2003). The US migration reform acts of 1921 and 1924, aimed at reducing migration from Southern and Eastern Europe[8], received extensive coverage, with the US exemplifying the dangers of unrestricted Italian migration:

7. Prior to this period, it mostly referred to Asians
8. Often used as code for Jewish immigration.

> America, for example, has been forced in the last few years to *safeguard* herself against the *rapidly rising flood* of Slav and Southern European peoples (*SMH,* 1921).[lxxxi]

> Since the war, however, the Americans, having discovered that the foreign elements of their population were not being assimilated as rapidly as they had previously supposed, and fearful of racial degeneracy, set about *damming* the *human flood (WA,* 1926).[lxxxii]

Certain European migrants were conceived of as a danger to be *safeguarded* against, with the *flood* a movement that needed to be *dammed,* and only tightly controlled and restricted movement allowed. The use of the *flood* metaphor, prevalent in 1880s anti-Chinese discourse, reactivated earlier anti-immigrant tropes creating a logic of equivalence between the Chinese of Pre-Federation fears and later Italian immigrants (Fairclough, 2003). *Flood* was also used to describe Asian migration, although this was limited, likely due to the relative lack of Asian immigration during this period. Notably, it was never applied to immigrants perceived as white.

Other DANGEROUS WATER metaphors

Pour and *swamp* both occurred predominantly in the first quarter of the century, generally in articles referring to either Asian or Southern European migration (see Table 6.3).[9] Both showed negative semantic prosody, although more explicitly in relation to Asian immigration. While the object of the threat was often specifically stated as the nation or region, there were also more abstract entities referenced, like *western civilization* or *national character.*

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9. Except for two instances where *pour* was used to refer to British migration.

Table 6.3 Numbers and collocations of *Pour* and *Swamp* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

POUR AND SWAMP — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971			
Pour			
Non-European - 7	**European - 4**	**Non-Specified - 7**	**British - 2**
Orientals, Stream of Japanese emigration, John Chinaman, Tide of Chinese immigration, Hordes of Indians, Aliens (coolies), Jamaicans	Southern Europeans, Polygot peoples of Europe, Europe's millions, Flood of refugees	Immigrants, Stream of immigration, Hundreds of thousands, Flood of new population	British immigration, Human outpouring of the British Isles
Swamp			
Non-European - 3	**European - 5**	**Non-Specified - 4**	**British - 0**
China, Asiatics, Uganda Asians	Slavs and Italians, Italian migrants, Europeans, Continental immigrants, Old World	Immigrants, Tide of immigration, Foreign tide	

Overall, the data show that DANGEROUS WATER metaphors were applied to immigrants differentiated as racially Other, most notably Italians, declining substantially after the first decades of the century. As previously stated, DANGEROUS WATER metaphors are based in a topos of threat (Wodak, 2002). In the context of Italian migration, this can be summarised by the conditional: *if Italian migrants are a threat, there should be some protection against them.* As such, these metaphors can be understood as part of a wider justification strategy, through which the exclusion of Italian immigrants was justified, with this evidenced by the 1925 Amendment to the Immigration Act, which allowed the prohibition of aliens due to unsuitability or perceived lack of assimilability (An Act to amend the Immigration Act 1901–1912, 1925). This structuring of threat contrasts sharply with the way desirable immigration, also often constructed through metaphors of water, was framed.

6.3.3 IMMIGRATION as FLOWING WATER

The slipperiness of *influx* as a metaphor, shifting from danger to a more benign inference, is reflective of a wider dichotomy in the way immigration was conceived, as both DANGEROUS WATER and as FLOWING WATER. The ongoing concern with population meant that, for the most part, immigration was seen as necessary and desirable. This positive focus on immigration was facilitated by the provisions of the Immigration

Restriction Act, which proscribed all non-white immigration. Thus, the immigrants that did arrive were generally perceived as racially compatible (with the notable exception of Southern Europeans), with this reflected in the metaphors used. FLOWING WATER is a conventionalised metaphoric means for conceiving of immigration:

> As regards immigration, FLOWING WATER is a widely used semantic source domain to characterise this demographic process. There is no ready substitute. Scientific demography and geography employ metaphors of flowing water in all discussions of immigration. The objectionable part of the metaphor, DANGEROUS WATERS, is the fear inducing references to tides rising beyond the norm or brown rivers surging above flood stage. (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 297)

Immigration was necessary for the maintenance of a white Australia, with this reflected in the preponderance of FLOWING WATER metaphors advocating a *steady stream* of immigrants. Such metaphors are situated within a topos of usefulness (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), which can be summarised by the conditional, *if immigrants are useful, then we should make use of them.* This functions as a constructive strategy, whereby the immigrant group is constructed as a desirable addition to the national in-group. Constructing white immigration as desirable reiterates the value of whiteness and the need to focus on white immigration, functioning also as a justification strategy for the continuation of white immigration. While in earlier decades, FLOWING WATER metaphors often appeared in reports expounding the virtues of white Australia, this decreased in later years, making it more accurate to say that they were used to frame desirable migration as opposed to solely white immigration. However, embedded within desirability, explicitly at first, was whiteness. While this was less explicitly stated in later years, at no point was there any advocation of the value of *a steady stream* of Asian migration.

IMMIGRATION as FLOWING WATER was reliant on the mapping of specific entailments of the semantic source domain, *flowing water*, onto the semantic target domain, *immigration*. Thus, immigration was framed as a fluid, liquid mass, *flowing* into the country in a *steady stream*. The movement constructed was controlled and regulated, without the *swamping* potential of *floods. Flow* and *stream,* along with several other occasional metaphors, conceptualised a large volume of people immigrating, yet this was not framed as a threat. It is likely that the prevalence of these metaphors in the Australian context also related to a wider concern for water, or the lack thereof (Morgan, 2015). The perception of immigrants as an essential resource could be another reason for their conflation with the most indispensable resource in the country: water. If so, then a further mapping we can suggest would be that of a *valuable* (and scarce) resource. This was particularly pertinent in the post WW2 period, when European immigrants were deemed essential for nation building, manifest in projects like the Snowy Mountains Scheme which was developed by immigrant labour (Jupp, 2002). The massive hydro-electricity and irrigation scheme constructed multiple dams to produce electricity and irrigate the Murray-Darling basin — thus, immigrants, often metaphorically constructed as a *water* resource, were used to develop actual water resources, in the project of nation building.

Flow

The primary IMMIGRATION as FLOWING WATER metaphor was *flow.* While *flow* appeared 25 times in the pre-Federation period, generally collocated with terms demonstrating a strong negative semantic prosody, it appeared 119 times in this period, and its emphasis was neutral. Unlike *influx,* it commonly collocated with non-specific nouns that referred to general immigration, as opposed to specifically racial identifications (see Table 6.4). In addition, it often collocated with adjectives: *steady, regular* and *increasing,* alongside other WATER metaphors.

Table 6.4 Numbers and collocations of *Flow* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

FLOW — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971				
Nouns				
European — 13	**Non-European — 9**	**Non-specified — 71**	**British — 2**	**Water — 25**
Foreigners, Students, South Europeans, Hungarians, Russians, Refugees	Aliens, Chinese, Asiatics, Undesirables	(Im)migrants, (Im)migration, population	British stock	Stream, Tide, Trickle

While not consistently positive, it was most commonly used to structure immigration as a natural movement of a non-threatening mass:

> The real evil of the migration position is that nothing is being done to stimulate the *flow* of people of *our own kith and kin* to Australia (*SMH,* 1937).[lxxxiii]

> More recently, the *tide has ceased to ebb*, and *a trickle* of British migrants is beginning to *flow towards our shores* (*SMH,* 1938).[lxxxiv]

In the first extract, the *flow* is explicitly desirable when constructing British immigration, constructed through double deixis, *our own,* and a potent familial metaphor, *kith and kin*. In the second extract, configurations of WATER metaphors are used to construct immigration as benign and desirable. Immigration is referred to as a *tide* — while not common in this period, *tide* constructs immigration as an inevitable natural force, although this is not portrayed as threatening.

The links between immigrants as a water resource and nation building were sometimes made explicit:

> The vast Snowy Mountains works are being developed largely by migrants...

> The important thing is that by *maintaining the flow*, we are insuring for the future, *building up national strength*, and developing the country at a rate unlikely to be achieved if this impulse were lacking (*WA,* 1956).[lxxxv]

The immigrant *flow* is directly linked to the nation-body as necessary for *building up national strength* and thus *insuring for the future.* It is through the interrelated development of resources — both immigrant and water — that the future potential for the nation can be realised.

Stream

Stream also increased in prevalence, occurring predominantly in the first half of the century, decreasing from the 1950s onwards. While in the Pre-Federation period it generally had negative collocates when constructing Chinese immigrants, in this period it demonstrated an overall positive semantic prosody:

> Not a *trickle* of migrants but *a steady and swelling stream* is required for purposes of development and defence *(SMH,* 1938).[lxxxvi]

Framing immigration as a vital necessity, it constructs immigrants as a valuable resource for both *development and defence*. In addition, it was most commonly collocated with the adjectives *steady* and *constant,* and of 52 adjective collocations, only 4 instances were negative: *foreign, swollen, undesirable.* Like *flow* it also mostly collocated with nouns that referred to general immigration (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Numbers and collocations of *Stream* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

STREAM — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971				
European — 2	**Non-Europeans — 3**	**Non-Defined — 50**	**British — 5**	**Water — 17**
Refugees	Asiatics, Japanese emigration	(Im)migration, (Im)migrants, Settlers, People, Citizens	British migration	Trickle, Dribble, Flood, Torrent, Source

Positive WATER metaphors were rarely applied to non-European immigrants, and were mostly used to speak of general immigration than specifically European migration. Given that a large percentage of immigration was from Britain, it is reasonable to conclude that such metaphors were used for British immigrants (as well as other European migration), demonstrating a noticeable difference in the way immigration from nations deemed racially compatible was constructed.

Source

Source is a further FLOWING WATER metaphor that appeared throughout. While *source* does not necessarily refer to water, the collocation of the metaphor with verbs like *dry up* or other WATER metaphors suggests it functions as a WATER metaphor i.e.:

> For many years the main *stream* of this *flood* has its *source* in the United Kingdom and Germany, but in later years it *flowed* mainly from Southern Europe, the greatest of its *affluents* being that of which Italy was the *source (WA,* 1925).[lxxxvii]

Used to refer to the country of origin of immigrants, its usage increased as the ratio of British immigration to non-British decreased, betraying latent anxiety about the origins of immigrants. *Source* often described avenues of immigration that were either reducing or new avenues — hence its collocation with verbs like *dry up* or *tap*. It was generally collocated with positive adjectives and applied to European immigration, particularly as a means to maintain White Australia.

> But if the present *source* of *British blood* is *running short*, why should we not *tap* the *original sources*? (*SMH,* 1913)[lxxxviii]

> This *source* of new population is expected to *dry up* in 18 months, at the latest (*Argus,* 1949).[lxxxix]

This metaphor frames the *lack* of migration as a risk, in contrast to many other WATER metaphors. Water *sources* are essential and beneficial, particularly in the context of water-short Australia. The first extract links the *source*, not to water, but to *British blood,* a metonymic reference to race, which is framed as an essential originary feature. The second extract, occurring post WW2 is less racially explicit, highlighting the shift away from biologically essentialist ideas of race (Miles, 1989). In both extracts, *source* is a favourable structuring that again invokes immigration as a valuable resource, essential for developing the nation, which is how it was often seen, although the increasingly frequent mentions of *sources drying up* (approximately a quarter of all references) reveal the anxieties that infused the contemplation of non-British immigration.

Reservoir

In addition to *source,* there were also references to immigration as hailing from a *reservoir*. This conceives of an even more structured process, from a more organised *source*:

> There are reasons to account for the comparative *emptiness* of this continent. Its remoteness from *the great white reservoir of the Mother land* has been perhaps the greatest factor in the case (*WA,* 1925).[xc]

> Probably when *we* do decide to encourage people of *our own race* to come and help *us* develop and defend this privileged country, *we* will find that the *reservoir* has *run dry* — for Britain's rate of population increase, too, is declining (*SMH,* 1937).[xci]

> Already in Italy, Holland and Greece, as an article on the opposite page reveals, the *reservoirs* of potential migrants are beginning to *dry up (Australian,* 1965).[xcii]

In the first extract, the *great white reservoir* is specifically linked to Britain as a vast pool of natural *white* resources from which Australia can draw. Whiteness and the *Mother land* are conflated, naturalising whiteness as an originary feature of Australian-ness, making the metaphor a powerful expression of ethno-nationalist ideology. This is reinforced by the repeated use of deixis, with these links further strengthened by the reference to Britain as the *Mother land,* structuring Britain as the figurative giver of life. The second extract also explicitly links the *reservoir* with *people of our own race* — again *our own* origins are structured in racially exclusive terms, articulated through the need for *defence*. While not containing any explicitly negative Other representation, the metaphor structures a strongly racially defined, positive self-presentation, through which a racially defined negative other-representation can be implied (van Dijk, 1998). However, in the third extract, occurring in 1965, the metaphor is widened to include other European countries; situated in an article advocating (limited) Asian migration, it demonstrates how concepts like *source* and *reservoir* contract and expand depending on who is perceived as external to them.

6.3.4 Discussion

The IMMIGRATION as FLOWING WATER conceptual metaphor contrasts markedly with IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER, with two differing yet related narratives expressed by the two conceptual metaphors. National narratives play a key role in national identity formation; emerging from the stories that are told about a nation, they are internalised discursive constructions that influence social practice (De Cillia et al., 1999). Yet such narratives are far from natural and benign, with De Cillia et al concluding: "National narratives do not emerge from nowhere and do not operate in a vacuum. They are, rather, produced, reproduced and spread by actors in concrete (institutionalized) contexts" (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 155). The stories that were told through the use of these two conceptual metaphors reflected and (re)produced contrasting narratives of Australia.

DANGEROUS WATER metaphors derived from a narrative of threat to Australian racial purity and integrity, and the degrading influence of inferior races. While this partially expressed older fears of Asia and its *teeming millions,* this threat had largely been contained through the White Australia Policy and Australia's defeat of the racial equality clause at the Paris Peace Conference (Cochrane, 2018; Lake, 2008). Yet contemporaneous beliefs about different European racial types, in particular Southern European racial inferiority (Lake, 2008), combined with US immigration restrictions and fears that more Italians would come to Australia reconfigured the threat from the external Asian to the internal Italian, with this articulated through the same racialis(ed/ing) metaphors. This narrative of the white race under threat from the debilitating influences of contact with lesser races was one of the founding narratives of the White Australian nation, playing a key role in justifying the ongoing exclusion of non-white races (Lake, 2008), and as such, was crucial to the sustenance of ethno-nationalist sentiment within White Australia.

In contrast, FLOWING WATER metaphors emanated from a narrative of nation-building. The counterpart to the narratives of threat that underpinned the White Australia Policy, nation-building narratives elaborated the positive aspects of creating a home for the white race. During the first decades of White Australia, anxieties about racial threats were counterbalanced by a belief in the rectitude of maintaining racial purity and a deeply held conviction that preserving Australia for the white race was a moral obligation. As such, there was a strong emphasis on the right kind of immigration, and in building a nation capable of withstanding the hordes of Asia. More than just protection, there was a desire to build a healthy, productive community, with immigration vital to this project.

In the post WW2 period, the necessity of populating the country and building up both its resources and defence capacity led to a huge immigration push. The population almost doubled between 1947 and 1986, with immigrants essential for the country's manufacturing base (Jupp, 2002, p. 163). Through projects like the Snowy Mountains Scheme, the immigrant resource was used to develop Australia's other material resources, with immigration explicitly connected to the nation-building project. Within this period, desirability was extended to all European immigrants who, through FLOWING WATER metaphors, were constructed comparably to Anglo immigrants. The application of the two conceptual metaphors, DANGEROUS WATER and FLOWING WATER, to separate groups highlights the manner in which some immigration was constructed as desirable, while other immigration, the *floods* and *influxes,* was objectionable. This distinction is clarified if we consider further metaphoric structuring of immigrant threat.

6.3.5 IMMIGRATION as WAR/IMMIGRANT as ENEMY

Another explicitly negative conceptual metaphor was IMMIGRATION as WAR, with immigrants represented as enemies. Predominantly occurring prior to WW2, it structured immigration as adversarial and threatening, with immigrants constituting a hostile army.

Invasion

The most explicit linguistic IMMIGRATION as WAR metaphor was *invasion,* mostly occurring pre-WW2. In the 1900s and 1910s, *invasion* referred to Asia, with the *Asiatic invasion* a well-established trope which, as the previous chapter argued, obtained its potency from the discursive work it did in displacing settler colonial anxieties:

> Our particular danger and fear is that of an *Asiatic invasion* and we are agreed as to the necessity for preventing it (*Argus,* 1901).[xciii]

During the 1920s however, this shifted to *invasions* of Southern Europeans:

> We do not want *invasions* of Australia by others than Britons;[10] but we must be careful not to create impressions that that is because we regard other peoples as *barbarians*, when they are merely persons with a culture different from that which we are trying to develop to democratic perfection (*SMH,* 1924).[xciv]

> The appointment of a Royal commission to inquire into the economic and social aspects of the *invasion* indicated some alarm in Labor circles (*Argus,* 1925).[xcv]

10. An article about Southern European migrants.

Referring to Italian immigration as an *invasion* constructed it as a threatening and sustained attack, necessitating defence. Recalling also the stereotype of the Asian invasion, it created intertextual links between the two groups, allowing for some of the entailments of Asian threat to be transferred to Italians, creating a logic of equivalence between the two groups (Fairclough, 2003).

Menace

The less explicit *menace* also occurred predominantly pre-WW2, reaching a peak in the 1920s. While *menace* does not necessarily specifically refer to war, referring more generally to threat (OED), it was used to structure threat from enemy immigrants:

> Yet it remains the empty north, and a standing *menace* for our security as an island continent that we want to keep white to the core (*SMH,* 1911).[xcvi]

> The second point is that, with *teeming* Asia at our *backdoor*, every empty space is a daily increasing *menace* to our very existence as a nation (*SMH,* 1913).[xcvii]

In both extracts, *menace* is used to construct the threat of invasion and occupation. *White to the core* strongly invokes the nation container as a fundamentally white space, while the stereotypical *teeming Asia* calls to mind millions of insect-like Asians, with the *backdoor* further signalling illegitimate entry into the nation-house. While *menace* was initially used to frame danger from Asia, it was also increasingly used to refer to Italians:

> Power is also sought to deport, in certain eventualities, *white aliens*, who are, or who are expected to become, a *menace* to the well-being and safety of the Commonwealth (*WA,* 1925).[xcviii]

Another article about Italian immigrants had the headline:

Alien Migrants. A Public Menace (*SMH,* 1925).[xcix]

In many extracts, the *alien-ness* of the Italian immigrants was highlighted, with the *menace* both to the safety of the country and the public contained within it. While the subject of the *menace* was generally framed in terms of people, be they Asian or undesirable Europeans, the object tended to be more abstract with entities like the *preponderance of British* within the population, the *wellbeing of the community*, or various aspects of *whiteness,* as Table 6.6 shows.

Table 6.6 Numbers and collocations of *Menace* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

MENACE — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971			
Subject — Non-European — 9	**Subject — European — 8**	**Object — 20**	**Adjectives — 11**
Chinese, Asiatics, Asiatic colonies, Japan, Coloured people, Black minority, the awakening of Asia, Pan-Islamism	Alien migrants, Persons of foreign birth, South Europeans, Italians, White aliens, Alien migration	Preponderance of the British element of the population, Wellbeing of the community, Australia, The country, National security/safety, Australians, White Australia, The Whiteness of Australia, The White social system, The community, Civilization, Existence as a nation, Administrative supremacy	Oriental, Standing, European, Teuton, Potential, Increasing, Real, Grave, Terrible

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, *menace* had been used to frame fear around mixed-race Aboriginal children, with the 'half-caste menace' a signifier of internal threat (Wolfe, 1999). The transference of the metaphor to Italians created a logic of equivalence between the groups (Fairclough, 2003), with Italians similarly framed as *internally* threatening. For the most part*, menace* was used to structure complex threats to white society and culture, illustrating how race functioned to demarcate social and cultural capacity (Stoler, 2002).

Other linguistic WAR metaphors included *occupation, hordes, hosts, incursions, safeguard* and *overrun*, alongside more than 20 other occasional metaphors. Together they constructed Australia as a nation under attack:

> We must people our country if we are to *defend* it and develop it, if we are to justify *our occupation* in the face of land-hungry and expanding nations (*SMH,* 1937).[c]

> We know quite well the *peril* we are in of seeing our coasts at some time or other peacefully *invaded* by *hordes* of industrious Asiatics (*SMH,* 1901).[ci]

> But we are in effective *occupation* of Australia against Asiatic *hordes* while one decent white Australian citizen is left, to assert the pride of race (*WA,* 1912).[cii]

> There are some millions of our fellow-subjects in India who are people of colour, and in China the British possession of Hongkong is *a wide-open door* through which immigrants may come, not in *single files,* but in *battalions* (*SMH,* 1901).[ciii]

In all of the extracts, Australia is constructed as in *peril*, necessitating *defence* from *invasions* by *hordes* of Asians, who are coming en-masse in *battalions.* The use of *peril* explicitly draws on the trope of the *yellow peril,* a fiercely popular narrative of Asian invasion and white annihilation underpinned by anxieties about Australia's positioning as a white country located within Asia (Walker, 1999). The need for defence is explicitly stated in racial terms both through the nationalities of the immigrants threatening Australia, and through the articulation of *pride of race,* alongside the *decent white*

Australia citizen. Such considerations were also given to Southern Europeans, although the level of threat was not deemed as being serious as from Asia:

> The basic social and political ideas of these English-speaking countries, their type of civilisation, is fundamentally the same. This gives them a common interest in *safeguarding* their social order against the *incursion* of peoples whose basic social, economic, and political ideas and standards are sufficiently different to make their presence in any large numbers — especially if in groups or colonies — a *danger* to that social order *(SMH,* 1921).[civ]

The culture or *civilisation* of *English-speaking countries* is represented as *fundamentally the same* — the cultural homogeneity that is foundational to national identity (Gellner, 1987, 1997). This is contrasted with an *incursion,* that is 'a hostile inroad or invasion' (OED), of peoples differentiated by their *social, economic and political ideas and standards,* which needed to be *safeguarded* against. Racial difference was conceived of on multiple levels — *social, economic, political* — all of which posed a *danger* to the *social order.* This has clear links to Social Darwinist notions of races possessing distinct *higher* and *lower* civilisations (Hollinsworth, 1998; Miles, 1989). The article continues:

> If these considerations apply even to some European peoples, they apply far more to the peoples of the much more diverse civilisations of Asia. It is for this reason that all the English-speaking communities without exception which are in any way threatened by an *incursion* of Asiatic people have adopted the most stringent measures to restrict or prevent such immigration (*ibid)*.[cv]

The extracts above reveal the ambivalence that accompanied Italian immigration. While *some European peoples* were understood as racially different from the Anglo-Saxon, *English-speaking* race, with this impacting on their social and cultural comportment and conventions, their racial difference was not as salient as *the much more diverse civilisations of Asia.* Hence, they did not justify the *most stringent measures* necessitated by the threatened *incursion* of *Asiatic people.* Thus, racial difference was signified by *diversity of civilisation,* with greater perceived physiognomical diversity manifest in greater perceived difference of culture, suggesting that newer forms of racism, grounded in a belief in "the inevitability of cultural difference" (Jayasuriya, 2012, p. 53), are not that far removed from older, biologically grounded conceptions of race.

The structuring of immigrants as enemies in recent decades within the US has been linked to the decline of the Cold War and the shift from an external enemy 'to discipline the citizenry' to an internal enemy (Mehan, 1997, p. 267). Yet the White Australia Policy was always dependant on the enemy immigrant, against which the white race needed to be defended, allowing for a displacement of the foundational (white) violence of invasion onto an immigrant Other. Within Australia then, the IMMIGRANT as ENEMY metaphor continued to inculcate a sense of threatened Anglo-whiteness as core to national identity, with this threat legitimising the settler colonial presence, and mitigating its anxieties.

Notably, WAR metaphors virtually disappeared after WW2 (116 pre versus 13 post) suggesting that, despite the differentiation between Anglo-white and European-white that was evident in nation metaphors and which is also demonstrated in the metaphors that follow, the explicit structuring of immigrants through metaphors of war/enemies was reserved for those understood as *racially* Other, even if this 'Otherness' was less assured for Europeans than for Asians. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the displacement that

occurs within WAR metaphors, which simultaneously constructs the settler Self as both superior and 'native', relies on an understanding of *racial* distinctiveness for its intelligibility. In many ways, it can be understood as a reworking of earlier settler colonial discourse which posited white superior *racial* attributes as justification for invasion, with *invasion* metaphors continuing to displace this violence onto racially Other (read inferior) groups. Yet while DANGEROUS WATER and WAR metaphors were structured in relation to the nation-house, a smaller group of metaphors structured corporeal threat to the nation-body, with immigrants conceived of as CONTAMINANTS, ANIMALS or SUB-HUMAN.

6.3.6 Corporeal Threat

The nineteenth century had been characterised by debate about the suitability of the tropics for white men to live and work, with an ingrained belief about the impossibility of permanent white settlement (Anderson, 1996; Bashford, 2000). However, the commencement of the White Australia Policy incentivised exploring the capacity of white people to live in tropical regions, with increased scientific questioning and research (Anderson, 1996; Bashford, 2000). Anderson speaks of a medical remapping of the tropical north (Anderson, 1996, p. 457), with a shift in perspective from the unsuitability of the tropical climate, towards the effects and dangers of specific pathogens, with other races, both Indigenous and Asian, seen as potential carriers of lethal disease (Anderson, 1996). This gave scientific credence to the White Australia doctrine, legitimating the exclusion of other races due to their threat to 'white corporeal security' (Anderson, 1996, p. 458). Bourdieu speaks of the symbolic effect of scientific discourses which legitimize division, noting their use as weapons which "designate the characteristics on which a symbolic action of mobilisation can be based in order to produce real unity or the belief in unity (both in the group and in others)" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 225). Such scientific

discourses were then powerful expressions of symbolic violence through which the power of the dominant white settlers was legitimised and maintained.

The focus on 'white corporeal security' engendered a preoccupation with public health and hygiene of the first decades of the century, and the threat of contamination that this entailed (Bashford, 2000). There was a rapid expansion of the field of tropical medicine and the bureaucratisation of public health governance, both of which were instruments of colonial administration (Bashford, 2000). The NSW Racial Hygiene Association, which promoted eugenic racial improvement, advocated for policies of sterilisation and contraception to protect white Australia from racial degeneration occasioned by 'unfit' breeding (Carey, 2007). Far from benign, these discourses of public health can be seen as an "effective mode for the expression and practice of racism, since health, hygiene and cleanliness were one significant way in which the 'whiteness' of white Australia was conceptualised" (Bashford, 2000, p. 249). This construction of white purity was dependent on the pathologisation of immigrants as contaminated (Bashford, 2000).

Discourses around racial degeneration and contamination were often framed as a corporeal threat to the (white) nation-body. This was often explicit, with immigrants constructed as potential contaminants of white racial *purity*. ANIMAL metaphors constructed white and non-white groups differentially, with such distinctions deeply rooted in ideas of racial difference and hierarchy. Finally, there was the metaphoric framing of *inferiority* with the embedded potential for racial degeneration.

6.3.7 IMMIGRATION as CONTAMINATION

The most explicit structuring of corporeal threat was the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION as CONTAMINATION. Of all metaphoric threats, contamination was

most directly related to Anglo-whiteness as *racially* distinct from European whites. Indeed, there was little metaphoric discussion about non-European races as contaminants — instead, metaphors focused on European immigrants, returning us to the instability of racial categorisations (Stoler, 2016). While most CONTAMINATION metaphors were found in the first part of the century, when (Anglo)white racial distinctiveness was explicitly claimed, references continued until the 1950s, demonstrating the ongoing utility of the racial categorisations that underpinned them, even when not explicitly linked to race.

Purity and dilution

Most common were concepts of ***purity*** and ***dilution,*** with both overwhelmingly found in the first quarter of the century. *Pure* was used to describe the need for racial *purity:*

> The vital necessity of maintaining *unsullied our purity of race* is acknowledged by all but a negligible few (*WA,* 1923).[cvi]

> The Commonwealth, however, has little reason to *depreciate the racial strength* and *purity* of its people, by seeking to attract polyglot races which America finds it desirable to debar (*WA,* 1913).[cvii]

Notably, the *polyglot races* referred to are Southern and Eastern Europeans who were constructed as *racially* Other. Seventy percent of instances collocated with either *race* or *racial*, while further collocations were *type, descent, source* and *blood.* It was also often further collocated with *Australian* or *British*. References to *racial purity* conceive of races as set and inherently different, with intermixing threatening the sanctity of the *superior* races. Again, there is the flagging of superior and inferior races (Hollinsworth, 1998;

Miles, 1989), with exclusion key to white racial purity (Cole, 1971a). Within the Australia context, discourses of racial purity reached a peak in the 1920s and 1930s where the emphasis on racial purity and potential degeneration, most clearly expressed through the eugenics movement, fused whiteness with cleanliness (Carey, 2007), with the arrival of Italians a particular concern (Tavan, 2005).

Dilution, meaning to make weaker 'by the admixture of water or other reducing substance' (OED) can be understood as an elaboration of IMMIGRATION as CONTAMINATION, as mixture would weaken or reduce whatever was diluted. While this does not necessarily imply contamination, the collocates of the metaphor demonstrate that *dilution* was connected to ideas of racial distinctiveness, with dilution a threat to purity. *Dilute* was complex as both the subject, what was diluting, and the object, what was being diluted, were of interest (see Table 6.7).

Table 6.7 Numbers and collocations of *Dilute* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

DILUTE — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971			
Dilute (subject)			
Non-European — 1	**European — 11**	**Non-Specified — 1**	**British /Australian — 1**
Blood of backward races	Aliens, White aliens, Alien migration, Foreign migrants, Foreigners, Migrants from the Continent, Italians, Southern Europeans, People from other lands than Italy	Migration	Flow of British migrants
Dilute (object)			
Non-European — 1	**European — 2**	**Non-Specified — 1**	**British /Australian — 11**
America	Influx of Italians, Alien Influx	Blood of advanced races	British preponderance, British stock, British element, British character, British character of Australia's blood stream, British population, British proportion, National

Commonly, some form of Britishness was in danger of being *diluted* by European immigration,[11] although the term was occasionally used to stress that the risk of dilution was not so great. This draws on the same biological understandings of racial difference

11. All references to *aliens* here referred to Europeans.

that were present in fears about mixtures of inferior *stocks* (see below). A report about European immigration from 1938 states:

> if the *alien* population of Australia increased by 10,000 a year in the next decade, and there was no gain in population by British migration, *the dilution of British stock* at the end of the period would be only 23 per cent (*SMH,* 1938).[cviii]

This precise evaluation of the level of *dilution* corresponds to demographic estimates of population percentages — it structures the percentage of non-Anglo immigrants as a direct percentage of dilution of *British* racial purity. There is an inherent contradiction in the belief that *stock* is so biologically absolute that percentages of dilution can be precisely measured, yet it nonetheless remains capable of *dilution.* This destabilising inconsistency within discourses of contamination (Stoler, 2016) is obscured by the use of exact percentages, suggesting that such racial purity is both scientifically defined and capable of precise control. These scientific discourses have a powerful symbolic effect in the creation and legitimation of in-group distinctiveness and unity (Bourdieu, 1991). The article continues:

> Since no measurable *dilution threatens* the British *character* of *Australia's blood-stream*, it may be assumed that the Government does not wish to reduce the number of *foreigners* coming into the country, but merely to ensure that they are *worthy* of what the Commonwealth has to offer them (*ibid).*[cix]

Europeans are constructed as fundamentally, biologically *alien* to the British race or *stock,* with their mixture capable of *diluting* or weakening the strength of the British *stock.* The metaphor is then strengthened by the collocation of *dilution* with *Australia's blood-*

stream, invoking the contained nation-body, with its *British character,* against which other races were constructed as intrinsically *foreign* or external, with their worth undecided. *Blood* is a particularly potent symbol of ethno-nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1992), flagging the *British* racial origins, stated euphemistically as *character*, of the Australian national in-group. This understanding of intrinsic, biological difference underpinned uses of *dilution,* with considerations also of how the *influx of Italians* could be diluted by non-Italian migrants, and the *alien influx* could be *diluted* by the *flow* of British migrants. While the metaphor decreased after the second world war, perhaps reflecting the wider disavowal of eugenics in the wake of Nazi atrocities, there were still references:

> While the scale of migration may vary with Australian economic circumstances, few Australians want to see the British proportion *diluted* (*SMH*, 1957).[cx]

Later references reiterated a notion of intrinsic racial difference, with a valuing of the *British proportion,* a more neutral term than race, without explicitly invoking the racial *threat* associated with earlier uses. Yet race and Anglo-racial distinctiveness remains embedded within the metaphor, and there is still an implicit warning in that *few Australians want* any *dilution.* This pattern of replacing explicit threat with embedded racial categorisation is repeated in the construction of races as different *stocks,* which also drew on notions of racial distinctiveness for its intelligibility.

