

Introduction

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During and after the Second World War, Australia transitioned from a clientist relationship with Great Britain to one with greater awareness of (and anxiety regarding) the surrounding Asia Pacific region while reorienting towards US economic leadership. Industrial dependency gave way to industrial self-determination; a key feature of the mid-twentieth-century nation-building decades.¹ War-displaced refugee and immigrant workers arriving in Australia proved pivotal for this change. This book offers new unexplored insights into the historical conditions, legislative changes and economic context that underscore postwar immigration, industrialization and settlement in Australia through an architectural and spatial analysis of the lasting physical transformations of this era. Whereas heightened transience and material dispossession have deferred recognition of their efforts to a point later in the life journeys of many migrants, when they become economically stable and spatially and socially positioned as individuals, this book highlights their contributions to Australia as occurring earlier: in the backbreaking collective labour and dedicated efforts of communities employed in specific industries on sites often remote from metropolitan centres, at the social and spatial periphery of what are commonly understood to be constitutive sites of national history. Consequently, for the first time, this book expands the limits of migration studies to include contributions as yet underexamined in Australian architectural and social history, but favourable to the goals of plurality and non-elite representation.

Using an interdisciplinary approach that connects the built environment disciplines to critical heritage studies, this book focuses on the historical intersections of migration, industry, architecture and landscape in the period from 1945 to 1979. It examines the inhabitation, inscription, intervention and shaping of the built environment as a legacy of the refugee and migrant populations who were directed to work and labour in Australia's major industries, including construction related to infrastructure, heavy industry and manufacturing, as well as migrant-led entrepreneurial initiatives and networks. The broad influence of migration represents an extraordinary confluence of transnational cultures within Australia's history of modernization. Informed by migration histories of selected case studies that align with key postwar

industries, this book highlights the corresponding impact on Australian cities and the wider built landscape, providing valuable architectural insights into economic and social histories of industry, population growth and modernization that have continuing relevance, but have not been viewed through the lens of architectural studies in Australia, to date.

Architectural histories have tended to focus on the contributions of British or anglophone migrants as primary agents of the most progressive features in the nation's development, casting nonanglophone migrants as secondary. In this study, the labour of these peripheral migrant streams takes centre stage. Their contribution is historicized as catalytic for modernization in Australia after the Second World War, a period of postwar reconstruction, shaped by immigration, industry and the settlement of diverse cultural communities following four decades of the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901. Federal and corporate funding for major industries together with government policies for population growth enabled nation-building programmes that shaped remote, rural and urban environments into modern industrial landscapes. Populations were drawn from war-destroyed nations, underdeveloped economies and environments divided by political ideologies or wracked by civil war. Focusing on the architecture and landscapes of major but underdocumented industrial sites and their complex social histories, we examine the intersection of the built environment and industrial growth, shifting attention to acknowledging the spatial and material dimensions of the migrant legacy and broadening the social scope of design and planning historiography, including architecture, landscape and domestic living environments. In a contemporary sense, this project speaks directly to both anxieties and aspirations of new refugee and immigrant arrivals by uncovering the extent of the contribution made by war-displaced and immigrant populations to national development in the past.

THEORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the last two decades, migration theory has become a way of conceptually framing contemporary society.² The formation of migration research centres was motivated by national agenda research of the 'migrant problem', but in the 1980s the focus was on immigrant identity and multiculturalism.³ By connecting this to postmodern and postcolonial theoretical discourse, migration scholarship in Australia has gained international prominence.⁴ Lingering colonial structural prejudices have and continue to influence the Australian nation and society, based historically on the racialization of nonanglophone populations in an implicit hierarchy, according to the lineage of immigrant arrivals, and alongside the perceived inferiority of non-white races and the exclusion of Indigenous Australians (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander First Nations/Peoples) that shaped mid-twentieth-century politics. The persistence of these racial and cultural biases and associated bigotry into the late twentieth century 'multi-

cultural' decades has been theorized by key scholars, most notably Sneja Gunew, Ghassan Hage and Ien Ang, among others, who alert us through examples to the struggles of Southern European, Middle Eastern and Asian diasporic communities in Australia navigating and unwilling or unable to assimilate into a normative and frequently superficially accommodating forms of anglophone cultural hegemony.⁵ More significantly, the issue of how the pervasive late twentieth-century ideologies of 'multiculturalism' have repressed the problematic of 'race' and its historical entanglement with ethnicity and culture in Australia remain underexamined.⁶

Publications written within the postwar period of immigration, especially those that draw on ethnographic research, have become documents of a contemporaneous historiography. Jean Martin's *Refugee Settlers* (1965) details the working lives of migrants and refugees in one industrial town; James Jupp's *Arrivals and Departures* (1966) examines major themes of work, life and community based on surveys of four ethnic groups; and Jerzy Zubrzycki's *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley* (1964) focuses on the assimilation problems of over 500 immigrant male employees of the State Electricity Commission in Victoria, and is probably the first such study.⁷ Importantly, these are anthropological and sociological studies rather than initiatives within Australian history, which according to Balint and Simic has only begun to catch up after 2010.⁸

This body of research is also linked to studies on the globalization of place and transnational exchange, and illustrates both the continuing significance and the need for a re-evaluation of migration theory beyond the framework of the nation state.⁹ Key among these are explorations of the physical impact of the diversity of cultures inhabiting Australian cities.¹⁰ Architectural histories focusing on émigré architects, their pedagogical and design contribution, include those, for example, by Harriet Edquist and, most recently, Philip Goad et al.¹¹ As Esra Ackan and Iftikar Dadi explore in their recent anthology the disciplinary lens can also be extended to forced emigration after partition, and migration related discrimination, among deeper ethical and political concerns.¹² The extension of migration theory to immigrant architecture can be understood in three ways: the first on the urban and suburban environments by scholars like Michel Laguerre, Leonie Sandercock, Arijit Sen and Jennifer Johung, and Ian Woodcock;¹³ and cultural presence and mobilities, including ephemeral materialities, in a recent architectural project on Australia's Muslim pioneers led by Peter Scriver;¹⁴ the second on immigrant institutions including David Beynon's work on worship places, and the current work by Katherine Bartsch et al. on the Australian mosque;¹⁵ and the third on immigrant housing by scholars Iris Levin and Mirjana Lozanovska.¹⁶ Noteworthy contributions include the anthologies *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy*, *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration* and *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration* by Australia-based scholars, including Mirjana Lozanovska in this collection.¹⁷ Drawing from critical and postcolonial theories, these works pioneered historiography at the intersection of migration and architecture, and combined ethnographic methods with architectural documentation. The collective labour and industrial contributions of immigrants, and the industrial environments they inhabited and

transformed, have not been a focus of scholarly attention, which has created a significant gap in knowledge, leading to the erasure of many key sites of immigrant heritage, following the closure of industrial facilities, the depopulation of related towns and the dispersal of labouring populations. Architectural studies of industrial transformation, including Australia's mining industry, can be expanded through new knowledge on the postwar immigrant contribution to key industries.¹⁸

Studies on the impact of immigration on Australia's landscape have focused on immigrant gardens and domestic environments, the shaping of a gardening culture, the usage of national parks and the works of émigré professional designers.¹⁹ A comprehensive examination of the immigrant impact on landscapes related to industry and industrial sites in remote and peripheral locations awaits discovery. The analysis of the economic benefits of major industries needs to be studied alongside their positive and adversarial environmental and social impacts.