6.3.8 IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL

IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL primarily occurred pre-WW2. The metaphoric mapping allowed for entailments of the source domain, *animal*, to be mapped onto the target domain, *immigrant*, with immigrants understood within the same conceptual framework

that animals are understood (Santa Ana, 2002). As in earlier times, such metaphors also embodied “a practical orientation” (Hage, 2017, p. 10) towards how immigrants represented as such should be managed.

Stock

Stock, the most common linguistic metaphor, reveals a particular understanding of race. Commonly used to refer to farm animals, *stock* was used to denote supposedly distinct racial groups, each with their own specific traits, much like animals are distinct species. Again, this invokes Social Darwinist constructions of higher and lower races (Hollinsworth, 1998; Miles, 1989), with exclusion of lower races essential for the maintenance of the white race (Cole, 1971a). Indeed, advocates of racial purity espoused the separation of *stocks,* with William McDougall’s *The Group Mind* (1920) famously arguing that the crossbreeding of different human stocks would result in inferior races (Lake, 2008).

In the post WW2 period, there was a reduction in the use of *stock* to explicitly denigrate racial groups. This reflects the movement away from biological concepts of racial difference that occurred in the aftermath of the war (Miles, 1989). Yet it is notable that while *stock* decreased, it was still present. This suggests that while ideas of race as signifying biological inferiority had diminished, the concept of ‘race’ as a classificatory system structuring the desirability of immigrants persisted. Notably, this understanding of race, as in the British race/*stock*, is closer to what would later come to be understood as ethnicity, yet these differences were understood in racial terms. Hence, metaphors like *stock* demonstrate that many differences that came to be understood as ethnic i.e. as variations within the white race (Stratton, 1999), have their roots in older, biological discourses of intrinsic *racial* difference.

Table 6.8 Numbers and collocations of *Stock* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

STOCK — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971			
British/Australian — 51	**Non-British — 14**	**Positive — 16**	**Negative — 5**
British, Parent, Our own, Our, National, Australian	European, Southern European, Italian, Nordic, Dutch & Scandinavian, Immigrant, American, Foreign, Non-British	Old, Virile, Admirable, Good, Desirable, Sturdy, White, Particular, Fighting, Selected	Backward, Inferior, Aboriginal, Alien, Peasant

Many references were to the *stock* Australians perceived themselves to be, with 38 references to *British stock,* and other nations having their own *stock. Stock* functioned synonymously with race, positing the British race/*stock* as distinct from European or other races/*stocks*, with the distinctiveness of the British/Anglo-Saxon race expressed as *our own stock.* In addition, the metaphor was framed by various adjectives; *old* referred to British origins, while other adjectives conjured an image of the racial attributes considered desirable for Australia: *virile, white, fighting. Stock,* like WATER metaphors, constructs certain groups as a valuable resource, whilst others are framed as threatening.

The emphasis on *British stock* reveals the preoccupation in the first half of the century with racial distinctiveness and purity as foundational to national identity. In the 1910s, priority was on the populating of the nation with people of the British race*:*

> *We* want to see *our empty spaces filled up* with people of *our own stock (SMH,* 1911).[cxi]

> It may be well to improve *a breed of stock* by introducing *a superior strain*; it would be simple insanity to deteriorate the *superior* by an *admixture* of the *inferior (WA,* 1913).[cxii]

There is repeated use of pronouns *we* and *our*; this use of deixis situates the reader within the closed racially-defined community for whom the newspaper speaks (Fowler, 1991), continually flagging the nation*,* with the national *we* key to discourses of national identity (De Cillia et al., 1999). The second extract, referring to Chinese immigrants, uses a double ANIMAL metaphor including *strain,* and then explicitly links this to *inferiority/superiority.* Racial difference is seen as a source of contamination, *deteriorating* the *superior stock* if allowed to mix. In this decade, the only references to lesser/*inferior stocks* were to the Chinese.

The metaphor reached a peak in the 1920s when it was used to structure discussion about Italians:

> Tables were given of the nationality intelligence quotient of the 1,700,000 men recruited in America for the Great War, which showed a startling divergence between the mental efficiency of the *Nordic type* and *the Southern European stock (Argus,* 1925).[cxiii]

> *We* have enough unrest in *our* midst as it is; we should see that *our empty spaces* are *filled* by *the Nordic type* from the countries of Northern Europe in place of the *backward stock of the South (ibid)*.[cxiv]

Southern Italians were designated as *backward,* with a *divergent mental efficiency;* such differences were considered racially defined, with different *stocks* possessed of different inherent psychological and mental traits. This drew on contemporaneous academic theory that asserted the mental inferiority of Italians (Lake, 2008; Pugliese, 2002) with

Brigham's research on the intelligence of immigrants to the US concluding in 1923 that: "The representatives of the Alpine and Mediterranean races in our immigration are intellectually inferior to the representatives of the Nordic race" (quoted in Neifeld, 1926, p. 424), and this informing 1924 US immigration restriction legislation (Franco, 1985). Thus, concerns about *backward* Italian *stock* also underpinned debate on Italian immigration in the US (O'Brien, 2003).

Beyond this explicit structuring of Southern Italian racial difference, there was consideration of the *racial stock* of immigrants, with *inferior stock* threatening to contaminate the composition and strength of the dominant *stock.* In the post-war years, overall use of *stock* declined substantially and there was a positive emphasis on the desirability of British *stock*, without explicit denigration of other *stocks*:

> It is natural that *we* should lean heavily towards migrants of British *stock*. But British or Latin, Dutch or German, the newcomers to *our* shores are all contributing in their various ways to the progress and prosperity of this young nation (*WA,* 1957).[cxv]

The national *we* flags the nation. This is the *we* of governmental belonging (Hage, 2000), which identifies certain dominant groups as possessing the right to dictate the level of belonging of other immigrants. Thus, it is *natural* that preference be given to *British stock*; while other nations are also welcome to *our* shores, this acceptance is partial in comparison to British immigrants. Yet other *stock* is nonetheless seen as making some contribution to the nation-building project, improving both *progress and prosperity.* Thus, *stock* constructs immigrants as a resource, albeit differentially valued and intrinsically different to the core *British stock.*

Other ANIMAL metaphors

The flexibility of *stock,* used to structure both valuable and dangerous immigration, is not present in most other ANIMAL metaphors, which structured immigrants in fully negative terms. Other common ANIMAL metaphors were ***swarm*** and ***teeming,*** mostly occurring prior to WW2. Initially used to describe bees (OED), *swarm* refers to insects or small creatures. *Teeming,* with the implication of numerousness, invariably negative, refers to places that are full, fertile, thronging or swarming (OED), with anxiety about the *teeming East* a preoccupation since colonial times (Walker, 1999). While it could be argued that their usage could also refer to crowds, closer analysis reveals the animal entailments:

> The European *hives of humanity* continue to *swarm* westerly (*WA,* 1913).[cxvi]

> It will be broken with violence, and people of *alien* lands will *swarm* in — not in *driblets*, as our immigration plans bring them, but in millions. Hungry for land, they will *stream* into this rich and fertile continent like *ants* into a well-stocked pantry (*Argus,* 1938).[cxvii]

> For us the *teeming* populations of Asia alone represent the surplus ready to *swarm* in and meet an exigency (*SMH,* 1913).[cxviii]

Whether emanating from *hives* or resembling *ants,* there is an insect-like quality to immigrants summoned by such metaphors. The second extract combines deviance with threat, explicitly linking immigration to the discourses of over-population and land use that sustained Australian fears in these decades, with the *land hungry people of alien lands,* arriving *violently,* implicitly flagging *invasion* narratives (Bashford, 2007a;

Walker, 2003). The threat suggested by the DANGEROUS WATER metaphor *stream* is combined with the *ant* metaphor to underscore the vast numbers of *aliens* that will come. Such 'ant-like' discourses refer specifically to the management of national space (Hage, 2000, p. 37), invoked here as *this rich and fertile continent.* The riches of the imagined national space are explicitly threatened by the numerousness and inherent deviance of Asian immigrants. The threat invoked is almost biblical in proportions, with the immigrants like locusts, devouring everything before them. *Swarm,* which was a powerful motif of Asian threat within contemporaneous literature (Walker, 2003), was applied to both Asians and Southern Europeans:

> Are there to be swarms of Asiatics, and counter-swarms of Mediterranean races? Is Australia to remain a part of the British Empire, yet to be peopled in that way? (*Argus,* 1925)[cxix]

Used almost exclusively to refer to undesirable immigration,[12] Italians were constructed identically to Asians, with both antithetical to the project of creating a White Australia. The collocations of the term (Table 6.9) further demonstrate the vividness of the representations aligned with the metaphor.

Table 6.9 Numbers and collocations of *Swarm* and *Teeming* metaphors in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

12. With the exception of one reference (1902) to a desirable *swarm* of people from Norway and Sweden.

SWARM AND TEEMING — WHITE AUSTRALIA 1901-1971			
Swarm			
Non-European — 7	**European — 7**	**Non-Specified — 4**	**British — 0**
Humanity that peoples the Orient, Teeming populations of Asia, The millions of China, Asiatics, Coloured inhabitants, Japanese and Chinese, Yellow or black people	Mediterranean races, European hives of humanity, Migrants from a fecund Europe, Muscovits, 'Yugoslavs, Italians, Greeks & Syrians', 'Mass of Slovaks, Ruthenians Russians & Polish Jews', People from Norway & Sweden	Refugees, Weaklings & incapables, Aliens of an inferior caste, People of alien lands	
Teeming			
Non-European — 15	**European — 0**	**Non-Specified— 0**	**British — 0**
Millions of Asia, Asia's…millions, Populations of Asia, Brown millions of the waking East, Asia, The East, Nations of the East, Differently coloured skins			

Swarm was collocated with multiple terms that highlighted the numerousness of the immigrants: *teeming populations, millions of China, hives of humanity* and *migrants from a fecund Europe.* Feminised metaphors of fertility i.e. f*ertile, fecund* were applied positively to the land, but negatively to immigrants, who were invariably racialised and animalised, with threat invoked through their rampant breeding. Conversely, masculinised metaphors of *virility* were generally applied to those constructed as Anglo i.e. *virile stock*, corroborating the feminisation of the Orient that Said posited (Said, 1978), and illustrating the diachronic construction of Other/Self along positive/negative binaries. It also highlights that the Australian national subject was gendered as well as racialised (Hogan, 2009). *Teeming* was applied only to Asia, most commonly in the phrase *Asia's teeming millions,* calling to mind an Orientalist vision of non-white, less than human natives, breeding vociferously and ant-like in overflowing colonies, with these inherent tendencies of deviant races threatening the sanctity of the national space. Other linguistic metaphors included *breed, flock, strain* and *herd*.

6.3.9 IMMIGRANT as SUBHUMAN

A further metaphor, *inferior,* was previously an elaboration of the IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE conceptual metaphor. Yet the shift in racial thought at the end of the nineteenth century, from a multiplicity of racial types to a more binary division between white/non-

white (Lake, 2007, 2008), saw a reduction in the range of metaphors constructing the savagery of Other races. The explicit identification with whiteness that attended the White Australia Policy constructed all non-white races as inferior, with humanity reserved for the superior white races. Thus, in this period, *inferior* can more accurately be considered an expression of an IMMIGRANT as SUBHUMAN conceptual metaphor. As noted above, the mixing of *stocks* was thought to result in *inferior races* (Lake, 2008), linking sub-humanity with animality, although this was not always explicitly stated. In the first two decades of the twentieth century *inferior* was used solely to refer to Asians, reiterating many of the pre-Federation arguments about the Chinese. However, in the 1920s, many of these arguments were transferred to Italians, with their inferiority the subject of discussion:

> To Australians they should be more than merely interesting; they are a direct warning for they give scientific proof that these southern Europeans, however frugal and hardworking they may be, are low in the scale in those supreme attributes that go to make really good citizenship. We do not want *an inferior mental class* to *fill our empty spaces (Argus,* 1925).[cxx]

> In 'The Argus' of Saturday last there appeared a short attempt at reviewing, from a biological standpoint, the unsatisfactory results — on the score of *mental inferiority* — likely to follow from *a continuous influx* of immigrants from the southern littoral of Europe to these shores (*Argus,* 1925*).*[cxxi]

In the first extract, Italian *inferiority* is linked to the *empty* nation container and the threat this poses. In the second, *inferiority* is linked to an *influx,* again linking deviance with a direct framing of threat. Southern Italians were explicitly and scientifically described as

mentally *inferior*, due to their racial difference. This distinction between Southern Italians and other European races drew on contemporaneous beliefs in the scientific basis for racial difference. Thomas Griffith Taylor, a well-known Australian academic in the 1920s, proclaimed distinct European racial types with Italians the: “primitive Mediterranean type, which is denoted by the term “dago”. These people are inferior to the Alpine Europeans and a third variety, the Nordic” (quoted in Hall, 1998, p. 122). This notion of inferiority was based on a biological understanding of race as responsible for a range of traits, which was seen as having implications for all aspects of life:

> Of their low intelligence quotient something has already been said, and it should be understood that *an inferior mental standard* connotes a tendency to lower pretty nearly everything that can be classed as “character.” Not only intellectual superiority, but its correlative qualities such as ability, honesty, industry, law-abidingness, literacy (as opposed to illiteracy), efficiency, morality, public and private worth, cleanliness and so on (*Argus,* 1925).[cxxii]

Beyond simply lower intelligence, the Italian *inferior mental standard* was perceived as resulting in a range of deviant traits, such as immorality, dishonesty and even low cleanliness; indeed, Italians’ *inferior mental* capacity rendered them inferior in every aspect of their lives. In this understanding of race, biology was seen as determining cultural capacity (Miles, 1989), with Italians incapable of fully participating in the cultural life of a country populated by a race with a superior mental standard. Like the Chinese before them, Italians in 1920s Australia were deemed mentally and biologically inferior and, as such, unwelcome. A key point to note is that, as in the pre-Federation period, there was a higher instance of other metaphors in articles that mentioned

*inferiority, s*uggesting a link between negative immigration/immigrant metaphors and understandings of racial inferiority.

Notably, corporeal threat metaphors (*CONTAMINATION, ANIMAL, SUB-HUMAN)* were practically absent during the 1960s,[13] suggesting that they were used to represent immigration from groups seen as racially distinct, thereby supporting a form of nationalism grounded in race. Until the 1940s, such distinctions were explicitly grounded in racial threat, reaching their peak in 1920s discourse around Italians. Other threat metaphors around DANGEROUS WATER and WAR also peaked in this period, again focused on Italian immigration. It is this period then, when metaphors reached their highest point in the White Australia sample period, that the chapter focuses on next.

6.4 The racialisation of Italians

Prior to the 1920s, the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) had ensured that non-white immigration to Australia had mostly been contained. The US immigration restriction laws of the early 1920s, and the resultant fears that more Italians would therefore move to Australia (Langfield, 1999a), coalesced with the resurgent identification with Britishness alongside an emphasis on racial purity (Carey, 2007) (Langfield, 1999b), resulting in racially defined fears of Southern European, and specifically Italian, immigration (Tavan, 2005). Much like the anti-Chinese rhetoric of the 1850s, and similar anti-Syrian and anti-Indian rhetoric of the 1890s, the framing of the undesirability of Italian immigrants resulted in an escalation and intensification of negative metaphors, which only subsided once immigration restriction legislation had been enacted.

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13. Save 6 animal references.

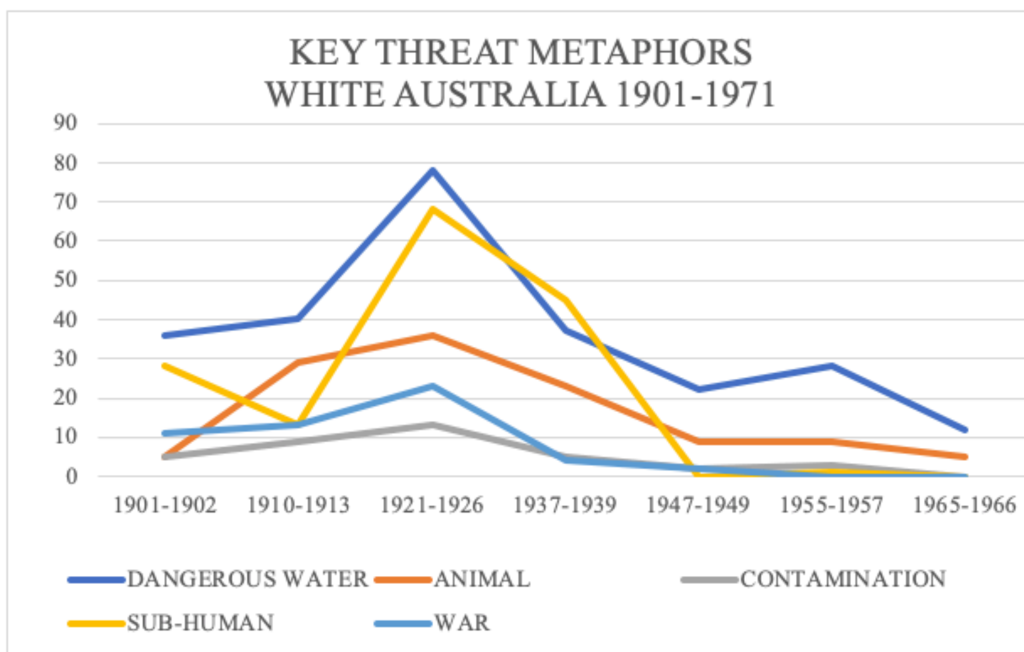

Figure 6.1 Number of main threat metaphors by sample period in *The Argus, The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1901 and 1971

As Figure 6.1 shows, the use of all negative metaphors peaked in the 1920s. While Asians were still a focus in the first two decades, the 1920s were predominantly focused on Italian immigration[14]. Although non-Anglo white immigrant groups were differentially constructed during White Australia, they were not constructed as *floods, invasions, swarms* or *inferior*. That such metaphors were explicitly connected to the construction of the nation as a white space is evidenced by their substantial decline after WW2, when explicit discourses of Italian racial incompatibility with the Australian nation also declined.

During the 1920s, Italian immigrants were constructed as *dangerous waters, invaders, animals, sub-human* and *contaminants*. These metaphors worked as part of a wider constructive macro-strategy, through which Italians were constructed as an inferior out-

[14] While all Southern European immigration was seen as problematic, the majority of press reports focused specifically on Italian immigration.

group. Furthermore, through the use of terms like *alien,* Italian distinctiveness from the national in-group was consistently restated, with 100 references to their *alien-ness* found during the 1920s and 1930s sample periods.[15]

While such discourses were often subject to intensive discussion, there is little doubt that the racial distinctiveness of Italians was at the heart of the issue. Through the use of the same metaphors that were used to racialize Asian immigrants, Italians were also racialised. Whether through being structured as naturally external and threatening by DANGEROUS WATER or WAR metaphors, or as corporeally threatening through the use of ANIMAL, SUB-HUMAN or CONTAMINATION metaphors, Italians in the 1920s were metaphorically framed in ways that were distinct from how people perceived as white were framed. Significantly, while threats were linked to race, this was understood through configurations of social and cultural dangers that were perceived as emanating from racial difference, and the resultant cultural incompatibility.

Thus, much like during the Pre-Federation period, not only were Italians racialised by the use of negative metaphors, but the metaphors themselves were (re)inscribed with race through their application to groups deemed racially Other. This of key importance when considering their reappearance in the Multicultural period (covered in the following chapter). Furthermore, the metaphoric racialisation described above was not limited to the press studied — within parliament, correspondence and public meetings, Italians were similarly constructed, highlighting the extent to which certain metaphors were intrinsically connected with racial difference and the maintenance of the nation as a white space.

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15. Technically referring to anyone from another country, *alien* was only used to describe Asians, Southern Europeans or other non-white groups.

6.4.1 OTHER DATA SOURCES

As most metaphors peaked in the 1920s, this was the focus of further investigation. A range of other genres were sampled; these reveal a high degree of consistency in the manner Italian immigration was framed. Parliamentary debates on the Immigration Act of 1925 were a particularly strong source of metaphors. *Influx, flood, stock, purity* and *absorb* appeared repeatedly in several debates in July 1925,[16] with *inferior, pour, menace* and other metaphors appearing occasionally. Debates were framed around whiteness with repeated mentions of *the white race, white workers, white labour, white men* and *the white world,* in addition to multiple references to White Australia. Thus, negative metaphoric framing of immigration was consistently articulated in relation to whiteness.

Metaphors were used by all political parties, with one Country MP stating, "I am positive that members on this side do not wish to see the country *flooded* with southern Europeans" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives,15th July 1925, p. 1116 (Mr Thompson)). However, they were more commonly used by Labor MPs, who were strongly opposed to immigration, with one stating: "In the last few years the anti-labor governments that have been in power seem to have agreed tacitly with the governments of other nations that *streams of immigrants* shall be permitted to *pour into Australia*" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 15th July 1925, p. 1124 (Mr Watkins)). The immigration of Italians was thus a highly political issue which likely garnered greater attention due to the Federal election in December of that year. Correspondence from the Prime Minister's Department regarding Queensland, as well as between the State Premier of WA and the Prime Minister's office, both regarding Italian immigration, made repeated references to an *influx* as well as referring to *aliens* and *absorption*.[cxxiii] Furthermore, a Royal Commission report on the effects of the

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16. 1st, 8th, 15th July.

increase of 'Aliens' in North Queensland made reference to *menaces* and *inferior races* alongside multiple variations of *absorb.*[cxxiv]

Such language also found expression in letters to the editor published in the newspapers studied, with one stating: "Our common job is to keep Australia, America, Canada, New Zealand, the four seat Nordic (overwhelmingly British-Nordic) States with Pacific Ocean seaboards *racially pure.*"[cxxv] Another states: "we have the *dribble* of what in America has become a *flood*, and may expect shortly to have that *dribble* augmented into a *flood* also."[cxxvi] A meeting of the ANA[17] condemned 'the *influx of aliens'*,[cxxvii] while the AWU[18] passed a motion protesting against "the *influx of alien* migrants from Southern Europe into Australia, as they are now *flooding* the local labour market" further stating "we consider it essential, in order to mark our disapproval of the *invasion*, that we refuse to work with them or in conjunction with them."[cxxviii] Likewise, the RSSILA[19] passed a resolution against 'the *influx* of Southern Europeans' at its 12th Annual Congress[cxxix]

6.5 Discussion

Within the White Australia period, then, there are several points worth noting. Firstly, the use of explicitly negative metaphors was restricted to those seen as racially Other, and inferior. This is evidenced by their application to Asians and, during the 1920s, to Southern Europeans, in particular Italians, with their dissipation after this period. The power to name and define immigrants is a potent expression of symbolic violence: "By structuring the perception which social agents have of the social world, the act of naming helps to establish the structure of the world, and does so all the more significantly the more widely it is recognised, i.e. authorized" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 105). The structure

17. Australian Natives Association.
18. Australian Workers Union.
19. Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia.

which the nation of Australia took was established through the naming of certain groups as external and distinct and others as internal and equivalent.[20]

Metaphoric inflected discourses around Italian migrants were explicitly linked to the project of white supremacy. The defeat of the racial equality clause at the League of Nations had reinvigorated the sense of higher purpose that animated the White Australia Policy — with a renewed emphasis on racial purity and Anglo-oriented ethno-nationalism, the 1920s were a high point of White Australia (Cochrane, 2018; Lake, 2008; Langfield, 1999b). Not only in the press studied, but also in parliament and union meetings, the exclusion of racially defined Italian Others was propounded as the means by which the inviolability of whiteness and the homogeneity of Australian culture (central to constructions of nationalism (Gellner, 1987, 1997)) could be assured.

Racial categorisations were central to early Australian nation-building: "Through classification systems… through bureaucratic procedures… the state molds *mental structures*[21] and imposes common principles of vision and division" (Bourdieu & Farage, 1994, p. 7). Classificatory systems, often expressed metaphorically, that classified Asians and Italians as racially inferior to Anglo-Australians, and bureaucratic procedures of exclusion, engendered a particular nationalist vision of Australia as a racially and culturally white community. Bourdieu has concluded that the State "by realizing itself in social structures and in the mental structures adapted to them… makes us forget that it issues out of a long series of acts of institution (in the active sense) and hence has all the appearances of the natural" (Bourdieu & Farage, 1994, p. 4). Thus, through the ongoing

20. Indigenous Australians were constructed as both internal and distinct although capable of and liable to assimilation, due to the logic of settler colonialism.
21. Emphasis in original.

construction of racial difference, the White Australian State was not only legitimised but also naturalised.

While after WW2, metaphors were not explicitly collocated to race, they were nonetheless used to construct racially desirable (read white) immigration, with the expanding category of desirability corresponding with the expansion of whiteness to include Southern Europeans. This shifting racial categorisation of Southern Europeans from explicitly outside the *racial homogeneity* of White Australia, towards a tentative acceptance within the wider bounds of whiteness, illustrates the *accumulability* of whiteness as a form of cultural and symbolic capital, which can be understood as "not only something to be accumulated, but it is also an historical construct and an object of struggle over its content" (Hage, 2000, p. 54). The complex racial examinations that accompanied the admittance of Italian immigrants in the 1950s[22] resulted in whiteness, rather than being something individuals were born into, becoming instead "an attribute that is literally conferred and assigned on the denuded subject who passes the whiteness examination" (Pugliese, 2002, p. 165). By the 1950s, although still differentially constructed from the Anglo ideal, Italians had indeed begun to be perceived as white. This metamorphosis into whiteness is most explicitly revealed by the fact that the metaphors extended to Italians in later decades were never used to positively construct Asian immigration.

The racial nature of the metaphors that structured immigration is further highlighted by the metaphors used to construct white migration. Through FLOWING WATER

22. For immigration officials, the difficulties of applying an unequivocal policy of whiteness to the lived ambiguities of race, alongside anxiety about non-white migrants therefore somehow 'passing', meant that race was constituted in specific, racialised zones of the body, i.e. dark cuticles signifying blackness despite a white face or white buttocks signifying whiteness despite a sunburnt back, with these areas examined for hidden signs of race difference (Pugliese, 2002).

metaphors, whiteness was structured as a valuable resource in contrast to non-whiteness, which was structured as a threat. Yet while specifically Anglo groups were framed as part of the nation-family through kinship metaphors, other groups perceived as racially compatible, initially Northern Europeans and later all Europeans, were represented through neutral or positive metaphors, which nonetheless often delimited the extent of their belonging. This differential structuring also served a purpose for the white Australian nationalist construct: “A national ideal does not only idealise the position of the dominant within the nation, but also a whole series of positions and the relations between them. It consists of a map of what for the dominant are idealised positions and idealised types occupying those positions” (Hage, 2000, p. 20). Thus, we find Anglo-white, non-Anglo-white and non-white immigrants each structured differentially from each other, in a hierarchical set of relations. The differential metaphoric coding of these different groups maps onto the contours of the power relations embedded within the White Australia national imaginary, which esteemed Anglo-whiteness as the pinnacle of the national ideal.

While much like during the Pre-Federation period, the white national Self was dialectically constructed in relation to the non-white racial Other, in later decades, the Anglo-white national Self was dialectically constructed in relation to the non-Anglo white Other. Indeed, it was the lack of a non-white racial Other that engendered the focus on an *Anglo*-white self. Although the use of explicitly negative metaphors declined after WW2, other metaphors persisted throughout the 1950s when *assimilation* of European immigrants was seen as facilitating the preservation of Anglo ethno-nationalism (Pitty & Leach, 2004). Metaphors like *stock* or *dilution* continued to structure distinctions between Anglo and other immigrant groups — while these were initially explicitly *racial*, the decrease in essentialist racial discourses post WW2 did not fully eradicate the metaphors that gave shape to them, whether as *stocks* or through the *opening/closing* of the nation-

doors. This suggests that while ideas of race as signifying biological inferiority may have diminished, the underlying classificatory system structuring the desirability of immigrants persisted, although the lack of a *racial* Other meant the distinctions they elaborated were increasingly understood as cultural differences stemming from ethnicity.

The creation of certain immigrants as undesirable was also a flagging of the national space. Metaphorically speaking, *influxes* and *invasions* both depend on the nation container, usually the nation-house for their intelligibility (Santa Ana, 2002). But more than this, the idea of undesirability is intrinsically linked to the concrete invocation of a specific space.

> Generally speaking, the classification of an object as 'undesirable' always assumes a space where the undesirable is defined as such. Most things are 'undesirable' somewhere, and desirable (or one 'cannot care less about them') somewhere else. There is no such thing as 'undesirable' or 'too many' in the abstract (Hage, 2000, p. 36).

Immigrants were only an *influx, invasion, swarm* or *dilution* in the context of a particular space. This space corresponds not only to the imagined cultural space but also the physical space of the Australian nation-state, with these two aspects conflated in the discursive construction of national space. The simultaneity of this cultural/physical space was continually recreated through the use of metaphors. Furthermore, metaphors like *swarms* and *floods* which flagged 'too many' immigrants coming can be understood as "*categories of spatial management*" which relate to "the wish to construct or preserve not just a 'race', an 'ethnicity' or a 'culture', but also an imagined privileged relation between the imagined 'race', 'ethnicity' or 'culture' and the national space conceived as its own" (Hage, 2000, p. 36). *Influxes* and *invasions,* more than simply constructing immigrants as

external from the national space, also constructed this space as belonging to white Australians.

The metaphoric framing of the nation also intersected with racialised constructions of immigrants. NATION as FAMILY structured the nation in explicitly racial, ethno-nationalist terms, while NATION as HOUSE metaphors distinguished between Anglo and other immigrants, with only non-Anglo immigrants needing to be welcomed in or shut out. Although less explicit than FAMILY metaphors, HOUSE metaphors also created a core national in-group, based on imagined links to British racial origins. This emphasis is further highlighted in NATION as BODY METAPHORS, with the shift from *absorbability* to *intake* when desirable immigrants ceased to be predominantly British. Thus, we find the metaphors used to code the nation were applied differentially to those deemed outside the immediate racial 'family', with such constructions functioning to symbolically (re)create the imagined Australian community as fundamentally 'Anglo'. References to the nation were permeated with deixis: the *our, we* and *us* of the nation that consistently restated the nation. As Billig states of the press: "Cumulatively, such flaggings provide daily, unmindful reminders of nationhood in the contemporary, established nation-state. It is no wonder, then, that national identity is seldom forgotten" (Billig, 1995, p. 174). And it is no wonder that Anglo-whiteness was at the core of that identity, reflecting and naturalising the dominant power relations within the nation.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the symbolic creation of the imagined white Australian nation was accomplished through persistent acts of symbolic power, reflecting the other forms of power (economic, social, etc) that were endowed by the founding of the nation-state. Emanating from the concentration of these other forms of power in the hands of the

dominant class, this symbolic authority can be understood as "the socially recognized power to impose a certain vision of the social world, i.e. of the divisions of the social world" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 106). This vision correlates to an extent with what Hage has called the *national will,* with those in privileged positions "the enactors of the national will within the nation" (Hage, 2000, p. 44). While Hage applies this to those who *imagine* themselves to hold a privileged position within the national space, within this period, the sustained and persistent recreation of White Australia as the ultimate expression of the national will was enacted by those who did indeed hold privileged positions.

Yet the robustness of White Australia as national will was continually challenged: externally by geopolitical concerns and internally by labour needs and the ongoing uncertainty over what exactly constituted whiteness. The durability of White Australia can be credited, in part, to the copious minor acts of symbolic violence enacted to shore up the legitimacy of the doctrine of racial superiority, which functioned in tandem with the multiple acts of real violence sanctioned by the symbolic violence, thereby naturalising and sustaining White Australia.

However, most metaphoric constructions of both the nation and immigrants dissipated in the 1960s. The shift in the late 1960s, away from White Australia as a national ideal, alongside the unravelling of the British Empire, diminished Australia's traditional sources of identification leading to new forms of national identification (Curran & Ward, 2010; Moran, 2017). This *new* nationalism "stripped of its British underpinnings…resonated primarily in the realm of civic culture" (Curran & Ward, 2010, p. 9). Civic nationalism "maintains that the nation should be composed of all those — regardless of race, colour, creed, gender, language or ethnicity — who subscribe to the nation's political creed" (Ignatieff, 1993, p. 3). Profoundly different to the ethno-nationalism of previous decades,

the end of White Australia saw the beginnings of a turn toward civic nationalism (Pitty & Leach, 2004) with an associated reduction in the metaphors identified. The implications this had for the ways in which the nation and its Others were metaphorically constructed are considered in the following chapter.

Chapter 7 Multicultural Australia (1972–2018): the (re)orientation of race

7.1 Introduction

The beginning of the 1970s marked a radical shift in the official conceptualisation of Australia. For six decades the nation had been discursively (re)created as a fundamentally white space. The primacy of whiteness within the national imaginary was ensured through persistent acts of symbolic violence, which in turn legitimated multiple other forms of violence, which together excluded non-white people from the national space, both literally and imaginatively. Yet the ending of the White Australia Policy saw the increasing admittance of non-white people, with their presence challenging well-established understandings of what it meant to be Australian, and an associated turn towards a new civic nationalism (Pitty & Leach, 2004). While the previous chapter was interested in how the nation was imagined as a white space, this chapter is concerned with what happened when this space could no longer be explicitly claimed for whiteness.

A key focus for the last chapter, drawing on Benedict Anderson, was the ways the nation was actively imagined. Yet Billig, in his work on *banal* forms of nationalism has noted how "thoughts, reactions and symbols become turned into routine habits and, thus, they become *enhabited*" (1995, p.42). Thus, he concludes "The imagined community ceases to be reproduced by acts of the imagination. In established nations, the imagination becomes enhabited, and thereby, inhibited" (1995, p.77). This draws strongly on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* with Billig stating:

> Nationalist thinking involves more than commitment to a group and a sense of difference from other groups. It conceives of 'our' group in a particular way. In doing so, it takes for granted ideas about nationhood and the link between peoples

> and homelands and about the naturalness of the world of nations, divided into separate homelands (Billig, 1995, p.61).

This suggest that nationalist thinking is part of habitus, both as structuring structure, engendering particular perceptions of what the nation *is/means*, and as a structured structure, with the principle of nations as a form of social division, internalized as one of the fundamental structures by which we make sense of the world. While habitus functions to structure social reality internally, externally, this is structured through fields, with the two mutually constitutive and sustaining. Within any given field, the accumulated capital, be that social, cultural or economic, is transformed into symbolic capital once its possession and value is recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 119).

Hage asserts that within Australia, national belonging is the symbolic capital that ensures recognition that subjects *legitimately* belong to the nation (Hage, 2000). Significantly, the symbolic capital of national belonging derives from the cultural capital of the dominant social group, i.e. white Anglo-Australians; this capital can equate to language, looks, cultural practices, white skin, Australian accent, being of British descent, etc… Hage further distinguishes between accumulable national capital i.e. language, cultural practices, and the national capital that the dominant group possess i.e. European descent, which is then naturalised as something certain groups are simply 'born with' (Hage, 2000, p.57). Thus, possession of the symbolic capital of national belonging, particularly 'natural' dominant group national capital, is also a key source of symbolic power, while the naturalisation of this power constitutes symbolic violence.

Drawing on an understanding of the nation as *enhabited* and therefore *inhibited*, I am interested in national belonging as not just capital but as embodied through habitus. While the habitus that individuals possess determines the extent to which they are able to

accumulate national capital, I argue, building on Billig (1995), that national belonging, that is the extent to which different groups of people are understood as being part of the nation, is an elaboration of nationalist thinking which (alongside race with which it is so often imbricated) can itself be understood as one of the fundamental structuring principles of the habitus. That is, both as a set of embodied dispositions that are inculcated, partly through the *banal,* metaphoric structuring of immigrants and the nation, to recognise the symbolic value of specific forms of national capital (habitus as structuring structure), while the very principle that there are people who do or do not *belong* to the nation, stems from the internalization of the nation as an intrinsic social division (habitus as structured structure). In particular, that metaphoric constructions of the nation-house or the immigrant *influx* engender perceptions of national belonging anchored in older ethno-nationalist understandings of the nation, thereby reaffirming the value of 'natural' Anglo-white capital, with this inhibiting the possibilities for newer, more diverse understandings.

Symbolic power is the transformation of other forms of power and, as explored in the previous chapter, the symbolic creation of the nation was reflective of the wider power dynamics within White Australia. Yet this is complicated by the broad social shifts that occurred once the policy ended, particularly the immigration of non-white people, the adoption of multiculturalism (Moran, 2017) and a re-evaluation of what Australian national identity meant (Pitty & Leach, 2004). National belonging may be inscribed in various forms of capital yet "*a capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field*" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 101, emphasis in original), with fields the arena where struggles for control of capital and the delimitations of the field itself take place. It is through the interactions between field and habitus that the capital of national belonging is recognised as legitimate, and thus transformed to symbolic capital. Hage has concluded:

> The totality of such struggles to determine and accumulate what is 'really' Australian, or what is 'more' Australian, gives the Australian field of national power[1] its particular historical characteristics. It is this field that I propose to call the field of Whiteness, and those who aspire to occupy it and assume a governmental position within it, and consequently within the nation, I will call White Australians (Hage, 2000, p. 52).

If, as Hage suggests, whiteness is still central to the national social field (which is indeed a field of national power) then there is a need to account for this ongoing symbolic violence within a multicultural and multi-racial society. Bourdieu described symbolic violence as "the *violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity"* (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 167, emphasis in original). I suggest that the habitus, as a set of internalised dispositions, historically and socially constituted, inculcated to recognise the symbolic value of whiteness as core to national belonging, interacting with a national social field that is structured around whiteness in multiple ways, is what can engender this complicity, allowing whiteness to retain its centrality despite the multi-racial composition of the nation. Furthermore, I argue that, as in the White Australia period, this naturalisation of the centrality of whiteness functions to sustain pre-existing power structures as natural and legitimate, with symbolic power indelibly imbricated with other forms of power within society.

This is significant considering the societal shifts since the end of White Australia. Multiculturalism developed initially as a means to manage white ethnic groups, perceived as sharing a fairly similar cultural and religious background to the dominant Anglo-white core (Moran, 2017; Stratton, 1999). While in the post WW2 period, white immigrants

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1. *Field of power* can refer to a meta-field or the dominant class (Swartz, 2012).

were metaphorically framed as a resource rather than a threat, increasing numbers of non-white immigrants within the Multicultural Period precipitated a resurgence of explicit threat metaphors. I contend that the metaphoric construction of racialised Others as external and threatening is part of the struggle to reinforce the symbolic value of whiteness as a form of national capital within the national field. Indeed, while the lack of a racial Other engendered the focus on *Anglo*-white *ethnicity* within the later decades of the White Australia period, the (re)arrival of racialised Others (re)focused national belonging metaphorically around whiteness.

While metaphors were observed in increasing numbers for specific non-white groups alongside a more generalized problematisation of *immigration* as non-white immigration increased, the highest number of metaphors were used to frame asylum seekers. Through the use of racialised/ing metaphors, asylum seekers were also racialised, and imbricated within an existing narrative of immigrant threat. As in earlier times, the construction of racialised immigrant Others was a means by which a white national Self could be constructed and settler colonial anxieties could be displaced, while the shifting of racialised immigrant threat narratives to the borders functioned to perpetuate this discourse *outside* whilst simultaneously retaining a national self-image as ‘diverse’ and ‘tolerant’ *within* Multicultural Australia.

The chapter begins with nation metaphors, which saw the nation increasingly constructed as a white rather than specifically Anglo space. Moving to immigration metaphors, in contrast to the previous chapter, these were overwhelmingly negative, with a range of resurgent threat metaphors. The chapter then turns to asylum seeker racialisation and the reworking of the immigrant threat narrative, before briefly covering metaphors of racialised spaces, which constructed internal immigrant Others within demarcated zones,

allowing threat metaphors to function internally. Yet immigration metaphors are primarily comprehensible in relation to metaphors of the nation, so it is to this that the chapter turns first.

7.2 Coding the nation

The previous chapter explored how the nation was imagined through its *limits*. These limits are key to understanding national identity — "it is only through the relation to the Other… its *constitutive outside* that the 'positive' meaning of any term — and thus its 'identity' — can be constructed" (Hall, 1996a, pp. 4–5). When examining nation metaphors within this period, a key focus is how the *constitutive outside* was constructed within Multicultural Australia. As in the previous chapter, the primary conceptual metaphor was NATION as BODY, with the NATION as HOUSE secondary. Occasional conceptual metaphors also structured the nation as a MIXTURE i.e. *mosaic*, or in terms of CONSTRUCTION i.e. *build*, although these were minimal (see Appendix A.3).

While increasing over time, nation metaphors were present from the beginning of the Multicultural Australia (1972–2018) research period (see Figure 7.1), indicating that despite the turn towards civic nationalism, traditionally ethno-nationalist constructions were still present. Yet nation metaphors which construct a unified national in-group are not necessarily inherently structured around race or whiteness, making the following examination of *how* these metaphors functioned within the Multicultural Australia period essential.

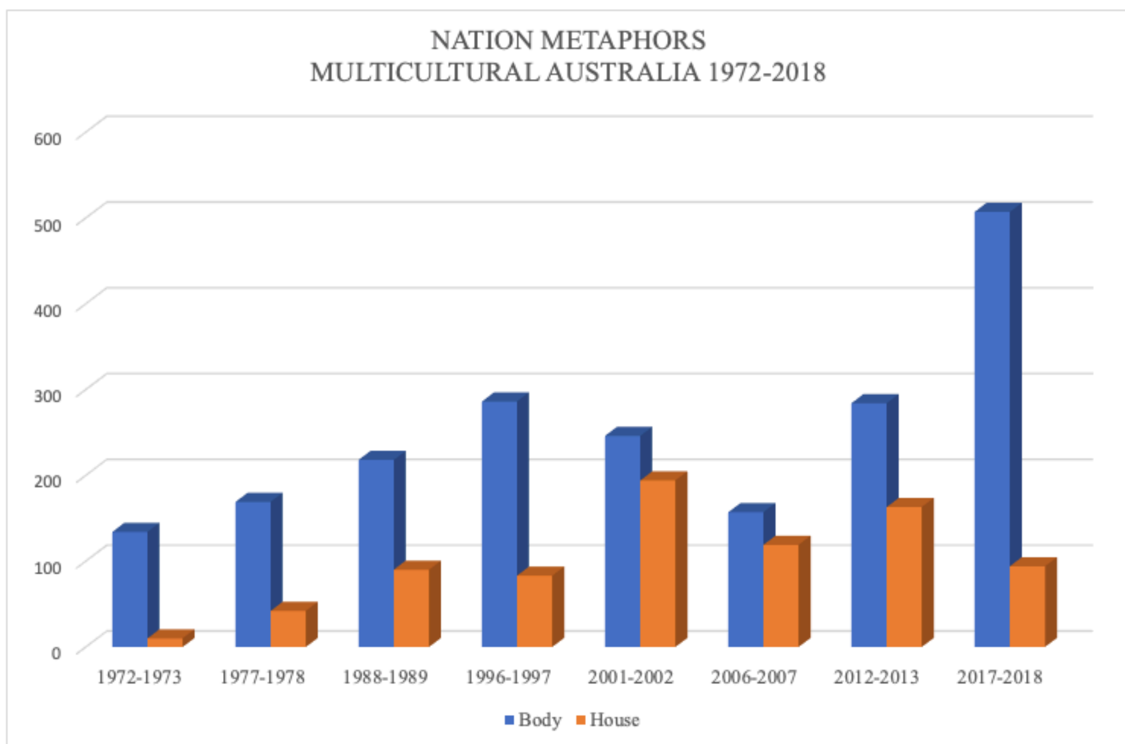

Figure 7.1 Number of BODY and HOUSE metaphors by sample period in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

7.2.1 The Nation Body

Similarly to the White Australia period, NATION as BODY metaphors shaped an understanding of the Australian populace as a singular mass, yet this was not explicitly white; instead, whiteness was conspicuous by its absence.[2] Instead, the most notable feature of *intake* metaphors was the way various groups were differentiated and remarked upon, be this specific (non-white) nationality groups, refugees or often just *immigrants,* while European or British immigrants were not specifically spoken about as an *intake*. The distinction occurred not in the problematisation of certain immigrants, but in the lack of comment on others.

This was further evident in *absorption* metaphors, which strongly linked *absorption* to the successful containment of diversity within the nation-body, highlighting tolerance and

2. Something Dyer refers to as the 'invisibility of whiteness' (Dyer, 2017, p. 3).

rebutting claims of racism, none of which are perceived as necessary for white-Anglo groups. The identity of the nation-body was therefore defined by those perceived as external, its *constitutive outside* (Hall, 1996a), with the noting of their *intake* or *absorption* highlighting their difference from the nation-body, unlike immigrants whose *intake* elicited no remark. Through the flagging of difference, there was also a flagging of belonging, centred on whiteness. Thus, there was a strong sense of ethno-nationalism, that is nationalism organised around "criteria of belonging such as race, ethnicity and religious affiliation" (Fozdar & Low, 2015), still permeating the nation-body. BODY metaphors functioned as constructive strategies (Reisigl, 2001; Wodak et al., 2009); while the out-group was no longer constructed in pathogenic terms — indeed they were explicitly taken into the nation-body — there was extensive debate on the quality, success and *limits* of their *intake/absorption*.

As previously noted, the NATION as BODY conceptual metaphor is a higher-level container metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), structuring the nation as a unified, contained entity, through which unequal power relations are legitimised and naturalised (Santa Ana, 2002), making the metaphor a powerful expression of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991). There were a wide range of BODY metaphors observed[3] including: *face, blood, heart* and *health.* However, as in the later decades of White Australia, *intake* was the primary NATION as BODY metaphor.

Intake

Intake was a standardised way of describing immigrants, most commonly regarding the *immigration intake.* This research has found that use of metaphors to frame *immigration/immigrants* increased as non-white immigration increased. Within the

3. 38 linguistic metaphors.

European context, the malleability of the term *immigrant* has allowed it to become a cross-cultural signifier of danger and foreignness, facilitating inter-European immigration restriction cooperation, with Bigo concluding "the term *immigrant* is politically meaningful only in a discourse of "struggle against illegal immigrants," or in a discourse of "regulation," but in any case in a rhetoric of cultural nationalism creating citizenship by difference with these outsiders inside the state" (Bigo, 2002, p. 72).

During the White Australia period, *immigrants* was sometimes used to (positively) refer to European migration. However, the Multicultural period saw a sharp increase in the term collocated with negative metaphors, while verb collocates of metaphors were also overwhelmingly negative,[4] demonstrating a highly negative perception of *immigration/immigrants.* While non-white immigrants were also constructed through the same metaphors, white immigrants were generally not. This suggests that increasing references to *immigrants* over the last decades can be understood as a veiled way to highlight non-white immigration, without explicitly referencing race.

While *intake* was most often collocated with *(im)migration* or *(im)migrant,* it also referred to specific aspects of migration, particularly *refugee / humanitarian,* or various nationally defined categories, i.e. *Lebanese, Sudanese, etc.* While national appellations tend to signify ethnicity (Stratton, 1998), the sole use of non-white nations suggests that they can also function as a particularisation for discourses of race.

> The case for a strong *migrant intake* is undermined by the absence of real gains (*Australian,* 2017).[cxxx]

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4. Over 80%.

> The first 12 month *intake of refugees* is believed to be around 10,000 (*SMH,* 1977).[cxxxi]

> The final dismantling of the White Australia Policy in 1973 started *regular intakes* from a much wider range of cultures such as those of Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaysia and India (*WA,* 1988).[cxxxii]

This first extract is typical of the most common usage of the term. But there is still a weighing up of the *gains* provided by *migrants* to the nation-body, with this potentially *undermining* support for immigration. Refugees are a differentiated form of immigrant, resulting in a separate category of *intake*. The final extract illustrates how *intake* is used for racial differentiation; *intakes* from non-white countries are explicitly classified (as are *refugee intakes)*. Furthermore, references to the *(im)migrant intake* showed a consistent upwards trajectory alongside the increase in non-white immigration,[5] suggesting that the *immigrant intake* was another form of racial differentiation. Specified forms of white migration did not merit their own *intake* categorisation, with very few references to British or other specifically white *intakes*.

Absorb

While less common than previously, *absorb* appeared across every sample period, rising slightly in years of higher asylum seeker arrivals. The most common collocation referenced *Australia's absorption* of immigrants, with *Australia* occurring in 30% of all references, strongly evoking the Australian nation-body. In addition, deixis like *our nation, we, our society* also occurred frequently, with this further flagging the nation (Billig, 1995). While the object of the absorption varied, just 4% referred to specifically

5. Peaking in 2017-18 — see Figure 7.1.

white migration, mostly Southern European. Significantly, *absorb* was never used to refer to British or northern European immigration.

> For years after World War II, *Australia absorbed migrants from many countries* with *tolerance* and without any serious racial bigotry (*Australian,* 1996).[cxxxiii]

> Take Australia's multiculturalism; a nation which was widely believed to be irredeemably racist has managed to *absorb* one of the major migrations of history with very little violence or overt social stress (*SMH,* 1988).[cxxxiv]

> For decades we have been *absorbing* migrants from *alien* political cultures in the former Soviet bloc, the Middle East and Asia (*SMH,* 2007).[cxxxv]

There are repeated, ostensibly positive, mentions of how successfully migrants from *many countries* and *alien political cultures* have been absorbed, rebutting claims of racism and *bigotry*, yet there is no reference to the millions of British migrants *absorbed*. The claim of *tolerance* is powerfully revealing of the power dynamics embedded within the *absorption* metaphor. Discussions about tolerance are addressed to the dominant group within society, and as such are a reaffirmation of the centrality of whiteness (Hage, 2000). As Hage has noted "tolerance presupposes that the object of tolerance is just that: an object of the will of the tolerator" (2000, p. 79). Through references to tolerance, *tolerated* groups are objectified and made subject to the will of the dominant group, whose position is thereby naturalised. Furthermore, *tolerance*, like the nation-body, is dependent on limits: "It is precisely this setting of limits that constitutes the active component of tolerance: there is no tolerance without a setting of limits" (Hage, 2000, p. 79). Thus, to absorb with tolerance is a powerful declaration of the sovereign limits of the nation-body.

Tolerance can also refer to the enduring of pain or the ability to survive parasitic or pathogenic infection (OED) hinting at earlier anti-immigrant discourses that constructed the Chinese as pathogenic for the white nation-body. Although the Multicultural nation-body can now withstand or *tolerate* this, the suggestion of non-white immigrants as *pain* or *parasite* remains. There were also occasional queries regarding Australia's ability to absorb certain migrants, or for cities to manage population growth, yet for the most part *absorption* signified successful containment of diversity within the nation-body. This embedded orientation towards whiteness is further demonstrated in the NATION as HOUSE conceptual metaphor.

7.2.2 THE NATION HOUSE

The NATION as HOUSE conceptual metaphor is effective in framing discourses around both immigration and the nation (Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Santa Ana, 2002). In the White Australia period, the nation-house functioned not only as a physically bounded location, but also delineated a racial/cultural community, and as such was a powerful expression of ethno-nationalism and symbolic power. In the Multicultural Australia period, 28 linguistic metaphors referencing some aspect of a *house* were identified, with *home,* or variations on *door*/*gate* the most common. Much like BODY metaphors, HOUSE metaphors, are constructive strategies, through which the national community was created, through its *constitutive outside*, as a distinct, contained in-group. Through the flagging of certain groups as external, whether as not being *home* in the nation-house, or through the opening or closing of the nation-doors to them, the position of the groups not commented on as the *true* inhabitants of the nation-house was naturalised.

Home

The primary metaphor was *home;* however, this did not have a particularly straightforward usage. As with many metaphors, *home* most commonly referred to asylum seekers (48%) with other non-white migration, predominantly Asian, accounting for 17%. Non-specified terms, most notably *(im)migration* accounted for 22%. Non-Anglo white migration accounted for 8% — this mostly referred to New Zealanders (see Table 7.1). Just 5% referred to either British or Australians, most commonly to describe *coming home*.

Table 7.1 Numbers and collocations of *Home* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

HOME — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018				
Asylum seeker — 123 (48%)	**Non-White — 43 (17%)**	**Non-Specified — 56 (22%)**	**White — 21 (8%)**	**Anglo — 12 (5%)**
Asylum seekers, Refugees, Boat People, Sri Lankans, Afghans, Boat arrivals	Chinese, Asian students / migrants / workers, Australia's Muslims, Indians	(Im)migrants, People, New arrivals, Workers, Population	New Zealanders, Kiwis, South African, European	Australians, British migrants, English People, British and Irish born

The power expressed through *home* metaphors can be understood as *governmental power*: "the power to have a legitimate view regarding who should 'feel at home' in the nation and how, and who should be in and who should be out" (Hage, 2000, p. 44). This governmental power was clearly demonstrated through the way *home* located belonging, within (or outside) the nation, with an implicit right to dictate and comment on the immigration of non-white immigrants in ways not generally applied to white, and particularly Anglo, immigrants. The multiple uses of *home* metaphors were therefore a powerful expression of symbolic violence within the symbolic creation of the nation. There were three main themes to *home* metaphors, which cut across the different groups mentioned.

Feeling/Being given a home

The first was of *calling Australia home, making a home* or *feeling at home.*

> The Greeks and Italians of the post-war immigration boom began *feeling at home* when attention shifted to the South-East Asian boatpeople of the late 1970s (*Australian,* 2001).[cxxxvi]

> But it's not just New Zealanders who are increasingly *calling Australia home (Australian,* 2006).[cxxxvii]

Home is a metaphor for belonging, with the theme of 'home' a key focus for images of the ideal nation (Hage, 2000). *Calling* a place *home* suggests that someone has a right to claim belonging, although there is a differentiation between *calling* a place home and actually being *at home*; the first suggests a process, while the latter suggests a state. Notably, there were very few references to immigrants simply being *at home* reflecting the differentiation Hage has noted between the more conditional homely belonging possessed by most immigrants and the governmental belonging of the dominant group within society, with the power to dictate who should be allowed to *feel at home* in the nation a powerful expression of governmental, and thus symbolic, power (Hage, 2000).

While these metaphors occasionally referred to asylum-seekers, a more common framing was of being *given* a home. There is a subtle difference between *calling* somewhere home, and being *given* a home. The first is a right, while the second is a gift, for which asylum seekers are expected to be grateful. There is often an underlying belief that the provision of aid to refugees is an act of charity as opposed to the fulfilment of refugee rights (Harrell-Bond, 2002). Yet inherent in any act of giving is a power imbalance and a

subsequent need for reciprocation (Mauss, 1990). For many refugees, this reciprocity is expected through demonstrations of 'worthiness', 'submission' and 'good moral character' (Indra, 1993, p. 243). Thus, this metaphoric differentiation may be reflective of a wider, more conditional sense of belonging for asylum seekers, with Australian generosity not human rights underpinning acceptance of those judged to be deserving:

> We have contributed handsomely to the UN's refugee programs*, providing a home* for 450,000 refugees since the war, and currently we provide places for 12,000 new refugees each year (*SMH,* 1988).[cxxxviii]

> After the Vietnam War, we did not ask the Australian people whether we should *give a home* to what became nearly 200,000 Vietnamese. We believed there was a moral and ethical obligation (*SMH,* 2001).[cxxxix]

> Melbourne is grappling with the problem of African street gangs. Some of these are refugees from Somalia and South Sudan. Of these, some — including children of refugees — have been involved in violent home invasions in the city that *gave them a home* (*Australian,* 2018).[cxl]

The theme Gale labels 'humanitarian crisis' (Gale, 2004, p.327) was a common construction of asylum seeking, articulated in humanitarian terms and rooted in an ideal of Australia as a compassionate nation. This theme is evident in the first two extracts, which highlight Australia's *morals and ethics,* alongside noting that they had *contributed handsomely* to refugee programs, yet make no reference to refugees' human rights. The partiality of refugee acceptance that stems from this humanitarian emphasis is revealed in the last extract when the *refugees* and *children of refugees* fail to reciprocate in the

correct manner, instead causing problems that Melbourne is *grappling with*, highlighting their ingratitude for the gift alongside, implicitly, their unworthiness for it.

Sending home

This conditional sense of home for asylum seekers is apparent in the second main theme, which referred to the forcible repatriation of unwanted asylum seekers. The *sending home* of undesirable immigrants is a way to symbolically recreate the nation according to the will of the dominant group: "In the desire to send the other 'home', subjects express implicitly their own desire to *be* at home. In every 'go home', there is an 'I want to and am entitled to feel at home in my nation'" (Hage, 2000, p. 39). Multiple references were found to *sending, returning, forcing, encouraging* asylum seekers to return 'home' to the countries from which they had fled.

> The *boatpeople* are pretty unhappy when they *return home*. They've spent all their money, they haven't made it to Australia and they've become minor *criminals (Australian,* 2013*)*.[cxli]

> We need *to sift out* the *wrong people* fast, *send them home* and get the *genuine* people *of good character* started faster in their new lives in this country (*SMH,* 2001).[cxlii]

Occurring predominantly in periods of higher asylum seeker arrivals, particularly 2012–13, there is a delegitimising of asylum seekers' claims embedded in demands to *send them home*. Hence, they are referred to as *boat people,* the *wrong people* or as *criminals* and contrasted with *genuine* refugees of *good character* — those invited, who are *given* a home. We can understand such references as a minimisation strategy (Reisigl, 2001); by

using the euphemistic *home* in place of forcible repatriation, the violence and danger embedded within the act was sanitised and obscured, with the actions legitimated.

Not going home

A third theme referenced concerns about visitors, mostly Asian students, not returning home after their visas ended. As with asylum seekers, *home* is used to signify a place assigned to a person, rather than a right that can be claimed.

> Mr Dawkins's idea of a free market in education inevitably ran into problems when it began to become clear that many students had no intention of *returning home (SMH,* 1989).[cxliii]

Students, while desirable from a business perspective, became problematised when they potentially wished to stay. Instead, their *home* is located outside of the nation space as a place that should be *returned* to.

Further *home* references included the expressions *homeland* and *home country;* yet while *home country* was used for all immigrants, including asylum seekers, *homeland* was almost exclusively used for asylum seekers. The OED defines *homeland* as a 'home country or native land; the land of one's ancestors' thus linking it with a sense of ethnic or *native* origin. Referring to asylum seekers' *homelands* suggests an essential ethnic or racial difference, linking them more closely with their country of origin, further highlighting their difference from the *native* occupants of the Australian nation home. It also invokes notions of *homeland security* and terrorism that resonate with the discursive linking of asylum seekers with the 'war on terror' in the post 9/11 period.

Open door

One-third of HOUSE metaphors referenced some variation of *door* or *gate*. As with other metaphors, the majority of *open door* metaphors that collocated directly with people referred to either asylum seeker or other non-white migration, with a third referring to the generalised *(im)migrants, (im)migration*, while just 3% referred directly to European migration (see Table 7.2). Significantly, it was never used to refer specifically to British immigration.

Table 7.2 Numbers and collocations of *Open Door* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

OPEN DOOR (PEOPLE) — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018				
Asylum seeker — 29 (51%)	**Non-White — 10 (18%)**	**Non-Specified — 16 (28%)**	**White — 2 (3%)**	**Anglo — 0**
Refugees, Boat People, Asylum Seekers, Vietnamese, Customers, Clients, Boats	Asians, Muslims, Workers / Students from China, Lebanese, Unskilled Pacific migrants	(Im)migrants, Immigration, New Arrivals, Foreigners	European WW2 victims, Migrants from Southern Europe	

The data demonstrates that doors are opened (or not) to immigrants seen as not intrinsically belonging to the nation-house. Those who possessed certain capital of national belonging, i.e. white-Anglo, indeed most Europeans, were exempted from debates about entry to the nation-house.

The most common *open door* collocation however was not with people but with *policy* (30%), with varying degrees of (dis)approval for migration, underpinned by the understanding that a completely *open door policy* was not desirable.

> Most people agree that whatever the numbers of refugees *we accept*, and *we* could well be more *generous*, an *open-door policy* is not acceptable (*SMH,* 2002).[cxliv]

> The provision of public money to organisations agitating for a more *open-door policy* is out of step with the values of *mainstream* Australians (*Australian,* 2012).[cxlv]

Note the use of *we* to signal the unified nation-body and draw the reader into complicity — the speaker and addressee (reader) inclusive *we* (De Cillia et al., 1999) noted in the previous chapter, as well as *generous,* again flagging the gifting of acceptance, and hence its partial nature. Note also the use of *most people* to signal a common-sense consensus on the undesirability of an *open-door*, and the invoking of *mainstream Australians* and their *values,* a coded reference to racial difference (Stratton, 1998, 1999).

A further third of *open door* references collocated directly with either *Australia's* or *our doors,* strongly evoking the nation-house.

> It was his Government that *opened Australia's doors* to lndo-Chinese refugees in the face of considerable public angst (*SMH,* 1988).[cxlvi]

> Our northern *doorway* is gaping *open (Australian,* 1978).[cxlvii]

Such references were generally more emotive. Whether through explicit *angst* or the implicit threat from a *gaping open doorway,* there was a stronger evocation of danger. References to *our northern doorway* also recall the manner Chinese threat was structured a century before, flagging Asian invasion narratives (Papastergiadis, 2004; Walker, 1999).

Closed door

Closed door shows a similar trend, although with a slightly higher instance of *(im)migration* references, and one reference to unemployed British people, framed as undesirable (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Numbers and collocations of *Closed Door* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

CLOSED DOOR — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018				
Asylum seeker — 25 (56%)	**Non-White — 3 (7%)**	**Non-Specified — 16 (35%)**	**White — 0**	**Anglo — 1 (2%)**
Refugees, Boat People, Asylum Seekers, African refugees, World's poor and desperate	Coloured immigration, Africa, Would-be-terrorists	(Im)migrants, Immigration, Intake, Rest of the world		Unemployed Brits

C*losed door* strongly evokes the nation-house, with a clear differentiation between who does and does not belong within. Those on whom the doors may be closed are framed as Other; doors are not closed to those who belong, only guests (or invaders). Even when used critically, the metaphor reaffirmed the status of those *shut out* as intrinsically external to the nation-house.

> *They* ended up on Manus because *they* reached Christmas Island after Kevin Rudd *slammed the door* on *boat arrivals* on July 19, 2013 (*Australian,* 2017).[cxlviii]

> Was it *border protection* or the desire for social cohesion and beyond that a deeper racism that underpinned the *closing of Australia's doors*? (*Australian,* 2002)[cxlix]

The repeated use of *they* contrasts with the implicit *we* who control the door. Within the second extract, despite the linking of the *closing doors* with racism, the underlying structuring of internal/external is unquestioned. Note also the lack of agent — at the suggestion of racism, Australia's doors close without any attribution of blame

highlighting "the curious enigma of 'racism without racists'" (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, p. 4) — while racism may exist, nobody is statedly racist.

Back door

Often collocated with terms like *sneak in* and *devious,* the *back door* was used to highlight illegitimacy. The metaphor flagged racially Other immigrants, who did not follow the visa rules; it was not applied to white visitors who overstayed their visas.[6] Used to signify a form of sneaky, indirect entry to the country, *back door* was centred on three themes. Firstly, fears of Asians, mainly students but also tourists, trying to stay permanently in the country:

> Immigration has been primarily concerned to see that the overseas student program is not abused as a means of *backdoor migration (SMH,* 1989).[cl]

> More importantly, the courses have been used as a *backdoor route* for would-be immigrants rather than the *genuine* students. This is unfair to everyone else in the *immigration queue (Australian,* 1989).[cli]

There is a flagging of illegitimacy in the contrast with *genuine* students, with illegitimate *immigrants abusing* the system. Notably, such concerns did not appear in articles about European backpackers or students.

Secondly, it framed concerns about Asians or Pacific Islanders using New Zealand as an indirect means of entry.

6. In 2000 10% of visa overstayers were from the UK, with another 8% from the US (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

> Canberra became concerned that Polynesians and Chinese were using New Zealand *as a backdoor entry to Australia*, particularly as one-third of recent New Zealand settlers are *not New Zealand-born (SMH,* 2001).[clii]

> The New Zealanders born in third countries, *accused of* being part of a *devious backdoor migration* trend, are probably mostly *islanders*, along with *a few Asians (SMH,* 2001).[cliii]

> We don't want your *dole bludgers*. We don't want your fireblight-infected apples and we don't want *backdoor immigration* of *South Pacific people* through NZ (*WA,* 2001).[cliv]

The racialising bias is obvious in its application to New Zealanders who were *born in third countries* — while possessing the same visa status as those born in New Zealand, they are shown to be unwelcome, while those born in New Zealand are not discriminated against.

Finally, it was used to construct asylum seekers arriving by boat as not using 'proper' entry methods.

> A better system is needed to *cope with* the hundreds of visa-less foreigners trying to *sneak in* via *Australia's back door (SMH,* 2001).[clv]

> Either it accepts them quickly as assisted passage refugees or they will land on Australia's *back doorstep* under their own steam *(WA,* 1977).[clvi]

Within the NATION as HOUSE metaphor then, there remained a strong sense of racial differentiation. While there was a wider scope to the immigrants constructed as *making a home* in Australia, this still showed a differentiation between the forms of belonging extended to most immigrants, which was homely as opposed to governmental (Hage, 2000). Significantly, *home* metaphors were one of the few areas where there remained a differentiation between European and Anglo immigrants suggesting that despite the overall emphasis on whiteness, Anglo-whiteness remained at the core of the nation-*home*. The nation's *doors/gates* were more straightforward, being primarily opened/closed to those not from Northern Europe. While not flagging an exclusively Anglo ethno-nationalism, there was still a strong differentiation between immigrants, demonstrating that the nation-house continued to be constructed as a fundamentally white space, with the capital of whiteness still key to national belonging. This differential structuring of immigrants is further illustrated in the metaphors used to code immigrant threats.