The approach from critical heritage studies, focusing on post-industrial landscapes is particularly pertinent to case studies such as ours, where the industries have been discontinued and many sites have been abandoned. Viewed from this perspective, our study of immigrant industry intersects with memory studies and critical re-evaluations of intangible heritage addressed most recently by Alexandra Delliós, also an author in this collection.²⁰ *Remembering Migration: Oral Histories and Heritage in Australia* and books in the Palgrave Macmillan series on Memory Studies are noteworthy.²¹ Books focused on the heritage of specific places related to camps and industries are too many to mention here, as are the many immigrant memoirs related to specific camps or industrial sites encountered in the following chapters. Nonja Peters' *Milk and Honey – But No Gold: Postwar Migration to Western Australia, 1945–64* combines these approaches in an academic study.²² Elaborating on 'heritage corridors', Denis Byrne's work expands this field conceptually towards a geographical stretch of heritage caused by migration and the longer geocultural histories of ongoing migratory travel of Chinese-Australian immigrants, and brings the intangible at an interface with spatial heritage with work on architectures of enterprising immigrants.²³ Our collection fills a much-needed gap in the literature, linking architecture, immigrant labour and industrial development; and is particularly important for the insights it brings from the Australian postcolonial and settler contexts. Pastoral lands from which Indigenous Australian custodians had been brutally evicted during a previous century were requisitioned for wartime military training facilities – displaced persons (DP) camps – industrial work camps and factories, implicating immigrant and refugee-settlers in longer histories of dispossession that pre-dated their arrival in Australia. Major industries that drew immigrant labour from the migrant reception and holding centres accelerated the environmental destruction already initiated through industrial agriculture; their massive infrastructural works or heavy industries, causing lasting ecological trauma. An important innovation in this book is its greater sensitization to issues that have surfaced through ethical awareness of Indigenous Australian and First Nations' peoples' rights and the geopolitical exigencies of global warming, both, at times, directly connected to in-

dustrial development. Viewed from this perspective, nation building can be seen as regressive.

By arguing that refugee and immigrant presence, labour and productivity are integral to an understanding of postwar Australian modernization, this book challenges the assumption that refugees ‘burden’ the Australian economy and society. The period 1945–79 marks a time when the introduction of culturally and racially different refugees and immigrants to Australia irrevocably impacted its social and spatial landscape. Spanning the last four decades and the final demise of the White Australia Policy, this period saw a tremendous impetus for decolonization globally that implicated Australia in significant ways, most markedly in its changing attitudes to cultural diversity and race. There was unprecedented regional transformation, when Asia Pacific nations around Australia achieved political independence, decolonized institutions and reinstated their belief systems. Australia at first relaxed its immigration policies only so far as to encourage the entry of Continental Europeans (preferably Northern Europeans as Southern Europeans were at this stage undesirable); defensively strengthening its racial boundaries and ethnic hierarchy internally and with the expectation that Northern Europeans would willingly assimilate with the anglophone majority. This was not always the case, especially due to recruitment policies that brought in disproportionate numbers of young single men or separated men from their families remaining in the homelands, many of whom fell into alcoholism and depression. Each wave of immigrants was subjected to new modes of discrimination. The influx of large numbers of Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees during the late 1960s and early 1970s forced Australia’s borders open by the sheer demographic pressure of a regional humanitarian crisis. Their racialization and distinction from nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants added greater complexity to Australian society.²⁴ These immigrants were racially and culturally unassimilable, and their cultural and religious practices were often illegible to the white majority.²⁵

A focus on nation-building industrial practices contributes original insights and new empirical findings to the studies of culturally diverse urban environments, and migration and postcolonial studies of Australia, with comparative lessons for settler societies. Industry instigated the postwar coexistence of culturally diverse immigrants, which in turn produced temporary environments for cosmopolitanism in its initial stages.²⁶ The project’s findings contribute substantially towards a more inclusive, interdisciplinary, architectural, landscape, urban and social history of immigrants’ contribution to nation building, invigorated by new discourses on borders, refugee flows, labour and globalization. The methodologies combine ethnographic and historical research with architectural documentation and other forms of visual records of place. The situated analyses of refugee/immigrant contributions to specific industries central to post-Second World War national development up to the Vietnam War open up this social field to historical questions that are contingent on physical and material evidence. As the physical context for immigrants’ everyday struggles, the built landscape provides evidence of their capacity to contribute to the industrial transformation of

Australia. The architecture, urban places and landscapes that hosted these industries and accommodated immigrants in diverse facilities mediated their integration and their continued engagement and investment in Australia. Their own place-making practices, in concert with other immigrants or professionals, became the basis of their social networks.

Our focus on the spatial, physical and material attributes of industrial environments offers a unique lens that complements previous socially focused historical approaches to industrial environments. There are several important historical studies of the Australian Gold Rush-era environments, mining and steel industries, and also convict-era heritage that illustrate this broader field of study, including studies related to irrigation and water politics that politicize industrial development in important ways.²⁷ These above approaches are comparable to Michael Roller and Paul Shackel's respective foci on specific industrial towns in the United States.²⁸ Here too, the lens from heritage offers an opening for examining post-industrial sites. Stefan Berger's *Constructing Industrial Pasts* is a recent 2019 publication that aligns with our interest in industrial heritage, as does Christian Wicke et al.'s *Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities*, which includes several international case studies.²⁹

Books with a similar scope are rarer in our disciplines, divided between approaches that look more for design innovation or professional engagement than for the social critiques embedded in historical studies.³⁰ Publications aligned with our interests would include Andrew Johnston's *Mercury and the Making of California* and the much earlier *Building the Workingman's Paradise* on the Tennessee Valley Authority housing schemes.³¹ More recently, *The Garden in the Machine* by Avigail Sachs offers an interesting spatial and political counterpoint to Clayton Strange's Soviet, industrial *Monotowns*.³² Sarah Lopez's *The Remittance Landscape*, connecting the United States and Mexico, resonates with our exploration of how labour, manufacturing and small industries create capacity for immigrant emplacement at the outer suburban periphery or inner city.³³ The cross-disciplinary project *VacantGeelong*, led by Lozanovska with team including Beynon, likewise explores past immigrant worker memories of post-industrial sites.³⁴

International interest in migration and refugee studies has expanded exponentially during the past decade, as part of the global interest in its geopolitical significance, not least because of the overlap with border studies, making it a highly interdisciplinary area of research. *Camps Revisited* traces the refugee camps contemporary lineage, and many similar studies recognizing the scale and proliferation of camp spaces have addressed their architecture as contemporary urban and spatial phenomena.³⁵ Anoma Pieris' *Architecture on the Borderline* and her publication with Lynne Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement*, on wartime incarceration camps, including in Australia, historicizes the practices of diasporic identification and racial segregation in these spaces as connected to DP treatment in migrant camp environments as well as contemporary practices of immigrant processing and detention in carceral facilities.³⁶ These publications reinforce our study's salience for broader in-

ternational awareness of human displacement and migrant labour globally. The work of South Asian and African diasporic scholars focused on diasporic home-making have augmented this aspect of immigrant studies more recently, further exploring methods discursively aligned with critical race theory and decolonization.³⁷ Their scholarship is significant for discursively integrating contemporary refugee and migrant experiences as co-constitutive and for exploring their positionality within the ongoing transformation of Australian identity and border politics, beyond the time-frame covered in this book.

THE SHAPE OF THE BOOK

Immigration centres and industries that employed refugee and immigrant labour in the postwar period can be thought of as nodes in a spatial and labour network, the running of each being dependent on the other. The case study chapters convey this network, its nodal points and intercultural social interactions through a study of the camps, key industrial sites for hydroelectric power generation, defence and raw material production. Examples are drawn from the populous southeastern states: the recipients of the largest numbers of postwar refugees and immigrants, due to their significance in the history of immigration and Australian modernization, and their capacity to convey their co-dependence, and the later dispersal of new immigrants into manufacturing and service industries at the metropolitan periphery. In doing so, the examples reveal how labour and domicile environments of refugees and immigrants shaped Australia internally, highlighting their interaction and competition with other groups.