7.3 Structuring Immigrant Threats

While the previous period had a significant amount of metaphors framing desirable immigration, these were mostly absent from this period.[7] Instead, the highest volume of immigration metaphors were DANGEROUS WATER and WAR, with both overwhelmingly applied to asylum seekers or specifically non-white immigration. This mirrors the ways that *racially* undesirable immigration was constructed within White Australia, suggesting that asylum seekers and other non-white immigrants were often also perceived as *racially* undesirable. There were also numerous collocations with the non-

[7] FLOWING WATER was present but was more neutral than positive and much less frequent than DANGEROUS WATER metaphors (see Appendix A.3).

specified *immigration/immigrants*, although this also showed racial implications as discussed earlier.

7.3.1 IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER

The primary conceptual metaphor was again IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER. DANGEROUS WATER metaphors within this period often constructed threats around national security as opposed to cultural/social degeneration, with danger stemming from immigrant illegitimacy and illegality. This construction of immigrant undesirability through the prism of criminality is a discursive tool whereby ethno-nationalist sentiments can be expressed through the language of civic nationalism, circumventing the negative associations of explicitly ethno-nationalist language (Fozdar & Low, 2015). As such, it is possible to preserve a national self-image as fair and egalitarian, while decrying the 'criminality' of the racialised Other. Furthermore, security threats were often located on the border or within demarcated, internal-yet-external racialised zones, allowing the national space to be conceived of as diverse and tolerant.

DANGEROUS WATER metaphors have consistently been the primary metaphor by which racial Others are constructed as threatening and external. From Chinese in the 1850s, to Afghans in the 1890s and Italians in the 1920s, DANGEROUS WATER metaphors locate immigrants within a narrative of inherent, irreconcilable threat. Furthermore, it is through the externality signified by the immigrant *influx, flood* or *swamp* that the national Self has also been constructed as internal and legitimate. While DANGEROUS WATER metaphors decreased substantially after WW2, being virtually absent by the 1960s, they increased throughout the research period, peaking in years of higher asylum seeker arrivals (see Figure 7.2).

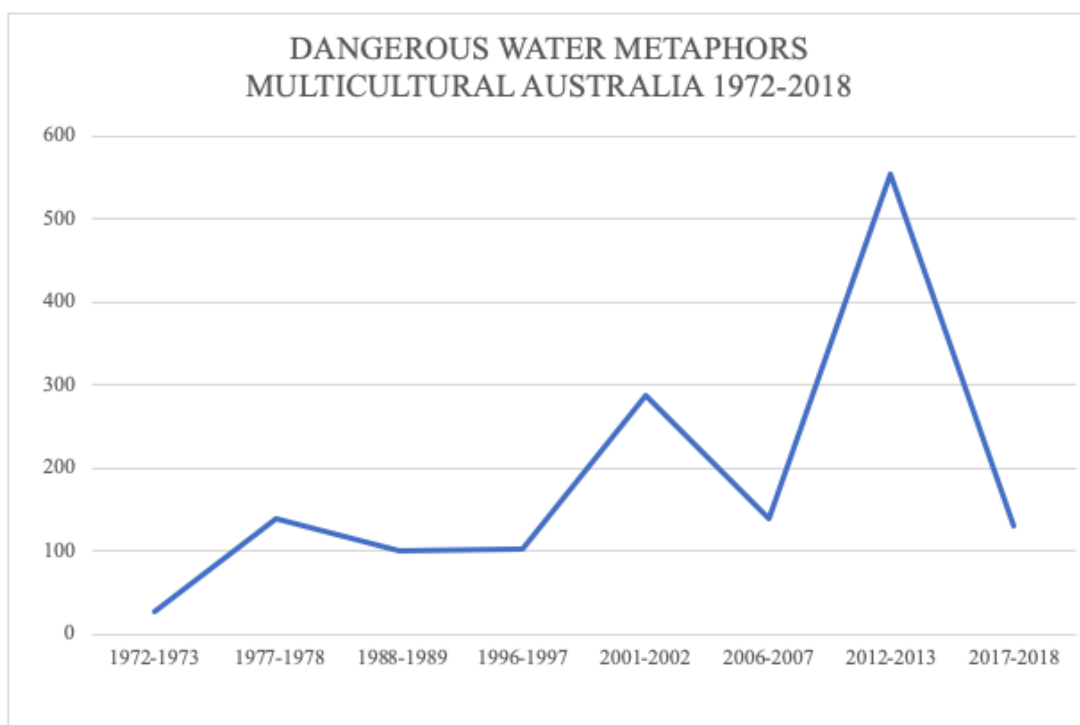

Figure 7.2 Number of DANGEROUS WATER metaphors by sample period in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

While the peak was less dramatic for the Vietnamese boat arrivals in 1977–78, there was a substantial increase in both 2001–2002 and 2012–2013. Moreover, DANGEROUS WATER metaphors almost never collocated with white immigration demonstrating that, as in earlier periods, DANGEROUS WATER metaphors were both racialised and racialising.

However, this argument is complicated by the small percentage of metaphors that explicitly constructed white immigrants, most commonly New Zealanders, with occasional mentions of British or Italians. It is possible large numbers of any non-British group would trigger a perception of threat, as there exists a hierarchical differentiation within Australia, with even white European groups expected to assimilate to the dominant Anglo culture (Dunn et al., 2007). Yet New Zealand is the only other country to have consciously engineered its society to the extent that Australia did, with an equally strong emphasis on its British roots (Jupp, 2002), and as Australia's closest white neighbour, the

two countries have much in common and many links. In reports from the White Australia period, New Zealand was referred to as a *sister* colony, situating the two countries within a wider British *family.*

However, the end of the White New Zealand policy in 1986 resulted in increasing numbers of Asian immigrants, which in turn engendered mounting public anxiety and opposition in New Zealand during the 1990s (Forrest & Dunn, 2006), with this reported in the Australian press of the time. During the same period, the numbers immigrating to Australia also rose, with New Zealand overtaking the United Kingdom as the biggest source of immigrants in 1996 (Jupp, 2002). It is from this period that fears about *backdoor migration* appeared alongside an increase in other negative metaphors. It is therefore likely that New Zealand became perceived as another avenue for non-white immigration, with many reports specifically referencing the ingress of Asians and Pacific Islanders. Indeed, Immigration Minister Phillip Ruddock expressed fears in 2000 about many New Zealanders not being New Zealand born (Jupp, 2002, p. 204). Furthermore, while Maoris were historically exempted from the prohibition of non-white immigrants during the White Australia period (Jupp, 2002), that has not exempted them from racial suspicion, with this continuing.[8]

Flow

The primary DANGEROUS WATER metaphor was *flow*, peaking at three points in 1977–78, 2001–02 and 2012–13, when there were higher numbers of asylum seekers arriving by boat. During this period, *flow* showed a strong negative semantic prosody, which contrasts sharply with how it was used in the White Australia period. 74% of occurrences

8. Changes to immigration law (2014) allowing the deportation of permanent residents on 'character grounds' have disproportionately affected New Zealanders of Maori or Pacific Island descent (Keyzer & Martin, 2018).

referred to asylum seekers,[9] while other collocates referred to *immigration* (often in articles about Asia or New Zealand). Notably, it was not used to refer specifically to white or British immigration (see Table 7.4). 82% of verb collocates, were related to stopping or reducing the flow. Adjectives reflected concern with the size and nature of the flow — usually also negative in prosody.

Table 7.4 Numbers and collocations of *flow* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

FLOW — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018			
Asylum seeker — 263 (74%)	**Non-Specified — 93 (26%)**	**Verbs — 192 (82%)**	**Adjectives — 63 (85%)**
Boats, refugees, asylum seekers, boat people, asylum seeker boats/vessels, Illegal (im)migrants, boat arrivals	People, (im)migrants, migration, workers	Stem, stop, reduce, slow, reduce, halt, control	Increasing, record, constant, unregulated, free, continuing

There was remarkable similarity between the three main periods:

> The Australian Government sent the team into the area in an attempt to *halt the flow of unauthorised arrivals* into Australia (*SMH,* 1977).[clvii]

> The Federal Government will attempt to exclude three of Australia's northern territories from the national migration zone today to *stem the flow of boat people (WA,* 2001).[clviii]

> But the early signs are that the deterrent effect of Nauru and Manus alone is not going to *stop the flow of boats (Australian,* 2012).[clix]

While all three extracts could be part of a single text on asylum seeker arrivals, they span a 35-year period, appearing in three different newspapers. Asylum seekers were referred

9. The term asylum seeker is used to refer to all migrants seeking asylum, in place of the range of terms used in the press, i.e. *illegal immigrant, boat people, economic migrant.*

to as *unauthorised arrivals, boat people* and *boats*;[10] by using terms that emphasised their purported illegality or the means of their arrival, the legitimacy of their asylum claims, as well as their humanity was obscured. Whether needing to be *stopped, halted* or *stemmed,* there is no doubt that the *flow* poses a risk. Thus, *flow* can be understood as an overwhelmingly negative framing of a singular fluid threat in need of restriction or exclusion.

When used with various other forms of *(im)migration, flow* also commonly flagged the need for restriction, as well as implicitly race:

> Cabinet also approved a number of measures designed to *stem the flow* of spouses and de facto partners into Australia (*SMH,*1996).[clx]

> He makes it clear that the *flow* of migration must be rebalanced back towards traditional *source nation*s (*Australian,* 1988).[clxi]

The first extract refers to visas policy changes away from family reunion implemented by the Coalition government (1996) (Jupp, 2002). There is a massive shift from framing general British immigration as *kith and kin* in the White Australia period to actual *spouses and de facto partners* as a *flow* in need of *stemming* in later times. While there were unquestionably major differences between the circumstances of the framings, the move away from family reunion impacted non-white immigrants most severely, and was underpinned by arguments linking "family 'relocation'" with "Third World immigrants" (Jupp, 2002, p. 150), making *stem the flow* a discursive tool by which race could be

[10] The most common collocation with *flow.*

implied. The second extract explicitly recalls earlier uses of *flow* to make a negative comparison with the current policy.

Reisgl and Wodak have spoken of two types of intertextuality, both “explicit surface relationships between texts and implicit thematic chains which related texts to each other via underlying assumptions and presuppositions” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, pp. 185–186). The repeated use of metaphors like *flow* makes explicit surface links with previous uses — multiple texts can be read as one through the surface continuity of the representation. In addition, there is a thematic chain of threat metaphors, which link to a wider, well-established narrative of immigrant threat which is activated by the use of DANGEROUS WATER metaphors; it is these dual forms of intertextuality that account for the potency of such metaphors.

Influx

Influx was the second most common DANGEROUS WATER metaphor, also peaking in periods of asylum seeker arrivals. Often referring to asylum seekers as well as other non-white migration, predominantly Asian, it also occurred in a non-specified sense, but was rarely used to specifically describe white migration, mainly from New Zealand (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5 Numbers and collocations of *influx* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

INFLUX — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018				
Asylum seeker — 195 (57%)	**Non-White — 43 (13%)**	**Non-Specified — 86 (25%)**	**White — 12 (4%)**	**Anglo — 6 (2%)**
Asylum seekers, refugees, boat people, boats, illegal immigrants, boat arrivals	Chinese, Asians, Asian immigrants	(Im)migrants, people, workers, newcomers,	Kiwis, Italians	Migrants from Britian

Of verb collocates, 85% show negative prosody, with *cope with* the most frequent, while 15% were neutral; none were positive. 86% of adjectives were focused on the size and

motion of the *influx*, particularly its vastness, with *sudden* and *massive* most common. *Influx* was a way asylum seeker arrivals were framed as problematic; again, the following excerpts cover the three sample periods of higher arrivals (78–79, 01–02, 12–13):

> The Federal Government has *coped* so far *with this influx* and averted a public backlash, but senior officials now *fear* a sharp and emotional community reaction if *Australia is hit by* the anticipated *new refugee wave (Australian,* 1978).[clxii]

> Mr Ruddock will head to the Middle East tomorrow in a bid to *staunch the influx* of *illegal immigrants* following a *surge* of more than 800 *boat people* arriving since December 1 (*SMH,* 2001).[clxiii]

> Yet the situation remains that Australians are *alarmed* at the *collapse of our porous* northern sea *borders* and the *influx of asylum-seekers* arriving *illegally (Australian,* 2012).[clxiv]

Again, there is the double intertextuality of both explicit surface linkages and implicit thematic chains (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). *Influx* is paired with other WATER metaphors, reaffirming the dangerous water entailments. Moreover, verbs like *cope with, hit by, fear* and *staunch* are used to signal difficulties associated with the arrivals, with *emotional* and *alarmed* emphasising the danger posed. These collocations of multiple DANGEROUS WATER metaphors with negative verbs and adjectives are intensification strategies (Wodak, 2009) sharpening the negative entailments of the metaphor. Asylum seekers are referred to as *a wave, a surge* or *boat people,* with even *asylum seekers* modified by *illegality,* delegitimising and dehumanising them. The implicit container metaphor embedded within DANGEROUS WATER metaphors is made explicit in the final extract,

with references to *our…borders* as both *collapsed* and *porous.* The nation container is claimed, through the use of the possessive *our,* its defensive boundaries leaking, situating *the influx of asylum seekers* within a discourse of national security.

Whilst *influx* was commonly used to describe asylum seekers, particularly in the periods of higher asylum seeker arrivals, it was also more generally used to frame migration of other specific racial groups:

> The sudden *influx* of new Lebanese migrants has begun to have a cultural impact on Sydney (*SMH,* 1977).[clxv]

> Gold Coast *fears* Japanese *influx (SMH,* 1988).[clxvi]

> The *influx* of Sudanese was *harder to cope with* than predicted (*Australian,* 2007).[clxvii]

This was often negative in implication, hence the *influx* is *feared* or *harder to cope with,* with concerns about the *cultural impact.* Fears of cultural difference are underpinned by a 'new' racist logic suggesting "the only possible outcome can be cultural conflict as each culture struggles to maintain its integrity. Different cultures simply cannot co-exist in the same spatial frames" (Inda, 2000, p. 48). Religion, in particular Islam, also increasingly functions as a marker of 'cultural' Otherness (Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007). Indeed, 'new' racism is underpinned by understandings of culture as essentially different and inherently incompatible (Barker, 1982); while this is not linked explicitly to race, the reification of cultural difference functions in much the same way as older biological racist propositions yet without the common negative associations. As such "New Racism has

modernised racism and made it respectable" (Duffield, 1996, p. 175). Significantly, it is the prevalence of right wing parties espousing cultural not biological racism, (i.e. Hanson's One Nation) which correlates with greater acceptance and normalisation of anti-foreigner attitudes (Wilkes et al., 2007). Fears about *coping with* the *cultural impacts* of different national groups flag these discourses of cultural difference and, alongside the use of externalising threat metaphors, construct groups as Other without explicit mention of race. Occasionally *influx* was used more neutrally to designate a large inward movement of people, deemed external to the existing populace. Yet the metaphor was rarely used to refer specifically to white immigration, with just 6 occurrences referring to British migration.[11]

Surge

Surge rarely appeared in early Multicultural Australia but increased exponentially this century, with another 200 occurrences, 137[12] of these in the 2012–13 sample period. While *surge* can be a DANGEROUS WATER metaphor, describing a powerful forward movement of water, for example a *storm surge*, it can also be a war metaphor i.e. a *troop surge,* making it particularly potent.

Surge was primarily used for asylum seekers (64%), with a further 7% referencing specifically non-white immigration. Another 26% collocated with non-specified (*im)migration* but it was used only 6 times for specifically white migration (see Table 7.6).

11. Of a total of 759 instances of *influx* in all three periods, just 12 instances referred specifically to British immigration.
12. 89 of these in *The Australian.*

Table 7.6 Numbers and collocations of *surge* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

SURGE — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018			
Asylum seeker — 131 (64%)	**Non-White — 14 (7%)**	**Non-Specified — 53 (26%)**	**White — 6 (3%)**
Boat arrivals, asylum seekers, boats, arrivals, boat people	Chinese: visas, arrivals, migration, Chinese, Muslims	Population, (im)migration, migrants	Kiwis, Irish and British temporary entrants, Italians, Australian departures

While there was extensive use of all DANGEROUS WATER metaphors within the 2012–13 period, *surge* was the second most common. Its gain in prominence is due to the strength of its entailments, which are similar to *flood* and *swamp.* Unlike those metaphors however, it has yet to be as widely identified with the right-wing political discourses called to mind by the more well-recognised metaphors, which allows it to accomplish the same discursive work while remaining unremarked upon. Consider:

> *A surge of arrivals* from Iran in the past 12 months has *swelled* the number of asylum-seekers in Indonesia (*Australian,* 2012).[clxviii]

> Many are also angry that the broader integrity of our immigration program comes *under attack* because of the messiness of the *surge in boat arrivals (SMH,*2012).[clxix]

> The government's quest to *conquer* the *surge* in asylum-seekers has moved into a new and dangerous phase (*Australian,* 2012).[clxx]

Surge is used to evoke a powerful sense of danger, both from uncontrollable water, through the use of *swell,* and as a war metaphor, with the immigration program *under*

attack and the government's need to *conquer,* again situating threat within a discourse of national security. The metaphor suggests a powerful, forward motion, greater in size and intensity than anything that came before. Whether as a WATER or WAR movement, the threat is palpable.

Other DANGEROUS WATER metaphors

Flood (186 occurrences) predominantly described asylum seekers and other non-white migration and was most common in periods of higher asylum seeker arrivals. *Stem,* meaning to stop or restrict a flow, had 119 occurrences, 87% of which were collocated with other WATER metaphors, primarily *flow*, followed by *tide.* In addition, *stem* collocated strongly with asylum seekers (89%), reflected in its concentration in 2001–02 and 2012–13 (76% of all occurrences). *Tide* (72 occurrences) was predominantly negative: 73% asylum seeker, 9% other specified non-white; New Zealanders (4%) were the only stated *white* migration. Verbs collocated with *tide* were negative, with *stem* the most common, while *rising* was the most common adjective collocate. Its highest occurrence was also in the 2012–13 period, particularly in *The Australian*.

Swamp appeared 94 times in newspapers' own framings, although it appeared many more times as direct or reported speech of Pauline Hanson.[13] It generally collocated with specifically non-white migration (85%),[14] occurring most commonly in 1996–97 and 2012–13, although its usage changed. In the 1990s, it was often used in refutation of Pauline Hanson's claim of being 'swamped by Asians' (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 10th September 1996, p. 3862 (Pauline Hanson)), although it was also used in support of her position without explicitly referencing her. In 2012–13, there was a resurgence in *The Australian*, but in contrast to Asians *swamping*

13. Not coded.
14. 46% asylum seekers, 33% Asian/Chinese, 6% other.

the country, it framed asylum seekers *swamping* asylum seeker authorities and services. Hence:

> They are *swamping the system* and not even seeking to pretend they are *genuine* refugees (*Australian,* 2012).[clxxi]

Illegitimacy is highlighted by the refutation of *genuine* refugee status, with this linked to their *swamping* of the (Australian) *system*, demonstrating how a well-recognised, stereotypical metaphor was repurposed to circumvent its explicitly racialised usage, while still maintaining its intertextual associations of threat. This was accomplished through establishing a logic of equivalence between the two groups — through the use of the same metaphor, differences between the Asians *swamping* the country and asylum seekers are "collapsed by 'texturing' relations of equivalence between them" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 88). This equivalence functioned as dog-whistle which "calls clearly to those intended, and goes unheard by others"(Poynting & Noble, 2003, p. 41), locating anti-asylum seeker sentiment within the same explicitly racial context of One Nation's denouncement of Asian immigration, which itself drew links to older, racialised discourses of non-white immigrant threat.

Wave

Wave was the third most common WATER metaphor, although its usage differed somewhat. When referring to asylum seekers (29%), it followed the general tenor observed for other metaphors discussed above. However, 48% of its usage was neutral (mostly *(im)migration*/*(im)migrant*), 15% specifically non-white groups, and 8% white immigration, although just three instances referred to British immigrants. For most non-asylum seeker immigration, *wave* was used to distinguish between groups perceived as

racially, socially or historically distinct. This is supported by the adjective collocates, with *new, first, successive, second, earlier, next* and *latest* the most frequent.

A common theme was of racism as a rite of passage for new *immigrants* (highlighting that references to *immigrants* were often a veiled reference to racial Others):

> The history of Australia reveals that the *latest wave of migrants* is always the least popular (*SMH,* 1988).[clxxii]

> The standard Australian practice is to give each *new wave of immigrants* a hard time (*SMH,* 2006).[clxxiii]

> As with other earlier *waves of immigration,* immigration from Asia has come in for its share of criticism (*Australian,*1996).[clxxiv]

> There has been strong resistance to every *wave of non-English speaking foreigners (Australian,* 2001).[clxxv]

> *We* have always assumed that the *next immigrant wave* will be the one that *wipes us out (Australian,* 2006).[clxxvi]

This situates anti-immigrant feeling within the context of a more generalised out-group antipathy, with the repeated implication, firstly that such antipathy is a normal reaction to *non-English speaking foreigners* or *immigrants,* and secondly, that this antipathy would dissipate once a *new wave* arrives. Situating racial antipathy within the context of normal responses to *new waves of immigration* is a technique to minimise racism, which is a

feature of media reports on race (van Dijk, 1987). Thus, racism is described as *criticism, resistance* or the *standard Australian practice* of *giving someone a hard time,* with immigrants simply *unpopular;* the embedded implication being that reacting to this would be overly sensitive or *un-Australian.* Even the final statement, which critiques responses to immigration, has a strong use of deixis, with the *immigrant waves* clearly distinguished from the *we* and *us* of the nation. While not necessarily structuring threat, there is nonetheless a strong framing of difference. The ongoing presence of ethno-nationalist differentiation was also observed in other metaphors structuring immigrant threats, most explicitly in war/enemy metaphors.

7.3.2 IMMIGRATION as WAR/IMMIGRANT as ENEMY

As in both earlier research periods, the IMMIGRATION as WAR/IMMIGRANT as ENEMY was the secondary conceptual metaphor to describe immigration. References encompassed 73 diverse linguistic metaphors, including *attack, incursion, overrun, war, army, battle, vanguard, outflank.* The main metaphors, *protection, invasion, fortress, armada,* all constructed threats to national security from breaches of the borders — a marked difference from pre-WW2 WAR metaphors when the threat to be defended against emanated from the potentially destructive effects of the presence of racially undesirable immigrants within an Australian society which they were unable (due to inferiority) to participate in.

This shift to borders, which corresponds with wider global securitisation shifts in immigration regimes (Bourbeau, 2011; Mitsilegas, 2015), seems to suggest that earlier concerns about the deteriorating effects of racialised immigrants on Australian national identity had subsided, with fears instead based on legitimate concerns about national security and sovereignty. But this misses the fundamental effect of borders which relate

"precisely, to the establishment of definite identities, national or otherwise" (Balibar, 2002, p. 76). The function of borders is to delineate the boundaries of belonging, with territoriality fundamental to even the earliest conceptions of settler colonial nationalism (Wolfe, 2006), while the contemporary militarization of borders, legitimated by the construction of crises around asylum seeker Others, has been linked to the growth of neoliberal economic policies which delineate increasingly graduated forms of national (non)belonging (Stratton, 2011). Moreover, there are multiple intersections between race, immigration and securitization processes (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018; Moffette & Vadasaria, 2016), with the suggestion that race underpins current securitisation measures, grounded in 'new' racist ideology of the Other as inherently incompatible and threatening (Ibrahim, 2005) and stronger forms of ethno-nationalism correlating with stronger securitization measures (Bourbeau, 2011).

The displacement of *war*, from the internal to the borders, merely shifts the focus of nationalist constructions, with the policing of borders emphasising the coterminous cultural, political and territorial boundaries that constitute the nation within (Gellner, 1983). In the process, a conditionality of belonging is introduced to those internal racial Others who are not part of the dominant national in-group. As such, the focus on borders is an expression of governmental belonging — a statement that certain groups are refusable whilst others have the power to refuse. Metaphors structuring immigrants as threatening the borders are therefore a message not only to those external to the border, but also to those within (Hage, 2000).

Protection

The primary war metaphor was *protection.* While it can be argued that *protection*, particularly *border protection*, is not metaphorical, I would suggest that as there was no

literal threat, then such debates are entirely metaphoric. Indeed, Ang has concluded that beyond legal meanings, border protection "has a powerfully emotive, cultural-psychological resonance, fundamentally informing the nation's anxious efforts to maintain absolute control over who should be allowed into its territory" (Ang, 2003, p. 63), with this resonance reflected in its uses. Almost all occurrences of *protection* were linked to asylum seekers, with the most common collocation *border protection.* Of these, just over 50% referred specifically to some aspect of *border protection (*most commonly *policies* and *regime)*, while the rest had no further object, with *border protection* standing alone. Other references included the *protection* of *our borders, Australia's borders, our coast (*see Table 7.7).

Table 7.7 Numbers and collocations of *protection* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

PROTECTION — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018			
Protect — 43	Border protection — 91	Border protection — 83	From — 201
Our borders, Australia's borders, its (Australia) borders, our coast/line	Policies, regime, measures, problems/issues, cost	No further object	Asylum seekers, refugees, boats, people smugglers, boat arrivals, boat people

Aside from once in 1989, *protection* was not found as a metaphor in any reports prior to 2001. Its exponential increase from 2001 can be attributed to John Howard's *regressive nationalism* (Pitty & Leach, 2004) — heightened in response to the arrival of the *Tampa,* the terrorist attacks on September 11th and the Children Overboard scandal — which strongly emphasised national security and *protection* in response to constructed threats from racialised (particularly Muslim) Others. *Protection* featured heavily in *The Australian*'s coverage of immigration reaching its peak in 2012–13 when 48% of all *protection* references occurred in *The Australian*.[15]

15. In total, 72% of *protection* metaphors were found in *The Australian.*

> Australia already has *enough border protection problems* without encouraging *a new wave* of people to risk their lives sailing to Australia in their own vessels (*Australian,* 2012).[clxxvii]

> A fourfold increase in *people-smuggler networks* in Sri Lanka is *driving the surge of boats* that *threatens* to *overwhelm Australia's border protection regime (Australian,* 2012).[clxxviii]

> *Hard won battle* on *border protection* is already being *sabotaged (Australian,* 2012).[clxxix]

Combined with both WATER and other WAR metaphors, there is an explicit structuring of threat. Border *protection* is framed as a *problem* or a *battle,* with the *surge* that *threatens to overwhelm.* Yet in all of the references to *protection* coded,[16] the actual borders were not threatened although both PM John Howard and Immigration Minister Philip Ruddock suggested, without any evidence, that asylum seekers boats could contain terrorists.[clxxx]. Leaving aside the highly political misrepresentation in framing unarmed people seeking asylum as threatening a powerful nation, there is the issue of the borders themselves. With the excision of initially some islands, and eventually the entire continent from Australia's migration zone, what started as a tenuous border, "walls in the water, lines in the sea" (Perera, 2007, p. 203), was displaced entirely. Paradoxically, this displacement resulted in borders "proliferating precisely through their contingent nature and the shift in resources and enforcement practices to offshore and interior locales" (Johnson et al., 2011, p. 65). Within Australia, this shifting and fluid border zone,

16. References to proper nouns i.e. border protection forces/ legislation were not coded.

resulting in ever increasing borders, alongside ongoing settler-colonial anxieties about legitimacy (Perera, 2007), made the border a racialised site of unease (Fozdar, 2017).

Invasion

The secondary war metaphor was *invasion,* with 88% of references to asylum seekers, Asians, or other non-white migration, while 5% were non-specified; just 7% referred specifically to white migration, mostly from NZ. Where a direct object was stated, this was Australia, or some part of it i.e. *our* shores. However, perhaps due to the recognised negative stereotypical entailments of the *Asian invasion* trope, references were often mitigated by adjectives: peacetime/mini/soft/silent/peaceful/passive.

> One year ago, Australia's northern coast was the object of a *mini-invasion* by Vietnamese refugees in fishing boats which touched off a nation-wide controversy (*SMH,* 1978).[clxxxi]

> Refugees have a claim to immediate succour but no right to permanent citizenship. Also, *peaceful invasion* is still *invasion (Australian,*2001).[clxxxii]

> Indeed, our isolation should be our greatest strength and a natural barrier to *passive invasion by illegal immigrants (Australian,* 2013).[clxxxiii]

> Ironically, the *silent invasion* was encouraged by the Federal Government, which *opened Australia's doors* to foreign students in 1985 (*WA,* 1988).[clxxxiv]

Such strategies "qualify and modify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of racist, anti-Semitic, nationalist or ethnicist

utterances" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 45). In this case, the effect of these adjective modifiers is to reaffirm that something that may not appear to be an invasion due to its lack of general invasion characteristics i.e. force or violence, was an invasion nonetheless, albeit a *peaceful, silent* or *passive* one. This allowed users to invoke the metaphoric entailments of the invasion, while avoiding the appearance of overt racism in their rhetoric.

That there was a need for mitigation of the *invasion* metaphor suggests that the links to earlier *invasion* discourses were clearly understood. Fears about Asians invading from the north have a particular affective potency within the Australian national imaginary (Walker, 1999), and were easily reactivated in the face of asylum seeker arrivals alongside higher numbers of Asian immigrants (Devetak, 2004; Walker, 2003). The use of the same metaphor again triggers explicit surface linkages alongside implicit thematic chains (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), with these functioning to create a logic of equivalence between invading Asian hordes and asylum seekers or other immigrants (Fairclough, 2003). Much like many of the DANGEROUS WATER metaphors, *invasion* metaphors drew explicit links to earlier discourses around racialised threat highlighted in chapters 5 and 6, reiterating modes of classification which constructed the national in-group as white-Anglo, and under threat. As such, their usage subtly yet persistently inculcated dispositions towards national belonging structured around a white core.

Other WAR metaphors

Most common in the 2001–02 period, *fortress* framed a narrative of Australia under attack from asylum seekers. Tying in with Howard's defensive strategy and discourses of *protection*, *fortress* expressed the resurgent nationalistic narrative that dominated during this period. *Armada* and *flotilla*, used to describe asylum seeker arrivals, peaked in the

1977–78 sample period, although they resurfaced in other periods of asylum seeker arrivals. Describing fishing boats filled with asylum seekers as an *armada* is a deliberately emotive framing, again calculated to invoke a threat to national security.

The DANGEROUS WATER and WAR metaphors described above were predominantly used to frame asylum seekers as threatening, although they were also applied to other (non-white) immigrant groups. While this ongoing application of threat metaphors to immigrants within Australian society will be returned to, the over-emphasis on asylum seekers needs explanation. In addition to the metaphors already outlined, a number of metaphors were used solely to structure asylum seeker deviance, and it is to these that the chapter turns next.

7.4 Asylum seekers

In addition to DANGEROUS WATER and WAR METAPHORS, asylum seekers were constructed as *queue-jumpers* and *customers*, which delegitimised and criminalised them, marking them as Other and deviant. We can understand these metaphors as functioning within a topos of deviance; whether through their illegitimacy or criminality, asylum-seekers are constructed as deviant when compared to the national in-group. Beyond this main topos, there is also the *argumentum ad hominem* fallacy which can be detected within such metaphor usage. This fallacy has been described as "a verbal attack on the antagonist's personality and character (of her or his credibility, integrity, honesty, expertise, competence and so on) instead of argumentatively trying to refute the antagonist's arguments" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 72). Naming asylum seekers *queue-jumpers* or *customers of an illegal trade* is an attack on their honesty and integrity, flagging them as illegitimate and illegal. Even if their refugee status is later approved, they have already been constructed as criminal and dishonest, and therefore less deserving

than other refugees. This structuring of illegitimacy and criminality allowed for racialised concerns to be articulated through a language of civic nationalism (Fozdar & Low, 2015).

7.4.1 QUEUES AND QUEUE-JUMPING

Perhaps the most well-known metaphor to refer to asylum seekers is *queue-jumper,* and the related metaphor of the *queue,* both of which are instances of the IMMIGRATION as QUEUE conceptual metaphor. The queue has particular significance in Australia, representing impartiality and fairness (Gelber, 2003), in particular the 'fair go' (Martin, 2015). Within the Australian refugee processing system, 'deserving' refugees are expected to wait patiently in camps— often for years — to be chosen, rather than actively attempt to secure asylum for themselves (Green, 2003; Martin, 2020). Queue-jumpers were thus presented as a threat to Australian ideas of fairness (Every & Augoustinos, 2008a) and framed as being incompatible with Australian values (Clyne, 2005). The *queue-jumper* was depicted as deviant (Pickering, 2001) and linked with terrorism (Poynting, 2002), with their illegality a justification for the government's hard-line response (Devetak, 2004), and the *queue-jumper* the focus of outrage (Poynting, 2002). While it has been noted that the term is inappropriate when referring to asylum seekers as no queue exists (Clyne, 2005; Gelber, 2003), with Gelber calling the queue analogy 'illegitimate' (2003, p.29), its usage has persisted. Used predominantly to refer to asylum seekers, its usage evolved over time (see Figure 7.3).