The first three chapters, including this one, frame the topic of nonanglophone postwar labour migration as pivotal for Australian industrialization and distinctive from other immigrant pathways. Chapter 1, Postwar Immigrant Recruitment Policies, Labour and Accommodation, unpacks histories of migrant settlement and industry in postwar Australia. In exploring these mutually inclusive histories, Mirjana Lozanovska, Alexandra Dellios and David Beynon set the historical scene for the subsequent chapters. The spatial will be a key framework throughout. The spaces under analysis, those that define the immigrant experience of settlement, are the migrant camp, the accommodation centre, the boarding housing and the industrialized workplace. They are deeply implicated in the processes of nation building and industrialization that underpinned the impetus behind Australia's mass immigration scheme. The scheme was not immune to prevailing Anglo-Australian prejudices and preconceptions about the non-British immigrant, but rather was a key mechanism through which these notions were enacted, both socially and economically. Therefore, one cannot unravel these complex postwar histories without considering the role of ethnicity and its function in Australian immigration policy, in the political economy and in the workplaces of a largely Anglo-Australian society.

Chapter 2, 'Machines for Making Australians: The Military Prehistory of Migrant Camps' by Anoma Pieris, aims to build a continuum between immigration and war-time histories rarely connected in migration studies. DP families who came through refugee camps in Europe found living alongside military units in military administered, regimented environments to be challenging. The purportedly benign repurposing of a wartime facility and the placement of immigrant families in military huts raise questions regarding the presumed neutrality of military architecture, the lack of adaptation for civilian accommodation and, where camps were formerly used for prisoner-of-war or internee accommodation, their prior histories of violence. Pieris explores these themes through the architectural facilities and the labour mobilities that knit together the shared military and migration histories of camps. The chapter offers an intimate insight into a sponsored immigrant pathway, relating the story of Italian immigrant Giuseppe (Joe) Roncari's negotiation of Australia's postwar labour landscape through serial dislocations to eventual emplacement.

Having explored the intellectual framing for the book in its broader sense, the remaining seven chapters focus on specific case studies, selecting those most indicative of important intersections of built environment and social histories, beginning with key sites in New South Wales (see Figure 0.1). Architecture and industry are core to nation-building agendas and their histories tend to align with progressive narrative framings. In the postwar period (1945–79), the BHP Steelworks (Broken Hill Proprietary) in Port Kembla, Australia, expanded into a 'scene of Australia's great industrial growth'.³⁸ Urban and economic growth, expansion, technological innovation and power – BHP directors, their agency, networks and genealogy – dominate the histories of the steelworks and Port Kembla as a place. In Chapter 3, 'Unfinished Histories of Nation-Building: Racialization, Space of Labour and Industry at Port Kembla', Mirjana Lozanovska offers an alternative way to tell the story of Port Kembla, reorienting a dominant progressive historiography of industrialists towards labour migrants, and from this perspective developing a theory of industrial architecture as a space of labour. The chapter develops a thesis that nation building, industrialization and modernization are contingent on labour, and illustrates how the making of modern societies involves labour, increasingly as its invisible infrastructure. Focusing on postwar immigrants working at the Port Kembla steelworks and drawing upon labour histories, statistical data, findings and ethnographic participant work, the chapter argues that racialization and ethnicization structure the space of labour and the architectural landscape of industry, as well as its modernizing subtext.

In Chapter 4, 'Company Town: Housing Labour Migrants on the Snowy Hydro Scheme', Anoma Pieris examines the towns and associated work camps created for the federally funded postwar industrial project with the largest immigrant workforce in postwar Australia. Using Indigenous Australian dispossession and environmental impacts as new lenses for critiquing the pioneering rhetoric, Pieris peels back layers of the Scheme's 'development ecology', in which human expertise and labour are enmeshed. The chapter focuses on the human dimension of the Scheme rather than



Camps	Company Towns	Cold War Infrastructure	Heavy Industry	Suburbs	Hostels
1. Benalla	4. Adaminaby	10. Woomera and the Woomera Prohibited Area	11. Bathurst	13. Footscray and surrounding areas	15. Endeavour, Randwick
2. Bonegilla	5. Cooma		12. Port Kembla/Wollongong	14. Springvale and surrounding areas	16. Enterprise, Springvale
3. Greta	6. Jindabyne				
	7. Cowra				
	8. Northam				
	9. Rushworth				