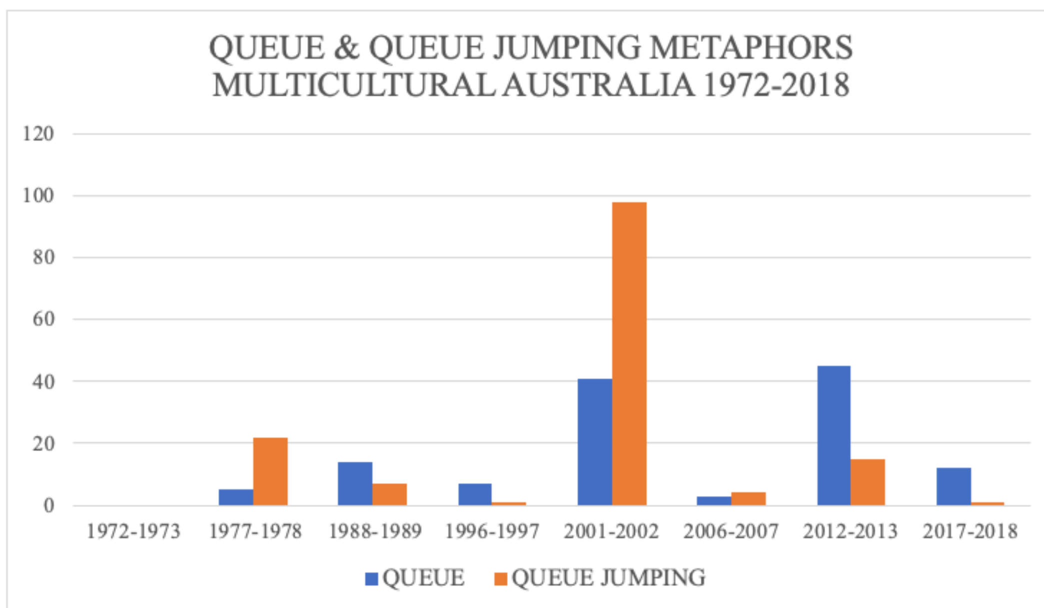

Figure 7.3 Number of *queue* and *queue jumping* metaphors by sample period in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

The metaphor originated in 1977 with the first arrivals of asylum seeker boats and its success can be attributed to the way it gave expression to a differential structuring of asylum seekers, with some constructed negatively for not following government rules, while others were constructed positively in comparison. This simultaneous construction of a favourable counterpoint gave legitimacy to governmental concerns about loss of control while deflecting potential criticism about motives, as the opprobrium directed towards queue-jumpers was articulated in the name of the fictional 'good' refugees from whom they were 'stealing'. Incorporation of pre-existing discourses of Asian invasion of Australia's north coast helped focus censure on boat arrivals, re-articulating and reorienting Australia's invasion complex (Burke, 2008; Papastergiadis, 2004) within a contemporary discursive framework. In addition, the alignment of this nascent good/bad dichotomy with the offence towards 'quintessential' Australian values embedded within the concept of queue-jumping reinforced asylum seekers' illegitimacy, justifying their vilification and legitimising punitive responses, while also functioning discursively to displace settler colonial illegitimacy.

Queue-jumping

The first mention of queue-jumping occurred in *The Australian* following a statement by Gough Whitlam,[17] reported under the subheading *Jumping the queue,* that stated:

> Any *genuine* refugees should be accepted, but the Government has a responsibility to ensure that they are *genuine* refugees. It should also see that they *don't get ahead in the queue* over people who have been sponsored and who are already coming here (*Australian,* 1977).[clxxxv]

Prior to this there had been one mention of a refugee queue in one of the newspapers sampled, but no mention of the discourse of illegitimacy and the contrast with *genuine refugees* that characterised the queue-jumping metaphor. A few days later the following appeared in the SMH:

> The problem of these and other "*boat people*" arriving *uninvited* on *our shores* is one we could do without. They are *jumping the queue* of potential migrants who have to *wait their turn* and pass the prescribed tests *(SMH,* 1977).[clxxxvi]

Within this extract are two major tropes of the *queue-jumping* metaphor: *uninvited*, not *waiting their turn.* While asylum seekers arriving by boat had already been problematised in earlier articles, particularly with DANGEROUS WATER and WAR metaphors, it was the *queue-jumper* metaphor that coalesced diverse framings of illegitimacy into a clearly definable discourse. The metaphor did not achieve wide-spread usage however until March 1978, when Minister for Immigration Michael MacKellar referred to Vietnamese

17. Former PM and then Leader of the Opposition; not coded as direct speech.

asylum seekers as *queue-jumpers,*[clxxxvii] after which they were widely referred to as such in the press.

This pattern was repeated in the 2001–01 sample period when there were multiple statements by Minster for Immigration Philip Ruddock referring to asylum seekers as *queue-jumpers,*[18] with a corresponding increase in the usage of the term within press reports. While prior to 2001 there were several references to visa overstayers who were named *queue-jumpers*, from 2001, the term was used exclusively for asylum seekers. A large number of reports used the term in support of the government's policies, framing the arguments in terms of illegality and illegitimacy, mirroring the government's rhetoric:

> THE Tampa and mandatory detention sagas have a common thread of *illegal immigrants* using *intimidation* to try to *jump the queue* — tactics any government would be right to resist (*Australian,* 2002).[clxxxviii]

> It would not be too hard to find a body of opinion that would call for them to be sent back home — immediately and without compassion — for two main reasons: *to protect Australia's borders* from possible *security threats* and to ensure that *illegal queue-jumpers* are not allowed to displace asylum-seekers just as worthy who are *waiting, with more patience,* for Australian officials to process their applications (*Australian,* 2001).[clxxxix]

Queue-jumping is conceptualized in terms of the *illegality* and deviance of asylum seekers, who are *intimidating* Australia. Again, this is contrasted with the *worthy* asylum seekers who *patiently wait*, with the queue distinguishing deserving from undeserving.

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18. Not coded as direct or reported speech.

The call to *protect Australia's borders* highlighted the nationalist discourses of securitisation that were engendered and sanctioned by the government's framing of asylum seekers, with the government *right to resist.* Such illegality was also conflated with illegitimacy:

> The politically correct decry the use of the term *queue-jumpers,* but that is precisely what *illegal entrants* who have no *legitimate* claim to refugee status are (*WA,* 2001).[cxc]

> The problem is not that *genuine refugees* are arriving here. One part of the problem is that many arrivals are not refugees but *queue-jumping would-be immigrants (WA,* 2001).[cxci]

> Ignore the fact that these are *queue jumpers* who *steal places* from *poorer refugees* and other immigrants in the pipeline (*Australian,* 2001).[cxcii]

Queue-jumpers were condemned for having *no legitimate claim* and not being *genuine refugees* just *would-be immigrants,* with illegitimacy often conflated with their having paid to come to Australia, thus *stealing*[19] from 'real' refugees; rhetoric that was underpinned by the linking of onshore and offshore programs.[20] This persistent negative representation of the asylum-seeker 'out-group' was used to legitimate a militarized response that couched anti-asylum seeker measures in terms of border security, evoking a populist nationalist narrative to great political reward, with such characterisations "effective both in legitimizing the policies of deterrence, detention, and offshore

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19. Used repeatedly by Immigration Minister Ruddock.
20. Prior to 1996, the two programs had been independent, however the linking of them meant that every onshore application, that is every asylum seeker who arrived by boat resulted in one less place for offshore applicants.

processing, and in gaining public support for additional punitive policies" (McKay et al., 2017, p.175). As such, it was key to the legitimation of the government's anti-asylum seeker policies (van Dijk, 1998).

> Australians rightly are offended by the notion of *queue-jumping*, by the suggestion that people aren't getting an *equal and fair go (Australian,* 2002).[cxciii]

The queue-jumping metaphor aligns the good/bad dichotomy that characterises discourses around asylum seekers (McKay et al., 2017; Peterie, 2017) with an affront to Australian values of fairness. In addition to explicit framings of illegality and illegitimacy, this provided stronger justification for border protection, with the threat to national security and sovereignty stemming not just from their numbers, but from the threat to Australian cultural values, which were transgressed by their arrival.

Many reports, however, were critical of the use of *queue-jumping* to describe asylum-seekers, most often framed around the assertion that they were not *queue-jumpers*, as there was no queue:

> A *queue* is an orderly line with a predictable outcome. In the real world there are no *refugee ` queue jumpers'* because there are, quite simply, *no refugee queues (SMH, 2001).*[cxciv]

The term 'duelling discourses' has been used to describe the manner in which racist and anti-racist discourses interact with each other (Fozdar, 2008). One of the ways duelling discourses function is through the provision of accurate information (Fozdar, 2008; Fozdar & Pedersen, 2013) which was often observed in articles contradicting the notion

of the *queue* — a strategy that failed to account for the metaphorical nature of *queue-jumping*. The potency of the metaphor did not stem from its factual base but from the transference of entailments; the *queue-jumping* metaphor was a framing of illegitimacy not a statement of fact. The 2012–13 period saw a decrease in the use of *queue-jumping*, but without a corresponding decrease in the usage of *queue.*

Queue

Usage of *queue* was reflective of the wider dichotomy around *queue-jumping,* although *queue* was more frequently used in reports supportive of the government. Significantly, *queue* did not experience the same downward trajectory as *queue-jumping*, escaping the negative association often attached to its counterpart. Instead, 2012–13 had the highest use of *queue*, which was used to characterise asylum-seeker migration along the same good/bad binary, becoming a socially acceptable way to promote the value of deserving refugees who waited, while not overtly highlighting the undeserving refugees who '*jumped'* the *queue*:

> Their recommendations are intended to ensure there is no advantage to refugees *arriving illegally by boat*; to increase the incentive for asylum seekers to *wait their turn* in *the queue of refugees*, and also the disincentives for *pushing in (SMH,* 2012).[cxcv]

> The truth is that *irregular boat arrivals push further back in the queue* other refugees waiting on their *orderly applications* to join our *humanitarian intake*. Yes, Julian, there *is a queue*, and denying its existence is the biggest myth of all (*Australian,* 2012).[cxcvi]

> Poor refugees sitting in camps around the world can't afford to *gamble their lives*, so they have to *join the queue* — if they can find it (*WA,* 2012).[cxcvii]

While none of the extracts explicitly states that asylum seekers are queue-jumpers*,* they are rich in implicit queue-jumping conceptualisations. Hence *illegal* refugees don't *wait their turn,* they *push in.* While good refugees use *queues,* have *orderly applications* as they *sit in camps,* these are *pushed back in the queue* by *irregular boat arrivals,* deviant enough to *gamble their lives.* Included are all of the key tropes of *queue-jumping:* illegality, illegitimacy, deviance and disrespect for 'fairness'. Embedded within *queue* is the spectre of the *queue-jumper,* the polar opposite of the *queue* user. Thus, while there was a reduction in explicit usage of *queue-jumping*, this did not diminish the IMMIGRATION as QUEUE conceptual metaphor.

7.4.2 SEEKING ASYLUM as BUSINESS TRANSACTION

There was also a proliferation of metaphors that framed asylum seeking as a form of trade, which can be grouped together within a conceptual metaphor SEEKING ASYLUM as BUSINESS TRANSACTION. In tandem with metaphors like *queue-jumpers* was a corresponding focus on asylum seekers buying their way to Australia. Indeed, it was the act of actively attempting to reach Australia, through paying for transportation, as opposed to passively waiting for an *invitation*, that qualified them as *queue-jumpers.*

Within BUSINESS TRANSACTION metaphors, the asylum seeker is illegitimate and criminal. Under the Labor Government (2007–2013), people smuggling became a focal point (McKay et al., 2017), allowing a shift in focus from border control practices and asylum seekers, towards an easily identifiable Other (Little and Vaughan-Williams, 2017). Yet far from reducing anti-asylum seeker antipathy, strong anti-people smuggler

sentiment correlated with higher negative sentiment towards asylum seekers in general (Suhnan, Pedersen, & Hartley, 2012). Occurring alongside a substantial increase in use of *border protection,* within discourses of national security and sovereignty, highly punitive measures were legitimated.

Encompassing 21 expressions, including *turnover, warehouse, unload, freight* and *transport*, the most common linguistic metaphors were *trade, cargo and customer (*see Figure 7.4). These all peaked in the latter two periods of higher asylum seeker arrivals.

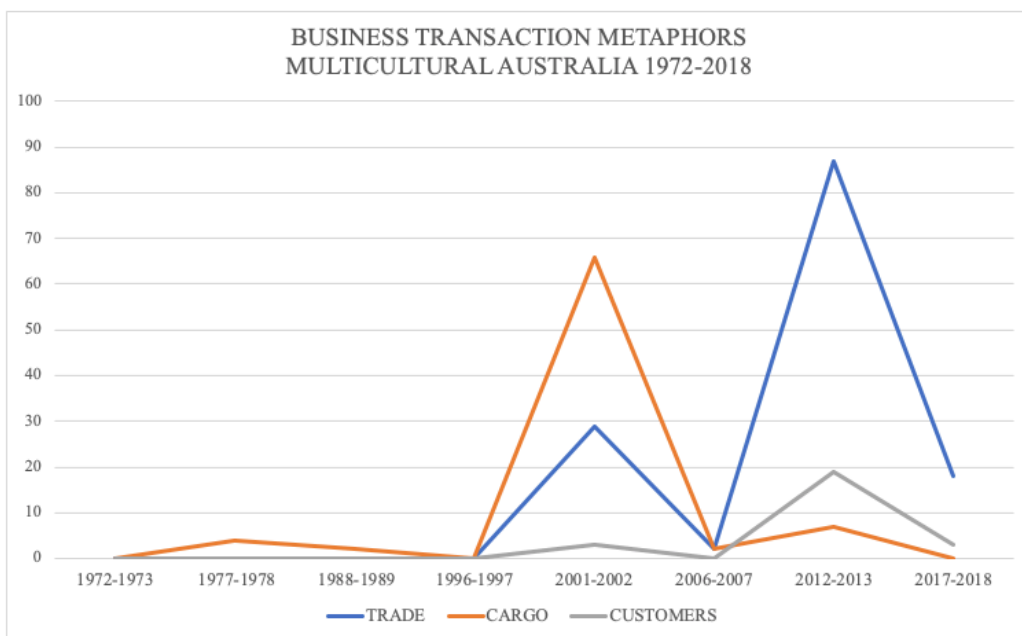

Figure 7.4 Number of *trade, cargo* and *customer* metaphors by sample period in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

Trade

The primary metaphor, *trade,* reduces asylum seeking to an illegal business enterprise.[21] The right to claim asylum and legitimate claims to refugee status are obscured; notions of fairness and equity for asylum seekers are superseded by the obligation of government

21. Over 80% of all references to *trade* appeared in *The Australian*, 55% within the 2012-13 sample period.

to regulate business and control crime. Discourse is centred on criminal justice as opposed to social justice and human rights, with the suppression of asylum seeker rights justified in the name of halting the *illegal trade*:

> As the *trade* in *human cargo* becomes more reckless, at least four other boats have broken down at sea due to engine failure or have hit reefs in the past two weeks (*Australian,* 2001).[cxcviii]

> SRI Lankan *people-smugglers* are reportedly offering asylum-seekers cut-price trips to Australia for as little as $500 in a bid to keep the *illegal trade alive* and *swamp* the immigration system (*Australian,* 2012).[cxcix]

Trade engendered a shift in focus from asylum seekers to an identifiably 'bad' third party, 'people smugglers', against whom restrictive measures could be targeted. This was often framed in compassionate terms, around the need to *protect* asylum seekers and save lives, although this was more about preserving Australia's self-image as 'decent' while retaining control (Peterie, 2017). Moreover, in most uses of *trade*, there was an elision of asylum seekers with people smugglers, making protests about the *illegal trade* an indirect means of protesting the arrival of asylum seekers.

Cargo

The secondary metaphor was *cargo.* Appearing most frequently in the 2001–02 sample period, its usage increased exponentially with the arrival of the *Tampa*, with the asylum seekers on board repeatedly described as *cargo*, frequently prefaced with adjectives such as *human, unwanted* or *wretched* and collocated with: *illegal entrants, boat people, illegal*

immigrants, refugees or the more emotive *human misery* or *human flotsam*. By referring to asylum seekers as *cargo*, all humanity is stripped from them, reducing them to objects.

> Australian troops on board the Tampa have been instructed to avoid verbal contact with its *human cargo (SMH,* 2001).[cc]

> This *armada* included the Adelong, which contained *the biggest cargo of illegal entrants* to successfully make the journey (*Australia,* 2001).[cci]

The first extract describes asylum seekers on the *Tampa* as *its human cargo,* aggregating them into a singular, inanimate mass. The second extract, while enumerating the asylum seekers, nonetheless reframes them as *illegal entrants* thereby justifying their exclusion, while pairing their illegality with the war metaphor *armada* to incorporate their illegitimacy within a discourse of threat.

Customers

The term *customer* reached a peak in the 2012–13 period, alongside the increase in references to *trade.* Working in tandem, it further delegitimised asylum seekers and diminished their rights:

> Faced with this new challenge, people-smugglers are dramatically changing their *pitch* to *customers (Australian,* 2013).[ccii]

Asylum seekers are framed as *customers,* susceptible to a persuasive sales *pitch.* Linking to other discourses of illegitimacy, in particular those of the *queue-jumper,* the *customer* ceases to be a person fleeing persecution, and instead becomes a consumer of an illegal

trade; both an active participant in performing the transaction and the object of the transaction. Significantly, metaphor usage was not confined to the press studied, as an examination of other data sources confirmed.

7.4.3 OTHER DATA SOURCES

Many of the metaphors found in press reports during the 2001–2002 period also appeared in parliamentary debates, particularly between August and October 2001. These peaked in September, which coincided with the *Tampa*, and the passing of Border Protection legislation. Terms like *flow, influx* and *queue-jumper* appeared regularly, alongside multiple references to *protection* and *defence*. At the second reading of the Migration Legislation Amendment Bill (No.5) on September 20th one MP stated "The recent *influx of illegal immigrants penetrating* Australia's border threatens to undermine the integrity of Australia's immigration program (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 20th September 2001, p. 31113 (Chris Pyne))", while another said: "The smuggling operations coach their *illegal, queue-jumping cargo* on our processes and procedures" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 20th September 2001, p. 31119 (Geoff Prosser)). Metaphoric language was also prolific the previous day when other Migration Amendment Bills were debated (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 19th September 2001). Likewise, in the Senate, there was a proliferation of metaphoric language in the June to September period, which also peaked when the legislative changes were debated. Senators referred repeatedly to an *influx* of *illegals, illegal criminals, illegal arrivals, unauthorised arrivals,* alongside references to *staunching, stemming, controlling, minimising, stopping* or *reducing* the *flow* of *refugees, illegal migrants, so-called boat people, unauthorised immigrants, illegal immigrants* and *illegal boat arrivals* (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, Senate, 24th September 2001; 25th September).

PM John Howard used similar metaphors in interviews, stating "we are willing to take all appropriate legal steps, always behaving humanely, to *stem the flow of illegal asylum seekers*" (Howard, 2001, p. 4), while a media release from Immigration Minister Ruddock highlighted "the unexpected *surge of unauthorised boat arrivals*" when introducing the Coalition's immigration policy, with the same phrase included in the policy itself (Ruddock, 2001). Similar metaphors were also found in letters to the editor, peaking in September, with multiple mentions of *influxes* and *queue-jumpers,* alongside many of the other metaphors noted. This was at times explicitly linked to the background of asylum seekers:

> Australian feminists who support the *influx* of Afghan and Iraqi Muslims must be in an awful quandary. How will they reconcile their squeaky-clean non-racist image with the fact that most Muslims are extreme misogynists, treating their women as chattels and considering them as being of less value than their favourite camel?"[cciii]

That such sentiments were expressed prior to the attacks on 9/11 illustrates the strength of anti-Muslim feeling that the asylum-seeker debate was already infused with.

During the 2012–2013 period, the language observed was less concentrated in a particular period, appearing fairly constantly throughout, although at a lower rate than in September 2001. One notable difference was the substantial increase in the use of *surge* to describe asylum seekers, mirroring the press studied. In the House of Representatives there were multiple variations on "a *surge in boats full of irregular arrivals*" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates,* House of Representatives, 31st October 2012, p. 12835 (Michael Danby)), with a similar increase in the Senate. *Surge* also appeared in legislation with reference to "the recent *surge* in the number of irregular and dangerous maritime voyages

to Australia."[22] While *queue-jumping* metaphors decreased, they were still present with comment on: "the almost unregulated *flow of boats* coming into Australia from Indonesia containing people who are, quite frankly, *jumping the immigration queue* to get into Australia" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, Senate, 28th February 2012, p. 1090/1 (Sen Macdonald)).

Although negative immigration metaphors were not found in sampled speeches and press releases from PM Julia Gillard, they were amply represented in interviews given by the Leader of the Opposition, later PM, Tony Abbott with three mentions of the need to "*stop the flow* of (illegal) boats" in a single interview (Abbott, 2013, pp. 3–4). Metaphors also appeared frequently in interviews and press releases by Shadow Immigration Minister Scott Morrison with multiple references to a "*surge* in boat arrivals" and the subsequent need to "*protect* our borders" (e.g. Morrison, 21st February 2012; 1st November 2012). Letters to the editor also showed a wide range of DANGEROUS WATER metaphors, with references to a *surge, flood, influx, floodgates and flow.* There were also WAR and nation metaphors, alongside mentions of *queue-jumping.* These metaphors were explicitly linked to the presumed religion of asylum-seekers; one writer surmised "the *influx* is a determined Muslim immigration. As Europe is experiencing sociological problems with increasing Muslim populations, we too are heading that way[cciv]." Another, complaining about the "*surge* in asylum-seekers," concluded "Islam does not integrate with our Western culture, so why should we allow such an *alien culture* a foothold in *our* country?"[ccv].

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22. Instrument of Designation of the Republic of Nauru as a Regional Processing Country, under heading 'Discouragement of irregular and dangerous maritime voyages' - (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, Senate, 12th September 2012, p. 6697 (Senator Whish-Wilson)).

While such letters were spread across both *The SMH* and *The Australian*[23] during the 2001–2002 period, in 2012–2013, the majority of metaphor-containing letters found were in *The Australian,* reflecting the extensive coverage asylum seeker immigration received in this period. However, it is worth noting that there was also evidence of letters criticising the metaphoric discourses around asylum seekers, with one writer stating, "Tony Abbott has declared refugees a 'national emergency'. Well, I can't see us *under attack* or being *swamped* by the *enemy* landing on our beaches"[ccvi] while another stated "You refer to asylum seekers as *queue jumpers;* there is no *queue*."[ccvii] Metaphors were also sometimes used to frame criticism in parliament, with MP Carmen Lawrence addressing Immigration Minister Ruddock: "Why do you refer to people as things? `*Queue jumpers',* `transitory persons'—this language is poisonous" (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates,* House of Representatives, 14th March 2002, p.1346 (Carmen Lawrence)). However, this was occasional across all genres sampled, with pro-asylum seeker positions generally articulated without the use of threat or deviance metaphors. A further point of interest, which the chapter turns to next, is the manner in which metaphors were explicitly linked to Islam within letters, despite politicians often not explicitly doing so.

7.4.4 The Racialisation of Asylum-Seekers

It has been noted that boat arrivals have been conflated with older fears of Asian invasion of Australia's northern coast (Martin, 2015; Pugh, 2004). This is evident in the resurgence of DANGEROUS WATER and WAR metaphors not commonplace in the previous three decades. Yet the exponential increase in metaphors around the two higher points of 'third wave' asylum seeker arrivals requires more unpacking. There are remarkable parallels between the *Tampa* and the *Afghan*,[24] over a century earlier. In both cases, a ship full of

23. *Factiva* does not contain letters to *The West Australian.*
24. See Chapter 5.5.

immigrants was the focus of a massive public outcry, with passengers refused permission to land due to their undesirability, and new legislation rushed through retrospectively legalising the actions that were taken to exclude them. In both cases, fears were exacerbated by rumours that many more would follow and the governments' actions received widespread public support. All of which has led Ann Curthoys to conclude that there is a "common thread of exclusionism in Australian responses to immigration. In racialised discourse, the objects of racial fear and hostility might change, but the strength of feeling seems to continue very much the same" (Curthoys, 2003, p. 31).

This research demonstrates that asylum seekers that arrive by boat have consistently been the object of racialised discourse. In the early years of Vietnamese boat arrivals, such discourses were easily mapped onto the Asian invasion stereotype, with earlier tropes reactivated. But during the third wave of mostly Muslim asylum seekers, fears of invasion became intertwined with anti-Muslim sentiment that had become prominent in the late 1990s. Dunn et al. demonstrate how discourses around Muslims highlight their Otherness and inferiority, based on culture and religion, with this process sharing several key features of racialisation: a reliance on generalisations and stereotypes of cultural inferiority, heavily grounded in observable elements of culture and physical appearance, and importantly this process fortifies the cultural privilege of the dominant group. They conclude "Muslim identities in Australia are corralled by this racialisation: including discourses of Otherness (threat and inferiority) and fantasies that the Other (in this case Australian Muslims) are absent" (Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007, p. 569).

In addition to racialis(ed/ing) framings of threat, asylum seekers were also constructed as deviant, with many metaphors highlighting the purported illegitimacy and criminality of asylum seeking itself, suggesting a specific form of racism. Jayasuriya calls this xeno-

racism: “a form of *state racism*[25] where the state has intervened with its full force calling on all its structure, institutions, and bureaucracy to combat the threat to the security of the state” (Jayasuriya, 2002, p. 43). This is manifest in the restrictive legislative changes that were sanctioned by such *state racism.* Framing asylum seekers in terms that explicitly focused on actions constructed as threatening the security of the state i.e. trying to enter ‘illegally,’ then legitimated the state’s response, obscuring the inherent racism.

The focus on borders functions to protect the privileges of whiteness in a way no longer practically possible with other forms of racism, with Stratton concluding:

> In practical and local terms, the Australian anxiety about protecting the border of Australia is actually an anxiety about preserving the claim to the legitimacy of the border as an onto-social break, a binarising site which, in Australia, in spite of the officially non-racially discriminatory immigration policy, continues to produce ‘coloured’ people outside trying to get in and the predominantly ‘white’ people inside who still make up what, in its imaginary, is the white Australian nation. (Stratton, 2004, p. 237).

This function of the border demarcating white Australia from its racialised Others can account for the resurgence in negative metaphors, which functioned to racialise asylum seekers as the ‘coloured’ Others threatening the ongoing imagined whiteness of the nation, which was already endangered by the changes in demographics being wrought by immigration and multiculturalism. This focus allowed for the perpetuation of discourses about undesirable, racialised immigrant Others, alongside the maintenance of a national self-image as multicultural, tolerant and diverse.

25. Emphasis in original.

The identification of asylum seekers as the totemic immigrant Other within the Multicultural period can be dated to John Howard's anti-asylum seeker policies that culminated in the Pacific Solution and Operation Relex.[26] It is in this period that asylum seekers became fully racialised as the object of a vehement discourse around immigration, sovereignty and security. The timing of this was no accident — indeed, much as the construction of a *Chinese Invasion* in the 1850s functioned to displace settler colonial anxiety around legitimacy, through the displacement of the invasion onto the Chinese, with its embedded reiteration of settler indigeneity, I would argue that the construction of asylum seekers in this period functioned in much the same way.

The period leading up to the *Tampa* had been marked by an increasing focus on Aboriginal land rights, culminating in several 'Bridge Walks for Reconciliation' in State capitals throughout 2000 (Elder, Ellis, & Pratt, 2004). Yet after the onset of Howard's anti-asylum seeker rhetoric, the push for reconciliation lost prominence, leading to "the 'ditching' of indigenous issues" (Elder et al., 2004, p. 217). Elder et al, attribute this shift to understandings of the nation being structured according to 'the White national will', with a limitation to only one non-white issue within the 'White nation-space' at any given time (Elder et al., 2004, p. 217). Without disputing this, I suggest that the shift from Indigenous rights to asylum seekers was a direct result of the manner in which the discourses around asylum-seekers were constructed. It is no coincidence that the most prominent asylum-seeker metaphors centred on their *illegitimacy,* with the threat conceived of in terms of national *sovereignty.* Through the construction of an *illegitimate* immigrant Other that breached *national sovereignty,* the legitimacy of settler colonial possession was restated. Settler colonial anxieties occasioned by claims for Aboriginal land rights and sovereignty,

26. See Ch 2.3.4.

something that PM John Howard was deeply opposed to (Burke, 2008), were mitigated by a discourse that restated white sovereignty.

Unlike pushes for Indigenous land rights and sovereignty, the asylum seeker discourse restated the nation as a white possession (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). The particular potency of this was that it allowed even opponents of the government's policies to articulate their objections from a position of sovereignty. In every statement promoting the acceptance of asylum seekers, there is still an expression of 'governmental belonging' (Hage, 2000). In saying, 'we believe they have the right to come to our country,' there is a reiteration of the nation as a white possession. Thus, both pro- and anti- government proponents were able to debate asylum seeker admission without any direct challenge to white sovereignty. Through the construction of the asylum seeker Other, anxieties as well as debate about Indigenous sovereignty and settler colonial legitimacy were neutralised, much like with the Chinese 150 years earlier.

It is worth noting the role of *The Australian* newspaper in discourses around asylum seeker immigration. The 2001–2002 showed higher levels of metaphors in both *The SMH* and *The Australian,* with *The West Australian* also slightly higher than usual. Yet during 2012–2013, *The Australian* had three times the number of metaphors of *The SMH* and over six times more than *The West Australian*.[27] This was due to the large number of articles about asylum seekers in *The Australian* during this period, with multiple articles on some days. In total, 338 metaphor-containing articles were collected in contrast to 163 from *The SMH* and only 85 from *The West Australian.* While it could be argued that this was due to *The Australian's* role as a national newspaper, with asylum seekers a national issue, the 2001–2002 period did not show such a marked difference. Instead, this research

27. *TA = 1416, SMH = 472, WA = 221.*

has observed a significant escalation in negative immigration metaphors over the last 10 years within the newspaper, alongside a strong articulation of populist nationalist rhetoric, suggesting a link between the two.

Yet while asylum seekers accounted for a large percentage of reports using metaphors, there was still substantial metaphor usage to characterise other immigrant groups. Hage has argued "the mode of categorising and dealing with national otherness in the process of defending the nation from external threats is intrinsically linked to the way national otherness is categorised and dealt with internally" (Hage, 2000, p. 107). These links are explicit in the immigrant threat metaphors outlined in the first section of the chapter, which were applied to a range of (predominantly non-white) immigration. In addition, a number of other metaphors were used to frame non-white immigrant groups, as well as to speak more generally about *immigration* or *immigrants*. It is to these categorisations of internal Otherness that the chapter turns to next.

7.5 Non-White Immigrant Groups

Immigration from non-white countries increased substantially during the Multicultural Australia period, particularly from China and India. Despite the White Australia Policy, both countries had both retained a place in the top ten countries of origin for overseas-born Australians until the 1947 census, although numbers were low.[28] Yet the post WW2 European immigration push resulted in their absence from the top 10 until the 1990s. However, numbers have risen steadily since with China and India occupying third and fourth place since the 2011 census (Simon-Davies & McGann, 2018, p. 8). This was due to substantial increases in immigrant numbers: in 2009–10, China and India were the

28. Often less than 1%.

second and third highest providers of immigrants respectively[29] (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2010, p. 5), and by 2012–13, both far outstripped the UK[30] (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2013, p. 5), with this trend continuing in 2017–18 (Department of Home Affairs, 2018, p. 6). There were also increases in immigration from other countries in Asia, Africa and the Middle-East — hence, references to *immigration* increasingly referred to non-white immigration.

7.5.1 Immigrant Deviance

DANGEROUS WATER and WAR metaphors were never applied solely to asylum-seekers, being used at least 30% of the time to frame specific non-white or generalised *immigration*. This chapter has argued that asylum seekers were racialised through the use of pre-existing threat metaphors, yet they were also constructed through specific metaphors of deviance, illegitimacy and criminality, although this was displaced to the borders, facilitating a national self-image as diverse and egalitarian while maintaining a discourse about racialised immigrant Others — the illegitimate, criminal, unscrupulous Other against whom the legitimate, egalitarian Self could be dialectically constructed.