Figure 0.1 Sites and localities connected to camps, hostels, infrastructure, industries and company towns and suburbs mentioned in the book. Drawn for author by Renee Miller-Yeamon, 2022.

its engineering achievements, exploring its construction phases and material culture: the ephemeral camp sites and prefabricated accommodation that housed the largely immigrant workforce. It argues that Cooma North, the company town was an international settlement, its diversity sustained by the ongoing presence of multinational contracting companies, their staff and immigrant workers, rather than ‘the birthplace of multiculturalism’, as it is often described.

The Department of Defence’s Anglo UK–Australian joint project to test and develop long-range weapons in Australia’s arid region commenced in 1947 and reached a peak in the 1970s and 1980s. In Chapter 5, ‘Woomera: A Landscape of Displacement and Renewal’, Andrew Saniga examines how the rocket and missile-testing range at the Woomera Prohibited Area in South Australia necessitated complex infrastructure as well as a service town, Woomera Village, servicing workers and scientists involved in the Cold War military project. Some 400 Eastern and Central European DPs, sent to Woomera to work for the Commonwealth Department of Works and Housing, were significant in enabling the project in a time of labour shortage, engaging in everything

from mixing concrete to drafting plans. Their environmental and living conditions, their socialization and their manoeuvring into semi-professional roles launched some individuals on lifelong career trajectories. But set against the backdrop of what was undoubtedly Australia's first and most overt participation in the Cold War international politics and relations, the DPs' immigrant workers' origins in war-torn Europe sat uneasily with public, political and unionist perceptions, particularly those linked with communism and communist states.

In Chapter 6, 'Noncompliance and Agency in Migrant Family Life: Greta and Benalla Migrant Camps', Alexandra Dellios draws on published and unpublished testimony, digital storytelling and oral histories from former immigrant residents of Australia's postwar Immigration Centres (or 'camps') to explore the limits of agency and noncompliance within the spaces of Greta and Benalla migrant camps in the period from 1949 to 1961. Dellios accounts for an immigrant's individual ability to influence their social environments, for themselves and for their families, and thus operates as a corrective to accounts that may limit their position within the historiography to that of victim, on the one hand, or (free agent) success story, on the other. Much of this detail can only be captured through the storytelling of immigrants. As members of diverse families, they could demonstrate noncompliance, outright defiance, and creative acceptance or adaptation – depending on their familial circumstances and desires while living within Australia's camp system. Through themes of family separation under the two-year work contract with the Commonwealth, the creative building of informal economies of exchange and work, and the pressures (as well as the benefits) of childrearing in a semi-regulated but communal setting, the struggle and compromise between agency and structure is made clear.

During the post-Second World War nation-building era in Australia, the domestic, as produced through public housing, was a site for innovation in construction technologies and programmatic arrangements. Arguably, government-sponsored domestic design experimentations can merge with broader social agendas and nation-state policy directives. In Chapter 7, 'Design Experiments in Collective Housing: The Renewal of Commonwealth Migrant Hostels', Renee Miller-Yeaman investigates the overlap between design and social experimentation in housing through strategies used to accommodate immigrants and refugees entering the country. Miller-Yeaman argues that constant adjustments in accommodation type, from provisional practices to testing out new models for collective living, mark the trajectories of Commonwealth migrant hostel sites. Focusing on two hostels, *The Endeavour* in Sydney and *The Enterprise* in Melbourne, the chapter examines designs that originated within the Commonwealth Department of Public Works in conjunction with Commonwealth Hostels Ltd (CHL). Their templates for temporary, collective living were aligned with dwelling arrangements seen in medium-density housing rather than the ex-military facilities. Architectural approaches to government-sponsored design reveal how housing provision in Australia is inextricably linked to migration discourse as it emerges in understandings of the nation in the second half of the twentieth century.