Yet the imbrication of existing threat metaphors within this (re)worked narrative of racialised immigrant threat, allowed for older metaphors to be re-racialised, that is (re)inscribed with these newer discourses of racialised threat. This returns us to *race craft*, that is the reworking of "sedimented and familiar cultural representations of and relations of subjugation that simultaneously tap into and feed the emergence of new ones" (Stoler, 2016, p. 249). Thus, while asylum seekers were racialised through older metaphors within existing narratives of racial threat, the conflation of these metaphors with the reworked

29. After the UK and not including NZ.
30. India provided almost double the number of immigrants.

narrative of immigrant threat also allowed for other immigrants to be racialised as criminal and illegitimate, much like asylum seekers were. Yet while asylum seekers were displaced to the borders, internal Others were (dis)placed within demarcated, deviant internal spaces.

Increasing non-white immigration was accompanied by discourses conflating immigrants with criminality and poverty, all of which were perceived as attesting to a cultural pathology in immigrant groups. While many immigrant groups, particularly NESB[31] communities, suffered from greater structural economic disadvantage and its resultant effects, these issues were simplified by both the government and the media, and expressed as an ethnic or cultural problem (Jayasuriya, 2012; Turner, 2008). Places like Bankstown and Cabramatta became stigmatised due to their respective Lebanese and Vietnamese communities,[32] with the outer suburbs, where many immigrants lived, pathologised as racially threatening and deviant spaces (Turner, 2008). Framing immigrant disadvantage in terms of their inherent criminality shifts the focus from underlying structural issues onto *deviant* individuals.

7.5.2 Metaphors constructing racialised spaces

This is clearly exemplified in the use of metaphors like *ghettos* or *enclaves* to flag immigrant spaces, with the metaphors functioning to reproduce the threat and deviance of both the immigrants and the spaces in which they live. This allows for an internal-yet-external structuring of threat — immigrant spaces were delimited from the national space, thus the internal threat was externalised from an imagined diverse and harmonious

31. Non-English-Speaking Background.
[32] Both groups first arrived in the 1970s making these the most established non-white immigrant areas.

national space. While *ghetto* was more common prior to 2001, this was later surpassed by *enclave* (see Figure 7.5).

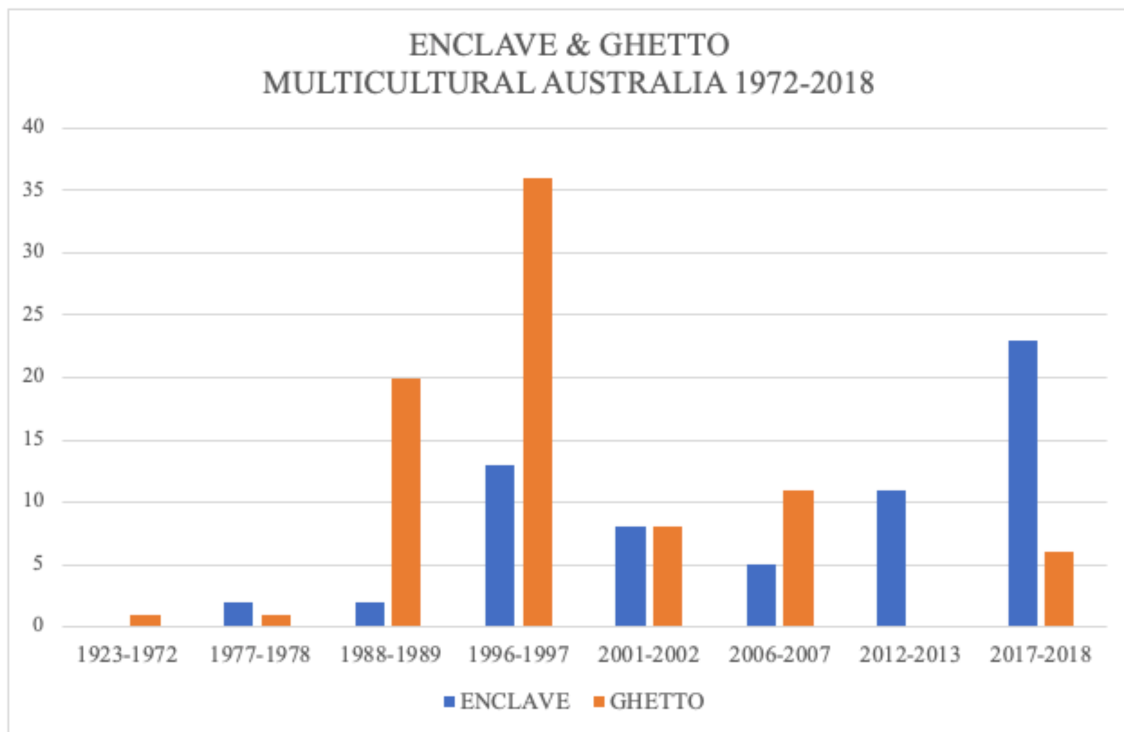

Figure 7.5 Number of *enclave* and *ghetto* metaphors by sample period in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

Ghettos

Ghetto was found once prior to 1988. However, a report by Geoffrey Blainey in 1988 entitled *Australia must break down the walls of the ghettos*[ccviii] inserted the term into public discourse about immigration in Australia. Blainey's focus on ghettos was part of a broader attack on multiculturalism as an existential threat to the nation's 'core' values (Jayasuriya, 2012). *Ghetto* refers either to a "thickly populated slum area inhabited by a minority group or groups" or "an isolated or segregated group" (OED). This was never the case in Australia, where even areas of high immigrant settlement never reached the level of ethnic singularity invoked by the term *ghetto* (Jupp, 2002). The associations of poverty and crime engendered by *ghetto* were equally overstated, with its appropriacy

also questioned in contemporaneous reports. However, the metaphor increased within the 1996–97 sample period, animated by Pauline Hanson's claims of *Asian ghettos* (Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 10th September 1996, p. 3862 (Pauline Hanson)). It was perhaps the association with the racialised debate over immigration in this period that led to its decrease in subsequent sample periods, although it never completely dissipated. Often used to frame *immigration* without specifically referring to race, it nonetheless triggered a host of racialised associations and fears:

> Opinion polls suggest that most Australians want everyone to be treated equally, while at the same time being very wary about creating *ethnic ghettos* or officially supporting languages and cultures other than those derived from the British Isles or from Australia's past (*SMH,* 1989).[ccix]

> Australians have long been uneasy about immigration leading to *ghettos cut off* from society (*SMH,* 2006).[ccx]

Non-Anglo languages and culture are a source of *unease* and *wariness*, with *cut off* implying that immigrants who do not share the dominant cultural background are likely to be in some way segregated from *Australians.* Within the context of Australian multiculturalism, ethnic generally referred not to other races, but to marginal members of the white race (Stratton, 1999). However, with metaphors of racialised spaces, *ethnic* also referred to groups that were *racially* Other*;* hence, within this context, ethnic did also refer to race.

Enclave

Enclave became the more prominent term to describe 'ethnically separate' areas. Indeed, over a third of the time it was directly collocated with *ethnic (*see Table 7.8). *Enclave* refers to places or groups that are culturally or ethnically distinct (OED), yet such places do not exist in Australia, where even areas with the highest numbers of immigrants are far too diverse to be a literal enclave. Instead, the term functions metaphorically, with areas that have higher levels of immigrants or *ethnics* imagined as *enclaves* in comparison to the imagined Australian norm (be this multicultural or white). Paradoxically, it is only the areas with very few immigrants that contain the racial or cultural homogeneity to be a literal *enclave*.

Table 7.8 Numbers and collocations of *enclave* metaphors in *The Australian, The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The West Australian* between 1972 and 2018

ENCLAVE — MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA 1972-2018			
Ethnic — 20 (35%)	**Non-White — 17 (30%)**	**Non-Specified — 14 (26%)**	**White — 6 (9%)**
	Muslim, Tribal, Vietnamese, Cultural (Muslim), Chinese, Indian, Extremist	(Im)migrants, New Arrivals, Low-income, Urban	Kiwi, Irish, British, White Christian, White Anglo

While often used in a non-specified sense to talk about *immigrant enclaves,* often a coded way to describe non-white areas, it was also used 9% of the time to describe *white* areas,[33] suggesting *enclave* is strongly linked to ideas of race. Functioning much like *ghetto, enclave* invokes a sense of racial separation, suggesting an unwillingness to assimilate (Elder, 2007a).

> The rise of *ethnic enclaves* in western Sydney and metropolitan Melbourne and the violence and destruction caused by North African street gangs further

33. The meaning here may be literally accurate as well as metaphorically referring to places imagined as white.

> highlight the dangers of allowing those to immigrate whose beliefs and values are inimical to *our way of life (Australian,* 2018).[ccxi]

> Typically, migrants enter Australia via the capital cities of Sydney and Melbourne, and cluster within *enclaves* formed by *tribal* and familial bonds (*Australian,* 2017).[ccxii]

The *enclave* is paired with *North African street gangs* who are constructed as a direct threat to *our way of life*; the implication being that certain groups are culturally (read racially) inimical to the Australian culture signified by *our way of life* — an *our* from which the immigrants are excluded. This juxtaposition therefore functions to construct a particular vision of the Australian in-group to which the *ethnic enclaves* are racially external. Furthermore, as already noted, fears around crime are a means of flagging ethno-nationalist concerns (Fozdar & Low, 2015), with the linking of *ethnic enclaves* and *African street gangs* a clear dog-whistle (Poynting & Noble, 2003). Even when used to frame non-specified *migrants,* terms like *tribal* signal racial distinction. Importantly, the use of such terms locate immigrants outside of the national imaginary, in a racially contained space, segregated from the wider national space, although threatening due to its internal position.

7.5.3 Other Prominent Metaphors

While less prevalent than in earlier periods, IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL metaphors were present in every sample period, encompassing 29 linguistic metaphors including *swarm, herd, stampede, ants* and *locusts,* with *stock, flock* and *teem* the most common. IMMIGRANT as SAVAGE metaphors were also present, particularly *hordes* and *tribes,* although less prevalent than earlier periods. Other conceptual metaphors included

IMMIGRANT as RUBBISH, IMMIGRANT as CRIMINAL and IMMIGRATION as DISEASE, all of which highlighted immigrants and immigration in terms of deviance and the threat this posed. Thus, while the most prominent metaphoric framings were of explicit threat, racialising metaphors of deviance and corporeal threat persisted.

7.6 Discussion

Returning then to the questions that opened the chapter. The embodiment of national belonging within an individual's habitus (that is the internalised dispositions individuals have towards their own place within the national imaginary) are largely determined by interactions with the national field (which is a field of struggles over national capital), making any consideration of habitus dependent on an understanding of the field through which it is inculcated. The metaphors used to structure the nation and immigrants demonstrate a differential structuring between white immigrants and other groups, with whiteness central to the symbolic creation of the nation. However, this does not occur in isolation.

There is much to suggest that, despite the prominence of multiculturalism over the past decades, with a host of policies and institutions designed to incorporate immigrant groups within the nation and increasing numbers of non-white immigrants (Jupp, 2002; Moran, 2017), the centrality of whiteness has not been displaced. This is evident in the ongoing dominance of Anglo-Australians in economic and cultural spheres (Forrest & Dunn, 2006), as well as government, the judiciary, and high-level public service positions (Castles, 1999). It is further evidenced by the centrality of the ANZAC myth to national identity (Donoghue & Tranter, 2015), the resurgence of which has resulted in considerable numbers of Australians undertaking pilgrimages to sites like Gallipoli (Scates, 2002) with ANZAC day "Australia's de facto national day, more powerfully resonant than the

official Australia Day" (Moran, 2011, p. 2157). Australia Day remains a strong source of national identification however, with the Australian flag often a signifier of exclusionary ethno-nationalism within this context (Fozdar, Spittles, & Hartley, 2015), while celebrations of symbolic anniversaries like the Bicentenary, have generally been framed in terms of British heritage (Castles, 1999).

The conservative backlash to progressive policy change led by John Howard, resulted in *history wars* focused on determining the national narrative, with Howard pushing for a celebratory emphasis on white Australian history and achievements (Clark, 2010). This was neither natural nor neutral — "Privileging a core culture is an ideological move not an inevitable one" (Stratton, 1998, p. 75). The results of this are apparent in the newly developed National Curriculum, which continues to centre white-Anglo narratives in the construction of national identity (Fozdar & Martin, 2020a, in press). This (re)turn to an Anglo-focused nationalism found further expression in the implementation of the Australian citizenship test, with its emphasis on 'Australian' values (Fozdar & Spittles, 2009). Thus, while multiculturalism was intended as "a vision of a new kind of Australian society" (Moran, 2017, p. 169), this remained centred around Anglo-Whiteness.

This naturalisation of the centrality of whiteness engenders the misrecognition of this reaffirmation of unequal power relations, with the national field still, to a large extent, unproblematically structured around whiteness. Habitus develops through interactions with fields, with the habitus, once inculcated, generally working to further recreate the conditions of the field. Thus, we can understand both habitus and field as being mutually constitutive, with multiple social structures, linguistic structures, symbols, relations and institutions producing dispositions that recognise the capital of whiteness as fundamental to national identity. This relationship between field and habitus underpins metaphoric

tropes of Otherness, with Bourdieu concluding: “The dialectic of the meaning of the language and the ‘sayings of the tribe’ is a particular and particularly significant case of the dialectic between habitus and institutions…This durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations is a practical sense which reactivates the sense objectified in institutions” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58). This recalls Charteris-Black’s emphasis on the choice of metaphor as ideological (Charteris-Black, 2004) — the sense embodied within metaphor usage is a reactivation of the sense embodied within institutions. Although metaphors may be freely chosen, the dispositions underlying each choice are directed by habitus, which is both shaped by and shaping of the institutions of the field. Thus, metaphor choice is indeed ideological although not necessarily consciously so, revealing the ideology of institutions embodied within individuals.

Yet notably the metaphors found tended to centre whiteness as opposed to Anglo-whiteness. This was a direct response to the arrival of racialised Others, through which the white national Self was again constituted in *racial* terms. Non-Anglo whites, while mostly aligned with Anglo-white Australians through their shared *cultural (*a reconfiguration of racial) attributes remained, at times, as demonstrated by *home* metaphors, “white-but-not-white-enough” — cast in a role of legitimating settler colonial anxieties by providing recognition of settler colonial authority (Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos, 2004). Yet while the lack of racialised internal Others allowed for the framing of national identity around *ethnicity,* it was through the (re)emergence of *racialised* Others that non-Anglo whites were incorporated within a dominant core centred around whiteness, highlighting the power of racialised (non-white) Others for constructing a racialised (white) national Self.

The racialised white national Self is a historical construct that nonetheless shapes who we are today. "Social agents are the product of history, of the history of the whole social field and of the accumulated experience of a path within the specific subfield" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 136). The accumulated experience of metaphoric constructions of the nation and immigrants is the (re)stating of non-white groups as external and marginal, and the naturalising of white groups as central and dominant. While the usages of the metaphors identified have adapted to the changing social contexts of multicultural Australia, the most common metaphors identified remain the same as within the White Australia period and earlier. Notably, the racialised fears they articulate of the overwhelming of white-Anglo culture by immigrant Others were intensified in the Multicultural period, although this was framed around culture not race (Stratton, 1998).

Despite being incorporated within updated (re)configurations of threat, metaphors not only continued to structure Otherness and belonging as discussed above, but their sustained use created intertextual links (Van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; Wodak, 2008) between current social conditions and earlier, historical ones; later metaphor usage is never entirely detached from its White Australia antecedents. It is this through these linkages that we can understand the role of history, in particular the white Australia history, in the production of contemporary social agents, with the habitus "embodied history, internalized as second nature and so forgotten as history… the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 56).

As noted, habitus is a set of internalised dispositions, (the internalisation of externality (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55)), inculcated by the objective conditions an individual encounters. But individuals are different, with distinct experiences and life situations, thus habitus is capable of producing a limitless variety of practices, although Bourdieu stresses that such

variety is limited in diversity (Bourdieu, 1990). When considering the various orientations towards national belonging within white Australians, that limited diversity is apparent in the range of responses to immigrants Hage describes, both racist and multiculturalist, or alternatively those who practice nationalist exclusion or inclusion (Hage, 2000), with this range reflecting the differing life conditions and experiences of individuals; yet the role of whiteness as central to national belonging remains uncontested. This is because, underlying individual experiences, is the constant, banal flagging (Billig, 1995) of whiteness as the dominant national subject position, expressed in the social structures, symbols and institutions outlined above, as well as through metaphoric structures, through which the nation and its Others are persistently, symbolically (re)created. Through constant exposure to a field shaped around (predominantly Anglo) whiteness, dispositions are inculcated which recognise the cultural capital of Anglo-whiteness as central to national belonging, with this "common-sense world…the harmonisation of the agents experiences and the constant reinforcement each of them receives from expression — individual or collective (in festivals for example), improvised or programmed (commonplaces, sayings) — of similar or identical experiences" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58).

This is of particular importance if we turn to the experiences of the non-white immigrants and Australians marginalised within the national social field. Bourdieu has stated: "symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 164). Yet it is hard to understand how marginalised groups would willingly collaborate with their own marginalisation. Yet this seemingly dissonant behaviour is structured by habitus which is:

> a realistic relationship to what's possible founded on and therefore limited by power. This disposition, always marked by its (social) conditions of acquisition

> and realization, tends to adjust to the objective chances of satisfying need or desire, inclining agents to 'cut their coats according to their cloth', and so to become the accomplices of the processes that tend to make the probable a reality (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 65).

Ien Ang has described how Chinese Australians' self-identification as Chinese in contrast to Australian leads to Chinese being "complicit with their own exclusion from the Australian national imaginary" (Ang, 2014, p. 1194), while the hyphenated Arab-Australian identification arose in part as a means to demonstrate loyalty to Australia (Aslan, 2009, p. 44). Yet if we recognise that such identifications are produced by habitus, which is itself shaped by a field which privileges Anglo-whiteness and consistently structures certain immigrants as *influxes* and *invasions,* intrinsically external to the nation-house, then we can understand these bifurcated or hyphenated identifications as immigrants 'cutting their coats according to their cloth'; an internalisation of the external reality in which they are peripheral within the national imaginary, yet through which they also contribute to the recreation of the conditions of their own marginalisation.[34]

The degree of peripherality aligns with the degree of marginality. Thus, marginal whites, believed to share the core moral culture, have come to occupy a privileged position when compared to the supposedly culturally (read racially) and visibly different (Stratton, 1999). This can account for the lower level of negative metaphoric structuring of European difference, and its dissipation when larger numbers of non-white immigrants arrived. Yet even marginal whites remain hyphenated, for example as Italian-Australians, with this preferable to Anglo-Australians as their cultural dominance is unchallenged

[34] That is not to suggest that such dispositions are concrete or static, or that they produce the same responses in every circumstance, but rather that the racialised divisions that underpin national belonging are so deeply engrained as fundamental structuring principles, that this can unconsciously structure individuals' perceptions and action in ways that do not necessarily align with their conscious intentions.

(Stratton, 1998). But this research demonstrates that although the national Self may be *ethnicised* around Anglo-Australian culture, it is *racialised* around whiteness, with the metaphorics of immigration and the nation centred primarily on understandings of race.

7.7 Conclusion

To sum up then, while the national space can no longer be explicitly claimed for whiteness, the nation remains metaphorically structured as white. The vast majority of metaphors found within this period continued to structure (non-white) immigration through a prism of threat. It is important to note however that this is not the only narrative about immigrants or the only way immigration is thought of — for many contemporary Australians, multiculturalism is a key aspect of national identity (Moran, 2017). Moreover, metaphors that structured a more positive vision were also encountered (see Appendix A.3) although these were limited. Yet despite this, the discursive construction of national in- and out-groups remained strongly framed through metaphors that signalled race. Indeed, the narrative of immigrant threat expressed through negative metaphors was a persistent, historical narrative that functioned in relation to specific ethno-nationalist understandings of what it means to be Australian. While these metaphors were disproportionately used to racialise asylum seekers, they were also consistently used to frame other forms of immigration, much like in earlier periods — in fact, the number of negative metaphors used to frame non-asylum seeker immigration was higher in the Multicultural Period than in either of the two earlier research periods.

There was though a profusion of metaphors around asylum seekers. The reason for this was the discursive work that such metaphoric framings accomplished. Not only did the displacement of threat to the 'borders' allow for the perpetuation of discourses about racialised, illegitimate, deviant Others against whom a racialised, legitimate, egalitarian

national Self could be constructed, while still maintaining a positive self-image as diverse and multicultural nation (Fozdar, 2017). It also reworked the immigrant threat narrative to displace settler colonial anxieties, delegitimising Indigenous claims to sovereignty, and restating the nation as a white possession (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Furthermore, through their application to asylum seekers, pre-existing racial(ising/ised) metaphors were (re)inscribed with criminality and illegitimacy, thus racialising other immigrant groups as criminal and illegitimate, allowing racial discourses to be expressed as civic nationalist concerns, and (re)articulating ethno-nationalist sentiments through a socially acceptable lens (Fozdar & Low, 2015).

Negative metaphors to frame 'undesirable' immigrants as Other continue to preserve whiteness as central to the national imaginary. Yet it would be facile to suggest that this has resulted in a particular or singular monolithic national identity — rather national identities "are discursively constructed according to context, that is according to the social field, the situational setting of the discursive act and the topic being discussed" (De Cillia et al., 1999, p. 154). Yet despite the potential diversity of identity, the national field (and therefore also habitus) remains centred on whiteness, thus *limiting* the extent to which the nation can be imagined differently.

Although negative metaphors to construct immigrants were less prominent in the earlier years of multiculturalism, the *resurgent* nationalism of John Howard (Pitty & Leach, 2004), was accompanied by an increase in negative metaphoric framing, suggesting that negative immigration metaphors are strongly aligned with the ethno-nationalist project. While the value of white-centred forms of nationalism cannot be explicitly claimed within the context of a multicultural nation, the banal metaphoric flagging of immigrants and the nation in ways which reflect and reproduce the historical and structural dominance of

whiteness, alongside multiple other forms of political, economic, social, and ultimately symbolic power (and therefore symbolic violence), has resulted in the ongoing symbolic (re)creation of a white Australian national imaginary, to which non-white immigrants are necessarily peripheral.

Chapter 8 Metaphor and the immigrant threat narrative

8.1 Introduction

The previous three chapters have demonstrated how metaphors have been used to construct non-white immigrant Others and the white national Self in particular ways at different historical junctures. The most remarkable aspect of these representations is the continuity in metaphoric constructions. Whether through DANGEROUS WATER, WAR or ANIMAL metaphors, groups of non-white immigrants have consistently been dialectically constructed as fundamentally exterior and Other to a national Self metaphorically constructed as a (white) nation BODY or HOUSE. While the metaphors identified have been imbricated with historically and socially specific discourses around the creation, maintenance or reorientation of conceptions of whiteness, non-whiteness and the nation, these continuities point to wider discursive linkages — a broader narrative of immigrant threat against which narratives of what it means to be Australian have been constituted.

This chapter then examines the accumulation of metaphoric framing of immigrants through the lens of narrative. To understand this process, the analysis is broken into three interrelated components. Firstly, I consider what this narrative does — that is, I examine the main themes through which immigrant threat has been constructed, and the changes in the form of threat which was configured. Secondly, I consider how it does this — that is the main constellations of metaphor use outlined in the previous chapters. This includes the processes of racialisation, when immigrant groups are metaphorically racialised as Other. However, more than simply racialising, these patterns of metaphor use can be understood as racist, and institutionally so. In addition, there were interspersed periods of

standardisation, when representation fell back on a lower number of stereotypical metaphoric representations, with these also infused with power. I look at the ways metaphors have been used in refutation and question the efficacy of this, alongside the possibility for subversive metaphor usage. Finally, the chapter turns to the way immigrant threat narratives intersect with ideas of the nation. While there has been an attempt to account for the utility of metaphoric constructions of immigrant threat in each of the periods examined, this section draws these together, and attempts to account for the ongoing salience of a narrative of immigrant threat within contemporary Australia.

8.2 What the narrative does

Just as narratives of Australian identity are productive (Elder, 2007a) so too are narratives of Australia's immigrant Others. But to understand the work these narratives do, it is necessary to examine the interactions between them. When discussing narratives of being Australian, Elder has identified two key themes:

> The first is that stories of being Australian are always made *in relation to* other ways of being that are marked as similar or different. The second is that stories of being Australian are underpinned by feelings of anxiety. In thinking about these themes, issues of race and ethnicity are key (Elder, 2007a, p. 10, emphasis in original).

Both themes resonate with the metaphors found — immigrants are the Others that *being Australian* has consistently been made *in relation to*, while stories of immigrants both provoke and help manage Australians' underpinning anxiety. For both, race and ethnicity are indeed key.

Through a topos of danger, the negative metaphors identified construct a narrative of immigrants as intrinsically threatening. Much like conceptual metaphors can be analysed

through the macro strategies they served, so too can the narratives they embody (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2002). Immigrant threat narratives were (are) constructive, creating a racialised non-white immigrant out-group, defined through threat and deviance, with the dialectical construction of a white 'national' in-group defined in terms of morality and egalitarianism. They also served to legitimate and naturalise settler colonial possession through the construction of the racial superiority upon which colonialism rested, alongside the displacement of colonial violence and illegitimacy. Hence, the narrative of immigrant threat was also a powerful expression of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1992).

Yet this narrative changed over time. Initially, Chinese immigrants were racialised as inferior, savage and animalistic, simultaneously racialising Australians as superior, civilised and humane, with distinctions increasingly centred around whiteness. This established all (white) settlers as equal, laying the groundwork for the focus on egalitarianism which was (and continues to be) key to narratives of being Australian: "What this story of Australian-ness and egalitarianism does is to emphasize the idea of being an Australian in terms of a shared (national) quality rather than highlight the differences (for example class) that run through the community" (Elder, 2007a, p. 49). The Chinese were the immigrant Other against which the white lower classes could be elevated, with the egalitarian myth both obscuring class differentials and providing a marker of difference by which the colony could distinguish itself from class-stratified Britain. Thus, narratives of the Chinese Other facilitated the narrative of the Settler Colonial Self.

During the early decades of the twentieth century, racialised distinctions between European populations intensified the valorisation of a British or Anglo-Saxon *racial* type

as epitomising the pinnacle of whiteness. While not as pathogenic as more markedly different racial types, the Italian immigrant Other nonetheless served as a marker of inferiority against which a (superior) Anglo racial identification could be constructed. In the post WW2 period, the large-scale immigration of Europeans resulted in the diminution of narratives of immigrants as threatening. While Southern Europeans were still differentially constructed, the tentative acceptance of their whiteness resulted in difference being structured around ethnicity as opposed to race. The ethnically Other immigrant was, when properly managed, a valuable resource — yet this difference enabled the construction of a *culturally* Anglo core as central to narratives of Australian identity.

The Multicultural Period saw a resurgence in the narrative of immigrant threat evidenced by increasing numbers of threat metaphors. But just as narratives of being Australian had evolved, so too had the narratives of Australia's immigrant Others. While the concept of race had become demonised, the concept of culture functioned in its place, with race a signifier rather than a determiner of culture (Stratton, 1998). But underlying these discourses were understandings of race, highlighted by the use of racialis(ed/ing) metaphors. With multiculturalism increasingly central to national identity (Moran, 2017), the immigrant threat became displaced to the borders. Yet the border itself became a binarising site (Stratton, 2004), perpetuating the imaginary of whiteness internally, with non-whiteness shut out. Narratives of immigrants as illegitimate and threatening to national security simultaneously constructed narratives of Australian-ness centred on legitimacy and national sovereignty, while the focus on deviance and criminality constructed an Australian identity premised on fairness, equality and 'Australian' values. The shift to the border allowed for racialis(ed/ing) narratives to function alongside narratives of Australian-ness as diverse, tolerant and egalitarian (Fozdar, 2017).

In the background of narratives of Otherness, more than just national Self construction, are settler colonial anxieties are about race, belonging and legitimacy (Wolfe, 2013). The recurrent invasion complex within Australia's national imaginary posits avaricious racialised Others surrounding the continent, coveting the land that Australia has claimed (Burke, 2008; Elder, 2007a; Papastergiadis, 2004). Anxiety saturated early Australia's relationship with Asia (Walker, 1999), underpinned by fears that their justifications for invasion could one day be used against them by neighbours with a superior claim by virtue of both proximity and capability, and heightened by early doubts about white suitability for life in tropical regions (Anderson, 1996; Bashford, 2000). Despite changing social, geo-political and economic circumstances, this complex persists — "Although the specific stories have changed from one period to another, and although they have focused on different groups of people, the logic has been constant" (Elder, 2007a, p. 122). This is because the invasion complex articulates the anxiety that underpins the logic of white possession (Moreton-Robinson, 2015), while its expression also helps mitigate this anxiety. The chapter turns now to the specific configurations of metaphor use identified within press reports.

8.3 How the narrative functions

To examine how the narrative functions, this section considers the various configurations of metaphor use observed. There have been two main configurations: racialisation and standardisation, with groups either explicitly constructed as Other, or with their Otherness confirmed by several standardised tropes. However, this standardisation also resulted in stereotypical metaphors being used in refutation. Alongside this was the potential for metaphoric subversion. However, prior to exploring these latter two configurations, the processes of racialisation and standardisation need further elaboration.

8.3.1 Racialisation

Racialisation has been defined as "the extension of racial meaning to a previously unclassified relationship, social practice or group" (Omi & Winant, quoted in Hollinsworth, 1998, p. 42). Miles extends this, describing racialisation as "a process of delineation of group boundaries and of allocation of persons within those boundaries by primary reference to (supposedly) inherent and/or biological (usually phenotypical) characteristics" (quoted in Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 100). Through racialisation, distinct groups are created by reference to inherent 'racial' characteristics. This does not necessarily entail an explicit value judgement, although even the most apparently 'neutral' classificatory systems are imbued with socio-political values (Balibar, 1991b). Moreover, the processes of racialisation are dialectical; that is "ascribing real or imagined biological characteristics with meaning to define the Other necessarily entails defining the Self by the same criteria"(Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 101). This is evident when considering how metaphors of immigrant animalism, simultaneously flagged settler humanity, while metaphors of immigrant savagery also flagged settler civilisation. Conversely, the application of kinship metaphors to Anglo settlers, implicitly constructed non-Anglo immigrants as external to the national 'family'. Thus, we can conclude that not only immigrants, but also white-Anglo settlers were racialised by metaphors. Yet this process was by no means ideologically neutral or commensurate.

Throughout the research, the initial designation of immigrant groups as undesirable has been accompanied by metaphoric racialisation. That is, immigrants have been constructed through metaphors ascribing not only racial Otherness, but also threat and deviance. This was first noted in the 1850s, when Chinese immigrants were constructed as a deviant and threatening racial Other through the application of a pre-existing, class-based grammar

of deviance, with the metaphors themselves simultaneously codified as signifiers of race. This process of racialisation was observed at several points: During the Pre–Federation period (1854–1900), the Chinese were not racialised in Western Australia until the mid 1880s, after the discovery of gold in the Kimberley region, while the arrival of Syrians, Afghans and Indians in the 1890s resulted in their metaphoric racialisation.

The White Australia period (1901–1971) saw non-white immigration interdicted, although racially suspect Italian immigrants in the 1920s were racialised through the same metaphors, which ceased once Italians became accepted as 'white'. Yet while negative metaphoric racialisation of immigrant groups dissipated after WW2, threat metaphors reappeared in the Multicultural Australia period (1972–2018), increasing alongside increasing non-white immigration. The most extensive racialisation was of asylum-seekers, who were constructed through many of the earlier metaphors of immigrant threat, alongside newer, asylum-seeker specific metaphors. In addition, threat metaphors racialised groups of non-white immigrant Others.

What unites all of these points of racialisation of immigrant out-groups, and distinguishes them from the corresponding racialisation of the Anglo-white in-group, is not just the construction of racial Otherness, but the attribution of deviance and threat. Extending past, although stemming from, racialisation, these processes can be understood as the expression of racism. The distinction between these two processes arises from the embedded exclusionary impulses and the negative value judgement within the racialisation of specific groups, with racism:

> a representational form which, by designating discrete human collectivities, necessarily functions as an ideology of inclusion and exclusion: for example, the signification of skin colour both includes and excludes in the categorisation

> process. Furthermore, it is the *negative* characteristics of Other which mirror the *positive* characteristics of Self… Racism therefore presupposes a process of racialisation but is differentiated from that process by its explicitly negative evaluative component (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 104).

While the immigrant groups racially, and racistly, constructed by negative metaphors shared several features —they were perceived as not-white, as threatening to the racially defined, white national in-group, and as being inherently deviant — closer examination reveals that there is more that distinguishes the groups than unites them. Chinese and British Indian immigrants from the nineteenth century were interpellated through narratives of biological racial difference and hierarchy, understood as belonging to intrinsically, explicitly, biologically inferior races. The Italians of the 1920s, whilst also constructed within discourses of biological inferiority, were subject to much greater ambivalence — as neither completely white nor explicitly non-white, their presence was tolerated although contested. For both Asian and Italian immigrants, threat was constructed in terms of racial deterioration, cultural degeneration and the negation of the full potentiality of whiteness. In the Multicultural period (1972–2018), both asylum seekers and internal immigrant Others were constructed not as biologically inferior, but as culturally incompatible, and threatening to national security and stability.