Concurrent economic and demographic developments impacted immigrant accommodation and employment in the 1970s. A noteworthy decline in government-supported industrial projects as major employers of new immigrants and refugees occurred alongside the first major influx of immigrants from Asia since the mid-nineteenth-century Gold Rush. Without federal support to catalyse their economic integration, this new wave of settlers, largely refugees from the Vietnam War, had to find employment in smaller pre-existing industries and, more pointedly, develop new industries and enterprises to establish themselves. It was this aspect of their industrial activity that transformed suburban built environments in a manner that has been critical to the broader development of Australia's cities. In Chapter 8, 'From Peripheries to Centres: Refugees, Industry and Settlement in an Australian City', David Beynon explores the impact of refugees who resided at Melbourne's migrant hostels from mid-1970s onwards, in particular The Enterprise Migrant Hostel in Springvale and Midway Migrant Hostel in Maribyrnong. Beynon explores the relation of this broader reluctance to the relative neglect of refugee-instigated urban settlement in Australian architecture and urban planning discussions, despite its profound cultural and economic impact. Many of these hostels' residents were of Asian backgrounds – Vietnamese, diasporic Chinese, Lao, Cambodian, Sri Lankan, Timorese and others – and represented a distinct change to Australia's demography at the time. The chapter explores individual or family stories that link refugee arrival, settlement and developments in commerce, industry and community in the cities of Greater Dandenong and Maribyrnong, the municipalities in outer-suburban Melbourne, Victoria where the Enterprise and Midway migrant hostels were respectively located.

Studies of immigrant communities in Australia often adopt ethnic perspectives, echoing the policies of multicultural differentiation, whereas architecture is able to explore spatial and material conditions as settings for multiple ethnic practices that converge or overlap. Migration, the mobility of peoples into and within the continent, has been a constant across Australia's settler history. However, the public recognition of settler-colonial Australia as a 'migrant nation' is limited in scope. The origins of a 'multi-ethnic' Australia are placed in the mass post-Second World War immigration scheme. In the heritage management landscape, the privileged position of white settler narratives serves to conceal histories of Indigenous Australian dispossession, of interethnic and sectarian conflict, unequal labour relations and working conditions for non-English-speaking immigrants, and the race-based inequality that has shaped the settlement experiences of many.

Our concluding chapter is entitled 'Migration Heritage Landscapes in Australia Today'. It is an exploration of the status and direction of 'immigrant heritage' – especially as it pertains to authorized, national and industrial heritage – in Australia and it offers multiple, and sometimes conflicting, questions about the heritage and public history of post-Second World War immigration, industrialization and architecture. These are not prescriptive conclusions about immigrant heritage, but rather nodal

points of discussion, which draw from each of our site-based research with immigrant and implicated community groups.

Anoma Pieris is Professor of Architecture at the Melbourne School of Design. Her most recent publications include the anthology *Architecture on the Borderline: Boundary Politics and Built Space* (2019) and *The Architecture of Confinement: Incarceration Camps of the Pacific War* (2022), co-authored with Lynne Horuchi. She was guest curator with Martino Stierli, Sean Anderson and Evangelos Kotsioris of the 2022 MoMA exhibition *The Project of Independence: Architectures of Decolonization in South Asia, 1947–1985*.

Mirjana Lozanovska is Professor in Architecture and Director of the Architecture Vacancy Lab at Deakin University. Her work investigates the creative ways that architecture mediates human dignity through multidisciplinary theories of space. Her books include *Migrant Housing: Architecture, Dwelling, Migration* (2019) and *Ethno-Architecture and the Politics of Migration* (2016). Her creative works include *Venetian Blinds* (European Cultural Centre, Venice 2021), and, with David Beynon, Cameron Bishop, Diego Fullaondo and Anne Scott-Wilson, the exhibition *Iconic Industry* (2017, National Wool Museum, Geelong). She was co-editor of *Fabrications: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand* from 2018 to 2021.