This shift from biological determinism to inherent cultural distinctiveness and incompatibility has been labelled ‘new racism’ (Barker, 1982), although this often obscures the cultural dimension of ‘biological’ racism. Jayasuriya understands this shift as occurring between two logics of racism: one, based on inequality, expressed through domination and exploitation, and the other, based on difference, expressed through concepts such as identity and unity. He concludes that this shift in meaning “points to the

ideological continuity as well as representational differences existing between earlier and later forms of racism" (Jayasuriya, 2012, p. 22). However, the continued use of specific negative metaphors, while signalling ideological continuity, also points to a degree of representational continuity, although their incorporation into ostensibly different discourses often obscures the wider representational connections; the intertextual and interdiscursive links (Reisgl & Wodak, 2001), texturing logics of equivalence between earlier and later groups (Fairclough, 2003).

That the specific discursive elaborations of racism in which negative metaphors are enmeshed vary in their historical, social and 'logical' elaboration does not diminish their ideological impact. In fact, it can be argued that the opposite is true. As signifiers of racialisation and, through their explicitly negative evaluation, racism, such metaphors transcend the specificities of the historically and socially specific discourses within which they are expressed. Instead they function as both overarching and underpinning signifiers that expand and contract in accordance with the "polyvalent mobility" of race (Stoler, 2016, p. 245) — that is race not as one specific discourse but as "a concept and configuration of power" (Stoler, 2016, p. 245).

The negative metaphors identified, as signifiers of race and racism, construct threat not in relation to specific categorisations of race but rather through fundamental metaphorical constructions of interiority/exteriority (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) embedded with inherent danger. These have become aligned with race and racism through their use in the construction of racialised in- and out-groups, and can therefore be understood as *racistly* specific, yet *racially* general expressions. Balibar argues for a general category of racism, which incorporates racisms' various and multiple trajectories, as "a more concrete notion of taking into account the necessary polymorphism of racism, its overarching function,

its connections with the whole sets of practices of social normalization and exclusion" (Balibar, 1991b, p. 94). It is to race as a configuration of power that such metaphors adhere, and it is this polymorphous racism which they articulate.

A final point to note is that while the racism expressed by metaphors may be polymorphous, a further unifying feature of the historically and socially specific racisms within which recurrent negative metaphors have occurred is that they have been primarily institutional in nature. This refers in the first instance to the understanding of institutional racism as originating from the State (Balibar, 1991b) — this returns us to Bourdieu and the role of the State :

> Through the framing it imposes upon practices, the state establishes and inculcates common forms and categories of perception and appreciation, social frameworks of perceptions, of understanding or of memory, in short *state forms of classification*.[1] It thereby creates the conditions for a kind of immediate orchestration of habituses which is itself the foundation of a consensus over this set of shared evidences constitutive of (national) common sense. (Bourdieu & Farage, 1994, p. 13)

The racism evident in metaphors is institutional as it is embedded within State forms of classification, as evidenced by, for example: the role of racist distinctions within the various legislative controls on non-white immigration, and the later State based delegitimising of asylum seeker immigration and the securitisation and militarisation of the responses to their arrival; likewise, the doctrinal emphasis on whiteness and racial purity, with a later emphasis on Anglo-Celtic heritage and Judeo-Christian values, Whether through *Chinese invasions and influxes, inferior races, the dilution of British*

1. Emphasis in original.

stock or *our own kith and kin,* the forms of classifications expressed metaphorically, were state forms of classification. Moreover, their consistent use within press reports testifies to their expressing "the *institutionally* legitimated view" of issues (Santa Ana 2002, p. 53, emphasis added), with the press a key vehicle for dominant, institutional discourse on race and nationalism (van Dijk, 1989, 1998).

Yet the explicit emphasis on whiteness and race that underpinned the Australian State for the first 100 years of this research, was proscribed by the turn towards Multiculturalism from the late 1960s. Thus, it refers in the second instance to the understanding of institutional racism as:

> two sets of circumstances: first, circumstances where exclusionary practices arise from, and therefore embody, a racist discourse but which may no longer be explicitly justified by such a discourse; and second, circumstances where an explicitly racist discourse is modified in such a way that the explicitly racist content is eliminated, but other words carry the original meaning. What both circumstances have in common is that racist discourse becomes silent but is nevertheless embodied (or institutionalised) in the continuation of exclusionary practices or in the use of the new discourse (Miles & Brown, 2003, pp. 109–110).

This first set of circumstances is evident in the mobilisation of asylum seeker proscription around racially 'neutral' discourses of national security and sovereignty, legitimised by metaphoric constructions of the need to *stem the flow* and *protect the borders.* This relates directly to the second set of circumstances, evident in the ongoing use of implicitly racist metaphors to structure ostensibly non-racist narratives around specific forms of (non-white) immigration. Again, the role of the press is key (Santa Ana, 2002; van Dijk, 1989, 1998).

8.3.2 Standardisation and stereotypes

Once an immigrant groups had been constructed as Other, there was a tendency, particularly in the press studied, to fall back on a lower range of standardised, stereotypical metaphors. Whether as the *Chinese influx,* the immigrant *invasion,* or fears of being *swamped* by *Asians,* stereotypes structure immigration discourse around easily perceptible and well-established tropes. This is because, despite their simplicity, stereotypes are "capable of condensing a great deal of complex information and a host of connotations" (Dyer, 2002, p. 12). Thus, speaking of an asylum seeker as *queue-jumper* expresses a host of implications about illegality, immorality and illegitimacy, which have a particular historical, social and cultural resonance within the Australian context. Such metaphors exist as a sort of code which trigger the associated entailments without them needing to be expressed explicitly.

Stereotypes were not exclusively negative. Indeed, *our own kith and kin* or *British stock* were powerfully resonant for structuring understandings of belonging and exclusion. The power of stereotypes stems from their invocation of a consensus on the delimitations of the boundaries of social acceptability (Dyer, 2002). Through the circulation of stereotypes, the in-group is hailed, while the out-group is constructed. "In the presence of a stereotype, you are asked implicitly or explicitly to approve, to agree, to nod, and to feel understood and properly positioned as a legitimate member of a group whose identity is well defined and legitimately celebrated" (Rosello, 1998, p. 11). Through stereotypical, standardised representations of immigrant out-groups, the identity of the national in-group was (re)affirmed. This dialectical relationship is intrinsic to the processes of racialisation that stereotypes embodied.

Yet is essential to note that the stereotypical constructs engendered by specific metaphors were entirely socially constructed, relating explicitly to the distribution of power. The metaphors used to represent immigrants, contrary to their binarising delimitations of antithetically constructed national in-groups and immigrant out-groups, did not express any inherent or natural reality about the groups they were applied to, as most clearly evidenced by the adaptability of such metaphors when applied to newly racialised groups or their lack of continued use for groups (re)racialised as white and thus *racially* acceptable. “The consensus invoked by stereotypes is more apparent than real; rather, stereotypes express particular definitions of reality, with concomitant evaluations, which in turn relate to the disposition of power within society. Who produces the stereotype, who has the power to enforce it is the crux of the matter” (Dyer, 2002, p. 14). The production and enforcement of stereotypes are therefore a powerful expression of symbolic power and violence (Bourdieu, 1991,1992). More than simply flagging negative (or positive) attributes, they invoke a narrative, for “stereotypes always carry within them an implicit narrative” (Dyer, 2002, p. 15), structuring and delineating the boundaries of belonging, which is all the more powerful for stereotypes’ taken-for-granted memorability parading “as common sense, truth and wisdom” (Rosello, 1998, p. 38).

It is within this structuring of a narrative of immigrant threat that the standardisation of stereotypical negative metaphors is most potent. The narrative of immigrant threat is the overarching concept that the polymorphous anti-immigrant racism — shifting from inherent biological Chinese racial distinctiveness and deviance, to equivocal Italian inferiority, to asylum seeker illegitimacy; from Victorian goldfields, to Sydney ghettos, to fluid borders — articulates. It is to this narrative that racialising metaphors adhere, none more so than the stereotypical ones, as it is through the use of racialising stereotypical metaphors, whether as the *overwhelming influx, the invading hordes* or *the*

flow that needs to be *stemmed,* that the immigrant threat narrative is reworked and implicated in discussions of asylum seeker illegitimacy that ostensibly bear no resemblance to complaints about the racial inferiority of Chinese miners 150 years previously.

Hence, the standardisation of stereotypical metaphors is another configuration of metaphor use that expresses an institutional racism. That is, much like when metaphors are used in processes of racialisation, the subsequent, low-grade presence of metaphoric signifiers within the numerous multiple and diverse discussions of immigrants represent a process whereby “a racist discourse is simultaneously superceded by and reconstituted in an apparently non-racist discourse” (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 111). The persistence of standardised metaphors returns us to “the dialectic between habitus and institutions” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58). The national field has historically and institutionally been constructed around whiteness, with standardised metaphors the most insidious and, arguably, one of the most effective ways that the capital of Anglo-whiteness has been (re)affirmed, while the internalisation of these classifications through the habitus helps to maintain the national field in ways that continue to centre racialised, and racist, categorisations of national belonging.

The claim that stereotypical metaphors function to reconstitute racism in apparently non-racist discourses in complicated by the presence of some highly visible stereotypes, such as the *Chinese invasion, the queue-jumping* asylum seeker or being *swamped by Asians* which are recognised as explicitly racist yet persist, nonetheless. However, stereotypes do not rely on accuracy, evidence or even ongoing relevance for their potency — conversely, “having infiltrated everyday culture, stereotypes now refer to something that refused to die even if it has outlived its own relevance or significance” (Rosello, 1998, p.

23). Thus, stereotypes can have a potency that far outstrips the usages within which they are typically implicated. Moreover, recognition of stereotypical metaphors does not generally entail recognition of the underlying conceptual metaphor. Hence, while claims of being *swamped by Asians* may be recognised as racist, the IMMIGRANT as DANGEROUS WATER conceptual metaphor escapes notice. Consequently, there may be a proliferation of other standardised metaphors to construct immigrants: *surge, flow, influx,* none of which elicit the same level of recognition.

This suggests that when analysing metaphors, it may not be helpful to try to categorize them according to their level of stereotype; yet stereotypes are undoubtedly a useful concept when considering metaphors. It can be hard to discuss metaphors and stereotypes contiguously, as they share many common features: both are fundamental ways in which the brain makes sense of the world; both have their roots in our youngest childhood. Much as metaphor is experientially based, stemming from our primary awareness of our bodies, so stereotype originates from a child's first awareness of its own separateness from the world, functioning as a means to control the anxieties this engenders (Gilman, 1985). Both are basic cognitive processes, yet both are also socially generated; functioning as means of classification within social groupings, they help differentiate the internal from the external, the in-group from the out-group. As a result, they both have an ideological aspect. This makes discussing individual metaphors, and examining them as individual stereotypes a tricky, and not necessarily useful, prospect.

That said, stereotype undoubtedly plays a key role in the framing of immigrants. While individual metaphors may be more or less stereotypical, the *immigrant threat narrative* is a stereotypical framing of Otherness. All the basic propositions of the narrative are stereotypes, based more in the anxieties they are projected against than any objective truth

about those they are applied to. Rosello notes that while stereotypical images may change over time, the earlier representations “linger in the collective unconscious” (1998, p. 5). The same can be said for the immigrant threat narrative; the target of the narrative may change, as may the breadth and intensity of its expression, but the associations linger.

The stereotypical power of the immigrant threat narrative is like that of any other stereotype. Through its expression there is a chance to demonstrate loyalty and belonging to the in-group (Rosello, 1998). Within agreement on immigrants as illegitimate and external, there is a reiteration of ‘settlers’ as legitimate and belonging. Thus, the stereotypical function of the immigrant threat narrative works, much like individual metaphors but in a broader sense, to define who belongs, and who is excluded from the national community. This is embedded in individual metaphors, through broader conceptual metaphors, and into the wider narrative. It is this consistency that makes it so powerful. However, the most stereotypical metaphors are indeed often recognised as racist or hyperbolic, making them the focus of anti-racism or, at least, refutation.

8.3.3 Counter use and refutation

When analysing data, it was apparent that not all metaphor usage was intended to be taken literally. There were multiple occasions when metaphors were used to counter the claims embedded within them. Thus, there were articles stating that fears of *invasion* were overstated, there were nowhere near enough Chinese to *swamp* the nation and there were no *queue-jumpers* as there were no *queues*. Yet such arguments were constrained by the logic of the metaphors they used, with the metaphors already having established the primary interpretation of immigration:

> This interpretation then 'commands the field' in all subsequent treatment and sets the terms of reference within which all further coverage or debate takes place.

> Arguments against a primary interpretation are forced to insert themselves into its definition of 'what is at issue' — they must begin from this framework of interpretation as their starting-point (Hall, 1990, p.20).

The basic premise of any refutation was dependent on the parameters set by the metaphor, i.e. the existence of a *queue,* which was then denied.

A further danger in the refutation of the metaphor, which was inevitably highly stereotypical for there would be no purpose in the denial of an uncommon metaphor, was that even its denial gave life to the associations it entailed. A key feature of stereotypes is their memorability and aura of timelessness — every repetition of a stereotype adds to its memorability, which in turn adds to its aura of timelessness, which increases its memorability, ad infinitum — a process Rosello refers to as stereotypes' iterativity (Rosello, 1998). Even when confronted with numerous articles refuting the claim that asylum-seekers are *queue-jumpers,* the resultant effect is the persistent, iterative association between asylum-seeker and *queues.*

8.3.4 Subversion

However, one configuration of metaphor use that does hold the potential for negation of the racial, and often racist, entailments is subversion. That is, rather than simply deny the substance or truth of the metaphor, the metaphor itself is repurposed, with this reframing drawing attention to the metaphor in a way that mere refutation cannot — consider:

> Paradoxically, an Abbott prime ministership would guarantee an increase in *boat people* — albeit travelling in the opposite direction. The polls suggest *an armada will set sail* as people seek to distance themselves from xenophobia.[2]

2. *The Australian,* 07/07/2012.

Using metaphors typically used to construct the immigrant Other to instead construct the national Self, de-naturalises metaphors, revealing some of their ideological functioning. Appearing in *The Australian* in 2012 at the height of its anti-asylum rhetoric, it is likely that this inclusion of dissenting views[3] was intended to provide a veneer of balance and even-handedness, obscuring the strong ideological bias embedded in the majority of its coverage. Nonetheless, it is a rare example of a subversive use of metaphor, all the more notable when contrasted to the bulk of *The Australian*'s coverage in this period.

While uncommon, subversive metaphor use was occasionally observed at various points of the research. The potential of this to counter the effects of the immigrant threat narrative will be returned to briefly in the thesis' conclusion. Prior to this, however, it is necessary to explore the immigrant threat narrative a little further. The key themes of the narrative have been established. Furthermore, the ways metaphors functioned have been outlined, alongside the underlying constructions of racial and racist meanings that can be ascribed to these processes. The final point to discuss is why the immigrant threat narrative functions — the purpose this serves and the ways the narrative relates to the constructions of the nation and nationalism that have been a focus of all three data chapters. It is to this that the chapter now turns.

8.4 The immigrant threat narrative and the nation

The racialisation of non-white immigrant groups has been shown to be racist — doubly institutionally so, as both originating from the State, and reconfiguring racist discourse in seemingly non-racist discourse. Yet racism is a highly charged assertion even, or perhaps especially, within a country with Australia's racially imbued history. While the continued

3. *The Australian* was a firm supporter of PM Tony Abbott in this period.

focus of the national imaginary may indeed be centred around a white-Anglo core, this expression of (ethno) nationalism is not inherently racist. Racism and nationalism are two distinct, yet interdependent ideologies "generated and reproduced within a complex interplay of historically constituted economic and political relations. The interplay between nationalism and racism is therefore historically specific and contingent, complex and intertwined" (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 148). It is this historical specificity that the present section seeks to address.

8.4.1 Racism and Nationalism

Before exploring the interactions between racism and nationalism, it is vital to outline the distinctions between the two. Nationalism has been defined as "a political principle which maintains that similarity of culture is the basic social bond" (Gellner, 1997, p. 3). Yet it takes more than a 'political principle' to effect the "imaginary unity" (Balibar, 1991b, p. 49) through which the nation is transformed into an "imagined community" (Benedict Anderson, 1991, p. 6). It is nationalism, as an ideology, through which a belief in the unity of the nation is inculcated (Balibar, 1991b; Miles & Brown, 2003).

A major role of nationalism is as "a representational project of constructing a history and an emotional sense of shared distinctiveness that would, in turn, create a collective sense of Self defined dialectically by the presence of the Other" (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 145). Yet while the national Self is frequently constructed along ethnic lines, such claims do not stand up to scrutiny:

> No nation, that is, no national state, has an ethnic basis, which means that nationalism cannot be defined as ethnocentrism except precisely in the sense of the product of a *fictional* ethnicity. To reason any other way would be to forget that 'peoples' do not exist naturally any more than 'races' do, either by virtue of

> their ancestry, a community of culture or pre-existing interests. But they do have to institute in real (and therefore in historical) time their imaginary unity *against* other possible unities (Balibar, 1991b, p. 49).

Hence, the ideological function of nationalism is to obscure the essential fictionality of the national construct, replacing it with a belief about the distinctiveness of not only the national in-group, but also the numerous other out-groups through which nations are constituted. National distinctiveness is invariably underpinned by ideals of racial and cultural distinctiveness. Yet a belief in racial distinctiveness does not necessarily equate with racism.

Racism has been defined as "not an 'expression' of nationalism, but *a supplement of nationalism* or more precisely *a supplement internal to nationalism,* always in excess of it, but always indispensable to its constitution and yet always still insufficient to achieve its project" (Balibar, 1991b, p. 54, emphasis in original). Nationalism serves to both universalise the 'national' group, while also fetishising the particularity of national 'origins' — it is this contradictory impulse of nationalism, both universalising and particularising, that racism supplements (Balibar, 1991b). Hence, the two ideologies are distinct, yet interrelated — racism supplies the concept of race, under which history, culture, politics and other forms of identification can be subsumed (Miles & Brown, 2003), thus assisting in the universalisation of the national group. Yet racism also helps with the particularising of nationalism — while nationalism supplies the fictional ethnic 'national' identity through which the national imaginary is constructed as unique and distinctive, racism supplies the racial classifications and hierarchies within which such distinctions are intelligible — it is racism's negative hierarchical classifications that allow for the positive distinctiveness of national identity to be constituted.

The aim then, when examining nationalism and racism, is not to definitively to fix the links between the two in a concrete relation of cause and effect, or action and reaction, as if this were even possible. Rather, it is to trace some of the interactions between the two ideological constructs, to highlight some of the points of interaction, where nationalism slips into the "excess" (Miles & Brown, 2003, p. 10) of racism, and thus, where the interdependence between the two is made manifest.

8.4.2 Pre-Federation

The nascent stirrings of nationalist feeling that accompanied the expulsion of Chinese miners from the gold fields emerged from racism. Through the racialisation of the Chinese, it was possible to think about a collective 'Australian' Self, dialectically defined by the presence of the Chinese Other. With the adoption of racially-defined classifications of deviance, pre-existing class-based deviance was erased, subsumed within the wider categorisation of an inherent racial superiority. Yet the classifications imposed bore no resemblance to any objective reality — instead, the racialisation of the Chinese stemmed from the way their presence exacerbated political anxieties about settler-colonial legitimacy, economic anxieties foreshadowed by declining gold yields, and social anxieties about moral degeneracy and colonial respectability. Yet once established, the racial, and racist, categorisations of Chinese Other and Australian Self proved to be extremely powerful.

The move towards Federation was saturated with the potency of white racial identity and destiny. The role of race as a nationalist point of identification which subsumes all other variables is vividly demonstrated: class divisions, historical enmities between various British nations,[4] State based antagonisms, political differences, the racial degeneracy of

4. The British race myth was constituted in the colonies in a way that was implausible in Britain itself

the Irish[5] — cultural, historical, political and economic differences were all secondary to the overarching concept of a white race. This was the universality that racism provided nationalism. Yet while the nationalistic belief in white racial unity was not racist in and of itself, the power of whiteness stemmed from its superiority, which brings racism back to the fore, supplementing nationalism. Whiteness was only constructed as superior by its constitutive outside (Hall, 1996a), dialectically defined by its inferior racial Other.

These racist categorisations are evident in the metaphors used in this period. Whether as explicitly threatening through WAR and WATER metaphors or as deviant through ANIMAL and SAVAGE metaphors, Chinese and other non-white immigrants were constructed as racially, and racistly, inferior. The whiteness constructed dialectically through these racial metaphors and associated discourses was a particular type of white man "characterised by requisite qualities for rule such as uprightness, integrity, self-discipline, stoicism" (Lake, 2007, p. 325). Balibar has concluded that classic race myths are related to class, and from an aristocratic perspective (Balibar, 1991b) — this is evident in the characteristics attributed to whiteness which articulated a particular vision of 'civilisation' animated by gendered, upper-class principles of the ideal white man. The lack of applicability of such characteristics to an entire national population, resulted in a wider, transnational identification, which transcended national frontiers, instead representing "the frontiers of an ideal humanity" (Balibar, 1991b, p. 61).

The transnational race myth of whiteness was used to facilitate the integration of the lower class within the Australian national imaginary. Simultaneously, the particularising Australian egalitarian myth gave symbolic shape to this integration, obscuring class in

(Meaney, 2001).

5. Previously believed to have been of 'Africanoid stock'— a colonial (and highly problematic) term signifying African origins (Stratton, 2004).

both its ideological and material configurations. Both explicitly and implicitly, 'white' people were racialised through metaphors. This returns us to Stoler's observation that: "racism was not a colonial reflex, fashioned to deal with the distant Other, but part of the making of Europeans themselves"(Stoler, 2002, p. 144). In other words, anti-Chinese racism was not simply a way to deal with unwanted Others but part of the making of *white* Australians.

8.4.3 White Australia

It is the White Australia period (1901–1971) where the links between nationalism and racism are most apparent. It is within the constitution of a White Australia that the intersections between race and nation were institutionalised — through both the Immigration Restriction Act (1901) and the further legislative proscription of non-white immigration, and the wider discursive construction of national identity around whiteness, expressed both explicitly and implicitly through metaphors. This emphasis on the centrality of whiteness to the national imaginary demonstrates the concurrence between nationalism and racism as this time.

The white national Self was dialectically constructed in opposition to the non-white, immigrant Other, with this expressed in racial, and racist, terms. While nationalism and racism are not necessarily concurrent, the emphasis on white superiority as signifying the primary salient criterion for membership of the national in-group indicates that racism, more than simply supplementing nationalism, embodied Australian nationalist ideals. Whether all forms of ethno-nationalism are essentially racist is beyond the scope of this study to answer — however, the ethno-nationalism that developed in Australia during this period was suffused with the same racism that had sustained the pre-Federation

identifications with whiteness, augmented by its institutionalisation and official expression as a national ideal.

That the use of negative threat and deviance metaphors were expressly related to racism is evident in their dissipation after WW2, ostensibly reflecting a wider shift away from the acceptability of biologically defined racist thought (Miles, 1989). Yet the late 1940s and 1950s were still marked by ethno-nationalist understandings Australian nationalism, still structured through metaphors like *stock, influx* and *dilution*, although without explicit denigration of non-white groups. This can be accounted for by the partial incorporation of previously equivocal racial groups, most notably Italians, who came to be accepted as marginal whites (Stratton, 1999), although other explicitly non-white groups were still proscribed and support for white Australia remained strong (Tavan, 2005). Thus, more than a shift away from racism per se, the dissipation of negative metaphors highlights the lack of an non-white immigrant Other against which racism could be directed. Metaphors constructed differential understandings of Anglo-whiteness and other forms of whiteness, structured instead around *ethnicity*. In this we can understand racism as a supplement to nationalism, providing the implicit hierarchies that allowed for the valorisation of Anglo-whiteness, yet without the complete overlap between the two ideologies that had marked the earlier years.

The 1960s saw an overall reduction in metaphors, with the almost complete absence of threat and deviance metaphors. This coincided with a loss of support for White Australia, and a related desire for the nation to redefine itself in non-racist terms, demonstrating that as the nationalist ideology moved further away from racism, the metaphoric ways social reality was structured also changed. If we understand metaphor as structuring not only how we speak, but also how we think, with metaphorical concepts shaping and reflecting

our perceptions of the world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), then the lack of metaphors structuring the national Self and the immigrant Other in racialising terms suggests that, for a time, the manner in which nationalism was conceptualised was largely distinct from racism, and possibly even race. While this significant disjuncture between racism and nationalism attended the move to end White Australia, it did not last once the nation began the shift towards a more multicultural configuration.

8.4.4 Multicultural Australia

The metaphoric structuring of the nation, as both body and house, in ways that flagged non-white immigration increased consistently throughout the Multicultural Period (1972–2018). In addition, there was a resurgence of negative threat metaphors, peaking at points of asylum seeker arrivals, but also used to negatively frame explicitly stated non-white immigration, and increasingly to describe *immigration* more generally which, as Chapter 7 argued, can be understood as a veiled reference to race. It would be simplistic to state that the mere presence of metaphors is a demonstration of the resurgence of racism within nationalist constructions — however, in both major trajectories of metaphor use within this later period, the links between racism and nationalism are evident.

General immigration

The first trajectory is the use of metaphors to structure immigrant Others in negative racial terms; that is through the immigrant threat narrative. Throughout the Multicultural Australia research period (1972–2018), threat metaphors framed Asian, Muslim and specific non-white national groups in ways that have persistently and demonstrably been used to flag exclusionary, racist understandings of the immigrant Other against which the national Self was constituted. This occurred in tandem with metaphors that constructed non-white immigrants as living in deviant spaces — thus their immigration was

constructed both as a threat to the national space to which they were inherently external, i.e. as *floods, swamps, invasions,* while their location within the national space, once admitted, was also constructed in terms of deviance and threat, through the use of metaphors that segregated them from the national in-group, i.e. in *ghettos* and *enclaves.*

While the national in-group was no longer explicitly constructed in racial terms, the out-group through which the national self was implicitly, dialectically constructed was nonetheless still metaphorically racialised in ways that are, and have consistently been, racist. This form of racialisation was also extended to the category of *immigrant* and *immigration,* with references increasing in tandem to the increase in arrivals of non-white immigrants. Therefore, the continued racialisation of non-white immigrants through negative metaphors retained its salience, even when this was not explicitly linked to specific groups.

As in colonial times, the exclusion of immigrants offered the opportunity for 'Australians' to perform their indigeneity. That is, the projected exteriority of certain immigrants allowed the claiming of interiority and the assertion of belonging to 'our land', while flagging immigrant threat through the same metaphors as earlier times recalls earlier discursive constructions of Australian national identity as racially defined. Although this is at odds with the official doctrine of multiculturalism, it resonates with the *resurgent nationalism* which characterised John Howard's ascendance (Pitty & Leach, 2004). The increasing use of negative metaphors from this period can be understood then as an expression of institutional racism, reinforcing and naturalising privilege and power along racial lines, reaffirming the symbolic capital of whiteness (Bourdieu, 1991; Hage, 2000), clearly linking racism with the ethno-nationalist narratives of being Australian dialectically constructed by the immigrant threat narrative.

Asylum seekers

The second major trajectory of metaphor use was the racialisation and delegitimisation of asylum-seekers. It can be argued that asylum seeker immigration is not comparable to other forms of immigration, although the government patently attempts to paint it as such, i.e. denigrating asylum seekers as 'economic migrants.' Furthermore, the securitisation of asylum seeker immigration can be understood as part of a wider trend of securitisation within immigration. Finally, asylum seekers were racialised by the same metaphors applied to other racialised forms of immigration. Despite this, there are undoubtedly differences in the construction of asylum seeker immigration, most noticeably in the displacement of threat to the borders. Yet this displacement can be accounted for in much the same way as earlier displacements.

Throughout Australian history there has been a link between invasion fears and settler colonial guilt over the occupation of the continent, with "an invasion complex… deeply embedded within the national imaginary" (Papastergiadis, 2004, p. 9). Furthermore, despite the later explicit emphasis on asylum seekers in terms of *security,* it has been argued that security has been foundational to Australian national identity from the first days of occupation, with the intersections between security and settler colonial anxieties about place underpinning Australia's ongoing invasion anxiety (Burke, 2008). I would therefore argue that the links between resistance to Native Title claims and the demonisation and interdiction of asylum seekers go further than displaying similar forms of "violent intolerance that can be mobilised within the invasion complex" (Papastergiadis, 2004, p. 11).

As I have argued earlier, the displacement of invasion and war inherent in metaphor use is a strategy by which the foundational anxieties of settler colonial possession of the continent can be managed. Wolfe has stated that anti-immigrant sentiment is secondary to indigenous dispossession and "peripheral to the primary terms of the underlying invader/invaded opposition" (Wolfe, 1999, p. 180). I suggest that this peripherality accounts for salience of an immigrant threat narrative as eminently more resolvable than the underlying tension of the structural invasion within settler-colonial land.

This displacement takes a particularly salient form within discourse around asylum seekers. Metaphor-inflected anti-asylum seeker narratives have invariably been constructed in terms of external challenges to the borders, articulated through a prism of national security and sovereignty. The links between a resurgent Australian nationalism and the pushback against Aboriginal land rights and native title, alongside the backlash against refugees have been noted elsewhere (Burke, 2008; Clark, 2006). However, as I suggested in the previous chapter, more than inhabiting a similar nationalistic urge, the focus on external threats to national sovereignty in the wake of internal challenges to legal sovereignty reworked the immigrant threat narrative. This can account for the replacement of a focus on indigenous rights with asylum seeker discourse in the period around the *Tampa* (Elder et al., 2004). Notably, asylum-seeker specific deviance metaphors are highly focused on *illegitimacy* — deeper than simply flagging the alleged illegitimacy of their asylum claims, there is a flagging of asylum seekers as illegitimate *in direct relation to Australian national sovereignty*.

Just as *invasion* metaphors displaced the structural invasion, allowing settlers to enact their indigeneity, so calls to *protect our* national sovereignty functioned to displace the anxieties occasioned by the increase in discourses around Aboriginal sovereignty and the

status of Australia as un-ceded land. Again, settler illegitimacy — an ongoing source of anxiety (Veracini, 2010) — was displaced, again allowing white Australians to enact their indigeneity. Furthermore, as previously suggested, the particular potency of the asylum seeker discourse over the focus on Indigenous rights and Native Title was that it allowed even oppositional positions to be articulated from a position of governmental belonging (Hage, 2000), that restated the Australian nation as a white possession (Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

While Pre-Federation and White Australia *invasion* metaphors were incorporated within a discourse of white racial superiority, later anti-asylum seeker specific metaphors often referred directly to 'Australian' values such as egalitarianism and fair play, most aptly exemplified by the *queue-jumper* and business transaction metaphors.[6] As previously stated, this focus on 'values' often functions as a code for race — hence, as with earlier invasion narratives, narratives centred on threats to national sovereignty also implicitly drew on race for their sensibility. Thus, the reworked immigrant threat narrative continued to function as a means to legitimate settler colonial land expropriation, displacing the illegitimacy of settler colonial possession, and legitimising this through the construction of a racially distinct (and superior) whiteness. This ongoing flagging of a specific form of Australian national imaginary, with racial superiority, and thus racism, at its core, is therefore a powerful elaboration of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991,1992).

8.4.5 Indigenous Australians and the logic of elimination

A final point to answer is, if as Wolfe states, the immigrant/settler binary is subsidiary to the foundational invader/invaded or settler/Indigenous binary (1999), why then is the immigrant Other the primary means through which the white settler Self is constituted.

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6. Which persistently flagged asylum seekers as illegitimate.

The chapter has already discussed in detail the function of the immigrant Other as a focus for the displacement of settler colonial anxieties. However, more than this, the focus on the immigrant Other as opposed to the Indigenous Other is underpinned by the logic of settler colonialism itself, which structures colonial/indigenous relations around a logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2001, 2006). The Indigenous Australian is necessarily assimilable (with assimilation functioning as a means of elimination), not just to legitimise settler colonial possession of the land, but also to provide settler colonialism with the symbolic indigeneity it needs to distance itself from the 'Mother Country' and assert its unique national identity (Wolfe, 2006).

As a result, Indigenous Australians are unable to function as the archetypal racial Other against which the national Self can be constituted — the logic of elimination insists on their assimilation, and hence their absorption into the white settler ideal. This absorbability is incompatible with the discourse of essential, irresolvable racial Otherness that has underpinned the construction of an essential White Self. Wolfe speaks of the Indigenous Australian within settler colonial ideology as "an ethereal cohabitant that does not actually take up space. Though co-present in place, this otherworldly partner belongs in a different time" (Wolfe, 2013, p.7). That is not to suggest that Indigenous Australians have not been racialised; whether as a dying race, the half-caste menace, or as deviant and violent, Indigenous Australians were and continue to be racialised and discriminated against. However, this racialisation cannot function as the primary means through which the Self is constituted as, despite the breadth and depth of anti-Indigenous racism, the logic of elimination underpinning the settler colonial relationship with its Indigenous Others demands that they remain ultimately assimilable within a wider narrative of settler colonial identity.