NOTES

1. Cochrane, *Industrialization and Dependence*.
2. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*.
3. Martin, *Refugee Settlers*; Jupp, *Arrivals and Departures*; Junankar, *Recent Immigrants*; Castles, Booth and Wallace, *Here for Good*; Castles and Kosack, *Immigrant Workers*.
4. Hage, *White Nation*; Hage, *The Diasporic Condition*; Gunew, *Haunted Nations*; Jordens, *Alien to Citizen*; Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration*; Perera, *Australia and the Insular Imagination*.
5. Gunew, *Haunted Nations*; Hage, *White Nation*; Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese*.
6. Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese*, 100.
7. Zubrzycki, *Settlers of the Latrobe Valley*.
8. Balint and Simic, 'Histories of Migrants and Refugees in Australia', 380
9. Hannerz, *Transnational Connections*; Hou, *Transcultural Cities*.
10. Sandercock, *Cosmopolis II*; Fincher and Jacobs, *Cities of Difference*.
11. Edquist, *Frederick Romberg*; Goad et al., *Bauhaus Diaspora*; Lozanovska and McKnight, 'Émigré Architects and the Australian Architecture Establishment'.
12. Ackan and Dadi, *Art and Architecture of Migration and Discrimination*.
13. Woodcock, *Multicultural Sense of Place*; Laguerre, *Minoritized Space*; Sen and Johung, *Landscapes of Mobility*; Sandercock, *Cosmopolis II*.
14. Sriver, 'Mosques, Ghantowns and Cameleers'.
15. Beynon, 'Hybrid Representations'; Bartsch et al., *The Australian Mosque*.
16. Lozanovska, 'Abjection and Architecture'; Levin, *Migration, Settlement, and the Concepts of House and Home*; Lozanovska, *Migrant Housing*.

17. Cairns, *Drifting*; Lozanovska, *Ethno-Architecture*.
18. Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise*; and see also the chapters in Aitchison, *The Architecture of Industry*.
19. Armstrong, 'Making the Unfamiliar Familiar'; Aitken, *Cultivating Modernism*; Thomas, *Moving Landscapes*; Saniga, *Making Landscape Architecture*.
20. Dellios, *Histories of Controversy*; Dellios and Henrich, *Migrant, Multicultural and Diasporic Heritage*.
21. Darian-Smith and Hamilton, *Remembering Migration*.
22. Peters, *Milk and Honey– But No Gold*.
23. Byrne, *Counterheritage*; Byrne, 'Heritage Corridors'; Byrne, 'Dream Houses in China'.
24. Ang, *On Not Speaking Chinese*.
25. Viviani, *The Indochinese in Australia*.
26. Jacobs and Malpas, 'Immigration, Indigeneity and Identity'; Hall, *The Migrant's Paradox*.
27. Reeves and Nicholls, *Deeper Leads*; Eklund and Fenley, *Earth and Industry*; Eklund, *Steel Town*.
28. Roller, *An Archaeology of Structural Violence*; Shackel, *Remembering Lattimer*.
29. Berger, *Constructing Industrial Pasts*; Wicke, Berger and Golombek, *Industrial Heritage and Regional Identities*.
30. Examples of these include Aitchison, *The Architecture of Industry*; and Thomas, Amhoff and Beech, *Industries of Architecture*.
31. Johnston, *Mercury and the Making of California*; Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise*.
32. Sachs, *The Garden in the Machine*; Strange, *Monotowns*.
33. Lopez, *The Remittance Landscape*.
34. Lozanovska et al., *Iconic Industry*.
35. Katz, Martin and Minca, *Camps Revisited*.
36. Pieris, *Architecture on the Borderline*; Pieris and Horiuchi, *The Architecture of Confinement*.
37. Kandasamy, Perera and Ratnam, *A Sense of Viidu*; Carrasco et al., 'A Home for Diaspora'.
38. BHP, *Seventy-Five Years of BHP*, 33.

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