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, then, there are several points to mention when considering the immigrant threat narrative invoked by the metaphors racialising immigrant out-groups. Firstly, that this narrative, changing and evolving though it was, was consistently articulated in relation to narratives of being Australian. The (re)articulation of older immigrant narratives, through the use of the same metaphors, allowed for a racialised continuity in both the immigrant Other and the national Self. It was through the construction of racialised non-white Others, that a racialised white national Self was constituted. Yet these constructions, more than simply racialising, were also racist, and institutionally so.

While individual metaphors may be more or less stereotypical, the immigrant threat narrative to which they adhere is a stereotypical one, based more in the ideological work that it accomplishes than any inherent truth. A further point is that the narrative of immigrant threat does work — it displaces the foundational trauma of invasion, making the invasion complex both a source of and a remedy for anxiety. The narrative linking Australian-ness with egalitarianism also continues to do work — "today the egalitarian myth that Australia is a 'tolerant society' is deployed to mask the persistently privileged position of whiteness and its possession of the nation that simultaneously disavows Indigenous sovereignty" (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 24). At the heart of discourses of immigrant Others are anxieties about settler colonialism's ambivalent core.

While racialised discourses of difference are inherently unstable (Stoler, 2016), requiring constant discursive work to maintain, so too are nationalisms: "The nation needs to be continually 'told' in order to give it substance, to disavow the differences and to reinforce what it is not" (Elder, 2007a, p. 29). The ongoing salience of the immigrant threat narrative is in the opportunity for a racially constructed sense of national identity. While

ethno-nationalism is not necessarily racist in and of itself, the particular identifications of Australian ethno-nationalism were formed by the convergence of nationalism and racism — while they may not be currently be incorporated in explicitly racist discourses, the nation(alism) they hail is a rac(ial/ist) one.

Chapter 9 Conclusion: Metaphors, narrative and the construction of the Australian nation

9.1 Research summary

In this thesis I have examined press reports from the earliest large-scale arrivals of non-white immigrants until the present day in order to explore how and why immigrants are metaphorically constructed in particular ways. While metaphor use has been historically and socially contingent, this research has demonstrated that metaphors also form part of a wider narrative of immigrant threat which was integral to the construction and maintenance of ethno-nationalist narratives of white Australianness. The diachronic perspective of this research has been crucial to establishing these wider continuities, linkages and reformulations in immigration and racial discourse. Such a perspective is imperative if we are to fully understand the potency of contemporary metaphoric denigrations of immigrants, particularly as these are so often couched in civic nationalist concerns (Fozdar & Low, 2015), obscuring their ethno-nationalist foundations. Moreover, metaphoric constructions of immigrant *floods* and the need for *protection* continue to centre a white-Anglo national self, undermining the potential for a more inclusive understanding of national identity.

The research has been structured around four research questions, and was underpinned by a number of aims and objectives. Utilizing an understanding of metaphors as ideological constructs, revealing of the wider conceptual categorisations through the world is understood (Charteris-Black, 2006; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Santa Ana, 2002), alongside a CDA approach which relates language to wider structures of power and

dominance, that are socially and historically contingent (Fairclough, 2003; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1993), my first two research questions asked what metaphors have been used to describe immigration and immigrants in the Australian press over the last 165 years, alongside how the nation was also constructed.

These questions were addressed in Chapters 5, 6 & 7, which outlined the main metaphors found over the three main research periods, chosen for their correspondence with three phases in Australian immigration history: Pre-Federation (1854–1900), White Australia (1901–1971) and Multicultural Australia (1972–2018). These chapters showed a distinct consistency in the ways immigrants were metaphorically constructed, with IMMIGRATION as DANGEROUS WATER the primary conceptual metaphor, and IMMIGRATION as WAR the secondary metaphor in every period. In addition, there were numerous other recurrent conceptual metaphors, including IMMIGRANT as ANIMAL, and as SAVAGE/SUB-HUMAN. These metaphors worked as constructive strategies to create both the immigrant out-group and the national in-group, and as legitimating strategies to sanction restrictive legislation and exclusion (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009).

There was also considerable consistency in the ways the nation was constructed. Chapter 5 outlined the importance of the NATION as HOUSE conceptual metaphor for the earliest nationalist stirrings, with the NATION as BODY metaphor only appearing in the final years of the Pre-Federation period. Yet the NATION/BODY quickly overtook the NATION/HOUSE as the primary metaphoric framing of the nation, as both Chapters 6 & 7 demonstrate, although the NATION/HOUSE retained its importance as the secondary nation metaphor for both later periods. Again, these were strategies by which the nation was normatively constructed as a white space (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2009).

Constructing immigrants and the nation in particular ways is an expression of symbolic power and, through the naturalisation of these categorisations, symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1991, 1992)

Yet the use of metaphors did not remain constant, therefore the third research question asked what the patterns and variations of metaphor use were. As demonstrated in Chapters 5,6 & 7, and discussed further in Chapter 8, metaphors tended to be used in greater numbers to racialise particular immigrant groups as Other, especially at the point when immigrant groups were first designated as undesirable. This included the Chinese in 1850s Victoria and 1880s Western Australia, Syrian and British Indian immigrants in the 1890s, Italians in the 1920s, and asylum seekers this century. Yet racialisation is a dialectical process of signification (Miles & Brown, 2003), simultaneously constructing the national in-group. Points of explicit racialisation were usually followed by a reduction in metaphor to a number of standardized, stereotypical metaphors, confirming racial Otherness as discussed in Chapter 8.

The final research question asked how these patterns contributed to understandings of what it means to be Australian. This was addressed in each of the data chapters, which demonstrated how the construction of immigrants and the nation in particular ways dialectically created distinct in- and out- groups (van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 2009), relating these to their social and historical contexts. This was further addressed in the discussion chapter which examined how the racial and racist construction of immigrant out-groups formed part of a wider narrative of immigrant threat, against which ethno-nationalist narratives of being Australian were constructed.

The overall aim of this thesis was to explore the metaphoric constructions of immigrant Otherness as representative of the wider discourses around immigration, race and the nation. My objective therefore was to compile a corpus of metaphors which could be used to explore the patterns of metaphor use. Using four Australian newspapers as a source of corpus, I compiled over 12,000 uses of metaphor in over 3000 press reports, from 4 major Australian daily newspapers between 1854 and 2018, as detailed in Chapter 4. Drawing on CDA's positioning of language as both constituted by and constitutive of social reality, with the interplay between language and power essential (Fairclough, 2003; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1993), metaphor was utilised as a key by which the wider discourses could be accessed. These were then analysed within a sociological framework, with a particular emphasis on Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power and violence (Bourdieu, 1991,1992), detailed in Chapter 3. Moreover, based on the belief that persistent patterns of metaphor use formed wider narratives about both immigrants and the nation, my objective was to relate the metaphors found to the narratives they were embedded in. This was addressed in the data chapters which considered metaphors within their historically and socially specific contexts, as well as in Chapter 8, which considered narrative with a wider lens.

Underlying everything, closely related to the thesis' critical framework, a final aim was to understand the ongoing potency of racialised/ing (and racist) categorisations within a multicultural and multiracial nation, with the objective of producing an explanation for this persistence of negative metaphors. This was addressed in Chapter 7, where Bourdieu's concept of habitus was employed to explain how the symbolic capital of national belonging comes to be embodied within subjects, and thus recognised as legitimate, with this allowing for the perpetuation of racialised symbolic violence (alongside racialised actual violence) in constructions of the nation and its Others

(Bourdieu, 1991, 1992). Chapter 8 then examined the wider purposes served by an immigrant threat narrative, most signficantly in constructing ethno-nationalist narratives of the national Self.

9.2 Significance and contribution

This study has demonstrated remarkable continuity in the ways both immigration and the nation were (and are) framed within the press. Although metaphors were incorporated within evolving understandings of race, immigration and the nation, the persistence of particular metaphors points to a level of ideological continuity in the narratives around what it means to be Australian, as well as the ways in which immigrants are racially, and racistly, constructed as Other. While the racialised narratives of immigrant threat and the ethno-nationalist narratives of being Australian with which they intersect were (and are) not the only narratives available, their persistence and prominence is significant. It indicates that historical understandings of race and belonging retain their potency within our contemporary world, undermining multiculturalism's efforts to introduce a more inclusive vision of society (Moran, 2017). Indeed, the ongoing resonance of such narratives supports analyses of multiculturalism itself as intrinsically hierarchical, centred around an Anglo-core and an ethnic periphery (Hage, 2000; Stratton, 1998).

As the first large-scale diachronic study of metaphor with the Australian press, this study utilised a novel approach which incorporated metaphor analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Ana, 2002) within a wider sociological framework (Bourdieu, 1991, 1992), extending the knowledge on metaphor's functioning. It has provided data to demonstrate the consistency of particular metaphors and the wider narratives they are embedded within, as well utilising sociological theory to account for the efficacy of this (re)production of racial discourse. Significantly, it has accounted for the initial

development of metaphors (and discourses) of race within Australia (Stoler, 1995, 2002), linking these to the settler colonial anxieties (Wolfe, 1999, 2006) that occasioned their use. It then tracked these metaphors consistently through the press over the last 165 years, thereby demonstrating that contemporary constructions of immigrant Otherness ostensibly based in cultural difference and incorporated within securitization discourses, are clearly related to their historical antecedents, firmly anchored in biological racism, and white supremacy.

Finally, and most importantly, the study has produced the knowledge by which these naturalised metaphorical constructs can be contested. An underlying conviction of this work, following Charteris-Black, has been that although the use of metaphor may be ubiquitous, the choice of metaphor is ideological (Charteris-Black, 2004). This research has demonstrated that there was (is) no absolute truth to the metaphoric framings of immigrant Otherness or the dialectical construction of national Self. This is particular resonant for those of us negatively objectified by discourses of immigrant inferiority, deviance and Otherness. Tracking the historical development of metaphors de-naturalises and de-mystifies constructions of immigrant Otherness, illuminating how constructions of *surges of asylum seekers* are rooted in historical, institutionally racist discourses which legitimise uneven power distributions and naturalise inequality. Understanding the ideological purposes served by constructing some subjects as internal, with all the privileges this entails, and others as external, and thus, legitimately excludable, is an essential first step if these forms of violence are to be counteracted.

9.3 Limitations and areas for further study

Although metaphor use was persistent, its elaborations were historically and socially specific. This helped to constitute and situate discourse within a contemporary discursive

space, be this 1850s colonial Australia or the 21st century multicultural environment. However, the large scale of the thesis meant that only the broadest metaphoric discourses could be considered, and the situation of these within their historical and social contexts was limited. Further study on any of the points identified would help to elaborate the more complex mechanisms through which the metaphor was made intelligible within differing contexts. It would allow for a much more precise focus on the specific threat narratives or frames i.e. political, racial, economic (Panesar, Pottie-Sherman, & Wilkes, 2017) that metaphors were embedded within, and the situation of these within detailed socio-historical contexts as opposed to the wider focus on threat that this research has taken.

A further area of study would also be some of the more positive metaphoric constructions encountered in the Multicultural Period. While these were comparatively small, an understanding of how such metaphors functioned would add depth to our understanding of this period. Indeed, even for this project, each data collection period yielded between 20 and 28 conceptual metaphors, with hundreds of linguistic elaborations, yet the extended scope of the research only allowed for analysis of the most prominent metaphors and the overarching narrative. Focusing on a single data collection phase i.e. Pre-Federation Australia, or even one or two sample periods i.e. 1880–1881 and 1887–1888 would allow for a much deeper, historically and socially nuanced analysis.

Furthermore, this research would have benefitted from the inclusion of Queensland — as a key site for racialised discourse, particularly regarding 'Kanakas', a Queensland newspaper would likely have been a rich source of data. Moreover, Western Australia had been ambivalent about Federation, and had little affinity with the eastern colonies (Musgrave, 2003); as such, its interest in the immigration issues that affected the rest of the country was initially minimal. While the choice of Western Australia was an attempt

to redress the East coast bias that can occur in studies of Australia and its histories, a wider study, encompassing other parts of the country, particular during the Pre-Federation and early White Australia period, would undoubtedly yield rich results.

A focus on other social constructs that intersect with race, such as class and/or gender would also allow bring out layers of meaning that could only be hinted at within this research (Elder, 2007b; Hogan, 2009). Moreover, this research has touched on the issues of settler colonialism (Wolfe, 1999, 2001), but the incorporation of the racialisation of Australia's Indigenous Others would also greatly augment any understanding of the complexities of race and national belonging within Australia. In addition, the research has only focused on fear and threat narratives, yet relations with racialised, immigrant Others were also animated by desire (Elder, 2007b; Stoler, 1995, 2002) — examining the ways in which narratives of disgust also interacted with narratives of desire would again a productive avenue of future study.

Another area for research would be the intersections between particular press and metaphor use within specific periods. For example, *The Australian* was noted as presenting highly populist rhetoric in the final years of this research, alongside a greatly increased volume of metaphor. However, the vast time scale of this research meant that the press was utilised as a source of corpus rather than interrogated for their specific ideological contexts or how this related to issues of media power, although this would undoubtedly be a fruitful area for further research. Relatedly, as detailed in Chapter 4, earlier press did not clearly differentiate between news, features, opinion and editorials. Yet given the importance of these distinctions within the contemporary press, examining how metaphor is utilised in various news genres would also be valuable. Focusing on

press reports in general does not allow the possibility to interrogate individual speech acts, which would also be an area worthy of study.

Finally, metaphor usage in Australia at times mirrored metaphor use in other parts of the world (Charteris-Black, 2006; O'Brien, 2003; Reisgl & Wodak, 2001; Santa Ana, 2002). Research might usefully ask the extent to which the metaphors found in Australia were influenced by international contexts or, more broadly, what the wider forms of identification are (if any) that see immigrants so often constructed through a lens of threat, and the discursive links this may have with particular nationalisms, histories or social structures. While time and space limitations resulted in this thesis purely focusing on metaphor use within Australia’s historical and social contexts, an examination of how these intersected with wider transnational metaphoric constructions of race, nation and belonging would also bring greater depth to the analysis.

9.4 Final thoughts

It was suggested in the previous chapter that subversive metaphor usage could help make explicit the ideological implications of specific metaphors. Through de-naturalising metaphoric constructions of Otherness, there is the possibility to challenge the underlying premises of many of the conceptual frameworks that underpin our understandings of what the nation means (Santa Ana, 2002). In addition, Santa Ana suggests consciously constructing different, *insurgent* metaphors — that is, finding new ways to frame immigration: “One should create an insurgent metaphor to challenge the conventional one, expressly elaborate its semantic associations to make it work as an alternative conceptualising tool, and develop its interpretative context so that it creates a distinctive worldview with its own narratives and cultural frames” (Santa Ana, 2002, p. 296). As metaphors, more than simply reflecting the cognitive conceptual categories through

which we understand the world, by their nature also shape them, Santa Ana suggests that, through the use of subversive (*insubordinate)* and insurgent metaphors it is possible to "produce more inclusive (…) values, and more just practices for a new society" (Santa Ana, 2002, p.319).

While this is hopeful, ultimately, this is not going to be enough to displace the narrative of immigrant threat. Repurposing metaphors permeated with racial/ist meaning, or constructing new metaphors to reorient constructions of the nation's Others towards more positive identifications, while superficially productive, nonetheless fails to engage with the wider structures of power and dominance that are sustained by negative metaphor use. This recalls Audre Lorde's assertion that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (Lorde, 2003, p.26). While metaphors may indeed shape our cognitive conceptual systems (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Santa Ana 1999), without changing the underlying *institutional* structures which our conceptual systems articulate, the potential for *genuine* change is limited.

Narratives of immigrant Others do powerful work. They (re)create and naturalise a racialised sense of national Self, which is historically embedded and supported by powerful myths of nation, legitimatising dominant power distributions. The national Self hailed by the forms of metaphoric address outlined in this study is rooted in a particular view of white history, progress and legitimacy. When thinking about the features of narratives of the nation Hall outlines, the nation is still structured (metaphorically and otherwise) around narratives of Anglo-white Australians as the 'pure, original people' (Hall, 1996b, p. 615), despite a recognition that Indigenous peoples had lived for many tens of thousands of years in the continent prior to invasion. Even a focus on

multiculturalism as an integral part of national identity has failed to dislodge a sense that there is something distinctive about being Australian, particularly the idea of essential 'Aussie values' or character traits, which has its roots in a white Australian historical past (Moran, 2017). Furthermore, despite some acknowledgement of the antiquity of Indigenous cultures, the emphasis on 26th January (the day the first fleet arrived) as Australia Day demonstrates the resonance that colonisation has as one of the nation's 'foundational myths' (Hall, 1996b, p. 615).

Ethno-nationalist narratives of Australian identity gained extra currency within the *regressive nationalism* of PM John Howard (Pitty & Leach, 2004), which attempted to shape the future around an Australian 'people' united around 'core values' and a shared 'Judeo-Christian' heritage. This accounts for the vehemence of the *history wars* and Howard's pushback against the so-called black armband view of history; at stake was not only history but the dominant form of national identity which derived from that history (Stratton, 1998). Questioning history meant (and still means), by implication, also questioning the distributions of power that arose from this, while the refusal to critically engage with historical structures of power and dominance necessitates the perpetuation of particular narratives of nationhood which are dependent on racialised immigrant Others for their intelligibility.

In order to fully overturn the immigrant threat narrative, and thus remove the need for the metaphoric structures that give shape to it, a radical rethinking of national identity is needed. This is possible. The narratives of Australian national identity are multiple and often contradictory. In addition to the dominant narratives, there are alternative narratives that have the potential to disrupt, subvert and contest the narratives that continue to centre specific, historical understandings of national belonging (Elder, 2007a). This is what

Homi Bhabha speaks of as “those easily obscured, but highly significant, recesses of the national culture from which alternative constituencies of peoples and oppositional analytical capacities may emerge…They assign new meanings and different directions to the process of historical change” (Bhabha, 2013, p. 3).

But attending to new meanings also takes institutional change. This thesis has focused on the power of language as both constituted by and constitutive of social reality. Thus, the conceptual change that Santa Ana suggests (2002) may indeed eventually lead to institutional change; yet without explicitly attending to institutional change there is a very real danger things will fall short — only *temporarily beating the master at his own game.* The resilience of language in (re)articulating structures of power, dominance and inequality has been amply demonstrated by the persistence and adaptability of metaphoric discourses of Otherness. Language, as a symbolic system, is deeply imbricated with power (the masters tools), with the political function of symbolic systems as “instruments which help to ensure that one class dominates another” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 167). Disarticulating discourses of Otherness without attending to the broader structures language is embedded in is a precarious endeavour, with no guarantee of *genuine* success.

There is a need to move beyond simply de-centring ethno-nationalist understandings of what it means to be Australian and to confront the cognitive dissonance that underpins Australian national identity. To achieve this, it is essential to reconfigure the relationships between White Australia and its Indigenous Others, in the process holistically and systematically de-centring whiteness, deconstructing white possessive sovereignty and fundamentally reconstructing the Australian national imaginary alongside the institutional structures that support it. For as long as there is a failure to engage with the disavowed trauma and deep inequality at the heart of Australian national identity, the

narratives of racialised immigrant Others that have sustained narratives of the nation will continue, as will the metaphors through which they are constituted.

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Appendix: Metaphors by period

A.1 Pre-Federation (1854–1900)

IMMIGRATION			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
DANGEROUS WATERS, e.g., *influx, pour, swamp, flood*	Primary	378	56%
WAR, e.g., *invasion, hordes, overrun, army, enemy*	Secondary	215	32%
DISEASE, JOURNEY, NATURAL DISASTER, MADNESS, et al.	Occasional	79	12%
	TOTAL	672	100%

IMMIGRANT			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
SAVAGE, e.g., *pagan, heathern, barbarian, inferior race*	Primary	101	21%
SYNECHDOCHE, e.g., *John Chinaman, yellow, colored, pigtail*	Secondary	100	21%
ANIMAL, e.g., *swarm, teeming, herd, migratory, ants*		76	16%
RUBBISH, DEVIANT, MERCHANDISE, CRIMINAL, CONTAMINANT, et al.	Occasional	195	41%
	TOTAL	472	100%

NATION			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
HOUSE, e.g., *open gates, neighbour, back door, front door*	Primary	64	53%
FAMILY, e.g., *mother country, kith and kin, sister*	Secondary	40	33%
BODY, e.g., *blood, veins, open arms*	Occasional	17	14%
	TOTAL	121	100%

A.2 White Australia (1901–1971)

IMMIGRATION			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
DANGEROUS WATER, *e.g., influx, flood, pouring , swamp*	Primary	340	39%
FLOWING WATER, e.g., *flow, stream, source, reservoir*	Secondary	310	35%
WAR/ENEMIES, e.g., *invasion, menace, occupation*		150	17%
DISEASE, AGRICULTURE, et al.	Occasional	80	9%
	TOTAL	880	100%

IMMIGRANT			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
SUB-HUMAN, e.g., *inferior*	Primary	194	31%
ANIMAL, e.g., *stock, swarm, teeming, breed, flock*	Secondary	156	25%
SYNECHDOCHE, e.g., *coloured, yellow races*		136	22%
CONTAMINANT, e.g., *purity, dilution*		71	12%
MERCHANDISE, RUBBISH, FOOD, SAVAGE, et al.	Occasional	60	10%
	TOTAL	617	100%

NATION			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
BODY, e.g., *absorb, intake, character*	Primary	320	48%
HOUSE, e.g., *open doors, bar the doors, gates, neighbours*	Secondary	178	27%
CONTAINER, e.g., *empty, fill*		85	13%
FAMILY, e.g., *kith and kin, kindred, mother land*	Occasional	50	7%
MACHINE, MIXTURE, et al.		31	5%
	TOTAL	664	100%

A.3 Multicultural Australia (1972–2018)

IMMIGRATION			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
DANGEROUS WATER, e.g., *flow, influx, wave, surge, swamp*	Primary	2418	62%
WAR/ENEMIES, e.g., *protection, invasion , fortress, armada, battle*	Secondary	676	17%
FLOWING WATER, e.g., *source, pool, mainstream, tap, dry up*	Occasional	349	9%
DEVIANT SPACES, e.g., *ghetto, enclave , colony*		183	5%
JOURNEY, AGRICULTURE, VEHICLE, et al.		325	8%
	TOTAL	3951	100%

IMMIGRANTS			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
ANIMAL, e.g., *stock, flock, teem, breed, swarm*	Primary	186	27%
CRIMINAL-DANGER e.g., *security, steal* , safeguard	Secondary	101	15%
SAVAGE, e.g., *tribe, horde, caste*		83	12%
DISEASE, e.g., *cure/remedy, disease, immune, plague*	Occasional	58	9%
DISASTER, e.g., *explosion, erupt*		33	5%
RUBBISH, e.g., *dump, flotsam, trash*		27	4%
FOOD, METONYMY, SUB-HUMAN, et al.		192	28%
	TOTAL	680	100%

ASYLUM SEEKER			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
BUSINESS TRANSACTION, e.g., *trade, cargo, customer, batch*	Primary	334	48%
QUEUES & QUEUE-JUMPING, e.g., *queues, queue-jumping, waiting in line*	Secondary	289	42%
HEAVY WEIGHT, e.g., *burden, brace, load*	Occasional	72	10%
	TOTAL	695	100%

NATION			
SOURCE DOMAIN	TYPE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
BODY, e.g., *intake, absorb, face, blood*	Primary	1999	61%
HOUSE, e.g., *home, doors, gates*	Secondary	786	24%
CONSTRUCTION, e.g., *build, composition*	Occasional	203	6%
MIXTURE, e.g., *melting pot, blend, mosaic*		112	3%
CONTAINER, e.g., *open, porous, bursting*		82	2%
FAMILY, FABRIC, *et al.*		122	4%
	TOTAL	3304	100%

Endnotes

i. *The Argus,* 12/08/1854
ii. *The Argus*, 14/06/1856.
iii. *SMH*, 09/06/1899.
iv. *The Argus,* 16/11/1893.
v. *The Argus*, 24/04/1855.
vi. *SMH*, 07/5/1855.
vii. *SMH*, 17/01/1893.
viii. *The Argus,* 31/03/1888.
ix. *The Argus*, 26/05/1855.
x. *SMH*, 14/07/1887.
xi. *The West Australian*, 29/05/1893.
xii. *The Argus,*19/01/1880.
xiii. *The West Australian*, 09/03/1888.
xiv. *The West Australian*, 22/05/1893.
xv. *SMH,* 28/05/1898.
xvi. *SMH*, 13/04/1881.
xvii. *SMH,* 04/08/1887.
xviii. *The Argus,* 26/05/1855.
xix. *The Argus,* 08/05/1855.
xx. *SMH*, 18/05/1855.
xxi. *SMH,* 19/03/1861.
xxii. *SMH,* 14/07/1881.
xxiii. *The Argus*, 21/12/1881.
xxiv. *The Argus,* 01/12/1856.
xxv. *The Argus,* 25/09/1856.
xxvi. *SMH,* 14/07/1881.
xxvii. *SMH,* 20/09/1898.
xxviii. *The Argus,* 28/07/1887.
xxix. *The Argus*, 19/05/1855.
xxx. *ibid.*
xxxi. *ibid.*
xxxii. *ibid.*
xxxiii. *ibid.*
xxxiv. *ibid.*
xxxv. *ibid.*
xxxvi. *The Argus*, 21/10/1854.
xxxvii. From *SMH*, 24/09/1850, quoted in McKenzie, 2003 p.18.
xxxviii. *The Argus,* 16/03/1856, *SMH,* 22/03/1856.
xxxix. *The Argus,* 04/06/1855.
xl. *The Mechanics Institution*, reported in *The Age* 17/04/1855.
xli. *Temperance and general debating society*, reported in *The Age,* 10/05/1855.
xlii. *The Argus*, 30/04/1888.
xliii. *SMH*, 14/07/1887.
xliv. *SMH,* 11/05/1888.
xlv. *The Argus,* 30/04/1888.
xlvi. *SMH,* 05/05/1888.
xlvii. e.g. *The Argus,* 26/09/1887.
xlviii. *Daily Telegraph,* 31/10/1887.
xlix. *Independent,* 12/11/1887.
l. *Brisbane Courier,* 18/07/1887.
li. *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate* 05/06/1888.
lii. *Australian Star (Sydney),* 09/03/1888.

liii. *Evening News,* 7/11/1887.
liv. *Williamstown Chronicle,* 18/02/1888.
lv. *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate* 05/06/1888.
lvi. *Ballarat Star,* 8/05/1888.
lvii. *The Age,* 23/03/1888.
lviii. *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate* 09/05/1888.
lix. *SMH,* 06/03/1888.
lx. *Daily Telegraph,* 23/02/1888.
lxi. *Wagga Wagga Advertiser,* 18/10/1888.
lxii. *Australian Weekly Chronicle,* 25/02/1888.
lxiii. *Adelaide Observer,* 25/02/1888.
lxiv. *The Argus,* 20/07/1912.
lxv. *The West Australian,* 20/03/1913.
lxvi. *SMH*, 27/02/1925.
lxvii. *The Argus*, 07/02/1925.
lxviii. *The Argus,* 15/09/1948.
lxix. *SMH,* 08/06/1955.
lxx. *The West Australian,* 20/07/1956.
lxxi. *The Argus*, 04/06/1955.
lxxii. *The West Australian,* 28/06/1956.
lxxiii. *SMH,* 29/07/1966.
lxxiv. *The Australian,* 18/01/1965.
lxxv. *SMH*, 03/03/1923.
lxxvi. *The West Australian,* 26/03/1957.
lxxvii. *The West Australian,* 02/12/1925.
lxxviii. *SMH,* 14/01/1913.
lxxix. *The Argus,* 07/02/1925.
lxxx. *SMH,* 25/03/1956.
lxxxi. *SMH,* 15/11/1921.
lxxxii. *The West Australian,* 29/06/1926.
lxxxiii. *SMH,* 19/08/1937.
lxxxiv. *SMH*, 11/01/1938.
lxxxv. *The West Australian,* 10/04/1956
lxxxvi. *SMH,* 24/03/1938.
lxxxvii. *The West Australian,* 29/06/1925.
lxxxviii. *SMH*, 08/09/1913.
lxxxix. *The Argus,* 25/06/1949.
xc. *The West Australian*, 27/10/1925.
xci. *SMH*, 16/06/1937.
xcii. *The Australian*, 14/05/1965.
xciii. *The Argus*, 06/08/1901.
xciv. *SMH*, 18/12/1924.
xcv. *The Argus,* 21/04/1925
xcvi. *SMH,* 26/08/1911.
xcvii. *SMH,* 14/02/1913.
xcviii. *The West Australian,* 29/06/1925.
xcix. *SMH,* 04/06/1925.
c. *SMH*, 29/11/1937.
ci. *SMH,* 11/09/1901.
cii. *The West Australian,* 02/01/1912.
ciii. *SMH,* 28/02/1901.
civ. *SMH*, 15/11/1921.
cv. *ibid.*
cvi. *The West Australian,* 16/07/1923.
cvii. *The West Australian,* 23/08/1913.
cviii. *SMH,* 20/04/1938.
cix. *ibid*.

cx. *SMH,* 28/04/1957.
cxi. *SMH,* 26/08/1911.
cxii. *The West Australian,* 20/03/1913.
cxiii. *The Argus*, 14/02/1925.
cxiv. *ibid.*
cxv. *The West Australian,* 26/03/1957.
cxvi. *The West Australian,* 23/08/1913.
cxvii. *The Argus,* 10/08/1938.
cxviii. *SMH,* 04/09/1913.
cxix. *The Argus,* 03/01/1925
cxx. *The Argus*, 07/02/1925.
cxxi. *The Argus*, 14/02/1925.
cxxii. *The Argus*, 28/02/1925.
cxxiii. NAA: A1, 1925/18474, NAA: A1, 1927/15940.
cxxiv. NAA: A1, 1925/18474.
cxxv. *The West Australian,* 02/03/1926.
cxxvi. *SMH,* 20/03/1924.
cxxvii. *The Argus,* 27/05/1927.
cxxviii. *The Argus,* 7/02/1925.
cxxix. NAA: A458, LR745/1/.296
cxxx. *The Australian,* 21/11/2017 — Commentary.
cxxxi. *SMH,* 19/04/1977 — News.
cxxxii. *The West Australian,* 04/04/1988 — Feature.
cxxxiii. *The Australian,* 25/09/1996 — Opinion.
cxxxiv. *SMH,* 02/01/1988 — Feature.
cxxxv. *SMH,* 02/08/2007 — News leader.
cxxxvi. *The Australian,* 17/10/2001 — Feature.
cxxxvii. *The Australian,* 15/04/2006 — Feature.
cxxxviii. *SMH,* 23/09/1988 — Opinion.
cxxxix. *SMH,* 18/09/2001 — Feature.
cxl. *The Australian,* 17/03/2018 — Opinion.
cxli. *The Australian,* 29/08/2013 — Feature.
cxlii. *SMH,* 20/08/2001 — News Feature.
cxliii. *SMH,* 08/09/1989 — Feature.
cxliv. *SMH,* 10/12/2002 — Opinion.
cxlv. *The Australian,* 18/08/2012 — Feature.
cxlvi. *SMH,* 14/08/1988 — Column.
cxlvii. *The Australian*, 07/01/1978 — News (headline).
cxlviii. *The Australian,* 25/11/2017 — Feature.
cxlix. *The Australian,* 06/05/2002 — Feature.
cl. *SMH,* 08/09/1989 — Feature.
cli. *The Australian,* 10/10/1989 — News.
clii. *SMH,* 03/03/2001 — News.
cliii. *SMH,* 05/03/2001 — Opinion.
cliv. *The West Australian,* 24/02/2001 — News/feature.
clv. *SMH,* 20/08/2001 — Opinion.
clvi. *The West Australian,* 12/02/1977 — Feature.
clvii. *SMH,* 16/12/1977 — News.
clviii. *The West Australian,* 18/09/2001 — News.
clix. *The Australian,* 22/09/2012 — Feature.
clx. *SMH,* 04/07/1996 — News/feature
clxi. *The Australian,* 15/09/1988 — News/feature
clxii. *The Australian,* 19/06/1978 — News.
clxiii. *SMH,* 01/01/2001 — News/feature.
clxiv. *The Australian,* 29/06/2012 — Feature.
clxv. *SMH,* 03/07/1977 — Feature.
clxvi. *SMH,* 16/05/1988 — News (headline).

clxvii. *The Australian,* 20/02/2007 — Feature.
clxviii. *The Australian,* 10/01/2012 — News.
clxix. *SMH,* 26/07/2012 — Opinion.
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